

## Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues

# **Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen**

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Begründet von Franz Köcher  
Herausgegeben von  
Robert D. Biggs und Marten Stol

**Band 9**

# Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues

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Medicine, Magic and Divination

Edited by Ulrike Steinert

DE GRUYTER

The work on this volume as part of the project BabMed – Babylonian Medicine has been funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013; Project No. 323596).



ISBN 978-1-5015-1363-3  
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-0491-4  
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0487-7

**Library of Congress Control Number 2018935702**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter Inc., Boston/Berlin  
Cover image: Florentina Badalanova Geller  
Typesetting: Michael Peschke, Berlin  
Printing: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)



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## Acknowledgements

This volume contains the results of both collaborative work and individual research by the members of the BabMed Project, established under the aegis of Markham Geller with the objective to advance the reconstruction and edition of the corpus of Mesopotamian medical texts. The core of the book presents the first complete edition and reconstruction of the so-called Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC). Assyriological work on the AMC began in the 1970s, when Irving Finkel discovered and identified the Chicago fragment A. 7821 in 1978. Franz Köcher and Finkel recognised that this text fragment belonged together with four AMC fragments in the Yale Babylonian Collection, which were still unpublished then. After the publication of the Yale fragments by Gary Beckman and Benjamin Foster (1988), Franz Köcher sent to Geller and Finkel his own preliminary edition of AMC, based on photographs of the tablets. When Geller spent a year in Paris at the EPHE in 2005-2006, he introduced this material to Annie Attia and Gilles Buisson, and they read through the text together and made identifications. Afterwards, Attia and Buisson continued to work on the text and made further identifications.

When BabMed began its work in 2013, Geller suggested that the entire team read through AMC, and take it into account in our work on the medical texts. On the basis of these team readings, a new edition of the text was prepared by Strahil Panayotov and myself. The crucial importance of AMC for the reconstruction of Mesopotamian therapeutic texts and the existence of other comparable text catalogues that have never received a joint discussion, led BabMed to the idea of publishing the AMC text edition as part of a comprehensive study on scholarly catalogues listing corpora and compendia of ancient Mesopotamian healing specialists and divination experts, and I took on sole responsibility for the overall editorship of the volume.

The book offers editions of the three central catalogues associated with the text corpora of the Mesopotamian healing disciplines: AMC, the Exorcist's Manual and the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series (*Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*), which form the basis of several thematic studies investigating the relationships between catalogues and the development of scholarly text corpora in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE. The contributions published here offer a collection of differing views and multiple, at times conflicting perspectives on the catalogues and text corpora reflected in them. I would like to thank all BabMed team members for their contributions to the plurality of voices represented in the book. Special thanks are due to Francesca Rochberg and Irving Finkel who agreed to supply the volume with two additional contributions, which have considerably enriched and broadened the scope and theoretical thrust of the book. Thus, Rochberg's article includes a new treatment of two catalogues of the astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, while Finkel presents hitherto unpublished texts in his discussion of three tablet inventories.

In March and May 2014, I had the opportunity to collate the AMC tablet fragments in the Yale Babylonian Collection as well as the fragment in the Oriental Institute Chicago, which formed the basis for new copies of all AMC fragments. I am grateful to Walter Farber for the kind permission to publish A. 7821 here for the first time. My warmest thanks are also due to Ulla Kasten, Benjamin Foster, Elizabeth Payne and Eckart Frahm for their support and hospitality during my stay at the Yale Babylonian Collection.

In October 2014, a preliminary edition of AMC was presented and discussed at the first BabMed Workshop at Freie Universität Berlin. I wish to thank all workshop participants who contributed with feedback during and after the workshop. Special thanks are due to Gilles Buisson, Nils Heeßel, Daniel Schwemer, Henry Stadhouders and Marten Stol who supplied critical notes and alternative suggestions on individual readings.

I also wish to thank the editors of the series *Babylonisch-assyrische Medizin*, Robert Biggs and Marten Stol, for accepting this volume for publication in the series, as well as for their review of the manuscript and their numerous helpful comments.

Ulrike Steinert  
Berlin, April 2018



# Abbreviations

4R <sup>2</sup>	H. C. Rawlinson, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> . The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. IV. Second Edition (1891)
5R	H. C. Rawlinson, <i>A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> . The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. V. Reprint (1909)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AGM	Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vol. (1965-81)
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AMC	Assur Medical Catalogue
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AMT	R. C. Thompson, <i>Assyrian Medical Texts from the Originals in the British Museum</i> (1923)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica (Japan)
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte
BAK	H. Hunger, <i>Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone</i> (1968)
BAM	F. Köcher, <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> , Vol. 1-6 (1963-80)
BAM 7	M. J. Geller, <i>Renal and Rectal Disease Texts</i> , Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen, Vol. 7 (2005)
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BRM 3	C. E. Keiser, <i>Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium BC</i> . Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 3 (1914)
BRM 4	A. T. Clay, <i>Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts</i> . Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 4 (1923)
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> (1956-2010)
CCP	Cuneiform Commentaries Project ( <a href="http://ccp.yale.edu">http://ccp.yale.edu</a> )
CDA <sup>2</sup>	<i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> , ed. J. Black, A. R. George and N. Postgate. Second (corrected) printing (2000)
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative ( <a href="http://cdli.ucla.edu">http://cdli.ucla.edu</a> )
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CMAwR 1	T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, <i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals</i> . Vol. 1 (2011)
CMAwR 2	T. Abusch, D. Schwemer, M. Luukko and G. van Buylaere, <i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals</i> . Vol. 2 (2016)
Craig, ABRT 2	J. Craig, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts</i> . Vol. 2 (1897)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTMMA 2	I. Spar and W. G. Lambert (ed.), <i>Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.</i> , Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 2 (2005)
CTN 4	D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black, <i>Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû</i> . Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 4 (1996)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
EAE	<i>Enûma Anu Enlil</i> (astrological omen series)
ETCSL	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature ( <a href="http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk">http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk</a> )
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
GCCI 2	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> , Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. 2 (1933)
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
Hh	Lexical list HAR-ra = <i>hubullu</i>
JANES	The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
KADP	F. Köcher, <i>Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde</i> (1955)
KAL 1	N. P. Heeßel, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts</i> 1 (2007)
KAL 2	D. Schwemer, <i>Rituale und Beschwörungen gegen Schadenzauber</i> , Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 2 (2007)
KAL 4	S. M. Maul and R. Strauss, <i>Ritualbeschreibungen und Gebete I. Mit Beiträgen von Daniel Schwemer</i> , Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 4 (2011)
KAR	E. Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i> , 2 vol. (1919-23)
KAV	O. Schroeder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (1920)
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
LKA	E. Ebeling, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> (1953)
LKU	A. Falkenstein, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk</i> (1931)
LSS NF	Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran
MSL	B. Landsberger, M. Civil et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i>
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
NABU	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
NISABA	Nisaba. Studi assiriologici Messinesi
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
Obv.	Obverse
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OrNS	Orientalia Nova Series
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologiques Néerlandais de Stamboul
PSD	The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (1984-)
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
Rev.	Reverse
RIMB 2	G. Frame, <i>Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination</i> (1157-612 BC), <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods, Volume 2</i> (2000)
SAA 7	F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration</i> . State Archives of Assyria 7 (1992)
SAA 10	S. Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> , State Archives of Assyria 10 (1993)
SAA 13	S. W. Cole and P. Machinist, <i>Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> , State Archives of Assyria 13 (1998)
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SA.GIG	The diagnostic omen series <i>Sakikkû</i> ( <i>The Diagnostic Handbook</i> )
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SANTAG	SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde
SEAL	Sources of Early Akkadian Literature ( <a href="http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de">http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de</a> )
SpTU 1	H. Hunger, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> , Teil I (1976)
SpTU 2	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> , Teil II (1983)
SpTU 3	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> , Teil III (1988)
SpTU 4	E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18</i> , Teil IV (1993)
SpTU 5	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18</i> , Teil V (1998)
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
STMAC	Science, Technology and Medicine in Ancient Cultures
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, P. Hulin, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> . 2 Vol. (1957-64)
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie
TBP	F. R. Kraus, <i>Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik</i> (1939)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales
TLB	Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae Leidae Conservatae
TUAT NF 5	B. Janowski and D. Schwemer (eds.), <i>Texte zur Heilkunde</i> , Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge 5 (2010)
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
UET	Ur Excavation. Texts

UH	Udug-hul
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YOS	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie

For other abbreviations, see the abbreviations list of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (available at <http://www.rla.badw.de>).





## Catalogues, Corpora and Canons in Mesopotamian Scholarship

Lists of scriptures or “text catalogues” are common in different literate cultures of the ancient world. Such lists appear in various forms and types, serving different purposes and functions. Especially lists of literary works and authors from the Greco-Roman world, designated in Greek as *pinax* (plural *pinakes*; Latin *index*), display distinct characteristics and developments that can be compared with Mesopotamian text catalogues. The basic meaning of the term *pinax* is “(wooden or metal) board/tablet” used e.g. for official inscriptions, but the word also refers to lists of various kinds such as chronological lists of the winners in the great Greek games or in theatrical competitions, and lists of priests.<sup>1</sup> Systematic lists of literary works, most importantly the *Pinakes* by Kallimachos, a catalogue of all authors and works of Greek literature regarded as the first bibliographical catalogue in history, could only be created in the context of larger libraries as in Alexandria (Blum 1991). Kallimachos’ *Pinakes* (dating to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE), which were assembled presumably on the basis of existing library inventories at Alexandria, were divided into literary genres (probably reflecting the way in which groups of scrolls were stored in the library), and within each section authors were listed alphabetically (including some biographical information).<sup>2</sup> The works of each author were registered by name, together with the incipit (the first words of the text) and the number of constituent books or lines. Kallimachos’ work served as a prime model and source of information for later catalogues of authors and texts.<sup>3</sup>

Ancient Mesopotamian lists of texts, which this volume sets out to investigate, were supposedly often drawn up as inventories of tablets stored in a particular archive or library, although the exact purposes of these lists are difficult to determine exactly in many cases (due to lacking colophons or explicit purpose statements).<sup>4</sup> None of the of tablet inventories from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE can definitely be identified as the complete registers of a library or archive.<sup>5</sup> Such documents are of varying format, scope and length; the registered texts can belong to different genres or be restricted to a specific group (e.g. to literary texts, cult songs or incantations).<sup>6</sup> Similar to the library catalogues and lists of literature from the Greco-Roman world, the Mesopotamian tablet inventories often display certain

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1 For an overview see Regenbogen 1950; Welwei, Fakas and Scheibler 2000.

2 A detailed study of Kallimachos’ *Pinakes* is found in Blum 1991; cf. Regenbogen 1950: 1418-1421. Only a few fragments of library catalogues are preserved from the Hellenistic period or later, among which is a catalogue from Rhodes (ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) inscribed on a multi-column stone board, which was probably hung up in the library for the information of the users. It likewise listed authors and their work alphabetically and in groups of literary genres (Blum 1991: 182, 185-188; Regenbogen 1950: 1419-1420). A similar practice is attested for Ptolemaic Egypt (ca. 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BCE), where rudimentary book catalogues were inscribed on the temple library walls at Edfu and Dendera (Webb 2013: 22).

3 See Blum 1991: 182-184, 188-227. The primary function of bibliographical catalogues such as Kallimachos’ *Pinakes* was to serve as an aid for scholarly research into the branches of Greek literature. In the subsequent centuries, lists of books also appear e.g. in biographies and in compilations on the lives and opinions of famous philosophers and scholars. During the Hellenistic period and in Late Antiquity, catalogues of authors and works were created for various fields of learning and for all possible topics, while at the same time bibliographical lists of sources and indices begin to be integrated into encyclopaedic works, e.g. on history (Regenbogen 1950: 1424-1460, 1466-1482).

4 Collections of scholarly or literary cuneiform texts found in temples, palaces and private houses are conventionally designated as “libraries” in Assyriological parlance, while the term “archive” is primarily used for text assemblages of largely administrative and legal documents, although there are archaeological examples of text collections containing both text groups. In contrast to the Greco-Roman world, Mesopotamian libraries had no public function, but were only accessible to the scribes or scholars who owned them or who were employed in the institutions that housed them. The contents and functions of these “libraries” also vary from case to case, see e.g. Pedersén 1998; Robson 2013.

5 For an overview see Krecher 1980; Delnero 2010; 2015: 124-125. It may be assumed that for the management of large collections such as the library of king Ashurbanipal (669–627 BCE) at Nineveh with several thousands of tablets, a sort of registering or ordering system was necessary and in use, although there is at present no evidence for the existence of a complete library catalogue. The preserved catalogues from Nineveh are restricted to specific groups of tablets and compositions, and may reflect different scribal activities in connection with assembling, editing, registering and organising the royal tablet collection. It is possible that in larger collections such as Nineveh, tablets were stored in groups according to topic or genre. A few examples of shelf labels from Nineveh suggest that a labelling system may have been used for tablet retrieval. For discussion see Steinert’s contribution in this volume.

6 Most of the Old Babylonian text catalogues (ca. 1800–1600 BCE) are “genre-specific”, i.e. they list only texts of one specific type such as literary compositions, incantations, liturgical songs (Delnero 2010: 41-49; 2015: 124-125), but there are also examples of inventories registering texts of various types, see Finkel (in this volume).

ordering principles in the arrangement of entries on the list. For instance, groups of texts with a common theme or topic may be enumerated together in ruled-off sections, which may be followed by a summary rubric or by a sub-total of the tablets listed in a section.<sup>7</sup> However, as a fundamental difference, Mesopotamian text catalogues and tablet inventories are usually not ordered by the names of authors, since the cuneiform writing system is not an alphabetic script and thus does not lend itself to such an ordering principle, but – equally important – because most scholarly and literary works were anonymous.<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, new types of catalogues appear in the Mesopotamian textual record, which give a systematic outline of the contents of specific works and text corpora. These “system catalogues” (Finkel *infra*) are especially attested for technical compendia such as omen collections, medical remedies, or liturgical songs, i.e. for the text corpora associated with the disciplines of diviners, physicians, ritual specialists or lamentation priests. The present volume investigates the forms, roles and functions of text catalogues and their relations to the text corpora of different technical disciplines. These documents are also analysed as a source of information for the reconstruction of the ancient text corpora, their historical development and transmission. Moreover, Mesopotamian text catalogues not only mirror the development of specific works and compositions, but can also be used as sources for literary and scholarly canons and be brought into dialogue with discussions of canonisation processes in neighbouring cultures.<sup>9</sup> Notably, in studies of Greek literature, the term “canon” is used in connection with selective “priority lists” of books and authors that are preferred to others (Hägg 2010: 109). The development of lists of the “best” authors in each genre (epic, lyric poetry, prose etc.) has been connected with the teaching methods and the scholarly activities in the Alexandrian schools, and such lists can be regarded as codifications of a standard selection of authors that were already widely recognised (Hägg 2010).<sup>10</sup> However, the Greek “literary canon” expressed in such lists does not present a fixed or closed canon, and is not based on a clear dividing line between “inside” and “outside” books, in contrast e.g. to the biblical canon. Yet, the observation that only a smaller part of the works of Greek authors known from ancient text catalogues is preserved in complete copies, while other works are lost, has been attributed to selection and evaluation processes (on the basis of success, impact, aesthetic criteria etc.), which led to the preference of some authors and works, while others were neglected and ceased to be copied. Doubtlessly, similar processes of selective transmission could also be detected for Mesopotamia, if one compares the number of preserved copies for particular compositions and their geographical and temporal distribution.

An interesting case of “canon formation” is presented by the collection of texts designated as the Hippocratic Corpus, since it was already recognised in ancient times that not all works attributed to Hippocrates could have been written by one author alone.<sup>11</sup> The oldest preserved glossary on Hippocratic works by Erotian (1<sup>st</sup> century CE) contains a list of ca. 30 works which he judged to be authentic, and gives a classification of the treatises (divided into books on signs, works on aetiology/nature, therapy (surgical and dietary), works on the “art” of medicine and mixed treatises).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Irving Finkel (*infra*) edits two examples of inventories, in which tablets of different types were recorded at random, without apparent grouping.

<sup>8</sup> For authorship in Mesopotamian literature, see lately van der Toorn 2007: 31-49; Lenzi 2015: 151-153; Delnero 2015: 112. One 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE catalogue of texts attributed to individual authors from Nineveh is based on an assumed “chronological” order, i.e. by the perceived antiquity of the texts and chronological sequence of their authors or editors (see below).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. van der Toorn 2007; Thomassen 2010; Becker and Scholz 2012; Lim 2013; Ryholt and Barjamovic 2016 for recent discussions of religious and literary canons from antiquity to the present.

<sup>10</sup> Hägg (2010: 110) notes that the Greek word *kanôn* (“rod, bar; rule, standard, model”) acquired the meaning “list of acknowledged scriptures” only in the Roman period, and that the use of the word for “scriptural canon” only appears in a Christian context, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. From the Hellenistic period onward, “shortlists” with a fixed number (e.g. three, seven or ten) of “best” authors for different genres come into fashion, but the authors included can vary. Selective lists of works and authors later also appear in introductions and guides to Greek literature that give recommendations for “must-have” books, and in larger compilations that discuss the most important authors for each area of expertise and literature (Hägg 2010; Radermacher 1919).

<sup>11</sup> Jouanna 1999: 56-65; Craik 2015: xx-xxiv; van der Eijk 2015. Galen (2<sup>nd</sup> century CE) wrote a whole book (not preserved) discussing which Hippocratic writings he regarded as authentic or spurious, and his commentaries on Hippocratic works try to establish such differentiations as well. Aristotle attributes two treatises in the Hippocratic Corpus to Hippocrates’ disciples, notably to his son-in-law Polybus, and the lack of overt claims of authorship in the Hippocratic texts may indicate that some of them were not composed by an individual, but in the community setting of Hippocrates’ medical school (Craik 2015: xxiii). It is also well known today that some of the Hippocratic works were not composed during Hippocrates’ lifetime, but one or two generations later.

<sup>12</sup> Jouanna 1999: 63-65; Craik 2015: xxiii-xxvi. This tradition of glossaries on Hippocratic works goes back to the Hellenistic period and the Alexandrian philologists.

Erotian's list ascribes to Hippocrates most of the major treatises known today as Hippocratic, but his list includes treatises that had previously been attributed to a different medical school (the Asclepiades of Cnidus). The medieval manuscripts that served as the basis for the Renaissance corpus of Hippocratic works (known to us through modern editions of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century) have transmitted about twenty more works than Erotian under the name Hippocrates, which were presumably of unknown provenance and were added to the corpus in the course of transmission (Jouanna 1999: 64-65). After long-standing debates on the authorship of the Hippocratic treatises, modern scholarship increasingly tends to regard the Hippocratic writings as "merely the end product of a long process of canonisation" (Craik 2015: xxii) and some specialists even suggest giving up the term "Hippocratic medicine", arguing that the writings united under the name Hippocrates display such diversity that they can hardly be considered as a coherent corpus or group (Nutton 2004: 174-175; van der Eijk 2015). But it is undisputable that the long history of textual transmission of the "Hippocratic" writings involved a factor of chance as well as processes of selection, growth, modification and internal changes, and that lists of the works attributed to Hippocrates such as Erotian's contributed to the formation of a "canon".<sup>13</sup>

A related notion of "canon" in the sense of a limited list of books is also encountered in connection with the biblical canon of Rabbinic Judaism. As is argued by Timothy Lim (2013) in a critical reappraisal of earlier theories of Jewish canon formation, no uniform official canon existed prior to the first century CE, but a plurality of collections of scriptures that were authoritative for different communities. "Canonical" lists of the Old Testament books occur from the first century CE onward and reflect the process toward canonisation, but although these lists agree widely in content, none of them features exactly the same number and order of books (Lim 2013: 35-53; Ulrich 2015: 277, 300). The closing of the Jewish canon was a longer process: although a "majority canon" of Rabbinic Judaism was formed by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, many of the books included in the canon had enjoyed a status as authoritative scriptures for a longer time, i.e. they were read, studied, interpreted and used for worship and religious guidance (Lim 2013: 4-16). The emergence of the five books of the Pentateuch was itself a complex process, which involved revisions, rewriting and editing, although the existence of a discernible collection of books is already grasped earlier through the use of descriptive labels such as the "Torah" or "the books of Moses" (Lim 2013: 178-188). For Lim, the decisive factor with regard to the canonical status of the Old Testament books is not their textual standardisation, but the official judgement of a delimited set of books as holy scriptures and their acceptance by a majority of the Jewish religious communities (cf. also Ulrich 2015: 265-308). Yet, it is also apparent that selection and textual standardisation formed part of establishing the Hebrew canon.<sup>14</sup>

These examples of selective lists of authors and the "canonical lists" in the Jewish tradition can serve as instructive points of comparison with the processes of "canonisation" of Mesopotamian literary and scholarly texts, which is likewise reflected in the emergence of new types of text catalogues in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, discussed in several contributions of this volume (see below).

## Mesopotamian Technical Compendia and Scholarly Text Corpora: Terminology

In order to familiarise the reader with the research presented here, it is useful to clarify the terminology that is applied by the various authors in this book to describe the different levels of structural organisation, which can be encountered in Mesopotamian technical texts as well as in the catalogues that represent the structure of these texts in the form of a contents list.

<sup>13</sup> Craik (2015: xxiv) notes that "there was no scribal consensus on the size and shape of the collection", and that the preserved manuscripts reflect different traditions of ordering and numbering the Hippocratic texts. Furthermore, some treatises mentioned by title in Erotian's and Galen's works have not survived through the ages.

<sup>14</sup> The Qumrân texts dating between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE yield archaic recensions of almost all books of the Hebrew Bible, and a proto-Masoretic recension for certain books is already attested. However, the Qumrân manuscripts document that there still existed several differing textual traditions and recensions of biblical books, some of which have links e.g. to the text underlying the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Old Testament books going back to 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE Alexandria). The consonantal base of the Hebrew *textus receptus* was fixed around the second century CE; before that time no "standard" text existed, it was still "pluriform" (Cross 1958: 120-145; cf. Ulrich 2015: 15-28, 265-316).

I) Mesopotamian technical literature as a whole can be divided into several distinct text corpora. In a general sense, a **corpus** forms a collection of written texts (e.g. all works of an “author” or a body of texts focused on a specific subject). With regard to Mesopotamian technical literature, several text corpora can be distinguished, associated with different specialisations of practitioners (Akkadian *ummânû* “masters; scholars”), falling into the disciplines of the *bārû* “haruspex; seer”, *āšipu* “conjurer; exorcist; ritual specialist”, *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* “astrologer/astronomer” (lit. scribe of (the celestial omen series) *Enūma Anu Enlil*), *asû* “physician”, and *kalû* “lamentation priest”.<sup>15</sup> Each of these disciplines had its own technical “corpus”, a body of texts and writings used and transmitted by the discipline. Thus, abstract terms such as *āšipûtu* “the conjurer’s craft” or *kalûtu* “the lamentation priest’s craft” can also refer to the text corpus of these disciplines, and catalogues such as the Exorcist’s Manual listing the texts to be mastered by an adept of *āšipûtu*, are witness to the existence of distinct professional corpora.

II a) The corpora of the different disciplines consist of multiple works or compositions of varying length and complexity. Longer works from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE such as omen and incantation compendia or medical recipe collections (but also some literary texts), have the character of compilations, i.e. they are the result of compiling and editing processes, forming textual assemblages created from differing materials and multiple sources. Mesopotamian texts sometimes employ the Akkadian word *riksu* (or the Sumerian equivalent *kešda*) “band; package; structure; (ritual) arrangement” in the sense of “compilation” or “collection”. Thus, *riksu* can refer to a “bundle” of texts perceived as an edited collection of associated material.<sup>16</sup> Most authors in this book use the term **compendium** for a larger collection of textual material on a particular subject, forming a delimited work with an internal structure referred to by a common title.<sup>17</sup> Usually, compendia are divided into a number of named textual units, which form thematic sections and are ordered in a fixed sequence.

II b) Assyriologists conventionally designate text compendia as “**series**”, stemming from the use of the Akkadian word *iškāru*, lit. “work assignment”, as a technical term for texts composed of several internal units. However, the meaning of the term *iškāru* in cuneiform texts is somewhat varied. It can designate a delimited work or compilation with a fixed sequence of constitutive text units (“sections” and/or “tablets”), and is applied to different text types such as literary works (e.g. the *Gilgamesh Epic*), lexical lists, but also to omen and ritual compendia.<sup>18</sup> For instance, the omen compendium *Sakikkû*, also referred to as the *Diagnostic Handbook* in Assyriological literature, is organised as a series of textual sub-units arranged in a sequence. On the other hand, the term *iškāru* is occasionally used in the meaning “text corpus”, in phrases such as *iškār āšipûti* “corpus of the exorcist’s craft” or *iškār kalûti* “corpus of the lamentation priest”.<sup>19</sup> This terminological ambiguity seems to be reflected in the textual ensemble registered in the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC). On the one hand, AMC consists of two parts, which could be described as two serialised compendia, each of which has its own title and consists of internal divisions designated as “sections” and “tablets”.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, both the contents and comprehensive character of the two compendia catalogued in AMC justify the term

<sup>15</sup> The Akkadian designations for the respective disciplines are *bārûtu* “haruspicy; art of the seer”, *āšipûtu* “exorcism; the craft of the conjurer”, *asûtu* “craft of the physician”, *kalûtu* “the lamentation priest’s craft”. The term *ṭupšarrûtu* however also designates “the craft of the scribe; scholarly learning” in general. For an overview of the disciplines see e.g. Jean 2006; Gabbay 2014: 63-79; Geller 2007; 2010: 43-88; Lenzi 2015: 146-151; Koch 2015: 15-24 and *passim*. Although Mesopotamian scholars were usually specialised in one discipline, they could be versed in multiple fields of knowledge, as letters and scholars’ tablet collections inform us.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, the diagnostic omen series *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) and the physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmû* together form a *riksu* “compilation”, as their joint catalogue tells us.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Johnson 2015: 4-5, who applies the term “infrastructural compendium” to Mesopotamian technical texts, which is characterised “by its use of sequences of words, phrases or brief descriptions that serve as a skeleton text or agenda for oral instruction or debate within concrete historical institutions” (Johnson 2015: 4), emphasising both the normative character of these compendia for communities of specialists and their role in facilitating scholarly activities, e.g. oral discussions, disputes, commentaries, and teaching.

<sup>18</sup> Sometimes, *iškāru* can even designate a section of a larger text collection, see Worthington 2010 and Steinert (in this volume).

<sup>19</sup> See Gabbay 2014: 195.

<sup>20</sup> Panayotov (*infra*) uses the term “medical encyclopaedia” to refer to the two serialised compendia in AMC PART 1 and 2, capturing the idea that the text corpus itemised in AMC comprises a complete field of knowledge of a particular technical discipline. A general similarity that connects Mesopotamian technical compendia of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE with encyclopaedic works in the Greco-Roman world is their systematic character: textual material in the medical or omen compendia is generally grouped according to topics or organised according to a specific ordering principle, which may be explicitly stated in text catalogues.

“corpus”, and some arguments speak for the view that the texts listed in AMC essentially represent the corpus of the physician (*asû*).<sup>21</sup>

III) Particularly long compendia can have internal divisions, which the Mesopotamian scribes designated as “sections” (*sadîrû*).<sup>22</sup> Assyriologists also refer to these sections as “sub-series” or “chapters”.<sup>23</sup> The “sections” are units of varying length, but in most cases, a “section” is a text section inscribed on multiple consecutive “tablets”. Examples of compendia / “series” composed of “sections” are encountered in AMC PART 1 and 2 and in the *Sakikkû* catalogue, both of which explicitly apply the term *sadîru*.

Some authors in this volume use the designation “treatise” for the “sections” (*sadîrû*) of the medical compendia listed in AMC, in order to foster comparisons with other ancient text cultures and scholarly traditions. If we apply a general definition of “treatise” as “a written work dealing formally or systematically with a subject” (OED), we may call the sections of the compendia registered in AMC “treatises”, since each of them deals with a particular topic or group of illnesses. In this regard, they can be compared e.g. with the treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus.<sup>24</sup> The term “treatise” for the sections of Mesopotamian technical compendia is especially appropriate in cases where these units are known as quasi-independent compositions that are cited by a standard title. An example for such “treatises” are the sections of the physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmû*, which are cited as separate works in the Nineveh library records registering acquisitions to Ashurbanipal’s collection (with the names *Alamdimmû*, *Kataduggû*, *Nigdimdimmû* etc.), although these sections also formed part of a compendium/series (according to the *Alamdimmû* catalogue).<sup>25</sup>

IV) The next smaller text unit of a compendium or serialised composition is called *ṭuppu* “tablet” by the Mesopotamian scribes, designating the content on a single physical text document (usually a clay tablet). Some contributions in this volume (Johnson, Panayotov) have adopted the term “chapter” instead of “tablet” to refer to this textual unit.<sup>26</sup> Some compendia/series are only divided into “tablets” numbered in a sequence (e.g. the omen series *Šumma ālu*), while others are divided both into “sections” and “tablets”. In the latter case, constituent tablets are either numbered according to their position in the “section” (e.g. the AMC compendia) or according to their position in the composition as a whole (e.g. Late Babylonian manuscripts of the *Bārûtu* “series”), but occasionally a double numbering system is employed (e.g. the tablets of the *Sakikkû*).

## Overview of the Volume

The contributions in the volume revolve around the analysis of Mesopotamian text catalogues and tablet inventories, focusing on 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE catalogues that register corpora or compendia related to exorcistic or ritual healing (*āšipûtu*), medicine (*asûtu*) and divination (astrology). The editions of the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates), the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series (CTN 4, 71 and duplicate), the catalogues of the astrological omen series *Enûma Anu Enlil* and of the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) form the backbone of the book, serving as a point of departure for thematic studies.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>22</sup> Basic meanings of *sadîru* are “row; line; sequence”, but it can also stand for a ruled-off section on a tablet (see Geller and Steinert *infra* for a review of attestations).

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Heeßel 2000: 17-40 (concerning the six sections or “sub-series” of *Sakikkû*; Koch 2015: 32, 94-95 (with regard to the ten “chapters” of the haruspicy series *Bārûtu*).

<sup>24</sup> Geller (*infra*) comments on the Babylonian Aramaic term *sydr*’ cognate to Akkadian *sadîru*, which means “order; division” and stands for sections of the Pentateuch read aloud in sequence. On the other hand, although there are similarities between Mesopotamian and Greek medical “treatises”, one also has to point out certain differences: while Mesopotamian medical “treatises” are systematic, have a clear structure and are based on ideas about illness and healing, they usually do not take the form of theoretical treatises, which present the point of view of an author on a specific topic, or set out a discussion of arguments to justify specific conclusions.

<sup>25</sup> See Schmidtchen’s discussion of the *Alamdimmû* catalogue in the present volume.

<sup>26</sup> The “tablets” of which a longer composition consists, can be compared with the “chapters” of a book. However, the term “chapter” instead of “tablet” has not been adopted by all contributors to the volume, in order to avoid confusion with the term *sadîru* “section”, which is translated as “chapter” by some Assyriologists. Note further that the Mesopotamian scribes used multiple terms to designate the units of serialised compositions contained on a single physical document. Thus, they sometimes speak of *pirsu* “division” or *nishu* “extract” instead of *ṭuppu* “tablet”. Furthermore, colophons refer to other document categories such as “oblong tablet” (*imgiddû*) or “(wooden) writing board” (wax tablet, *lê’u*).

The spectrum of the Mesopotamian text catalogues is presented in Ulrike Steinert's contribution, which offers a diachronic overview of Mesopotamian tablet inventories and special catalogue types. The majority of extant catalogues attested from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE are interpreted as tablet inventories with primarily practical purposes, reflecting various activities in connection with the collection, storage or movement of tablets and the maintenance of archives or libraries.<sup>27</sup> A challenging aspect in the analysis of inventories and catalogues is their striking diversity in terms of formats and contents, which can be gleaned from Irving Finkel's edition of three tablet inventories. Two of them – hitherto unpublished Middle Babylonian tablets – contain tablet incipits of texts belonging to various genres including omens (astrological, terrestrial, physiognomic, liver omens), medicine, lexical texts (including plant and stone lists) and Sumerian literary texts, which are itemised at random (without an apparent grouping of genres).<sup>28</sup> The third list of tablet incipits appears on a Seleucid tablet from Uruk (TCL 6, 12), appended as a separate section to a text with astrological-astronomical material (including illustrations of constellations). This catalogue appears to be a copy of an older list possibly transmitted over a long time, through a sequence of successive copies, since many entries are only incompletely written down and marked by glosses indicating older and more recent breakages. In TCL 6, 12 the incipits are grouped in four separated sections, which seem to reflect a grouping into “genres” (one section contains incipits of lexical works, followed by a section of largely astrological and a section with incipits of medical material, rituals and incantations). Only a minority of the listed incipits in Finkel's three inventories can be identified as entries (or tablet incipits) in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts, which indicates that these catalogues refer to earlier compositions or alternative collections of material that were replaced by the text series and technical compendia known from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE.<sup>29</sup> According to Finkel, the two Middle Babylonian inventories are witness to the efforts of scholars of this period, which become manifest in the “standard” text editions of later times, namely to assemble all types of literature circulating in a rich variety of textual sources for the purpose of creating comprehensive and systematic compilations, in order to “impose system on chaos” and “to facilitate control and retrieval”. Similar incipit catalogues are attested from Ashurbanipal's library, which may document preliminary stages in the creation of revised text editions, suggesting that the activities of Babylonian scholars in the Kassite and Isin-II period anticipated the efforts of Ashurbanipal's scholars in 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Nineveh.<sup>30</sup>

Linked to these compilation and redaction processes leading to the formation of serialised technical compendia during the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE (a process often termed “canonisation”), new catalogue types appear in the textual record, which, as Finkel underlines, document and reinforce the authority of the newly created compendia, and which he designates as “system catalogues”, but in terms of their contents, they can be divided into “series catalogues” and “corpus catalogues”. The “system catalogues” treated in the present book register the textual units of a fixed technical compendium (text series) or the components of a professional text corpus. As witness to their special status, series catalogues (such as the *Sakikkû* catalogue) and corpus catalogues (such as the Exorcist's Manual) are sometimes attested in multiple copies from different places and periods (the sources date between the 9<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE). From the information given in the editorial notes included in these documents and from their opening lines and colophons, we can infer that “system catalogues” served as technical tools for textual scholarship

<sup>27</sup> A few Mesopotamian tablet inventories, which explicitly refer to storage locations or to the numbers of copies present, very likely represent registers of tablets found in a library (or available at a specific location), but they are not comparable in scope with the bibliographical catalogue of Greek literature (*Pinakes*) compiled by Kallimachos on the basis of inventories of the holdings in the Alexandrian library. Kallimachos' bibliography listed not only the names of authors and the titles of their works, but included biographical information on writers, a summary of each work, and critical notes on works of doubtful authorship (Blum 1991). A fragmentary catalogue of texts listed by their authors from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh (ca. 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE) may be regarded as an incipient Mesopotamian precursor, but this list is selective and attributes some scholarly and literary works to a divine or mythological figure, pointing to differences in the concept of authorship between Mesopotamia and the Greco-Roman world (cf. Lambert 1962; van der Toorn 2007: 207-209; Lenzi 2015: 151-153). For a contrasting perspective on the catalogue of texts and authors, see Geller *infra*, p. 44-45.

<sup>28</sup> The two-column tablet BM 103690 (Finkel's Inventory 1) is remarkable, because its reverse was left uninscribed apart from a few partially erased lines, presenting an example of an unfinished inventory. It begins with the heading “tablet of incipits” (*tuppi rêšētim*), a document designation also used occasionally in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts and catalogues.

<sup>29</sup> It is worth noting however that a few incipits of medical texts in the two Middle Babylonian inventories match up with titles or entries in AMC and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium texts.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. the Nineveh catalogues of Namburbi omens discussed in Maul 1994: 191-203 *passim*. For Ashurbanipal's tablet collection, see e.g. Fincke 2003-04; Frame and George 2005; Robson 2013: 41-45.

and in specialist training. Especially the corpus catalogues could have played an educational role as outlines of study programmes (“curriculum”) and formed a theoretical framework for technical disciplines and professional identities.

As elaborated by several contributors, series and corpus catalogues not only reflect the interests of Mesopotamian scholars in their own textual traditions; they are of importance for our own reconstruction of the compendia, even though the information from the catalogues is often at odds with the manuscript sources, indicating rather complex processes of textual formation and transmission. Technical compendia circulated in varying recensions or versions at different places in Babylonia and Assyria, and the discrepancies between source texts and catalogues show that some compendia went through further modifications between the Neo-Assyrian (ca. 900–600 BCE) and the Late Babylonian period (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE–1<sup>st</sup> century CE). Moreover, new compositions of magico-medical and omen material were still being compiled in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, incorporating material from existing compendia, and their appearance or omission in certain catalogues can therefore provide clues concerning the composition date of the catalogues. For instance, the Exorcist’s Manual omits certain compendia connected to *āšipūtu* (“arts of the ritual specialist”), showing a few omitted texts could not be included because they were presumably composed later than the catalogue.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, a close comparison of the series catalogues and extant text sources often reveals deviations between them, because the catalogues document an older stage of textual development or one particular textual redaction that was produced at a specific place and time, co-existing with or superseded by other editions (or recensions) of a serialised compendium.

In particular, the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) and the medical texts of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE reflect the complexities in the development and transmission of the manuscript sources, although similar patterns can be pointed out for omen compendia and other technical literature. Especially, the edition and analysis of the AMC opens up a new chapter in the study of Mesopotamian medical texts and healing professions, since it is currently the only attested catalogue that provides an outline of one particular edition project: the compilation and serialisation of the complete corpus of medical texts. Crucially, AMC corresponds in part to a medical compendium organised from head to foot assembled at Ashurbanipal’s library in Nineveh, which is dubbed here *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*. Thus, AMC can serve as a crucial point of comparison and cornerstone to the identification and reconstruction of therapeutic texts from Nineveh, but it also underlines the divergences between the serialised medical compendia in use in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE Mesopotamia.

Equally important, AMC offers new clues to re-thinking current perspectives on the two healing disciplines, *asūtu* “medicine” and *āšipūtu* “the art of the ritual specialist”, regarding the relationship, overlaps and boundaries between their text corpora and healing practices, and regarding the differences or similarities in their theoretical understandings of illnesses. Panayotov and Steinert argue that AMC and the Exorcist’s Manual as well as the textual sources indicate overlaps or “incursions” between the catalogues and the text corpora of both disciplines, reflected also in the use of medical therapeutic texts (*asūtu*) by exorcists and in the inclusion of such texts in their archives/collections. Yet, in their core, the Exorcist’s Manual and AMC reflect two differing and clearly delimited text corpora, professional identities and specialisations, as is emphasised in the discussions of the catalogues.

Taking a critical stance to approaches that regard the healing disciplines as complementary, Cale Johnson argues against an undifferentiated view of the two healing disciplines, because it tends to obscure the different compendial and disciplinary contexts of the medical manuscripts. In contrast, Johnson stresses that both “medicine” (*asūtu*) and “exorcistic or incantation-and-ritual driven healing” (*āšipūtu*) not only had their own disciplinary identity, textual corpora and training procedures, but that each discipline worked with differing models of aetiology and causation reflected in the compendia pertaining to each discipline. These disciplinary distinctions become apparent if one focuses on one particular area, namely gastrointestinal illnesses. While texts connected to *āšipūtu* (e.g. the *Diagnostic Handbook* and exorcistic healing incantations such as Udu-g-hul) regard primarily malevolent ghosts and demons as causal agents, the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE therapeutic compendia connected to *asūtu* reflected in AMC suggest, in Johnson’s view, that this discipline turned increasingly to “secular etiologies” based on analogies between the invisible processes in the body and visible processes in the natural and social world.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. specialised therapeutic compendia such *Muššu’u* “Embrocation” and *Qutāru* “Fumigation”, cf. Böck 2007: 27–29; Finkel 1991 and Jean 2006: 106–109 for other texts related to *āšipūtu* that are not included in the list. Apart from a few omissions, the Exorcist’s Manual registers most works and compendia known as part of *āšipūtu* and was probably intended to represent the complete corpus of the discipline.

The emergence of medical compendia containing solely pharmaceutical remedies in the Old Babylonian period is often regarded as the first clear evidence for a distinct medical discipline of *asûtu*.<sup>32</sup> However, Johnson argues that a distinct disciplinary profile of *asûtu* is even more visible in the “medical” incantations, which are integrated as central textual blocks into the therapeutic compendia of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE and which often go back to precursor compositions from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE.<sup>33</sup> Contrasting specific features of the incantations used in exorcistic healing (e.g. their prominent Sumerian or bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian format and the use of the so-called Marduk-Ea formula) with incantations in the therapeutic compendia characterised by vernacular Akkadian poetry and their unorthodox adaptations or avoidance of the Marduk-Ea formula, Johnson sees the latter incantations as “programmatic counter-texts” to *āšipūtu* texts and as “doctrinal canons” for the discipline of *asûtu*. However, while the incantations for gastrointestinal disorders in the medical treatise STOMACH analysed by Johnson focus on analogies that posit “natural causes” of illness and never attribute the complaints to malevolent ghosts, he also points out that the same incantations can appear in other incantation collections for groups of illnesses attributed to the attack of ghosts. This implies that the latter manuscripts rely on “traditional” aetiological models and reflect diverging disciplinary backgrounds of the compilers. Moreover, other treatises in the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* and AMC such as CRANIUM (focussing on ailments of the head) include numerous cases with the diagnosis “Hand of a ghost” (or similar diagnostic labels), because this section of the compendium dealt with symptoms that were traditionally attributed to the “Hand of a ghost” (e.g. headaches). Johnson surmises that diagnostic labels such as “Hand of a ghost” could have been reinterpreted in *asûtu* texts, becoming merely technical labels for specific illness symptomologies which had lost their “metaphysical significance”. It may not be a coincidence that the section ABDOMEN in the AMC refers explicitly to gastrointestinal illnesses caused by ghosts or other agents (sorcery, the “curse”), since it seems to form a kind of appendix of special materials to the previous sections on gastrointestinal illnesses (STOMACH, EPIGASTRIUM) including numerous incantations. This arrangement could imply that the therapeutic compendia of *asûtu* included material that asserted the traditional aetiologies prominent in *āšipūtu*, but relegated such material to special treatises.

A slightly differing perspective concerning the textual components of the therapeutic corpus is developed in Steinert’s contribution, which compares the contents listed in AMC and the Exorcist’s Manual. This comparison points out that the summary rubrics in AMC register incantation genres included in several sections of the medical compendia, which also occur as genres or text groups defined as part of the *āšipūtu* corpus in the Exorcist’s Manual. There remains an area of uncertainty regarding the exact meaning of these overlaps. If one regards the medical compendia outlined in AMC as the corpus of *asûtu*, it could be concluded that this serialised text corpus included incantations genres and types of therapies used in both disciplines, although the compositions involved may have been specific to each discipline. On the other hand, it is also possible that some entries in AMC that recur in the Exorcist’s Manual referred to material that included therapeutic practices and texts adapted from or influenced by *āšipūtu* traditions and compositions (e.g. incantations). Vice versa, the second part of the Exorcist’s Manual, which includes text types also used by other disciplines (e.g. astrological and terrestrial omens), refers to a compilation of medical remedies for various illnesses, which could be understood as a reference to the therapeutic corpus associated with the *asû* and listed in AMC. The cross-disciplinary interests of exorcists in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE are evident in their text collections, which included tablets with medical remedies.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the distinctiveness of the corpora in AMC and the Exorcist’s Manual suggests that each discipline maintained its own identity and text corpus, although some therapeutic components, text genres or compositions may have been used by practitioners of both disciplines.

<sup>32</sup> For the intimate connection of the *asû* with the genre of pharmaceutical remedies, see also the discussion of Steinert in this volume.

<sup>33</sup> See Collins 1999 for a study of Mesopotamian “medical incantations” drawing attention to the use of illness models that are based on analogies with the natural environment. However, there is no consensus in Assyriological research regarding the status of “medical incantations” as pertaining to *asûtu* or to *āšipūtu* (cf. Collins 1999: 35-37). The appearance or invocation of the patron deities of the two healing professions (Gula/Damu vs. Marduk/Ea) in these spells may present a clue to the disciplinary links of their composers, but this criterion is not bullet-proof, since there are incantations in the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* that mention the patron deities of *asûtu* and *āšipūtu* together, see the incantations Belly 9, 14, 17, 25, 26 in Collins 1999, discussed by Johnson *infra*, see further Collins 1999: *bušānu* 1 (BAM 543; TEETH), Eyes 2, 5, 8 (BAM 510 //; EYES), *martu* 2 (BAM 578; STOMACH), *maškadu* 8 (AMT 42/6 // BAM 124 etc.; HAMSTRING); for an example from a collection of incantations see BM 98584+98589+K. 5416 rev. iii 4-24 (against diarrhoea), discussed by Böck 2014: 101-104; Steinert 2016: 223-225 and by Johnson *infra*; cf. Böck 2014: 79-82, 94-98, 104-114. The fact that spells for therapeutic purposes are listed both in the Exorcist’s Manual and in AMC cautions us not to attribute all “medical incantations” solely to one discipline.

<sup>34</sup> There are also hints for the opposite case, i.e. for *asûs* who owned tablets classified as *āšipūtu*.



The article of Strahil Panayotov discusses the structure of AMC and compares the incipits and tablet sequence of the treatises listed in AMC PART 1 with the Nineveh source texts corresponding to this part of the catalogue, which he terms the “Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia” (elsewhere in this volume designated as the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*). The tablets belonging to this serialised compendium form the text group with the closest correspondences to AMC, as Panayotov amply demonstrates. But there are also a few deviations between AMC and the Nineveh texts. On the other hand, the possible assumption that AMC may be a catalogue of a local version of the medical series is weakened by the fact that the preserved 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE medical texts from Assur show only very limited overlap with AMC and the “Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia”.<sup>35</sup> Thus, a number of Assur medical texts belong to differing serialised compendia that contain similar, yet not identical material, including witnesses of an extract (*nishu*) series of remedies, based on originals from Babylonia. Although the Assur texts occasionally offer an incipit or section title matching AMC and Nineveh texts, in most cases the catchlines and incipits of the Assur texts diverge and their text overlaps only in part with the manuscripts of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*.<sup>36</sup> Panayotov briefly reviews other recensions of serialised therapeutic compendia attested from later 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE Babylonia (especially from Uruk and Babylon). The interrelations and overlaps between these various compendia still remain to be investigated in detail in future research.

Several issues discussed in Panayotov’s contribution are also scrutinised by Steinert with differing conclusions. Thus, both authors compare AMC, the Exorcist’s Manual and the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omens in terms of their format, contents and structure. In Panayotov’s view, the three catalogues stand in a direct relation, with the Exorcist’s Manual representing the superordinate “master catalogue”, while AMC and the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omens form “subordinate” catalogues. Steinert’s article analyses the three catalogues with regard to the ideal categories of series and corpus catalogue, and concludes that the overlaps of genres between AMC and the Exorcist’s Manual could reflect components of a cross-disciplinary character in the corpora of *asûtu* and *āšipûtu*, respectively. Another perspective on the disciplines is expressed in Geller’s contribution “A Babylonian Hippocrates”, arguing for a division of Mesopotamian “healing arts” into three distinct categories corresponding to literary genres and text corpora: “medicine” (reflected in the genre of prescriptions), “magic” (reflected in poetic incantations/rituals) and “diagnosis” (reflected in the diagnostic omen texts), all of which could potentially be studied and practiced by different healing specialists (including physicians, exorcists and even midwives). All three “genres” are represented to varying extent in the corpora of both *āšipûtu* and *asûtu*.

The joint catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series (*Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*) is discussed in Eric Schmidtchen’s contribution. Both catalogues are separated by a famous editorial note that attributes the edition of the series *Sakikkû* (i.e. the *Diagnostic Handbook*) to the renowned scholar Esagil-kin-apli who was active during the reign of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE). Comparing the information of the catalogue with the textual witnesses from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, Schmidtchen notes deviations suggesting that both compendia underwent further changes after the edition documented in the catalogue. This observation suggests that the *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* catalogue presents an earlier stage of the series than most of the extant manuscripts. The deviations, which concern the naming of tablets (incipits), the number assigned to a particular series tablet and the number of entries on a given tablet, point to revision processes but are not always easy to explain. Deviations in the assigned tablet number in catalogue and manuscripts of *Sakikkû* sometimes result from variations in the distribution of textual units on physical tablets. Other deviations may point to alternative recensions. Thus, the text witnesses of *Sakikkû* have generally lower numbers of entries compared with the catalogue, indicating differences between an original recension preserved in the catalogue and the series witnesses attested from the Neo-Assyrian period and later. A similar situation can be demonstrated for the *Alamdimmû* catalogue, as Schmidtchen shows. Thus, the catalogue adds the editorial remark “new, not finished” to a few constituent sub-series, indicating that these sections were not yet finalised when the catalogue was drawn up. Furthermore, it seems as if not all tablets of the physiognomic omens on skin moles attested from the Neo-Assyrian period are mentioned in the catalogue, pointing to a later restructuring or reworking of the sub-series.

<sup>35</sup> It should be added that our record of the medical archives that existed at Assur may be quite incomplete, but the differences between the preserved medical material from Nineveh and Assur may neither be completely accidental.

<sup>36</sup> The Assur texts with parallels to the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* often contain only part of the remedies preserved in the Nineveh manuscripts, where they may occur in a diverging sequence. Sometimes, the Assur texts include material not found in the Nineveh parallels and *vice versa*. The tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* which are recognisable through their uniform layout and size, often seem to present a more extended collection of material.

There are also general differences in the way the two compendia *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* are listed in the catalogue, which find parallels in other omen series (see Rochberg *infra*). Whereas the *Sakikkû* catalogue assigns a number of entries to each tablet and section of *Sakikkû*, the *Alamdimmû* catalogue only sums up the number of tablets in each sub-series or treatise of the compendium. Such differences may indicate a slightly differing degree of textual standardisation for the series *Sakikkû* und *Alamdimmû*. Doubtlessly of special importance is the extended editorial note, which is unique in its detailed information on the compiler and editor of the series Esagil-kîn-apli, his status and titles, the purpose and method of his edition. As pointed out by Schmidtchen and other contributions, the editorial achievements and principles allegedly applied by Esagil-kîn-apli, which are expressed through a specific technical vocabulary, served as a model and source for other editorial projects, since this vocabulary is also encountered in the Exorcist's Manual, AMC and in the colophon of a reworked edition of the drug compendium Uruanna created by Ashurbanipal's scholars at Nineveh (Hunger 1968: No. 321).

Geller's article "A Babylonian Hippocrates" focuses on essential questions linked to the study of the Mesopotamian "system catalogues", concerning the usefulness and implications of the term canon with regard to Mesopotamian technical or scientific texts. In Assyriological studies, the word "canonisation" is often tantamount to the standardisation of texts through editing processes, in the course of which "standard" texts were produced that are attested in different libraries and places without significant variation. However, Geller sees evidence in the three central catalogues (AMC, Exorcist's Manual and *Sakikkû/Alamdimmû* catalogue) for a "perceived 'canon' of scientific literature", in the sense of a "corpus of literature which was widely accepted and clearly defined".

Drawing on a comparison with the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, where the attribution of works to Hippocrates served as a "brand name" that helped to preserve these texts from extinction, Geller sees in Esagil-kîn-apli a Babylonian counterpart to Hippocrates, as a scholar "who was famous enough to have an entire text corpus attributed to his name". Since both the Exorcist's Manual and *Sakikkû/Alamdimmû* catalogue attribute the edition of diagnostic omens and of the corpus of exorcism to Esagil-kîn-apli, Geller questions the conspicuous attribution of works of exorcism, liturgy (*kalûtu*) and various omen series to the god Ea (stemming *ša pī Ea* "from the mouth of Ea") found in a catalogue of texts and authors from Nineveh, and instead interprets it as a cryptic reference to Esagil-kîn-apli. Geller's proposition builds on the poorly articulated differentiation between authorship and editorship in Mesopotamia, where it is not entirely unusual to find attributions of texts or technical knowledge to a divine origin.<sup>37</sup> For instance, a standard formula in incantations claims that these spells are not the practitioner's invention, but originate with the patron deities of the healing disciplines (e.g. Ea and Marduk), thereby invoking divine authority (see above n. 33 for examples). On the other hand, the expression *ša pī* indicating authorship or origin of specific texts is only rarely attested with divine names, but is mostly used in reference to human scholars or mythological sages (*ummānu*; *apkallu*).<sup>38</sup> The attribution of texts to Ea in the catalogue of texts and authors may thus be an exceptional case that should be regarded with suspicion, and Geller's reading of the passage offers a striking solution challenging current opinions on the issue.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For a recent discussion of authorship in Mesopotamia, cf. van der Toorn 2007: 31-49 and Lenzi 2015: 151-153, arguing that it is more appropriate in most cases to speak of Mesopotamian scribes as compilers, editors and contributors to textual corpora and compositions than of authors in the modern sense. Although there are exceptional cases in which a particular person is connected with a specific work, such attributions do not necessarily reflect a concept of authorship as we understand it today (tied to ideas of authenticity and intellectual property). As Karel van der Toorn (2007: 46-48) points out, "authors" in Mesopotamia were rather seen as representatives of the scribal craft and inheritors of a scholarly tradition, who worked in the context and interest of institutions and patrons (temple and palace). The socio-economic position of Mesopotamian scribes accounts e.g. for the attribution of editorial activities and textual production in the colophons of tablets from Ashurbanipal's library directly to the king, not to the scribes who carried out these tasks. Thus, notions of authorship in Mesopotamia are closely tied to authority. For other textual examples claiming a divine origin for branches of technical knowledge, see also Lenzi 2015: 180. One text states that the practice of extispicy and lecanomancy was revealed by Šamaš and Adad to the antediluvian king Enmeduranki who taught the knowledge to men of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon (Lambert 1967 and 1998).

<sup>38</sup> See also LKA 146, for medical remedies (leather bags) *ša pī Ea* (Lambert 1980). Although the catalogue of texts and authors seems to omit Esagil-kîn-apli, several productions of literary works as well as editorial achievements are attributed there to other named scholars associated with rulers of the Kassite or Isin II dynasties, see e.g. Lambert 1957 and 1962; Frahm 2011: 323-324.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Lenzi 2008: 119-120; 2015: 178-180, considering the catalogue as a reflection of the "mythology of scribal succession" (according to which the knowledge of the technical disciplines was revealed by the gods to the *apkallu* sages before the flood who transmitted it to later generations of scholars in the form of texts); similarly van der Toorn 2007: 42-45, reading the catalogue in a hierarchical and chronological manner, as a "canonical ranking" of texts in terms of their "scriptural authority". See also Glassner 2015: 5-7.

Geller's contribution further draws attention to the terms and expressions for editorial activities in text catalogues and colophons, such as *zarâ šabātu* "to produce an edition", lit. "weaving" (of a text), which have been equated with the process of "canonisation" (e.g. Finkel 1988). This expression includes the notion of creating a new textual ensemble by compiling and combining different textual sources, selecting material and choosing between variants, resulting in a compendium held together by a consistent arrangement of textual units. The expression *zarâ šabātu* is associated with Esagil-kīn-apli in the catalogue of diagnostic and physiognomic omens, and this scholar is also mentioned in the Exorcist's Manual as the person who "established" (*kunnu*) the exorcism texts. AMC as the third catalogue associated with healing uses the phrase *zarâ šabātu* without attributing the edition of the listed corpus to Esagil-kīn-apli. As Geller concludes, this lacking attribution suggests that the edition of the medical therapeutic texts documented in AMC took place later than Esagil-kīn-apli and the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Yet, it is apparent that the use of the expression *zarâ šabātu* in AMC draws on the model of the *Sakikkū* catalogue and on textual editions associated with Esagil-kīn-apli. Thus, the use of a terminology associated with Esagil-kīn-apli provided the edition of therapeutic medical texts documented in AMC with authority by alluding to this scholar and his work.

In this line of thought, Geller takes up the differentiation among Mesopotamian scholars between texts that are "closely edited" ("woven"), as a synonym for texts belonging to a "standard series" (*iškāru*), and "external" texts (*ahû*). Thus, it is well known that *ahû* can refer to non-standard editions of a text series (e.g. of omen series such as *Enūma Anu Enlil* or *Šumma izbu*) or to manuscripts that contain many variants or orthographic peculiarities compared with an existing "standard series". Drawing on the observation that Mesopotamian medical texts mostly form unique manuscripts that are only rarely attested in multiple exactly duplicating witnesses, Geller interprets the reference to medical texts as *liqti ahûti* "extraneous collections" in Ashurbanipal colophon q (Hunger 1968: No. 329) occurring on most tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* as a descriptive label for the state of the medical texts typical for *asûtu* that were in circulation at other places outside Nineveh. Geller emphasises the fact that prior to the edition carried out by Ashurbanipal's scholars in connection with assembling the royal library, most medical texts transmitted at different places were never standardised or belonged to a "fixed canon". This appealing reading of the Ashurbanipal colophon is modified further in the contributions of Panayotov and Steinert, who aim at reconciling the colophon's description of the medical corpus assembled at Nineveh as *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* "remedies from the top of the head and the toenail(s)" and as *liqti ahûti* "extraneous collections" with the components of the text compendia listed in AMC. While the first expression is closely related to the serialised medical compendium in AMC PART 1, the term *liqti ahûti* "extraneous collections" is open to differing interpretations and identifications.

The issues of textual development and standardisation in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE technical compendia are also scrutinised in Francesca Rochberg's contribution focussing on the astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Rochberg offers an edition and discussion of two catalogues, containing fragmentary incipit lists of the astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The catalogues stem from two different places and periods (i.e. from 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Assur and from 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE Uruk), and both documents have a differing scope.<sup>40</sup> The multiple divergences between the catalogues lead Rochberg to reconsider the extent of textual standardisation and canonicity reflected in the catalogues and the related source texts of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Thus, divergences in the tablet sequence between the catalogues and the Nineveh sources of the series suggest "that tablet-numbering was tied more to the local needs of the scribes than to any sense for what we would call a canonical text to be transmitted in a fixed, standardized ... form".<sup>41</sup> Based on research by Erlend Gehlken (2005) who argues against the attribution of fixed tablet numbering systems to differing local "schools", Rochberg points out that "catalogues do not appear to be the most direct or uncomplicated evidence for canonicity in cuneiform, that is, if we want to define canonicity in terms of the existence of a fixed *textus receptus*". As Rochberg rightly emphasises, these particularities of Mesopotamian scholarly texts necessitate a definition of canonicity in cuneiform scholarship which is not based on the model of the biblical canon.<sup>42</sup> Thus, instead of defining canonicity on the basis of textual characteristics such as the degree of standardisation, Rochberg understands canon in the context of Mesopo-

<sup>40</sup> The Assur catalogue presents a collective catalogue of multiple compendia including the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, *Šumma ālu* and collections of extraneous or unidentified omen texts, while the Uruk catalogue focusses solely on *Enūma Anu Enlil*.

<sup>41</sup> For the divergences in the numbering of tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and the variations in the textual contents of individual tablets see also Koch-Westenholz 1995: 79. Sally Freedman (1998: 17-18) describes a similar situation with regard to the variant numberings of series tablets (as well as excerpts and commentaries) of *Šumma ālu*.

<sup>42</sup> See also Rochberg-Halton 1984, and Rochberg 2016 for discussion.

tamian scholarly corpora as representations of “the beliefs or ideas or texts of a certain group of scribes”, which had an “accepted meaning or value” as something worth collecting, copying, consulting and interpreting.

In a recent paper on canon and cuneiform scholarship, Rochberg elaborates her understanding of scholarly canons in Mesopotamia, offering a pertinent framework for studying the catalogues of series and text corpora. Emphasising power and authority as core concepts tied to a canon, she points to the role of omen texts (and other texts used by technical disciplines subsumed under the term *ṭupšarrūtu* “scribal arts”) as “accepted ... interpretative guidelines, or solutions” for interpreting signs in the practice of divination (Rochberg 2016: 221). As Rochberg argues, such texts became (relatively) standardised, *because* they embodied the power of an age-old tradition and a force of authority for the scribes, even though “the canonical force of the contents of these texts was not tightly bound up with textual standardization” (Rochberg 2016: 224). Thus, canonicity in cuneiform scholarship “resided in a variety of works permitting a range of internal variation” (ibid. 223). Drawing on Herman Vanstiphout (2003: 16) who connects a “first canon” of literature taught in Old Babylonian scribal school curricula with the ideological objective of presenting the “world as it should be” and reinforcing “the idea of a well-ordered state”, Rochberg sees a similar instantiation of core values grounded in the idea of a well-ordered cosmos based on divine decree, in the contents of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts of technical disciplines, ranging from incantations to cult lamentations and omen literature (Rochberg 2016: 227). These texts formed not only “vehicles for traditional norms and values”, but were also instrumental in “safeguarding what was construed as divine order” (ibid.). Thus, in their authoritative force, the texts used and studied by the Mesopotamian technical disciplines (including medicine) can be regarded as a canon or multiple canons.

In this vein, Rochberg suggests that literary or scholarly text catalogues such as AMC or the Exorcist’s Manual can be read as documents for an emic perception of a canon, i.e. “as historical reflections of a text corpus considered at a given time as useful and worthy of preservation and transmission”.<sup>43</sup> Rochberg draws on works by Jonathan Z. Smith (1982) and Aaron Hughes (2003) who regard a canon as a basic cultural process involving “a finite set of authoritative texts or objects”, which occupy “the focal point in a community’s self-understanding” and provide a community with an origin and a history. Especially Smith (1982: 45) connects the concept of a canon with lists (*Listenwissenschaft*) and catalogues: “When lists exhibit relatively clear principles of order, we may begin to term them catalogs, a subtype of the list whose major function is that of information retrieval”. According to Smith, catalogues are in principle open. But when a catalogue is closed (or semi-closed), it can be called a canon (Hughes 2003: 152).

Mesopotamian “system catalogues” present at least semi-closed lists of delimited text compendia or professional corpora and can thus be connected with the formation and articulation of scholarly and literary canons.<sup>44</sup> Although the Mesopotamian scribes did not use the Akkadian word *qanû* “reed; measuring rod”, which was borrowed into Greek *kanôn*, in the abstract sense of “canon”, the Exorcist’s Manual and the *Sakikkû* catalogue make use of the terms *iškāru* “series; compilation” and *riksu* “compilation” in the sense of a “text corpus” of authoritative texts established for scholarly study, specialist practice and teaching.<sup>45</sup> The corpora described in the “system catalogues” qualify as canons,

<sup>43</sup> A similar view is developed by Niek Veldhuis (2003: 17-18) with regard to the corpus of literary texts from the Ur-III period that was used and adapted in the Old Babylonian scribal curricula. Veldhuis calls these texts canonical, not “in the sense of a closed canon that invites interpretation”, but as “a literary canon, defining what literature is and how new literature is to be produced” (ibid. 18). The Sumerian texts transmitted to the Old Babylonian period also served as an “educational canon” instrumental for defining scribal identity. Veldhuis contrasts the Old Babylonian literary canon “as a living, changing corpus” with the first millennium corpus of authoritative texts, which he regards as “more or less closed and textually fixed”, and emphasises that their “canonicity, their intention and ability to prescribe a direction is not in defining what newly created literature should be like. It is rather in the never-ending project of hermeneutics” (ibid. 27-28). For differences between Old Babylonian and later scholarly texts, in terms of two different models of authority cf. also Veldhuis 1999. For other views on Mesopotamian text canons, see also Hallo (1991), postulating a sequence of four differing textual canons (i.e. an Old Sumerian, Neo-Sumerian, Old Babylonian canon, and the canon of 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts which took shape towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE).

<sup>44</sup> For instance, Vanstiphout (2003) has argued for the existence of a textual canon already in the Old Babylonian period, reflected in the contemporary catalogues of literary texts, some of which list most of the Sumerian literary works known from that period. Tinney (1999) and Robson (2001) have interpreted them as lists of texts to be studied in the scribal curriculum, while Delnero (2010) suggests that the Old Babylonian catalogues should rather be understood as inventories of tablet collections, which were primarily drawn up for archival purposes. Nonetheless, the fact that the Old Babylonian literary catalogues register a core of identical Sumerian compositions that formed part of the scribal curriculum in different cities during this period, while differing in their listing of some works, corresponds well with the observation that the scribal curriculum was not entirely uniform, but included compositions that reflect local traditions and identities (cf. Delnero 2016).

<sup>45</sup> Frahm 2011: 317 n. 1506; Rochberg 2016: 218. In Mesopotamian culture, the measuring rod served as a symbol of just rule based on symbols of divine authority, while Greek *kanôn* “rod; bar” acquired the secondary meanings “rule; guide; model” and also referred to selective lists of the prime representatives in different fields of learning. In a similar vein, Timothy Lim states that the ancient Jews did not use the Greek

because they form coherent groups (such as divinatory, rituals, incantations and medical texts), which are linked to different technical disciplines. These technical texts were imbued with authority and had religious, normative and prescriptive status for the specialists who used them, contributing thus to the professional identity of different groups of specialists, scholars and scribes (Koch 2015: 52-54). The authority of these texts is bolstered by their attribution to a divine origin or to a venerable and ancient tradition, although human contributions to the texts were recognised as well.

At the same time, the text catalogues and extant written sources from different periods show that Mesopotamian literary and scholarly canons were always diverse, flexible and never entirely closed – some texts were transmitted over a long time, although they went through re-workings and revisions; at the same time, other texts fall out of use and new compositions see the light of the day.<sup>46</sup> On the one hand, the development of serialised technical compendia can be seen as an attempt to systematise and stabilise textual traditions and as processes of canon formation or corpus building codified in catalogue documents,<sup>47</sup> even though these attempts did not lead to absolutely stable and uniformly standardised texts.<sup>48</sup>

The development of a terminology that classifies texts as *iškāru* “series” or *ahû* “extraneous” texts also indicates processes of stabilisation and differentiation. By the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, many technical compendia on divination and magic designated as *iškāru* “series” had become relatively fixed in content and structure, i.e. “old material was conscientiously maintained in its traditional form and new textual material was no longer integrated” (Rochberg 1984: 127). The category of *ahû* texts was often applied to thematically related textual material that was not included in the “standard” series. Both types of materials, stemming from a “series” or from an *ahû* collection, were clearly differentiated in the Neo-Assyrian letters of court scholars, but the same letters show that the scholars applied and consulted both text types to the same extent as authoritative sources for knowledge, advice and practice, i.e. they regarded them as different, but equally important textual branches of the scholarly canon.

One last aspect worth mentioning in support of canon formation in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts is the link between canons and commentaries. As pointed out by Jan Assmann (1995: 12), the occurrence of commentaries presupposes the existence of a canon (a body of holy or classical texts with a (relatively) fixed form), and commentaries function as dynamic links between present and past, collective identity and canon (Hughes 2003: 151, 157). This point is worth taking into account in connection with the emergence of Mesopotamian commentaries at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, i.e. exactly during the period in which “standard” editions of many technical and scholarly texts were created. Thus, following Eckart Frahm (Frahm 2011: 318), the emergence of commentaries can be seen as a reaction to “the creation of ... Mesopotamia’s first canonical texts *strictu sensu*”. Through the genre of commentaries, the Mesopotamian scholarly communities could continue to extend on and creatively engage with texts that had already become relatively fixed in form, content and wording.

The present book demonstrates how the contextual study of Mesopotamian catalogues can deeply enrich and re-adjust current Assyriological perspectives on the processes of corpus building, canonisation and textual (trans)formations, especially for such critical and debated areas as the corpora of the divination and healing specialists. But most importantly, the Assur Medical Catalogue edited here will play an indispensable role for future research concerned with reconstructing the corpus of Mesopotamian medical texts, because it will help us to differentiate more clearly the varying compendial contexts and disciplinary backgrounds of medical manuscripts.

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term *kanôn* with regard to the books of the Old Testament (the term was applied in this meaning only by the Christian church). Neither did the ancient Jews have an equivalent term for “canon”, although they had a concept of a canon in the sense of “authoritative scriptures” (Lim 2013: 2-4).

<sup>46</sup> The Mesopotamian “system catalogues” such as the Exorcist’s Manual can be compared to some extent with the early Jewish lists of approved biblical books, which are regarded as evidence for a “canon” (Lim 2013: 35-53). However, the selection of the Exorcist’s Manual does not stipulate a closed canon of texts set apart from other texts not included in the list.

<sup>47</sup> According to van der Toorn (2007: 206-221), these developments were connected to a rise of the written tradition to an exceedingly privileged status (vis-à-vis oral traditions).

<sup>48</sup> Many 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts (e.g. omen series, literary texts) reflect a limited degree of standardisation, ranging from textual variants to multiple co-existing versions (Rochberg-Halton 1984: 127-128, Robson 2011: 571-572; Lenzi 2015: 163-164).

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## On Three Tablet Inventories

Cuneiform catalogues such as those edited in the following pages of this work, which list the incipits or first lines of textual works, provide the Assyriologist with uniquely revealing information. Their content can reflect three primary categories: *series*, where the component parts are given of a given structure, numbered and in order; *genre*, where known texts to deal with a specific problem are marshalled together, or *contents*, that itemise tablets from a specific tablet library. Three additional sources edited here represent a different phenomenon. Each likewise contains only an incipit list, but the nature and sequence in which the material is present recommends that they should rather be classified as tablet *inventories*.

### Tablet Inventory 1

The first inventory, which has not been published before, is in the British Museum. This is BM 103690 (1911-4-8, 380; see Plates 22-27), written in a competent post Old-Babylonian or Middle Babylonian hand. It is made of a fine white clay and carefully ruled with two columns per side. Each column, as is clear from col. i, could accommodate some fifty lines of entries; the tablet was planned, in other words, to contain some two hundred lines of writing. Most of rev. col. iii and the whole of rev. col. iv were never inscribed, however. Lines 1-12 in col. iii appear to have been deliberately defaced after the ruling had been made. Probably this is connected with the fact that the remainder of the tablet was not inscribed. It is uncommon to find any cuneiform tablet that has been prepared for use with so much space left uninscribed. The fact that the only lines written on the reverse were partially erased suggests that an original and much more ambitious scheme on the part of the scribe – which anticipated needing space for about two hundred lines altogether – was interrupted, or the plan abandoned halfway through.

The first entry of all, most unusually, represents the title or heading in a surprisingly ‘modern’ way, *ṭuppi rēšētim* (DUB *re-še-e-tim*), ‘tablet of incipits’. Eighty-nine incipits can be read in whole or part. It is clear even at first sight that the genres are mixed, for the listed titles include omens (astrological, *Šumma ālu*, physiognomic and liver), medicine, lexicography and even assorted items of Sumerian literature. Most importantly, these distinct genres are not grouped together, but are itemised as if at random, a point to be taken up below.

## BM 103690 (1911-4-8, 380) (Pl. 22-27)

## Transliteration

## Obv. col. i

- 1) DUB *re-še-e-tim*  
Tablet of incipits.
- 2) DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA.ZAG.GAR ù 12 ITI.MEŠ *i-na* ITI AN BAD-*tim*
- 3) *ki-ma* UD 1.KAM *in-na-an-mu-ri-šú* UD 27<sup>1</sup>.KAM IGI<sup>1</sup> (astrological omens)  
If in the month of Nisan, or (in any of) the twelve months, (if) in (that) month ...  
is seen on the 27<sup>th</sup> day as in its appearance on the first day (of the month).
- 4) DIŠ UR.GI, *a-na* L[Ú] TE (Šumma ālu omens)  
If a dog approaches a man sexually.
- 5) DIŠ LÚ *ina da-ba-bi-šu* SAG.DU *ú-la-pat* (physiognomic omens)  
If a man touches (his) head when talking.
- 6) DIŠ KUR.GI<sup>mušen</sup> *a-na* URU *i-ter-ba*
- 7) *ina* É LÚ *ku-bu uš-ša-bu* (Šumma ālu omens)  
If a goose has entered the city, a Kūbu-demon will live in a man's house.
- 8) DIŠ NA SÍG *ú-ša-at pa-ni ma-si-ik* (physiognomic omens)  
If a man's hair is tangled (and his) face is ugly.
- 9) 1 *ì-nu* <sup>en</sup>líl u <sup>é</sup>a AN.TA.LÙ (astrological omens)  
One (tablet of) When Enlil and Ea (...) an eclipse.
- 10) 1 DIŠ *lal-x x UGU LÚ* <sup>š</sup>UB<sup>1</sup>-*ut* (Šumma ālu omens)  
One (tablet of) 'If a ... falls on a man'.
- 11) DIŠ *šam-mu ši-kin-šú* GIM *ša-ru-ri ša*<sup>1</sup> ÚKUŠ (Šammu šikinšu)  
If a plant's characteristics resemble the tendril of a colocynth.
- 12) DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA <sup>mul</sup>EN.TE.NA.BAR.<sup>1</sup>HUZ<sup>1</sup> x x-šú [I]GI-*ma*<sup>2</sup> *šar-ha* (astrological omens)  
If in the month of Nisan, the ... of the star Habaširānu ... are seen and they are preminent.
- 13) DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA UD 15.<sup>1</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup> AN.<sup>1</sup>TA<sup>1</sup>.LÙ GAR-*ma* DINGIR-*lum*
- 14) *a-na ta-dir*(SI.A)-*tí-šú* (*sic*<sup>1</sup>) *e-liš a-dir-ma* (astrological omens)  
If an eclipse takes place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Nisan, the deity is disturbed about its gloominess above (in the heavens).

1) A clear spelling for the cataloguer's usual DUB SAG.MEŠ.

2) *in-na-an-mu-ri-šú* is a sandhi-writing for *ina nanmurišu*.

2-3) The reading of the signs AN/DINGIR BAD-*tim* is uncertain, but given the context, it may refer to the moon. The small sign at the end of line 3 is perhaps only a marker to separate this line from col. ii.

4) The companion *Šumma ālu* tablet beginning DIŠ UR.GI, *ana* MUNUS TE-*hi* is attested (CT 39, 30: 66 and 26: 1), identified as *Šumma ālu* Tablet 80, see Freedman 1998: 340.

5) For this line, cf. Böck 2000: 128 and the catalogue of the physiognomic omens (CTN 4, 71: 78 //), edited elsewhere in this volume.

7) The plural verb is unexplained. For a similar entry see e.g. Freedman 1998: 340, incipit of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 72.

8) Similar, but not identical entries are found in *Alamdimmû* Tablet 2, concerned with characteristics of hair and facial features, see Böck 2000: 76: 53 and 79: 82. The word *ú-ša-at* in the present line is unclear, but it probably forms a feminine stative verbal form qualifying the preceding noun SÍG = *šartu* 'hair'. It is suggested here that *ú-ša-at* is a defective spelling of stative D-stem of *ešû* 'to confuse' (note the verbal adjective *ešû*, with the meaning 'tangled' (said of threads), CAD E 378 sub a). Alternatively, there is an adjective *wašû* (*ušû*), which is used to describe a characteristic of wool (CAD U/W 407, so far only attested in Old Assyrian texts). In *Alamdimmû* Tablet 2 (Böck 2000: 76: 64), we find a similar entry: ([DIŠ SÍG SAG.DU]-šú *ku-uš-ša-at-ma* IGI *ma-sik*), but here the verb *kuššû* is used instead, which describes a dense growth of hair.

11) The same entry appears in col. i 41; cf. also 50-51; perhaps designating four tablets on the subject? It is also possible that these listed tablets with seemingly identical incipits are in fact duplicates in the original collection. A similar line is encountered in *Šammu šikinšu*, see STT 93: 58 and 63, Stadhouders 2011: 10-11.

- 15) 1 DIŠ x NA ʿZAG ʿ SAG.DU-ʿšū ʿ ū-zaq-qá-su (medical)  
One (tablet of) ‘If ... on the right side of a man’s head stings him’.
- 16) DIŠ NA ša x-šī-tu[mʔ i-na] KI.NÁ-šú ŠUB-su (medical?)  
If a ... falls on a man [in] his bed.
- 17) DIŠ N[A U]R.ʿMAH ʿ [(ina EDIN)] DAB.DAB-su (medical)  
If a man is gravely injured by a lion [(in the steppe)].
- 18) [.....] x [x] ʿnīʿ (?)
- 19) [.....] x x [.....] (?)
- 20) [.....] (?)
- 21) [.....] (?)
- 22) [.....] (?)
- 23) [.....] x x (?)
- 24) [..... h]u e x (?)
- 25) [..... ī]-ba-i LUG[AL] (omens)
- 26) [.....] x-ši UD 27.KAM IGI ni [x] (astrological omens)
- 27) [DIŠ NA ... ] DAB-s[u] (medical)  
If a man is attacked by ...
- 28) [.....] x x x [.....] nu ir [.....] (?)
- 29) [a-ab-ba h]u-luh-ʿha ʿ en-líl nu-[gál] (Sumerian lament)  
‘The raging sea’ (addressed to) Enlil; not [present (in the collection)].
- 30) [.....] me-àm! (or: A BAR) [x (x)] (Sumerian literary)
- 31) [.....] x x [x] (?)
- 32) DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>, GU<sub>7</sub>-[šú] (medical)  
If a man’s hips continually hurt [him].
- 33) [x-m]e-na sag-gá-[ni(?)] (Sumerian literary)  
... on [his] head.
- 34) [x] x x im mu-dam [(...)] (Sumerian literary)
- 35) [D]IŠ NA GIDIM DAB-su-ma il-ta-az-za-ma (medical)  
If a ghost has seized a man and persists (...).
- 36) DIŠ NA šu-<a> -lam a-na ša-ha-[tī] (medical)  
In order to remove a man’s cough.
- 37) DIŠ 20 i-na UD 20.KAM is-hur-ʿma ʿ (astrological omens)  
If the sun retrogrades on the 20<sup>th</sup> day.

16) The exact interpretation of this entry remains uncertain. It could indicate a medical text speaking about an illness ‘befalling’ the patient in his bed. Alternatively, the entry could belong to the *Šumma ālu* type omens concerned e.g. with animals such as lizards and snakes falling on a man while lying in bed. Cf. further behavioural omens concerned with a person being ‘thrown out of bed’, see Köcher, Oppenheim and Güterbock 1957-58: 64 i 33 and 74 K. 8821: 12’.

17) This entry is probably identical with the incipit in the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) line 70, see the edition of the text in this volume.

29) For the Sumerian composition a-ab-ba hu-luh-ha, cf. Kutscher 1975: 17; Gabbay 2015: 16: 17, in view of which the line here could end <sup>d>en-líl nu [gál], specifying that the lament pertains to Enlil, and adding a comment that it was not available in the library(?). For the edition of the text, see also Cohen 1988: 374ff.

32) See also Inventory No. 2 obv. 6’ for this entry (with slightly variant spelling), which also occurs as the title of a therapeutic composition in a Late Babylonian medical commentary from Nippur (Civil 1974: 336: 1, see also 337: 30).

35) The entry is similar to AMC line 14, see *infra* and Scurlock 2006: No. 113: 1, No. 178: 1, No. 307: 1-2; No. 315: 1, No. 319a: 1-2, No. 347: 1-3.

36) Restored after the incipit of AMT 80/1: 1 = AMC line 26, see *infra*.

- 38) [.....] x x *a-na* UD 1.KAM *ši-tam* [x] ZI (medical)  
... for one day is swollen up(?) with a ‘growth’.
- 39) <sup>r</sup>DIŠ NA<sup>r</sup> [x x] x dam<sup>2</sup> pa <sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>min</sup>-š[ú<sup>2</sup> ī]-*bar-ru-ra* (medical)  
If a man ... his eyes flicker.
- 40) 2 SÍG *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub>-š[u] x x [... ī]*t-te-bi* (medical)  
Two (tablets of) ‘(If) the hair on his waist [...] stands on end’.
- 41) DIŠ *šam-mu ši-kin-šú* G[IM *ša-ru*]-ri ÚKUŠ (*Šammu šikinšu*)  
If a plant’s characteristics resemble the tendril of a colocynth.
- 42) DIŠ MUL *ina* É ša aš x [ur]-*ra-du-ma* (astrological omens)  
If a star descends from the house of ....
- 43) <sup>r</sup>na<sub>4</sub><sup>r</sup>KA.GI.NA [DAB NA<sub>4</sub> š]a *ki[t]-tim* (bilingual stone list)  
Meteor[ite is the stone] of truth.
- 44) [DIŠ] <sup>d</sup>20 *ú-na-šar<sup>2</sup>-ma la i-ru-up* (astrological omens)  
[If] the sun weakens in intensity but is not yet dark.
- 45) 4<sup>2</sup> DUB GÌR<sup>2</sup>.[M]EŠ (medical?)  
Four Feet-tablets.
- 46) DIŠ NA *um-ma ma-AH-da* TU[K-ši<sup>2</sup>] (medical)  
If a man h[as] intense fever.
- 47) DIŠ <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA.ZAG.GAR x [.....] (astrological omens)  
If (in) the month of Nisan ... [...].
- 48) DIŠ ŠU.DINGIR.RA [(*ina*)] UGU-šú [GÁL-šī] (medical)  
If the ‘Hand-of-a-God’ [is] upon him.
- 49) DIŠ *ti-ra-[nu ina SA]G.DU LÚ<sup>r</sup> ZAG<sup>r</sup>* [*sah-ru*] (physiognomic omens)  
If the coils (of hair) on a man’s head [turn] to the right.
- 50) DIŠ *šam<sup>2</sup>-m[u* .....] (*Šammu šikinšu?*)  
If a plant ...
- 51) DIŠ *šam<sup>2</sup>-[mu* .....] (*Šammu šikinšu?*)  
If a plant ...
- Bottom of col. i

38) It is possible that this incipit refers to a medical text. Cf. for *šītu* as a skin condition, CT 44, 36: 1 (a Middle Babylonian extract tablet): DIŠ LÚ *ši-i-ta* GIG ‘If a man suffers from a *šītu*-abscess’. The reading *šētu* instead of *šītu* is also possible.

39) For parallel entries in medical texts, see e.g. BAM 159 iv 26’ (Parys 2014: 21); BAM 13: 8’; SpTU 2, 50 obv. 15, 18; Fincke 2009: 87-88 BM 54641+ obv. 19’, rev. 4. See further Fincke 2000: 88-89.

42) The plural verb is unexplained. A similar sentence is found in the dream omen Oppenheim 1956: 328 rev. 2: DIŠ MUL *ana* É NA ŠUB-ut ‘If a star falls down on a man’s house’.

43) The entry is close to *Abnu šikinšu*, see BAM 194 vii 14-15; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 33, designating ‘magnetite’ (<sup>na4</sup>KA.GI.NA DAB/*šadānu šābitu*) as the stone of truth (NA<sub>4</sub> *ki-na-a-ti*).

46) This entry seems to be identical with a passage in the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkū*) Tablet 22: 26, Heeßel 2000: 253: DIŠ NA KÚM *ma-dam* TUKU-*ma la i-na-ah* ... ‘If a man gets high fever, but it does not calm down’. The inventory entry may thus refer to a diagnostic rather than a medical-therapeutic text.

49) The restoration follows the parallel incipit of *Alamdimmū* Tablet 2: DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ ZAG *sah-ru* ‘If the coils (of hair) on a man’s head turn to the right’, see Böck 2000: 72. The entry is also known from the catalogue of the physiognomic omen series CTN 4, 71: 72 // (see *infra*).

## Obv. col. ii

- 1) 2 DUB NAM-x [.....] ?  
Two tablets for ... [...].
- 2) DIŠ *ina* KĀŠ.MEŠ-šú [.....] (medical)  
If (a man) in his urine [...].
- 3) DIŠ NA ʾDÚR.GIG.GA [GIG] (medical)  
If a man [suffers] from sick anus.
- 4) MUNUS SÍG *kab-ba-[ra-at ...]* (physiognomic omens)  
(If) a woman's hair is thick [...].
- 5) 2 DIŠ NA *di-ʾik-šú* GAR x [...] (medical)  
Two (tablets of) 'If a man has a swelling ... [...]'.
- 6) DIŠ SAHAR.ʾŠUB.BA GIM ʾ [TÚG ŠÚ] (medical?)  
If leprosy [covers him] like [a wrap].
- 7) dingir gal (x) [.....] (Sumerian literary)  
...
- 8) DIŠ SAG.KI.DAB.BA [...] (medical)  
If migraine [...].
- 9) 1 *ana* ʾKIRI<sub>6</sub> ʾŠIM.LI ʾ x [...] (literary?)  
One (tablet of) 'For the orchard, a juniper tree [...]'.
- 10) 1 DIŠ x x [...] ?  
One (tablet of) 'If ... [...]'.
- 11) DIŠ x x x x *-ti* ?  
If ...
- 12) 2 x x x [...] ?  
Two (tablets of) ... [...].
- 13) x [...] ?  
...
- 14) DIŠ *ina* ʾBĀRA<sup>2</sup> x ka x [...] (astrological omens)  
If in the month of Nisan ... [...].
- 15) ʾDIŠ NA *ka-šip-ma* ʾ x [...] (medical)  
If a man has been bewitched and ... [...].
- 16) DIŠ ʾ.GIŠ ʾ<sup>2</sup> ši x x [...] (oil omens)  
If the oil ... [...].
- 17) DIŠ GEŠTU.MEŠ-šú [...] (medical)  
If his ears [...].

2) This entry could be restored following AMT 58/5: 6' (Geller 2005: No. 2a Ms. B<sub>2</sub>): DIŠ NA *ina* KĀŠ.MEŠ-šú M[ÚD *ú-tab-ba-kam*] 'If a man [passes blood] in his urine'. The same line is attested as the title of a medical composition in a Late Babylonian commentary from Nippur (Civil 1974: 337: 31). Cf. further *Sakikkû* Tablet 16: 7 (Heeßel 2000: 172): DIŠ KI.MIN-(*ma*) *ina* KĀŠ-šú MÚD *iš-tin* 'If ditto (he has been sick for one day), (and) he urinates blood with his urine'.

3) See also BAM 96 ii 9, Geller 2005: No. 26 (Ms. AA). More often, the spelling DIŠ NA DÚR.GIG GIG is encountered, see e.g. BAM 96 ii 18, 20, iii 15'; AMT 40/4+: 9' (Geller 2005: No. 30 Ms. dd); BAM 182 rev. 11', 13', 23' (Geller 2005: No. 31 Ms. EE); AMT 56/1 obv. 8, 10 (Geller 2005: No. 32 Ms. ff); AMT 43/5: 5, 11, 13 (Geller 2005: No. 33 Ms. GG); BAM 99: 25 // BAM 95: 27 (Geller 2005: No. 35 and No. 21, Ms. II and V).

4) A similar entry is preserved in an excerpt text, see Böck 2000: 288: 19 (Ms. A rev. 3): DIŠ MUNUS ... SÍG SA<sub>5</sub>-*at u kab-ba-r[at ...]* 'If a woman(s) ... hair is red and thi[ck ...]'. The corresponding entry is also attested in a male variant in *Alamdimmû* Tablet 2 (Böck 2000: 81: 96 Mss. D and B): DIŠ SÍG SAG.DU *ka-ab-bar*.

6) Cf. CAD S 36-37 for references.

8) Cf. the incipits of the sub-series (section) on diseases of the head registered in the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) lines 2-3, namely DIŠ NA SAG.KI.DAB.BA TUKU.TUKU-ši (CRANIUM Tablet 2, BAM 482 i 1) and DIŠ SAG.KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA *ina* SU NA *il-ta-za-az-ma* NU DU<sub>8</sub> (CRANIUM Tablet 3, AMT 102/1 i 1), see *infra*.

- 18) ʾDIŠ<sup>ʾ</sup> x x [...] ?  
If ... .
- 19) ʾDIŠ<sup>ʾ</sup> [...] ?  
If [...].  
Gap of ca. 17 lines
- 1') traces
- 2') DIŠ GEŠTU.MEŠ-š[ú x] x [...] (medical)  
If his ears ...
- 3') 1<sup>d</sup>utu an za-gìn-t[a U]D.ʾDU<sup>ʾ</sup>-[a] (Sumerian literary)  
One (tablet of) 'When Utu comes forth from the lapis heaven'.
- 4') DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> <sup>d</sup>IM GÛ-šú [ŠUB-*dī*] (astrological omens)  
If in the month of Tašrītu, Adad thun[ders].
- 5') DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA <sup>d</sup>30 *ina* IGI-šú [.....] (astrological omens)  
If in month of Nisan the moon ... when it appears ...
- 6') ud en-e ba-dím-dím-ʾma<sup>ʾ</sup> (Sumerian literary)  
When (...) was created by the lord.
- 7') DIŠ ÚH-su *pī-šú ma-la* x[.....] (medical)  
If his saliva ... his mouth, as much as [...].
- 8') 2 UD<sup>ʾ</sup> HUL<sup>ʾ</sup> *ina še-re-tim* K[A .....] (hemerological omens)  
Two Unlucky Days (tablets): during the mornings ...
- 9') DIŠ NA GĪŠ-šú x [.....] (medical?)  
If a man's penis ...[...].
- 10') DIŠ NA *pa-nu-šú i-šu-ud*-[*du*] (medical)  
If a man suffers from vertigo.
- 11') 1 DIŠ NA GÚ-su ŠU ù GĪR x [.....] (medical)  
One (tablet of) 'If a man's neck, hand and foot are [...]'.  
12') 2 ʾDUB<sup>ʾ</sup> NÍG.GIG <sup>r</sup>d<sup>ʾ</sup> [.....] (taboos)  
Two (tablets of) Taboos against the god [DN].
- 13') ʾDIŠ<sup>ʾ</sup> [.....] x x [.....] ?  
If ...  
Remainder of col. ii., six lines, lost

4') For parallel entries in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium *Enūma Anu Enlil* (Adad section), see Gehlken 2008: 260-263 *passim*.

7') It is possible that *ma-la* is a mistake for *ma-gal*<sup>l</sup> 'copiously', followed by DU or *illak* 'it flows'. Note the similar entry: [DIŠ NA] ÚH *ina* KA-šú *ma-gal* DU 'If a man's(s) saliva flows copiously from his mouth' (AMT 31/4 obv. 11) and DIŠ NA *il-la-tu-šú ina* KA-šú *ma-gal* DU.MEŠ-*ma* NU TAR.MEŠ 'If a man's saliva flows copiously from his mouth and does not stop' (AMT 31/4 obv. 18). For further references see CAD R 435f. sub 1a-1' and 1b.

10') This line could alternatively be related to *Alamdimmû* Tablet 8 (cf. Böck 2000: 108ff.). Cf. CAD Š 58 sub 2a-b.

11') Cf. BAM 415 rev. 1: [DIŠ NA] GÚ-su ŠU<sup>u</sup>.MEŠ-[šú ...].

## Rev. col. iii

- 1) [.....] x ?
- 2) [.....] x ?
- 3) [DIŠ ...] *ina* ITI x x x (astrological omens)
- 4) NÍGIN<sup>?</sup> x x GÚ.UN *erasure* "x" ?
- 5) 1 ŠÀ.ZI.GA *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA.ZAG.GAR (medical)
- One (tablet for) 'Potency in the month of Nisan'.
- 6) DIŠ ITI x ki im 30 ki ha [x] x (astrological omens)
- If the month ....
- 7) DIŠ x (x) ša x ?
- If ...
- 8) DIŠ x x x an ki GIG ?
- If ....
- 9) *illegible* -ni ?
- 10) *illegible* x mah za x x (Sumerian literary?)
- 11) *illegible* x x-bu ?
- 12) *illegible* x x x *illegible* ki ?

.....

Remainder of col. iii and all of col. iv uninscribed.

5) This line corresponds with the incipit of KUB 4, 48 i 1f.: DIŠ LÚ ŠÀ.ZI.GA *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA.ZAG TIL 'If a man's sexual desire comes to an end in the month of Nisan' (see Biggs 1967: 54). Read in KUB 4, 48 lower edge 5: DUB 1'.KAM DIŠ LÚ ŠÀ.ZI.GA (cf. Biggs 1967: 56). The present inventory cites the incipit in abbreviated form; the first sign DIŠ in col. iii 5 may have to be read *šumma* 'if' instead of 'one' (tablet).

## Tablet Inventory 2

The second inventory, also published here for the first time, is Ni. 2909 from the Istanbul Museum. This document, a 'zerbröckelnd' single-column tablet, has for a long time been known only from a transliteration by F. R. Kraus, dated 10/6/1928 (probably a mistake for 1938, since Kraus emigrated to Turkey only in 1937). He notes the unusual use of an oblique wedge as divider (here represented by a colon), and describes the hand as 'flüchtige, vornüberfallende Schrift'. Certain details in the copied signs suggest a date in the second half of the second millennium. The present study has profited greatly from a set of photographs produced specially for the BabMed Project by Veysal Donbaz, to whom the warmest thanks are due.

As with the previous document, this itemizes a sequence of tablets of varied genres by incipit, mostly one per line, but in some cases two. The understanding of how this important document is to be understood requires careful examination. Each entry begins with a DIŠ sign, but as with the previous document the use of the sign is not identical in each case. That is, initial DIŠ can represent '1' in contrast to '2' (as in 1 IM.GÍD.DA, 2 IM.GÍD.DA), *ana* meaning 'in order to...' (as in *ana umšāti nasāhi*, 'to remove boils'), or *šumma*, 'if' (as in DIŠ NA GIG *na-ki* GIG 'If a man suffers from venereal disease'). Understanding is helped by the use of the dividing wedge. In some cases, KI.MIN perhaps stands for IM.GÍD.DA ('oblong tablet').

## Ni. 2909

## Transliteration

## Obv.

About two lines missing

- 1') [DIŠ .....] x : DIŠ MUŠ GAR<sup>?</sup>-<sup>r</sup>šū<sup>r</sup> (explanatory list)  
[.....] ... : 1 (tablet of) 'If a snake, its characteristics'.
- 2') [.....] <sup>r</sup>l-t-na-an-zīq (medical?)  
[.....] has constant worries.
- 3') [.....] x x zī x : DIŠ iq-qur DÙ GABA.RI KÁ.DINGIR.RA (hemerology)  
[.....] ... : 1 (tablet of) *lqur ipuš*, a copy from Babylon.
- 4') 1 IM.GÍD.DA ana um-ša-ti Zl-hi (medical)  
One oblong tablet, 'To remove boils'.
- 5') 2 KI.MIN ša-ni-ta-ma : 1 KI.MIN IGI.SIG<sub>7</sub><SIG<sub>7</sub>> UŠ.MEŠ (?; medical)  
Two ditto (i.e. oblong tablets), 'In the second place'. One ditto, 'Pursued by(?) yellow eyes' (jaundice).
- 6') 1 KI.MIN LÚ <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú (medical)  
One ditto, '(If) a man's hips hurt him'.
- 7') 1 a-na x-ti x x : ana ŠÁM GIŠ.KAL.x šub-ši-i (?)  
1 (tablet of) 'To ...'; 'To fetch a ... price for ebony(?)'.
- 8') DIŠ NA GIG na-ki GIG (medical)  
If a man suffers from venereal disease.
- 9') DIŠ É LÚ i-lab-bu : 1 a-na-ku ha-am-mu-ra-pí (Šumma ālu; royal inscription)  
If a man's house moans; one (tablet of) 'I, Hammurapi'.
- 10') 1 IM.GÍD.DA e-nu-ma šá pa-ni URU SUM-nu (prodigies)  
One oblong tablet, 'When they appointed the city overseer'.
- 11') 1 KI.MIN mi-ig-ri lu ta-mu ta-bi-ni (love songs?)  
One ditto, 'Let my favourite ... my shelter'.
- 12') 1 KI.MIN Ú kam-ka-du Ú šim-ma-ti (plant list)  
One ditto, 'kamkadu plant is a plant for paralysis'.
- 13') <sup>r</sup>1 KI<sup>?</sup>.MIN<sup>?</sup> ša É.GAL : ina <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA <sup>d</sup>[...]-x-ru qe-bu-u<sup>?</sup> (?)  
One ditto, 'About the palace'; 'In the month of Nisan ...'.
- 14') [1 KI].MIN ša ši-ig-ga-ti : 1 IM.GÍD.DA ... (medical;?)  
[One dit]to, for pimples; one obl[ong tablet ...].
- 15') [.....] x [.....] x [.....] (?)  
...  
Edge broken; 1-2 lines lost

1') (DIŠ) KI.MIN in the following lines probably refers back to IM.GÍD.DA, and is not to be read 'If ditto'. For the composition *Šēru šikinšu*, so far only attested in a text from Nineveh, see Mirelman 2015: 173 and 177 (CT 14, 7+) rev. 10-29.

4') For this entry, see also BAM 35 iv 27' and AMT 17/5: 1.

6') This line occurs (with slightly variant spelling) as the title of a therapeutic composition in a Late Babylonian medical commentary from Nippur (Civil 1974: 336: 1, see also 337: 30). Cf. further AMT 43/6: 1; AMT 52/6: 6'. See also above Inventory No. 1 obv. i 32.

8') This entry is attested only as a diagnosis in the *Diagnostic Handbook*, e.g. *Sakikkû* 13: 7, 9; *Sakikkû* 14: 107; *Sakikkû* 22: 11, 13, 15 (Scurlock 2014: 103, 123, 186).

9') The same entry occurs in CT 40, 4: 77 (house omens related to *Šumma ālu* Tablet 10, see Freedman 1998: 170 note to line 182).

10') Cf. the similar title *ša muhhi āli* (CAD A/1 390).



## Rev.

- 1') [..... t]a ni [.....] (?)  
 ...
- 2') [.....] x DAB.DAB [.....] (medical)  
 [If ...] repeatedly seizes [...].
- 3') [DIŠ NA x x] x-šú [G]IG-šú ni x x [.....] (medical)  
 [If a man's ... him, his *illness* ... [...].
- 4') [DIŠ K]I.MIN m[i-na-tu-šu it-ta-x[.....] (medical)  
 [If(?) di]tto, his li[mbs are ...].
- 5') ana ú? zi-[i]m KÙ.BABBAR ša-ra-pí (?)  
 In order to *refine zīm kaspi*.
- 6') [1] IM.GÍD.DA NA a-si-da-šú x x x (medical)  
 [One] oblong tablet, '(If) a man's heel ...'.
- 7') [1] KI.MIN ša KA HUL-tim (magic)  
 [One] ditto, against Evil Utterance.
- 8') 1 KI.MIN NA GIG-šú A ú-kal (medical)  
 One ditto, '(If) a man's wound retains fluid'.
- 9') 1 KI.MIN ša bi ik ša x x (?)  
 One ditto, for ...
- 10') 1 KI.MIN ša x x x e-šir (magic)  
 One ditto, draw a ... for ...
- 11') 1 KI.MIN hi-ni-iq-tam GIG : 1 KI.MIN ša ŠÀ.ZI.GA (medical)  
 One ditto, '(If) he suffers from strangury'; one ditto, for impotence.
- 12') 1 KI.MIN ša EGIR AN.TA KI.ṽTAṽ x kam x x (grammatical)  
 One ditto, for behind, above and below ...

4') Probably restore a form of the verb *tabāku*.

5') This entry remains uncertain. Since *zīm kaspi* 'lustre of silver' is the name of a plant, the verb may have to be connected with *šarāpu* 'to dye', rather than with *šarāpu* 'to refine' (metals).

6') Possibly, read *purrur* '(his heel) is shattered' at the end of the line, which also occurs in Eypper 2016: 48 (K. 67+ rev. iv 17).

8') For similar entries cf. *Sakikkû* 33: 14, 54 (Heeßel 2000: 354, 356).

11') For *hiniqtu*, stricture (of the bladder), cf. Geller 2005: No. 2: 5, 14, 16, 33, 35 (AMT 31/1+) *passim*; No. 53.

## Tablet Inventory 3

The third inventory is much later in date, and appears within a text in the lower portion of the famous Seleucid Uruk text TCL 6, no. 12 (Thureau-Dangin 1922, pl. XXIV-XXV). The material is unconnected with the astrological material that both precedes and follows, and consists of a long list of textual incipits written out over six short columns. This list was certainly not created for the first time as a component of the main contents of the tablet but is a copy of an extant list or lists, the opportunity having apparently been taken by the Uruk scribe to make a record of important material that was at his disposal whose contents required safeguarding.

The material listed covers a similar range of compositions to those in the two preceding inventories, namely incantations, lexical texts, astrological works, and medical – mixed with some literary – works. In significant contrast to them, however, the incipits are here grouped consistently into four sections within the whole according to genre.

Certain conclusions can be reached about the underlying source or sources and the process of transmission from the careful details included by the scribe. It is quite possible that the six columns in Uruk reflect a single-column source in which the total of 104 lines had been written out on both sides. While this may well have been conventionally balanced at some 50 lines per side, it is also possible that the ruling in col. iii after line 8 represents the bottom of the obverse of that source and that the reverse opened with the first line of the third, astrological section. In support of this is the fact that the divisions between incantations and lexical, and between astrological and medical material, are not ruled across but just indicated by empty space. In addition, we can see that the source text or texts had a somewhat complex history due to breakages. Evidently the upper left-hand third of the tablet corresponding to the whole of col. i was badly abraded and there are also notes of breaks in cols. ii, iii and iv.

These notices of textual damage are, in fact, unusually revealing. The scribe is seemingly at pains to distinguish in gloss-size script between four distinct types of breakage: 1) *he-pí*; 2) *he-pí eš-ši*; 3) *he-pí DIŠ-ši*, and 4) *he-pí IGI*. The first two are unremarkable, and if that was all we had their message would be clear:

- 1) An old incipit list A was found. The tablet showed damage in various places on obverse and reverse.
- 2) Copy B of list A was made. The areas of damage as received were marked by *he-pí*. (Other copies without further damage could follow.)
- 3) This copy B itself (or its direct descendant) was badly damaged in the upper left area by the time it came to be recopied as C. The scribe of C distinguished between the inherited damage from A, which he recorded as *he-pí*, and the damage to B, which he recorded as *he-pí eš-ši*. (Any subsequent copyist beyond C, of course, would coalesce all areas of damage into *he-pí*.) According to this understanding the Uruk manuscript is C and there can have been no intervening manuscript in the transmission between B and C.

The third and fourth styles of gloss in Uruk might well have more to offer, however. Thureau-Dangin's superb hand copy presents the reader with eight examples of a clear *he-pí DIŠ-ši*, which must reflect some nuance distinct from *he-pí eš-ši*, while *he-pí IGI*, attested five times, will therefore also have a specific meaning (IGI = *mahrû*, 'former,' for example). This unusually refined terminology probably distinguishes more subtly than can the usual pair *he-pí* and *he-pí eš-ši* between areas of damage sustained at different times in a longer transmission process. If so, it could only be applied when more than one older and damaged tablet was available for comparison and collation. Interesting, too, is that the scribe left spaces to correspond to missing signs, such as in line 14, which must have begun DIŠ NA.

What can be said about the forerunner that gave rise to this scholarship? Each line contains the incipit of a composition or, in two cases, two incipits. There is no direct clue as to the date of the underlying tablet or tablets from which the list derives. Most entries are non-diagnostic in this respect. The composition in col. iv line 18, perhaps significantly, is the only text in which *šumma*, 'if,' is written *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma*. As with inventories 1 and 2 above, the incipits here do not always correspond to established incipits from the first millennium, and they thus offer a glimpse of texts once in circulation that were replaced by, or blended into, the compositions familiar to us today. An example is the perfectly justifiable lexical incipit *giš-sug : aslum* (col. ii 6), where, however, Hh IV and the catchline to Hh III in MSL 5 read *giš-as<sub>4</sub>-lum = aslum*. Some only of these numerous incipits have been taken up in CAD, and there is much of interest. Some equations are otherwise unattested. Others are known but do not elsewhere constitute incipits. A further point is that many of the astrological incipits begin <sup>iti</sup>BAR or even <sup>iti</sup>BAR UD 1.KAM, i.e. on the very first day of the year, suggesting a tradition of astrological tools in which the date of occurrence, rather than observed phenomena, was the primary referent, a most practical and useful professional tool that can only have resulted from extensive 'reshuffling' of established collections.

## TCL 6, 12 (Pl. 28)

TCL 6, 12 (AO 6448 , now joined to VAT 7847) and the inventory on the lower portion of the observe have been discussed in Weidner 1941-44: 189 and Weidner 1967: 15-34, esp. 28 and Tafel 5-10 (for photos). Following a hint from B. Landsberger, Schuster (1938: 253) interpreted cols. ii 10-18 and iii 1-8, seeing many of them as corrupt or damaged.

## Transliteration

## Col. i.

- 1) ÉN<sup>d</sup> *he-pí r* DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> -ga íb-ga
  - 2) ÉN<sup>d</sup> *he-pí r* DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> a ga
  - 3) e-nu-ma<sup>he-pí r</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> ù-lu<sup>he-pí</sup>
  - 4) ÉN<sup>he-pí</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> igi<sup>he-pí</sup>
  - 5) ÉN<sup>he-pí</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> -gin<sup>7</sup>
  - 6) <sup>he-pí</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> GÀR.MEŠ
  - 7) x x<sup>he-pí</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> suhur-gu (?)
  - 8) [i]ti<sup>7</sup> BAR<sup>he-pí</sup> DIŠ-ši<sup>7</sup> UD.DA GÁL
  - 9) ŠU.NÍG-<sup>he-pí</sup> IGI šá SA GIG
  - 10) <sup>r</sup>iti<sup>7</sup> APIN<sup>he-pí</sup> IGI GIŠ.ZI.GÁN
  - 11) <sup>r</sup>UD<sup>7</sup> a-nu<sup>he-pí</sup> IGI -bi sìg<sup>7</sup>-sìg-bi
  - 12) HAL.HAL<sup>he-pí</sup> IGI DINGIR u UDU
  - 13) DIŠ<sup>he-pí</sup> eš-ši<sup>7</sup> a-bi-šú
  - 14) SAG.KI<sup>he-pí</sup> IGI ú-lap-pat
  - 15) UD.DA<sup>he-pí</sup> eš-ši<sup>7</sup> MUN<sup>7</sup>
  - 16) <sup>r</sup>DIŠ<sup>7</sup> MUNUS<sup>he-pí</sup> eš-ši<sup>7</sup> HAL
  - 17) [DIŠ(?) MUNUS(?)] <sup>r</sup>GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA<sup>7</sup>.NA<sup>he-pí</sup> <sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>7</sup> na-di
- (two lines left blank)

6) This is the only line that could refer to a series, if the last missing sign were ÉŠ.

8) This fragmentary incipit may stem from a text related to astrological omens (referring to the occurrence of *šetu*-fever in the month Nisan).

9) The first signs probably form the beginning of tukumbi, perhaps therefore a late text in 'Sumerian' on *sagallu* and related ailments?

Alternatively, read ÉŠ<sup>7</sup>.GAR (for ÉŠ.GÀR) ... šá SA.GIG, referring to the *Diagnostic Handbook*.

11) Probably the incipit of a Sumerian incantation.

12) Esoterica?

16-17) Two paired gynaecological works, the first probably identifying nausea as a sign of pregnancy. The reading GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA.NA, 'her vagina,' is a guess; perhaps uterine prolapse is referred to.

## Col. ii

- 1) sag : <sup>r</sup>bu<sup>7</sup>-du
- 2) lú-sig : ša ME
- 3) DU<sub>6</sub>.DU : a-ra-du
- 4) ka : pu-ú
- 5) <sup>d</sup>nanna : giš-da-bi
- 6) giš-sug : as-lum
- 7) gu-di-bir : nu-kúr-ti
- 8) šal-tum mīt-hu-šu : pu-ú-pu-ú
- 9) DIŠ NA me-at LAGAB ku gar ib<sup>7</sup> gar PEŠ-aš  
EN MIN
- 10) DIŠ UD : im-mu : DIŠ UD : u<sub>4</sub>-mu
- 11) DIŠ<sup>ab</sup> ÁB : ar-hu
- 12) DIŠ ŠAGAN : šik-kát šá šèr-ru

- 13) DIŠ ŠÚ : *sa-ha-pi* zálag *ib<sup>he-pí</sup>-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>*
- 14) DIŠ ri-i : *ra-mu-ú*
- 15) DIŠ KAK : PA UŠ šā *kal(DÙ)-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*
- 16) DIŠ URU : *a-lu*
- 17) DIŠ U *zi-iz-ma* MIN
- 18) DIŠ NA AB.BI.LĀ : *um-mu*

- 
- 1) Properly ZAG = *būdu*, but the equation is nowhere an incipit.
  - 2) Read *lú-sag* = *ša* ME (= *parṣī*, or *mē*)? This equation is unknown from lexical lists, *lú-sag* usually corresponds to Akkadian *ša rēši*.
  - 3) This equation is not a known incipit.
  - 4) This is Nabnitu IV 1 (MSL 16: 76).
  - 5) 'Nanna is his writing board'? Perhaps a god-description text, for which see Livingstone 1986.
  - 6) This entry corresponds to Hh IV 1 (MSL 5: 151).
  - 7) For lexical attestations of the entry see CAD N/2 329 sub *nukurtu*.
  - 8) An Akkadian list or commentary, where two virtual synonyms, *šaltum* and *mithušu*, are equated with a third, *pu-ú-pu-ú*. CAD M/2 138 punctuates *šal-tum* (= *mit-hu-šu*) // *pu-ú-pu-ú* (for *puhpūhū*). For the latter word in an unnoticed literary text see Finkel 1983: 78 rev. 6'.
  - 13) This line evidently contains two incipits, the one unattested lexical, the other Sumerian.
  - 14) This incipit corresponds to A II/7 1 (MSL 14: 296); cf. also MSL 14: 93, 259.
  - 15) The reading here understands this to be a 'bailiff's' staff (*haṭṭi rēdī*) for disciplining a daughter-in-law, where the writing derives from Sumerian KAK, 'peg' (perhaps in its meaning 'lock' i.e. to ensure faithfulness) with which it is equated. The text referred to is perhaps an esoteric commentary rather than a lexical composition.

### Col. iii

- 1) DIŠ LUM : *ha-ba-<sup>1</sup>*
  - 2) DIŠ *pu-ú* : *a-ru-ú*
  - 3) DIŠ GĀL : *ši-ip-tu<sub>4</sub>*
  - 4) DIŠ KA : *ka-inim-<sup>he-pí</sup>*
  - 5) DIŠ IB : *tu-bu-uq<sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>*
  - 6) DIŠ KU : UDU *na-du-u*
  - 7) DIŠ IR<sup>1</sup>.IR : *zu-ú-tu*
  - 8) DIŠ *ge<sup>1</sup>-e* MI : *mu-ši*
- 
- 9) *šu-pu-ú* : *pa-la-ku*
  - 10) MUL.AN.NA *ha-šah* KÚR
  - 11) <sup>mul4</sup>GĪR.TAB *ana* ŠĀ 30 KU<sub>4</sub>
  - 12) <sup>d</sup>IM DIŠ *is-si*
  - 13) <sup>mul</sup>SĀG.ME.GAR *ana* IGI <sup>mul</sup>MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL
  - 14) GA.RÁŠ šā <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL
  - 15) IM.KAL-TA IM.KUR
  - 16) 31 5,400 (180x30) <sup>he-pí</sup>
  - 17) KI.MEŠ MUL šā *ina* ŠĀ IGI
  - 18) *e-nu-ma man-za-za* šā <sup>d he-pí</sup>
  - 19) *ina* <sup>iti</sup>APIN *ina* <sup>mul</sup>GU.LA

- 
- 1) The equation here is *lum* = *habāšu*, and it is uncertain whether the scribe omitted *-šu* (thus Thureau-Dangin) or <sup>he-pí</sup>.
  - 2) If an equation it is obscure. Schuster 1938: 253 thinks this relates to *bu-ru* HAL *a-ru-ú*.
  - 3) Schuster connects this entry with SĪG = *ši-pa-tu<sub>4</sub>* 'wool'.

- 4) Schuster understands KA.KA.SI.GA to be behind this.  
 7) It is probable that the first IR gives the pronunciation, i.e. ir IR.  
 12-13) Probably related to astrological omens, as the majority of the entries in columns iii 10- v 4 (cf. Weidner 1941-44: 189).  
 15) Possibly, read instead IM.DIRI TA IM.KUR ‘a cloud from the east’. This incipit is related in structure to col. v 1; both entries could refer to tablets of weather omens. For similar entries see e.g. Gehlken 2012: 22-23 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 44 Ms. D rev. 1’-5’); the entry could also belong to the only fragmentarily preserved Tablets 38-41 concerned with cloud formations and mist.

#### Col. iv

- 1) *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR DINGIR SUR-*ri*
- 2) AN.MI EN.NUN ÚS.SA *a-dir*
- 3) 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-ŠÚ SI.ME-ŠÚ
- 4) DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR <sup>d</sup>UDU.IDIM KUR-*ha*
- 5) im-šèg a-kal ud-dè-ra <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 6) DUB *ni-šir-tú* DUGUD-<sup>d</sup> <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 7) <sup>mul</sup>AŠ.GÁN MUL KUR <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 8) <sup>mul</sup>GÍR.TAB *ana* KI
- 9) DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR <sup>d</sup>IM KA-ŠÚ <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 10) AN-*e* NE.MEŠ
- 11) MÚL UDU-*e* KI HÚŠ GUB <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 12) BAR DIŠ AN <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 13) DIŠ 20 *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR UD 1.KAM *ina* IGI.LÁ-ŠÚ
- 14) <sup>mul</sup>UDU.IDIM *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> ZI <sup>he-pí</sup>
- 15) DIŠ SÁG.ME.GAR *ana* 30 DIM<sub>4</sub>
- 16) IZI.GAR TA AN.PA
- 17) IZI.GAR TA <sup>d</sup>UTU-È *ana* <sup>d</sup>UTU.ŠÚ.A
- 18) šum<sub>4</sub>-*ma* *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR UD 1.KAM LÚ.TUR *a-lid*
- 19) *ina* MÚL ZALAG GIŠ.BAR <sup>he-pí</sup>

- 
- 4) This line is known from *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 56 (TCL 6, 16 obv. 13), see Largement 1957: 238 (Ms. a); Koch 2015: 176.  
 6) This is the most tantalising entry of all; the ‘tablet of the secret’ of, presumably, Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, the famous scholarly ancestor.  
 9) This line is identical with the incipit of *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 42, concerned with thunderstorms (= first tablet of the Adad section, see Gehlken 2008: 258, 260).  
 10) Read <*ina*> AN-*e*, or perhaps DINGIR.E.NE.MEŠ.  
 13) This line corresponds to the beginning of *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 7 (lunar omens, see Weidner 1941-44: 189). The entry is also attested in the Uruk catalogue of *Enūma Anu Enlil* obv. 7 (Weidner 1941-44: Tafel 1 and F. Rochberg’s contribution in this volume).  
 16-17) These two works, quoted in sequence, evidently form a pair.  
 18) This entry is almost identical with an omen from *Iqqur īpuš* (Labat 1965: 132 §64: 1; see also Maul 1994: 400-408 (for a Namburbi ritual to be performed in the case of a birth in the month Nisan) and the Namburbi catalogue SpTU 1, 6: 12 (Maul 1994: 192). Cf. further Stol 2000: 93-95 for discussion.

#### Col. v

- 1) IM.KAL-TA 20 *ana* IM.2
  - 2) <sup>mul</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA *ana* AN.TA.LÙ
  - 3) <sup>mul</sup>DIL.BAT *ina* KASKAL šu-ut <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL KUR-*ha*
  - 4) DIŠ <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.KÉŠ.DA AN *ana* šu-*pat* AN-*e*
- Two lines left blank
- 5) Ú URU.AN.NA TA.KAL.MAŠ
  - 6) *le-e’-a-at an-tu*<sub>4</sub>
  - 7) *an-tu*<sub>4</sub> DIB-*at*

- 8) ÉN *na-šá-ku* <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL <sup>giš</sup>MA.NU
- 9) *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BAR UD 1.KAM *ši-gu-u is-si*
- 10) DIŠ NA *ina* SUKUD *ina ka-le-e a-šib*
- 11) *mal-sut*<sub>x</sub>(BAR) *šá ZU la* DINGIR.MU
- 12) *u an-tu*<sub>4</sub> DIB-at
- 13) *e-nu-ma né-pe-šú šá EŠ*.BAR MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>
- 14) IM.GÌ.DA *reš-tu-ú*
- 15) KÉŠDA DU<sub>8</sub> *ù i-da-a-tú*
- 16) MUŠ GAR-šú
- 17) 1 1/3 *ma-ri a-bi* 30-ÀM

2) This entry corresponds to the incipit of *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 50, see Reiner and Pingree 1981: 35, 40 (with variant spelling).

3) The line is also found in one of the Venus tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil* (see Reiner and Pingree 1998: 210 (Group F) K. 7936+: 3, and 213 K. 3601 obv. 3 //, belonging to Tablets 59-62 (cf. Koch 2015: 176).

4) Cf. the similar line in CT 33, 1 i 19, reading DIŠ <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.KÉŠ.DA 'A-nim GAL-ú šá AN-e; Weidner 1941-44: 189.

5) The 'mixed-up' writing TA.KAL.MÁŠ for *maš-ta-kal* is quite remarkable and hard both to parallel and explain. Whiting (1984) published a Late Babylonian fragment of snake omens with some signs written in reverse order.

6-7) A pair of Akkadian praise-hymns to Antu no doubt popular at Uruk; the second recurs in line 12.

8) A similar line occurs in incantations in Udug-hul Tablet 3: 66, 153-154 and Tablet 7: 133 (Geller 2016: 22, 104, 122-123, 257).

9) This line most likely stems from an hemerology or *lqqur ipuš*; see Labat 1965: 96-10 §§ 34-35 (= Labat 1962) for parallel passages concerning recommendations when to perform a *šigū*-prayer.

10) 'If a man dwells on marshy land on a height' (if that is possible), probably an unidentified tablet of *Šumma ālu*.

11-12) The reading *šá ZU* rather than NÍG.ZU has been preferred on analogy with the parallel format requiring *šá* in col. vi 6. The writing *mal-sut*<sub>x</sub>(BAR) occurs elsewhere at Uruk in a Late Babylonian medical colophon (SpTU 1, 32 rev. 15); in the present context, applying to two works at once, *malsūtu* seems more likely to refer to a written item like an explanatory text than to mean simply 'reading'. Perhaps the incipit in line 11 refers to *ilī ul īdī* incantations (cf. Lambert 1974).

13) The present writer has identified this ritual tablet and its associated dream-provoking texts in the British Museum and is preparing a study of them.

16) For *Šēru šikinšu* cf. above Inventory 2 obv. 1' and Mirelman 2015.

#### Col. vi

- 1) DIŠ *sa-ma-nu* Ì.NUN.NA
  - 2) ÉN *šu zi-ga šu zi-ga*
  - 3) DIŠ NA *li-ip-ti ina* SAG.DU-šú
  - 4) *mal-tak*.MEŠ DIŠ NA *lib-bu-šú* SI.SÁ.ME
  - 5) lugal níg-zi nu-èš <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá
  - 6) *mal-sut*<sub>x</sub>(BAR) *šá šam-ma* GAR-šú
  - 7) DIŠ NA ÚŠ.MEŠ IGI.IGI-ru
  - 8) DIŠ MUNUS MÚD.MEŠ *ma-MEŠ* GIŠ NU TAR.MEŠ
  - 9) ÉN *sa hul lú-bi lú-bi-da*
  - 10) DIŠ NA NINDA GU<sub>7</sub> *šá* GU<sub>7</sub>-ma  
ŠÀ.M[EŠ-š]ú RA.MEŠ-hu
  - 11) DIŠ NA IGI-šú LÙ.LÙ
  - 12) *tab-nit* LÚ UNUG.KI
  - 13) *uzu-ri* : munu<sub>x</sub> su
  - 14) x x sar <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>n</sup>-šar-ra-ah
- (2 lines left blank)

- 1) The entry may refer to medical prescriptions rather than to Samana incantations; cf. Finkel 1998; Kinnier Wilson 1994; Beck 2015.
- 3) This entry corresponds to the incipit of *Šumma liptu*, the section of the physiognomic omens concerned with skin moles (Böck 2000: 174). See also the *Alamdimmû* catalogue CTN 4, 71: 86: [DIŠ TAG-tum? ina SAG].<sup>7</sup> DU NA BAR-ma<sup>7</sup> GAR (see also Schmidtchen *infra*).
- 4) The writing *mal-tak*.MEŠ resembles *mal-sut*<sub>x</sub> (BAR) and perhaps reflects *maltakāti*, if *maltaktu* here can have the specific meaning ‘tested recipe.’ What follows is similar to BM 59623 (unpubl. medical text): 1: DIŠ NA ŠĀ.SI.SĀ TUKU ‘If a man has diarrhoea’.
- 6) A commentary on the plant description text *Šammu šikinšu*?
- 7) For related texts, see Scurlock 2006, e.g. No. 7 (KAR 234: 27; SpTU 4, 134: 1) and *passim*.
- 8) Taking *ma*-MEŠ as a writing of *mādiš*, and GIŠ an unsupported writing of *alāku*(?). For related texts see Steinert 2012 and 2013, with further literature.
- 9) Cf. the spell ÉN É.NU.RU sa hul lú-bi lú-bi silim, attested e.g. in BAM 473 iii 6’-20’ // BAM 474: 1’-3’ (Scurlock 2006: No. 169, used against ghost-illness). For a similar incipit cf. also AMT 46/1 i 10 (classified as KA.INIM.MA *tak-ši-ru šā* <sup>na4?</sup> *šu-u* ‘Recitation for an amulet bracelet of šū-stone’).
- 10) Similar entries are found e.g. in Johnson 2014: 16-18 (K. 2386 obv. i 12’, 22’, 28’). The spelling RA.MEŠ-*hu* seems to be a mistake for MÚ<sup>1</sup>. MEŠ-*hu*.
- 11) This entry corresponds to the incipit of the series IGI (eye diseases) Tablet 3, see Fincke 2000: 92 n. 704; Attia 2015: 52, 72. Cf. also the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) line 9 (see *infra*).
- 12) Who is the ‘offspring of the man of Uruk’? A son of Gilgamesh?
- 14) Read UD.SAKAR; the entry may refer to a gnomon text?

Venerable tablet-collecting inventories would surely strike an eminent Uruk scholar as worthy of precise record. Where, then, do these three inventories fit within the cuneiform catalogue literature? I suggest that the three texts collected here reflect one and the same phenomenon, namely the perceptible movement towards the end of the second millennium BCE to bring order into a mass of inherited literature of all types, literary, lexical and scientific. Such a huge operation required not only the amassing of tablets and a cooperative and highly educated staff, but the articulated vision of a driven individual who both conceived and carried out the plan. This is not something that could have come about of its own accord. The idea was to impose system on chaos to facilitate control and retrieval.

### Esagil-kīn-apli, the Erasmus of Babylon

1. At the end of the second millennium BCE there were in circulation uncounted numbers of cuneiform healing resources from many periods and cities that no individual could control or evaluate.
2. Esagil-kīn-apli was famous ever after because he not only had a vision of what had to be done with this venerable, inherited material but also carried it out.
3. He was in charge of a project. He had staff. Together these scholars established the major series of all the healing arts.
4. For this process to be accomplished as many tablets as possible had to be collected and brought to one place.
5. Individuals or institutions must therefore have been recruited to amass and submit inscriptions, the older the better. We suggest that the Middle Babylonian ‘catalogues’ from Istanbul and the British Museum are part of this very process of collecting resources. (Interesting here is the fact that quite a few of their incipits are not identical to the incipits we know in the first millennium.) In some respects, this activity anticipates the famous library activities of Ashurbanipal.
6. All collected, impounded or borrowed tablets must have been laid out together on trestle tables like in the British Museum Arched Room. Only this practical result would permit the establishing of a standard text line by line. Most of this work would have been straightforward, since throughout the central traditional compositions variation other than in orthography is generally quite uncommon. Significant variants would have had to be evaluated on a one-to-one basis; sometimes in medical texts variant readings were preserved as a gloss, surviving into AMT and BAM. Final decisions were made by the editor.
7. Esagil-kīn-apli’s end products were controlled and polished to the point of providing line totals for each tablet, thereby establishing a correct, standard text for all time, whose authority was reinforced by system catalogues. It is probable that the adoption of Sumerian ideograms for Akkadian technical terms in omens and medicine was part of this process, with the idea of establishing standard writings.
8. This operation is the famous Assyriological ‘canonisation’ of which Assyriologists often talk, in process and attributable to an intelligible origin; it was surely Esagil-kīn-apli – as we are told by those who knew – who instituted it

and saw it through. Probably he, or his team, did the same with all the non-medical omens too. KAR 44 gives the full list of what was done. The same distillation process was applied to lexical resources, undoubtedly as part of the same stimulus and for the same reasons.

9. It is this very canonisation process, moreover that led to the classification *ahû*; for this was material that was excluded by the Scholar-Editor from 'establishment' status but carefully preserved nevertheless.
10. Probably staff members of the Esagil-kin-apli Project came to be responsible for textual commentaries.
11. There was probably a statue of Esagil-kin-apli somewhere. If not, there should have been.

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## A Babylonian Hippocrates

The BabMed Project has made important progress towards understanding of the nature and theoretical underpinnings of Babylonian medicine, as a result of intensive study of the text catalogues being presented within this volume.<sup>1</sup> The present author has argued elsewhere that magic and medicine, as well as prognosis / diagnosis, were all separate disciplines, which could *in theory* be studied and practiced by either physicians or exorcists or even midwives.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the various catalogues published here will permanently alter perceptions of how Babylonian ‘healing arts’ were composed into three very distinctive literary genres, which we will label as *medical*, *magical*, and *diagnostic*, more as convenient categories rather than formal definitions. Briefly, *medical* texts contain prescriptions and recipes (mostly pharmacological with little surgery) for the treatment of symptoms, while *magical* texts (within the sub-category of healing magic) comprise poetic incantations with accompanying rituals often performed by costumed exorcists under dramatic ceremonial conditions, essentially to treat the psychological as well as physical dimensions of illness. The third genre of texts consists of casuistic omens drawn from general practices of divination, aimed at predicting the patient’s future prospects, either by interpreting his disease symptoms (signs) or general physiognomic features. Each of these genres is distinctive, with a degree of overlap between all three, which does not, however, alter the clearly recognisable characteristics of each genre.<sup>3</sup> The three health-related catalogues in the present study, which we will label for convenience AMC (Assur Medical Catalogue), KAR 44 (the Exorcist’s Manual), and CTN 4, 71 (*Sakikkû* catalogue), all represent lengthy lists of the opening lines (incipits) of compositions dealing with medicine and magic, or alternatively the first lines of collections of diagnostic and physiognomic omens. All three catalogues are relevant to medicine and healing arts, listing compositions by their opening lines or rubrics, with two of these catalogues clearly attributing the editing of these texts to one scholar, Esagil-kin-apli.<sup>4</sup> Two of these catalogues specifically refer to the process of creating a new ‘weaving’ or text edition, and all three catalogues are bipartite, i.e. they have a clear division between a more elementary or straightforward first section and a more esoteric second section. The pertinent questions are why such catalogues were created in the first place and by whom, and whether these catalogues represent some kind of ‘canonisation’ of texts pertaining to *Heilkunde*.

### 1 Canonicity

The issue of ‘canonicity’ in Mesopotamia, usually in relation to the Bible, was raised by Lambert already in 1957, followed by Francesca Rochberg (see in her *opera minora*, Rochberg 2010: 65-83) and Alan Lenzi (2008: 147-148), among others, but the issue has never quite been resolved.<sup>5</sup> While biblical canonicity remains at the cornerstone of the debate about standardisation of ancient texts, biblical scholars themselves remain divided regarding the usefulness of this term (see Lim 2013). A somewhat useful approach to the question has been taken by Karel van der Toorn, who argues

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1 The Assur Medical Catalogue was studied by the entire BabMed research group, although the initial editing was done by Strahil Panayotov and Ulrike Steinert, followed by Steinert’s excellent copy of the tablet fragments in Yale and Chicago.

2 In an article to be published in the *Cambridge History of Science* (forthcoming 2018). This division of *Heilkunde* does not agree with the general overview of Attinger 2008: 6-9, which lists various categories of texts dealing with healing (recipes, incantations, diagnostic omens, explanatory texts, and anatomical lists) without recognising the distinctive disciplines behind these texts.

3 A fourth genre of text belonging to healing practices consists of lists of plants and mineral stones as *materia medica*, combined with explanatory lists of these subjects known as *Šammu šikinšu* and *Abnu šikinšu* respectively. Another explanatory text of this same type, *Simmu šikinšu*, elaborated types of skin lesions with names of various dermatological conditions. These explanatory lists existed apart from commentaries on medical texts, which were not normally part of the curriculum.

4 Editing in this context refers to serialising compositions into ‘tablets’ or chapters and creating a widely agreed standard text which can usually be found in multiple copies in libraries and archives without significant variation.

5 The term ‘canon’ has many meanings within ecclesiastical contexts (such as a ‘canon’ of sacred texts or a church ‘canon’ or ‘canon’ law) which do not apply here. ‘Canon’ in the present usage results from the process of editing explained in the previous footnote. Alternative terms could be used, such as ‘serialisation’, but this term is only useful in describing the compiling of cuneiform texts into a ‘series’ or fixed sequence of tablets but does not address the agreed stability of a text characterised as ‘canonised’, nor does it explain the nature of a ‘non-canonised’ text circulating independently or outside the standard version.

for ‘curriculum’ as one precursor to a canon (an approach taken by biblical scholarship as well, but without reference to Mesopotamia; see van der Toorn 2007: 244f., 359). There is, however, no reliable documentary evidence for a structured curriculum, although late Babylonian school tradition can be tracked to a limited extent from ‘school extracts’ of basic genres (e.g. lexical texts, literary texts, incantations, etc.), copied by pupils (Gesche 2001, see Veldhuis 2014: 406-424).<sup>6</sup>

The catalogues edited in the present volume potentially provide convincing evidence for a perceived ‘canon’ of scientific literature, since each catalogue represents a discrete collection or corpus of literature which was widely accepted and clearly defined. Although in broad terms such a comprehensive notion of canon might seem plausible, in reality such a definition cannot be applied with precision to most of cuneiform literary production with any confidence. As Lambert already pointed out in 1957, not all of Akkadian literature (or Sumerian, for that matter) was edited into a *textus receptus*, comparable to holy scriptures, but on the other hand Mesopotamian scholarship maintained a vague idea of antediluvian *apkallu*-sages who established the basis of formal knowledge (or ‘classics’) later to be studied in learned circles, and this fiction served as a useful model for curriculum and widely shared texts.<sup>7</sup> Lambert is essentially correct in arguing that while the ancients themselves may have held a general notion of a classical ‘canon’, this in no way compels us to adopt a similar approach to the reception of cuneiform literature in general. On the other hand, there is little doubt that each of the catalogues treated in the present volume is intended to define a discrete thematically organised *corpus* of ancient texts, which leaves the question open as to whether these should be regarded as a literary ‘canon’. In other words, the status of ‘canon’ as applied to any individual text is decisive, i.e. whether a text has come down to us in a standard recension which was recognised in antiquity as authoritative; the question of whether an entire *corpus* comprises a canon is not nearly as pressing and can be set aside for the moment.

## 2 Text Corpus

It was common in the ancient world for an individual text or even a corpus of texts to be attributed to a famous religious, literary, or learned figure, whose authority would validate a work as genuine, credible, and original. Within Greek medicine, the name of Hippocrates served this purpose well, among many other well-known authorities on Greek medicine. Nevertheless, we know little about Hippocrates, apart from his famous Oath, his presence on the island of Cos, and his undeserved fame as the father of medicine. Although most of the writers in his Corpus are anonymous, the attribution of these works to Hippocrates is the modern equivalent of a brand name. In fact, bad luck to any medical treatises falling outside the *Corpus Hippocraticum* brand, since they faced a struggle to survive, and this even applies to the fundamentally important books of medical writers like Herophilus or Diocles, only known from fragments cited by Galen and others.<sup>8</sup> Already in third century BCE Alexandria, scholars acknowledged the existence of an Hippocratic Corpus consisting of some 40 works attributed to Hippocrates, and began composing glossaries of its technical language. The preface to the lexicon of one such scholar, Erotian,<sup>9</sup> is worth quoting in full:

<sup>6</sup> Another precursor to canon, as argued by van der Toorn, is the library catalogue (van der Toorn 2007: 236ff.), which he posits (on theoretical grounds) must have existed in Jerusalem for biblical books, although based upon the slenderest of evidence. Van der Toorn’s argument uses the analogy of Mesopotamian libraries and library catalogues (ibid. 240f.), but he rightly points out that cuneiform catalogues usually specify inventories of works in a specific geographical location (ibid. 243).

<sup>7</sup> As Lambert notes, even Berossos subscribed to this image of the sources of wisdom from before the Flood, although not actually listing antediluvian texts known to him (Lambert 1957: 9). See also Rochberg 2010: 216-217 for a discussion of Adapa, *apkallu* par excellence, acting as editor and compiler of classical texts. A more detailed treatment is given in Lenzi 2008: 106-120 and most recently in Sanders 2017. It is intriguing that Sumerian ABGAL (for *apkallu*) literally means ‘grandfather’ and nothing more.

<sup>8</sup> As can be seen from the surviving fragments of Herophilus (von Staden 1989) and Diocles (van der Eijk 2000-01), despite their reputations as authoritative, the writings of both of these scholars were in large measure lost because of their status outside any established corpus, in contrast to inferior works preserved within the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

<sup>9</sup> See Jouanna 1999: 63-64 on Erotian, a first century CE lexicographer, ‘to whom we owe the most ancient list that has come down to us of the works judged authentically Hippocratic’. Erotian listed the works in the Hippocratic Corpus (all attributed to Hippocrates) by titles (see also Jouanna 1999: 373-416). Von Staden, like Jouanna, affirms that Erotian’s lexicon was based on an earlier list of Bacchius from the 3rd century BCE (see von Staden 1990 and Wittern 1971). This listing of Hippocratic works is comparable to the catalogues being studied in the present volume.

Since, of the [Hippocratic] works that have authentically been preserved, some are semiotic (*sēmeiōtiká*), while some are physiological and aetiological (*physikà kai aitiologiká*), and some pertain to an account of the Art (*téchnē*); and of the therapeutic works (*therapeutiká*) some are dietetic, others surgical, and [still others are?] entirely mixed. (translation von Staden 1990: 552)

While making allowances for basic differences between Greek and Babylonian medicine, nevertheless the categories of Hippocratic genres outlined by Erotian (semiotic, aetiological, therapeutic, and general healing arts) go a long way towards resembling the character of the works listed in the cuneiform catalogues being studied here.

The issue, however, is whether any single Mesopotamian scholar was famous enough to have an entire corpus of texts attributed to his name. Mesopotamian scribes recorded the names of scholars to whom important individual works were attributed (Lambert 1957), but one name amongst these lists attracts our attention, namely Esagil-kīn-apli, who at one point appears without any special distinction within a long list of other notable scholars (Lambert 1957: 13, see line 44). It is this man who will be central to our investigation as a putative Babylonian counterpart to Hippocrates. Esagil-kīn-apli was an *ummānu*-scholar (the highest academic title one could hold, equivalent to *Ordinarius*) who is said to have lived in 11<sup>th</sup>-century BCE Babylonia, but at the same time was the descendant of Asalluhi-mansum, an *apkallu* or ‘sage’ belonging to the circle of Hammurapi of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE; the title of ‘sage’ was probably fictitious, since famous *apkallu* personalities were either antediluvian or were awarded mythological status (Lenzi 2008: 107). Esagil-kīn-apli, on the other hand, was not known for his literary *oeuvres*<sup>10</sup> but was clearly a man of science rather than of letters, since his legacy associates him with healing arts of various kinds, including incantations as well as diagnostic and physiognomic omens.

Lambert took up the thread once again in a second article on lists of ancestors and scholars (Lambert 1962), in which he published more complete records which he had discovered in the interim, and these lists are revealing. One passage in particular troubled Lambert, namely a fragmentary text attributing a number of important texts to the god of wisdom, Ea (Lambert 1962: 64):

[a-ši-pu-t]u<sub>4</sub> LÚ.GALA-ú-tu<sub>4</sub> : UD AN dEN.LÍL<sup>11</sup>  
[alam-dí]m-mu-ú : SAG.ITI.ʾNU.TIL.ʾLA : SA.GIG.ʾGA<sup>12</sup>  
[KA.TA.D]U<sub>11</sub>.GA : LUGAL.E UD.ME.LÁM.BI NIR.GÁL : AN.GIM.DÍM.[MA]

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[an-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>] šá pi-i dÉ-[a]

Exorcism, liturgy, astrology,  
Physiognomic omens, anomalous births, diagnostic omens (symptoms),  
Cledomancy, Lugal-e, Angim.

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[These are] the authorship (lit. ‘from the mouth’) of Ea.

This is the only instance among such lists which attributes to a *god* the authorship of specific genres of texts and individual works, many of which are relevant to the present discussion, such as exorcism (*āšipūtu*), physiognomic omens (*Alamdimmū*) and diagnostic symptoms (*Sakikkū*), in addition to astrology, omens derived from speech, and abnor-

<sup>10</sup> In contrast to scholars such as Šin-lēqe-uninī, the reputed author of the canonical *Gilgamesh Epic*, or Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, who was credited with composing a later epic about the plague-god Erra.

<sup>11</sup> The inclusion of *kalūtu* and *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE) is somewhat unexpected, since both genres are quite separate from exorcism and other omens within this section, except for the fact that in later Uruk archives scholars bearing the title *kalū* (liturgy specialist) could also serve as *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* (astrologer). It may not be coincidental that these scholars all belonged to the Šin-lēqe-uninī family, the eponymous ancestor of which was credited with a copy of the *Gilgamesh Epic*. See Gabbay 2014: 267. On the other hand, Esagil-kīn-apli is described as a priest (*išippu*, *ramku*, see CTN 4, 71, Finkel 1988: 148, Schmidtchen’s edition in the present volume) and would certainly have needed to be familiar with liturgy (*kalūtu*). As for his personal connections with the corpus of *Enūma Anu Enlil*-celestial omens, one of the Assur sources of EAE 20 has a colophon stating that the tablet is based on a writing board from the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Adad-apla-iddina (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 216), which would indicate that a recension of the text was in progress during Esagil-kīn-apli’s tenure as royal *ummānu* under this king. See also Koch 2015: 163.

<sup>12</sup> A late esoteric commentary from Cutha comments on three different texts, given in the opening line as BAD-*ma iz-bu* SA.GIG *alam-dim-mu-ú*, which are the same texts cited in this catalogue attributed most likely to Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial work; see Biggs 1968: 53.

mal births (*Šumma izbu*). Two literary works mentioned in this list, Lugal-e and Angim, were known in late bilingual editions (van Dijk 1983 and Cooper 1978) and are unexpected.<sup>13</sup> The assumption of Ea's 'authorship' in this context is also problematic and unprecedented, although explained by Rochberg as referring to Ea's divine authority as being somehow responsible for these texts (see Rochberg 2010: 215-216), whatever that may mean.<sup>14</sup> There are no other examples of texts thought to have been inspired by a god or dictated to a human agent.<sup>15</sup>

There are several good reasons, based upon purely circumstantial evidence, for supposing that the reference to the god Ea in this particular passage is either erroneous or intentionally cryptic. 1) No other god is credited with authorship of any other texts, although all other attributions in the Lambert lists use the same wording, *ša pī PN*, lit. 'from the mouth of PN'; the only other comparable reference is to Adapa, who is not a god but an antediluvian sage. 2) Several of the texts ascribed to the god Ea in this passage are known elsewhere as being attributed to Esagil-kīn-apli (in the catalogues KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71). 3) Esagil-kīn-apli does not appear anywhere else in Lambert's list of authors, although we recognise him in another list of famous scholars compiled by later Seleucid scribes (Lenzi 2008: 107-108).<sup>16</sup> The absence of Esagil-kīn-apli's name in the Lambert lists is therefore remarkable. Based on this evidence, we are forced to infer that in the statement, 'from the mouth of Ea', the writing <sup>d</sup>é-[a] is cryptic orthography for the full name Esagil-kīn-apli, if not a simple scribal error.<sup>17</sup> There is a way to explain how this could work. The clue is that Marduk was known as the *āšib Esagil*, 'the resident of the Esagil-temple', and in fact no other temple is ever associated with Marduk<sup>18</sup>, and the Esagil-temple was thought to be located immediately above Ea's abode in the Apsû (George 1992: 296-297). In this light, the name <sup>m</sup>ĒŠ.GŪ.ZI.GIN.A // <sup>m</sup>é-sag-gīl-kī-in-apli (Lambert 1957: 13, l. 44) could be interpreted as, 'one who established (my) son (in) the Esagil-temple', i.e. Ea (referring to Marduk). The name Ea thereby becomes a nickname for our scholar. However, the question then arises as to why these texts were never attributed to Esagil-kīn-apli in relevant tablet colophons, especially in the standardised lengthy compositions from Nineveh.

It is usual in Nineveh colophons for Ashurbanipal to adopt the role of editor of texts for himself rather than acknowledging the hand of a scholar in his employ or any previous scholar, which is why one never finds useful information in any standard Ashurbanipal colophon regarding the actual textual history of any library texts. Ashurbanipal's claim that he himself wrote, checked, and collated the Library tablets should not be taken literally, of course. Ashurbanipal

<sup>13</sup> Although the association of these two bilingual texts with magic, liturgy, and omens remains difficult to explain, it might be not entirely coincidental that the CTN 4, 71 catalogue describes Esagil-kīn-apli as UM.ME.A KUR EME.GIR, *u URI<sup>ki</sup>*, literally 'ummānu-scholar of the land of Sumerian (language) and Akkad' (Finkel 1988: 148, and Schmidtchen's edition in the present volume), an expression which also appears in a standard Ashurbanipal colophon (type 'b', BAK No. 318: 5). It may be that these two bilingual texts (Lugal-e and Angim) were also thought to be essential for the training of exorcists and professional healers. The first of these, Lugal-e, might be relevant to magic or divination because of a long list of powerful stones used against a cosmic demon, reflecting the properties of *materia magica*; see Frahm 2011: 117, reinforcing this suggestion from references to Lugal-e in commentaries. The second text, Angim, is less clear, since it describes the heroic exploits of the god Ninurta and his many weapons, which could be metaphoric for the exorcist's instruments against demonic adversaries or disease, but no actual association with Esagil-kīn-apli is otherwise known.

<sup>14</sup> The notion of the god Ea as 'author' of these works could also be suggested by one standard Ashurbanipal colophon (type 'o'), written as if spoken by the king himself:

NAM.KŪ.ZU <sup>d</sup>é-a NAM.GALA *nī-šir-ti ap-kal-lu<sub>4</sub> šā ana nu-uh lib-bi* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *šu-lu-ku ki-i pi-i* DUB.MEŠ GABA.RI KUR *aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>*  
*u KUR.URI<sup>ki</sup> i-na* DUB.MEŠ *āš-šur as-niq ab-re-e-ma*

I wrote, checked, and collated on tablets the 'wisdom of Ea' – liturgy (*kalūtu*), the secret of the sage (*apkallu*) which is fitting for 'calming the mind' of the greatest gods, according to tablet copies from Assur and Akkad. (Gabbay 2014: 277-278)

However supportive this might at first seem for Ea as an author, Ashurbanipal's description of liturgy as the "wisdom of Ea" is not the same as attributing to Ea the authorship of *kalūtu*-texts; in fact, Ashurbanipal admits that such texts are actually based on the esoteric knowledge (*nīširtu*) of a proverbial sage, the hypothetical *apkallu*-precursor of every *ummānu*-scholar, but not Ea.

<sup>15</sup> If that were the case, one might have expected *Enūma eliš* to be attributed to Ea, with its final admonition in Tablet VII for the text to be taught to the children of mankind (see Lambert 2013: 132-133 = En. el. VII), such as one finds at the end of Second Enoch (see Badalanova Geller 2010).

<sup>16</sup> In fact, all of the other *ummānu*-scholars mentioned in the Seleucid Uruk list of kings and scholars (dating from 165 BCE) are also known from Lambert's list of sages (e.g. Sīn-lēqe-unninī, Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, Enlil-ibni, Gimil-Gula, Taqīš-Gula, and Esagil-kīn-ubba). The *only* scholar missing from the Lambert-list (Lambert 1962) is Esagil-kīn-apli, unless he is accounted for under the name 'Ea'. Lambert (1957: 13) produces one Nineveh list of scribes in which Esagil-kīn-apli's name also appears (5R 44), but this scribal exercise was intended to identify the famous scribes by both their Sumerian names and Akkadian equivalents.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps based on a faulty *Vorlage* where the scribe only had the first character É of the name and concluded that the god Ea was meant.

<sup>18</sup> See George 1992: 80, 11 and Lambert 2013: 294, rev. 10, *a-šib é-sa[g-g]il EN E<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>ki</sup>marduk* MAH, 'exalted Marduk, lord of Babylon, who resides in the Esagil'.

takes credit for the work of his army of very capable but anonymous scribes, who had the enormous task of producing numerous editions of Library tablets in such a standardised script that hardly any individual ductus can be detected. Within this context, lack of reference in colophons to Esagil-kin-apli's contribution to incantations, omens, or medical texts is unsurprising.<sup>19</sup>

In essence, what we see in Ashurbanipal's Library and in the colophons of its texts is the equivalent of a King James Bible, which also managed to obscure the individual contributions among the 47 scholars who produced this masterful translation based on various ancient versions of the biblical text. We occasionally get a few scattered exceptional hints at Akkadian editorial work, such as the very unusual and even eccentric esoteric remarks found on a hemerology tablet from Assur, the so-called Nazimaruttaš Hemerology (Livingstone 2013: 179; cf. Heeßel 2011: 171-173):

UD.MEŠ DU<sub>10</sub>.GA.MEŠ KA 7 *tu[p-pa-a-n]i* GABA.RI UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup> NIBRU<sup>ki</sup> KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> UD.UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ŠEŠ.UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u eri-du*<sub>10</sub><sup>ki</sup>

*um-ma-a-ni ú-na-as-si-hu-ma ú-na-as-si-qu-ma ana* <sup>m</sup>*na-zi-múru-taš*

LUGAL ŠÚ SUM-nu *ana šu-bu bu-tú-qe-e za-re-e šèr-re-e*<sup>20</sup> *ša-ba-áš ka-re-e ù mim-ma še-bu-tú* DU<sub>10</sub>.GA

Favourable days, according to seven tablets, (based on) copies from Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Eridu. The scholars extracted, chose, and gave to Nazimaruttaš, king of the universe (the information, being) good for looking out for deficiencies (*ana šu-bu bu-tú-qe-e*), 'weaving' rows (*za-re-e šèr-re-e*), collecting 'heaps' (*ša-ba-áš ka-re-e*) and whatever is planned.

This intriguing and almost incomprehensible note within a hemerology is not exactly a colophon since it occurs at the end of the obverse, not the reverse of the tablet. The point of this passage is to show how complex texts were being edited from various recensions or manuscripts from many different libraries and archives, in this case from seven tablets (*tuppānī*) from seven cities, all of which had libraries and archives. Although usually interpreted as referring to agricultural work (see most recently Koch 2015: 217), it is more than likely that the expressions, 'looking out for deficiencies', 'weaving rows', 'collecting heaps', etc. are all metaphors for scholarly activities. For instance, the puzzling expression 'collecting heaps' of barley would make good sense if *karû* ('heaps') is a pun on *iškāru*, 'series',<sup>21</sup> the standard technical word in colophons and catalogues for edited tablets appearing in a standard sequence.<sup>22</sup> 'Deficiencies' or 'losses' (*butuqqû*) on tablets could be gaps, and the 'weaving' (*zarû*) of lines (lit. rows) of a text is a metaphor referring to the work of establishing text editions. In fact, a text as a 'textile' (Latin *textus*) was how editorial work was characterised in one catalogue being edited in the present volume (CTN 4, 71) ascribed to Esagil-kin-apli,<sup>23</sup> for which we offer the following interpretive translation of the relevant passage:

<sup>19</sup> One further idea can be considered: it may be that Lambert's Nineveh list of scholars and sages was actually a rather subversive text, providing the names of scholars who were responsible for standard editions of texts and text genres, but whose names were intentionally omitted from Ashurbanipal Library colophons. Lambert's lists would then reflect the scholars getting their own back, reacting against the imposed anonymity of the royal colophons.

<sup>20</sup> Livingstone translates as 'begetting children', which cannot be ruled out. Hunger (BAK No. 292) translates 'das Besäen der Saatfurchen', understanding *šèr-re-e* as *šèr'u* 'row'. An alternative interpretation is to read the word as *sirrû* '(woven) row', which could be derived from Sumerian *sir*, 'to weave' (see also n. 24 below).

<sup>21</sup> Although the usual logogram for *iškāru* is ÉŠ.GÀR, there is evidence in colophons for the learned orthography <sup>gi</sup>ŠGÀR (BAK No. 47: 2), which could reinforce the pun of *karû* for series.

<sup>22</sup> A similar metaphor occurs in a hymn to Ninurta (Mayer 1992: 26 sub XIX), which reads:

*um-man-nu mu-du-u GIM ša-a-ri a-na mi-hi-il-tu<sub>4</sub> i-ziq-qa*  
*u kul-lat tup-šar-ru-tu GIM gu-ru-un-né-e ina kar-ši-šû kam-su*

The knowledgeable scholar blows like the wind onto his writing, and gathers all scribal craft in his heart (lit. belly) like a heap (of grain). [reference courtesy of Cale Johnson]

<sup>23</sup> See Frahm 2011: 328, n. 1565. The text CTN 4, 71 is unique in containing two separate catalogues of different but related text genres (diagnostic omens and physiognomic omens), separated by an unusually candid observation regarding the editing of such texts, which was labelled by John Wee (2015: 274) as Esagil-kin-apli's 'manifesto'. Although the passage (see Finkel 1988 and Schmidtchen's edition in this volume) reads like a colophon, it occurs within the middle of the text, similar to the remarks in the hemerology tablet cited above.

*ša ultu ulla* SUR.GIBIL *la šabtu* ù GIM GU.MEŠ GIL.MEŠ *ša* GABA.RI NU TUKU

That (for) which from earlier an edition (lit. SUR.GIBIL ‘weaving’)<sup>24</sup> has never been realised<sup>25</sup> and (which) was like twisted threads for which no copy (GABA.RI) existed.<sup>26</sup>

The significant point is that Esagil-kīn-apli describes his own redaction of texts as a previously unaccomplished ‘weaving’ or ‘textile’, and in fact the expression SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*<sub>4</sub> is a signature phrase associated with Esagil-kīn-apli’s own approach to the edition of texts, and this phrase is only found in specific and significant contexts, as we will see below. An Akkadian equivalent to SUR.GIBIL ‘weaving’ does occur rarely in colophons, such as in a colophon to the medical plant list (Uruanna) from Nineveh, which reads *ša ul-tu ul-la za-ra-a la šab-tu*, ‘that (for) which from earlier a “weaving” (*zarû*) has never been realised’ (Hunger 1968: 99 = BAK No. 321). Although Esagil-kīn-apli is not mentioned by name in this colophon, for reasons already explained,<sup>27</sup> this particular genre (lists of medical plants) would have been relevant to other texts attributed to Esagil-kīn-apli.<sup>28</sup>

A second Nineveh colophon with the expression *za-ra-a* occurs in an acrostic hymn to Marduk and his consort Zarpanitu. The colophon of K. 7592+ (= SAA 3 No. 2 rev. 24) is unusually instructive for explaining colophon terminology:

ŠU.NIGIN 30-TA.ÀM [MU].ŠID.IM *za-ra-a ta-nit-ti* <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>[AMAR.UTU ...] *nar-bi* <sup>d</sup>*zar-pa-[ni-tum b]e-el-tu*<sub>4</sub> GAL-*tu*<sub>4</sub> *na-[ram-ti]* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ...]

Total of thirty [lines] in ‘rows’, an edition (lit. ‘weaving’), a hymn to Marduk ..., the feats of the great lady Zarpanitu, beloved of [Marduk ...]. (Livingstone 1989: 10)<sup>29</sup>

The logical inference is that *za-ra-a* corresponds to SUR.GIBIL, as in the colophon BAK No. 321 cited above (Hunger 1968: 98-99). However, the term MU.ŠID.IM in this tablet logically represents a logogram for Akk. *sadīru*,<sup>30</sup> ‘ruled sections’, based on the fact that there are actually 30 ruled off sections easily identifiable on this tablet.<sup>31</sup> The term *sadīru* also appears in the CTN 4, 71 catalogue, in which two broken entries (ll. 19 and 31) refer to a specific sub-series of diagnostic omens – the latter consisting of no less than 860 lines – as a *sa-di-ru* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*<sub>4</sub>, a ‘ruled section, an accomplished edition (lit. ‘weaving’).’<sup>32</sup> But what is the reason for noting that the text is a *zarû* (= SUR.GIBIL)? The arrangement (or ‘weaving’, *zarû*) of the tablet is based upon the idea that the rows or sections are organized as an acrostic, which spells out the phrase, ‘I Ashurbanipal, who has invoked you, heal me, O Marduk, that I may praise you!’ (*a-na-ku aš-šur-ba-ni-ap-li ša il-su-ka bu-ul-li-ṭa-ni-ma ma-ru-du-uk da-li-li-ka lu-ud-lul*). The purpose of the colophon

<sup>24</sup> The word SUR for weaving has been previously discussed by Stol 2007: 241-242, associating this logogram with Akk. *ṭamû*, ‘spinning’. Stol cites bilingual evidence for SUR = *ṭamû* / *ṭemû* ‘to spin’, for which the usual Sum. equivalent is NU with the reading /sir/, which confirms Stol’s idea that SUR is phonetic for SIR<sub>2</sub>, to ‘spin’ or ‘weave’, thus supporting the textile metaphor. Frahm (2011: 328) suggests that this might also be a metaphor for ‘winnowing’ (*zarû*). However, what has not been taken into account is further lexical evidence, namely *zara*<sub>6</sub> (BAD. DIL<sup>lit</sup>) for ‘garment’, as well as *za-ra* BAD = *ṭamû* (for *zara*<sub>6</sub>), ‘to spin’. It may be that the logogram SUR.GIBIL for *zarû* ‘weaving’ (and not *zarû* *eddešu* ‘new weaving’) uses GIBIL (‘new’) to distinguish itself from the lexical equation *ZARA*<sub>5</sub> (BAD), which could erroneously be read as SUMUN (BAD), ‘old’. John Wee’s suggestion of reading *ša-ra-a* for this term as derived from a root *šrr* is unconvincing; see Wee 2015: 254 n. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Literally, ‘grasped’.

<sup>26</sup> See Finkel 1988: 148 and the new edition of this text in the present volume.

<sup>27</sup> The presence of this phrase (*ša ultu ulla zarû la šabtu*) in an Ashurbanipal colophon could represent a subtle allusion to Esagil-kīn-apli’s reputed editorial work, without mentioning the scholar by name. See Frahm 2011: 332 n. 1588, in which he suggests that “the Assyrian king presents himself as an Esagil-kīn-apli redivivus”.

<sup>28</sup> The catalogue KAR 44: 26 does not refer specifically to Uruanna-plant lists but does list another explanatory plant list, *Šammu šikinšu*.

<sup>29</sup> This is the only other known use of the term *za-ra-a* in a colophon, and although the rest of this colophon is uninscribed, this does not rule out the possibility that this tablet originated in an Ashurbanipal workshop.

<sup>30</sup> Akk. *sadīru* can correspond to either logogram MU.ŠID or MU.MEŠ, depending upon scribe, e.g. Hunger 1968: 134 = BAK No. 487 [CT 40, 4, *Šumma ālu omens*] has 12 sections (MU.MEŠ) and 95 lines (MU.ŠID.BI). In Ashurbanipal’s acrostic hymn cited above, the phrase [MU].ŠID. (BI).IM indicates a text that is organised in ruled sections. Cf. Steinert (*infra*) for further discussion.

<sup>31</sup> See also Sokoloff 2002: 799-800, for the cognate Babylonian Aramaic term *sydr* ‘recitation of the Bible’ indicating fixed sections of the Pentateuch recited regularly in sequence in synagogue liturgy, in addition to more general meanings of ‘order, row, division’.

<sup>32</sup> The expression *sa-di-ru* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*<sub>4</sub> also occurs several times in AMC. One revealing use of the term *sadīru* appears in a colophon of the plant list Uruanna, characterised by long lists of words arranged in boxes but not in rows; hence its colophon expressly states that *la i-šu-û sa-di-i-ru*, (the text) ‘has no rows’ (BAK No. 321: 5 = Hunger 1968: 99). Cf. a similar discussion in Frahm 2011: 332 n. 1588.

of combining these two terms, *zarû* and *sadîru*, was to allude to the type of editorial work specifically associated with Esagil-kîn-apli, which may have also been reflected in the acrostic.

This weaving metaphor occurs elsewhere in relation to Esagil-kîn-apli's interests in editing texts, as in an Assur copy of physiognomic omens published by Nils Heeßel, which makes an oblique remark about Esagil-kîn-apli. The text reads, DIŠ *alan*-*dîm-mu-u* LIBIR.RA *ša é-sag-gil*-GIN.A NU DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-*šû*, 'an older (recension) of *Alamdimmû*-(physiognomic omens) which Esagil-kîn-apli never "untied"' (Heeßel 2010: 145-150). What is meant by 'older' omens, which this famous scholar never 'untied' or 'resolved'? The likelihood is that to 'untie' a text would mean to take apart its individual variants in order to incorporate them into a standard edition, which in effect would mean that the individual tablet is no longer required. 'Untying' the tablet would refer to this editing process, and the opposite case, that the tablet is not 'untied', would mean that the tablet has not yet had its variants recorded and it remains as a separate composition, in a synoptic relationship to other texts of the same genre.<sup>33</sup> In other words, this is a text which was outside the confines of a standardised or canonised text with its widely agreed fixed form, and as such the Assur tablet discovered by Heeßel falls outside of the usual process of text editions attributed specifically to Esagil-kîn-apli.

### 3 Non-canonical Texts

If so much effort is expended by one scholar to create standard editions of texts, we would ideally like to know what is actually meant by non-standard or 'external' (*ahû*) texts in relation to closely edited or 'woven' ones. The reason why this is important is because canonicity is often defined by its exceptions, so while there is no clear vocabulary for standardisation of texts (beyond the metaphorical terms discussed above), texts which were not standardised in the same way were labelled as 'outsider' (*ahû*)-texts. Nevertheless, this is all part of the same process of establishing standard text editions.

A revealing clue to identifying non-canonical texts occurs in a letter to Ashurbanipal from his chief scribes Nabûzeru-lešir and Issar-šumu-ereš (SAA 10 No. 8 rev. 1-2 = Parpola 1993: 9): *šu-mu an-ni-u la-a ša ÊŠ.GÂR-ma šu-u ša pi-i um-ma-ni šu-û*, 'this omen is not from the Series (i.e. *Enûma Anu Enlil*), it is an oral communication of a scholar', and then reiterates the matter once again, *an-ni-û la-a ša ÊŠ.GÂR-ma šu-u a-hi-u šu-u*, 'it is not from the series, it is "external" (non-standard)' (ibid. rev. 8, and see Elman 1975: 23). A somewhat surprising reference to non-canonical tablets occurs in another court letter from the exorcist Marduk-šakin-šumi to the king in the very same year (671 BCE), reporting on a list of various rituals being performed on the king's behalf on the day; the scholar promises to prepare a further number of rituals for the following day, about which he reports (SAA 10 No. 240: 23-27 = Parpola 1993: 191): *û-ma-a re-eš ūp-pa-a-ni ma-a'-du-ti lu 20 lu 30 SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ a-hi-û-ti ú-ba-'a a-na-áš-ši-a a-šaŭ-ŭar* 'I will now search for, pick out, and write the incipits of many tablets,<sup>34</sup> some 20 or 30, either "good" (i.e. canonical) or "external" (non-canonical) ones.' The value judgment expressed in this letter is striking, with the contrast between 'good' and 'external' tablets being clearly expressed. That this distinction is not accidental can be seen in another letter from the same Marduk-šakin-šumi to Ashurbanipal a short time later, in which he describes his own actions to prepare anti-witchcraft rituals (SAA 10 No. 245 rev. 12-18 = Parpola 1993: 195): *a-na-ku an-nu-rig ūp-pa-a-ni 30 40 SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ am-mar ina muh-hi qur-bu-u-ni ù a-hi-û-ti i-ba-áš-ši i-se-niš im-ma-ti-me-ni [in-né-p]u-šû-u-[n]i re-e-šû [a-na-áš-ši a-m]a-ta-ha ....* 'I am now picking out and using 30-40 tablets, as many "good" (standard) ones near to the subject and "external" (non-standard) ones as there are, in addition to what is usually performed ....' There appears to be no question that the standardised tablets were to be preferred to the non-standard ones, although the latter had their uses.<sup>35</sup> In any case, there is a clear contrast between

<sup>33</sup> See Wee 2015: 254, in which he compares this phrase to the editorial process of 'unravelling textual threads from older compositions', which is a similar idea.

<sup>34</sup> Parpola (1993: 191) translated this passage as, 'I shall now look up, collect, and copy numerous – 20 to 30 – canonical and non-canonical tablets', relying upon the idiom *rēša našû*, 'to pick out', which is technically correct. However, in most instances the term *rēšu* occurs either immediately before *našû* or in the vicinity, whereas in the present clause the term *rēšu* appears far in advance of *našû*, and together with two other verbs which do not share the same idiom with *rēšu*. For this reason, we have opted for a translation of *rēš ūppāni* as 'incipits', partly on contextual grounds, since it would have been difficult even for a trained scribe to produce 20 to 30 tablets on a single day, unless they were quite small. The recording of incipits would make good sense in this context, in effect producing a thematic catalogue of relevant omen texts, similar to the catalogues being studied in the present volume.

<sup>35</sup> See also SAA 10 No. 182 rev. 24-28, in which the writer remarks that while his competitors only had access to all kinds of 'external' (non-standard) tablets, he himself was fortunate enough to learn from his own father (Parpola 1993: 146-147).



tablets which are SIG<sub>5</sub> ‘good’ and others which are either *lā ša iškāri* ‘not from a series’ or *ahûti*, ‘external, non-standard’. We are reminded once again of the Hippocratic Corpus, which managed to protect its own texts for posterity in preference to medical literature not included within the Corpus.

We have a number of examples of such *ahû*-texts, most often but not exclusively appearing in collections of omens. The question is what is meant by the term *ahû*, ‘outside’ in reference to editions of texts.<sup>36</sup> There are clear cases in which the term *ahû* refers to non-standard manuscripts of a known series, such as individual *Šumma izbu* extracts marked as *ahûti* (Leichty: 1970 198-199, de Zorzi 2014: I 336-237). On the other hand, a lengthy *ahû*-tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil* published by Rochberg (2010: 85-111) parallels (with many variants) the standard edition of the same material, thus showing the contrast between standard and non-standard editions of the same text. An *ahû*-text might simply be a tablet with many orthographic peculiarities, and although not be specifically marked as *ahû*, it could be considered as a candidate for non-canonicity if its variant readings do not regularly conform to those of the standard series.<sup>37</sup>

In effect, Nineveh sources show a remarkable degree of conformity with Late Babylonian redactions of the same texts from Babylon, Sippar, and Uruk, among other sites. Although colophons never refer to such texts as ‘standardised’, it is usual to note that the tablets have been ‘checked and collated’, or even copied from a writing board or tablet from a library elsewhere, such as Babylon. However, on occasion one encounters exceptions. A few colophons include the term *ahû*, ‘outside’, to refer to texts which are ‘non-canonical’ or not part of the standard composition.<sup>38</sup> Several examples of such non-canonical tablets occur in collections of physiognomic omens,<sup>39</sup> but the more interesting example is one standard Nineveh colophon (Type q, see Hunger 1968: 103 = BAK No. 329) which labels the tablet as a *bul-ṭi TA muh-hi EN UMBIN liq-ti BAR.MEŠ*, or ‘prescriptions from head to toenail, non-canonical collections’.<sup>40</sup> It is worth examining in this connection a fuller version of the colophon most commonly appearing on editions of medical recipes from Nineveh (BAK No. 329):

*ni-siq ṭup-šar-ru-ti ša ina LUGAL.MEŠ-ni a-lik mah-ri-ia mam-ma šip-ru šu-a-tu la e-hu-uz-zu bul-ṭi TA muh-hi EN UMBIN liq-ti BAR.MEŠ ta-hi-zu nak-la a-zu-gal-lu-ut* <sup>41</sup>*nin-urta u* <sup>42</sup>*gu-la ma-la ba-aš-mu ina ṭup-pa-a-ni áš-ṭur as-ni* IGI.KÁR-ma a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-si-ia qé-reb É.GAL-ia ú-kin

The apex of scribal arts – which among my royal predecessor no one could grasp this work – I (Ashurbanipal) wrote, checked, and collated the recipes ‘from cranium to toe(nails)’, the non-standardised selections (*liqtī ahûti*),<sup>41</sup> (and) clever analysis (*tāhizu nakla*). I established (*ukīn*) within my palace (editions) of the highest medical arts of Ninurta and Gula, as much (as exists) taking the form of (cuneiform)-tablets, for my (own) reading and lecturing.

<sup>36</sup> The term *ahû* (Sum. bar) ‘outside’, has a close equivalent in the Jewish Aramaic term *beraitha*, ‘outside’, which also refers to extra traditions cited in the Talmud which were not originally codified in the Mishnah, which was the main sourcebook of rabbinic academies, apart from the Bible itself (see Stemberger 1982: 191-192). A *beraitha* can be characterised as 1) free standing and independent, 2) anonymous, and 3) representing an older stratum of authoritative knowledge.

<sup>37</sup> A good example of a possible *ahû*-tablet is K. 111+, which duplicates Udug-hul Tablet 13-15; this large two-column tablet lacks a colophon and shows signs of being burned. Although found in Nineveh, the tablet was written in a very distinctive Babylonian script and has many orthographic peculiarities and variants which differ from other Udug-hul duplicates from other sites (Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, etc.); see Geller 2016: 17-18.

<sup>38</sup> Rochberg (2010: 76) refers to *ahû*-collections among celestial omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*), *Šumma ālu* and *Šumma izbu*-omens, the menology *Iqqur ipuš* and medical prescriptions, and identifies *ahû*-texts as a ‘classification primarily applicable to casuistic literature, and more specifically to the so-called scientific texts, that is, divination and medicine’; see generally Rochberg 2010: 65ff. and 85ff. Koch defines omen texts characterised as *ahû* as being ‘older omen material that was left out of the standard series ... extraneous but not unauthoritative’ (Koch (2015: 65).

<sup>39</sup> See Böck 2000: 19, 262ff. for *ahû*-tablets of physiognomic omens. The first is a small excerpt tablet from the series *Alamdimmû*, with the colophon which states, [ŠU.NIGIN X]+1 MU.MEŠ *alam-dim-mu-ú* 15 u 150 TA ŠĀ *liq-ti* BAR.MEŠ ZI-*ha* [GABA.R]I KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> SUMUN-šú SAR-ma ba-ri-im ‘[Total of] x lines of *Alamdimmû*, right and left, extracted from among *ahû*-selections, a copy from Babylon, its *Vorlage* being copied and checked.’ Other tablets of these omens are known to be ‘extraneous’ by comparison with the standard editions of these omens.

<sup>40</sup> The same colophon (Hunger 1968 = BAK No. 329) occurs on almost all Nineveh medical compositions which have Ashurbanipal colophons preserved, e.g. BAM 538.

<sup>41</sup> The translation ‘selections’ is taken from Koch 2015: 184. See Heeßel 2012: No. 1 (KAR 483) for *liqte ahûti* in explanatory omens and Koch 2005: 296 (KAR 151) showing these omens being collected as a *nishu*-extract.

This colophon tells us a certain amount about the editing of medical recipes in the Ashurbanipal Library, and specifically that medical recipes (*bulṭī*) were edited and compiled which were *a capite ad calcem*, an almost universal ‘from head-to-foot’ organisation of medical data known from Babylonian diagnostic omens as well as from Greek and Egyptian and even Chinese medical literature.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the colophon explains that medical texts also came in the form of selections (*liqtī* lit. ‘gleanings’) of non-standard (*ahû*) texts, as well as being quoted within ingenious explanatory hermeneutics (*tāhīzu nakla*) on medical literature.

The impression given is that the *bulṭī* or medical recipes, drawn from non-standard editions, were constantly being edited by Ashurbanipal’s scholars into *azugallūtu*, the highest niveau of medical learning, represented by the large Nineveh tablets of collected medical prescriptions and incantations found in his Library. No other libraries or centres of learning at that time produced the quality and variety of medical texts which could rival those from Nineveh. Nevertheless, the thrust of this colophon raises serious doubts as to whether medical recipes (*bulṭī*) were ever actually standardised or belonged to a fixed canon *prior to* the editing processes carried out by Ashurbanipal’s scholars, since medical texts from Assur and other cities do not normally appear in duplicate copies (see Geller 2010: 97-108). What is more typical of medical recipes are collections of individual and largely unique manuscripts, in which various prescriptions may be duplicated elsewhere but the composition as a whole is not. It may be that the colophon cited above (BAK No. 329) expressed an ambitious goal of Ashurbanipal rather than what had actually been achieved. In any case, the combined phrases ‘head to toenail recipes’ and ‘outside collections’ occur *only* with medical texts among Ashurbanipal colophons and clearly typify the discipline of *asūtu*.

## 4 Corpus Again

The question is whether we can identify an Akkadian term to describe the abstract concept of a ‘corpus’ of texts. Technical terminology was available for more concrete descriptions of how compositions were organised, such as *iškāru* (lit. ‘work assignment’) used to describe a collection of ‘tablets’ (*tuppū*) which would be the modern equivalent of chapters of a book; these ‘tablets’ were organised into numbered sequences (hence ‘series’). Apart from complete compositions, scholars could also construct a *nishu* or ‘extract’ from a longer composition, which could be conveniently used for study or teaching purposes;<sup>43</sup> the term *pīrsu* had a similar meaning (Hunger 1968: 171).

However, there appears to be a more general term for ‘corpus’ within the diagnostic / physiognomic omen catalogue CTN 4, 71. One of the noteworthy characteristics of this particular catalogue is that the obverse of the tablet records the total number of lines in the diagnostic series *Sakikkû*, but at the same time the *Sakikkû* catalogue is divided into six sections, each listing the number of ‘tablets’ in each sub-section, and only at the very end does the text mention that *Sakikkû* is composed of 40 tablets (DUB.MEŠ); see Schmidtchen’s edition in this volume. The *Sakikkû* catalogue (CTN 4, 71) incorporates a unique note attributed to Esagil-kīn-apli discussed above (see n. 23), which adds the following remarks:<sup>44</sup>

He (Esagil-kīn-apli) contemplated in his mind and undertaking an edition (SUR.GIBIL, lit. ‘weaving’) of *Sakikkû* (diagnostic omens) ‘from cranium to feet’ (i.e. *a capite ad calcem*), he established (the text) into a recension (NÍG.ZU = *ihzu*).<sup>45</sup> Take care and pay attention! Do not neglect your recension (*ihzu*), he who does not establish a recension (NÍG.ZU NU GUB.BÉ = *ihza lā ukīn*) cannot explain symptoms (*sakikkû*), nor can he reveal (anything about) physiognomic omens (*Alamdimmû*). *Sakikkû* (diagnostic omens) is a ‘corpus’ (*riksu*) of disease and a ‘corpus’ (*riksu*)

<sup>42</sup> A variant colophon occasionally appears (BAK No. 319) which includes the usual statement that none of Ashurbanipal’s predecessor kings were capable of working at the highest level of scribal arts (*nisiq tuppšarrūti*), and then reads: *né-me-eq “nabû ti-kip sa-ana-tak-ki ma-la ba-āš-mu ina tupp-pa-a-ni āš-tur as-niq ab-re-e-ma* ‘I wrote, checked, and collated Nabû’s wisdom, as much as is formed in cuneiform wedges on tablets.’ This type of colophon is typical for the non-medical anti-witchcraft corpus (see for example Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 327), and it is also the colophon which appears on the Lambert list of sages and scholars (Lambert 1962: 63). It is likely that Ashurbanipal was unaware of the contents of the latter text, but that this colophon was a *pro forma* addendum required by palace protocols.

<sup>43</sup> See Koch 2015: 184 for a discussion of *nishu*-excerpts from celestial omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil*.

<sup>44</sup> My own interpretive translation differs from that given elsewhere in this volume (cf. Schmidtchen *supra*).

<sup>45</sup> The idea of *ihzu* as ‘recension’ rather than a more general term for ‘knowledge’ is based on the context of this passage, which refers specifically to editing texts; in fact, the term *ihzu* can refer to a ‘mounting’ for precious stones or metals, which is a suitable metaphor in this context for the frame or fixed setting of an edited text.

of mental illness, (while) *Alamdimmû*-omens concern physiognomy and (physical) form and human fate, which Ea and his son (i.e. Marduk) have determined; as to the textual series (*iškāru*) of both (i.e. *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*), their ‘corpus’ (*riksu*) is as one.

The most intriguing feature of this description of diagnostic and physiognomic omens is the appearance of the term *riksu*, which literally refers to a ‘set table’ used for offerings or a ‘binding’ of various items together, but used in this highly unusual text as a metaphor for ‘corpus’.<sup>46</sup> The point of the remark is that diagnostic and physiognomic omens, while already organised sequentially into compositions (i.e. ‘tablets’), should be taken together to form a single canon of texts on the topic of signs or omens derived from physical traits.<sup>47</sup> The interesting feature of this passage is the number of metaphors being employed for the job of editing texts (*zarâ šabātu, ihzu, kânu, riksu*), since no technical vocabulary existed to explain such editorial work, and that these neologisms are associated in this text with Esagil-kîn-apli.

## 5 Conclusion – a Babylonian Hippocrates

The question which has been lurking in the background of this entire discussion is whether Esagil-kîn-apli was thought to be responsible for the three catalogues in the present volume (AMC, KAR 44, CTN 4, 71) which list all works dealing with healing arts. The two relevant questions concern the processes of standardising text editions into canonical versions and the attribution of texts to an author. All three catalogues dating from the Neo-Assyrian period list compositions of texts in relevant genres, but only two of the catalogues formally attributed this activity to the earlier scholar Esagil-kîn-apli.

The data surveyed in the present discussion has been based upon certain assumptions. First, the process of editing standardised texts within Mesopotamian school tradition was already well established by the time these catalogues were created, since already in the Old Babylonian period anonymous Nippur scholars were composing Sumerian literary texts with remarkably few variants, indicating a process of canonicity long before Esagil-kîn-apli’s time. Nevertheless, earlier scholars invented no specific terminology to describe this activity, and most of the works listed in our three catalogues did not yet exist in the form we know them in the Old Babylonian period. It is therefore defensible to argue that the serialisation and standardisation of most of the texts mentioned in these lists belonged to a later period – an editorial activity specifically dated in one catalogue to the reign of Adad-apla-iddina in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE and attributed to a single scholar, Esagil-kîn-apli (see Finkel 1988). However, the jarring statement in KAR 44 that Esagil-kîn-apli’s pedigree reaches back to the time of Hammurapi may intentionally allude to the fact that such editing processes had already been put into place in older periods by predecessors in the academy. Nevertheless, this leaves us

<sup>46</sup> One reference to *riksu* as corpus is not quite certain but could possibly be an important witness to this term. The usage in question occurs at the end of a lengthy tablet which compiles several incantations from the incantation Compendium (see Schramm 2008), copied by R. C. Thompson in CT 17, 15-18 (BM 34223). This Seleucid period tablet (see BAK No. 421) contains a catchline followed by a unique rubric (CT 17, 18):

én sag-gig an-edin-na ì-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> im-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-ri-ri

im-dub 24 kešda nam-nar éš-gār udug-hul-meš nu al-til

‘Incantation: “the headache demon circles around in the steppe and blows like the wind.”

24<sup>th</sup> tablet, *riksu* of chanting, Series of Udug-hul-a-meš, not complete.’

The usual interpretation of this line is šir-nam-nar, ‘musical song’, but this term is rare and does not apply to any known corpus of texts, and bears no special relationship to Udug-hul incantations. The likelihood is that the term nam-nar is not technical but rather a general description of a category of incantations, for which Udug-hul comprises one component. A similar term is *šerkugû* for ritual songs in incantations, also mentioned in KAR 44 but rarely employed. The meaning of the colophon would be that the incantation in question represents the 24<sup>th</sup> tablet of a corpus of liturgy (lit. ‘song’), incorporating the Udug-hul series, but not complete.

<sup>47</sup> It is hardly coincidental that the CTN 4, 71 passage (attributed to Esagil-kîn-apli) describes diagnostic omens (SA.GIG) *twice* as a *riksu* of both physical and mental disease, while avoiding this term in describing physiognomic omens (*Alamdimmû*). This reflects the actual status of such omens when these observations were made, since *Sakikkû* was a single composition composed of six sub-series (*sadīru*) combined into a unified work (*riksu*), while physiognomic omens consisted of several independent compositions (*Alamdimmû*, *Nigdimdimmû*, *Kataduggû*, *Šumma sinništu qaqqaqda rabiāt*, *Šumma liptu*), which never appeared under a single title and hence were not designated as a ‘corpus’ (*riksu*). The passage concludes, however, that the serialised compositions (*iškāru*) of diagnostic and physiognomic omens should be considered together as a combined ‘corpus’ (*riksu*) or canon.

with the problem of explaining why only two of the catalogues, KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71 attribute their lists to Esagil-kīn-apli, while the third catalogue, AMC, is silent on this point.

Before addressing this question, it would be useful to review the striking similarities of all three catalogues. All are single-column tablets, with one (KAR 44) being landscape (horizontal) in layout, while the other two have a portrait (vertical) layout; this conforms with Irving Finkel's observations regarding different layouts for Late Babylonian school texts dealing with magic and medicine.<sup>48</sup> Second, all three catalogues are divided into two main sections, indicating a natural division of the sources listed. In CTN 4, 71 the first section lists diagnostic omens while the second section lists physiognomic omens (see the edition of Schmidtchen below). In KAR 44, the first section lists works forming the standard curriculum of exorcists,<sup>49</sup> while the second list comprises more esoteric works at an advanced level of training and education. In both these catalogues, the two sections are divided by a comment attributing these compositions to a single scholar, Esagil-kīn-apli.<sup>50</sup> In AMC, the first section lists diseases associated with parts of the body, while the second section enumerates more general pathologies unrelated to any specific area of human anatomy. Although no attribution is given to any scholar in AMC, nevertheless the list includes frequent repetitions of key phrases – e.g. *zarâ* (SUR.GIBIL) *šabātu* – which are closely associated with Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial work in CTN 4, 71, so that the attribution is hinted at if not specifically stated.<sup>51</sup>

There are several possible reasons why Esagil-kīn-apli was not mentioned in AMC. First, the format and content of AMC is so similar to that of the other catalogues, with some overlap between genres and general similarity of subject matter, that it may not have been considered necessary to mention Esagil-kīn-apli by name. Second, no other authority among scholars and sages was credited with producing standard editions of medical texts, so again mentioning him by name may have been redundant. Moreover, in Lambert's lists of scholars and ancestors discussed above, the section we ascribed to Esagil-kīn-apli (i.e. 'from the mouth of Ea') identifies texts dealing with magic, liturgy, diagnostics, and physiognomic omens, which are the very texts listed in KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71; no mention is made of *asûtu* or medicine in the Lambert list in connection with Esagil-kīn-apli or any other scholar. The reason for this may be (as noted above) that the standard editions of medical texts came relatively late, probably from anonymous scholars in the employ of Ashurbanipal's Library, and given that the Lambert lists themselves date from roughly this same period and scholarly atelier, it would have been obvious that medical texts had not been edited in duplicate copies in the earlier era of Adad-apla-iddina or Esagil-kīn-apli. However, the actual editorial processes of creating a SUR.GIBIL *šabtu*, a 'text edition formally accomplished', followed the methods and procedures already established by Esagil-kīn-apli for genres thematically similar and related to medicine. So while Esagil-kīn-apli was not mentioned by name in AMC, his scholarly presence was certainly felt.

Is there any justification for assuming Esagil-kīn-apli to have been a Babylonian Hippocrates? The answer must be affirmative, since Esagil-kīn-apli is the only ancient authority whose name was associated with editorial work on Babylonian magic, diagnostics, and medicine, and the only name which merits comparison with Hippocrates within Greek medicine. Esagil-kīn-apli was someone to whom magical and medical works could be attributed in order to lend authority to standardised texts, with the usual implications for assumed canonicity and preservation of texts within identifiable corpora.

<sup>48</sup> Finkel provides a simple scheme based on a Late Babylonian archive of tablets dealing with both magic and medicine; portrait or vertical orientation was used for *asûtu* and landscape or horizontal orientation was used for *āšipûtu* (Finkel 2000: 146), which conforms to the patterns of the three catalogues AMC, KAR 44, and CTN 4, 71. One grey area is the last of these catalogues (CTN 4, 71) dealing with diagnostic and physiognomic omens, usually associated with the exorcist, but in the catalogue scheme, these omens were considered to be closer to therapeutic prescriptions than incantations, judging by the portrait rather than landscape orientation (following AMC rather than KAR 44). It seems plausible, however, that distinctive disciplines are not to be confused with the professionals who employed them.

<sup>49</sup> Including his training as a priest. This information contrasts with the resumé of the exorcist provided in Koch 2015: 20-21, in which she maintains that the '*āšipu* was almost never directly affiliated with a temple, in contrast to the various other officials and "priests", who were responsible for cultic cleansing rituals and the daily cult' (ibid. 20). The fact that the activities of the *āšipu* / *mašmaššu* are best known in relation to exorcism and magical rituals does not rule out regular activities within the temple, which are clearly enumerated within KAR 44.

<sup>50</sup> It is worth noting this same layout in a hemerology dating to the Neo-Assyrian period (Livingstone 2013: 179), with an explanatory statement coming at the end of the obverse attributing the hemerology to the time of Nazimarutāš, about two centuries earlier than Adad-apla-iddina. See the discussion above.

<sup>51</sup> This connection between AMC and CTN 4, 71 was already noted by Frahm (2011: 329 n. 1571).

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# Towards a New Perspective on Babylonian Medicine

## The Continuum of Allegoresis and the Emergence of Secular Models in Mesopotamian Scientific Thought

**Abstract:** Traditional accounts of Babylonian medicine see the two disciplines involved in healing in ancient Mesopotamia, viz. *āšipūtu* “exorcism or incantation-and-ritual-driven healing” and *asūtu* “medicine”, as complementary disciplines, collaborating in the treatment of individual patients. Ritter’s 1965 paper on the two disciplines, for example, sought to differentiate them, while at the same time arguing that they often collaborated in the treatment of individual patients. The new edition of AMC in this volume already overturns one of Ritter’s primary working hypotheses, namely that Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) lacked the type of carefully organized, discipline-defining compendium known for *āšipūtu*, where *The Diagnostic Handbook* clearly plays this role. Now that *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* – the medical corpus that AMC defines – can be seen as functionally equivalent, in certain ways, to *The Diagnostic Handbook*, this paper seeks to overturn two other common descriptions of Babylonian medicine that derive, however indirectly, from the idea that the medical corpus is amorphous or open-ended: (i) the belief that *asūtu* and *āšipūtu* were complementary and cooperative disciplines and (ii) the supposedly non-theoretical character of Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*).

This paper argues that these two disciplines were, for the most part, in competition for the attention of the crown as well as for social standing more generally. Each of these two disciplines (*asūtu* and *āšipūtu*) maintained its own disciplinary identity and compendia and, perhaps more importantly for Mesopotamian intellectual history, its own models of disease etiology and causation. These different models of etiology and causation in *asūtu* and *āšipūtu* only become apparent, however, when we adopt a properly “architectonic” approach to reconstructing the technical compendia that were used by each of these two disciplines. And, as a consequence, the position of any given line or fragment within a particular, discipline-specific compendium is one of its most important, even definitive, properties. This type of “architectonic approach” is unusually powerful, when we look at the diseases of the gastrointestinal tract, because there we find a decisive split. The etiologies of gastrointestinal disease within exorcism-driven healing (*āšipūtu*) rely, almost exclusively, on postulating ghosts or demons as causal agents, while Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) turned to increasingly “secular” etiologies based on analogies between the unseen processes of the gastrointestinal tract and visible processes in the natural or social world. These distinctively secular etiologies in the medical corpus are registered, above all, in medical incantations that parody the established incantations of the competing discipline of *āšipūtu*.<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

One of the most important advances made possible by the new edition of the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC), edited in this volume, is that we can now adopt an “architectonic” approach to the reconstruction of *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*. This compendium, which is represented by the first half of the materials catalogued in AMC and is described at length in Steinert’s and Panayotov’s contributions to the volume, consisted of twelve medical treatises, arranged anatomically from head (I CRANIUM) to foot (XII HAMSTRING), with each chapter (viz. tablet in Assyriological parlance) indicated by a trailing Arabic numeral (VIII STOMACH shows that the STOMACH treatise is the eighth treatise in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, but STOMACH 1 refers to its first chapter). Thanks to the scaffolding made available by *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* we can now systematically distinguish between “manuscripts” (the efforts of a scribe to represent a given textual object in antiquity) and “parallels” (textual passages that present a similar or completely identical segment of a text, but are situated in a different compendial context), only granting sigla to the manu-

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to M. Geller, N. Heeßel, U. Steinert, E. Schmidtchen and K. Simkó for extensive comments on a preliminary draft. Any remaining errors are entirely of my own doing.

scripts, but still listing all parallel passages, as can be seen in the following segment from the first chapter of STOMACH, the treatise dealing with gastrointestinal disease.<sup>2</sup>

STOMACH 1, line 113 (A = BAM 574, B = STT 252)

[liš-šá]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup> [.....] <sup>r</sup>li<sup>r</sup>-pat-ta-a ÍD.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>r</sup> (A ii 48)

[liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>]<sup>sr</sup>MAR<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ / ša KÙ.BABBAR kid-di-me-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup> šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> lip-pa-ta<sup>r</sup> [ÍD.MEŠ] (B 17c-18a)

BAM 508 ii 5'-6a': <sup>r</sup>liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>MAR.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR u ki-din-né-e šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> / li-pat-ta-a ÍD.MEŠ

BAM 509 i 3'-4a': [.....] KÙ.BABBAR gi-dim-me-e-ti [.....] / [.....] ÍD.MEŠ

K. 5416a+ rev. iv 28'-29a': [x] liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>MAR.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR gi-dim-me-ti šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> / li-pat-ta-a ÍD.MEŠ

May they bear shovels of silver and spades of gold! May they open up the waterways! (var. May the waterways be opened up!)

This indelible line is from an incantation that imagines the shoveling out of an intestinal blockage by a group of Lilliputian ladies, a line that also finds its literary context in the so-called *mannam lušpur* “Whom shall I send?” incantations studied by Walter Farber (1990).<sup>3</sup> In editions and studies that focus exclusively on the literary features of incantations like this, the position of this line (and its accompanying incantations) in a therapeutic subcorpus is not particularly relevant, yet it should be equally clear that for intellectual historians, particularly those interested in early technical disciplines such as medicine, the position of this line in a medical treatise dedicated to the treatment of gastrointestinal illness is of the utmost importance. Indeed, this single line occurs in two rather different technical compendia, and in doing so it also underscores two different approaches to the etiology of gastrointestinal illness in ancient Mesopotamia.

Five clay tablets preserve this line: (i) BAM 574 ii 48, (ii) STT 252, lines 17c-18a, (iii) BAM 508 ii 5', (iv) BAM 509 i 3'-4a' and (v) K. 5416a+ rev. iv 28'-29a', but only two of these five witnesses are designated here as “manuscripts”, namely (i) and (ii), and consequently assigned to sigla A and B respectively, while (iii), (iv) and (v) are classified here as parallels, and, therefore, receive a quite different treatment in the apparatus.<sup>4</sup> Ms A is the well-known main manuscript of the first chapter of STOMACH, viz. BAM 574, partially edited already in Kùchler's 1904 edition, while Ms B is a Sultantepe manuscript that duplicates a cluster of incantations found at the end of the second column and the beginning of the third in BAM 574. By contrast, the parallels in BAM 508, BAM 509 and K. 5416a+ each exhibit different compendial contexts and were presumably drawn up to serve rather different ends and ideologies. Of course, it should be immediately recognized that the only full manuscript is Ms A (BAM 574), whereas Ms B represents a decontextualized fascicle or major section of the standardized tablet BAM 574. If this is so, why distinguish between a decontextualized cluster of incantations in Ms B and the somewhat different decontextualization of similar materials in BAM 508, BAM 509 or K. 5416a+? Why treat these three partial witnesses differently, elevating STT 252 to the status of a “manuscript”, while demoting BAM 508, for example, to a “parallel”? The simple answer is that, in doing so, we postulate at least two distinct occurrences of this line and its incantation in the architectonic structure of the Babylonian medical corpus as a whole: each of these two “contexts” will be described below, and I will seek to elucidate why the different position of at least two of these occurrences of the “same” line in the Babylonian medical corpus actually tells us a great deal about competing disciplinary identities and etiological beliefs.

Like any scholarly discipline Babylonian medicine (*asûtu*) had to differentiate itself from competing disciplines and practices, above all, among the learned or scholarly traditions in Mesopotamia, from the practices of the *āšipu* “exorcist, incantation-priest”. In our efforts to distinguish these two disciplines we must be especially cautious about attributing textual materials to a specific discipline on the basis of the stated or implied discipline of a copyist or colophon. There are a number of examples of tablets containing therapeutic recipes, which clearly belong to *asûtu* rather

<sup>2</sup> In earlier works, in line with convention, I have referred to the subcorpus or medical treatise represented by BAM 574, 575, 578, 579 and related tablets as SUALU, but this label can be very misleading, since the materials dealing with the *suālu* disease do not actually occur in this subcorpus. Here I adopt the nomenclature of the BabMed Project and speak of this same group of materials as the STOMACH treatise, chapters 1 through 5 (or, in abbreviated use, STOMACH 1 through STOMACH 5).

<sup>3</sup> Farber's *Partitur* of four of the five known sources (BAM 508, BAM 509, K. 5416a+ [listed under the published fragment AMT 45/5] and BAM 577 [now joined to BAM 574], only STT 252 is omitted) is the first real description of this incantation, but without the join of BAM 577 to BAM 574, the incantation could not yet be located within the therapeutic corpus as a whole. Farber's paper also serves as the key point of departure for the section on gastrointestinal diseases in Collins's dissertation (1999).

<sup>4</sup> K. 5416a+ is largely unpublished and consists of a number of joined fragments that will be edited by M. Geller in a future BAM volume.



than *āšipūtu*, and yet were copied and transmitted by exorcists. While many potential contrasts between the two disciplines were advanced in Ritter's 1965 paper, these contrasts are actually rooted in a faulty methodology: Ritter used elements found in the colophons of STOMACH 1 and the second chapter of *The Diagnostic Handbook*, including the term *asû* embedded in an epithet of Ninurta and Gula and a reference to the term *āšipu* in the incipit of the first section of *The Diagnostic Handbook*, to assign these two texts to the disciplines of *asûtu* and *āšipūtu* respectively. And while these two attributions happen to be correct, Ritter's method is flawed and this type of attribution-by-colophon can be quite misleading.<sup>5</sup> The rather different approach advocated here argues for the centrality of compendial context: if a composition is listed in AMC, particularly in the anatomically-driven first half, which corresponds to *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, it is quite likely to be part of *asûtu* rather than *āšipūtu*. This compendial context can then be buttressed by specific features of genre or textual organization such as the use of depersonalized case histories or the avoidance of traditional descriptions of causation in the medical compendia. Of course we must bear in mind that when Ritter's paper was published in 1965, AMC had not yet been discovered and the compendial structure of *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* was largely unrecognized. In the absence of well-defined compendia, clearly linked to the two disciplines, Ritter had little choice but to proceed as she did, whatever the methodological problems that it gave rise to.

One of the clearest points of contrast between *asûtu* "Babylonian medicine" and the discipline of the exorcist, viz. *āšipūtu*, may be found in their approach to gastrointestinal illness. As a group of illnesses that are not seated in a visible or easily accessible part of the human body (and often co-occur with fevers and headache, which might be linked to other, non-gastrointestinal parts of the body), illnesses of the digestive tract offer a nearly blank canvas, allowing native concepts of disease etiology and transformation to come to the fore. The incantations typically associated with the exorcist (*āšipu*) represent the older of the two disciplines, at least in written form, and the predominant model at work in this tradition is that unsettled or untoward ghosts (as well as certain other supernatural agents such as ŠU NAM.ÉRIM "Hand of a (broken) oath") often served as the immediate cause of the diseases of the digestive tract. Scurlock (2006) presents the textual evidence at length, and speaks of "ghost-induced illness", but if I may simplify her account somewhat, the exorcists seem to have inferred that illnesses with no obvious external cause came into existence through ghosts of those who had suffered a violent or unusual death. This malevolent ghost inhabited the body of the patient and transferred to the patient symptoms or behaviors that were associated with the ghost's own manner of death or subsequent mortuary experience. We have no theoretical treatises that explain the mechanics of this form of etiology, but presumably an explicit and visible cause that had led the ghost in question to "wander" was "carrier over" to the patient that the ghost inhabits: the ghost of a man killed by a blow to the head would represent the "cause" of a headache, for example, or a ghost disquieted by the absence of mortuary offerings, viz. food and drink, could represent the "cause" of a loss of appetite, and so on. Scurlock quotes, for example, the following:

If he was wounded on his spine and, as a consequence, he is stopped up so that his excrement does not come out, 'hand' of a murderous ghost, he will die.<sup>6</sup>

Scurlock goes on to suggest that "'the murderous ghost' was in such bad sorts due to the fact that he himself was the victim of murder."<sup>7</sup> Even if never spelled out directly, the implication is clear: internal illnesses for which no clear etiology was available could be explained as resulting from a ghost that had been affected by a proper external cause (a battle wound, starvation in the steppe or infrequent meals in the grave) and these causes could, then, be transmitted to the patient during the visitation of the ghost.

Some branches of Babylonian medicine (*asûtu*), at least in the late second and early first millennium BCE, reacted to this same group of intestinal illnesses in a fundamentally different way: "Hand of a ghost" is almost never mentioned in the therapeutic treatise labeled here as STOMACH and where we do find some traces of an etiological metaphor in these compendia, it is largely focused on environmental analogies. Simply put, ghost-induced illness plays almost

<sup>5</sup> Ritter spoke of *āšipūtu* and *asûtu* as "professions" rather than "disciplines" and it remains to be seen if colophons can still be a useful way of studying the history of the corresponding professions, once "discipline" and "profession" are properly distinguished. For the history of this long debate, see Fales 2016: 24-25 and references therein, especially Scurlock 1999: 76 and Finkel 2000: 146. Generic references to exorcists and physicians in this paper should be seen as shorthand for practitioners of the disciplines of *āšipūtu* and *asûtu* respectively, without taking a specific stand on the linkage between these disciplines and particular professions in concrete historical circumstances.

<sup>6</sup> Scurlock 2006: 6 and n. 72 and 73.

<sup>7</sup> Scurlock 2006: 7.

no role. As Scurlock herself emphasizes, the actual therapies found in texts that describe contact with ghosts largely overlap with therapies for illnesses of the digestive tract:

Without exception, medicaments found in apparition potions appear also in potions for hurting insides, a fact which suggests that these apparitions, at least, were visual hallucinations accompanying severe abdominal discomfort.<sup>8</sup>

If we step back from Scurlock's occasionally overly literal understanding of ghostly apparition, a more precise characterization – separating out the texts belonging to the two disciplines (*asûtu* and *āšipûtu*) – would have to acknowledge a rather different approach on the part of the two disciplines: whereas “exorcistic healing” (*āšipûtu*) postulated ghosts as the mediators between visible causes and the etiology of internal illness, the physicians simply located these illnesses in an appropriate “seat”, here the digestive tract, and sought to explain their etiology, if at all, only through observation and environmental analogies.

This contrast between the ghost-induced models of traditional exorcistic healing (*āšipûtu*) and the analogy-driven approach of Babylonian medicine (*asûtu*) may have started to emerge as soon as the Old Babylonian period, but, for the most part, we can only link etiological doctrines to distinct disciplines, in a reliable way, when incantations begin to be incorporated into standardized, discipline-focused compendia in the late second and early first millennium BCE. In a certain sense, therefore, we can (and should) see collections of incantations as theoretical, or at minimum, doctrinal canons for particular disciplines. Unlike the numerous isolated incantations known from the late third and second millennium, even the most rudimentary Old Babylonian compilations introduce rubrics that survive into later periods. More importantly, the sequence of incantations that we find in Old Babylonian manuscripts of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, for instance, line up, for the most part, with the sequence found in first-millennium canonical versions. *Utukkū Lemnūtu* (also known under its Sumerian title *udug hul-a-kam* or more colloquially as *Udug hul* “malevolent ghost”) is a particularly relevant example here because it provides us with a *catalogue raisonné* of possible causal agents, namely the demons and wayward ghosts with which the exorcists were preoccupied. These causal agents were then linked to particular symptoms in *The Diagnostic Handbook*, when it speaks of “the hand of <causal agent>”.

As M. Geller has emphasized in his recent edition of the canonical version, explicit reference is made to patients, lit. the sick one (Akk. *maršu*) in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, many elements within *Utukkū Lemnūtu* only make sense if it is oriented to questions of disease etiology. Take, for instance, the list of circumstances that produce a wayward ghost found, in the Old Babylonian version, in lines 311-325:

- 311) Whether you are the ghost coming from the netherworld,
  - 312) Whether you are the wraith that has no resting place,
  - 313) Whether you are a virgo intacta,
  - 314) Or whether you are the young man not at puberty,
  - 315) Whether you are one who is cast on the steppe,
  - 316) Whether you are the man who died in the steppe,
  - 317) Or whether you are the one in the steppe not covered by earth,
  - 318) Whether you are the man killed with a weapon,
  - 319) Whether you are the man whom a bank crushed,
  - 320) Whether you are the one whom a lion killed,
  - 321) Or whether you are the one whom a dog devoured,
  - 322) Whether you are the man who died in water,
  - 323) Whether you are the one who fell from a roof,
  - 324) Or whether you are the one who fell from a date palm,
  - 325) Whether you are the one whose ship sank, ...
- (Translation Geller)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Scurlock 2006: 10.

<sup>9</sup> Geller 2016: 4.

<sup>10</sup> Geller 1985: 36-39.

The list goes on, and similar lists of the unfortunate dead are known from elsewhere in the cuneiform textual record, ranging from the *zi-pà-incantations* to *The Incantation to Utu* and Enkidu's vision of the netherworld.<sup>11</sup> If we are willing to recognize the centrality of ghost-induced illness within exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*), then it is only reasonable to infer that, in the mind of an exorcist (*āšipu*) who was attempting to treat a disease, this list of the unfortunate dead functioned as a fine-grained set of possible causal agents.

It is precisely at this point in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* that Scurlock's discussion of specific types of ghosts causing particular illnesses is so apt. Scurlock offers a number of examples from *The Diagnostic Handbook* in which a specific type of ghost from this list is associated with a particular patient, even examples in which a particular symptom is linked to the way in which the ghost had originally died. Here are three of Scurlock's examples, all from Tablet 26 of *The Diagnostic Handbook* (the type of ghost is in **bold**):

Obv. 17-18:

If, at the time it overcomes him, his limbs are paralyzed, his head spins, his innards are dissolving and whatever has been put into his mouth is, always on that (same) day, discharged through his anus: **Hand of a ghost that has died through murder**.<sup>12</sup>

Obv. 38:

If that of seizing seizes him time and again, at the time it has seized him, he rubs his hands and his face: **the ghost of someone who has died in water** has seized him; in the middle of the day it will be heavy for him; variant: the Lurker of the river hit him.<sup>13</sup>

Rev. 16:

If his limbs are quiet like those of a healthy man, his mouth being seized he does not talk: **Hand of the ghost of a murderer (var. Hand of the ghost of someone burned (to death in a fire))**.<sup>14</sup>

(Translations after Stol)

Demons and ghosts are described as murderous at various points in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, but here in these three examples we see ghosts who were the victim of an unfortunate turn of events: murdered, drowned and, at least in one variant, burned to death. Scurlock points to the importance of a linguistic pun in the third example (*qālu* “to be silent”, a symptom of the patient, punning on *qalū* “to burn”, the cause of the ghost's death), but more importantly observes that “the choice of which ghost to blame for what symptoms was not necessarily arbitrary: ... in a number of cases, the behavior of the victim was seen to mimic that of the ghost in a manner suggestive of possession.”<sup>15</sup> There are, in some sense, entire ethnographies (of long extinct practices) that would need to be written, if we wanted to fully understand the logic behind these linkages between patient symptoms and the way in which a ghost originally died. At minimum, it should be clear that the lists and typologies of ghosts in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* were not idle speculation, but rather figured in the daily practice of exorcists.

Equally clear, as we learn from Geller's several editions of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* (1985, 2007b, 2016), the materials that find their way into these compendia (as well as the Marduk-Ea formula and the legitimacy that it provides for both courses of treatment and practitioners) extend back in time to the middle of the third millennium BCE. If the earliest incantation, in this tradition, is attested only in the Old Akkadian period (ca. 2350–2200 BCE),<sup>16</sup> the “divine dialogues” already play an important role in pre-Sargonic incantations from Fara and Ebla, a century earlier.<sup>17</sup> Early in the second

<sup>11</sup> For the *zi-pà-incantations*, see Borger 1969; for *The Incantation to Utu*, see Alster 1991; for The Catalogue of Ghosts in *Gilgamesh*, *Enkidu and the Netherworld*, see Gadotti 2014: 109-122 as well as Lynch 2010.

<sup>12</sup> DIŠ ʾU<sub>4</sub> ʾLÁ-šú UB.NÍGIN.NA-šú i-šam-ma-ma-šú IGI.MEŠ-šú NIGIN.MEŠ -du ŠĀ-šú i-šah-hu-uh u mim-ma šá ana KA-šú GAR-nu (var. GAR-[ár]) / ina U<sub>4</sub>-me-šú (var. <<DIŠ>> ina U<sub>4</sub>-šú) ma-ti-ma ina DÚR-šú ŠUB-šu (var. ʾnaʾ-[dī-šu]) ŠU GIDIM<sub>7</sub> šá ina šag-gaš-ti GAM (Stol 1993: 61; cf. Heeßel 2000: 280: 20ʾ-21ʾ).

<sup>13</sup> DIŠ šá DAB DAB.DAB-su U<sub>4</sub> DAB-šú ŠU<sup>11</sup>-šú IGI.ME-šú ú-maš-šad GIDIM<sub>7</sub> ša ina A ŪŠ DAB-su ina ma-šal U<sub>4</sub>-mi DUGUD-su (var. KI.MIN) MAŠKIM ÍD SĪG-s[u] (Stol 1993: 65; cf. Heeßel 2000: 282: 42ʾ).

<sup>14</sup> DIŠ UB.NÍGIN.NA-šú GIM šá bal-ṭi ne-ha (var. ne-ha-šú) KA-šú DAB-ma NU DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-ub ŠU GIDIM<sub>7</sub> šag-ga-ši (var. ŠU GIDIM<sub>7</sub> qa-li-i) (Stol 1993: 69; cf. Heeßel 2000: 285: 75ʾ).

<sup>15</sup> Scurlock 2006: 6-7.

<sup>16</sup> MDP 14, 91, edited in Geller 1980; for its place in the overall tradition, see Geller 2016: 5-7.

<sup>17</sup> Several pre-Sargonic incantations feature a “divine dialogue”, including no. 7, 9 and 11 in Krebernik 1984: 48-52, 64-72 and 76-80 respectively; for an overview, see Cunningham 1997: 40-43. As Krebernik emphasizes later in the same volume, this group of incantations (no. 7-11)

millennium, in the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1800–1600 BCE), we find something new: medical compendia that eschew incantations and focus exclusively on pharmaceutical remedies. The foremost example of this type of purely pharmaceutical compendium, up to now, is BAM 393, but Andrew George has recently published a similar compendium in CUSAS 32, no. 73, and Irving Finkel will publish a much more extensive example of this type of Old Babylonian compendium in future.<sup>18</sup> The relevant passages from BAM 393 read as follows:

BAM 393 rev. 11-12 and 22-27:

11-12) If someone's belly is bloated: he should drink *zibibi'ānu* ("black cumin") in top-quality oil; then he will recover.

22-24) If someone's head suffers from *himiṭ ṣēti*-fever: you . . . powder on his head (and) you pour oil (on it); then he will recover.

25) If he is (also) warm: you add oil; then he will recover.

26-27) If someone's belly is continually swollen: he should drink *nīnū*-plant in beer; then he will recover.<sup>19</sup>

Although Old Babylonian compendia like these are entirely pharmaceutical, it is decidedly unclear, at this early point, whether or not the practitioners of these therapies had separated themselves off as a distinct medical discipline (*asūtu*). The Sumerian term *a-zu* (= Akk. *asū*) is already attested as a professional designation, centuries earlier, at the end of the third millennium and in line 93 of the Old Babylonian version of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, an exorcist (*āšipu*) declares himself to be a *šim-mú* "grower of aromatic plants", an epithet that is also applied to the healing god Ninisina, otherwise known as "the great physician of the Land" (*a-zu gal kalam-ma*).<sup>20</sup> But the non-existence of incantations in these early collections of therapeutic recipes is our first substantial piece of evidence for a possible disciplinary split.

The definitive evidence for such a split, however, comes in the form of a cluster of incantations in STOMACH 1. No doubt, practitioners of Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) were probably making use of distinctively "medical incantations" for centuries, incantations that are often described as a sop to the expectations of patients.<sup>21</sup> I would like to suggest, however, that, just as in the competing discipline of exorcistic medicine, collections of medical incantations were acting as theoretical and doctrinal texts for Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) as a discipline. This mirroring of a doctrinal codification for *asūtu*, at least in written form, appears to be a late development, however: our first really good evidence for this is the cluster of incantations found in the second and third column of STOMACH 1. Like so many of the standardized two-column tablets from Ashurbanipal's Library, STOMACH 1 locates a major block of related materials in the second half of column 2 and most of column 3, on the reverse. In STOMACH 1 this block consists of a lengthy series of

all exhibit features of the *lú-gi<sub>4</sub>*-Formular, which is a precursor to Falkenstein's Marduk-Ea formula (Falkenstein 1931: 44-67; Krebernik 1984: 211-225). Moreover, George has recently published an Early Dynastic tablet (MS 4549/1, CUSAS 32, no. 1) that includes examples of both the *lú-gi<sub>4</sub>* formula and the first attestation, in an ED III tablet, of the Marduk-Ea formula, viz. the dialogue between Asar and Enki in col. vi 8-12 (George 2016: 3, 100-101).

<sup>18</sup> George 2016: 165-167 and pl. cxliii-cxlv.

<sup>19</sup> See the edition in Geller 2006 and, more generally, Schwemer 2007: 27-28; Schwemer 2010: 36-38. AHw usually translates *šapāru* in line 23 as "eindrücken", but does not translate our line 23; Geller has "tu appliques avec force de la poudre sur sa tête" (Geller 2006: 9). The Aramaic root ŠBR "to heap up" may be relevant, but is only attested in the western dialects. The original is as follows:

rev.

11. '6,40' *a-wi-lum li-ba-šu na-pi-ih zi-bi-bi-a-'nam*

12. 'i'-na ru-uš-tim i-ša-ti-ma i-né-a-[aš] (double ruling)

...

22. 6,40 *a-wi-lum qá-qá-sú še-tam ha-mi-iṭ*

23. *sí-ka-am qá-qá-sú ta-ša-pa-ar-ma*

24. *ša-am-nam ta-ša-pa-ak-ma i-né-a-aš*

25. 6,40 *e-em ša-am-nam tu-re-di-ma i-né-a-aš* (double ruling)

26. 6,40 *a-wi-lum li-ib-ba-šu i-ta-na-an-pa-ah*

27. *ni-ni-a-am i-na ši-ka-ri-im i-ša-ti-ma i-né-a-aš* (double ruling)

<sup>20</sup> Geller 1985: 92-93.

<sup>21</sup> See Collins 1999 for an initial attempt to distinguish "medical incantations" from other types. As I suggest in section 3 below, "medical incantation" cannot simply be equated with "incantations that happen to occur in medical compendia", but rather must be defined in terms of concrete features of the incantations themselves, e.g., the avoidance of the Marduk-Ea formula, and the distinctive conceptual framework that they represent.

medical incantations, interspersed with brief rituals that focus on the gastrointestinal tract (blocks of medical incantations dealing with jaundice, for instance, are placed alongside thematically related recipes later on in STOMACH 3). The incantations found in STOMACH 1 were not simply taken over from the exorcists, nor were they mumbo-jumbo incantations meant for distressed patients. These incantations, in my view, are a countercontext, parodies of the incantations used by the exorcists in the private ridicule that Babylonian physicians directed at their benighted competitors. Crucially, however, by the time we arrive at the monumental editions of Ashurbanipal's Library, decorum seems to have broken down and these incantations appear in STOMACH 1 as a kind of doctrinal statement, or at least a clear representation of disciplinary, if not professional identity.

In earlier work, chiefly Johnson 2015, I have argued for the depersonalized case history as the primary anchor or center of gravity for blocks of therapeutic recipes within the medical treatises, but in this paper I will also be describing "clusters of incantations" as a second mid-level textual entity alongside the recipes organized around a depersonalized case history. Both of these two types of medium-sized textual unit (or "textual block") stand midway between an entire library tablet, like STOMACH 1, which will often contain upwards of 250 lines, and the individual recipes or incantations, ranging from a single line up to a five or six line section. By mapping out these mid-range units, which are typically 30-50 lines in length, we can begin to sketch out a more precise topography of technical compendia and in doing so, we can establish a series of compendium-internal landmarks for describing the precise position of individual prescriptions and incantations within the medical corpus.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, it should be readily apparent that these two types of textual blocks, within the Babylonian medical (*asûtu*) corpus, correspond in rough, functional terms to the two most important compendia in the competing discipline of exorcistic healing (*āšipûtu*): the symptomatologies and diagnoses in *The Diagnostic Handbook* correspond to the blocks of symptoms-plus-recipes that encircle the depersonalized case histories, while the theoretical and doctrinal goals of *Utukkū Lemnûtu* are achieved, within the discipline of Babylonian medicine (*asûtu*), by clusters of incantations like the cluster in STOMACH 1.

## 2 Case Histories as Nosological Centers of Gravity

As basic elements of a new textual criticism for Mesopotamian technical compendia, the two mid-level entities postulated here, namely (i) groups of symptom descriptions organized around a "depersonalized case history" and (ii) "clusters of medical incantations", must be rooted in an overarching model of how compendial texts, such as the Babylonian medical treatises, were assembled, curated and modified over time. This type of textual transmission is rather different from the recopying of a limited number of manuscripts in medieval Europe, which is usually seen as paradigmatic in the best traditions of Classical textual criticism. Reasonably enough, leading textual critics, people like Timpanaro, Most, Reeves and Trovato, have not usually focused on texts that were exclusively read in a group or interactive context. Those seeking to develop a distinct textual criticism for technical literature have, instead, sought to reconstruct contexts of "use" rather than "transmission", even if only implicitly, on the basis of clues in the textual format, textual condensation or the like.

The most influential paper in defining this approach, now published some twenty years ago, is Philip van der Eijk's "Towards a Grammar of Scientific Discourse" (1997a).<sup>23</sup> Both a summary of the *status quaestionis* and a programmatic text, it has served as the basis for a number of subsequent lines of research.<sup>24</sup> Beyond its influence as a *locus communis* for rhetorical or discourse-oriented approaches to ancient science, however, it also offers a particularly illustrative example of how we might conceptualize the assemblage of materials in an early Greek technical text such as *Epidemics*. Van der Eijk points, in particular, to *Epidemics* 6.8.7, where a section of text is introduced by the words "(data) derived from the small writing-tablet (*tà ek tou smikrou pinakidiou*), suggesting that the author is drawing on an existing

<sup>22</sup> Thus, it becomes possible to describe a mid-level context between the macro-level of the subcorpus ("BAM 574 is the first chapter (viz. tablet) of the treatise known as STOMACH and is registered in line 29a of AMC") and the micro-level citation of individual lines ("STOMACH 1, line 113, is attested in BAM 574, column 2, line 48").

<sup>23</sup> See as well van der Eijk's recent companion piece "Principles of Compilation and Abbreviation in the Medical 'Encyclopedias' of Late Antiquity" (2010).

<sup>24</sup> See the numerous publications on early Greek science from Markus Asper, especially Asper 2007, as well as Doody, Föllinger and Taub 2012.

collection (an archive or ‘database’) of information.”<sup>25</sup> Moreover, as Langholf had already noted, “many ‘chapters’ or ‘sections’ in the Hippocratic *Epidemics* are of approximately the same length, [which] may be explained by reference to the material conditions in which information was stored, such as the size of writing-tablets”.<sup>26</sup> This seemingly minor observation about the textual layout of the original “clinical” *Schriftträger* is anything but, and fits perfectly into several other lines of evidence that Langholf has assembled: the length of duplicate sections in *Epidemics* IV and VII, of appendices tacked onto the end of other compositions, and, not least, the use of 100 hexameters (ca. 600 words) as a unit of measure in calculating the cost of reproducing a manuscript.<sup>27</sup>

Thanks to the overwhelming impact of early Greek case-history compendia such as *Epidemics* on both the internal historical development of Greco-Roman medicine and histories of medicine more generally, it is usually said that the compilation of individual case histories is a Greek invention.<sup>28</sup> As I suggested in the Introduction to *In the Wake of the Compendia* (Johnson 2015), however, it is likely that Mesopotamian physicians also collected individual case histories at least a millennium earlier than their Greek counterparts. The singular difference between the Mesopotamian and the Greek situations, a difference in text-artefactual practice that reverberates through their subsequent literatures, is that elite Babylonian physicians – at least in the Old Babylonian period, when medical compendia first appear in Mesopotamia – would certainly have passed through rigorous training in cuneiform writing and Sumerian literature in the Old Babylonian Tablet House (é-dub-ba-a). In the course of this training, these would-be physicians would also have been exposed to Mesopotamian models for the codification of individual case histories in formalized textual compendia, namely the promulgation of depersonalized royal edicts or rescripts in response to difficult or unprecedented legal situations.<sup>29</sup>

The utterances of a Mesopotamian king not only carried the force of law, generally, but were in fact epistemological, defining new realities to which subsequent rulers would generally adhere.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the process through which an individual legal situation was converted into a permanent fixture in the minds of Mesopotamian literati and other technical specialists was both well-established and, crucially, seen as the pre-eminent model for the “standardization” or “normalization” of new pieces of complex, case-driven knowledge.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, the use of legal procedures as generalized models for discursive and textual practice in other, non-legal domains is found in a number of technical disciplines in Mesopotamian antiquity: we need only think of the central role of legal models of adjudication in divination, the most influential of the disciplines in ancient Mesopotamian thought.<sup>32</sup> As I have argued in more detail elsewhere (Johnson 2015), we must infer the existence of individual case histories in medical circles that were roughly analogous to the following transformation of a legal case into an imperial rescript:

<sup>25</sup> Van der Eijk 1997a: 97.

<sup>26</sup> Van der Eijk 1997a: 97, summarizing Langholf 1989.

<sup>27</sup> Langholf 1989 and 2004, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Geller has generally denied the existence of case histories in the therapeutic texts (Geller 2010: 24) and only acknowledged something similar in first-person literary texts (Geller 2010: 73). More specifically in Geller 2004: 21, where he states that “[w]e have no single example of a case history from Akkadian sources, which is another major point of difference between Babylonian and Greek medicine”. On the re-contextualization of case histories, particularly in Galen’s appropriation of the Hippocratic tradition, see van der Eijk 1997b.

<sup>29</sup> Summarized in Johnson 2015.

<sup>30</sup> The epistemological aspect is nicely captured in Radner’s discussion of “Erkenntnisgegenstand” (2005: 16-19) as well as the preceding discussion of “Wort und Bild” (2005: 13), in particular her citation of Ludwig 1990: 54-59, on the contrast between Sum. *gi(n)* (= Akk. *kinum*) “true” and *lul* (= Akk. *sarrum*) “false”.

<sup>31</sup> On case-driven models of codification, see Forrester 1996 and Furth et al. 2007 as well as the discussion in Johnson 2015. The legal phrase books and Gabriella Spada’s recent work on the model contracts (Spada 2011; 2014) give some important hints about how legal practice was inculcated in the Old Babylonian Tablet House, but the most useful point of reference for those of us interested in how scholastic legal compendia may have played a role in the academies is Martha Roth’s overview of the processes of codification that led to the Laws of Hammurapi (Roth 2000); the decisive evidence for a concrete linkage, however, between scholastic law and the Tablet House curriculum is probably *The Class Reunion*, line 46 (di ì-du<sub>11</sub> eĝir-bi-šè nu-mu-un-til-e, “You state your case, but afterwards never reach a decision,” Johnson and Geller 2015: 161), which Eichler, following Sjöberg, recognized in 1987 “as referring to the student’s ability to render final verdicts in legal proceedings” (Eichler 1987: 82, n. 37; Sjöberg 1976: 165). Use in the Tablet House would also explain the occasional back-translations of Codex Hammurapi into Sumerian (Sjöberg 1991).

<sup>32</sup> See the recent synthetic descriptions of the divinatory tradition in Maul 2013 and Koch 2015. For a survey of textual norms within technical disciplines in antiquity, generally speaking, see the papers collected in Bawanypeck and Imhausen 2015.

(Description of the legal case:)

“The judge Awil-Sîn has a claim of money owed by Mar-Šamaš, a man from Sippar. Because the latter did not pay it back, he seized Mar-Šamaš, saying:

‘If you keep your property and I receive nothing, I will seize the slave of your daughter the *nadītu*-priestess of Šamaš, who lives in the cloister.’

This is what he said.”

That is what they told me.

(Rescript:)

A *nadītu*-priestess of Šamaš whose father and brothers have provided her support for her to live and for whom they wrote a tablet, and who lives in a cloister, is not responsible for the debts or the *ilku*-service of the house of her father and her brothers. Her father and brothers shall perform their *ilku*-service and . . . Any creditor who seizes a *nadītu*-priestess of Šamaš for the debts or the *ilku*-service of the house of her father and brothers, that man is an enemy of Šamaš.<sup>33</sup>

Here we see a concrete legal case, as described in the letter, being transformed into a depersonalized statute: personal names are removed, preconditions are drawn from elsewhere in the legal tradition, and crucially, the first-person quotation at the very heart of the original case, viz. “I will seize the slave of your daughter . . .” is removed in its entirety.<sup>34</sup>

In early Greek medicine as well, there were important formal similarities in how first-order texts were transformed and subsumed in compilations, whether legal or medical, but this process of depersonalization finds no equivalent in the largely non-institutional, persona-driven scholarly world of early Greek society. Near the start of his fundamental 2004 paper (“Structure and Genesis of Some Hippocratic Treatises”), and in response to the old suggestion that Greek medical compendia were modeled on Egyptian compilations, Langholf bluntly states that in contrast to other, oratorically-inspired genres, “[t]he format of medical ‘handbooks’ . . . did not have a comparable cultural background in Greece. There existed no schools for teaching their composition.”<sup>35</sup> This means, in essence, that Mesopotamian scholars had a ready model for the transformation of individual case histories into general propositions, whereas Hippocratic physicians were left to their own devices.

Depersonalized case histories in the Babylonian therapeutic compendia can be distinguished from other nosological elements, in short, by the number of distinct symptoms within a single entry and the compendial context in which they typically occur. As a rule of thumb, depersonalized case histories typically list at least four distinct symptoms and are situated in an array of therapeutic *simplicia*, consisting of individual symptoms that reappear in the depersonalized case history. In the following passage from STOMACH 2, for example, the depersonalized case history in line 108 serves as the gravitational center for the dozen entries that surround it in lines 84 through 118, each of which combines a relatively simple description of symptoms with a pharmacological “simple”, with only one, or at most, a few ingredients.

STOMACH 2, lines 84-119 (= BAM 575 ii 14-49 = Block γ in the diagram 1, treatments are omitted here, the depersonalized case history is in **bold**)

84) If (a man) constantly has phlegm . . .

87) If a man’s innards are bloated, he continually has cramps and his stomach heaves constantly (but he does not vomit), in order to treat him . . .

89) If a man DITTO . . .

90) If a man’s innards are bloated, he continually has cramps and ‘wind’ churns around inside his belly . . .

92) If a man’s innards are bloated and he continually has cramps . . .

94) If a man’s innards continually suffer from cramps . . .

96) If a man’s innards continually suffer from cramps . . .

98) If (a man) continually has phlegm, a spasm of coughing and suffers from intermittent fever . . .

<sup>33</sup> See, generally, Charpin 2010: 74. The text is known from four exemplars (Di 1668, Di 1771, Di 976 and BM 78364 [= CT 52, 111]), brought together and edited in Janssen 1991.

<sup>34</sup> This is quite the opposite of what we see in early Greek compendia, where named authors occasionally carry over the first person statements used in their sources; see, in particular, Totelin 2010: 310-313.

<sup>35</sup> Langholf 2004: 223.

101) If a man's epigastrium burns, his belly is continually bloated . . .

105) If a man's innards are extremely bloated, he regurgitates bread and beer . . .

**108) If <<sub>symptom 1</sub> a man's innards are bloated>, <<sub>symptom 2</sub> he is continually struck down>, <<sub>symptom 3</sub> he has no appetite for bread or beer>, <<sub>symptom 4</sub> he continually has phlegm>, in order to treat him . . .**

113) If a man's innards are bloated, he continually has . . . and phlegm (and) he cannot tolerate bread or beer, in order to treat him . . .

115) If a man's innards are bloated (and) his epigastrium is continually filled with phlegm, in order to treat him . . .

118) If a man's innards are bloated . . .<sup>36</sup>

The boundary between a discursive block like this and neighboring blocks is usually marked by a new *Leitwort*, here the shift from one term for bloating, namely *naphu*, lit. “inflated” to another word, in line 120, namely *e-me-er*, perhaps best translated as “swollen” or even “inflamed”, since it seems to include the concept of heat alongside distension. The discursive structure of a block like the one in lines 84-119 (= Block γ in the diagram 1), therefore, consists of one or two depersonalized case histories as its center of gravity and a surrounding array of individual symptoms that reappear in the central case history or histories. Discursive or textual blocks like this constitute the first of the two mid-level structures, operating in Mesopotamia technical compendia, that will be described in this paper.<sup>37</sup>

As one of the few therapeutic subcorpora that is now largely reconstructed, the five chapters in the STOMACH treatise, with approximately 1000 lines reconstructed at present, offer us an excellent domain for the identification of case-history-centered blocks of symptomatology and their corresponding therapies. The three latter chapters in the treatise, namely STOMACH 3-5 (largely corresponding to BAM 578, the materials assembled in Johnson 2014a, and BAM 579 respectively), though exhibiting a block structure like the earlier tablets, are largely organized in terms of named diseases: STOMACH 3, columns 1-2, for instance, is concerned with illnesses associated with Akk. *martu* “bile” (= Sum. *zé*), columns 3 and 4 of the same tablet deal with two varieties of jaundice, viz. Akk. *amurriqānu* and *ahhāzu*. STOMACH 4, at least the relatively little that we have from this tablet is concerned with two types of *ṣētu*-fever: Akk. *ṣēta kašid* (written *U<sub>4</sub>.DA KUR-id*) and *ṣēta* (*U<sub>4</sub>.DA*) *SÁ.SÁ*, while STOMACH 5 is, for the most part, too damaged to admit any kind of thematic or block-driven analysis, although a number of the recipes in its second and third columns are quite similar to recipes for ghost-induced illness in other texts. Because even the smallest textual units within these sections typically include a telltale illness name or an iconic symptom for the corresponding illness, the “block” structure in these sections does not bear the functional weight that it does elsewhere in the STOMACH treatise. Our discussion will, therefore, focus on the first two tablets, STOMACH 1 and 2, where named diseases do not play such a dominant role.

We have already briefly reviewed the block in STOMACH 2, lines 84-119 (= Block γ), above, and in the remaining parts of STOMACH 1 and 2 a number of other nosological blocks can be tentatively identified: STOMACH 1, lines 1-41 (= BAM 574 i 1-41 = Block α), STOMACH 1, lines 66-85 (= BAM 574 ii 1-20 = Block β), and a neighboring block in STOMACH 2, at the bottom of column 2 (= BAM 575 ii 50-65 = Block δ). The reverse of BAM 575 (= STOMACH 2, lines 136-260) may contain as many as four distinct Blocks (ε, ζ, η, θ) including eight or so case histories, but it will have to be dealt with separately. The block in STOMACH 1, lines 66-85, offers a particularly good example of block structure and reads, in translation, as follows:

<sup>36</sup> Johnson 2015: 302-303.

<sup>37</sup> Blocks like this, which exist in somewhat different forms in a wide variety of technical literature in antiquity, give Mesopotamian technical compendia their “modular” character and allow for relatively easy condensation and expansion (see the papers collected in Horster and Reitz 2010, especially van der Eijk's contribution; this conceptualization stems from a long-running collaboration with Lucia Raggetti and Matteo Martelli; it originates, in part, with Ullmann's concept of “erratic blocks” (Ullmann 1972: 376-377, apud Raggetti 2016). More importantly, however, for an archaeologically-recovered technical literature like Babylonian medicine, the specific “block” structure of Babylonian treatments can occasionally be traced beyond the usually impermeable boundaries of cuneiform writing. It is now increasingly clear, thanks to Mark Geller's on-going work on the transmission of cuneiform materials into Aramaic, that at least one block of Babylonian medical lore appears in at least two distinct Aramaic textual witnesses from Mesopotamia: *The Gittin Recipe Book* in the Babylonian Talmud and much the same block of materials in the Aramaic technical treatise that Lady Drower published in 1946 (for the materials in the Bavli, see Geller 2000 and 2004; for the Lady Drower materials, see Drower 1946, Müller-Kessler 1999).



STOMACH 1, lines 66-85 (= BAM 574 ii 1-20 = Block β, recipes omitted here; depersonalized case history in **bold**)

66) If someone's stomach is causing him pain . . .

67) If someone's stomach is causing him pain . . .

68) If someone's stomach is causing him pain . . .

70) If someone's innards continually cause him pain . . .

72) When he (= the patient) is seized by . . .

74) If DITTO . . .

75) If someone's stomach is bound up on him . . .

77) If DITTO (= line 75) . . .

78) If DITTO (= line 75) . . .

80) If someone's stomach is constantly bound up (and) his innards are very bloated . . .

**82-83) If <sup><symptom 1></sup> someone eats bread and drinks beer to his satisfaction>, but <sup><symptom 2></sup> his stomach is constantly bound up and seizes him>, <sup><symptom 3></sup> his innards are swollen> and <sup><symptom 4></sup> he is constipated>, <sup><symptom 5></sup> he is sick to his stomach morning and evening>, in order to treat him . . .**

84) If someone's stomach keeps throbbing up against him . . .

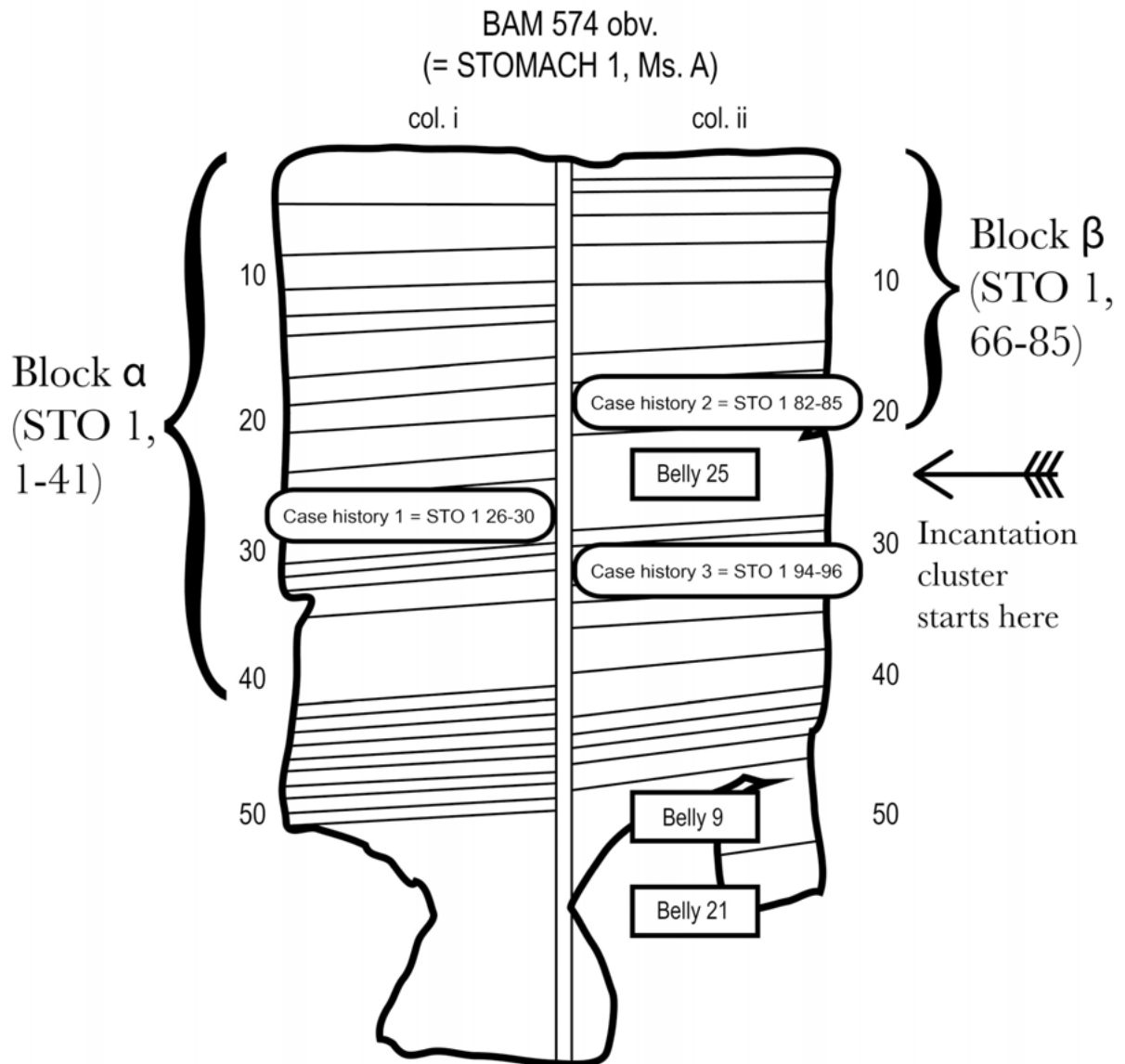
The key symptoms in the depersonalized case history in lines 82-83 are (i) a reaction to eating and drinking one's fill (Akk. *išebbi*) that consists of (ii) some kind of blockage or constriction in the belly (*libbu*), (iii) bloating in the intestines (*qerbū*), here translated as "innards", and (iv) constipation. The fifth symptom, i.e. his stomach hurts in the evening (*mu-še*) and the morning (KIN.NIM), has occasionally been taken as a name for the illness,<sup>38</sup> but the usual formula for naming a disease, viz. NA BI (= Akk. *amēlu šū*) "that man", which resumes the patient as topic, is not used here, so it is almost certainly a fifth element of the symptomatology. Only a few of the symptoms mentioned in this depersonalized case history are anticipated: in line 75, for instance, where Akk. *libbašu kasīšu* describes the resulting state of the first of the two verbs in symptom 2, viz. *libbašu iktanassušu*, or in line 80, where the two symptoms (*libbašu iktanassušu* and *qerbūšu magal naphū*) reappear in the case history as symptoms 2 and 4, viz. *libbašu iktanassušu* and *qerbūšu nuppuhū* respectively.<sup>39</sup>

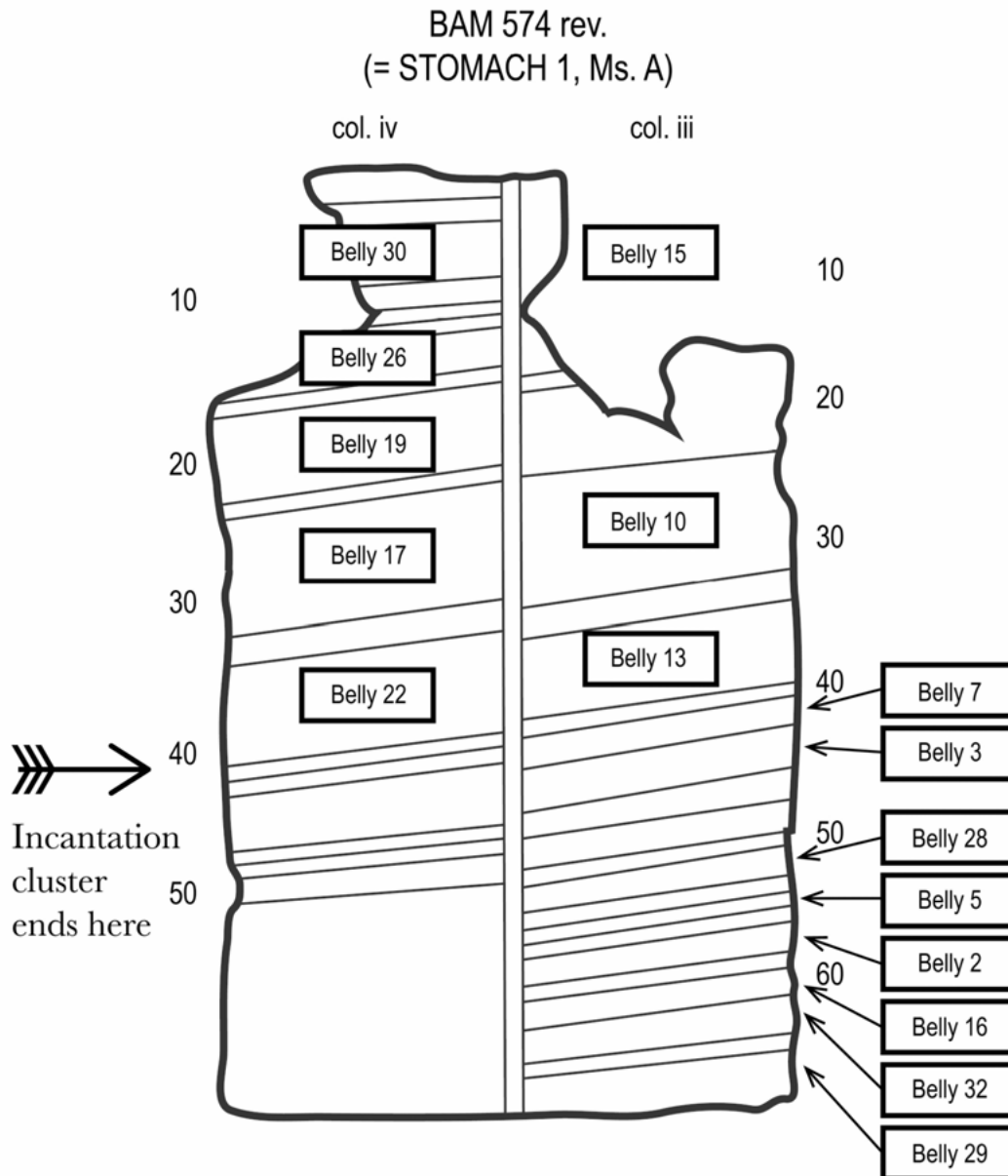
The demarcation of blocks like these is, admittedly, somewhat impressionistic. Nonetheless, points of transition between one block and the next can often be identified without too much difficulty. For example, as noted above, STOMACH 2, lines 84-119 (= Block γ), deals with several gastrointestinal problems under the *Leitwort* *napāhu*, while the next block, starting in STOMACH 2, line 120 (= BAM 575 ii 50 = Block δ), deals with similar symptomatology under the *Leitwort* *emēru*. The *emēru* block culminates in a series of distinct case histories at the end of the column, in which *emēru* "swelling" is found in combination with *ummu* "heat".<sup>40</sup> The next block, at the top of column 3 on the reverse, namely STOMACH 2, lines 136-171 (= Block ε), turns to questions of "constipation" and the inability to take food and drink, culminating in the middle of the column with a six-symptom depersonalized case history in lines 165-167 (= BAM 575 iii 30-32). As we turn to the other type of mid-level textual block found in these compendia, namely the clusters of incantations dealt with in the next section, it may be useful here to diagram the thematic blocks as well as clusters of incantations in chapters 1 and 2 of the STOMACH treatise (= BAM 574 and 575):

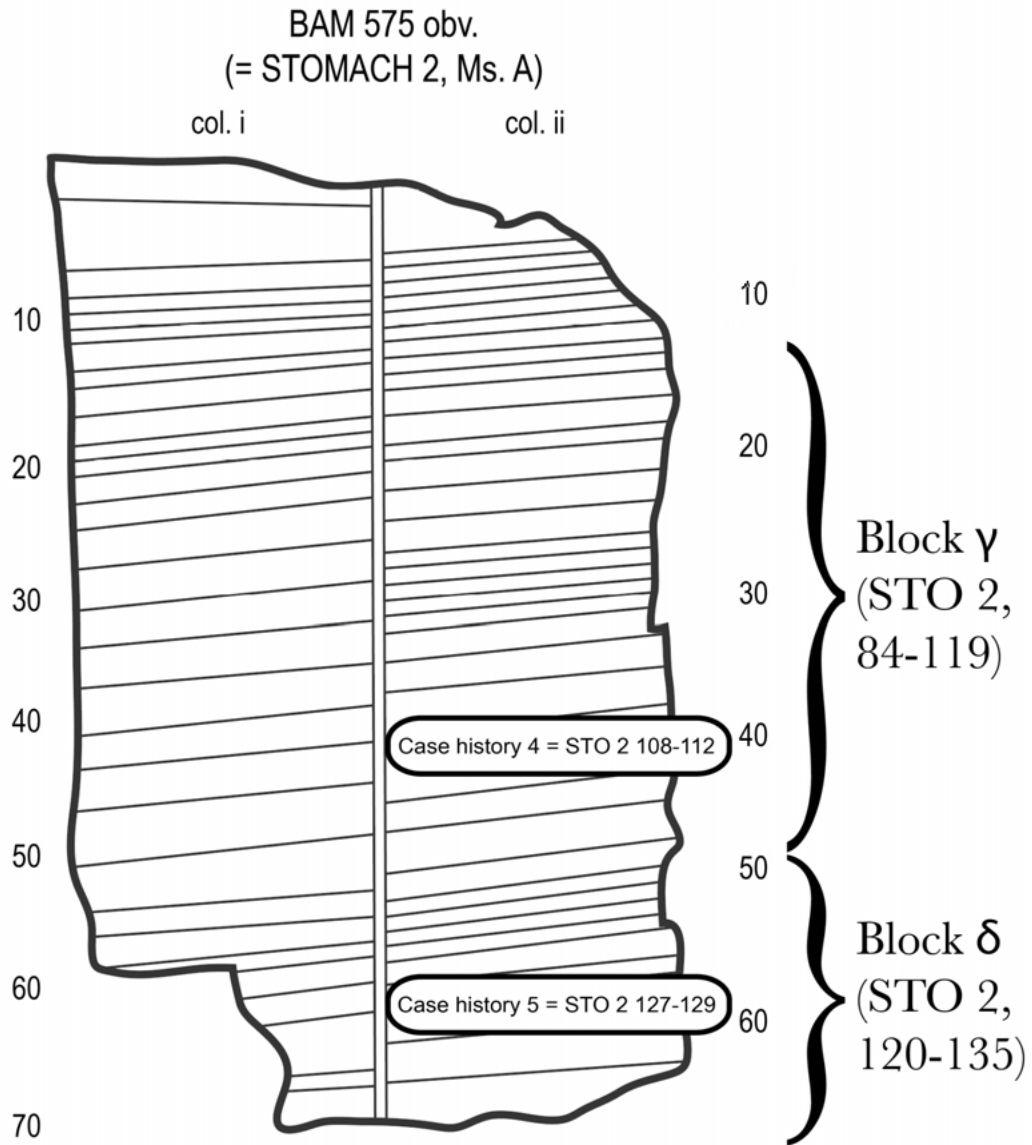
<sup>38</sup> Haussperger 2002: 42-43.

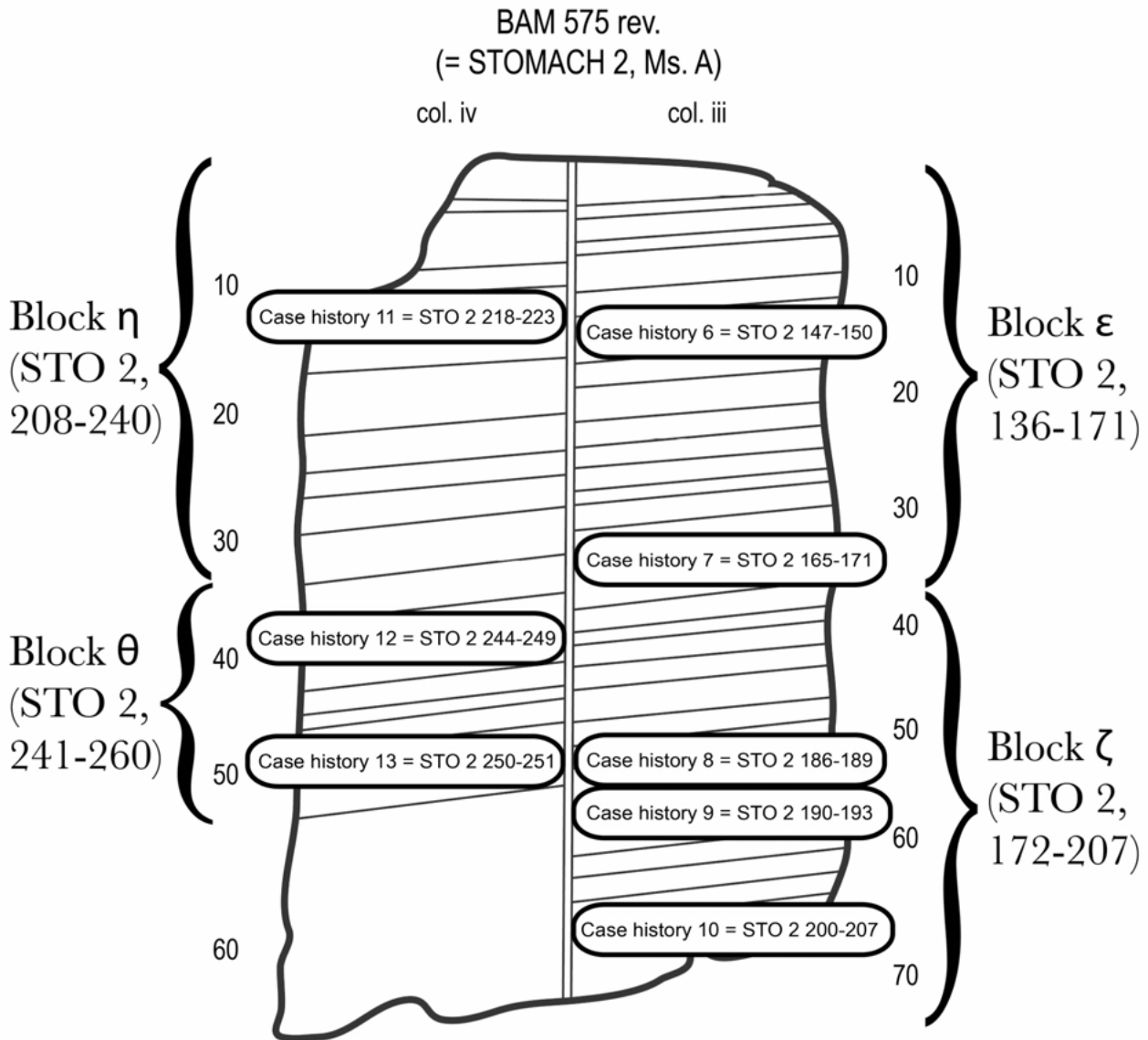
<sup>39</sup> The variation here (*qerbūšu magal naphū* vs. *qerbūšu nuppuhū*), like the variation between the stative and the Gtn form *kasū* in lines 75 and 80, involves two distinct linguistic forms viz. *magal* + G-stem vs. D-stem stative, that can, in appropriate circumstances, be equivalent in meaning.

<sup>40</sup> This was the genesis of my mistaken translation of *e-me-er*, in Johnson 2015: 303, as "is warm" rather than "is swollen".









**Fig. 1-4:** The distribution of depersonalized case histories and clusters of incantations in STOMACH 1 (= BAM 574) and STOMACH 2 (= BAM 575).]

Obviously, sections of these compendia that have not yet been reconstructed offer no possibility of identifying their internal, block-driven structure. Even so, it should be immediately apparent that those parts of the compilation that do not offer pharmaceutical remedies were occupied with other materials, primarily clusters of medical incantations.

### 3 Clustered Medical Incantations as Countertext

Therapies oriented to pharmaceutical plants and minerals must be recognized, first of all, as central to the self-definition of Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) as a discipline. The same cannot be said, however, for incantations and their accompanying rituals. Incantation and ritual were, from the very earliest phases of Mesopotamian history, continually and prototypically associated with the exorcistic healers, practitioners of *āšipūtu*, which was the primary discipline in competition with Babylonian medicine. These different therapeutic approaches line up quite nicely with the world

view and etiological models of the two disciplines: exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*) saw ghosts, demons and deities as the most important agents of disease etiology and their healing practices were oriented to assuaging the displeasure of these entities through incantation and ritual. In contrast, Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) largely discounted or de-emphasized these agencies (and the traditional countermeasures against them), favoring instead pharmaceutical approaches aimed at alleviating symptoms rather than defending against ghosts and demons. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that our earliest compendia of pharmaceutical-driven therapies, in the Old Babylonian period, include no incantations whatsoever.<sup>41</sup>

Objections to this generalization will, perhaps, be swift: in non-compendial texts and contexts, such as in the group of practical texts from the Old Babylonian period,<sup>42</sup> we find therapeutic recipes combined with incantations, a practice that is known from a wide variety of formats. But we have no way of knowing which profession or discipline made use of these heterogeneous, practical texts. Again, as already mentioned in the introduction, only compendia containing numerous therapeutic recipes are uniform in their exclusion of incantations as a medium of healing. Aficionados of the Akkadian incantation tradition will also, no doubt, want to point out that Old Babylonian incantations such as YOS 11, 11 and YOS 11, 12, including the earliest versions of the so-called Heart Grass Incantation, find their way into the very compendium under consideration here, namely STOMACH 1.<sup>43</sup> As it happens, however, the Old Babylonian incantations that end up in first millennium medical compendia do not re-appear in the standard collections of *āšipūtu* incantations, known from *Utukkū Lemnūtu* or the other groups of bilingual incantations published in CT 17, viz. SAG. GIG, AZAG.GIG.GA, and the like. Indeed, even in terms of their most generic features, the incantations used in exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*) have very little in common with their medical counterparts in the first millennium: the exorcistic incantations regularly make use of the so-called Marduk-Ea formula or dramatization, and can often be traced, without too much difficulty, to much older antecedents in the third millennium BCE. By way of contrast, the precursors to the Babylonian medical incantations – the incantations that eventually find their way into first millennium BCE medical treatises – often lack third-millennium Sumerian antecedents and rarely, if ever, use the Marduk-Ea formula in a canonical or normative way. It is, consequently, no accident that many favorite pieces of vernacular Akkadian rhyme and poetry appear for the first time in materials that are eventually incorporated into a medical treatise like STOMACH. Folk poetry at its most humorous and scatological – whether minor deities shovelling out constipated faeces or a man dialoguing with his own stomach in order to convince it to pass gas – is limited almost entirely to the vernacular stream of materials and is nowhere to be found in traditional collections of incantations meant for the exorcist (Akk. *āšipu*).

The library editions of Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) that we know from Ashurbanipal's Library, the same corpus documented and regimented in AMC, are the most important materials in BabMed's on-going efforts to provide compendial context for both the pharmaceutical recipes and the medical incantations.<sup>44</sup> Given the central role of thematic blocks in the nosological sections of these compendia, it should come as no great surprise that similar principles of textual organization were used to organize the incantations within these compendia. Although isolated incantations are occasionally found in the medical corpus, wedged in between distinct recipes, for the most part we find clusters of incantations that occupy a distinct position within the compendia. Occasional recipes, often as part of a ritual, are found in the midst of these clusters of incantations, but what we do not find in these sections is, precisely, the depersonalized case histories that typify the other sections of these compendia. For the materials under consideration here, the most important cluster of incantations is located in STOMACH 1. Up to now the only real effort to make sense of this cluster is found in Collins' dissertation, *Natural Illness in Babylonian Medical Incantations* (1999), where approximately half of the 30 "Belly Incantations" that Collins distinguishes are actually found within this single cluster. The numbered

<sup>41</sup> See Wasserman 2007 for the *status quaestionis*, but the compendium published as CUSAS 32, No. 73 (George 2016: 164-167) and Finkel's unpublished materials will substantially affect the prevailing view.

<sup>42</sup> See Wasserman 2007 and George 2016: 4-8 for an overview of the practical texts.

<sup>43</sup> For an overview of the Heart Grass incantations, see Veldhuis 1990. The newly published Old Babylonian incantation compendia (CUSAS 32, No. 7 and 8) also include an expanded form of the Heart Grass incantation in the midst of incantations against stomach-ache and gall, among other problems (George 2016: 129-132), but the Heart Grass incantation in these two compendia (No. 7 (o) vi 9-44 = No. 8 (i) ii 40'-iii 38) seems to be the only major textual commonality between the incantation cluster in STOMACH 1, where Heart Grass occupies lines 152-160 (= BAM 574 iii 23-31), and the Old Babylonian compendia in CUSAS 32.

<sup>44</sup> This foundational work, viz. the alignment between the library editions in Nineveh and the incipits of AMC is amply documented in Ulrike Steinert's commentary in this volume.

“Belly Incantations” in Collins’s dissertation are listed in the following table in the sequence found in STOMACH 1. The length of each component incantation is listed in the right-hand column as well:

Number	Line in STOMACH 1 (position in BAM 574)	“Belly Incantation” number (pages in Collins 1999)	Length of incantation
1	<u>86-92 (ii 21-27)</u>	<u>Belly 25 (pp. 166-168)</u>	<u>7 lines</u>
2	<b><u>111-116 (ii 46-51)</u></b>	<b><u>Belly 9 (pp. 134-137)</u></b>	<b>6</b>
3	<u>117-121 (ii 52-?)</u>	<u>Belly 21 (pp. 160-162)</u>	<u>unclear<sup>45</sup></u>
4	133-144 (iii 4-15)	Belly 15 (p. 151)	unclear <sup>46</sup>
5	152-160 (iii 23-31)	Belly 10 (pp. 137-140)	9
6	163-168 (iii 34-39)	Belly 13 (pp. 145-148)	6
7	170-171 (iii 41-42)	Belly 7 (pp. 130-131)	2
8	172-174 (iii 43-45)	Belly 3 (pp. 126-127)	3
9	180-181 (iii 51-52)	Belly 28 (p. 171)	2
10	183 (iii 54)	Belly 5 (p. 128)	1
11	185-186 (iii 56-57)	Belly 2 (pp. 125-126)	2
12	188-189 (iii 59-60)	Belly 16 (p. 152)	2
13	190-192 (iii 61-63)	Belly 32 (pp. 175-176)	3
14	194-196 (iii 65-iv 1)	Belly 29 (pp. 171-173)	3
15	199-203 (iv 4-8)	Belly 30 (pp. 173-174)	5
16	208-210 (iv 13-15)	Belly 26 (pp. 168-169)	3
17	212-217 (iv 17-22)	Belly 19 (pp. 155-157)	6
18	219-226 (iv 24-31)	Belly 17 (pp. 153-154)	8
19	229-235 (iv 34-40)	Belly 22 (pp. 163-164)	7

Although the organizational principles of this cluster of incantations are far from clear, it does appear that lengthier incantations are located at the beginning and the end of the cluster, with smaller incantations bracketed by these two bookends. This is quite the opposite of how blocks of therapeutic remedies are grouped around a limited number of depersonalized case histories. The three incantations that we are looking at in this paper occur at the beginning of the cluster (underlined in the table) and our point of orientation, the shovelling-out-the-intestines incantation in lines 111-116 is in **bold** as well. If the most ideologically charged incantations appear at the beginning of the cluster, including the direct statement of Ea to the patient to “belch and get well!” in Belly 25 and the dialogue between the belly and the head in Belly 21, the incantations at the end of the cluster such as Belly 17 seem to be somewhat more orthodox.<sup>47</sup>

The cluster of incantations in the third chapter of CRANIUM, which is antithetical in its ideological implications to the cluster under discussion here, exhibits a similar overall structure: lengthy incantations, at the head of the cluster, signal major themes, while a long sequence of short, two-or-three line incantations forms the bulk of the cluster. Moreover, in both of these clusters – STOMACH 1 and CRANIUM 3 – we typically find, toward the end of columns 3 or 4,

<sup>45</sup> Only traces of stray signs are visible in lines 121-128 (= BAM 574 ii 56-63) and it is unclear where this particular incantation ends, or whether there might have been more than one incantation in this section.

<sup>46</sup> Here as well it is unclear how many distinct incantations were originally present in lines 133-144 (= BAM 574 iii 4-15).

<sup>47</sup> Orthodox, that is, in the sense of including typical closing formulae. The only thing that might upset this picture of “innovative materials at the front, orthodox at the back” are some similarities between Belly 21 and Belly 22; though the latter is too damaged to say much, it does include the same pregnant phrase “Belly, belly! Where are you going?” that we find in the opening lines of Belly 21.

rubrics that enumerate dozens of these short incantations.<sup>48</sup> This arrangement is probably a direct result of the tablet format and layout of the medical compendia from Ashurbanipal's Library. These medical compendia were exclusively two-column tablets with 250-300 lines of text. Babette Schnitzlein, citing a number of the texts under discussion here as well as materials from other technical literatures, has suggested that the proportion between height and width approximated the golden mean of 1.618,<sup>49</sup> but of more immediate importance, for us, than their physical proportions, is the positioning of the cluster of incantations in STOMACH 1 on the physical exemplar found in BAM 574. Simply put, the middle of column 2, on the obverse, and the top of column 3, on the reverse, seem to be prime real estate in the layout of tablets like BAM 574. This necessarily consigns the bulk of the short incantations, almost as a kind of catalogue, to the reverse of the tablet, in particular to the bottom of column 3 or the top of column 4. The lengthy and involved incantations that we find at the beginning of the cluster – in STOMACH 1 in the middle of the second column and the beginning of the third – may, due to their placement on the tablet, take on special importance for those who compiled the compendium. If so, this might suggest that the incantations found at the beginning of the cluster may be thought of as a “countertext” to well-known collections of exorcistic incantations such as *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.<sup>50</sup>

For cuneiformists, the most important discussion of “countertext” is Eckart Frahm's use of the term to describe Genesis 1:2:3 (and 11:1-9) as a reaction against the late, yet influential, mythological *mélange* known as *Enūma Eliš*.<sup>51</sup> In the interests of brevity, I can only direct the reader to Frahm's comparison of the two texts, but in essence, as Frahm puts it, “the ideological premises underlying the Babylonian epic are completely reversed in the Biblical account” (Frahm 2011: 367). Or if I may restate Frahm's point in detail, the creation account in Genesis is a countertext because it accepts and replicates major narrative or generic elements of what it is countering, viz. *Enūma Eliš*, but in the midst of these generic similarities, *the countertext fundamentally alters or refuses a number of telltale, ideologically charged elements in order to reject (and usually invert) the ideological import of the source text*. The creation account in Genesis 1:2:3, “with its reference to T'hôm (< Tiamat?) and its focus on naming and separating, looks like a thoroughly demythologized and significantly abbreviated version of *Enūma eliš*” (Frahm 2011: 366), but in doing so the biblical account also rejects the polytheistic worldview of the Babylonian myth. We find similar ideological work, I would like to suggest, in the cluster of incantations found in STOMACH 1. These incantations not only seem to reject the idea of ghost-induced illness (and consequently we find no incantations directed against “Hand of a ghost” within the STOMACH treatise), but even offer parodies of the characteristic features of the Marduk-Ea incantations used in the competing discipline of *āsipūtu*.

Let me focus here on just two examples of parody in the cluster of incantations found in STOMACH 1, which are meant to counter the incantations used by exorcists: the parody of the Marduk-Ea formula found in lines 86 through 92 (= BAM 574 ii 21-27) and the dialogue between the patient and his own stomach in lines 117 through 121 (= BAM 574 ii 52-56). These two incantations precede and follow, respectively, the shovelling-out-the-intestines incantation in STOMACH 1, lines 111-116: although a couple of recipes do intervene between lines 86-92 and 111-116, the dialogue between the patient and his own stomach in lines 117-121 (= BAM 574 ii 52-56 + BAM 577: 6'-10') follows immediately after the shovelling-out-the-intestines incantation in 111-116.<sup>52</sup> The first of these passages reads as follows:

STOMACH 1, lines 86-92 (= BAM 574 ii 21-27)

86. [Incantation: The innards] are constantly loosened, with twisting of the stomach, (and) the knotted up intestines are . . . ,

87. [. . .] the darkness, his eyes are covered by algae like water in an irrigation ditch,

<sup>48</sup> The list of short incantations in STOMACH 1 is easily seen in entries 7 through 16 in the table; at the end of the third column of CRANIUM 3, in a preliminary edition that I am preparing in collaboration with Krisztián Simkó, we find the rubric 18 KA INIM.MA [SAG.KI] DAB.BA. 'KAM' “18 incantations for headache” (K. 4023 iii 38'), and likewise later on in column 4, 24 K[A INIM.MA . . .] “24 incantations for . . .” (K. 2516 rev. 10).

<sup>49</sup> Schnitzlein 2015: 260.

<sup>50</sup> This line of argument is inspired, to a substantial degree, by Geller's critique of Collins's 1999 dissertation on natural models of illness in the medical incantations, as Geller summarizes his own view of the matter: “[m]edical incantations tend to be addressed to the more immediate causes of illness, such as draught or bile, while more formal magical texts concern themselves with the ultimate causes of demonic attack and divine disfavor” (Geller 2007a: 390-391).

<sup>51</sup> Frahm 2011: 364-367.

<sup>52</sup> BAM 577 directly joins BAM 574 at this point in the text; there is no additional space between these two texts, as one might infer from the CDLI version of Köcher's handcopy – see instead the photo available at CDLI.



88. Blown up by the wind of the steppe, he suffers from bowel disease, the “Hand of the steppe” (makes him) pour out all the tears that he can muster,  
 89. His two lips are constantly parched, he keeps flopping around like fish (and) continually puffs himself up like a snake,  
 90. Gula, the provider of good health for mankind, saw the young man and brought him into the temple of Asalluhi (= Marduk),  
 91. Merciful Enki looked upon of him, and then (said): “Belch and feel better, young man!  
 92. May the wind either come out through (your) anus, or may a belch come out from (your) throat.” (End of) incantation.<sup>53</sup>

There are, if we want to see this incantation as a countertext, two elements that are clearly meant to stand in opposition to the Marduk-Ea formula incantations that are normally made use of in the competing discipline of *āšipūtu*. First, rather than speaking of “Hand of a ghost” as a causal agent, this incantation speaks instead of “Hand of the steppe” in line 88. This is, in all likelihood, a pun: in place of the expected expression ŠU GIDIM(.MA) or more accurately ŠU GEDIM(.MA) “Hand of a ghost”, where the initial /g/ sound in the word /gedim/ “ghost”, may already have been lost in Sumerian, we have ŠU EDIN “Hand of the steppe”.<sup>54</sup> If we take the loss of /g/ in Sumerian /gedim/ for granted,<sup>55</sup> the only difference between /gedim/ and /edin/ is the position of the final nasal: labial /m/ in /gedim/ as opposed to the dental /n/ in /edin/.<sup>56</sup> More important, however, than the phonetic details is the motivation for making a change like this. Whereas traditional accounts would, no doubt, have postulated a restless ghost, prototypically dwelling in the steppe, as the source of the patient’s abdominal difficulties, the Babylonian scholars who compiled this cluster of incantations seem to reject this idea, opting instead for a description of the phenomena taking place in the patient’s digestive tract as analogous to physical or environmental processes that are observable in the steppe. Put somewhat differently, the Babylonian physicians have replaced the wayward ghost that typically occupies the steppe (before inhabiting the patient) with an environmental analogy between the steppe and the gastrointestinal tract.

These lines go on, however, in lines 90 through 92, to offer a parody of the usual procedure found in the Marduk-Ea formula. The expected sequence of events would be as follows: Marduk, having noticed a person suffering from an illness, goes to his father Ea, the god of wisdom and technical skill, and describes the illness to his father. A dialogue then ensues where Ea reassures Marduk that he has nothing more to teach him, but, in the end, Ea offers a treatment – usually consisting of an incantation and a ritual – to Marduk. Marduk returns to the patient and heals him using this new bit of knowledge. In reality, of course, the figure of Marduk is played by the exorcist (*āšipu*) who is healing the patient, so the Marduk-Ea formula not only guarantees that the treatment originates from the gods, but also, at the same time, sacralizes the exorcist himself, thereby guaranteeing that the healing practice will be successful. The differences, when we return to our parody in lines 90-92 are manifold: the primary deity at work here is Gula, the goddess of Babylonian medicine, rather than Marduk; she does go to the temple of Asalluhi, which is the Sumerian deity that normally corresponds to Marduk, but Asalluhi/Marduk himself is nowhere to be found; lastly, she brings the patient directly before Ea himself, whereas in the traditional Marduk-Ea incantations, Marduk always acts as an intermediary between

<sup>53</sup> For an overview of the background of this incantation, see the discussion in Collins 1999: 166-168 and Steinert 2012: 319-323. Given the regular mention of GIDIM in the other sources of this tradition, its omission and replacement here with ŠU EDIN is all the more striking. The original is as follows:

86. [ÉN ŠĀ.MEŠ it] <sup>53</sup>ta<sup>53</sup>-nap-šā<sup>53</sup>-ru ze-er kar-<sup>53</sup>šī<sup>53</sup> ŠĀ.NIGIN ku-uš-šu<sup>53</sup>-ru-ti<sup>53</sup> [ . . . ]

87. [x x] <sup>53</sup>hi<sup>53</sup> ik-le-ta ki-i me-e hi-ri-ti a-la-pa-a na-du-ú IGI.MEŠ-šú

88. <sup>53</sup>ša<sup>53</sup>-[ar] EDIN e-di-ip na-ti i-ta-naq-qí ŠU EDIN ma-la ÉR.MEŠ-šú

89. e<sup>53</sup>-ta-na<sup>53</sup>-ba-la ša-pa-tu-šú i-ta-na-pa-aš ki-ma KU<sup>53</sup>.MEŠ it-ta-nak-bir ki-ma MUŠ

90. e-[mur]-<sup>53</sup>ma<sup>53</sup> <sup>53</sup>gu-la na-di-na-at ba-la-ti NAM.LÚ.ÜLU<sup>53</sup> ina É<sup>53</sup>ASAL.LÚ.HI ú-bil e<sup>53</sup>-lu

91. <sup>53</sup>IDIM re-mé-nu-u ip-pa-lis-su-ma gi-ša-ma TI-u<sup>53</sup> e<sup>53</sup>-lu

92. šum-ma TU<sup>53</sup> ina DÚR lu-ši šum-ma gi-ša-tu ina nap-šā<sup>53</sup>-ti li-še-ši TU<sup>53</sup>.ÉN.

<sup>54</sup> Previous editions have often taken the ŠU sign as an object pronoun attached to the preceding verb, hence *i-ta-na-aq-qí-šu*, but ŠU is almost never used for the object pronoun in first millennium medical texts such as this; the parallelism between <sup>53</sup>ša<sup>53</sup>-[ar] EDIN and ŠU EDIN also favors separating ŠU from the preceding verb.

<sup>55</sup> See Geller 2005 for the general argument; for a more self-conscious meditation on the loss of word-initial /g/, see the discussion of zag-udu vs. zag-gu-du in Johnson and Geller 2015: 213-214 and Johnson 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Thanks to M. Geller for drawing my attention to this possibility. Note the similar alternation in the reading of alan as opposed to alam.

Ea and the patient.<sup>57</sup> Rather than telling Gula how to heal the patient, Ea directly addresses the patient, ordering him to “Belch and feel better! May the ‘wind’ either come out through your anus or may a belch come out from your throat!” (lines 91-92). The punchline of this sham Marduk-Ea incantation – it must be stressed – is nearly identical to the ending of CT 4, 8a, a standard Marduk-Ea incantation for digestive trouble (lit. *ša libbim* “of the belly”). Here is the last section, where Ea responds, in the usual canonical form, to Marduk’s request for help:

- CT 4, 8a (BM 92518 = Bu. 88-5-12, 51), lines 25-39
- 25) <sup>d</sup>en-<<LÍL>>ki-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-hi mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi-gi
- 26) <sup>dé-a</sup> <sup>d</sup>marduk(AMAR.UTU) i-ip-pa-al
- 27) dumu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a-na-àm ne-zu a-na-àm ma-ra-ab-dah-e
- 28) ma-ri mi-i-na la ti-di-ma mi-i-na-am lu-ši-ib-šu
- 29) níĝ ĝá-e zu-mu ù za-e-ĝá-zu
- 30) *ša a-na-ku i-du-ú* <<Ú>> at-ta ti-di
- 31) ù za-e ĝá-zu níĝ ĝá-e zu-mu
- 32) *ša at-ta ti-du-ú a-na-ku i-di*
- 33) lú hé-a g[u<sub>4</sub> hé]-a udu hé-a
- 34) lu-ú a-wi-lu-tum lu-ú al-pu lu-ú im-me-ru’
- 35) lag mun ù ha<sup>1</sup>-še-na ù-un-tah-he ù-bí-i[n-x]
- 36) ki-ir-ba-an ṭa-ab-ti ù ha-ši uš-ša<sup>7</sup> a[b<sup>1</sup> . . .]
- 37) še<sub>10</sub> ki-šè hé-si-il-le ki-ma ši-it-[ti . . .]
- 38) bu-lu-úh-gen<sub>7</sub> hé<sup>2</sup>-si-il-le ki-ma g[i-šu-ú-ti]
- 39) tu<sub>15</sub>-gen<sub>7</sub> gu-du-šè è-íb-ta<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup> x [ . . .]

(25-26) Ea answers Marduk: (27-28) “My son, what do you not know? What can I add to it? (29-30) What I know, you know, (31-32) what you know, I know! (33-34) Be it a human, or a bull, or a sheep, (35-36) —A lump of salt and thyme he should ad[d . . .]!” (37-39) “[May it come out] like excrement! May it be released] like a b[elch]! May it go out like ‘wind’ through the anus!” (Translation after SEAL)<sup>58</sup>

Obviously neither of these two traditions was hesitant, in an incantation against digestive difficulties, to plainly call for the gas to be passed and the belch expelled. What differentiates the “straight” version of such an incantation, as in CT 4, 8a here, and the humorous send-up of it in STOMACH 1, is not the actual descriptive content, but rather the way in which the serious version carefully adheres to the Marduk-Ea generic formula, while the medical incantation openly mocks these literary conventions: Gula rather than Marduk travels to Ea, the double mediation (Marduk as intermediary between Ea and the patient, and the exorcist as stand-in for Marduk) is abandoned, and Ea himself addresses the patient. It is the violation of the careful decorum of the Marduk-Ea formula that is humorous: the intermediary steps – carried out by Marduk and his stand-in, the exorcist – are dispensed with and the laughter would have been triggered by the direct encounter between Ea and the patient.

The usual dialogue between Marduk and Ea, which culminates, as we see in CT 4, 8a in the preceding paragraph, with Ea offering instructions for a course of treatment to Marduk, is nowhere to be found in STOMACH 1, lines 86-92, even if we wanted to simply replace Marduk with Gula, since Gula and Ea never speak to each other in the text. The missing dialogue turns up a dozen lines later at the bottom of column 2. In lines 117-121, in place of the expected dialogue between Marduk and Ea, we find a dialogue between the patient and his own stomach, here again with the aim of expelling “wind” from the body.

<sup>57</sup> That this is exceptional was already noted by Falkenstein (1931: 69, apud Geller 1985: 13 and n. 13), including reference to STOMACH 1, line 90 (= BAM 574 ii 25). The formula found in lines 25-32 was so well known that it was usually abbreviated.

<sup>58</sup> For a similar monolingual Sumerian precursor against zé “gall”, see Alster 1972 and Michalowski 1981. George (2016: 7) offers an overview of the remedy described here, viz. the hurling of a clod of salt and thyme, and a similar incantation is also found in STOMACH 3, lines 99-108 (= BAM 578 ii 29-38, reference courtesy U. Steinert and L. Vacín). This heavily damaged section is the only Sumerian incantation in STOMACH 3.

STOMACH 1, lines 117-120 (= BAM 574 ii 52-55 + BAM 577: 6'-10')<sup>59</sup>

- 117a (Patient:) “O belly, belly! Where are you going?”  
 117b (Belly:) “In order to inflict pain on (lit. eat) the belly of the young man!  
 For me to crush the belly of the young woman!”  
 118a (Patient:) “You should not inflict pain on (lit. eat) the belly of the young  
 man! You should not crush the belly of the young woman!”  
 118b-119 Eat the belly of the ox in the pen, the belly of the ram in the fold  
 (and) the belly of the pig in the pigsty!”  
 120 (Commentary:) That is: the belly and the head were speaking (to each other):  
 “Without a hole the wind cannot . . . to the anus the way that the  
 snake of the vineyard . . . to the back of the . . .”<sup>60</sup>

This dialogue, like the expected dialogue between Marduk and Ea, aims at solving a medical problem, but rather than spelling out an illness and its divinely approved treatment, it focuses on expelling the “pain” that is in the patient’s body and sending it on to a less important host such as an ox, ram or pig. The usual way of expressing pain in Akkadian is to combine a verb meaning “to eat”, typically *akālu*, with a case-marking arrangement in which the locus of the pain is the subject of *akālu*, while the person suffering from the pain, viz. the experiencer, appears as a pronominal object on the verb, historically a dative pronoun. This scenario is complicated somewhat by the fact that the “locus” of the pain, particularly in a personification like this, can easily be transformed into the “source” or even the “causal agent” of the pain, particularly in reference to internal illnesses for which no obvious cause can be observed. This grammatical configuration is wonderfully personified in the dialogue: the patient addresses his own stomach, asking that the locus/source of the pain in his own belly to depart and find a new, preferably non-human host.<sup>61</sup> The highly formalized dialogue between an exorcist and his god Ea in the Marduk-Ea formula is replaced, here, with a dialogue in which a patient speaks to his own belly about passing gas.<sup>62</sup>

59 117. [ÉN ŠĀ-bu ŠĀ-bu e-ki-a-am tal-lak ŠĀ-bi GURUŠ ina] ʿGU<sub>7</sub> ʿ-ia ŠĀ-bi KI.SIKIL ana GAZ-ia

118. [ŠĀ-bi GURUŠ la ta-kal ŠĀ-bi KI.SIKIL la ta-ha-pi a-kul] ŠĀ-bi GU<sub>4</sub> ina ūr-re-e li-kul

119. [ŠĀ-bi UDU.NĪTA ina šu-pu-ri] ʿŠĀ ʿ-bi ŠAH ina a-sur-re-ʿe

120. ša DU<sub>11</sub>.GA ŠĀ-bi SAG.DU ba-lu hur-ru TU<sub>15</sub> ina šu-bur-ʿri> GIM šer-ri GEŠTIN a-na EGIR KA ʿx xʿ.

(BAM 574 includes only the dialogue itself in lines 117-119; the commentary in line 120 is only found in the version in STT 252, lines 21-26. The line in BAM 574 that corresponds to STOMACH 1, line 120, viz. BAM 574 ii 55, may contain a closing line, attributing the incantation to the gods, but the traces show [ . . . ] x LUH<sup>7</sup> u ʿgu-[la . . .], which does not correspond to any of the usual closing formulae. George (2015: 95-96) cites lines 118b-119 and translates *asurrū* as “sewer”, but the parallels earlier in the line suggest the place where pigs are typically kept, hence “pigsty”).

60 The “snake of the vineyard” is a known figure elsewhere in the incantation tradition: most of the key sources for it are assembled in Finkel 1999: 223-229, including the reference to muš ʿis geštin-na in CBS 7005 and several Akkadian orthographies (*pa-ar-ba-la* and *bur-ru-ba-la* in IM 51292 and IM 51328) that may go back to the muš būru-da “snake of the hole” (Geller suggests, apud Finkel 1999: 225, that these Akkadian orthographies may be calquing the Sumerian expression būru bal “hole digger”). If so, the kenning *ba-lu hur-ru* “without a hole” in STOMACH 1, line 119, may be a transformation of *bu-ru-ba-la* or something similar; this series of kennings may even extend back to *bu-ur-bu-ra* in the Old Assyrian text kt k/k 23 (Hecker 1993: 285). For the use of kennings in Norse poetry, where the term originates, see Holland 2005; the terms under discussion here would only qualify as kennings if these different “snakes” typically referred to the gastrointestinal system, but this still needs to be demonstrated. The original context for this series of kennings may have been the parallel phraseology in line 5 in both IM 51292 and IM 51328: *i-ru-ub hu-ra-am ū-ši nu-ša-ba-am* “it entered the hole, went out by the drainpipe.” The epithet applied to the “snake of the vineyard” in CBS 7005, lines 14b-15, viz. *ša it-ti wa-ši-pi-šu / im-ta-aḫ-šu*, “the one who does battle with the exorcist” (translation Finkel) may also have motivated its appearance here.

61 There may even be a more specific intertextual link between STOMACH 1 ii 52-55 and CT 4, 8a, since in CT 4, 8a, above in lines 33-34, the non-humorous, *āšipūtu* incantation states that “whether (the patient is) a human being, an ox or a sheep” (lú hé-a g[u<sub>4</sub> hé]-a udu hé-a = *lu-ú a-wi-lu-tum lu-ú al-pu lu-ú im-me-ru*), one should treat constipation with a lump of salt. In STOMACH 1 ii 52-55, however, the patient seeks to move the pain, precisely, from his own stomach to a domesticated animal such as an ox or a sheep.

62 Geller (2007a: 396-397, citing Cadelli 2000: 215) points to the humor to be found in incantations like this, and even provides us with a further example of body-part personification later on in the third chapter of STOMACH, lines 109-114 (= BAM 578 ii 39-44; Collins 1999: 230-231), “in which the bile addresses those eating and drinking beer and says, ‘when you eat food and drink beer, I will pounce upon you and you will belch like an ox’” (translation Geller); here the personification is clearly the source rather than the locus.

Beyond a mere parody of the Marduk-Ea formula, the common feature in these two incantations, the “Hand of the steppe” incantation in lines 86-92 and the Dialogue between Patient and Stomach in lines 117-120, is the marked absence of Marduk and his stand-in, the exorcist. The fundamental contrast between the typical Marduk-Ea formula and the parody found in these two short incantations is further strengthened by a host of secondary features. The incantations used by the exorcist were normally Sumerian or bilingual, as in the snippet from CT 4, 8a, above, and even when written in monolingual Akkadian, they often appeal to idioms and norms found in the Sumerian tradition. In contrast, the incantations found in the STOMACH 1 cluster are entirely Akkadian, never bilingual, and seemingly drawn, to a great degree, from vernacular or folk parodies of the incantations used in exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*). Given their humorous and scatological tenor and the omission of the exorcist, it is even possible that some of these incantations came into existence as full-fledged parodies in direct opposition to existing *āšipūtu* incantations for gastrointestinal disease. Whereas the sedate metaphors found in CT 4, 8a, e.g. a covered box (*ki-ma pí-ša-an-ni ka-at-m[u]*, line 2), the water in a well that does not flow, lit. without a wave (*ki-ma me-e bu-ur-ti a-gi-a ú-ul i-šu*), or a covered brewing vat (*ki-ma ka-ak-ku-li [. . .] ka-ti-im*), are descriptively adequate, they have none of the humor, dynamism or imagination found in the vernacular tradition. Worthington, in a study of comic portrayals of physicians in Akkadian literary works, has emphasized that doctors were often the butt of jokes because of “certain simple cross-cultural constants in how healers interact with their patients, such as their use of difficult language, their need for remuneration, and their privileged access to and control over the patient’s body” (Worthington 2010: 26). Some of these universal features can, indeed, be found in the STOMACH treatise such as the *locus classicus* for payments to Gula (and by implication the doctors who represent her), namely *⁹gu-la TI.LA qiš-tu₂ TI-e* “O Gula! Heal (him)! Accept your fee!” in STOMACH 1, line 116, but the STOMACH treatise does not seem to revel in these universally humorous features of physicians in the way that a self-evident parody of medical practice like *The Poor Man of Nippur* does. Instead, the object of ridicule in the cluster of incantations in STOMACH 1 seems, almost always, to be the hoary tradition of exorcistic healing, in particular the heavily-staged Marduk-Ea formula.<sup>63</sup>

The omission of the exorcist from these parodies and their seemingly folkloristic character raises, quite emphatically, the question of the social context that generated medical incantations in the first place. Worthington, for example, argues for a close connection between pharmaceutical medicine and cooking recipes, at their point of origin, largely on the basis of ethnographic parallels and similarities in the ingredients and procedures used in both practices, a proposal that might suggest a folk or vernacular context for Babylonian medical incantations as well.<sup>64</sup> Geller, in contrast, while acknowledging the quite different uses to which medical and exorcistic incantations are put in later compendia, largely abstains from speculating on their original context:

It might seem logical to assume, therefore, that medical incantations were composed by the *asû*, at the same time as he compiled his recipes, while incantation tablets were composed by the *āšipû*. In fact, no such assumption can be proven. We do not know who composed any of the incantations in the various compendia . . . .<sup>65</sup>

Geller’s skepticism is well taken, and we cannot really know about specific historical contexts of composition, but, nonetheless, recent work on the *mannam lušpur* formula in Old Assyrian incantations, now summarized nicely by Barjamovic (2016), may provide a useful way forward. The Old Assyrian incantations display a surprisingly broad array of uses for the *mannam lušpur* formulae (*mannam lašpur* and variants in the Old Assyrian dialect), in a context that really must be seen as a vernacular tradition, though already at one remove from the originating context in Babylonia. As Barjamovic puts it:

There is evidence to suggest that the Assyrian incantations from Kültepe were indeed written products of a “pool” of traditional magic that combined “master texts” and oral tradition. Written practice might itself be fluid in structure, and altered easily according to need: magic could be stored in writing if desired, or turned into talismanic form to act its spell by itself.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> For a detailed survey of the non-comedic means of referring to internal organs and digestive processes, see Stol 2006. On the other hand, if we are looking for comedic descriptions of internal processes, of course, we could easily turn to Bakhtin’s famous discussions of Rabelais, himself a physician, and especially the mocking language of the “quack and the druggist at the fair” as well as the comic literature on gout and venereal disease (Bakhtin 1984: 161).

<sup>64</sup> Worthington 2003: 9-11.

<sup>65</sup> Geller 2007a: 393.

<sup>66</sup> Barjamovic 2016: 55.

Barjamovic is arguing for an analytical framework that focuses on textual criticism, in particular the text-critical notion of a “fluid tradition” rather than the reconstruction of originating contexts, and this is, in my view as well, the only profitable way of approaching these materials.<sup>67</sup>

There are important similarities between the Old Assyrian birth (and secondarily jaundice) incantations studied by Barjamovic and the incantations assembled, a thousand years later, in the incantation cluster in STOMACH 1, and these similarities provide us with several anchor points within this fluid tradition. Foremost among these is the *mannam lušpur* formula itself. The key passage in the Old Assyrian incantations reads as follows:

*ma-re-ki-na ù ta-áp-šu-kà-té-ki-na li-qí-a-nim-ma ba-áb a-ra-ah-tim*  
*ha-ba-tum hu-ub-ta*  
 Take up your spades and your baskets and clear the canal gate!

The version in STOMACH 1, line 113, repeated from the beginning of the paper goes like this:

*liš-šá-a* <sup>giš</sup>MAR.MEŠ *šá KÙ.BABBAR u ki-din-né-e šá KÙ.SIG*<sub>17</sub>  
*li-pat-ta-a* ÍD.MEŠ  
 May they bear shovels of silver and spades of gold!  
 May they open up the waterways!

Standing at opposite ends, as it were, of the *mannam lušpur* tradition, these two versions of our thread of Ariadne differ from each other in vocabulary (the only common term is Akk. *marru* “shovel”), word order and even the grammatical person of those bearing spade and hod.<sup>68</sup> Nonetheless, these two versions of the “same” line represent the most important anchor in this fluid tradition.

The other element of the incantation cluster in STOMACH 1 that reaches back to this primordial phase in the *mannam lušpur* tradition is the ambiguity of Akk. *šēru* as either “snake” or “steppe” in two otherwise quite similar Old Assyrian incantations: the Assyrian form *ša-ru-ú ki-ra-nim* “snake of the vineyard” in kt 90/k 178, line 19, is a straightforward Assyrian rendering of the Babylonian form *šēr karāni*, while it is left unrendered, still in its Babylonian dialect form, in *i-na še-er / ki-ra-nim*, which in Assyrian can only mean “in/on the vineyard” in kt 94/k, 429, lines 21-22 (though accompanied by *li-ší-lam* “let it slither forth” at the beginning of line 21). As Barjamovic observes, “[t]he author seems to have mistaken the Babylonian word for “snake” as an Assyrian preposition *ina šēr* and produced a sentence that makes no real sense.”<sup>69</sup> This necessarily implies a point of origin in southern Mesopotamia,<sup>70</sup> since the practiced ambiguity of *šēru* as either “snake” or “steppe” only exists in the Babylonian dialect.<sup>71</sup> Both *šēru* for “steppe” and *šēru* for “snake” are found in the commentary in STOMACH 1, line 120, and this paronomasia also provides a link between *šēru* for “steppe” in STOMACH 1, line 88 and *šēru* for “snake” in line 120.

<sup>67</sup> Barjamovic (2016: 54) frames the question of oral tradition – a useful proxy for fluid textual traditions in some ways – in terms of a contrast between Farber’s 1990 paper on the *mannam lušpur* formula and Michalowski’s 1992 statement that “at least as far as the Sumerian incantations were concerned, one can reconstruct a written tradition that extends as far back as the earliest literary texts” (Michalowski 1992: 321, apud Barjamovic 2016: 55). But if Farber is describing the vernacular (and partially oral) tradition of the *mannam lušpur* formula, while Michalowski is describing the Marduk-Ea tradition, they may simply be speaking past one another.

<sup>68</sup> Michel (2004: 408) translates *habātu* with “dégager” = “to clear, to free” but goes on to explain that “le verbe *habātum*, généralement employé dans le sens «pillar, voler» signifie aussi «arracher, enlever, débayer». L’expression *hubta habātu* peut donc se comprendre «déblayer (la terre à) débayer». The same position in the version found in STOMACH 1, line 113, has a form of *petū* “to open”, so one might suspect a banalization of the underlying verbal root from *habātu* to *petū*.

<sup>69</sup> Barjamovic 2016: 58. Of course, if someone recognized the purposeful ambiguity of *šēru* in the Babylonian tradition, this might have led them to leave it in its Babylonian form.

<sup>70</sup> In the interests of clarity, it should be reiterated here that the *mannam lušpur* tradition must have originated in Babylonia; see Barjamovic’s summary of forthcoming work from Kouwenberg: “the incantations from Kültepe contain a significant number of Babylonian elements that include single words and phrases, grammatical and syntactic features. The geographical origin of the genre is further proven by the fact that the gods invoked in the incantations mainly come from the south: Anum, Ea, Nin-karrak, Nin-kilili and Šassur” (Barjamovic 2016: 52).

<sup>71</sup> See n. 60 above for some of the specifically Babylonian evidence.

1	<u>86-92 (ii 21-27)</u>	<u>Belly 25 (pp. 166-168)</u>	<u>7 lines</u>
2	<u>111-116 (ii 46-51)</u>	<u>Belly 9 (pp. 134-137)</u>	<u>6</u>
3	<u>117-121 (ii 52-?)</u>	<u>Belly 21 (pp. 160-162)</u>	<u>Unclear</u>

As we can see in this extract from the beginning of the incantation cluster, the incantations that precede and follow the shovelling-out-the-intestines incantation in lines 111-116, namely Belly 25 in lines 86-92 and Belly 21 in lines 117-121, both make significant use of the ambiguity of *šēru*. What is entirely missing from the Old Assyrian precursors, however, are the elements that parody the Marduk-Ea formula (and by implication critique the discipline of *āšipūtu*), elements that seem to be present, a thousand years later, in Belly 25 and Belly 21.<sup>72</sup>

Only familiarity breeds contempt, and there is no evidence for the Marduk-Ea formula in Old Assyrian Kanesh. This lines up nicely with the complete absence of any evidence for the discipline of *āšipūtu* in Old Assyrian Kanesh, and it suggests that we can draw a rather strict distinction between a vernacular tradition that typically invokes the *mannam lušpur* formula and a likely older tradition, at least in its written form, that makes use of the Marduk-Ea formula. Barjamovic offers a survey, broadly conceived, of the “healing professions” in Old Assyrian Kanesh,<sup>73</sup> and the “exorcist” (*āšipu*) is not numbered among them. This means that the parody of the Marduk-Ea formula in STOMACH 1, lines 86-92 and 117-120, must have entered into this tradition at a later date, after the heyday of the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian incantations at the beginning of the second millennium BCE (and presumably after a clear disciplinary split between *asūtu* and *āšipūtu* had taken place). Parody presupposes familiarity, so it is likely that this kind of parody arose in the off-line joking of Babylonian physicians (*asū*), about the rival discipline of the exorcists (*āšipu*), in the latter phases of the second millennium BCE, but of course we have no concrete evidence for this. Presumably this type of interdisciplinary humor went in a number of directions: the exorcists mocking the physicians, the physicians ridiculing the exorcists, and the non-professional public laughing at both for the usual reasons outlined by Worthington above. Decorum would have prevented most of these parodies from entering the textual record in the second millennium BCE,<sup>74</sup> but perhaps the interdisciplinary struggle between *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* had grown cold in the early first millennium,<sup>75</sup> allowing the editors at work in Ashurbanipal’s Library to include these parodies in the cluster of incantations found in STOMACH 1.

## 4 The Continuum of Allegoresis in Babylonian Medicine

If we were to take for granted the “etiological secularism”, viz. the avoidance of ghosts and demons as causal agents, in STOMACH 1, as a self-evident, general feature of the medical tradition in Mesopotamia, it would be easy enough to construct a simplistic Whig history of Babylonian medicine: having cast off the false beliefs of the exorcistic healers, the humble Babylonian physician could then be portrayed as a man of science, pursuing empirical truth in the face of powerful institutional opponents, Galileo in Mesopotamian dress.<sup>76</sup> If this were the case, however, we might reasonably

<sup>72</sup> It might be suggested that the reference to “daughters of Ea” in the Old Assyrian incantation against the black dog, kt a/k 611, line 10 (Farber 1990: 305-306), represents some awareness of the Marduk-Ea tradition, but in the absence of any other evidence for the Marduk-Ea tradition in Kanesh, I find this unconvincing.

<sup>73</sup> Barjamovic 2016: 72.

<sup>74</sup> One clear exception to the otherwise strict separation of the *mannam lušpur* and Marduk-Ea materials is BAM 538 iv 44’ // AMT 23/6: 12, part of TEETH 1, where the text asks “Whom shall I send to Asalluhi, the eldest son [of Ea]?” (*man-nu lu-uš-pur a-na* <sup>4</sup>ASAL.LÚ.HI DUMU.SAG-ti-i [ša <sup>4</sup>é-a]), with the usual protagonists of the Marduk-Ea formula appearing in a *mannam lušpur* formulation. But this occurrence in the medical corpus may also represent a parody of some kind.

<sup>75</sup> The existence of polymaths like Urad-Gula, for example, who was both deputy chief physician and chief exorcist at different points in his career (see Parpola 1993: xiv, xxv, but note that none of the scholars listed in SAA X, no. 160 master both *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*) shows that the disciplines were not exclusive in the Neo-Assyrian period. It is noteworthy, for example, that the physician (*asū*), regularly listed among the five disciplines in the Neo-Assyrian scholarly correspondence, is no longer a distinct profession in the roster of professions found in the book of Daniel (see Parpola 1993: xxxiv, n. 1).

<sup>76</sup> Thus, I must reject Steven Weinburg’s limited use of Whig history, in the context of the history of science (“Eye on the Present – The Whig History of Science,” NYRB December 17, 2015, see also the rebuttal from Arthur Silverstein in the next issue) not because of philosophical or historiographic objections (although these exist as well), but because Whig histories of Mesopotamian technical works lead us to ignore nearly everything that is distinctively Mesopotamian about them.

expect the Babylonian medical treatises to be entirely free from designations such as “Hand of a ghost”, but this is clearly not the case. The puzzle that we face, in looking at the full expanse of the Babylonian medical treatises, is that some treatises such as STOMACH 1 contain few if any references to causal agents such as these, while other treatises such as CRANIUM 3 are full of “Hand of a ghost” symptomatology and the incantations that usually accompany them. This heterogeneity is not found in the compendia used by the exorcists such as *Utukkū Lemnūtu* and similar series; *mannam lušpur* incantations do not occasionally pop up in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* tablets, but the type of formal, Sumerian or bilingual incantations in which an interaction between Asalluhi/Marduk and Enki/Ea plays a key role do appear in CRANIUM 3 and other similar strata in the medical treatises.<sup>77</sup> It is this heterogeneity of tradition within medical treatises such as STOMACH 1 and CRANIUM 3 that requires our attention here. Only if these seemingly disparate materials can be comprehended within a single system of thought, can a hypothesis about the ideological significance of the clusters of incantations found in the medical treatises be maintained.

In order to make sense of this heterogeneity, I propose that a “continuum of allegoresis” existed within Babylonian medicine and, as a consequence, materials that ostensibly refer to ghost-induced models of illness were, in fact, divested of their metaphysical significance and used, within the discipline, as mere labels for observable symptoms. More concretely, this would mean that references to “Hand of a ghost” and similar designations within a diagnostic statement refer to the symptoms traditionally associated with ghost-induced illness, without necessarily buying into the etiological models that gave rise to this terminology. If this is true, it would suggest that different degrees of allegoresis may be found within different parts of the Babylonian medical corpus: STOMACH 1 includes very little material that presupposes ghost-induced etiologies, so no allegoresis is needed there, but CRANIUM 3, sitting squarely in the midst of a traditional bastion of ghost-induced symptomatology could not be radically denuded of “Hand of a ghost” as a diagnosis, in part because empirical phenomena such as headache, tinnitus or visual hallucinations had been classified as examples of the direct perception of ghosts. I suggest that in these latter cases, where traditional “Hand of a ghost” symptoms could not be expunged, they were regularly reinterpreted, via allegoresis, as empirical symptoms, but of illnesses that could be treated pharmacologically rather than through incantation and ritual. This idea is not new and my presentation of it draws, in particular, on Heeßel’s 2007 paper (“The Hands of the Gods: Disease Names, and Divine Anger”), in which he outlines a number of key components of the approach pursued here; I argue, however, that these components make a great deal more sense situated within a broadly conceived notion of Mesopotamian allegoresis. Once this framework is in place, presupposing, as it does, a fundamental contrast between Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*) and exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*), I return, in conclusion, to some evidence for competing schools of thought within Babylonian medicine itself, focusing in particular on collections of incantations, such as BAM 508 and K. 5416a+, that reassert, or so it seems, ghost-induced models.

Nils Heeßel has argued that the divergent orthographies for “Hand of a god”, “Hand of a goddess” and “Hand of a ghost”, within compendia assigned to the two disciplines of exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*) and Babylonian medicine (*asūtu*), actually represent distinct phonological renderings, in Akkadian, of the underlying Sumerogram. If we return to the example of ŠU GIDIM(.MA) or alternatively ŠU GIDIM<sub>7</sub>(.MA) for “Hand of a ghost”, it appears that medical treatises typically rendered Sumerograms like this by directly adopting the Sumerian phonology as in *šugidimmakku*, while the exorcists calqued and translated each of the two lexical items separately, viz. *qāt eṭemmi*, in *The Diagnostic Handbook*.<sup>78</sup> Heeßel draws out a series of orthographic contrasts for these three seemingly identical terms in the medical treatises and *The Diagnostic Handbook* as follows:

<sup>77</sup> The Marduk-Ea formula *per se* seems to be quite rare in the first millennium BCE medical corpus: the two occurrences known to me are (i) two fragments from EYES, viz. AMT 18/1 lines 2’-4’, and AMT 8/3 lines 9’-11’ (= Eyes 13, in Collins 1999: 224), and (ii) one occurrence in BAM 244 rev. lines 51-52. But we should not let this distract us from the prevalence of formal, Sumerian incantations within certain parts of the medical corpus. It is particularly telling that in CRANIUM 3 the healing goddess Gula only appears in the colophon, while Asalluhi appears no less than eight times.

<sup>78</sup> Heeßel cites two attestations of syllabically-written forms, both of which are from Meier’s edition of the second tablet of *bīt mēseri*: *šu-dingir-ra-ki* and *šu-gidim-ma-ka* in lines 35-36 (Meier 1944: 142, apud Heeßel 2007: 122).

Expression	Form typically used in medical treatises (= expected pronunciation in Akkadian)	Form typically used in <i>The Diagnostic Handbook</i> (= expected pronunciation in Akkadian)
Hand of a god	ŠU.DINGIR.RA (= <i>šudingirrakku</i> )	ŠU DINGIR (= <i>qāt ilī</i> )
Hand of a goddess	ŠU.INNIN.NA (= <i>šū'inninnakku</i> )	ŠU <sup>a</sup> iš-tar/ <sup>a</sup> iš-tar <sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup> XV (= <i>qāt ištārī</i> )
Hand of a ghost	ŠU.GIDIM.MA/GIDIM <sub>7</sub> .MA (= <i>šugidimmakku</i> )	ŠU GIDIM/GIDIM <sub>2</sub> /GIDIM <sub>7</sub> (= <i>qāt eṭemmi</i> )

Although the orthographies for “goddess” (Akk. *išturu*) are quite distinct, for the most part the two sets of orthographies are distinguished by explicit indication of the Sumerian genitive case in the forms found in the medical treatises: RA, NA and MA all mark the Sumerian genitive /-ak-/ in the Sumerograms and this is an indication that these forms are to be read with a Sumerian reading even in Akkadian.<sup>79</sup>

Sumerogram	ŠU	GIDIM	-ak vs. Ø	-u vs. -i
Direct reuse of Sumerian phonology (rendering in the medical treatises)	<i>šu</i>	<i>gidimm</i>	<i>ak(k)</i>	<i>u</i> (Nominative)
Akkadian equivalent (rendering in <i>The Diagnostic Handbook</i> )	<i>qāt</i>	<i>eṭemm</i>	Ø	<i>i</i> (Genitive)
Meaning (“Hand of a ghost”)	‘hand’	‘ghost’	Sumerian genitive case	Akkadian case ending

This orthographic contrast suggests that the Babylonian physicians were using the Sumerogram as a frozen label for a disease name, whereas the translation of the underlying Sumerogram into Akkadian in *The Diagnostic Handbook*, the key compendium for the exorcists, suggests quite the opposite, namely that “Hand of a ghost” was not a mere label for the exorcists, but rather represented for them a living etiology of the illness.<sup>80</sup> Whereas the ordinary translation into Akkadian in *The Diagnostic Handbook*, viz. *qāt eṭemmi*, represents the traditional use of the phrase to designate a supernatural agent named “Hand of a ghost”, the frozen use of the Sumerian expression in the medical treatises, viz. *šugidimmakku*, should, in my view, be seen as a form of “allegoresis”, viz. a demythologized use of a conventional term to designate observable realities.

In designating this form of demythologized use as “allegoresis”, I am following in the terminological footsteps of Glenn Most, who has used this term to describe a Greco-Roman hermeneutical practice, found in the Derveni Papyrus for example, that posits

another level of signification . . . concealed behind the gods and their actions narrated in the apparent, surface meaning of the poem, . . . [in] which the poet is talking not about characters and their psychologically motivated behavior but instead about material elements and their mechanically produced interactions and that it is in fact not the manifest superficial meaning but instead this second, hidden level that reflects the true intention of the poem as conceived by the author.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Due to an orthographic convention in Sumerian, only the initial vowel, namely /a/, of the Sumerian genitive /ak/ is consistently represented in the orthography: the doubling of the preceding consonant (known by the German term *Auslaut*) is merely part of this orthographic convention. The consonantal element of the Sumerian genitive, namely /k/, only appears in the orthography when it is followed by another bound morpheme.

<sup>80</sup> As Heeßel emphasizes, the orthographies that include the Sumerian genitive, typical of the medical treatises, also appear in the *Diagnostic Handbook*, but almost exclusively in the protases, describing symptoms, rather than in the apodoses, describing causal agents (Heeßel 2007: 123-125). Both Heeßel (2007) and Geller (2011) have pointed to the thirty-third chapter of *The Diagnostic Handbook* (see Heeßel 2000: 353-374), where ŠU + <deity name> phrases are equated with conventional disease names, as a key text. It is certainly a key text for disease typology, but the three phrases that we are looking at here (ŠU.DINGIR.RA, ŠU.INNIN.NA and ŠU.GIDIM.MA) do not appear in that text. There are a few references to ŠU <sup>a</sup>iš-tar, but these are almost certainly references to the specific deity Ishtar rather than the generic term for goddess.

<sup>81</sup> Most 2016: 54.



Most's references to psychological motivation and authorial intention do not fit very well into the context of a Mesopotamian incantation or technical treatise, but the main contention of Most's definition is perfectly apt. An exorcist, approaching a patient with ringing in the ears and a splitting headache, will see these symptoms as a direct consequence of contact between the hand of a ghost (Akk. *qāt eṭemmi*) and the patient (and will respond with rituals and incantations aimed at mollifying or removing the ghost), whereas a Babylonian physician, faced with the same symptoms, may still refer to these symptoms as "Hand of a ghost" (Akk. *šugidimmakku*), but only so as to apply a conventional label to the symptoms and arrive at the correct pharmaceutical remedy. This looks very much like the exemplum used in Most's own exposition of the term, namely Orpheus's designation of the goddess Night as a nurse in columns 10 and 11 of the Derveni Papyrus. The author of the Derveni Papyrus, in Most's account, asserts that "in calling it [scil. night] 'nurse' he [scil. Orpheus] shows in a riddling way [*ainizetai*] that everything that the sun heats and dissolves, the night reunites in cooling" (col. X, lines 11-12), and as Most goes on to comment, "[t]he goddess named 'Night' becomes the natural condition called, 'night,' and the attributes applied to her are reformulated in such a way that they can apply to [the natural condition]."<sup>82</sup> Most focuses here on commentary, as the key genre for recognizing allegoresis, and so perhaps we should briefly look at a similar example in the cuneiform record.

One of the most intriguing examples of an allegorical interpretation in a Mesopotamian commentary is found in a commentary on *Marduk's Address to the Demons* (tablet 11 of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*), namely BM 47529+BM 47685, which M. Geller has investigated in his recent volume on melothesia.<sup>83</sup> This commentary reinterprets a hymn of self-praise, in which Asalluhi describes his own appearance and attributes, as a series of references to the signs of the zodiac (commentary is indented below, XI 65 and XI 66 refer to the position of the annotated text in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*):

6 (= XI 65) I am Asalluhi, seer who gives decisions, who assigns lots:

Region of Sagittarius; diviner and dream-interpreter: lots (*halhallu*): hal = "divination", hal = "secret".

7 (= XI 66) I am Asalluhi, who reveals (the meaning) of cuneiform wedges, who destroys the evil and the wicked:

Capricorn; under this command he observes all. The depth of the waters of death: they are the depth of heaven: the hypsoma of Mars, a shining star and its reddening: būr = "hole (in the liver)", būr = "depth", būr = "Mars".<sup>84</sup>

Inscribed at roughly the same historical moment as the Derveni Papyrus, though more than 2500 kilometers to the east, commentaries like this combine etymology (Sum. hal = "divination") and allegoresis (Asalluhi as seer who assigns lots = "part of the constellation of Sagittarius"), but it is the allegoresis here that is new: the reinterpretation of Asalluhi's attributes as observable zodiacal signs.<sup>85</sup> The occurrence of a rather explicit example of allegoresis in the most ideologically-charged tablet of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, itself the most important compendium for exorcistic practice (*āšipūtu*), shows that allegoresis, in one form or another, was an allowable and fitting hermeneutical technique in even the most conservative of the Mesopotamian disciplines.

What I would like to suggest, here, is that this type of allegoresis also plays a particularly important role in Babylonian medicine. What complicates its recognition in the medical treatises, however, is that allegorical interpretations of ŠU.GIDIM.MA "Hand of a ghost", for example, were implemented in some medical treatises such as CRANIUM 3, while in other treatises such as STOMACH 1, the same purposes were achieved by simply removing references to ŠU.GIDIM.MA and the corresponding Marduk-Ea incantations (or, as we saw earlier, offering a parody in their place). Indeed, it is telling that the very few occurrences of ŠU.GIDIM.MA that do occur in the STOMACH treatise turn up,

<sup>82</sup> Most 2016: 54.

<sup>83</sup> Geller 2014: 60-64.

<sup>84</sup> The original reads (Geller 2014: 61):

6 (= XI 65). GE U-hi <sup>16</sup>HAL EŠ.BAR pa-ri-is hal-hal-la : KI <sup>māi</sup>PA.BIL.SAG <sup>16</sup>HAL u <sup>16</sup>šá-'i-lu : hal-hal-la : HAL : bi-ri HAL : pi-riš-tú

7 (= XI 66). GE U-hi pe-tu-ú sat-tak-ku mu-hal-líq še-nu u rag-gu : SUHUR.MEŠ ina qí-bít-su ina-aṭ-ṭal DÛ šu-pul me-e mu-ú-tú [: š]u-pul šá AN-e šú-nu : 'É' ni-šir-tú šá <sup>q</sup>šal-bat-a-nu MUL šar-hu šar-[rip-t]u-šú : BÛR : ši-la ' : BÛR : šu-pul : BÛR : <sup>q</sup>šal-ba-ta-nu

<sup>85</sup> Myerston (2013) has described some Mesopotamian precursors such as *Enūma eliš* for the etymological reworking of divine names in the Derveni Papyrus, but of course this approach to etymological and etymographic reinterpretation of divine names is first attested, much earlier, in the middle of the third millennium BCE; see Johnson 2014b for an overview.

entirely, within stereotyped rubrics and labels.<sup>86</sup> Simply put, there is no need, within the STOMACH treatise, for allegorical reinterpretations and this fact locates STOMACH near zero on a continuum of allegoresis within the medical record. At the other end of this continuum of allegoresis, however, we find materials such as the cluster of incantations in CRANIUM 3, where ŠU.GIDIM.MA is described as “seizing” the patient and, alongside pharmacological responses, we also find a number of treatments that would normally be associated with exorcism (Akk. *āšipūtu*), and even a litany that could easily derive from *Utukkū Lemnūtu*. Clusters such as this, within the medical treatises, must, in my view, have been subjected to a great deal of allegoresis, perhaps even extending to the third chapter of the CRANIUM treatise as a whole.<sup>87</sup> Either way, the references to ŠU.GIDIM.MA in the symptomatology in CRANIUM 3 would still, according to Heeßel’s proposal, be read as *šugidimmakku* rather than *qāt eṭemmi*, and it is passages such as this that would represent the maximal degree of allegoresis along the continuum proposed here. There do seem to be other concrete indications of allegoresis beside the orthographic contrasts identified by Heeßel, such as the euphemistic use of Akk. *šipru* ‘work, activity, effect’ (usually written KIN) before ŠU.GIDIM.MA,<sup>88</sup> but the most important piece of evidence, in favor of widespread allegoresis, is the strict avoidance of explicit causal statements in the medical treatises.

## 5 Avoiding the Tainted Language of Causation

Like so many other aspects of scientific or technical knowledge in ancient Mesopotamia, the language of causation was rooted in juridical terminological and practice. As Rochberg has made clear on several occasions, the casuistic, “If *P*, then *Q*” structure of Mesopotamian scientific and technical literature provides us with a minimum threshold: omen collections of all kinds, including the omens found in *The Diagnostic Handbook*, were formulated as lists of cases, each in the form of an “If *P*, then *Q*” statement. As Rochberg has recently put it:

... omen statements were formulated in just the same way as the “laws” in law collections, that is, in conditional sentences introduced by the subordinating conjunction of “if” (*šumma*).

...

Just as in Hammurapi’s or the other law codes where case rulings represent what was (theoretically) decided by the judge in the case of *P*, so the omen statements refer to what was “ruled/decided” by the gods, in the event of *P*, where *P* is some possible ominous phenomenon.<sup>89</sup>

Rochberg is frying bigger fish, in this passage, than the indirect coding of epistemological values through juridical textual forms, in particular the logical coherence of the omen collections as an expression of scientific thought. But we should bear in mind that there are features of *The Diagnostic Handbook*, such as the use of depersonalized case histories and explicit statements of cause, that more closely resemble the legal compendia than what we find in the non-medical omen collections. We have looked at the genesis of depersonalized case histories earlier in this paper, but explicit statements of cause do exist and are crucial in any consideration of the use of legal models in scientific literature.

Within both jurisprudence and the more traditional discipline of exorcistic healing (*āšipūtu*), the Akkadian preposition *aššum* is used to mark the decisive causal element in a complex legal or exorcistic situation. Martha Roth (2001) offers a detailed description of its use in legal situations, emphasizing that “the *aššum* clause provides an indication of

<sup>86</sup> The only occurrence of ŠU.GIDIM.MA in the entire STOMACH treatise is in STOMACH 5 (= BAM 579) iii 19’, where it comes at the end of a section, presumably in a fixed phrase for a “lotion” (Akk. *marhašu*) or “salve” (Akk. *napšaltu*) directed at a number of illnesses, including ŠU.GIDIM.MA. The similar passage in lines 54’-55’ in the preceding column of the same tablet (BAM 579 ii 54’-55’) does not preserve ŠU.GIDIM.MA, although nearly all of the duplicate texts that Cadelli assembles for these lines do (Cadelli 2000: 258).

<sup>87</sup> It is noteworthy that CRANIUM 1 contains no references to GIDIM or ŠU GIDIM(.MA) (Worthington 2005), while CRANIUM 2 (Attia and Buisson 2003) has only three references to GIDIM, all in juxtaposition to standard descriptions of headache: *ina* DAB-*it* GIDIM in line 166’, *ina* DAB ŠU GIDIM in 169’ and *ina* DAB GIDIM [. . .] in line 222’. We should not infer, in my view, from passages like this, that Babylonian physicians were regularly performing Marduk-Ea style incantations or reciting passages from *Udug-hul/Utukkū Lemnūtu*; instead, it is much more likely that these exorcistic materials are included within CRANIUM 3 simply as examples of the type of incantations traditionally appropriate to headache (rather than a standard or recommended course of medical treatment).

<sup>88</sup> See the discussion in Scurlock 2006: 521-522.

<sup>89</sup> Rochberg 2016: 187-188.

the gravamen, that feature of a given case that leads the judges to a specific penalty determination,” before citing, as a prime example, §146 from the Laws of Hammurapi:<sup>90</sup>

*šumma awilum naditam ihuzma amtam ana mutiša iddinma mārī ittalad warkānum amtum šī itti bēltiša uštatamhir*  
***aššum mārī uldu*** *bēlessa ana kaspim ul inaddišši abbuttam išakkanšimma itti amātīm imannuši*

If a man marries a *naditum*, and she gives a slave woman to her husband, and she (the slave) then bears children, after which the slave woman aspires to equal status with her mistress – **because she bore children** – her mistress will not sell her; she shall place upon her the slave-hairlock, and she shall reckon her with the slave women. (translation Roth)

As Roth emphasizes, the *aššum* clause, **bold** and underlined above, does not provide us with new information, since the same semantic content is provided earlier in the case, viz. *mārī ittalad*, “she (= the slave) bore children”; instead, the *aššum* clause picks out the single element within a complex situation that is decisive for the judgment. In the statute cited here, one might infer, quite differently, that the status of the female slave’s owner, as a *naditu* priestess, might have prevented her from selling the slave, but no, the causal statement *aššum mārī uldu* “because she bore children” picks out the single decisive cause of the judgment. Heeßel, in the same paper in which he defined the contrast between *qāt eṭemmi* and *šugidimmakku*, also collected occurrences of the *aššum* construction in *The Diagnostic Handbook* such as the following:<sup>91</sup>

*Diagnostic Handbook*, chapter 17, line 79

DIŠ ina GE<sub>6</sub> GIG-ma ina ka-ša-a-ti ba-liṭ ŠU <sup>4</sup>Uraš ***aššum(MU) DA[M LÚ]***

If he is sick in the night and healthy in the morning: It is “Hand of Uraš,” **because of the wife of (another) man.**

Like the gravamen in the legal cases studied by Roth the *aššum* phrase in this entry from *The Diagnostic Handbook* gives us the cause of the illness, here presumably a case of “illicit sexual contact”.<sup>92</sup> Here, however, no longer operating within a human juridical context, the *aššum* statement sketches out – if we can draw on Rochberg’s paradigm – a Quinean “causal chain” or “rudimentary theory of the world” rather than a Humean “constant conjunction”. Indeed, if we want to differentiate these two types of causation in the Mesopotamian textual record, our only real hope is to look at complex cases, in which a single definitive cause is picked out by an *aššum* statement.

Stol refers to a few places in the medical corpus in which a cause of some kind is alluded to, but in fact none of the examples that Stol cites make use of the *aššum* construction and, as far as I can tell, explicit statements of causation like those found in legal or exorcistic contexts are scrupulously avoided in the medical treatises.<sup>93</sup> As we have seen above, in the depersonalized case histories, the medical treatises present us with complex cases at every turn, but are we to infer that Quinean “causal chains” played no role in the etiological ruminations of Babylonian physicians? This avoidance of explicit causal statements could be chalked up to a wide-ranging “methodism” within Babylonian medicine, namely a nearly total rejection of all models of causation,<sup>94</sup> as happened in 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE Rome. I do not believe this to be the case. Instead, I suspect that the traditional language of causation, in particular the use of *aššum* statements, was so thoroughly tainted with the cosmological presuppositions of the exorcists that it could not be used to describe the types of causal chains that the Babylonian physicians had in mind.

<sup>90</sup> Roth 2001: 408.

<sup>91</sup> See, generally, Veenhof 1978, Roth 2001 and Heeßel 2007: 126-127. Veenhof describes the use of *aššum* together with divine names as a kind of oath formula: “It is used in order to convince a listener or addressee, rather emphatically, of the seriousness and reliability of the words which follow, either a statement of facts, or a threat, or a promise” (Veenhof 1978: 186). Since it is used in interpersonal communication, rather than in a technical discipline, it is not dealt with further here, although from a logical point of view it has the same discursive function, namely to state the justification upon which a following statement is based.

<sup>92</sup> Heeßel 2007: 126, citing Stol 1992: 46.

<sup>93</sup> Stol 1992: 46 cites BAM 174 rev. 34, BAM 240 rev. 70 and the HAMSTRING treatise, recently edited in Eyppper 2016, but none of these make use of the *aššum* construction.

<sup>94</sup> Geller 2014: 16-23 offers a wide-ranging comparison between the methodists in Rome (“Methodism distinguished itself from both Dogmatism and Empiricism by refusing to acknowledge causes of illness”, p. 17) and similar features in the Babylonian medical tradition.

Instead, as I have suggested earlier in this paper, I believe that causal models within Babylonian medicine were expressed indirectly through the clusters of incantations found within the medical treatises. If traditional etiological models of ghost-induced illness (Sum. ŠU.GIDIM = Akk. *qāt eṭemmi*) linked gastrointestinal difficulties with headache, buzzing in the ears and similar symptoms, the separation of these symptomatology into two distinct treatises in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, namely STOMACH (VIII) and CRANIUM (I), already suggests that Babylonian medicine (*asûtu*) had rejected this causal linkage. In itself, the imposition of an anatomically-structured logic on a large compendium like *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* cannot be used as the sole argument for this interpretation. But, crucially, we find a contrastive configuration of these materials in different compendial formats. Whereas STOMACH (VIII) and CRANIUM (I) are completely delinked in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, in other compendia such as BAM 508 and K. 5416a+ this delink is reversed, apparently as a critical response to what is happening in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*. If we briefly return to our red thread, the shovelling-out-the-intestines line in STOMACH 1, line 113, this critical response comes into focus.

STOMACH 1, line 113 (A = BAM 574, B = STT 252)

[liš-šá]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup> [.....] <sup>r</sup>li<sup>r</sup>-pat-ta-a ÍD.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> (A ii 48)

[liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>]<sup>gis</sup>MAR<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ / ša KÙ.BABBAR *kid-di-me*-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup> šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> *lip-pa-ta*<sup>r</sup> [ÍD.MEŠ] (B 17c-18a)

BAM 508 ii 5'-6a': <sup>r</sup>liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>MAR.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR *u ki-din-né-e* šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> / *li-pat-ta-a* ÍD.MEŠ

BAM 509 i 3'-4a': [.....] KÙ.BABBAR *gi-dim-me-e-ti* [.....] / [.....] ÍD.MEŠ

K. 5416a+ rev. iv 28'-29a': [x] *liš-šá-a<sup>gis</sup>*MAR.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR *gi-dim-me-ti* šá KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> / *li-pat-ta-a* ÍD.MEŠ

May they bear shovels of silver and spades of gold! May they open up the waterways!

The placement of this line in STOMACH 1, line 113, is certain, thanks to the incipit and catchline in BAM 574 and their alignment with line 29 of AMC. But at least two of the parallels, BAM 508 and K. 5416a+, provide us with evidence for a countervailing, reactionary tradition that sought to re-establish the linkage between the materials in STOMACH (VIII) and CRANIUM (I) under the aegis of a revived model of ghost-induced etiology. Both of these compendia, BAM 508 and K. 5416a+, consist entirely of incantations and rituals, and most importantly, they bring the clusters of incantations traditionally associated with ghost-induced illness back within a single compendial context. Thus, if clusters of incantations are indirectly coding etiological beliefs, the separation of STOMACH (VIII) and CRANIUM (I) in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* would indicate a disavowal of ghost-induced models, while the reunification of these materials might represent some kind of reactionary reassertion of ghost-induced models.<sup>95</sup>

The two compendia, BAM 508 and K. 5416a+, largely overlap: BAM 508 consists of major clusters of incantations drawn from CRANIUM 3 and STOMACH 1, while K. 5416a+ also includes a group of materials concerned with diarrhea (Sum. ŠÀ.SI.SÁ), along with other abdominal illnesses. For our purposes here, it is particularly significant that K. 5416a+ is a three-column tablet, and thus could not, in any way, have represented a tablet from *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*. BAM 508, in contrast, adheres quite closely to the expected two-column form of a chapter from a medical treatise in the Library of Ashurbanipal. One possibility is that BAM 508 represents a collection of the traditional incantations used against ghost-induced illness, precisely the type of materials that had been excluded from the STOMACH treatise (similar to the relegation of ghost-induced models to CRANIUM 3 within the CRANIUM treatise). If so, the clusters of incantations found in BAM 508 might correspond in some way with the still poorly understood section known as ABDOMEN (IXb), in lines 40-43 of AMC.

<sup>95</sup> Note as well that the orthographies characteristic of the medical treatises, such as ŠU.GIDIM.MA and the like, are not attested in these compilations.

## IXb ABDOMEN

40) DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-*su-ma* .....]41) DIŠ NA NINDA N[U GU<sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG .....]42) DIŠ NA ZI.K[U<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA DÛ-*su* .....] x x [x (x)]43) EN 8 DUB.ME[Š ... KA INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub> BÚR.RU].<sup>r</sup>DA<sup>7</sup>.[KAM]

(40) If a gh[ost afflicts] a man [. . .]. (41) If a man [can] neither [eat] bread [nor drink beer . . .]. (42) If “cutting-of-the-throat” [magic has been performed against a man . . .]. (43) Including eight tablets of [..., (including) incantations to remove witch]craft [(...)] . . . (Translation Steinert et al.)

The most important feature of this section of AMC is that it uses the EN sign, rather than the NÍGIN sign, to label the eight tablets that are summarized in line 43. The norm, in the rest of the catalogue, is to summarize each treatise with the logogram NÍGIN, presumably for the Akkadian *napharu* “total”, followed by the number of library tablets or chapters found in the treatise as a whole. Yet here, instead, we find the logogram EN, presumably for Akkadian *adi* “as far as”, and the content seems to swerve in the direction of exorcism and witchcraft.

As Ulrike Steinert emphasizes in her commentary on these lines, treating this section as a kind of appendix solves an important problem with the alignment of the AMC catalogue and a Nineveh colophon that lists KIDNEY immediately after EPIGASTRIUM, seemingly omitting these four lines.<sup>96</sup> If Steinert’s analysis is correct, it might suggest an explanation for the peculiar thematic overlap between the ABDOMEN section (IXb) in AMC and the treatise known as STOMACH (VIII). In the absence of any solid linkage between the incipits in AMC, lines 40-43, and particular library tablets from Nineveh, we must proceed with caution, but perhaps we can hypothesize that this appendix (ABDOMEN IXb) catalogued traditional methods of treating gastrointestinal illness, perhaps even in a library text like BAM 508. If so, the concentration of treatments against “Hand of a ghost” (ŠU.GIDIM.MA) in ABDOMEN and the nearly total absence of these treatments from STOMACH may represent one way of responding to the inherited tradition of gastrointestinal treatments (segregation of ghost-induced treatments of gastrointestinal illness in ABDOMEN), while CRANIUM 3 and similar materials, where ghost-induced symptoms continue to abound, could not be reconfigured in this way and had to be interpreted through a relatively strong form of allegoresis.

## 6 Conclusion

If allegoresis exists in the Babylonian medical treatises, it means, first and foremost, that the simple occurrence of ŠU.GIDIM.MA or similar orthographies cannot be used to infer a belief in ghost-induced etiologies on the part of the editor. Indeed, if Heeßel’s arguments about these orthographies hold, then it suggests quite the opposite: the presence of ŠU.GIDIM.MA, read as *šugidimmakku*, would act as an index of a medical milieu, in which ghost-induced models of disease etiology were largely discredited. Rather than adhering to this kind of orthographic test, however, as the only basis for identifying the editors or intended users of a given compendium, the architectonic approach advocated here suggests that the configuration of blocks of text within a particular compendium can be used as a proxy for explicit statements of causation. The separation of gastrointestinal treatments (STOMACH) from treatments for headache (CRANIUM) in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium* indicates a rejection of ghost-induced etiologies, while the recombination of these materials in reactionary compendia such as BAM 508 or K. 5416a+ might represent quite the opposite, a reassertion of a ghost-induced model. But of course this type of argumentation only becomes possible to the degree that we can reconstruct the compendial context of a given textual source.

The Assur Medical Catalogue, in combination with the reconstructed medical treatises of *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, represents, by far, the most important piece of the architectonic puzzle. In particular, if we are trying to link

<sup>96</sup> See Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126, text 7.5 with pl. 23, where two fragments from Nineveh, K. 3661 and AMT 44/7 (K. 13390) include a colophon (K. 3661 rev. iv 17'-18' and AMT 44/7 rev. iv 1'-2') that ends with the catchline for KIDNEY and identifies the tablet itself as the final chapter of EPIGASTRIUM. This suggests that KIDNEY follows EPIGASTRIUM directly. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Steinert’s commentary to AMC, lines 38-43.

a specific model of causation to a historically contextualized school of medical thought, the context provided by AMC and the compendium that it helps us to reconstruct is of the utmost importance. Just as reactionary compendia such as BAM 508 and K. 5416a+ demonstrate the theoretical import of the separation of STOMACH (VIII) and CRANIUM (I) in *The Nineveh Medical Compendium*, it appears that this type of contrast could even be identified at the level of an entire scholarly discipline, even medicine itself. It is telling, for example, that in some few texts such as BAM 155 and BAM 221 – the relevant passages are nicely collected in Scurlock 2006, No. 307, 318, 319a, 320 and 347 – we find the curious protasis “If ‘Hand of a ghost’ afflicts someone, so that neither medicine (*asûtu*) nor exorcism (*āšipûtu*) is capable of removing it and it cannot be expelled: . . . .”<sup>97</sup> This protasis is a reformulation of the incipit of CRANIUM 3, which simply refers to a headache (SAG.KI.DAB.BA), (due to) *šugidimmakku*, that remains in the body and cannot be expelled. But statements like this clearly indicate that individual practitioners could, and occasionally did, step beyond the ordinary disciplinary boundaries of Babylonian medicine.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The best preserved example seems to be Scurlock no. 307 (2006: 626), where the two manuscripts, BAM 221 ii 8’-9’ in combination with BAM 155 i 9’-10’, yield: [DIŠ N]A ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-su-ma lu ina DÛ-ti a-su-ti lu ina MAŠ.MAŠ-u-ti / il-ta-zi-iz-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub> ana [TI]-šû . . . The slightly different orthography in Scurlock no. 319a, based primarily on BAM 225 rev 3’-5’, reads: [DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA] DAB-su-ma lu ina ne-pil-ti [a]-su-ti [i] lu ina ne-pil-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti [i]l-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub> ana TI-šû . . . Note that in all relevant manuscripts ŠU.GIDIM.MA rather than ŠU GIDIM is the only orthographic form attested, suggesting that these few texts are an outgrowth of the medical tradition rather than a resurgent form of exorcism.

<sup>98</sup> A synthetic version of the incipit would read DIŠ NA SAG.KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ina SU NA il-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub>.

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# Notes on the Assur Medical Catalogue with Comparison to the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia<sup>\*</sup>

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- 17 Further Perspectives in the Studies of Medical Texts

## 1 Introduction

Mesopotamian catalogues are crucial for reconstructing textual corpora, since texts to which they refer are often fragmentary or entirely missing.<sup>1</sup> This was also true in ancient times when catalogues included a comment on missing texts: “collated, those which were at hand, many were not seen (and) not included” (4R<sup>2</sup>, 53 iv 30-31; see below).

The Assur Medical Catalogue (henceforth AMC<sup>2</sup>) is preserved on a portrait oriented tablet, made in Assur (Il. 126-128), and copied from an already broken manuscript (*he-pî*, l. 83).<sup>3</sup> The appearance of the script suggests that it was inscribed during the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, but we cannot be sure about the exact date of the master tablet. The tradition recorded on the catalogue probably goes back to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, when canonization of medical texts began (Goltz 1974: 4).<sup>4</sup>

AMC consists of two parts. Incipits (the first line or words on a tablet) of medical treatises comprise the first part. The second part includes incipits and rubrics of therapeutic, ritual, exorcistic and divinatory texts. Thus, AMC, beside KAR 44, is a catalogue listing multiple therapeutic, some magico-medical<sup>5</sup> and occasionally divinatory compositions. It is thus essential for understanding the organization and serialization of Mesopotamian medical lore.

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<sup>\*</sup> For different article issues, I am thankful to BabMed members, to participants of the BabMed Workshop 1 (Berlin, 12-14 October 2014), and to colleagues' comments during the conference Sources of Evil (Würzburg, 15-17 April 2015). Special thanks are due to Mark Geller and Eugene Trubich for proofreading and discussions, and to Robert Biggs and Marten Stol for suggestions and corrections.

<sup>1</sup> The song catalogue KAR 158 lists many lost works, see Groneberg 2003: 70. For the importance of catalogues see Krecher 1976-80; Shehata 2009: 10; Koch 2015: 165.

<sup>2</sup> Bold Roman capital numbers with labels (e.g. **II EYES**) or lines (e.g. l. 127) refer to the AMC edition.

<sup>3</sup> The gloss, *he-pî* “broken”, indicates that the manuscript is a faithful copy from a master tablet, see Frahm 2011: 16, 33, 319.

<sup>4</sup> Finkel (2004: 26) suggests that medical texts from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium are “dinosaurs” of older times.

<sup>5</sup> For the term “magico-medical”, and “healing magic”, see Couto-Ferreira 2015: 187-88; Geller 2016: 27-31.

We assume that AMC represents the works of the *asû* “medical practitioner”, since the catalogue was written by a young *asû* (A.ZU TUR, l. 127).<sup>6</sup> It is a manual with medical treatises and thus a companion to the medical curriculum. AMC shares important similarities with the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44<sup>7</sup>) and diagnostic *Sakikkû* catalogue (CTN 4, 71<sup>8</sup>), representing an ideal collection recorded by scholars of that time. AMC is a scholarly manual (index) to actual texts which were incorporated in a newly edited therapeutic encyclopaedia at Nineveh (see paragraph 7).

AMC shall take a significant place not only in studies about Mesopotamian medicine but also in the general history of ancient medicine, since AMC lists healing corpora, predating by several centuries the so-called Hippocratic Corpus.

## 2 AMC with Respect to the *Asû* vs. *Āšipu*/*Mašmašu* Discussion

AMC contributes to the burdensome discussion about the role of the *asû* “medical practitioner” vs. *āšipu*/*mašmašu* “exorcist”.<sup>9</sup> It demonstrates that a stringent division between *asû* and *āšipu*/*mašmašu* did not exist in the first millennium BCE, nor can both healing professions be viewed as complementary, nor is it always possible to distinguish between their specific texts.<sup>10</sup> Yet, on an ideal, theoretical level<sup>11</sup> there is evidence for medicine, magic and diagnostics since we have three distinctive catalogues (AMC – medicine, KAR 44 – magic and CTN 4, 71 – diagnostics).

Let us observe the types of texts preserved on AMC. The first part lists mainly the incipits of the therapeutic treatises as known from Nineveh (discussed in paragraph 7 below).<sup>12</sup> The second part records medical treatises with ancient surgery (ll. 70-78)<sup>13</sup>, magic (ll. 79-88), divination (ll. 89-90)<sup>14</sup>, magic and psychiatry<sup>15</sup> (ll. 91-98), sexology (ll. 99-108), gynaecology and obstetrics (109-120), and even veterinary medicine<sup>16</sup> (ll. 121-125). These treatises illustrate the multiple aspects of the *asû*’s work, and demonstrate numerous incursions<sup>17</sup> into magical lore, *āšipūtu*. Incursions are represented not only at the catalogue level (see fig. 3), but are repeatedly seen in therapeutic manuscripts. Texts belonging to the *asû* were often copied by *āšipus* (Scurlock 2014: 389, 410, 430), and even designated as *niširti mašmaši* “the secret of the exorcistic lore”.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the *asû* employed incantations and rituals in addition to therapeutic recipes,

6 In Nineveh medical treatises, corresponding to the first part of AMC, there are numerous references to the *asû* and his handiwork. The latter is his main feature, Ritter 1965: 321; Majno 1975. The following examples are enough to illustrate the *asû*’s work: **II EYES**, BAM 510 iv 39: *Gula bēlet asūti iddīma anāku ašši* “Gula, mistress of the medical skill; she casts (the spell) and I (the *asû*) carry (it) out” (Lambert 2008: 93); BAM 515 ii 1: *ina ubānika teqqi* “you (*asû*) daub (his eyes) with your finger”; BAM 516 iv 13: *itqūr abāri qāt asī* “lead spoon (salve) of the hand of a medical practitioner” (see Attia 2015: 42, 78); **VIII STOMACH**, BAM 578 iv 46: *ana marši šuātu asū qāssu lā ubbal* “the medical practitioner shall not reach out his hand to this sick man” (Cadelli 2000: 57, 207, 279). Similar are the prohibitions for treating patients during specific days. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nisannu: *asū ana marši qāssu lā ubbal* “the medical practitioner should not reach out his hand to the sick man”, Livingstone 2013: 107, for further instances Livingstone 2013: 14: 17; 104; 109: 62; 110 ii 3; 112: 35; 113: 38.

7 Geller 2000; Jean 2006: 62-72; Bácskay and Simkó 2012; Clancier 2014. See also Geller in this volume.

8 Stol (1991-92: 42-44) considers *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) as a diagnostic handbook rather than an omen series. See different opinions in Heeßel 2000: 3; Koch 2015: 274-275.

9 The discussion was opened by the still influential article of Ritter 1965. For different points of view and criticism afterwards, see for instance Goltz 1974: 5-13; for a summary of opinions, see Verderame 2004: 16ff.; Attinger 2008: 2-6; Heeßel 2009: 13-15; Geller 2010: 43-55; Scurlock 2014: 2-4; repeated in Scurlock 2017: 277; Schwemer 2015: 26-27.

10 See Attinger 2008: 2-6; CMAwR 1: 9.

11 See also Biggs 1995: 1918 stating that “the distinction” between an *asû* vs. *āšipu* “is more theoretical than real”.

12 The therapeutic treatises (series) were already discussed in different ways by Köcher 1978; Farber 1982: 594 n. 5; Böck 2003: 166; Attinger 2008: 26-27; Geller 2010: 26; Heeßel 2010a; Scurlock 2014: 295-306.

13 Finkel (2014: 44-46) refers to AMC. Treatments of wounds and incantations against scorpion stings and snake bites are represented in the early medical and magical texts, George 2016: 5f., 167f., and *passim*. An Old or Middle Babylonian catalogue (BM 103690) proves the high antiquity of medical treatises, which were known until now only from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE. The reconstructed incipit [DIŠ NA ina EDIN U]R.MAH DAB.DAB-[s]u (AMC 70) is also attested on BM 103690 i 17, see Finkel’s edition in this volume. Another earlier attestation of a series is *Šammu šikinšu* in BM 103690 i 11. Compare also the comment to BRONCHIA 5 and IM 202652 discussed below.

14 AMC illustrates *per se* that the *asû* may act as a diviner, see Zucconi 2007: esp. 31. The *asû* should be added to the other professions that perform divination in Koch 2015: 18-24.

15 See in detail Chalendar 2013 and Geller 1999.

16 In veterinary medicine both the *asû* and *āšipu* were actively collaborating, see Panayotov 2015: 486ff.

17 For the idea of incursions see Geller forthcoming.

18 Lambert 1962: 68, AMT 94/2 is now BAM 471. Add also the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 385 i 11’ (where the rubric *ni-šir-ti* <sup>16</sup>[maš.maš’] was deliberately inserted between prescriptions separated by rulings), and the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Assur text BAM 199 rev. 4 (Scurlock 2006: no. 187b).

just like the *āšipu* did.<sup>19</sup> Both *āšipu* and *asû* treated the same body parts and diseases. In addition, they treated animals, and were concerned with divination, as blindingly obvious from the works recorded in the catalogues, see fig. 3. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the *asû* and *āšipu* were mentioned side by side in magical and medical texts. Both were concerned with healing.<sup>20</sup>

These incursions, in the catalogues and actual texts, have brought about confusion if a modern scholar asked: why one profession was dealing with the milieu of the other and vice versa?

First, it is a matter of taxonomy. Stringent professional division is true for a modern clinic, but no hospitals existed in Mesopotamia. This is a significant difference. Mesopotamian medicine and healing magic were mainly domestic. During their education, modern students of medicine cover a wide range of disciplines, and a modern general practitioner deals with all problems at a certain level. A similar reality is mirrored in ancient texts: in the curriculum, a wide range of subjects were studied by both *asû* and *āšipu*. Later in practice, *asû* and *āšipu* dealt with similar cases, but specific cases might have been treated only by an experienced healer, if available. Both healing professions studied and used the same and/or similar healing techniques and texts, as reflected in the catalogues, see fig. 3. One good example for an identical healing composition is the Hulbazizi “Eradicate that Evil” incantations series. Its rubric is mentioned in the second part of AMC (l. 83), and also in the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 7). With its baroque magic, Hulbazizi was linked to the exorcistic series Udug-hul, and the zi-pà series.<sup>21</sup> But such incantations were an important part of magical practicalities with amulets, protecting domestic space and persons, applied by the *āšipu* and *asû* whenever needed.

### 3 The Pre-publication History of AMC

The modern study of AMC began during 1978 in Chicago when Irving Finkel identified, transliterated, and copied a fragment written in cuneiform, A 7821 (see fig. 1).<sup>22</sup>

Finkel and the *Großmeister* of Mesopotamian medicine Franz Köcher recognized that the Chicago fragment (A 7821) belonged thematically to fragments housed at Yale, which were not published then (Beckman and Foster 1988: 3-4, 11-14, fragments 9a-d). Köcher was particularly interested in these fragments and prepared a preliminary edition, which was never published, but taken into consideration by Beckman and Foster (1988: 3-4), and later by the BabMed work on the catalogue. Concerning the importance of AMC, he wrote a private letter to M. Geller:

Sollten Sie noch einmal nach Yale kommen<sup>sic!</sup> (und das hoffe ich sehr!), dann sehen Sie doch bitte die Texte YBC 7114<sup>23</sup> (sammu sikiusu<sup>sic!</sup>) und YBC 7123+o.A. 7126+o.A. 7139+o.A. 7146 vordringlich durch. Ich sende meine Umschriften hiermit an Sie. Herr Foster hat bisher nur die Transkr. von YBC 7114 erhalten! Ob Sie ihm die andere auch zeigen wollen überlasse ich Ihnen; sie hat mir sehr viel Mühe gemacht. Aber der Text ist ungemein wichtig (wäre er doch vollständig!). (Letter: Köcher–Geller, Philadelphia, 24.Sept. 1987).

In the following winter, he writes impatiently:

seit Juli habe ich nichts mehr von Ihnen gehört. ... Herr Finkel schweigt auch, ... Hat Ihnen Herr Finkel gesagt, daß ich den Assur-Katalog der therap. Texte (von FOSTER publ.) bearbeiten will? (Letter: Köcher–Geller, London, 15.Nov. 1988).

<sup>19</sup> Many examples are found in Collins 1999; Cadelli 2000; overview in Geller 2007a.

<sup>20</sup> See e.g. the anti-witchcraft texts CMAwR 1: 236: 151ff.; 238: 27ff. More in Ritter 1965: 315-321. A telling example from the therapeutic corpus is the incipit of AMT 97/6, reconstructed with the help of AMC l. 14, second tablet of **IV NECK**: DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-su-ma lu ina DÜ-ti A.ZU-ti lu ina DÜ-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti il-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub>.<sup>3</sup> Another example: **I CRANIUM** Tablet 3 refers both to the *asû* and *āšipu* with their specific techniques *šimdu* “bandages” and *šiptu* “incantations”: K. 2566+(AMT 102, CDLI P365746): i 1-2: šum-ma SAG.KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ina SU NA il-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub> / ina IGI ši-in-di ù ÉN NU KUD-as (Scurlock 2006: no. 113).

<sup>21</sup> See Geller 2000: 244: 7; Geller 2016: 498. Hulbazizi was connected with the exorcistic series zi-pà, Borger 1969: 15. In detail Finkel 1976, and add the Assur Hulbazizi collection LKA 77 (Ebeling 1953: Gattung I).

<sup>22</sup> Personal communication of Irving L. Finkel.

<sup>23</sup> For this tablet see now Stadhouders 2011: 5.

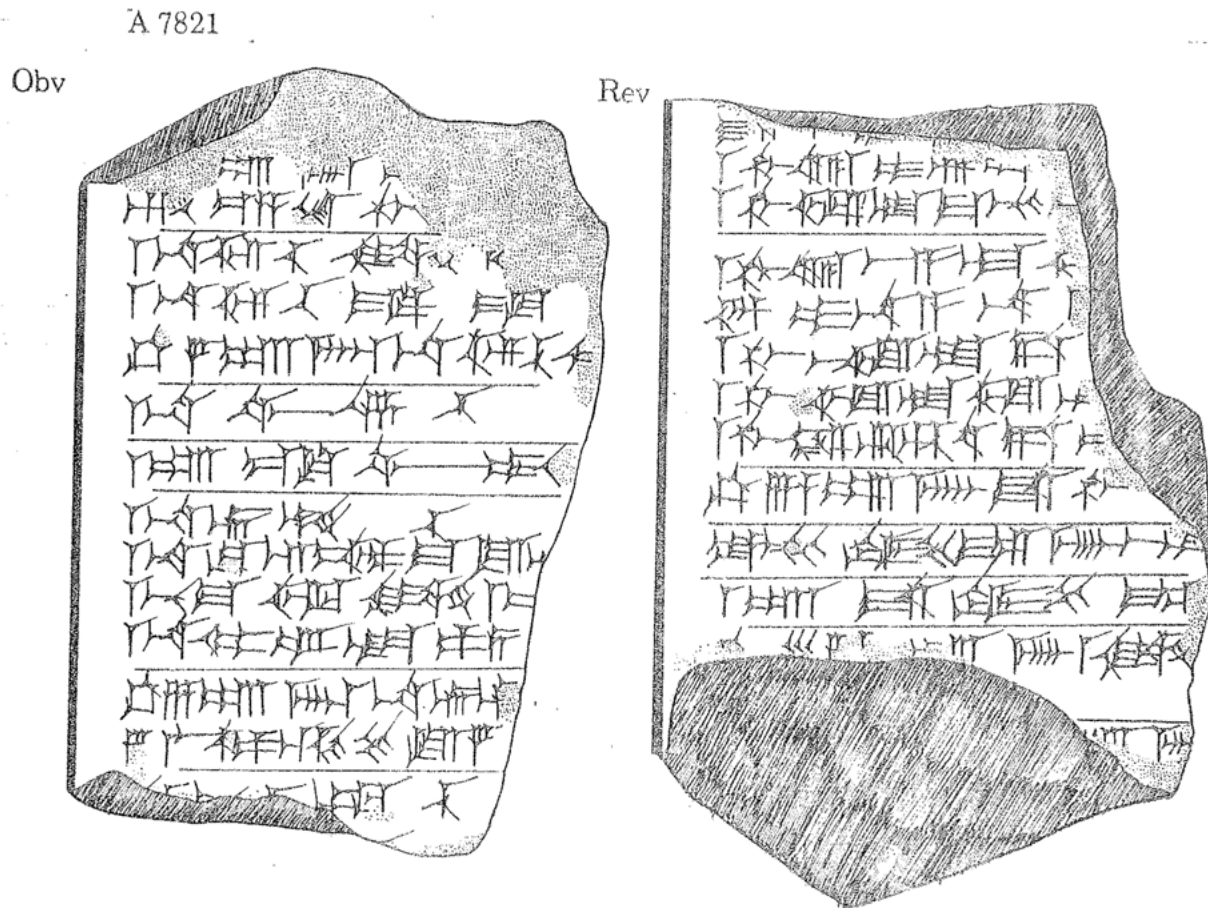


Fig. 1: Copy of A 7821, Courtesy of Irving L. Finkel.

In his edition, Köcher considered the Chicago fragment (A 7821) to be a duplicate of the Yale fragments. In fact, the Chicago fragment appears to be an indirect join to the Yale fragments.

## 4 The Publication History of AMC

For the sake of convenience, I list chronologically the relevant publications and works on AMC that I am aware of.

- Pardee published for the first time the veterinary section of the Chicago fragment, A 7821 (1985: 75).
- Beckman and Foster published copies of the Yale fragments (YBC 7123, 7126, 7139, 7146), which were already joined and transliterated by Köcher, but not reflected in their copies (1988: no. 9).
- Finkel draws attention to the crucial phrase SUR.GIBIL in CTN 4, 71 and YBC 7123 (1988: 148 n. 38).
- Cadelli refers to the *suālu* section in AMC and connects it to the Nineveh manuscripts (2000: 56, 80, 140 n. 48, 326 n. 103, 341 n. 234, 362 n. 444).
- Böck refers to the unpublished edition by Köcher, but does not mention the Chicago fragment, A 7821 (2003: 166 n. 13).
- Worthington, following the advice of Finkel, cites the section from the second part of AMC dealing with wound treatments (2003: 7 n. 35).
- Geller edits the sections concerned with kidney and anus (2005: 247).
- In 2006, Attia, Buisson, and Geller work together on all the fragments in Paris and place anew A 7821. Their fragment placement is followed in the BabMed publication.

- In 2007, Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds discuss in depth the fifth tablet of the medical treatise **IV NECK**.
- In the same year, Stol convincingly demonstrates that SUR.GIBIL means “new text” (Stol 2007: 242).
- The Parisian co-working of Attia, Buisson, and Geller is reflected in Attinger (2008: 8, 26-27).
- Heeßel refers to lines from the second part of AMC, dealing with lesions and skin problems (2008: 169-71).
- Böck (2008: 296-99) reviews the work of Geller (2005: 247).
- Heeßel refers to AMC in connection with the organization of the medical series (2010a: 34).
- Abusch and Schwemer publish a Nineveh text with a catchline to the kidney section and discuss its position in AMC, following suggestions of Heeßel (CMAwR 1: 126-28).
- Frahm investigates who might be the author of AMC and draws close attention to the phrase SUR.GIBIL *šabtu* (2011: 328-29).
- Loretz refers to the veterinary section of AMC (Chicago fragment, A 7821), and cites the aforementioned work of Pardee (Loretz 2011: 199).
- The first modern edition of the first part of AMC was published by Scurlock (2014: 295-306, notes on pp. 333-35). Unluckily, she overlooked the Chicago fragment, A 7821, which was already mentioned in earlier literature: Pardee 1985: 75; Attinger 2008: 8, 26-27; Loretz 2011: 199. In addition, Scurlock did not edit the second part of the catalogue.
- In the same year, Finkel refers to the second part of AMC, showing that much more is to be expected from Mesopotamian surgery (2014: 44-46).
- Johnson discusses the treatise *suālu* (**VIII STOMACH**) in respect to AMC, and transliterates the section in AMC together with **VII BRONCHIA** (2014: 12-13).
- I commented on the second part of AMC (Panayotov 2014: 43<sup>24</sup>; Panayotov 2015: 486).
- Parys mentions the veterinary section of A 7821 and its relation to YBC 7123 (2014: 5).
- Attia mentions AMC in her work on the treatise of sick eyes (2015: 2-4).
- Bácskay refers to AMC concerning fevers (2015: 4 n. 15).
- Wee summarizes what was already said many times about the phrase SUR.GIBIL *la šab-tu<sub>4</sub>* (2015: 253-54).
- Johnson expands on his edition from 2014 (2015b: 31).
- Geller forthcoming elaborates of the interactions between the professions *asû* and *āšipu/mašmašu*.
- Bácskay and Simkó 2017 refer to the AMC in respect of the placement of BAM 494 in the therapeutic corpus.
- Bácskay 2018: 90 refers to BAM 579 and to AMC in relation to fever.
- The contributions of Heeßel, as well as Stadhouders and Johnson, and Steinert and Vacín (all in Panayotov and Vacín (forthcoming)) discuss additional texts in relation to AMC.

## 5 The Heading of AMC

AMC had a heading, from which only MU.NE “its name” survived.<sup>25</sup> Theoretically, *iškāru* “series”,<sup>26</sup> or *asûtu* “medical craft” might be reconstructed based on other catalogues headings, and especially on the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44). Let us observe some catalogues headings:

CTN 4, 71: 1 (Finkel 1988, and edition in this volume)

[SAG DUB.MEŠ *u*] ŠU.NÍGIN MU.MEŠ ŠA SA<sup>27</sup>.GIG.MEŠ MU.N[E]

[These are the names of the tablet incipits and] all the entries of *Sakikkû*.

4R<sup>2</sup>, 53<sup>27</sup> iv 30-31 (Lambert 1962: 68; Gabbay 2015: 19; CDLI P357084)

[D]UB SAG.MEŠ ÊŠ.GÀR NAM.GALA IGI.LAL.MEŠ ŠA ina ŠU.MIN šu-šu-u /

<sup>24</sup> The mentioned Assur incipit (BAM 156) might need revision since it is not known until now from Nineveh.

<sup>25</sup> Not clear on the copy of Beckman and Foster 1988: 11, 9a obv. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Discussion in Worthington 2010.

<sup>27</sup> The initial title of the catalogue (4R<sup>2</sup>, 53 i 1) is broken off, but MEŠ – presumably a rest from SAG.MEŠ – partly survived. There is a different restoration in Gabbay 2015: 15: [ÉR].MEŠ [ù ÉR.ŠÈM.MA.MEŠ M]U.NE. Compare also 4R<sup>2</sup>/53 iii 1: ÉR.ŠÈM.MA.MEŠ KI.DU.DU.MEŠ MU.NE “These are the names (of) the Eršemma’s for the ritual performances (*kidudû*)”.

[ma] -<sup>77</sup>-du-tu<sub>4</sub> ul am-ru ina lib-bi la ru-úd-du-u

Tablet of the incipits of the lamentation priest series, collated, those which were at hand, many were not seen (and) not included.

KAR 44: 1 (see Geller 2000 and in this volume)

SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR.MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.ĀM kun-nu PAP MU.NE

These are all names of the incipits of magical series, established for editing and reading (lit. “viewing”).

Thus, one might theoretically reconstruct the heading of AMC accordingly:

[SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR.MEŠ A.ZU-ti šá ana NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.ĀM kun-nu PAP] MU.‘NE’

These are [all] the names [of the incipits of medical treatises, established for learning and “reading” (lit. viewing)].

Such a heading would juxtapose AMC to its logical counterpart KAR 44.

## 6 Structure, Multi-layered Approach, and Logic

Both parts of AMC show the same strict organization: treatises (series) are labelled on the AMC tablet as *sadīru* “sections”. Each section or treatise is registered according to the incipits of its component chapters (tablets) in an established order. Then, a summarizing rubric follows introduced by *napharu*(NÍGIN) “total”, mentioning the sum of all tablets that belonged to each individual medical treatise. After that, additional material is introduced with *adi*(EN) “until, including”. This material is thematically related to each individual treatise, although listed separately after it. The additional materials on AMC might be what we otherwise know as *ahû* “non-canonical, extraneous” (arguments will be provided in paragraph 12, for a different point of view see elsewhere in this volume). In other words, AMC is a product of the so-called 1<sup>st</sup> millennium canonization.<sup>28</sup>

AMC has a multi-layered approach for listing body parts. In the first part of AMC there is a general vertical organization from head to foot,<sup>29</sup> consisting of different layers. It starts with the **I CRANIUM**, proceeds to the **II EYES**, turns horizontally to the **III EARS**, goes to the **IV NECK**, then to the nose, **V NOSEBLEED**, proceeds to the **VI TEETH**, and enters the nose for bronchial problems, **VII BRONCHIA**. A similar case of vertical and horizontal mix can be seen in **X KIDNEY**, which is a combination of urinary and kidney complaints, suggesting a multi-layered approach to kidneys which includes the penis and testicles. So, there is a mix of vertical and horizontal organizational structures.<sup>30</sup>

The logic of the organization in the first part of AMC is from head to foot. The logic of the second part is topical. Four of the treatises portray in proper sequence the basic principles of human reproduction: **XIX POTENCY**; **XX SEX**; **XXI PREGNANCY**; **XXII BIRTH**.

## 7 A Therapeutic Encyclopaedia: Part One of AMC and the Nineveh Manuscripts

The first part of AMC lists the incipits of the medical treatises, which are the actual texts from Nineveh. It is important to stress that these texts are not known in such recensions from Assur – where AMC was actually copied! This raises an important methodological question: should we only use Nineveh material<sup>31</sup> for the reconstruction of AMC, or can

<sup>28</sup> The term canonization has been recently discussed in Koch 2015: 52-54.

<sup>29</sup> An organization quite common in ancient medical systems such as the Mesopotamian (Köcher in BAM 5: vii), which is partly still in use today, see Asper 2015: 22.

<sup>30</sup> A similar case can be observed in the organization of *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) Tablets 3-14, Scurlock 2014: 13-139.

<sup>31</sup> Scurlock 2014 used mainly Nineveh material. However, Scurlock does not make a sound difference between serialized or excerpt tablets, neither between traditions belonging to different cities. Scurlock approaches the material as if all texts do belong to one particular tradition.

we also use texts from Assur? So, which medical tradition does PART 1 of AMC follow? In order to narrow down this question, we first need to look at the structure of the treatises in Nineveh, since they are the best-attested examples of these texts we have now:

- Each medical treatise in Nineveh consists of chapters (“tablets”, *tuppu*)<sup>32</sup>, designated and numbered in a proper sequence. Each chapter was a standardized two-column tablet of ca. 250 lines (see paragraph 10), and had a name which was always its incipit. The chapters were organized sequentially into a treatise, and the incipit of the first chapter (tablet) was used as a designation for the whole medical treatise.
- An incipit could be used as a catchline. The latter is the incipit of the next sequential chapter (tablet) inscribed before the colophon.
- With the help of the preserved Nineveh incipits and catchlines, we are aware of the sequence not only between the chapters (tablets) within each individual treatise, but also partly of the sequence of medical treatises at Nineveh. This is how we know that these Nineveh treatises were compiled into a single large therapeutic encyclopaedia. Where catchlines and incipits are missing, we can use the AMC for reconstructions.

Thus, the Nineveh encyclopaedia mirrors to a large extent the first part of AMC, demonstrating that:

- The incipits in the first part of AMC are almost identical with the incipits of the medical treatises from Nineveh.
- Not only the sequence of chapters within a given treatise, but also the sequence of the entire medical treatises in AMC PART 1 mirror **almost entirely** the Nineveh medical corpus as a whole, judging by Nineveh incipits and catchlines.

#### TABLET STRUCTURE OF THE NINEVEH TREATISES

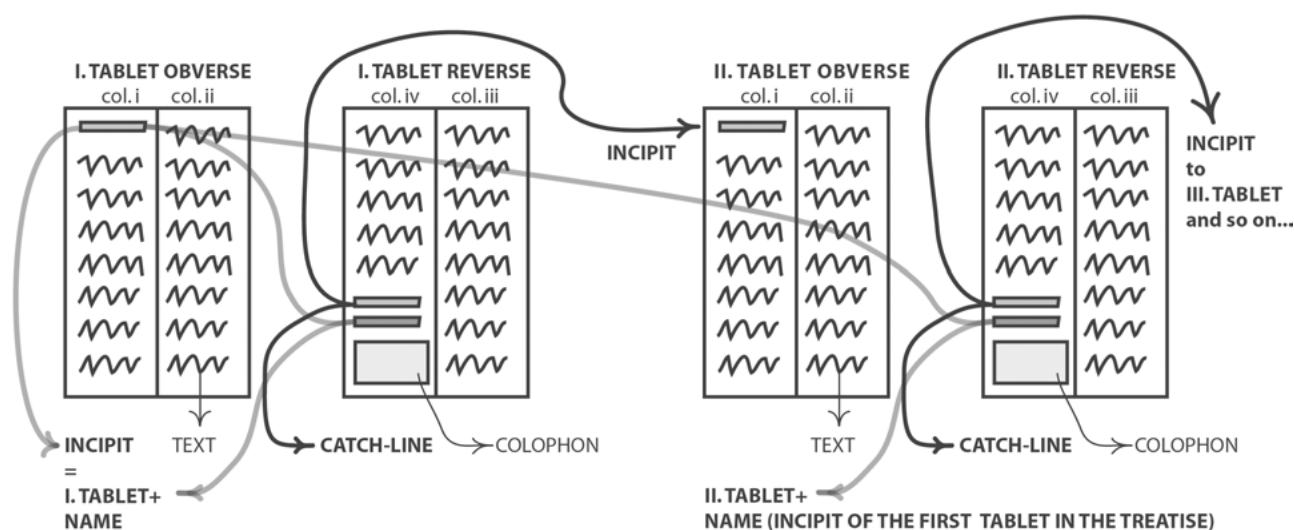


Fig. 2: Tablet Structure of the Nineveh Treatises

It can hardly be a coincidence that the structure of the therapeutic texts from Nineveh is reflected in the first part of AMC, or vice versa. In order to prove this, we only need to compare AMC PART 1 with **the serialized** Nineveh manuscripts.

Importantly, the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia was a standardized edition preserved in several copies in Nineveh, as proven by the multiple duplicates.

<sup>32</sup> For *tuppu* instead of *tuppu* see Streck 2009: 136ff.

**I CRANIUM**

**Title:** *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* “If a man’s skull/brain contains heat (fever)”

For the sequences of the tablets on AMC, Scurlock provides the following Nineveh texts (Scurlock 2014: 296-7: 2-5). It is important to stress that the first three tablets have real duplicates from Nineveh.

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. reconstructed from BAM 480 (AMC 2)	1. BAM 4, BAM 480 <sup>33</sup> [Tablet 1] has a catchline to no. 2
2. partly reconstructed from BAM 482 (AMC 2)	2. AMT 19/1 (reverse), AMT 20/1 <sup>34</sup> (obverse) BAM 482 <sup>35</sup> [Tablet 2] has a catchline to no. 3
3. partly reconstructed from AMT 102-105 (AMC 3)	3. AMT 102-105/1 <sup>36</sup> (with many duplicates) [Tablet 3], which has a catchline presumably to no. 4
4. partly reconstructed from AMT 102-105, CT 23, 50 (AMC 4)	4. CT 23, 50 <sup>37</sup> [Tablet 4], which has a catchline to the fifth tablet
5. reconstructed from CT 23, 50 (AMC 5)	5. probably BAM 494 <sup>38</sup> ; BAM 495 <sup>2</sup> ; BAM 500 <sup>2</sup>

Altogether, there are five tablets in the first treatise (see already CT 23, p. 5), and the incipits of three of them [Tablets 2, 3, and 4] are partly preserved on AMC.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that all five tablets could be placed into AMC and that the sequence of the medical treatise **CRANIUM** (UGU) from Nineveh corresponds exactly to the sequence of AMC. BAM 494 is uncertain, since its colophon and incipit are broken off. It might also have been a tablet from the treatise **XIII SKIN** found in the second part of AMC. However, the context of BAM 494 fits **CRANIUM 5** better. In addition, the format of BAM 494 implies that it certainly belonged to the Nineveh serialized manuscripts (see paragraph 9 below).

Excursus:

Concerning the first Nineveh treatise, **I CRANIUM**, it is worth noting the Assur text BAM 3 with the following incipit

DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM DAB-*al* (**BAM 3 i 1**)  
If a man’s skull/brain contains heat (fever).

BAM 3 duplicates the incipit of BAM 480 [Tablet 1]:

DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-*kal* (**BAM 480 i 1**)  
If a man’s skull/brain contains heat (fever).

<sup>33</sup> Edition in Worthington 2005 and Scurlock 2014: 306ff., additional joins in Panayotov 2016a, and discussion of BAM 4 in Panayotov 2016b. Some incantations are treated in Collins 1999: 277ff. See also Heeßel in TUAT NF 5: 48ff.

<sup>34</sup> See also Scurlock 2014: 729.

<sup>35</sup> Edition in Attia and Buisson 2003. See also Heeßel in TUAT NF 5: 50ff., 158.

<sup>36</sup> This is an eclectic copy based on several duplicates from Nineveh: K. 2566+ (AMT 102-105), K. 2974 (AMT 13/5, 14/5), K. 4023 (AMT 102-105), K. 7642 (AMT 102-105), K. 7834 (AMT 102-105), K. 8090 (AMT 102-105), K. 14698 (CDLI P400934, Panayotov 2016a: 60 n. 4), see Thompson 1937a: 26ff., and add BAM 483-486, BAM 488-489 (Farber 1982: 594 n. 5; Bácskay and Simkó 2017), BAM 493 and possibly BAM 492. See also Scurlock 2006: nos. 58, 65, 66, 71, 113, 114a. K. Simkó is working on UGU 3.

<sup>37</sup> See Thompson 1937a: 36ff.

<sup>38</sup> Köcher, BAM 5: xxix, and Scurlock 2014: 297. Edition with variants in Bácskay and Simkó 2017. BAM 511 belongs probably to BAM 494. K. 16449 (AMT 25/8) and BAM 34 are related to BAM 494.

<sup>39</sup> Köcher 1978: 19 considered that the medical treatise **I CRANIUM** consisted of five tablets, but later in BAM 6: ix n. 10, he suggested that **I CRANIUM** consisted of six tablets. It remains unclear what is the exact reason behind this statement. Scurlock (2014: 297) also counts five tablets and not six.



Observe the slightly different spelling DAB-*al* (BAM 3) vs. *ú-kal* (BAM 480). BAM 3 (Assur), although thematically very close to BAM 480 (Nineveh), is certainly not to be considered a real duplicate to BAM 480,<sup>40</sup> but a close parallel belonging to a different tradition.<sup>41</sup> Another fact that supports this observation is that the catchline on BAM 3 is different from the catchline on BAM 480:

DIŠ NA 'IGI.MIN-šú' GISSU *ár-ma* EGIR-šú (BAM 3 iv 46)<sup>42</sup>

(Incipit): If a man's eyes are covered with a film, (is written) thereafter

[DIŠ NA SAG.K]I.'DAB.BA' TUK.TUK-ši (BAM 480 iv 50')

[If a man] repeatedly has a *sagkidabbû*-headache.

Two significant points are to be made: first, the texts BAM 3 (Assur) and BAM 480 (Nineveh) are similar but not exactly the same; second, the catchlines of the following tablets are different. This demonstrates *per se* that we have two similar but still different medical treatises, belonging to different cities: one from Assur (BAM 3) and the other from Nineveh (BAM 480), both reflecting local traditions. We will observe such differences further below. On top of that, BAM 3, produced in Assur, was "excerpted/copied" (*nasāhu*)<sup>43</sup> from a writing board with an origin in Akkad (Babylonia):

*ina pu-ut* <sup>gis</sup>ZU URI<sup>ki</sup> ZI-*ha* (BAM 3 iv 47)

Excerpted/copied from a wax writing board from Akkad.

In addition, there is a Late Babylonian version of this text (courtesy of G. Buisson and H. Stadthouders), written also on a two-column tablet.

## II EYES

**Title:** *šumma amēlu ināšu maršā* "If a man's eyes are sick"

AMC lists four tablets (Attinger 2008: 26; Attia 2015: 3). From Nineveh only three tablets were known (Fincke 2000: 6-7). The sequence in AMC again corresponds to the sequence of the Nineveh manuscripts:<sup>44</sup>

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. preserved (AMC 8)	1. BAM 510, 513, 514 <sup>44</sup> [Tablet 1] has a catch-line to no. 2
2. partly reconstructed from BAM 515 (AMC 8)	2. BAM 515 [Tablet 2] has a catch-line to no. 3
3. preserved (AMC 9)	3. BAM 516 [Tablet 3]
4. partly preserved (AMC 9)	4. probably BAM 520

<sup>40</sup> For the texts see Worthington 2003; 2005; 2006: esp. p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Panayotov 2016b: 66.

<sup>42</sup> Pace Worthington 2006: 26, nothing is to be seen or expected after the last sign. See for instance CT 39, 38: 16; KAR 71 rev. 27 where EGIR-šú comes alone after the incipit. EGIR-šú is combined with *iš-šaṭ-ṭar* on AO 11447 (Geller 2007b), see below. In other words, EGIR-šú is a shorthand for EGIR-šú *iš-šaṭ-ṭar* 'is written thereafter'.

<sup>43</sup> On the meaning of *nishu* see Black 1987: 35-36.

<sup>44</sup> Incantations edited in Collins 1999: 94 n. 39, 203ff., 206ff., 208ff., 210ff. 214ff., 216ff., 218ff., 220ff., 222ff., 225ff.; Geller 2010: 92ff.; Geller in TUAT NF 5: 61ff.

The fourth tablet from Nineveh is unknown until now, since catchlines and incipits of relevant tablets are broken off. I would suggest that a good candidate for the fourth tablet from Nineveh is BAM 520 (Attia 2015: 4).<sup>45</sup> Thus, the sequence of the three tablets from Nineveh might correspond exactly to the sequence of AMC.<sup>46</sup>

Excursus:

The incipits for **I CRANIUM** and **II EYES** are the same in AMC and the Nineveh manuscripts, but different in the Assur manuscript BAM 3. The Assur text, BAM 3 resembling closely BAM 480, was followed by a tablet – known only from a catchline – with recipes for sick eyes, see excursus to **I CRANIUM**. However, the overall thematic sequence on BAM 3, BAM 480 and AMC is the same: **I CRANIUM – II EYES**.

There is another manuscript that partly fits this sequence: AO 11447 (Geller 2007b) – a portrait oriented, single-column tablet from Assur which contains various prescriptions for head diseases, as well as skin and ear complaints (Geller 2007b and Fincke 2011). This tablet was the “first excerpt” *nishu mahrû*(IGI<sup>1</sup>-û)<sup>47</sup> of a larger collection with prescriptions. It was followed by a tablet on eye diseases, since the catchline of AO 11447 refers to eye problems:

DIŠ NA 'IGI.MIN'-šû MÚD DIRI LAL-*ma*<sup>48</sup> u i-bar-ru-<sup>ra</sup> ... EGIR-šû iš-šat-tar

(The tablet with the incipit) ‘If a man’s eyes are full of blood, (his eyesight) is diminished and (his eyes) flicker ...’ is written thereafter.

Therefore, the known medical treatises from Assur demonstrate a similar but still different organization in comparison with PART 1 of AMC, and respectively with the Nineveh manuscripts.

### III EARS

**Title:** *šumma amēlu uzun imittišu* [(...)] *iltanassi* “If a man’s right ear [(...)] constantly rings (lit. screams)”

This medical treatise consisted of one tablet in AMC, and not two as proposed in Scurlock (2014: 296). The difference between Scurlock’s reconstruction and the BabMed one is due to the overlooking of the Chicago fragment by Scurlock (see paragraph 4 above).

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscript
1. (partly) preserved (AMC 11)	1. presumably BAM 503 <sup>49</sup>

We cannot find a corresponding catchline from Nineveh, but BAM 503 is a good candidate for the one-tablet-treatise, see also Köcher in BAM 5: xxxiii. Importantly, it is a two-column tablet (see paragraph 10 below), and contains prescriptions for sick ears.

<sup>45</sup> The assumptions that BAM 520 might be a part of EYES 4 lies in the fact that some prescriptions from BAM 520 are known in similar form from BAM 516 (EYES 3) (this is a common feature of therapeutic manuscripts within a single treatise), and in the fact that BAM 520 is a two-column tablet, see paragraph 10 below.

<sup>46</sup> There is a forthcoming edition of the treatise by Geller and Panayotov.

<sup>47</sup> Geller 2007b: 14 reads *nish-hu* IGI(ŠÁ?) TIL-û and translates “Extrait premier, terminé”. Collations show no space for two signs between *nish-hu* and -û, but only for one, thus read as in BAK No. 244. The sign IGI was intentionally erased by scratching the clay surface after it dried out. A similar case can be observed on BAM 480, as noted by Finkel in Worthington 2005: 6.

<sup>48</sup> See Geller 2007b: 14 n. 77. For diminished eyesight see also BAM 516 ii 8’ DIŠ NA’ di-gi-il IGI.MIN-šû *ma-a-ti*; or BAM 159 iv 16f.’ *na-ta-la / mu-uṭ-ṭu* (Parys 2014: 20).

<sup>49</sup> Thompson 1931: 1ff.; Labat 1957: 109; Scurlock 2006: nos. 132-142, 145, 146-154, 159-162, 316, 339. Edition without variants in Scurlock 2014: 367ff. BAM 506 is also related, but does not belong to the standardized treatise. See also Heeßel in TUAT NF 5: 52ff.

#### IV NECK

**Title:** *šumma amēlu labânšu ikkalšu šugidimmakku* “If a man’s neck tendons hurt him due to ghost affliction”

The existence of this Nineveh treatise in the AMC is not recorded by Scurlock (2014: 296), although Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds (2007: 68 n. 6) and Attinger (2008: 27) showed that this treatise is cited in the AMC.<sup>50</sup> The difference in the reconstructions is caused by the omission of the Chicago Fragment (see paragraph 4 above).

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. partly preserved (AMC 13)	1. lost <sup>51</sup>
2. partly preserved (AMC 14)	2. AMT 97/6 [Tablet 2] <sup>52</sup> has a catchline to no. 3
3. partly preserved (AMC 15)	3. BAM 473 <sup>53</sup> , 474 [Tablet 3] has a catchline to no. 4
4. reconstructed from BAM 475 (AMC 15)	4. BAM 475 [Tablet 4]
5. partly preserved (AMC 16)	5. AMT 24/1+..., CDLI P394418
6. reconstructed from AMT 24/1+ (AMC 16)	6. lost <sup>54</sup>

The fifth tablet can be assembled from different texts, as AMT 24/1+BAM 523 etc. (joined on CDLI P394418, Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007). Its incipit matches the fifth tablet in AMC, and has a catchline to Tablet 6, which might be reconstructed on AMC as well.

The total number of six tablets seems to match the space on AMC. Four out of six tablet incipits are partly preserved on AMC. Thus, the Nineveh manuscripts correspond to the sequence of incipits on AMC.<sup>55</sup>

Excursus:

As in the case of the medical treatises **I CRANIUM** and **II EYES**, there is an Assur counterpart to AMC and the Nineveh manuscripts. BAM 209 is designated as the third tablet of the treatise:

DUB.3.KĀM DIŠ NA SA.GŪ-šú [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU.GIDIM.MA] (BAM 209 rev. 18’)

Third tablet (of the treatise) ‘If a man’s neck tendons [hurt him: ‘Hand-of-Ghost’]’.

The name of the treatise is the same as on AMC and the Nineveh manuscripts, but the text is not a real duplicate, see Scurlock 2006: 707 and 719. Again the Assur tradition differs from Nineveh.

NECK Tablet 3 also has a Middle Assyrian forerunner from Tell Taban (courtesy of D. Shibata who is currently working on it).

<sup>50</sup> Four tablets of the Nineveh treatise were also listed by Köcher in BAM 3: xii n. 10. Note that AMT 46/1, 47/3 might also be part of **IV NECK**, or of a collection with relevant incantations and rituals.

<sup>51</sup> BAM 471 might be Tablet 1 or 6.

<sup>52</sup> See also Labat 1957: 109; Scurlock 2006: nos. 137c, 304a, 307, 308a, 329.

<sup>53</sup> Parts of the text are edited in Scurlock 2006: nos. 65, 169, 288, 336, 337; and in CMAwR 2: text. 10.6.

<sup>54</sup> BAM 471 might be Tablet 6 or 1.

<sup>55</sup> Note that lines 1’-2’ on fragment 9b in Scurlock 2014: 298 do not deal with nosebleed but represent the additional materials to the medical treatise **IV NECK**.

**V NOSEBLEED**

**Title:** *šumma amēlu dāmu ina appīšu illak* “If blood flows from a man’s nose”

This medical treatise seems to consist of only one tablet on AMC, and not of two as suggested by Scurlock 2014: 298: 3'. Again, the difference is caused by Scurlock's exclusion of the Chicago Fragment (see paragraph 4 above). There seems to be no additional material noted by the term *adi* (EN). The AMC incipit matches the fragmentary line on the Nineveh manuscript, BAM 530 iv 2': MÚD *ina* KI[R<sub>4</sub> ...]. Thus, it should be part of a rubric with the name/designation of this medical treatise.

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscript
1. (partly) preserved (AMC 19)	1. BAM 530 <sup>56</sup>

There are good reasons to restore [...] šá ED[IN...] in BAM 530 iv 1' according to BAM 538 i 1 (**VI TEETH**, CDLI P396377) and position it after MUŠ.DÍM.GURUN. EDIN often qualifies MUŠ.DÍM.GURUN, see CAD P 452a, and note especially the expression on K. 4023 (AMT 105/1 iv 15), which will, furthermore, fit the spacing on BAM 530 iv 1' and BAM 538 i 1. Thus, I would tentatively reconstruct the fragmentary incipit as follows:

[DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG MUŠ.DÍM.GURUN.NA] šá ED[IN.NA U<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ...] (BAM 530 iv 1')

[If man's teeth are sick you ... copulating geckos] of the steppe [...]

DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG MUŠ.DÍM.GURUN.N[A šá EDIN.NA U<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ...] (BAM 538 i 1)

If man's teeth are sick [you ... copulating] geckos [of the steppe ...]

Then the sequence between **V NOSEBLEED** and **VI TEETH** would be the same on AMC and the Nineveh manuscripts.

**VI TEETH**

**Title:** *šumma amēlu šinnāšu marṣā* “If man's teeth are sick”

This medical treatise is registered in the fragmentary line of AMC 20, which can accommodate two incipits, also in Scurlock 2014: 298: 4'. Two manuscripts are also known from Nineveh (Stol 2017, and Stol, in Panayotov and Vacín (forthcoming)):

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. (partly) preserved (AMC 20)	1. BAM 538 <sup>57</sup> [Tablet 1] has a catchline to no. 2
2. (partly) preserved (AMC 20)	2. BAM 543 <sup>58</sup> [Tablet 2]

BAM 543 [TEETH Tablet 2] directs us to the first tablet (BAM 547) of the next treatise, **VII BRONCHIA**, as Köcher already pointed out (1978: 20<sup>59</sup>). Not only the internal tablet sequence of AMC mirrors the evidence from Nineveh, but also the sequence between the two individual medical treatises **VI TEETH** to **VII BRONCHIA** is the same for the Nineveh material and AMC, as with the previous treatise **V NOSEBLEED** and **VI TEETH**.

<sup>56</sup> BAM 524-526, and 529 might belong here as well.

<sup>57</sup> See Thompson 1926: 58ff.; Collins 1999: 195ff., 262ff., 266ff., 276. Compare also BAM 539.

<sup>58</sup> See Thompson 1926: 60ff.; Collins 1999: 185ff., 191ff., 199ff., 292ff., 295ff. Also BAM 541 and BAM 542 might belong to this treatise, see Köcher in BAM VI: xix; Scurlock 2014: 669.

<sup>59</sup> See already Thompson 1926: 57.

## VII BRONCHIA

**Title:** *šumma amēlu appašu kabit* “If a man’s nose (breathing) is difficult”

This medical treatise has four tablets preserved on AMC, but six Nineveh tablets all together have to be reconstructed (Scurlock 2014: 298-299: 8’-12’). Again, the tablet sequence in AMC seems to correspond exactly to the Nineveh manuscripts:

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. reconstructed from BAM 547 (AMC 24)	1. BAM 547 <sup>60</sup> [Tablet 1] has a catchline to an as yet unidentified incipit, which must belong to Tablet 2, since it matches the AMC incipit.
2. preserved (AMC 24)	2. AMT 48/4 <sup>61</sup> [Tablet 2] has a catchline to no. 3
3. partly reconstructed from AMT 49/4 (AMC 25)	3. AMT 49/4 <sup>62</sup> [Tablet 3] has a catchline to no. 4
4. reconstructed from AMT 49/4 (AMC 26)	4. AMT 49/1(+) <sup>63</sup> 51/5 <sup>63</sup> ; AMT 48/5 <sup>64</sup>
5. preserved (AMC 26)	5. AMT 80/1; BAM 548 <sup>65</sup> -552 <sup>66</sup> [Tablet 5] has a catchline to no. 6
6. partly reconstructed from BAM 548 (AMC 27)	6. BAM 554-556 <sup>67</sup>

Concerning AMT 48/4 and AMT 49/4, note that the spellings of the incipit for Tablet 3 are insignificantly different, presumably suggesting different scribal workshops in Nineveh, or different master texts:

[DIŠ NA GABA-s]u SAG ŠĀ-šú u MAŠ.SĪL.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-š[ú ...] (**AMT 48/4 iv 13’**)

[If a man’s chest], epigastrium (lit. “top of his stomach”) and shoulders hurt him.

DIŠ NA GABA-su SAG ŠĀ-šú MAŠ.SĪL.MIN-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú x [...] (**AMT 49/4 i 1**)

If a man’s chest, epigastrium (lit. “top of his stomach”) (and) both shoulders hurt him.

A further difference between the Nineveh and AMC incipits is the designation of Tablet 6:

DIŠ NA su-a-lam ha-ha u ki-šir-te MU[R.MEŠ<sup>?</sup> GIG<sup>?</sup>] (**BAM 548 iv 14’**)

If a man [is sick] with *suālu*-cough, *hahhu*-wet cough and constriction of the lungs.

The reference to the partly reconstructed MU[R.MEŠ<sup>?</sup>] is missing in AMC:

[DIŠ NA su-a-lam ha-ha] u ki-šir-te GIG (**AMC 27**)

[If a man] is sick [with *suālu*-cough, *hahhu*-wet cough] and constriction.

Additionally, Scurlock lists more evidence from Nineveh (Scurlock 2014: 298: 10). BAM 548 [Tablet 5] has a catchline to what should be Tablet 6, unknown until now (Johnson 2014: 12). Here, it is obvious that the tablet sequence of the treatise in AMC corresponds exactly to Nineveh, but we have some minor difference in the incipits, which can be also seen in the later Uruk texts, see the excursus below.

<sup>60</sup> See Thompson 1934: 1f.

<sup>61</sup> See Thompson 1934: 2f; CMAwR 1: 243f.

<sup>62</sup> See Thompson 1934: 3f.

<sup>63</sup> See Thompson 1934: 4f.

<sup>64</sup> BAM 527 might also belong here.

<sup>65</sup> BAM 548 is edited in Scurlock 2014: 465ff.

<sup>66</sup> See BAM 549 in Collins 1999: 260ff. See also Heeßel in TUAT NF 5: 60f.

<sup>67</sup> See discussion in Scurlock 2014: 301. BAM 558, 564, 566-567, 571-572 might also belong to **VII BRONCHIA**, or are related. BAM 566-567 might also belong to the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter of **VIII STOMACH**, see below.

Excursus:

For the medical treatise **VII BRONCHIA** local traditions can also be demonstrated this time from the south. The Late Babylonian Uruk text, SpTU 1, 44 has the incipit:

DIŠ NA *na-piš* KIR<sub>4</sub>-šu DUGUD (**SpTU 1, 44: 1**)  
If man's nose-breathing is difficult.

This incipit is very similar to the first tablet from Nineveh, BAM 547 [**VII BRONCHIA** Tablet 1]:

DIŠ NA KIR<sub>4</sub>-šu DUGUD (**BAM 547**)<sup>68</sup>  
If man's nose (breathing) is difficult.

Importantly *na-piš* is missing on **BAM 547**! Yet, SpTU 1, 44 is the 9<sup>th</sup> *pīrsu* “division” of the therapeutic encyclopaedia in Late Babylonian Uruk, entitled *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* (Köcher 1978: 18).

Moreover, **BRONCHIA** Tablet 5 has a recently discovered Middle Babylonian forerunner, IM 202652 (Baghdad Museum), with the incipit [DIŠ NA *su-a-l*]am “GIG *ana ša-ha-ṭi*” (courtesy of A. Fadhl who is co-working on this text with the author). The incipit is also known from BM 103690 i 36 (Middle Babylonian, see Finkel’s article in this volume).

## VIII STOMACH

**Title:** *šumma amēlu suāla maruṣ ana kīs libbi itār* “If a man is sick with *suālu*-cough (which) turns (for him) into intestinal disease (lit. binding of the belly)”

The *suālu* section on AMC lists texts exclusively from Nineveh (Cadelli 2000: 56 and *passim*; Scurlock 2014: 299 13’-14’; Johnson 2014).<sup>69</sup> However, Köcher (1978: 19-20) and Scurlock (2014: 299) count six tablets in this treatise and not five tablets as Johnson (2014). The difference is based on the incipit of AMT 43/6, which was left unrecorded by Johnson (see the comments to the next treatise). Note that the AMC restoration of the first tablet has GUR-š]ú, but the šú is actually missing on BAM 574, which casts doubt on the reconstruction. The Nineveh tablets juxtaposed to AMC incipits are:

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. reconstructed from BAM 574 (AMC 29)	1. BAM 574 <sup>70</sup> [Tablet 1] has a catchline to no. 2
2. preserved (AMC 29)	2. BAM 575 <sup>71</sup> [Tablet 2] has a catchline to no. 3
3. reconstructed from BAM 575 (AMC 30)	3. BAM 578 <sup>72</sup> [Tablet 3] has a catchline to no. 4
4. reconstructed from BAM 578 (AMC 30)	4. probably K. 2386+ <sup>73</sup>
5. preserved (AMC 30)	5. BAM 579 <sup>74</sup>

Note that the orthography of the incipit of BAM 579 differs insignificantly from the incipit on AMC 30:

<sup>68</sup> See also Farber 1982: 595.

<sup>69</sup> For an edition of the whole Nineveh treatise see Cadelli 2000.

<sup>70</sup> See Collins 1999: 125ff., 128ff., 134ff., 137ff., 145ff., 151ff., 155ff., 163ff., 166ff., 171ff., 175ff.; Cadelli 2000: 68ff. There is a forthcoming critical edition of the treatise by Geller and Johnson. BAM 576 might belong here as well. See also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 71f.

<sup>71</sup> See Cadelli 2000: 124ff. See also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 73f., and Bácskay 2018: 76ff. *passim*.

<sup>72</sup> See Collins 1999: 230ff.; Cadelli 2000: 187ff.; Scurlock 2014: 505ff. See also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 75ff.

<sup>73</sup> See Johnson 2014 (CDLI P394390), and also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 82f.

<sup>74</sup> See Cadelli 2000: 252ff. Consider also BAM 566-567, which might have also belonged to **VII BRONCHIA**, if not belonging to **VIII STOMACH**. BAM 573 fits thematically as well. See also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 80f., and Bácskay 2018: 82ff. *passim*.

DIŠ NA ŠĀ-šú KÚM DAB-*it* (**AMC 30**)

If heat (fever) afflicts a man's belly.

compared to:

DIŠ NA ŠĀ-šú KÚM DAB (**BAM 579 i 1**)

If heat (fever) afflicts a man's belly.

Furthermore, BAM 579 has a catchline, which presumably refers to the next medical treatise based on AMT 43/6, see below.

## IXa EPIGASTRIUM

**Title:** *šumma amēlu rēš libbišu naši* “If a man's epigastrium is swollen (lit. risen)”

The sequence of the reconstructed medical treatise, **IXa EPIGASTRIUM**, and the next two treatises are based mainly on the evidence from Nineveh. AMC is too fragmentary here, and new information must be discovered before one tries to reconstruct this problematic section.

Abusch and Schwemer record the Nineveh evidence, following Heeßel (CMAwR 1: 126-28), noting that in this section AMC shows some differences from the Nineveh material. Nevertheless, Scurlock contests the placement of Abusch and Schwemer of the treatise DIŠ NA SAG ŠĀ-šú *na-ši* on AMC (Scurlock 2014: 229, 301, 334 n. 50). She assumes, as did Köcher (1978: 19), that AMT 43/6 is the sixth tablet of **VIII STOMACH** (*suālu*). However, no clear arguments can be presented against the reconstruction of Abusch and Schwemer. Also, the fragmentary lines on AMC will not accommodate more than five incipits for **VIII STOMACH** (*suālu*). Thus, for now it seems that *suālu* consisted of only five tablets in Nineveh. Thus, the number of incipits for **VIII STOMACH** (*suālu*) in Nineveh and on AMC seems to be the same.

The Nineveh sequence of the medical treatises presumably differs compared to AMC:

AMC	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
<b>VIII STOMACH</b>	<b>VIII STOMACH</b> 5. BAM 579 has a catchline to AMT 43/6
<b>IXa EPIGASTRIUM</b> <b>IXb ABDOMEN(?)</b> <sup>75</sup>	<b>IX EPIGASTRIUM</b> 1. AMT 43/6 <sup>76</sup> [Tablet 1] 2-7. not yet known. 8. AMT 44/7 (CMAwR 1: text 7.5) has a catchline to <b>X KIDNEY</b>
<b>X KIDNEY</b>	<b>X KIDNEY</b> see below

<sup>75</sup> The designation **IXb ABDOMEN** is a temporary solution.

<sup>76</sup> See Thompson 1929: 58.

**X KIDNEY**

**Title:** *šumma amēlu kalissu ikkalšu* “If man’s kidney hurts him”

Regarding the first two tablets of this medical treatise we have no information from Nineveh:

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. partly preserved (AMC 45)	1. lost
2. partly preserved (AMC 45)	2. lost
3. partly preserved (AMC 46)	3. BAM 7 (Geller 2005), No. 9b, Ms. J, pl. 6-8

The third Nineveh tablet BAM 7, No. 9b, Ms. J, pl. 6-8., is accordingly designated as DUB.3.KĀM, and has a fragmentary catchline:

DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* .... (BAM 7, No. 9b, Ms. J, pl. 8)

This catchline matches the incipit on AMC for the next treatise, **XI ANUS**. Therefore, the sequence between the treatise in AMC and in Nineveh manuscripts corresponds exactly.

**XI ANUS**

**Title:** *šumma amēlu ina lā simānīšu qablāšu ikkalāšu* “If a man has pain in his hips prematurely”

According to AMC, the first tablet of this medical treatise should be BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W (pl. 15-18):

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. partly preserved (AMC 48)	1. BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W, pl. 15-18 [Tablet 1]
2. partly preserved (AMC 48)	2. K. 7925 <sup>77</sup> (AMT 43/2) [Tablet 2] (part of BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W, pl. 18) has a catchline to no. 3
3. partly preserved (AMC 49)	3. BAM 7, No. 23, Ms. X pl. 19-20 [Tablet 3], has no incipit, but a catchline to Tablet 4, thus it is Tablet 3.
4. partly preserved (AMC 49)	4. BAM 7, No. 24, Ms. Y pl. 21-23 [Tablet 4] has a catchline to no. 5
5. partly preserved (AMC 50)	5. BAM 7, No. 25, Ms. Z (CDLI P395402)

Geller has suggested indirect joins between several Nineveh fragments: Sm. 36+... (+) Sm. 969 (+) K. 7925 to (+) K. 5955+14453 (BAM 7, pl. 18). As Nils Heeßel has pointed out,<sup>77</sup> if we disregard the suggested indirect joins, the tablets from Nineveh and AMC will have the same sequence. The fragments in the British Museum look quite similar, but they are not glued, since the contact is not good. Thus, if we follow the sequence from AMC we have to regard the fragment K. 7925<sup>77</sup> (AMT 43/2, part of BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W, pl. 18) as part of Tablet 2, since it has the catchline to Tablet 3 matching AMC. Therefore, the sequence of AMC and the Nineveh material was most probably the same.

Excursus:

Again, an Assur tablet is a counterpart to the Nineveh texts and AMC: BM 103386 also deals with rectal diseases and bears a catchline:

DIŠ NA *li-kis* DŪR.GIG GIG ŠĀ.MEŠ-šú ... (BM 103386 rev. 44)<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> During the BabMed workshop 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Heeßel, in Panayotov and Vacin (forthcoming). A forthcoming edition is also in preparation by M. J. Geller.



It closely resembles the catchline in the Nineveh manuscript (K. 7925<sup>2</sup>, part of BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W, pl. 18), and the incipit of ANUS Tablet 3 in AMC:

[DÍŠ NA l]i-kis DÚR GIG ŠĀ.MEŠ [...] (K. 7925<sup>2</sup>, part of BAM 7, No. 22, Ms. W, pl. 18)

The one-column tablet from Assur is designated as the x+9<sup>th</sup> tablet of the treatise DÍŠ NA UD.DA ŠĀ.ŠĀ (BM 103386 rev. 45). Interestingly, this incipit reminds us of the fourth tablet of the *suālu* treatise: DÍŠ NA UD.DA KUR-id (see above). This illustrates again different local traditions, as already observed (see above to treatise I, II, IV and VII). However, there is a difference between UD.DA ŠĀ.ŠĀ and UD.DA KUR-id, elucidated by Johnson 2014: 23-26.

## XII HAMSTRING

**Title:** *šumma amēlu sagalla maruṣ* “If a man suffers from *sagallu*-hamstring problems”

This medical treatise is the last treatise of the first (anatomical) part of AMC. Scurlock also suggests (2014: 303: 14) that it consisted of four tablets on AMC:

AMC Tablets Incipits	Nineveh Serialized Manuscripts
1. partly preserved (AMC 53)	1. lost <sup>79</sup>
2. partly preserved (AMC 53)	2. AMT 32/5+ [Tablet 2]
3. partly preserved (AMC 53)	3. lost
4. partly preserved (AMC 54)	4. lost

Pace Scurlock (2014: 303: 16-1'), CT 23, 1+<sup>80</sup> (CDLI P365732, colophon BAK No. 319) cannot be Tablet 2 of **XII HAMSTRING** because: CT 23, 1+ is a one-column tablet and not a two-column tablet, which is a crucial sign for identifying a text belonging to a serialized therapeutic Nineveh manuscript (see the discussion in paragraph 9 and 10 below). Furthermore, the incipit of CT 23, 1+ does not quite match the one in AMC:

[...] ÚR.MEŠ-šú 1-niš GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú (AMC 53)  
 [...]’s thighs repeatedly hurt him all at once.

DÍŠ SA.MEŠ<sup>uzu</sup>ÚR-šú 1-niš GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ... (CT 23, 1+: 1, CDLI P365732)  
 If the muscles (lit. strings) of his upper thigh repeatedly hurt him all at once.

In addition, CT 23, 1+ is a compilation of incantations (ÉN) and rituals (DÛ.DÛ.BI) against SA.GAL “hamstring-disease” (see CT 23/1+: 8: KA.INIMA.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM<sup>81</sup>, followed by two rituals (DÛ.DÛ.BI) and again an incantation (ÉN)). In contrast, the Nineveh tablet AMT 32/5+ (joined on CDLI P394437) is a two-column tablet. It has a catchline <sup>erasure</sup>DÍŠ<sup>7</sup> NA *bur-ka-šú*, which matches the third tablet of the treatise, **XII HAMSTRING** in AMC. On top of that, AMT 32/5+ is designated as DUB.2.KAM ...! Thus, AMT 32/5+ and not CT 23, 1+ is the second tablet of **XII HAMSTRING**.

Note that the incipit of AMT 42/6 (CDLI P421951) might match the incipit of Tablet 2 on AMC (l. 53):

DÍŠ SA<sup>uzu</sup>ÚR-šú 1-niš GU<sub>7</sub> [...] (AMT 42/6: 1)  
 If the muscle (lit. string) of his upper thigh [repeatedly] hurts [him] all at once.

<sup>79</sup> AMT 69/2 and AMT 70/7 possibly also belong to **XII HAMSTRING**. See Böck in TUAT NF 5: 100f.

<sup>80</sup> Note that AMT 4/5 (K. 11397) is a fragment of a two-column tablet which duplicates exactly parts of CT 23, 13 iv 11-23 suggesting that it is another Nineveh duplicate of collections with incantations and rituals having the rubric KA.INIMA.MA SA.GAL.LA.KĀM, see further the Assur manuscript BAM 131: 1ff. See Scurlock 2014: 243 n. 78, and the *Diagnostic Handbook* 10: 11 and 33: 96.

<sup>81</sup> For this incantation against SA.GAL “hamstring-disease” see already Thompson 1908: 63ff. For CT 23, 5-14 see also Böck in TUAT NF 5: 104ff.

It is unclear, however, whether AMT 42/6 is part of a two-column tablet, or whether it could join the serialized Nineveh two-column tablet AMT 32/5+. It might be that AMT 42/6 belongs to the incantation collection KA.INIMA.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM as CT 23, 1+.

Another candidate to be positioned into AMC is the two-column Nineveh tablet AMT 15/3+ (joined on CDLI P393740, edited by Eypper 2016<sup>82</sup>). Unfortunately, its incipit and colophon are too fragmentary, and cannot be matched to what is preserved on AMC. However, both the content and the physical format hint that it might belong to **XII HAMSTRING** tablets. AMT 15/3+ might be Tablet 1, 3 or 4.

Excursus:

The treatise **XII HAMSTRING** also has Assur versions, likewise containing the rubric KA.INIMA.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM, as BAM 124<sup>83</sup>, a two-column tablet. Unfortunately, no incipit is preserved and the colophon is fragmentary, but it is obvious that this was a serialized tablet since the sign DUB might be seen at the end of BAM 124. In addition, BAM 129 also contains KA.INIMA.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM rubrics, and is likewise a two-column tablet. The single column BAM 130 shows the incipit known from AMC:

DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG (**BAM 130: 1**)

If a man suffers from *sagallu*-hamstring problems,

which might be expected as the first incipit on AMC, **XII HAMSTRING**:

‘DIŠ NA’ S[A.GAL GIG ...] (**AMC 53**)

‘If a man’ [suffers from] *sa[gallu]*-hamstring problems ...].

## 7.1 Contradictions between AMC Part One and the Nineveh Manuscripts

Certainly, the Nineveh manuscripts have similarities and differences with AMC, see above sub 7 (**IXa EPIGASTRIUM**).

In AMC 43-44<sup>84</sup>, the sign EN introduces two consecutive lines. This is not found in other parts of AMC, and does not make sense here. Scurlock emends the first EN to NÍGIN, avoiding the problem (Scurlock 2014: 302, fragment 9c+d: 6’+2’).<sup>85</sup> If we accept Scurlock’s emendation of EN to NÍGIN, then **IXa EPIGASTRIUM** might precede **X KIDNEY** in AMC, as noted in CMAwR 1: 128. On the other hand, we could have only one major treatise between **VIII STOMACH** and **X KIDNEY**. This is also suggested elsewhere in the correspondence of the Nineveh manuscripts and AMC PART 1, see above. However, this cannot be proven at the present state of preservation of AMC, and the dividing line after AMC 37 contradicts such an assumption.

## 7.2 The numbers 12 and 50 in the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia

By juxtaposing the first part of the AMC with the Nineveh manuscripts we can establish the sequence of the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia, which seems to have consisted of 12 treatises<sup>86</sup> (series) divided into chapters (tablets), comprising a total of 50 standardized manuscripts (two-column tablets).<sup>87</sup> The 12 treatises were created especially for the Ashurbanipal library and their chapters were designated by the same colophon (see paragraphs 9 and 10 below). This

<sup>82</sup> See also Thompson 1937b: 265-286.

<sup>83</sup> See also Thompson 1937b: 413-432.

<sup>84</sup> YBC 7126: 6’; Scurlock 2014: 302, fragment 9c+d: 6+2; Beckman and Foster 1988: 13, 9c obv. 6’-7’.

<sup>85</sup> See also the transliteration by Köcher and Geller in BAM 7: 247 (add a dividing ruling after line 7’), where the EN is not corrected.

<sup>86</sup> Also, the second part of the AMC might have had exactly 12 treatises, see fig. 3.

<sup>87</sup>

5 chapters (I CRANIUM)	+ 6 chapters (IV NECK)	+ 6 chapters (VII BRONCHIA)	+ 3 chapters (X KIDNEY)
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shows a sophisticated level of intention and standardization. The Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia had a fixed form and we see that the chapters (tablets) had multiple copies in Nineveh corroborated by the real duplicates, all having the same uniformity of two-column tablets (see in detail paragraph 7, 9 and 10).

What is surprising is that the numbers, 12 (treatises) and 50 (chapters), are rather precise and do not seem coincidental, but intentionally chosen and constructed by the royal editors working under Ashurbanipal. The idea that the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia is an esoteric scholarly construction is not far-fetched, since we have the example of the *Diagnostic Handbook* structured in exactly 40 tablets in the recension of Esagil-kin-apli (see also the edition of CTN 4, 71 in this volume). The number 40 represents the god Ea,<sup>88</sup> to whom the authorship of the medical omens of the *Diagnostic Handbook* has been attributed in an ancient “Catalogue of Texts and Authors”.<sup>89</sup> The intentional arrangement of the *Diagnostic Handbook*’s tablets “can thus be seen as a homage to the god who allegedly first revealed this knowledge” (Heeßel 2004: 103<sup>90</sup>). Having the example of the related *Diagnostic Handbook*, it is worth speculating what the numbers 12 and 50 might have meant from a Mesopotamian ‘numerological’ perspective.

It is challenging to comprehend what the numbers 12 and 50 might have meant, since we do not have an ancient text explaining the authorship of the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia. There are several different layers of interpretation:

**12:** The number twelve is thought-provoking in the healing context of the Nineveh Encyclopaedia, if we accept the fact that it symbolized the twelve months. This will directly connect body parts/sections to months especially in the light of different melothesia schemas. The idea that months were important for healing practices was already present at the time of the Nineveh library. Contemporary sources to the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia like STT 300<sup>91</sup> teach us that the 12 months were important for the successful performance of apotropaic and healing rituals. This idea developed in the following centuries and the 12 months were correlated to planets and to body parts:

From the two British Museum tablets (i.e. BM 47755 and BM 56605) we now learn that the months can be converted into planetary influences affecting a specific part of a patient’s body, which is a classic example of melothesia, in fact the clearest example we have from Mesopotamia. (Geller 2014: 88)

This idea is clearly expressed in BM 56605 where the body parts are connected to the 12 zodiacal signs (Wee 2016). This schema is worth comparing with the 12 names of the treatises comprising the Nineveh Encyclopaedia.

Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia The Names of the 12 Treatises Partly reconstructed	Body parts of BM 56605 after Wee 2016: 217	Zodiacal name BM 56605 after Wee 2016: 217
DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal <b>I CRANIUM</b>	‘SAG’ “Head”	Aries
DIŠ NA IGI <sup>92</sup> -šú GIG <b>II EYES</b>	‘x’ GÚ <sup>92</sup> “... Neck”	Taurus
DIŠ NA GEŠTU 15-šú [(...)] GÙ.GÙ-si <b>III EARS</b>	Á ‘MAŠ.SIL’ “Arm, Shoulder”	Gemini
DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú GU <sub>7</sub> -šú <b>IV NECK</b>	‘GABA’ “Chest”	Cancer

+ 4 chapters (II EYES)	+ 1 chapter (V NOSEBLEED)	+ 5 chapters (VIII STOMACH)	+ 5 chapters (XI ANUS)
+ 1 chapter (III EARS)	+ 2 chapters (VI TEETH)	+ 8 chapters (IX EPIGASTRIUM)	+ 4 chapters (XII HAMSTRING)

=12 treatises (series) with 50 chapters (tablets) all together.

<sup>88</sup> The divine name of Ea can be written <sup>d</sup>40. See also Livingstone 1986: 30.

<sup>89</sup> Lambert 1962: 64 (K. 2248): 1-4. See also Heeßel 2000: 106 n. 40.

<sup>90</sup> Reference to Heeßel 2004 is a courtesy of Eric Schmidtchen.

<sup>91</sup> See Geller 2014.

<sup>92</sup> One wonders if SA.GÚ should be read here.

DIŠ NA MÚD <sup>93</sup> <i>ina</i> KIR <sub>4</sub> -šú <b>V NOSEBLEED</b>	ʿlīb <sup>94</sup> -bi “Belly/Heart”	Leo
DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG <b>VI TEETH</b>	GU <sub>4</sub> .MURUB <sub>4</sub> “Waist”	Virgo
DIŠ NA KIR <sub>4</sub> -šú DUGUD <b>VII BRONCHIA</b>	MUR “Lung” <sup>95</sup>	Libra
DIŠ NA <i>su-a-lam</i> GIG <b>VIII STOMACH</b>	PEŠ <sub>4</sub> “Female Genitalia”	Scorpio
DIŠ NA SAG ŠĀ-šú <i>na-ši</i> <b>IX EPIGASTRIUM</b>	TUGUL “Hip/Upper thigh”	Sagittarius
DIŠ NA ÉLLAG- <i>su</i> GU <sub>7</sub> -šú <b>X KIDNEY</b>	<i>kim-ša</i> “Knees/Shins”	Capricorn
DIŠ NA <i>ina la si-ma-ni-šú</i> <b>XI ANUS</b>	ÚR “Leg”	Aquarius
DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG <b>XII HAMSTRING</b>	ʿGĪR <sup>96</sup> . “Feet”	Pisces

This chart illustrates that the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia pays much more attention to the head as a whole, whereas the later Babylonian tradition focus more on the middle body. It is obvious that the systems are different but the general organization from head to foot and the division into 12 is the same.

**50:** The number 50 alone has deep theological connotations representing Enlil in early periods,<sup>94</sup> and later on especially Marduk generated by the so-called fifty names of Marduk.<sup>95</sup> There is an understandable connection between Marduk and the Nineveh Encyclopaedia since in the first millennium BCE, Marduk was turned into one of the central gods in healing magic<sup>96</sup>. In other words, the number 50 (manuscripts) can be a homage to the god Marduk and his healing powers, similar to the pun of 40 (manuscripts) of the *Diagnostic Handbook* and the authorship of the god Ea.

**12×50:** The structural order of the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia might be based upon Mesopotamian “numerology”, in which case multiplication of numbers was a main technique called *nēmeq arê* “the wisdom of the multiplication” in the esoteric work *i-na*, GIŠ.HUR AN.KI.<sup>97</sup> If we multiply 12×50 we would get 600, a number which signifies both divine groups, Anunnakū and Igīgū. Thus, through 600 one might hint at the whole divine pantheon and express a concept of totality.<sup>98</sup> In addition, the number 50 might have also represented the idea of a totality<sup>99</sup> of medical prescriptions. Thus, 50 and 600 might have connoted the special healing power of the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia through the totality of medical knowledge, collected and organized by the seasoned scholars in Nineveh.

This totality of healing arts in the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia is not a modern fiction but was the way the ancient Nineveh scholars understood the Encyclopaedia. The idea was directly expressed in the colophon labelling the Nineveh manuscripts, BAK No. 329: 5 *azugallūt Ninurta u Gula mala bašmu* “the advanced healing art(s) of Ninurta and Gula, as much as was created” (see paragraph 9). Also, the expression *ina bu-ul-ṭi gab-bu* “in the whole medical literature (lit. prescriptions)” (SAA 10: no 326: 3), seems to refer to the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia in its entirety in the Assyrian Capital, used as a reference work by the Royal physicians.

<sup>93</sup> Wee 2016: 217 proposes HAR(?) “Insides(?)”.

<sup>94</sup> Enlil can be written “50, see also Livingstone 1986: 30.

<sup>95</sup> Lambert 2013: 160ff.

<sup>96</sup> Geller 2016: 5.

<sup>97</sup> Livingstone 1986: 19ff., esp. 22 (for the reading *i-na*, see Geller’s commentary to line 31 in the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44) in this volume).

<sup>98</sup> See Kienast 1976-80: 43. For literature on Anunnakū and Igīgū, see the articles by Nicole Brisch on the Ancient Mesopotamian Gods and Goddesses, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/amgg/listofdeities/index.html> (accessed April 7, 2017).

<sup>99</sup> Livingstone 1986: 48.

## 8 The Summary Sections of AMC

The reconstruction of the summary of the first part, in the BabMed edition of this volume, is based on the colophon of Nineveh manuscripts, BAK No. 329: 4 (see paragraph 9 below). Since this is the notation from the Nineveh manuscripts, prepared especially for the Ashurbanipal library, it might not apply to AMC. In addition, the phrase is too short for the spacing on the AMC.

Scurlock reconstructs [NÍGIN 48 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal T]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri sa-di-ru šá* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu* (Scurlock 2014: 303). With the help of the Chicago fragment, we know that in the first part of AMC, we have at least 50 tablets. Scurlock's reconstruction, however, is logical for the organization of the Mesopotamian material, since it is the incipit of the first tablet of the first medical treatise in Nineveh, which served as the title of the encyclopaedia.<sup>100</sup> This situation is also directly suggested by the summary after the second part of AMC:

[...]-*ta-šú um-mu-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>r</sup>*-[*at*] (AMC 123)<sup>101</sup>

The summary shows the fragmentary incipit of the first treatise of the second part of AMC:

[...]x-*ta-šú um-mu-rat* (AMC 59)

This situation can be also observed with the titles of the other catalogues, see below sub 11 fig. 3. Thus, AMC l. 58 might be reconstructed in a similar way to Scurlock, but with a higher number of tablets:

[NÍGIN 50+ DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal (*bulṭi*) T]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri sa-di-ru šá* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*

## 9 The Colophon (BAK No. 329) on the Nineveh Manuscripts

AMC l. 58 has the expression [... T]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri* ... This is reminiscent of colophons from the Ashurbanipal library (BAK No. 329: 4), see also above paragraph 8. Tablets with the designation *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*<sup>102</sup> “prescriptions from the top of the head until the toe-nail” belong almost exclusively to the Nineveh manuscripts, discussed above in paragraph 7. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the colophon (BAK No. 329) was especially composed for the therapeutic encyclopaedia and illustrates that the Nineveh manuscripts were edited for reference purposes in the library of Ashurbanipal (BAK No. 329: 6). There are more fragments with the same colophon, some of them may have belonged to Nineveh therapeutic manuscripts and/or might be joined to Nineveh manuscripts.<sup>103</sup>

BAK No. 329

<sup>1</sup>*ēkal Aššur-bāni-apli šar kiššati šar māt Aššur ša Nabû u Tašmētu uznu rapaštu išrukūšu* <sup>2</sup>*ēhuzzu inu namirtu nisiq tupšarrūti* <sup>3</sup>*ša ina šarrāni ālik mahriya mamma šipru šuātu lā ēhuzzu* <sup>4</sup>***bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri liqti ahūti tāhizu nakla*** <sup>5</sup>*azugallūt Ninurta u Gula mala bašmu ina tuppāni aššur asniq abrēma* <sup>6</sup>*ana tāmarti šitassiya qereb ēkalliya ukīn*

<sup>1</sup>Palace of Ashurbanipal king of the world, king of the land Assyria, to whom Nabû and Tašmētu granted understanding, <sup>2</sup>(who) acquired insight (and) a high level of scribal proficiency, <sup>3</sup>that skill which among the kings, my predecessor(s) no one acquired. <sup>5</sup>I wrote, checked, and collated tablets with <sup>4</sup>**medical prescriptions from head to**

<sup>100</sup> Goltz 1974: 4.

<sup>101</sup> See the spacing on Beckman and Foster 1988: 11, 9a rev. 4'.

<sup>102</sup> For the discovery of the correct reading, see von Soden 1959.

<sup>103</sup> Eric Schmidtchen has spotted additional fragments on CDLI, which bear the colophon BAK 329: K. 7095 (uncertain), K. 7239+, K. 7822+, K. 7833, K. 7836, K. 7842, K. 7865 (uncertain), K. 7883, K. 7908, K. 9451 (uncertain), K. 10515 (uncertain). Maybe add BAM 540.

**the (toe)- nail, non-canonical materials, elaborate teaching(s),** <sup>5</sup>(and) the advanced healing art(s) of Ninurta and Gula, as much as was created, (and) <sup>6</sup>I placed (them) within my palace for consultation (and) my reading.<sup>104</sup>

Only a few serialized therapeutic tablets from Nineveh have a different colophon, BAK No. 318, see the attestations for the chapters **VII BRONCHIA** and **XI ANUS** below. These are the most important witnesses of BAK No. 329 from the Nineveh therapeutic encyclopaedia for now:

**I CRANIUM** (UGU): BAM 480; BAM 482 (possibly also AMT 19/1, AMT 20/1); AMT 102/1+ (K. 2566+, CDLI P365746) and AMT 104/1+ (CDLI P395359), both of which belong to the same tablet), duplicated by K. 7642; (possibly also BAM 494; CT 23, 50 (CDLI P365747).

**II EYES** (IGI): BAM 515 (possibly the other manuscripts as well).

**IV NECK:** AMT 94/6<sup>3</sup> (only a tiny fragment (CDLI P400270), presumably AMT 97/6 has the same colophon); BAM 473; BAM 475; AMT 24/1+ (CDLI P394418) see Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: passim, photo p. 98 (no tablet number and chapter title are given on this tablet before the colophon).

**V NOSEBLEED:** BAM 530.

**VI TEETH:** BAM 538 (the tablet is not numbered before the colophon); BAM 543.

**VII BRONCHIA:** BAM 547; AMT 48/4; AMT 49/4; BAM 548 has a different colophon, a variation of BAK No. 318.

**VIII STOMACH** (*suālu*): BAM 574; BAM 575; BAM 578; AMT 14, 7; BAM 579.

**IXa EPIGASTRIUM:** CMAwR 1: text 7.5.

**X KIDNEY:** BAM 7, No. 9b, Ms. J, pl. 6-8.

**XI ANUS:** BAM 7, No. 22 Ms. W pl. 18 (= ANUS Tablet 1). BAM 7, No. 23 Ms. X pl. 20 (= ANUS tablet 3) has a different colophon (BAK No. 318); BAM 7, No. 24 Ms. Y pl. 23.

**XII HAMSTRING:** AMT 32/5 (CDLI P394437). Note that AMT 4/5 might have had the same colophon as well.

## 10 The Format of the Nineveh Manuscripts

Judging from the list of the serialized tablets presented in the previous paragraph 9, the format of the Nineveh manuscripts always consisted of two-column tablets<sup>105</sup>, with ca. 250 lines, depending on the scribe who wrote them. This is a sign of the standardization of the therapeutic encyclopaedia in Nineveh.<sup>106</sup> More than 30 two-column tablets from Nineveh match PART 1 of AMC.

## 11 The Overall Structure of Magico-Medical and Diagnostic Catalogues

KAR 44 is the Mesopotamian superior catalogue for magic and medicine, including multiple references to complex rituals and incantatory series, but also including titles which overlap or refer to CTN 4, 71 and AMC. The three catalogues illustrate incursions into each other, see fig. 3. All share a common organization, see below paragraph 14. An important similarity between AMC and CTN 4, 71 is that the incipit of the first series in each part is used as a designation of the whole handbook, see also above paragraph 8. This fact causes potential confusion and should be taken into account whenever one refers to the first series of a handbook/encyclopaedia, or to the whole handbook/encyclopaedia. In addition, the *Diagnostic Handbook* and *Therapeutic Encyclopaedia* 1 might have had two alternative titles depending on manuscripts and tradition.

<sup>104</sup> See also Ritter 1965: 300.

<sup>105</sup> See also Köcher 1978: 18.

<sup>106</sup> It is important to note that the Nineveh tablets are sometimes numbered, but sometimes only the catchline allows us to assign the tablet's position within a specific medical composition (treatise), see the list of two-column tablets in paragraph 9. This would suggest different editorial workshops in Nineveh, aligning with the fact that the so-called Ashurbanipal library consisted of different archives, see Reade 1986; Fincke 2003-04: 144-145.

## OVERALL STRUCTURE OF MAGICO-MEDICAL AND DIAGNOSTIC WORKS

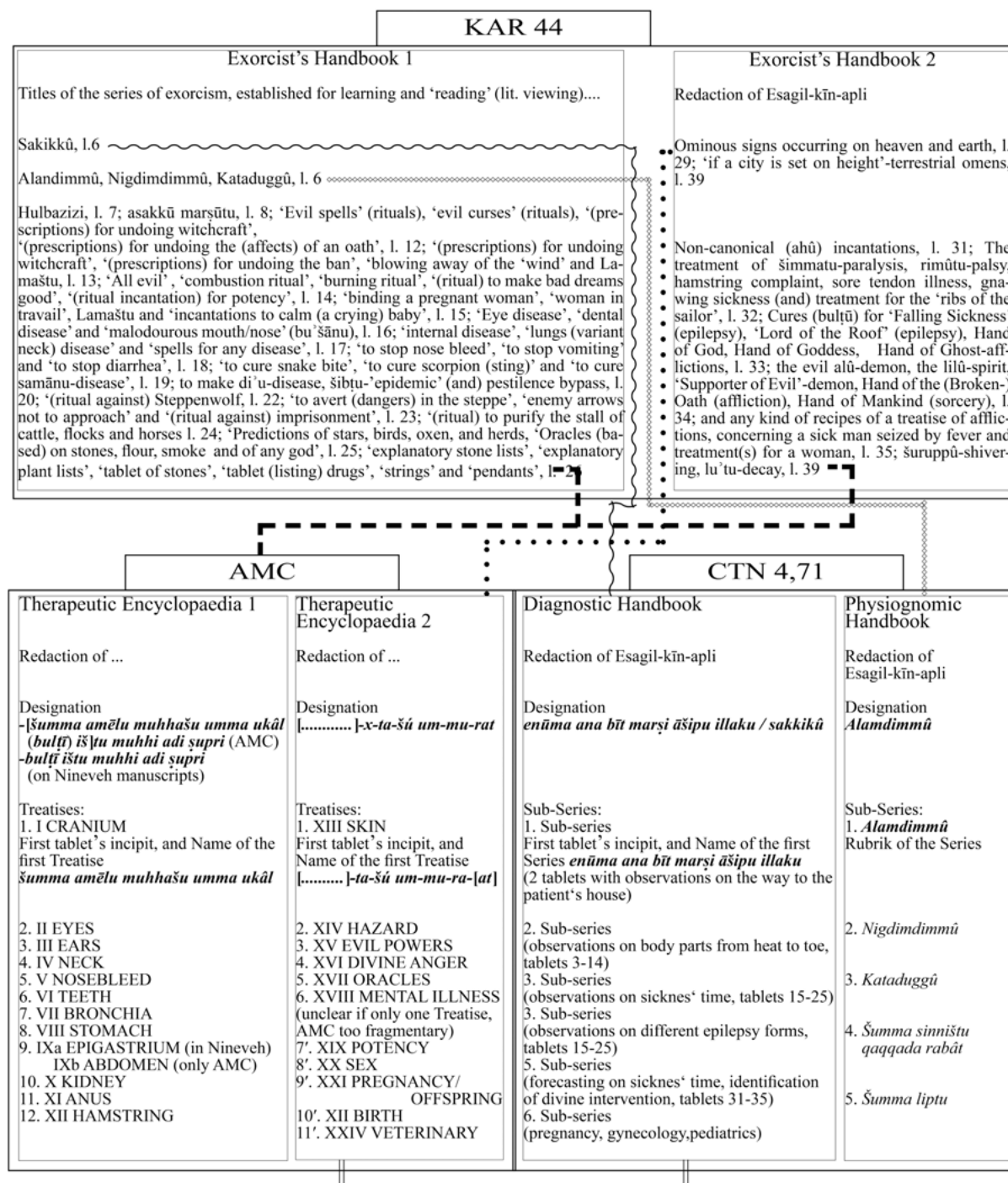


Fig. 3: The overall structure of magico-medical and diagnostic handbooks.

## 12 The Additional Materials after EN in AMC as *Ahû* “Non-canonical”

Scurlock interprets the additional material after EN as “inventory of the contents” (2014: 296), also elsewhere in this volume. BAK No. 329: 4 shows that *bulṭī ištu muhhi adi šupri* designates the serialized manuscripts of the encyclopaedia in Nineveh, as reflected in the first part of AMC (see above paragraphs 7 and 9). Could we then assume that *liqtī ahûti* “non-canonical materials” (BAK No. 329: 4) might refer to the materials introduced with EN after each of the medical treatises on AMC? For that, we will look into royal letters and other catalogues both from Assur and Nineveh.

Updating editions of canonical (*iškāru*) and non-canonical material (*ahû*) was the daily work of the scribes under Ashurbanipal (SAA 10: nos. 101-103). The opposition between series (*iškāru*) and different *ahû*-collections is expressed in the Nineveh letters:

SAA 10: no. 8 rev. 8, CDLI P334356:

*an-ni-ú la-a ša ÊŠ.GÂR-ma šu-u a-hi-u šu-u*

This is not from the series; it is non-canonical.<sup>107</sup>

The following example demonstrates that both serialized compositions (*iškāru*) and non-canonical compositions (*ahû*) were brought together in front of king Ashurbanipal, in order to be edited for his royal library.

SAA 10: no. 101: 2-5, CDLI P313602:

[*ina* UGU D]UB.MEŠ *ša* [ÊŠ.GÂR ...] / [ù D]UB.MEŠ *a-hu-ú-ti* ... / [*ša*] *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* a[*q-bu-u-ni*] / [*ú-ma*]-*a* *an-nu-riḡ na-š[u-ni šum-ma ina IGI LUGAL / [EN-i]á ma-hi-ir lu-še-ri-bu-šú-nu LUGAL be-lī*

[Concerning] the tablets of [the series ... and] the non-canonical tablets [... of which] I s[poke] to the king, my lord, they have now been brought. [If] it pleases [the king], m[y lord], let them b[ring them in, and let the king, my lord], have a look.<sup>108</sup>

The letters seem to convey the idea that the *ahû*-material was subordinated to a series, *iškāru*.<sup>109</sup> This is, furthermore, illustrated by the organization of entries in other catalogues. The *Enūma Anu Enlil* catalogue from Assur cites the incipits of the canonical series (*iškāru*), and announces 29 tablets of *ahû* material at the end:

Fincke 2001: 24 (with modification):<sup>110</sup>

ii 3' DIŠ 30 *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÂR UD.12.KÂM *ih-mu-ṭam-ma*

ii 4' *ba-ra-ri it-ta-a'-dir na-an-mur-šú* GIM IZI [PI]Š<sub>10</sub>-*īD* [(...)]

ii 5' PAP 29 DUB.MEŠ <sup>im</sup>GĪD.DA.MEŠ BAR.MEŠ

ii 3'-4' If the moon comes too early on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Nisannu, then darkens at dusk, (and) its appearance is like sulphur-fire. ii 5' Altogether 29 non-canonical oblong tablets.

A similar situation can be seen in the Nineveh *kalûtu* catalogue, 4R<sup>2</sup>, 53+ i 34-39,<sup>111</sup> where the (*ahû*) material seems subordinated to the series (*iškāru*). In addition, the library records from Nineveh portray the same situation and crucially employ *adi*(EN), in a similar way to AMC.

<sup>107</sup> The integrity of a series (*iškāru*) was recognized and differentiated not only from the (*ahû*) material but also from oral lore of the *ummānu* “scholar”, see Geller 2010: 121. SAA 10: no. 8 r. 1-2: *šu-mu an-ni-u la-a ša ÊŠ.GÂR-ma šu-u / ša pi-i um-ma-ni šu-ú* “This omen is not from the series; it is from the oral tradition of the scholars.” For the technical professions (*tupšarûtu*, *bârûtu*, *asûtu*, *āšipûtu*, *kalûtu*) comprising the superordinate concept *ummānu* see Verderame 2004.

<sup>108</sup> Further relevant examples are cited in Frame and George 2005: 278ff.

<sup>109</sup> Frahm also argues that the *ahû* material is secondary, less important than the canonical series (2011: 317-19).

<sup>110</sup> See also Rochberg 2010: 95, 308; Koch 2015: 165.

<sup>111</sup> Gabbay 2014: 198; Gabbay 2015: 16; CDLI P357084.



Parpola 1983: 25: 9-12<sup>112</sup>

[x+]37 ÉŠ.GÀR *alan-dím-mu-ú* <sup>11</sup>[(...)] *a-di* BAR.MEŠ *níg-dím-dím-mu-u* <sup>12</sup>[(...)] K]A.TA.DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA-u

x+37 (tablets) of the Series *Alamdimmû* [(...)] <sup>11</sup>including the non-canonicals (as well as) *Nigdimdimû* [(...)], <sup>12</sup>*Kataduggû*.<sup>113</sup>

Crucial to mention is another instance of *adi*(EN) introducing *ahû* (BAR) in a literary catalogue:

Lambert 1976: 314: 14 (with modification):

13 DIŠ *ālu ina* SUKUD-e GAR: DIŠ *iqqur* DÛ-uš

14 *a-di* BAR.MEŠ

<sup>13</sup> ‘If a city is set on a hill’. ‘If he destroys and rebuilds’, <sup>14</sup>including the non-canonicals.

These examples imply that the additional material in AMC, introduced by *adi*(EN), might be in fact what we otherwise know as *ahû* material.

### 13 The Unedited and Edited Nineveh Medical Treatises

Therapeutic medical texts designated as *bulṭu* “cure, prescription, medical recipe”, were brought to Nineveh in great quantities, not only on cuneiform tablets but also on *lē’u* “wax writing boards” (SAA 7: chapter 7). How does this fit in with the Nineveh manuscripts designated *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* on BAK No. 329: 4? Could it be that the Nineveh library records and the Nineveh colophon BAK No. 329 describe the same material as *bulṭu* but in different stages? The library records mention miscellaneous material that was not yet critically edited and brought into a canonical form. On the other hand, the Nineveh colophon BAK No. 329 refers with *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* to an already edited and canonized therapeutic encyclopaedia, where the non-canonical material was sifted and organized separately in Nineveh, and noted with *adi* on AMC. Similar editorial work on texts in Nineveh is known from the royal letters:

SAA 10: no. 177: 15-rev. 6 (with modification):

<sup>15</sup> *iš-ka-ru* <sup>16</sup> *li-ib-[ru-u]* <sup>17</sup> LUGAL *li-iq-bi* <sup>2</sup> *2-ta li-gi-na-a-te* <sup>3</sup> *ša ša-a-ti* <sup>4</sup> *li-iš-šur-ru* <sup>5</sup> *2-ta ša ba-ru-te* <sup>6</sup> *liš-kun*

<sup>15</sup>The series should be revised. Let the king command: two “long” tablets containing explanations should be removed, and two tablets of the haruspsices’ corpus should be put in (instead).

This scenario suggests that the therapeutic encyclopaedia, designated *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* on Nineveh manuscripts and mirrored in PART 1 of AMC, was edited anew under Ashurbanipal, as Köcher already suggested (BAM 6, p. ix n. 10). This idea seems expressed in AMC with SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu* “new edition”.<sup>114</sup> This will then mean that AMC reflects the Nineveh Editions.

<sup>112</sup> Note also K. 6962 in Parpola 1983: 26. Further see SAA 7: no 52, discussed in Böck 2000: 18.

<sup>113</sup> This entry in the library records reflects the organization of the catalogue CTN 4, 71, where *Alamdimmû* is followed by *Nigdimdimû* and *Kataduggû*, which are individual treatises, included in one handbook with the title of its first treatise being *Alamdimmû*, see above paragraph 11. The handbook *Alamdimmû* includes not only the first treatise *Alamdimmû*, but also *Nigdimdimû* (“appearance” – physiognomic omens), *Kataduggû* (“utterance” – behavioral omens), the related treatise *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* “If a woman has a big head” and *Šumma liptu* “If a mole”, see paragraph 11 above and the edition of CTN 4, 71 in this volume. Literature on *Alamdimmû* can be found in Popović 2007: 72ff.; Böck 2010: 200; Koch 2015: 285ff.

<sup>114</sup> The editorial work in the library of Ashurbanipal was carried out on a colossal scale, since all of the works were assembled together and brought into the library in order to be edited into standardized and systematized editions (Parpola 1983: 5).

## 14 AMC in Comparison with KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71

Editorial work, as on AMC, was attributed to the famous Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli (Frahm 2011: 328-329; Scurlock 2014: 295), as suggested by the catalogues KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71. There are several similarities between the three catalogues:

- CTN 4, 71 starts with a heading. It is divided into two major parts. It employs the phrase SUR.GIBIL *ṣab-tu*. The first part of CTN 4, 71 obv. 1-rev. 7, before the famous passage of Esagil-kīn-apli (Frahm 2011: 326), refers to the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkū*). The second part, CTN 4, 71 rev. 29-50, refers to the physiognomic handbook *Alamdimmū*, see fig. 3.
- KAR 44 starts with a heading. It is connected with Esagil-kīn-apli and divided into two parts: part one in KAR 44: obv. 1-rev. 3, and part two in KAR 44 rev. 4-22. SUR.GIBIL *ṣab-tu* is not mentioned. The name of Esagil-kīn-apli appears on KAR 44: rev. 4 (see Geller in this volume).
- AMC starts with a heading. It is also divided in two major parts. It employs the phrase SUR.GIBIL *ṣab-tu* for both parts. It does not refer to Esagil-kīn-apli, due to the breaks or the name of the Babylonian scholar was not at all preserved on the catalogue.

We have the following similarities: AMC and the CTN 4, 71 show the phrase SUR.GIBIL *ṣab-tu* (AMC ll. 58, 124, 125 vs. CTN 4, 71 obv. 19, 31, rev. 8). Esagil-kīn-apli was responsible for the editions of CTN 4, 71 and for KAR 44. Notably, all three catalogues are divided into two major parts. The copies of all three catalogues come from the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>115</sup>

The physical format of the catalogues needs also to be taken into consideration. Finkel (2000: 146) pointed out that sometimes there is a clear physical difference between magical and medical texts (cf. Geller 2010: 111):

- (a) tablets of “portrait” or vertical orientation = *asûtu*  
 (b) tablets of “landscape” or horizontal orientation = *āšipûtu*

This can furthermore be observed with the Late Babylonian magico-medical texts associated with the archive of Ninurta-ahhē-bullit (Joannès 1992; Jursa 2005). This whole archive, often missed in the literature, is a counterpart to the archive published by Finkel (2000).<sup>116</sup> The difference in formats is not always significant (Attinger 2008: 5, and Fincke 2009: 98). But in the case of KAR 44 (b) vs. AMC (a) and the CTN 4, 71 (a), one may ask if it is not partly relevant. We can present the similarities between the catalogues in the following chart:

Catalogue	AMC	CTN 4, 71	KAR 44
Heading	1 <sup>st</sup> line MU.NE	1 <sup>st</sup> line MU.NE	1 <sup>st</sup> line MU.NE
Structure	two parts	two parts	two parts <sup>117</sup>
New Edition	SUR.GIBIL <i>ṣab-tu</i>	SUR.GIBIL <i>ṣab-tu</i>	not mentioned
Authority	not mentioned	Esagil-kīn-apli	Esagil-kīn-apli <sup>118</sup>
Date	8 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> century	9 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> or 6 <sup>th</sup> century	7 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> century
Format	“portrait”, <i>asûtu</i>	“portrait”, <i>asûtu</i>	“landscape”, <i>āšipûtu</i>

<sup>115</sup> The earliest of the three catalogues is CTN 4, 71 from the Nabû temple in Kalhu (9<sup>th</sup> century BCE), having also one Neo-Babylonian copy (whose “sign forms are not dissimilar from those in many tablets in a Babylonian hand from the libraries at Nineveh”, see Finkel 1988: 144). Also, the Neo-Babylonian copy of CTN 4, 71 (published by Finkel 1988) might be contemporary with the Nineveh texts. KAR 44 was transmitted at least until Rimût-Anu, who lived in Uruk during the time of Darius II, at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Clancier 2014).

<sup>116</sup> The publication of Joannès 1992 has to be added to Finkel 2000.

<sup>117</sup> Concerning the bipartite structure of AMC, Johnson (2015a: 21) suggested that this structure might follow the model of the Old Babylonian lexical series Ugu-mu: “where “the head to toe” arrangement comes to an end”, and the text continues with short general descriptions of the body and the human being as stature, ages, shadow etc. (Veldhuis 2014: 159). Nevertheless, the division into two parts might be a general organizational approach.

<sup>118</sup> At least of the second Handbook, see fig. 3.

## 15 Different Recensions of the Therapeutic Encyclopaedia

Different synchronic and diachronic versions of the medical treatises are similar to the Nineveh Therapeutic Encyclopaedia (paragraph 7).<sup>119</sup> Therapeutic treatises often had the name *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* “If a man’s skull/brain contains fever” and were known in different recensions, manuscripts, and cities.

Different Recensions of <i>šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl</i>			
City	Period	Format of Manuscript	Manuscript
Unclear	Late Babylonian	unclear (two-column tablet)	Courtesy of G. Buisson and H. Stadhouders
Assur	Neo Assyrian	<i>nishu</i>	BAM 3 <sup>120</sup>
Nineveh	Neo Assyrian	<i>ṭuppu</i>	BAM 480, and presumably the Nineveh encyclopaedia as reflected in AMC PART 1, see above paragraph 7
Uruk	Late Babylonian	<i>pīrsu</i>	SpTU 1, 44 (9 <sup>th</sup> <i>pīrsu</i> ), SpTU 1, 46 (10 <sup>th</sup> <i>pīrsu</i> ) <sup>121</sup>
		<i>nishu</i>	BAM 403 ( <i>bīt Dābibi</i> ) <sup>122</sup>
Babylon	Late Babylonian	<i>pīrsu</i>	BM 42272 (30 <sup>th</sup> <i>pīrsu</i> ) <sup>123</sup>
		<i>nishu</i>	BM 35512 (34 <sup>th</sup> <i>nishu</i> from <i>bīt Dābibi</i> ) <sup>124</sup>

Late Babylonian therapeutic material was organized differently from Assur and Nineveh medical treatises. Medical treatises of *pīrsus* do not seem to be attested in Assur or Nineveh for now, although an organization into *pīrsus* is attested in Nineveh for the Lamaštu series.<sup>125</sup> The differences in the manuscript formats (*ṭuppu*, *nishu* and *pīrsu*) are not exactly transparent. The vehicle for the transformations of medical treatises might lie in different scholarly circles.<sup>126</sup> This variety compels the modern scholar to specify which medical treatise he means. Is it a version of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* from Assur, Babylon, Uruk or the first treatise of the Medical Encyclopaedia from Nineveh?

## 16 Babylonian Influence?

AMC might go back to the tradition of the Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli (see paragraph 14 and Geller in this volume). But then the Nineveh manuscripts also might have followed the same tradition, since they are mostly reflected in the PART 1 of AMC. Nils Heeßel has pointed out that the Assur scholarship seems to reject Esagil-kīn-apli’s editions (Heeßel 2010b). This might be a clue why recensions of the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia, as recorded in AMC PART 1 and represented by the Nineveh manuscripts, are missing in Assur.

<sup>119</sup> See also Heeßel 2010a: 34.

<sup>120</sup> For organized medical compositions from Assur, among them also serialized *nishus*, compare BAM 9 (*nishu*), BAM 36, BAM 52 (*nishu*), BAM 99 (*nishu*), BAM 124, BAM 147 (*nishu*), BAM 209, AO 11447, BM 103386.

<sup>121</sup> See Frahm 2011: 232, § 7.4.2.2.

<sup>122</sup> Another text from *bīt Dābibi* is the commentary BM 59607, see Frahm 2011: 460. More on *bīt Dābibi* in Scurlock 2017: 312 n. 17 and Köcher 1978: 33 n. 14.

<sup>123</sup> Edition in Bácskay 2015.

<sup>124</sup> Mentioned in Bácskay 2015: 2 n. 13, and Bácskay, in Panayotov and Vacić (forthcoming). The Late Babylonian designation *bīt Dābibi* might suggest an earlier Middle Babylonian tradition of naming medical compositions after a family of healers, as shown by the Middle Babylonian (13th century BC) tablet BAM 11 (CDLI P281806) rev. 36-38: 18 *bu-ul-tū ša* SAG.KI.DAB.BA / <sup>im</sup>GĪD.DA 1.KAM.MA / *ša bīt(É<sup>sic</sup>) Ra-bi-a-ša*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU “18 prescriptions for *sagkidabbū*-head illness; first oblong tablet of the house of Rabâ-ša-Marduk”. Pace Heeßel (2009: 25), do not emend ŠU<sup>1</sup> *Ra-bi-a-ša*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, the sign is certainly É.

<sup>125</sup> See Farber 2014: 17-25, and *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> As suggested by Weidner for the omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, see Koch 2015: 164f.

On the other hand, Babylonian tradition was taken into consideration in Assur through the importing of tablets and scribes (Wiggermann 2008: 215; Heeßel 2009). BAM 3 from Assur contains an excerpt of the treatise CRANIUM (beginning with the incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 1, *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* “If a man’s cranium/brain contains fever”) which also came from Babylonia, as mentioned in the colophon of BAM 3 iv 47: *ina pu-ut<sup>gis</sup> ZU URI<sup>ki</sup> ZI-ha* “excerpted/copied from a wax writing-board from Akkad (= Babylonia)”.

Babylonian traditions were also introduced into Nineveh through imports of texts and scribes (Frame and George 2005; Frahm 2012). Some of them are still preserved on manuscripts in Babylonian ductus (Fincke 2003-04).<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, Nineveh received many texts from Kalhu (Frahm 2011: 265), and some therapeutic fragments from Kalhu remind us strongly of the Nineveh Medical treatise **I CRANIUM**.<sup>128</sup> Kalhu also incorporated Babylonian traditions, such as the one of Esagil-kīn-apli in the diagnostic catalogue CTN 4, 71.

This all suggests that the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia, as reflected in AMC PART 1, might have originated from an older Babylonian encyclopaedia called *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* “If a man’s cranium/brain contains fever”. This is, furthermore, directly suggested by the fact that after the political demise of Assyria medical works with this name were still in use in the Late Babylonian world (see paragraph 15).

## 17 Further Perspectives in the Studies of Medical Texts

In reconstructing Mesopotamian medicine, it is important to edit and study the whole Nineveh therapeutic encyclopaedia, as reflected in AMC PART 1. The Nineveh encyclopaedia is the best example for systematized healing corpora from the Ancient Near East for now. There is unedited material in the British Museum and tiny fragments of Nineveh manuscripts suggest joining to bigger pieces.

References in catalogues show how much there is still to discover, see Finkel in this volume.<sup>129</sup> The second part of AMC is full of texts that we still do not really know. Also, both parts of KAR 44 include references to medical treatises which have yet to be pieced together.

Certainly, there are more texts to be excavated in Nineveh, which will fill the therapeutic encyclopaedia. In addition, the temple of Gula in Assur has not been excavated at all. It also contained a collection of medical manuscripts and some texts were copied from there (e.g. BAM 99). Also, new texts from Kalhu will throw light on the situation of medical texts before Nineveh.

Furthermore, the fragmentary Late Babylonian material (ca. 800 pieces)<sup>130</sup> in the British Museum is barely edited.

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<sup>127</sup> Consult also Fincke’s website: <http://www.fincke-cuneiform.com/nineveh/babylonian/introduction.htm> (accessed 10/Feb/2017).

<sup>128</sup> Note the Kalhu material recorded in Worthington 2005.

<sup>129</sup> The reference on Rm. 618 (CDLI P424861) rev. 4f.: *bul-ṭi lu bal-ṭa-a-ti i-na KUR ma-ha-zi* “Live (f.), o, live in the land of sanctuaries” does not refer to a therapeutic composition, but to the so-called *aluzinnu* text (Jiménez 2017: 101, 117ff.). The profession *aluzinnu* appears together with *asû* (Deller 1987: 59). In addition, Rm. 618: 3 cites “Adapa in the middle heaven”, a series also connected to healing, see Annus 2015: 83, introduction and *passim*.

<sup>130</sup> The material was collected during BabMed cataloguing works with the help of earlier works and notebooks of C. Walker, E. Leichty, F. Köcher, I. L. Finkel, M. J. Geller. See for instance texts in Geller 1988: 21ff.; Geller 1990.

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## The Catalogues of *Enūma Anu Enlil*

Without lists those in charge of information struggle in vain against disorder, imprecision, uncertainty, and chaos. If a common human drive to arrange and organize lies behind ancient scholarly text catalogues in a general sense, consideration of the specifics of actual examples can take us deeper into the historical moment and the cultural context of such examples. Catalogues can have a multiplicity of functions, and can serve more than one function at a time. Cuneiform text catalogues did indeed bring order to scholarly collections, arrange tablets in series in ways that suited a certain community of scribes, and present the contents of useful corpora, whether those contents referred to the diverse holdings of a particular collection or more broadly to a complete, or ideal, repertoire for education or reference.

Perhaps it could be said that cuneiform scholarly catalogues are indicative of a particular kind of textual culture, one built upon the authority and value of certain kinds of texts, here divinatory (concerning signs), lexical (concerning orthographies and language), medical (concerning diagnostics and therapeutics), and magical (incantations). Catalogues are an entry point into the way scribes from various regions and periods defined their corpora and established the contents and character of “knowledge” (which would have come under the rubric *ṭupšarrūtu* “scribal knowledge,” also “knowledge of skills, both intellectual and technical,” or even *nēmequ* “wisdom”) and thus the terms of their textual culture, or cultures. Cuneiform textual cultures formed a constant in Mesopotamian intellectual history, and as such were able to have an impact on traditions of textual knowledge beyond its borders among Hittites, Elamites, Egyptians, and Greeks.

The celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (henceforth EAE) is the subject of two extant catalogues, one from 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Assur and the other from 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE Uruk.<sup>1</sup> The Uruk catalogue gives the incipits for EAE Tablets 1-26. The Assur Catalogue contains incipits for EAE Tablets 39-59 and “29 single-column *ahū* tablets (IM.GÍD.DA.MEŠ BAR. MEŠ)”. It follows these with incipits for the series *Šumma ālu* Tablets 1-26 and 33-62, while column iv of the reverse has fragmentary ends of lines that do not resemble *Šumma ālu* and thus may possibly represent other divinatory material. Sally M. Freedman said the “tablet contained catalogs of several omen series”<sup>2</sup>, but did not elaborate on that observation. The significance of the combination of the celestial and the terrestrial (and perhaps other omen types) in one and the same catalogue has, therefore, not been discussed in any detail to date, nor has the text been edited as a whole before, neither by Freedman (1998) nor Fincke (2001). The combination of the celestial with the terrestrial (or even other omen series [on rev. iv]) may be an important factor to take into account in analyzing the Assur catalogue, as it could reflect upon the purpose of that catalogue and how the scribes classified its contents. The combination of disparate scholarly series together in a single catalogue (such as diagnostic and physiognomic omens<sup>3</sup>) could shed some light on the practice in general and whether the Assur catalogue of EAE and *Šumma ālu* (and perhaps a third series) is unusual or not. The similar pattern of incipits of celestial and terrestrial omens given in the Diviner’s Manual (Oppenheim 1974) do not come from EAE or *Šumma ālu* and so that text remains an exceptional case.

Our grasp of the contents and structure of many individual compositions and compendia of cuneiform scribal scholarship owes much to the preservation of text catalogues that list the incipits of such works. Ancient catalogues have been instrumental in the modern reconstruction of cuneiform scholarly text corpora, but they vary both in their presentation and purpose. Old Babylonian text catalogues have been read as inventories of the holdings of particular collections (Delnero 2010), or as an ordering system for use in a scribal school curriculum (Tinney 2011). First millennium (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian) catalogues seem to be aimed either at a particular genre of texts (*Šuilas*, incantations) or at tablets within discrete serialized compendia, such as *Enūma Anu Enlil* or *Šumma ālu*. The problem of interpretation, as Delnero identified it, lies in what we may infer from these lists as to their purpose beyond the archival utility of a list of holdings. As he said with regard to the inventories of Sumerian literary compositions, those catalogues seem to be “for the purpose of recording individual tablets, and not for grouping compositions according to their content or function,” and that there was “little doubt that the lists belonging to this group were recorded for reasons

<sup>1</sup> Other scholars who have discussed these catalogues are Weidner 1941-44; 1968; Koch-Westenholz 1995: 80; Fincke 2001; Freedman 1998: 5-6 and 322-23; Rochberg-Halton 1987: 320-330; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 18; van Soldt 1995: 2, 17, 68-69; Gehlken 2012: 2; Koch 2015: 165-166, 178-179, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Freedman 1998: 6. Note also that the Assur Catalogue incipits are abbreviated from those preserved in sources from the series.

<sup>3</sup> CTN 4, 71; Finkel 1988. See also the edition and discussion of the *Sakikkū* catalogue in this volume.

associated specifically with the storage and retrieval of tablets, and not for didactic purposes”.<sup>4</sup> He interpreted catalogues, therefore, as practical, not ideal, lists, which referred only to those texts contained in a particular collection.

Features of the organization of these early literary catalogues carry over into first millennium scholarly inventories of omen texts: the sequences of thematically grouped texts, the use of subscripts to identify the type of text catalogued, the variable inclusion of different text types within a single catalogue. As Delnero observed, these are indications of inventories, that is, they refer to the actual texts contained in a collection rather than to some ideal list of materials. Principles of classification of the texts catalogued, however, are also built into the preparation of an inventory, as he noted as well. For this reason, the manner in which omen series are combined, or not combined, in catalogues raises questions as to another layer of classification, and also touches upon the question of canonicity in cuneiform textual culture.

Unsurprisingly, as they are separated by roughly four hundred years, the two EAE catalogues, one from 7<sup>th</sup> century Assur and the other from Hellenistic Uruk (dated 26 Šabaṭu year 117 S.E. = 24/25 February 194 BCE), display a number of differences. The Assur catalogue provides tablet numbers where the Uruk catalogue does not. The Uruk catalogue gives a tally of the number of lines per tablet where the Assur catalogue does not. Differences in the sequence of tablets between the Assur catalogue and what is preserved on exemplars or in catchlines from Nineveh poses another difficult problem for understanding the Assur catalogue. The evidence suggests that tablet numbering was tied more to the local needs of the scribes than to any sense for what we would call a canonical text to be transmitted in a fixed, standardized, certainly not invariant, form across its many exemplars. Instead there is considerable variability in the numbers assigned to tablets in catalogs, subscripts, and catchlines. As an example of the variation in the numbering systems, Weidner provided the following correspondence:

Tablet 39 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 44 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 40 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 45 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 46 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 52 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 47 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 53 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 48 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 55 (51)<sup>5</sup> (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 50 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 56 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 51 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 57 (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 55 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 62(?) (Nineveh reconstruction)  
 Tablet 58 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 61 (Nineveh reconstruction)<sup>6</sup>

The most useful discussion of the problem of tablet numbering in EAE, in my view, is that of Erlend Gehlken.<sup>7</sup> In particular he argues against the notion of a defined system attached to the specific locations given by Weidner (and followed by Fincke), namely Babylon-Borsippa, Assur, Kalhu, Nineveh, and Uruk.<sup>8</sup> Gehlken presents a cogent argument against the proposal to fix the tablet numberings to a system of “schools”, and illustrates with EAE “33”, which has sources using four different tablet numbers (33, 34, 35, and 36) that do not correspond to such local schools.<sup>9</sup> Ulla Koch-Westenholz also noted the “rough” nature of EAE’s systematization and the “many inconsistencies, both in the numbering of

<sup>4</sup> Delnero 2010: 48-49.

<sup>5</sup> The assignment of two Nineveh tablet numbers to the Assur Catalogue Tablet 48 was given originally in Weidner 1941-44: 185, where, we should note, he said these correlations stood “auf sehr schwachen Füßen.” He returned to this problem in Weidner 1968: 74, where he said, “wenn man den Katalog aus Assur vergleicht, so ist dort von den Anfängen der Tafeln 43-45, 47, 49 nichts erhalten. Für die Tafel 46 liegt ...]. IGI.MEŠ, für Tafel 48 i]t-tan-mar vor. Es könnte sich, wie in Afo 14, S.184, vermutet, um die Tafeln handeln, die sonst die Nummern 52 und 51 bzw. 55 tragen.” As Reiner and Pingree (1981) pointed out in their edition, the contents of Tablet 51 (as of Tablet 50) are not confidently identified. Their identification of the “assumed” Tablet 51 is to be found as Texts IX-XIII of their edition (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 52-54). A connection between the Assumed Tablet 50 and Tablet 55 can be found in their Text II 12d-II 12h, which they assume are omens derived from Tablet 55 omens 78-84 (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 30, n. 5). Also, one of the miscellaneous texts in their edition of the assumed Tablet 50/51 is Text XVIII, which has lines at the end of the reverse that contain the end of EAE 55 (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 71).

<sup>6</sup> Weidner 1941-44: 185; mentioned also in Koch-Westenholz 1995: 80, Fincke 2001: 23, and Gehlken 2012: 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Gehlken 2005: 252-54, and especially 252 note 81.

<sup>8</sup> Weidner 1941-44: 181-82, 184 and passim in that article. See also Fincke 2001: 20-22.

<sup>9</sup> See already Weidner 1968: 68.

individual tablets within the series and in the particular omen content different copies of the same tablet contain and in what order”.<sup>10</sup>

Given the foregoing observations of so many discrepancies in the formatting of these scholarly texts, catalogues do not appear to be the most direct or uncomplicated evidence for canonicity in cuneiform, that is, if we want to define canonicity in terms of the existence of a fixed *textus receptus*.<sup>11</sup>

Neither do the sources for *Šumma ālu*, when compared against the Assur catalogue, support the idea of a canonical numbering system. Freedman noted that “there are indications of more than one ‘official’ edition of *Šumma Alu*. Sometimes different copies of the same tablet preserve different tablet numbers ... In only one case is the discrepancy really significant: According to the Assur Catalog, the incipit that represents Tablet 27 is an omen taken from a reptile, while a cat omen represents the incipit to Tablet 45; however, the one extant tablet numbered 27 contains cat omens. There is at present no way of knowing whether this discrepancy is due to a random error or to an established variant numbering system”.<sup>12</sup> She further notes that “this sort of discrepancy is not unique to *Šumma Alu*; a similar situation occurs with the series *Enuma Ana Bit Marši Ašipu Illiku* [i.e. the series of diagnostic omens *Sakikkū*], where the numbering of the series as preserved in individual colophons conflicts with the numbering preserved in the one extant catalog”.<sup>13</sup> This evidence underscores the necessity of defining canonicity in cuneiform scholarship on a separate basis from that which applies to the biblical model. This is not to say that cuneiform texts did not utilize an idea and function of canonical texts in its own way (Rochberg 2015). The existence of the native terminology of *iškāru* “series”, *ahû* “other/extraneous”, and *ša pī ummāni* “oral tradition” (literally, “from the mouth of the scholar”) shows that the nature of sources, and a taxonomy to represent it, was already of concern in organizing scholarly materials.

In terms of the taxonomy of text types, an important aspect of the canonicity question which has previously been addressed in the scholarship on the Assur catalogue is how to understand the meaning of the term *ahû* (obv. ii 5’), when applied to tablets (or omens) in a series such as EAE. The Assur catalogue is the only catalogue known to collect and designate tablets as *ahû*, providing an opportunity to consider the relationship between these tablets and those classified as belonging to the *ĒŠ.GĀR* (obv. ii 6). If the measure of canonicity can be separated from the particulars of textual characteristics, the meaning of canonical and non-canonical in our context can be refocused. By now it is well accepted that *ahû* in this context does not correspond to “non-canonical” in the sense of the texts not being authoritative or valid.<sup>14</sup> Gehlken said of the *ahû* tablets incorporated into the Assur catalogue that they “are not to be understood as a secondary, but rather as an additional, tradition, likewise organized as a series”.<sup>15</sup> Koch-Westenholz also translates *ahû* as “additional”, and said that “all three categories [*iškāru*, *ahû* and *ša pī ummāni*] seem to have been considered equally authoritative.”<sup>16</sup> But, again, it has become well accepted that if we separate the notion of what is canonical from the requirements of certain textual characteristics (the order of content in particular), we can see that the nature of these texts stemming from a tradition “outside” that of the *iškāru*, were in a certain way “non-canonical”, but nonetheless still authoritative.

The literature on canonicity in cuneiform scholarship has traditionally focused on textual characteristics, primarily in the form of tablet numberings and the standardization of the texts’ contents. But the idea of a fixed received tradition was already challenged by W. G. Lambert in reference to the *Gilgamesh Epic*.<sup>17</sup> A lack of rigorous standardization, however, need not compromise the idea that the Babylonian scholarly texts may have functioned as a canonical corpus in the sense of its representing the beliefs or ideas or texts of a certain group of scribes. Thus the canon represents some

<sup>10</sup> Koch-Westenholz 1995: 79.

<sup>11</sup> For discussion of canonicity in the cuneiform scholarly tradition that does not define the canon solely in terms of textual characteristics, see Rochberg 2015. For a summary of the scholarly debate in terms of pro- and contra-camps in reference to canonicity in the cuneiform tradition, see Wainer 2016: ch. 3, where he, however, places Rochberg-Halton 1984 firmly in the contra-group. What the 1984 paper argued, however, was that a cuneiform canon could not (or should not) be defined in terms of the characteristics and function of the biblical canon, which had a wholly different motivation, goal, and history. My 2015 paper clarifies the ways in which I see the legitimate use of the term canon with respect to cuneiform texts, and consistent with the previous paper (and in Rochberg-Halton 1987), its usage cannot be understood on the basis of the biblical model.

<sup>12</sup> Freedman 1998: 7.

<sup>13</sup> Freedman 1998: 7, note 14. See also Schmidtchen (*infra*) for discussion of the diagnostic omen series.

<sup>14</sup> Rochberg-Halton 1984: 144; Rochberg-Halton 1987 [2010]; Rochberg 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Gehlken 2012: 2.

<sup>16</sup> Koch-Westenholz 1995: 76.

<sup>17</sup> Lambert 1967: 9.

accepted meaning or value in the texts conceived of as embodying those ideas and thus being important to collect, copy, store, consult, and interpret. In addition to their archival function for recording the contents of a particular library holding, catalogues may be a reflection of such canonical considerations. As noted, this status would have applied as well to the *ahû* tablets, which belonged to the corpus but had their own characteristics (Rochberg-Halton 1987). The inclusion of *ahû* tablets in the Assur catalogue shows that this is the case.

In laying out a basis for discussing the genre of commentary and its relation to canonicity, Aaron Hughes referred to J. Z. Smith's idea that "the concept of a canon must be understood against the backdrop of lists (*Listenwissenschaft*) which are, in turn, broken down into catalogs."<sup>18</sup> Quoting Smith, he says, "when lists exhibit relatively clear principles of order, we may begin to term them catalogs... The catalog, in principle, is open." [Smith 1982: 45] When such a catalog is closed (or, perhaps even semi-closed) it becomes a canon" (Hughes 2003: 152). Hughes, therefore, defines a canon as "any closed or semi-closed system that is capable of subsequent manipulation by a hermeneute" (Hughes 2003: 152). This definition is meant to serve cross-culturally, to apply to the Bible, the Quran, the Vedas and "the diviner's basket among the Ndembu." Cuneiform literary or scholarly catalogues can be considered in this sense as well, i.e., as historical reflections of a corpus considered at a given time as useful and worthy of preservation and transmission. In the case of omen texts it is clear that the divine messages represented by ominous signs elevated the value of those texts, which then represented two central cultural commitments, first to the idea of divine decree (as expressed in the Uruk catalogue lines 23-24: EŠ.BAR AN.G[E.] u HAR.MEŠ šá ʾ30 "decision[s] of eclipse[s] and ominous portents ([it: decrees] of the moon") and second to the well-ordered world.

In the remainder of this paper the two EAE catalogues are given in transliteration and translation. Minimal notes accompany this edition, so as not to repeat the work of others (such as Fincke or Gehlken).

## The Assur Catalogue (EAE and *Šumma ālu*)

Fragments: VAT 9438 + 10324 (obv.); VAT 9775 (rev.)

Copies: Weidner 1941-44: Tf. III, KAR 407 (= VAT 10324); KAR 394 (= VAT 9775); Plate 18-19

Editions: Weidner 1936-37: 359-360 (col. ii of obv.); Weidner 1941-44: 184-186; Fincke 2001: 24 (EAE part); Freedman 1998: 361-363 (*Šumma ālu* part)

### Obv. Col. i

- 1') [DIŠ ʾIŠKUR ina KUR ʾUTU GÛ]-ʾ šú ŠUB DUB 39'.KÁM
- 2') [DIŠ ʾIŠKUR ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> ʾIMIN.BI G]Û-šú ŠUB DUB 40.KÁM
- 3') [.....] x DUB 41.KÁM
- 4') [DIŠ ri-i-bu ina ʾiBĀRA i-ru-u]b DUB 42.KÁM
- 5') [(DIŠ ina ʾiBĀRA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU) D]U DUB 43.KÁM

- 1') [If Adad thun]ders [at sunrise]. Tablet 39.
- 2') [If Adad t]hunders [in the middle of the Pleiades]. Tablet 40.
- 3') [.....]. Tablet 41.
- 4') [If an earthquake shak]es [in Nisannu.] Tablet 42.
- 5') [If in Nisannu the south wind blo]ws. Tablet 43.

Line 1') See Fincke, 2001: 26 for the restoration of the incipit. Weidner noted that Tablet 39 at Assur corresponded to Tablet 44 at Nineveh.

Line 2') See Fincke, 2001: 26. Weidner noted that Tablet 40 at Assur corresponded to Tablet 45 at Nineveh.

Line 3') See Fincke, 2001: 26.

Line 4') See Fincke, 2001: 26-27.

Line 5') See Fincke, 2001: 27. Note that Tablet 43 at Assur corresponds to Tablet 49 at Nineveh.

<sup>18</sup> Hughes 2003: 152.

- 6') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA *ana* AN.G]E<sub>6</sub> DUB 44.KÁM  
 7') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>AŠ.GÁN *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA IGI-*m*]ar DUB 45.KÁM  
 8') [DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA <sup>mul</sup>AŠ.GÁN *u* MUL.MU]L IGI.MEŠ DUB 46.KÁM  
 9') [DIŠ MUL.MUL <sup>mul</sup>ŠUDUN KUR-*u*]d DUB 47.KÁM  
 10') [(DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>ŠUDUN...) *i*]t-<sup>r</sup>*tan-mar* DUB 48'.KÁM  
 11') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>ŠUDUN *ina* È-šú ...-*ma* MÚ.(MÚ)/*nap*]-<sup>r</sup>*ha*' DUB 49.KÁM  
 12') [DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA <sup>mul</sup>UDU.IDIM IGI-*i*]r DUB 50.KÁM  
 13') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>UGU.MUŠEN KASKAL <sup>d</sup>UTU KU]R-*ud* DUB 51.KÁM  
 14') [(DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>*Dili-bat* *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA IGI-*ir*)] DUB 52.KÁM  
 15') [(DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>*Dili-bat* *šir-ha im-šuh*)] DUB 53.KÁM  
 16') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>*Dili-bat* *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA SU<sub>6</sub> *za*]q-na-at DUB 5<sup>r</sup>4.KÁM'  
 17') [DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>*Dili-bat* <sup>mul</sup>Šul-pà-e *i*]k-šū-dam-ma DUB 55.KÁM  
 18') [(DIŠ<sup>mul</sup>*Dili-bat*) TA UD 1.KÁM] EN UD 30.KÁM DUB 56.KÁM

- 6') [If the Wagon Star (is visible) for an ecl]ipse. Tablet 44.  
 7') [If the Field (γ Pegasi) is vis]ible [in Nisannu]. Tablet 45.  
 8') [If the Field and the Stars/Bri]stle (Pleiades) are visible [in Nisannu]. Tablet 46.  
 9') [If the Stars/Bristle re]ach [the Yoke (Boötes)]. Tablet 47.  
 10') [If the Yoke (Boötes) ... is s]een. Tablet 48.  
 11') [If the Yoke (Boötes) in its rising ... and fl]ares. Tablet 49.  
 12') [If in Nisannu a planet becomes visi]ble. Tablet 50.  
 13') [If the Raven (Corvus) rea]ches [the path of the sun]. Tablet 51.  
 14') [If Venus becomes visible in Nisannu]. Tablet 52.  
 15') [If Venus flares with sudden luminosity]. Tablet 53.  
 16') [If Venus in Nisannu we]ars [a beard]. Tablet 54.  
 17') [If Venus r]eaches [Jupiter (Šulpae)]. Tablet 55.  
 18') [If Venus from the first] to the 30<sup>th</sup> day. Tablet 56.

Line 6') Fincke (2001: 25) takes this to mean that the Wagon Star's visibility indicates the occurrence of an eclipse, which seems difficult to reconcile with the fact that the Wagon (Big Dipper) is a circumpolar constellation and thus is always visible. She restores the incipit in the note to line 6' (see 2001: 27-28), and notes that Assur Tablet 44 corresponds to Nineveh Tablet 50.

Line 7') IGI = *amāru* can be used as a technical term for the specific star phase or stellar synodic appearance of heliacal rising. Indeed, *Ikū* (The Field = γ Pegasi) is the first star of the Astrolabe, whose heliacal rising is attached to Nisannu in the Path of Ea, thus marking the beginning of the year. For this reason it seems to me that the heliacal phenomenon is referred to in this omen, thus it is visible for the first time (just after sunset) following its period of invisibility due to conjunction with the sun. See Horowitz 2014: 1-2. For restoration of the incipit, see Fincke 2001: 28. Tablet 45 at Assur corresponds to Tablet 51 at Nineveh.

Line 8') Restored by Fincke 2001: 28. The correspondence of Tablet 46 at Assur to Tablet 52 at Nineveh was noted by Weidner.

Line 9') See Fincke 2001: 28 for the restoration of the incipit. The correspondence of Assur Tablet 47 to Nineveh Tablet 53 was noted by Weidner.

Line 10') See Fincke 2001: 28-29 for discussion.

Line 11') Too poorly preserved for a sure identification, but see Fincke 2001: 29.

Line 12') See Fincke 2001: 29 and for further discussion of the identification of sources for EAE 50, see Reiner-Pingree 1981: 28-30.

Line 13') See Fincke 2001: 30 for discussion, and of the correspondence of Assur Catalogue EAE 51 to Nineveh EAE 57 and a version from Nineveh in Babylonian script ductus that assigns to the tablet the number 58.

Line 14') See Fincke 2001: 30 for restoration of the incipit and for the correspondence of EAE Tablet 52 at Assur to Tablet 58 at Nineveh, and Tablet 59 at Nineveh in Babylonian script.

Line 15') Restored from a commentary, as given in Fincke 2001: 30. She notes the correspondence of Assur Tablet 53 to Nineveh Tablet 59, and notes Reiner and Pingree's identification of "Group B" with Tablets 59-60.

Line 16') See Fincke for notes on the restoration of the incipit in 2001: 31. The corresponding tablet numbers at Nineveh to Assur Tablet 54 are the Assyrian recension Tablet 60, but the Babylonian recension Tablet 61.

Line 17') For restoration of the incipit, see Fincke 2001: 31. Weidner was unsure of the correspondence between Assur EAE 55 and Nineveh 62; Fincke (2001: 31) suggests Nineveh's Assyrian recension Tablet 61.

Line 18') Fincke 2001: 31-32.

- 19') [DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ UD 15.KÁM <sup>d</sup>Nin-s]i<sub>4</sub>-an!-na  
 20') [*ina* <sup>d</sup>UTU.ŠÚ.A *it-bal*] DUB 57.KÁM  
 21') [DIŠ <sup>mul</sup>SAG.ME.GAR *ina še-er-ti ik-t*]u-un DUB 58.KÁM  
 22') [(DIŠ <sup>mul</sup>SAG.ME.GAR *ana* <sup>mul</sup>Ā.MUŠEN)] DUB 59.KÁM  
 23') [.....] x x [...] x [...]  
 Remainder broken

- 19'-20') [If on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of Šabaṭu Ve]nus [disappears (heliacally sets) in the west]. Tablet 57.  
 21') [If Jupiter beco]mes sta[ble in the morning]. Tablet 58.  
 22') [If Jupiter comes near to the Eagle]. Tablet 59.  
 23') traces  
 Remainder broken

- 
- Line 19'-20') Fincke 2001: 32. *Tabālu* meaning “to enter a period of invisibility, to disappear” is used in astronomical contexts for the disappearance of an inner planet in the west, the so-called “Evening Last” phenomenon, where the inner planet (Venus or Mercury) sets in the west before inferior conjunction.  
 Line 21') See Fincke 2001: 32-33, also Reiner and Pingree 2005: 1 where BM 35045+ rev. 16'-17' (“Group A” Jupiter omens), a Parthian period source, is labelled as EAE 63. Also divergent is the catchline to the Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa, usually thought of as EAE 63, and which has this omen as its catchline, thus seemingly to be identified as EAE 64.  
 Line 22') Fincke 2001: 33. This incipit, found as the catchline of the Late Babylonian source BM 35045+, corresponds to EAE 64 of the Babylonian recension, EAE 65 of the Assyrian recension and 59 at Assur.  
 Line 23') See Fincke 2001: 33 for discussion of the end of EAE with Tablets 69 and 70 according to the numbering at Nineveh.

#### Obv. Col. ii

- 1') [DIŠ (<sup>mul</sup>SAG.ME.GAR) *ú*]-qa(?)-<sup>r</sup>rib<sup>1</sup>-ma [*a-šar* <sup>d</sup>U]TU  
 2') [*u*]š<sup>r</sup>-*tap-pa-a*<sup>r</sup> GUB-iz  
 3') DIŠ 30 *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA UD 12.KÁM *ih-mu-ṭam-ma*  
 4') *ba-ra-ri it-ta-a'-dir na-an-mur-šú* GIM IZI [K]I.A. <sup>r</sup>ÍD<sup>r</sup>  
 5') PAP 29 DUB.MEŠ IM.GÍD.DA.MEŠ BAR.MEŠ

---

6') DUB SAG.MEŠ *ša* DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD-e GAR ÉŠ.GÀR <sup>r</sup>MU<sup>r</sup>.NE [...]

---

7') DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR

(Tablet 1)

- 1') [If (Jupiter)] approaches the [place]  
 2') where the sun becomes visible and stands.  
 3') If on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Nisannu the moon is early and  
 4') becomes dark in the evening; his features are like sulphur fire.  
 5') Total of 29 Tablets, one-column *ahû* tablets.

---

6') Tablet of incipits of (the series) ‘If a city is situated on high ground’. Their names [...]

---

7') If a city is situated on high ground.

---

Lines 1'-2') For parallels to this omen, see Weidner 1936-37: 360 and 1941-44: 185.

Lines 3'-4') The 29<sup>th</sup> *ahû* tablet, K. 3563+: 1 has DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA UD 12.KÁM <sup>d</sup>30 TAB-*ma b*[a-...]. . See Rochberg-Halton 1987: 337.

Line 7') See Freedman 1998: 19-23 for a list of all the incipits to *Šumma ālu*, and p. 46 for the sources of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 1.

8') DIŠ <i>ina tak-kap</i> KÁ.GAL URU	(Tablet 2)
9') DIŠ Û.ŠUB <i>zi-qip</i> <sup>giš</sup> MAR	(Tablet 3)
10') DIŠ É <i>ina na-qâ-ri-šú</i>	(Tablet 4)
11') DIŠ É APIN-šú UD 16.KÂM ŠUB- <i>u</i>	(Tablet 5)
12') DIŠ É <i>ši-kin-šú ana ki-da-ni</i> GAR- <i>in(?)</i>	(Tablet 6)
13') <i>DIŠ x x x x x x</i> <sup>ti</sup> šá šá [...]	(Tablet 7)
14') [DIŠ] is <i>x</i> [...] KUR' <i>x</i> [ <i>x x</i> ]	(Tablet 8)
15') DIŠ <sup>urudu</sup> GAG' NÍG.G[AG.TI ...]	(Tablet 9)
16') DIŠ <i>ina</i> <sup>ia</sup> BÁRA [...]	(Tablet 10)
17') DIŠ <i>ina</i> <sup>ia</sup> BÁRA LU[GAL ...]	(Tablet 11)
18') DIŠ KA.TAR [BABBAR <i>ina</i> ] É [NA GÁL- <i>ši/ittabši</i> ]	(Tablet 12)
19') DIŠ UZU.DIR <i>ina</i> SILA.DAGAL.LA [GÁL- <i>ši</i> ]	(Tablet 13)
20') DIŠ HABRUD.MEŠ <i>ina</i> É.MEŠ URU.MEŠ BAD.MEŠ	(Tablet 14)
21') DIŠ A.MEŠ <i>ina</i> KÁ É NA <i>tab-ku-ma</i>	(Tablet 15)
22') DIŠ NA <i>ina</i> KI.MAH DÙ <i>ana</i> ŠĀ-šú <i>ú-mi-šam</i> DU <sub>11</sub> .DU <sub>11</sub>	(Tablet 16)

- 8') If in the observation hole of the city gate.  
 9') If a brick mold (or) blade of a spade.  
 10') If during the destruction of his house.  
 11') If the foundation of his house was laid on the 16<sup>th</sup> day.  
 12') If the house, its orientation is toward the outside.  
 13') If ...  
 14') [If] ...  
 15') If the peg of the key ...  
 16') If in Nisannu ...  
 17') If in Nisannu the king.  
 18') If [white] lichen [appears in] the house [of a man].  
 19') If fungus [appears] in the city square.  
 20') If holes open up in houses and cities.  
 21') If water is spilled at the door of a man's house.  
 22') If a man thinks every day about making his grave.

Line 8') See Freedman 1998: 72 for the complete incipit and textual sources of Tablet 2.

Line 9') See Freedman 1998: 78 for the complete incipit and textual sources of Tablet 3.

Line 10') See Freedman 1998: 80 (catchline) and 84 for the incipit of Tablet 4.

Line 11') See Freedman 1998: 100 for the incipit of Tablet 5.

Line 12') See Freedman 1998: 98 (catchline) and 122 for the incipit of Tablet 6.

Line 13') Cf. the incipit of the supposed Tablet 7 in Freedman 1998: 130: [DIŠ *ina* É NA *h*] *i-da-a-ti* GAR.MEŠ-*na* [...] "[If] there is joy [in a man's house ...]".

Line 14') No sources for *Šumma ālu* Tablet 8 have been identified to date, the incipit remains uncertain.

Line 15') See Freedman 1998: 148. The only source for the incipit of Tablet 9 is the Assur Catalogue. The expression *sikkat namzaqi* is translated "peg of the key" in CAD s.v. *namzaqu*, though here the "peg" looks to be made of copper.

Line 16'-17') The incipits of Tablets 10 and 11 are not preserved in any source text.

Line 18') See also Freedman 1998: 200, for the sources preserving the incipit of Tablet 12.

Line 19') The restoration follows the source texts, see Freedman 1998: 217.

Line 20') Apart from the Assur Catalogue, the incipit of Tablet 14 is also known as catchline from a Nineveh manuscript of Tablet 13, which adds the apodosis, cf. Freedman 1998: 214 Colophon Text A, 224 note 1.

Line 21') The incipit of Tablet 15 corresponds to the Nineveh source text, see Freedman 1998: 236.

Line 22') The catalogue allows restoration of the fragmentary incipit of the source text, cf. Freedman 1998: 240 and 248.

23') DIŠ NA <i>ina</i> MURUB <sub>4</sub> É-šú PÚ BAD- <i>te</i>	(Tablet 17)
24') DIŠ NA É <i>i-šam</i>	(Tablet 18)
25') DIŠ <i>ina</i> É NA MAŠKÍM GIM ÛZ IGI	(Tablet 19)
26') DIŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>bir-šur</i> IGI	(Tablet 20)
27') DIŠ <i>ina</i> É NA UG <sub>7</sub> GIM TI IGI	(Tablet 21)
28') [DIŠ <i>ina</i> <sup>iii</sup> BÁR]A TA UD 1.KÁM NA <i>la-am</i> GÎR-šú	(Tablet 22)
29') [ <i>ana</i> KI] GAR- <i>nu</i> MUŠ IGI	
30') [DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU N]A šá <i>di-na ge-ru-u</i> ŠUB- <i>ut</i>	(Tablet 23)
31') [DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIŠ].NÁ NA NÁ-[( <i>iš</i> )]	(Tablet 24)
32') [DIŠ MUŠ SI <i>ina</i> É] NA IGI-[( <i>ir</i> )]	(Tablet 25)
33') [DIŠ MUŠ.HUŠ ] IGI-[( <i>ir</i> )]	(Tablet 26)
Remainder broken	

- 23') If a man opens a well in the middle of his house.  
 24') If a man buys a house.  
 25') If a goat-like demon is seen in a man's house.  
 26') If a flash of light is seen in a man's house.  
 27') If a dead man like a living one is seen in a man's house.  
 28') [If] on the first day [in the month Nisannu] a man, before he even puts his foot (out of bed)  
 29') [onto the ground] sees a snake.  
 30') [If a snake] falls [on a man] who is bringing a lawsuit.  
 31') [If a snake] lies [on] a man's bed.  
 32') [If a horned snake] is seen [in a] man's [house].  
 33') [If a serpent] is seen.  
 Remainder broken

Line 23') The incipit corresponds with the source texts, see Freedman 1998: 262.

Line 24') The incipit is also preserved as catchline in manuscripts of Tablet 17, cf. Freedman 1998: 260-262 (colophons Texts B, e, f) and 273.

Line 25') The incipit matches the Nineveh source texts, see Freedman 1998: 286.

Line 26') The incipit is also attested as catchline in manuscripts of Tablet 19 (Freedman 1998: 284) and in a Nineveh manuscript of Tablet 20 (Freedman 1998: 302).

Line 27') The incipit matches the catchline of Tablet 20 (Freedman 1998: 302 Colophon Text b), although only partially preserved in witnesses of Tablet 21 (Freedman 1998: 316; Heeßel 2007: 32 No. 8 obv. 1).

Lines 28'-29') The catalogue incipit of Tablet 22 can be restored from the source texts, but the catalogue presents the incipit in abbreviated form, cf. Freedman 1998: 316 (catchline Tablet 21, Colophon Text c) and Freedman 2006: 20.

Line 30') The incipit of Tablet 23 is only partially preserved in the witnesses, but has been restored from the context, cf. Freedman 2006: 18 (catchline in colophons of Text B and e) and 50 (sources from Nineveh and Assur). Cf. *Šumma ālu* Tablet 30 for the same omen said of a lizard (EME.DIR).

Line 31') The incipit of Tablet 24 can be restored from textual sources, see Freedman 2006: 48 Colophon G rev. 42' (catchline) and 68; Heeßel 2007: No. 9 rev. iv 13 and No. 11 rev. 42.

Line 32') The incipit of Tablet 25 can be restored with the help of a commentary (Funck 2) and a source text (excerpt) from Nineveh (Freedman 2006: 72-73, 76).

Line 33') The restoration of the incipit of Tablet 26 is not entirely certain. Freedman (1998): 323 suggests the reading [DIŠ MUŠ.HUŠ] IGI-*ir* "If a *mušhuššu* is seen" in the catalogue, because this line occurs in a commentary on Tablet 25 (Funck 2) as catchline (see also Freedman 2006: 72, 75 rev. 19). This line also occurs in CT 40, 23 rev. 1 (Freedman 2006: 102 excerpt to Tablets 25-26). Compare further CT 40, 24: 1 (Freedman 2006: 88 with note (1)).



## Rev. col. iii

- 1') [DIŠ KUN.D]AR *ina* É [...] (Tablet 33)  
 2') [DIŠ "NIN.KILI]M *ina a-sur*-[re-e KÁ.GAL Û.TU] (Tablet 34)  
 3') [DIŠ PÉŠ.GIŠ.Û]R! BABBAR *ina* É NA [IGI] (Tablet 35)  
 4') [DIŠ PÉŠ] *ina* É NA G[ÁL] (Tablet 36)  
 5') DIŠ KIŠI<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ *ina ne-reb* KÁ.GAL *it-ta*[b-šú] (Tablet 37)  
 6') DIŠ UR.MEŠ *ina* É NA IGI.MEŠ (Tablet 38)  
 7') DIŠ AŠ KÁ ti-[nu]-ri a-pa-ti (Tablet 39)  
 8') DIŠ UDU *ina* SAG.KI-šú SI.MEŠ-šú È.MEŠ-ni (Tablet 41)  
 9') DIŠ bu-ul-ṭi-tú *ina* É DINGIR GÁL (Tablet 40)  
 10') DIŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *ir-ta-na-qu-du* (Tablet 42)  
 11') DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *it-ta-na-az-ba-bu* (Tablet 43)  
 12') DIŠ AM *ina* IGI KÁ.GAL IGI (Tablet 44)  
 13') DIŠ SA.A *ina* É NA ib-ki (Tablet 45)  
 14') DIŠ UR.GI<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ *it-te-ne-eš-gu* (Tablet 46)  
 15') DIŠ UR.GI<sub>7</sub> la šú-ú ú-ra-a[m-šú] (Tablet 47)

- 1') [If a sk]ink ... in the house [...].  
 2') [If a mongoo]se [gives birth] in the lower cour[se of the city gate].  
 3') [If a] white [dormo]use [appears] in a man's house.  
 4') [If there is a mou]se in a man's house.  
 5') If there are ants in the entrance of the city gate.  
 6') If moths appear in a man's house.  
 7') If spider(s) (lie across) the opening of an oven (or across) windows.  
 8') If a sheep's horns come out from his forehead.  
 9') If a beetle (wood-eating insect) is found in a temple.  
 10') If oxen run around in the city square.  
 11') If donkeys are in a frenzy.  
 12') If a wild bull is seen in front of the city gate.  
 13') If a wild cat cries in a man's house.  
 14') If dogs become rabid.  
 15') If a dog not his (the man's) own shows him affection.

Line 1') The incipit of Tablet 33 varies in the source texts, cf. Freedman 2006: 214, where the Nineveh texts offer instead DIŠ MUŠ.DÍM. GURUN.NA *ina* É NA GI[M ...] "If a gecko li[ke ...] in a man's house". Entries matching the fragmentary catalogue incipit are found later on in Tablet 33, cf. Freedman 2006: 202 and 221: 103'ff. For the incipits of Tablets 33-44 compare also the fragmentary Nineveh catalogue of *Šumma ālu* (K. 9094b, Freedman 1998: 324-325).

Line 2') The incipit of Tablet 34 can be restored from the source texts, see Freedman 2006: 212 (catchline in the colophon of Text b rev. 39) and 228: 1 (excerpt).

Line 3') Cf. Freedman 2006: 232: 1 for a parallel entry in an excerpt text.

Line 4') See Freedman 2006: 236: 1 with a parallel entry in an excerpt text.

Line 5') The incipit corresponds to the sources, see Freedman 2006: 240 (catchline in colophon text B rev. 1') and 258: 1 (incipit); Heeßel 2007: 80 No. 21 obv. 1 (incipit).

Line 6') For parallel source texts see also Freedman 2006: 256 (catchline in colophon of text E rev. 40') and 282: 1; Heeßel 2007: 83 No. 21 rev. 82 (catchline).

Line 7') For the complete incipit see Freedman 2006: 280 (catchline Text a rev. 9' and Ex(1) iv 25) and the sources listed in Freedman 2006: 290 note 1, which allows the reconstruction DIŠ AŠ.(AŠ) KÁ ti-nu-ri a-pa-ti É.SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ É.MEŠ URU pur-ru-ka-ma a-mur-ru i-mur "If spiders lie across the opening of an oven (or across) the windows (and) walls of houses in the city and an observer observes it".

Line 8'-9') See also Freedman 2006: 292. Note that Tablets 40 and 41 appear to be in a reversed order in the Nineveh sources, cf. Freedman 1998: 333 and 324 (Nineveh catalogue K. 9094b: 12-13).

Lines 10'-18') For an overview of the sources for the incipits of Tablets 42-50, see Freedman 1998: 334-336. For the incipit of Tablets 45 and 46 see also Heeßel 2007: No. 22 obv. 1 and rev. 33 (catchline).

16') DIŠ <sup>munus</sup> UR.MEŠ <i>ina</i> KÁ.GAL ú-nam-b[a-ha]	(Tablet 48)
17') DIŠ SAH.MEŠ <i>it-ta-na-da-[ru]</i>	(Tablet 49)
18') DIŠ IZI <i>ina</i> URU ŠUB	(Tablet 50)
19') DIŠ IZI <i>ina</i> KUR IGI	(Tablet 51)
20') DIŠ IZI <i>ina</i> KI.IZI LUGAL GIŠ.MEŠ HÁD.MEŠ	(Tablet 52)
21') DIŠ LUGAL <i>ana di-nim i-qul</i>	(Tablet 53)
22') DIŠ NA <i>ana</i> ŠÀ URU <i>ki-šub-ba-a</i> Š[ÂM]	(Tablet 54)
23') DIŠ <i>ina</i> A.ŠÀ ŠÀ URU GIŠ.NIM BABBAR	(Tablet 55)
24') DIŠ TA <i>za-qap</i> <sup>giš</sup> GIŠIMMAR	(Tablet 56)
25') DIŠ NA <sup>giš</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub> <i>ina</i> ŠÀ URU <i>iz-[qup]</i>	(Tablet 57)
26') DIŠ NA <i>ina</i> <sup>giš</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub> ŠÀ URU <sup>giš</sup> GIŠIMMAR x [x]	(Tablet 58)
27') DIŠ SAR.MEŠ <i>ma-a-du</i> <sup>giš</sup> HAB <i>ma-gal</i> [...]	(Tablet 59)
28') DIŠ KI KUR LÂL <i>i-hi-[il ...]</i>	(Tablet 60)
29') DIŠ <i>ina</i> <sup>iti</sup> BÁRA [...]	(Tablet 61)
30') DIŠ GI GI <sub>6</sub> [...]	(Tablet 62)
31') traces	
Remainder broken	

- 16') If bitches bark in the city gate.  
 17') If pigs are restless.  
 18') If fire falls on a city.  
 19') If fire is seen in the land.  
 20') If fire in the king's brazier (makes) dry wood (smoke).  
 21') If the king respects the law.  
 22') If a man buys fallow land inside the city.  
 23') If a white thornbush (is seen) in a field inside the city.  
 24') If after the planting of a datepalm.  
 25') If a man pla[nts] a grove in the midst of a city.  
 26') If a man [...] a datepalm inside the city grove [...].  
 27') If vegetables are plentiful (and) the madder [thrives] very much.  
 28') If the soil of the land exud[es] honey.  
 29') If in Nisannu [...].  
 30') If a black reed [...].  
 31') tops of signs  
 Remainder broken

Lines 10'-18') For an overview of the sources for the incipits of Tablets 42-50, see Freedman 1998: 334-336. For the incipit of Tablets 45 and

46 see also Heeßel 2007: No. 22 obv. 1 and rev. 33 (catchline).

Line 19') The Assur catalogue presents the only source for the incipit of Tablet 51 currently known.

Line 20') For the full incipit see Freedman 1998: 336.

Lines 21'-22') See Freedman 1998: 337.

Line 23') For the complete incipit see Freedman 1998: 337.

Line 24') No other source is currently known for the incipit of Tablet 56.

Line 25'-26') See also Freedman 1998: 337-338. The end of line 26' cannot be restored yet.

Line 27') For the full incipit see the sources in Freedman 1998: 338, allowing the restoration DIŠ SAR.MEŠ *ma-a-du* <sup>giš</sup>HAB *ma-gal* SI.SÁ ŠE.GIŠ.Ì SI.SÁ "If vegetables are plentiful (and) the madder thrives very much, there will (also) be a good crop of sesame."

Line 28') For the complete incipit see Freedman 1998: 338.

Line 29') The incipit of Tablet 61 can be restored from textual sources, see Freedman 1998: 338, reading DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA ILLU DU-*ma* ÍD GIM MÚD *ša-rip* "If resin flows in the month Nisannu and the river is dyed red like blood (there will be death in the land)".

Line 30') The incipit of Tablet 62 can possibly be restored from a text parallel (Freedman 1998: 339), reading DIŠ GI GI<sub>6</sub> *ina* GIŠ.GI *it-tan-mar* "If a black reed is repeatedly discovered in a reed thicket (a lion will go on a rampage)".

## Rev. col. iv

- 1') [..... k[a(?) .....]  
 2') [.....] AN(?) [...]  
 3') [.....]  
 4') [..... e]-li-šú ŠUB  
 5') [.....]-na ú-lid  
 6') [..... t]i(?)-ib ŠUB  
 7') [.....] ina(?) KU-šú  
 8') [.....] È-ma  
 9') [..... m]a(?) -du-ka šu-u  
 10') [.....] ʿxʿ i KU  
 11') [.....] ŠUB-ut  
 12') [.....] DIŠ KI.MIN ŠUB-su  
 13') [.....] x si ú-šab-ri  
 14') [.....] x bu uš li  
 15') [.....] AD.HAL AN-e  
 16') [.....] GISKIM HUL  
 17') [.....] NA GAR  
 18') [.....] NA IGI  
 19') [.....] GISKIM IGI  
 20') [.....] -bi TAR  
 21') [.....] x GAL-tu  
 22') [.....] x ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 23') [.....] URU ŠUB.MEŠ  
 24') [.....] uz-ni  
 25') [.....] LÁ.A  
 26') [.....] KIN  
 27') [.....] x  
 28') [...]

Remainder broken

Too fragmentary for translation

## The Uruk Catalogue (EAE)

Fragments: VAT 7814 + AO 6470

Copies: Weidner 1941-44: Tf. I-II, TU 15 (AO 6470); Plate 20-21

Edition: Weidner 1941-44: 186-187

Upper edge: *ina a-mat* <sup>d</sup>60 *u An-tum liš-lim*

### Obv.

- 1) 1 UŠ 48-ÀM DIŠ UD <sup>d</sup>60 <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL.LÁ
- 2) 2 UŠ 12-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú *e-ki*[l]
- 3) 2 UŠ 19-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú AGA *a-p*[ir]
- 4) 2 UŠ 22-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú *a-di*[r]
- 5) 2 UŠ 11-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú *a-dir*-ma SI 15-šú *ke-pat* SI 2,30-šú *ed-de-e*[t]
- 6) 1 UŠ 56-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú MUL.MUL *ina* Á-šú GUB-*i*[z]
- 7) 57-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* <sup>iii</sup>BĀRA UD 1.KĀM *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú SI 15-šú AN-*e* *še-rat*
- 8) [1(?) U]Š 23-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* <sup>iii</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> UD 1.KĀM *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú TÜR NÍGIN

Upper edge: By the command of Anu and Antum may it go well!

- 1) 108 (lines) Entry: When Anu and Enlil
- 2) 132 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance.
- 3) 139 (lines) If the moon wears a crown at his appearance.
- 4) 142 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance.
- 5) 131 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance and his right horn is blunt, his left horn is pointed.
- 6) 116 (lines) If at the moon's appearance the Pleiades stand by his side.
- 7) 57 (lines) If at the moon's appearance on the first day of Nisannu his right horn pierces the sky.
- 8) 83(?) (lines) If on the first day of Tašritu in its appearance the moon is surrounded by a halo.

Line 1) The reconstruction for the beginning of EAE Tablet 1 was outlined in Weidner 1941-44: 193, and is also found in Verderame 2002a: 9. See also Verderame 2002b: 448, note 14.

Line 2) The incipit for EAE 2 is not preserved in extant exemplars. See Weidner 1941-44: 194 for discussion. Verderame cites the Uruk Catalogue entry in 2002a: 51. *Ekēlu* is both to be dark and to be gloomy, which evokes the same metaphoric semantic force as the verb *adāru*, which is used to mean the celestial body is eclipsed, i.e., it is dark, but it also said of moods, thus “worried” or perhaps “mournful”, as in line 4 below (see Rochberg 2018). However, *ekēlu* is not used in eclipse terminology so we assume it is reserved as a description of the darkening, or dimness, of luminosity rather than as descriptive of an astronomical eclipse phenomenon as such. Surely the degree of brightness of the major luminary of the night sky was of great ominous significance, thus taking its place as the first theme in the organization of lunar omens following EAE Tablet 1. The tablet continues with omens for the moon's being dark (*adir*) in the region of fixed stars.

Line 3) The incipit for EAE 3 is not preserved in extant exemplars, but it is clearly a tablet devoted to the theme of the AGA (*agû* “crown”). For a list of the exemplars to Tablet 3, see Verderame 2002a: 59.

Line 4) The incipit of EAE 4 is preserved on a late commentary from Uruk and correlates well with the incipit given in the Uruk Catalogue. See Verderame 2002a: 106 text c obv. 1.

Line 5) For this incipit partly preserved in a number of sources for EAE 5, see Verderame 2002a: 111, 127 and 129.

Line 6) This line accords with the incipit preserved on sources for EAE 6, as reconstructed in Verderame 2002a: 170. For the edition, see pp. 176-177.

Line 7) The first line of EAE 7 is preserved in the catchline to EAE 6, for which see Verderame 2002a: 185, line 7'.

Line 8) EAE 8 is the first of three EAE Tablets (EAE 8, 9, and 10) having to do with the halo around the moon (TÜR/*tarbašu* or AMAŠ/*supūru*). These tablets have not been edited, but see discussion in Verderame 2002b: 449-50.

- 9) [1(?) U]Š 30-ÀM DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-šú TÙR NÍGIN-*ma ka-bar u šu-par-ru-ur*  
 10) 1 UŠ 26-ÀM DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA 30 *ina* TÙR NÍGIN-*ma KÁ NU TUK-ši*  
 11) 1 UŠ 29-ÀM DIŠ<sup>he-pi</sup> [*ana ŠÀ 30 KU<sub>4</sub>*]  
 12) 1 UŠ 30-ÀM DIŠ MUL *ina* ŠÀ SI 15 30 GUB : 1 UŠ 15-ÀM DIŠ 30 x x [ ]  
 13) 1 UŠ 32-ÀM DIŠ 30 UD 1.KÁM 3,45 GUB

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14) ŠU.NIGIN 14 *ṭup-pi*.MEŠ 26 UŠ 354 MU.ŠID.BI IGI.DU<sub>6</sub>.A.ME šá 30

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- 15) 2 UŠ 36-ÀM DIŠ 30 TAB-*ma ba-ra-ar it-t[a-']-dar*  
 16) 1 UŠ 35-ÀM DIŠ AN.GE<sub>6</sub> GAR-*an-ma* UD ŠÚ  
 17) 1 UŠ 32-ÀM DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA UD 14.KÁM *ina* EN.NUN.ÚSAN AN.GE<sub>6</sub> GAR-*ma*  
     [SA<sub>5</sub>]  
 18) 1 UŠ 42-ÀM DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> AN.GE<sub>6</sub> *ina* EN.NUN.ÚSAN [GAR]  
 19) 1 UŠ 30-ÀM DIŠ AN.GE<sub>6</sub> *ina* EN.NUN.ÚSAN *a-dir* EN.NUN *ig-mur u IM.S*[I.SÁ DU]  
 20) 20 UŠ-ÀM DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA UD 15.KÁM AN.GE<sub>6</sub> GAR-*ma* <sup>4</sup>Dili-bat [*ana ŠÀ-šú KU<sub>4</sub>(?)*]

- 9) 90(?) (lines) If the moon in his appearance is surrounded by a halo and it (the halo) is thick and spread out.  
 10) 86 (lines) If in Nisannu the moon is surrounded by a halo and it (the halo) does not have an opening (lit.: gate).  
 11) 89 (lines) If <sup>broken</sup> [enters inside the moon].  
 12) 90 (lines) If a star stands inside the right horn of the moon. 75 (lines) If the moon ... [...].  
 13) 92 (lines) If the moon stands on the first day (for) 3,45 (units duration).

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14) Total of 14 tablets, 1914 is its line count: Appearances of the moon.

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- 15) 156 (lines) If the moon is early and is eclipsed in the evening watch.  
 16) 95 (lines) If an eclipse occurs and the day is dark.  
 17) 92 (lines) If on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Nisannu in the evening watch an eclipse occurs and [is red].  
 18) 102 (lines) If in Tašritu an eclipse [occurs] in the evening watch.  
 19) 90 (lines) If an eclipse darkens in the evening watch, finishes the watch, and the north win[d blows].  
 20) 20 (lines) If on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Nisannu an eclipse occurs and Venus [enters (is occulted) within him (i.e., the eclipsed moon)].

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Line 9) This incipit is found on the Seleucid commentary to lunar halo omens, TCL 6, 17 rev. 41 (as catchline).

Line 10) See Wainer 2016: 270 for a few remarks on EAE 10, which has not been edited, but a source has been identified by Erica Reiner, as noted by Wainer in note 418.

Line 12) This line contains two incipits, the first, for EAE 12, which has not been edited or discussed, and the second, for EAE 13, which Wainer discusses (2016: 271).

Line 13) The incipit to EAE 14 states the duration of visibility on the first day of the lunar month between sunset and moon set. For the sources to EAE 14, see Al-Rawi and George 1991-92: 54, and the incipit on pages 55 and 64. And for a discussion of the line count for EAE 14, see pp. 53-54.

Line 15) The incipit of EAE 15 is not preserved in exemplars of the series, but is found as the catchline to EAE 14, see Al-Rawi and George 1991-92: 59 and note 17, also p. 66. The same omen protasis is found in EAE 2, in source e (K. 11309), see Verderame 2002b: 57 and Rochberg-Halton 1988: 67. This omen is also found in the series *Sîn ina tāmartišu* Tablet 1 omen 23, see Wainer 2016: 61, 77 (translation) and 88 (commentary). It may also be found as the catchline to the series *Sîn ina tāmartišu* Tablet 2, see Wainer 2016: 105.

Line 16) The first line of EAE 16 is not preserved in exemplars from the series proper, but can be inferred from the EAE excerpt text STT 329, which agrees with the incipit in the Uruk Catalogue. See the discussion in Rochberg-Halton 1988: 83-84, and STT 329: 5' transliterated there.

Line 17) The first line of EAE 17 is partly preserved in the series, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 115.

Line 18) For EAE 18, for which only Source G (VAT 14578) offers an incipit, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 138.

Line 19) For this incipit, see the catchline in EAE 18, edited Rochberg-Halton 1988: 154, Source B rev. 10' and further discussion of EAE 19 on pp. 156-158.

Line 20) Note the discrepancy between the Uruk Catalogue incipit giving the 15<sup>th</sup> day and the preserved exemplars for EAE 20 that give the 14<sup>th</sup>. See Rochberg-Halton 1988: 180 (Recension A) and 182 (Recension B).

21) 1 UŠ-ĀM DIŠ *ina* <sup>iii</sup>BĀRA UD 15.KĀM AN.GE<sub>6</sub> GAR-*ma* *ina* IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU SAR-*ma* *ina*  
[IM... *iz-ku*(?)]

22) 1 UŠ 8-ĀM DIŠ TA SAG MU TA <sup>iii</sup>BĀRA UD 14.KĀM AN.TA.LÙ <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU [GAR]

23) ŠU.NIGIN 22 *ṭup-pi*.MEŠ 34 UŠ 25 MU.ŠID.BI IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.MEŠ AN.GE<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ  
EŠ.BAR AN.G[E<sub>6</sub>]

24) *u* HAR.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>30 ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.Š[È]

25) 1 UŠ 11-ĀM DIŠ 20 *ina* <sup>iii</sup>BĀRA UD 1.KĀM GIM *dī-pa-ri* S[A<sub>5</sub>]

26) 1 UŠ 36-ĀM DIŠ AŠ.ME šá *gi-na-a* IGI.MEŠ-šú <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> - šú<sup>r</sup> [kāt-mu]

27) [.....] DIŠ 20 *ina* GE<sub>6</sub> È-*ma* KUR DIŠ-niš <sup>r</sup>È [su IGI]

28) [.....] DIŠ 20] <sup>r</sup>SAG.UŠ<sup>r</sup> *ina* GU<sub>4</sub>.UD-šú [ša-*pu*]

Remainder broken

21) 60 (lines) If on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Nisannu an eclipse occurs and begins in the south and [clears in the ...].

22) 68 (lines) If in the beginning of the year on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Nisannu an eclipse of Šin [occurs].

23) Total of 22 tablets, 2065 is its line count: Appearances, eclipses, (and) decision(s) of  
eclipse(s)

24) and ominous portents (lit: decrees) of the moon. Completed to its fullest extent.

25) 71 (lines) If the Sun on the first day of Nisannu is red like a torch.

26) 96 (lines) If the face of the regular solar disk [is covered] in the middle (of the sky).

27) [...] If the sun comes out at night and the land sees its rising everywhere.

28) [...] If the normal [sun] [flickers(?)] when it rises.

Remainder broken

Line 21) See Rochberg-Halton 1988: 217 for some fragmentary remains of the catchline on EAE 20. For the incipit preserved on an extant exemplar of EAE 21, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 233. Note also the same discrepancy as in the previous incipit, between the Uruk Catalogue's 15<sup>th</sup> day and the EAE exemplars' 14<sup>th</sup> day.

Line 22) For the incipit preserved on an exemplar of EAE 22, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 253.

Line 23) It is worth noting that this summary line gives a cumulative total of 22 tablets for the whole EAE section concerned with the moon, including the first 14 tablets, which are separated from tablets 15-22 by an additional summary line in obv. 14 of the catalogue.

Line 24) Weidner (1941-44: 187 n. 76) suggested *têrêtu* for HAR, less likely, KI (*qaqqaru*) "regions".

Line 25) This is the incipit to EAE 23 (24), see van Soldt 1995: 4.

Line 26) This is the incipit to EAE 24 (25), see van Soldt 1995: 17. Cf. the protasis from *Šumma ālu*, *Šumma ālu* IGI.MEŠ-šú *katmu* cited in CAD K sub *katāmu* mng. 1b 2' and translated "if (the people in) a city have drawn faces" (CT 38, 1: 20). The idiom is *katāmu* with IGI, meaning either to close the eyes or to veil the face. It seems possible that here too the face (of the sun, or solar disk [šamšatu]) is meant, i.e., "if the face of the solar disk is covered". MURUB<sub>4</sub> as referring to the location in the sky was suggested by van Soldt (1995: 17-18 note 3) because the following lines of the tablet refer to the winds, or directions. In any case, the meaning of the protasis is not clear, as van Soldt indicated.

Line 27) This is the incipit to EAE 25 (26), see van Soldt 1995: 52.

Line 28) This is the incipit to EAE 26 (27), see van Soldt 1995: 69. *Ina šihṭu* is unproblematic as "in its rising", or "when it rises", as in CAD Š/3 s.v. *šihṭu* A mng. 3, but *šapû* is difficult. Perhaps it is related to the passages cited in CAD sub *šapû* A mng. 1-2'c where in the Gtn-stem it is said of celestial bodies, but it remains untranslated there. Otherwise *šapû* can mean "to flicker", which seems possible here as a description of the appearance of the sun's light at rising.

**Rev.**

- 1') DIŠ UD <sup>d</sup>60 <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
 2') IM <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-SUM A šá <sup>m</sup>NÍG.MU-<<sup>d</sup>60> A šá DINGIR.EN-šú-nu <sup>lú</sup>ŠÀ.BAL.BAL  
<sup>m</sup>É.KUR-za-kir  
 3') LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>60 u An-tum <sup>lú</sup>ŠEŠ.GU.LA šá É re-eš  
 4') [qāt <sup>md</sup>60- ŠEŠ-SUM A šá <sup>m</sup>Ina-qi-bīt-<sup>d</sup>Anu A šá <sup>d</sup>Anu- TIN-iť <sup>lú</sup>ŠÀ.BAL.BAL  
<sup>m</sup>É.KUR-za-kir]  
 5') [lú] MAŠ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>60 u An-tum <sup>lú</sup>ŠEŠ.GU.LA šá É re-eš <sup>lú</sup>ŠID DIŠ UD <sup>d</sup>60  
<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL.LÁ a-na a-ha-zi-šú  
 6') GÍD.DA UD.MEŠ-šú DIN ZI-šú NU GÁL GIG.MEŠ-šú u pa-làh <sup>d</sup>EN-ti-šú! SAR-ma  
ina UNUG<sup>ki</sup> erasure ú-kín  
 7') pa-lìh <sup>d</sup>60 u An-tum NU TŪM-šú UNUG.KI <sup>ini</sup>ZÍZ UD 26.KÁM MU 1.ME 17  
<sup>md</sup>An-ti-'u-[ku-su LU]GAL LUGAL.MEŠ

Written around the edge at rev. 3': [...] šá KA UM.ME.A.MEŠ IGI šá-ťir

- 1') Entry: When Anu and Enlil.  
 2') Tablet of Anu-aha-iddin, son of Nidintu-<Anu>, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendent of Ekur-zakir,  
 3') Exorcist of Anu and Antum, Elder Brother of the Bīt Rēš,  
 4') [Hand of Anu-aha-ušabši, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, descendent of Ekur-zakir],  
 5') Exorcist of Anu and Antum, Elder Brother of the Bīt Rēš, scribe of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Written for his learning,  
 6') (for) his longevity, the preservation of his life, that he will have no illness, and to revere his lordship he placed (it) in Uruk.  
 7') Whosoever reveres Anu and Antum, may he not remove it (the tablet); Uruk, the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Šabaťu, Year 117 Antiochus, Ki]ng of Kings.  
 (Written around the edge at rev. 3') Written according to the oral tradition of the original masters.

Lines 1'-7') For this colophon, see Hunger 1968: 40 No. 93.

Written around the edge at rev. 3': IGI = *mahrū* "first" or "original" (?).

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# Esagil-kīn-apli's Catalogue of *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*

## 1 Introduction

Without doubt, Esagil-kīn-apli's text catalogue of the prognostic-diagnostic omen series *Sakikkû* and the physiognomic-morphoscopic omen series *Alamdimmû*, known from two 1<sup>st</sup> millennium manuscripts, is of considerable importance and merits to be treated here together with the catalogues KAR 44 (Exorcist's Manual) and AMC. (a) It serves as an important point of comparison for the terminology and structure of the other catalogues. Since a number of otherwise unattested expressions in the *Sakikkû* catalogue pose some difficulties, a discussion of the major terms will be provided later on in this article. (b) Combining both witnesses the catalogue is, with the exception of some line beginnings and a few lines at the end of the tablet, nearly completely preserved and offers crucial information for the reconstruction of both series. (c) Another remarkable feature is the insertion of an editorial note or, as John Wee called it, a manifesto,<sup>1</sup> between the catalogues of *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) and *Alamdimmû*, in the middle of the text. This editorial note is not only noteworthy because it mentions the series' compiler – which is unusual in itself – but also by stating the reasons and justification for the edition, which has led to a discussion about canonisation within Mesopotamian technical texts pertaining to different scholarly disciplines.

### 1.1 Text Manuscripts and Publication History

The main text from Nimrud (A = ND 4358 + 4366; ancient Kalhu) was first published by James Kinnier Wilson in 1956 (i.e. the fragment ND 4358)<sup>2</sup> and was supplemented with the second fragment (ND 4366) in 1962 by the same author.<sup>3</sup> A new copy of the text, now joined, has been published by Donald Wiseman and Jeremy Black in 1996 as CTN 4, 71.<sup>4</sup>

In 1988 Irving Finkel edited the second witness (B = BM 41237 + BM 46607 + BM 47163),<sup>5</sup> which most likely stems from Babylon, and presented it together with A in a synoptic transliteration. This witness added further important information for the dating of both catalogued series and their "canonisation", since it had preserved within the editorial note the full name of the king (Adad-apla-iddina) under whom the scholar Esagil-kīn-apli (here written with the Sumerian spelling <sup>𒂗</sup>ÈŠ.GÚ.ZI.GIN.A)<sup>6</sup> was active. The editorial work should thus have taken place at the end of the second millennium, in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

The catalogue has received further attention in recent years. For the first section of the catalogue listing the incipits the so-called *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkû*), Nils Heeßel provided a new synoptic transliteration and translation, followed by a short discussion on the role of the catalogue for the reconstruction and analysis of the compilation's structure.<sup>8</sup> He also provided a transliteration of the editorial note and discussed the canonisation process of this series.<sup>9</sup> Barbara Böck used the last section of the catalogue on the physiognomic omen series as a point of comparison with the

<sup>1</sup> Wee 2015: 252-255. It is often designated as the "colophon" of Esagil-kīn-apli, following the assessment of Irving Finkel 1988: 145 who stated that since it is appended to the *Sakikkû*-catalogue, "the passage thus qualifies effectively as a colophon". James Kinnier Wilson (1956: 136-140) called it a postscript.

<sup>2</sup> Kinnier Wilson 1956: 130-148. Cf. further the short account in Lambert 1957: 6 on the authorship and mythical sages. Since the second witness (B) was not yet identified at this time, Wilfred Lambert identified the broken name of the king mistakenly as Nabû-apla-iddina, the Babylonian king of the ninth century B.C.E.

<sup>3</sup> Kinnier Wilson 1962: 52-62.

<sup>4</sup> CTN 4, 71 pl. 44. See also *supra* Plate 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> Finkel 1988: 143-159. See also *supra* Plate 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the name and other attestations see Finkel 1988: 144.

<sup>7</sup> Adad-apla-iddina ruled from 1068 to 1047 BCE (middle chronology).

<sup>8</sup> Heeßel 2000: 13-17; 2011: 194.

<sup>9</sup> Heeßel 2000: 104-110.

colophons of *Alamdimmû* series tablets, and discussed the reconstruction of the series.<sup>10</sup> The editorial note has been translated and discussed several times, which underlines the position of this remarkable text passage as an anchor point for different questions and studies engaged with Mesopotamian scholarly texts.<sup>11</sup>

## 2 The Sections of the *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* Catalogue

### 2.1 Structure and Content

As mentioned above, the catalogue contains two incipit catalogues, one for the prognostic-diagnostic series *Sakikkû* (ll. 1-50), and one for the physiognomic series *Alamdimmû* (ll. 72-91). Both catalogues are separated by an editorial note of Esagil-kin-apli, describing the reasons for the scholar's work and the methods he employed in his "new edition" of both series (ll. 51-71).<sup>12</sup> Thus one can speak of a bi- or tripartite structure, depending on the value one ascribes to the note between both catalogues.<sup>13</sup>

Like other text catalogues, the Esagil-kin-apli catalogue is introduced by a topicalising line or heading<sup>14</sup> stating that "these are [the 'incipits' and] all of the entries of *Sakikkû*",<sup>15</sup> which clearly refers to the first part of the catalogue. Interestingly, this structural element is lacking for the second (or third) part, the *Alamdimmû* catalogue, which might indicate a slightly different status of this series in comparison with the very stable and quasi "canonised" version of the diagnostic series *Sakikkû*.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the text ends with a summary line, which probably presented a total for all the tablets of both series, combined with the label "secret/treasure of the *apkallu*-sage" (l. 92, *niširti apkalli*).<sup>17</sup>

The reading, meaning and function of the last line (l. 93) remain unclear. Despite the terminological connections referring to medical or diagnostic contexts its fragmentary state prevents more than tentative interpretations.<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.1.1 The *Sakikkû* Catalogue

As most of the preserved colophons from this series suggest, the forty tablets of *Sakikkû* were divided into six sections – an arrangement also apparent through the layout of the catalogue.<sup>19</sup> Each division, separated by rulings, lists the

<sup>10</sup> Böck 2000: 14-18.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. for example Heeßel 2010: 140-143; Frahm 2011: 324-329; Livingstone 2013: 273-274, and Wee 2015: 253 (with a new translation partly following Finkel 1988: 148).

<sup>12</sup> See below 2.1.3.

<sup>13</sup> For a similar catalogue structure, cf. the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates, see Geller *infra*), which consists of two main sections separated by a note connecting the listed text to Esagil-kin-apli. Since the first half of KAR 44 mentions serialised texts, the latter half may be part of an explanatory note, comparable to the editorial note in our catalogue.

<sup>14</sup> For similar opening lines cf. KAR 44: 1, the AMC (see *infra*) and the *Šumma ālu* catalogue VAT 9438 + VAT 10324 (+) VAT 9775 ii 6' in Freedman 1998: 322.

<sup>15</sup> See Schmidtchen *infra* l. 1.

<sup>16</sup> See also below 2.1.2.

<sup>17</sup> See *infra* CTN 4, 71 // l. 92: [*naphar ... sa*]kikkû(?) 'alamdimmû *niširti* ap[kalli]. Finkel (1988: 152) reads differently É.[ZI.DA] for *niširti Ezida* at the end of the line, but at least the copy of witness A reads clearly NUN and not É, allowing the possible restoration NUN.[ME]. The phrase "secret/treasure of the sage" is rarely attested (see Lenzi 2008a: 174-175 for another attestation in CT 25, 50+: 19), while labels such as "secret of the scholar (*ummānu*)" and "secret of the *āšipu*" are more common (Lenzi 2008a: 179-184). Cf. also Lenzi 2006: 70-71 for a semantic analysis of *pirištu* and *niširtu*. The word *niširtu* has a broader meaning, often denoting "treasure, treasury" within omen texts.

<sup>18</sup> The preserved signs read by Irving Finkel as AL.TU.RA ŠUM.MA.ME, followed by a small gloss consisting of the sign A(?) (see Finkel 1988: 152 l. A 93), may refer to the *šummu* i.e. "the entries(?)" regarding the sick man/getting sick(?). The logographic reading AL.TU.RA is otherwise unattested, but AL at the beginning could indicate a verbal form, maybe a stative. ME-*a* could be also read as *qiba* "prognosis; interpretation", but this makes little sense without a convenient verb following it. Another possible reading proposed here could be <sup>16</sup>IG<sup>2</sup>TU<sup>2</sup>.RA TAG-<sup>16</sup>ma ME<sup>16</sup>-*a*? referring to a sick man who is touched (TAG) and its subsequent interpretation or diagnosis (ME-*a* = *qiba*). If read correctly, this statement could refer either to the first part of the catalogue (*Sakikkû*) or to an entirely different composition, but not to the *Alamdimmû* catalogue.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. for example the colophon of *Sakikkû* tablet 9, which is designated as DUB 7.KAM DIŠ <sup>16</sup>GIG *ina* TE-*ka* DUB 9.KAM *e-nu-ma ana* É <sup>16</sup>GIG KA.PIRIG "Tablet seven of 'If you approach the patient'; tablet nine of 'When the *āšipu* (goes) to the patient's house' [= *Sakikkû*]".

incipits of all tablets within a respective section (or sub-series). Every tablet incipit is preceded by its number of entries. At the end of each section a resuming summary rubric lists the total number of entries of the respective section<sup>20</sup> and gives additional editorial information, showing that in this particular case one should speak of “sections”, i.e. fixed sections of *Sakikkû*, and not of “sub-series” as in the case of *Alamdimû* (cf. below).

Schematic overview of the *Sakikkû* catalogue:

Tablet	Lines	Number of Entries	Incipit/Description	Additional Editorial Information
	1		These are the names of the [tablet incipits and] all of the entries of <i>Sakikkû</i> .	
1	2	[...]	“[When] the <i>āšipu</i> (KA.PIRIG) goes [to the house of] a sick man”	
2	3	[...]	“[If a man] goes [to the house] of a sick man”	
	4			[...] new(?), not finished ([...] GIBIL NU TIL) <sup>21</sup>
	5	[Total ...]	“When the <i>āšipu</i> goes to the house of a sick man”	
3 (1)	6	[...]	“If you approach a patient”	
4 (2)	7	[...]	“If he feels pressure (in his) temple”	
5 (3)	8	[...]	“If his right eye hurts him”	
6 (4)	9	[...]	“If his nose <is red>”	
7 (5)	10	[...]	“If his tongue is red”	
8 (6)	11	[...]	“If his right ear is dark”	
9 (7)	12	[...]	“If the patient, <sup>22</sup> his face is red”	
10 (8)	13	[...]	“If the patient, his neck [turns to the right?]”	
11 (9)	14	[...]	“If his right wrist hurts [him]”	
12 (10)	15	[...]	“[If] his chest hurts [him]”	
13 (11)	16	[...]	“[If] his epigastrium [is red]”	
14 (12)	17	[...]	“[If] his right hip [is red]”	
	18-19	[Total ...]	[... “If you] approach [a patient]”	[... sections(?)] <i>edited</i> (SUR.GIBIL <i>šabtū</i> )
15 (1)	20	[...]	“[If] he is sick for one day” (and) (entries/prognoses) which are ill-portending	
16 (2)	21	[...]	“[If] he is sick for one day and his head hurts him”	
17 (3)	22	[...]	“If on the beginning of his sickness he constantly has sweat and boils”	
18 (4)	23	[...]	“If the patient, (his) body (gets hot and cold)”	
19 (5)	24	[...]	“If he gets hot and cold”	
20 (6)	25	[...]	“If the patient presents sweat” <sup>23</sup>	
21 (7)	26	100	“If all of his sinews are healthy”	
22 (8)	27	88	“If the patient has been spasmodic, one, two or three (times and if) the patient keeps on groaning in the morning”	
23 (9)	28	103	“If he vomits bile”	

<sup>20</sup> The mentioning of the number of entries is similar to the Late Babylonian catalogue of *Enūma Anu Enlil* from Uruk (VAT 7814 (+) AO 6470, published in Weidner 1941-44: 186-187 and pl. I-II; see Rochberg *infra*). Also in this catalogue, the number of entries per tablet are given, and the summary rubrics of the catalogue likewise provide a total of entries for each section in the series. To my knowledge, accounts of the number of tablet entries are not attested in other catalogues.

<sup>21</sup> For an explanation and interpretation of the catalogue's editorial remarks see paragraph 3.

<sup>22</sup> The incipits of the serial tablets are often marked in the catalogue by inserting (DIŠ) GIG “(If) the sick man/patient”, probably to clarify that the tablet belongs to the respective diagnostic-prognostic text group and not e.g. to the physiognomic text corpus. The position therefore has rarely a syntactic, but rather a topicalising value, i.e. “If (concerning) a sick person – (symptoms follow)”.

<sup>23</sup> A differing interpretation of the reading of GIG as “sick place” is given in Kinnier Wilson 1956: 142 (line 8) followed by Heeßel 2000: 240. However, the use of GIG in this function is rare. Cf. the construction in SA.GIG Tablet 9: 1, which reads “If the patient – his face holds sweat” (DIŠ GIG IGI.MEŠ-šū IR ū-kal, Labat 1951: 70; Scurlock 2014: 66). Since especially in the second sub-series of *Sakikkû*, GIG after the DIŠ usually has a topicalising function (“regarding a sick person”), I hesitate to translate it as “If the patient's face holds sweat”.

Tablet	Lines	Number of Entries	Incipit/Description	Additional Editorial Information
24 (10)	29	137	"If the patient requests an apple"	
25 (11)	30	85	"If the lamp which has been set up at the patient's head"	
	31	Total of 860	"If he is sick for one day"	Sections <i>edited</i> ( <i>sadīrū</i> SUR.GIBIL <i>ṣabtū</i> )
26 (1)	32	60	"If <i>collapse</i> befalls him"	
27 (2)	33	60	"If a man is stricken by <i>stroke of the face</i> "	
28 (3)	34	60(?)	"If <i>Šugidimmakku</i> turns into <i>Antašubbū</i> "	
29 (4)	35	144	"If <i>Lugalurra</i> is born with him"	
30 (5)	36	84	"If he is sick and he constantly opens his mouth"	
	37	Total of 408(?)	"[If <i>collapse</i> ] befalls him" (together with) the symptoms of <i>Antašubbū</i>	(structured) <i>according to</i> (topics) recorded (on individual tablets) (SUKUD.GIM)
31 (1)	38	81(?)	"If <i>ṣētu</i> -fever has made him feverish"	
32 (2)	39	[...]	"If wind has struck him"	
33 (3)	40	[...]	"If the <i>condition</i> of the sore ( <i>simmu</i> )" including (EN) " <i>sāmānu</i> (is) Hand of Gula"	
34 (4)	41	[...]	"If a man is aroused towards a (var. his) woman"	
35 (5)	42	[...]	"If a man, his face is constantly spinning"	
	43	[Total of x]+185	"If <i>ṣētu</i> -fever has made him feverish"	(structured) <i>according to</i> (topics) recorded (on individual tablets) (SUKUD.GIM)
36 (1)	44	147/149(?)	"If (regarding) a fertile woman – she is pregnant and the top of her forehead is green-yellow"	
37 (2)	45	118	"If a pregnant woman is sick"	
38 (3)	46	141/149(?)	"If a woman – her water flows (for) three days"	
39 (4)	47	152/82	"If a woman in labour is bloated and belches"	
40 (5)	48	124	"If the infant, the suckling"	
	49	Total of 702	"If a [pregnant] women 'is sick(?)'"	<i>properly arranged</i> (?) (GİŠ.GİŠ.A)
	50	Total of 40 Tablets (and) 3000+[...] entries	of (the series) <i>Sakikkū</i>	completed (ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ)

Generally, the incipits of *Sakikkū* witnesses and the incipits given in the catalogue seem to agree for the most part. However, some deviations are noticeable, which may suggest that the series underwent further changes and revisions after its formation, and that the catalogue may also show an earlier stage of the series than most of the first millennium witnesses that have come down to us.<sup>24</sup> The most obvious deviations are **(a)** differences in the naming of incipits. More subtle discrepancies between catalogue and *Sakikkū* witnesses are seen **(b)** in the assigned tablet number, and **(c)** in the number of entries in a given tablet.

a) Differences in the naming of incipits:

**Tablet 9:** The incipit of Tablet 9, preserved in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian witnesses, begins most likely with a supplementary entry: "If the patient's face contains sweat (lit. the patient 'holds' sweat on his face)" (*šumma maršu pānišu zu'ta ukāl*).<sup>25</sup> In contrast, the quoted entry of the catalogue is the second entry of the respective witnesses.

**Tablet 15:** Another discrepancy is encountered in the incipit of Tablet 15, known from the catchline of a manuscript of Tablet 14, which reads "If he is sick for one day and he is affected in his head" (*šumma ūm ištēn maruṣma ina qaqqadišu mahiṣ*). However, the incipit given in the catalogue as well as in rubrics of other witnesses of *Sakikkū* (referring to the

<sup>24</sup> See likewise Heeßel 2000: 131.

<sup>25</sup> This rubric is preserved in a Neo-Assyrian copy from Ashurbanipal's library (witness 9 B: K. 261(+) K. 15599) and in a Neo-Babylonian copy (witness 9 A: AO 6681), which should indicate that the intrusion of the additional entry at the beginning must have taken place in Neo-Assyrian times or earlier.

name of section 3) is “If he is sick for one day (and) (entries/prognoses) which are ill-portending” (*šumma ūm ištēn maruṣma ša laptūti*).<sup>26</sup> A new witness of the beginning of Tablet 15 which parallels *Sakikkū* 3: 77 (3: 89 in Heeßel 2000)<sup>27</sup> seems to confirm the catchline given in Tablet 14. Thus, the deviating entry in the catalogue may have to be explained as an unintroduced collective entry citing two distinctive text sections of Tablet 15. In this case, the second entry is not marked by EN (*adi*), as would be expected from other such instances in the catalogue.<sup>28</sup> The sign sequence GAR TAG ti has been formerly interpreted as *šikin lipti* “the nature of the affliction (lit. touch)” (see for example Heeßel 2000: 19). However, the rubric of Tablet 23 Ms. A (LKU 64: 20') notes instead GAR TAG tú ti which, if not to be regarded as a scribal mistake, might hint at the suggested interpretation *ša laptūti* “(entries or prognoses) which are ill-portending/anomalous”. For the special meaning “ill-portending; anomalous”, used as an antonym to *šalmu* “favourable, propitious” cf. the distinct examples in CAD L 95f. sub 2 as well as CAD Š/1 259 sub 1e. Thus, it seems likely that the phrase *ša laptūti* is meant as a remark commenting on the exclusively negative prognoses found within Tablet 15.<sup>29</sup>

**Tablet 22:** A minor deviation is to be observed in the incipit of Tablet 22, which reads “If the patient keeps groaning in the morning”, skipping the catalogue’s introductory symptoms “If the patient has been spasmodic one, two or three (times)”.

**Tablet 34:** A last peculiarity is found in a Late Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 33, which gives as catchline for Tablet 34 the incipit “[If a man ...] does not feel sexual desire (lit. cannot erect his heart) [for another(?) woman]”<sup>30</sup> against the catalogue’s wording “If a man feels sexual desire (for) his woman”.<sup>31</sup> Since the only preserved serial witness A of Tablet 33 is broken until the middle of the respective catchline one should likewise assume that it represents the second half of the protasis.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, this would give the following complete protasis “If a man feels sexual desire for (his/a) woman, but he does not feel sexual desire for [another?] woman: this/his woman [has ...?] his heart/desire [...]”.

b) Differences in the assigned tablet number:

**Tablet 19:** A first discrepancy in the numbering of the tablets stems from what Heeßel calls an abridgement of Tablets 19 (“If he is getting hot and cold”) and 20 (“If the patient presents sweat”). In text witnesses from Neo-Assyrian times onward, the text of both tablets was integrated into one tablet and designated as Tablet 19, followed by the catchline of the catalogue’s Tablet 21.<sup>33</sup>

**Tablet 22:** The catalogue incipit of Tablet 22 “If the patient has been spasmodic one, two and three (times) (and if) the patient keeps groaning in the morning” is designated as Tablet 23 in one of the witnesses. Since the manuscript of the preceding tablet with the incipit “If all of his sinews are well” is only preserved in fragmentary form, it is still unknown which number was assigned to it. Interestingly, a commentary on Tablet 21<sup>34</sup> continues with comments on a tablet with the incipit “If the patient, when he has been laid low” (DIŠ GIG GEN, ŠUB-ú), which is neither attested in the *Sakikkū* catalogue nor in any other textual witness and may have been introduced into the series after an abridgement such as Tablet 19/20.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Three witnesses preserve the catalogue’s title of the sub-series, of which at least one (witness 17 B) is a Neo-Assyrian copy. See Heeßel 2000: 206.

<sup>27</sup> The new witness is K. 12639. Cf. Heeßel 2000: 161 n. 3 who also connects the catchline of Tablet 14 with the entry in Tablet 3: 77 (mentioned by Heeßel as 3: 89, counting the lines and not the entries).

<sup>28</sup> See for collective entries in the catalogue, introduced with EN (*adi*), l. 40 (*Sakikkū* Tablet 33) as well as l. 86 (*Šumma liptu* Tablet 1). See also below paragraph 3.1.2.

<sup>29</sup> This suggestion is underscored by the fact that Tablet 16 begins likewise with the formulation “If he is sick for one day and (...)”.

<sup>30</sup> Heeßel 2000: 358 and 374 ([... *ana MUNUS BAR-ti ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL-šú MUNUS BI ŠĀ-šú* ...]).

<sup>31</sup> *Sakikkū* catalogue l. 41: [x (x)] DIŠ 'NA' *ana* 'MUNUS'-(šú) ŠĀ-šú 'ÍL'-šú-*ma*). The commentary SpTU 2, 39 (W 22730/2) has been attributed to the unsteady corpus of ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts, but could in almost the same manner belong to Tablet 34. Interestingly, the rubric offers the same incipit as our catalogue (ibid. rev 8': [... *šá pi um-man*]-*nu šá* ŠĀ DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú ÍL-šú-*ma*). This wording is, to my knowledge, otherwise not attested in the known ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts.

<sup>32</sup> This suggestion is underscored by the use of *-ma* after ÍL-šú which indicates that further symptoms or symptomatic phenomena followed before the apodosis.

<sup>33</sup> Heeßel 2000: 240. Heeßel’s argument is based on the difference in the tablet number and on the contents of the alleged Tablet 19/20. Since later witnesses from Ashurbanipal’s library do not preserve tablet numbers, a better explanation for this phenomenon is not at hand. Similar discrepancies between series catalogue and text manuscripts stemming from an abridgement of two series tablets are attested for other standard series (cf. *Šumma ālu*, *Enūma Anu Enlil*).

<sup>34</sup> Free Library of Philadelphia unnumbered fragment 73 obv. 13-14, 15ff., rev. 18'-19'. For a photo see Frahm and Jiménez 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Heeßel 2000: 136 and Frahm 2011: 226.

**Tablet 26:** Another peculiarity that could support the idea of alternative recensions of *Sakikkû* is encountered in a manuscript of Tablet 26 (the first tablet of the section 4), which designates it as Tablet 27.<sup>36</sup> This could give further support for the supposition that a tablet was added to the series after the redaction reflected in the catalogue, which was already proposed above in connection with *Sakikkû* Tablet 21 and its commentary (“If the sick man, when he has been laid low”).

**Tablet 28:** Furthermore, in at least three witnesses, the tablets registered as *Sakikkû* Tablets 27 and 28 in the catalogue are combined in one tablet designated as Tablet 26.<sup>37</sup> So far, no satisfying explanation can be given for this phenomenon.

Up to the 6<sup>th</sup> section nothing further can be said about the assigned tablet numbers of the series tablets, since the available manuscripts do not preserve a colophon.

**Tablet 37:** A Late Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 36 is correctly numbered in accordance with the catalogue, while a witness of Tablet 37 from Uruk is (maybe by mistake) numbered as Tablet 36 as well.<sup>38</sup> A similar peculiarity can be observed in the slightly damaged summary rubric of section 6 in the catalogue, which notes a “total of 702<sup>39</sup> (entries): ‘(If) a [pregnant] woman is sick(?) (...)’”. The section title given here is the incipit of Tablet 37 and not the expected incipit of Tablet 36.

c) Differences in the number of entries in a given tablet:

The problems regarding the diverging numbers of entries assigned to each series tablet will be touched on cursorily, since the differences between the catalogue witnesses (A and B) and between *Sakikkû* manuscripts and catalogue are manifold. The catalogue witnesses A and B only preserve the number of entries per tablet for section 6.<sup>40</sup> In this section, both witnesses sometimes offer slightly differing numbers (ll. 44 and 46 = Tablet 36 and 38), while they diverge considerably from each other in ll. 47 and 48 (= Tablet 37 and 39).<sup>41</sup> The proportional differences between catalogue and the first millennium witnesses may again point to deviations between an original recension and the later “classical” series attested from Neo-Assyrian and later times, since nearly every number stated in the colophon of an actual *Sakikkû* witness, if preserved, shows lower numbers than the respective numbers in the catalogue.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from these differences, the catalogue provides us with the incipits of as yet unidentified tablets of the diagnostic series and facilitates a discussion about its overall organisation as well as its sectional structure and contents. For example, the catalogue incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 25 (“If the lamp which has been set up at the patient’s head”) is otherwise known as the incipit of Tablet 94 of the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu*.<sup>43</sup> This could suggest that sections 1-3 of *Sakikkû*, which are said to have been “(newly) compiled”, were enclosed in a set of terrestrial omen tablets drawn from forerunners of the first millennium series *Šumma ālu* (cf. *Sakikkû* Tablets 2 and 25), or that they were composed in the fashion of the terrestrial omens (cf. *Sakikkû* Tablet 1).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>36</sup> This tablet number is preserved in a Late Babylonian witness and may be a later development (Heeßel 2000: 286 Ms. B).

<sup>37</sup> See Heeßel 2000: 312 Colophon Ms. A (AO 6680).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Labat 1951: 216.

<sup>39</sup> If one adds up the (highest) entry numbers given for tablets 36-40 in the catalogue, one gets a total of only 692 entries. This discrepancy suggests textual corruption.

<sup>40</sup> The entry numbers for sections 3 and 4 of *Sakikkû* are only fragmentarily preserved, and do not yield enough information for a comparison of both witnesses.

<sup>41</sup> See Schmidtchen *infra*, commentary on ll. 44-49 of the catalogue.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Tablet 22 (designated as 23) has 71 entries according to its colophon, but the catalogue lists 88 entries. A similar case is found for Tablet 23, which books 53 entries in the colophon and 103 in the catalogue. Cf. further Tablet 26 (59 against 60 entries), Tablet 27 and 28 (54 against 60 entries for each tablet in the catalogue), Tablet 29 (35 or 38 against 144 entries), Tablet 36 (115/114 against 147/149 entries), Tablet 37 (64 against 118 entries), and Tablet 40 (112 against 124 entries).

<sup>43</sup> An examination of the excerpts of this *Šumma ālu* tablet (CT 39, 35-36: 1'-17') shows that the apodoses are concerned with prognoses and diagnoses for the sick man, which might substantiate the idea of a connection between both series (cf. also Heeßel 2001-02 for connections between *Sakikkû* Tablet 2 and *Šumma ālu*).

<sup>44</sup> See George 1991. Another example of a tablet formerly only attested within the catalogue is Tablet 24 “If the patient requests an apple”, for which a first witness could now be identified (BM 38908), thanks to the recurring phrase “If (he) requests X (foodstuff): (then) Y”, which matches the tablet incipit in the catalogue and has no evident position in another divinatory series.

Although only two tablets of section 5 are preserved, some observations regarding the contents can be made from the catalogue incipits for *Sakikkû* Tablets 31-35. An identification of the witnesses of Tablet 31 (“If *ṣētu*-fever has made him feverish”) has been possible only through the incipit in the catalogue. The witnesses of Tablet 31 themselves, consisting of therapeutic prescriptions with a prefixed diagnosis (*himiṭ ṣēti*), have more affinities with second millennium therapeutic texts.<sup>45</sup> The following Tablet 32 (“If wind has struck him” (*šibiṭ ṣāri*)) could not be identified yet, but the incipit shows a similar formulary as Tablet 31. Since both topics (*ṣētu* and wind) seem to be related in the therapeutic texts as well, it is quite possible that *Sakikkû* Tablet 32 had a similar format consisting of symptom descriptions and therapeutic treatments.<sup>46</sup> The well-known Tablet 33 comprises at least two separate sections. The first section is concerned with disease diagnoses using the peculiar formulation “If the condition of the sore (*simmu*) is ..., its name is X”, otherwise known from the plant and stone description texts *Abnu šikinšu* and *Šammu šikinšu*. The second part of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 gives correspondences between certain symptoms, some of the aforementioned diseases and their respective responsible divine originator. Another topic encountered in therapeutic texts and possibly in *Sakikkû* are prescriptions concerning *nīš libbi* (potency problems, ŠĀ.ZI.GA). Therapeutic material for ŠĀ.ZI.GA remained largely unserialised throughout the history of Mesopotamian medical texts.<sup>47</sup> The possible inclusion in *Sakikkû* section 5 might be witnessed by the incipit of Tablet 34 (“If a man feels sexual desire for a (var. his) woman”).<sup>48</sup> These observations should underscore the status of *Sakikkû* Tablets 31-35 as a supplementary section, which consists of quite heterogeneous material.<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, witnesses of section 6 are preserved for only two tablets (36 and 40) and for a short passage of Tablet 37. While Tablets 36-39 are sometimes labelled as “gynaecological”<sup>50</sup>, the catalogue suggests the more proper label “obstetrics” as well as “pregnancy and birth related omens”. The catalogue incipits of Tablets 38 (“If a woman’s ‘water’ flows (for) three days”) and 39 (“If a woman in childbed is bloated and belches”) hint at female health issues during pregnancy and birth as thematic contexts (see also Tablet 37 “If a pregnant woman is sick”), while Tablet 36 is concerned with predictions for the pregnant woman and her child based on features of the woman’s body.<sup>51</sup> Tablet 40 deals with “paediatrics” *sensu stricto*.

### 2.1.2 The *Alamdimmu* Catalogue

The second part of the catalogue, concerned with the physiognomic-morphoscopic omen series *Alamdimmu*, begins immediately (l. 72 ff.) after the editorial note of Esagil-kīn-apli (ll. 51-71). In contrast to the *Sakikkû* catalogue, no heading referring to the tablets and entries of the series introduces this part of the catalogue. The tablet incipits are again grouped into sections followed by a summary rubric, this time listing only the total of tablets in each section, but not

<sup>45</sup> See Heeßel 2000: 342-352.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the therapeutic text BAM 146 (VAT 13793), which is likewise concerned with *himiṭ ṣēti*. Despite differences in the treatments and format of the symptom descriptions on this tablet, the catchline for the following tablet is identical with the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 32 given in the catalogue. Cf. further for a possible connection of *bubu’u* “blisters” and *šibiṭ ṣāri*, BAM 112 ii 11’-12’ (BAM 7, No. 4) as well as the *simmu/muršu šikinšu*-list in *Sakikkû* 33: 26.

<sup>47</sup> With the exception of a rubric from Hattuša (KUB 4, 48 lower edge l. 5), which states that the respective text is the first(!) tablet of a series called DIŠ LÚ ŠĀ ZI.GA, cf. Biggs 1967: 56.

<sup>48</sup> One single fragment of *Sakikkû* 34 (BM 33357) is known to me, which offers a few fragmentary lines (mentioning the use of substitute figures) and a colophon. The commentary SpTU 2, 39 (W 22730/2) may belong to this tablet and indicates the diagnosis of *kišpū* “sorcery”, which also occurs in ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts. More often however, the symptom of losing one’s “sexual desire” (ŠĀ.ZI.GA) is encountered in the separate genre of anti-witchcraft rituals. The overall topic of *Sakikkû* Tablet 34 is therefore not entirely certain and may have included omens and rituals/treatments for other phenomena than the loss of “potency” within the context of magically induced complaints.

<sup>49</sup> The incipit of Tablet 35 (“If a man’s face is constantly spinning”; *pānūšu iššanundū*) could indicate that the tablet was concerned with witchcraft-induced illnesses, since this symptom seems to be very prominent in the genre of Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft treatments. Cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011.

<sup>50</sup> This label fits only the second part of Tablet 37, which is unfortunately fragmentarily preserved.

<sup>51</sup> As a possible candidate for Tablet 38, note LKU 126 (containing birth omens, mentioned in Stol 2000: 202), as well as SpTU 1, 82 and K. 6288 for Tablet 39 (with omens concerning body moles on children, cf. Böck 2000: 310-315). These texts could indicate a further connection between *Sakikkû*, teratological texts (such as *Šumma izbu*) and physiognomic material that has not been ascribed to the standard series *Alamdimmu*. These texts may reflect the implementation of material taken from sources that differ from the usual associated material of *Sakikkû*. Cf. also my discussion of the catalogue’s term GIŠ.GIŠ.A in paragraph 3.2.2. which may underscore this idea.

the number of entries as in the *Sakikkû* catalogue. Likewise, no entry numbers are given in front of the tablet incipits of each section. The rubrics contain no editorial remarks except for the last summarising rubric, which notes the completion of *Alamdimmû* (l. 91).

According to the catalogue, the series has five sections or sub-series. The summary line (l. 91) may have provided the total number of tablets for the whole series, similar to the summary line (l. 50) giving the total number of tablets for *Sakikkû*. However, the catalogue does not state entry numbers for the tablets of *Alamdimmû*, and the sub-series *Alamdimmû*, *Kataduggû* and *Nigdimdimmû* are often enumerated in a sequence in other texts.<sup>52</sup> This could support the assumption that not all parts of the series reached the status of an overall fixed “classical” compilation to the extent that its counterpart *Sakikkû* did (note that the names of individual sections of *Sakikkû* are never mentioned apart from the main series). One should also note that in contrast to the diagnostic series, additional material such as *ahû*-tablets, interlinear commentaries, and excerpts are attested for the physiognomic series in the first millennium,<sup>53</sup> beside new compilations such as *Šumma Ea liballitka*, which unites materials from *Alamdimmû*, *Kataduggû* and *Šumma ālu*.<sup>54</sup> The editorial information given in this part of the catalogue is sparse (ll. 77, 83, 91), and in the section on women (l. 83) it appears in a rather peculiar position, between Tablet 1 and 2, differing from the first catalogue, which lists editorial information in the summary rubrics.

Schematic overview of the *Alamdimmû* catalogue:

Lines	Tablet Information	Incipit/Description	Additional Editorial Information
72a <sup>55</sup>		“If the head <i>appears to resemble</i> the gods”	
72b		“If the curls on a man’s head turn (to) the right”	
73a		“If a man has no forehead”	
73b		“If his right eyebrow is thick”	
74a		“If his nose is long”	
74b		“If his tongue is <i>shiny</i> ”	
74c		“If his cheek bone is pronounced”	
75a		“If his face is long”	
75b		“If his neck is long”	
75c		“If his chest [is long]”	
76a		“If he has the hump of an ox”	
76b		“If the form ( <i>alamdimmû</i> ) [...]”	
77	[Total of] 12 tablets	<i>Alamdimmû</i> (“shape; form”)	from the top (of the head) to the foot [...] (TA UGU- <i>hi</i> EN GİR [ <i>sections edited?</i> ])
78a		[“If [...] regularly (gives) a free-will offering(?) to his god”	
78b		(A) “If [ditto(?)] = while speaking] his head [...]” / (B) “[“If a man] while speaking [...]”	
B 48’	[Total of 2(?) tablets	<i>Nigdimdimmû</i> (?) (“deeds/ <i>habitus</i> ”) ...]	
79-80		[“When] the great gods [established] the <i>spirit</i> of mankind for <i>rulership</i> , and established its (i.e. mankind’s) <i>utterance</i> for its constant guidance”	
81	[...] 1 tablet	<i>Kataduggû</i> (“utterance”)	

<sup>52</sup> Cf. KAR 44 (Geller *infra*) l. 6. See further the catalogue of texts and authors in Lambert 1962: 64, where *Alamdimmû* and *Kataduggû* are both attributed to Ea and are mentioned apart from one another. Cf. Geller *infra* for the possible identification of Ea in this list as a pun on or even a mistake for the name Esagil-kin-apli. See furthermore the inventory fragment K. 13818: 10-12 (TBP 51), which registers 37+ tablets of *Alamdimmû* [...] (together with/including) *ahû*-tablets, *Nigdimdimmû*, [...] (and) *Kataduggû* (cf. Parpola 1983: 24-25 and Böck 2000: 18 with additional bibliographical information).

<sup>53</sup> See Böck 2000: 234-295.

<sup>54</sup> See Reiner 1982 for the first tablet and von Soden 1981 for the second tablet of this series, which is only attested in texts from the Neo-Assyrian period. However, one witness of Tablet 2 is written in the Babylonian ductus.

<sup>55</sup> Since the line distribution between A and B differs, I follow witness A, whose pattern is followed in the overall numbering of lines within the transliteration.



Lines	Tablet Information	Incipit/Description	Additional Editorial Information
82	[...]	["If a woman's] head is big"	new, not finished (GIBIL NU TIL)
83		["If a woman's head(?) is big"	
84		["If (regarding) a woman, the curls] of her (lit. his) head turn to the right"	
85	[Total of 2(?) tablets]	"If a woman's head is big"	
86		["If a <i>liptu</i> -mark] on a man's head is scattered and [present]" including (EN) "(If) the <i>liptu</i> -mark is light red"	
87a		[...]	
87b		[... "If an <i>umšatu</i> -mark(?) is present on the right side of a man's head"	
88a		["If a <i>pindû</i> -mark(?) is present on] a man's head"	
88b		["If] <i>urāšu</i> -marks(?) are situated [on a man(?)'s head]"; ditto on his [forehead(?) ...]	
89		"[...] and an <i>ibāru</i> -mark(?) [(x)] 'x' is present(?)"	
90	[Total of ... tablets]	["If a] <i>liptu</i> -mark(?)"	
91	[Total of ... tablets]	[of] <i>Alamdimmu</i>	completed, <i>properly arranged</i> (?) (ZAG. TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ GIŠ.GIŠ.A)

In view of the fragmentary state of the physiognomic series, the catalogue offers some additional information for the reconstruction of the contents of tablets that have not been identified yet. Moreover, the rubric following the first 12 tablet incipits shows that *Alamdimmu* was not only the name of the whole series, but also the title of the first sub-series in particular (l. 77), named after the last tablet of the sub-series.<sup>56</sup> The same rubric states further that this section was arranged "from the top of the head to the foot (or feet)", which may point out that the same editorial principles introduced by Esagil-kīn-apli for the first sections of *Sakikkû* were also employed in the edition of *Alamdimmu*, as a revision of older originals whose arrangement may have been slightly different.<sup>57</sup> In a similar vein some differences between catalogue and the first millennium witnesses suggest variations between the series at the time of its re-edition and the time of Ashurbanipal, from which our main sources stem. One should also consider that in contrast to the series tablets of *Sakikkû*, none of the manuscripts of the sub-series *Nigdimdimmu*, *Kataduggû*, *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* or *Šumma liptu* offer a secondary tablet numbering, which assigns a number according to the tablet's position within the section or sub-series as well as a second number according to the tablet's position within the series as a whole.<sup>58</sup>

The main differences or discrepancies between catalogue and manuscripts of *Alamdimmu* series tablets seem to concern especially the sections following the main part of *Alamdimmu* (Tablets 1-12, ll. 72a-76b). One of the most striking deviations is the order of the section on women (*Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*, ll. 82-84). The first incipit (l. 82) indicates a tablet focussing on the form and peculiar features of the head, followed by omens concerning the lower body parts, as is shown in the series witnesses edited by Böck.<sup>59</sup> It is conspicuous that in l. 83, this incipit seems to have been repeated, while the remark "new, not finished" was added. This doubling could be regarded as editorial inconsistency, since the summary rubric (l. 85) mentions the first tablet again, this time as the name of the sub-series together with the total of constituent tablets. The second tablet of the sub-series, "(If the curls of a woman's head turn to the right" (l. 84) reminds us of the contents of *Alamdimmu* Tablet 2, which likewise lists mainly omens dealing with a man's hair. In contrast to the women's tablets, the sub-series *Alamdimmu* concerned with the male body starts with the properties of the hair, followed by omens on features of the head.

<sup>56</sup> This is surprising since usually the incipit of the first tablet provides the name for longer compositions.

<sup>57</sup> This may be indicated in the rubric of a physiognomic text found at Assur (VAT 10493 + 10543 rev. iii 6-7) that assigns the text to an "older (version) of *Alamdimmu*, which Esagil-kīn-apli has not 'solved' (i.e. replaced, DU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šû); first tablet of *Alamdimmu*", see Heeßel 2010: 145, 154-157. A differing interpretation of the meaning of *paṭāru* "to loosen" in this rubric is given by Frahm 2011: 330.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. the tablet numbering in manuscripts of the first tablet of *Kataduggû* and *Šumma liptu*, which show that the tablet numbers of the respective sections refer only to the place within the sub-series (Böck 2000: 144 and 178). On the other hand, the rubrics refer to the following tablets in the order given by the catalogue.

<sup>59</sup> Böck 2000: 148-173.

A similar pattern can be observed in the main witness A of the women's sub-series, an eight-column tablet of which almost the whole obverse is lost. The reverse starts with omens referring to the ears and proceeds down to the toes.<sup>60</sup> Since witness B from Uruk (SpTU 4, 149) seems to spread the text on the reverse of A over its obverse and reverse, one could argue that manuscript A contained the whole sub-series on women (i.e. both series tablets). The obverse of A may potentially be identified with the second tablet listed in the catalogue (i.e. l. 84). The unpublished Neo-Assyrian fragments K. 6551+ (+) K. 8625<sup>61</sup> very likely belong to the same tablet as witness A and with some certainty give an idea about the content of the left column of the obverse, namely properties of women's hair.<sup>62</sup> It thus seems that witness A started with the text of the second tablet of the sub-series, before presenting the first tablet (compared with the tablet order of the catalogue), thereby following the order of the men's section (in the sub-series *Alamdimmû*). The divergence between the catalogue and the Neo-Assyrian text from Nineveh indicates textual revisions after an initial edition documented in the catalogue. The catalogue's remark GIBIL NU TIL after the first women's tablet (l. 83), which would have been expected to appear within the summary rubric, underscores that the edition of the women's sub-series was not yet finalised when the catalogue was drawn up.

The most fragmentary section in the catalogue is the section on skin moles (ll. 86-88b).<sup>63</sup> With the help of some terminological peculiarities of the tablet incipits, at least three incipits in the catalogue can be restored and identified with their counterparts in texts from the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian period.<sup>64</sup> For example, the phrase BAR-*ma* in l. 86 is likewise attested in the incipit of *Šumma liptu*. Similarly, the phrase ZAG GAR-*āt* in l. 87b corresponds with the incipit of the tablet *Šumma umṣatu*, which also begins with a mole located on the right side. In l. 88b, the fragmentary incipit [...] IB<sup>7</sup>.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ can be connected with the incipit of *Šumma urāšu*, the only incipit in the mole section using the phrase ŠUB.MEŠ. The fragmentary incipits listed in l. 87a and 88a may belong to the tablets *Šumma kurāru* and *Šumma pindû*. If this restoration is correct, the incipits must have been listed in an abbreviated form. Other tablets associated with this sub-series in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts, such as the tablet on *kittabru*-moles for women and the tablet on the movement of the veins (or muscles),<sup>65</sup> do not seem to have been mentioned in the catalogue at all; they could be additions to the series from the later Neo-Assyrian period.

With regard to the reconstruction of the series *Alamdimmû* it is noteworthy that the first tablet incipit of the sub-series (l. 72a) is so far solely attested in the catalogue and in a fragmentary extra-serial (*ahû*) tablet (BM 1993-11-8, 1 = TBP 64), which could only be restored with the help of the catalogue.<sup>66</sup> The following catalogue incipits of *Alamdimmû* Tablets 2-9 seem to conform to the first millennium standard series. Since Tablet 10 is badly preserved, the reading of its first structuring item ("chest", GABA) is only confirmed by witness B of the catalogue. For the incipits of the following Tablets 11-12 (l. 76), of which no text witnesses are currently known, the catalogue again forms the only piece of evidence. The twelfth and last tablet was probably concerned with the overall shape or form of a person's body (*alamdimmû*), while Tablets 1-11 follow the structure "from head to foot" (cf. l. 77).

The first tablet of the second sub-series *Nigdimdimmû* has not yet been identified. Its incipit according to the catalogue, "(If ...) regularly gives a free-will offering to his god" is otherwise only attested with the king as subject of the protasis (lit. BĀRA "throne"), in Tablet 11 of the omen series *Šumma ālu*.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, the beginning of the catalogue entry is damaged, which precludes a definitive decision whether this tablet of *Nigdimdimmû* was also concerned with

<sup>60</sup> See Böck 2000: 154ff. 4 A (K. 6190+). The last three preserved omens on this tablet each combine several features observed on various parts of the body (but also arranged in "vertical" order). Cf. Böck 2000: 169-170, ll. 250-269.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. CDLI, P397707.

<sup>62</sup> During a stay at the British Museum in April 2016, the respective fragment of the upper part of K. 6808+ could not be located for confirming the join, but the fragment K. 8625 seems to belong on its reverse to column viii 8' of witness A. Its obverse should be positioned about 7 lines before the end of column i.

<sup>63</sup> See also Schmidtchen *infra* with a more comprehensive commentary on these lines.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Böck 2000: 174-203.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Böck 2000: 230-237.

<sup>66</sup> See Böck 2000: 262f. The only known fragment of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 1 (K. 12484) preserves merely the last few lines and the incipit of the following tablet (Böck 2000: 71). The extra-serial fragment (BM 1993-11-8, 1 = TBP 64) provides only few hints about the contents of the tablet. It preserves part of the incipit and the end of twelve more lines consisting of different divine names plus a few apodotes on the reverse. For the list of deities compare the god-list AN = *Anum* (CT 24, 45-46 vii 50-69).

<sup>67</sup> See CT 40, 8, K. 2192 obv. 8 and surrounding entries. Cf. further Freedman 1998: 182 ff.

the piety of the king or with the piety of a private person.<sup>68</sup> The second tablet of *Nigdimdimmu* is likewise preserved only fragmentarily, but a new reading of catalogue witness B “(If ...) while speaking (his head ...)” corresponds quite well with the topic of the final section of Tablet 2.<sup>69</sup> This reading would furthermore draw a connection to another known text, edited by Kraus in 1936-37,<sup>70</sup> which could also belong to the second tablet of *Nigdimdimmu* or to a tablet with similar content. However, the term *Nigdimdimmu* seems to imply a broader meaning than English “appearance” and may be compared to German “Auftreten” or Latin *habitus*, which usually includes both a person’s appearance and behaviour.<sup>71</sup>

It is possible that the two catalogues (i.e. of the series *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmu*) were originally separate text entities.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned above, the *Sakikkû* catalogue counts the entries of each tablet and enumerates them in the section rubrics. The overall total of tablets (and entries) for the whole series is given in the final summary rubric. In contrast, the *Alamdimmu* catalogue only gives totals for the tablets of each sub-series. Whether the total of the series’ tablets was registered in the final summary rubric is not known, but likely. Moreover, the *Alamdimmu* catalogue has no introducing heading, and its position after the editorial note suggests a later addition, maybe to depict more accurately the content of the editorial note which mentions both series. Additionally, it should be mentioned that the *Alamdimmu* catalogue makes only sparse and eclectic use of editorial remarks.<sup>73</sup>

The scope of variants and deviations is slightly higher in the case of *Sakikkû*, which must have undergone further revisions after the compilation by Esagil-kīn-apli, e.g. the addition of at least one tablet. The 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE manuscripts attest to different recensions of the series, in which the text was distributed in varying ways over tablets. On the other hand, despite some uncertainties, the *Alamdimmu* catalogue also indicates some later additions of tablets.

### 2.1.3 The Editorial Note of Esagil-kīn-apli

The so-called “Esagil-kīn-apli colophon” or “editorial note” is remarkable in several ways. Heeßel boiled it down when stating: “Die Bedeutung dieses Kolophons ist natürlich kaum zu überschätzen, er ist der erste und bisher einzige Text seiner Art.”<sup>74</sup> The catalogue’s editorial note provides us with information on topics, which Mesopotamian scientific as well as literary texts often lack – an author or compiler, a reason, a purpose, and to some degree the method employed, i.e. the “who”, the “why”, and the “how” as well as the “when” of the series’ compilation.

The term “editorial note” chosen here tries to avoid certain problems connected with the designation “Esagil-kīn-apli colophon” usually used. According to Finkel, especially its position after the *Sakikkû* catalogue qualifies it “effec-

<sup>68</sup> It would not be unexpected to find material from *Šumma ālu* implemented within *Alamdimmu*, and one could speculate whether corresponding entries about the free-will offering of a man could have existed in *Šumma ālu*, which could have been found in the later tablets of the series concerned with human behaviour, maybe somewhere in Tablets 97-102, cf. Freedman 1998: 342-343. Note also the connections between *Šumma ālu* Tablet 94 and *Sakikkû* Tablet 25 (see the discussion of the *Sakikkû* catalogue in the previous paragraph).

<sup>69</sup> See the fragment K. 9779+ (Böck 2000: 128-129). The last passage of this tablet observes different ways of speaking (speaking loudly, low, little etc.) as well as the visibility or invisibility of the tongue. The catalogue incipit was possibly concerned with the movement of the head while speaking (“If a man while speaking his head [...]”, l. 78b).

<sup>70</sup> Kraus 1936-37: 222, K. 12495+ together with the Middle Babylonian text PUM 4501 which could likewise represent an earlier version or at least a comparable tradition of this type of behavioural omens. The Kuyunjik text observes movements of the tongue, lips, mouth and teeth while speaking (see the formulation DIŠ NA ina da-ba-bi-[šú] on the reverse, taken up in the continuing text as KI.MIN). The only certain fragment of *Nigdimdimmu* shows a considerable portion of blank space at the beginning of each entry except for the first entry of the section, which begins with [DIŠ NA] (x) da-ba-ba (ma-’-[da/diš? ...] (K. 9779+: 3’), a phrase that covers more or less the same meaning as the one given in K. 12495+. The blank space after DIŠ in the following entries is an example for a non-written but graphically marked placeholder instead of the introductory phrase “(while) speaking” (adverbial accusative). For other examples cf. *Sakikkû* Tablet 3: 25-28 witness A (Babylon) and D (Uruk), which use a blank space instead of repeating the name of the respective body part (SAG.DU), but resume with the following pronoun -šú referring back to the patient.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. likewise the lexical equation with *epšētu* “acts” in Igituh I 389ff. (see also CAD N/2 212), which would suggest the translation “deeds, accomplishments”.

<sup>72</sup> Finkel 1988: 145.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. l. 83 where “new, not finished” appears outside the rubric. The unclear term GIŠ.GIŠ.A is mentioned in the final summary rubric (l. 91). The short remark “from the top of the head to the foot” (l. 77) is only mentioned in the *Alamdimmu* catalogue.

<sup>74</sup> Heeßel 2000: 105. See also Heeßel 2010: 141.

tively as a colophon”.<sup>75</sup> In the broadest sense this might fit, but the passage differs markedly from the usual colophons that appear at the very end of a text, since a second catalogue on *Alamdimmû* follows. Moreover, the editorial note differs from ordinary colophons through its instructive passages. These instructional passages or remarks addressed to any future investigator are comparable to the second part of the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 ll. 28-42, the colophon is l. 43), and should be regarded as a crucial part of the document in its own right and not as a colophon in the strict sense.<sup>76</sup> Concerning its terminology and the use of unusual cryptographic spellings, KAR 44 – Esagil-kîn-apli’s catalogue of the lore of *āšipūtu* – seems to be in direct relationship with the editorial note and remarks in our text catalogue.<sup>77</sup> Another remarkable text, the colophon BAK No. 321 inscribed on a Neo-Assyrian recension of the drug compendium Uruanna from Nineveh and presumably connected with the direct editorial activity of Ashurbanipal himself, shares some terminological peculiarities with the editorial note of Esagil-kîn-apli. Thus, the editorial note of the *Sakikkû* catalogue could have been used as a source for the Uruanna colophon.<sup>78</sup>

Thematic overview of Esagil-kîn-apli’s editorial note:<sup>79</sup>

Lines	Theme	Translation
51-52	Reasons	That which since old times <i>had never received an edition</i> , and (which was) like twisted threads for which there was no copy:
53	Acknowledgement of the king (dating)	During the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, King of Babylon,
54	Purpose (pursued)	to work it anew,
54-61	Authority (descent from a famous scholar of Hammurapi, titles, and divine patronage)	Esagil-kîn-apli, son of Asalluhi-mansum, the sage of king Hammurapi, the <i>ummat</i> <sup>80</sup> of Sîn, Lisi and Nanaya, the noble Borsipaeen, chamberlain of the Ezida, anointed one of Nabû, who holds the tablet of destinies of the gods, who checks the <i>conflicting (versions)</i> , the <i>išippu</i> (purification) and <i>ramku</i> (ablution)-priest of Ninzilzil, the lady of careful preparation, close sister of his loved one, scholar of the land of Sumer and Akkad, with the skillful wisdom with which Ea and Marduk/Gula(?) gifted him –
61-62	Purpose or objective (achieved); method	in a <i>methodical manner</i> , he undertook an edition of <i>Sakikkû</i> “from the top of the head to the feet”, and established it for instruction.
62-65	Instructions (for care and competence)	Pay attention! Take care! Do not neglect your knowledge! The one who has not obtained knowledge shall not speak (about) <i>Sakikkû</i> , and tell (about) <i>Alamdimmû</i> .
65-68	Circumscription of the series’ thematic scope; structure or connection of both series	<i>Sakikkû</i> is the compilation concerning disease, depression (and distress), <i>Alamdimmû</i> (is about) the features and the (human) shape, the fate of mankind, which Ea and Marduk/Gula(?) established. Regarding both series, their <i>arrangement</i> (lit. bundling) is one.
69-71	Instructions (for care and competence); dedication to the king	[The exorcist], who makes the decision, who watches over people’s lives, who knows <i>Sakikkû</i> and <i>Alamdimmû</i> in its entirety, shall inspect, check, [ponder], and (then) give an <i>interpretation</i> to the king.

Thematically the editorial note can be divided into two parts. The first part (ll. 51-62) speaks about the reasons and purpose of the compilation and edition of *Sakikkû* and proclaims Esagil-kîn-apli’s authority (by giving the scholar’s full

<sup>75</sup> Finkel 1988: 145.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Frahm 2011: 325 which refers further to Bottéro 1985: 93-100, Finkel 1988: 150, Beaulieu 2000: 15, Al-Rawi and George 2006: 54-55, and Heeßel 2010: 160f. The term “note” has been likewise used by Lambert 1957: 6.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Frahm 2011: 326-327 for certain equivalences in the expressions used such as *ana ihzi ukîn* or the spelling of Esagil-kîn-apli’s name as ÈŠ.GÛ.ZI (see KAR 44: 27 and dupl.).

<sup>78</sup> See also below sub 3.1.1. and 3.2.1.

<sup>79</sup> For transliteration, translation, and philological comments see Schmidtchen *infra*.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Finkel 1988: 149 n. 57 for the possible translation “descendent” and Jursa 2001-02: 84 II 5’ mentioning another possible meaning “a priest class; temple contingent”.

The introductory passage (l. 51-52)<sup>82</sup> hints at the circumstances and need for a new edition of an existing text corpus collected in multiple series, which as Esagil-kin-apli puts it, was “like twisted threads without a copy” (l. 52).<sup>83</sup> One witness of such an older diagnostic series is known from Middle Babylonian Nippur (2 N-T 336), and a number of excerpt tablets from this period have also been identified.<sup>84</sup> These manuscripts feature several entries that can also be found in *Sakikkû* sections 2-3 of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium series, although they appear in a different order.<sup>85</sup> Since the name of the older diagnostic series is identical with the name of the second section of *Sakikkû*, it seems certain that this material formed part of Esagil-kin-apli’s revision. The existence of different and contradicting textual traditions, which are attested since the Old Babylonian period<sup>86</sup>, thus formed the main reason for re-working the older material into a “new edition” (l. 54).

Esagil-kīn-apli (spelled <sup>m</sup>ÈŠ.GÚ.ZI.GI/GIN.A in the catalogue), is said to have been active under the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (l. 53-54). The Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 27) uses the variant spellings [... <sup>m</sup>È]Š.GÚ.ZI.GI.IN.A, <sup>m</sup>ÈŠ.GÚ.ZI.DA.IBILA, and <sup>m</sup>ÈŠ.GÚ.ZI.GI.A, but likewise refers to Asalluhi-mansum as his ancestor and assigns to him the title

**82** The introductory phrase “regarding that which since old times had never *received an edition*” (*ša ultu ulla zarâ lâ šabtû*) appears also in the Uruanna colophon BAK No. 321: 3, cf. 3.1.1.

<sup>84</sup> See Labat 1956. It is uncertain whether the Neo-Assyrian diagnostic text STT 89 from Huzirina (Sultantepe) also belongs to this older version of the diagnostic series. Both this text as well as the Middle Babylonian witness 2 N-T 336 from Nippur state that they belong to the series *ana marši ina fehika*, STT 89 is designated as the 33<sup>rd</sup>(?) and 2 NB 336 as the 2<sup>nd</sup> tablet of this series, cf. Stol 1993: 91-98 and Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 434-443. For the excerpt tablets cf. Kraus 1987: 196-202, no. 2 (Ni. 470); Heeßel 2000: 99-100 (PBS 2/2, 104 = CBS 3424A); Rutz 2011: 301-307 (CBS 12580 and CBS 3831).

<sup>86</sup> See TLB II, 21; Geller 2001-02: 73-74 (LB 2126) and George 2013: no. 15 (MS 2670). Cf. further George 2013: no. 16 (MS 3104) for another text with partially diagnostic content.



related with the meanings of the sign SUR for *ṭamû* “to spin” and *ebēhu* “to gird; to twist”. The following sign GIBIL “new” leads Stol to the very literal interpretation “new *textus*”, referring to the similar double meaning of Latin *textus* “woven” and its transferred meaning “text”. The proposed equation of SUR.GIBIL with *ṣ/zarû/â* is not attested in lexical texts, but the latter appears in a congruent construction with *ṣabātu*, in the Ashurbanipal colophon to a *nishu*-recension of the plant compendium Uruanna, which begins:<sup>96</sup>

*ša ul-tu ul-la za-ra-a la ṣab-tu*

That which since old times was not held (lit. grasped) together by *ṣ/za-ra-a* (...)

refraining the beginning of Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial note (l. 51):<sup>97</sup>

*ša ul-tu ul-la ʾSURʾ.[GIBILʾ] ʾlaʾ ṣab-tu<sub>4</sub>*

That which since the old times was not held (lit. grasped) together by ʾSURʾ.[GIBIL] (...)

The word *zarû/ṣarû* used in the Uruanna colophon may, according to R. Campbell Thompson, be connected with Hebrew *\*šwr* “to bind”.<sup>98</sup> Following this approach, Stephen Lieberman connected the verb with Akkadian *ṣarāru* “to tie together”.<sup>99</sup> Both readings correspond more or less with the semantics of the alleged Sumerian equivalent SUR(GIBIL). Eckart Frahm further notes that *zarû* can mean “to winnow”, which could describe the process of selecting authoritative texts in a metaphorical way as “sifting the chaff from the wheat”.<sup>100</sup> One should note in addition that if *zarû/â* is the Akkadian equivalent of the logogram SUR.GIBIL, it seems to disregard the element GIBIL, which would have corresponded to *eššu* “new” in Akkadian.

The frequent use of the expression SUR.GIBIL *ṣabātu* with the noun *sadīru* “line, row; ruled-off section” poses another question regarding the casus of *zarû*, which is written in a formal accusative, but considered to be the subject of the plural verb *ṣabtū*.<sup>101</sup> The ending *-a* might be explained by the fact that *zarû* is often deemed to be a loanword.<sup>102</sup> However, the *Sakikkū* catalogue (l. 31) and the AMC (Assur Medical Catalogue) use the expression together with the plural *sadīrū*,<sup>103</sup> formally in nominative and therefore in the right case and numerus for the stative *ṣabtū*. I would therefore propose a translation with *zarâ* as an infinitive noun in an adverbial accusative and *sadīrū* as the subject of *ṣabtū*: “sections (which) are held (together) by a (new) weave”. Of course, this does not change fundamentally the idiomatic translation “edited”, which has been more or less accepted.<sup>104</sup> In any case, the use of the expression together with *sadīru* as subject (“sections (which) have been *edited*”) helps to explain the otherwise conspicuous grammatical construction *zarâ ṣabātu*.

### 3.1.2 *adi* (EN)

The preposition *adi* “together with; including” is used in the *Sakikkū/Alamdimmu* catalogue and in the AMC as a marker for different text sections on a given tablet. This can be illustrated for line 40 of the *Sakikkū* catalogue, which describes

<sup>96</sup> BAK No. 321: 3 (CT 14, pl. 9 and 22).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Frahm 2011: 332 n. 1588. He translates the passage *Aššur-bāni-apli šar kiššati šar māt Aššur isniq* as “Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, (newly) arranged them”, but the verb *sanāqu* should rather be interpreted as “checked”. See also the following line of the editorial note (l. 52) mentioning “twisted threads” (GU.MEŠ GIL.MEŠ) which underscores Stol's interpretation. See also the discussion in Geller *infra*.

<sup>98</sup> See Wee 2015: 254; Thompson 1949: ix n. 4 and Thompson 1924: 5 n. 3. Consider that the correct Hebrew etymology for “to bind” should be *\*sr* (or *\*šrr*) and not *\*šwr*.

<sup>99</sup> Lieberman 1990: 333 n. 182; cf. also the short discussion in Wee 2015: 254 n. 27.

<sup>100</sup> Frahm 2011: 328 and n. 1567. In n. 1566, Frahm also notes the equation of SUR with *ṣahātu* “to press out”, which may refer to the process of extracting (valuable) information from older sources. Cf. also the proposition of Lambert (2005: xix) suggesting a Sumerian loanword *zarû/â* derived from Sumerian */zara/*, on the basis of MSL 14, 250: 82 (*za-ra BE(zara<sub>3</sub>) ṭa-mu-û*).

<sup>101</sup> Cf. CAD Z 70 s.v. *zarû* B.

<sup>102</sup> See Kinnier Wilson 1956: 138 who considers *ZA-ra-a* to be an Aramaic loanword.

<sup>103</sup> See AMC II. 58, 122, and 123 for the attestations of *sadīrū ša SUR.GIBIL ṣabtū* (see Steinert *infra*).

<sup>104</sup> Wee 2015: 253 and n. 24 with additional bibliographical notes.

the contents of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 as: DIŠ šikin simmišu/muršišu adi(EN) sāmānu qāt Gula “If the condition of his wound/disease” including “sāmānu (is) Hand of Gula”). A second instance of this formulation is found in the *Alamdimmû* catalogue line 86, which registers the contents of Tablet 1 of the sub-series *Šumma liptu* as: [DIŠ liptu ina qaq]qad amēli zizma(?) adi(EN) lipte peli “[If a liptu-mark on the head] of a man is scattered and (present)” including “light red liptu-mark”. It is unclear whether the word *adi* is facultative, since line 20 probably lists two separate content items of *Sakikkû* Tablet 15, without using *adi*: [... DIŠ] ūm ištēn maruṣma ša laptūti “[If] he sick for one day and’ (entries/prognoses) which are ill-portending”.<sup>105</sup>

### 3.1.3 NU TIL (*ul qatī*) and ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ (*ana (pāṭ) gimrīšu?*)

The expression NU TIL, well known from the contexts of colophons, also often written NU AL.TIL, should be equated with Akkadian *ul qatī* “not finished”<sup>106</sup> and is used to indicate that a fixed text has not yet reached its end. The phrase can refer to a tablet or a whole text series. It is used twice in our text, once in the *Sakikkû* catalogue (l. 4) and once in the *Alamdimmû* catalogue (l. 83). One has to note that in both cases, the expression does not appear in the summary rubrics (for a given sub-series or section), but is attached to tablet incipits. This may indicate a difference to the other editorial remarks that appear in the summary rubrics ((*sadīrū ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū*, SUKUD.GIM, GIŠ.GIŠ.A and ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ). It is unclear whether the different position of these technical remarks in or outside the summary rubrics is coincidental or follows a general rule. The Akkadian spelling of ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ has still not been clarified, but may be read, according to Borger, as *ana pāṭ gimrīšu* (lit. “to the border of its entirety”),<sup>107</sup> which means “completed”. In the case of the *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* catalogue, the expression appears at the end of both catalogues (ll. 50 and 91), and is preceded by the total of the series tablets (and entries in the case of *Sakikkû*).

## 3.2 Uncertain Terms

Two more expressions are left for which no translation can be given with absolute certainty. Similar to SUR.GIBIL, no one-to-one equation within the lexical texts seems to be attested which could explain the unusual Sumerograms and their meaning as editorial remarks.

### 3.2.1 SUKUD.GIM

Since this expression appears almost exclusively in the summary rubrics for sections 4 and 5 of *Sakikkû* (ll. 37 and 43),<sup>108</sup> it seems to be crucial for the understanding of the approach that was pursued in connection with the two sections. The entries read as follows:

‘NÍGIN’ 4 2 UŠ ‘20’ [(x x)] ‘x’ ŠUB-su-ma SA.GIG ‘AN’ TA.ŠUB’.BA <sup>su</sup>SUKUD.GIM (A l. 37)

Total of 408(?) (entries): “[If collapse] befalls him” (including?) the symptoms of *Antašubbû*; SUKUD.GIM.

[x] ‘3?’ [x] ‘UŠ? 5’ DIŠ ‘UD.DA TAB-su’-ma SUKUD.‘GIM’ (A l. 43)

[Total of x]+185? (entries): “If *šētu*-fever has made him feverish”; SUKUD.GIM.

<sup>105</sup> See 2.1.1. section 1 concerning the differences between catalogue and serial tablets. The catchline to *Sakikkû* Tablet 15 (in a manuscript of Tablet 14) and the catalogue incipit of Tablet 15 differ from each other, a contradiction that could be explained by the proposition that the catalogue entry lists only part of the incipit of Tablet 15, followed by a second citation indicating another section on the same series tablet. This hypothesis has to await new textual evidence for confirmation.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. CAD Q 179 s.v. *qatū* 3b.

<sup>107</sup> Borger 2010: 359.

<sup>108</sup> SUKUD.GIM occurs once in an astrological context. According to CAD Š/3 394 s.v. *šutablakkatu* sub 2, it indicates that something has been mentioned before, i.e. it means literally “as above”, but this meaning is hardly applicable to the usage of SUKUD.GIM in the rubrics of the *Sakikkû* catalogue.



Both sections 4 and 5 seem to contain text sections or tablets (short compilations) that may have existed in this form before the edition of *Sakikkū* in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>109</sup> This leads to the assumption that SUKUD.GIM<sup>110</sup> must in some way mirror this circumstance of fixed sections or tablets that have been incorporated into the new edition of the series in a certain manner.<sup>111</sup>

Most of the references for the sign SUKUD given by the AHW and CAD refer to Akkadian words with the meanings “elevation, height”, “to be/make (something) elevated, high” or “to raise”, as well as “exalted” and “sublime”<sup>112</sup> (i.e. *šaḡû*, *elû*, *mêlû*, *šâhu*, *šihu*, *zaḡâru*, but also *arku* “long”). Rather marginal uses of the sign are attested in the Akkadian equations *upqu* “a tree trunk or block”, *kapâru* “to strip, clip; trim down”,<sup>113</sup> and *kapâšu* “to perform in various disguises”. The most promising verb seems to be *elû*, which comprises several transferred meanings, which are often connected with documents and tablets, writing, adding as well as excluding information from texts.<sup>114</sup>

The alternative reading (SUKUD) + DĪM for *banû* or *epēšu* “to make SUKUD” instead of GIM (or GEN<sub>7</sub>) is possible but would determine the meaning of SUKUD as “made/fashioned high/upraised”. But this rendering would be too general in comparison with the specific proposition of (*sadīru*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtû*. It should be noted that the Sumerian orthography SUKUD.GEN<sub>7</sub>, with the comparative particle following the verb, is also unusual, if it is to be read word by word in Akkadian.

A hint might be provided again by the colophon of the first *nishu*-tablet of Uruanna (BAK No. 321), referring to a text redaction allegedly carried out by Ashurbanipal himself. The colophon adopts the phraseology of the beginning of Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial note as shown above.<sup>115</sup> The passage of interest reads as follows:<sup>116</sup>

*ina sa-di-ri MU-šû-nu ul am/im-bi-ma*

*ina UGU DUB.MEŠ-ni ú-še-li*

I/he did not *organise* them<sup>117</sup> (lit. call their name) in sections,

but *entered* them (lit. I/he let their name go up) on (separate) tablets.

It may not be coincidental that the Ashurbanipal colophon uses terms and phrases similar to the editorial remarks in our catalogue, since it is likewise concerned with explaining editing processes. The use of such terminology might thus seek to draw on a certain authority for the respective editorial programme of Ashurbanipal.

In the citation, the verb *šûlû* (“to enter upon (or at the top of) a tablet (as incipit)”) seems to refer to the creation of a serial order by dividing the text into tablets (*tuppu*), in contrast to a division of the text into “sections” (*sadīru*).<sup>118</sup> This use of *šûlû* may be compared with the term SUKUD.GIM in the summary rubrics of *Sakikkū* sections 4 and 5 (Tablets

**109** See Heeßel 2000: 103 and 107; Finkel 1994: 88. It is interesting that the topics of the sub-series 4-6 correspond more or less with the topics indicated in the second part of KAR 44, which stipulates additional knowledge besides the “canonical” series of the *āšipu*'s lore. Thus, lines 33-35 of the Exorcist's Manual enumerate recipes and treatments against AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, *bêl ūri*, *šudingirrakku*, *šu'inninakku*, *qāt eṭemmi*, the evil *alû*, *lilû*, *mukil-rêš-lemutti*, *qāt māmīti*, *qāt amêlūti*, as well as “collections”(?) concerning the affliction of a sick man by fever and treatments for women (see Geller *infra*).

**110** The reading SUKUD seems to be certain, since l. 37 of the catalogue offers the phonetic gloss <sup>su</sup>SUKUD.

**111** See Heeßel 2000: 107. Nils Heeßel tentatively renders the term according to the context as “wie vorgefunden”.

**112** For the latter transferred meanings see especially *šaḡû*. This meaning might likewise be taken up in the other reading of the sign SUKUD as GALAM (= *naklu*). The reading GALAM can be excluded due to the phonetical gloss SU (see above).

**113** This may be connected with the Late Babylonian use of *elû* (Š) as “to subtract” in mathematical contexts, see CAD E 133 sub 11a.

**114** Cf. especially the meanings listed for *elû* in the G and Š-stem, CAD E 122, sub 2c 6’ “to turn up, to be found (in the course of an accounting)”; CAD E 131-133, sub 10b-c, 10e “to produce a document; to enter on a document; to let appear; to debit, book, record”. Cf. also CAD E 127 f., sub 8c “to summon (as witness)”.

**115** See also 3.1.1. above.

**116** BAK No. 321: 16-17. The preceding lines explain that formerly the series whose subject are “plants which are alike” (*šammû gabarê šammê*) had never received a proper edition and did not have a sectional order (ll. 4-5), while the text had grown over time. The colophon then describes the editorial activities carried out by Ashurbanipal: the existing textual material was assembled, and identical entries that appeared twice or thrice were removed from the text. The titles/incipits of some of the older existing tablets were not changed and their order (*sadīru*) was followed in the new edition (ll. 10-15).

**117** The colophon refers to specific sections of the series designated by name/incipit.

**118** The word *sadīru* in the Uruanna colophon is used with two different meanings, which should be considered here. In the first instance (ll. 5, 16) the term refers to “(reasonably arranged, ruled-off) sections” (pl.), and in the second instance (l. 11) it refers to the overall “order, sequence” (sg.) of certain tablets or sections (ll. 12-15).

26-35) in the series catalogue. Notably, these two sections show a remarkably homogeneous structure, reflected in a content-based division of their text into tablets with a specific topic, already transparent by its incipits.<sup>119</sup> This organisation differs from the more deductive structure “from head to toe” applied in *Sakikkû* section 2, but also from the structure of section 3 dealing with dynamic and temporal aspects of disease. Both sections 2 and 3 are characterised by an overarching topic, which continues for several tablets.<sup>120</sup> In contrast, the term *SUKUD.GIM* could refer to the structure of sections 4 and 5 as divided into tablets with specific topics. The expression may have to be read *kīma šūlē* (“(structured) according to (topics) recorded (on individual tablets)”), and may be closely related to the meaning of *šūlū* in the Uruanna colophon. Although this interpretation is not entirely certain, it provides a possible explanation for the position of *SUKUD.GIM* in the catalogue, as a marker for the content and structure of the tablets of *Sakikkû* sections 4 and 5.

### 3.2.2 GIŠ.GIŠ.A

This term is used twice in the catalogue, in the rubric of *Sakikkû* section 6 (l. 49) and in the summary rubric of *Alamdimmu* (l. 91):

ʾNÍGIN 4/5? 6 ʾUŠ 40? 2 munus<sup>121</sup> PEŠ<sub>4</sub> ʾ [GIG<sup>2</sup>-ma] GIŠ.GIŠ.A (A l. 49)

Total of 642/702(?) (entries): “(If) a pregnant woman(?) is sick and (...)”; GIŠ.GIŠ.A.

[ŠU.NIGIN ... šá ] ʾalam-dīm-mu<sup>122</sup>-ú ʾZAG.TIL<sup>123</sup>.LA.BI.ʾŠÈ<sup>124</sup> GIŠ.GIŠ.A (A l. 91)

[Total of ... tablets of] *Alamdimmu*. Completed (and) GIŠ.GIŠ.A.

Thus, GIŠ.GIŠ.A marks either the last section or the text series as a whole. The term is not attested anywhere else outside the catalogue, and no lexical equivalent is known. The closest equation for GIŠ in connection with colophons or writing in general would of course be *šaṭāru* “to write, copy, put down in writing” or “to list, register, record”.<sup>121</sup> But many of the given translations seem to be too general as a meaningful editorial remark in the context of compilation practices. The only suitable specific notion of *šaṭāru* would be “to copy” (G or D-stem) or “to be copied” (N-stem).

Sometimes GIŠ is equated with *našû* (GUR<sub>17</sub>) “to raise, lift up; to carry, bring (along)”. One should consider the contextually relevant meanings “to bring a word or report”,<sup>122</sup> “to take, accept, get hold (of a document)”,<sup>123</sup> “to collect (assets etc.)”.<sup>124</sup> The spelling GIŠ for *našû* “to draw (a payment, sanction)” seems to be attested especially in economic texts from the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>125</sup> However, in this case one would expect that *našû* should be written with the usual sign ÍL or even syllabically.

These two equations render meanings within the semantic range of “to write – list – record – assign – collect – get hold of”, which could be applicable to our context, but still seem too unspecific. The other two editorial remarks discussed in the previous paragraphs express concrete aspects of the compilation process. One of them refers to newly edited sections (*sadīrū* (*ša*) *zarâ šabtū*), the other to the use of tablets (*ina muhhi tuppāni šūlū*) in the new edition of a text series. Thus, one would expect a similar specific notion for GIŠ.GIŠ.A.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. also 3.2.1. See for example the incipits like “If *ṣētu*-fever has made him feverish” (*Sakikkû* Tablet 31) or “If *Šugidimmakku* turns into *Antašubba*” (*Sakikkû* Tablet 28) which define more or less exactly the treated topics. In contrast, the incipits of *Sakikkû* section 2 as well as section 3 refer only to the anatomical features with which the respective *sadīru*-sections begin.

<sup>120</sup> Exactly these series are marked by the editorial remark (*sadīrū ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* in the *Sakikkû* catalogue.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. CAD Š/2 227ff. sub 1b; 3a-b and especially sub 3c “to list omens”; sub 4 “to assign” (often said of persons); sub 5 (D-stem) “to write, to copy, to list, record”; sub 6a (Št) “to have a tablet written, copied” and 6e “to have registered, recorded”. Cf. likewise the N-stem (passive) variants under 7.

<sup>122</sup> CAD N/2 87 sub 2b.

<sup>123</sup> CAD N/2 96 sub 3a. Cf. CT 22, 1: 38 referring to taking hold of scholarly tablets with *našû*. Cf. also BAK p. 13 and BAK No. 124: 6, 125: 4, 127: 3, 128: 4, 131: 3, 423: 3, and similarly 146: 4, regarding the prohibition to carry the tablet away (NU GIŠ). The phrase is otherwise attested in colophons with *tabālu*. However, it makes little sense as an editorial remark in the catalogue.

<sup>124</sup> CAD N/2 98 sub 3b 1’.

<sup>125</sup> CAD N/2 99f. sub 3c–2’b’.

A third equation for GIŠ is *ešēru*, which is usually written with the logogram SI.SÁ.<sup>126</sup> Especially the meanings of Š and Št-stem are of interest with regard to the catalogue, e.g. “to put in correct order, to keep in correct order” (Š<sub>1</sub> and Št<sub>2</sub>),<sup>127</sup> “to finish the work”<sup>128</sup> and “to insure correct performance of a ritual”,<sup>129</sup> but also the N-stem “to be put in correct order, to be fitted out correctly”.<sup>130</sup> In connection with texts and their interpretation, one should further note the meaning “to clear up, set aright”.<sup>131</sup> Taking into account that GIŠ.GIŠ.A seems to appear only at the end of the respective catalogues, I tentatively propose to read it as the Št<sub>2</sub> stem of *ešēru*, possibly to be interpreted as stative or verbal noun (*šutēšur*)<sup>132</sup> with the meaning “put in correct form/order; properly arranged”. The phrase may overlap with the notion “finished”. It is unclear however, whether the term at the end of the last section in the *Sakikkū* catalogue (l. 49) refers to the whole series or only to section 6, although the latter seems more likely. Yet, the meaning “finished” for GIŠ.GIŠ.A is unlikely because this notion is already expressed by ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ (“completed”) in the following line 50, in the summary rubric for the *Sakikkū* catalogue. In the summary rubric of the *Alamdimmū* catalogue (l. 91), ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ even appears immediately before GIŠ.GIŠ.A. This would suggest that the term is valid for the whole series. At least for the use in *Sakikkū* section 6 one could argue that the term stands for the implementation of material stemming from texts outside the diagnostic-prognostic omen corpus, and that it expresses the fact that the constituent tablets have been arranged according to a logical or stringent order.<sup>133</sup> Since none of the equations for GIŠ.GIŠ.A discussed here are attested in comparable contexts, e.g. in colophon rubrics, the proposed Akkadian reading *šutēšur* remains of course tentative.

## 4 The Esagil-kīn-apli Catalogue as a Corpus Building Catalogue

Like the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44, see Geller *infra*), the Esagil-kīn-apli catalogue was faithfully copied over centuries, as is underlined by the two witnesses from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-/Late Babylonian period and from different places (Babylon and Kalhu). As pointed out above (see 2.1.1.), the catalogue does not entirely mirror the recension(s) of the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkū*) and the physiognomic standard series (*Alamdimmū*) attested in the first millennium, but seems to reflect the stage of an earlier recension of both series, especially in the case of *Sakikkū*. Since KAR 44 functions as a catalogue imaging the ideal corpus and curriculum of the *āšipu* or *mašmaššu*-incantation expert, the *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū*-catalogue could be regarded as a catalogue representing a sub-corpus and specific branch of *āšipūtu* laid out in KAR 44. Thus, the crucial rank of *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū* in this branch of *āšipūtu* is shown by their prominent position in the first part of the Exorcist's Manual. Both series are listed immediately after the prestigious priestly functions of the *āšipu* (KAR 44 ll. 2-5), and are followed by incantation series or rubrics dealing with demonic attacks and diseases (6-19), prophylactic, exorcistic, and purifying rituals (ll. 20-24), oracular techniques (l. 25) and lists of magico-medical paraphernalia (l. 26). Thus, the sequence of KAR 44 gives an overview of practices and texts concerned

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. BAM 1 rev. 20 and BAM 575 iv 44.

<sup>127</sup> CAD E 359-360 sub 12a. Cf. also CAD E 357 sub 6a and 6e (Š); AHW 255, sub Št<sub>2</sub> 1) “gebrauchsfertig machen”.

<sup>128</sup> AHW 256, sub 3f, again in Št<sub>2</sub>-stem.

<sup>129</sup> CAD E 363, sub 12-13.

<sup>130</sup> CAD E 363, sub 15.

<sup>131</sup> CAD E 361, sub 12b; AHW 256, sub 3d “(Weisungen etc.) recht gestalten”. See also AHW 256 sub 3a-b for *ešēru* Št in connection with the elucidation of obscure words and contradictory statements.

<sup>132</sup> The verbal noun might be indicated by the suffixed -A.

<sup>133</sup> For possible sources related to *Sakikkū* section 6 see also the last passage in paragraph 2.1.1. A similar case may be encountered in the physiognomic omen series and its sub-series. A hint that some sections of *Alamdimmū* may have been regarded as separate series in themselves is presented by the separate listing of the sub-series *Kataduggū* and *Nigdimdimmū* in library records and other texts (cf. the introductory passage in 2.1.2.). Another indication may be found in the sub-series on moles. In the Old Babylonian period, texts on skin moles seem to be regarded as a separate group, represented by three more or less uniformly styled texts (YBC 4646 (YOS 10, 54) on *umšatu*; YBC 5074 (YOS 10, 55) on *halū* and *umšatu*, and Si. 33 (Kraus 1939: pl. 63-64; YOS 10, 4; Böck 2000: 302-305) on *umšatu*). Apart from the description of moles, VAT 7525 (Köcher, Oppenheim and Güterbock 1957-58: 66) presents the only Old Babylonian physiognomic texts that refers to human features. However, this text mixes physiognomic, behavioural and dream omens with omens on body moles. Note further that the section on moles within the standard series shows some terminological differences and deviations from the apodoses within the main series *Alamdimmū*. This may likewise underscore the independent status or differing tradition behind the sub-series on moles.

with healing a sick or troubled person, and is headed by the specialised series concerned with reading and interpreting signs drawn from the human body.

In this vein, the editorial work of Esagil-kīn-apli may be considered as an approach to unify divinatory branches which are especially human-centred. Both series, the *Diagnostic Handbook* as well as the physiognomic series, focus on signs drawn from the human body and a person's behaviour,<sup>134</sup> be it abnormal, pathological or unconscious. These signs are interpreted within the contextual or situational mode of the sign's occurrence. This means that the meaning of a sign depends on whether the examined person was sick and troubled, or whether the person was about to change his or her social position or status.<sup>135</sup> The observing and supervising role of the ritual expert with regard to human affairs is also expressed in l. 69 of Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial note, where the [exorcist] is said to be responsible for formulating a verdict (concerning a person's fate) and for watching over people's lives. In accordance with the scope of the text corpus outlined in KAR 44, the *āšipu* appears to have been the ultimate observer, mediator and practitioner regarding a broad range of circumstances and events in human life, especially those that were regarded as influenced by the divine realm. Not only the outstanding range of the exorcist's curriculum, but also his fundamental position as "speaker on behalf of other human beings" and his insight into divine knowledge that was passed down by the sages from before the flood and by later scholars like Esagil-kīn-apli, helped to increase the *āšipu*'s prestige and to sustain the longevity of the profession until the last wedges of cuneiform writing.

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<sup>134</sup> Other behavioural omens that do not emphasise a "liminal" or "transitory" social state have been incorporated into the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu*, e.g. the behavioural omens concerned with marital or sexual relationships, cf. Guinan 2002.

<sup>135</sup> For the presumed contexts of physiognomic omens in connection with investitures and marriages, mostly in the sphere of a higher economic institution such as the palace, cf. Böck 2010: 214ff.

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- Wilhelm 1994 = G. Wilhelm, *Medizinische Omina aus Hattuša in akkadischer Sprache*, StBoT 36 (Wiesbaden)
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# Catalogues, Texts and Specialists

## Some Thoughts on the Assur Medical Catalogue, Mesopotamian Medical Texts and Healing Professions

**Abstract:** One of the peculiarities of Mesopotamian textual scholarship is the text type of the catalogue, which is attested in a variety of forms and found on cuneiform tablets from the late third to the first millennium BCE. Text catalogues, which basically consist of a list of texts or compositions cited by their title, offer precious insights into technical, practical and theoretical aspects of Mesopotamian scholarly texts. While some text catalogues may represent lists of the holdings of particular tablet collections (“libraries”), catalogues of technical compendia give a chart of the internal structure of long and complex compositions. Such catalogues are thus crucial documents for the reconstruction of the compendia in question and help to fill gaps in the preserved textual record. Moreover, catalogues of technical compendia present clues concerning the formation, development and transmission of compositions that belong to different technical disciplines. Being the only known example for a catalogue that lists serialised compositions of medical therapeutic texts, the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) forms a key source for investigating the serialisation of medical compendia in the first millennium BCE.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, AMC raises the simple question what exactly it represents as a catalogue, which inevitably raises the issue of the Mesopotamian healing disciplines and their text corpora, and whose professional expertise the AMC reflects.

This paper aims to tackle these questions, based on a survey of different types of ancient Mesopotamian text catalogues. A comparison of the AMC with two other closely related texts, the catalogue of the “twin” series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens (*Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*) and the so-called Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates), leads to the conclusion that the AMC represents in its core the text corpus of the *asû* “physician”, which was shaped into serialised compendia in the first millennium BCE. On the other hand, the comparison of the three catalogues reveals links as well as differences in their structure and contents, providing an opportunity to reconsider the relationship between the professional domains of the healing specialists *āšipu* “conjurer, exorcist” and *asû* “physician”, and their contributions to the medical text corpora reflected in the AMC.

## 1 Introduction

In his survey of Mesopotamian text catalogues in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Krecher (1980: 478) defined “literary” catalogues as “selbständige Verzeichnisse von literarischen Einheiten [i.e., compositions or works] ... bzw. von Teilen einer literarischen Einheit”, applying a broad usage of the term “literature”, since the kinds of texts encountered in Mesopotamian catalogues belong to various genres including myths, hymns, songs, cult laments, lexical lists, omen collections, ritual texts and incantations.<sup>2</sup>

Within the category “catalogue”, we can generally differentiate a) catalogues listing various compositions belonging to different text types/genres and b) catalogues that register the sections of one specific composition, or a group of

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this contribution is available in Steinert forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> Shorter catalogues are sometimes embedded within a text or appended as a separate section to a text of related, but differing content. For example, the so-called Diviner’s Manual (Oppenheim 1974) consists of two catalogues listing the titles of altogether 24 omen tablets (terrestrial and celestial), paired with a set of instructions and explanations how to determine the validity of a given ominous sign, by confirming the exact time on which it occurred. A similar case is the Late Babylonian tablet VAT 7847 + AO 6448 (= TCL 6, 12), which appends a list of tablet incipits and citations (from rituals, omen texts, medical and lexical texts) to a tablet with astronomical-astrological material (including illustrations of constellations, see Weidner 1967: 15-34, esp. 28, Tafel 7-10 and Finkel’s contribution in this volume). Similarly, ritual texts can contain catalogue-like sections listing incantation incipits, sometimes combined with concise “liturgical” instructions (for their ritual performance), see, e.g., the Ritual Tablet of *Šurpu* I rev. (Reiner 1958: 12); Lamaštu III 76-109 (Farber 2014: 137-40); cf. also the ritual instructions to the incantation series *Muššu’u* (Böck 2003; cf. Böck 2007: 70-78).

compositions belonging to one particular text type or genre.<sup>3</sup> In the first millennium BCE, concomitant with the development of serialised compendia within the scholarly disciplines of *āšipūtu*, *bārūtu*, *kalūtu* and *asūtu*, catalogues also appear in two specific forms.<sup>4</sup> These are the **text series catalogues**, which register the “sections” or “tablets” making up one composition (“series”) in a fixed sequence (e.g., catalogues of omen series such as *Enūma Anu Enlil*, *Šumma ālu* or *Sakikkū*), and the **catalogues of a professional corpus**, which list the compositions/text groups used by a specific technical discipline (e.g., the catalogues of texts belonging to *āšipūtu* and *kalūtu*). It is these two types of catalogues that this article will focus on.

If we try to define the purposes or contexts for which text catalogues were drawn up, composed or copied, we can differentiate several, though probably often overlapping uses to be discussed in the following sections: a) catalogues as tablet inventories (drawn up for archival purposes), b) catalogues as technical tools for textual scholarship, c) catalogues as tools in scribal education and specialist training.

## 2 Tablet Inventories or Registers

In a recent study of the Old Babylonian catalogues of (mostly) Sumerian literary works,<sup>5</sup> Delnero (2010) argues that these texts are inventories compiled for archival purposes rather than lists of school curricula, as has often been suggested.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Tinney (1999) proposed on the basis of two Old Babylonian tablets with lists of Sumerian literary compositions, the “Nippur catalogue” and the “Louvre catalogue”, that the elementary scribal curriculum reconstructed by Veldhuis (1997) was followed by a more advanced phase constituted by two sets of literary compositions, which Tinney designated as the Tetrad and the Decad.<sup>7</sup> One of the catalogues of literary texts, the so-called “Nippur Catalogue” (UM 29-15-155), lists 62 compositions, with the first ten entries corresponding to the compositions of the Decad.<sup>8</sup>

Arguments for the Nippur and Louvre catalogues as lists describing a scribal curriculum are based on the fact that they have a considerable number of entries in common, some of which occur in identical sequence. Moreover, several compositions found at the beginning of the two catalogues are also attested on Type II exercise tablets,<sup>9</sup> and there are instances of tablets with compositions of the Decad bearing catchlines which reflect the sequence of compositions in the Nippur and Louvre catalogues (Delnero 2010: 34-35; cf. Civil 1976: 145 n. 36). The observation that these catalogues list nearly all of the Sumerian literary texts known today has led to the conclusion that the catalogues give complete lists of the entire corpus of Sumerian literature in the Old Babylonian period, or of compositions regarded by the ancients as “canonical”.<sup>10</sup> However, Delnero’s re-examination of the Old Babylonian literary catalogues throws serious doubt on

3 See also Tinney (1996: 17), distinguishing between lists of “texts to which the ancient scribe attributed the same subscript” and lists embracing “a variety of texts grouped by the native subscript used to refer to them”.

4 For these disciplines embracing the fields of “exorcism”, “medicine”, divination (extispicy) and the profession of the lamentation priest or cult singer, see e.g. Jean 2006; Gabbay 2014: 63-79; Geller 2007a; 2010: 43-88; Lenzi 2015: 146-151; Koch 2015: 15-24 and *passim*.

5 For examples of Old Babylonian catalogues including or consisting of Akkadian texts, see, e.g., AUAM 73.2402 (Cohen 1976: 129-33; ETCSL text 0.2.11); BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993: 209-10; SEAL text 10.1.2); MS 3391 (George 2009: 71-75, pl. 33-6; SEAL text 10.1.1). Cf. BM 59484 (a list of incipits of songs, in Middle Babylonian script; Finkel 1988a; see also SEAL text 10.3.1).

6 Other scholars, such as Wilcke (1976: 41), argued against the designation “literary catalogues” for these documents and preferred to speak of inventories of specific tablet collections.

7 The Tetrad forms a grouping of four hymnic compositions (“Lipit-Eštar B”, “Iddin-Dagan B”, “Enlil-bani A”, “Nisaba hymn A”). The Decad consists of two royal hymns (“Šulgi A”, “Lipit-Ištar A”), followed by “The Song of the Hoe”, “The Exaltation of Inana”, “Enlil in the Ekur”, “The Keš Temple hymn”, “Enki’s Journey to Nibru”, “Inana and Ebih”, “A hymn to Nungal” (Nungal A), and “Gilgameš and Huwawa, Version A”. For a recent discussion of the Decad as a curricular grouping, see also Delnero 2006: 22-147.

8 The same ten entries probably also constitute the beginning of the “Louvre Catalogue” (AO 5393; TCL 15, 28; see Delnero 2010: 33). For a similar interpretation of the Old Babylonian literary compositions found in a Nippur archive in terms of a curricular order, see also Robson 2001: 55-57.

9 These are single-column exercise tablets, divided into sections by horizontal rulings. Type II tablets typically contain short extracts from literary, religious and lexical texts representing the second, advanced stage of the scribal training (see Gesche 2001: 49-52, 172-98; Veldhuis 2013: 169, 171).

10 See especially Vanstiphout (2003: 10-11), who regards the Nippur and Louvre catalogues as lists of an Old Babylonian canon of Sumerian literary texts. For a broader view of the corpus of Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts transmitted from the Ur III period as a “literary canon”, defining how literature should be written, see Veldhuis 2003: 17-18. Hallo (1991) argues that those texts included in the scribal curriculum could be regarded as a kind of canon, although “classical” may be a better characterisation of the Old Babylonian literary corpus than

their suggested purpose as lists of school curricula. Most importantly, he points out that the text entries encountered in these catalogues are never identical. Each catalogue contains a number of entries not listed in the others; and the sequence of compositions also differs considerably in many instances.<sup>11</sup> It is further noteworthy that the Nippur and Louvre catalogues lack a number of compositions that were popular in Old Babylonian times and are known from multiple manuscripts, including the four texts of the Tetrad, which one would expect to be listed together with the Decad, if the catalogues reflected the order in which they were taught in the scribal curriculum.

Almost all of the entries in the Old Babylonian text catalogues pertain to two groups of texts. They either present the incipits of various literary texts (e.g., hymns to deities, rulers, temples, narrative texts, dialogues, debate poems – texts copied as part of the scribal curriculum), or they list incipits of liturgical texts recited in a cultic setting (Emesal compositions such as Balaḡs and Eršemmas, only rarely copied on exercise tablets). Occasionally, catalogues consist of texts from both groups.<sup>12</sup> In addition, there are instances of catalogues registering literary and lexical works, as well as two catalogues of incantations (Delnero 2010: “I1” = JRL, Box 24, E 5 and 25; Wilcke 1973: 14-15; ETCSL no. 0.2.11) and of letters purportedly written by local rulers (AUWE 23, 112; van Dijk 1989: 441-46; Cavigneaux 1996: 57-59; Delnero 2010: 42-43 “Uk1”).<sup>13</sup>

The text incipits in the Old Babylonian catalogues are grouped and listed according to recurring ordering principles (Delnero 2010: 44-49), which also feature in text catalogues from later periods. Some incipits can be preceded or followed by separate **rubrics** identifying internal groupings of texts (e.g., by naming the genre of the compositions listed, or by giving a **subtotal** of incipits/compositions registered in the previous lines). In other cases, text incipits are grouped together because they are associated through a common theme or subject, or because the compositions begin with the same sign or sign group. Furthermore, groups of incipits can also be set apart from each other by **horizontal rulings**.<sup>14</sup>

A few clues point to the function of the Old Babylonian literary catalogues as inventories of tablet collections. Thus, some of the documents contain explicit references to the location of groups of tablets indicated by listed incipits. For instance, in UET 5, 86 (ETCSL no. 0.2.03; Delnero 2010: 47 “U1”), we find the note “(located) in the lower/upper (reed) basket” (ša<sup>si</sup> pisan murub<sub>4</sub> šaplûm/elûm) after the eleventh and twenty-third incipit, referring to different storage containers that contained the tablets with the listed compositions.

Sometimes, the incipits refer to multiple compositions on collective tablets, which are stored together. BM 23771 (Kramer 1975: 141-52; Delnero 2010: 47 “B2”, a catalogue of Eršemma laments) features subtotals of compositions followed by the rubric ša 1 dub “(so-and-so many compositions) on a single tablet”, which reoccurs throughout the list. BM 23771 is thus an inventory of tablets and their contents.<sup>15</sup> Another hint to the inventory function of the Old Babylo-

“canonical”. For the notion of “canonisation” in connection with the development of technical compendia throughout the second and first millennium BCE, cf. below.

<sup>11</sup> Note also that in the catalogues containing them, the compositions of the Decad are listed in partially diverging order or in incomplete sequences, with the exception of the Nippur and Louvre catalogues (Delnero 2010: 51).

<sup>12</sup> Delnero 2010: 41-44 and Table 1. For catalogues of Emesal prayers, see also Gabbay 2007: esp. 87-88; Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011: 72-77; Peterson 2010: 169-76; Löhnert 2009: 13-17.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also an Ur-III period catalogue listing only royal hymns (en<sub>8</sub>-du lugal “royal songs”, Hallo 1963: 168; 1975: 77; ETCSL no. 0.1.2; Tinney 1996: 18). This tablet closes with the subscript pàd-da Niġ-ú-rum “(tablets/texts) found/retrieved by Niġurum”, possibly designating the person responsible for drawing up the document. A second Ur-III text known in two sources (HS 1360 = TMH NF 3, 55; Ni 1905) has recently been interpreted as a “liturgical text outlining a ritual procedure” (Richardson 2006: 7) rather than a catalogue of literary works (cf. Kramer 1961; van Dijk and Geller 2003: 4; ETCSL no. 0.1.1; Wilcke 1976: 42; Delnero 2010: 40-41). The tablet contains four sections of incantation incipits, which together form one “collection/series” (gîr-ġen-na, see Michalowski 2006: 249 n. 7; differently Richardson 2006: 5-7, translating it as “ritual procedure”). In this text, the expression dub-saġ-ta “(from the tablet (of) incipits)” heading the first two sections indicates that the following entries are “incipits” of incantations, which may formerly have been inscribed on separate tablets. While the first two sections of HS 1360 are summed up as texts which are ša pú-dili-kam “in one source” (i.e., collected on one tablet?), line 19 states that the third section of the collection could not be found (gîr-ġen-na-bi lú nu-da-pà), which reminds us of similar statements in tablet inventories (cf. below). For gîr-ġen-na as a term for “list” or “catalogue” see also Klein and Sefati 2014: 89 n. 30.

<sup>14</sup> Not all Old Babylonian catalogues make use of these features, however.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. further BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993), which registers tablets (dub and im-ġid-da) with cult songs designated by their incipit, where one composition takes up between one and eight tablets. In comparison, CBS 8086 (Michalowski 1980) enumerates the opening lines of different sections of Balaġ songs as well as incipits of whole compositions. The entries probably have to be understood as an inventory of tablets, although this is not specified explicitly through numbers or designations such as dub or im-ġid-da. Cf. Peterson 2010 for another similar Old Babylonian inventory.



nian catalogues can be gleaned from the size and shape of the tablets: they are small (not larger than 10 cm x 5 cm) and in some cases cylinder-shaped, which points to their use as tags for tablet containers.<sup>16</sup> This interpretation is underscored by examples of similar tags from later periods, which were inscribed with titles of compositions and placed on the shelves that contained the tablets.<sup>17</sup>

Although Old Babylonian catalogues such as the Nippur and Louvre catalogues list compositions that were regularly copied as scribal exercises, they probably did not serve primarily as curricular lists outlining a sequence of texts to be studied by scribal apprentices, but as practical inventories registering tablets and their contents, as stored in tablet collections. This is reflected foremost of all by their non-uniform character. However, a Late Babylonian school tablet from Babylon illustrates that catalogues (incipit lists of compositions) could play a role in scribal education. The tablet CTMMA 2, 65 (Gesche 2005; Veldhuis 2013) contains on its obverse the opening lines of lexical works, listed in the order of the constituent series tablets as well as according to their sequence in the curriculum. The list presents “a complete overview of the lexical corpus of the time” (Veldhuis 2013: 169). The tablet’s reverse contains a colophon phrased as a dedicatory prayer to a manifestation of the scribal god Nabû (*Nabû ša nikkassi* “Nabû-of-accounting”). Such prayers are a typical feature of a group of students’ tablets from first millennium BCE Babylonia dedicated to temples as votives, written on so-called Type 1 exercise tablets, which usually contain excerpted lines from lexical lists and are associated with the first stage of scribal education.<sup>18</sup>

An elaborate catalogue of hymnic compositions and songs dating to the late second millennium BCE is KAR 158 from Assur, found with a group of tablets that formed part of an archive belonging to the Aššur temple.<sup>19</sup> The text contained ca. 400 incipits of Sumerian and Akkadian songs (including much love poetry) from the Old Babylonian and post-Old Babylonian period, many of which were probably used in a cultic setting. The catalogue entries are grouped at regular intervals, through the insertion of summary lines in which sub-totals of incipits are counted and classified. The songs in KAR 158 are grouped primarily according to musical categories: the obverse contains sections with incipits of *zamāru* “songs”, divided into *iškārātu* “sections” (Limet 1996; Groneberg 2003: 60-71). Thus, a group of incipits is regularly summed up in a ruled-off rubric as “so-and-so-many *iškārātu* (consisting of) so-and-so-many songs”, and further classified by musical, technical, thematic, geographical or “ethnic” specifications. Sometimes, groups of songs are additionally designated as belonging to a “series” or “cycle” (GIŠ.GĀR) indicated by title.<sup>20</sup> A number of the summary sections contain the verbal phrase *amnu* “I have counted/enumerated”, followed by the formula “May Ea order life for you!” (*Ea balātka liqbi*), which forms a unique feature of this catalogue. The last column on the reverse, however, presents a table recapitulating all the preceding rubrics (i.e., sub-totals of compositions) registered in col. i–vii.<sup>21</sup>

16 For tags and library labels, see, e.g., van Dijk 1972: 339 n. 3; Delnero 2010: 48; Michalowski 1980: 268. From the Old Babylonian period, five catalogues listing tablets with Balaḡ compositions or similar cult songs have been identified as labels: BM 23612, BM 23249, BM 85564, Museum Haaretz 143860 (Shaffer 2000: no. 1-4 and fig. 6-7; previously Kramer 1982; Michalowski 1980: 268; cf. Delnero 2010: 42, 48 B5-B7) and BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993; Groneberg 2003: 56). Another Old Babylonian catalogue of Eršemmas (BM 23701) is shaped in the form of a small five-sided prism (Kramer 1975: 142, 152-157; Delnero 2010: 41 B3). Photos of these objects can also be found online, in the Research Database of the British Museum.

17 For shelf labels from Hattuša, see Karasu 1996: 55-59; Gordin 2008: 21. From the first millennium BCE stem examples of lozenge-shaped labels. K. 1400 is inscribed with DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR-in / liq-ta-a-te “If a City is set on a Height; excerpts” (Freedman 1998: 5 n. 6; CDLI: P393892). Similarly, K. 1539 (CDLI: P393909) bears the title of *Enūma Anu Enlil* followed by *liqtāte*. Note further BM 57373 (CT 55, 411), an inventory of writing boards, similar to a docket. Possibly BAM 310, a very small tablet from Assur, had a similar purpose. It registers a commentary on the diagnostic omen series (*maš’alāte ša SA.GIG*) and a *mukallimtu*-commentary on the mythological text Lugal-e, followed by an “egertu-tablet with 37 stones” and the incantation incipit *šūhī uqnū* “My laughter is lapis lazuli” (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 344 Text 13 line 17; Stadholders 2013: 305 Text 4).

18 For Type I exercise tablets, see the detailed study of Gesche 2001: 44-49; 61-171; for students’ tablets with dedications, see also Cavigneaux 1999; George 2010; Veldhuis 2013: 173-174 with further literature.

19 For the archival context, see Pedersén 1985: 31-38; 1986: 12-19, with 21 N1 (26). The text was edited by Ebeling (1922) and is now accessible via the SEAL website, text 10.3.2. Hecker (2013) offers a German translation. For discussions, see Black 1983: 25-29; Limet 1996; Groneberg 2003; Nissinen 2001: 111-113; Klein and Sefati 2008: 619-622; for a detailed study of the song categories/genres in KAR 158 and their connection to performance practices, see Shehata 2009.

20 E.g. ii 46; cf. Worthington 2010: 395. In some cases, the summaries begin with ŠU.NÍGIN “a total (of n compositions/songs of a specific kind)”. In others, a group of compositions is summed up in both ways (by reference to a “series” and by a total (e.g., iii 28-30 and 31)). Occasionally, a sum total is provided for several groups of compositions (see, e.g., ii 48).

21 See also Limet 1996: 152 with n. 2; Pedersén 1985: 35; 1986: 21 N1 (26). Col. viii has both horizontal and vertical rulings.

Although we cannot be certain about its exact purpose (a colophon or opening line at the beginning of the tablet is unfortunately not preserved), the main interest of KAR 158 seems to lie in registering concrete numbers of compositions/songs in specific categories, some of which form “series”. In this respect, the tablet with four columns of text on each side evokes the impression of being the main register to a large text collection.<sup>22</sup> Possibly, KAR 158 was drawn up on a specific occasion, with the purpose of presenting a contents list of all the song compositions assembled in a tablet collection, registered by type rather than by numbered tablets.

Likewise from the second half of the second millennium BCE stem a group of about 60 tablets and fragments containing catalogues or shelf lists, which mostly originate from buildings on the acropolis Büyükkale at the Hittite capital Hattuša. Most of the shelf lists date to the Late Empire Period and are of varying format (from small one-column tablets with just a few entries up to three-column tablets). They have been described as stocktaking lists or inventories of tablets in different archives. These lists record one or several of the following details for each entry in the catalogues: the title of the composition (usually by incipit), the author of the text (if applicable), the number of tablets in a given series; the physical disposition of the tablet (e.g., shape, state of preservation) and whether the composition available on the shelf is complete.<sup>23</sup> Judging from the contents of these shelf lists and the preserved textual material from Hattuša, it seems that these catalogues do not represent complete lists of the whole of a library or of several tablet collections, but partial inventories for specific sections of tablet collections (Dardano 2006: 7-8, 11-12). This is indicated by the fact that the majority of the catalogue entries record rituals and genres such as oracles, medical texts and some political documents, while other text genres are not included (e.g., lexical texts, laws, annals and instructions). In addition, the catalogues provide information on the availability and actual presence (complete or incomplete) of the tablets constituting the recorded compositions within the archive.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the compositions recorded in the shelf lists are types of texts of which multiple copies are preserved, i.e., texts that were re-copied or re-edited over time. Thus, Gordin (2015: 117) speculates that certain shelf lists could be “inventories of tablets removed from specific collections”, which were replaced by a new edition of the compositions in question or moved from one scribal supervisor to another.<sup>25</sup>

The shelf lists from Hattuša throw interesting light on differences to the Mesopotamian tablet inventories, namely that the latter texts usually provide much sparser information on authorship and on the completeness of the recorded texts in the collection. Thus, only a few catalogues from first millennium BCE Mesopotamia attribute texts to individual authors (Lambert 1957; 1962; Lenzi 2008a: 100-101, 119-120; 2008b).

Comments referring to the availability of texts or remarks about lost or lacking tablets are likewise relatively rare in Mesopotamian catalogues, but not entirely a late phenomenon.<sup>26</sup> The occurrence of such comments in the form of marginal notations in first millennium BCE catalogues points to their continued practical use as inventories. Although most examples with such marginal notations are attested for catalogues of ritual or incantation compendia, there is also one fragmentary catalogue from Nineveh with the incipits of the omen series *Šumma ālu* (K. 9094b; Freedman 1998: 324-325), which marks some catalogue entries with numbers (either “one” or “two”).

Two Neo-Assyrian catalogues with marginal notations stem from the library N4 at Assur (so-called “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters”). One of them (VAT 13723+) contains a fragmentary catalogue, which lists tablet incipits of ritual/incantation series, such as *Šurpu*, *Maqlû*, *Muššu’u*, *Utukkû lemnûtu* (Udug-hul), *Asakkû maršûtu* (Asag-gig-ga), *Lamaštu*, *Mis pî* and Namburbi texts as well as a number of other incantation incipits and text rubrics, many of which are known from the Exorcist’s Manual and from ritual texts (Geller 2000: 226-234).<sup>27</sup> The catalogue could have been used as an inventory, because at the margin of several lines in columns ii and iv, short notations occur which probably indicate the number of copies of the same tablet available in a collection, one, two, three or none (NU). The interpre-

<sup>22</sup> Groneberg (2003: 69) suggests that the person who drew up the catalogue was a musical performer and belonged either to a temple or the palace.

<sup>23</sup> See Hoffner 2002; van den Hout 2002: 860-862; Dardano 2006; Gordin 2008: 21; 2015: 115-120.

<sup>24</sup> There are, for instance, repeated references to missing tablets that could not be found, see Dardano 2006: 8 and *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> Further underlining their practical function, Christiansen (2008: 306-307) notes the possibility that the shelf lists were drawn up in connection with specific events and tasks, and represent texts that had to be relocated or rewritten, e.g., for the performance of cultic events.

<sup>26</sup> Such statements occur already in Ur-III period catalogues (see above n. 13). In a remarkable Old Babylonian document formulated as a message, the anonymous sender lists incipits of Balağ compositions, stating that these are the compositions in his collection and requests from the recipient to send him “those that I do not have” (Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011: 73: 8-9).

<sup>27</sup> See also Pedersén 1986: 66 (291); Böck 2007: 65-66.

tation of VAT 13723+ as an inventory could explain why the incipits or constituent tablets for some of the series are not registered in their entirety – the compiler may have listed textual material available in one or multiple archives.<sup>28</sup>

In a second catalogue from the Assur library N4, which contains a list of incantations of the genre ŠĀ.ZI.GA (LKA 94), some entries are preceded by NU (Biggs 1967: 11-16 col. ii 9-12; Pedersén 1986: 65 (236)).<sup>29</sup> Although the rubric at the end of col. iii calls the listed incipits “incantations” (ÉN TU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ) for ŠĀ.ZI.GA (“sexual arousal”), the catalogue does not only contain incantations, but also a few incipits which indicate therapeutic instructions, beginning with DIŠ NA (“If a man (...)”), with a purpose statement, or with the names of *materia medica* (stones). This could imply that LKA 94 gives an overview of a collection of ŠĀ.ZI.GA material in the form of a contents list that enumerates the incipits of text sections on multiple tablets. Most of the tablets not marked by NU seem to have been available to the compiler.<sup>30</sup> Biggs (1967: 11) suggested that the two ruled-off sections making up the list could mark older compositions and younger material added by a second compiler.

Maul (1994: 191-195) compared the ŠĀ.ZI.GA catalogue with a catalogue of NAM.BŪR.BI rituals from Uruk (SpTU 1, 6), which likewise consists of two ruled-off parts and contains entries preceded by NU. Maul proposed that both catalogues reflect a compilation of two inventories of existing texts in multiple collections, which the compiler had drawn up and compared with the texts available or known to him.<sup>31</sup> In his analysis of the NAM.BŪR.BI catalogues from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh, Maul (1994: 196–203) identified two copies of a list of NAM.BŪR.BI rituals.<sup>32</sup> The exact purpose of the catalogue remains elusive, although it is clear that it does not register the complete corpus of NAM.BŪR.BI rituals in Ashurbanipal’s library, since the ritual series compiled at Nineveh was considerably longer. In contrast to series or corpus catalogues discussed in the next sections, the Nineveh NAM.BŪR.BI catalogue lacks a heading, and a colophon is not preserved. Further, it is unlikely that the catalogue presents the contents of the NAM.BŪR.BI series created by Ashurbanipal’s scholars, since the order of NAM.BŪR.BI tablets known from incipits and catchlines does not seem to be identical with the order of entries in the catalogue. The Nineveh NAM.BŪR.BI catalogue also does not assign tablet numbers to individual entries as do other series catalogues. Maul speculates whether the Nineveh catalogue could present a combination of several partial lists registering *corpora* and tablets that were integrated into the royal library (e.g., from Babylonia), similar to the “library records” (cf. below). More likely in my view, however, is Maul’s suggestion that the Nineveh NAM.BŪR.BI catalogue represents a preliminary stage to a series of rituals created at Nineveh. The NAM.BŪR.BI catalogues also reflect the fact that NAM.BŪR.BI rituals never developed into a standard (“canonical”) sequence accepted and transmitted at different places.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the sequence of rituals known from tablets and catchlines from Assur (library N4) does not correspond with that of the tablets in Babylonian script from Nineveh or with that of the Nineveh NAM.BŪR.BI catalogue. Neither was the NAM.BŪR.BI series created by Ashurbanipal’s scholars transmitted into later periods.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> This also fits in well with the observation that “it is rare to find complete sets of longer works in any collection” (Robson 2011: 570). Note that one fragment probably belonging to the same tablet may contain a passage similar to the editorial note (“Esagil-kin-apli colophon”) in the catalogue of the series *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū* (Geller 2000: 232), but this reading is contested (see Frahm forthcoming). In his article, Geller edited and discussed a few similar first millennium catalogues from Nippur, Sippar and Nineveh (Geller 2000: 234-242 Texts B, C and D), of which B contains incipits of incantations from the series *Muššu’u* (corresponding to a serial order) as well as incipits of fire incantations (see also Böck 2007: 66-67), while C (from Sippar) represents a multi-column tablet similar to VAT 13723+ enumerating incantation incipits from multiple series in sequences most likely corresponding to actual tablets in a collection.

<sup>29</sup> It is interesting that all entries marked by the sign NU indicate therapeutic material, which is found at the end of the first part of the catalogue.

<sup>30</sup> Only a small part of the catalogue entries has been identified to date in preserved tablets. The catalogue fits in with the impression that ŠĀ.ZI.GA incantations and rituals were never brought into a standard sequence. Cf. below for two sections in the Assur Medical Catalogue, which register therapeutic material related to ŠĀ.ZI.GA.

<sup>31</sup> This view is supported by the fact that NAM.BŪR.BI rituals concerned with a common topic (e.g., snakes) were not registered in one continuous sequence, but in two groups separated by entries concerned with a different topic (Maul 1994: 192, SpTU 1, 6: 1’-2’, 5’-6’).

<sup>32</sup> Mss. A<sub>1</sub> (K. 2389 + 10664) (+) A<sub>2</sub> (Rm. 2, 178) and ms. B (K. 3277). The first manuscript (K. 2389+) contained about 80 entries corresponding to the incipits of separate tablets. Ms. B (K. 3277) forms a fragment duplicating part of ms. A.

<sup>33</sup> The Nineveh and Uruk catalogues only share a few entries, and present two completely different sequences. The Nineveh catalogue follows a certain thematic arrangement of contents, e.g., with a section grouping ominous occurrences involving animals (lines 7’-15’), a group involving ominous occurrences in the bedroom (lines 1-2) or a group concerned with occurrences in connection with the practice of extispicy (lines 17-18), although the thematic groupings of rituals are not entirely consistent (Maul 1994: 196).

<sup>34</sup> Evidence from the Late Babylonian period is sparse, but the existence of a *pirsu*-series of NAM.BŪR.BI rituals at Uruk is indicated by the colophon of SpTU 2, 18, designated as the first *pirsu* of a compilation whose title is identical with the incipit of this tablet (Maul 1994: 203).

The marginal notations about the non-availability of textual sources encountered in catalogues of incantations and rituals can further be compared with the Nineveh catalogue of Emesal prayers (Balaḡs, Eršemmas and Šuilas to different deities), which according to its colophon forms “the tablet of checked incipits of the *corpus* of the lamentation priest’s craft (*kalûtu*), which were available” (K. 2529+ rev. iv 30: DUB SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR NAM.GALA IGI.LĀ.MEŠ šá ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> šu-šu-u). The colophon continues with the remark that “many (compositions/incipits) could not be traced and were therefore not added (to the list)” (rev. iv 31–32 [ma]-ṛ a’-ṛ du-tum ul am-ru ina lib-bi la ru-ud-du-u).<sup>35</sup> Although the catalogue does not register the complete corpus of all Emesal compositions in existence at the time, it nonetheless reflects the attempt of a compiler, aware of an already established sequence of compositions, to record the compositions what were available to him based on this standard order.<sup>36</sup>

Other catalogues of compositions reflect compilations of textual material drawn up for other purposes than to provide a tablet inventory. Thus, K. 2832 + 6680 forms a fragment of a two-column tablet listing the incipits of prayers that could be used in different ritual settings. The list is headed by the titles of the rituals *Bīt rimki*, *Bīt salā’ mē* and *im-babbar im-dadag-ga* (col. i 1–3), followed in col. i by a list of Marduk prayers, while the beginning of col. ii preserves incipits of prayers to Šamaš. The purpose of this list may have been to catalogue prayers (for use in different contexts) according to addressed deity, rather than providing an inventory of tablets in a collection or outlining the order of prayers in the ritual series enumerated at the beginning of the tablet.<sup>37</sup>

One last text group to be mentioned in the present context are the so-called “library records” from Nineveh, which document Ashurbanipal’s efforts of collecting scholarly tablets for his royal library.<sup>38</sup> These tablets do not constitute library inventories, but administrative lists documenting the transfer of tablets especially from Babylonia to Nineveh during Ashurbanipal’s reign. The library records list tablets and writing-boards “in the process of accession into the royal collections” (Frame and George 2005: 278), and the largest numbers of tablets listed refer to scholarly texts pertaining to exorcist’s lore (*āšipūtu*), astrological omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*), teratological and terrestrial omens (*Šumma izbu*, *Šumma ālu*), medical recipes (*bulṭū*), dream omens and extispicy (*bārūtu*).<sup>39</sup> The incoming tablets were recorded in groups specified as having been provided by named individuals, some of which come from Babylonian cities.<sup>40</sup>

### 3 Text Series Catalogues

The second type of catalogue is attested only in the first millennium BCE, since it reflects the formation of “standard”, serialised compositions, which are witnessed in texts from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period onwards.<sup>41</sup> These catalogues provide a fixed sequence of tablets forming one composition and are primarily known for long compendia associated with the disciplines of *āšipūtu* and *bārūtu*. They are attested for omen texts, in particular for those

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The creation of a series entitled NAM.BŪR.BI.MEŠ at Nineveh is implied by a few tablet colophons (Maul 1994: 216–21), which assign a number to the respective tablet. The highest number known to date (the 135<sup>th</sup> Tablet) is found in the colophon of K. 3464 + 3554 (Maul 1994: 216 n. 433). So far, only tablets 9, 122, 123 and 135 of this series have been identified through a colophon on tablets from Nineveh (Maul 1994: 217–221).

<sup>35</sup> Black 1987: 33–35; Gabbay 2014: 233–234 with n. 46; 2015: 15–20 and pl. 29–30; note also the comment NU IGI “not seen” (i.e., could not be traced) in obv. ii 31.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Black 1987: 35–36; Gabbay 2014: 234. See also Maul (1994: 191 n. 298), who argues that the *kalûtu* catalogue is not an *ad hoc* tablet inventory, because it reflects an already “canonised” corpus of texts. The sequence of compositions in this Nineveh catalogue for the most part corresponds to the sequence found in catchlines of tablets with Balaḡs and Eršemmas from Nineveh (also tablets from Sultantepe and Ur follow this order), see Gabbay 2007: 89; 2014: 201–202; 2015: 2 *passim*. For additional fragments of other Nineveh catalogues concerning tablets with Emesal prayers, see Maul 1988: Kat. n. 1–8 (Eršahungas); Gabbay 2015: 15 mss. B and C (Eršemmas).

<sup>37</sup> See Mayer 1976: 399 and 421; Oshima 2011: 12, 111, 115–116, 125, 328–329, 337, 345 (photo of the obv.), 383, 397; CDLI: P394707.

<sup>38</sup> Lambert 1976; 1989: 95–96, 98; 1992: 95–96; Parpola 1983a; SAA 7, 49–56; Frame and George 2005: 277–278.

<sup>39</sup> For an overview of the text types, see Parpola 1983a: 5.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., SAA 7, 49 ii 16’–17’, iii 4’ (tablets of Aplaya and Arrabu, exorcists from Nippur), 50 ii 7’–8’ (tablet of Mušēzib-Nabû, royal scribe from Babylon), 51 ii 3’ (tablets from Bīt Ibā).

<sup>41</sup> For the history of divinatory texts, Koch (2015: 63–64) describes the 17<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century BCE as the period of serialisation (with the development of serialised texts similar in content to first millennium texts), while she designates the 13<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century BCE as the period of standardisation, during which the creation of standard series took place. However, for some texts, multiple variant recensions are attested throughout the first millennium BCE, despite the development of relatively stable compositions with only minor variants within the same recension (cf. below).

with the highest numbers of constituent tablets: the series of astrological omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*, ca. 70 tablets), terrestrial omens (*Šumma ālu*, 120+ tablets), extispicy (*Bārūtu*, 100 tablets) and the series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens (*Sakikkū*, 40 tablets and *Alamdimmū*, ca. 25 tablets).

In the cuneiform sources, the “standard” compendia of the first millennium BCE are sometimes designated as *iškāru* (ĒŠ. GĀR) “assignment”, which Assyriologists often translate as “series”.<sup>42</sup> The meanings of *iškāru* as a term to classify texts can be delimited as “composition” (“literary work”) or “collection” (of texts, compositions).<sup>43</sup> In letters of scholars to the Neo-Assyrian kings, as well as in catalogues and rubrics of scholarly tablets, texts belonging to an *iškāru* are distinguished from “outsider, additional” texts (*ahû*) and from texts marked as “oral” traditions (*ša pī ummāni* “from the mouth of a scholar”).<sup>44</sup> Occasionally, the ancient scholars attribute a special status to texts designated as *iškāru*, although *ahû*-material and oral traditions likewise constituted important sources for scholarly study.<sup>45</sup> *Ahû*-material (groups of entries, tablets or whole compendia) is predominantly attested or mentioned for divinatory texts (*Enūma Anu Enlil*,<sup>46</sup> *Šumma ālu*,<sup>47</sup> *Iqqur ipuš*,<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The terms ĒŠ-gār (also GĪŠ-gār) and *iškāru* originally referred to an assigned task to be performed, as well as to materials supplied for craftsmen and to the finished products of their labour (CAD I/J, 244-249). Because the first millennium compendia and series are relatively consistent, they are often designated as “canonical” or “standard” compositions, even though such characterisations are partially problematic. For discussions of “canonicity”, see Lambert 1957; Rochberg-Halton 1984, 1987; Rochberg 2016; Lieberman 1990; Hallo 1991; Böck 2000: 20-23; Veldhuis 1998: 79-80, 2003; Frahm 2011: 317-328 and Frahm forthcoming; Robson 2011: 571-572; Worthington 2010; Koch 2015: 52-54 as well as Rochberg’s contribution in this volume. While textual criteria (such as form, content, degree of standardisation) are often used to define canonicity, the criterium of the authority inherent in the texts has steadily gained momentum. Thus, the continued use of texts and their valuation in the eyes of scribal and scholarly communities, as well as the importance of certain texts in constituting the identity of certain disciplines and groups of specialists, is emphasised over the criterium of textual stability, since the text corpora of the first millennium BCE were not entirely fixed and closed. For the historical context of the processes of serialisation and standardisation, especially with regard to the omen compendia, cf. Heeßel 2011; Koch 2015: 59-66.

<sup>43</sup> See CAD I/J 249 sub 6; Worthington 2010. The use of *iškāru* for a collection of compositions with a title as well as for units (sections) within such collections is already attested in the Old Babylonian period (Worthington 2010: 395) and in the Middle Assyrian catalogue of songs KAR 158 (see above). This usage is also found in the colophon of a Middle Assyrian medical fragment from Assur (BAM 36), which contained a “collection on the [sick] lungs” (rev. 5’: GĪŠ.GĀR MUR.MEŠ [GIG.MEŠ], Köcher 1963: xvii; Hunger 1968: no. 242). In the first millennium, the designation of literary compositions as “series” with genuine titles is attested for epics (e.g., *iškār Gilgameš* and *iškār Etana* in a Nineveh “library record”, in a list of texts and authors, and in colophons (Lambert 1962: 66 K. 9717+ rev. 10-11; 1976: 314 K. 13684+ 4-5; George 2003: 736-741)), wisdom literature (e.g., *iškār alpi u sīsē* “series of Ox and Horse”, *iškār šēlebi* “series of the Fox”, Lambert 1962: 66 K. 9717+, Sm. 669 rev. 12-14; Lambert 1960: 151, 164, 175, 186), lexical lists (SAA 7, 51 ii 7’; Lambert 1976: 314 K. 14067+ 18), omen compendia (e.g., *iškār Ziqīqu*, Lambert 1976: 314 K. 14067: 20), and rituals (e.g., SAA 10, 261: 3-4 ĒŠ.GĀR *šur[pu]*); cf. Krecher 1980: §4.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Frahm 2011: 45 and *passim* for the close links of the first millennium commentary literature to oral tradition (textual material stemming, e.g., from scholarly discussions and explanations); cf. also Elman 1975. However, the label *ša pī ummāni* “from the mouth of a scholar” is occasionally also attached to text sections with medical recipes (Steinert 2015: 126-127). Moreover, the phrase *ša pī* is an expression to indicate the authorship of a text, see Lambert 1957; for the notion of “authorship” in Mesopotamia, cf. Lenzi 2015: 151-153 with further literature.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Rochberg-Halton 1984; 1987; Koch 2015: 35, 53-54 *passim*. For the contrast between *iškāru* and *ahû* in letters, see, e.g., SAA 10, 8 rev. 8; SAA 10, 101 obv. 1-rev. 6; cf. also the contrast between “good” (SIG<sub>7</sub>) tablets and *ahû*-tablets of rituals in SAA 10, 245 rev. 14 and 240: 25. Sometimes, the terms *iškāru* and *ahû* are not mutually exclusive, since a library record from Nineveh mentions an *iškār ahûti* “series of extraneous material” of astrological omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*; Lambert 1976: 314 K. 14067: 11). The Assur catalogue of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, which includes a list of incipits for “29 tablets of *ahû*-material”, underscores this point (Weidner 1941-44: 185 col. ii 5; Rochberg-Halton 1987: 329-330; Fincke 2001: 24-25, 34-35 and Rochberg in this volume). Texts identified as *ahû* can also become organised in “series”. Basically, *ahû* implies textual material not included in the standard recensions of certain compositions, and there can be close links as well as differences between both types of material. Lieberman (1990: 308) thus suggested that *ahû* has the sense of “appendix” or “excursus” (to the standard text). Robson (2011: 572) suggests that the contrast between *iškāru* and *ahû* does not involve judgements concerning canonicity vs. non-canonicity, but that *iškāru* denoted material from a series that was known to a scholarly community, while *ahû* represents parallel textual traditions that were still new to them. See also Rochberg’s discussion in this volume.

<sup>46</sup> See the references in the previous footnote. An identification of extraneous material for astrological omens is also encountered in tablet colophons (e.g., SpTU 5, 261 rev. 25-26: [n M]U.DIDLI BAR.MEŠ DIŠ UD AN “EN.LÍL.L[Ā] / [šā ŠĀ Ē]Š.GĀR NU *šaṭ-ru* “n extraneous entries of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, which are not written down in the (standard) series”.

<sup>47</sup> Only very few manuscripts of terrestrial omens contain explicit identifications of the material as extraneous, see K. 217+ (Boissier 1894-99: 105: 39; CDLI: P393792), a collection of omens on dogs and bitches, excerpted from various sources, with a section identified as “17 extraneous entries from If a city is set on a height” (17 MU.MEŠ BAR.MEŠ *šūt* DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-in). See further SpTU 2, 32-34 and SpTU 3, 97; Koch 2015: 256.

<sup>48</sup> A library record from Nineveh registers the series, extraneous (tablets) and commentaries (Lambert 1976: 314 Rm. 150: 13-14: DIŠ *iqqur ipuš* *adi* BAR.MEŠ *šātu mukallimtu*).

*Alamdimmû*,<sup>49</sup> *Šumma izbu*<sup>50</sup>) and to a lesser degree for other genres such as rituals<sup>51</sup> or Emesal prayers<sup>52</sup>. The existence of medical texts technically defined as *ahû* “extraneous” has yet to be confirmed, and it is possible that the contrast between texts belonging to a fixed “standard” series (*iškāru*) and texts collected separately was not as important as in other text corpora.<sup>53</sup>

On a technical level, *iškāru* entails the notion of a composition organised into a sequence of “sections” or “tablets”, connected to the original meaning of the term as (work) assignments (performed one after another). Especially the long technical compendia were often divided into sections or sub-series, as for instance *Sakikkû*, *Enūma Anu Enlil* and the *Bārûtu* series. This division can be witnessed in the respective series catalogues, which reflect such an arrangement. Furthermore, series catalogues and colophons often assign numbers to the tablets of a series, according to their position in the section rather than according to their position in the series as a whole. The organisation of serialised compendia into sub-series is linked to the term *sadīru* “section; chapter”.<sup>54</sup> In a few instances, the word seems to refer to the ruled-off sections on a tablet.<sup>55</sup> But in the *Sakikkû* Catalogue and in AMC, the word *sadīru* describes the arrangement of a series into sections made up of several tablets, which are organised in a fixed sequence. In this context, we find the expression *sadīrû ša zarâ*(SUR.GIBIL) *šabtû* “sections which have been edited”, referring to the creation of a serial arrangement (cf. discussion below).

49 A few *ahû* texts of *Alamdimmû* are known (Böck 2000: 21, 262-279). One Babylonian manuscript with the same incipit as Tablet 1 of the standard series, describes the contents as “[a total of n entries] from *Alamdimmû* (pertaining to the) right and left (side), extracted from extraneous collections” (TBP 64 rev. 6’ [ŠU.NIGIN x+]1 MU.MEŠ *alamdimmû* 15 u 150 TA ŠĀ *liqtî* BAR.MEŠ ZI-*ha*), Böck 2000: 262). There was also an excerpt series of *ahû* omens of *Alamdimmû* written on oblong tablets (Böck 2000: 280-291, see for the colophons *ibid.* 282: 21 (TBP 23); 286: 33 (TBP 24); cf. 290: 30 (TBP 25)). A library record mentions “37 tablets of the series *Alamdimmû* together with (*adi*) extraneous (tablets and the series) *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû*” (SAA 7, 52: 10-12). So far, no *ahû* texts have been identified for diagnostic omens (*Sakikkû*), although recensions differing from the standard series existed (Heeßel 2010a; George 1991).

50 For *Šumma izbu*, *ahû* material is attested from Nineveh and Babylonia, which was collected on IM.GÍD.DA type tablets (oblong one-column tablets), see de Zorzi 2014: 11-12, 236-237, 246-249. Two sequences of omens duplicated on multiple tablets from Nineveh and Assur, are summarised in rubrics of one manuscript as *ahû* omens (K. 3966 = CT 28, 3 obv. 17’, rev. 12). A duplicating manuscript (K. 6287: 12) attributes one sequence of these omens to a “first IM.GÍ[D.DA]-tablet”, indicating the existence of a series of *ahû*-omens (de Zorzi 2014: 236; Leichty 1970: 199-200). Another text, K. 3838+ (CT 28, 32), contains on its reverse a sequence of omens, which are summarised in a rubric as “26 *ahû*-omens on malformations from a text copy from Uruk” (26 MU.ŠID.BI.IM *iz-bi a-hu-ti* GA[BA.RI] UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), while its obverse features omens from Tablet 18 of the standard series (de Zorzi 2014: 236; cf. Leichty 1970: 199). Furthermore, omens in K. 4031 (CT 27, 29) are said to have been “excerpted from extraneous *Šumma izbu*” (rev. 15: šĀ BE *iz-bu* BAR-i ZI-*ha*). The evidence from Late Babylonian sources also attests to serialised *ahû* material as well as to the existence of commentaries on these texts (Zorzi 2014: 246-249). At least some of the *ahû* material associated with *Šumma izbu* does not differ markedly from the standard series and seems to have been extracted and arranged in a different way, although the *ahû* texts also include additional material (de Zorzi 2014: 237).

51 Cf. KAR 44 rev. 8 and dupl. (Geller 2000: 251: 31; Jean 2006: 69), including a genre of “extraneous incantations” (TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> BAR.RA) within the *āšipūtu*-corpus. This genre is otherwise mentioned in two almanacs listing favourable months and times for various rituals, in the Neo-Assyrian STT 300: 44 and the Late Babylonian BRM 4, 20: 77 (Geller 2014: 32, 50: 66, equated with *šipātu ahātu*).

52 Gabbay 2014: 198. A section of the *kalûtu* catalogue that lists Balaġ songs to Enlil includes six incipits marked as *ahû* “extraneous” (K. 2529+ i-ii 33-38, Gabbay 2015: 16 and pl. 29). However, as Gabbay (2014: 198) discusses, it is hard to say “what the essential distinction between standard and extraneous compositions was”, since the designation *ahû* never occurs in cultic texts as a marker of specific Balaġ compositions, which resembles the situation in the medical corpus (see below).

53 To my knowledge, the only reference to *ahû*-material for medical texts stems from Ashurbanipal colophon q, found on several tablets of therapeutic texts belonging to the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* that corresponds to AMC PART 1 (Hunger 1968: no. 329: 4-6). The colophon speaks of *liqtî ahûti* “extraneous collections” and “remedies from the top of the head to the (toe) nail(s)” (*bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*) as sources for the material written down on the tablets, which the king claims to have collected. I do not know of any other colophon in first millennium medical texts identifying the content as *ahû*. Cf. the discussion below.

54 Cf. CAD S 18. The basic meanings of *sadīru* are “line” (e.g., veins in a stone), “row” and “sequence; order”. The latter meanings are attested in a list of personal and royal names in non-Akkadian languages, which are rendered into Akkadian (Lambert 1957: 5-7, 12-13; Balkan 1978 [1954]: 1; K. 4426+ = 5R 44 i 14’; CDLI: P395542). Concerning one sequence of kings with Sumerian names, a rubric explains that “these are kings after the Flood, they are not written/listed together in a (chronological) order” (*ana sadīr ahāmeš lā šaṭrū/sadrū*). The verb *sadāru* can mean “to do regularly”; “to array; to set in a row” and “to do little by little, in installments” (CAD S 11-17).

55 Note the colophon of a Middle Assyrian manuscript of the series *Ana ittišu* Tablet 7 from Assur, which is preceded by the remark *sadīršu āmur*(IGI)-*ma lā urri*, “I have seen its (the tablet’s) sectional arrangement (on the original), but I have not applied it (in my copy)” (Landsberger 1937: 104 iv 23; Weidner 1952-53: 209 no. 59; Pedersén 1986: 24 (82)). As Landsberger (1937: ix) noted, this manuscript indeed does not use the sectional layout of ruled-off textual units, which is regularly found in other manuscripts of the series.

The word *sadīru* occurs in an unusual colophon found on tablets from Nineveh inscribed with a *nishu* (excerpt, extract)-edition of the compendium of *materia medica* Uruanna.<sup>56</sup> The passage describes in unusual detail the editorial work on the compilation, which is attributed to Ashurbanipal himself.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>1-6</sup> First/tenth/twelfth *nishu* of (the compendium) Uruanna = *maštaka*. (On) plants that were (explained) in *šātu*-lists and *lišānu*-lists,<sup>58</sup> but which since old times had not received a (proper) edition (*ša ultu ulla zarâ lā šabtū*). Ashurbanipal, [king of the world, king] of Assyria, checked the plants (and) equivalents of (these) plants (which) had grown immensely (in number, *šamhūma*), but (which) did not have a (consistent) order (*lā išū sadīru*).

<sup>7-17</sup> (Regarding) the plants and their equivalents, he took them together as a whole (*ana ahāmeš uqarreb*)<sup>59</sup> ... He did not change the title(s) of the old tablets (*rēš ṭuppāni labirūti ul ušanni*), [and he kept] their order as it was before (*kima mahrīmma sadīršunu* [...]). But as regards (the sections entitled) <sup>6</sup>GAL = [...], <sup>6</sup>Emubul = [...], <sup>6</sup>Harambi = <sup>6</sup>ham[baqu]qu, including (the section) “Lion’s blood = the fluid inside the tamarisk”, he (var. I) did not organise them (lit. “did not call their name”) as sections (*ina sadīri šumšunu ul imbi/ambi*), but entered (their text) on (individual?) tablets (*ina muhhi ṭuppāni ušēli*).<sup>60</sup>

The colophon describes the editorial activities undertaken by Ashurbanipal’s scholars through a number of different expressions. The phrase *zarâ* (= SUR.(GIBIL)) *šabātu* is generally understood in Assyriology as the *terminus technicus* for the process of creating a text from a combination of different sources, expressed through a textile metaphor.<sup>61</sup> The phrases involving *sadīru* in the singular seem to refer primarily to the existence or non-existence of a consistent organisation of the textual material in thematic sections. But especially in the last sentence, *sadīrū* (plural) seems to designate sections of the compendium or groups of entries set in a particular order.<sup>62</sup> As the colophon claims, Uruanna was not organised and had not been properly “edited”, while new material was added over time, which resulted in a lack of consistency and order in the structure of the text. Lines 7-17 seem to speak of different parts of the compendium Uruanna designated by title/tablet incipits (*rēš ṭuppāni*). As I interpret the colophon, some of the sections were not re-organised drastically through the new edition: their title/incipit remained the same, and their sequence was not reshaped. However, some parts of the compendium indicated by title did not keep their status as “sections” (i.e. ruled-

<sup>56</sup> Hunger 1968: No. 321: 1-17. A translation of the passage based on additional sources can also be found in Böck (2011: 692-693 and 2015: 21) who is preparing an edition of Uruanna and other texts on drug lore. According to Böck’s survey there existed two other recensions of Uruanna in the first millennium beside the *nishu*-series on twelve tablets: one comprising four tablets, and a second one on only two tablets (cf. Stol 2005: 504-505; Böck 2015: 22-25). Böck further notes that the manuscripts for each recension are rarely exact duplicates and vary, e.g., in the number of lines. “Ashurbanipal’s” twelve-tablet edition also differs from the other recensions, presenting entries of the same passages in a different order.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Frahm (forthcoming). He regards the use of the phrase *zarâ šabātu* in the Uruanna colophon as a conscious allusion to the *Sakikkû/Alamdimmû* catalogue and the Exorcist’s Manual where similar editorial achievements are intimately linked to the scholar Esagil-kin-apli.

<sup>58</sup> As has been elucidated by Frahm (2011: 48-49, 88-91), *šātu* is sometimes a term for a type of commentary (with word explanations), but *šātu* and *lišānu* also refer to lexical lists, the first being bilingual (e.g., HAR-ra = *hubullu*), the latter monolingual lists (Akkadian synonyms, such as *Maliku šarru*). Indeed, commentaries draw on such lists for their explanations. Thus, the Uruanna colophon could refer to commentaries on the series, but more likely to textual links between the compendium and lexical lists; cf. Böck 2010a: 163.

<sup>59</sup> For *qurrubu* “to take (pieces of information) as a whole”, CAD Q 239 sub 10f. Here, the expression probably means that the editor based his edition of “plants and their equivalents” on different available textual sources, which were compared or combined.

<sup>60</sup> The translation is my own. For the text, see K. 4345+ with additional joins; a photo is available via CDLI: P395492.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Stol 2007: 241-242; Heeßel 2000: 106; Lambert 2005: xvii and xix n. 10; Frahm 2011: 328 and Frahm forthcoming; Wee 2015: 253-254. The equation SUR.GIBIL = *zarû* is not attested in lexical lists, but suggested from the usage of either SUR.GIBIL or *zarû* with *šabātu* in identical contexts. The word *zarû* is probably derived from a Sumerian loanword /zara/, which is equated with *ṭamû* “to spin” (MSL 14, 250: 82; CAD Z 70; CAD T 45; cf. also Sum. sur meaning “to spin; to weave”). Alternatively, *zarû* may have to be connected with *zāru* “to twist” (to thread a rope); cf. Wee 2015: 254 for further analyses of the word. It is noteworthy that the word *zarâ* is sometimes used in a meaning similar to *sadīru*, to designate a text divided into ruled-off sections or verses, see the colophon of Ashurbanipal’s Acrostic Hymn to Marduk (SAA 3, 10 (No. 2) rev. 24), describing the text as consisting of a total of 30 verses (30-TA.ĀM [MU].ŠID.(BI).IM *za-ra-a*). The text indeed consists of 30 ruled-off stanzas, and it is possible that MU.ŠID.(BI).IM stands for *sadīru* in this instance. In contrast, two acrostic prayers of Nabû-ušeḫši are described as consisting of a particular number of lines (11/10 MU.MEŠ) that are not set in such a verse arrangement (*za-ra-a* NU GAR), see Oshima 2011: 94-95, 312 obv. 12 and rev. 11. In another colophon, MU.MEŠ stands for ruled-off sections and MU.ŠID.BI for the lines contained on the tablet (Hunger 1968: No. 134). The textile metaphor associated with the expression *zarâ šabātu* is especially emphasized in the editorial note in the *Sakikkû* Catalogue, referring to Esagil-kin-apli’s editorial activities (Finkel 1988b: 148-49 B obv. 18’; Heeßel 2000: 104-107). In catalogue rubrics (*Sakikkû* Catalogue and AMC), the expression SUR.GIBIL *šabātu* is used also in reference to sections that have been edited (*sadīrū ša zarâ šabtū*), cf. below.

<sup>62</sup> Note that Uruanna manuscripts are divided not only into columns, but also into ruled-off sections of entries belonging together.

off sections on a tablet?), but were split up and arranged on individual tablets.<sup>63</sup> It seems thus that the colophon speaks of two processes in connection with the edition of Uruanna material: changes in the division of the text into constituent tablets, and changes in the arrangement of text sections (*sadīru*) on these tablets.<sup>64</sup> In fact, these processes are evident in the variant recensions attested for other standard series, which show differences in the order or arrangement of textual sequences on individual tablets, as well as in the division of contents between tablets.

A catalogue of the lexical series *Nabnītu* from Sippar (BM 65529) offers a parallel expression with the cognate verb *sadāru*, to describe the sequence of tablets within a text series.<sup>65</sup> The colophon (rev. 27) explains that the contents of the catalogue are presented according to the order encountered in the “tablet of incipits” (KI DUB SAG *suddurū*), based on originals from Nippur and Babylon.

In other series catalogues, the terms *sadīru* “section” and *ṭuppu* “tablet” occur as terms specifying the organisational structure of a text series. In this context, however, *sadīru* refers to a sequence of multiple tablets forming a sub-series, not to ruled-off sections on individual tablets.

This usage of *sadīru* is attested in the catalogue of the “twin” series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū*, preserved on two tablets in portrait format: one Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Nimrud (CTN 4, 71, ca. 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE), the other from Babylon (BM 41237+, ca. 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE).<sup>66</sup> In its first part, the catalogue lists the forty tablet incipits of *Sakikkū* (SA.GIG.MEŠ) ordered in six sections (or sub-series) named after the first tablet of each section. In addition, the number of entries (omens) in each tablet is given.<sup>67</sup> The last part of the catalogue lists the tablet incipits of the series *Alamdimmū* without providing the number of entries in each tablet, but presenting a similar division of the composition into five sections (or sub-series).<sup>68</sup> Both parts of the catalogue are joined by a lengthy editorial note, which claims that the renowned scholar Esagil-kin-apli from Borsippa, who is said to have lived during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (11<sup>th</sup> century BCE), “produced an edition of the series *Sakikkū*, by arranging it from head to feet, and established it for learning”.<sup>69</sup> As has been pointed out by Heeßel (2000: 105-107), this “vertical” arrangement

<sup>63</sup> In fact, one Neo-Assyrian tablet from the “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters” at Assur (KADP 28, dupl. KADP 29) starts with the incipit “Lion’s [blood] = water inside the tama[risk]”, but does not preserve a colophon (Köcher 1955: 7, 64-67; Pedersén 1986: 71 (502)). One of the Nineveh fragments with a duplicating passage bears a differing Ashurbanipal colophon dedicating the tablet to the Nabû temple (Hunger 1968: no. 338 ms. B K. 4199), but does not preserve a rubric or catchline. However, according to Böck, the section “Lion’s blood” formed an independent composition that consists of re-arranged entries extracted from the series Uruanna (as reported in Frahm 2011: 254; cf. Köcher 1955: 7). Thus, it is also possible that the sentence “I/he did not organise them as sections” in the Uruanna colophon expresses that the named textual entities such as “Lion’s blood = water inside the tamarisk” were shaped into independent compositions instead of organising them into sections of the Uruanna compendium. Further conclusions on the formative processes and status of these texts in the light of the Uruanna colophon thus have to await the announced edition of all sources related to Uruanna by Böck.

<sup>64</sup> This interpretation remains provisional and has to await the publication of the Uruanna texts, which will throw more light on the arrangement of the *nishu*-series. The colophon also describes the deletion of entries from the text that appeared more than once (Böck 2011: 164; 2015: 21-22): *ù Ū.HI.A šā a-di 2-šū 3-šū šaṭ-ru / ul-tu lib-bi ū-še-li-ma* (K. 4345+: 8-9): “Plants that were registered (lit. written) twice or thrice, I removed from (the text)”.

<sup>65</sup> MSL 16, 10-17; cf. Lambert 2005: XVII–XVIII with additional readings from the duplicate BM 40855.

<sup>66</sup> See the editions by Finkel 1988b and in this volume; cf. Heeßel 2000: 13-17, 104-110; Livingstone 2013: 273; Frahm 2011: 324-332; Koch 2015: 278-279; Schmidtchen (in this volume).

<sup>67</sup> The catalogue uses the title SA.GIG.(MEŠ) for the diagnostic omen series, while tablet colophons mostly designate the series by the first tablet of the first section (sub-series), “When the *āšipu* goes to the patient’s house” (*Enūma ana bīt marši āšipu illaku*). Some diagnostic series tablets are not only numbered according to their place in the series as a whole, but also according to their position in the section to which they belong.

<sup>68</sup> For this part of the catalogue, see also Böck 2000: 15-18; Koch 2015: 285-288. Note that although the physiognomic series as a whole is called *Alamdimmū* in lines 91 and 92 of the catalogue, the same title was also used as the name of the first sub-series, which is summed up in line 77 as “12 tablets of *Alamdimmū*, (arranged) from head to foot” (12 DUB.MEŠ *alam-dīm-mu-ū* TA UGU-*hi* EN “GİR”). This title stems from the incipit of the last tablet of the sub-series (*Šumma alamdimmū*). This naming pattern is exceptional, since sub-series are usually designated by the title of their first tablet. The other sub-series of *Alamdimmū* were designated *Nigdimdimmū* “Shape”, *Kataduggū* “Utterance”, *Šumma simništu qaqqada rabāt* “If a woman’s head is big” and *Šumma liptu* “If a liptu-mark”, comprising all together about 23 (or more) tablets.

<sup>69</sup> Lines 61-62: SA.GIG TA UGU-*hi* EN GİR.MEŠ SUR.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-*ma* ana NĪG.ZU GUB-*in*. It is important to note that the catalogue does not explicitly attribute to Esagil-kin-apli a new edition of the series *Alamdimmū* as a whole. Some have argued that the remark later on in the editorial note, “concerning both series (i.e., *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū*), their arrangement (*riksu*) is one” (*šā ĒŠ.GĀR ki-lal-la-an “KĒŠ”-su-nu DIŠ-ma*), could hint at their joint redaction by Esagil-kin-apli, but this statement may also refer to similar organisational principles that were applied in both series and to a general perception that both series belong together because of their subject matter. Although *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū* are mentioned beside each other, e.g., in the Exorcist’s Manual, they were never assembled together in one consecutive series. That Esagil-kin-apli indeed contributed to the redaction of the standard series *Alamdimmū*, is indicated by an early Neo-Assyrian manuscript



of the omens was probably the main innovation introduced by Esagil-kīn-apli in his redaction of *Sakikkū*, since older diagnostic texts from the second millennium BCE are usually not ordered in this fashion.<sup>70</sup> The catalogue further indicates that Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial efforts were largely concentrated on sections 2 and 3 of *Sakikkū*, because only these sections are marked in the respective summary rubrics by the comment *sadīrū* (*ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* "sections that have received an edition".<sup>71</sup> It is noteworthy that although the majority of the manuscripts of *Sakikkū* agree with the tablet incipits given in the catalogue, there are also some discrepancies, which suggest that the series may have undergone some changes after its redaction by Esagil-kīn-apli. The catalogue thus may preserve an earlier stage of development than most of the text witnesses extant from the first millennium BCE.<sup>72</sup> Deviations between catalogue and manuscripts can be detected in the designation of tablet incipits, in the numbering of tablets, and in the numbers of entries pertaining to individual tablets of *Sakikkū*.<sup>73</sup>

Apart from the *Sakikkū* Catalogue, the expression *sadīrū* (*ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* does not occur in other catalogues for standard omen series, i.e., *Šumma ālu*, *Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Bārūtu*. In contrast to the latter two series, *Šumma ālu* was not divided into sections or sub-series, although it was longer than any other omen compendium (comprising 120 tablets). Nonetheless, the series can be divided into three or four thematic sections, which are further arranged in sub-topics, revealing systematic principles of organisation that betray redactional processes.<sup>74</sup> For instance, omens on terrestrial animals observed in the city are grouped together in Tablets 22-49, and the tablets are arranged according to the animal that was observed.<sup>75</sup> Three tablets with a catalogue for *Šumma ālu* are known to date. The manuscript from Assur (VAT 9438+ and KAR 394, Weidner 1941-44 pl. III; Freedman 1998: 322-323; Rochberg (in this volume)) is the best

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of diagnostic omens containing a recension of Tablet 2 differing from the standard series (Heeßel 2007: 9-10 and no. 51; 2010a), which is designated in a rubric as "the old (version of) *Alamdimmū* which Esagil-kīn-apli has not resolved" (NU DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ). This could hint at the scholar's involvement in an edition of the 12 tablets of the section *Alamdimmū*, which is explicitly referred to as arranged "from head to foot".

**70** See especially the Old Babylonian texts edited in Heeßel 2000: 97-99; George 2013: no. 15; cf. Middle Babylonian texts in Heeßel 2000: 99-103; Heeßel 2010d: 11-12; Rutz 2011. One Middle Babylonian text from Nippur (IM 57947, Labat 1956; Heeßel 2010d: 12-14) is designated in the colophon as Tablet 2 of a series called "When you approach the patient", which is identical with the title of the second section of the standard series *Sakikkū*, but the text is not a duplicate of the first millennium recension. This implies that the serialisation of the diagnostic texts already started in the second half of the second millennium BCE, and that Esagil-kīn-apli drew on this older series.

**71** See also Heeßel 2000: 106-107, noting that especially sections 1, 4 and 5 have several close links to older diagnostic material. This would imply that Esagil-kīn-apli did not reshape all sections of *Sakikkū* in a fundamental way. The fragmentary rubric for the first section contains the phrase GIBIL NU TIL "new, not finished", possibly indicating that this section was a relatively new addition to the series. This section has many parallels to passages in *Šumma ālu* (cf. Heeßel 2001-02a: 26). It is also noteworthy that some tablets of section 4 contain therapeutic instructions, and that some tablets of section 5 have similarities in contents and formulations with medical texts, pointing to the inclusion of heterogeneous material. *Sakikkū* section 6 with observations concerning women and infants contains material that bears similarities with birth omens and with material in *Šumma izbu*. For a discussion of the editorial remarks SUKUD.GIM and GIŠ.GIŠ.A in the catalogue's summary rubrics to sections 4-6, see Heeßel 2000: 107 and Schmidtchen's contribution in this volume.

**72** See Schmidtchen's contribution in this volume. A comparison of the catalogue with the sources for the series *Alamdimmū* also points to changes or to the addition of new material to the series in the Neo-Assyrian period, after Esagil-kīn-apli's edition (cf. the editorial remark GIBIL NU TIL "new, not finished" qualifying the first(?) tablet in the fourth section or subseries (concerned with women, Finkel 1988b: 152 A 83 and the edition in this volume). In general, the *Sakikkū* manuscripts from Nineveh, Nimrud and Babylonia follow Esagil-kīn-apli's recension outlined in the catalogue, but a variant edition is attested from Sultantepe. Moreover, Esagil-kīn-apli's recension of *Sakikkū* is not attested at Assur, which fits in with evidence suggesting that the scholars at Assur followed older versions and variant traditions rather than the newly standardised series, as is witnessed for instance in an older recension of *Alamdimmū* still in use in Neo-Assyrian Assur (Böck 2000: 290-295; Heeßel 2007: 9-10 and no. 51; 2010a; cf. Koch 2015: 65, 94 *passim*). A varying version of *Sakikkū* Tablet 1 is also known from Uruk (George 1991).

**73** For instance, the incipit of *Sakikkū* Tablet 9 in the catalogue probably corresponds to the second omen in some Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian exemplars of Tablet 9 (Scurlock 2014: 66, 707). The incipit for Tablet 22 in the catalogue contains an additional statement that is not found in the manuscripts of Tablet 22 (Finkel 1988b: 147 A 27 with n. 27; Heeßel 2000: 250). Moreover, two Babylonian manuscripts corresponding to Tablet 22 are designated as Tablet 23 in their colophon, which may indicate the existence of an additional tablet in some editions of the series (for a discussion, cf. Heeßel 2000: 136, 257 colophon of mss. A and D). A manuscript from Nineveh designated in its colophon as Tablet 19 contains a catchline that corresponds to Tablet 21 in the catalogue, which implies that the text which is distributed over Tablets 19 and 20 in the catalogue, was collected in only one tablet in the edition used at Nineveh. The same phenomenon is found in a Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 26 (BM 47753), which is designated as Tablet "27" in its colophon. Three Late Babylonian witnesses combine the text of Tablets 27/28 on one tablet, which in one of the manuscripts is designated as Tablet 26 (cf. Stol 1993: 56, 74, 88; Heeßel 2000: 136). For a detailed discussion, see Schmidtchen (in this volume).

**74** Freedman (1998: vii) suggests three segments (terrestrial omens (1-21), animal omens (22-79), human omens (80-120+)); while Koch (2015: 241) divides the series into four segments.

**75** See Freedman 1998: 6 and Koch 2015: 241-256 for an overview of the organisation of the series and the various ordering principles applied.

preserved one; it also contained a catalogue of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, followed by the incipits of an extraneous astrological series. The other two catalogue fragments (K. 9094b and BM 68437) are probably restricted to *Šumma ālu* alone, but only preserve about 15 tablet incipits.<sup>76</sup> The Assur catalogue is introduced by an opening line (obv. col. ii 7) and preserves the incipits of Tablets 1-26 (obv. ii 7-33) and 33-62 (rev. iii 1-30).<sup>77</sup> In contrast to the *Enūma Anu Enlil* tablets listed in col. i of the Assur catalogue, no tablet numbers are attached to the incipits of *Šumma ālu* (neither do the other two catalogue fragments from Nineveh and Sippar contain tablet numbers). A comparison between the catalogue and manuscripts of *Šumma ālu* shows a situation resembling that described above for *Sakikkū*. While there are only slight discrepancies in the order and name of the tablets in the three catalogue fragments (Freedman 1998: 324 ad lines 4-5), there are considerable discrepancies between the catalogues and the preserved *Šumma ālu* texts, reflecting different recensions and alternative arrangements of the series.<sup>78</sup>

A similar picture is presented by the catalogues of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and the first millennium BCE manuscripts of the series. Modern reconstructions of the tablet sequence are based on two catalogues, one being the compound catalogue from Assur, which also listed the tablet sequence of *Šumma ālu*, and a second catalogue from Late Babylonian Uruk (Weidner 1941-44; Fincke 2001; Rochberg (in this volume)). Both catalogues are incomplete, and their text does not overlap (the Uruk catalogue preserves the first 29 tablets, while the Assur catalogue covers Tablets 39-59). The extant textual material from the first millennium shows that different recensions of *Enūma Anu Enlil* existed and kept evolving during that period.<sup>79</sup> Fincke (2001) concludes for the tablets listed in the Assur catalogue that there were four different recensions of the series: one attested at Assur (comprising ca. 63 tablets), one at Nineveh (also followed in Uruk in Late Babylonian times, with 69 tablets), a Neo-Babylonian recension at Babylon and Kiš (comprising 68 tablets), and a diverging Neo-Babylonian recension with 70 tablets, so far only attested at Nineveh, but the situation may be more complex (cf. al-Rawi and George 2006; Gehlken 2005: 252-254). Although the manuscripts of different recensions are far from uniform, the contents and layout of the series are quite stable between the recensions,<sup>80</sup> and diverging tablet numbers reflect primarily differing tablet formats and varying ways of dividing the text between tablets (Koch 2015: 165-166).<sup>81</sup>

The last omen compendium, for which we have a catalogue, is the extispicy series, which gained the title *Bārûtu* “the Art of the Seer” in the first millennium BCE.<sup>82</sup> The series, which was standardised to a higher degree than the other omen series in this period, was composed of ten sections of varying length (between four and seventeen tablets) each

<sup>76</sup> Freedman 1998: 324-325; Heeßel 2001-02b: 235. K. 9094b contains numerical notations (“one/two” preceding several incipits, indicating its use as an inventory or check list (cf. above). Another fragmentary catalogue from Late Babylonian Uruk contains incipits of a *nishu*-series of *Šumma ālu* (SpTU 3, 95).

<sup>77</sup> The heading reads DUB SAG.MEŠ ša DIŠ URU ina SUKUD-e GAR ÉŠ.GÀR ‘MU’.NE [(x)]; cf. Freedman 1998: 324. For parallel headings in series catalogues, see also Exorcist’s Manual, *Sakikkū* Catalogue and AMC.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion and reconstruction of the series, see Freedman 1998: 6-8, 17-23, 329-343; Koch 2015: 239-241. For instance, two copies of the same tablet can have differing tablet numbers and catchlines, and the position of tablets within the series varied. Especially tablets from Babylon often preserve numbers that do not agree with the tablet sequence of Nineveh manuscripts or with that of the catalogue. Other variations in tablet numbering can be explained through variations in tablet formats. That is, in some editions, the text of one tablet was written on a single tablet, whereas in others the text was split up into two tablets. Sometimes, the colophons of commentaries on the series likewise indicate conflicting sequences of tablets. Cf. for these problems of variation the discussion of the Neo-Assyrian *Šumma ālu* manuscripts from Assur, Heeßel 2007: 7-8, e.g., no. 37; Freedman 2006: 6.

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g., Rochberg-Halton 1988; al-Rawi and George 2006 for discussions of different first millennium recensions of Tablet 20 of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and their development from earlier Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian precursors.

<sup>80</sup> The series can be divided into four sections: lunar omens, solar omens, meteorological omens and omens on planetary and stellar phenomena. There is evidence from rubrics of first millennium texts and from the Uruk catalogue that the first three sections were referred to by the deity represented in them: lunar omens were referred to as Sîn (omens), solar and meteorological omens as Šamaš and Adad (van Soldt 1995: 103; Weidner 1941-44: 187: 23-24).

<sup>81</sup> For the reconstruction of the series, see also Koch 2015: 163-179; Gehlken 2005; Fincke 2001. One example for discrepancies between recensions is a varying tablet number for the lunar section, which in the Uruk catalogue consists of 22 tablets, but in one recension from Uruk of 23 tablets (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 270).

<sup>82</sup> For an overview of the series, see Koch 2015: 94-115. The earliest evidence for the use of the term *Bārûtu* as the name of the series stems from Late Babylonian colophons (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 25-27). In the Neo-Assyrian letters and “library records”, the term *Bārûtu* is used to classify the contents of incoming tablets and seems to refer to the discipline of the diviner or to the genre of extispicy omens in general rather than to the standard series (see, e.g., Parpola 1983a: 20-21 No. 3 = SAA 7, 51 i 9’, 15’, ii 2’, never preceded by ÉŠ.GÀR). This usage resembles the term *āšipūtu* “exorcist’s lore” as a label for tablets in the “library records”.

concerned with one or several features of the exta, totalling about 100 tablets.<sup>83</sup> A catalogue has come down to us in two manuscripts, one of which is a tablet fragment that could have contained the incipits for the whole series.<sup>84</sup> According to its colophon, it belonged to the scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu from Kalhu and was a copy of an original from Babylon (Koch 2005: 8, 89; ms. B = K. 3041). Ms. A (K. 1352 = CT 20, 1) presents a tablet in landscape format almost completely preserved lacking a colophon or heading. This manuscript contains the tablet incipits of only the two last sections of the *Bārûtu* series (*Šumma hašû* and *Šumma multābiltu*). It assigns a tablet number for each section and adds the number of entries (“lines”) for the section *Šumma hašû* (but not for the section *Šumma multābiltu*). The catalogue is summed up as GÚ SAG DUB KI.HAL NIGIN.NA.E.NE.KE<sub>4</sub> MU.MU.ŠID.MA.BI.KE<sub>4</sub> “the total of tablet incipits of KI.HAL together with line-count” (rev. 13).<sup>85</sup> The unique phrase KI.HAL remains unclear, but HAL usually stands for *bārû* “seer” or *bārûtu* “extispicy”.<sup>86</sup>

Some of the series catalogues display recurring structural features reflecting the developed organisation of the source text, e.g., a division into sections and a numbering of tablets within the series/sections. However, not all series catalogues have a uniform layout, and a comparison between catalogues and source texts often reveals discrepancies and textual variation, in the form of diverging (local) recensions of the series.

## 4 Catalogues of a Professional Corpus

The third category in our survey is the professional corpus catalogues from the first millennium BCE, which list multiple works and text groups belonging to a technical discipline. These catalogues are considered to comprise ideally the entire corpus of a scholarly profession (Gabbay 2014: 233). The example *par excellence* is the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates) which defines the corpus of *āšipûtu* (to be discussed in comparison with AMC). A second catalogue that can be assigned to this category is the *kalûtu* catalogue from Nineveh (K. 2529+).

Linked to the characterisation of these exemplary catalogues is the use of the word *iškāru* in their headings (KAR 44: 1 and duplicates) or summary rubrics (K. 2529+ rev. iv 30), coupled with the professional titles *āšipûtu* and *kalûtu*, which should in this context better be understood as “corpus” rather than “series”. Thus, Gabbay (2014: 195 n. 14) prefers the notion of “corpus” rejecting the translation of *iškāru* as “series” in this specific context, because in the corpus catalogues “the term ... does not refer to the fixed sequence of the compositions but only to their collection in a group”.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Koch 2015: 94-95. All Neo-Assyrian manuscripts number the tablets according to their place within the section, while Late Babylonian texts number the tablets according to their place within the *Bārûtu* series as a whole. In some colophons of series tablets from Nineveh, the section title is preceded by ÉŠ.GĀR (Koch 2005: 137 A iv 44: DUB 3.KAM ÉŠ.GĀR BE *multābiltu*, see also 169 r14, 209 Cr15’). The Neo-Assyrian, Neo- and Late Babylonian manuscripts of the standard series are congruent to a remarkable degree, although there may have been differences in length between series tablets from Nineveh and Babylonia. Thus, although it may have a Babylonian origin and composition date prior to the library of Ashurbanipal, the text of the canonical series was fixed already in the Neo-Assyrian period, even if the series’ name *Bārûtu* only came into use later. For an overview of the history of extispicy texts, see Koch 2015: 67-94; cf. Heeßel 2012: 7-15; for further text types associated with the extispicy corpus including commentaries (*mukallimtu*) and other explanatory texts (e.g., *niširti bārûti*) as well as excerpt series (*nishu*, *riki gerri* “guide”), rituals, prayers, oracle questions and procedure texts, see Koch 2005; 2015: 115-127.

<sup>84</sup> Koch 2005: 7-8, 85-89; Koch 2015: 115. This tablet may have been part of a series of catalogues, possibly preserving a fragmentary catchline before its colophon.

<sup>85</sup> At first glance, SAG DUB (= *rēš tuppi*) “tablet incipit” seems to be a variant of DUB SAG. However, the Akkadian reading of the latter is clarified in a Middle Babylonian text catalogue (BM 103690), which offers the partially syllabic rendering DUB *re-še-e-tim* in its opening line, which seems to replace DUB SAG.MEŠ and can be interpreted as “tablet of incipits”, the native expression for “catalogue; inventory” (see Finkel in this volume). See further the *kalûtu* catalogue (K. 2529 (4R<sup>2</sup>, 53)+ rev. iv 30; Gabbay 2015: 19), summed up as DUB SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR NAM.GALA “tablet of the titles of the lamentation priest’s (text) corpus”. The opening line of the Exorcist’s Manual presents another variant expression. KAR 44: 1 has SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti, lit. “titles of the corpus of exorcism”, while the duplicate Rm. 717 + BM 34188 from Babylon (Geller 2000: 249) reads “KA DUB” SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-ti “wording of the tablet of incipits of the corpus of exorcism”; cf. CAD R 288 sub 4c; CAD P 467 sub 7c. GÚ is to be read *napharu* “total”.

<sup>86</sup> Markham Geller (oral communication) suggests to read ABSIN (KI.AŠ.AŠ), for *absinnu/šer’u* “furrow/row”, which he interprets as a metaphoric expression for a serialised text edition (“rows”). Cf. also Geller *infra*.

<sup>87</sup> Note in this regard SpTU 3, 74, a Late Babylonian manuscript of *Maqlû* Tablet 3, which is designated as IM 3.KAM MU *maqlû* [É]Š.GĀR *āšipûtu* “third tablet of *Maqlû*, (belonging to) the corpus of the exorcist’s craft” (line 185). The expressions *iškār kalûti/āšipûti* are also used in a letter of the scholar Marduk-šāpik-zēri to the Assyrian king (SAA 10, 160), where he describes the areas of expertise of scholars whom

If we compare the Exorcist's Manual with the *kalûtu* catalogue, it has to be noted that whereas the former provides an overview of very much the entire corpus of the profession, the *kalûtu* catalogue is rather a catalogue of compositions based on the tablets actually found in the library, as is indicated by the remarks in the catalogue and colophon (noting that many tablets were not available). Furthermore, variations in the spelling of identical incipits within the catalogue indicate that the compiler examined and copied the incipits of actual tablets in the library (Gabbay 2014: 234). However, despite some omissions the Nineveh catalogue probably includes most compositions belonging to the corpus of the lamentation priest. These are listed in a standard sequence that was in use in Nineveh, Sultantepe and Ur, as is confirmed by catchlines of tablets. Another difference between both catalogues is that for the Exorcist's Manual duplicating copies are attested from several places and periods (Neo-Assyrian, Neo- and Late Babylonian), whereas the *kalûtu* catalogue is so far only known from Nineveh.<sup>88</sup>

On a formal and structural level, there are other marked differences. The *kalûtu* catalogue does not contain a reference to a compiler or editor of the corpus, as does the Exorcist's Manual with its reference to Esagil-kîn-apli. The *kalûtu* catalogue presents itself as a list of compositions divided into sections grouped by type (BALAG, ÉR.ŠĒM.MA and ŠU.ÎL. LÁ). Each section is introduced and concluded by separate rubrics and summary lines (stating the total number of compositions in the respective section). This sectional structure with subtotals and rubrics resembles the series catalogues discussed above. One common feature of the Exorcist's Manual and *kalûtu* catalogue (which they share with some series catalogues) is the occurrence of an opening line and a summary line at the end of the catalogue.<sup>89</sup>

## 5 The Assur Medical Catalogue: Series or Corpus Catalogue?

The Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) edited in this volume presents a one-column tablet in portrait format. Five fragments have been identified, none of which join directly. Four fragments were copied by Beckman and Foster (1988 no. 9a-d) and partially edited by Scurlock (2014: 295-306). The fifth fragment, A 7821 from Chicago, was recognised by Irving Finkel in 1978 and mentioned by Attinger (2008: 8), but has never been edited.<sup>90</sup> The findspot of the fragments is unknown. The tablet's fragmentary colophon reveals that the text was copied by a young physician (*asû šehru*) whose father bears the title "*šangû* of the goddess Baba who is in the midst of Baltil", referring to the Gula temple at Assur.<sup>91</sup> Since neither the scribe nor his father can be identified, also the exact date of the copy remains debatable – according to the sign forms, the tablet could date to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Consequently, it is not entirely certain whether the catalogue stems from the reign of Ashurbanipal and reflects the recension of a series of the medical therapeutic texts created at Nineveh during Ashurbanipal's reign, as Köcher (1978: 18-20) has argued on the basis of text incipits and catchlines from Nineveh.

Since the question of dating and of the "stage of textual development" reflected in the AMC is crucial for the reconstruction of a history of medical texts in Mesopotamia in the first millennium BCE, the arguments and counterarguments for attributing the catalogue to Ashurbanipal's reign and his collection of medical texts at Nineveh have to be

he recommends for service (rev. 6, 30). Elsewhere in the letter, Marduk-šāpik-zēri only uses professional titles to designate the scholars' specialisation, indicating that *iškār kalûti*, etc. are quasi synonymous (e.g., obv. 37, rev. 7-8, 9 *kalûtu ugdammir*; rev. 14 *āšipûtu tuššarr[ûtu iltasî]*; rev. 31 *bārûti ile''e*; cf. rev. 33 *asû mādiš ile''e*). For *kalûtu* as a designation for the corpus of Emesal prayers, see also Gabbay 2014: 195 n. 15.

<sup>88</sup> From Nineveh, there is one tablet fragment, which could present a duplicate to K. 2529+, while a third tablet in landscape format (K. 2) contains only one section (Eršemmas) of the *kalûtu* catalogue (see Gabbay 2015: 15-20, pl. 28). Only one small Neo-Babylonian fragment of a catalogue of Emesal prayers is known so far (A 3515), which however seems to present a list of incipits of individual tablets making up different Balaḡs or sections of Balaḡs, which differs from the sequence of compositions in the Nineveh catalogue (Gabbay 2007).

<sup>89</sup> The opening line of K. 2529+ is only fragmentarily preserved and restored by Gabbay (2015: 15 A 1, pl. 29) as [ÉR].MEŠ [û ÉR.ŠĒM.MA.MEŠ MJU.NE, while the summary identifies the preceding catalogue as the tablet of incipits (DUB SAG.MEŠ) of the corpus of *kalûtu* (ibid. 29 A rev. iv 30). Cf. Panayotov (in this volume) for an alternative restoration of the opening line of K. 2529+.

<sup>90</sup> The text has been discussed in various places, see, e.g., Geller 2005: 247; Heeßel 2008a: 169-171; 2010b: 34; Böck 2008: 296-299; Johnson 2014: 44-46 and Panayotov (in this volume) with further references.

<sup>91</sup> For the title *asû šehru* "young/junior physician", compare parallel expressions attested in the colophons of the Assur exorcists from the library N4, which allows one to reconstruct the stages in the professional training and career, from apprentice to fully competent exorcist (see Maul 2010a). For the scribe of AMC, see also Frahm (forthcoming). Unfortunately, the name of the scribe is not well enough preserved for a safe reading, and the father's name is lost in the lacuna.

discussed. Notably, Heeßel (2010b: 31-35) raises doubts about Köcher's claim, arguing that even though the medical texts from Nineveh currently provide the best evidence for a serialisation of therapeutic material, there are indications that this process started before Ashurbanipal, and possibly received input from Babylonia.<sup>92</sup>

Another hint that speaks against regarding the AMC as the catalogue of a medical series assembled at Nineveh is presented by Ashurbanipal colophon q (Hunger 1968 no. 329: 2-8), which is attached to the tablet manuscripts belonging to the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding more or less to the series listed in the first part of the AMC. In contrast to the Uruanna colophon discussed above, which contains detailed and concrete information about editorial work on the series (including the technical expression *zarâ šabātu*), Ashurbanipal colophon q does not make such a claim, but merely refers to copying and assembling of textual material, which is designated as follows:

*nisiq tupšarrūti ša ina šarrāni ālik mahriya mamma šipru šuātu lā ihuzu bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri liqti ahūti tāhizu nakla azugallūti Ninurta u Gula mala bašmu ina tuppāni aštur asniq abrēma ana tāmarti šitassiya qereb ekalliya ukīn*

The precious works of scribal lore, which nobody among the kings before me has learned to master, **remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s) (and) collections of extraneous material, elaborate lore, the great healing arts of Ninurta and Gula, as much as has been invented**, I wrote on tablets, checked, collated and set (them) up in my palace, to read (them) and have them read out to me.

It is noteworthy that the colophon identifies the texts as the professional lore of the *asû*, by invoking the divine patrons of the discipline, namely as the “great physicianship” (*azugallūtu*) of Ninurta and Gula. The colophon describes the corpus of medical texts, which Ashurbanipal collected for his personal study, through two descriptive titles. The first one occurs also in the AMC, where it is found in a rubric summarising the first of two parts, of which the catalogue consists. This line reads as follows:

58) (YBC 7139 obv. 17') [NĪGIN X DUB.MEŠ (...) *bul-ṭi<sup>2</sup> T*]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri sa-di-ru šā* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*  
[A total of n tablets (...) with treatments]<sup>93</sup> from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s). Sections that have received an edition.

The restoration at the beginning of line 58 is based on the Ashurbanipal colophon, and the expression *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* “remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)” in the colophon appears to be a direct reference to the serialised text corpus in AMC PART 1. Notably, notwithstanding a few discrepancies, most Nineveh tablets bearing this colophon can be correlated through incipits, catchlines or tablet numbers with sections of therapeutic tablets serialised and named in PART 1 of the AMC (lines 2-57).<sup>94</sup> Indeed, PART 1 of the AMC presents a sequence of 12 sections (*sadīrū*) dealing with illnesses ordered by body part or region *a capite ad calcem* (see Fig. 1). Each section of AMC PART 1 consists of a section listing tablet incipits, followed in most cases by a summary rubric giving a subtotal of tablets. Thus, AMC PART 1 formed a series designated as “remedies (ordered) from top of the head to (toe)nail(s)”, which was also known and collected at Nineveh (designated here as the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*).

The second designation *liqti ahūti* “extraneous collections” in Ashurbanipal colophon q seems to diverge from the AMC. One could interpret it as an apposition to the preceding title *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*, which would mean that this therapeutic series was considered as “extraneous”. However, since *ahū* texts are generally found in conjunction with an existing “series” (*iškāru*), we would need to ask what the corresponding corpus of “standard texts” to such “non-standard collections” of therapeutic remedies would be. Since we do not know of such a “series”, this interpretation seems unlikely, and it could be suggested that *liqti ahūti* is a collective expression for existing textual material

<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the *Sakikkū* catalogue points to an initial edition of the diagnostic series through a Babylonian scholar of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE, even though the best textual evidence comes from Ashurbanipal's library.

<sup>93</sup> It is theoretically possible to restore the title *šumma amēlu muhhašu ukāl* in the gap before *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*, according to the name of the first tablet of the first section in AMC PART 1 (= CRANIUM 1). This naming pattern is also found for AMC PART 2. It is not certain however whether there is enough space for this restoration in the gap at the beginning of line 58. Cf. also the discussion below and the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume.

<sup>94</sup> For identifications of Nineveh tablets corresponding to AMC PART 1, see Scurlock 2014: 296-306 and the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume. See, e.g., BAM 515 iv 50' (EYES Tablet 2); BAM 530 (NOSEBLEED); BAM 538 (TEETH 1); BAM 543 (TEETH 2); BAM 547 (BRONCHIA 1); BAM 574 (STOMACH 1); BAM 575 (STOMACH 2); BAM 578 (STOMACH 3); BAM 579 (STOMACH 5). BAM 548 (BRONCHIA 5) bears Ashurbanipal colophon b instead (Hunger 1968: no. 318), which does not contain the reference to *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*, but refers to tablets and wooden writing boards from Assyria, Sumer and Akkad (= Babylonia), which Ashurbanipal copied in “the assembly of the scholars”.

outside the serialised collection called *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri*. In fact, could *liqtī ahūti* refer to textual material listed in PART 2 of the AMC?

AMC PART 2 (lines 59-122) also consists of multiple sections of tablet incipits, which are not ordered anatomically, but grouped according to different topics (including sections on skin ailments, the treatment of wounds and injuries, therapies for illnesses attributed to divine anger, witchcraft, demons, treatments for “mental” illnesses, for problems associated with sexuality and reproduction, for women’s illnesses, and veterinary prescriptions). PART 2 is designated by the incipit of its first tablet (i.e., Tablet 1 of the section SKIN), which is repeated in the summary rubric of PART 2 as follows:

123) (A. 7821 rev. 13’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 4’) ‘NÍGIN X+30’+8’ DUB.MEŠ DÍŠ GIG [...] -ta-šú um-mu-r[a-(at)]

124) (A. 7821 rev. 14’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 5’) [sa-di-ru] ‘šá’ [SUR.GIBIL] šab-tu

‘A total of n+38’ tablets (belonging to) ‘If a lesion [ ... ] his [ ... ] is swollen’.<sup>95</sup> [Sections] that have received an [edition.]

The whole corpus of texts listed in the AMC is then summed up in line 125 as:

125) (A 7821 rev. 15’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 6’) [NÍGIN X X D]UB.MEŠ [sa-di-ru šá S]UR.GIBIL šab-tu

[A total of n tab]lets. [Sections that] have received an edition.

This line shows that the text corpus listed AMC did not have an overarching title. Since the sections of AMC PART 2 consist of quite heterogeneous topics and material, it is possible that the Ashurbanipal colophon referred to texts corresponding to these sections as “extraneous collections”.<sup>96</sup> However, if this is the case, the colophon diverges from the AMC, since the series title of AMC PART 2 would have been unknown at Nineveh. Could AMC PART 2 reflect a compendium only known at Assur?

The usage of *ahū* in Ashurbanipal colophon q to designate medical texts is absolutely unique, since there is not the slightest evidence from other colophons of medical texts that there was medical material technically designated as *ahū*. Moreover, while textual parallels for the material listed in AMC PART 2 can be identified in the medical texts from Nineveh, so far no Nineveh (serial) text has been found that offers an incipit or catchline matching AMC PART 2, in contrast to AMC PART 1, which finds numerous attestations in corresponding Nineveh serial tablets with an identical incipit or catchline. On the other hand, relatively more textual parallels (occasionally with an identical incipit) seem to have survived from Babylonia and Assur for PART 2 of the AMC. This could be an accident of discovery, but it could also indicate that the editions of medical texts in the AMC and those collected or compiled at Nineveh were not entirely identical. Thus, it may be concluded that *liqtī ahūti* in the Ashurbanipal colophon probably refers to medical texts integrated into the royal library, which did not belong to the “head to (toe)nail(s)”-series (i.e. the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to AMC PART 1) and which were not organised in a series corresponding to AMC PART 2 (although we may be dealing with overlapping or parallel material).

A number of tablets from Nineveh apparently belong to a series designated by the same title as AMC PART 1. This *Nineveh Medical Compendium* with remedies from head to feet was divided into sections of multiple tablets, many of which find an exact counterpart in the AMC. But there are at the same time a few discrepancies between the catalogue’s

<sup>95</sup> The series title/incipit cannot be restored yet, as we presently have no textual evidence for a series with this title or for a tablet with this incipit. The tablet incipit within the section SKIN (line 59) is likewise fragmentary.

<sup>96</sup> Note that the term *liqtī bulṭi* “collection of remedies” is found in colophons of two tablets from Assur written by Kišir-Nabû, a member of the family of exorcists associated with the library N4 who was active in the last third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Maul 2010a). However, the colophons of BAM 52: 102 and BAM 106 rev. 7’ refer to a *nishu*-series of a “collection of remedies”, copied according to originals from Babylonia (Hunger 1968 no. 211–12; Maul 2010a: 213). BAM 52 presents the 6<sup>th</sup> *nishu*, and BAM 106 the [7<sup>th</sup>] *nishu*. Especially BAM 52 shares a number of passages with texts from Nineveh belonging to the sub-series “Suālu” on digestive disorders, which corresponds to the section STOMACH in AMC, but the text reflects a differing recension of the material (cf. Cadelli 2000). BAM 147, another tablet written by Kišir-Nabû, with treatments for fever, is designated in rev. 27 as the “2<sup>nd</sup> *nishu* copied according to a writing board from Babylonia”, but here the phrase *liqtī bulṭi* is omitted. Cf. above for *liqtu* collections in connection with omen series such as *Šumma ālu* and *Alamdimmū*, referring sometimes to extracts or to *ahū* texts. In the letter SAA 16, 65, the *liqtū* of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, which a goldsmith’s son is said to have studied illegitimately, could refer to extracts (lit. “gleanings”) from the series.

sequence and the texts of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*, which further supports the view that the AMC is not a catalogue of the Nineveh recension of the same series.<sup>97</sup>

Whether the AMC reflects an edition and serialisation of medical texts that took place at Assur, cannot be decisively answered either at the moment, but the series title “remedies from the top of the head to the toe(nails)” is only attested in AMC and in Ashurbanipal colophon q, and the series title of AMC PART 2 has not been identified in any other source.<sup>98</sup> The issue is complicated by the circumstance that most Neo-Assyrian medical texts known from Assur stem from the library N4. Although a few tablets from this archive offer parallels to Nineveh texts corresponding to AMC PART 1, these texts often differ considerably from the Nineveh recension.<sup>99</sup> Some of the Assur manuscripts in question consist of excerpts or one-column tablets offering only an extract from the series tablets identified from Nineveh, where two-column tablets of standard size form the format of the texts belonging to the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (i.e. the “head to toenails” series reflected in AMC PART 1).<sup>100</sup>

Let us reconsider the question what the AMC represents by asking to which type of catalogue it belongs. It can be excluded that the catalogue was an *ad hoc* library inventory – that the AMC was the copy of an older original is hinted at by the remark *hepi* “broken” in line 83 (YBC 7126 rev. 6’ (+) YBC 7139 rev. 17’) of the text. The colophon is fragmentary, but most probably referred to an original that was copied.<sup>101</sup> Several features of the AMC seem to point to a series catalogue, but I would like to approach the issue through a comparison between the characteristic features of the *Sakikkû* Catalogue, the Exorcist’s Manual and AMC.<sup>102</sup>

As discussed above, the series catalogues are linked to redaction processes described as serialisation. They list an order of tablets of a particular series known by a title, such as the *Sakikkû* Catalogue. As in the latter catalogue, the phrase SUR.GIBIL(*zarâ*) *šabātu* “to produce an edition” is used in the AMC, but here the editorial work is claimed explicitly for all “sections” (*sadīrū*) of texts listed in the catalogue. Since both AMC and the *Sakikkû* catalogue present

<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of these discrepancies, see the commentary to the AMC edition.

<sup>98</sup> However, the incipit of Tablet 1 of the AMC section SKIN is possibly cited in the colophon of CTN 4, 116, a therapeutic text on skin ailments from Nimrud very likely related to the AMC corpus. For discussion see the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume.

<sup>99</sup> The lack of manuscripts from Assur following the serial order of the AMC may be accidental. There are nonetheless tablets from Assur whose incipits can be linked to incipits in AMC. Thus, the one-column tablet BAM 209 represents Tablet 3 of the section NECK according to its colophon, and its incipit corresponds with the respective incipit in AMC. However, although a partial duplicate, BAM 209 contains only part of the text of the series tablet attested from Nineveh (BAM 473), see Köcher 1964: xii with n. 10; Abusch et al. 2016: text 10.6 mss. A and B. Similar differences between Nineveh and Assur manuscripts can be pointed out for other tablets of the therapeutic series in AMC PART 1. Sometimes, an Assur text forms the only source for a certain incipit in the AMC. For instance, BAM 156 has the same incipit as Tablet 4 of the section EPIGASTRIUM ([DIŠ N]A NAM.ÉRIM *šah*-[hi]-hu GIG “If a person suffers from a wasting curse”), but also contains extracts from other sections of the series (see Scurlock 2014: 329-333).

<sup>100</sup> A few texts found in the library N4 belong to one (or different) *nishu*-series of therapeutic material related to the AMC series (see above n. 96). Among the *nishu*-tablets written by Kišir-Aššur, BAM 9 is called the “first *nishu*” copied from a writing board and containing duplicating sections to Tablets 1-3 of the first section CRANIUM on illnesses of the head (*šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* “If the patient’s skull is feverish”), found in AMC and in Nineveh texts (Hunger 1968: no. 200; Köcher 1963: xiii-xiv). Another “first *nishu*” is encountered in AO 11447 stemming from a different workshop at Assur (Geller 2007b: 4-18), which preserves therapies for (skin lesions on) the head and the ears, with no textual overlaps to BAM 9, but fitting topics included in the sections CRANIUM and EARS. BAM 99 is the 7<sup>th</sup> *nishu* copied from an original in the Gula temple (Esabad) of Assur; it concerns treatments for rectal illnesses, some of which are duplicated in Nineveh manuscripts of the section ANUS (Maul 2010a: 213-214; Hunger 1968: no. 202; Geller 2005: no. 22, 35 with parallels in other texts from Assur). The colophons of other *nishu*-tablets found in the library N4 point to textual traditions (copied originals) coming from Babylonia, see e.g. BAM 3 (a two-column excerpt tablet closely related to CRANIUM, “extracted from a wooden writing board from Akkad (Babylonia)” (Worthington 2006: 26, 32).

<sup>101</sup> Line 126 (YBC 7123 rev. 7’) probably has to be restored [*kīma labīrīšu šatīrma*] BA.AN.Ē “[written according to an older original and] checked”.

<sup>102</sup> The tablet formats used for the catalogues cannot be clearly linked to different catalogue types, but seem to depend primarily on the length and format of the text and on scribal habits. Thus, some series catalogues are written on one-column tablets (in portrait or landscape format, see e.g. *Sakikkû* catalogue vs. Ms. A of the *Bārūtu* catalogue), but the same applies to corpus catalogues (e.g. *Kalūtu* catalogue vs. Exorcist’s Manual). Thus, the tablet format of the catalogues does not seem to correlate with different professions, as Irving Finkel (2000: 146) has suggested for a Late Babylonian collection of texts with medical and magical material (i.e. texts in portrait format contain *asūtu*; tablets in landscape format contain *āšipūtu*). If one compares catalogue tablets, landscape format is often used for excerpts (see e.g. Ms. A with an extract of the *Bārūtu* catalogue) or for catalogues that present a continuous list of titles or keywords (e.g. Exorcist’s Manual), while catalogues that consist of lengthy sequences of tablet incipits with a sectional arrangement are predominantly on tablets in the portrait format (e.g. AMC, *Sakikkû* and *Kalūtu* catalogue).

a sequence of tablets and sections designated as *sadīrū*, the AMC could be regarded as the counterpart to the *Sakikkū* catalogue, the former presenting a series of therapeutic texts, the latter covering diagnostic texts.

There are, however, slight differences between both catalogues. The AMC does not use an overarching series title under which all texts in the AMC are numbered and serialised (as is the case in the *Sakikkū* catalogue). Also in the Nineveh colophons, individual tablets from the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (reflected in AMC PART 1) are numbered and specified according to their place in the respective section, but never according to their position in the “series” as a whole. This differs from the *Sakikkū* series tablets, but also from Late Babylonian texts from Uruk, where a series of therapeutic texts is attested whose title is identical with that of the first tablet in the first section of AMC PART 1, *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* (“If the patient’s skull is feverish”). This series is known in two recensions, designated as *ṭuppu*- and *pīrsu*-recension, according to the manuscript colophons, which divide the series text either into “tablets” (*ṭuppu*) or “divisions” (*pīrsu*).<sup>103</sup> The *ṭuppu*-recension consisted of 45 “tablets”, which were counted in a continuous sequence, i.e., it was not organised in sections as the AMC/*Nineveh Medical Compendium*.<sup>104</sup> Since the 41<sup>st</sup> Tablet of the Uruk series deals with women’s ailments, the *ṭuppu*-series seems to have included material that would correspond to PART 2 of AMC.<sup>105</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that, whereas by the Late Babylonian period the therapeutic texts seem to have been organised as one continuous series, in the Neo-Assyrian period these texts may also be considered as a corpus divided into two parts, each of which is arranged in a sectional order. The AMC could thus lie somewhat between a series and corpus catalogue.

Although AMC reflects the serialisation of a text corpus, the sequence of consecutive sections is so far only confirmed by colophons/catchlines of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to several sections of AMC PART 1. However, the arrangement of the AMC in sections (*sadīrū*) forming two parts with independent titles resembles the dual structure of the twin series *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū* in their joint catalogue.

The AMC and the *Sakikkū* Catalogue are very similar in their structural layout: each section of the series is described by a list of tablet incipits usually followed by a ruled-off summary rubric giving a sub-total of tablets for the section. This can be exemplified with the sixth section of the AMC (TEETH) concerned with treatments for illnesses of the mouth and teeth. Line 20 lists the incipits of the two component tablets of the section. After a ruling follows a three-line summary rubric, which states the total of tablets followed by the section title and a number of phrases, which seem to indicate some of the topics of therapies included in the section. These phrases are introduced by the preposition *adi*(EN):

<sup>103</sup> For *pīrsu*-recensions of text series, see CAD P 411 sub c; Hunger 1968: 171; Farber 2014: 17-22.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. above. A similar change is encountered in the *Bārūtū* series: only Late Babylonian texts count the tablets in a continuous sequence and refer to an overarching series title, whereas Neo-Assyrian manuscripts use only section titles and number tablets accordingly (cf. Koch-Westenholz 2000: 26-27, 79, 184, 267-268).

<sup>105</sup> The catchline of Tablet 41 of the Uruk *ṭuppu*-series (SpTU 1, 59) is not known from the AMC or from any other medical text. SpTU 1, 48 preserves the colophon of a text designated as the 45<sup>th</sup>(?) and final Tablet of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* and text sections dealing with calming down a frightened infant (Farber 1989a: 21f. and §13) and with epilepsy-related conditions. The number of constituent tablets in the Late Babylonian therapeutic series is quite low compared with AMC PART 1 and 2, which register more than 90 tablets altogether. The Uruk series of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* may thus have differed considerably from the Neo-Assyrian recension(s) of the therapeutic text series. For the Uruk *pīrsu*-series, the attested 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Tablet have been identified in SpTU 1, 44 and 46 (Heeßel 2010c: 55-57, 59-60). The 9<sup>th</sup> *pīrsu* shares its incipit with Tablet 1 of the section BRONCHIA in AMC and with Nineveh texts, but also contains passages from Tablet 2 of section TEETH, duplicated in the Nineveh manuscript BAM 543 (Köcher 1980b: xx-xxi; Heeßel 2010c: 55-57; Scurlock 2014: text 2.5.6). SpTU 1, 46 is concerned with paralysis of the mouth and contains sections corresponding to material in Tablet 5 of the AMC section NECK (cf. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007). It is noteworthy that the sequence of the textual material in *pīrsu* 9 and 10 from Late Babylonian Uruk is reversed in comparison with the AMC and the Nineveh texts, where the section NECK precedes the sections TEETH and BRONCHIA (cf. Fig. 1 AMC Structure Chart). A Late Babylonian manuscript of the 30<sup>th</sup> *pīrsu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* is further attested in BM 42272 from Babylon (Scurlock 2014: texts 2.6.2 and 2.14.1; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.10 ms. j; Abusch et al. 2016: text 7.11 ms. n; Bácskay 2015). This tablet deals with treatments for witchcraft-induced conditions and for fever, but it is still unclear to which section of the AMC corpus the treatments in BM 42272 may be related. Note further BM 35512 (mentioned in Bácskay 2015: 2 n. 13, 4-5 *passim*), a Late Babylonian tablet from Babylon with treatments for fever containing several parallel passages to BM 42272, which is however designated as the “34<sup>th</sup> *nishu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl*, with remedies (*bulṭū*) according to an original from the house of Dābibi” (cf. also Bácskay 2018). The catchline of BM 35512 indicates that the following *nishu*-tablet dealt with skin diseases. The 19<sup>th</sup> *nishu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl*, according to remedies from “the house of Dābibi” is fragmentarily preserved in BAM 403 from Uruk (see rev. 7’-8’). The text deals with internal ailments (possibly related to STOMACH). These text examples demonstrate that several differing serialised therapeutic compendia were compiled and circulated in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE Babylonia.



## VI TEETH

20) A. 7821: 15' (+) YBC 7146: 4'  
[DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú 'GIG' [: DIŠ NA] *gi-er-me-er* ZÚ.ME-šú [*i-na-áš*]

- 21) YBC 7146: 5' [NÍGIN 2 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG E]N KA-šú GIG-uš<sup>1</sup> ZÚ-šú *na'-di'-a*[<sup>2</sup>]  
22) YBC 7146: 6' [ ... ] x ' : ' *ta-a-bi-i-lu* DAB-su *bu'-šá-nu* 'DAB'-s[u]  
23) YBC 7146: 7' šá LÚ.TUR

<sup>20</sup>[If a man's teeth] are sore. [If] all of a [man's] teeth [become loose].

<sup>21</sup>[A total of two tablets (of the section) 'If a man's teeth are sore'.] Including (prescriptions for the case that) his mouth is sore (and) his tooth *falls out*, <sup>22</sup>[...] (if) 'dryness' seizes him, *bu'šānu*-disease seizes him, <sup>23</sup>(including *bu'šānu*) in an infant.

If we compare this passage with Nineveh colophons of corresponding therapeutic tablets, the manuscript of TEETH Tablet 1 preserved on BAM 538 offers the catchline of Tablet 2, followed by the section title:

BAM 538 iv 50': DIŠ NA *gi-mer* ZÚ.MEŠ-šú 'i'-na-áš [DUB] 1.KAM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG  
'If all of a man's teeth become loose'. First [tablet] of 'If a man's teeth are sore'.

The section title of TEETH is also cited in the colophon of BAM 543 iv 60', which contains TEETH Tablet 2:

[DUB 2.K]AM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG 'AL'.TIL  
[Second tablet] of 'If a man's teeth are sore'. Finished.

The catchline of this tablet (iv 59) cites the incipit of the first tablet of the following section on respiratory ailments (BRONCHIA), *šumma amēlu (napīš) appišu kabit* "If a patient has difficulties breathing through the nose".

In some cases such as the section TEETH, it can be shown that the phrases following *adi* in the summary rubrics of the AMC represent key phrases extracted from sections contained in the tablets enumerated before. For instance, the Nineveh text BAM 543 (corresponding to TEETH Tablet 2) contains a prescription for *tābīlu* "dryness" (iv 22: [DIŠ NA (KA-šú) *t*]a-bi-i-lu *ša-ab-tū*), but also recipes for treating *bu'šānu*, corresponding to key phrases in the AMC summary rubric for the section (lines 21-23).<sup>106</sup>

The answer to the question what AMC represents could have been found in its opening line (unfortunately fragmentary), a feature encountered in series and corpus catalogues.<sup>107</sup> The opening lines of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44) and the *Sakikkû* Catalogue illustrate the differences between both catalogue types:

KAR 44: 1 (and duplicates):  
(KA DUB) SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.ÀM *kun-nu* PAP MU.NE  
(Wording of the tablet of) titles ("incipits") of the **corpus** of exorcism, established for learning and reading (lit. viewing), the sum total of their names.

*Sakikkû* Catalogue opening line:  
[SAG DUB.MEŠ u Š]U.NÍGIN MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.N[E]  
[The titles ("incipits") of the tablets and?] sum total of **lines** (entries) of (the series) *Sakikkû* ("sick cords"), their names.

<sup>106</sup> See, e.g., BAM 543 ii 11, 19, note ii 24: [...]x-šú KÚM *il-la-tu-šú* DU-ku *bu-u'-šá-na* DAB-su; further ii 46', 50', 59', iii 53', iv 3. The first phrases after *adi* in AMC line 23 have not yet been identified in serial tablets of the section. They could indicate sections in TEETH Tablet 1 – the manuscript BAM 538 from Nineveh is badly preserved. Similarly, no therapeutic texts are currently known which contain recipes for treating *bu'šānu* in infants (all known recipes start with *šumma amēlu*).

<sup>107</sup> The AMC only preserves the last two signs of the opening line, 'MU.NE'.

The Exorcist's Manual is defined as a list of several text series (or “genres”)<sup>108</sup> forming a professional corpus, the *Sakikkû* Catalogue presents itself as a chart with totals of “lines” (i.e., omen entries) and tablet incipits of one text series, identified by name. In terms of text “genres” contained in AMC, it resembles in some ways the Exorcist's Manual, because it lists not only incipits of tablets with medical therapies, but also rubrics of incantation genres and omen collections, i.e., it is of mixed content. In contrast, *Sakikkû* is a specialised composition, restricted almost entirely to diagnosis and prognosis.

On the other hand, the AMC and *Sakikkû/Alamdimmû* catalogue share the division of textual material into a sequence of *sadīrū* “sections” reflecting a thematic arrangement of contents. Both catalogues associate this sectional arrangement with the creation of an “edition”. Moreover, both compendia make use of the “head to foot” order in some of their sections, an innovation that in the *Sakikkû* catalogue is attributed to the editor Esagil-kīn-apli.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, the Exorcist's Manual (line 27) connects the texts listed in the first part of the catalogue with this scholar.<sup>110</sup> It is more striking that there is no mention of Esagil-kīn-apli in AMC, which does not claim any authority or personal agency behind the editorial work at all. This subtle difference may indicate that the AMC (and the corresponding edition of therapeutic texts) was created in a different professional milieu, but that the compilers were aware of and influenced by Esagil-kīn-apli's innovations in his edition of *Sakikkû*. In this line of thought, it can be concluded that the edition of therapeutic texts described in the AMC was most likely produced later than Esagil-kīn-apli's edition of the diagnostic series.

## 6 Exorcist's Manual and AMC: Reconsidering the Tale of Two Healing Professions

The analysis in the preceding paragraph has revealed structural similarities between AMC and the *Sakikkû* Catalogue, but also pointed out affinities with the Exorcist's Manual (in terms of contents and text genres), and I have suggested that AMC could be regarded as an intermediate between a corpus and a series catalogue. This ultimately leads to the question whose corpus AMC represents. In my view, there are good reasons to suggest that AMC represents the corpus of *asûtu* “medicine”, forming the counterpart to the Exorcist's Manual, which outlines the corpus of *āšipûtu* “exorcism lore”. In this section, I will test this hypothesis by a close comparison of both catalogues and their contents. The question whether we can identify and differentiate the professional text corpora of *āšipûtu* and *asûtu*, is tied up with the old and thorny problem regarding the definition of both disciplines.<sup>111</sup> My approach is to take the AMC and Exorcist's

**108** Contrary to the catalogue opening line speaking of “incipits” (SAG.MEŠ), the titles listed in the Exorcist's Manual correspond to rubrics of incantation genres or rituals, often encountered in the texts (KA.INIM.MA ...), rather than to incipits. Occasionally in ms. A (KAR 44), small explanatory glosses are attached to a genre designation, forming the actual incipit of the compendium in question. See Geller's edition of the Exorcist's Manual in this volume.

**109** It should be noted that there are a few instances of similar tablet incipits in *Sakikkû* (sections 4 and 5) and AMC. For instance, *Sakikkû* Tablet 27 starts with the same entry as Tablet 5 of the section NECK (DIŠ NA *mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma ta-lam-ma-šû i-šam-ma-am-šû KIN mi-šit-ti GIG*), which is attested in AMT 77/1 i 1; and these two tablets share further diagnostic entries (Stol 1991-92: 51-52; 1993: 74-75; Heeßel 2000: 303-304, AMT 77/1 i 2-10 = *Sakikkû* 27: 5-13). BAM 66, a Middle Assyrian tablet from the so-called “library of Tiglath-pileser I” contains similar recipes to STOMACH Tablet 4 (*himiṭ ṣēti*), but also shares some parallel entries with *Sakikkû* Tablet 31, which itself consists of complete recipes (cf. Finkel 1994: 87-88; Heeßel 2000: 348-349). The incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 32, *šumma (amēlu) šāru išbiṣsuma magal ēm*, is also found in BAM 146: 56', a therapeutic text related to the section STOMACH (Heeßel 2000: 352; cf. AMC lines 30, 31, 35). Likewise, *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 has many parallels and correspondences in therapeutic texts and AMC sections HAMSTRING and SKIN (lines 53-58, 59-69; cf. Heeßel 2000: 365-370; Stol 1991-92: 49-52 for citations from *Sakikkû* in therapeutic texts). Stol (1991-92: 49) argued concerning the citations from *Sakikkû* in the therapeutic texts that the compilers of the therapeutic texts knew and drew on the diagnostic series.

**110** It is unclear whether the attribution *ša Esagil-kīn-apli* “according to Esagil-kīn-apli” means that he was believed to have contributed to editions of the text corpus (or to have created this part of the catalogue?). Notably, the Exorcist's Manual does not explicitly claim that the scholar produced an edition (*zarā ṣabātu*) of the listed texts. Cf. Frahm (forthcoming), suggesting that the expression “established for learning and reading” found in both catalogues, and linked in the *Sakikkû* Catalogue to Esagil-kīn-apli's accomplishments, could imply notions of “canonicity”, in the sense that Esagil-kīn-apli could have actually contributed to creating revised editions for other texts in the *āšipu*'s corpus.

**111** For discussions of the relationship between *āšipu* and *asû* see, e.g., Ritter 1965; Stol 1991-92: 58-62; van Binsbergen and Wiggermann 1999: 25-32; Scurlock 1999; 2014: 2-4; Heeßel 2009: 13-15; Geller 2007a; 2010: 43-55; Attinger 2008: 71-77; Schwemer 2011: 421-423; 2015a: 26-27; Böck 2014: 185-92; 2015: 31-33; Steinert 2016a: 214-219, 223-225.

Manual as a point of departure to reformulate the current perspectives concerning the relationship between the two fields of healing traditions in Mesopotamia.

To start with, a few general arguments speak for the attribution of AMC and Exorcist's Manual to *asûtu* and *āšipûtu*. As a first argument, from very early on in the textual sources, *āšipu* and *asû* are considered as distinguishable healing specialists, and in the Neo-Assyrian period, *asûs* belonged to the circle of scholars and specialists employed to serve the king's needs. Thus, we can expect that like all the other technical disciplines (*tušarrûtu*, *āšipûtu*, *bārûtu*, and *kalûtu*), *asûtu* also developed a definable text corpus. Whereas the corpus of the *āšipu* is well defined by the Exorcist's Manual, we still lack a corresponding corpus catalogue for *asûtu*, and AMC looks like a good candidate.

Second, there is a strong likelihood that the AMC is linked to *asûtu*, since it was copied by a young *asû* and invokes Gula, the patron goddess of *asûtu*, in the colophon. Moreover, the Ashurbanipal colophon q designates the contents of the tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to AMC PART 1 as *azugallût Ninurta u Gula*.

Thirdly, the title of the therapeutic series in AMC PART 1 designates its contents as *bulû* "remedies", a term very much associated with the *asû*.<sup>112</sup> For instance, in the Neo-Assyrian letters of *asûs*, the senders often emphasise their medical expertise by recommending *bulû* and giving practical instructions about their application, sometimes citing directly from the therapeutic series included in AMC PART 1.<sup>113</sup> The focus on *bulû* in the letters of *asûs* points in my view to their connection with the therapeutic corpus in the AMC. In contrast, letters of *āšipus* predominantly refer to texts that are included in the Exorcist's Manual, and often discuss matters connected to rituals and divination (SAA 10, 185-315; Jean 2006). Although the court *āšipus* regularly correspond with the king concerning the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses (including the application of remedies), occasionally cooperating with an *asû* (SAA 10, 297; Jean 2006: 101-102, 125; Villard 2006: 148), they also advised the king in many other matters (ritual, religious, internal and political).<sup>114</sup>

The interpretation of the AMC texts as reflecting *asûtu* would at last provide this healing profession with a text corpus, which could serve as the basis for defining the discipline of *asûtu* in relation to *āšipûtu*. Although it has previously been argued that the therapeutic texts in the AMC originate with the *āšipu* and form the counterpart to the diagnostic series *Sakikkû*,<sup>115</sup> the Exorcist's Manual provides indirect evidence against this thesis, since the *āšipûtu* catalogue does not mention the therapeutic corpus as such with a recognisable title such as "remedies from the top of the head to the (toe) nail(s)".

A closer look at the Exorcist's Manual will help to clarify the matter, since it forms a list of compositions, genres and competences, which the *āšipu* should master, providing a comprehensive overview of his areas of expertise and practice.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>112</sup> The word refers predominantly to medical prescriptions, but occasionally includes ritual procedures involving offerings and prayers performed in combination with the application of drugs (Steinert 2015: 118).

<sup>113</sup> See especially the letters of the chief physician Urad-Nanaya (SAA 10, 314–326; cf. Parpola 1983b: Nos. 153, 246–257; Jean 2006: 121–22; Villard 2006: 139–40, 143–53; Geller 2010: 79–86). In SAA 10, 315, he writes that he was previously unable to give a diagnosis for Esarhaddon's illness and offer effective treatment (lines 9–10, citing the king's speech: *atâ šikin muršiya anniu lā tammar bulûšu lā teppaš* "Why do you not see the nature of this illness of mine (and) apply remedies for it?", line 12: *sakikkêšu lā ušahkime* "(formerly) I could not clarify his symptoms"). Then he adds instructions for remedies (lotion, medicine bags, salve), which he is sending to the king. The other letters of Urad-Nanaya have similar topics. SAA 10, 316 mentions two plants and explains their effect. SAA 10, 318 concerns the treatment of a skin rash. SAA 10, 319 discusses the treatment of an abscess, and includes a positive prognosis for the infant patient. SAA 10, 320 rev. 1–5 speaks about remedies for the teeth (*bulû ša šinni*) and makes a prognosis. In SAA 10, 321–322, the *asû* encloses detailed instructions (*malûru*) for applying remedies against nosebleed. SAA 10, 323 concerns drugs for fumigating the ears, which Urad-Nanaya sends. In SAA 10, 324: 8–10, he notifies the king that the remedy for the ears (*bulû ša uzni*) is ready. Last but not least, SAA 10, 326 informs the addressee that in all the recipe texts (*ina bulû gabbu*), the symptoms he experiences (simultaneous purging above and below) are regarded as favourable to a cure (rev. 1–3). In fact, this statement is based on the therapeutic texts and can be found in Tablet 1 of the section STOMACH (BAM 574 i 31: *ina pišu u šuburrišu ušeššerma ... uballu*). It is striking that the Assyrian library records do not refer to the term *asûtu* as they do to *bārûtu* or *āšipûtu* to classify textual material, but that the category *bulû* "(medical) remedies" is used instead (cf. Parpola 1983a).

<sup>114</sup> See also Jean 2006: 112–128, 168–170, 197–208 and Villard 2006; Geller 2010: 86–88.

<sup>115</sup> This idea has been suggested by Scurlock (2014: 295, cf. *ibid.* 2–4). However, Stol (1991–92) has previously pointed out marked differences between diagnostic and therapeutic texts, which could suggest a disciplinary divide.

<sup>116</sup> For the text see Geller's edition in this volume. The manual has also been edited in Geller 2000: 242–258 and Jean 2006: 62–82; see also Hecker 2008: 76–79 for a German translation. For discussions, see further Bottéro 1985: 65–110; Clancier 2009b; 2014 and Frahm (forthcoming). At present, seven copies of the text have been identified. The earliest manuscripts from Assyria (Assur and Nineveh) date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, while the Babylonian manuscripts from Uruk and Babylon (SpTU 5, 231, Rm. 717+ and BM 36678) date to the Late Babylonian period (ca. 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE). One manuscript from Sippar (BM 55148+) could have been written between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

The catalogue can be divided into two main sections and a short coda.<sup>117</sup> The first section (lines 1-26/27) starts with an opening line identifying the following list as the compositions of the exorcist's craft. Lines 2-26 consist predominantly of rituals and incantations, presented in a hierarchical fashion. The first titles and topics (lines 2-4) pertain to the domain of the temple/gods (temple building rituals, rituals for the induction of divine cult images, rituals for the investiture of the En-priest and other cult-related rituals), followed by prayers to be used in various ritual settings (e.g., prayers to the sun god, Šuila prayers, prayers to soothe the anger of a deity), rituals for specific months and rituals relating to the king (line 5).

The manual then turns to texts and genres concerned with normal human clients and their concerns. These compositions are predominantly related to healing and constitute the greater part of the section (lines 6-20). First, the diagnostic series *Sakikkû* is listed together with the physiognomic and behavioural omen texts *Alamdimmû*, *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû* (line 6). In lines 7-20, various series of rituals and incantations concerned with treating all kinds of illnesses and evils are enumerated (many of which are known from first millennium BCE sources), including purification rituals (e.g., *Bit rimki*, *Bit mēseri*), rituals against a host of evil demons (e.g., UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ, Á.SÂG.GIG.GA.MEŠ, *lilû* and *ardat lilû* demons), witchcraft, incantations against "the curse" resulting from a broken oath (lines 12, 14) and incantations for various health problems (lines 14-20). Then, the manual continues with other rituals related to aspects of daily life (lines 21-24), ranging from agriculture (field pests, floods), animal husbandry (epidemics) to travel and warfare, followed by texts concerned with divination (line 25). The last items in line 26 are plant and stone description texts (*Abnu šikinšu*, *Šammu šikinšu*), drug compendia and manuals on stones and amulets, which show that the *āšipu*'s corpus included so-called "pharmacological" texts.<sup>118</sup> All the works listed up to line 26 can be designated as the core of the *āšipu*'s corpus and are explicitly connected to Esagil-kīn-apli, in the ruled-off line 27 (he "established" (*ukīn*) them "for learning and reading").<sup>119</sup>

The following second part of the catalogue (lines 28-40) forms in a way an appendix to the first section (cf. Jean 2006: 73-74; Clancier 2009b; 2014; Frahm forthcoming). It contains additional text genres and compositions, which represent more advanced and sophisticated "realms of knowledge" to be mastered by the exorcist, such as Namburbi rituals for all ominous events (line 31), "foreign/extraneous(?)" incantations (TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub>.BAR.RA), medical remedies, commentaries/word lists and omens series such as *Šumma ālu* and *Enūma Anu Enlil*. In this section (lines 36-40), the reader and adept is repeatedly addressed directly and instructed about the progressive stages of his training toward mastery of all areas of scholarly learning, "as much as the god Ea invented" (line 28).<sup>120</sup>

In view of the catalogue's instructive passages, Clancier (2009b; 2014), Geller (2012) and Frahm (forthcoming) have pointed out that the Exorcist's Manual served as a didactic tool for the training of apprentices. Although the AMC does not contain a comparable section of explicitly instructive nature, it could nonetheless have served similar functions as the Exorcist's Manual.<sup>121</sup> It may not be a coincidence that the AMC was copied by a young *asû*, which may imply that this

<sup>117</sup> Following Frahm (forthcoming), the last two lines 41-42 of the catalogue form a coda-like third part, since they are ruled off in two of the manuscripts and do not list compositions, but formulate a blessing for the scholar who has mastered the whole corpus outlined before.

<sup>118</sup> For DUB NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ DUB Ū.HI.A *taḫṣiri u malālī* "the tablet of stones, the tablet of plants, (amulet) strings and pendants" in line 26, cf. Köcher 1971: vii; 1980a: xi ad BAM 430 and 431; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 21, 60; Böck 2015: 26. These designations could refer cursorily to practical handbooks on drugs of herbal and mineral origin (sometimes called *Herbals*), and the latter two terms could refer to collections on amulet bracelets and medicine bags. The occurrence of handbooks on drug lore and botany in the Exorcist's Manual shows that, contrary to Scurlock (2014: 2-3), not all "pharmacological" texts pertain solely to the *asû*. It can be shown however that some practical drug handbooks were copied by *asûs*, see, e.g., BAM 1 (Hunger 1968: no. 234), while manuscripts of Uruanna were copied and owned both by exorcists and physicians (Böck 2015: 29-30; note KADP 22, compiled by "ten expert physicians" (col. iv 13), but found in the Assur library N4). It is noteworthy that the compendium Uruanna is not mentioned in the Exorcist's Manual.

<sup>119</sup> See Frahm (forthcoming) for a discussion of the debated question whether this rubric forms a subscript or a heading for the second part of the catalogue. I agree with Frahm's argumentation that the attribution to Esagil-kīn-apli (in lines 1 and 27) concerns the compositions in the first part of the catalogue.

<sup>120</sup> See Frahm forthcoming. As noted before, this section refers to esoteric realms and corpora of knowledge associated with the *Apsû* and referred to with the rare terms *kakugallûtu* and *išippûtu*. Clancier (2009b; 2014) similarly argues that the two parts of the Manual reflect two stages of learning, that of the *āšipu* "ritual specialist" and that of the *ummānu* "scholar" versed in all fields of knowledge. The Exorcist's Manual lists most, but not all texts that can be linked to the discipline or were used by *āšipus*, e.g., É.GAL.KU<sub>4</sub>.RA incantations and the *Bit salā' mē* ritual are not included (Jean 2006: 106-109), neither are the specialised compendia *Muššu'u* "Embrocation; Massage" and *Qutāru* "Fumigation" (cf. above; Finkel 1991; Böck 2007: 25-29, 31-43).

<sup>121</sup> Notably, the *Sakikkû* Catalogue also contains a concluding narrative section, which describes Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial work (Finkel 1988b; Heeßel 2000: 104-105), followed by secrecy formulae and a definition of the scholar's/*āšipu*'s task vis-à-vis his clients, especially the king. The Exorcist's Manual likewise refers to realms of its corpus as "secret" (*niširtu*). In contrast, we do not find such formulae in the AMC.

catalogue was intended for both practitioner and adept, as a contents list to the discipline's serialised text corpus (e.g., to familiarise the adept with the contents and organisation of the text corpus). In addition, the catalogue could also have served practical purposes. For instance, the summary rubrics of AMC with their key phrases could have helped to identify or retrieve relevant tablets and sections of recipes.

If we suppose that the Exorcist's Manual and the AMC represent the corpora of the two healing disciplines *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* and compare the types of texts they contain, it is possible to delimit for each profession a core corpus of texts reflecting the focus of their traditional expertise and healing practices. This allows the following distinction:

The primary focus of *asūtu* texts and professional lore was on **medical prescriptions (*bulṭū*) ordered by topic (illness types)**, but it also included **incantations/ritual instructions** and a few divinatory texts. *Asūtu* can thus primarily be connected with the therapeutic corpus, which includes diagnostic sections.

The primary focus of the *āšipūtu* texts and professional lore was on **incantations/rituals for various purposes**, including a separate diagnostic series for healing practice. It also included drug compendia, some medical recipes (*bulṭū*) and a number of divinatory texts.

Both catalogues cover many of the same topics related to healing (e.g., illness types defined according to affected body part, women's and children's illnesses, veterinary medicine), which means that *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* treated basically the same range of illnesses.<sup>122</sup>

The therapeutic techniques employed by the two professions are at the same time complementary and overlapping, but each discipline has its own core corpus of texts and genres. While the Exorcist's Manual lists mainly incantation genres and ritual compendia, the AMC lists mainly sections of recipe collections. Yet, the Exorcist's Manual refers to collections of remedies (*bulṭū*) in the second section (appendix), while the AMC mentions a number of incantation genres that occur among the core texts in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual. This partial overlap between text types could point to mutual borrowing and exchange between *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*, i.e., both disciplines adopted and integrated some core texts or practices from the corpus of the other profession. Such intersections between both corpora are not surprising, since there is evidence for the interdisciplinarity of specialists' interests and education and for the cooperation between *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*, especially in the first millennium BCE (cf. below).<sup>123</sup>

Looking at the areas of overlap between both catalogues, one notices an interesting pattern in terms of the positions of such texts and genres in the catalogues. In the AMC, incantations and genres that are found among the core texts of *āšipūtu* in the Exorcist's Manual are always mentioned in the *adi*-sections (summaries) for several sections of the therapeutic corpus. Most instances occur in AMC PART 2, which seems to include much more material reflecting healing practices typically associated with *āšipūtu*.<sup>124</sup> Thus, in some cases the keywords and text genres cited in AMC's *adi*-sections could represent "additional" or peripheral material that was incorporated in a particular section of the text

<sup>122</sup> The structural principle in AMC PART 1, grouping texts according to specific body parts or regions *a capite ad calcem* is applied at times, but less consequently in the Exorcist's Manual. For instance, line 9 contains a sequence referring to incantations for diseased head (SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ) – neck (GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ) – all ailments (TU.RA.KĪLIB.BA). Lines 16-17 list spells for diseased eyes (IGI.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>) – teeth (ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>) – *bu'sānu*-disease (KA.HAB.DIB.BA) – belly (ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>) – lungs (MUR.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>) – incantations for all ailments (TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub>.GIG.DŪ.A.BI). Second, the sequence of a few topics is the same in both catalogues, e.g., the grouping of texts related to sexuality and reproduction (pregnancy, birth). Other overlapping topics in both catalogues are nosebleed (KAR 44: 18 and AMC line 19), snake bite/scorpion stings (KAR 44: 19 and AMC section HAZARDS, lines 70-78), or purification rituals for the animal stalls (KAR 44: 24 and the VETERINARY section in AMC lines 119-120).

<sup>123</sup> Such interdisciplinary interests were not restricted to *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*. Although specialised in a particular field, divination and healing experts also studied texts of others disciplines (see Koch 2015: 18-24; Lenzi 2015: 147-150). Scribal and specialist training included various strands of cuneiform literature. For instance, the libraries of exorcists also contained some texts of disciplines such as *bārūtu* and *kalūtu* (Assur), astronomy and mathematics (Uruk), see Jean 2006: 149-153, 161-164; Clancier 2009a: 81-103, 400-406; 2009b: 112-113; 2014: 8-10. For collaboration between specialists of different professions (e.g., *kalū* and *āšipūtu/mašmaššu* or between *asūtu* and *bārūtu*, see also Lenzi 2015: 177-178; for similar glimpses from the Old Babylonian period (Mari letters), see also Durand 1988: no. 263: 17-23 and no. 125 (M. 7989).

<sup>124</sup> The only example for a "genre" designation from the Exorcist's Manual in AMC PART 1 is UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA.KĀM, mentioned in the *adi*-section of ABDOMEN (line 43). However, since the label UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA is also encountered in therapeutic medical texts as a thematic marker, it remains to be investigated whether the keyword is used in the AMC merely as a rubric indicating that the section in question included medical remedies for witchcraft, or whether the keyword indeed signifies textual material more closely allied to the *āšipūtu*'s corpus (e.g. UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA-rituals also embedded in *Bit rimki*). For an overview of this heterogeneous material of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA-rituals and therapies, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.1-10; Abusch et al. 2016: texts 7.11-26.

corpus, but was highlighted as special.<sup>125</sup> Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine, whether the genres from the Exorcist's Manual in the AMC refer to specific incantations (with or without rituals) on tablets that contain mainly medical recipes, or whether the rubrics indicate smaller compilations from the *āšipūtu* incantation series/collections on separate tablets, to be added on top of the tablets in a respective section.<sup>126</sup> Nonetheless, in some cases it is likely that the genres from the Exorcist's Manual in the AMC signify textual material such as incantations, rituals and specific therapies from *āšipūtu*, which have been integrated into sections of the therapeutic corpus of *asūtu*.<sup>127</sup>

The following genres/rubrics from the Exorcist's Manual occur also in AMC PART 2:<sup>128</sup>

- 1) The series/compilation of incantations known as (KA.INIM.MA) HUL.BA.ZI.ZI.(KE<sub>4</sub>) is listed in line 7 of the Exorcist's Manual among the core texts of *āšipūtu*, but also appears in the summary rubric for the section dubbed provisionally EVIL POWERS in AMC PART 2 (lines 79-83), listed there as additional or inclusive material (line 83: EN HUL.BA.ZI.ZI *he-pi*).<sup>129</sup> The summary rubric (lines 80-82) mentions several key phrases, which form citations from the diagnostic section of recipes as well as incantation genres. The rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KĀM (line 82) indicates that text sections belonging to EVIL POWERS were concerned with sorcery and other evil agents as causes of illness.<sup>130</sup>
- 2) The incantation genre [NAM.ÉRIM.B]ÚR.RU.DA.KĀM against the "curse" probably has to be restored in AMC line 86 among material included in the section dubbed DIVINE ANGER (lines 84-88). This section consists of four tablets, whose incipits are partially known from textual sources.<sup>131</sup> The label [NAM.ÉRIM.B]ÚR.RU.DA is listed in the *adi*-section beside entries relating to anti-witchcraft treatments and rituals, as is also the case in the Exorcist's Manual line 12, where NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA is enumerated with UŠ<sub>11</sub>.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ, ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ and UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA.<sup>132</sup> But the section DIVINE ANGER as a whole seems to feature textual material closely associated with *āšipūtu* techniques (e.g., amulets, rituals).

<sup>125</sup> As pointed out above, in some cases in AMC PART 1, it can be shown that the phrases in the *adi*-sections are citations from the respective series tablets. The technique of citing a text section on a tablet with *adi*(EN) + incipit is also found in the *Sakikkû* Catalogue, for Tablet 33 of the series, which indeed consists of two ruled-off sections with a differing formula. The catalogue cites the incipits of both texts sections (lines 1 and 103) as: [x+] DÍŠ 'GIG' GAR-šú EN 'sa'-ma-nu ŠU 'ME.ME "[x (entries)]: 'If the characteristic(s) of the lesion', including 'šāmānu (is caused by) Hand of Gula'" (Finkel 1988b: 147 A 40; Heeßel 2000: 16, 366). According to Heeßel, the two sections of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 did not originally belong together, which probably was one reason why both of them are cited in the series catalogue.

<sup>126</sup> The number '38' (+) for the tablet sub-total of AMC PART 2 (line 123) seems to be considerably higher than the number of preserved tablet incipits, which may be a clue that some material enumerated in the summary sections in PART 2 was found on separate tablets that were added to the tally.

<sup>127</sup> A similar differentiation between core texts of a scholarly profession and peripheral texts from other professions' corpora is elucidated in Stevens' (2013) study of protective formulae found in texts from Late Babylonian tablet collections from Uruk. While texts belonging to the tablet owner's discipline bear protective formulae, texts from other disciplines in his collection do not feature such formulae. Cf. Lenzi 2013: 36-39.

<sup>128</sup> For the occurrence of these genres in medical contexts see the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume.

<sup>129</sup> For compilations of apotropaic HUL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations and their use on protective amulets, see Finkel 1976: 72-73, 74-77, 245-283; Heeßel 2002. Incantations from HUL.BA.ZI.ZI were integrated into medical therapeutic texts in several different contexts. They can be found interspersed, e.g., in tablets belonging to the AMC section EARS, but more often in treatments for ghost-induced illnesses and pain (e.g., headache). Only in two texts, HUL.BA.ZI.ZI spells are used against witchcraft: in STT 275 i 19'-27' (Finkel 1976: 251 spell no. 20; Abusch et al. 2016: text 3.4 ms. B; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 51), and in BAM 326 ii 2'-6' (Ebeling 1949: 202-203; Finkel 1976: 259-263 spell no. 57; cf. Abusch et al. 2016: text 3.7 ms. C, spell šu-zi hul-ġál). In the medical texts, HUL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations are almost always combined with treatments typical for *āšipūtu* texts, namely with amulet bracelets, leather pouches and salves. Thus, these treatment types feature prominently in *Sakikkû* tablets that contain therapeutic sections.

<sup>130</sup> For KA.DAB.BÉ.DA "Seizing of the mouth", a type of sorcery performed by one's legal opponent, see Schwemer 2007a: 14-16, 63 n. 136, 95-97. Only few medical prescriptions against KA.DAB.BÉ.DA are known to date, which are mostly found in compilations concerned with witchcraft-induced illnesses (which may be related to the AMC section EVIL POWERS), but also on collective tablets with recipes for diverse ailments (see Abusch et al. 2016: texts 10.14-18).

<sup>131</sup> The incipits are: 1) *ana kimilti Anim paš[āri]* "To loosen the wrath of Anu", 2) *šumma amēlu ginā šūdūr* "If a man is constantly frightened", 3) *ÉN ili ul idi* "Incantation: My god, I do not know" (cf. Lambert 1974), and 4) *ana amēli ilšu u ištaršu ina rēšišu uzuzzi* "For a man's god and goddess to stand by him".

<sup>132</sup> For NAM.ÉRIM as the curse activated by a broken oath, cf. Schramm 2001: 4-8. Schwemer has noted that there is a close relation and overlap between rituals/incantations and treatments for witchcraft (UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA) and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA in the textual sources, which is reflected in the mixture of both topics in the *adi*-section of the AMC section under discussion (Abusch et al. 2016: text group 7.11; Schwemer 2007a: 66, n. 151). There are examples of tablets with medical recipes (e.g., potions, but also amulets) for both purposes, which may have

- 3) The entry ŠĀ.ZI.GA “arousal”, relating to incantations and rituals to stimulate sexual desire, occurs in the Exorcist’s Manual line 14, whereas in AMC line 106 we probably find [KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.ZI.G]A among material in the *adi*-section for the section dubbed SEX, mentioned beside the genres MUNUS.GIN.NA.KĀM (“to make a woman come (to you)”) and ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KĀM, concerned with arousing female sexual desire.<sup>133</sup> In the corpus of ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts published by Biggs (1967), one can identify different components and therapeutic strategies, including incantations, rituals and treatments such as ointments, amulets, or potions. Both in second and first millennium texts and compendia, such medical and “magical” procedures appear regularly on the same tablet or are applied in combined use (e.g., potions with herbs, ointments and amulets). It is thus very difficult to identify components or texts that pertain exclusively to *asûtu* or *āšipûtu*. It may thus be that both disciplines employed similar texts and methods for treating problems involving sexuality and libido, although it is conspicuous that Gula does not feature in this text group at all. This points to strong *āšipûtu* components in the AMC section SEX.
- 4) The rubric following ŠĀ.ZI.GA in the Exorcist’s Manual line 15 is MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KĒŠ.DA, a genre of incantations concerned with protecting pregnant women from miscarriage (lit. “to bind a pregnant woman”).<sup>134</sup> The genre MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KĒ[Š.DA.KĀM] is mentioned in the AMC as the last entry in the *adi*-section of PREGNANCY (line 112) among a number of key phrases which all start with DIŠ MUNUS “if a woman ...”, indicating the incipits of text sections, probably included on the section tablets. It is odd that the rubric ka-inim-ma munus-kēš-d[a]-kam marking Sumerian incantations is so far only attested on tablets from the Old Babylonian period (CBS 1509 i 20, iii 25; Finkel 1980: 38-39, 42-43 text C). In the first millennium BCE texts, we find occasional Sumerian spells concerned with “binding the mouth”, combined with instructions for protective amulet bracelets against bleeding and miscarriage. Such texts focussing on amulets for pregnant women, designated *takšīrū/kušārū ša erīti* “amulet strings/knots for a pregnant woman”, are well attested in different contexts, and some of the sources can be connected with the section PREGNANCY.<sup>135</sup>

The section PREGNANCY is remarkable because it contains a reference to the healing goddess Ninkarrak (one of Gula’s manifestations) in its title: DIŠ NA *ana* <sup>4</sup>NI]N.KAR.RA.AK <sup>7</sup>pa<sup>7</sup>-qīd “If a man is entrusted to Ninkarrak”. This incipit as well as the incipits of the other two section tablets can be matched with textual sources at our disposal.<sup>136</sup>

The section includes heterogeneous material, some components of which can be identified as incantation genres mentioned side by side in the Exorcist’s Manual line 15 (MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KĒŠ.DA, <sup>4</sup>DĪM.ME.KĀM and LÚ.TUR.HUN.GĀ) or as practices at home in *āšipûtu* (especially the amulets, figurine rituals), while a few components in this section could have had ties with *asûtu* as well, e.g., in view of the association with the goddess Gula/Ninkarrak. However, typical *asûtu* practices are harder to isolate within this material, and the textual contents of the section PREGNANCY point primarily to a major contribution or influx of *āšipûtu* material into the medical corpus in AMC

a connection to the AMC section DIVINE ANGER (see, e.g., BAM 190-193 = Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text group 7.10 F, Q, R, O; BAM 197 = Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 1.7 A). See the commentary to the AMC edition for discussion.

**133** This AMC section probably consisted of one tablet, whose fragmentary incipit is an incantation reminiscent of spells connected to ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts. For the genre MUNUS.GIN.NA.KAM/KĀM, cf. Biggs 1967: 70-71 KAR 61: 1-25; 74-78 KAR 69 obv. 19, rev. 1, 9, 21; Geller 2014: 27-68 BRM 4, 20 and STT 300). For ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KAM/KĀM, cf. Biggs 1967: 9-10, 65 K. 2499 rev. 10: *ana* MUNUS <sup>7</sup>ZI-tú’ [<sup>7</sup>šur-ši-i] “to [let] a woman [get] aroused”.

**134** Notably, in AMC, the section PREGNANCY (lines 107-112) also follows two sections, which have been dubbed POTENCY and SEX, because they both deal with matters of heterosexual relations. The section PREGNANCY is concerned with protecting pregnant women and families from losing their offspring, be it through miscarriage or illness. The death of the offspring is attributed especially to the child-snatching demon Lamaštu, to witchcraft, to the healing goddess Gula (who has an affinity to children’s illnesses, Böck 2014: 62-68), but also to the “curse”.

**135** For amulet compendia, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 146-150, 192-197. Note the short Sumerian spell munus igi ka-kēš in VAT 13629+13866 (Schwemer 2007b: no. 41): i 14-16; TCL 6, 49: 15 (Thureau-Dangin 1921; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.8.1 and *ibid.* Summary 12), see also *ibid.* rev. 12 *takšīru ša erīti*. For texts with ties to PREGNANCY, cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 13; cf. Farber 2014: 35-36, especially TCL 6, 49 (from Seleucid Uruk), LKA 9 rev. i’ 1’-21’ (from the Assur library N4); VAT 13629+13866 (Schwemer 2007b: no. 41, from library N4); SpTU 3, 84; BM 42327+ // BM 51246+ (see also Farber 1989: 110-115 §§ 39-40; Farber 2014: texts “RA” and “SpTU”). These texts combine spells (e.g., Lamaštu and anti-witchcraft spells) with rituals and therapeutic measures such as amulets.

**136** For a discussion, see Steinert 2016b: 244-246 and the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume. Some of the citations in the *adi*-section occur in a number of Neo-Assyrian and Neo- or Late Babylonian texts on women’s healthcare, either as thematic sections of collective tablets or as the sole topic of smaller therapeutic collections (one-column tablets).

PART 2. It may thus be that *asû* and *āšipu* applied the same types of therapies to treat women with pregnancy- and birth-related problems.<sup>137</sup>

- 5) Line 25 of the Exorcist's Manual lists material related to divinatory texts referred to as "all oracular decisions (obtained from) stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, (from) ominous utterances (*egerrû*), stones, flour, incense (*qutrênu*) (and from) a god".<sup>138</sup> Interestingly, there is a two-tablet section in AMC (lines 89-90) concerned with *egerrûs*, which has the fragmentary incipit *e-nu-ma a-na I<sub>5</sub>.GAR [...]* "When [you ...] for an oracle".<sup>139</sup> Its summary section includes material designated as EŠ.BAR GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ "oracle decisions from cattle and stars" clearly reminiscent of the Exorcist's Manual. The expressions refer to a group of texts concerned with everyday oracle techniques, which are only sparsely attested in the textual record. The divination techniques listed in the Exorcist's Manual involve signs drawn from the behaviour of domestic animals in one's surroundings,<sup>140</sup> from the flight of birds,<sup>141</sup> from meteors or shooting stars,<sup>142</sup> from throwing stone dice onto a board,<sup>143</sup> and from flour and incense. The latter two divination techniques involving flour and the smoke produced by burning incense are better known to have been used by the "seer" (*bārû*), who also practiced extispicy and lecanomancy.<sup>144</sup>

Since we have no textual sources matching the incipit in AMC line 89, we can only speculate whether the two tablets contained omens or rituals (or a combination of both). It is quite striking however to find such material in a medical catalogue copied by an *asû*. Notably, all of the forms of oracular inquiry enumerated in AMC 89-90 and in the Exorcist's Manual line 25 also occur in the omen series *Šumma ālu*, assigned to the *āšipūtu* corpus.<sup>145</sup> Their occurrence in AMC may thus attest to the interest of both healing specialists in divinatory practices that were probably very widespread and popular. Both healing practitioners could have had similar texts at their disposal to provide an interpretation for ominous signs encountered by their clients, or to perform oracular inquiries in connection with illness events. Apotropaic rituals to avert such negative signs are found in the Namburbi rituals, which are listed in the second section of the Exorcist's Manual, but they were not known so far to have formed part of the *asûtu* corpus.

**137** Some problems included in AMC section PREGNANCY, such as loss of blood or amniotic fluid, were also treated with other medical therapies (e.g., potions, tampons). Prescriptions of these types are encountered in Neo-Assyrian, Neo- and Late Babylonian gynaecological recipe collections, some of which do not include incantations. But the same types of therapies are in other manuscripts mixed with spells and "magical" rituals, and tablets including medical recipes for these purposes formed part of *āšipus'* text collections.

**138** EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ I<sub>5</sub>.GAR NA<sub>4</sub> ZĪ NA.RI DINGIR DÜ.A.BI. Cf. the edition of the Exorcist's Manual in this volume.

**139** Incipits starting with *enûma* are typical for tablets with ritual instructions, which complement incantation series and compendia. The term *egerrû* stands for oracles and signs connected to various auditory experiences, including human utterances overheard in one's surroundings, the messages of prophets or ecstasies, animal cries and other noises (Oppenheim 1954-56; Butler 1998: 151-158). For *egerrûs* in *Šumma ālu*, see Tablet 95 lines 1-33 (CT 39, 41), where the *egerrûs* are produced by various domestic animals or by birds (Butler 1998: 152-153; Koch 2015: 254). In prayers and literary texts (e.g., *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*), *egerrûs* are the utterings of other people, which are interpreted as ominous signs reflecting the personal crisis of the sufferer.

**140** See STT 73; Reiner 1960; 1995: 71-74.

**141** For texts on augury and ornithomancy including the extispicy of birds, cf. Maul 2013: 131-153; Koch 2015: 140-142. Omens from the flight of birds were included in *Šumma ālu* tablets 64-79; see further K. 6278+CT 40, 48 and BM 108874 (de Zorzi 2009).

**142** See Koch 2015: 212.

**143** See LKA 137, discussed by Finkel 1995.

**144** For oracles using flour or barley ears, see Maul 2010b: 119-126; 2013: 156-162. References in *Šumma ālu* to a divinatory method of pouring flour onto water indicate that such methods were also employed by the *āšipu* (Maul 2010b: 126-127; 2013: 160-161) as is also confirmed by a Late Babylonian text (BM 36330) that contains beside prescriptions for different health matters (necklaces) a set of instructions for performing aleuromancy (Abusch et al. 2016: 704 rev. 7-u.e. 2). Two Old Babylonian tablets connected with the practice of the *bārû* describe the divinatory procedure of libanomancy, in which the smoke of flour poured onto an incense burner is observed (Maul 2013: 162-167; Koch 2015: 138; see also *ibid.*: 249 for smoke omens in *Šumma ālu* Tablet 52). A late Old Babylonian text from the palace library of Tigunānum (George 2013: appendix No. II) describes a procedure for "asking something from a god" (*awātam itti ilim ēriš*), which reminds us of the mention of oracle decisions from a god at the end of the enumeration in line 25 of the Exorcist's Manual. The reference in the Exorcist's Manual to "decisions from a god" also brings to mind omens in *Šumma ālu* tablets 94 and 96, where occurrences during prayer or on one's way to/from a temple serve to indicate whether the deity has heard the prayer (Koch 2015: 254-255).

**145** They are clustered especially in Tablets 89-96, with omens involving smoke, lights and lamps standing near the sickbed, *egerrûs*, etc. (Koch 2015: 253-255). The fact that the oracle practices are mentioned in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual, whereas *Šumma ālu* is found in the second section, seems to indicate two differing though overlapping text groups.



## 7 *Asûtu* Texts in the Exorcist's Manual?

There are hints that the second section of the Exorcist's Manual (lines 28-42) contains some texts that were not regarded as part of the core *āšipūtu* corpus. Frahm (forthcoming) and others have argued that the second section of this catalogue refers to an advanced level of the *āšipūtu*'s training, and included textual material that was studied or collected also in other scholarly disciplines, such as commentaries/word lists and the omen series *Šumma ālu* or *Enūma Anu Enlil*. In fact, the instructions given in this passage encourage the adept to investigate links and relations between different compendia he has studied.

This section of the Exorcist's Manual also features an enumeration of medical materials that could refer to texts which had some overlap with traditions of *asûtu*. Thus, lines 32-36 list treatments (*šipru*) and remedies (*bulṭū*) for a number of illnesses that are grouped according to different categories which are to be studied as part of the corpus of the purification priest (*išippūtu*):

- 32) *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-ti u* SA.GAL SA.GIG(-ki) (GIG) *ki-sat ši-pir* TI<sup>III</sup> MA.LÁH  
 33) *bul-ṭi* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>d</sup>INANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA  
 34) A.LÁ HUL LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA ŠU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 35) *u bul-ṭi kal gim-ri ri-kis lip-it* (LÚ).GIG KÚM DAB-su *u ši-pir* MUNUS  
 36) EN *ri-kis i-šip-pu-ti ta-kaš-šá-du tam-ma-ru* NÍG.ŠEŠ

<sup>32</sup> The treatment(s) for paralysis, palsy and *sagallu*-disease, (suffering from) *sakikkū* ('sore tendon'), *kissatu* ('gnawing'), the treatment(s) for (the illness) 'sailor's rib', <sup>33</sup>remedies for Fallen from heaven-disease (epilepsy), Lord of the roof (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of a ghost, <sup>34</sup>against the evil *alū*-demon, *lilū*-spirit, Supporter of evil-demon, Hand of a curse, Hand of mankind, <sup>35</sup>and remedies for every (illness), the compilation (concerning) the affliction(s) of the patient, being seized by fever and treatment(s) for a woman,

<sup>36</sup> (all this you study) until you master the (whole) corpus of the craft of the purification priest (and) discover the secret(s).<sup>146</sup>

The enumeration falls into groups, which seem to be thematic and reflect illnesses that the *āšipūtu* was particularly interested in, and most of which had not been mentioned before in the first section of the catalogue. Many of the topics in the list recur in one way or another in AMC. Thus, the illnesses *šimmatu*, *rimūtu*, *sagallu*, and *kissatu* in line 32 are prime examples for conditions of the tendons, joints, muscles and extremities. These illnesses are also dealt with as a group in the AMC, in the section HAMSTRING (lines 53-57).<sup>147</sup> One of the topics of this section is the illness *sagallu*, as indicated by the probable title of Tablet 1 of HAMSTRING (DIŠ NA S[A.GAL GIG] "If a man [suffers from] *sa[gallu]*").<sup>148</sup> The summary rubric of this AMC section also mentions *sagallu* and *kissatu* as topics included in HAMSTRING,<sup>149</sup> and manuscripts with treatments for *šimmatu* and *rimūtu* (paralysis, palsy) can be linked with this AMC section.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>146</sup> See also Frahm (forthcoming) for a syntactical analysis of this passage. In earlier periods, *išippu* (IŠIB) was a priest and cult functionary, but in the first millennium BCE texts, it appears to be an archaic term synonymous to *āšipūtu*. The latter seems to have taken over the functions of the *išippu*.

<sup>147</sup> For this group of conditions, cf. Böck 2010b; 2014: 26-30. These illnesses are also dealt with in the diagnostic series, especially in Tablets 14: 170'-72' and 33: 94-102, and a number of diagnostic entries on these illnesses also occur in therapeutic texts (Heeßel 2000: 371-373; Scurlock 2014: 243). The meaning of the illness "sailor's rib(s)" in line 32 remains obscure, but the name could indicate that these treatments had to do with the bones in particular. An alternative reading *ši-bir-ti*<sup>III</sup> MÁ.LAH "sailor's fracture" is suggested by Geller (in this volume); cf. there for manuscript variants.

<sup>148</sup> For *sagallu* (one of the main topics of HAMSTRING Tablets 1 and 2), see, e.g., BAM 130, AMT 42/6, CT 23, 1-2 and CT 23, 3-4; CT 23, 5-14 (cf. Thompson 1908: 63-69, 145-152, 245-251; Ebeling 1921: 138-144; Böck 2010b: 104-106).

<sup>149</sup> *Kissatu*/*kiššatu* is a skin ailment that occurs on the feet, but also on the head (Fincke 2011: 176-181; cf. *Sakikkū* Tablet 14: 30-31 and Tablet 33: 101-102; Heeßel 2000: 373), which is only rarely found in therapeutic texts, see AMT 69/5: 1 (If a man's feet are full of *kissatu*). *Kissatu* is often mentioned in incantations, cf. CAD K 429 sub a; MSL 9, 105 sub E; Böck 2007: 155-156 *Muššu'u* incantation IV/a lines 28-29; cf. *ibid.* 224-245 *Muššu'u* Tablet VI lines 12-16; inc. VIII/k lines 137-138, 147-148.

<sup>150</sup> The ailments *šimmatu* and *rimūtu* often occur together, cf. Böck 2010b: 98 sub 2.10.12-13). Spells used to treat ailments of the extremities and paralysis, which are encountered in therapeutic texts, were also included in the compendium *Muššu'u*, cf. Böck 2003: 2, 15-16; 2007: 23-24 (*Sagallu*), 49-64 for a discussion of the therapeutic passages. The reading of the logogram SA.GIG in line 32 of the Exorcist's Manual is somewhat ambiguous, since it would be expected to stand for *maškadu*, an illness dealt with in the section HAMSTRING. However, one manuscript

The remedies in lines 33-34 of the Exorcist's Manual concern a group of illnesses named after the "supernatural" entity causing them (gods, demons, ghosts or witchcraft), as well as seizures/epilepsy. These categories occur regularly in the diagnostic texts, but also in second and first millennium medical texts as well as in enumerations of illnesses in incantations.<sup>151</sup> The illnesses listed in the two lines share certain features: they are regularly associated not only with physical, but also with mental/psychiatric and psychological symptoms, and they are often grouped together in therapeutic and other medical texts.<sup>152</sup>

References to the illness categories listed in lines 33-34 of the Exorcist's Manual can be found in various places in the AMC corpus, both in PART 1 and 2. One reason for this is that the texts of AMC PART 1 are grouped according to affected body part, and not according to the disease agent causing the symptoms. Thus, references to "Hand of a ghost" can be found in numerous sections of the therapeutic corpus, since various ailments and symptoms were attributed to attacks of ghosts (see Scurlock 2006).<sup>153</sup> A similar pattern can be grasped for witchcraft-induced illnesses ("Hand of mankind") or "curse" (NAM.ÉRIM), which likewise feature in multiple AMC sections. However, there appears to be a thematic clustering of these illness entities in sections of AMC PART 2, which have been dubbed DIVINE ANGER (lines 84-88) and MENTAL ILLNESS (lines 91-98, cf. also the section EVIL POWERS, lines 79-83). One of the tablets of MENTAL ILLNESS has the incipit with *a-na AN.TA.ŠU[B.BA (...)] ZI-hi* "[To remove 'Fal]len from heaven'-disease (epilepsy), [(...)]" (AMC line 92), possibly forming part of an enumeration of similar related illnesses in the gap. The citations in the *adi*-section also mention the evil *alû*-demon. It is thus possible that the remedies for illnesses grouped in lines 33-34 of the Exorcist's Manual refer to collections of therapies, which are clustered in AMC sections such as MENTAL ILLNESS. One has the impression that the illnesses enumerated in lines 33-34 focus on categories in which the exorcist was particularly interested, and on treatments in which he specialised.<sup>154</sup> Given the predominantly ritual and magical character of most therapies for illnesses such as epilepsy in the textual record, it remains to be investigated whether the texts used by the *asû* and *āšipu* to treat such problems differed at all or whether the Exorcist's Manual and specific sections in the AMC could refer essentially to the same corpus of texts.<sup>155</sup>

Line 35 of the Exorcist's Manual continues with an inclusive statement ("remedies for everything"), which could be a cursory reference to the entire corpus of therapeutic texts, as outlined in AMC, which is organised by types of illnesses and includes all areas of medical care. It is not clear whether the next phrase *rikis lipit marši*, "the compilation (of texts) on the affliction(s) of the sick man",<sup>156</sup> is independent from the following KÚM DAB-su "fever seized him" or whether it

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spells SA.GIG-*ki* signalling that the logogram was to be read *sakikkû* "sick tendons", referring to an illness rather than to the general meaning "symptoms" better attested for SA.GIG.(MEŠ)/*sakikkû* (on which the name of the diagnostic series *Sakikkû* is based). SA.GIG/*sakikkû* as an illness is a learned expression rarely attested (cf. Böck 2014: 16 n. 100). The emphasis on illnesses of the "tendons; cords" (Sum. sa) in this enumeration and the unusual appearance of SA.GIG could well have been motivated by the link to the name of the diagnostic series.

**151** For a study of this group of illnesses, see Stol 1993: 7-9, 16-19, 33-38, 41-42, 46-49. For epilepsy and "Hand of mankind", cf. also the diagnostic text STT 89 (Stol 1993: 91-98; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 12.1 A). For SAG.HUL.HA.ZA (*mukil rēš lemutti*) and "Hand of a curse" (ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA) in this context, cf. also *Sakikkû* Tablets 27: 4 and 28: 4, 7, 21 (Heeßel 2000: 297, 308-310).

**152** See, e.g., the first section in SpTU 1, 43: 1-5, which groups AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ŠU.DINGIR.RA, ŠU <sup>4</sup>INNIN.NA, *bennu* and "Lord of the roof" (<sup>4</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA) beside depression as conditions coming from the heart (*libbu*), cf. Köcher 1978: 24-25; Geller 2014: 3-7; Steinert 2016a: 231-242. Section 4 (Tablets 26-30) of the diagnostic series focuses on this group of illnesses (Stol 1993: 55-90; Heeßel 2000: 278-340). Stol (1993: 99-113) discusses therapeutic texts and practices applied against these illnesses, consisting mainly of rituals, amulets and leather bags, ointments and fumigations, but rarely of potions. Plants against epilepsy are also registered in drug compendia (Uruanna and *Vademecums*), and there is considerable evidence for compendia on stones and amulets with sections for epilepsy and related conditions (see Stol 1993: 103, 107-111; Schuster-Brandis 2008). See further the Late Babylonian therapeutic compendium *Qutāru* (TCL 6, 34 i 1-2; Stol 1993: 25, 106-107) with commentary (BRM 4, 32: 1-4).

**153** References to ghost-induced complaints are prominent, e.g. in the sections CRANIUM, EYES, EARS and NECK; cf. further section ABDOMEN, discussed in the commentary to the AMC edition. See also Johnson's contribution in this volume for a discussion of illness attributions to "Hand of a ghost" in the therapeutic corpus.

**154** For Esarhaddon's chief court exorcist performing such rituals, see, e.g., SAA 10, 238.

**155** For a detailed discussion of possible sources for this section, see the commentary to the AMC edition in this volume.

**156** In some tablets of *Sakikkû*, (LÚ).GIG "sick man" is used rather than NA, the latter of which is typical for first millennium therapeutic texts. The word *lipitu* "touch" often assumes the meaning "affliction, illness", and is contrasted with *balātu* "life; good health, wellbeing" (see CAD L 401-402 sub 2). For *riksu* as "collection; compilation" (of tablets), see CAD R 351 sub 4e. One can compare the present expression with the *Sakikkû* Catalogue (Finkel 1988b: A 65-66 and the edition in this volume), which describes the series *Sakikkû* as *rikis murši u rikis kûri* "the compilation on illness and the compilation on depression".

has to be read as one long phrase.<sup>157</sup> *Rikis lipit marši* (*ummu iṣbassu*) seems to be a descriptive formulation rather than the actual title or name of a compendium. It is remarkable that texts on fever are singled out as a specific component of the therapeutic corpus, since the AMC does not contain a section that solely deals with fever.<sup>158</sup>

The last entry in line 35 of the Exorcist's Manual, *šipir sinniṣti* "treatment(s) for a woman", is likewise remarkable. Could it refer to medical therapies for women, which are differentiated from the incantation genres for pregnant women and women in childbirth enumerated in the first section of the manual (i.e., MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KĒŠ.DA, MUNUS LA.RA.AH)? One may speculate whether *šipir sinniṣti* refers to textual material that is clustered in sections PREGNANCY and BIRTH of the AMC.

To summarise, lines 32-36 of the Exorcist's Manual list therapeutic material consisting of treatments (*šiprū*) and remedies (*bulṭū*), which was regarded as a compendium or text corpus (*riksu*). It is possible that the manual refers to the therapeutic corpus witnessed in the AMC. The enumeration picks out certain illnesses, which seem to have been of special interest to the *āšipū*. Since the second part of the Exorcist's Manual includes texts not exclusively used by the discipline, it can be asked whether lines 32-36 may allude to medical practices and texts adopted from *asūtu*. However, in line with the discussion in the previous paragraph, one can also speculate whether the enumerated remedies may refer to domains and textual traditions of *āšipūtu* that were incorporated into the AMC/therapeutic corpus. In many instances, the texts identified as examples of remedies (*bulṭū*) which are enumerated in the second section of the Exorcist's Manual and have parallels in the AMC, contain many elements that appear to be typical for *āšipūtu*. Nonetheless, with regard to the textual sources concerned, the therapeutic practices and their users/copyists, it is still hard to disambiguate entirely which components come from which discipline.

## 8 Conclusions

The comparison between the Exorcist's Manual and AMC has brought to light a partial overlap between the corpora in both catalogues, which at the same time accentuates the basic orientation and disciplinary identity of *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*, but also blur the boundaries between them, which is underlined by the textual sources and their users. The analysis in the preceding sections has concluded that the two catalogues represent in their core the text corpora of the two disciplines respectively, showing that both disciplines had their own traditional focus on particular genres and texts. I have suggested that *asūtu* can be connected primarily with the genre of *bulṭū* "remedies" (i.e., "medical" recipes), correlating with the evidence for *asūs* specialising in medical treatments, while *āšipūtu* focused on incantations and therapeutic rituals (especially those found in the first part of the Exorcist's Manual). But at the same time, it seems that both specialists were free to apply a combination of therapeutic techniques, which we would classify as "magical" and "medical": *asūs* also used and transmitted incantations with their remedies (some of which are recognisable e.g. through references to the *asū*'s patron deities), while the therapeutic rituals of the *āšipū* often had clear medical components (e.g., in the use of pharmaceutic substances and medical techniques, beside more "magic" performances such as substitution rituals).<sup>159</sup>

Especially the textual evidence from the first millennium suggests that the boundary between both disciplines was fluid in practice. The therapeutic compilations often contain a combination of genres and elements from both disciplines. The analysis of the two catalogues and the textual sources connected to them suggests that both professional

<sup>157</sup> Opinions on this point are divided, cf. Geller 2000: 258; Jean 2006: 70; Hecker 2008: 78; Clancier 2009b: 109-110 line 14; 2014: 26. If KÚM DAB-su has to be read as a separate phrase, it may be a short citation reminiscent of recipes starting with DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-su.

<sup>158</sup> AMC sections that include treatments for different types of fevers are e.g. CRANIUM and STOMACH. For texts on fever see further Bácskay 2018.

<sup>159</sup> The profile and therapeutic techniques of *asūtu* are well reflected in hymns to the healing goddess and incantations referring to her (see Böck 2014: 15-44, 78-115 with further literature). They include a range of medical treatments, surgery, midwifery and incantations. The profile of *āšipūtu* with its primary focus on exorcistic, apotropaic, purificatory techniques and on the normalisation of the patient's relationship with the divine realm is likewise reflected in descriptions of the patron deities Ea/Enki and Marduk/Asalluhi at work, e.g., in incantations from the *āšipū*'s core text corpus such as Udug-hul (see Geller 2016). However, Enki/Ea's wisdom includes "practical" medical knowledge, when he advises his son Asalluhi about treatments in medical incantations featuring the traditional formulery of the so-called "Marduk-Ea dialogue". For a contrastive juxtaposition of traits that are "typical" for incantations in the corpus of *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*, including diverging illness etiologies, see also Johnson's contribution in this volume; cf. also Steinert 2016a.

corpora contain core components of the discipline, but also additional or peripheral textual material with cross-disciplinary character.<sup>160</sup> In the Exorcist's Manual, groups of remedies/treatments which could allude to the therapeutic corpus of the AMC are listed in the second part of the catalogue, which features several texts that were also used by other scholarly disciplines. Vice versa, textual genres associated with *āšipūtu* are not evenly spread over the AMC. Thus, AMC PART 1 contains mainly remedies and mentions fewer incantation genres found in the Exorcist's Manual, while several sections of AMC PART 2 contain genres and contents encountered in the Exorcist's Manual; AMC PART 2 also seems to integrate more rituals beside medical recipes. A closer analysis of the contents of tablets belonging to AMC PART 1 may show, however, that also this part of the therapeutic corpus integrates some incantations that pertain to genres encountered among the core texts of *āšipūtu* in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual.<sup>161</sup> It is striking that several tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to AMC PART 1 display a recurring structural layout, featuring prescriptions in the first columns of the tablet, whereas the later columns of the tablet often contain incantations combined with therapeutic rituals (marked by KĪD.KĪD.BI or DÛ.DÛ.BI) or with remedies, which could indicate text sections that were assembled and combined from formerly independent text sources.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, the incantations in the tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (= AMC PART 1) invoke the authority of the patron deities of both disciplines, often in combined fashion. Thus, while some spells refer to Ea and Asalluhi, others invoke Damu and Gula, and numerous spells refer to both pairs of deities, including further deities of healing and exorcism, such as Ningirima (see e.g., Collins 1999; Böck 2014: 78-115). The occurrence of the patron deities of *āšipūtu* or particular formulae (e.g. the Marduk-Ea formula) in "medical" incantations does not mean however that such spells were necessarily always taken over from the corpus of the *āšipu*. Some of the compositions invoking Asalluhi/Ea beside other healing deities could also have been composed by physicians who emulated popular elements and formulae typical for *āšipūtu* spells, e.g. to boost the authority and prestige of a spell.<sup>163</sup>

The patchwork structure of the AMC therapeutic corpus and its cross-disciplinary elements may indicate that it ultimately forms a composite corpus integrating a core of *asûtu* lore and some adopted *āšipūtu* healing traditions that are recognised as additional elements in the AMC. With regard to the incantation genres mentioned in both catalogues,

**160** Occasionally, the origin of a therapy or a group of treatments in a discipline is marked in text rubrics. For instance, BAM 516 iv 4 (Tablet 3 of the AMC section EYES) refers to eye balm "from the hand of an *asû*", Attia 2015: 77. A number of therapeutic texts attribute remedies to the *āšipu*. BAM 471 = AMT 94/2 ii 18 contains the label "salves against Hand of a ghost ... a secret of the exorcist's craft"; see also the Middle Babylonian duplicate BAM 385 i 11' ("drugs for a salve against Hand of a ghost, a secret of the exorcist"). AMT 40/2: 8-9 // STT 95(+) i 11-12 preserves remedies to calm divine anger, with a section designated "a tried leather bag (*mêlu latku*), a secret of the exorcist's craft". See further BAM 199: 14 (a salve for Hand of a ghost or "curse" designated as "secret of the exorcist", in a tablet written by Kišir-Aššur); see Lenzi 2008a: 179-181 for a discussion. A few references to the lore of the *asû* are found outside the medical texts themselves. The court physician Urad-Nanaya and the exorcist Nabû-nāšir mention "potions of *asûtu*" in a joint letter to Esarhaddon (SAA 10, 297 rev. 1). The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic speaks of the tablets taken by the king from Babylonia to Assyria as spoil, enumerating texts from various disciplines (*āšipūtu*, *bārūtu*, *kalūtu*) including "texts of the *asû*'s craft (with) instructions for bandages" (*maštarāt asûti nêpeš našmadâte*, Lambert 1957-58: 44 BM 98730 rev. 8; Foster 2005: 315). The application of potions and bandages is also discussed in Middle Babylonian letters of physicians (Sibbing Plantholt 2014). Especially expertise in drugs and the application of bandages (e.g., for skin diseases) as well as the treatment of injuries and veterinary care belong to the competence of *asûs* in Old Babylonian letters from Mari, while *āšipu*/*mašmaššu* are engaged in performing purificatory rituals (Finet 1957; Durand 1988).

**161** Examples can be found in incantations with the rubrics KA.INIM.MA IGI.GIG.GA.KAM in the section EYES (Tablet 1) (cf. IGI.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> in the Exorcist's Manual) and KA.INIM.MA ZÚ.GIG.GA.KAM in the section TEETH (Tablets 1 and 2) (cf. ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> in the manual). See for the section EYES: BAM 510 // 513 // 514 (Collins 1999: Eyes 1-5, 7, 9, 11, 13; Attia 2015); for the section TEETH: Collins 1999: Teeth 1-2 (BAM 538 //). A similar situation can be pointed out in the first millennium sources for the section STOMACH vis-à-vis the rubric ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> in the Exorcist's Manual. In the first millennium medical texts, the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM occurs only sporadically, but one finds varying rubrics relating to the belly (ŠĀ) attached to incantations that in Old Babylonian precursors regularly bear the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM (cf. Cadelli 2000: 313 with n. 5, *ibid.* 77, 88 (BAM 574 // = STOMACH 1 ii 28, iv 41); George 2016: 127-138, especially sub II.E.6-9; Collins 1999: Belly 9 (AMT 45/5 obv. 10' // BAM 508 ii 11') and Belly 27 (AMT 52/1: 15 with duplicates); Steinert and Vacín forthcoming). Compare further the rubric KA.HAB.DIB.BA in the Exorcist's Manual, which is not used as an incantation rubric in the section TEETH (Tablet 2), where one finds descriptive rubrics instead (cf. Collins 1999: spells *bu'šānu* 1-3, namely KA.INIM.MA (DIŠ NA) *bu'šānu* DAB-su).

**162** Cf. also Johnson's contribution in this volume, adopting an "architectonic" approach in the analysis of tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (= AMC PART 1), which aims at identifying textual building blocks or clusters of material (clusters of diagnostic entries/prescriptions vs. clusters of incantations) that may formerly have been contained on separate tablets. This interpretation is in line with the observation that at least in the Old Babylonian period, medical prescriptions were usually not collected together with incantations.

**163** Cf. Johnson's contribution in this volume for a differing view that emphasises contrastive features of the incantations in the corpus of *āšipu* and *asû*, which he connects with different professional identities and competition between the two disciplines.

the question remains whether these keywords in the AMC refer to texts that were taken over directly from the *āšipūtu* corpus or whether they refer to independent compositions that adapt a genre of spells originating in or popular in the field of exorcism.

However, other issues have to be addressed. How does the evidence from the catalogues correspond with the actual expertise and practices of *asûs* and *āšipus* at the time? Which conclusions can be drawn concerning the formation process of the medical corpora (especially who was responsible for the compilation and serialisation of the AMC corpus)? On the level of healing practices, it seems that although *asûtu* and *āšipūtu* differed in their disciplinary profile, healers of each discipline often applied a similar range of therapeutic techniques and could potentially draw on the lore of both disciplines.<sup>164</sup> The documentation regarding this cross-disciplinarity is lopsided, since it can be observed that *āšipus* included *asûtu* (e.g., medical prescriptions) in their therapeutic repertoire and text collections, in addition to their traditional lore, while we have much less information for the opposite case.<sup>165</sup> However, especially first millennium texts indicate that both specialists sometimes worked together or offered alternative treatments.<sup>166</sup>

Since the AMC seems to reflect a hybrid of *asûtu* combined with some *āšipūtu* healing traditions, it could be argued that the compilation process of the text corpus presented in the AMC is the result of a “joint venture”, i.e., that it was assembled by an interdisciplinary team of specialists. It is appealing to conclude that the royal court at Nineveh offered the best conditions for such a joint project and that the AMC corpus is for this reason likely to have been created there during Ashurbanipal’s reign. But this interpretation is not fully convincing. Although it is not certain who compiled the AMC text corpus, several hints point to its fundamental links with the discipline of *asûtu*, as discussed above. It is also clear, however, that texts from the AMC corpus were studied and used by both professions, and that each discipline contributed to it.

As to the question where and when the AMC corpus was compiled, it has to be emphasised that the manuscripts of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to AMC PART 1 diverge slightly from the tablet sequence and sectional structure outlined in AMC, and that the edition of therapeutic material outlined in AMC PART 2 is so far unattested at Nineveh (e.g., through matching catchlines or section titles). Yet, the close similarities between AMC PART 1 and the Nineveh texts corresponding to it suggest that the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* was closely related to AMC, but reflects some redactional differences and further developments of the series.

Although the redaction of therapeutic series in the AMC probably took place in the first centuries of the first millennium BCE, it also has to be remembered that attempts to compile collections of medical recipes in Babylonia and Assyria began already in the second half of the second millennium BCE, and that some texts from this period offer prescriptions that were integrated into the first millennium therapeutic series.<sup>167</sup> The existence of variant first millennium redactions

<sup>164</sup> The healing specialists at the Neo-Assyrian court usually bear only one professional title and are identified either as *āšipu* or *asû*, and the exceptional Urad-Gula who bears the title *āšipu*, but who is once designated as deputy of the chief physician and as *asû*, may in fact be two different individuals with the same name (Parpola 1983b: II 470 Appendix O; Baker 2011: 1402 no. 5-6). Some court scholars bearing the title *ummānu* “master scholar” were recognised as versed in the lore of more than one discipline (see e.g. SAA 10, 160).

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Villard 2006: 143-145, 148-150. Note the Nineveh library record SAA 7, 50 iii 7’-14’, registering tablets contributed by an *asû*, which include one tablet each of textual material classified as *āšipūtu* (rituals?), *Šumma izbu* omens, hemerologies and the series *Zaqīqu* (dream omens/rituals). Some *āšipūtu* texts of the first millennium (e.g., the Lamaštu series, therapies in tablets of the diagnostic series) show a predilection for certain therapeutic techniques, sometimes used together: amulet bracelets, ointments and fumigations. Nonetheless, these techniques could also be applied by the *asû*, as the medical recipe corpus of AMC Part 1 and letters show (see, e.g., SAA 10, 323 letter of court physician Urad-Nanaya on fumigants and oils for salves, cf. Parpola 1983b: No. 253 for discussion). Note in this connection also first millennium BCE compendia such as *Muššu’u* and *Qutāru*, which are compilations created by exorcists, drawing on older incantations and therapeutic traditions from the corpora of *āšipūtu* and *asûtu* (cf. Finkel 1991; Böck 2007: 79-89 *passim*).

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Stol 1991-92: 58-62, Jean 2006: 101-102 (for medical matters discussed in letters of court *āšipus*), 121-122, 125; Villard 2006. Neo-Assyrian letters occasionally throw light on the cooperation between both specialists (Villard 2006: 148). For instance, SAA 10, 297 is a joint letter by the chief court physician Urad-Nanaya and the *āšipu* Nabû-nāšir concerning their successful treatment of the queen mother Naqia. Two letters, SAA 10, 315 written by Urad-Nanaya and SAA 10, 241 written by the chief exorcist Marduk-šākin-šumi to Esarhaddon discuss the same medication applied to treat their royal patient. Note also entries in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 53-54 recommending that the *asû* should look at a particular diagnosed complaint. Occasional statements that an illness could not successfully be treated by either *āšipu* or *asû* indicate that patients had the choice between the services of these specialists or would try different options for treatment. Cf. further the letter SAA 13, 66 rev. 11’-13’, in which the sender asks the king for an *asû* and an *āšipu* so that they attend to his illness together. Competition between specialists of both disciplines seems to have been limited.

<sup>167</sup> The fragment BAM 36, copied from an original from the Baba temple at Assur, attests to a series/compilation (*iškāru*) on lung diseases in the Middle Assyrian period (Köcher 1963: xvii). A number of Middle Assyrian tablets from Assur with collections of medical prescriptions offer parallels to first millennium texts. For instance, BAM 12 belonged to the so-called “library of Tiglath-pileser I” and contains recipes for

of medical series in Babylonia, Assur and Nineveh shows in my view that the AMC reflects a stage in a longer and rather complex development, characterised by multiple interrelated formations of serialised therapeutic compendia in Babylonia and Assyria, which started already in the second half of the second millennium BCE and did not end at Nineveh.

With regard to the documentation on *asûs* and *āšīpu* for the first millennium BCE it has to be added that during this period, a change took place as far as institutional support, integration and the respective status of the *asû* and *āšīpu* are concerned. While still in the Neo-Assyrian period, both *āšīpu*s and *asûs* were employed by the rulers, the *asûs* seem to have lost their institutional support base after the breakdown of local rulership beginning with the Achaemenid period, while the *āšīpu*s were able to keep up their long-established links to the temples.<sup>168</sup> Moreover, the *āšīpu*s steadily gained in importance over time, by employing strategies to broaden their corpus, expertise and social prestige, by absorbing strands of knowledge from other disciplines, and by building up the professional image and identity of the *āšīpu* as that of a scholar who shares in the divine and secret lore originating with Ea and Asalluhi, which was transmitted by the mythological sages (*apkallus*) and scholars (*ummânus*) of earlier periods who are claimed as ancestors.<sup>169</sup> The formative period for this “ideology of scribal succession” may reach back into the Middle Babylonian/Assyrian period.<sup>170</sup>

Although first millennium BCE therapeutic texts also contain references claiming that the origin of medical recipes goes back to *ummânus* of older periods, it seems that *asûs* were not engaged in cultivating their status as *ummânus* to

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bandages applied to the head, some of which have close counterparts in the AMC section CRANIUM (Scurlock 2014: no. 1.3.2). Fever recipes in BAM 66, found in the same library, provide parallels to the AMC section STOMACH (cf. Köcher 1963: xx). The Middle Assyrian tablet fragment BAM 16 with eye recipes likewise belonged to the “library of Tiglath-pileser I” (Köcher 1963: xv). Another important piece of evidence is the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 11, which was brought to Assur probably in connection with Tukulti-Ninurta’s I invasion of Babylonia in ca. 1207 and kept in the library of the Aššur temple (Pedersen 1986: 24 (80); Heeßel 2009). It was written by the Babylonian physician Rabâ-ša-Marduk and contains remedies for migraine partially duplicating recipes in manuscripts of the first millennium section CRANIUM (Heeßel 2009: 21-22; Scurlock 2014: no. 2.11.1). For Middle Babylonian recipe collections from Nippur with duplicating passages in first millennium texts, see, e.g., BAM 394 (salves and poultices copied from a tablet owned by the physician Ahu-bāni), BAM 396 (a collection on urinary tract conditions, see Geller 2005: no. 1; Scurlock 2014: no. 2.10.1), BAM 398 (remedies for stroke and muscular illnesses, Köcher 1971: xxix-xxx). Note also BAM 416 (provenience unknown, recipes for skin conditions, see Scurlock 2014: no. 2.11.3).

**168** For connections of the *āšīpu* with temples in the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian period, see Jean 2006: 139-143 (for his roles in the temple cult); Sallaberger and Vulliet 2005: 632; Geller 2010: 183 n. 58 (*āšīpu*s receiving income from temples, e.g., as prebend holders in the Late Babylonian period). For the *asû*, firm evidence for links with temples is still lacking, although connections with the Gula temples have been suggested, since *asûs* traditionally refer to Gula as their main patron deity and link their medical expertise to her (cf. Avalos 1995: 212-216, 218-231). However, *asûs* are often characterised as free-lance craftsmen (cf. Geller 2010: 50-52). But there is also continuous evidence from the second and first millennium BCE for the patronage of both professions by local rulers (cf. Avalos 1995: 170-172, 220-222; Geller 2010: 62-88).

**169** For ideological constructions revolving around the title “scholar” (*ummānu*), the sages (*apkallū*) and the professions of *āšīpu*, *kalū*, *ṭupšarru*, *bārū* and *asû*, see Lenzi 2008a: 67-128; 2008b; 2015: 172, 178-180; cf. Böck 2015: 31-33. One example for the use of this “ideology of scribal succession” is found in the *Sakikkū* Catalogue, which refers to the editor of the diagnostic series Esagil-kīn-apli as “scholar (*ummānu*) of Sumer and Akkad”, whose ancestor was Asalluhi-mansum, “sage (*apkallu*) of king Hammurapi” (Finkel 1988b: 148 A 55, 60 // B 18’ and 22’). The tendency to claim medical lore as part of the domain of *āšīpūtu* can be seen for instance in the “Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi” composed by an *āšīpu*, in which Gula receives the art of *asūtu* from Ea (Lambert 1967; Lenzi 2008a: 97-100). See further LKA 146//, a text with recipes for leather bags (*mēlu*) paired with an incantation, which attributes these remedies to Ea and an *apkallu*, brought up from the Apsū by Nabū (Lambert 1980; Lenzi 2008a: 122-125). Cf. Maul 2013: 277-291; Steinert 2016a: 225-230 concerning the development of astro-medicine and astro-magic within *āšīpūtu*, as a strategy to boost their clientele and influence in the light of the rising popularity of astrology (cf. further Reiner 1995; Heeßel 2008b; Schwemer 2015b). For the *āšīpu* vis-à-vis other professions concerned with divination, cf. also Koch 2015: 18-24. The high rank of *āšīpu*s in Neo-Assyrian times is reflected in a list of court scholars (SAA 7, 1) that records *ṭupšarrus* (“scribes; astrologers”) and *āšīpus* at the top of the hierarchy, followed by *bārūs*, *asûs*, *kalūs* and augurs.

**170** In the Neo-Assyrian period, the title *ummānu* was applied to scholars and experts of various professions (*āšīpu*, *kalū*, *ṭupšarru*, *bārū* and *asû*) in the service of the king (see, e.g., SAA 10, 160), and the title “royal *ummānu*” is first attested in the early Neo-Assyrian period, referring to the chief scholarly advisor of the king, and replacing the older title “royal scribe” which was in use in the Middle Assyrian period (Wiggermann 2008: 208-210). One of the “royal scribes” attested in the Middle Assyrian period is Ribātu (time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, 1233–1197 BCE) whose father Rišēya was “royal exorcist” (*āšip šarri*) under Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 BCE). Sources from the first millennium such as the Synchronistic King List and the Uruk List of Kings and Sages project the connection between individual scholars and kings back to the second millennium (e.g., by identifying scholars of the Kassite and Isin-II periods as *ummânus* of kings and by listing as their predecessors *apkallus* associated with kings before and after the Flood (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 75, 106-120; 2008b with further literature; compare also the role of some of these scholars in the “Catalogue of Texts and Authors”, Lambert 1962). The iconography of the *apkallus* as mythological figures (especially the fish-*apkallus*) also originates in the Kassite period (Wiggermann 1994: 224; Green 1994: 252, 262 §§ 3.8-9, 3.31), while before that time *abgal/apkallu* is used as the title of a human functionary associated with Enki/Ea (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 127-128).

the extent that the *āšipus* did.<sup>171</sup> The *āšipu* mastered a far greater corpus of texts than the *asû*, and his knowledge and activities were of a wider range and higher order. He focused not only on applying medical treatments and healthcare services for individuals and households, but also attended to the concerns of the king and society at large by mediating (through rituals) between the human and divine world and preserving wellbeing and divine order (cf. the *āšipu*'s role in rituals for the induction of divine cult statues or in purificatory rituals for the king). Through their vast knowledge and their employment of strategies to boost their social prestige, the *āšipus* were in a better position to preserve institutional ties and support from local temples throughout the Late Babylonian period, while the *asûs* seem to have lost these strategic ties (e.g., with the shrines of healing deities), becoming largely invisible in the written records (Robson 2011: 558). By the Late Babylonian period, the field of *asûtu* healing techniques seems largely to have been taken over and carried out by the *āšipu* as well, although the profession of the *asû* may have survived for some time, as a craft practiced outside the large institutions (cf. Finkel 2000).

In conclusion, seen from a diachronic perspective, the medical recipes (*bulṭū*) forming the heart of the AMC corpus reflect the traditional focus and core of *asûtu*, which was combined with incantations and developed in exchange with the neighbouring field of *āšipūtu*.<sup>172</sup> The sources from the first millennium BCE show that *asûtu* lore was applied by *āšipus* in their professional practice and integrated into their text collections. This means that while *asûtu* and *āšipūtu* were regarded as distinguishable disciplines, the expertise and practical profile of specialists was not necessarily restricted to one field of knowledge. Despite these developments constantly blurring the distinction between both disciplines and their corpora, the professional core of *asûtu* within the AMC should not be overlooked.

## 9 Epilogue: The Functions of Catalogues

Catalogues can be connected to practical concerns of Mesopotamian scribes and “librarians”, namely organising and keeping track of tablets in a collection. They often functioned as inventories listing contents of an archive/library or of a section of a library (shelf lists, including tags and labels for retrieving tablets from shelves or baskets). The concrete occasions and reasons motivating the documentation of tablets in inventories often remain unknown, but it is likely that some catalogues document events of stocktaking in tablet collections (*Inventuren*), while others were made in connection with the movement of tablets between different archives, or in connection with tasks such as (re)editing and copying of tablets and compositions.

It has often been suspected that catalogues were used in scribal training. Although the function of Old Babylonian “literary catalogues” as lists of school curricula is debated, examples of students’ tablets from later times show that catalogues of compositions sometimes played a role in a school context. Explicit statements in catalogues such as the Exorcist’s Manual likewise underline their role in specialist training, as “outlines of study programs” (Freedman 1998: 5) or as overviews of a professional corpus to be mastered by the adept at the end of his training.

Especially the series catalogues and professional corpus catalogues have been characterised as serving “theoretical” purposes rather than a function as shelf lists or tablets inventories (Geller 2000: 227). Some of the catalogues for

<sup>171</sup> See Lenzi 2008a: 179-184 for medical texts designated as secret lore of the *ummānu/āšipu*. Note that a corresponding label “secret of the *asû*” is not attested to my knowledge, compare however a number of medical prescriptions with the label “secret of kingship” (or “drugs for the king”), possibly alluding to patronage relations between the king and *asûs* (see Lenzi 2008a: 185-186, e.g., BAM 579 (STOMACH 5) iv 32). Note AMT 105/1 iv 21-25, a manuscript of Tablet 3 of the section CRANIUM (*šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl*), which claims that recipes for salves and bandages contained in the text go back to the antediluvian *apkallus* and were transmitted by a sage from Nippur who is associated with Enlil-bāni, a 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE king of Isin (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 117, 200-201; Steinert 2015: 129-131, 139). Such an elaborate attribution of origins is so far not attested in any other manuscript of the therapeutic corpus, and was very likely a late addition to the text, to enhance the authority of the remedies.

<sup>172</sup> In the Old Babylonian period, the genres of medical recipes and incantations were mostly collected on separate tablets, although some of the medical spells were very likely applied together with remedies (cf. Wasserman 1996-97: 2 n. 4; 2007: 52-55 for thematic correspondences between recipes and incantations; cf. George 2016: 5-6 Table 1 for Old Babylonian incantations with appended ritual (*kīd-kīd-bi/kikkittu*). Some of the Old Babylonian spells invoking Gula link them with the *asû* (see Cunningham 1997 for references). The combination of medical recipes and spells in the textual sources increases in the Middle Babylonian period and can probably be linked to the formation of longer compendia and compilations. However, throughout the second and first millennium BCE, one can still encounter tablets of medical recipes lacking incantations. A number of such tablets were written by *asûs*, see, e.g., BAM 11 (Heeßel 2009).

a particular series are attested in varying versions, reflecting different recensions of the text in different places and periods. Two catalogues, the *Sakikkû* Catalogue and the Exorcist's Manual, are known from multiple first millennium copies with only minor textual variants, showing that they were copied as scholarly reference works. Both catalogues contain explicit statements alluding to the purpose of the texts. The *Sakikkû* Catalogue claims to record the efforts of a famous scholar, Esagil-kin-apli, to have produced an authoritative edition of the omen series, which the catalogue is supposed to reflect, while the Exorcist's Manual associates the core text corpus of the exorcist with this scholar. Through instructive passages, both catalogues underline their function as tools for studying the text corpora they describe. They include admonitions to the reader concerning the texts' status (i.e., as exclusive knowledge). These statements suggest that the catalogues were tools for scholarly learning and for the instruction of the adept. But through their reference to a named scholar as authority behind the catalogues and text corpora, they could also have played a role in the construction of professional identities and histories.

The series catalogues probably served as important cornerstones for different disciplines, but they had additional technical functions, by recording text redactions and serialisation processes. Individual catalogues such as the AMC document an intermediate stage in a longer process, in the course of which a text corpus eventually becomes a text series. Last but not least, since the series catalogues are in a way comparable to the table of contents in our books, giving an overview of an oeuvre, they could also have served practical purposes, for instance as an aid-memoire, or as a blueprint for accumulating specialist tablet collections.

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1	HEADING	
PART I Title: (...) "remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)"		
I	2-5	CRANIUM
		Incipits
	6-7	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 5 Tablets
II	8-9	EYES
		Incipits
	10	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 4
III	11	EARS
		Incipits
	12	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 1
IV	13-16	NECK
		Incipits
	17-18	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 6
V	19	NOSEBLEED
		Incipit 1(?)
VI	20	TEETH
		Incipits
	21-23	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 2
VII	24-27	BRONCHIA
		Incipits
	28	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 6
VIII	29-30	STOMACH
		Incipits
	31-35	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 5
IXa	36-37	EPIGASTRIUM
		Incipits
	38-39	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section "4"
IXb	40-42	ABDOMEN
		Incipits
	43-44	<i>adi</i> -section 8+x(?)
X	45-46	KIDNEY
		Incipits
	47	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 3
XI	48-50	ANUS
		Incipits
	51-52	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section 5

XII	53–54	HAMSTRING	
		Incipits	
	55–57	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「4」
	58	SUB-TOTAL	[54+]
PART II Title: “If a lesion [...] and] his [...] is <i>swollen</i> ”			
XIII	59–61	SKIN	
		Incipits	
	62–69	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「？」
XIV	70	HAZARDS	
		Incipits	
	71–78	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section (?)	「1？」
XV	79	EVIL POWERS	
		Incipit	
	80–83	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	1
XVI	84–85	DIVINE ANGER	
		Incipits	
	86–88	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	4
XVII	89	ORACLES	
		Incipits	
	90	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	2
XVIII	91–92	MENTAL ILLNESS	
		Incipits	
	93–98	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	3
XIX	99–100	POTENCY	
		Incipits	
	101–2	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「3+」
XX	103	SEX	
		Incipits	
	104–8	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「1+？」
XXI	109–10	PREGNANCY	
		Incipits	
	111–14	Summary (+ <i>adi</i> -section)	「3+？」
XXII	115–19	BIRTH	
		Incipits	
	120	Summary (no <i>adi</i> -section)	8
XXIII	121	VETERINARY	
		Incipits	
	122	Summary (no <i>adi</i> -section)	1
	123–24	SUB-TOTAL	「38」(+)
	125	TOTAL	「92+」
	126–29	COLOPHON	

FIGURE 1: *Assur Medical Catalogue Structure Chart.*



# 1 The Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC)

## 1.1 Introduction to the Assur Medical Catalogue

The Assur Medical Catalogue has been known to scholars of Mesopotamian medicine for several decades and is often referred to in the literature.<sup>1</sup> Copies of the four AMC fragments in the Yale Babylonian Collection were published by Gary Beckman and Benjamin Foster (1988) as hand copies only. The Chicago fragment A 7821, which was discovered and identified by Irving Finkel in 1978, remained unedited. In 2014, JoAnn Scurlock included a transliteration and translation of the first part of the catalogue in her *Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine*, which does however not include the Chicago fragment.

The following *editio princeps* offers the first reconstruction of the tablet including all five tablet fragments known to date. The importance of AMC for the reconstruction of Mesopotamian medical therapeutic compendia in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE cannot be overemphasised, although understanding its exact relation to the known source texts also poses many difficulties. The AMC tablet comes from Assur and dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, but its exact findspot and date (8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE) remain unknown. The tablet colophon, which provides crucial clues for contextualising the document, is unfortunately fragmentary as well. However, it preserves the profession of the scribe who copied the tablet, *asû šeḫru* “young physician”, and the professional title of his father, “*šangû*-priest of Baba (= Gula) who (dwells) in the midst of Assur (Baltil)”. A few details such as the occurrence of the scribal remark *hepi* “broken (original)” point out that the catalogue was not an *ad hoc* tablet inventory of a collection of medical texts, but that it was copied from an older original. Thus, although the date of the AMC tablet itself is debatable (it may be earlier or contemporary with the medical texts compiled in Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh), it can be assumed that the catalogue itself was drawn up for the first time before the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

What does AMC represent? AMC forms a structured list outlining a corpus of (primarily) medical therapeutic texts (*bulṭû* “remedies”, complemented by incantations/rituals). From a technical angle, AMC documents and commemorates the creation of a serialised text corpus divided into two named compendia (AMC PART 1 and 2), each of which consists of a sequence of textual sub-units. This process, which is often designated as “serialisation” in Assyriology, is expressed through the statement that the textual units (*sadîrû* “sections”) listed in the catalogue “have received an edition”, literally “a (new) weave” (SUR.GIBIL/*zarâ šabtû*). Each part of the catalogue is summarised in a rubric, which contains the phrase *sadîrû ša* SUR.GIBIL *šabtû*. Thus, AMC informs us that the medical corpus was shaped into a serialised textual ensemble, without telling us exactly when, where and by whom this compilation was carried out.

As is well known, the phrase SUR.GIBIL/*zarâ šabātu* “to receive an edition” is also attested in two other catalogues, the Exorcist’s Manual and the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series (*Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) and *Alamdimmû*), attributing editorial activities to the famous Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the sectional structure of AMC which describes a sequence of textual units (“sections” and “tablets”), bears strong similarities to the *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* catalogue, which likewise documents a text corpus or “compilation” (*riksu*) collected in two parts (or “series”, i.e. *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû*), each of which is organised in a sectional structure. These parallels and correspondences show that the therapeutic corpus underwent similar redaction processes during the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE as attested for the diagnostic and physiognomic series and for other compendia pertaining to the corpus of the *āšipu* “exorcist; ritual specialist”.

A point agreed upon in the different discussions of AMC assembled in this volume is that the textual contents and the colophon of AMC indicate that the registered texts can be regarded as the corpus of *asûtu* “the physician’s lore/craft”. Seen in this light, AMC forms a counterpart for comparison with the Exorcist’s Manual and the *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* catalogue, which list texts and series belonging to the corpus of *āšipûtu* “the lore of the ritual specialist”.

<sup>1</sup> For discussions and transliterations of specific sections of AMC see e.g. Geller 2005a: 247; Heeßel 2008: 169-171; 2010c: 34; Böck 2008: 296-299; Johnson 2014: 44-46. For a detailed publication history and bibliography see Panayotov’s contribution in this volume. The four Yale fragments were acquired by one purchase prior to 1920, together with a group of Assyrian texts apparently from Assur (Beckman and Foster 1988: 1); A 7821 was purchased in Baghdad by Henri Frankfort in January 1930 (reference courtesy to R.D. Biggs).

<sup>2</sup> See the editions and discussions of these texts elsewhere in this volume.

The main aim of this edition has been to reconstruct the AMC tablet by positioning all five fragments in relation to each other, and to identify as many textual sources as possible within the medical corpus that are directly linked or otherwise related to the serialised corpus listed in AMC. The closest evidence for AMC are tablets that preserve a matching incipit and/or catchline (designated as “series tablets”). In the majority of cases however, medical texts provide looser links to AMC. Thus, some tablets include entries or contents that match or correspond with AMC entries, but their incipits/catchlines are not identical. Tablets with parallel entries to textual units or contents registered in AMC can present varying formats: a) shorter extracts/excerpts, b) *Sammeltafeln* combining therapies on various topics drawn from various sections of the corpus (including collections of incantations), c) tablets assembling similar material as found in AMC, but organised in a diverging “series” (or compilation).

The reconstruction of the AMC tablet presented here relies on the organisation of the catalogue itself. AMC is organised in two parts (PART 1 and 2)<sup>3</sup> divided into sections, which are visually set apart by rulings and correspond to divisions of textual material. That is, each section in PART 1 and 2 corresponds to a “section” (*sadīru*) of the therapeutic corpus. A “section” of the corpus is usually divided into several “tablets” (DUB/*tuppu*) of medical content, although the sections are of varying length and may occasionally consist of only one “tablet” (the largest “section” attested in AMC comprises eight tablets). For every “section” of the corpus, the catalogue gives a list of the titles (i.e. opening words, incipits) of all “tablets” belonging to the “section”. Apart from one exception, the catalogue inserts a ruled-off summary rubric after every group of tablet incipits. The summary rubric typically states the total of tablets listed in the section, which is named in most cases according to the title of the section’s first tablet.<sup>4</sup> The section’s name is usually followed by the preposition EN/*adi* “including; together with; up to” and a number of keywords or phrases, which mostly seem to indicate topics and contents included in the respective section.

The five AMC fragments do not offer a single direct join, which has posed difficulties for the reconstruction of the tablet. Two of the fragments (B and D) preserve sections from the upper/lower half of the tablet’s left side (including the left tablet edge), while the other three fragments (A, C and E) preserve together a large part of the tablet’s right side (including the right edge). In his unpublished transliteration of the AMC fragments, Franz Köcher had discovered that fragments A and B on the one hand, and fragments D and E on the other can be aligned, each pair presenting the beginning and end of several overlapping lines from the upper and lower half of the tablet respectively.<sup>5</sup> However, Köcher was undecided about the position of fragment C (preserving the middle section of the tablet) in relation to fragments A/B and D/E, respectively.<sup>6</sup> As a next step, M. Geller, A. Attia and G. Buisson succeeded in identifying overlapping lines between fragments B and C. The present reconstruction goes another step further and suggests to close the remaining gap between fragments C and D and to align these two fragments as well, thus allowing us to position all tablet fragments (see the copy, Plate 1-2). According to the current reconstruction, AMC forms an oblong one-column tablet with 66 lines of text on the obverse and 63 lines on the reverse (including the colophon).<sup>7</sup>

The sectional structure of the tablet divided by rulings has considerably helped in determining the position of the AMC fragments, but the reconstruction proposed here is also based on contextual clues and on the evidence provided by catchlines and colophons of medical tablets from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh (designated here as the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*) that follow the serial organisation of AMC PART 1. Based on the preserved catalogue incipits and contents of identified source texts, it has been possible to assign a descriptive label to each catalogue section, which provides a heading signalling the contents and overall topic of each section of the listed text corpus (see the AMC Structure Chart, Fig. 1 in Steinert *infra*, pp. 199-200). According to our reconstruction, AMC PART 1 consists of twelve sections (I-XII, CRANIUM-HAMSTRING) organised according to the principle “from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)” (*ištu*

<sup>3</sup> Both AMC PART 1 and 2 are followed by a summary rubric, giving the sub-total of all tablets in each part, followed by the title of the respective compendium.

<sup>4</sup> The last two sections of AMC are not named according to the first tablet, but are designated with a descriptive title (see ll. 120 and 122).

<sup>5</sup> For Köcher’s work on the catalogue and written exchanges with M. Geller on the subject, see also Panayotov’s contribution in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> In his transliteration, Köcher entertained the possibility that fragment B from Chicago (A 7821) may not belong to the same tablet as the four fragments from Yale, but to a duplicating catalogue manuscript. However, a comparison of the handwriting of fragment B with that of the other pieces confirmed that they must all belong to the same tablet.

<sup>7</sup> Only the width of the AMC tablet cannot be determined exactly, but the gap between fragments A-B-C and C-D-E has been estimated on the basis of individual lines which could be restored completely.

*muhhi adi šupri*).<sup>8</sup> Thus, each section of AMC PART 1 is concerned with a group of ailments associated with an area or part of the human body (e.g. EYES, EARS, NECK, BRONCHIA etc.). AMC PART 2 consists of 11 sections (XIII-XXIII SKIN-VETERINARY) that are organised thematically: every section focuses on a specific group of illnesses or treatments not tied to a body part (including sections concerned with skin diseases, gynaecology and obstetrics, the treatment of wounds, injuries and veterinary care).

The reconstruction of AMC PART 1 relies in part on the evidence from medical texts belonging to the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*, which reflect the AMC serial organisation to a very large extent, with only little discrepancy. Thus, several Nineveh (two-column) tablets with quite uniform format preserve matching incipits, catchlines and section titles for a substantial part of the sections and incipits in AMC PART 1. The texts of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* corresponding to AMC PART 1 confirm that PART 1 forms a compendium of medical material, organised in sections with an established sequence and referred to by a descriptive title, “remedies from the top of the head to the (toe) nail(s)”.<sup>9</sup> AMC PART 1 can thus be regarded as a delimited “text series”. The catchlines of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* tablets provide a sequence between individual tablets and consecutive sections of this “series”. However, due to the fragmentary state of the AMC tablet, we do not have firm proof yet that AMC PART 1 was known under an overarching series title in the Neo-Assyrian period. It could be assumed that AMC PART 1 as a whole was referred to by the first tablet of the first section (*šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* “If a man’s skull contains heat”), because a series with this name is attested in texts from Uruk, which date to the Late Babylonian period (ca. 200-300 years later than the Nineveh texts) and show some textual overlaps with the Nineveh therapeutic texts pertaining to AMC PART 1.<sup>10</sup> However, the Late Babylonian series *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* included material that is found in AMC PART 2 and thus seems to have been a compilation of the whole therapeutic corpus. Moreover, the Late Babylonian series from Uruk was not organised in the same way as AMC and the Nineveh sources. AMC and the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* are structured in “sections” (*sadīru*) and divided into a number of individual tablets, which are counted according to their position within the section. In contrast, the Late Babylonian therapeutic series existed in at least two varying recensions, divided into text units designated either as *tuppu* (“tablets”) or *pīrsu* (“divisions”), which were counted in a continuous sequence.

The closure of the gap between AMC fragments C and D/E and the alignment proposed here relies partially on the Nineveh sequence of therapeutic sections corresponding to AMC PART 1, although AMC and *Nineveh Medical Compendium* present a slightly differing sectional arrangement in this part of the series. The last preserved section on the obverse of fragment C (= AMC ll. 36-37) offers fragmentary bits of the tablet incipits of a section dubbed EPIGASTRIUM whose existence and position (following the section STOMACH = AMC ll. 29-35) is confirmed by Nineveh texts. The next anchor point to link AMC and the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* is provided by a Nineveh colophon suggesting that the section EPIGASTRIUM was followed by the section KIDNEY, which corresponds to AMC ll. 45-47 starting with ll. 8’ and 4’ of fragments D and E respectively.<sup>11</sup> Lines 1’-2’ of fragment D belong to a summary rubric (l. 1’ begins with NĪGIN “total (of ... tablets)”), followed after a ruling by another section of incipits (ll. 3’-5’) and a summary rubric (ll. 6’-7’). Since these seven lines at the beginning of D do not match up with any of the ruled text sections at the end of fragment C, ll. 3’-7’ of D should be interpreted as another catalogue section between EPIGASTRIUM and KIDNEY, dubbed here ABDOMEN. The logical step in connecting fragments C and D is to suggest that the summary rubric in D ll. 1’-2’ belongs to the incipits of the section EPIGASTRIUM on fragment C (= AMC ll. 36-37). This reconstruction confronts us with a slightly diverging division of therapeutic material in the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (two sections EPIGASTRIUM-KIDNEY) and AMC (three sections EPIGASTRIUM-ABDOMEN-KIDNEY). However, as discussed in the commentary to AMC below, there are clues that may explain this discrepancy, which seem to indicate that textual material registered in the AMC section ABDOMEN may have been integrated into the section EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh, the latter of which seems to

<sup>8</sup> This structural principle is explicitly stated in the summary rubric to AMC PART 1 (= line 58), in the form of a descriptive title for PART 1 (see below). This way of organisation is not unique to medical series in AMC PART 1, but can be found in other compendia dealing with the body and medical matters, e.g. in parts of the *Diagnostic Handbook* and the physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmū*, in lists of body parts (e.g. Ugu-mu), in incantations and amulet compendia (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008).

<sup>9</sup> This descriptive title is encountered in AMC l. 58 and in the tablet colophons of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*. See further the AMC commentary to ll. 1, 6, 58 as well as the contributions of Panayotov and Steinert in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that the compendium in AMC PART 2 is named after the first tablet of the first section (SKIN) can be regarded as an internal hint that AMC PART 1 may also have been designated in this way (i.e. *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl*). However, in the colophons of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* this title is not applied to the whole series, but is only used as a name for the first section of the compendium.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the copy of AMC (Pl. 1, 3-4) and the commentary for details.

have consisted of more tablets than the corresponding AMC section (eight tablets at Nineveh vs. four in AMC). Combining the available information of AMC and the catchlines/colophons of the Nineveh tablets, it can be concluded that the compendium of remedies from head to toes comprised fifty tablets at Nineveh (see Panayotov in this volume), while the number of constituent tablets in AMC PART 1 must have been slightly higher (we can estimate 54+ tablets).

These discrepancies provide subtle but valuable hints that AMC PART 1 and the textual sources of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* are witness to slightly differing recensions of the same therapeutic series. To complicate the matter, the preserved medical texts from Assur offer only a very few tablets with incipits or catchlines corresponding to AMC PART 1 and the parallel Nineveh medical texts. Thus, it is still not possible to say whether AMC PART 1 reflects a local, variant recension of the therapeutic series contemporary with the Nineveh texts, or whether it documents a slightly earlier stage of the series encountered in the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*. It is worth noting that there are a considerable number of Neo-Assyrian texts from Assur that contain parallels to AMC PART 1 and 2 (they often form partial duplicates of the Nineveh texts), without adhering to the recension of the AMC series. The majority of them was found in the library of a famous family of conjurers associated with the Aššur temple (Assur library N4). Among them are several excerpt tablets, some of which belong to variant extract series. It is significant that the colophons of these tablets often mention originals (clay or wax tablets) from Babylonia and from the Gula temple at Assur as their sources.

While our best evidence for the series in AMC PART 1 is the texts of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*, the situation for AMC PART 2 is strikingly different. Although one can find plenty of textual parallels for the material listed in AMC PART 2 among the Nineveh medical texts, not a single Nineveh text could yet definitely be identified as a “series tablet” of AMC PART 2 through a matching incipit, catchline or section title. It is thus possible that AMC PART 2 was not known at Ashurbanipal’s library in the exact form outlined in AMC, but was a compendium of medical material used and assembled outside Nineveh. Several close parallels for tablets in AMC PART 2 could be detected among texts from Babylonia, while the number of parallels from Nimrud and Sultantepe for AMC PART 1 and 2 is somewhat lower.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, it has become evident that the compilation of medical texts in AMC is not identical with other, similar redactions of medical “series” attested so far in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE texts from Babylonia. Thus, the AMC series and the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* are not “canonical” in the sense that the same text compilations or “series” were transmitted in identical form throughout Assyria and Babylonia, but that partially diverging and overlapping text material was assembled and transmitted in various collections and “series” (recensions) of locally available material, which took shape between the Neo-Babylonian/Assyrian and Late Babylonian period. The corpus of medical therapeutic texts (prescriptions; incantations/rituals) remained fluid to some extent, as can be inferred from the varying formats and contents of 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE medical tablets. To determine the exact relationship between different serialised compendia from Babylonia and Assyria will be one of the major challenges for future research on medical cuneiform texts.

Since the recension of the therapeutic texts witnessed in AMC and in the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* is not attested at other places, the AMC recension of therapeutic material was presumably not transmitted beyond the Neo-Assyrian period, at least not in identical form. The serialised compendia from Uruk and elsewhere in Babylonia suggest a multiplicity of corpus building and text edition projects. As indicated by colophons, material belonging to different serialised compendia also circulated between scholars from different cities.

Beside the existence of multiple serialised compendia of medical texts, extract tablets written for practical application (*ana šabāt epēši nasha*) add to the diversity of the textual sources, because in such cases the healing specialists copied their own selections of remedies from a compendium or from several sources available to them, depending on their current needs and interests. School texts from Late Babylonian archives further imply that new or orally transmitted prescriptions kept being committed to a written form. One may ask whether this degree of textual diversity within the medical corpus has anything to do with differences between *asūtu* and other technical disciplines (e.g. in contrast to the discipline of *āšipūtu*, which developed a large text corpus with numerous serialised and more or less “standardised” compendia).<sup>13</sup> Alternatively, it could be speculated whether this fluidity is tied to the nature of medical prescriptions, which may get modified more easily, as they are put to use in medical practice than e.g. religious rituals, which may tend more often to become fixed or frozen over time.

<sup>12</sup> See Steinert *infra* Table 1 for a selective list of sources/parallels. It has to be borne in mind that our search for source texts is not exhaustive or complete in any way.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> millennium “standard” series such as Udug-hul (Geller 2016: 5-21) or Lamaštu (Farber 2014: esp. 17-24).

In conclusion, since AMC is the only known catalogue of a serialised compilation of virtually the whole corpus of medical therapeutic texts from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, it is of central importance for the reconstruction of textual sources from this era. Although the AMC tablet is fragmentary and several details and incipits are lost, the present edition considerably adds to our understanding of the medical corpus in the Neo-Assyrian period. Thus, AMC provides us with a clear anchor point that helps us to identify different groups of medical texts and to assign their contents to specific sections of the medical corpus in comparison with the AMC compendia. It will now be easier to identify manuscripts of tablets that are witnesses for the recension of therapeutic series listed in AMC in a more systematic way. At the same time, it will be possible to trace variant medical series and compendia that diverge from AMC, and to reconstruct the history of different tablet manuscripts and their compilation processes. AMC as a catalogue of the corpus (very likely) pertaining to the discipline of *asûtu* can also be used as a source of evidence to look at the corpora of the healing disciplines *asûtu* and *āšipûtu* from new angles. Thus, if AMC and the Exorcist's Manual are systematically taken into account, it will be possible to undertake corpus-driven analyses of different medical manuscripts and to link them with the (inter)disciplinary interests and specialisations of tablet owners/users.<sup>14</sup> By comparing the contents of medical manuscripts with AMC and associated series tablets, it will be easier to analyse texts sections of differing origin on a tablet, or to gather clues regarding the motivation for varying combinations and configurations of material in manuscripts of remedy collections that provide only partial duplicates to identified series tablets following AMC.

As a segue to the AMC edition, the reader may appreciate a brief summary of the contents for the catalogue sections, as far as these can be deduced from the catalogue incipits and summary rubrics as well as from identified source texts. The twelve sections of AMC PART 1 concerned with different areas of the body *a capite ad calcem* can be summarised as follows:

- The first section CRANIUM<sup>15</sup> (5 tablets) is concerned with treatments for illnesses concerning the head or more precisely, the cranium/skull. The prominent topics indicated in the incipits are fever (in the head), headaches (including headaches attributed to ghosts) and skin conditions encountered on the head.
- The second and third section EYES<sup>16</sup> (4 tablets) and EARS (1 tablet) focus on treatments for conditions of the eyes (e.g. diminished eyesight, sty, jaundice in the eyes, night-blindness) and ears (e.g. roaring/ringing ears, ear infection).
- The fourth section NECK (6 tablets) has been named following the keyword “neck tendon” (SA.GÚ = *labânu*), which occurs in the incipit of NECK Tablet 1, forming the title of the whole section. However, the attested sources for this section are concerned mainly with illness symptoms that are primarily attributed to ghosts and sorcery, e.g. with pain, paralysis, palsy and stroke affecting different parts of the body, and with ghost visions. This section contains incantations that were also integrated into the incantation series *Muššu'u* “embrocation; massage”, which can be attributed to the corpus of the “conjurer/exorcist” (Böck 2007).<sup>17</sup>
- The fifth section NOSEBLEED (1 tablet?) solely deals with stopping nosebleed, while the sixth section TEETH (2 tablets) focuses on ailments of the mouth, nose and teeth.
- The seventh section BRONCHIA (6 tablets) is concerned with respiratory ailments associated primarily with the chest and lungs.
- The next three sections (STOMACH (VIII), EPIGASTRIUM (IXa), ABDOMEN (IXb)) have been tentatively assigned titles according to the principle “from head to toe”; all three sections seem to treat internal illnesses. The eighth section STOMACH (5 tablets) is concerned with conditions of the digestive system (*libbu* “belly”) such as abdominal pain, indigestion, bloating, different kinds of fever, and jaundice. Because of the textual evidence from Nineveh (discussed in more detail in the commentary below), the following two sections are regarded here not as entirely separate textual units (but rather as one unit with an appendix), numbered IXa and IXb accordingly.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. the medical tablets found in the Assur library N4 offer important evidence for the interdisciplinary interests of healing professionals. Thus, their collection contained not only tablets of texts that are listed in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 //), but also several excerpt tablets with medical prescriptions that are related to the AMC series.

<sup>15</sup> This section is sometimes called UGU by Assyriologists, named after the central body part UGU = *muhhu* “top of the head; skull”, which is mentioned in the incipit of Tablet 1 of the section (see AMC I. 2).

<sup>16</sup> This section is also referred to as IGI by Assyriologists, stemming from the central body part IGI = *inu* “eye”.

<sup>17</sup> See further the sections CRANIUM and HAMSTRING for incantations known also from *Muššu'u*. Another incantation genre attested both in AMC and the *āšipûtu* corpus are Hulbazizi spells, see the commentary to AMC line 83.

- The section EPIGASTRIUM (4 tablets) likewise deals with internal conditions located in the belly or epigastrium, including related conditions attributed to disease agents such as the “curse” (NAM.ÉRIM). The following “appendix” ABDOMEN (x+8 tablets?) continues with treatments that seem to be connected with the digestive system and are attributed to ghosts or sorcery. If the summary rubric of ABDOMEN is interpreted correctly, this section included eight tablets of incantations and therapies used against sorcery-induced conditions.
- The next two sections KIDNEY (3 tablets) and ANUS (5 tablets) concentrate on renal and rectal diseases respectively.
- The last, twelfth section HAMSTRING (4 tablets) contains treatments for conditions of the hips and lower extremities, including joints and muscles, and for skin diseases occurring in this body region.

AMC PART II consists of eleven sections, to which we have assigned numbers in consecutive sequence with AMC PART I, which can be classified as follows:

- The thirteenth section SKIN (no total of tablets preserved) apparently unites therapies for various skin diseases, while the following fourteenth section HAZARDS includes therapies for injuries occurring during work, in battle or caused by animals, including treatments for snake/dog bite and scorpion sting.
- The fifteenth section EVIL POWERS (1 tablet) seems to contain heterogeneous material, such as incantations/rituals and remedies for specific complaints (of both physical and psychological nature) that all seem to have been attributed to “supernatural” agents, such as evil demons and sorcery. The section mentions incantation genres that are also encountered in the corpus of the conjurer.
- The focus of the sixteenth section DIVINE ANGER (4 tablets) are therapies (including incantations/rituals) to calm the wrath of various deities (including the patient’s personal deities), which are regarded as causal agents of particular physical/psychological complaints and streaks of misfortune. The section also refers to therapies/incantations against sorcery, since it was often regarded as ultimate cause for divine wrath.
- The topic of the next section ORACLES (2 tablets) is unusual and unexpected in a catalogue of medical therapeutic texts. This section seems to be concerned with ritual or divinatory procedures to procure an oracle (for patients/clients) through different methods (drawing on the behaviour of animals, celestial phenomena (stars) and on oracular utterings produced by humans or other beings).
- The eighteenth section MENTAL ILLNESS (3 tablets) seems to be primarily concerned with psychological problems, mental and psychiatric conditions, such as depression/anxiety, fear, epilepsy or seizures. These health problems were predominantly attributed to “supernatural” agents and thus the section also registers therapies against evil demons (*alû* and *Lamaštu*).
- The next two sections POTENCY and SEX deal with problems involved in heterosexual relationships. POTENCY (no total of tablets preserved) focuses on therapies or rituals to induce sexual desire in men.<sup>18</sup> The section SEX (1 tablet?) continues with similar topics: incantations/procedures to arouse sexual desire in men and women, to calm down a husband’s anger, and treatments for conditions caused by the *lilû* or *ardat lilû*-demon (the ghosts of unmarried boys/girls).
- The main theme of the twenty-first section PREGNANCY (3 tablets) concerns protecting families from losing their offspring, born or unborn. The tablets of this section feature rituals against infant death through illness and divine/evil powers, protective measures to save pregnant women from miscarriage caused by sorcery, continuing with other complaints of pregnant and parturient women, such as bleeding or delayed delivery (also attributed to sorcery).
- The twenty-second section BIRTH (8 tablets) registers incantations and treatments for women during delivery or suffering from hard labour. The section incipits further specify remedies for parturient women and for different gynaecological conditions (e.g. related to vaginal discharges and bleeding).
- The last section VETERINARY (1 tablet) deals with treatments for horses and cattle, especially with epidemics.

<sup>18</sup> Both sections contained material that is closely related to the texts often referred to as ŠÀ.ZI.GA (lit. “arousal”) texts, a title that is also listed in the Exorcist’s Manual (see *infra*).

## 1.2 AMC Text Edition

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Tablet fragments (for the copy see Plate 1-6):

**A** = YBC 7123 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9a)

**B** = A 7821

**C** = YBC 7146 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9b)

**D** = YBC 7126 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9c)

**E** = YBC 7139 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9d)

Measurements:

A = 4.2 x 5 cm (Beckman/Foster 1988: 3) x 1.48 cm at the edge / 2.27 cm max. interior thickness

B = 3.9 x 6.1 cm x 1.5 cm at the edge / 2.5 cm interior thickness

C = 6.9 x 8.3 cm (corrected figure) x 2.07 cm at the edge / 2.71 cm max. interior thickness

D = 2.9 x 6 cm (Beckman/Foster 1988: 3) x 1.66 cm at the edge / 2.42 cm max. interior thickness

E = 6.2 x 9.7 cm (corrected figure) x 1.07-1.62 cm at the edge / 2.63 cm max. interior thickness

Reconstructed dimensions of the tablet: ca. 10.5 x 23.5 cm

### PART I

**Obv.**

1) A1 [DUB SAG.MEŠ<sup>7</sup> .....] MU.<sup>7</sup>NE<sup>7</sup>

[(Tablet of the incipits of<sup>7</sup> ...], (all) their names.

#### I CRANIUM

2) A2 [DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal : DIŠ NA SAG.KI.DAB].<sup>7</sup>BA<sup>7</sup> TUK.TUK-ši

[If a man's skull contains heat (fever). If a man] constantly has 'seizing [of the temples]'.]

3) A3 [DIŠ SAG.KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ina SU NA il-ta-za-a]z-ma NU D[U<sub>8</sub>]

[If 'seizing of the temples' due to ghost affliction (lit. 'Hand of a ghost') constantly] persists [in a man's body] and cannot be loosened.

4) A4 [DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su GIG.MEŠ<sup>7</sup> mat-qu-ti TAB UD.D]A<sup>7</sup> DIRI<sup>7</sup>

[If a man's head] is full [of 'sweet' lesions and burning] of šētu-fever.

5) A5 [DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub> SAG.DU-šú GÍR.GÍR-su UGU-šú x x x x] x-te<sup>7</sup> ŠÉŠ<sup>7</sup>

[If the middle of his head constantly stings him,] you rub [his skull with ...].

6) B1<sup>7</sup>(+ )A6 [NÍGIN 5] DUB.MEŠ<sup>7</sup> DIŠ N[A UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal EN ku-r]a-ri kib-ši

[Total of five] tablets of (the section) 'If a man's [skull contains heat (fever)'. Including (prescriptions) for the case that he is full of] *kurāru*-boils, *kibšu*-skin complaint (lit. fungus),

7) B2<sup>7</sup>(+ )A7 <sup>7</sup>gi<sup>7</sup>-i<sup>7</sup>š-ša-te gu-[riš-tu DIRI x x x x (x)] <sup>7</sup>a<sup>7</sup>-šu-u DAB-<sup>7</sup>su<sup>7</sup>

*giššatu* (shedding of skin), *guraštu*-[lesion ... (and remedies for the case that)] *ašû*-disease afflicts him.

**II EYES**

8) B3'(+)A8 DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú 'GIG : ' D[IS NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú *mur-din-n*]*i* 'DIRI<sup>?</sup>  
 If a man's eyes are sick. [If a man's eyes] are full of [(a)*murdin*]*nu* ('bramble').

9) B4'(+)A9 DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú LÛ.LÛ [: DIŠ NA<sup>?</sup> x x x x] 'x x x-šú<sup>?</sup> 'DIRI<sup>?</sup>  
 If a man's eyes are constantly troubled. [If a man's] ... are full of [...].

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10) B5'(+)A10 NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú G[IG EN (...) *šum<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>-m*]*a*<sup>?</sup>  
 'IGI.SIG<sub>7</sub>SIG<sub>7</sub> 'u *sin-'lu-ur-ma-a*'

Total of four tablets (of the section) 'If a man's eyes are si[ck.] Including (prescriptions) for the case] that (he has) jaundice or night-blindness.

**III EARS**

11) B6'(+)A11 DIŠ NA GEŠTU 15-šú [(...)] GÛ.GÛ-*si*  
 If a man's right ear [(...)] rings (lit. screams) constantly.

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12) B7'(+)A12 1 DUB GEŠTU ZAG-[šú GÛ.GÛ-*si* EN DIŠ NA GEŠTU]<sup>I</sup>-šú<sup>?</sup> TA[G.MEŠ-šú<sup>?</sup>]  
 One tablet (of the section 'If a man's) right ear [rings constantly'. Including (prescriptions) for the case that man]'s [ears] are constantly affected [(lit. keep touching him).]

**IV NECK**

13) B8' DIŠ NA SA.GÛ-šú [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA]  
 If a man's neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction].

14) B9' DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-s[u-*ma lu ina* DÛ-ti A.ZU-ti *lu ina*  
 DÛ-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti *il-ta-za-az-ma* NU DU<sub>8</sub><sup>?</sup>]  
 If ghost affliction] affects a man [(and) it lingers on and cannot be removed by the actions of the physician or the exorcist].

15) B10' DIŠ *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* HUL.GIG *ana* L[Ú<sup>?</sup> NU TE-e : ÉN *id-di* 'é-a]  
 One (tablet): For hate magic [not to approach] a man. [Incantation: Ea recited (the spell)].

16) B11' DIŠ NA *mi-šit-tu pa-ni* [*ma-šid-ma* : DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ IGI.IGI-*mar*]  
 If a man [shows signs of] facial paralysis (stroke). [If a man constantly sees dead persons in his dream.]

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17) B12'(+)C1' NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SA.G[Ú-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA<sup>?</sup>  
 EN ...]x *ti<sub>4</sub>-p*[i 'x x (x)]  
 Total of six tablets (of the section) 'If a man's neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction'. Including (prescriptions for) ...] poultices [...],

18) B13'(+)C2' NÍG.LÁ *di-ik-še lu šá* [ZAG *lu šá* GÛB *ana p*]*a-šá-r*[*i<sub>4</sub>-ma*]  
 bandage(s) [for] relieving a swelling, whether on the [right or on the left side.]

**V NOSEBLEED**


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19) B14'(+)C3' 'DIŠ NA MÚD' *ina*' KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú [DU-*ku ana* MÚ]<sup>D</sup> KIR<sub>4</sub> TAR-[*si*]  
 If blood [flows from] a man's nose, [in order to] stop the nosebleed.

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**VI TEETH**

20) B15'(+ )C4' [DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú 'GIG' [: DIŠ NA] gi-<sup>r</sup>me-er<sup>r</sup> ZÚ.ME-šú [i-na-áš]  
[If a man's teeth] are sore. [If] all of a [man's] teeth [are loose.]

21) C5' [NÍGIN 2 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG E]N KA-šú GIG-uš<sup>i</sup> ZÚ-šú na<sup>i</sup>-dī<sup>(ŠI)</sup>-a[<sup>t</sup>]  
[Total of two tablets (of the section) 'If a man's teeth are sore].' Including (prescriptions for the case that) his mouth is sore (and) his tooth *fallen out*,

22) C6' [. . . . .] x<sup>r</sup>:<sup>r</sup> ta-a-bi-i-lu DAB-su bu-<sup>r</sup>šá-nu 'DAB'-s[u]  
[...], (for the case that) dryness troubles him, *bu'šānu*-disease troubles him,

23) C7' [(...)] šá LÚ.TUR  
(including prescriptions for *bu'šānu*-disease<sup>2</sup>) in an infant.

**VII BRONCHIA**

24) C8' [DIŠ NA (na-piš) KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú DUGUD :] DIŠ NA GABA-su GIG-at  
[If a man's breathing becomes difficult]. If a man's chest is sick.

25) C9' [DIŠ NA GABA-su SAG ŠÀ-šú] u MAŠ.SÌL.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>r</sup>  
[If a man's chest, epigastrium (lit. 'top of his belly')] and shoulders hurt him.

26) C10' [DIŠ NA KÚM-em ú-ga-na-ah] : DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG  
[If a man is feverish (lit. hot) and coughs]. If a man is sick with *suālu*-cough.

27) C11' [DIŠ NA su-a-lam ha-ha] u ki-<sup>r</sup>šir-te<sup>r</sup> <MUR.MEŠ> GIG  
[If a man] is sick [with *suālu*-cough, *hahhu*-cough] and constriction (of the lungs).

28) C12' [NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú DUGUD EN DIŠ NA G]I.GÍD MUR.MEŠ šī-i-qi  
ù LÚ.TUR su-alu GIG

[Total of six tablets (of the section) 'If a man's breathing becomes difficult.' [Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man's] bronchial tube (is sick), (for) *šīqu*-illness and (for) an infant suffering from *suālu*-cough.

**VIII STOMACH**

29) C13' [DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŠÀ GUR-šú] : DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú 'GIG'  
[If a man is sick with *suālu*-cough (which)] for him turns [into intestinal disease (lit. binding of the belly)]. If a man's belly is sick.

30) C14' [DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú : DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-i]d : DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú KÚM DAB-it  
[If a man's epigastrium hurts him. If a man is] overcome [by *šētu*-fever.] If heat (fever) afflicts a man's belly.

31) C15' [NÍGIN 5 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŠÀ] GUR-šú EN TU<sub>15</sub> iš-bi<sup>t</sup>-su-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>r</sup>  
[Total of five tablets (of the section) 'If a man is sick with *suālu*-cough (which)] for him turns into intestinal disease'. Including (prescriptions for the case that) 'wind' has bloated him,

32) C16' [.....] x Ú NAG-ma 'la' i-ár-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>r</sup>  
[...] he drinks medicine and then does not vomit,

33) C17' [še-me-er<sup>2</sup> ..... DIŠ NA KA]Š NAG-ma SUHUŠ.MEŠ-šú pa-al-qa  
[(and his belly) is inflated ..., (including prescriptions) if a man] drinks beer and then his lower extremities are unsteady,

34) C18' [di-ig-la ma-a-ti? ..... GI]G ki-šir ŠÀ GIG ki-is ŠÀ  
[and his eyesight is weakened ... he is] sick with [...], sick with 'belly-knot' (and) intestinal disease (lit. binding of the belly),

35) C19' [..... DIR]I ù nik-mat TU<sub>15</sub> u UD.DA  
[(including prescriptions for the case that) ... he is] full of [...] and (prescriptions for) bloating (lit. heaping up of wind) and šētu-fever.

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#### IXa EPIGASTRIUM

36) C20' [DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši : DIŠ NA (...) mi-h]i-iš ŠÀ-šú lu di-kiš GABA TUK-ši  
[If a man's epigastrium is raised. If a man] gets 'heart-attack' or swelling of the chest.

37) C21' [DIŠ NA? ..... : DIŠ NA NAM.ÉRIM š]ah-hi-hu 'GIG'  
[If a man ... . If a man] is sick with 'wasting-away' [caused by a broken oath].

38) D1'(+)C22' 'NÍGIN 4' D[UB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši EN (DIŠ).....]x 'x x x'  
Total of four [tablets (of the section) 'If a man's epigastrium is raised.' Including (prescriptions for) ...] ...,

39) D2' ne-he-[es<sup>giš</sup>GIGIR .....]  
'reversing-[of-the-chariot', ...].

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#### IXb ABDOMEN

40) D3' DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma .....]  
If a gh[ost afflicts] a man [...].

41) D4' DIŠ NA NINDA N[U GU<sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG .....]  
If a man [can] neither [eat] bread [nor drink beer ...].

42) D5'(+)E1' DIŠ NA ZI.K[U<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA DÛ-su.....] x x[ x (x)]  
If 'cutting-of-the-throat' [magic has been performed against] a man [...].

43) D6'(+)E2' EN 8 DUB.ME[Š ...KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.]'DA<sup>7</sup>.[KAM (x)]  
Including eight tablets of [..., (including) incantations to remove witch]craft [...],

44) D7'(+)E3' EN ÉN ú-š[á-an-ni na-mir-tum (u) DIŠ NA ... ina DU/KI.NÚ<sup>7</sup>-š]ú re-hu-su [DU-ma?]  
including the incantation: 'It has chan[ged its brightness]'. (And prescriptions) for the case that a man ... (and) his semen [flows when] he [walks/lies down (in bed)].

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#### X KIDNEY

45) D8'(+)E4' DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U<sub>7</sub>-šú : DIŠ NA mi-na-tu-šú D]UB.MEŠ-'ka'  
If a man's kidney hurts [him. If a man's limbs] are constantly 'poured' out.

46) D9'(+)E5' DIŠ NA lu ÉLLAG-su [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú? lu KÀŠ.MEŠ-šú ...]'x'.LÁ 'GIG'  
If either a man's kidney [hurts him? or his urine ...], he suffers from [...].

47) D10'(+)E6' NÍGIN 3 DUB.MEŠ DI[Š NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú EN (...)] šá mu-'ši'  
Total of three tablets (of the section) 'If [a man's kidney hurts him]. Including (prescriptions) (...) for discharge (mūšu).

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**XI ANUS**

48) D11'(+)E7' DIŠ NA *ina la si-[ma-ni-šú MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú (...)* :

D]IŠ<sup>1</sup> NA KÚM UD.DA EN.TE.NA TU<sub>15</sub> *u ša-'ra* APIN' NU ÍL

If a man [has pain in his hips] prematurely. If a man cannot 'raise the seeder-plough' (due to) fever (lit. heat), *šētu*-fever, chill, flatulence, and 'wind'.

49) D12'(+)E8' DIŠ NA *li-[kiš DÚR GIG (ŠĀ.MEŠ-šú ...)* : DIŠ NA KI.N]Ú-*ma šit-ta-šú* UGU-šú DÙG.GA

If a man [suffers] from *likšu* [of the anus (and his innards ...)]. If a man lies] down and has a good sleep (but gets up at night).

50) D13'(+)E9' DIŠ NA DÚR.[GIG] GIG-*ma*

If a man suffers from rectal [disease].

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51) D14'(+)E10' NÍGIN 5 DU[B.MEŠ DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú *šá*

DÚR.GIG.GA.KĀM

Total of five tablets (of the section) 'If a man has pain in his hips prematurely'. (With incantations of the genre) 'It is rectal disease'.

52) D15'(+)E11' EN DIŠ N[A . . . . .] x *erasure* u UD.DA *erasure* DIRI-ú

Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man'[s ...] are full of ... and *šētu*-fever.

**XII HAMSTRING**

53) D16'(+)E12' 'DIŠ NA ' S[A.GAL GIG' (...)] : DIŠ NA SA] ÚR.MEŠ-šú 1-*niš* GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú:

DIŠ NA ' *bur*'-*ka-šú mun-ga* DIRI

If a man [suffers from *sagallu*-hamstring problems? (...)]. If] all the muscles of a [man's] thigh constantly hurt him. If a man's knees are paralysed (lit. full of paralysis).

54) E13' [DIŠ NA GÌRI-šú *bu-bu-u*]h<sup>2</sup>-*ta* DIRI!<sup>2</sup> ÍL

[If a man's foot] is full<sup>2</sup> of 'boil(s)'<sup>2</sup> and swollen.

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55) E14' [NÍGIN 4<sup>2</sup> DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG' (EN) ...] 'šá' MURUB<sub>4</sub>

EN *maš-ka*<sub>15</sub>-<*dù*> SA.GAL *šá-aš*(over erased ŠĀ)-*šá-ṭa*

[Total of four<sup>2</sup> tablets (of the section) 'If a man suffers from *sagallu*-hamstring problems.' Including ... ] of the hip(s), including (treatments for) *maškadu*-disease, hamstring problems (and) *šaššaṭu*-disease of the joints,

56) E15' [..... DIŠ NA GÌRI<sup>III</sup>-šú<sup>2</sup> *ki-is*]-*sa-tu*<sub>4</sub> GÌRI<sup>III</sup>-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI-ú<sup>1</sup>

[(prescriptions for the case) ... that a man's feet] (are full of) 'gnawing sickness', (or if) his feet are full of lesions,

57) E16' [.....]x-*ma* 'IGI' GIG-šú BABBAR ŠUB *a-si-da* ŠU.SI u UMBIN

[...] and the surface of his lesion is dotted white (as well as treatments for) the heels, toes and nails.

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58) E17' [NÍGIN XX DUB.MEŠ (...) *bul-ṭi*<sup>2</sup> T]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri sa-di-ru šá* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*

[Total of 54+ tablets (...) with treatments<sup>2</sup>] from the top (of the head) to the toenails. Sections which have been edited.

## PART II

## XIII SKIN

59) E18' [DIŠ GIG .....]x-ta-šú um-mu-rat  
[If a lesion ...] his [...] is *swollen*.

60) E19' [DIŠ NA' ...] x kib-šú' MIN bu-bu-uh-ta 'UZU<sup>21</sup> bu<sup>2</sup>-ul<sup>21</sup>-ta na-ši  
[If a man' ...] *kibšu*-skin complaint (lit. fungus), ditto, boils (and) he bears 'flesh-of-shame'.

61) E20' [DIŠ NA' .....] 'IZI' sa-ma-nu gîr<sup>11</sup>-giš-šum sâg-ba-nu DAB-su  
[If a man' ...] burning (lit. 'fire'), *sāmānu*-disease, *girgiššu*-red dots, *sagbānu*-sore afflict him.

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62) E21' [NÍGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG ...-ta-šú um-mu-rat EN ku-ra-r]<sup>i</sup> ri-šut UZU  
i-šá-tú 'bu'-bu-uh-tú  
[Total of x) tablets (of the section) 'If a lesion ...] his [...] is *swollen*.' Including (prescriptions for) *kurā*ru-pustules, itching of the flesh, burning (lit. fire), boils,

63) E22' [..... DIŠ N]A 'ri'-ip-hi 'UGU.DA' LÚ-e um-me-di  
[... (prescriptions) for the case that a m]an (is if full of) *riphu*-swellings, *ugudilû*-fleck, *ummedu*-boil,

64) E23' [..... DIŠ NA]er-ši pa-nu-šú DIRI-ú  
[... (prescriptions) for the case that a man's] face is full of *šeršu*-boils,

65) E24' [..... ana ha-l]é-e / pi-in-d]e-e ZI-hi  
[... (treatments) to] get rid of *halû*-black moles / *pendû*-red moles,

66) E25' [..... DIŠ NA' ...]x 'GIG' UD.'DA' GIG-ma  
[... (prescriptions for the case that a man)] ... is sick with a 'lesion'<sup>21</sup> of *šētu*-fever,

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67) Er1' [..... GIG-šú T]I-ma' IGI GIG-šú BABBAR ŠUB-di  
[... (prescriptions) for the case that] (when) [his lesion] has healed, the surface of his lesion is dotted white,

68) Er2' [ÉN' .....] ki-iš-ra il-te-qe  
[(Including) the incantation: '...] he has taken the knot'.

69) Er3' [.....] 'ù' sim-mu 'ma-'a-du'  
[...] and (the incantation): 'The wounds are many'.

## XIV HAZARDS

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70) Er4' [DIŠ NA ina EDIN U]R.MAH DAB.DAB-[s]u  
[If a man (walks) in the steppe (and) a] lion seizes him.

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71) Er5' [1 DUB DIŠ NA *ina* EDIN UR.MAH DAB.DAB-su E]N<sup>7</sup> DIŠ 'NA' *lu ina* GÍR *lu ina a-r*[*ik-ti*]  
[One tablet (of the section) 'If a man (walks) in the steppe (and) a lion seizes him']. Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man is wounded whether by a dagger or by a spear,

72) Er6' [*lu ina* .....] x SÌG-su : DIŠ NA *ana* IGI <sup>gis</sup>MÁ [ŠUB<sup>2</sup> x x]  
[or by ...], (including prescriptions) for the case that a man [*falls*<sup>2</sup>] in front of a boat,

73) Er7' [..... D]IŠ NA *iš-tu* <sup>gis</sup>GIGIR ŠUB<sup>1</sup>-*ma* EN TA x[x (x)]  
[... for] the case that a man falls off a chariot, including (prescriptions for) ...,

74) Er8' [.....*be*]-*en-nu* ŠUB *r*[*i-mu-tú*<sup>2</sup>]  
[... *b*]enu-epilepsy, *miqtu*-stroke, *ri*[*mûtu*-paralysis],

75) Er9' [.....] DAB.DAB-s[u]  
[(prescriptions for the case that) ...] constantly seizes him,

76) Er10' [..... N]A<sup>1</sup> 'MUŠ' *iš-šuk-š*[u]  
[(prescriptions for the case that) ... a] man – a snake has bitten him,

77) Er11' [.....Ú.HI.A *ša a*]-*pí-is-lat* Ú.HI.A *ša* BÚR *ša ni-šik* 'MUŠ'  
[... (including) drugs for a]pislat-disease, drugs for relieving snakebite,

78) Dr1'(+)Er12' [UR.GI<sub>7</sub>] 'lu<sup>2</sup>' [..... *zi-q*]it GÍR.TAB SÌG-iš 'URUDU'.GAG.UD.TAG.GA  
[dogbite] or [... (for) scorpion sting (and) for wounds (caused) by an arrow.

## XV EVIL POWERS

79) Dr2'(+)Er13' 'ÉN' 'UL'/MUL<sub>4</sub>[.....] *il-su-ka*  
Incantation: 'Star [...] they call you'.

80) Dr3'(+)Er14' 1 DUB ÉN [UL/MUL<sub>4</sub> ..... *il-su-ka*] EN 'šur<sup>1</sup>' IGI-šú<sup>1</sup> *il-te-né-hi-iṭ*  
One tablet (of the section) 'Incantation: [Star ... they call you].' Including (prescriptions for the case that) his eyebrow twitches all the time,

81) Dr4'(+)Er15' DIŠ NA *hu-u*[*p-pat* IGI<sup>III</sup> GIG<sup>2</sup> ..... DIŠ N]A 'kib<sup>2</sup>'-*ra* IGI GIG *u pi-rit-tu* NU IGI  
for the case that a man's [eye] socket [is sick<sup>2</sup> ...], (prescriptions) for the case that a] man's eye rim<sup>2</sup> is sore, and (remedies that) he does not experience fright,

82) Dr5'(+)Er16' DIŠ NA MAŠ.SÌL' *l*[u<sup>2</sup> ... GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ..... (EN) KA<sup>2</sup>].DAB.BÉ.DA.KÁM  
(treatments) for the case that a man's shoulder or [... hurt him ...], (including incantations of the genre)] 'It is [oral] paralysis' (lit. 'seizing of the mouth'),

83) Dr6'(+)Er17' 'ÉN' EN.TE.NA x[..... A.BA.ME.EN.M]EŠ<sup>2</sup> EN HUL.BA.ZI.ZI *he-pí*  
the incantation: 'Chill [ ...] (and the incantation) 'Who are you?]', including (incantations of the genre) 'Get rid of that evil' – (original text) broken.

**XVI DIVINE ANGER**

84) Dr7'(+)Er18'      *ana* DIB <sup>d</sup>A-*nim* B[ÚR' : DIŠ NA *gi-na*]-*a šu-dur*

In order to relieve the divine wrath of Anu. [If a man is] constantly in fear.

85) Dr8'(+)Er19'      'ÉN' DINGIR.MU 'ul' 'i'-[*di* : DIŠ NA DINGIR-šú u <sup>d</sup>1]5-šú <*i/ana*> SAG-šú GUB-zu

Incantation: 'My god, I do not know!' [For a man's god and] goddess to be present at his side.

86) Dr9'(+)Er20'      NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ *ana* DIB <sup>d</sup>[A-*nim* BÚR EN' UŠ<sub>11</sub>/NAM.ÉRIM.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM

Total of four tablets (of the section) 'In order to relieve the wrath [of Anu]. Including (incantations of the genre) 'to remove [a curse/witchcraft]',

87) Dr10'(+)Er21'      ù KA.INIM.MA DIŠ N[A ..... ÁŠ HUL š]á 'NU' MU-*ri* u *ú-pi-ši*

and incantations for the case that a man [... an evil curse] not to be uttered and evil sorcery

88) Dr11'(+)Er22'      'HUL' *erasure* NIGIN-šú EN [..... K]A.DAB.BÉ.DA

surround him, including [... (and incantations of the genre) oral paralysis (lit. seizing of the mouth).

**XVII ORACLES**

89) Dr12'(+)Er23'      *e-nu-ma a-na* I<sub>5</sub>.GAR [... : ..... *tur-r*]i-*im ta-me-e*

When [you ...] for an oracle [... . ....] of a twisted co[rd (for a protective necklace?)].

90) Dr13'(+)Er24'      NÍGIN 2 DUB.MEŠ *e-nu-m*[*a ana* I<sub>5</sub>.GAR EN ... ] X EŠ.BAR GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ

Total of two tablets (of the section) 'When [you ... for an oracle ... .] Including ...] oxen omens (and) star omens.

**XVIII MENTAL ILLNESS**

91) Dr14'(+)Er25'      DIŠ NA *hu-ur* <sup>u</sup>š-*ša* GA[Z ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši .....]-'ú?' MU.NE

If a man [constantly feels] *tenseness* (and) ['heart]break', [...] is its name.

92) Dr15'(+)Er26'      *a-na* AN.TA.ŠU[B.BA ZI-*hi* : ..... *ana* Z]I-*hi*

In order to [eradicate] *antašubbû*-epilepsy. [In order to] eradicate [...].

93) Dr16'(+)Er27'      NÍGIN 3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N[A *hu-ur* <sup>u</sup>š-*ša* GAZ ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši ...-ú MU.N]E

Total of three tablets (of the section) 'If a man [constantly feels *tenseness* (and) 'heartbreak', ... is] its [name].'

94) Dr17'(+)Er28'      EN DIŠ NA UZU.ME[Š-šú .....] x

Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man's limbs [...],

95) Dr18'      [DIŠ N]A 'ina KI'.N[Ú-šú HULUH.HULUH-*ut* / GÛ.GÛ-*si*? .....]

[for the case that a man is always frightened/screams] when [he lies] down [...],

96) Dr19'      [DIŠ N]A 'A'.L[Á HUL DAB-*su* .....]

[for the case that a] man [is seized] by the [evil] *alû*-demon, [...],

97) Cr1'      [.....] x [.....]<sup>19</sup>

[...],

98) Cr2'      [.....] 'ana <sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>9</sub>.M[E] Z[I-*hi*? x x x]

[... (and treatments)] to get rid of (the baby-snatching demon) Lamaštu, [...].

<sup>19</sup> It is not entirely certain, but it seems likely that Dr19' and Cr1' form one line of text and that ll. 96-97 have to be combined.

**XIX POTENCY**

99) Cr3' [DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS BAR-*ti* ŠÀ-šú ÍL-šú-*ma*? *ana* MUNU]S-šú ŠÀ-šú NU ÍL-šú: DIŠ NA x[ .....]  
 [If a man has desire for another woman (lit. his 'heart' rises for him), (but)] he does not have desire for his (own) woman. If a man [...].

100) Cr4' [.....] x SAG MUŠEN DIŠ 'Ú' 'ŠÀ'.ZI.G[A] '*ana*' [GÚ-š]ú GAR  
 [...] ... the head of a bird. (Instructions) to place a drug for potency around his [neck].

101) Cr5' [NÍGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS BAR-*ti* ŠÀ-šú ÍL-šú-*ma*  
*ana* MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú N[U ÍL]-šú

[Total of x tablets (of the section) 'If a man has desire for another woman (lit. his 'heart' rises for him), (but) he does not have desire for his (own) woman'.

102) Cr6' [EN? ..... *ana* NI]TA ZI-tú š[ur-ši]- 'i'  
 [Including (prescriptions) ...] to enable a man to get aroused.

**XX SEX**

103) Cr7' [ÉN *li-lik* TU<sub>15</sub> ]*la i-na-áš-šá-a* <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ  
 [Incantation: 'Let the wind blow], the gardens shall not quake.'

104) Cr8' [1 DUB? ÉN *li-lik* T]U<sub>15</sub> *la i-na-áš-šá-a* <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ  
 [One tablet (of the section) 'Incantation: Let the wind [blow], the gardens shall not quake.'

105) Cr9' [EN x x x] EN *ša ana* NA *pa-šá-a-ri*  
 [Including ...], including (prescriptions) to release a man's (sexuality)',

106) Cr10' [KA.INIM.MA ŠÀ.ZI.G]A ù MUNUS.GIN.NA.KÁM ŠÀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM  
 [incantations for arousing sexual desire] and (incantations) to make a woman come (and for) arousing a woman's desire,

107) Cr11' [(...) *ana* ŠU *ardat li-li* ]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>?</sup> *la-'ba* erasure TAR-si  
 [...] in order] to get rid of [the 'Hand' of *ardat li*] *li*-succubus (causing) *la'bu*-disease,

108) Cr12' [..... DIŠ MUNUS NI]TA-šá *né-ke*-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>r</sup>-š<sup>i</sup> EN SA'(Ú).MEŠ ZI.MEŠ šá 'GIRI<sup>III</sup>'.MEŠ  
 [...] (rituals) for the case that a woman's husband is angry with her, including (plants for) *pulsating veins* of the feet.

**XXI PREGNANCY/OFFSPRING**

109) Cr13' [(...) DIŠ NA *ana* <sup>d</sup>NI]N.KAR.RA.AK '*pa*'-qid : DIŠ NA *mi-ih-ra im-hur-ma*  
 DUMU.MEŠ-šú *ana* ŠU-šú È.MEŠ

[(...) If a man] is entrusted to the goddess [Ni]nkarrak. If a man experiences misfortune and his sons are lost for him (i.e. have died).

110) Cr14' [*ana* MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> UŠ<sub>11</sub>.ZU NU T]E'-š<sup>i</sup>-*ma ana* šà ŠÀ-šà NU'(DIŠ) 'ŠUB'-e  
 [For witchcraft not to] approach [a pregnant woman] and to prevent her from having a miscarriage (lit. not to abort her fetus).

111) Br1'(+)Cr15' 'NÍGIN?' [3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N]A *a-na* <sup>d</sup>NIN.KAR.'RA.AK *pa-qid*'  
 Total of [three tablets (of the section) 'If a] man is entrusted to the goddess Ninkarrak.'

112) Br2'(+)Cr16'      ṣāṣ' x x x [... EN DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>] ṣA' MEŠ-šá DU-ku : DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> MÚD.MEŠ-šá DU-ku  
Of ... [..., including (prescriptions) for the case that a pregnant woman's] water (amniotic fluid) flows, for the case  
that a pregnant woman's blood flows,

113) Br3'(+)Cr17'      DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> i-ṣa-ap'-[pid' ...]x : DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> kun-nu-ṣkât :'  
DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> kul-lu-mat

for the case that a pregnant woman mourns [...], for the case that a pregnant woman is sealed up (i.e. cannot  
deliver), for the case that a pregnant woman is *bewitched* (lit. was shown something),

114) Br4'(+)Cr18'      DIŠ MUNUS Û.TU-ma kul'-l[u<sup>2</sup>-mat ... (: ) ... (ana) h]a-riš-te ṣā<sup>2</sup> kul-lu-ma-tú<sup>2</sup> BÚR' :  
û MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> KÊ[Š.DA.KÂM (x x)]

for the case that a woman gives birth and is *bewitched*, [... (treatments)] for releasing a woman in confinement who  
has been *bewitched* and (spells) to bind a pregnant woman (...).

## XXII BIRTH

115) Br5'(+)Cr19'      DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> ina a-la-d[i-šá šu-up-šu-qat a-n]a šu-up-šu-h[i]  
If a pregnant woman [is suffering severely during her] delivery, [in] order to calm (her) down.

116) Br6'(+)Cr20'      ÊN i-na A na-ṣa'-[ki-im ib-b]a-ni GÎR'.PAD.D[U]  
Incantation: 'From the fluids of intercourse the bone was created.'

117) Br7'(+)Cr21'      DIŠ MUNUS ina Û.TU uš-[tap-šiq : DIŠ MUNUS Û.T]U-ṣma' ni-ip-šá ina kir-ri-š[á x-x(x)]  
If a woman suffers [severely] during delivery. If a woman delivers] and then a smell [...] in her throat.

118) Br8'(+)Cr22'      DIŠ MUNUS.Û.TU Û.T[U-ma ... : DIŠ<sup>2</sup> MUN]US<sup>2</sup> šá-gu-šá<sup>2</sup> p[e-lu-ú<sup>2</sup>]  
If a fertile woman delivers [and ... . If a] woman's *menstrual discharge* [is bright-r]ed<sup>2</sup>.

119) Br9'(+)Cr23'      DIŠ MUNUS GIN<sub>7</sub> ri-hu-ut GÎŠ T[A<sup>2</sup> GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA-šá DU-ku<sup>2</sup> : ... Š]À MU[NUS<sup>2</sup> ...]  
If a semen-like discharge [flows] from a woman's [vagina]. [... the] belly of a woman [...].

120) Br10'(+)Ar1'      NÍGIN 8 DUB.MEŠ ša MUNU[S.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> Û MUNUS.Û.TU<sup>2</sup>]  
Total of eight tablets (of the section) concerning [pregnant] women [and women in childbirth<sup>2</sup>].

## XXIII VETERINARY

121) Br11'(+)Ar2'      šúm-mu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ina tar-[ba-ši ... T]UR<sup>2</sup> BAD-a-nu G[ÁL.MEŠ]  
If the horses in the stable [... are] reduced (and) there [is] an epidemic.

122) Br12'(+)Ar3'      1 DUB ša' ANŠE.KUR.RA.[MEŠ u] ša GU<sub>4</sub>.M[EŠ]  
One tablet (of the section) concerning horses and cattle.

123) Br13'(+)Ar4'      ṣNÍGIN X+38' DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG [...] -ta-šú um-mu-r[a-(at)]  
Total of n+38 tablets (belonging to) 'If a lesion [...] his [...] is *swollen*'.

124) Br14'(+)Ar5'      [sa-di-ru] ṣšá' [SUR.GIBIL]      ṣab-tu  
[Sections] which have been edited.

125) Br15'(+)Ar6'      [NÍGIN X X D]UB.MEŠ [sa-di-ru šá S]UR.GIBIL ṣab-tu  
[(Grand) total of 92+] tablets. [Sections] which have been edited.



126) Ar7' [kīma labīrīšu<sup>?</sup> ša-ṭir-ma] BA.AN.Ē  
[Written according to an older original and<sup>?</sup>] collated.

127) Ar8' [DUB<sup>?</sup>.....]r<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup>r<sup>?</sup>x<sup>?</sup> lú<sup>?</sup> erasure (LÚ<sup>?</sup>) A.ZU TUR  
[Tablet of ...] ..., the young physician,

128) Ar9' [DUMU<sup>m</sup>..... lú<sup>?</sup>SAN]GA<sup>?</sup> dBa-<sup>?</sup>ba<sup>?</sup> šá<sup>?</sup> qé<sup>?</sup>-reb BAL.TIL<sup>ki</sup>  
[son of ..., the] šangû-priest of Baba, from the midst of the city Assur.

129) Ar10' [tākil-ki ul ibâš<sup>?</sup> ] dGu-la  
O (healing) goddess Gula, [the one who trusts in you will not come to shame!]

### 1.3 Commentary<sup>20</sup>

U. Steinert

1) A reconstruction of the fragmentary AMC opening line depends on the interpretation of the status of AMC as a whole and cannot be ascertained at this point. The end of the line, MU.NE “(all) their names”, can be compared with the opening line in the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 and dupl.) and in the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic series *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) and *Alamdimmû*, which likewise end with MU.NE and give a descriptive title for the following text. The opening line of the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 1 //, see *infra*) states that it forms “the tablet of titles (‘incipits’) of the *corpus* of the exorcist’s lore, which have been established for learning and reading, all their names” (DUB SAG.MEŠ (var. KA DUB SAG.MEŠ) ÊŠ.GÂR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá ana NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU<sub>g</sub>.ÂM kun-nu PAP MU.NE). Since the AMC lists primarily medical therapeutic texts (remedies) closely associated with the *asû* “physician” (and was copied by an *asû*), it could be speculated that the AMC opening line referred to the incipits or titles of all tablets belonging to the corpus of *asûtu* (for the meaning “corpus” of *iškāru* in connection with professional titles such as *āšipūtu*, *kalūtu* etc. see Gabbay 2014: 195 n. 14-15, 233). Furthermore, the catalogue of compositions of the lamentation priest’s corpus uses a similar expression in its summary rubric (K. 2529+ rev. 30: DUB SAG.MEŠ ÊŠ.GÂR NAM.GALA šá ina ŠU<sup>ii</sup> šu-šu-u “the tablet of incipits (of compositions) of the lamentation priest’s corpus, which were available”), while its opening line may be phrased differently (see Gabbay 2015: 15 A 1, pl. 29, restored by Gabbay as [ÉR].MEŠ [ù ÉR.ŠEM.MA.MEŠ M]U.NE “[wailing (songs)] [and Eršemma compositions], (all) their names”).

On the other hand, one could also compare the opening line of the *Sakikkû* catalogue (CTN 4, 71, see Finkel 1988: 146, obv. A 1 and Schmidtchen *infra*, p. 313), which states somewhat differently: [SAG DUB.MEŠ u Š]U.NÍGIN MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.N[E] “[These are) the tablet incipits and] the sum total of the entries (‘lines’) of *Sakikkû*, (all) their names”. This opening line refers to PART 1 of the catalogue (ll. 2-49) devoted to the diagnostic series, which is summed up in the same way in line 50 (ŠU.NÍGIN 40 DUB.MEŠ 3000+[(?)] MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ “total of 40 tablets (and) 3000+ entries of *Sakikkû*; brought to its end”). The catalogue then continues with a list of the sections and incipits belonging to the physiognomic series *Alamdimmû*. The AMC has a similar bipartite structure, and the summary line of PART 1 of the catalogue (line 58) refers to a descriptive title *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* “remedies from the top of the head to the toenail(s)”. In line with the *Sakikkû* catalogue, this “title” could theoretically have stood in the gap of AMC line 1. Note that the series name SA.GIG.(MEŠ)(*Sakikkû*) is encountered on (Babylonian) tablets of the diagnostic series together with the series name stemming from the incipit of the first tablet ( “When the exorcist goes to the sick man’s house”, see e.g. Heeßel 2000: 344 colophon Ms. A). However, the situation for tablets of therapeutic texts pertaining to AMC PART 1 is different, because *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* “remedies from the top of the head to the toe-

<sup>20</sup> Work on the commentary was initiated by S. V. Panayotov in the form of footnotes on the AMC edition, taken mostly during group readings. From 2014 onwards, Steinert took on sole responsibility for the commentary, largely rewriting and considerably expanding the first draft of notes. The commentary includes comments of participants of the BabMed workshop 2014 (marked as personal communication).

nail(s) is not encountered as a technical title beside tablet names (incipit), but only as a descriptive title in colophons from Ashurbanipal's library (Hunger 1968, No. 329 Asb. q).<sup>21</sup>

2) The main witness for CRANIUM Tablet 1 is BAM 480 (= K. 2354+); its incipit is also found (with minor differences) in BAM 3 i 1 (an Assur tablet with extracts from CRANIUM): DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal SA ZI SAG.KI TUK-ma (var. SA 'SAG. KI' šú ZI) IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú i-šappār(BÂR) "If a man's skull contains heat (fever), he gets a throbbing sensation in (his) temporal vessels (var. his temporal vessels throb) and his eyes flutter" (Stol 1993: 94; Worthington 2005: 7, 15; Worthington 2006: 19; Worthington 2007; Scurlock 2014a: 307; cf. Panayotov 2016a: 59-60; Panayotov 2016b). See also the colophon of BAM 480 iv 51', which can be restored as [DUB 1].KAM DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal "[First tablet of (the section)] 'If a man's skull contains heat'". The title of the first tablet of AMC's first section is thus identical with the title of the therapeutic series as known from Late Babylonian tablet colophons, mostly from Uruk (e.g. SpTU 1, 44, 46, 48, 59; see also BM 42272 from Babylon (Scurlock 2014a: texts 2.6.2 and 2.14.1; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.10 Ms. j; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 58 text 7.11 Ms. n; Bácskay 2015; Bácskay 2018: 47-66 *passim*).

The fragment BAM 4 (probably from Nineveh as well) belonged to another copy of CRANIUM 1, preserving a fragmentary catchline and section title (iv 2'f.). Other sources that contain sections matching CRANIUM 1 are: BAM 481 (K. 10212+, Neo-Babylonian ductus, fragment of a tablet on illnesses of the head), CTN 4, 123 (fragment from Nimrud), AMT 5/3 (fragment of a two-column tablet), cf. further Worthington 2005: 7. H. Stadhouders (personal communication) further reports a Neo- or Late Babylonian two-column tablet in a private collection, whose first lines run parallel to BAM 480 (including the incipit of CRANIUM 1 in col. i 1), but which otherwise contains material differing from the Nineveh text. Note also that the Middle Assyrian tablet BAM 12 (from the "library of Tiglath-pileser I" at Assur) already offers passages that are identical to CRANIUM 1 (Köcher 1963a: xiv; Worthington 2005: 7ff.).

A manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 2 is found in BAM 482 (= K. 2574+) i 1, offering the incipit [DIŠ NA SAG.KI].DAB.BA TUK.TUK-(ši) "[If a man] continually has 'seizing of the [temples]'", and the rubric (iv 51') DUB 2.KAM [DIŠ N]A UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal "Second tablet of '[If a man's] skull contains heat'". The incipit of CRANIUM 2 is also preserved in BAM 480 iv 50' (= CRANIUM 1, catchline). A second witness for CRANIUM 2 is AMT 15/2(+)/19/1+20/1, and the fragment K. 19766 probably forms a third Nineveh copy of this tablet (see Attia and Buisson 2003 for edition and sources; Worthington et al. 2003: 18; Borger et al. 2007: 47). The Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 11 (with 18 remedies for SAG.KI.DAB.BA, from the "house" of Rabâ-ša-Marduk) starts with an almost identical incipit and duplicates several recipes of CRANIUM 2 (Attia and Buisson 2003 and Heeßel 2009: 21ff.). For the incipits of CRANIUM 1 and 2 cf. also the Assur excerpt tablet in Jastrow 1913; Scurlock 2003: 16f. obv. 1 and rev. 4 (recipe not identical). Prescriptions from CRANIUM 2 are also found in BAM 9 and Jastrow 1913: rev. 29-30; Scurlock 2003: 16f. (Assur excerpts of CRANIUM 1-3). A parallel passage to CRANIUM 2 is also encountered in the Neo-Babylonian "Sammeltafel" IM 132670 from Sippar, which contains other passages running parallel to the Assur excerpt tablets of the CRANIUM section, AO 11447 and BAM 3 (Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 221ff., 236f. §§ 1, 3-7).

3) For the incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 3 see BAM 482 (= K. 2574+) iv 51' (= CRANIUM 2, catchline). Two manuscripts of CRANIUM 3 are assembled in AMT 102/1-AMT 105/1 (constituted of K. 2566 (= CT 23, 49)+K. 10475+K. 14692 (= AMT 102/1-103/1) and K. 4023 (= AMT 104/1-105/1)). AMT 102/1 i 1 (K. 2566+, CDLI P365746) offers the matching incipit šum-ma SAG. KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ina SU NA il-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub> "If 'seizing of the temples' due to 'Hand of a ghost' constantly persists in a man's body and cannot be loosened" (see Scurlock 2006: No. 113 and *passim* for a partial edition of the tablet). The colophon in AMT 105/1 iv 27' (K. 4023, CDLI no. P395359) identifies it as DUB 3.KÂM.MA DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal "Third tablet of 'If a man's skull contains heat'". Further fragmentary witnesses of CRANIUM 3 are K. 7642 (CDLI P397227), which likewise offers the beginning of the catchline to CRANIUM 4 (rev. 3'f.), K. 8090, and K. 7834 (see Thompson in AMT 102/1-105/1). Köcher (1980a: xxvii) identified BAM 485 (K. 11578) as another copy of CRANIUM 3 and suggested that K. 2974 (= AMT 13/5 and AMT 14/5) belongs to the same two-column tablet. In addition, the Nineveh

<sup>21</sup> As a further alternative, Nils Heeßel (personal communication) tentatively suggested to restore *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* as series title in the gap of AMC lines 1 and 58, because the therapeutic series was designated by this title in Late Babylonian Uruk. Yet, it seems clear from the fact that PART 2 of the AMC has its own title as well as from the colophons of therapeutic tablets found at Ashurbanipal's library (which follow the section arrangement of AMC PART 1) that *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* was not yet in use as a title for the therapeutic corpus as a whole in the Neo-Assyrian period (see further Steinert *infra* and commentary to line 58).

fragments BAM 483-484, BAM 486, BAM 488-489 and BAM 493 may belong to manuscripts of CRANIUM 3 (cf. Köcher 1980a: xxvii-xxix; Panayotov (in this volume)). K. Simkó has identified further Nineveh fragments and is preparing an edition of CRANIUM 3. The incipit and first passage of CRANIUM 3 is also found in BAM 483 ii 5'-6' (possibly representing a compilation of prescriptions against ghost-induced ailments with overlaps to CRANIUM 3) and in excerpt tablets from Assur: BAM 9: 42 (an excerpt of CRANIUM 1-3, designated as “first *nishu*” in the colophon, which includes the first section of CRANIUM 3) and Jastrow 1913, collated by Scurlock 2003: 16-17 rev. 29-30 (Assur excerpt of CRANIUM 1-3, which includes the first sections of CRANIUM 1-3). For ŠU.GIDIM.MA cf. the discussion in Heeßel 2007a; for material related to the magico-medical compendium *Muššu'u* in CRANIUM Tablet 3 (shared context SAG.KI.DAB.BA) cf. Böck 2007: 43ff.

4) The incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 4 matching the AMC is found in the catchline of AMT 105/1 iv 26' (CDLI no. P395359, = CRANIUM Tablet 3). A manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 4 is identified in CT 23, 50, which preserves the top left-hand corner of a two-column tablet, including the fragmentary incipit: [DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su GIG.ME]Š 'mat-qu'-ti TAB UD.DA 'DIRI' x[...] “[If a man's head] is full of ‘sweet’ [lesion]s and burning of *šetu*-fever”. The fragment contains the first twenty lines of column i and deals with *simmu*-lesions on the head, while the reverse preserves a matching catchline to CRANIUM 5 and a colophon identifying CT 23, 50 as DUB 4.KĀM “fourth tablet” of CRANIUM (rev. 5'-6', see Thompson 1937a: 36-38). Furthermore, BAM 494 (K. 6224+) could represent a manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5. The assembled tablet fragments of Köcher's copy offer a small section from the middle of col. i and longer parts of col. ii and iii, but unfortunately no incipit or catchline/colophon. One remedy for “sweet lesions” on the head in BAM 494 i 30'-31' duplicates two lines at the beginning of CT 23, 50 obv. 5-6 (CRANIUM 4; see Köcher 1980a: xxix; Scurlock 2014a: 297). Since CT 23, 50 and BAM 494 do not overlap physically, but deal with the same topic (skin conditions on the head), they could theoretically represent two slightly varying manuscripts of CRANIUM 4. The incipit in AMC line 4 likewise indicates that lesions on the head formed the main topic of CRANIUM 4. But it is not excluded that BAM 494 continues with similar topics encountered in CRANIUM 4 and forms CRANIUM Tablet 5, as Bácskay and Simkó argue in their edition of BAM 494. Bácskay and Simkó (2017) note especially the fragments BAM 34 (probably from Nineveh), AMT 25/8, AMT 16/4 and BAM 495 (K. 15216) as duplicates to BAM 494 (see their edition for other texts with parallel passages); add BAM 500 (Köcher 1980a: xxxii). AMT 6/1 and BAM 511 could constitute further fragments of BAM 494 without physical join (Köcher 1980a: xxix-xxx; 1980b: xi). For links of BAM 494 to the AMC section SKIN cf. below.

B. Böck (2014a: 22f.) suggests the reading *sim<sub>x</sub>* for GIG, when it stands for *simmu* “lesion” and refers to Old Babylonian literary texts in Sumerian.<sup>22</sup> This reading is not adopted for the logographic context within 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE medical texts, because here the writing GIG.MA is unattested, and the scribes always use GIG alone. For the *simmu matqu* “sweet lesion(s)” see also Fincke 2011: 169ff. with BM 41282+41294. M. Stol (personal communication) pointed out the comparable Latin disease term *dulcedo*.

5) CT 23, 50 rev. 5 (= CRANIUM Tablet 4) offers the matching catchline: DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub> SAG.DU-šú GÍR.GÍR-su UGU-šú K[... ŠĒŠ] “If the middle of his head constantly stings him, [you rub] his skull wi[th ...]”, but no manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 5 has been identified until now with certainty (cf. BAM 494 discussed above in the commentary to AMC line 4, which may represent CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5).

6-7) The keywords and phrases following *adi*(EN) in AMC l. 6-7 very likely refer to text sections included in the tablets of CRANIUM, cited in abbreviated fashion. All the preserved keywords refer to skin ailments that affect the area of the head. For a discussion of the skin conditions mentioned here, see Böck 2003; Wasserman 1996-97; Wasserman 2007; Heeßel 2008; Fincke 2011; see also below commentary to ll. 56 and 60 (*kibšu* and *giššatu/kissatu*).

This usage of EN = *adi* “up to; including” encountered in the summary sections of AMC, to indicate text sections (sometimes stemming from a different tradition or source) that are included on tablets of the section, is also attested in the *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988: 147: A 40 // B 7' and Schmidtchen *infra*). There, the content of Tablet 33 of the

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. TCL 16, 60 obv. 5 (Letter Prayer of Nannamansum to Ninisina; see ETCSL text 3.3.21): *sim<sub>x</sub>*(GIG)-*sim<sub>x</sub>*(GIG)-ma ki ku<sub>10</sub>-ku<sub>10</sub>-ga-ba ša-bi lú nu-zu “the severe wound whose hidden cause (lit. dark place) no man knows”; Hymn to Ninisina A 21: *sim<sub>x</sub>*-*sim<sub>x</sub>*-ma (see ETCSL text 4.22.1); A Dog for Nintinuga (Ali 1964: 144ff.: 6; ETCSL text 5.7.2): *sim<sub>x</sub>*-ma. Note further CT 4, 3: 7 // Sm. 28+: 10 (MSL 9: 106, bilingual list of diseases): *gig-gig-ma*: *si-im-mi*.

diagnostic series is registered as DIŠ ʾGIGʾ GAR-šú EN ʾsaʾ-ma-nu ŠU ʾME.ME “If the characteristic of the lesion” including “*sāmānu* (is) ‘Hand of Gula’”. The citation following *adi* stems from the beginning of the second part of Tablet 33, which is of differing make-up from the preceding text and consists of a list of disease names equated with the “hands” of different deities (cf. for the two sections in manuscripts of *Sakikkū* Tablet 33, Heeßel 2000: 352ff.; Böck 2014a: 51-54).

In a similar way, *adi* is used in library records from Nineveh registering the arrival of tablets (often from Babylonia) for the royal library. Here, subtotals of tablets on a common subject or related to a specific series are given. For example one library record mentions “37 tablets of the series *Alamdimmû* together with (*adi*) extraneous (tablets and the sub-series) *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû*” (SAA 7, 52: 10-12). See also Lambert 1976: 314 K. 14067: 11-12, listing the canonical series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the extraneous series (of EAE) “including its *šātu*-commentary (*Enūma Anu ʾEnlil iškār ahūti adi šātīšu*), followed by the series “*Šumma iqqur ipuš*, including extraneous (omens) (*adi ahūti*), *šātu*-commentaries and *mukallimtu*-commentaries” (ll. 13-15).

A parallel to AMC lines 6-7 is found in AO 11447: 30 // (Geller 2007: 9), which contains the line: DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su *kib-ša gi-iš-ša-tú gu-riš-tú* DIRI “If a man’s head is full of *kibšu*, *giššatu* (and) *gurištu*”. This Assur tablet AO 11447, designated in the colophon as “first excerpt tablet” (*nishu*), contains prescriptions for skin lesions on the head and for the ears (Geller 2007: 14: 82). The catchline of AO 11447 is not identical with that of AMC EYES 1, but refers to eye diseases (see Geller 2007: 14: 81). Duplicates to the cited passage are BAM 33 obv. 1-7 (an Assur excerpt tablet on skin ailments of the head, see also Fincke 2011: 174f.), AMT 6/1: 9’-11’ and BM 41282(+)41294 ii 8’-11’ (cf. Fincke 2011: 190ff.). For *guraštu* cf. also BAM 494 iii 1 (= AMT 17/1 ii 1): DIŠ NA *gu-raš-tu* DIRI “If a man is full of *guraštu*”.

Entries similar to the end of AMC line 7, beginning DIŠ NA *a-šu-ú* DAB-su (or DAB-it) “If a man is seized by *ašû*-disease”, are encountered e.g. in the CRANIUM excerpt BAM 3 i 37 from Assur (Worthington 2006: 20, cf. also BAM 3 i 35, 40), duplicated in the Nineveh fragments BAM 495 (K. 15216) ii 7’, BAM 494 ii 29, BAM 497 ii 14, see also BAM 500 (K. 10624+) i 1’, 4’.<sup>23</sup> The Assur excerpt AO 11447: 56 likewise contains an entry giving the diagnosis *ašû* MU.NI “*ašû* is its name” (Geller 2007: 11).

8) All of the first preserved recipes for the eyes in column i of BAM 510 (K. 2573+), BAM 513 (K. 2570+) and BAM 514 (= K. 2970+) identified as duplicating copies of EYES Tablet 1, start with the phrase DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú GIG-(*ma*) “If a man’s eyes are sick ...”. But none of the tablets preserves an incipit. In BAM 510 (K. 2573+) iv 48, one can reconstruct: DU[B 1.KÁM] DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú GIG ... “[First] tablet of ‘If [man’s eyes are sick ...]’”. Parallel passages for EYES Tablets 1-3 are also found in the Sippar *Sammeltafel* IM 132670 col. ii (Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003: 223, 226ff., 237f. §§ 13-18) and in BM 54641+ (Fincke 2009). STT 279 is an excerpt with passages duplicating EYES Tablet 1 (ll. 17-54; courtesy H. Stadhouders). For Tablets 1-3 of the subseries EYES see now Attia 2015: esp. 3, 5-6, 37, 71 for the manuscripts, additional joins and parallels; cf. Panayotov 2016a.

The only identified manuscript of EYES 2 is BAM 515 i 1 (K. 1845+), with the matching incipit DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú *mur-din-ni* DIRI “If a man’s eyes are full of *murdinnu*”, see Attia 2015: 22, 37 and Köcher 1980b: xi-xii for further parallels. The incipit of EYES Tablet 2 is also preserved as catchline in BAM 510 iv 47 (K. 2573+, = EYES 1). For discussion of (*a*)*murdinnu* “bramble” (granulations in the eye?), see Attia 2015: 53-54.

9) The incipit of EYES Tablet 3 is cited as catchline in BAM 515 iv 45’ (K. 1845+, = EYES 2). There is only one identified manuscript of EYES 3, BAM 516 i 1 (K. 2533+), with the incipit DIŠ NA IGI.MEŠ-šú (var. IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú) LÛ.LÛ-(*ha*) “If a man’s eyes are constantly troubled”, see Attia 2015: 52, 71, with the parallels BM 54641+ rev. 9 (Neo-Babylonian, Fincke 2009: 88, 101) and SpTU 2, 50: 24 (Late Babylonian).

The reconstruction of the second AMC entry with the incipit of EYES Tablet 4 remains uncertain (compare e.g. BAM 510 (K. 2573+) i 37’; BAM 514 (K. 2970+) i 38’, both in EYES Tablet 1), since no manuscripts of EYES Tablet 4 have been identified to date. Cf. further Fincke (2000) for diagnostic entries with the verb *malû*(DIRI) “to be full (of)” in reference to eye conditions. For 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE Babylonian sources of eye disease texts see further Fincke 2009, cf. especially BAM 382 (Babylon), BAM 410 (Uruk), BM 132097. Tablets from Assur with parallels to the EYES section are e.g. BAM 15, BAM 18-20, BAM 22-23. Note BAM 520-522 for further Nineveh fragments on eye diseases, whose position in or relation

<sup>23</sup> As mentioned above, BAM 494 most likely belongs to CRANIUM (and may represent Tablet 4 or 5). BAM 495, a fragment of a two-column tablet, is a duplicate to BAM 494. BAM 497 and BAM 500 likewise form fragments of two-column tablets from Nineveh with remedies for diseases of the head, duplicating passages in BAM 494.

to the section EYES is not clear. S. Panayotov (*infra*) suggests that BAM 520 (K. 9503+) may be a manuscript of EYES Tablet 4 (see also Attia 2015: 4). Note that this tablet shares parallel passages with BAM 516 (EYES Tablet 3), see Attia 2015: 71f., 79.

10) This line of the catalogue confirms that the section EYES consisted, at least at Assur, of four, not three tablets, as was suggested on the basis of the preserved evidence from Nineveh (Fincke 2000: 7; cf. Attia 2015: 3). It remains to be confirmed whether the section EYES at Nineveh also comprised four tablets.

The two keywords enumerated at the end of AMC line 10, IGI.SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub> = *amurriqānu* “jaundice” and *sinlurmā* “night-blindness” (Stol 1986a: 295-299), are encountered in prescriptions of EYES tablets. See e.g. BAM 515 (K. 1845+) ii 43, 44: [DIŠ N]A IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú IGI.SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub> DIRI “If a man’s eyes are full of jaundice” (= EYES Tablet 2). Entries concerning *sinlurmā* are found e.g. in BAM 516 ii (K. 2533+) 30-32 (= EYES Tablet 3). The keywords *amurriqānu* and *sinlurmā* in the *adi*-section of AMC l. 10 thus indicate topics dealt with in the section EYES, seemingly enumerated in the order in which they appear in constituent tablets. Note that the topic jaundice (*amurriqānu*) also appears in STOMACH Tablet 3, where the yellow eye colour is mentioned as well, see e.g. BAM 578 (K. 61+) iii 4-5 (*amurriqānu* rising to the eyes), BAM 578 (K. 61+) iv 5, 6 and 17: DIŠ NA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú *a-mur-ri-qa-nu* DIRI “If a man’s eyes are full of jaundice” (cf. below and Cadelli 2000: 201, 204-205).

11) The preserved signs in this line of AMC are broadly spaced out on the tablet, so it is likely that nothing was written in the gap. BAM 503 (K. 2422(+)-3215(+)-6662) includes treatments for “roaring” ears and has been identified as a manuscript of the section EARS, but no incipit or colophon is preserved (cf. Köcher 1980a: xxxiii). For an edition of the tablet and parallel texts, see Scurlock 2006: 724-725 *passim*; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.3 and p. 718 with a list of partially duplicating sources; cf. Labat 1957: 109; Geller 2009. Note as a similar entry to the AMC incipit of EARS, e.g. BAM 503 iii 79': [DIŠ NA GEŠTU]-šú GÜ.GÜ-si “[If a man’s ear] rings continually”. A diagnostic entry matching AMC line 11 is also found in the one-column tablet BAM 506 (K. 2472+) obv. 8” (a partial duplicate to BAM 503), which is paralleled in the Assur texts BAM 155 ii 5' (VAT 13779, a *Sammeltafel* on diverse ailments) and in AO 6774 iii 11' (Labat 1957: 109ff., Geller 2009: 31): DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-šú GÜ.GÜ-si *me-si-ru* DAB-su “If a man’s right ear rings all the time, he will experience hard times”. AO 6774 presents a collection of treatments for the ears on a three-column tablet, with a few parallels in BAM 503. This diagnostic entry occurs also in *Sakikkû* Tablet 8, which is concerned with the ears (Scurlock 2014a, 64: 10a). The Assur extract tablet AO 11447 (“first *nishu*”), possibly stemming from the same context as AO 6774, contains remedies for illnesses of the head and for the ears.<sup>24</sup> The last prescription on this tablet (rev. 79) likewise features a similar entry to AMC line 11, which is duplicated in the Assur extract BAM 3 iv 25 (which contains mainly remedies from CRANIUM, but closes with prescriptions for the ears): DIŠ NA GEŠTU<sup>II</sup>-šú *iš-tan-na-sa-a* (var. GÜ.DÉ.MEŠ) “If a man’s ears ring continually”, see Worthington 2006: 25. Compare further CT 51, 199 obv. i 10', 17' // (a Neo-Assyrian fragment of a two-column tablet with recipes and incantations from Nineveh, partial duplicate to BAM 503, see Scurlock 2006: 732 and no. 134, 139b): KA.INIM.MA (DIŠ NA) GEŠTU<sup>II</sup>-šú *i-šag-gu-ma* “Recitation (for the case that a man’s ears roar”. Note in addition CTN 4, 113, a fragment of a Neo-Assyrian two-column tablet from Nimrud with prescriptions for ailments of the ears and chest and parallel lines in BAM 503. The Neo-Babylonian *Sammeltafel* IM 132670 from Sippar also features prescriptions for the ears with parallels in BAM 503 etc. (see Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 225f., 237 §§ 8-12).

12) It is noteworthy that the summary rubric repeats the section title of EARS in abbreviated form varying from the spelling of the incipit in line 11. The usual sign NÍGIN “total” is also omitted. For the fragmentary citation following *adi*, compare Geller 2009: 33 (AO 6774: v 19'-20' (a three-column Assur tablet including treatments for ear diseases) // AMT 105/1: 7-8 (= CRANIUM Tablet 3)): DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-šú TAG-su IM DIRI-*at u* MÚ.MEŠ “If a man’s right ear hurts him, is full of clay (or: “wind”?) and continually inflamed”.

13) No manuscript of NECK Tablet 1 has been identified to date. The incipit of NECK 1 is attested in the colophon of BAM 473 (K. 2448+, = NECK Tablet 3) iv 16' as section title (DUB 3.KAM DIŠ NA SA.GÜ-šu [GU<sub>7</sub>-šu] ʾŠU).GIDIM.MA) and in AMT 97/4: 18', a fragment of a one(?) -column tablet probably containing an extract (*nishu*) of the section NECK, which

<sup>24</sup> For AO 11447 see Geller 2007; for AO 6774 see Geller 2009. Cf. also Geller 2007: 4 for a possible connection of these two texts with a “school” of *asû*-physicians at Assur.

preserves the complete entry DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU.GIDIM.MA “If a man’s neck tendons hurt him due to ghost affliction (lit. ‘Hand of a ghost’)”, allowing the restoration of the AMC incipit of NECK Tablet 1. For the symptom see also *Sakikkû* Tablet 4: 15 (Scurlock 2014a: 29, 35-36) and BAM 323: 90 // (Scurlock 2014a: 696 text 3.16.9, an Assur tablet with rituals for ghost-induced illnesses). The connection between neck pain (“being hit on the neck”) and a ghost-attack is also drawn in *Sakikkû* Tablet 10: 19-20 (Scurlock 2014a: 74).

14) Two tablet fragments from Nineveh preserve an incipit corresponding to AMC line 14: AMT 94/6 (fragment): 1-2 (Scurlock 2006: no. 347) and AMT 97/6: 1. The latter text is identified as NECK Tablet 2 through the fragmentary colophon on the reverse (reading DUB 2.KAM DIŠ NA [SA.GÚ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú]) and through a matching catchline to NECK Tablet 3 (rev. 4’-5’). The entry in question is further duplicated in the fragment AMT 81/7: 11-12 and in the Assur tablets BAM 221 ii 8’f. and BAM 155 i 9’-10’ (Scurlock 2006: no. 307: 1-2), which together yield the following reconstruction of the incipit: DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-su-ma lu ina DÛ-ti A.ZU-ti lu ina (var. u) MAŠ.MAŠ-u-ti [il-t]a-zi-iz-ma (var. il-ta-za-az-ma) NU DU<sub>8</sub> ana [TI]-šú “If the ‘Hand of a ghost’ seizes a man and it lingers on and cannot be loosened by either the actions of the craft of the *asû* or by the craft of the *āšipu* – to [cure] him”. BAM 221 comprises a collection of recipes for ghost-induced illnesses, while BAM 155 is a *Sammeltafel* on various ailments. The diagnostic entry is further encountered on two tablets from Assur, BAM 52 (a *nishu* tablet with diverse recipes): 1-2 // BAM 225 (recipes against ghost-induced illnesses) rev. 3’-5’ (Scurlock 2006: no. 319a: 1-2), reading: [DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA] DAB-su-ma lu ina ne<sup>1</sup>-pil-ti [a]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-t[i] lu ina ne-pil-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti [i]l-ta-za-az-ma NU DU<sub>8</sub> ana TI-šú “If the ‘Hand of a ghost’ seizes a man and it lingers on and cannot be loosened by either the actions of the craft of the *asû* or by the craft of the *āšipu* – to cure him”.

15) For a discussion of the interpretation of DIŠ as *šumma*, generally introducing conditional clauses of omen protases, see Finke (2007: 131-139), who regards the occasional appearance of DIŠ *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* as a combination of two different ways to spell the conjunction *šumma* (with the syllabic rendering *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* going back to older source texts). Nils Heeßel (2000: 315) however notes that in manuscripts of *Sakikkû* Tablet 27 and 28 (written on one tablet), the combination of DIŠ *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* marks the beginning of the second section of the text. DIŠ in this instance could mean “one” or “first” (entry of a new tablet).

The incipit of NECK Tablet 3 is only preserved fragmentarily in the known sources. AMT 97/6 rev. 4’ (= NECK Tablet 2) preserves the catchline: BE HUL.GIG [...] “If hate-magic [...]”. The incipit of the identified Nineveh manuscript of NECK 3 (BAM 473 i 1) also breaks off at this point (BE HUL.GIG [...], for identification see the colophon iv 16’). Köcher (1980a: xxii) further regards BAM 474 as a fragment of NECK 3, since it duplicates a passage in BAM 473. Furthermore, BAM 209 is a one-column tablet from Assur that contains part of the text of the Nineveh recension of NECK Tablet 3 (Köcher 1964: xii n. 10), whose incipit differs slightly from the AMC entry, reading: BE HUL.GIG ana NA NU T[E...] “For hate-magic not to app[roach] a man [...]”. However, according to the colophon of BAM 209 rev. 18’, the text represents DUB 3.KAM DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU.GIDIM.MA] “Third tablet of ‘If a man’s neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction]’”. For these and related texts see further Schwemer 2007a: 63 no. 136; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6. BAM 209 runs parallel to passages from BAM 473 columns i and iv, and adds three recipes for ghost-induced ailments after a blank line (rev. 19’-26’). An alternative restoration for the AMC incipit of NECK 3 is ana <sup>r</sup>É [NA NU TE-e], but it seems to be unattested so far in the sources.

The incipit of NECK Tablet 4 is found in the catchline of BAM 473 iv 15’ (= NECK Tablet 3): ÉN id-di <sup>4</sup>é-a <sup>r</sup>ru-tu<sup>1</sup> <sup>4</sup>é-a [...] “Incantation. ‘Ea cast (the spell), the spittle of Ea [...]’”. One witness of NECK Tablet 4, the small fragment BAM 475 (K. 3198) i 1, preserves the fragmentary incipit: id-di <sup>4</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-[a ...]. The incantation was used in different medical contexts (Böck 2007: 46-47) and formed part of the magico-medical compendium *Muššu’u* (Böck 2007: 167 IVh for an edition of the sources). It is also known from the exorcistic series SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ (Tablet VII, see Böck 2007: 24, 31ff.). In BM 42272 obv. 22, the incantation incipit is cited within a treatment against the “curse” (NAM.ÉRIM, Scurlock 2014a: text 2.14.1; Bácskay 2015: 5, 11f.).<sup>25</sup> Cf. Böck 2007: 48ff., 79ff. for the medical usage contexts of *Muššu’u* material, focusing on symptoms of paralysis, ailments of the muscles/extremities and ghost-induced complaints also prominent in the section NECK.

<sup>25</sup> BM 42272 is a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet identified in the colophon as the “the 30<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl*”, which contains six prescriptions against witchcraft and curse (obv. 1-31) and fever (obv. 32-rev. 85), see Bácskay 2015 for a complete edition. For texts on fever see now also Bácskay 2018.

16) One manuscript of NECK Tablet 5 is identified in AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+BAM 523+ (cf. CDLI no. P394418), containing the matching incipit: [DIŠ NA] *mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma ta-lam-ma-šú i-šam-ma-am-šú* KIN *mi-šit-ti* (GIG) “If a man is struck with stroke of the face and his torso goes numb, (he suffers from) the effect of the stroke”. Cf. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007 for an edition of selected passages and discussion of the tablet. The incipit of NECK Tablet 5 is identical with the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 27 (see STT 91: 87 (catchline) and AO 6680 (incipit); Heeßel 2000: 286, 297, 303; Scurlock 2014a: 206). NECK Tablet 5 is concerned with stroke (*mišittu*) affecting different areas of the body and with concomitant symptoms such as speech problems (“seizure/paralysis of the mouth”, KA.DAB.BÉ.DA), “paralysis” (*šimmatu*) and “flaccidity” (*rimûtu*). Parallels to AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+BAM 523+ are found e.g. in the following texts:

Nineveh: AMT 23/2 (fragment), BAM 533 (K. 2262+, one-column tablet with prescriptions for illnesses of the mouth, partially parallel to NECK and TEETH), BAM 534 (K. 3484, fragment of a multi-column tablet with spells and remedies for illnesses of the mouth); Assur: BAM 28 obv. (incantations), BAM 132-136 and BAM 138 (prescriptions for *mišittu*); Uruk: SpTU 1, 46 (10<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of the Late Babylonian therapeutic series); Kiš: OECT 11, No. 72-74.

Earlier precursors to passages of NECK 5 are found e.g. in the Old or Middle Babylonian text BAM 398 from Nippur (see Langdon 1914: 67-75; Böck 2010a: 96-98). For texts on *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* cf. also below commentary to AMC line 74.

No manuscript of NECK Tablet 6 has been identified to date, but an incipit matching AMC NECK 6 is preserved in BAM 523+AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+ iv 51 (= NECK Tablet 5, catchline), reading: DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>-šú [ÚŠ.MEŠ] IGI. IGI-mar “If a man constantly sees [dead persons] in his dream”. The same entry is also found in CT 23, 15-22+ (K. 2175+) iv 13, a collection for ghost-induced ailments (Scurlock 2006: 231 no. 25: 1; cf. CDLI P365739): [DIŠ NA *in*]a MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>-šú [ÚŠ.MEŠ I]GI.MEŠ. The Late Babylonian fragment SpTU 4, 134: 7 (remedies for ghost visions) also contains this formula with a similar prescription (Scurlock 2006: no. 30). For ghost visions in dreams, see further Butler 1998: 59-61.

18) The entry of AMC line 18 within the *adi*-section of the section NECK partially matches the incipit of AMT 96/1: 1ff.: DIŠ *na-aš-mat-ti di-ik-ši lu-u šá* ZAG’ [*lu-u šá* GÜB (...)] “If (you want) a bandage for a swelling either on the right [or left side ...]”. AMT 96/1 forms the upper part of a one-column tablet, whose colophon is unfortunately almost completely damaged. The tablet could represent material belonging to NECK (excerpt?). Another recipe on this Nineveh tablet (ll. 14-16) is for *dikšu* caused by a ghost. The initial lines of AMT 96/1: 1ff. are also found in the Assur texts BAM 3 iv 35ff. (the last recipe in an excerpt of the CRANIUM section) and BAM 217: 5ff. (a small collection of remedies for *dikšu*, see l. 23): DIŠ *na-aš-mad di-ik-ši lu šá* 15/ZAG *lu šá* 150/GÜB “If (you want) a bandage for a swelling either on the right side or the left side”. Further duplicates for this passage are BAM 564 (K. 5172+) iii 6’-10’ and BM 42298: 4-5.<sup>26</sup> The suggested restoration *ana pašārī-ma* “to relieve” at the end of AMC l. 18 remains uncertain, as it is not attested in any of the sources.<sup>27</sup> Thus, BAM 3 iv 35 shows an erased sign after 150 (“left”) and continues immediately with recipes, and judging from the traces at the beginning of BAM 217: 6, this text likewise contained no verb after the sign GÜB “left (side)” (Worthington 2006: 25). Another related Nineveh fragment concerning treatments for *dikšu* is AMT 97/5, see esp. ll. 5’ and 6’. For *dikšu* “swelling” cf. AHw 169b, 151b.

Mention should further be made of AMT 46/1 and 47/3 (K. 3612+), a two-column tablet with incantations for sick neck (KA.INIM.MA GÜ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>6</sub>) and prescriptions for amulet bracelets. Since neither an incipit nor a colophon is preserved, it is unclear whether this tablet belongs to NECK. The occurrence of the rubric GÜ.GIG.GA.MEŠ in the Exorcist’s Manual (line 9) may indicate that AMT 46/1 and 47/3 represents a collection of such spells and belongs to the context of *āšipūtu* rather than to the *Nineveh Therapeutic Compendium* (cf. Geller *infra*). Cf. also K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+, which contains incantations for “sick neck” parallel to AMT 47/3 (rev. iii-iv) and a section of the amulet compendium *kunuk halti* (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 373).

<sup>26</sup> BAM 564 is a fragmentary two-column tablet otherwise preserving treatments for respiratory illness; BM 42298 is a Late Babylonian exercise tablet with remedies for internal ailments. For an edition of BAM 3 with duplicates, see Worthington 2006: esp. 26; for BM 42298, see also Finkel 2000: 181.

<sup>27</sup> A slightly differing reading [*ana*] *pa-šá-r[i]* for AMC line 18 was proposed by Scurlock 2014a: 298 fragment 9B obv. 2’. The spelling *ana pa-šá-rī-ma* deciphered in the present AMC edition is occasionally found elsewhere in the medical texts, see e.g. AMT 96/3+(AMT 6/10+AMT 96/9+): 13, see Farber 1977: 56: 13 and Pl. 1; CDLI P394506.

19) The lack of a summary section for NOSEBLEED is unique in the catalogue. The compiler of the catalogue may have decided that it was unnecessary to append a summary section, because the contents of the section were already clarified by the title in AMC line 19. In other words, a summary for NOSEBLEED was possibly omitted because this section is restricted to one particular topic and does not include remedies for other purposes, which needed to be listed through additional keywords. However, even in this case, one would have expected a total of tablets as in all other catalogue sections. Is it possible that this section was not yet brought to a definitive shape?

Tablets with treatments and incantations for nosebleed are rare; some of them were also used for gynaecological bleeding.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the incantation *mimmû ilû ibnû amēlûtu* bears the rubric KA.INIM.MA MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû šur-du-ma DU-ku “Recitation (for the case that) blood is dripping and flowing from his nose” in BAM 386 i’ 7’ (Babylon) and SpTU 4, No. 129 i 28’ (collections of amulet stones, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 325 text 11), while the Assur compendium on bleeding during pregnancy BAM 237 ii 7’, defines the purpose of the spell as KA.INIM.MA MUN[US ša na-ah-šá-a-te GIG-at] “Recitation for a wom[an who suffers from *nahšātu* (haemorrhage)]” (Collins 1999: 177ff.). See also BM 40152 iii 17, a Neo-Babylonian gynaecological compendium, which notes that a treatment can be used “to stop nosebleed and the blood of a woman” (*ana* MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub> u MÚD MUNUS TAR-si).

A few fragments from Nineveh with prescriptions for nosebleed are known in BAM 524-526 and BAM 529-530, none of which provides a complete incipit. However, the colophon of BAM 530 (K. 6198): 2’ preserves the fragmentary section title [...] MÚD *ina* K[IR<sub>4</sub>-šû ...], and can be regarded as a manuscript of NOSEBLEED (see also Panayotov *infra*). Since BAM 524 is a fragment of a two-column tablet, it could likewise represent a manuscript of a NOSEBLEED series tablet (note *ibid.* ii’ 4’, prognosis within an incantation: MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub> TAR-su “the nosebleed will be stopped”). Nosebleed is also a topic in collections of amulets for various purposes, see e.g. K. 4782: 8’: 8 NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ MÚD *ina* KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DU-ku “eight stones (for the case that) blood flows from his nose”; see also BAM 386 i’ 7’, 9’ and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 109-110 *passim*. Note further SpTU 1, 45, a fragment with recipes involving the nose (nostrils), whose position within the therapeutic corpus remains to be established.<sup>29</sup>

20) The title of TEETH is cited in BAM 543 iv 60’ (colophon), which designates the tablet as [DUB 2.K]AM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šû GIG ‘AL’.TIL “[Second tablet] of ‘If a man’s teeth are sore’. Finished”. The catchline of this tablet (iv 59) cites the incipit of the first tablet of the section on respiratory ailments (BRONCHIA) corresponding to the AMC sequence (see below lines 24-28). A manuscript of TEETH Tablet 1 is identified in BAM 538 (K. 2439+), preserving the matching incipit (i 1): DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šû GIG “If a man’s teeth are sore”. The tablet is also identified in the colophon (iv 50’) as [DUB] 1.KAM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šû GIG (Thompson 1926: 57-60). BAM 541 and 542 are possibly fragments of BAM 538 (cf. Köcher 1980b: xviii-xix, referring to further duplicating passages in the texts AMT 23/6, AMT 24/2, AMT 25/2, CT 17, 50).

A Nineveh manuscript of TEETH Tablet 2 is BAM 543 (K. 2419+), offering the corresponding incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA *gi-mer* ZÚ.MEŠ-šû] ‘i’-na-āš u ri-šu-t[u<sub>4</sub> TUK-ši] “[If all of a man’s teeth] become loose and [he gets] *rišûtu*” (restored from the older parallel in the Assur text BAM 159 v 10-11, cf. Thompson 1926: 60ff.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.8; Parys 2014: 22, 34 §59; CAD R 382 sub a). BAM 538 iv 50’ (= TEETH 1) also offers the matching catchline DIŠ NA *gi-mir* ZÚ.MEŠ-šû i-na-āš “If all of a man’s teeth become loose”. Cf. further the similar entry in STT 279: 1 (parallel to BAM 543 i 17 and CTN 4, 130: 3’, Köcher 1980b: xx): DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šû nu-uš-sá-ma MÚD i-hi-la *ana* TI-šû “If a man’s teeth are loose and exude blood – in order to heal him (...)”. STT 279 is an excerpt tablet with extracts from TEETH 2 and EYES 1.

Further textual parallels to TEETH Tablet 2 are found in the Assur texts BAM 28-29 (both one-column tablets), AMT 54/3, BAM 533, 536 and 537 (Nineveh texts concerned e.g. with *bušānu*), in CTN 4, 140 (from Nimrud), as well as in SpTU 1, 44 (= 9<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of the therapeutic series *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* at Late Babylonian Uruk, Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6) and SpTU 1, 46 (= 10<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl*). SpTU 1, 44 begins with the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 1 (cf. below line 24), but most of the prescriptions on the tablet deal with *bušānu*, a topic included in the AMC section TEETH. The incipit of SpTU 1, 46 corresponds with the catchline of SpTU 1, 44 (dealing with a condition

<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 18 //) contains the entry MÚD.KIR<sub>4</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.DA “to stop the blood (flowing from) the nose”, following entries of incantations concerned with “sick eyes”, “sick tooth”, *bušānu*-disease, “sick belly”, “sick lung(s)” and “incantations for all illnesses”. There, MÚD.KIR<sub>4</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.DA is listed beside the rubrics BURU<sub>8</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA (“to stop vomiting”) and ŠĀ.SUR.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA “to stop diarrhoea” (see Geller *infra*).

<sup>29</sup> The tablet was written by the prolific Uruk scribe and exorcist Anu-ikšur (5<sup>th</sup> century BCE) of the Šangû-Ninurta clan whose tablet collection included not only incantations, medical and omen texts, but also several medical commentaries (Clancier 2009: 52, 54-61, 81-83, 400-406).



of the tongue // BAM 543 i 49), but not with an incipit in AMC. It is further striking that the prescriptions in SpTU 1, 46 concerned with facial palsy (*mišittu*) have parallels to NECK, showing that the Uruk therapeutic series had a somewhat different organisation and sequence of contents compared with the AMC. Furthermore, the *Sammeltafel* IM 132670 col. ii-iii from Sippar contains a section with parallels to TEETH Tablet 2 (BAM 543, see Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 227, 231, 238 esp. §§ 21, 26, 27). Note as further parallel AMT 37/4: 7' (fragment): DIŠ NA *ši-in-n[a-šú ...]* "If a man's tee[th ...]". Other Assur fragments dealing with diseases of the mouth and teeth possibly related to TEETH are BAM 26-27, cf. also BAM 30 (against gnashing teeth). For further sources see Stol 2017: 184-185 §§ 3-4.

Since the treatments for the disease *bu'sānu* are known to have formed part of the section TEETH (Tablet 2), texts dealing with this subject could have a potential connection, see e.g. AMT 54/3 (K. 8716, in Neo-Babylonian ductus, rubric ii 8': KA.INIM.MA *bu'sānu* DAB-su; the fragment possibly forms part of BAM 536, cf. Köcher 1980b: xvii and the commentary on AMC line 22 below). Some symptomologies affecting the mouth, such as speech problems due to stroke or seizures (*mišittu*), are dealt with in NECK rather than TEETH, see e.g. BAM 523+K.2418(=AMT 77/1-79/1)+ (= NECK 5; cf. CDLI P394418 and below). However, tablets such as BAM 533 (K. 2262+) combine prescriptions for *bu'sānu*, *mišittu* and KA.DAB.BÉ.DA ("mouth seizure"), drawing on texts belonging to TEETH and NECK (see Köcher 1980b: xvi-xvii, cf. also the Nineveh fragments BAM 534-535 concerned with KA.DAB.BÉ.DA and other seizures).<sup>30</sup>

21) Literal textual parallels for the key phrases in AMC l. 21 are so far unknown from the medical corpus. However, the Late Babylonian disease taxonomy text SpTU 1, 43: 8 mentions *murūš qaqqadi u pī* "head and mouth disease(s)", which are grouped with other illnesses that are supposed to originate in the "mouth of the stomach" (cf. Geller 2014: 3; Steinert 2016a: 231). For the end of line 21 see also Scurlock 2014a: 298, fragment 9B obv. 5'. The emendation of the verb at the end of the line to *na'-dī'(ŠI)-a[t']* follows a suggestion by M. Stol, based on the parallel passage in STT 279: 12: MIN (= DIŠ NA ZŪ-ŠŪ) *na-da-at* "Ditto (If a man's tooth) falls out" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 421; cf. CAD Š/3 50; Stol 2017: 184 § 1.2).

22) *Tābīlu* can refer to dryness of cough, see BAM 549 iv 4 (DT 178+ = BRONCHIA Tablet 5): DIŠ NA *ta-bi-lam ū-sa-al ul ŠUB-a el-la-t[u ...]* "If a man suffers from a dry cough, (but) does not expectorate (phlegm), [his] saliva [...]" (dupl. AMT 81/1+ iii 22' and BAM 551 iii 6'; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.70; cf. CAD T 25 s.v. *tābīlam* sub b). A prescription for *tābīlu* probably occurs also in BAM 543 iv 22 (= TEETH 2): [DIŠ NA KA-šú (...)]' *t[a-bi-i-lu ša-ab-tú* "If a man's mouth? (and ...)] are seized by dryness" (cf. SpTU 1, 44: 44f.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6). This points to the inclusion of the topics mentioned here in the tablets of TEETH. Similarly, several recipes in BAM 543 (= TEETH 2) are for treating *bu'sānu*, see e.g. ii 24 // SpTU 1, 44: 16 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6): [DIŠ NA ... K]A<sup>2</sup>-šú KÚM *il-la-tu-šú DU-ku bu-'šá-na* DAB-su "[If a man ... his mo]uth? is feverish, his saliva flows, *bu'sānu* has seized him" (see further BAM 543 ii 11, 19, 46', 50', 59', iii 53', iv 3). For other tablets with recipes concerning *bu'sānu* see e.g. BAM 533-534, BAM 536-537,<sup>31</sup> SpTU 1, 44: 16-83, see Scurlock 2014a: 719 text 2.5.6 for further parallels). For the illness *bu'sānu* cf. also Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 40-42, 413-414; Kinnier Wilson and Finkel 2007: 16-22.

23) Possibly no text is missing in the gap at the beginning of the line. However, the phrase *šá LÚ.TUR* does not seem to be a continuation of the last phrase in line 22, *bu'sānu* DAB-su. Thus, one could ask whether *šá LÚ.TUR* forms a scribal comment on the preceding phrase, rather than a complete citation or rubric from a source text. It is conspicuous that there are few preserved texts concerned with paediatrics among known therapeutic texts. Current studies have concentrated entirely on *Sakikkū* Tablet 40 (see Volk 1999: 10-30; Cadelli 1997: 11-33). Interestingly, the only title of a genre specifically for infants in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and dupl.) are the rituals for pacifying a baby (*LÚ.TUR.HUN. GĀ*), enumerated beside rituals for pregnant women, for women in childbirth and against the baby-snatching *Lamaštu* (KAR 44: 15 //, see Geller *infra*; for the baby rituals, see Farber 1989a). The dearth of medical-therapeutic texts restricted to infants as well as the fact that AMC contains no separate section devoted to paediatrics may indicate that in the ther-

<sup>30</sup> Note also hemerological provisions concerned with preventing teeth loss (Livingstone 2013: 140: 41; 184: 38 etc.).

<sup>31</sup> BAM 533 (K. 2622+) is a one-column tablet combining treatments for KA.DAB.BÉ.DA "seizing of the mouth" (parallel to NECK Tablet 5) and for *bu'sānu* (with duplicating passages in BAM 543 = TEETH Tablet 2). The fragment BAM 534 (K. 3484) belongs to a multi-column tablet preserving therapies for diseases of the mouth (including KA.DAB.BÉ.DA). BAM 536 (K. 6572) and BAM 537 (K. 11513), feature spells and prescriptions for *bu'sānu* (both are written in a Neo-Babylonian ductus). For the texts see Köcher 1980b: xvi-xviii.

apeutic corpus reflected in AMC, treatments for conditions that occurred in children and adults (e.g. *bušānu* and *suālu*) were not collected in separate sections (*sadīru*), but were integrated within the same section covering the respective topic. It could thus be that *šā LÚ.TUR* in AMC line 23 notifies the reader that recipes for infants suffering from *bušānu* are also to be found in TEETH. A similar line *LÚ.TUR suālu GIG* “an infant suffering from cough” indicating material within the section BRONCHIA is found in AMC line 28 (cf. below).

*Bušānu* as an infants’ disease is known from *Sakikkû* 40: 96-101, 114 (Scurlock 2014a: 267f.; cf. *Sakikkû* 33: 88-91; Cadelli 1997: 34; Volk 1999: 27f.; Böck 2014a: 62ff.), but among the few medical tablets with treatments for infants none deals with this ailment. The small Babylonian tablet BM 62376 contains a single recipe introduced by *DIŠ LÚ.TUR GÚ.MUR-su haniq* “If a child’s pharynx is constricted” (see Scurlock 2014a: 627f. text 2.13.4), which is possibly related to the section on respiratory illnesses (BRONCHIA). A small Neo- or Late Babylonian collection with remedies for a boy suffering from diseases of the lower abdomen (especially rectal ailments) is preserved on the extract tablet MS 4575 from the Schøyen Collection (George 2016: 167f. No. 74). Another therapeutic tablet concerning infants designated as “2<sup>nd</sup> *nishu* of remedies”, K. 3628+K. 4009+Sm. 1315 (+ K. 19939, join Eric Schmidtchen) is also unrelated to the section TEETH: it presents remedies for a child seized by *AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, bēl ūri*, “Hand of Ištar”, *lilû* and *alû* (Farber 1989a: 28, 67 § 15a, 126-129 §§45-46; Stol 1993: 89; Scurlock 2014a: 621ff. text 2.13.1). Interspersed recipes for children among remedies for adult patients are also occasionally attested, see e.g. BAM 409: 17’ (against the skin disease *sāmānu*, Köcher 1995: 203f.) and K. 4957+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9, Ms. I iv 26’, referring to an illness of the rectum). A medicinal plant specified for treating a sick infant is singled out in BAM 379 ii 54’ (drug compendium, Stadhouders 2011: 35). For AMC sections mentioning infants’ illnesses see further AMC lines 74, 92, 97 and 109.

24) Beside *DIŠ NA na-piš KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD* “If a man has difficulty breathing through the nose”, some texts use the abbreviated section title *DIŠ NA KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD* (see Köcher 1980b: xx-xxi, e.g. BAM 543 iv 59’ (= TEETH Tablet 2, catchline), BAM 547 (K. 7854+) iv 14’ (*tup-pi* 1.KAM *DIŠ NA KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD*), and BAM 548 iv 13’ (DUB 5.KAM.MA *DIŠ NA KI[R<sub>4</sub>-šû ...]*). The longer formulation *na-piš KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD* is encountered e.g. in BAM 566 i 6’ (rubric): [... *DIŠ NA na-piš KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD* (fragment of a two-column tablet, excerpt of BRONCHIA(?), cf. Köcher 1980b: xxvi). See also the incipit of the Uruk extract tablet SpTU 1, No. 44: 1: *DIŠ NA na-piš KIR<sub>4</sub>-šû DUGUD* (the tablet is identified as the “9<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl*”).

BAM 547 (K. 7854+) preserves no incipit, but has been identified as a manuscript of BRONCHIA Tablet 1 through its catchline (iv 13’) matching the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 2: *DIŠ NA GABA-su G[IG-m]a NINDA u A ina GABA-šû GUB. MEŠ-zu ha-ah-ha TUK.MEŠ* “If a man’s chest is sick, so that food and water get stuck in his chest (and) he continually has a wet cough” (Thompson 1934: 1f.; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.74).<sup>32</sup>

A fragmentary exemplar of BRONCHIA Tablet 2 has been identified in AMT 48/4, which does not preserve an incipit, but a fragmentary catchline matching the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 3 (iv 13’; Thompson 1934: 2f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 243f.). Cf. also the fragmentary tablet BAM 560 (K. 2531+) belonging to a two-column tablet with fragmentary colophon, which contains several prescriptions starting with *DIŠ NA GABA-su* “If a man’s chest (...)” (ii 6’, 8’) and *DIŠ NA GABA-su u MAŠ.ŠIL.[MEŠ-šû ...]* “If a man’s chest and shoulders [...]” (iii 16’), similar to the incipits of BRONCHIA 2 and 3. Cf. also commentary to AMC line 25.

25) For the restoration of the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 3 see already Johnson 2014: 12. AMT 48/4 (K. 2614, = BRONCHIA Tablet 2), preserving the fragmentary catchline of BRONCHIA Tablet 3. A manuscript of BRONCHIA tablet 3 is identified in AMT 49/4, offering the matching incipit (i 1): *DIŠ NA GABA-su SAG ŠĀ-šû MAŠ.ŠIL<sup>1</sup>-šû GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šû x[...]* (Thompson 1934: 3f.). BAM 39 presents an Assur fragment of an “older” Neo-Assyrian tablet with parallels to AMT 49/4 (Köcher 1963a: xvii with n. 14; Labat 1954: 216f.; Stol 2004: 72; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.6). A few tablets on topics related to BRONCHIA contain entries that are similar to the incipit of BRONCHIA 3. AMT 50/3: 11, an excerpt tablet(?), whose incipit differs from BRONCHIA Tablet 3, contains a passage starting: *DIŠ NA GABA-su MAŠ.ŠIL.MEŠ-šû GU<sub>7</sub>. MEŠ-šû ip-te-né-ru NA BI UŠ<sub>11</sub> DAB-šû [...]* “If a man’s chest (and) shoulders hurt him all the time (and) he keeps vomiting, sorcery has seized that man” (see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.84; the incipit begins *DIŠ NA KI.MIN su-a-lam BABBAR ŠUB.MEŠ-a* “If a man ditto, continually produces white *suālu*-phlegm”). BAM 564 (K. 5172+) ii 14’, a fragmen-

<sup>32</sup> This symptom description indicates a deficient understanding of internal anatomy and blurred differentiation between the digestive and respiratory system.

tary two-column tablet, probably belongs to BRONCHIA and offers the following line: [DIŠ NA] GABA-su SAG ŠĀ-šú M[AŠ.S]ĪL-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ú-gan-na-ah “[If a man]’s chest, epigastrium (and) [shoul]ders hurt him continually (and) he has repeated fits of coughing” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.67). Note also the fragmentary line in AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 7’f.: [...] DIŠ NA GABA-su u MAŠ.SĪL.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ x[...] / [... na-p]iš KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú DUGUD x[...] “If a man’s chest and shoulders hurt (him) continually [...], he has difficulty breathing through the nose [...]” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.75; CDLI P396674). Cf. further BAM 560 (K. 2531+) ii 6’, 8’, iii 16’ (cited above, commentary to AMC line 24). The position of these texts within BRONCHIA remains to be ascertained.

26) AMT 49/4 rev. 10’ (= BRONCHIA 3) preserves the catchline for BRONCHIA Tablet 4: DIŠ NA KÚM-em ú-ga-na-[ah] “If a man is feverish (and) coughs” (rev. 11’ reads: DUB 3.KAM [...]), allowing a restoration of the lost AMC incipit. AMT 49/1(+AMT 51/5 presents a small fragment of BRONCHIA Tablet 4, preserving part of a colophon with catchline to BRONCHIA 5 (Thompson 1934: 4f.). Another fragment of BRONCHIA 4 with partial incipit is AMT 45/4; Thompson (1934: 4) further notes AMT 48/5 and AMT 49/2 as additional fragments; add possibly BAM 527 (Köcher 1980b: xv).

Several witnesses to BRONCHIA Tablet 5 have been identified. BAM 548 (K. 3516+) preserves the incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA su-a-l]am GIG ana ša-ha-ṭi “[If a man] suffers from [suā]lu-cough, in order to remove it (...)”, and is identified in iv 13’ as DUB 5.KĀM.MA DIŠ NA KI[R<sub>4</sub>-šú DUGUD], see Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.2). A second manuscript of BRONCHIA 5 is AMT 80/1+81/1 (K. 2414+9969, CDLI P 394414), with partially preserved incipit in i 1 and catchline/section title in rev. iv 3’f. (Thompson 1934: 5ff.). BAM 552 (AMT 24/4+) is another witness of BRONCHIA 5 (iii 3’: DIŠ NA su-alu GIG-ma [...]), preserving a fragmentary catchline to BRONCHIA Tablet 6 in col. iv 16’. F. Köcher (1980b: xxiiif., xxvi) further identified the following Nineveh fragments of two-column tablets as parts BRONCHIA 5: BAM 549 (= AMT 80/2+AMT 80/7 and 81/3) containing remedies for cough (*suālu*) and dry (*tābīlam*) cough (iv 4), BAM 550 (with remedies for *suālu* and an entry beginning with the same words as the incipit of BRONCHIA Tablet 6, in col. iv 8: DIŠ NA su-alu ha-ha [...]), BAM 551 (iii 6’ on *tābīlam*), and possibly also BAM 567 (col. ii is concerned with *suālu*).

27) The interpolation *ki-šir-te* <MUR.MEŠ> GIG is based on the catchline to BRONCHIA Tablet 6, preserved in BAM 548 iv 14’ (= BRONCHIA 5): DIŠ NA su-a-lam ha-ha u ki-šir-tú M[UR.MEŠ GIG ...] “If a man [suffers] from *suālu*-cough, wet cough and constriction of the lu[ngs]” (Scurlock 2014a: 467). The Neo-Babylonian recipe collection IM 132670 from Sippar offers a similar entry (cf. Köcher 1980b: xxiii n. 46; Johnson 2014: 12 n. 3, with Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 232, 239 §38 col. iv 24f.): DIŠ NA lu MUR.MEŠ lu ki-šir-ti MUR.MEŠ lu su-alu GIG “If a man suffers from (diseased) lungs, constriction of the lungs or from *suālu*-cough”. The passage on respiratory illnesses in IM 132670 (§§ 33-38) has duplicates in several other texts such as BM 78963 (“2<sup>nd</sup> *nishu*” of remedies, from Sippar), BAM 42, BAM 44 (for further duplicates see Scurlock 2014a: 724).

No manuscripts of BRONCHIA Tablet 6 are known which preserve an incipit, but the fragment BAM 554 (K. 2357A + K. 13397) probably represents part of BRONCHIA Tablet 6 because of the similar topic (see Köcher 1980b: xxiii, BAM 554 i 3’: DIŠ NA ki-šir-tú [MUR.MEŠ ...]). BAM 555-556 form further fragments of this tablet. Note also AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 10’ (see CDLI P396647) mentioning *kiširte hašê* “constriction of the lungs”. “Older” Neo-Assyrian tablets from Assur with parallels to BAM 554-556 are BAM 42 and BAM 44 (one-column tablets from Assur, Köcher 1963a: xviif.); cf. further BAM 558, BAM 564, BAM 566, BAM 571-572, AMT 21/4, AMT 55/3+ (Nineveh fragments which cannot be positioned within BRONCHIA yet) and the Assur texts BAM 37 (Middle Assyrian tablet from the library of Tiglath-pileser I), BAM 40-41, BAM 43, BAM 45 and BAM 47, most of which contain duplicating or parallel sections to Nineveh tablets on lung ailments.

28) The preserved signs of the right half of the summary line seem to belong to the *adi*-section, most likely enumerating short key phrases from sections of BRONCHIA tablets. The first key phrase “(diseased) windpipe” (*embūb hašê*, GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ (GIG) occurs several times in BAM 566 (AMT 26/3+ AMT 55/5 + AMT 69/10), e.g. i 14’, 16’: [...] NA BI GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ GIG “[...] this man suffers from (an obstruction of) the windpipe”; also ii 3’, 5’, 6’: DIŠ NA GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ GIG-ma x[...] “If a man suffers from (an obstruction of) the windpipe, [...]”. This text contains material connected to the section BRONCHIA (see Köcher 1980b: xxvi, see BAM 566 i 6’ citing the section title (rubric)), but its position within the section is not yet ascertained (it may also be an excerpt from BRONCHIA). The recipe collection (“2<sup>nd</sup> *nishu*”) BM 78963: 40 presents another close parallel, with a prescription DIŠ NA em-bu-bu ha-še-e GIG ú-gan-na-ah KI ru-ṭi-šú MÚD ŠUB-a “If a man’s windpipe is sore so that he has repeated fits of coughing and produces blood with his spittle” (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3). Cf. further the fragment AMT 2/7: 8’: [...] ha-ah-ha] ul ŠUB-a GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ ú-na-qar-šú [...] “[...] he

does not produce [phlegm?], (his) windpipe *tears him up* [...]” (cf. CAD N/2 332 sub 4). The diseased windpipe is also mentioned as diagnosis in a recipe of AMT 40/4 + AMT 57/5 rev. 31’ (see Geller 2005a: Ms. No. 30 Ms. dd), but this tablet focuses on rectal disease and does not belong to the present context. Similarly, obstruction of the windpipe is also mentioned as a symptom of *šetū*-fever (BAM 145: 13f., restoration following the variant BAM 146 rev. 36’f.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.6.5; see now Bácskay 2018: 181-186: [ina *ša-la*]-li-šú (...) GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ-šú (var. *ha-še-šú*) [it]-ti-<sup>‘</sup>ni<sup>‘</sup>-is-kîr “(his) windpipe is constantly obstructed [when he li]es down”), cf. below commentary to STOMACH.

The next keyword in the *adi*-section of AMC line 28 is the illness term *šiqu*, for which CAD Š/3 101 suggests the meaning “an eczema” (based on *Sakikkû* Tablet 13: 92; Scurlock 2014a: 106). However, in the Late Babylonian disease-taxonomy text SpTU 1, 43: 21, *šiqu* is listed among the diseases originating from the lungs, beside *bušānu*, “wind” and the illness *šinnah ṭiri* (Geller 2014: 4; Steinert 2016a: 231). Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 42, 688 n. 84) identify *šiqu* with coloured sputum, whereas M. Stol (personal communication) suggests to translate *šiqu* with “cough”. Both interpretations stem from the medical contexts, in which the word *šiqu* occurs: lung illness and different types of cough. Since *Sakikkû* 13: 92 speaks of *šiqu* present inside the belly (ina ŠĀ-šú *ši-qu*), it may refer to a substance similar to mucus or phlegm rather than to general “cough” (see also *Sakikkû* 13: 89, Scurlock 2014a: 106, where *šiqu* is produced by the lips (NUMDUM.MEŠ-šú *ši-qá* ŠUB-a)). Note the recipe collection (“2<sup>nd</sup> *nishu*”) BM 78963: 50, 52, 55 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3), which includes remedies DIŠ NA *ši-qá* DAB-su “if a man is seized by *šiqu*” and DIŠ NA *ši-i-qu lu-hu-u* GIG “if a man suffers from dirty *šiqu*”. A list of diseases (MSL 9: 96: 197) contains the following equations: ‘x’-zê-gig = *ši-i-qu*, which B. Böck (2007: 238 to l. 10) connects with me-zé = *issu* “jaw, cheek-bone”.

It is noteworthy that the last key phrase enumerated in AMC line 28, ù LÚ.TUR *su-alu* GIG “and (treatments for) an infant suffering from cough”, indicates that treatments for cough (*suālu*) in children were included in the section BRONCHIA, and not collected separately. None of the preserved textual witnesses of BRONCHIA or related texts contain such passages, and no therapeutic tablets focussing on *suālu* in children are attested to this date. Note however that the topic is addressed in *Sakikkû* Tablet 40: 39 (Scurlock 2014a: 259, including an appended prescription; for discussion cf. Volk 1999: 24f.; Cadelli 1997: 31).

29) The broader thematic focus of STOMACH, which in the Assyriological literature is commonly called somewhat misleadingly *Suālu* “cough”, are intestinal or digestive illnesses. This section of the therapeutic corpus is in fact concerned with *libbu* (ŠĀ) “belly” (i.e. the abdomen with the intestines), not with the stomach in particular. The title STOMACH was chosen to indicate the anatomical connection to the digestive tract and the organisational principle “from head to (toe)nail(s)” displayed by AMC PART 1. The catalogue sections following STOMACH, i.e. EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN, are also concerned with ailments affecting the digestive system (cf. below), but their contents (as far as can be seen from the catalogue incipits) do not seem to be ordered in any apparent anatomical order. It is possible that these three sections included treatments focussing on specific internal organs (e.g. liver, spleen).

A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 1 has been identified in BAM 574 (K. 191+), which contains the incipit (i 1) and section title (iv 52) matching the AMC: DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG *ana ki-is* ŠĀ GUR “If a man is sick with *suālu*-cough (which) turns into intestinal disease” (Cadelli 2000: 68, 89). The fragment BAM 577 belongs to column ii of this tablet (cf. Köcher 1980b: xxviii-xxix; CDLI P393782; Johnson, *infra*). BAM 575 iv 55 (= STOMACH 2) also cites the section title in the colophon (cf. Johnson 2014: 12 with n. 4 for discussion). The colophon of BAM 579 (= STOMACH 5) reads GUR-šū at the end of the section title, while other manuscripts containing this line omit the pronominal suffix. Further Nineveh sources with parallels for STOMACH 1 are found e.g. in BAM 573, BAM 576 (fragments of two-column tablets). Assur tablets (excerpts) containing parallels or duplicating passages to STOMACH 1 (and other tablets of the section) are BAM 48-52. See further Cadelli 2000.

The incipit of STOMACH Tablet 2 is preserved in BAM 574 iv 51 (= STOMACH 1, catchline): DIŠ NA ŠĀ-šú GIG (GA ÁB KŪ.GA Ī.NUN.NA U<sub>4</sub> 2.KAM NAG) “If a man’s belly is sick, (he shall drink milk of a pure cow (with) ghee for two days)”. A witness of STOMACH Tablet 2 is presented by BAM 575 (K. 71B+), with matching incipit in col. i 1 (Cadelli 2000: 124). For Assur fragments/excerpt tablets containing parallel passages to STOMACH 2 see e.g. BAM 49, BAM 52, and BAM 54-59.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For these texts cf. Köcher 1963: xviii-xix; Cadelli 2000: 124ff. *passim*. BAM 52 is designated as the “6<sup>th</sup> extract (*nishu*) copied from a wooden writing board from Babylonia (Akkad)”. For BAM 55 and BAM 59 see also Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.5 and 2.14.2.

30) The catchline of BAM 575 iv 54 (= STOMACH 2) contains the incipit for STOMACH Tablet 3 corresponding to AMC: DIŠ NA SAG.ŠĀ-šū GU<sub>7</sub>-šū *ina ge-ši-šū ZÉ im-ta-na* NA BI *qer-bé-na* GIG “If a man’s epigastrium hurts him, (and) when he belches he keeps producing bile, this man is sick internally” (Cadelli 2000: 147). A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 3 is preserved in BAM 578 (K. 61+) featuring the incipit in col. i 1 (Cadelli 2000: 187). Extracts with duplicating recipes to STOMACH 3 can be found in the Assur excerpts/fragments BAM 52, BAM 60, BAM 62, BAM 64 and BAM 72 (see Cadelli 2000: 187ff.). For further parallels see the Assur texts BAM 92 (an “older” multi-column tablet with prescriptions for internal ailments) and the *Sammeltafel* BAM 159 (cf. Parys 2014).

The incipit of STOMACH Tablet 4 is preserved in the catchline of BAM 578 iv 47 (= STOMACH 3): DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-id ZI SAG.KI GIG *ina lam* DUGUD-šū *ana TI.BI* “If a man is overcome by *šētu*-fever, he suffers from pulsating of the temple(s), in order to cure him before it becomes severe for him” (cf. Scurlock 2014a: 518). Identified witnesses of STOMACH tablet 4 are AMT 14/7: 1 (incipit) // AMT 44/6 + 45/1 i 1 (see Cadelli 2000: 207; Johnson 2014: 29). The fragments K. 2386+ (AMT 78/3+45/6+48/3+48/1+23/5) probably also belong to col. i of STOMACH 4 (Johnson 2014: 14ff., 27f.). BAM 66, a Middle Assyrian tablet from the library of Tiglath-pileser I contains duplicating sections to STOMACH 4 (from rev. 4’ onward), as does the Assur text BAM 174 (an excerpt tablet with passages from STOMACH (see Johnson 2014: 29ff., 34f.). BAM 66 also shares parallel entries with *Sakikkû* Tablet 31 (see Heeßel 2000: 342, 348f.; Scurlock 2014a: 225-230; Johnson 2014: 35f.).

A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 5 is BAM 579 (K. 5834+), with the matching incipit (i 1) DIŠ NA ŠĀ-šū KÚM DAB “If heat (fever) afflicts a man’s belly” (Cadelli 2000: 252). Parallel recipes to STOMACH 5 can be found in the following Assur texts (mostly excerpt tablets): BAM 50, BAM 52, BAM 54, BAM 67-70 (Köcher 1963a: xviiiif., xx; see further Cadelli 2000: 252, 257, 263, 265 for parallels). For texts related to STOMACH dealing with fever (e.g. *šētu*) see now Bácskay 2018.

31) Most of the phrases following *adi*(EN) in AMC lines 31-35 are attested in STOMACH tablets and thus present short citations indicating contents of the STOMACH section. The first key phrase in the *adi*-section is very similar to the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 32 (so far only attested as catchline of *Sakikkû* Tablet 31 and in the *Sakikkû* catalogue, see Heeßel 2000: 344: 57’; Finkel 1988: 147 A 38f. and Schmidtchen *infra*), reading DIŠ TU<sub>15</sub> *iš-biṭ-su-ma* “If wind has blasted him”. Within the therapeutic corpus, the closest parallel to this AMC entry about “wind blasting” (bloating of the intestines) is found in the Assur text BAM 146 (rev. 56’: [DIŠ NA] TU<sub>15</sub> *iš-biṭ-su-ma ma-gal e-e[m ...]* “[If] wind has blasted (against) [a man], and he is very hot [...]). BAM 146 is a one-column (excerpt?) tablet also containing treatments for fever (*ummu*/KÚM and *šētu*/UD.DA), which are topics indicated by the AMC incipits of STOMACH Tablets 4 and 5 (see now Bácskay 2018: 181-186). However, the topic “wind” in the belly (*libbu*) is also dealt with in STOMACH 2 (BAM 575 iii 25, 27, 28, 30) and in Assur texts related to the section STOMACH (e.g. BAM 50 rev. 7-10; BAM 52 rev. 77).

Unrelated to the entry in AMC line 31 or to the STOMACH section are texts concerned with skin ailments that treat the condition “wind blasting” (*šibiṭ šāri*), see e.g. BAM 580 iii 15’ff., 20’ff. (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.10.5). Women after delivery can suffer from this condition as well (here probably bloating is meant), see e.g. the gynaecological text BAM 240: 20 (Scurlock 2014a: 610), cf. Cadelli 2000: 396 n. 112, 345 n. 274.

32) This entry seems to be a citation from STOMACH Tablet 2, since BAM 575 iii 42 contains a prescription beginning DIŠ NA Ú NAG-*ma la i-ár-rù še-me-er* “if a man drinks medicine, but does not vomit (and) is bloated”. Scurlock (2014a: 299) reconstructs [(DIŠ N)]A’ at the beginning of AMC line 32, but possibly the catalogue entry is abbreviated. The first fragmentary sign in this line could thus belong to a preceding key phrase lost in the gap.

33) The restored entry is also preserved in BAM 575 iii 49 (STOMACH Tablet 2), which reads: DIŠ NA KAŠ SAG NAG-*ma* SUHUŠ.MEŠ-šū *pa-al-qa di-ig-la ma-a-ṭi ana TI-šū* “If a man drinks first quality beer and then his lower extremities are unsteady and his sight is reduced – in order to cure him (...)” (cf. Cadelli 2000: 140, Scurlock 2014a: 636). It is uncertain whether the two key phrases at the end of AMC lines 32 and 33 were continued in the following line, but it is likely that they were cited in abbreviated form compared with the source texts.

34) The topic *kišir libbi* “belly knot”, characterised mainly by the inability to keep down and digest food, is dealt with in BAM 575 iv 37 // (= STOMACH Tablet 2): DIŠ NA *ki-šir* ŠĀ GIG NINDA *u KAŠ ‘ŠĀ-šū’ la IGI-šū ina KA-šū* GUR.GUR TŪN-šū *i-sah-hal-šū ana TI-[šū]* “If a man suffers from ‘knot of the belly’, so that his belly does not accept bread and beer, but he keeps regurgitating it through his mouth, (and) his stomach (?) gives him a piercing pain – in order to cure him (...)”;

ibid. iv 43: [DIŠ N]A *ki-šir* ŠĀ-bi GIG-*ma* NINDA u KAŠ ŠĀ-šū NU IGI-šū ina KA-šū GUR.GUR *ip-te-né-ru ana* TI-šū “If a man suffers from ‘knot of the belly’, so that his belly does not accept bread and beer, but he keeps regurgitating it through his mouth (and) vomits all the time – in order to cure him (...)” (see Cadelli 2000: 145f., also BAM 575 iv 11: *ki-šir-te* ŠĀ GIG). The last key phrase in AMC line 34, the ailment *kis libbi* “bond of the belly”, is the main topic of STOMACH Tablet 1 (see BAM 574 i 1, 4, 11, 21, 26, ii 28, 33, 43, Cadelli 2000: 68ff.). The listing of key phrases in the *adi*-section thus does not seem to correspond exactly to the sequence of topics within the STOMACH section.

35) The lost beginning of this line could have listed key phrases concerned with different forms of jaundice, which are prominent topics in STOMACH Tablet 3 (see especially BAM 578 iii 25, iv 6, 17, 28, Cadelli 2000: 202ff.: [DIŠ NA (IGI<sup>II</sup>-šū) IGI.SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub>/amurriqānu / ahhāza DIRI).

For the related ailments *nikimti/nikmāt šāri* and *šētu*, see Wee 2012: 216f.; cf. also below AMC line 48. Both conditions occur together in the following duplicating texts: BAM 168: 1-3 (an Assur excerpt tablet on internal ailments duplicating STOMACH material) // BAM 88: 17'-19' (short Assur excerpt on internal ailments) // BAM 471 (= AMT 94/2) ii 3'-4' (collection on ghost-induced illnesses) // BAM 52: 66-67 (excerpt tablet with STOMACH material) and AMT 52/4: 2'-3', cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 6.45; Scurlock 2006: no. 191a; Geller 2005a: No. 34: 1-2 for these texts. The passage in question reads: DIŠ NA ŠĀ.MEŠ-šū MŪ.MŪ *ir-ru-šū* GIN<sub>7</sub> šā MAR.GAL *ma-gal* GŪ.GŪ-(ū) NA BI *nī-kim-ti* TU<sub>15</sub> u UD.DA GIG KIN-šū SUMUN-*ma* ŠU.GIDIM.MA “If a man’s bowels are bloated, his entrails make a lot of noise like an *išqippu*-bird, that man suffers from bloating due to wind and from *šētu*-fever; this condition is of long duration (and) due to ‘Hand of a ghost’.” Another close match to the formulation in AMC line 35 is found in the Late Babylonian Uruk text BAM 403 (= LKU 61) rev. 7' (catchline) // BAM 52: 72: [DIŠ NA ... *n*]ik-mat TU<sub>15</sub> u UD.DA DIRI-ū u ditto(ILIMMU) “[If a man’s ...] are full of bloating due to wind and *šētu*-fever, and ditto”. Note that BAM 403 is designated in rev. 7'-8' as the 19<sup>th</sup> *nishu* of the series *šumma amēlu mu[hhašu umma ukāl]* (according to originals from the house of Dabibi). Since BAM 52 presents the closest thematic match to the cited formulation in AMC l. 35, the last key phrase in AMC line 35 could possibly refer to material within STOMACH Tablet 5 (e.g. in the lost parts of BAM 579 column ii), because of the similar topics *šibiṭ šāri* and *himiṭ šēti* found in BAM 579 ii 54' and iii 18. Cf. Bácskay 2018 for the texts related to *šētu*.

36) The restoration of the AMC incipit for EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 1 follows BAM 579 (K. 5834) iv 44 (= STOMACH Tablet 5), which preserves the catchline for EPIGASTRIUM 1: DIŠ NA SAG ŠĀ-šū *na-ši* MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šū *mī-na-tu-šū* GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šū “If a man’s epigastrium is raised (and) his hips and limbs hurt him”. A witness of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 1 is identified in AMT 43/6, which presents the matching incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA SA]G ŠĀ-šū *na-ši* MURUB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šū *mī-na-tu-šū* GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šū NA BI [...] (Thompson 1929: 58). The AMC incipit and section title of EPIGASTRIUM in line 36 and 38 has been restored on the basis of these two Nineveh texts. It is thus suggested here that the sequence of therapeutic texts contained in AMC ll. 36-44 (sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN) corresponded at least partially to the therapeutic series of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (cf. below).

The incipit of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 2 could not yet be identified in the textual sources. The preserved text in AMC line 36 is not without philological problems. Thus, J. Scurlock (2014a: 299: 20') reads [DIŠ NA *ki*]-is ŠĀ ù *di-kiš* GABA TUK-ši “If a person has *kis libbi* and stabbing pain in the breast”. However, collations confirm that there are traces of a sign in front of -is, which do not fit the reading *ki-is*, but the traces of this sign look more like a HI. Thus, the reading *mi-h*[i-iš] ŠĀ lit. “stroke of the inside” or “heart-attack” is suggested here. The following signs seem to be rather ŠĀ-šū *lu di-kiš* GABA, but for the sake of consistency the reading ŠĀ ù *di-kiš* GABA may be preferable. The symptom *dikiš irti* “swelling of the chest” occurs e.g. in AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 2' (CDLI P396647): [DIŠ NA ... SA]G ŠĀ-šū KŪM TUK.TUK *di-kiš* GABA GIG x[...] “[If a man ...] his [epi]gastrium is always feverish, he suffers from swelling of the chest [...]”, but the entry is not identical to AMC line 36 (cf. above AMC ll. 25, 27). The fragments AMT 6/7: 4 (featuring a rubric [KA. INIM.]MA *di-kiš* [...] “[Recita]tion for swelling of the [...]”) and AMT 97/5: 5f. (Scurlock 2006: no. 183, dealing with *dikšu* caused by a ghost) could possibly be related; cf. further BAM 216: 16', 28' (but the latter two texts do not refer to the chest). For *dikšu* cf. also AMC line 18.

The symptom *mihīš libbi* “heart-attack” (*mihšu* means “stroke, blow” (of a weapon) or “attack” (of demons)) does not seem to be attested so far in any other medical text, which renders the reconstruction for AMC l. 36 suggested here provisional. Note yet AMT 58/5: 9 (Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B4), which one is tempted to restore according to AMC: DIŠ NA *kis* ŠĀ-šū SĪG-[iš] ŠĀ-šū *lu di-kiš* GABA TUK-ši]. M. Geller suggests that the fragment AMT 58/5 belongs to the tablet K. 2405+ (AMT 31/1+ = Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B), which is concerned with urinary problems such as constriction of the

bladder and very likely belongs to a different section of the therapeutic corpus (KIDNEY). The restoration for AMC l. 36 thus remains to be ascertained with further textual evidence.

37) The incipit of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 3 remains unknown due to lacking textual sources. Because of the context (intestinal ailments), the reading of the incipit for EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 4 proposed here is preferable to [... NA<sub>4</sub>] *šah-hi-hu* GIG “[...] he suffers from a dissolving [stone]” (as suggested by Böck 2008: 298f.). Interestingly, the incipit of the Assur text BAM 156: 1ff. (a one-column tablet with a collection of recipes against diverse ailments, such as the “curse” (ll. 1-24), followed by sections with parallels to STOMACH 5 and CRANIUM 1) corresponds to the AMC incipit of EPIGASTRIUM 4 (see Panayotov 2014: 43), reading: [DIŠ N]A NAM.ÉRIM *šah-[hi]-hu* GIG *mim-mu-u i-lem-mu / ‘ina’ ŠĀ-šū la i-na-ah ‘bal’-ṭam-ma ana DŪR-šū ū-tab-bak / NINDA NU GU<sub>7</sub> NA BI GÍD-ma UG<sub>7</sub> ana maš-taq-ti-šū u bul-lu-ṭi-šū* “If a man suffers from a wasting curse so that anything he eats does not rest easy in this belly, and he pours it out raw into his anus, (and) he cannot eat food, this man will be ill for a long time and then die; for his *cutting-off* and to cure him” (cf. CAD M/1 393; Scurlock 2014a: text 1.3.3; cf. however the variant of the last phrase in Geller 2005a: No. 50 Ms. AC (AMT 22/2 //: 10 *ana maštaktišu bulluṭu* “to cure his ‘water clock’” (i.e. organism?); Steinert 2016a: 209f.). In contrast, entries concerning NA<sub>4</sub> *šahhihu* “dissolving stone” (e.g. of the bladder) are found in Geller 2005a: No. 13 (AMT 39/6) and No. 14 (AMT 89/4+53/8). The former fragment very likely belongs to the section KIDNEY (see below AMC lines 45ff.), since AMT 39/6: 6’ features the rubric [DUB X.KAM] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U<sub>7</sub>-su].

38-44) The reconstruction of Scurlock 2014a: 302 obv. 1’ for AMC line 38 is not plausible, because the same incipit already occurs in Fragment 9b (see Scurlock 2014a: 299 obv. 20’, cf. AMC line 36 in the present edition). The reconstruction of the catalogue suggested here indicates that the section EPIGASTRIUM consisted of four tablets, followed by another section ABDOMEN intervening before KIDNEY. The alignment of fragments C and D in the present reconstruction is supported by the sectional structure of the catalogue and by indirect evidence from textual sources. Concerning the sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN, Abusch and Schwemer (2011: 126ff., text 7.5 with pl. 23) have published two fragments from Nineveh, K. 3661 and AMT 44/7 (K. 13390), which do not join directly, but which may belong to the same tablet. If this interpretation is correct, the two Nineveh fragments would indicate that the section EPIGASTRIUM was organised in a conflicting way compared with the sectional arrangement of the AMC. The two pieces preserve a fragmentary colophon (K. 3661 rev. iv 17’f. and AMT 44/7 rev. iv 1’f.), which presents the catchline for the section KIDNEY and then identifies the tablet as the 8<sup>th</sup> tablet of EPIGASTRIUM. The passage reads: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šū lu ŠU DINGIR [...lu ŠU ...] DAB-su / DUB 8.KĀM [DIŠ NA S]AG ŠĀ-šū na-ši “It a man’s kidney hurts him, or ‘Hand of the god’ [... or ‘Hand of ...’] has seized him”. Eighth tablet of [‘If a man’s epigastrium is raised’]. This would mean that at Nineveh EPIGASTRIUM contained eight instead of four tablets and that KIDNEY followed directly (indicated by the catchline identical with AMC incipit of KIDNEY 1, cf. below AMC ll. 45ff.).

The sectional division of the AMC suggests however a diverging organisation where EPIGASTRIUM was followed by another section of incipits dubbed ABDOMEN (ll. 40-42), which deals with ghost-induced ailments (l. 40), intestinal problems and witchcraft (ll. 41 and 42). Surprisingly, in AMC l. 43, the section ABDOMEN is not summed up by NĪGIN x DUB.MEŠ “a total of n tablets”, but instead the line begins with EN 8 DUB.MEŠ “including 8 tablets of ...”. Since this conflicts with the regularity of NĪGIN-summaries following a section with incipits, it is possible that the initial EN in l. 43 is a scribal mistake and to be emended to NĪGIN, which would give a total of eight tablets for ABDOMEN. This may also be suggested by AMC line 44, which likewise starts with EN followed by two key phrases designating additional material included in this section. On the other hand, it is unlikely that a number of eight incipits would have fitted into only three lines on the tablet (lines 40-42). In the case of the AMC section BIRTH consisting of eight tablets, the incipits take up five lines (ll. 115-119). How then can we explain the discrepancy between what seem to be two sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN in the AMC (4+(x)+8 tablets) and only one section EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh, consisting of eight constituent tablets? Here it is worth noting that the Nineveh text K. 3661(+) with the “eighth tablet” of the section EPIGASTRIUM edited by Abusch and Schwemer preserves the end of an anti-witchcraft ritual, which is otherwise known from UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA-collections. This text material could correspond to the mention of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA incantations in the *adi*-section of ABDOMEN in AMC l. 43 (cf. below), and would also fit the witchcraft references found in AMC l. 42. The number of eight tablets for EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh may have resulted from a (selective) fusion of texts that are listed as separate sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN in the AMC (see also below commentary to line 43). More

evidence is necessary to confirm these conclusions, but it could be speculated that the ABDOMEN section contained therapeutic material for treating internal illnesses that were attributed to forces such as witchcraft or ghosts.

39) The puzzling expression *nehēs narkabti*, lit. “reversing of the chariot”, is encountered a number of times in ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts, where it is enumerated beside other natural causes of diminished libido (such as old age and *himiṭ šēti*-fever, see e.g. AMT 88/3: 1’-3’; Biggs 1967: 52; cf. below commentary AMC line 102). M. Stol (2016: 148f.) translates the expression “reversing of the warchariot” and has suggested to understand it as a metaphorical expression for a ‘slackening erection’ (personal communication). Alternatively, it could simply refer to the negative effects of riding in a chariot (thus Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 23f. “repercussion of the chariot”). The form *nehēs* is understood here as an infinitive (the verb *nahāsu/nehēsu* means “to go back, to return; to retreat; to recede”, see CDA<sup>2</sup> 131f.; cf. CAD N/1 128ff.; CAD N/2 218f.; AHW 713, 775a). The verb is used e.g. with reference to retreat in battle, returning from a trip or in connection with receding water in rivers etc. The fact that the expression *nehēs narkabti* is only encountered in medical texts could imply that *nehēs narkabti* had rather a technical or figurative and not a literal meaning. The expression occurs mostly in connection with intestinal problems, see the Assur extract tablets BAM 49: 1’-6’ // BAM 50: 1-7 (otherwise containing recipes from the section STOMACH): DIŠ NA ... u TU<sub>15</sub> ina ŠĀ-šū i-’le-eb-bu’ né-he-es <sup>gis</sup>GIGIR NU ÍL NA BI <sup>d</sup>NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su “If a man ..., and wind groans in his belly, he cannot bear the ‘reversing of the chariot’, then the Curse has seized that man” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 2.38). Note further the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 397: 3 from Nippur, containing the diagnosis resuming symptoms affecting mainly the intestines: LÚ BI ne-he-es GIGIR GIG “this man suffers from the ‘reversing of the chariot’”. The Nineveh text AMT 69/3 + 26/5: 14’f. (now joined to BAM 559, see Köcher 1980b: xxiv, photo: CDLI P396454) contains a fragmentary entry: [DIŠ N]A MURUB<sub>4</sub> u ÚR GIG mun-ga TUKU’ [...] / [ú’] né-he-es <sup>gis</sup>GIGIR a-ni-ih ana TI-š[ú] “If a man’s hips and thigh are sick, he has stiffness [...], [and?] he is tired from ‘reversing of the chariot’ – in order to cure him (...)” (cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 11.14). This text concerned with treatments for the hips probably belongs to a different section of the therapeutic corpus (cf. AMC section HAMSTRING). Cf. also below commentary to AMC line 48 for another metaphorical expression that may refer to an erectile dysfunction.

40) The context of the present AMC incipit suggests that it referred to ghost-inflicted intestinal disorders. Texts concerned with this topic have been assembled by Scurlock 2006: 14f. and No. 186-200, cf. also No. 304-314. Among those text passages offering possible parallels for the first AMC incipit of the section ABDOMEN, one can cite BAM 221 ii 2’-4’ // BAM 155 i 4’-6’ // AMT 81/7: 5-7 (Scurlock 2006: no. 193: 1-2, restored): DIŠ NA GIDIM DAB-su-ma i-ha-rù NINDA.MEŠ u KAŠ.MEŠ ul i-mah-har “If a ghost afflicts a man so that he vomits (and) can keep down neither bread nor beer”. A similar passage is presented by BAM 165+219 i’ 16’-19’ (Scurlock 2006: no. 196; Maul and Strauss 2011: no. 52): [DIŠ NA GIDIM D]AB-su-ma ŠĀ-šū GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šū “[If a ghost aff]licts [a man] so that his belly hurts him continually”; cf. also BAM 161 iii 19’-25’ // BAM 165+219 i’ 1’-8’ (Scurlock 2006: no. 194: 1). From the cited Assur texts, BAM 161 is an early Neo-Assyrian collection (four-column tablet) of recipes against various illnesses such as renal/kidney problems and complaints caused by ghosts, witchcraft or the “curse”, while BAM 165+219 forms a Middle Assyrian collection of remedies against ghost-induced illnesses on a multi-column tablet. Further texts treating similar topics, but yielding no exactly matching diagnostic entries are BAM 471 (a two-column Nineveh collection), BAM 385 (Middle Babylonian ductus) and AMT 76/1 (a one-column tablet).

41) There are currently no textual parallels for the fragmentary incipit in AMC line 41, but the restoration is suggested by the context. A similar passage occurs in BAM 316 iv 3-6 (a late Middle Assyrian or early Neo-Assyrian collection of amulets and potions against various ailments) // STT 95+295: 70-73 // KAR 92 rev. 4’-8’ (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 260 sub 7. Summary of Ms. E), within a symptom description: DIŠ NA ... NINDA NU GU<sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG “If a man (constantly shouts ‘My belly, my belly!’ but his belly does not hurt him), he does not eat food, he does not drink beer” (the diagnosis being the “wrath of Ištar”). However, in most textual examples for symptom descriptions starting with a reference to eating and drinking, the phrase is not negated. They can thus be disregarded for reconstruction of AMC line 41, see e.g. Geller 2005a: No. 22 (AMT 43/1+, = ANUS 1) iv 3: DIŠ NA NINDA GU<sub>7</sub>-’ma’ i-par-ru KAŠ NAG-ma [...] “If a man eats bread and then has to vomit, he drinks beer and [...]” (diagnosis DŪR.GIG). See further AMT 42/2: 1: [DIŠ NA NINDA GU<sub>7</sub> K]AŠ NAG-ma ŠĀ.MEŠ-šū MŪ.MEŠ-hu NA BI DŪR GIG “[If a man eats bread (and)] drinks [be]er, and then his intestine are always bloated, that man suffers from rectal disease”. Note also that several diagnostic sections in STOMACH Tablet 4



start with the phrase *DİŠ NA NINDA GU<sub>7</sub> KAŠ NAG-ma* followed by symptoms such as bloating and pain, see K. 2386+ (= AMT 78/3+48/1+48/3+23/5+45/6) i 12', 22', 28', 31', and AMT 44/6+45/1 ii 1 (Johnson 2014: 16ff., 31 Ms. B).

42) For texts treating the special type of sorcery designated as *zikurudû* (lit. “cutting-(of)-the-throat”), see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 399ff. texts 10.1-10.5. One text presenting a matching incipit to AMC line 42 is BAM 449 (K. 6172+ i 1), beginning: *DİŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a* “If ‘cutting-of-the-throat’ has been performed against a man”. BAM 449 is a two-column tablet from Ashurbanipal’s library (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 10 and 408 text 10.3 ms A<sub>1</sub>) and may represent a good candidate for a textual witness referred to in the incipit in AMC l. 42. Further manuscripts belonging to this text group of rituals and prescriptions against *zikurudû*, yielding similar entries, are BAM 458 i 8' (K. 3278, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 409 text 10.3 ms. A<sub>2</sub>: 20'), BAM 455(+)+467(+)+454 (K. 9523+, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 10.3-10.4 ms B<sub>1</sub> to B<sub>3</sub>, a three-column tablet); BAM 464 (K. 2572) i 8' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 423 text 10.5, fragment of a two-column tablet). Note further BAM 461, a collection of treatments for *zikurudû* on a two-column tablet from Nineveh (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6 (Ms. C) and 10.8 (Ms. F), as well as the *zikurudû*-texts collected in Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 10.8-10.13. For the topic see also Schwemer 2007a: 14-16, 99-104, 154-156, 222-226, 237; Steinert 2012a: 277-282.

43) As pointed out in the commentary to AMC ll. 38-44, the beginning of the summary section for ABDOMEN with EN instead of NÍGIN is an exception within AMC, and it may or may not be a scribal mistake. One argument could speak for EN as intended here, namely that it is unlikely that eight different tablet incipits could fit into the three lines of AMC 40-42. If the sign EN is taken for granted, it could indicate that the texts of the ABDOMEN section were not regarded as a proper section (*sadīru*), but as an addendum to the section EPIGASTRIUM. This would also solve the contradiction that according to a Nineveh colophon, EPIGASTRIUM is immediately followed by KIDNEY.

The restoration of KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA.KAM in AMC line 43 is suggested by the contents related to witchcraft in other parts of this section (lines 42 and 44), although the restoration NAM.ÉRIM.BŪR.RU.DA.KAM is likewise possible. As Abusch and Schwemer discuss in their first volume of CMAwR (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.2-7.4), a few one-column tablets from Nineveh bear colophons with attributions to a serialised collection of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA material that is referred to in the first part of the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 12 //). But the fact that the fragments K. 3661 and AMT 44/7 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126-128 text 7.5) identified as part of the last tablet of EPIGASTRIUM preserve a ritual that is also known from texts of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA collections (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.8) shows that such material was also included in medical therapeutic texts. These hints may confirm that the section ABDOMEN in the AMC is to be regarded as an addendum to EPIGASTRIUM, not as a section in itself. For medical collections with prescriptions for UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA, see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.10, which is composed of several witnesses. The main texts BAM 434 (Ms. A), BAM 435 (Ms. M) and BAM 436 (Ms. N) are Nineveh library tablets with three columns per side, which according to Köcher (1980a: xii) represent the medical components of the UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA corpus, but may belong to the present context of the AMC. Noteworthy are also smaller collections from Assur such as BAM 193 (Ms. O), a two-column tablet, BAM 90 (Ms. D) and BAM 190 (Ms. F), both one-column tablets. Cf. further for UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA texts Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 7.11-7.26.

44) The fact that the incantation *ušanni namirtu aggu libbaki linūh* “It has changed (its) brightness(?), may your angry heart calm down!” occurs in the context of witchcraft therapies, and the similar thematic focus of the section ABDOMEN already indicated by AMC line 42, makes the reconstruction of the beginning of AMC line 44 suggested here likely. The texts containing this incantation to Gula (Lyra) have been assembled in Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, 2: 22-29): the spell occurs in the Babylonian amulet compendia SpTU 2, 22+ SpTU 3, 85 ii 34-41 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 247-64), BM 56148+ i 39-46 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 276-318 and pl. 9-27; Reiner 1995: 129), BM 38666+ i 12'-20' (Schuster-Brandis 2008: pl. 38 photo) and in the Nineveh text AMT 92/1 i 1'-2' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, 2 Ms. F, pl. 3), the latter of which may assemble material against witchcraft (UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA, cf. also Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 7.11, 1-2 Ms. E). The incantation is spoken over a leather pouch/amulet to counter the sorcery performed by an enemy.

The reconstruction of the second citation in AMC line 44 is provisional. The entry probably refers to involuntary seminal emission (or to an abnormal genital discharge), which is mentioned as a symptom in several contexts. The Nineveh fragment AMT 61/1: 5', 9' with recipes for genital discharge yields a similar entry, duplicated in the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 iv 6' (Geller 2005a: No. 2a Ms. B<sub>1</sub>: 5', 9'): [Dİ]Š NA (*i-na-aṭ-ma*) ina DU-šū re-hu-su DU-ma

NU ZU “If a man (suffers from discharge and) has seminal emissions when he is walking without being aware of it”. The fragment AMT 61/1 possibly belongs to the section KIDNEY, however. Cf. further BAM 111: 16 // (= Geller 2005a: No. 3 Ms. C) and BAM 112: 17, 34’ (= Geller 2005a: No. 4 Ms. D), both referring to seminal emission during urination.

Seminal discharge is also a key topic in a number of texts with rituals and prescriptions to counter the impurity associated with it, which refer both to witchcraft and divine anger as causes of the illness. For such therapeutic texts, see especially BAM 205: 2f.’ (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5,1: 2’f. Ms. A); BAM 205: 19’ff. // STT 95+295 i 16ff. // STT 280 ii 1ff. // (Scurlock 2014a: text 3.15.2); STT 280 i 22-24 // LKA 144 rev. 23-25 // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 103ff. text 2.5,3: 1-3), referring to constant seminal emissions; see also BAM 319 and duplicates (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 247ff. text 8.29). For this text group see also Farber 1977: 226-260. J. Scurlock (2014a: 304f.) uses STT 95+295: 16-18 // for restoring the last entry in AMC line 44. STT 95+ is a two-column tablet that focuses on illness caused by divine anger and may rather be related to the AMC section DIVINE ANGER (see below AMC ll. 84-89). The passage in question reads: DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NŪ-šú HULUH.HULUH-*ut* ŠĀ-šú *e-šu-u ina* KI.NŪ-šú *re-hu-su* DU-*ak* “If a man is continuously frightened when he lies down, his mind (lit. heart) is confused, (and) his semen flows when he lies down” (diagnosis: wrath of Marduk and Ištar; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 652). Among the tablets duplicating this passage is BAM 205: 19’-21’ (concerned with sexual impurity), the Nineveh fragment K. 8907 (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text A.2, with remedies for the wrath of deities and witchcraft) and the ŠĀ.ZI.GA tablet STT 280 ii 1-3 (Biggs 1967: 67, see also STT 280 ii 25-27). Cf. also below AMC ll. 95 for an alternative position of the cited entry and related prescriptions.

45) For the AMC sections concerned with the kidneys and anus cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48. The section title of KIDNEY is cited in the colophon of AMT 82/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. I) ii 44’: DUB 3.[KĀM] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú] (this text is possibly an excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3, since the text continues after the rubric, cf. below line 46). Cf. also the rubric in fragment Rm. 2, 375: 6’ (Geller 2005a: No. 13 Ms. N): [DUB X.KĀM?] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú], but also in this case the text continues after the rubric. Note that the catchline in the Nineveh text K. 3661 rev. iv 17’ (+) AMT 44/7 rev. iv 1’ (belonging to EPIGASTRIUM, “Tablet 8”) cites a longer section title of KIDNEY: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú *lu* ŠU DINGIR [...*lu* ŠU ...] DAB-su / DUB 8.KĀM [DIŠ NA S]AG ŠĀ-šú *na-ši* “If a man’s kidney hurts him, or ‘Hand of the god’ [... or ‘Hand of ...’] has seized him. Eighth tablet of [‘If a man’s epigastrium is raised’]” (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126ff., pl. 23 and above commentary to AMC ll. 38-44).

There are currently no certainly identified manuscripts of KIDNEY Tablets 1 and 2. J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) identifies the fragment AMT 66/11 (Geller 2005a: No. 16 Ms. Q) belonging to a two-column tablet as a manuscript of KIDNEY 1, but this suggestion remains unproven. A prescription in the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 i 23’f. (CBS 19801; Geller 2005a: No. 1 Ms. A) starts similarly to the incipit of KIDNEY 1: DIŠ NA <sup>uzw</sup>ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú MURUB<sub>4</sub>-šú TAG.TAG-šú ù KĀŠ-šú GIN<sub>7</sub> KĀŠ ANŠE BABBAR / EGIR KĀŠ-šú MŪD *ú-kal-la-ma* NA BI *mu-ša-am* GIG “If a man’s kidney hurts him and continuously causes him pain (and) his urine is white like donkey urine, but later his urine contains blood, this man suffers from discharge”. See also the duplicating Nineveh fragment AMT 66/7 (Sm. 261): 18f. (Geller 2005a: No. 8: 18f. Ms. H).

The restoration of the AMC incipit for KIDNEY Tablet 2 is not entirely certain, but J. Scurlock has suggested identifying the two-column tablet AMT 31/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B) as a manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 2, which contains the fragmentary incipit (i 1) partially matching the end of AMC line 45: [DIŠ NA] *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB Ā<sup>II</sup>-šú *kim-ša-a-šú ù bir-ka-šú* [GU<sub>7</sub>-MEŠ *ana* TI-šú?] “If a man’s limbs are ‘poured out’ (and) his arms, legs and knees [hurt him, to cure him?]”. The present edition suggests that the AMC contained only the first part of the incipit. The restoration of the AMC incipit of KIDNEY Tablet 2 in Scurlock 2014a: 302 obv. 8’+4’; also Geller 2005a: No. 48: [DIŠ NA *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB Ā<sup>II</sup>-šú (*kim-ša-a-šú ù bir-ka-šú*) MŪ.M]Ū.MEŠ-*h*[u?] was not confirmed by collation (there is not enough room for the whole line). An alternative reconstruction could be proposed from the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 iv 3 (Geller 2005a: No. 1): DIŠ NA *ina* GĪŠ-šú MŪD *ú-tab-ba-ka(m)* GIN<sub>7</sub> MUNUS (var. DAM) <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL *ma-hi-iš* “If a man pours out blood from his penis, like a woman he is ‘hit by the weapon’”. This passage is also found in the Assur texts BAM 112 ii 17 (Geller 2005a: No. 4 Ms. D) and BAM 182 obv. 6’ // BAM 159 i 9 (Geller 2005a: No. 31: 6’), but never occurs as a tablet incipit.

46) A manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 3 has been identified in AMT 58/3+62/1+K. 2960 i 1f. (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. J), which yields a fragmentary incipit corresponding to AMC: DIŠ NA *lu* [ÉLLAG-su [...] / *lu* KĀŠ.[MEŠ-šú ...]. This tablet also preserves in col. iv 31’f. the fragmentary catchline for ANUS tablet 1 and a fragmentary rubric identifying the tablet as

DUB 3.KÂM [...] “third tablet”. Note that the duplicate cited for AMT 58/3+62/1+K. 2960 i 1f. in Geller 2005a is not Ms K (VAT 9024 = KAR 73), but the present catalogue, i.e. Ms VV. AMT 82/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. I) probably forms an excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3 (see above commentary to AMC line 45).

The reconstruction of J. Scurlock for the end of the incipit of KIDNEY 3 in AMC l. 46 (Scurlock 2014a: 302, fragment 9C+D obv. 9'+5': DIŠ NA *lu* ÉLLAG-su [GU<sub>7</sub>-šú *lu* KĀŠ.MEŠ-šú DAB.DAB ÉLLAG].ME 'GIG' “If either a man's kidney [hurts him or he continually retains his urine], he has sick [kidney]s”) was not substantiated by collation. Note concerning a possible reading of the disease term at the end of the line, that Sumerian *lá* is sometimes equated with Akkadian *hanāqu* “to strangle; to constrict” (cf. *hiniqtu* “constriction, stricture (of the bladder)”; CAD H 77 lex. section for other lexical equations).

For further sources of texts on renal ailments, see the Assur texts BAM 111 (a two-column tablet, Geller 2005a: No. 3), BAM 112 (a Middle Assyrian recipe collection for renal diseases; Geller 2005a: No. 4), BAM 113 (Geller 2005a: No. 17, probably part of BAM 112), BAM 114-116 (mostly excerpt tablets, Geller 2005a: Nos. 5-7), BAM 117-118 (Geller 2005a: Nos. 56-57). For additional sources from Nineveh see Geller 2005a: Nos. 11-16.

47) For the reading *šá mu-ši* “(treatments) for discharge” at the end of this line cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48; Böck 2008: 345; Buisson 2006: 187. This phrase indicates a topic included in the section KIDNEY. A number of text sources feature the diagnostic formulation DIŠ NA *mu-ša* GIG “If a man suffers from discharge” (e.g. the Assur texts BAM 117: 1 (Geller 2005a: No. 56); BAM 116: 1 (Geller 2005a: No. 7) // BAM 161 v 3 (cf. Geller 2005a: No. 8: 7); cf. AMT 82/1+ ii 39' (= excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3 (?), Geller 2005a: No. 9)) or the diagnosis NA BI *mu-ša* GIG “that man suffers from discharge” (e.g. the Middle Assyrian collection BAM 112 i 3', 13'-16', 19' // (Geller 2005a: No. 3: 17'; No. 4: 3', 19'; No. 5: 1-4; No. 8: 4-5, 19); BAM 396 i 24' (Geller 2005a: No. 1 Ms. A). Note also the formulation “(so and so many) drugs for discharge” (Ú.MEŠ *mu-ši* in BAM 116 obv. 7f. // BAM 431 iv 46 (drug compendium) // (Geller 2005a: No. 7; Steinert 2015: 137f.); AMT 82/1+ ii 38' // BAM 432 iv' 41 (Geller 2005a: No. 9).

48) A manuscript of ANUS Tablet 1 has been identified in AMT 43/1(+) (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. W i 1), preserving a matching incipit that allows the reconstruction of AMC l. 48: DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* 'MURUB<sub>4</sub>'.(MEŠ)-'šú' GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú *kim-ša-a-š[ú i-za-q]ata-šú' bur-ka-šú i-ka-ša-ša-šú* NA BI *ina meš-he-ru-ti-šú* [DÚR G]IG *ana TI-šú* “If a man's hips hurt him at an inappropriate time (i.e. prematurely), his legs cause him a stinging pain, his knees gnaw at him with pain, that man suffers from rectal (disease) in his youth – in order to cure him (...)”. The catalogue probably cites only the first part of the incipit. The entry is duplicated in the Assur texts BAM 168 rev. 70f. (Geller 2005a: No. 34 Ms. HH, an excerpt tablet of Kišir-Nabû with remedies for internal illnesses), BAM 95: 16f. (Geller 2005a: No. 21 Ms. V, a copy of an older text, by Nabû-bēssunu, with remedies for rectal illnesses) and BAM 108: 15f. (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. AG, excerpt tablet with remedies for internal illnesses). The section title of ANUS also occurs in the colophon fragment AMT 43/2: 11' (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. J iv 20'): [DUB 2.KÂM] DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* MUR[UB<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú (...)], cf. below AMC l. 49. The incipit of ANUS 1 is further preserved as catchline in a Nineveh manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 3, AMT 58/3+62/1+K.2960+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. J iv 31': DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* MURUB<sub>4</sub>.[MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú]).

No exactly matching passage confirming the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 2 has so far been identified in the therapeutic texts. A fragment of a witness of ANUS Tablet 2 from Nineveh is AMT 43/2 (K. 7925), which preserves no incipit, but a fragmentary catchline corresponding to the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 3. The indirect join of AMT 43/1(+) and AMT 43/2 suggested by Geller (2005a: No. 22, pl. 18) should thus be rejected, because AMT 43/1(+) contains ANUS Tablet 1. The reconstruction of Scurlock (2014a: 302: 11'+7') is not followed here (cf. below AMC l. 49). It is striking that several symptoms indicated by the incipit of ANUS 2, fever (*ummu*, *šētu*) and “wind”, are also central topics of the section STOMACH (cf. above). A brief comment on the illness terms enumerated in the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 may be useful at this point, since it presents unusual elements.

The fever-related condition EN.TE.NA (*kuššu*) “chill; ague” occurs in the fragment AMT 64/3: 6, which contains a “potion for ague” (*mašqita ša* EN.TE.NA). See also BAM 571 ii 16' (*mašqita ša* EN.TE.NA); AMT 51/6: 3 (a remedy *ša* EN.TE.NA *ša dīhu* “for the chill of *dī'u*-fever”); BAM 42: 56 // AMT 55/3: 8' (*annū ša* EN.TE.NA); BAM 66 rev. 10 (treatments for fever, including one for ague and “frost” (*hurbāšu*) causing stinging pain). None of these texts can definitely be linked with the present AMC section. Some textual examples have to be connected with the primary meaning of *kuššu* “cold; winter”, e.g. references to *sikkatu/šiggatu ša* EN.TE.NA (a seasonal illness, either a skin condition or “stiffness”), cf. CAD S 251 sub 6b for attestations, see e.g. AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4 iv 20' (= HAMSTRING Tablet 2, see CDLI

P394437) // BAM 124 iii 8 // BAM 131 rev. 3' (poultice); Scurlock 2014a: 454 text 2.7.8. Occasionally special remedies are recommended to treat lung conditions occurring during winter (see e.g. BAM 44: 22-32' // BM 78963: 25-31 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3)).

In connection with the symptom or illness cause “wind” (flatulence or intestinal gas) mentioned in the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 beside terms for fever (*ummu*, *ṣētu*, *kuṣṣu*), one should mention the condition *nikimtu/nikmātu ša DŪR*.GIG “bloating due to rectal illness”, attested e.g. in the *Sammeltafel* BAM 159 ii 49-50, iii 10-11 (cf. also ii 20-22; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.9.6, 2.9.3; Parys 2014). Bloating (*nikimtu*) and *ṣētu*-fever are encountered together as a diagnosis in the context of internal and rectal diseases (cf. above AMC l. 35), see e.g. the Assur excerpt tablet BAM 88: 19'f. (Geller 2005a: No. 27 Ms. BB), duplicated in the excerpt BAM 168: 2 and in the *nishu*-tablet BAM 52: 67 (Geller 2005a: No. 34: 1ff., Mss. HH and AP): NA BI *ni-kim-ti u* UD.DA GIG KIN-šú SUMUN-*ma* ŠU.GIDIM.MA “That man suffers from bloating and *ṣētu*-fever, his condition is of long duration, it is due to ‘Hand of a ghost’” (further duplicates: BAM 471 ii 3'-4' and AMT 52/4: 2-4, see Scurlock 2006: No. 191a, 186a). The recipe collection BAM 159 vi 24ff. also contains a passage with the diagnosis NA BI *ni-kim-ti* TU<sub>15</sub> *u* UD.DA GIG “that man suffers from bloating due to ‘wind’ and from *ṣētu*-fever”, duplicated in BM 29254: 1ff. // BAM 86: 3'ff. // BAM 85: 2'ff. (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.9.5; Parys 2014). Retaining “wind” in the anus due to rectal disease is also discussed in AMT 47/1+AMT 58/1+53/1+AMT 56/5+ ii 1-2, 8 (= ANUS Tablet 4, Geller 2005a: No. 24 Ms. Y). “Wind” in the intestines connected to bloating is otherwise a topic encountered in STOMACH, see e.g. BAM 578 iii 4-5 (= STOMACH 3, Cadelli 2000: 201): NA BI TU<sub>15</sub> DŪ.A.BI GIG “this man is sick from all (kinds of) winds”; BAM 575 iii 30-32 // BAM 55: 1ff. // wind rumbling in a man’s belly (= STOMACH 2, Cadelli 2000: 138).

The expression APIN NU ÍL “he cannot lift/raise the seeder-plough” at the end of the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 seems to be metaphorical (see already Geller 2005a: no. 48, Scurlock 2014a: 302 translating it as “lack of performance”). The seeder plough could be a metaphor for the penis (cf. Livingstone 1991: 6 no. 2). There are comparable expressions with NU ÍL and a different object, in which the meaning of the verb *našû* “to lift, to raise” may be different, e.g. *ne-he-es* <sup>34</sup>GIGIR NU ÍL “he cannot bear the ‘reversing of the chariot’” (BAM 49: 1'-6' // BAM 50: 1-7).<sup>34</sup> A similar phrase with *našû* occurs in BAM 482 iv 48' // AMT 19/1+20/1 iv 31' (= CRANIUM 2 = *Sakikkû* Tablet 4: 11, Attia and Buisson 2003: 11): *ma-gal* BURU<sub>8</sub> KI.NÚ *la i-na-aš-ši* “he vomits a lot and cannot stand the bed” (i.e. lying down); see also BAM 438 obv. 12: *ik-ka-šû* LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ KI.NÚ NU ÍL-<sup>35</sup>“he is often irritable, he cannot stand the bed” (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 118 text 7.2.A).<sup>35</sup>

49) A fragment of a manuscript of ANUS Tablet 3 is AMT 40/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 23 Ms. X, pl. 19-20), preserving the fragmentary catchline to ANUS Tablet 4, but no incipit. AMT 43/2: 11' (cf. Geller 2005a: No. 22) contains part of a colophon with the partial catchline of ANUS 3 matching AMC: [DIŠ NA *li-kiš* DŪR GIG ŠĀ.MEŠ-*[šû ...]*] (the tablet number preceding the section title of ANUS in AMT 43/2: 12' is unfortunately broken away). Thus, AMT 43/2 should be identified as a fragment of ANUS Tablet 2, and does not form part of AMT 43/1 (as suggested in Geller 2005a). Note further BM 103386 rev. 44 (courtesy Nils Heeßel), a one-column tablet from Assur with treatments for rectal diseases, which preserves a catchline with a variant of the catchline to ANUS Tablet 3 in AMT 43/2: DIŠ NA *li-kiš* DŪR.GIG GIG ŠĀ.MEŠ-*šû* MŪ.MEŠ-*hu it-<te>-né-bi-tu* NA BI [...] “If a man suffers from a ... of rectal disease, his bowels are continually bloated and distended: that man [...]”. BM 103386 focuses on anal sores (*lamšatu*), and contains a section parallel to the fragmentary two-column tablet AMT 101/3 (+) K. 13738 i 8, 12 (Geller 2005a: No. 38, see CDLI P397604), which is concerned with the surgical removal of these sores. It would thus also be possible to restore the AMC incipit according to BM 103386. However, the colophon of BM 103386 identifies the tablet in a conflicting way as the 19<sup>th</sup> (or 29<sup>th</sup>?) tablet of a series DIŠ NA UD.DA ŠĀ.ŠĀ x[...] “If a man is struggling with *ṣētu*-fever [...]”, which is hitherto unknown, but reminds one of the incipit of STOMACH Tablet 4 (DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-*id*; cf. above AMC l. 30). Unfortunately, BM 103386 does not preserve an incipit. Thus, we may be presented with an alternative serial organisation or with an alternative collection of therapeutic texts at Assur conflicting with the tradition witnessed in AMC and the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*. Possibly, the series DIŠ NA UD.DA ŠĀ.ŠĀ focussed on fever or internal ailments more generally (for the phrase cf. Johnson 2014: 23-26). More evidence is needed for a better understanding of the textual history of this “fever” series and its relation to text material serialised in AMC. Cf. also Bácskay 2018 for texts on fever.

<sup>34</sup> See the commentary to line AMC line 39 above.

<sup>35</sup> A. Attia (2015: 84) raises the possibility that this expression may refer to the patient’s unwillingness to follow the doctor’s order of staying in bed.

A further difficulty for a proper understanding of the incipit of ANUS 3 is posed by the fact that a word *likšu* is not listed in the dictionaries. There is a root LKŠ in Palestinian Aramaic meaning “to burn”, which may indicate that *likšu* is a loanword.<sup>36</sup> Note a verb of the same root LKŠ in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 44ff.): DIŠ NA *ina la-ku-ti-šû la-kiš-ma* “If a man ... when he was (still) a suckling child” (cf. Heeßel 2000: 361).<sup>37</sup>

The incipit of ANUS Tablet 4 is attested as fragmentary catchline in AMT 40/5 iv 29’ (= ANUS 3, Geller 2005a: No. 23 text X). An identified manuscript of ANUS Tablet 4 is AMT 47/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 24 Ms. Y, pl. 21-23), presenting the matching incipit (i 1): DIŠ NA KI.NŪ-*ma šit-ta-šu UGU-šû DÛG.GA ZI-ma i-ka-šu-uš GU[R-ma ...]* “If a man lies down and has a good sleep, but then gets up and feels faint, [and] returns [(to sleep) ...]”. The AMC cites the incipit in abbreviated form. B. Böck (2008: 333, 339) suggests that AMT 43/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 33 Ms. GG) is another exemplar of ANUS Tablet 4, since it duplicates passages of AMT 47/1+.

50) The AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 5 matches AMT 58/2 i 1// (Geller 2005a: No. 25 Ms. Z), which is currently the only witness for this tablet. Duplicating text passages are encountered in the Assur texts on internal/rectal ailments BAM 96 iii 15’-16’ and BAM 88: 13’-14’, which together yield the complete entry: DIŠ NA DÛR.GIG GIG-*ma di-ik-šá TUK NINDA u A ŠĀ-šû la i-m[a-har] ŪH ina DÛR-šû ú-ta[b]-ba-ka* “If a man suffers from rectal disease and gets a swelling, his belly does not accept food and water, (and) he pours out mucus from his anus” (see also Geller 2005a: No. 26 Ms. AA and No. 27 Ms. BB). AMT 47/1+ iv 13’ (= ANUS 4, Geller 2005a: No. 24) also features the matching catchline to ANUS 5.

For further textual sources for the section ANUS (rectal disease texts), see Geller 2005a, especially the Assur texts BAM 95 (Geller 2005a: No. 21), BAM 96 and 102 (Geller 2005a: No. 26 AA and AA<sub>2</sub>), BAM 98 (Geller 2005a: No. 41), BAM 99 (Geller 2005a: No. 35, “7<sup>th</sup> *nishu* according to an original of the Gula temple (Esabad) of Assur”), BAM 101 (Geller 2005a: No. 42), BAM 104 (Geller 2005a: No. 28), BAM 105, BAM 108 (Geller 2005a: No. 22 and 34 Ms. AG). Note further AMT 44/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 29), AMT 43/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 33), AMT 101/3 (Geller 2005a: No. 38), AMT 58/9+81/9 (Neo-Babylonian script, Geller 2005a: No. 44) and STT 100+100A (Geller 2005a: No. 43). Several additional texts edited in Geller 2005a collect material from different sections of the therapeutic corpus (e.g. treatments for internal, renal, rectal diseases), see e.g. BAM 182 (Geller 2005a: No. 31), AMT 40/4+57/7 (Geller 2005a: No. 30), AMT 56/1 (Geller 2005a: No. 32), BAM 168 (= partial duplicate to STOMACH 5; cf. Geller 2005a: No. 34).

51) The phrase *šá DÛR.GIG.GA.KĀM* following the section title of ANUS in AMC line 51 does not form part of the title, as can be seen from the incipit of the Nineveh manuscript ANUS 1 (AMT 43/1+ i 1 = Geller 2005a: No. 22; cf. above line 48) and from the duplicating Assur texts. The phrase in AMC l. 51 should thus rather be understood as a citation or technical expression that indicates one of the main topics of the section. The expression *DÛR.GIG.GA.KĀM* could be understood as a rubric referring to incantations for rectal disease (this rubric is attested e.g. in BAM 102: 2 (Geller 2005a: No. 26a): KA.INIM.MA *DÛR.GIG.GA.KĀM*). However, the phrase *DÛR.GIG.GA.KĀM* is also encountered (beside the more usual collocation *DÛR.GIG GIG*) as a diagnosis in rectal disease texts, e.g. in ANUS Tablet 1 (AMT 43/1+) iii 14’ // BAM 99: 43 = Geller 2005a: No. 22 Mss. W and II; see also BAM 99: 20 //, BAM 100: rev. 3’, Geller 2005a: No. 35-36 Mss. II and JJ), here as a negative diagnosis: *DÛR.GIG.GA.KĀM NU TUK ter-di-it ir-ri GIG* “(when you have checked him that) he does not have a rectal disease, then he suffers from an ‘overflow’ of the intestines”. See further BAM 96 (Geller 2005a: No. 26) ii 9: DIŠ NA *DÛR.GIG.GA.KAM GIG* “If a man suffers from rectal disease” (recipe follows). Note that BAM 96 (no incipit or colophon preserved) is a Neo-Assyrian two-column tablet from Assur containing a collection of remedies for rectal illnesses, which seems to present only limited overlap with Nineveh series tablets; BAM 99 is designated as the 7<sup>th</sup> *nishu* copied from an original in the Gula temple of Assur.

52) For a differing reading of this line cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48: 15’. The scribe could have meant to write UD.DA DIRI-ú, but inscribed UD.DA TAB.BA and then had to correct himself; he also erased several signs preceding this phrase. The plural ending of DIRI-ú indicates a textual citation with a plural subject (which could mean that an enumeration of body parts may have stood in the lost portion of AMC line 52). The similar expression UD.DA DIRI “he is full of *šētu*-fever” occurs in different contexts, e.g. in texts concerned with illnesses of the head (see above CRANIUM Tablet 4), but

<sup>36</sup> See the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (<http://cal1.cn.huc.edu>) with further references.

<sup>37</sup> Scurlock (2014a: 233) reads *la-biṣ-ma* “he is clad with it” (i.e. a skin disease), but this reading does not solve the problem of the occurrence of the noun *likšu* in the context of rectal diseases.

the topic *šētu*-fever is encountered in texts on digestive disorders dealt with in the section STOMACH (especially Tablets 4 and 5, cf. above AMC ll. 30 and 35), see e.g. BAM 52: 72: *nik-mat* TU<sub>15</sub> u UD.DA DIRI.ME “(his intestines) are full of bloating due to wind and *šētu*-fever”; BAM 579 i 30, 41, ii 54 // (= STOMACH 5; Cadelli 2000: 254ff.); Johnson 2014. Within the section ANUS, the topic *šētu*-fever is included in the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 2, and the present citation may refer to material from this tablet; cf. above AMC l. 48. Note further that the Assur text BM 103386 dealing with anal sores belongs to a series entitled “If a man is struggling with *šētu*-fever”, cf. above commentary to AMC line 49.

53) The restoration of the fragmentary AMC incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 1 is not certain, since no manuscript with a complete incipit or colophon has been identified up to date. Notably, a one-column tablet from Nineveh (AMT 29/2+91/1) with remedies for paralysis (*šimmatu*), bears a catchline identical with the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 2, and could thus represent part of HAMSTRING Tablet 1 (excerpt?). Note further that AMT 37/5+92/4+92/9, a fragmentary two-column tablet, forms a parallel to this passage, and could potentially be a manuscript of HAMSTRING 1. The present restoration of the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 1 is based on the fact that the *sagallu*-disease plays an important part in some texts concerned with the lower extremities (cf. Scurlock 2014a: 303: 16'+12'). J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) proposes BAM 81 as a witness for HAMSTRING 1, since this fragmentary tablet contains recipes against the *maškadu*-disease, which is mentioned as a keyword in the *adi*-section for the section HAMSTRING in AMC line 55. However, BAM 81 is an excerpt tablet extracted by the Assur exorcist Kišir-Aššur for preparing a therapy and not a series tablet, although it probably contains material belonging to the context of this AMC section.

For the suggested restoration of the incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 1, one should also mention BAM 130, a fragmentary one-column extract tablet from Assur, which on its obverse contains remedies for *sagallu* and preserves the incipit DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG “If a man suffers from *sagallu*-disease (recipe follows). Furthermore, a passage in AMT 42/6: 2, a small Nineveh fragment of the upper left corner of a tablet, starts similarly: DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG x[...] “If a man suffers from *sagallu* [...]”. However, this fragment represents part of HAMSTRING Tablet 2, since its incipit is virtually identical with the AMC and reads: DIŠ NA SA <sup>uzu</sup>ÚR-šú 1-niš G[U<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ...] “If all the muscles of man’s thigh constantly h[urt him]”; the AMC writes ÚR.MEŠ-šú “his thighs” instead. The complete incipit is preserved in the catchline of AMT 29/2+91/1 rev. 14 (= excerpt(?) of HAMSTRING 1): [DIŠ NA SA.(MEŠ) <sup>uz</sup>ÚR-šú 1-niš GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ZI-a u DU.MEŠ-ka 'la i'-[le-'i] SA.[GAL MU.NI] “[If all the muscles of a man’s th]igh constantly hurt him, (and) he can neither stand up nor walk, it is called *sagallu*-disease”. This diagnostic entry is also found in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 98 (Heeßel 2000: 357, 372; Scurlock 2014a: 234; also in *Sakikkû* 14: 172'). Another exemplar of HAMSTRING 2 is AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4, which preserves a fragmentary colophon with the catchline of HAMSTRING Tablet 3 (see below) and the lower part of col. iv of a two-column tablet, containing remedies (bandages) for *sikkatu*/*šiggatu* (a specific type of lesion or stiffness; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 727 n. 9; AHw 1231a; CAD S 251). Since *sagallu* seems to be the main topic of HAMSTRING 2, the reading of the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 1 suggested here remains provisional.

For HAMSTRING Tablet 2 compare also CT 23, 1-4: 1 (K. 2432+ and K. 2473+K. 2551, see CDLI P365732 and P365734), fragments of a one-column excerpt tablet with material related to the section HAMSTRING, focussing on the illness *sagallu*, which likewise offers the complete incipit: DIŠ SA.MEŠ <sup>uzu</sup>ÚR-šú 1-niš GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ZI-a u DU.MEŠ-ka la i-le-'i SA.GAL MU.NI' (see above). Parallels for the remedies in CT 23, 1-4 can be found in BAM 124 col. iii (for which cf. below). An entry similar to the incipit of HAMSTRING 2 is further preserved in BAM 130: 19-21: DIŠ NA SA ÚR-šú ka-la-šu-ma tab-ku ZI-a a-tâl-lu-ka la i-le-'i sa-gal-lum DAB-s[u] “If all the muscles of a man’s thigh are ‘poured out’, so that he can neither stand up nor walk: *sagallu* has seized h[im]”. The two-column Nineveh tablet CT 23, 5-14 (K. 2453+) focusses on incantations and rituals to treat the *sagallu*-disease, partially duplicated in the Assur texts BAM 124, and BAM 128-129 (cf. Köcher 1963b: xi; Ebeling 1921: 138-144; Böck 2010b: 104-106). Furthermore, some of the incantations against *sagallu* and other ailments of the lower extremities were integrated into the series *Muššu'u* (see Böck 2007: 56-63, 80-84 *passim*, especially *Muššu'u* VIII).

Up to now, no tablets have been identified as manuscripts of HAMSTRING Tablets 3 and 4 with certainty. As a manuscript representing material belonging to HAMSTRING Tablet 3 or 4, J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) suggests BAM 32 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.74), because this (unfinished) extract tablet deals with *simmu*-lesions and features entries corresponding to keywords in AMC ll. 56–57 (the *adi*-section of HAMSTRING, cf. commentary to AMC line 54 and below). It is also noteworthy that the incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 3 appears as a catchline in BAM 131 rev. 9', an excerpt tablet with prescriptions against *šaššaṭu* (an illness associated with stiffness of the lower extremities) from the archive of Kišir-Aššur, copied from a wooden tablet in the possession of the Gula temple at Assur, which reads: [DIŠ NA b]ur-ka-šú mun-ga DIRI

EGIR-šú iš-ša[d-dad<sup>7</sup>] “[If a man’s k]nees are full of paralysis, (and) his back becomes [stretched out]”. Similarly, AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4 iv 25’-26’, CDLI P394437), a manuscript of HAMSTRING Tablet 2, partially preserves this catchline: DIŠ NA *bur-ka-šú* [...] / DUB 2.KÁM [...] “If a man’s knees [...]”. Second tablet of [...].”). Compare similar entries in BAM 559+AMT 69/3+AMT 26/5: 14’ (cf. Köcher 1963b: xxiv and CDLI P396454): DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub> u ŪR GIG *mun-ga* TU[KU ...] “If a man is sick in the hip and thigh (and) he has paralysis”. Note further AMT 61/2 ii 2’: DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub> u <sup>uzu</sup>Ū[R ...] (this fragment is probably not part of AMT 101/3, as suggested by Campbell Thompson (cf. CDLI P397604), since the latter text contains material related to rectal diseases (see Geller 2005a: No. 38).

In the context of HAMSTRING Tablet 3, mention could also be made of texts dealing with paralysis (*šimmatu*) and similar conditions affecting the lower extremities, some of which may belong to the present section or to NECK Tablet 5, which also deals with paralysis (*šimmatu*) and stroke (*mišittu*) affecting different body parts (cf. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 77ff.): AMT 70/7 (*šimmatu*), AMT 52/2 (*šimmatu u rimûtu*), AMT 52/6 (*šimmatu* of the hips), AMT 68/1 (stiffness of the feet), AMT 69/9 (*šimmatu* of the heel), BAM 122 (a one column extract tablet of Kišir-Aššur, with remedies for paralysis immobilising the legs and feet; Scurlock 2014a: 566-570). For *šimmatu*-spells in medical contexts and in *Muššu’u* see further Böck 2007: 49-51, 52, 54-56 *passim* sub *Muššu’u* VIIa, VIIc-f, VIIIr; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 121-124 and Text 17.

54) The AMC incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 4 cannot be restored with the help of other textual sources yet. M. Geller (2005a: No. 48: 17’) reads instead: [...] x SU (erasure) ĪL; whereas Scurlock (2014a: 303: 13’), suggests reading *lâ-a* ĪL. The sign before ĪL is apparently corrupt; it could be an abbreviated DIRI. The fragmentarily preserved word before DIRI(!) could possibly be restored *bubu’tu* “boil; pustule”, which may suggest a restoration [DIŠ NA GĪRI-šú *bu-bu-u*]h-ta DIRI! ĪL “If a man’s foot is covered with boil(s) (and) swollen” (cf. CAD N/2, 85-86 sub 3’). However, no exactly matching line is known from the texts.<sup>38</sup> The text K. 67+ (AMT 73/1-75/1+15/3+18/5+32/2+100/3) could possibly be a manuscript of HAMSTRING Tablet 4, since this two-column tablet features similar topics as enumerated in the *adi*-section of HAMSTRING in AMC II. 56-57, dealing mainly with the “sickness of the *kabbartu*” (a part of the foot, probably the ankle), with sores appearing on the feet and with conditions of the heel and toes/toenails. Unfortunately, the incipit of K. 67+ is very damaged, and it cannot be established whether it is identical with that of AMC HAMSTRING 4; the text neither preserves a catchline nor a colophon. Sections in K. 67+ i 48-ii 59 are duplicated in the two-column tablet BAM 124 from the Assur library N4 (col. i 1-32 and ii 26-50), suggesting that this Assur text formed a source for the extended compilation AMT 73/1-75/1+ (see Scurlock 2014a: texts 2.7.7-2.7.8; Eypper 2016 for an edition and discussion). However, the incipit of BAM 124 does not correspond to that of HAMSTRING Tablet 4 either, reading instead [DIŠ NA GIG *ka-bar-tim* GIG-*ma ši-kin* UZU].MEŠ-šú BABBAR GĪ<sub>6</sub> ŠUB “[If man suffers from the sickness of the *kabbartu*, and the appearance of] his flesh is dotted with white (and) black spots” (Scurlock 2014a: 444; Eypper 2016: 18). Neither does the catchline of BAM 124 correspond to AMC, citing the incipit of the incantation [ÉN *kiš-pu ze*]-ru-tu<sub>4</sub> *it-ta-šu-ú ana ki-di* “[Spell: ‘Sorcery and hate]-magic have gone out to the outside’” (iv 34), which is also partially preserved in BAM 128 iv 33’ff. (Scurlock 2014a: 457; for the incantation see Köcher 1966: 16 and 19: 13; Böck 2007: 51f., 80, 279ff. = *Muššu’u* VIII/b, used against paralysis (*šimmatu*)). BAM 124 col. iii and iv further contain passages on *sikkatu/šiggatu* and an incantation against *sagallu* (known also from *Muššu’u* VIII), duplicated in other texts from Assur and Nineveh (see Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8 and 723; cf. Böck 2007: 58, 290-293; Böck 2010b: 101-102, 104-106; Böck 2014a: 80-82). BAM 124 thus presents a collection of material closely related to the section HAMSTRING; probably the tablet forms a compilation of texts contained on different tablets of HAMSTRING, as registered in AMC. Compare further the Assur text BAM 128 (two-column tablet and partial duplicate of BAM 124).

For treatments of the feet, note in addition the fragments AMT 69/2 (concerning sick feet); AMT 69/7 (mentioning feet that feel hot); AMT 70/3 (prescriptions for the sole of the feet), BAM 121 (concerned with sick feet; excerpt of Kišir-Aššur), some of which could belong to the context of HAMSTRING 4. Some of the texts related to HAMSTRING and concerned with illnesses of the lower extremities, muscles and joints are translated in Böck 2010b: 99-106. It is further worth noting that conditions of the lower extremities, muscles and joints are likewise listed as a cluster in the second part of the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 rev. 2 //), in a section enumerating collections of remedies for various conditions (see Geller *infra*, p. 309 line 32 and Steinert *infra*, pp. 185-187 for discussion).

<sup>38</sup> Compare the occurrence of *bubu’tu* in AMT 74/1 iii 13: “(If a lesion appears on a man’s foot and) it itches like a boil” (*kīma* BU.BU.UL-te *iharras*).

55) It is probable that the phrase *ša* MURUB<sub>4</sub> in AMC line 55 already belongs to the *adi*-section, and refers to a topic dealt with in HAMSTRING Tablet 1. For comparable entries from therapeutic texts concerned with the hips see e.g. the Assur fragment BAM 56 obv. 1' (stiff hips), 5' (painful hips) and 8' (sore and swollen hips). Note also the Nineveh fragment AMT 69/8, which on its reverse(!) contains entries dealing with the hips, see AMT 69/8 rev. 11' // AMT 56/1 rev. 5': DIŠ *a-na* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *áš-ṭa-a-ti* [u-ub-bu-ki] (var. -ka) "If (you want) to [soften] stiff hips" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 11.3; CDLI P 396339); cf. AMT 69/8 rev. 15 // AMT 56/1 rev. 10': *ana* SA MURUB<sub>4</sub> *lu-ub-bu-ki* ... "in order to soften the muscle(s) of the hip(s)". Note that AMT 69/8 starts with the incipit DIŠ NA ĠIRI<sup>II</sup>-šú *šá-áš-šá-ṭa* GIG<sup>2</sup> ..., a topic also mentioned among the keywords in AMC l. 55, see below. For AMT 56/1, a Neo-Babylonian single column tablet with treatments for rectal illness on the obverse and remedies for the hips on the reverse (Geller 2005a: No. 32 ms. ff, with duplicating lines from AMT 69/8 included as ms. TT). AMT 56/1 may thus combine material from the sections ANUS and HAMSTRING.

Note further BAM 559+AMT 69/3+AMT 26/5: 14' and AMT 61/2 ii 2' cited above in the commentary to AMC l. 53, and AMT 52/6+K.13425: 6' and 11' (CDLI P397929), prescribing amulet stones for the hips and remedies for paralysis of the hips (*šimmat* MURUB<sub>4</sub>).

The illness *maškadu*(SA.GIG), which is mentioned as the next keyword in AMC line 55, is a condition befalling domestic animals and humans and identified by Wasserman (2012) with brucellosis, a zoonotic, contagious disease caused by bacteria and responsible e.g. for pain in the joints and muscles. It is treated e.g. in AMT 69/9: 2'-3' (restored from *Sakikkû* 33: 99, see Heeßel 2000: 357; Scurlock 2014a: 234): [DIŠ<sup>uzu</sup> UR-šú TA *giš-ši-šú* EN *ki-šal-li-šú* GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ZI-bi u DU-ak *maš-ka-d*[ù MU.NI] "[If] his thigh hurts him from his hip socket to his ankles, but he can get up and walk, it [is called] *maškadu*-(disease)." See also the variant *Sakikkû* 33: 100 (see further Heeßel 2000: 373): [DIŠ TA] <sup>uzu</sup>KUN-šú EN ŠU.SI.MEŠ ĠIRI<sup>II</sup>-šú SA.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú *maš-ka-d*[ù MU.NI] "[If from] his pelvis to his toes his muscles continually hurt him, it [is called] *maškadu*-(disease)". Further therapeutic texts dealing with *maškadu* are found in the fragment AMT 52/8 (see l. 6' and 10'), and in several texts from Assur, such as the short excerpt BAM 81 (written by the exorcist Kišir-Aššur) and the *Sammeltafel* BAM 158, which contains in col. ii and iii recipes to treat *maškadu* (ii 14), sick hips (iii 9'-26') and feet (iii 27'). A similar multi-topic collection is the one-column tablet BAM 182, which preserves sections on renal problems, *maškadu* (obv. 7'-30') and rectal disease (rev.), see Geller 2005a: No. 31 Ms. EE). Note further the amulet collection BAM 354 iii 10 (stones for *maškadu*, see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 129 "Kette 108"). The condition is mentioned beside *sagallu* and other conditions of the lower extremities (e.g. AMT 22/2 obv. 9 //, see Geller 2005a: No. 50), often in lists of diseases incorporated in incantations (see e.g. BAM 338: 26 // (cf. MSL 9, 105-106; Böck 2007: 154-157 (*Muššu'u* IVa); Wasserman 2007: 42, 48, 55 and Wasserman 2012: 426-436). Spells against *maškadu* are found in BAM 182 obv. 14'-16' (*maškadu ištu šerret šamāmē urtedi*), a short version of the spell Šú šumšu *maškadu kinûssu* also found in texts related to HAMSTRING (where it is recited against *sagallu*), e.g. in BAM 124 iv 10-27, BAM 127 obv. 9-13, BAM 128 iv 1'-24', for further short versions see also CT 23, 5-14 iii 37-40 and CT 23, 1-4 rev. 15-18 (Böck 2007: 57-58, 290-293, integrated into *Muššu'u* VIII/1; Böck 2010b: 105-106; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8). A second incantation against *maškadu* found in BAM 182 obv. 18'-20' (*arahhi ramani arahhi zumri*) is applied to treat *sagallu* in CT 23, 5-14 iii 26-28 (Böck 2010b: 105).

Therapies for the *šaššaṭu*-disease(SA.DUGUD), mentioned as the last keyword in AMC line 55, are found in BAM 131, which contains the incipit [DIŠ NA *ša-á*]š-ša-ṭa GIG "[If a] man suffers from *šaššaṭu*". The two-column tablet BAM 129 (written by Kišir-Aššur) contains mainly incantations and rituals for *sagallu*, but also remedies for *šaššaṭu* in col. iv, see especially iv 3': [DIŠ NA ĠŪ-su<sup>2</sup> M]URUB<sub>4</sub><sup>II</sup>-šú *áš-ṭa šá-áš-šá-ṭa* MU.NI "[If a man's neck<sup>2</sup> (and)] hips are stiff, it is called *šaššaṭu*" (with parallel sections in AMT 31/2 rev.); the entry is found in a slightly varying form in *Sakikkû* 33: 95 (Heeßel 2000: 357). Prescriptions for *šaššaṭu* are also included in the recipe collection BAM 171 (obv. 14-26). For references from enumerations of diseases see CAD Š/2 175.

56) The skin condition *k/ḡiṣṣatu* was already mentioned in the *adi*-section of CRANIUM (see above commentary to AMC l. 7; Fincke 2011: 176-181). It occurs in the context of illnesses of the feet in AMT 69/5: 1: DIŠ NA ĠIRI<sup>II</sup>-šú *ki-iṣ-ša-tú* DIRI "If a man's feet are full of *kiṣṣatu*". This example suggests that the catalogue keyword may have to be understood as referring to the skin disease rather than to *kissatu* "gnawing pain".<sup>39</sup> In medical incantations containing enumerations of disease names, *kissatu/kiṣṣatu* occurs beside diseases of the lower extremities and skin conditions, see e.g. BAM 338: 27 // STT 138: 24' etc.; cf. Köcher 1971: xii; integrated into *Muššu'u*, Böck 2007: 156: 29): *šer'ānu lemnu šer'ānu napša šá* ĠIRI<sup>II</sup> *kissat* (var. *kiṣṣatu*) *išātu* "the evil muscle, the damaged muscle of the feet, *kissatu*-disease, 'fire' (fever)". See

<sup>39</sup> Cf. CAD K 428f. s.v. *kissatu* B and 443 s.v. *kiṣṣatu*, arguing both words became fused over time, although one encounters both spellings.



further K. 6250 rev. 5' // STT 136 iii 32, 42 etc. (Böck 2007, 287-289: 137, 147 (*Muššu'u* VIIIk); CT 23, 3 (K. 2473) obv. 9, 12 (*sagallu* incantation); K. 6057+ iii 3' (Böck 2014a: 113, a Gula incantation on a tablet dealing with skin diseases (*simmu*)). For further references see CAD K 429 sub a); for *kissatu* in connection with *ṣētu*-fever cf. Stol 2007a: 38.

The last key phrase in AMC l. 56 occurs in a similar symptom description in AMT 73/1-75/1+, which deals with sores that appear on the lower extremities in col. ii 60- iv 10, see especially col. ii 60: DIŠ NA ĠIRI<sup>II</sup>-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI “If a man’s feet are full of lesions”, followed by ii 61: DIŠ NA ĠIRI<sup>II</sup>-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI GIG šu-nu-ti a-da-na TUK-u u<sub>4</sub>-um GIG.MEŠ DIRI-ú ... “If a man’s feet are full of lesions (and) these lesions have a fixed duration – when he becomes full of (those) lesions (ritual follows)”; cf. AMT 75 iii 13: DIŠ GIG ina ĠIRI NA È-ma GIN<sub>7</sub> BU.BU.UL-te iharras “If a lesion breaks out on a man’s foot and itches like a boil” (diagnosis *sagbānu*), see Eyper 2016: 32-35, 38.

57) The closest parallel to the first key phrase in AMC l. 57 occurs in BAM 32: 16, 18 (an unfinished extract dealing with skin lesions): GIG-šú *ib-lu-ut-ma* IGI GIG-šú<sup>7</sup> GE<sub>6</sub> ŠUB<sup>1</sup>-ú / ... (recipe) / IGI GIG BABBAR (text not continued) “(If) his sore heals up and then the surface of his sore is dotted with black spot(s) ... . (If) the surface of the sore (is dotted) with white spot(s)”. Although BAM 32 does not mention the feet, it may possibly belong to the context of HAMSTRING, and AMC l. 57 may have to be restored according to BAM 32: 16. Note however that the same phrase reoccurs word for word in AMC l. 67 (in the *adi*-section of LESION, cf. below), which could signal that similar or identical recipes were integrated into both sections. Related diagnostic entries are also found in K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1) + AMT 15/3+ i 43 and 48 // BAM 124 i 1 (Eypper 2016: 16, 18): DIŠ NA GIG *ka-bar-ti* GIG šī-kin UZU.MEŠ-šú BABBAR GI<sub>6</sub> ŠUB<sup>1</sup>-(u) “If a man suffers from the sickness of the *kabartu* (and) the appearance of his flesh is dotted with white (and) black spots”. Since K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1)+ focuses on the sickness of the *kabartu* in col. i-ii, followed by treatments for lesions on the lower extremities, it is quite likely that *murūṣ kabarti* was also mentioned as key phrase in the lost first half of AMC l. 57.

It is further noteworthy that after a double ruling following col. iv line 10, K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1)+ closes with treatments for the heel, soles, toes and (toe)nails (the text breaks off shortly before the colophon). Since these topics correspond to the last keywords listed at the end of the *adi*-section in AMC line 57, it is highly probable that K. 67+ represents a manuscript of HAMSTRING 4. See especially AMT 73/1-75/1+ iv 17: DIŠ NA *a-si-da-šú pur-ru-ur* “If a man’s heel is cracked”; iv 19: DIŠ NA *a-si-da-šú lu-ut-ta-a* “If a man’s heels are split”; also iv 23 (heels constantly ill). Note also the Neo-Assyrian fragment of a recipe collection (for ghost-induced illnesses) published by Scheil 1917: 88 i 3'-4'; Scurlock 2006: No. 185: [DIŠ] NA GIDIM DAB-su MUD-su šā-gi-ig [SA] MUD-su u SA.SAL-šú šu-up-š[u]-hi “If a man is seized by a ghost (and) his heel is stiff, in order to relax [the muscles] of his heel and his Achilles tendon”. For the toes/fingers and toenails, see AMT 73/1-75/1+AMT 100/3+ iv 26, 34 (fingers/toes), 36, 39 and 43: DIŠ NA UMBIN-šú *lu na-da-at l[u] ...* “If a man’s nail either falls off o[r ...]”.

Prescriptions for the toes/fingers and (toe)nails are otherwise rare, but the diagnostic series contains one tablet concerned with the hands and fingers (*Sakikkū* Tablet 11), while *Sakikkū* Tablet 14 contains entries about the toes and toenails (Scurlock 2014a: 82-82, 135-136: 242'-251'); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 71, 177, 250ff., 352f., 366, 554 and *passim*.

58) Cf. above the discussion to lines AMC 1 and 6. The phrase *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* “remedies from the top of the head to the toenails” also occurs in the colophon inscribed on tablets from Ashurbanipal’s library representing tablets of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* following the serial order of AMC PART 1, see Hunger 1968: No. 329: 4 (Type q). This Ashurbanipal colophon refers to the texts inscribed on the respective tablets as *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri liqti ahūti tāhizu nakla azugallūt Ninurta (u) Gula mala bašmu* ““remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)”, (and) external collections, the sophisticated lore, the grand medical art of Ninurta and Gula, as much as has been invented”.<sup>40</sup> Note that the tablets bearing this colophon are always identified by their incipit and numbered according to their position within the *sadīru* “section”, by citing the title of the *sadīru*. However, the title *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* is never used in the rubrics or colophons of the Nineveh tablets, as a designation for a “series” comprising AMC PART 1 or the whole therapeutic corpus (AMC PART 1 and 2). The phrase *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* in the Ashurbanipal colophon is thus to be understood as a direct reference to AMC PART 1 and therefore forms the best candidate for a title or name for AMC PART 1. For the given reason it does not seem entirely justified to restore a title *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* before *bulṭi ištu muhhi adi šupri* in AMC l. 58, even though one has to note in comparison that AMC PART 2 is indeed referred to in its summary line by the first incipit of the first section SKIN (see AMC lines 59 and 123). One could

<sup>40</sup> See further the contributions of Panayotov (for a list of colophons) and Steinert in this volume.

thus expect the same naming pattern in the summary of PART 1. However, it is uncertain at this point whether there is enough space in the gap of AMC line 58 for the supposed title DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal.<sup>41</sup>

59) The restoration DIŠ GIG “If a skin sore (*simmu*) ...” at the beginning of this line is suggested by the summary line AMC l. 123, which repeats the incipit of LESION tablet 1 as the title of AMC PART 2 (there the verb is spelled *um-mu-ra*-[(*at*)]. The form *ummurat* in ll. 59 and 123 can be connected with *emēru*, which is a variant of *šemēru* “to be distended, swollen” (cf. CAD § 126; CAD E 148). This interpretation is supported by the equations *emēru* = *napāhu* in a commentary (Civil 1974: 338) and (š)*emēru* = *malû* in *Sakikkû* Tablet 9: 32, and by the occurrence of the form *ummurā* in *Sakikkû* 9: 35, in reference to the face and eyes (Scurlock 2014a: 67). Heeßel (2000: 361 and 408) suggests translating the verb with “gerötet sein”, following AHW 214a *emēru* I.

No exactly matching tablet incipit for restoring AMC LESION Tablet 1 is known to date, but *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 43 features a fragmentary diagnostic entry in the context of skin diseases (Heeßel 2000: 355), which may be partially identical to the first incipit of the section LESION in the AMC: [DIŠ x]-*ta*<sup>2</sup>-š*u um-mu-ra*-[(x x x)]-*ta lad*<sup>2</sup>-*ḏin*<sup>2</sup>-*nu* [... MU].NI “[If] his [...] is distended, ... it is called *ladinnu*” (here the verb may also be a fem. plur., referring to a dual subject). Furthermore, the incipit of AMC l. 59 is probably also encountered in a one-column tablet with treatments for skin sores (*simmu*) from Nimrud (CTN 4, 116 rev. 34’), where it seems to be cited as the series title in the colophon (not identical with the incipit of the tablet), yielding the likewise fragmentary line: [DUB X.KAM<sup>2</sup> DIŠ GIG ....]x-*at* KU-*ta*<sup>2</sup>-š*u um-mu-ra-at*<sup>1</sup> (Text: -*ta*) *la-din-nu* MU.NI. A disease name *lad(d)innu* is otherwise unattested, cf. CAD L 36 s.v. *ladinnu* (an aromatic). Possibly KU-*ta* in CTN 4, 116 should be read *ši<sub>x</sub>-ta* “eruption; growth; abscess” (based on the value of *zì* for KU), since a restoration [m]*a-at-qú-ta-šú* “his sweetness” seems unsatisfactory. For *šitu* see CT 44, 36: 1 (a Middle or Neo-Babylonian extract tablet): DIŠ LÚ *ši-i-ta* GIG “If a man suffers from a *šitu*-abscess” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 221; Böck 2010c: 85); cf. also *simmu matqu* (Fincke 2011: 169-172 and AMC CRANIUM Tablet 4). CTN 4, 116 can thus be regarded as a witness for the section LESION, although it may present an extract tablet. Its obverse contains prescriptions, its reverse an incantation and a short ritual duplicated in BAM 580 col. ii’ 1’-32 from Nineveh, the latter of which thus could present a second witness for LESION, although presenting a longer collection of text material.

With regard to the first incipit of LESION, it is further noteworthy that many of the diagnostic entries in the first part of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 start with DIŠ GIG GAR-šú ... MU.NI “If the appearance of the lesion (looks like ..., ...) is its name”, and that this section of the diagnostic series shares many close parallels with therapeutic texts (Heeßel 2000: 365ff.). In therapeutic texts concerned with skin ailments we find a similar recurring phrase introducing diagnostic passages, “if a lesion breaks out on a man’s body”. For instance, BAM 580 (AMT 27/6+44/1+84/4(+52/3), a three-column tablet, which very likely collects material of LESION, features entries in col. iii 29’, 31’ beginning DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È ... “If a lesion breaks out on a man’s body”; see also BAM 583 i’ 3’; AMT 84/6 ii 5’, 8’ (fragment of a two(?) -column tablet). The fragment AMT 52/3: 12’, probably belonging to BAM 580, contains the phrase: DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È GIN<sub>7</sub> *um-me-di* ...] “If a sore breaks out on a man’s body and it is like *ummedu*”, which recurs in a similar way in YBC 7143: 11’ (from Assur, Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 18): DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È GIN<sub>7</sub> *um-me-di* a-[š*u-ú* MU.NI]. Note the partially parallel entries in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 1-3: DIŠ GIG GAR-šú GIN<sub>7</sub> *um-me-di* (...) a-š*u-ú* MU.NI “If the appearance of the lesion is like *ummedu* ..., it is called *ašû*-disease”.

Further 1<sup>st</sup> millennium tablets and fragments concerned with skin ailments are BAM 32, BAM 35 (excerpts from Assur), BAM 409 (from Uruk, see Köcher 1995), BAM 417 (a Neo-Assyrian one-column tablet, provenience unknown), BAM 581-583 (Nineveh fragments) BAM 584 (K. 6653+, a fragmentary two-column tablet); BM 108872+ (a one-column tablet from Assur, see Heeßel 2008); BM 41282(+) (a Neo- or Late Babylonian two(?) -column tablet, see Fincke 2011: 187-202). The two-column Nineveh tablet BAM 494 (K. 6224+), which focuses on skin ailments on the head, could belong either to CRANIUM or LESION, cf. Köcher 1980a: xxix and commentary above. For tablets combining remedies from the section CRANIUM with recipes for skin ailments, note also AO 11447 (Geller 2007), Fincke 2011: 201-202. Note that many of the skin conditions mentioned in AMC are already attested in Old Babylonian medical texts, see e.g. Wasserman 2007: 54-55; George 2016: II.L.2 No. 73).

<sup>41</sup> For the expression SUR.GIBIL *šabātu* see below commentary to AMC lines 123-125 and the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert in this volume.

60-61) Since we are not informed about the number of tablets belonging to the section LESION (the total of tablets in AMC line 62 is lost), it is impossible to say how many tablet incipits are contained in AMC ll. 60-61. The preserved text in these two lines evokes the impression of an enumeration of abbreviated diagnostic entries rather than clear incipits. It is thus possible that the section LESION consisted only of one instead of an estimated minimum of three tablets.

The word *kibšu* occurs in the context of skin diseases on the head, see e.g. the excerpt tablet AO 11447 obv. 30, 33 (Geller 2007: 5, 9-10): DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su *kib-ša gi-iš-ša-tú gu-riš-tú* DIRI “If a man’s head is full of *kibšu*, *giššatu* and *gurištu*”, which is duplicated in a slightly varying passage in BAM 33 obv. 1-2 (Labat 1959: 6, 8, 10-11; Geller 2007: 5, 9 texts A and E): [DIŠ NA SA]G.DU-su *lu peš-ta* (read: PEŠ.GIG!?) *lu gi-iš-ša-ta<sub>5</sub> [lu kib-š]á lu-u gu-[r]išt-ta* DIRI); see further BM 41282 (+) 41294 ii 5’ (dealing solely with *kibšu* on the head) and 8’ (Fincke 2011: 175, 190). It is uncertain whether the entry in AMC l. 60 also referred to *kibšu* appearing on the head; the phrase ... *kib-šú* MIN “(If ...) *kibšu* ditto” in the catalogue most likely stands for *kib-šú* DIRI (or GIG) “he is full of/sick with *kibšu*”. For further references see Fincke 2011: 173-175.

For *bubu’tu/bubuhtu* “inflammation, boil, pustule” (also written with varying logographic spellings, U/Û/U<sub>4</sub>.BU.BU.UL, Û/U<sub>4</sub>.BÚ.BÚ.UL or BU.BU.UL), cf. the discussion in Fincke 2011: 166-167 (“Blase; Bläschen” filled with a fluid), Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 222-224. The reading of the end of AMC line 60 is not entirely certain. An emendation to UZU BU<sup>1</sup>.<BU>.UL<sup>1</sup>-*ta na-ši* “(his) flesh exhibits (or: is swollen up with) *bubu’tu*” could be suggested by similar spellings: e.g. AMT 74/1 iii 13 *kima* BU.BU.UL-*te* (If the sore on a man’s foot itches) “like a *bubu’tu*-boil”; KADP, p. 8 ad No. 32 i 26 (BU.BU.UL-*tu<sub>4</sub>*). However, it seems unlikely that *bubu’tu* in AMC l. 60 was mentioned twice in immediate sequence, although in two different spellings. Furthermore, the verb *našû* is somewhat unusual in the context of pustules, since normally the verbs *malû* or *nadû* are used (see CAD B 300f. for references). Sometimes, *našû* can mean “to bear” (a brand or other feature on the skin) referring to animals (CAD N/2 86b sub f). Another word for a skin disease parallel to the syllabic *bu-bu-uh-ta* is probably expected before *na-ši*. An expression “flesh of shame” (*šir būšti/būlti*) for a skin disease is not otherwise attested, but offers a meaningful expression (referring to the shameful associated with skin diseases). In this case, the spelling *bu-ul-ta* has to be erroneous (UZU *bu-ul-ti/te* is expected).

61) In Middle Babylonian medical letters, *išātu* lit. “fire”, occurs in the context of skin diseases rather than fever, possibly designating an abscess or inflammation (Stol 2007a: 2; Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 177). However, in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium sources, we also find a skin disease *pēm/ntu*(DÈ) “(glowing) charcoal”, see AO 11447 rev. 15, var. BAM 264 ii 23’ (Labat 1959: 12-13; Geller 2007: 11, 63: ‘DIŠ KL.MIN SA<sub>5</sub>’ GU<sub>7</sub>-šú u ‘ka-<li>-šú-nu DAB’ GIG BI DÈ MU.NI *ana* ZI-šú “If ditto (a lesion breaks out on a man’s body and) it is red, it hurts him and all of them *flow*(?), that lesion is called ‘charcoal’ (*pēm**tu*) – to remove it (...).” An identical entry with a syllabic spelling of the disease term is found in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 27 // CT 51, 148: 7’; Heeßel 2000: 354, 27). On the other hand, the Assur text BM 108872+ rev. 13 (Heeßel 2008: 167) suggests the reading IZI/*išātu* “fire; inflammation” (rather than KÚM(*ummu*) “fever”) in an entry describing a skin condition occurring in the face: DIŠ NA IZI *pa-ni* TUK-ši “If a man has an *inflammation* of the face”. Note that *išātu* in a syllabic spelling also occurs in AMC l. 62, in the *adi*-section of the section LESION, although it is possible that two different conditions are indicated.<sup>42</sup> Some of the skin diseases enumerated in AMC l. 61 occur in a sequence in lists of ailments within incantations, see e.g. BAM 338: 25-26 // (Böck 2007: 155: 27-28 *Muššu’u* IV/a): [IZI/*išātu*] *girišša sāmā[nu]* / [*a*]šū *maškādu sagallu sagbā[nu]*; cf. also Wasserman 2007: 47-55.

For *sāmānu*, a term connected to *sāmu* “red”, known as an illness whose symptoms probably refer to a condition caused by an infection of the soft tissue, characterised by skin sores and fever, see Kinnier Wilson 1994: 111-114; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 62-64; Beck 2015. Note *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 23-25 (Heeßel 2000: 354), where it is described as a red, hot, swollen and flowing skin sore. The text BAM 494 i 35’, 38’ is concerned with *sāmānu* appearing on the head, which is characterised by itchiness. In BAM 409 obv. 11’-12’, 16’ (from Uruk, see Köcher 1995: 205-206, 14’-15, 20) *sāmānu* is mentioned beside skin spots of differing colour. However, since *sāmānu* is also known as a pest affecting animals and barley, it has been interpreted as an “ergot-like blight” with poisonous effect on animals and humans eating the infected grain (CAD S 112 discussion).<sup>43</sup> For the *sāmānu*-incantations see Finkel 1998; cf. further Wasserman 2007: 54 for Old Babylonian attestations.

<sup>42</sup> For syllabic *išātu* in enumerations of skin diseases, cf. further CAD I/J 233; CAD S 251 (*sikkatu* A sub 6).

<sup>43</sup> B. Landsberger (1951: 113-114) suggested that in a few texts (e.g. incantations), *sāmānu* has to be understood as a noxious, blood-sucking insect.

The disease *girgiššu* “strawberry” is described as a skin sore that is hot but does not contain fluid, see *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 13, 110 (Heeßel 2000: 353, 358); cf. the Old or Middle Babylonian recipe collection BAM 393 obv. 14: 6,40 *a-wi-lum gi-ir-gi-ša-am ma-li* “If a man is full of *girgiššum*” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 10.143 with n. 151).<sup>44</sup>

Treatments for the illness *sagbānu* can be found in texts concerned with sores on the lower extremities (belonging to HAMSTRING), see e.g. AMT 74/1 iii 13 (Eypper 2016: 38); DIŠ GIG *ina GĪRI NA Ê-ma GIN<sub>7</sub> BU.BU.UL-te i-har-ra-as sàg-ba-nu MU.NE* “If a sore breaks out on a man’s foot and it itches like *bubu’tu*, it is called *sagbānu*”. For this condition cf. also CAD S 22; *Sakikkû* 33: 64 (Heeßel 2000: 356); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 222-224.

62) Possibly the word *kurāru*(PEŠ.GIG) “carbuncle” has to be restored before the break, but the first fragmentary sign could also be EN introducing the *adi*-section and followed by keywords and phrases. It is noteworthy that the summary section of the section LESION is with eight lines quite long. For the skin condition *kurāru*(PEŠ.GIG, related to *guri/aštu*), cf. CAD K 556b; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 233-234; Wasserman 1996-97 and Wasserman 2007; for an overview of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium texts dealing with *kurāru* see Böck 2003: 161-184. Several remedies for *kurāru* appearing on the head are found in BAM 494 (K. 6224+) iii 20’-iv 6, partially duplicated and complemented through recipes in BAM 3 i 44-49, BAM 34: 3’-10’, BAM 152 i 14’-23’, BAM 156 obv. 25-rev. 40, AO 11447 obv. 42-44 (Labat 1959: 10-11; Geller 2007: 10), STT 99 obv. 1’-7’; BAM 497 ii’ 12’ and AMT 1/3: 7’ (see Böck 2003 for an edition of these sources); cf. also BAM 33: 9 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.1). These texts are either collections with treatments for the head (related to the section CRANIUM) or collections of diverse remedies.

The expression *rišûtu širi* “itchiness of the flesh” does not seem to occur anywhere else, but the condition *rišûtu* is well known. CAD R 381-382 derives *rišûtu* from *rašû* B “to itch”, while Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 210-211) connect it with *râšû* “to become red” and translate the word with “redness” resulting from scratching the skin. The former etymology is preferred here, because of the logogram SA.UMBIN.AK.AK (“to scratch the skin with the nails”), and because *rišûtu* appears in lexical groups with *ekketu* and *harāsu* denoting itchiness (e.g. AMT 26/1: 6, 17 = BAM 543 iv 25 and 36; Farber 1990: 316ff.). Both phenomena may be intrinsically connected. For *rišûtu* see e.g. *Sakikkû* 33: 12, (Heeßel 2000: 353-354; Scurlock 2014a: 231), where the illness is described as “hot like a burn”. However, in *Sakikkû* 33: 16 and 21, *rišûtu* is mentioned as a symptom of other skin conditions, see also BAM 409: 19’-20’ (Köcher 1995: 206: 22’-23’): DIŠ ... UZU.MEŠ-šû *u zaq-qa-tu-šu u ri-šu-ta ŠUB.ŠUB-su* “If (a man’s body is continually full of *birdu*-pocks), his flesh gives him a stinging pain and he is constantly afflicted with *rišûtu*” (diagnosis *harāsu*). Note further BAM 383: 1 and 13 (a Middle Babylonian recipe for *rišûtu*), see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 211 10.12 with further examples. *Rišûtu* also occurs in texts focussing on head ailments, e.g. BAM 33: 19 (= catchline, excerpt of the Assur exorcist Kišir-Nabû): [DIŠ NA SAG].DU-su *ek-ke-ta u ri-šu-ta DIRI* “[If a man’s head is full of itchiness (*scabies*?) and *rišûtu*”; this entry also occurs in BAM 494 i 33’ // BAM 3 ii 3-4 (Worthington 2006: 21; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.1). For the skin conditions *išātu* and *bubu’tu* see above commentary on AMC ll. 60-61.

63) All the facial skin conditions preserved in AMC ll. 63-65 are also treated in BM 108872+, a one-column tablet from Assur (Heeßel 2008: 163-171). For (*riphî*) *ugudillê* “(swollen) *ugudillû*-spots”, see BM 108872+: 27-31, which is duplicated in BAM 35 i 25’-28’ (a two-column tablet from Assur): DIŠ NA *rip-hi UGU.DÉ<sup>1</sup>.LÚ IGI.MEŠ-šû DIRI-û* “If a man’s face is full of swollen *ugudillû*-spots”. These spots can have different colours, see BM 108872+ obv. 11, 12, 14 // BAM 35 i 11’, 12’, 14’: DIŠ NA UGU.DÉ<sup>1</sup>.LÚ BABBAR/GI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ IGI.MEŠ-šû DIRI-û “If a man’s face is full of white/black *ugudillû*-spots”. The entries just cited are also included in the physiognomic omen series (*Alamdimmû* VIII, Böck 2000: 109: 13-16, spelled UGU.DIL-e), but the apodoses differ. Cf. for discussion Heeßel 2008: 170 *ad* ll. 12-13; CAD R 365a; CAD U/W 39b.

For *ummedu*, an abscess or boil, see CAD U/W, 119; Stol 1998: 351; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 229-230. In *Sakikkû* Tablet 33, *ummedu* serves as a point of comparison to define other skin conditions, see e.g. l. 1-2 (Heeßel 2000: 353): [DIŠ GIG] GAR-šû GIN<sub>7</sub> *um-me-di* (...) *a-šu-û MU.NI* “[If the appearance of the lesion is like an *ummedu*-boil (...), it is called *ašû*”; see also ll. 9 and 16 (the patient is full of *ummedu*-boils). In therapeutic texts, these boils can occur on the body or the face, see e.g. AMT 52/3: 12’ (probably belonging to BAM 580, see similar entries in col. iii of the latter tablet): DIŠ GIG *ina SU NA Ê GIN<sub>7</sub> um[medi ...]* “If a lesion appears on a man’s body (and) it (looks) like *um[medu ...]*” (Scurlock and

<sup>44</sup> For attestations of this condition in 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE texts, see Wasserman 2007: 54; Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993: 104 B 1’ (for an Old Babylonian medical text from Meturan with remedies for diverse skin ailments). A Hurrian incantation against *girgiššu* duplicated by a Mari text is published by Krebernik 2001: 157-159.

Andersen 2005: 10.117); cf. BM 108872+ rev. 1 (Heeßel 2008: 167): [DIŠ NA] *um-me-di* IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú “If a man’s face is full of *ummedu*-boils”. Note also AMT 31/7 ii 8’ (fragment): GIN<sub>7</sub> *um-me-di ú-maš-šá-ra* “like *ummedu* it drips (with a fluid?)” (in the context of treating *bubu’tu*). *Ummedu*-boils are also mentioned in *Alamdimmû* VIII (Böck 2000: 108: 7).

64) This entry is also attested in the Assur texts BAM 35 i 7’ // BM 108872+ obv. 8: DIŠ NA *šer-ši* IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú “If a man’s face is full of *šeršu*-boils” (Heeßel 2008: 165, 169; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 236).

65) The end of AMC line 65 can be restored with the help of BAM 35 i 4’ // BM 108872+ obv. 5 (Heeßel 2008: 165): DIŠ NA *ha-le-e* IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú [ú] “If a man’s face is full of *halû*” (black moles). These spots are also encountered in physiognomic omens (*Alamdimmû* VIII, Böck 2000: 108, 8). An alternative restoration of AMC line 65 proposed by Nils Heeßel (2008: 171) follows BM 108872+ rev. 3: [... *ana pi-in-d*]e-e ZI-hi “to remove *pindû*-lesions” (red granular lesions or moles, cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 231-232; CAD P 323ff. s.v. *pendû*). Note in this connection the tablet *Šumma pindû* within the physiognomic omen series (Böck 2000: 29 and 194-203).

For AMC lines 62-65, G. Buisson (personal communication) suggested the following hypothetical reconstruction, drawing on entries in BM 108872+:

<sup>62)</sup> [NIGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È (...) E]N *ri-šut* UZU *i-šá-tu bu-bu-uh-tú*

<sup>63)</sup> [*ru-ṭib-tú ha-ra-su* DIŠ N]A *ri-ip-hi* UGU.DA.LÚ-e *um-me-di*

<sup>64)</sup> [*pi-in-de-e te-er-ke e-rim-mi* š]er-ši *pa-nu-šú* DIRI-ú

<sup>65)</sup> [*ana i-ša-tú te-er-ke e-ri-mi pi-in-de-e ha-l*]é-e ZI-hi

<sup>62)</sup> [A total of ... tablets (belonging to) ‘If a lesion breaks out on a man’s body ... including (prescriptions) for itchiness of the flesh, *išātu* (‘fire’), *bubuhtu*, <sup>63)</sup> [*ruṭibtu* (‘dampness’), *harāsu*, for the case that a man]’s face is full of swollen *ugudillû*-spots, *ummedu*-boils, <sup>64)</sup> [*pindû*-moles, *terku*-spots, *erimmu*-lesions, *šeršu*-boils, <sup>65)</sup> [(including treatments) to] remove *išātu* (‘fire’), *terku*-spots, *erimmu*-lesions, *pindû*-moles (and) *ha*]lû-moles.

66) The sequence [...] ‘GIG’ UD.DA GIG “[...] he suffers from a *simmu*-lesion (or: an illness?) of *šētu*-fever” occurs as part of a diagnostic passage in BAM 503 iii 64’ (= section EARS) among treatments for the ears, but the context of this passage remains unclear (cf. Stol 2007a: 36-37; Scurlock 2014a: 376). The conditions *šētu/himiṭ šēti* (lit. (“burning) of sun-heat”) are mainly associated with fever and intestinal trouble, but can sometimes be associated with skin lesions (*simmu*), see e.g. the incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 4 (= AMC l. 4), describing a man’s head being full of “sweet lesions” and *himiṭ šēti* (e.g. AMT 105/1 iv 26 (catchline), cf. Stol 2007a: 36). Note BAM 575 i 21 // BAM 52: 63-64 (= STOMACH 2), which speaks of the patient’s belly being full of lesions as a symptom of *šētu*-fever (cf. Cadelli 2000: 125). Interestingly, skin complaints such as *bubu’tu*-pustules and itchiness are also discussed in the context of *himiṭ šēti*-fever in a section of *Sakikkû* Tablet 31 (BAM 416: 28’-32’, see Heeßel 2000: 343).

67) Because of a lack of Akkadian verbal roots containing t and s/š/z as second and third root consonant, the text in AMC line 67 probably has to be emended to [...GIG-šú] TI-*ma*<sup>1</sup>(GIŠ) IGI GIG-šú BABBAR ŠUB-*di*. An almost identical phrase is found in the excerpt BAM 32: 16’: GIG-šú *ib-lu-uṭ-ma* IGI GIG-š[ú G]E<sub>6</sub> ŠUB-*ú* (recipe follows) “(If) his lesion has healed, but the surface of his lesion is dotted black”. The next entry in BAM 32: 18’ begins with a phrase corresponding to the entry in AMC line 67 (IGI GIG BABBAR “the surface of the lesion is white”), but the rest of the tablet was left blank and the text not continued. The recipes in BAM 32 address the treatment of *simmu*-lesions (cf. BAM 32: 13’ *sikkatu*), and this tablet could very well be related to the section LESION. The same passage from BAM 32: 16’-18’ is further found in CTN 4, 116: 16-18 from Nimrud, a one-column tablet with treatments and an incantation for *simmu*-lesions, which seems to cite the section title of LESION (AMC l. 59) in its colophon and can therefore be regarded as a witness for the section (probably an extract). It should be noted that the same phrase cited in AMC l. 67 also occurs in the *adi*-section of the section HAMSTRING in AMC l. 57 (cf. above), and it is therefore possible that identical or similar recipes were included in both sections of the therapeutic corpus (i.e. parts of HAMSTRING are concerned in particular with skin lesions on the feet). For tablets with treatments for *simmu* lesions not related to HAMSTRING, see further BAM 580 (AMT 27/6+44/1+84/4(+)) AMT 52/3), as well as BAM 581-584; AMT 16/5 (fragment, possibly part of BAM 584); AMT 77/6 (possibly part of BAM 580;

see Köcher 1980b: xxxif.); AMT 84/6; cf. BAM 494 (K. 6224+, possibly part of CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5); Rm. 376 obv. 18 (Lambert 1965: 285, a Middle Assyrian tablet of incantations; context uncertain). Cf. further CAD S 276-277.

68) AMC lines 68-69 seem to cite the titles of spells used with treatments against skin diseases. The fragmentary entry in AMC line 68 probably belongs to an incantation incipit (“[...] he/she took the knot/strength”), but a matching incipit is unknown. The topic of the spell may be witchcraft-related.

69) The fragmentary ù “and” in line 69 indicates that AMC ll. 68-69 contained an enumeration of incantation incipits included in the section LESION. The incantation *simmu mādu* “the lesions are many” cited here is known from texts dealing with *simmu* lesions and skin complaints. It forms the incipit of the two-column Nineveh tablet K. 6057+ (i 1-25), which contains incantations against *simmu* (Böck 2014a: 109-110). The complete incipit reads ÉN *si-im-mu ma-a-du šu-mi-šú-nu ul i-di* “The skin lesions are (so) many, I do not (even) know their names”. For two others spells in K. 6057+ col. ii 29-41 (where the same phrase occurs in ii 33) and iii 1’-10’, see also Böck 2014a: 110-113. The phrase is already encountered in a spell in a Middle Babylonian incantation collection from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968: 30-40 RS 17.155 // RS. 15.152 l. 16), part of which is identical with the spell in *Muššu’u* V/d (Böck 2007: 191-196 ms. U). Another incantation dealing with *simmu* incorporating the same formulation is contained in the Nineveh tablet BAM 580 ii 2’-28’ and in CTN 4, 116 rev. 1’-30’ from Nimrud (edited in Geller 2000b: 336-339; cf. Stol 1991-92: 63). Both texts preserve prescriptions and incantations for skin conditions.

70) The AMC section dubbed HAZARD forms a relatively small section of the therapeutic corpus comprising one tablet, whose incipit is not attested yet in the medical texts known to date. No tablet has yet been identified as a witness of this part of the therapeutic corpus. The section seems to have included several topics indicated in the long summary section (AMC ll. 71-78), covering the treatment of injuries from war wounds, work accidents and hazards such as snake and dog bites or scorpion stings. It is possible that this section included basic surgical instructions (e.g. for treating bone fractures, cf. George 2016: II.F.2, spell for healing fractured bones; BAM 124 iii 57 // BAM 125: 28; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8 within prescriptions for the feet). For the reconstruction of the incipit note a Middle Assyrian administrative document recording deliveries of animals to court employees (as food or for cult offerings), which mentions the eunuch Samu as the recipient of an ox on the occasion *kī UR.MAH ušabbitušu* “when a lion had seized him” (Weidner 1935-36: 18 and 40, no. 89: 11; CAD N/2 193-194). The phrase (*šabātu* D-stem) could then imply that the person was seriously injured, but survived a lion attack. Notably, the Middle Babylonian tablet inventory BM 103690 i 17 seems to include a virtually identical incipit as AMC l. 70: *DIŠ N[A U]R<sup>2</sup>.MAH [(ina EDIN)] DAB.DAB-su* (see Finkel’s contribution in this volume), and the text material compiled in the section HAZARD could thus go back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE. Of interest in this context is further a catalogue of Namburbi rituals (K. 2389+), which mentions an incantation to protect houses from the attacks of lions, wolves and robbers (Maul 1994: 197, 7), and a tablet of Namburbi rituals against evil portended by wild animals of the steppe, including the evil portended by lions (80-7-19, 98+: 12ff., Caplice 1967: 18).

71-72) In the light of *patru* “dagger” and *ariktu* “spear” mentioned at the latter half of AMC l. 71, other weapons may have been enumerated in the gap at the beginning of l. 72, ending in *ŠĠG-su (imhassu* “has wounded him”). Possibly a word for “arrow” (*šiltāhu, mulmullu*) was included in the enumeration (cf. below AMC l. 78). Occasionally, lists of disease terms mention wounds stemming from animal bites/stings, thorns or reeds, see e.g. MSL 9, 78: 103, 108 (OB): *ši-hi-il-ti/me-hi-iš* <sup>giš</sup>DĀLLA “the prick of a thorn” (beside “reed” and “wood”), cf. the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium recension MSL 9, 97: 219-221 for similar phrases. BAM 409 obv. 12’, a tablet from Uruk with treatments for skin conditions, mentions *mihīš šillim* (<sup>giš</sup>DĀLLA) “the prick of a thorn” beside other skin diseases (Köcher 1995: 205, 15’). Therapeutic texts treating wounds from weapons are not attested up to now, but an oracle question to the sun god (*tamītu*) includes *nikis patri*(GÍR) “the cut of a dagger” among all possible hazards that can happen to a man (Lambert 2007: 112 No. 50 rev. iii 2).

72-73) The restoration at the end of AMC l. 72 is uncertain, but the entry probably concerned an injury involving the “front of a ship/boat” (IGI <sup>giš</sup>MĀ, e.g. falling onto the deck?). A similar enumeration of diverse injuries and hazards such as falling from a roof, a ladder, from a chariot or riding animals is included in an oracle query (*tamītu*, see Lambert 2007: 36-39 No. 1 ND 5492: 280-285 and duplicates). Falling from a chariot or a horse (the subject being the king or a nobleman) is also the topic of omens in *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43 (e.g. CT 40, 36: 17-18, 30, 32, 35 and *passim*).

74) The grouping of *bennu* (epilepsy), *miqtu* (“fallen”, a variant of *miqit šamê* “fallen from heaven-(disease)”, i.e. epilepsy) and *rimûtu* (numbness; flaccidity) in the section HAZARD is somewhat unexpected, since the topic epilepsy (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA) is also included in another section in AMC PART 2 dubbed MENTAL ILLNESS (cf. below ll. 91-98). Maybe the similarities to other topics involving falling led to the grouping. In medical texts, *rimûtu* is usually found together with *šimmatu* “paralysis” (CAD R 363; for medical texts on *šimmatu* cf. CAD Š/3 7-8; Böck 2007: 47, 49-56; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 67-99, esp. 74-84). For instance, the Middle Babylonian text BAM 398 from Nippur unites treatments and a spell for *rimûtu*, *šimmatu* and *mišittu* (stroke), see Limet 1986: 83-87; Böck 2007: 50 and *passim*. Note that the topic *mišittu* (stroke) is dealt with in particular in NECK Tablet 5 (cf. above l. 16), which includes prescriptions treating numbness or flaccidity (*rimûtu*), see BAM 523+AMT 77/1-79/1+82/2+ iii 9-10 (CDLI no. P394418); cf. also BAM 138 ii 1-15 (*mišittu* and *rimûtu*); K. 2542+ (BE 31, 60+), esp. iv 6-8 for *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 192f., 373ff. Text 17 Ms. A, this Neo-Babylonian text from Nippur belonging to the series *kunuk halti* contains an amulet collection and incantations for *šimmatu* and similar problems). Further treatments for *rimûtu* are attested in the fragments AMT 52/5: 14'ff. (*šimmatu/rimûtu*) and AMT 5/6: 6' (Thompson 1930a: 10f.). Note also BAM 194 iv 5-14 (a stone compendium with an amulet for *šimmatu* and *rimûtu*, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 389).

In the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 32-33 //), *rimûtu* occurs in a group with conditions of the lower extremities, muscles and bones, followed by epilepsy (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA) and illnesses caused by demons and gods. Interestingly, in some drug compendia, *materia medica* for epilepsy (*bennu*) are listed in the vicinity of plants for snake and dog bite, similar to the arrangement in AMC: CT 14, 23 (K. 9283): 17-18 // STT 92 obv. 17-18 lists two plants for *bennu* following those for snake/dog bite and scorpion sting (ll. 1-15).

For *bennu* and *miqtu* as popular terms for epileptic fits and their close association see Stol 1993: 5-7, 9-12; note in addition that *miqtu* can occasionally refer to a skin condition (Stol 1993: 11-12). The term *bennu* occurs mostly in connection with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and illnesses attributed to “supernatural” agents, see e.g. BAM 202 rev. 7' (an excerpt tablet of Ki[šir-Aššur], whose obverse is concerned with DIMMA.KÛR.RA “changing of the mind”) // BAM 311: 52' (a collection of protective *mêlu*-bags) // BM 40183+ rev. 26' (a Late Babylonian tablet with treatments against mental illnesses and demonic attacks), where epilepsy-like fits are identified as “Hand of *Bennu*, deputy of Sîn” (cf. Stol 1993: 6; Dunham 1985: 253; Chalendar 2013: 11 *passim* and below AMC l. 95). Apotropaic rituals against *bennu*, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, Lugalurra (“Lord of the roof”) etc. are further attested in STT 57+263, partially duplicating STT 58 and LKU 32, which present collections of prescriptions/rituals against epilepsy in adults and children (cf. Farber 1989a: 27, esp. STT 57+ obv. 11-13 // STT 286 ii 9-13). Note also BAM 468: 8-9, where *bennu* is found in an enumeration in a prescription against any illness. *Bennu* is likewise listed beside AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ghost, “Hand of the god/goddess”, the “curse”, *mukil-rēš-lemutti* demon, “Lord of the roof” and evil *alû* in AMT 96/3+ // KAR 42: 1ff. (Farber 1977: 56 and Taf. 1), containing a multi-purpose ritual to Ištar. LKU 32, a Late Babylonian tablet with therapies (leather bags, amulets, ointments and fumigants) for children, preserves a prayer to Sîn and prescriptions against epilepsy (*bennu*, obv. 1-11, Farber 1989a: §§ 42-43, with duplicates STT 57+ and 58), a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation recited for children (obv. 12-17 //, Farber 1989a: 102ff. §34; Farber 2014: 271f. “SKS”) and other spells and treatments to protect the child from any evil (rev. 7 *mimma lemnu*), which are also known from a Nineveh compendium for infants (LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ, see Farber 1989a: § 11A, § 16 and § 19).

76-77) Only a few recipes for snakebite are currently attested. Remedies featuring the citation in AMC l. 76 are encountered for instance in the one-column tablet BAM 42 from Assur (ll. 63-68, esp. 63-65 beginning DIŠ NA MUŠ 'iš'-šuk-šú “If a man – a snake has bitten him”), with parallels in AMT 92/7: 6'-8' (a fragment of a one-column tablet, cf. Thompson 1930b: 131) and in an excerpt tablet from Assur (Scheil 1918: 76 obv. 1'-13'), which also preserves remedies for scorpion sting (obv. 14'-25') and remedies for horses (on the reverse). In BAM 42, the recipes for snake bite form the last section on the tablet, which otherwise contains mostly special potions used for respiratory illnesses. Furthermore, a Neo-Assyrian stone list from Assur (BAM 343: 14) enumerates stones according to different applications, including a “stone to c[alm down] (or: cure) snake bite” (NA<sub>4</sub> ni-šik MUŠ pu-[uš-šu-hi?] / bu[lluṭi]).

Similar to AMC ll. 77-78, snake bite is regularly grouped with dog bite and scorpion sting in lists of diseases, see e.g. MSL 9, 78: 97-99, *ziqit* GÍR.TAB, *nišik* MUŠ, *nišik* UR.GI<sub>7</sub>. They also occur side by side in enumerations of diseases in incantations, e.g. K. 6335: 21 // BAM 338: 28 etc.: *nišik* UR.GI<sub>7</sub> MUŠ GÍR.TAB *nammašti* (Böck 2007: 156: 30 *Muššu'u* IV/a); cf. also the list in an oracle query (Lambert 2007: 38 no. 1: 283-285).

The reference to plants for “relieving a snake bite” in AMC l. 77 may be reminiscent of entries in practical drug compendia, see e.g. KADP No. 2 ii 13-14 (= Uruanna I 403a-b); KADP No. 1 v 10, 26, 31, 62-63 (Middle Assyrian drug com-

pendium); CT 14, 23 (K. 9283): 5-11 // STT 92 obv. 5-11 (with herbs for ZÚ.(KUD) MUŠ, listed with those for dog bite (CT 14, 23: 1-3; KADP No. 1 v 1, 4, 9; STT 92 i 11) and scorpion sting (CT 14, 23 (K. 9283): 14-16: Ú GAZ GÍR.TAB); KADP No. 1 v 13; see also KADP No. 6 v 14' (= Uruanna, mentioning a Ú šá-mi GÍR.TAB "scorpion plant"). For citations see CAD N/2 281-282; CAD Z 165.

There is also a continuous tradition of incantations against snakes, dogs (and scorpions) from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE onward, which were often transmitted together with short prescriptions, see Cunningham 1997: texts 10, 27, 43, 63, 66-67, 169, 179, 186, 211, 213-216, 257-261, 323a, 363, 365, 395, 416, 421-426 (incantations against snakes; some also associated with snake charming); texts 183, 325, 329, 337, 343, 348, 355, 358, 364; 375, 441 (dogs); Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994: 382-385 (dog); Finkel 1999: 214-223 (dogs), 223-234, 239-241 (snakes); Hallo 1999: 277-278 (dog); Wu 2001: 34 (dog); Cavigneaux 2003: 61-62 (snake); Wasserman 2007: 48, 53; George 2016: II.D.2-3, II.D.7, II.D.14 (snake), II.D.6 (dog). In the Exorcist's Manual (l. 19), the rubrics ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA "to cure a snake bite" and GÍR.TAB TI.LA "to cure a scorpion (sting)" are grouped with SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA "to cure *sāmānu*-disease", in a sequence of healing rituals and incantations for medical problems.

The condition *apislat* encountered in AMC line 77 may be related to the term *apišalū*, which possibly describes a bodily deformity (Leichty 1965: 327; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 462 n. 51 for a different reading of the lemma). The word also occurs in BAM 124 iii 40, a two-column Assur tablet dealing with diseases of the lower extremities (with material belonging to the section HAMSTRING). The text offers a recipe with 11' [Ú].HI.A šá *a-pi-is-lat ina DĒ tu-šá-ha-an* "eleven drugs for *apislat*-disease; you heat (them) over coals". Parallels to this recipe are found in the extract AO 11447: 20-21 from Assur and in the Neo-Babylonian recipe collection IM 132670 obv. 20-23 from Sippar, in the context of treatments (bandages) for conditions of the head (Geller 2007: 8-9; Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 223, 225, 237 §6; Heeßel 2010a: 154-156; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.78). Another partial parallel to this recipe is encountered in an excerpt of Kišir-Aššur (BAM 177: 1-7), listing PAP 18 *a-pi-is-lat lat-ku 'x x'* "a total of eighteen tested (drugs) for *apislat*". However, D. Goltz (1974: 328) interprets *apislat* in BAM 177 as a special type of medication, not as a disease term (see also von Soden 1972: 348). The word occurs further in the drug inventory KADP No. 36 vi 21-22 (Limet 1986: 83), in a section registering different drug preparations (potions, lotions, ointments, suppositories, bandages) including ZÍD.DA.MEŠ *ap-is-lat* "flours/powders (for/and) *apislat*".

78) Few prescriptions for scorpion sting have been preserved among medical texts, see e.g. a Neo-Assyrian excerpt (32<sup>nd</sup> *nishu*) from Assur, which includes remedies for snake bite (Scheil 1918: 76: obv. 14'-24', see l. 14': [DIŠ N]A 'GÍR'.TAB TAG-su "If a scorpion attacks a man"). Note further AMT 29/2 + 91/1, an excerpt tablet with treatments for paralysis, which also includes a prescription for paralysis (*šimmatu*) caused by a scorpion sting (rev. 4: DIŠ NA *šimmat* GÍR.TAB GIG; cf. Thompson 1930b: 128). In incantations, *šimmatu* is compared with a scorpion/snake bite (see BAM 338 rev. 7'-8 // K. 8939 ii 8'-9' etc., Böck 2007: 272 *Muššu'u* VIII/a). Among the medical texts from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, BAM 393, an Old or Middle Babylonian medical collection from Nippur includes a remedy for scorpion sting (obv. 19-20) and dog bite (rev. 5-8); another Old Babylonian tablet contains a treatment for scorpion sting as the sole text (George 2016: 164-165 No. 72), while a contemporary medical collection with remedies (mainly) for skin diseases includes a treatment for dog bite (George 2016: No. 73 §6 l. 7). It is noteworthy that Old Babylonian scorpion incantations are often combined with therapeutic instructions similar to those found in collections of medical prescriptions.

For scorpion spells from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, see Nougayrol 1972: 141-143 (Old Babylonian incantation with treatment); Cunningham 1997: texts 66, 217-236, 357, 360, 369, 374, 400, 415, 417, 427; Cavigneaux 1994: 155-157; Cavigneaux 1995: 75-99; Cavigneaux 1999: 265-266; Finkel 1999: 234-239; Wasserman 2007: 53; Wasserman 2008: 11-12; George 2009: 156 No. 19; George 2010; George 2016: II.D.1, II.D.4-5, II.D.8-12. Incantations for this purpose from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium are not as numerous (see Finkel 1999: Texts 13-14 for two Late Babylonian examples). It is noteworthy that Tablet 31 of *Šumma ālu* contains not only omens concerning someone being stung by a scorpion, but also entries with therapeutic instructions, an incantation "for soothing the scorpion sting" (KA.INIM.MA *ziqit zuqaqipi puššuhi*, recited over the scorpion sting) and a short ritual (Freedman 2006: 154-159, ll. 73'-88' and Text E = Rm. 2, 149 rev. 1'-18' = CT 38, 38: 55-72). Incantations and rituals against scorpions, snakes and dogs are combined on the Neo-Assyrian tablet KAR 181 from the Assur library N4 (see obv. 6, 7, 13, rev. 4). For Namburbi rituals against the evil portents caused by encounters with snakes, dogs and scorpions, cf. also Maul 1994: texts VIII.2, VIII.4, VIII.8.

The phrase *mihīš šiltāhi/mulmulli* "arrow wound" at the end of AMC l. 78 as well as medical prescriptions to treat them seem to be otherwise unattested in the medical texts, cf. CAD Š/2 451.



79) The incipit of this section tentatively dubbed EVIL POWERS is the incipit of an unknown Akkadian incantation addressed to a masculine subject (ending in *ilsûka* “... they have called you”). At the beginning of the incipit one probably has to read MUL<sub>4</sub> “star”, followed by the name of a celestial body, unfortunately broken. A similar address is made to Marduk during the performance of the New Year’s ritual, in negated form: [*bēl Bābili*] *lā iqbûnikka u Šarpānitu lā ilsûka* “did they not call you, [Lord of Babylon], and did they not call you, Šarpānitu?” (K. 9876+19534 rev. 23’, 26’-27’, 30’; Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 229). Incantation-prayers to heavenly bodies are attested e.g. within the corpus of anti-witchcraft rituals. Two prayers addressed to Orion begin with <sup>mul</sup>SIPA.ZI.AN.NA, but their incipits are likewise fragmentary (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 9.8 ll. 1-26, 27-40). Another composition addressed to Ninurta as Sirius (<sup>mul</sup>KAK.SI.SÁ) is found in the context of anti-witchcraft rituals (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.8), but does not yield an identical incipit either. Cf. further Mayer 1976: 429-432 for incantation-prayers to astral bodies. The content of this AMC section consisting of one tablet is thus hard to define, but certain keywords and phrases in the summary section point to its apotropaic character and to connections with illnesses attributed to witchcraft and demonic attacks (see below commentary to AMC ll. 81-83).

80) It is noteworthy that the first cited key phrases in the *adi*-section of EVIL POWERS in AMC l. 80-81 focus on symptoms of the eyes. The reason for and significance of these cited phrases within this section of the therapeutic corpus are not apparent. The only exact parallel for the first entry of the *adi*-section comes from a tablet fragment with physiognomic omens, belonging to the series *Šumma Ea liballiṭka* (CT 51, 147: 17, Reiner 1982: 285): DIŠ SIG<sub>7</sub> IGI-šú *ištanahhiṭ* (GU<sub>4</sub>.GU<sub>4</sub>) *i-had-ṛ dū* “If his eyebrow twitches all the time, he will be happy”. The verb *šahāṭu* “to move irregularly or spasmodically; to twitch” is found in constructions with other body parts in the diagnostic series, e.g. *Sakikkû* 1: 37-38 (George 1991: 144, said of the eyes); *Sakikkû* 10: 30-31 (Scurlock 2014a: 75, said of the breath); TLB 2, 21: 12’ (an Old Babylonian diagnostic text, Heeßel 2000: 97-98, said of the belly/heart). No examples for the form *il-te-né-hi-iṭ* (Gtn-stem of *šahāṭu*) are cited in CAD Š/1 91-92, cf. von Soden 1991: 489a. The change /št/ to /lt/ is attested for the Middle Assyrian, Middle Babylonian and Late Babylonian period (von Soden 1995: § 30g). There are a few Middle Assyrian examples for the infix *-tan-* undergoing vowel assimilation (cf. forms of *niāku*: *it-ti-ni-ik-ku*, KAV 1, II 68; *it-ti-ni-ku-u-ūš*, KAV 1, II 84 and *it-ti-ni-ku-ka*, KAV 1, II 86). The form *iltenehhiṭ* may thus be Middle Assyrian or Babylonian.

81) The restoration at the beginning of this line remains uncertain due to a lack of suitable textual parallels. The expression *hupti/ huppāt ini* “cavity/cavities of the eyes” is only attested rarely in medical or related texts; cf. AMT 94/8: 2 and 3, a fragment of physiognomic omens (= TBP 20; Böck 2000: 306): DIŠ (MUNUS) *hu-up-ti* IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú *i-šá-...* “If the cavity of (a woman’s) eyes ...”. AMT 102/1 i 19 // BAM 216: 47’ (= CRANIUM 3) mentions *hu-up/hup-pat* IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú within the therapeutic instruction (Stol 1986b: 357b). The phrase *huppāt ini* is explained in the commentary to the series *Qutāru* BRM 4, 32: 4 as *šuplu* IGI’ “depth/hole of the eye”; Scurlock 2014a: 341).

Similarly, no parallel for the key phrase DIŠ N]A *ṛkib-ṛa* IGI GIG (*kib-ri* expected) “if a man is sick at the rim of the eye” could be identified in the therapeutic texts, although entries mentioning the rim of the eyes can be found in the diagnostic series: e.g. *Sakikkû* 9: 69 (described as red); *Sakikkû* 5: 121’; *Sakikkû* 14: 253’-254’; *Sakikkû* 22: 19-20 (inflamed/swollen; often associated with the “Hand of a curse” (*mamītu*) in the diagnosis; see Heeßel 2000; Scurlock 2014a).

The third key phrase in AMC line 81, *pirittu* NU IGI “he will not experience fright”, can be matched with a few examples of incantations and prescriptions for this problem (see CAD P 402-403; *pirittu* is lexically equated with *šuttu* “dream” and seems to refer to the experience of nightmares). A matching incantation rubric is found in a small Late Babylonian tablet with an incantation and short ritual (Jursa 1997: 137, 174, No. 58: 11, classified as KA.INIM.MA *pi-rit-tú* N[U IGI’] “Recitation that he will not [experience] fright”. Parallels to this spell and text genre are found in BM 78955 (an unprovenanced Neo-Assyrian one-column tablet with incantations/rituals against *pirittu*), in Sm. 1343 (without rubric, CDLI P240372) and in K. 2993, a Neo-Babylonian tablet with incantations and rituals against nightmares, see rev. 9’ (rubric KA.INIM.MA *pi-rit-ti* ‘NU’ IGI) and rev. 16’ (KA.[INIM].MA DIŠ NA *ana É DINGIR te-bi-ma ina GI<sub>6</sub> pi-rit-ti* [i IGI’] “Recitation for the case that a man is up (to go) to the temple but [has experienced?] fright in the night”; CDLI P238229, all texts courtesy to H. Stadhouders). Some of these incantations are addressed to Ištar as sender of nightmares.

Among collections of amulet charms are examples worn “in order to prevent fright (in the night), fear and the *mukil rēš lemutti*-demon from approaching a man” (UET 7, 121 ii 6 //, Schuster-Brandis 2008, 348: 17-20; also SpTU 4, 129 iv 22, v 9, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 328f., 354, 357). In some texts, *pirittu* is associated with divine retribution and sorcery, see e.g.

BAM 317 rev. 24-26 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49 text 1.5, 3, Ms. C): *šumma amēlu ... hušša hīpi [libbi] pirittum irtanašši* “If a man’s (face constantly twists, his limbs are ‘poured out’), he continuously experiences tenseness, [heart]break and fright” (diagnosis: “Hand of mankind”). *Pirittu* is also found in enumerations of emotional disturbances, demons and various evils, see e.g. KAR 80 rev. 9 // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.4 ms. A; anti-witchcraft incantation); KAR 282, 1. Fragment (+) 2. Fragment (+) KAR 37: 14’, parallel LKA 128: 12 etc. (amulets with Namburbi-spell, cf. Maul und Strauss 2011: text No. 22; Maul 1994: 185-189); KAR 234: 21’ // (incantation against ghost apparitions, Butler 1998: 69; Scurlock 2006: no. 15), including the phrase: *lū pirittu ša ina mūši ugdanalla[tanni]* “(whether it is terror, an evil *rābišu*-demon etc.) or a fright that always frightens [me] at night”.

82) While the reconstruction of the beginning of AMC line 82 remains a bit problematic (MAŠ.SİL<sup>(III)</sup>-šū is expected), shoulder pain is mentioned in connection with witchcraft-related afflictions fitting the context, see e.g. STT 102: 1-6 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 229 text 7.10, 3 Ms. P (DIŠ NA DAL.BA.<NA> MAŠ.SİL<sup>I</sup>-šū TAG.GA-su “If the space between his shoulders hurts a man”). Compare also AMT 31/1+: 3-5 (Geller 2005a: No. 2: 3: [DIŠ] NA MAŠ.SİL<sup>I</sup>-šū GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šū “if a man’s shoulders constantly hurt him” (this text probably belongs to KIDNEY; the diagnosis is *hinqti elabuhhi* “constriction of the bladder”).

For the restoration at the end of AMC line 82 compare below line 88, where the rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA seems to occur a second time, within the *adi*-section of DIVINE ANGER. For texts concerned with KA.DAB.BÉ.DA (*kadabbedû*) “seizing of the mouth”, a type of sorcerous magic, and treatments for the problems resulting from it, see e.g. K. 2418+ (AMT 78/1+) // rev. iii 41-42 (= NECK 5, see Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 72-74, 75; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.14: 1 Ms. A): DIŠ NA KA-šū KA.DAB.BÉ.DA TUK-[ši ...] “If a man’s mouth is affected by ‘seizing of the mouth’”; also rev. iii 27’-29’ (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.14: 19-21) and rev. iii. 31’ (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6 Ms F: 8). See further BAM 473 // 209 // 461 // 463 // KUB 37, 57 (+?) 58 (= NECK 3); BAM 161 ii 1’-10’ (potion against various forms of witchcraft including *kadabbedû*; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 1.8 Ms. B “Col. IV”); BAM 190 (KAL 2, 49) rev. 13ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 227 text 7.10.3: 39-42 Ms F; prescription in a collection on witchcraft); SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85 (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, sub 2-3 Ms. A ii 14, iv 11, Late Babylonian amulet collection); BM 36330 rev. 4-6 (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.18, sub 1; amulet collection); cf. further Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 8.27, 8.28, 8.33. Single prescriptions for KA.DAB.BÉ.DA are encountered in SpTU 1, 58 (Late Babylonian, from Uruk); CBS 14161 (Neo-/Late Babylonian, Leichty 1988: 261ff.); AO 17622 (Neo-/Late Babylonian, Labat 1960: 171; for these see now Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 10.15-10.17). Compare also KA.DAB.BÉ.DA in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (STT 89 ii 37-42, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 437 text 12.1: 96-101).

The peculiar spelling KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KAM in AMC l. 82 (vs. KA.DAB.BÉ.DA in line 88) could imply that incantations for this purpose are meant, but so far no incantation with this rubric is known. The spellings KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KAM/KE<sub>4</sub> are encountered within anti-witchcraft incantations, in lists of sorcery types (e.g. BAM 214 rev. iv 11’; PBS 1/2, 121 obv. 5’, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 403 text 10.2). For discussions of KA.DAB.BÉ.DA see also Reiner 1995: 104ff.; Schwemer 2007a: 15ff., 63 n. 136; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 72-74 (in the context of paralysis and stroke).

83) All the rubrics cited in this line seem to stand for apotropaic incantations and rituals. The first entry, ÉN EN.TE. NA “incantation (for) chill” could be an incantation incipit or a rubric (designating a genre), neither is attested so far in the textual sources. For *kuššu* (EN.TE.NA) “chill; ague” as a disease term encountered in medical prescriptions, in connection with fever cf. CAD K 596a sub 3, e.g. BAM 66 rev. 10 (Stol 2007a: 31; Johnson 2014: 30). The primary meaning of *kuššu*(EN.TE.NA) is “cold weather; winter”, and in some medical contexts, the word is used to classify treatments for specific conditions that occur in the winter (e.g. respiratory ailments and *sikkatu*, cf. above commentary to AMC l. 48 for references).

The restoration at the end of AMC line 83 follows the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 7 //), where the compilation of Hulbazizi incantations is listed after the entries UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ and A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ (see Geller *infra*). While the series UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ is well known (Geller 2016), A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ is not attested otherwise as the name of a compilation (neither has its incipit given as a gloss in KAR 44 been identified), although Sumerian incantations with the incipit a-ba-me-en are known from different contexts (see Geller *infra*).

For compilations of apotropaic HUL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations and their use on protective amulets and in medical texts, see Ebeling 1953: 357ff.; Finkel 1976: 72-73, 74-77, 245-83; HeeBel 2002: 112f. Incantations from this collection were integrated into medical therapeutic texts in several differing contexts, but they were predominantly applied in treatments

for ghost-induced illnesses, headache (SAG.KI.DAB.BA), “sick neck” (GÚ.GIG.GA) and paralysis (*šimmatu*). Because of the multiple usage contexts, it remains unknown which specific Hulbazizi incantations are referred to in AMC I. 83.

For convenience, note especially the following HUL.BA.ZI.ZI compositions integrated into medical texts:

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 17 (*Šin šar agī* “Sin, lord of the crown”) is used against “sick neck” in the first part of K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+ obv. i 1-5 (parallel: (K. 3612 = AMT 47/3 rev. iii 2’-6’), a tablet also containing a section of the amulet compendium *kunuk halti*, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 373 Text 17). Two more Hulbazizi spells (Finkel 1976: Spell No. 42 *níg-nam-hul-dím-ma*, and No. 43 *ᵃa-rá-nun-na*) are included in these manuscripts for the same purpose, see K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+ obv. ii 1-2, 6-7 // AMT 47/3 rev. iv 17-19, 23-25.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 20 (*ka-kib ka-kib lugal ka-na-kib*), which was also part of the compendium *Muššu’u* (Böck 2007: *Muššu’u* IV/j), is used in ghost rituals (AMT 97/1 obv. 4-7 // BAM 471 iii 23’-25’; BAM 221 rev. iii 22’-24’ // BAM 385 rev. iv 17-19; Scurlock 2006: No. 178a), in a text with treatments for paralysis (AMT 88/1+BE 31, 58 obv. 9’ //), and in an anti-witchcraft text (STT 275 i 19’-27’, Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 20 text 3.4 Ms. B; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 51). The spell is also encountered in BAM 475 i 4’-5’, which belongs to NECK (Tablet 4); cf. Böck 2007: 47-49 for the therapeutic passages.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 25 (*attā mannu mimma lemnu ša ana paniya tēšera*) is partially preserved in BAM 508 (AMT 38/2+K. 3261) i 31’-32’, a collection of incantations and short prescriptions for different medical purposes, including afflictions of the head, the ears and internal problems (*ŠĀ.GIG.GA*, *ŠĀ.SI.SĀ*), but its exact purpose there remains unknown (see Johnson *infra* for discussion). Finkel 1976: Spell 65 (*nīš gašri rašābi šūpī Šulpaēa*) is encountered in a similar collection, CT 51, 199 (BM 122631) rev. iii 10-12. Column i of this tablet shares sections with BAM 508 col. iv (see Köcher 1980a: xxxvif. for parallels).

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 30 (*āhuz pagrī šipat balāṭi*) is used in K. 3442 (BAM 484) obv. 1ff. and K. 8211 i 1’ff., possibly for headache (SAG.KI.DAB.BA); cf. Köcher 1980a: xxvii; Finkel 1976: 252-255.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 57 (*šu-zi hul-ḡāl*) was applied in different settings (cf. above): against headache, in manuscripts of CRANIUM Tablet 3: AMT 102/1: i 7ff. (incipit cited in l. 5) and parallel passages in BAM 483 ii 14’-16’ (collection of ghost rituals, see Scurlock 2006: No. 114a), see also Scurlock 2006: No. 113. The spell was also applied in BAM 221 iii 13’ // BAM 411 iii 16’ // BAM 385 iv 2 (Scurlock 2006: No. 110) and Jastrow 1913: rev. 38’-41’ (= CRANIUM excerpt) // BAM 216 rev. 46’ (Scurlock 2006: No. 114b). Furthermore, the incantation is attested in KAR 255 i 5’ff., probably in connection with a treatment for the ears, and in KAR 88/3 ii 13’ff. (Ebeling 1953: 413). Spell No. 57 was also employed in a witchcraft-related context, in BAM 326 ii 2’-6’ (incipit cited in ii 5’, Ebeling 1949a: 202-203; cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.7 ms. C). A Late Babylonian tablet combining mainly protective treatments (amulets) against different demons and evils with HUL.BA.ZI.ZI spells is SpTU 3, 83 (cf. Finkel 1976: Spells No. 45, 50, 58, 59).

84) The incipit of the first tablet of the present catalogue section dubbed DIVINE ANGER possibly represents a compilation of rituals and remedies for loosening divine wrath, starting with the head of the pantheon Anu. A number of partially duplicating texts are known that are concerned with calming down the anger (*kimiltu*) of various deities toward a person. For instance, BAM 315, a two-column tablet from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 73 (555)), contains prescriptions for divine wrath and features an entry (in col. i 43) matching the AMC incipit of DIVINE ANGER Tablet 1: [ana DI]B-ti <<A>>ᵃa-nim B[ÚR] “[to] loosen the [wra]th of Anu” (cf. further passages in col. ii 2, 6, 26, 30, 33 beginning with *ana DIB ᵃNN BÚR*). However, the first section of the tablet (col. i 1-27) focuses on *mēlu*-bags for the “curse” (NAM. ÉRIM), followed by *mēlu*-bags for fever, and only from col. i 43 onward, the topic is *kimiltu*, although the remaining textual material very likely belongs to the present AMC section. BAM 316, a late Middle Assyrian three-column tablet from Assur partially duplicating BAM 315, unites a larger collection of prescriptions mostly to calm the anger of the personal deities, with different sections separated by double rulings. It offers parallel phrases to BAM 315 (see col. ii 26, iii 9, iv 4, vi 6’: DIŠ NA / NA BI DIB-ti DINGIR u ᵃIšg-tár UGU-šú GĀL-ši), but it also features sections on “heartbreak” related to AMC I. 91 (the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1, cf. below). Furthermore, BAM 314, another Middle Assyrian fragment of a two-column tablet from Assur, contains parallel passages (e.g. l. 8’: [ana *kimilti*] ᵃU.GUR BÚR), see further KAL 4, 35 (Maul and Strauss 2011: 79ff.). The two-column tablet STT 95+295 presents another text with material belonging to the context of the AMC section DIVINE ANGER. This text likewise deals with the wrath of various deities, but starts with the anger of Marduk instead of Anu, and its incipit differs from the AMC incipit, although presenting parallel phrases and passages duplicating the cited Assur texts (STT 95+295: 5, 8, 17, 24, 30, 43, 63, 86, Scurlock 2014a:

650-663, with duplicates). For parallels in tablets from Nineveh (excerpts), see AMT 40/2+K. 9085 rev. (CDLI P396519) and K. 8907 obv. 8'ff. (CDLI P238826). These texts recommend mostly medicine bags (*mêlu*) worn as amulets, but also ointments, incantations and offerings.

Remedies for divine wrath are also found in other contexts. Such prescriptions were collected in amulet compendia (e.g. STT 271 ii 8; BM 56148+ ii 42-iii 11, vi 25-33, 2, 22+ SpTU 3, 85 col. i-iv, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: texts 6 and 9). But they also occur in ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts and in texts focussing on witchcraft, because of overlapping symptomologies (e.g. Biggs 1967: 67 STT 280 ii 2, 26; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.2: 12-20 (LKA 157 and 154), text 7.7 (KAR 92 etc.); Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 (KAR 92) and the texts discussed above in the commentary on AMC l. 44). Treatments to calm divine anger are further encountered in collections of prescriptions for various ailments (e.g. the Assur text BAM 318 with rituals for divine wrath in col. iii 3-iv 24; Schwemer 2013: 181-200). Two other partially duplicating Assur tablets, BAM 321 and BAM 322, contain treatments to reconcile (*sullumu*) different deities with a person, and may be related to the present AMC section. Note further K. 2832+6680 i 16 (Oshima 2011: 328-329, 345 *passim*; CDLI P394707), a tablet listing incipits, mainly of prayers to Marduk and Šamaš for use in different rituals, adding the glossing rubric KA.INIM.MA *ki-mil-tú 'ana'* [*pašāri*] “recitation to [loosen] the wrath” to the incantation incipit in i 15 (cf. also i 6, 8 and 10).

Notably, the second entry of AMC line 84 (DIVINE ANGER Tablet 2) is found as the beginning of a prescription in texts just cited for DIVINE ANGER 1: in STT 95+295 iii 130-137 // BM 64174: 1-7, with variants BAM 315 iii 1-8, BAM 316 ii 5'-14' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 3.5-3.7), SpTU 2, 22+ i 21-28 // (cf. i 44, ii 25; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 251; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, sub 1: 1-10; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 657): DIŠ NA *gi-na-a šu-dur ur-ra u GI<sub>6</sub> ina-(an)-ziq* “If a man is always frightened, he is upset day and night”. A similar entry in BAM 316 v 4 occurs also at the beginning of the Assur excerpt tablet KAR 74: 1: DIŠ NA *gi-na-a <a>-dir ur-ra u mu-šá i-na-<sup>2</sup>ziq*, but KAR 74 continues differently, with two prayers to Šamaš and Sîn (Mayer 1976: “Šamaš 73” and “Sîn 11”). Amulet compendia also recommend stones for fear and anxiety (*šumma amêlu ginâ adir*), see e.g. AMT 7/1 iii 1'-12' // BAM 372 ii 15-17 // BAM 373 ii 1-5 // BAM 400 ii 10' // BM 56148+iii 40-41 // SpTU 2, 22+ ii 1-12 etc. (Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 88).

85) Tablet 3 of DIVINE ANGER is indicated in the AMC through the incipit of an incantation, which matches the beginning of two different compositions, both known from collections of texts featuring the rubric KA.INIM.MA DINGIR. ŠĀ.DAB.BA GUR.RU.DA.KAM, which consist of incantations/prayers to calm down the angry personal god. The first incantation is *ilī ul īdi šeretka našāku* “My god, I do not know (my sin), I am bearing your punishment”, the second *ilī ul īdi šeretka dannat* “My god, I do not know (my sin), your punishment is heavy”, the latter of which was also integrated into the *Bīt rimki* ritual. A number of tablets featuring either one of these two incantations among other recitations for calming the personal god have been identified by W. G. Lambert 1974: 267-322, esp. 274-276: 23-39, 286: 6-19. Note especially the texts LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 (Ms. K, fig. 3), LKA 26 (Ms. L, Late Middle Assyrian), Sm. 925 (Ms. i, fig. 3) for *ilī ul īdi šeretka dannat* and K. 7641 (Ms. F, fig. 11) and KAR 39+45+VAT 9147 (Ms. J, fig. 10, 2-col.) for *ilī ul īdi šeretka našāku*. LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 also contains a ritual section beside the recitations (rev. iv). The Assur tablet KAR 90 preserves the text of the ritual that was performed in connection with these compositions, which are cited together with seven more incantation incipits in rev. 3-4 (see discussion Lambert 1974: 269-270). Notably, KAR 90: 1 bears the introductory line *enūma nēpeši ilī ul īdi te[ppušu]* “When you per[form] the ritual of ‘My god, I do not know’”, showing that *ilī ul īdi* was used as the name of a specific ceremony. Reference to this ritual by citing the incipit ĒN DINGIR.MU *ul ZU* is also made in LKA 91, the Ritual Tablet of *Šurpu* (I rev. ii 18'), according to which *ilī ul īdi* was performed following *Šurpu* (Reiner 1958: 12; a different order is postulated in KAR 90 rev. 20). The *ilī ul īdi* incantations were also used in a group with incantations from the apotropaic and purificatory rituals *Maqlū*, *Šurpu* and *Bīt rimki*, according to the Ritual Tablet of the latter work (Lambert 1974: 268; Læssøe 1955: 26-27, BBR No. 26 v 78-81; SpTU 2, 12 iii 44b). Furthermore, an Assur catalogue/inventory with incipits from the *āšipūtu* corpus, VAT 13723+ obv. i 3' groups [ĒN DINGIR.M]U *ul i-di* together with the incipits of *Šurpu* (Geller 2000a: 227-228). However, the *ilī ul īdi* incantations are to my knowledge not attested so far in medical contexts (e.g. embedded or cited in medical prescriptions).

A tablet bearing an incipit identical with the second entry of AMC l. 85 (DIVINE ANGER 4) has not been identified. The phrase “for a man's god and goddess to stand at his head” can sometimes be found within remedies or rituals for loosening the anger of the personal deities, see e.g. the amulet compendium SpTU 2, 22+3, 85 iv 5 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 254), introducing a prescription: *ana NA DINGIR-šū u <sup>2</sup>15-šū ina SA[G]-<sup>2</sup>šū' GUB-zi-ma MĀŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub>-tū na-ṭa-lu* “for a man's god and goddess to stand at his head and to (see) a good dream”. It is noteworthy that this Uruk tablet for

protective bracelets focuses on topics that match the contents and sequence of the AMC section DIVINE WRATH. The tablet starts with stones for dimness of the eyes and seeing flashes of light (i 1-20; compare above AMC section EVIL POWERS), then turns to fright and (other symptoms indicating) divine wrath (i 21-ii 12), followed by a section diagnosing “Hand of mankind” and “wrath of Marduk” (ii 13-ii 28), amulets to overcome one’s enemies (ii 29-iii 37), stones for (turning away) the anger of the personal deities (iii 38-iv 3), for the presence of protective deities (iv 4-6), closed by a section with amulets for diverse purposes. In the extract tablet BAM 446 (K. 2562): 8, the phrase “for a man’s god and goddess to stand at his head” occurs within the purpose statement of a ritual against divine anger, slander and witchcraft (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.8).<sup>45</sup>

86) It is noteworthy that in the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 obv. 12f. //), the rubrics UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA are listed together following UŠ<sub>11</sub>.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ “evil sorcery” and ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ “evil curses” (see Geller *infra*). Thus, in AMC line 86, the inclusion of NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA rituals in a section concerned with appeasing the anger of the gods provides a good fit, but a reading [UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM is not excluded entirely. For this reason, textual material for both text groups is briefly reviewed.

The “curse” caused by a broken oath (NAM.ÉRIM/*mamitu*) was the central topic of the incantation series ZĪ.SUR.RA.MEŠ, also designated sag-ba sag-ba “Curse! Curse!” after its incipit (Schramm 2008 and KAR 44 obv. 8 //; for the inclusion of incantations from this series in therapeutic rituals, see Schramm 2008: 8f.). Medical treatments and rituals concerned with removing the “curse” (NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA) are also known from numerous sources. In the diagnostic series, NAM.ÉRIM/*mamitu* occurs as a cause of illness, e.g. in *Sakikkû* Tablet 1: 3 (George 1991: 142), *Sakikkû* 22: 16-32 (Heeßel 2000: 253f.; Scurlock 2014a: 186f.) and in *Sakikkû* Tablet 28: 7 (Heeßel 2000: 308; Scurlock 2014a: 211). The section in *Sakikkû* Tablet 22 is preceded by entries diagnosing illness due to witchcraft and the “hands” of various deities, whereas *Sakikkû* Tablet 28 deals with epilepsy (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA) “turning” into other illnesses (e.g. the “curse”). The diagnosis is also encountered in other sections of the therapeutic corpus, e.g. in K. 67(= AMT 73/1-75/1)+AMT 15/3+ i 43, ii 46 // BAM 124 ii 34 (= HAMSTRING, Eypper 2016: 16, 28); BAM 584 ii’ 26’ (= SKIN), in prescriptions for rectal illness (STT 97 ii 6; cf. Geller 2005a: No. 34: 33ff.), or digestive disorders (BAM 168: 18f. // BAM 579 ii 54’f. (= STOMACH 5), Geller 2005a: No. 34: 18f.). Recipes for illness due to the “curse” can also be found in the *Sammeltafel* BAM 161 iii 7 and 10 (plants for the curse), cf. further BAM 174 rev. 28 (a one-column tablet containing a section on the “curse”, combined with sections duplicating passages in STOMACH); see also BAM 67: 9 (potion, beside recipes from STOMACH).

Befitting the present context in the AMC, the “curse” (NAM.ÉRIM) often occurs in enumerations of illness agents, such as ghosts, demons, or the “Hand of the god/goddess”, see e.g. the beginning of the multi-purpose healing ritual addressed to Ištar, AMT 96/3+(AMT 6/10+AMT 96/9+, Farber 1977: Taf. 1; CDLI P394506) // KAR 42 (+) LKA 74: 1ff. (Farber 1977: 56 Ms. A and c). The tablet fragment AMT 94/1: 1 (Scurlock 2006: no. 231: 1) contains a ritual/incantation for a man seized by a ghost or a curse. In the multi-purpose ritual AMT 96/7: 1// KAR 26: 1ff. //, the “Hand of the curse” is mentioned beside divine wrath, epilepsy and witchcraft (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 216 text 8.27: 1ff.).

It is notable that AMC may refer to incantations with the rubric KA.INIM.MA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM/KÁM/KE<sub>4</sub>, which are attested, e.g. in CTN 4, 107, a tablet with bilingual incantations from Nimrud used against illness (Knudsen 1959: 55: 26, 43 // Knudsen 1965: 161; 26). Note further the Assur fragments LKA 151: 22’ // LKA 152 rev. 12’; BM 42317 (81-7-1, 77) rev. 7’ (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 14, the latter fragment features both NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA and UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA rubrics). Incantations with this rubric were also integrated into *Šurpu* (Reiner 1958: 35 Tablet V 172) and into the so-called *lipšur* litanies (Reiner 1956: 130, 138: 121a).

D. Schwemer (2007a: 66, n. 151) has noted that there is an overlap between UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA textual material (see also Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 48, 62f. *passim*). For instance, incantations against witchcraft were sometimes applied for removing the “curse”, as in K. 885+ rev. 1 // LKU 27 rev. 10’ (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 94: 16 text 7.22 mss. A and c), where the incantation *attī mannu kaššāptu ša tubta’ēnni* is followed in K. 885+ by the rubric KA.INIM.MA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM instead of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM in the Uruk exemplar. A manuscript of Tablet 63 of the canonical UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA series from Nineveh (BAM 438 rev. 7’f. //) includes a rubric classifying a spell as usable for multiple purposes including sorcery, the “curse” and evil demons (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 119: 35’f. text 7.2 ms. A). Similarly, the incantation *anāku nubattu ahāt Marduk* could be used to counter sorcery

<sup>45</sup> The tablet was written by an exorcist from Assur and exhibits the handwriting of texts from Neo-Assyrian Assur, although it was found at Nineveh.

or for removing the “curse”, according to the rubrics of some manuscripts (see 81-7-25, 205 rev. 2, K. 1289 rev. 12 and the 30<sup>th</sup> *pirsu* of the Late Babylonian therapeutic series *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* (BM 42272: 10-18); Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 54 text 7.11 mss. A, h, n; Bácskay 2015: 5, 11), while other sources apply this spell against kidney disease (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 7.11 mss. J, K, L, M from Nineveh; cf. further Stol 1992: 251ff.). Some tablets with anti-witchcraft rituals feature rubrics explaining that the texts could be recited to remove curse or sorcery: e.g. SpTU 2, 25 rev. 18; K. 3360+ obv. 6' // K. 3379(+) rev. 9' // PBS 10/2, 18 rev. 41' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 282: 116 text 8.3, mss. C, E, f). Some incantation and ritual texts focusing on the removal of sorcery include sections dealing with the “curse”, e.g. VAT 10786 (= KAL 4, 30) obv. 3'-6'. Similar overlaps can also be encountered in therapeutic texts and drugs manuals, where groups of *materia medica* can be summarised as remedies for UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR, see BAM 434 iii 2' // BAM 59 rev. 5 // BM 42272 obv. 7 // BAM 161 obv. v 6'-7' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 217: 61'') text group 7.10 Mss. A, G, j, K; Bácskay 2015: 5); BAM 191 rev. 4 // BAM 192 rev. 4 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 229 text 7.10 sub 4 Mss. Q, R); see further BAM 197 rev. 22 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 56ff. text 1.7), an excerpt tablet with prescriptions for different purposes, including one *ana pišerti kišpī u mamīti* “for dispelling sorcery and curse”). Note also compendia for amulet bracelets, such as STT 275 obv. i 16', 20' // (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 101f. Kette 50 and 51; cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 20 text 3.4 ms. B), where two amulets are marked as beneficial for both sorcery and the curse.

The heterogeneous text group with the label UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA.(KAM) has been discussed by Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 9, 11, 13f. who also edited several of these texts (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.1-7.10; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 7.11-7.26). An extensive UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA series of incantations and rituals is known from a few Nineveh one-column tablets compiled for Ashurbanipal's library (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.2-7.4), but such a series is also known in a different form from the library N4 at Assur (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.6.2 KAL 2, 14). However, UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA incantations and rituals were also integrated into the therapeutic series (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.5 K. 3661(+)) and above commentary to AMC lines 38-44, EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN). T. Abusch and D. Schwemer (2011 and 2016) divide the material into groups of tablets with Sumerian incantations (e.g. text 7.1), tablets in which UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA incantations are recited with remedies against witchcraft (e.g. text group 7.8), tablets in which incantations are used in rituals employing magic figurines (e.g. text 7.6.2-7.6.3), and tablets with prescriptions featuring the label “drugs for UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA”, including practical handbooks of *materia medica* (e.g. text group 7.10). It remains to be investigated whether the possible mention of UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA in AMC (see also above line 43) refers to incantations/rituals with possible links to the *āšipūtu* text corpus or to medical prescriptions for this purpose. Texts from the therapeutic series featuring UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA rituals or medical treatments (e.g. K. 3661(+) and BM 42272), leave open both possibilities (cf. also commentary to AMC ll. 87-88).

87) This line of the AMC cannot be restored with certainty from textual sources. D. Schwemer (personal communication) suggested the following restoration for lines 87-88 of the catalogue:

<sup>87)</sup> *šumma(DIŠ) am[ēlu(N[A] arratu lemuttu(?) š]ā lā(NU) zakāri(MU-ri) u ú-pi-ši*

<sup>88)</sup> *lemnūti(HUL) sahrū(NIGIN)-šú*

“If a man is surrounded [by an evil curse(?) th]at must not be uttered and by evil sorcerous machinations.”

An alternative reading for the summary section of DIVINE ANGER was proposed by G. Buisson (personal communication):

<sup>86)</sup> NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ *ana* DIB <sup>d</sup>[A-*nim* BÚR EN KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM

<sup>87)</sup> *ù* KA.INIM.MA DIŠ N[A HUL šá šu-m]a NU MU-ri u ú-pi-ši

<sup>88)</sup> HUL NIGIN-šú EN [(...) ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA K]A.DAB.BÉ.DA

“Total of four tablets (belonging to) ‘In order to [counteract] the wrath of [Anu]. Including recitations for removing sor]cery, and recitations for the case that [the evil of an utter]ing not to be uttered and evil sorcerous machinations surround him. Including [(...) treatments against ‘cutting of the throat’-magic and] ‘seizing of the mouth’-magic”.

88) The scribe probably erased a MEŠ after the sign HUL at the beginning of AMC line 88.<sup>46</sup> Note the parallel phrase in two Nineveh therapeutic compendia focusing on sorcery, BAM 434 v 8f. // BAM 435 v 11'f. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 221f. text 7.10 ll. 181'''-186'''): DIŠ NA ú-pi-šu HUL.MEŠ NIGIN-šu / a-na ú-pi-ši HUL.MEŠ ana NA NU TE-e “If evil machinations surround a man, so that the evil machinations do not approach the man”. For *upišu* associated with ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA-magic see also BAM 449 i 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 408 text 10.3). The keywords *upišu* and KA.DAB.BÉ.DA signal that the texts referred to in AMC ll. 87-88 are concerned with the topic witchcraft and formed part of the section DIVINE ANGER. The link between the topics divine anger and sorcery in the corpus can be connected with the widespread belief that sorcery causes the personal deities of the victim to depart in anger (see e.g. Abusch 1999; Abusch 2002: 27ff.; Schwemer 2007a: 149ff. for discussion). The rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA is probably mentioned as well in the summary section of EVIL POWERS (AMC l. 82), which would mean that treatments or incantations for this purpose were integrated into two different sections of the therapeutic corpus (cf. above).

89) The incipit of Tablet 1 of the section dubbed ORACLES starts with the word *enūma*, which is typical for the incipits of the ritual tablets of longer ceremonies, usually introduced with the sentence *enūma nēpešī ša ... teppušu* “when you perform the ritual of ...” (see e.g. Reiner 1958: 11 Šurpu Tablet 1: 1 *e-nu-ma nē-pe-še šā šur-pu* [e-p]u-šu; Abusch 2016: 207 *Maqlû* Ritual Tablet: 1 (restored from the catalogue VAT 13723+ i 13', see Geller 2000a: 227ff.), also in ii 16' (*Mīs pī*), iii 10', iv 2 (*Lamaštu*); Farber 2014: 18ff., 129 Lam. III (3. *pirsu*) 1.<sup>47</sup> The similarity in phrasing could thus suggest that AMC line 89 referred to ritual procedures in connection with obtaining an *egerrû* (oracular decision). The proposed reconstruction “when [you ask] for an oracle”) remains provisional, since a matching tablet incipit has not been identified.

The word *egerrû* (from Sum. *i<sub>5</sub>/inim-gar* “utterance”) has different shades of meaning. It can refer to a person's reputation that results from the things other people say about him/her, and a number of rituals describe the patient's reputation being made bad (*lemnu* or *lemēnu*) by other people as an aspect of the treated problem. Second, *egerrû* can refer to an omen type (“oracular utterance”, “kledon”), in which predominantly acoustic perceptions (human utterances, noises of animals and objects) are understood as a sign sent by a deity and are interpreted as an omen.<sup>48</sup>

That *egerrû* is used in AMC line 89 in the meaning “oracle” or “oracular uttering” is further indicated by AMC line 90, which enumerates other oracular techniques (everyday omens based on the behaviour of oxen and on the stars). A similar section in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 25 //) lists *egerrû* among a partially identical list of oracle forms (see below commentary AMC line 90; Geller *infra*, p. 307 and Steinert *infra*, p. 184). In some texts, *egerrû* is mentioned in conjunction with the curse of god and people (e.g. Reiner 1958: 34 Šurpu V-VI 154f.; AMT 102/1: 8, in the incantation šu-si hul-ġál) and with ominous dreams (Butler 1998: 155f., see for further discussion CAD E 43ff.; Oppenheim 1954-56: 49ff.; Butler 1998: 151-58). In *Šumma ālu* Tablet 95 ll. 1-33 (CT 39, 41), the *egerrû* is produced by various domestic animals or birds (Butler 1998: 152f.; Koch 2015: 254). Mention of an *egerrû* omen is also made in BM 53683 rev. 1' (a small fragment of *Sakikkû* Tablet 2) offering the fragmentary omen entry 'I<sub>5</sub>.GAR i-pu-ul-šu “an *egerrû* has answered him”, followed by the catchline to Tablet 3 (cf. Heeßel 2001-02: 37 n. 31, 46, 49). This phrase is also found in *egerrû* omens in *Šumma ālu* Tablet 95. See also STT 95+295: 58 (Scurlock 2014a: 654), where a favorable *egerrû* signals the calming of divine anger.

The fragmentary incipit of ORACLES Tablet 2 is also uncertain due to lacking text parallels, but one may possibly restore [... *tur-r*]i-im *ta-me-e* “[...] of a twisted cord” or [*ana ... tur-r*]i-im *ta-me-e* “[in order to ...] thread a cord” at the end of AMC line 89. The role of a twisted string in the context of oracles is not immediately apparent. Strings are primarily known from instructions for protective amulet necklaces, and in the present context they may refer to amulets that were worn so that the evil portended by negative omens would not “come close” to a person (see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 155ff. for an overview).<sup>49</sup>

90) A close parallel for the oracles obtained from oxen and stars, listed here as part of the *adi*-section of ORACLES, is found in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 25 //, see Geller *infra*, pp. 299, 307-308), which similarly enumerates EŠ.BAR

<sup>46</sup> The word *upišu* “sorcerous machinations” occurs both in singular and plural, see CAD U/W 179f.

<sup>47</sup> See also KAR 90: 1, mentioned above in the commentary to AMC line 85; CAD N/2 169a.

<sup>48</sup> An *egerrû* could be obtained spontaneously or invoked through a ritual, as in LKA 93, a fragmentary tablet written by Kišir-Nabû, which could be relevant to the present AMC section. In obv. 8f. of this text, the speaker asks for a favourable *egerrû* uttered by someone who is addressed in the plural, while rev. 7' speaks of letting an *egerrû* go out (I<sub>5</sub>.GAR *tušešši*, cf. CAD E 44b sub 3a; Reiner 1965: 251).

<sup>49</sup> For *turru* “string; band” as a term for protective necklaces cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 60f.; CAD T 164f.

MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ *u* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *u* MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ I<sub>5</sub>.GAR NA<sub>4</sub> ZÍD NA.RI DINGIR DÛ.A.BI “all omen (decisions obtained) from the stars, from birds, from cattle and herd animals, from *egerrû*-omens, (from) stones, flour, incense (or from) a god”. Both catalogues thus could refer to a collection of texts concerned with everyday divinatory techniques used by both healing disciplines (*asûtu* and *āšipûtu*), possibly in connection with making diagnoses or prognoses for their patients.

Only a few texts dealing with the oracle techniques encountered in AMC and the Exorcist's Manual are known to date. One tablet from Sultantepe (STT 73; Reiner 1960; Reiner 1995: 71-74; Hurowitz 2012) contains descriptions of a method to determine whether one would attain a wish, which includes dreams, observations of shooting stars and of the behavior of an ox. Despite the lack of textual sources for this corpus, the Exorcists's Manual and AMC show that such texts were known at Assur (and elsewhere). Notably, LKA 137 written by Kišir-Aššur and found in the Assur library N4 contains an invocation to Šamaš (with the rubric [K]A.INIMA.MA EŠ.BAR<sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL<sup>na4</sup>KUR-nu DAB “recitation for an oracle (using) alabaster and magnetite”), ritual instructions and a diagram for an oracular technique of throwing (white/black) stone dice onto marked fields drawn on the ground (Finkel 1995; Hunger 1968: No. 205; Pedersén 1986: 72 (529)).<sup>50</sup> The grouping of texts concerned with *egerrûs* and other divination forms implies that *egerrû* was thought of as intrinsically linked with the realm of omens and that the corpora of the healing specialists included procedures to obtain oracles for patients or to avert negative signs already encountered.

91) The present AMC section dubbed MENTAL ILLNESS consists of three tablets according to the summary line 93. The three incipits are registered in two lines (AMC 91-92), but since the middle portion of the tablet is lost, it is not entirely certain whether line 91 already contained the first two incipits, or whether line 92 listed the incipits of Tablets 2 and 3 of the section. The present edition tentatively opts for the latter possibility, regarding AMC line 91 as the incipit of Tablet 1.

Similar entries that could be compared with the end of AMC line 91 and give the name of the disease (“NN is its name”), are encountered in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (Heeßel 2000: 353ff., esp. lines 1-5 and 56). It is unlikely however that the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS was particularly concerned with the skin ailments described in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33, and thus the restoration of the AMC line remains to be ascertained.

The beginning of the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1 in AMC line 91 matches the incipit of two tablets with prescriptions and rituals against “depression” (*hūš hīpi libbi* lit. “*tenseness* (and) heartbreak”; cf. Stol 1993: 30-31 “melancholy”) attributed primarily to witchcraft, but the end of AMC 91 does not correspond to the available sources. Thus, KAR 92, an extract tablet<sup>51</sup> from the Assur library N4, contains rituals for illnesses affecting the *libbu* “heart/inside”, attributed to the anger or the “Hand of Ištar” (Ebeling 1919: 33-39; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.7 Ms. B obv. 1-29; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 Ms. E rev. 4'-32'; for “depression” associated with the “Hand of Ištar” see also *Sakikkû* Tablet 13: 154, Scurlock 2014a: 108; Stol 1993: 30). The beginning KAR 92 obv. reads DIŠ NA *hu-uš* GAZ *lib-bi* TUK. TUK-ši ‘nu’-ul-la-t[im] / ŠĀ-šū i-ta-mu “If a man constantly feels *tenseness* (and) ‘heartbreak’ (and) his heart ponders foolishness” (see also rev. 1-3). However, the catchline of KAR 92 rev. 34' does not correspond with AMC, but gives the incipit of an incantation-prayer to Ištar (*šaqūtu Ištar bānāt tenišēti*), which is used in two multi-purpose healing rituals addressed to Ištar (and Dumuzi) preserved in sources from Nineveh, Assur and Babylonia (Mayer 1976: 391; Farber 1977: 127ff.: 94-112, 185ff.: 19-31 texts A, II.A and II.B).

The Nineveh tablet BAM 444(+BAM 443) duplicates KAR 92 and offers a catchline (rev. 16) identical with the incipit of BAM 445, which is likewise from Nineveh and continues with the topic “depression” (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 150ff. text 7.7 Mss. A, E). Thus, the first two sections in BAM 445: (l. 1 and 10) likewise start with the phrase [DIŠ NA] *hu-uš-šū/ša* GAZ ŠĀ TUK.TUK-ši, once more matching AMC line 91. All three texts are one-column tablets and thus seem to represent textual material belonging to MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1.

The condition *hūš hīpi libbi* further occurs in BAM 317, a one-column tablet from the Assur library N4, which again deals with ailments of the *libbu* (including pain, emotional upset), mostly caused by divine anger (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49 text 1.5 Ms. C for an overview and partial edition). BAM 317 shares duplicating passages with BAM 316 (iii 8'ff., 13'ff., 23'ff.), STT 95+295 (iv 145ff.) and BAM 445 (obv. 10ff.). The condition *hūš hīpi libbi* is dealt with in BAM 317 obv. 7'ff., 16', rev. 10-23 (see esp. rev. 10: DIŠ NA *hu-uš-ša* GAZ *lib-bi* TUK.TUK-ši). The compendium BAM 316 from Assur (dating to the late Middle Assyrian or early Neo-Assyrian period), which focuses on leather pouches for different

<sup>50</sup> For the other divination forms mentioned in the Exorcist's Manual see also Steinert *infra*, p. 184.

<sup>51</sup> Designated in rev. 35 as “[x]th *nishu*”, excerpted for application.



purposes including witchcraft and divine anger, likewise features a section on “depression” (col. iii 8'-iv 2, see Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.6 for partial edition and overview; for duplicates see Köcher 1964: xxvi). Note especially BAM 316 iii 23'ff.: DIŠ NA *hu-uš-ša* GAZ *lib-bi u nissata*(ZARAH) TUK.MEŠ-ši “If man man constantly suffers from the *tense-ness*, ‘heartbreak’ and grief”. For *hīp libbi* in the context of illness due to divine anger cf. also BAM 315 iii 8', 13', 17', 23').

Of interest in the present context is moreover the excerpt tablet BAM 311, written by Kišir-Aššur, which contains a section summarised in obv. 22' as 15 leather pouches for *hūš hīpi libbi* (cf. also below for further parallels of this text with the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS). Note also the recipe collection BAM 159 iii 29 // BAM 316 iv 2 // BM 98763 rev. 84 (Scurlock 2014a: 475) listing 3 Ū *hu-ša* (var. -uš) GAZ ŠĀ-bi TUK.MEŠ-ši “three plants (when someone) constantly feels *tenseness* (and/of) ‘heartbreak’”. Fumigants and salves for *hīp libbi* are included in the fragment BAM 388 i' 6, 7, 11 collecting *materia medica* for different purposes. Note also fumigations for this purpose in TCL 6, 34 iii 5', 6', 10' (series *Qutāru* Tablet 1, Geller 2010: 173ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 339ff.), see also Sm. 460 (Stadhouders 2016), with parallels to *Qutāru* (BM 45393+).

For the meaning of the word *huššu/hūšu* in the phrase *hūš hīpi libbi* compare the medical commentary GCCI 2, 406: 10, where this word is equated with *šamû* “to roast” and *kabābu* “to burn”, thus interpreting it as a burning pain/sensation (see Geller 2010: 151; Wee 2012: 625). The word *hūšu/huššu* could be an Aramaic loanword, since no Akkadian verbal root HŪŠ is attested and since the word is never written logographically (cf. AHW 361a). In Mandaic, the verb *hūš* means “to press (tightly) together, to weld together; to bind up” (Drower 1963: 137a), which could correspond with feelings of tenseness, narrowness, pressure or oppression expressed in the Akkadian term *hūš hīpi libbi*.<sup>52</sup>

The spelling *hūš hīpi libbi* possibly implies a genitive construction, but *hušša hīp(i) libbi* indicates two independent nominal entities; the phrase *hīp(i) libbi* is also encountered alone. The hendiads expression *hušša hīp(i) libbi* “*tenseness* (and) heartbreak” could be understood in a concrete (physical) or metaphorical (psychological) way.<sup>53</sup> It is noteworthy that *hušša/hūš hīp(i) libbi* is found both beside physical and mental/psychological symptoms (especially fear and anxiety, see above commentary on AMC l. 81). What the texts refer to in this expression might thus include experiences of both physical and emotional discomfort. Note also SpTU 1, 43: 1-5, where *hīp libbi* is listed with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and *bennu* (seizure- or epilepsy-related ailments) as well as with “Hand of the god/goddess (Ištar)”, forming a group of illnesses thought to originate in the “heart” (*libbu*) vs. other groups of diseases coming from the lungs, the stomach and the kidneys (Geller 2014: 3ff.). All the ailments in SpTU 1, 43: 1-5 are characterized by a combination of bodily and psychological symptoms, indicating that the organ *libbu* was understood here as the physiological seat of consciousness, mind and emotions (Steinert 2012a; Steinert 2016a: 231ff., Steinert 2017a). The logic of this text further shows that the Mesopotamian healers saw no contradiction in combining physiological and religious etiologies either. The title MENTAL ILLNESS for the present AMC section is thus not intended to imply a dichotomy between body and mind in Mesopotamian medicine and its classification of diseases, but indicates conditions that we tend to associate today with the mind or the brain.<sup>54</sup> Texts such as SpTU 1, 43 indicate that the Babylonian healers perceived the conditions grouped in the AMC 91-92 as similar and connected them with the *libbu* “heart” (or inside of the body) as the center of the human person (cf. also Al-Rashid 2014b; Buisson 2016a: 18ff. and Steinert 2017a for discussion and different perspectives).

92) As pointed out above, AMC line 92 could contain one or two tablet incipits. In the former case, the incipit contained a longer enumeration *ana* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ... ZI-*hi* “to remove epilepsy, ...”. But it may also be that the beginning of AMC line 92 contains the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 2, which merely reads *ana* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA *nasāhi*, followed by the incipit of Tablet 3, similarly ending in the infinitive *nasāhu*. The Akkadian reading(s) of AN.TA.ŠUB.BA are not entirely certain. Beside lexically attested equivalents *miqit šamê* and *miqtu*, also a loanword *antašubbû* is possible (cf. Stol

<sup>52</sup> Cf. also the Comprehensive Aramaic Dictionary (<http://cal1.cn.huc.edu>), sub ḤWŠ. However, M. Al-Rashid (2014a) connects the noun with an Akkadian verb *huššum* going back to a hypothetical root \*H'Š, but this verb is only attested once in an Old Babylonian letter (cf. Boyd 1983). The assumed meaning “to anger, harass, irritate, trouble” is based on the context and a few Semitic parallels. A connection of this verb with *hūšu* in *hūš hīpi libbi* remains questionable.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 167f., 710 n. 14, interpreting *hušša hīp(i) libbi* as the crushing pain in the chest associated with angina or myocardial infarction.

<sup>54</sup> The binary description of the *Diagnostic Handbook* as “the compendium on illness (*rikis murši*) and the compendium on depression (*rikis kūri*)” in the *Sakikkû* catalogue BM 41237+: 26' (see Schmidtchen *infra*, p. 318 line 65 Ms. B) could suggest a division into corporal and mental conditions. However, Babylonian medicine does not use a descriptive category “illnesses of the mind”, even though the “mind, reason” (*tēmu*) is described as the central affected faculty in texts concerned with loss of reason, amnesia, and insanity.

1993: 7ff.). In the diagnostic series, entries related to epilepsy are concentrated in Tablets 26-30 (Heeßel 2000; Stol 1993: 55ff.).<sup>55</sup> As M. Stol (1993: 23ff.) has discussed, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA is recurrently grouped both in diagnostic and therapeutic texts with illness entities attributed to supernatural agents (demons, the “Hand of the god/goddess”, or the “Hand of a ghost”). That these illness entities could share similar symptomologies is indicated e.g. by *Sakikkû* Tablet 28: 1-20 (Heeßel 2000: 307ff.), which discusses cases, where “Lord of the roof”, “Hand of a ghost” or “Hand of the goddess” turn into AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (or vice versa). A corresponding clustering of illness entities is also apparent in the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS and in the related textual sources.

The phrase *ana* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ZI-*hi* “to remove epilepsy” is currently not attested as a tablet incipit, but it is used to introduce a recipe e.g. in the short extract tablet BAM 166: 11ff. from Assur, duplicating STT 286 ii 2f., the latter of which is a fragmentary two-column remedy collection, possibly focussing on epilepsy-related conditions (cf. Stol 1993: 104). Cf. also the Nineveh fragment BAM 478 rev. 7', with a remedy [*ana* (...)] AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ZI-*hi*.

Among the therapeutic texts thematically closely related to the present AMC section is BAM 311, an Assur excerpt tablet written by the exorcist Kišir-Aššur, which contains a collection of prescriptions for leather bags against “depression” (obv. 1'-22'), “Lord of the roof” (obv. 23'-29'), “Hand of the goddess” (obv. 30'-40'), “anything evil” (obv. 41'-46'), the evil *alû*-demon (obv. 47'-50'), *bennu*-epilepsy (rev. 51'ff.), AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (rev. 59'-76') and for several of the evils dealt with before (rev. 77'ff.), cf. Köcher 1964: xxiii-xxiv; Stol 1993: 102ff.; Böck 2010a: 94. Therapies for epilepsy are included in CTN 4, 115 (ND 5488/1 obv. 11'ff., ND 5488/2 obv. 6ff., 11'; Stol 1993: 105; Geller 2000b: 334ff.), but the tablet begins with a remedy for illness due to the “Hand of the goddess” and the *lilû*-demon, presenting a variant to STT 57+263 obv. 1-10 (Heeßel 2002: 71ff., describing the manufacture of a Pazuzu head made from dust to be worn as an amulet). Another Nimrud fragment CTN 4, 159 rev. 7ff. (Stol 1993: 105f.; Böck 2010a: 92) offers remedies for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and *bennu*, with partial parallels in STT 57+263 and STT 286. A multi-purpose remedy (amulet) for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and related illness entities is also found in BM 62397: 1-3 (a Late Babylonian one-recipe tablet), which begins with the phrase *miqtu* ŠU.GIDIM.MA AN.TA.ŠUB.BA KA.DAB.BÉ.'DA' *bennu* ZI-*hi* “(in order to) remove *miqtu*, the ‘Hand of a ghost’, epilepsy, ‘seizing of the mouth’-(magic) (and) *bennu*”.

*Materia medica* and therapeutic prescriptions for epilepsy have been discussed by M. Stol (1993: 102-113), ordered by type (mainly leather bags/amulets, salves, fumigations). In addition to the texts just cited, related prescriptions occur e.g. in BAM 159 (a *Sammeltafel* on various illness), which groups two remedies (potions) for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (iii 25-27) and *hūša hīp libbi* (iii 28-29), see Parys 2014. A single treatment (salve) for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA is found in the Neo-Babylonian tablet AO 17613 (Labat 1960: 173f.). The fragment BAM 476 (K. 8080) contains prescriptions for leather bags (rev. 11 attributes remedies for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA to the sage Lú-Nanna from Ur, cf. Stol 1993: 102). Note further that *Sakikkû* Tablet 28 also includes a section, in which diagnostic entries are combined with prescriptions for leather bags (Stol 1993: 81-85 ll. 37-55; Heeßel 2000: 307ff.: 1-19; cf. also *Sakikkû* Tablets 29-31). For the collections of amulet stones used against AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and similar illnesses see Stol 1993: 109f.; Schuster-Brandis 2008.

Enumerations of illness entities in sequence with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA are encountered in the introductory sections to several incantations and ritual ceremonies used for various illnesses including epilepsy, divine wrath or witchcraft. For such multi-purpose rituals see e.g. K. 2550+AMT 96/3+ // KAR 42(+LKA 74 (Farber 1977: 56ff.: 1ff.), where the illnesses are attributed to divine anger. BAM 323: 39ff. (Scurlock 2006: no. 218, from Assur) presents a multi-purpose ritual including epilepsy, embedded into therapies for ghost-induced illnesses. The early Neo-Assyrian tablet KAR 26 (= KAL 2, 21; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Ms. A; duplicated in four manuscripts from Nineveh likewise inscribed on one-column tablets (Mss. B-E), in two fragments of *Sammeltafeln* from Nimrud (Mss. F-G) and in a Late Babylonian fragment (Ms. h)) contains an incantation-prayer to Marduk and a ritual, introduced by an extended purpose clause (obv. 1ff., cf. also obv. 38, 54 rev. 7): [DIŠ NA] AN.TA.ŠUB.BA LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU.NAM.ÉRIM ŠU.NAM.LÛ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU (var. ŠU.ḏINANNA) UGU-šu GÁL-ši “[If a man] is inflicted by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ‘Lord of the roof’, ‘Hand of the god’, ‘Hand of a curse’, ‘Hand of mankind’ (var. ‘Hand of the goddess’)”. A similar purpose list is found in the introduction of KAR 66: 1f. from the Assur library N4: [DIŠ NA] *kayāna*(TUR.DIŠ-*nu*) AN.TA.ŠUB.SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU.'GIDIM' [ŠU].ḏINANNA UGU-šu GÁL-ši “[If a man] is constantly afflicted by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ‘Supporter of evil’-demon, ‘Hand of a ghost’, ‘Hand of the goddess’” (Ebeling 1918: 45ff.; Mayer 1976: 417 “Šamaš 51”; Pedersén 1986: 62 (122); Stol 1993: 99ff., followed by a ritual, in which a figurine of the illness is married off to a piglet (Schwemer 1998: 60-62), and by a fragmentary prayer

<sup>55</sup> See further *Sakikkû* 10: 1-3 // *Sakikkû* 9: 80 (= catchline, Scurlock 2014a: 74) and the diagnostic texts CTN 4, 72 i 26' (Kinnier Wilson 1957: 40-49) and STT 89: 136-162 (Stol 1993: 94f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 12.1).

to Šamaš). Figurine or substitute rituals to remove epilepsy are also found in the fragment SpTU 2, 48 (Stol 1993: 101, followed by medical remedies for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and Lugalamašpae), and in KBo 9, 50: 18-33 (Schwemer 1998: 80f., 129 Ms. D obv. 18'ff., against *benmu*).

Note further the grouping of illnesses in TCL 6, 34 i 1ff. (series *Qutāru* Tablet 1; Stol 1993: 106f.; Geller 2010: 173ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 339f.): [DIŠ AN.T]A.ŠUB.BA LUGAL.ÜR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU.<sup>d</sup>INANNA.NA [UGU L]Ú GÁL-ši ana ZI-hi “[If a ma]n is afflicted by [epi]lepsy, ‘Lord of the roof’, ‘Hand of the god’, ‘Hand of the goddess’ – in order to remove it”. Compare also CT 14, 16 (BM 93094) rev. 5ff., a short list of drug names summarized as ana AN.TA.ŠUB.BA DUMU.MUNUS <sup>d</sup>A-nim <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÜR.RA <sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME <sup>d</sup>DIM.MÈ *gab-bi* LÍL.UD.TAR.EN.NA GURUŠ LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA u KI.SIKIL <LÍL>.LÁ.EN.NA (“for epilepsy, the daughter of Anu, ‘Lord of the roof’, Lamaštu, all Lamaštu-(type demons), the ...-demon, the lad of the wind-demon, the maiden of the wind-demon”), joining epilepsy with a group of demons.

Relevant to the discussion of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 2 are also tablets with therapies for infants suffering from epilepsy and related illnesses, which may possibly have a connection with the present AMC section. For instance, K. 3628+4009+Sm. 1315+K. 19939 is designated in its colophon (rev. 21ff.) as the 2<sup>nd</sup> excerpt (*nishu*) with remedies (*bulṭi*) for a child seized by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, “Lord of the roof”, Ištar, *lilū* and the evil *alū* (applying mainly ointments, fumigation, potions, and incantations).<sup>56</sup> More clearly associated with the AMC corpus and possibly with the present section is the Late Babylonian fragment SpTU 1, 48 written by the exorcist Šamaš-iddin, identified as the 45<sup>th</sup> (or 55<sup>th</sup>) and final tablet (*tuppu*) of the series *Šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukāl* in its colophon (rev. 7'). The obverse preserves a Sumerian incantation and ritual (amulet) for calming down a frightened infant duplicated in a Nineveh compendium for babies (Farber 1989a: 21f. and §13), while the reverse preserves a few lines with fragmentary treatments for “Lord of the roof” and AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (rev. 2') and for witchcraft (rev. 3' ana BŪR UŠ<sub>11</sub>.ZU). Noteworthy is also LKU 32 from Uruk, a tablet with healing rituals for infants (Farber 1989a: 21), which begins with a ritual passage for a child suffering from epilepsy (// STT 57+263: 31-53 and STT 58 rev.(!) 2-22, Farber 1989a: §§ 42-43), followed by a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation and ritual, and passages duplicating a Nineveh compendium for calming infants (LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ, Farber 1989a: §§ 11A, 15, 16, 19). The remaining sections in the duplicating Sultantepe tablet STT 57+263 obv. 1-30 contains remedies (five leather bags) for epilepsy-related conditions in adults (cf. Heeßel 2002: 71ff. for STT 57+263 obv. 1-10, with parallel CTN 4, 115: 1-10; Böck 2010a: 92-93), while the passages in STT 57+ rev. 57ff. // STT 58 obv.(!) preserve a prayer to Šin with ritual (Mayer 1976: 495ff. “Šin 3” Mss. D, E).<sup>57</sup>

94) The restoration of the first key phrase in the *adi*-section of MENTAL ILLNESS remains uncertain. It is suggested that the key phrases in AMC ll. 94ff. are citations from the beginnings of text sections contained in MENTAL ILLNESS tablets. Unfortunately, parallels from thematically connected texts, in which a passage starts in an identical way, could not be identified. For similar formulations in symptom descriptions see e.g. AMT 69/1: 10'f. (context unclear; cf. Thompson 1937b: 274f.): DIŠ NA UZU.MEŠ-šú x[...] / u LÛ.LÛ.MEŠ-š[ú] [...] “if a man's limbs [...] and are constantly troubled to him”. Notably, descriptions of seizure- or epilepsy-like symptoms involving the patient's body or limbs often concern paralysis or pain. Thus, in the introductory section of KAR 26 (KAL 2, 21) (// Rm. 2171 // AMT 96/7; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Mss. A), a text thematically fitting the context of MENTAL ILLNESS, we find the phrase *ka-la* UZU.MEŠ-šú *šim-ma-tú* TUK.TUK-ú “his entire body has paralysis” (l. 8). Interestingly, most textual examples featuring comparable symptoms belong to the anti-witchcraft corpus, see e.g. KUB 37/3 left col. 3'f. (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.2): [*šumma amēlu* ...] IGI.MEŠ-šú *iš-ša-nu-du* UZU.MEŠ-šú *šim-ma-ta* [ú-ka-al-lu] “[if a man ...] his face seems to spin, <his> body [contains] paralysis”; see similar entries in BAM 214 obv. 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.1 Ms. A); BAM 231: 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.7 Ms. A<sub>1</sub>). Note AMT 54/3 rev. iii 5' (Scurlock 2006: No. 222), where comparable symptoms are attributed to a family ghost: [DIŠ NA ... IGI.MEŠ-šú NIGIN.MEŠ UZU-šú *ú-zaq-qat-uš* “[if a man's ... face] continually seems to spin, his flesh stings him”. Cf. further the diagnostic text STT 89 iv 1, mentioning the patient's limbs in an epilepsy-related context (diagnosis “Spawn of Šulpaea”): [DIŠ DAB DA]B-su-ma UZU.MEŠ-šú x-x-x-šú *ri-mu-tú* TUK-ši “[if seizure sei]zes him, and his limbs ... him, he has paralysis” (cf. Stol 1993: 95: 167; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 438).

<sup>56</sup> Stol 1993: 89, 131f.; Farber 1989a: 126ff. §§ 45-46; Scurlock 2014a: 621ff.; the last fragment was joined by E. Schmidtchen.

<sup>57</sup> For epilepsy-related conditions in infants see also Cadelli 1997: 23-25; Volk 1999: 16-18. For infants' illnesses in the therapeutic corpus cf. also above AMC line 23, and AMC line 74 for epilepsy-related ailments (*benmu*, *miqtu*) in HAZARDS.

95) There are different possible restorations for the partially preserved key phrase at the beginning of AMC line 95. The reconstruction chosen here stems from BAM 311, a text featuring the incipits of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablets 1 and 2 as well as key phrases from the *adi*-section, namely as the beginnings of text sections (obv. 22', rev. 59', cf. 77'). BAM 311 yields two matching entries for restoring AMC l. 95. The first possible restoration is found in the duplicating texts BAM 311 rev. 51'f. // BAM 202 rev. 5f. // BM 40183+ rev. 25': DIŠ N[A] *ina* 'KI'.NŪ-šú HULUH.HULUH-ut GIN, GŪ ŪZ GŪ-si 'i'-[ram-mu-um] / *i-par-ru-ud ma-g[al]* GŪ.GŪ-si (var. DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-ub) ŠU *be-en-nu* 'ALAD' [šá-né-e '30] *ana* TI-šú "If a man is constantly frightened when he lies down (in his bed), shouts like the bleating of a goat, roars, is apprehensive, shouts a lot all the time (var. talks all the time), 'Hand of *Bennu*', the demon, deputy of Sîn – in order to cure him" (Stol 1993: 6; Chalendar 2013: 11, 37ff.; cf. STT 95+295: 16 and 35, where "quivering" (or being frightened, *galātu*) in bed is among the symptoms associated with the wrath of Marduk/Sîn). The second entry with an identical beginning is found in BAM 311 rev. 87': DIŠ [N]A [*ina*] K[I.NŪ]-šú ZŪ.MEŠ-šú 'ZŪ.GUZI'(text: KAxGU) -'aš' "if [a m]an 'gnashes' his teeth [in] his sleep (lit. when he lies down)".<sup>58</sup> The catchline of BAM 30 rev. 54' offers another option for restoring AMC l. 95, reading: DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NŪ-šú GŪ.GŪ-si *iš-še-né-eh* "If a man always cries out and laughs in his sleep". The appearance of gnashing teeth in the context of epilepsy makes it possible that texts such as BAM 30 belong to the context of AMC MENTAL ILLNESS. For the sequence "anything evil" – gnashing teeth – "evil *alû* overwhelming him" – "if a man (is frightened) when he lies down" – AN.TA.ŠUB.BA – *bennu*, see also BAM 364 i 1ff.; BAM 356 col. i-ii; BAM 372 col. iii; BAM 376 ii 7'-iii 3, and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 120f. Kette 89-92 *passim* for amulet bracelets protecting from fright during the night (*šumma amēlu ina* KI.NŪ-šú *igdanallut/iptanallah*).<sup>59</sup>

96) BAM 311: 47' offers a literal parallel for the AMC entry (DIŠ NA A.LÁ HUL DAB-su) in a remedy collection focussing on a group of illnesses including epilepsy (and other, e.g. psychiatric conditions). This line is also encountered in the Late Babylonian tablet BM 40183+ obv. 16',<sup>60</sup> which contains treatments and protective amulets against mental disturbances and different demons (similar to SpTU 3, 83, a partial duplicate to BAM 311, BAM 202 and STT 286, see Chalendar 2013: 4ff. for discussion). As pointed out above (commentary to AMC ll. 91-93), the evil *alû*-demon is included in enumerations of illness entities, in texts with prescriptions or rituals for these ailments, but in these texts one regularly encounters the phrase *šumma amēlu alû lemnu usahhipšu* "If the evil *alû* overwhelms a man", presenting a second possible reconstruction for AMC line 96. See for instance KAR 26: 3 (KAL 2, 21; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Ms. A), where the phrase A.LÁ HUL ŠŪ-šú "the evil *alû* overwhelms him" is found in a group headed by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA. K. 2550+AMT 96/3+: 4 // KAR 42: 5 (Farber 1977: 56) lists A.LÁ HUL ŠŪ.ŠŪ-šú and DIMMA.KŪR.RA (mental disturbance) together with "Hand of a ghost", *bennu*, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, SAG.HUL.HA.ZA, "Lord of the roof", "Hand of the god/goddess", "Hand of a curse", "Hand of mankind"). In the same vein, the second section of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 33f. //) highlights cures (*bulṭi*) for an almost identical cluster of illnesses, as part of the conjurer's curriculum: AN.TA.ŠUB.BA "Lord of the roof", "Hand of the god/goddess", "Hand of a ghost", followed by A.LÁ HUL, LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA, SAG.HUL.HA.ZA, "Hand of a curse", "Hand of mankind" (cf. Geller's edition in this volume). AMC ll. 96ff. may have contained a comparable enumeration of demonic illness agents (wind demons etc.), since line 98 mentions treatments against conditions attributed to the baby-snatching demon Lamaštu.

In amulet stone/necklace collections, one encounters a more or less consistent grouping of the evil *alû* with *miqtu* (epilepsy) or AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, twisting the face, gnashing of teeth, *mimma lemnu* ("anything evil"), *bennu* and *šuruppû* ("chill"), *hayyattu*-demon, being frightened in bed, mental disturbance (e.g. BAM 376 ii 19'-iii 3; BAM 370 iv 2'-12'; BAM 377 ii 5'-iii 15; BAM 365 i 1'-ii 5; BAM 356 i 1-ii 13; BAM 364 i 1ff.; cf. BAM 183: 27-33; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 171 *passim*). Compare further K. 3628+ rev. 8, 16, 20ff. with treatments for an infant attacked by *alû* and other demonic agents associated with epilepsy (Farber 1989a: 28, 67 § 15a, 126-129 §§45-46; Stol 1993: 89; Scurlock 2014a: 621ff.; text 2.13.1). Note also the Neo-Assyrian letter SAA 10, 238 by the chief exorcist Marduk-šākin-šumi who comments on the ritual actions associated with the incantation "Verily you are evil!" (Én hul-ġál hé-me-en) from the Udug-hul series,

<sup>58</sup> A duplicating entry is found in a one-column Assur tablet with therapies for gnashing teeth, BAM 30 rev. 47'f. (cf. Heeßel 2010a: 57ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 673 text 3.16.2) (// BAM 157 obv. 6'ff.), with a partially syllabic rendering: DIŠ NA *ina* i-tu-li-šú ZŪ.MEŠ-šú i-kāš-ša-aš.

<sup>59</sup> Note further STT 238, a unique text with two therapies against bed-wetting, attributed to the "hand of Ninmah", whose incipit reads: DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NŪ-šú KĀŠ iš-tin'(SIG) "If a man has urinated in his sleep".

<sup>60</sup> See Finkel 2008: 337: fig. 304 and the database of the British Museum ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)) for photos of the tablet.

explaining that it is used to remove AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and the evil *alû* (*ana alû lemnu u AN.TA.ŠUB.BA nasāhi*, cf. Parpola 1983a: No. 172; Geller 2016: 288 Tablet 8: 1ff. with n. 1, 295 n. 27-40). Note also that in the diagnostic series, entries concerned with “Hand of the evil *alû*” are found in *Sakikkû* Tablet 27: 20-23 in the context of stroke, epilepsy and related demonic agents (cf. Stol 1993: 57ff.; Heeßel 2000: 297ff.; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 86ff.).

98) Among the texts dealing with the baby-snatching demon Lamaštu is not only the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium standard series of incantations and rituals listed in the Exorcist’s Manual, but also several non-canonical incantations and rituals embedded in different contexts (such as women’s healthcare texts and therapies for babies, see Farber 1989a; Farber 2014; Steinert 2016b). In the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 15 //) as well as in rubrics and tablet colophons, the Lamaštu incantations are usually referred to as ÉN <sup>4</sup>DÌM.ME.MEŠ or KA.INIM.MA <sup>4</sup>DÌM.ME.KAM/KE<sub>4</sub> (Farber 2014: 17ff., 25). A tablet inventory from the Assur library N4 (VAT 13723+ col. iv 1f.; Geller 2000a: 230f.; Pedersén 1986: 66 (291)) lists the incipit of tablet 1/2 and 3 of the canonical series: ÉN <sup>4</sup>dīm-<me> dumu an-na [...] / *e-nu-ma né-pe-ši šā* <sup>4</sup>DÌ[M.ME *teppušu*]; cf. also col. iv 26 referring in addition to KA.INIM.MA DÌM.ME.KAM NU.GIG “recitations for Lamaštu, the *qadištu*” (non-canonical incantations?).

From the corpus of medical prescriptions, little material concerned with Lamaštu is known. Note BM 33399, a fragment with remedies (amulets, ointments, rituals) [*ana* DÌ]M<sub>11</sub>.ME ZI-*hi* “[to] eradicate Lamaštu” (i 6’, ii 3, Farber 2014: 277f.), reminiscent of the phrasing in AMC line 98. The stone inventory BAM 356 i 1-8, 9-15 from the Assur library N4, registers stones for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA beside those used against Lamaštu (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 200f.; Pedersén 1986: 64 (208)). A second text from this archive, BAM 183, contains short recipes, including drugs for a fumigation against Lamaštu (ll. 16-19), and a short stone inventory that lists totals of stones for different purposes (ll. 23ff.): against Lamaštu, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, “anything evil”, the evil *alû*, *bennu* and similar evils (Pedersén 1986: 59 (7); Farber 1989a: 67, 75, 124, 126f.; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 484 *passim*). See further Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 142-145 and Farber 2014 for amulets in Lamaštu texts.

Lamaštu incantations/rituals were also embedded in texts that belong to other sections of the therapeutic corpus (see below AMC section PREGNANCY; Steinert 2016b). Although Lamaštu attacks primarily infants and pregnant women, there are also entries in the diagnostic series relating to adults in general. The illness symptoms attributed to Lamaštu are mostly fever, associated with thirst, changes of body temperature from hot to cold, trembling, dizziness, and confusional states, which could explain the inclusion of treatments against Lamaštu in the present context of AMC (cf. *Sakikkû* 3: 45-46; *Sakikkû* 13: 69-70; *Sakikkû* 16: 14-15; *Sakikkû* 40: 51-54, 58; Heeßel 2000; Scurlock 2014a).<sup>61</sup>

99) Enough is preserved of AMC ll. 99-100 to show that this part of the therapeutic corpus dubbed POTENCY is connected to the texts known by the rubric ŠĀ.ZI.GA “arousal” (lit. “lifting up of the heart/inside”) concerned with arousing sexual desire. In his edition of the text sources, R. Biggs (1967) showed that there is no evidence that there existed a standard edition of the ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts (incantations, rituals, prescriptions) in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE that is comparable with series such as *Maqlû* or *Šurpu*, consisting in an established sequence of tablets. However, a two-column tablet with a collection of ŠĀ.ZI.GA prescriptions is known from Boghazköy (KUB 4, 48), which preserves the subscript DUB 1.KAM DIŠ LÚ ŠĀ.ZI.GA, showing that in the Middle Babylonian period, the scribes at Hattuša used a “serial” arrangement for the texts related to the topic.<sup>62</sup> The Boghazköy ŠĀ.ZI.GA fragments already show strong similarities with the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium sources, which come mostly from Ashurbanipal’s library (for the sources, see Biggs 1967: 86) and from Assur (especially KAR 70, 236, 243, BAM 272, LKA 95-103, most of them stemming from the library N4), with some additional material known from Sultantepe (STT 280, a two-column tablet) and from Babylonia (BM 46911 (Babylon), SpTU 1, 9 and 10 (Uruk)). Among these texts are two-column tablets with longer collections (LKA 97, LKA 99d, STT 280, K. 9451+Sm. 961+K. 11676+Sm 818(+), K. 10002) and one-column tablets, including shorter excerpts. Among the texts from Assur, two tablets (LKA 96, LKA 100) were written by the exorcist Kišir-Nabû, one is a copy of a Babylonian original

<sup>61</sup> For drugs used against Lamaštu see also BAM 379 ii 7’f. // (Stadhouders 2011: 22 § 25’ *Šammu šikinšu*); CAD L 67; CAD T 491b. In the context of AMC line 98 and 99ff. note further the stone inventory K. 10883: 3’ (probably part of K. 3937+, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: text 3; Böck 2014b: 176f.), listing a number of stones against Lamaštu followed by stones for ŠĀ.ZI.GA (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 127 as well as 128-129 for amulet necklaces to arouse desire).

<sup>62</sup> See Biggs 1967: 56 lower edge line 5; for a photo see <http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de>. Note that since the incipit of KUB 4, 48 begins in an identical way as the “series title” in the subscript (DIŠ LÚ ŠĀ.ZI.GA *ina* <sup>10</sup>BĀRA.ZAG TIL “If a man’s sexual desire comes to an end in the month Nisannu”), the tablet number should rather be read as the first than the second.

(KAR 70), another one was written by a young apprentice (KAR 236); cf. for the scribe of LKA 102 also Capraro 1998: 216 (Aššur-šakin-šumi 2). Biggs (2002: 71) reports a few additional ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts especially from Sippar and Babylon that have been identified in recent years. Note further BM 42510 in Finkel 2000: 160f. with discussion in Biggs 2003-05: 604f.

There is no text incipit currently known that is identical with AMC l. 99, POTENCY Tablet 1. The line has been reconstructed following AMC l. 101, which repeats the incipit as section title. However, the AMC incipit is attested in an inversed variant, from the Nineveh two-column collection of ŠĀ.ZI.GA incantations and prescriptions, K. 9451+Sm. 961+K. 11676+Sm. 818 rev. 6' (Biggs 1967: 5 n. 30, 49f. and pl. 1; for photo see CDLI P398122), where the line presents the section title (followed by an Ashurbanipal colophon similar to Hunger 1968: No. 318), suggesting the restoration: [DUB X.KAM (...) DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS]-šú ŠĀ-šú ÍL-šú-*ma ana* MUNUS BAR-*ti* ŠĀ-šú N[U ÍL-šú] "[Xth tablet of (...) 'If a man] has desire [for] his [woman], but he has no [desire] for another woman'". K. 9451+ could thus potentially present a fragment of a series tablet belonging to POTENCY, although using a variant incipit. A third variant of the incipit is probably found in STT 280 i 1 (Biggs 1967: 66), which is unfortunately also fragmentary: [DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú DU-*ma ana* MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú N]U ÍL-*ma* "[If a man goes to his woman (to have intercourse), but he does] not get aroused [for his woman]". The restoration of STT 280 i 1 follows the Nineveh fragment AMT 66/1: 1f. (Biggs 1967: 52), where only the beginning of the tablet incipit is preserved: DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú DU-*ma a-n[a* MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL-*ma*] / *ana* MUNUS BAR-*ti* DU-*ma a-n[a* MUNUS BAR-*ti* ŠĀ-šú ÍL]. STT 280 thus seems to represent a variant collection of material related to POTENCY.<sup>63</sup> Note also AMT 65/7: 2'f. (Biggs 1967: 51): DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú *it-hi-ma* [(...)] / *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL "If a man approaches his woman, but [(...)] he does not get aroused for his woman" (the fragment may belong to K. 9451+).

Tablet 34 of the diagnostic series also begins with the inversed incipit of POTENCY Tablet 1, which can be restored from the fragmentary catchline of a Late Babylonian manuscript of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 124) and from the *Sakikkû* catalogue (see Schmidtchen *infra*, p. 316; CTN 4, 71: 41 // BM 41237+ obv. 7'): [DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú ÍL-šú-*ma ana* MUNUS BAR]-*ti* ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL-šú MUNUS BI ŠĀ-šú ...] "[If a man has sexual desire for his woman, but] has no sexual desire [for another woman], that woman [has ... his'] heart". The variations of the tablet incipits of therapeutic ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts at Nineveh, Sultantepe and in AMC POTENCY 1 thus seem to underscore the view that locally differing recensions of partially overlapping texts were used and assembled at different cities. For the contrast between sexual attraction toward one's own woman (wife) and another (or strange) woman in this text group, compare also KAR 236: 18 // (var.) STT 280 ii 62 (Biggs 1967: 27 No. 11); SpTU 1, 9: 17': [DIŠ N]A ÍL ŠĀ-šú KAR-*ma* (var. DAB-*ma*) *ana* MUNUS-šú *u ana* MUNUS BAR-*ti* ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL-šú "If a man's sexual desire is taken away (var. seized) so that he has neither sexual desire for his woman nor for another woman".

In the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 14f. //), the entry ŠĀ.ZI.GA is followed by genres/texts concerned with women and babies (MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA, MUNUS LA.RA.AH, <sup>4</sup>DIM<sub>11</sub>.ME.KAM and LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ), which corresponds to the sequence of AMC sections following POTENCY, which likewise deal with matters of fertility, offspring, birth and women's illnesses (cf. AMC ll. 103-120). For calendrical and astrological timings in the performance of ŠĀ.ZI.GA rituals, see STT 300: 2; BRM 4, 20: 45; (Casaburi 2002-05; Scurlock 2005-06; Geller 2014: 31: 38, 47).

The fragmentary AMC incipit of POTENCY Tablet 2 cannot be restored yet with the help of textual sources.

100) It remains uncertain whether AMC line 100 contained one or two tablet incipits, which leaves open the possibility that the section POTENCY at Assur consisted of three or four tablets. The current reading of AMC line 100 may suggest that the sequence DIŠ "Ú" Š[Ā].ZI.G[A] "ana" [GÚ-š]ú GAR forms an independent entry/incipit, although the division marker is lacking before the sign DIŠ (whose reading is also ambiguous, i.e. *šumma* or *ana*). If this interpretation is correct, AMC line 100 contained at least two tablet incipits.

The first preserved signs in this line, SAG and MUŠEN, have been interpreted here as a reference to the head of a bird applied as *materia medica*. Birds form a recurring source for remedies in the ŠĀ.ZI.GA therapeutic texts, but the head of the animal is only rarely involved. In the Boghazköy collection KUB 4, 48 iii 24, the skull of a partridge (UGU NAM.HABRUD.DA<sup>mušen</sup>) is used in an ointment to promote sexual desire (Biggs 1967: 55); the same text contains a second prescription (i 12-16 // KUB 37, 80: 5'ff.; Biggs 1967: 54, 60), which procures the blood of a partridge for a potion by cutting off the bird's head (NAM.HABRUD.DA SAG.DU-su KUD-is), but the phrasing of these sources differs from the AMC entry.

The suggested tablet incipit DIŠ "Ú" Š[Ā].ZI.G[A] "ana" [GÚ-š]ú GAR at the end of AMC 100 is not attested as incipit of a tablet or introduction to a prescription within the ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts. However, a "drug/plant for arousal" (Ú ŠĀ.ZI.GA) is

<sup>63</sup> For duplicating passages in Nineveh and Assur tablets see Biggs 1967.

mentioned in a fragmentary context in a prescription in the Boghazköy tablet KUB 4, 48 iv 13 (Biggs 1967: 56). Moreover, a passage in STT 280 prescribing plants for a leather bag (i 30-33) concludes the drug list with [Ú ŠÀ.ZI.GA *ina* [KUŠ *i*] *na* GÚ-ŠÚ GAR-*an*] “[(and) the “[drug/plant for des]ire you place around his neck in a [leather (bag)]” (Biggs 1967: 66). In a similar passage in STT 280 ii 29-32, the ingredients are summed up as 10 Ú.MEŠ ŠÀ.ZI.GA’ ... [*ina* GÚ-ŠÚ] GAR-*an* “ten drugs for sexual desire ... you place [around his neck]”. For this phrasing see also LKA 95 rev. 3: 7 Ú.MEŠ ŠÀ.ZI.GA *ina* KAŠ NAG “(these) seven plants for desire he drinks in beer” (Biggs 1967: 62). Plants worn in a leather bag are also prescribed in KAR 70: 34f. (Biggs 1967: 53). For another fragmentary ritual involving plant(s) for ŠÀ.ZI.GA cf. also STT 280 ii 48-49 (Biggs 1967: 47 No. 29). Specific plants designated as Ú ŠÀ.ZI.GA are moreover found in the Neo-Babylonian drug compendia BAM 380 rev. 42ff. and BAM 381 iii 37, in the entry [‘EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>] : Ú ŠÀ.ZI.GA : *ina* KAŠ NAG “[Dog’s tongue plant] (is) a plant for arousal: to be drunk in beer”. Compare further Schuster-Brandis 2008: 136f. for stones and amulets to promote sexual desire.

101) Reduced libido also occurs as part of symptoms that are attributed to witchcraft. Such examples can be found both within ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts and in medical texts dealing with sexual impurity, but are also embedded in anti-witchcraft rituals, see e.g. SpTU 1, 9: 19’-21’; STT 280 i 8ff., 22ff.; BAM 205: 7’-10’ // 81’-72, 73 obv. 9’-13’ (Biggs 1967: 68f.), LKA 102: 18-24; cf. also the spells in AMT 88/3: 11-17 (Biggs 1967: 20f. No. 4) and SpTU 1, 10: 11’-17’. For an extensive overview of the sources see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29. Note also KAR 70: 1-10 (Biggs 1967: 46f. No. 27; Scurlock 2014a: text 3.16.8), with a spell and procedure to test whether a man’s diminished libido was caused by “Hand of Ištar” or by sorcery (l. 5 KA.INIM.MA *maš-tak-ti* [Š]À.ZI.GA). Furthermore, diminished libido is also mentioned as a symptom in texts dealing with renal diseases (cf. Geller 2005a, e.g. BAM 112 i 17’ff., 34’ff.).

102) The phrase *ana* NITA ZI-tú šur-ši-i “to let a man get sexually aroused” found here as a key phrase in the *adi*-section of POTENCY, is attested as an introduction to remedies in texts dealing with ŠÀ.ZI.GA, e.g. in K. 2499(+) rev. 7 (Biggs 1967: 9f., 65, pl. 2, the fragment probably forms part of the series tablet K. 9451+), followed in rev. 10 by a recipe *ana* MUNUS ZI-tú [šur-ši-i] “to let a woman [get aroused]”. More often, however, one encounters the expression *ana* ŠÀ.ZI.GA TUK-e “to get sexual desire”. For instance, the catalogue of ŠÀ.ZI.GA incantation incipits from Assur, LKA 94 (Biggs 1967: 12f.), lists three related incipits (of text sections or tablets): [*ana* ŠÀ].ZI.GA TUK-e (i 22), *ana* ŠÀ.ÍL TUK-e (ii 21), *ana* NA ŠÀ.ZI.GA TUK-e (ii 23). This phrase is also encountered as an introduction to prescriptions in LKA 99d ii 6, 8, 11. It can also be appended to an extensive clause of symptoms, e.g. in AMT 88/3: 1’-3’ (Biggs 1967: 52): [DIŠ NA] *lu-u ina* ‘ŠU’. GI.MEŠ *lu-ú ina* <sup>gis</sup>GIDRU *lu-u ina* *hi-miṭ* UD.DA [*lu-ú ina* *ne-he-es* <sup>gis</sup>GIGIR *a-na* MUNUS *a-la-ka mu-uṭ-tú a-na* ŠÀ.ZI.GA *šur-ši-šu-ma ana* MUNUS DU-šu “If a man, either because of old age, or because of ‘the staff/scepter’ (i.e. the blow from a weapon?), or because of the burning of *šētu*-fever or due to the ‘reversing of the chariot’ (*nehēs narkabti*), has diminished desire for a woman – to let him get aroused and to let him go to a woman”.

103) This line presents the title of the AMC section SEX, which consists of one tablet and is concerned, as far as the preserved text suggests, with matters of heterosexual relations. The broad spacing of the signs in AMC line 103 suggests that only four to five signs are missing at the beginning. The title which is repeated in the following line consists of an incantation incipit resembling four spells with variant incipits attested in the ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts. A catalogue of the incipits of ŠÀ.ZI.GA incantations from Assur (LKA 94; Biggs 1967: 12ff.), lists two of the spells: ÉN GIN TU<sub>15</sub> *li-nu-<uš>* KIRI<sub>6</sub> “Incantation: Let the wind blow, let the garden quake!” (i 4) and ÉN *lil-lik* T[<sub>U15</sub> K]UR.MEŠ *li-nu-šú* “Incantation: Let the wind blow, let the mountains quake!” (ii 13). The first of these compositions is known from LKA 101 rev.(!) 12-19 // LKA 95 rev. 6-11 // STT 280 iv 37-41 (Biggs 1967: 35 no. 15: 12ff.: ÉN *lil-lik* TU<sub>15</sub> *li-nu-uš* <sup>gis</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>); the second from KAR 70 rev. 10-24 // KAR 236 obv. 1-17 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 1-14 (Biggs 1967: 32ff. No. 14). A third composition with the incipit [ÉN *lil-lik* TU<sub>15</sub> *a-a i-nu-u[š KIRI<sub>6</sub>]* “[Incantation. Let] the wind blow, the garden shall not quake!” is found in the Nineveh fragment (in Babylonian script) K. 8698: 6’ff. (Biggs 1967: 37 No. 17, pl. 3). A fourth spell, only fragmentarily preserved in AMT 65/7: 6’ff. (Biggs 1967: 36 No. 16), features an incipit that could, as is suggested here, be identical with the incipit of the AMC section SEX, preserving only the beginning of the line: ÉN *lil-lik* TU<sub>15</sub> *la [i-na-áš-šá-a* <sup>gis</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ] “Incantation. Let the wind blow, [the gardens] shall not [quake!]”.<sup>64</sup> Since AMT 65/7 probably forms part of a two-column tablet with ŠÀ.ZI.

<sup>64</sup> For the metaphoric imagery of gardens in Mesopotamian eroticism, cf. Haas 1999; Leick 1994; Besnier 2002.

GA texts, it may be that textual material, which was divided into the two sections POTENCY and SEX in the AMC, was also collected together in a single tablet compendium at Nineveh.

105) Alternatively, read *en-ša* “they (fem.) are weak” before *ana* NA *pa-ša-a-ri* in AMC line 105. The verb *pašāru* “to release” (from illness, evil) is found in purpose statements in the introductory sections of therapeutic texts, see e.g. AMT 96/3+: 13 // KAR 42: 13: *ana pa-ša-rì-ma* “to release (his illness)” (Farber 1977: 56: 13, in an unrelated context). In the present line, *pašāru* could have an erotic or sexual nuance. Thus, in tablets with ŠĀ.ZI.GA incantations and prescriptions, *pašāru* in the Š-stem is found e.g. in a recipe for a potion in LKA 102 rev. 17 (Biggs 1967, 64) applied *ana* NITA u MUNUS *šup-šu-rì-ma* “to release the man and the woman”, ending in ŠĀ-šū-nu *ip-[pa-aš-ša-ru]* “their heart will be re[leased]”. Another potion for this purpose ([*ana*] ŠĀ NITA u MUNUS *šu-up-šu-ri* “[to] release the heart of man and woman”) is contained in the Nineveh fragment AMT 62/3: 11 (Biggs 1967: 51). The expression may be synonymous with *libba našû* “to get aroused”, but the need to release the patients may also have its cause in bewitchment.<sup>65</sup> Note the parallel phrase NITA u MUNUS ŠĀ-šū-nu *ÎL-šū-nu-ti ul i-nu-[uh-hu]* “the man and the woman will get aroused and will not calm [down]” in SpTU 1, 9: 14' // LKA 97 ii 13f. // K. 2499(+) rev. 3f. (Biggs 1967: 40, with a following reversing NAM. BÛR.BI-ritual to calm down the desire). Cf. further CAD P 237ff., 243a.

106) The restoration [KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.ZI.GA]A at the beginning of the line is suggested by the other preserved rubrics in AMC line 106, which very likely refer to specific incantations and associated rituals. The rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.ZI.GA is attested several times in the corpus, e.g. LKA 95 rev. 18; STT 280 ii 18, 58; iii 32; iv 20; LKA 102 obv. 13; LKA 99c: 10; SpTU 1, 10: 17'; KAR 236 obv. 14 // KAR 70 rev. 22 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 11, 29; K. 9415+: 5' // K. 10002 ii 5'; Sm. 818+: 3'; cf. also the catalogue LKA 94 rev. iii 9, with the subscript summarizing the catalogue as ÊN TU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ [ŠĀ.ZI.GA] (Biggs 1967: 14).

The female version of the rubric ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KĀM in AMC line 106 shows that the term ŠĀ.ZI.GA does not refer to male sexual performance (erection) in the limited sense, but more broadly to arousing sexual desire in men and women. The translation better fitting the Sumerian expression *ša-zi-ga* “raising/lifting the heart” is thus “arousal (of desire)” rather than “potency”. Texts with the label ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KĀM are so far unattested in the preserved material. Yet, a passage in a ŠĀ.ZI.GA text indicates that treatments with this purpose were also employed for women. A section in K. 2499(+) rev. 10 (Biggs 1967: 9f., 65) preserves the introduction *ana* MUNUS 'ZI-tú' [*šur-ši-i*] (“to let a woman get aroused”) preceded by a prescription *ana* NITA ZI-tú *šur-ši-i* in rev. 7. The phrase *tibûta rašû* may better be understood as “sexual excitement” (see CAD T 393a). Note also that some remedies in ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts refer to the joint treatment of both the male and female partner (see e.g. LKA 102 obv. 15-17 (Biggs 1967: 23 No. 6); LKA 101 rev.(!) 9-11 (Biggs 1967: 18 No. 2); KAR 236: 15-17 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 12-14; var. KAR 70 rev. 22-24 (Biggs 1967: 33ff. No. 14)) or to their joint arousal (e.g. SpTU 1, No. 9: 14' //: NITA u MUNUS ŠĀ-šū-nu *ÎL-šū-nu-ti-ma*, see also commentary to AMC line 105). The keyword ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KĀM indicates moreover, as noted above, that both AMC sections POTENCY and SEX contained material commonly referred to as the ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts.

The genre MUNUS.GIN.NA.KĀM “for a woman to come (to you for sex)” is known from texts that prescribe calendaric and astronomical timings for various rituals and healing endeavors, BRM 4, 20: 8, 54, BRM 4, 19 rev. 31 and STT 300: 20-21 (Geller 2014: 27ff., 47ff.; CAD A/1 s.v. *alāku* 4c-7'; CAD S 290a). The commentary section in BRM 4, 20: 54 equates Sumerian MUNUS GIN.NA with *sinništu ana alāku* “for a woman to come”. Two tablets from the Assur library N4, KAR 61 and 69 (Biggs 1967: 74ff.; Petersén 1986: 60f. (70) and (85)), which contain incantations and rituals with the concluding statement “(that woman) will come to you”, very likely belong to the genre or to texts associated with the AMC sections POTENCY/SEX. In KAR 69, all sections end in GIN.NA “she will come (to you)” or [MUNUS BI] ... GIN. GIN.'NA' “[that woman] ... will keep on coming (to you)” (obv. 5, 19, rev. 1, 9, 21), consisting of spells combined with figurine rituals or simple actions of love magic. KAR 61 is of more diverse content, although likewise consisting of spells and rituals classifiable as love magic. The first ritual (obv. 8-10) ends in the formulation MUNUS BI GIN-ku *ÁG-ši* “that woman will come (to you), you can make love to her”, although the spell recited with it is classified in a rubric (obv. 7) as “Recitation for the case that a woman glances at a man's penis” (KA.INIM.MA DIŠ MUNUS IGI *ana* GĪŠ NA *ina-ši*). The second ritual (obv. 11-21) was performed “in the case that this woman (still) does not come” (BE-*ma* MUNUS BI NU GIN-ku), with the same goal (obv. 11, 21). The rest of the tablet preserves a ritual “to make a woman talk” (*ana* MUNUS *šu-ud-bu-bi*) and further spells, two of which are designated as incantations “for loveplay” (rev. 26: 2 KA.INIM.MA ÊN

<sup>65</sup> Cf. LKA 102 obv. 18ff. offering a witchcraft diagnosis.



ša šu-hi). For the broader context of these related rubrics concerned with love magic, cf. BRM 4, 20: 5-7, 17, 60-63 and parallels, Biggs 1967: 5; Schwemer 2007a: 159 with n. 8; Geller 2002a; Geller 2005b; Scurlock 2005-06.

107) If the reconstruction suggested for AMC line 107 is correct, the catalogue registers therapies for *la'bu*-disease caused by *ardat lilī* “the maiden of the wind-(demon)”. It is sometimes difficult to differentiate clearly the disease term *la'bu* from the related noun *li'bu*, which designates a type of severe fever (both words are derived from *la'ābu* “to infect”).<sup>66</sup> M. Stol (2007a: 11ff.) distinguishes between a) *la'bu/li'bu* as a skin disease, b) *la'bu* “odious matter” or a secretion/body fluid<sup>67</sup>, and c) *li'bu* as a fever, occurring together with other fever terms (*ummu*, *šētu/himiṭ* *šēti* etc.; usually not spelled *la'bu*). Both *li'bu* and *la'bu* were regarded as infectious illnesses (Stol 2007a: 14f.), and occasionally associated with epidemics (*mūtānu*).

A literal textual parallel for the AMC key phrase [*ana ŠU ardat li-li*] -'i' *la'-ba* TAR-si is not attested elsewhere in therapeutic texts. The use of the verb *parāsu* “to cut off; to separate” in the AMC key phrase is a bit unusual. *Parāsu* is used in the medical texts either with regard to body fluids that need to be stopped or with regard to evil that has to be blocked from infringing on people, as in the ritual “to block the entry of the enemy in a man's house” (*šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli ana parāsu*, Wiggermann 1992: 1ff.; cf. KAR 44: 20 //; CAD P 169a sub 2'). But *parāsu* is also occasionally encountered in the meaning “to halt/stop” an illness, e.g. fever (BAM 174 rev. 31: *ana ummi u šerha parāsi* “in order to stop the fever and burning heat”). In parallel formulations with *li'bu* as disease name or with other terms for fever, the verb *nasāhu* is always used instead.

Therapies for *li'bu*-fever involving similar formulations as in AMC 107 are found for instance in the KUB 29, 58+59 + KUB 37, 84 (// KUB 29, 60) from Boghazköy (Meier 1939: 200ff.; Bácskay 2018: 164-176), a three-column tablet with the incipit *a-na ši-bit li'-[bi KUR]-i na-sa-hi-im* “to remove the grip of the *li'*[*bu*-disease of the mountain]” (i 1).<sup>68</sup> The “*li'bu*-fever of the mountain” is obviously a variant of the illness *šibit šadī* “seizure of the mountain” enumerated beside *li'bu*.<sup>69</sup> KUB 29, 58+59 + KUB 37, 84 contains a ceremony involving a figurine ritual and incantations (e.g. to Šamaš), followed by shorter therapies (v 15ff.) for a man who is seized by *li'bu* (and) *šibit šadī*, and to whom high fever (*umma šarha li'ba danna*) returns on the third day after the first attack (i.e. a form of an intermittent fever; see also Scurlock and Andersen: 2005: 29ff. with 3.11, 482f.). This pattern resembles the description of *šibit šadī* in *Sakikkū* Tablet 16: 25-27 and 28 (Heeßel 2000: 174f.; Scurlock 2014a: 152). Otherwise, the word *li'bu* is encountered beside other words for fever such as *ummu* (cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 29ff.), e.g. in the excerpt tablets BAM 147: 1, 5 12 // BAM 148: 1, 5, 12 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.6.1; Bácskay 2018: 146-158), where prescriptions start with the statement DIŠ NA KÚM *dan-nu* DAB-su “If severe fever seizes a man” and end in (*ummu danna*) *li'bu ša išbatušu innassah* “(the severe fever and) the *li'bu*-fever that has afflicted him will be removed”. See also *Sakikkū* Tablet 40: 51 (Scurlock 2014a: 260): DIŠ LÚ.TUR *um-ma li'-ba ú-kal u ik-ta-na-aš-ša* “If fever and *li'bu* grips an infant and he is always cold” (attributed to Lamaštu).

The reason for including treatments of a condition associated with *ardat lilī* in the present AMC section (SEX) may be found in the character of *ardat lilī* as the demonic ghost of deceased unmarried girls who preys on humans in search of a marital partner. In the medical texts, afflictions caused by the *ardat-lilī*-demon are often associated with epileptic fits (*miqtu*, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA), confusional states and altered mentation (for an overview see Scurlock 2014b: 101ff.; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 95f., 272ff., 338f., 434ff., *passim*). In this context, *Sakikkū* Tablet 26 contains several entries attributing symptoms to the “Hand of *ardat lilī*” or to one of the “wind” demons (*lilī*, *lilitu*), and a few entries such as ll. 22'-25' give as diagnosis “Hand of the *lilū*-demon of *la'bu*-disease” (ŠU LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA *la'-bi*, Heeßel 2000: 280; Scurlock 2014a: 197). Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 4.29) translate the phrase as “infectious hand of *lilū*”, interpreting *la'bu* as an adjective or apposition and connect the illness with symptoms of secondary syphilis.<sup>70</sup> Among the symptoms of this condition described in *Sakikkū* 26: 22'ff. are attacks of the illness “flowing over” (*rehū*) the patient, accompanied by numbness, “forgetting oneself”, flushed face, cold fingers/toes, but fever *per se* is not among the

<sup>66</sup> Cf. CAD L 6f., 34f., 181f.; AHw 521, 526b, 551b.

<sup>67</sup> Implied by the fact that one can be “full” of it (e.g. AMT 55/2: 4f.) and by its equation with “spittle” or “dirty matter” (*lu'tu*, see STT 403: 44-46; Stol 2007a: 11 with n. 24).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the varying subscript in col. v 14 // KUB 29, 60 rev. 4': š[um-ma li'-bi ši-bi]t KUR-i na-sà-hi-im “i[f (you want) to eradicate *li'bu*-fever and ‘seizure of the mountain’”.

<sup>69</sup> For *li'bi šadī* as diagnosis see also K. 2581 obv. 21 // AMT 53/7+K. 6732: 1 (Scurlock 2014a: 676 text 3.16.3, Stol 2007a: 12ff.; Bácskay 2018: 158ff.).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. CAD L 34 lex. and sub 2, with reference to the lexical equation KI.TAG.GA = *la'bu* “affected (spot)” (5R 16 i 37 // Rm. 2, 585).

symptoms here. In *Sakikkû* 26: 64'-68', however, two entries differentiate the diagnosis “Hand of *lilû*” and “Hand of the *lilû*-demon of *la'bu*-disease” (ŠU LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA *la'-bi/ba*, Heeßel 2000: 284; Scurlock 2014a: 198f.). Both cases describe illness attacks accompanied by fever (*umma li'ba*), cold hands and feet and the patient crying out “My inside, my inside!”. In the case of the “Hand of *lilû*”, the patient does not answer, when he is spoken to by the specialist; in the case of “Hand of *lilû*-demon of *la'bu*-disease”, he sees the agent that afflicts him, talks to him and “his self changes constantly” (NÍ-šú *ut-ta-na-kar*). Moreover, in *Sakikkû* Tablet 4: 20-21, the symptoms (the patient’s temples, epigastrium and neck are constantly seized, he has a moderate temperature without sweating and his pubic hair falls out) are attributed to the “Hand of *ardat lilî* of *la'bu*-disease” (ŠU KI.SIKIL.LÁ.EN.NA *la'-bi*, Scurlock 2014a: 21, 35; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 4.26). In the light of these parallels, AMC line 107 may be restored reading either *ana qāt lilî* or *qāt ardat lilî* etc. It seems also that the “Hand of *lilû*/*ardat lilî* of *la'bu*-disease” was not primarily a febrile condition, and that *la'bu* in this context has to be differentiated from *li'bu*-fever. The commentary to *Sakikkû* Tablet 4 (SpTU 1, 30 obv. 6'-8') explains ŠU.LÍL.[L]Á EN.NA [*la-*]' *bi* as “what the *lilû*-demon has left behind” (*šá li-lu-ú i-zi-<sup>r</sup>bu-<sup>r</sup>uš*), but then connects the word *la'bu* with *li'bu* and *zi'pu*, the latter of which probably refers to a skin rash.<sup>71</sup>

The expression *qāt lilî/ardat lilî la'ba* in the AMC may thus be interpreted as an apposition, i.e. “Hand of *lilû/ardat lilî* (causing) *la'bu*-disease”, or as a genitive construction (following the spellings *la'-bi* in *Sakikkû* and elsewhere), “Hand of *lilû/ardat lilî* of (i.e. associated with) *la'bu*-disease”.

108) The first phrase in this line apparently refers to rituals for calming a husband’s anger toward his wife. All comparable rituals known from textual sources use a variant phraseology in their rubrics. A small collection of rituals to regain a husband’s favour is preserved in STT 257, containing a figurine ritual, in which the anger of the husband is attributed to the machinations of a sorceress (obv. 1'-rev. 1, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.14, pl. 107f.). The reverse of the tablet preserves an incantation to Ištar (rev. 2-9) with ritual (rev. 11-16) and the first lines of another Ištar incantation (rev. 17-19) (Farber 2010: 73-78; Scurlock 2014b: 109 No. 20). A duplicate to STT 257 rev. 11-19 is found in a fragmentary two-column tablet from Assur (“Tisserant 17” i 1'-16'; Scheil 1921: 23 no. 17; Farber 2010: 75ff.) which continues with further therapies and Ištar prayers for the same purpose (ii 16'ff., iii 11'ff.), including another parallel passage (iv 11'-16') in STT 257 i.e. 1f. (Farber 2010: 78-84; Scurlock 2014b: 109). The rubric appended to the invocation to Ištar in STT 257 rev. 10 reads [K]A.INIM.MA MUNUS *šá* <sup>r</sup>DAM<sup>r</sup>-*sà* UGU-*šá* *šab-su* “recitation for a woman whose husband is angry with her” (Farber 2010: 74f.). The Assur text offers the same rubric in ii 9' appended to a Sumerian spell (ii 7'-9': KA.INIM.MA MUNUS DAM-*sà* UGU-*šá* *sa-bu-us*); the following ritual (ii 10'-14') promises that the woman “will be loved” (*irrâma*). “Tisserant 17” iii 6' preserves another incantation rubric KA.INIM.MA *kâm-la tur-ra* “recitation to bring back the angry one” (Farber 2010: 80 n. 23). While the incantation rubrics in STT 257 and “Tisserant 17” use the verb *šabâsu* “to turn away in anger”, the entry in AMC line 108 seems to be a citation from the introduction to a therapy and uses the verb *nekelmû* (lit. “to look angrily”) instead. A third fragment related to the present context of pacifying an angry husband is STT 249 (cf. Farber 2010: 81f.). Although they do not present identical formulations, STT 257 and “Tisserant 17” can be regarded as related text sources for the present AMC key phrase. It is unknown whether the Assur manuscript presents a manuscript of the AMC section SEX that contained texts for different purposes as listed in AMC II. 104-108, or whether this it was restricted to rituals for re-establishing marital harmony. With regard to the texts registered in the *adi*-section of SEX, it is possible that these texts were also collected on multiple tablets rather than assembled together in a larger compendium.

Concerning the last key phrase of AMC line 108, the emendation to SA'.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ *šá* <sup>r</sup>GÎRI<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ “pulsating veins of the feet” instead of the reading Ú.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ “uprooted plants” is suggested by the similar shape of the sign GÎRI in AMC line 116. A parallel phrase *ana* SA'.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ *šá* ŠU<sup>r</sup> u GÎRI<sup>r</sup> *pu-uš-šu-hi* “in order to calm down the pulsating veins of the hands and feet” occurs in AMT 98/3+AMT 39/3: 13 (CDLI no. P396344) as introduction to a recipe, but the context of the remedies on this fragment remains unclear. Why remedies for a symptom of the feet seemingly unrelated to the overall topic sexuality are listed here as part of the AMC section SEX, remains mysterious, but it may have to do with the keyword ZI.MEŠ “rising up” (cf. *tibûtu* for sexual excitement in ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts).

<sup>71</sup> Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 10.66; cf. also BAM 240: 59'f. describing a woman suffering from fever, *li'bu* and dark spots on her body after giving birth.

109) Although the title PREGNANCY has been chosen for this AMC section, the first preserved incipit and the relevant text sources indicate that this section of the therapeutic corpus was not concerned exclusively with pregnant women, but that its overall focus had to do with getting offspring and with protecting families from the death of children, born or unborn.

Although the tentative positioning of the fragments in the present reconstruction of the AMC tablet (see copy Pl. 2, 6), allows for more text at the beginning of AMC l. 109, there are indications that the entry DIŠ NA *ana* <sup>4</sup>NI]N.KAR.RA.AK *pa-qid* indeed presents the title of the whole section and incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 1. Thus, the subscript of the Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 42327+ rev. 40-41 preceding the colophon (Farber 1989a: 26 and pl. 14-15; cf. Farber 2014: 36) can now be restored according to the section title cited in AMC ll. 109 and 111: 40) DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> [...-a]h *ú-šam-šu* 41) DIŠ NA [*ana* <sup>4</sup>NIN.KAR.RA.AK] *pa-qid-m[a]*. These two lines are appended to instructions for apotropaic rituals to prevent miscarriage due to witchcraft inscribed on the tablet, including the non-canonical Lamaštu incantation *ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat* (Farber 2014: 268ff. “RA”; Steinert 2016b), also known from related texts and applied to protect women from miscarriage (TCL 6, 49 and SpTU 3, 84). Since the incipit of BM 42327+ is identical with the incipit cited in AMC l. 110, this text from Babylonia has to be an extract of material corresponding to PREGNANCY Tablet 3. BM 42327+ rev. 40 presents an unidentified catchline (cf. below commentary on AMC line 113), while rev. 41 has to be understood as the overarching title of the section (PREGNANCY). Concerning the Late Babylonian sources TCL 6, 49 and SpTU 3, 84, the former is a collection of rituals and incantations focussing on amulet charms to protect pregnant women from miscarriage caused by different agents. SpTU 3, 84 written by the exorcist Šamaš-iddin, combines rituals against miscarriage and ceremonies for households to protect them from losing their offspring through death or illness caused by Lamaštu, Gula, witchcraft or a curse, which show connections to PREGNANCY Tablets 2 and 3 (see below).

The negative nuance of *paqādu* “to entrust to (someone)” in the incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 1 is mostly encountered in anti-witchcraft texts that explain the patient’s illness as due to sorcerous practices, through which he was “entrusted” to the world of the dead. For instance, the Nineveh fragment 81-7-27, 73: 3’ (Biggs 1967: 68f., pl. 2), possibly related to the section POTENCY, deals with witchcraft-induced illness and loss of libido and introduces a remedy with [DIŠ KI.MI]N *ana* GIDIM *pa-qid* “[If dit]to, he has been entrusted to a ghost”. Similarly, BAM 232 obv. 20’-22’ // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 321: 21-22 text 8.6 Ms. C), an anti-witchcraft ritual addressed to Marduk uses a similar expression by saying that figurines of the patient have been buried in a grave and “have been handed over to a persecuting ghost” (*ana eṭemmi riḏāti paqdū*; cf. also Stol 1999: 66). Further anti-witchcraft rituals that speak of the patient having been entrusted to the netherworld are BAM 214 obv. 8f., also 10ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.1 Ms. A) NU.MEŠ-šū DÜ.MEŠ-*ma ina* KI.GUL.MEŠ *ana* <sup>4</sup>Ereš-ki-gal [*pa-a*]q-du “figurines have been made of him and have been handed over to Ereškigal in dilapidated places”; SpTU 2, 19 obv. 1ff. // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.3: Ms. A): NU.MEŠ-šū *ana gul-gul-lī LÚ-ti paq-d[u]* “figurines of him have been entrusted to a human skull”. Note further LKA 89 rev. iv 4’ (= catchline, Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 201 text 8.25 Ms. B: DIŠ NA NU.MEŠ-šū *ana* ADDA *paq-du* “if figurines representing a man have been handed over to a corpse”. A diagnosis in *Sakikkû* Tablet 16: 10 (Heeßel 2000: 172; Scurlock 2014a: 151) is connected with a negative prognosis: *ana gallê mūti paqid imât* “he has been entrusted to the *gallû*-demon of death, he will die”.

Having been entrusted to Ninkarrak was possibly associated especially with the death or illness of one’s children. The reason for this attribution to a manifestation of Gula, is not entirely clear (but there could be a connection to the role of the healing goddess as a midwife). The association of the goddess with offspring is also underscored by the fact that the “Hand of Gula” is a prominent causing agent behind infants’ diseases in *Sakikkû* Tablet 40 (Böck 2014a: 62-68).

The second entry in AMC line 109 (PREGNANCY Tablet 2) has parallels in SpTU 3, 84 (Farber 2014: 36; Farber 1989b: 224ff.). This compilation contains six sections separated by double rulings. The text begins with a ritual against miscarriage caused by Lamaštu (obv. 1-16, Farber 2014: 276f. Ms. “SpTU”). The next section in obv. 17-23 begins [DIŠ] NA *mi-ih-ri ma-hi-ir* DUMU.MEŠ-šū UG<sub>7</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub> “If a man is struck by the misfortune that his sons/children have died”, presenting a variant formulation to the AMC incipit. The following ruled-off section (obv. 24-36) is a protective ritual for an infant who has survived an illness crisis ([DIŠ LÚ.TUR<sup>3</sup>] *mi-hi-ir-šū i-te-ti-iq-šū*). The tablet continues with a ritual (obv. 37-rev. 55) for the case that [DIŠ NA] DUMU.MEŠ-šū UG<sub>7</sub>UG<sub>7</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub> lu GIG.ME-šū *ma-’-du* “[If a man]’s children keep dying or are often ill” and he suffers from financial losses (the problem is attributed to the “curse”). The last sections on SpTU 3, 84 rev. 56ff. are partially duplicated in sections on BM 42327+ //, TCL 6, 49 and LKA 9. Thus, SpTU 3, 84 rev. 56-78 contains protective remedies for pregnant women and two incantations (Lamaštu/baby incantation), beginning with an entry

identical with the incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3.<sup>72</sup> The final ceremony in SpTU 3, 84 rev. 79-97 is introduced with the sentence: [DIŠ NA lu ina Š]U <sup>d</sup>Gu-la lu ina ŠU <sup>d</sup>DI.ME lu ina ŠU GABA.RI lu ina ŠU NAM.ÉRIM [...]x DUMU.MEŠ UG<sub>7</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub> lu GIG.MEŠ-šú ma'-du DUMU.MEŠ-šú <ana> e-ṭe-ri “[If a man]’s children die [through the ‘Ha]nd of Gula’, the ‘Hand of Lamaštu’, through the ‘Hand of adversity’, or through the ‘Hand of a curse’, [...], or (if) they are often ill: in order to save his children”. Thus, SpTU 3, 84 may have been assembled from different sections (or sources) of a text compilation connected to the AMC section PREGNANCY, although its incipit and catchline do not correspond to AMC incipits.

The metaphoric expression *ana/ina qāti šūšū* “to lose” in AMC l. 109 (CAD A/2 371a) is apparently synonymous with *ana šimti alāku* “to go to one’s fate” or *mātu* “to die” in SpTU 3, 84. The phrase *mihra mahāru* is further encountered in BAM 234: 1, in the introduction to a ritual to counter grave misfortune attributed to the wrath of the personal deities: DIŠ NA mi-ih-ru ma-hi-ir-ma ki-i im-hu-ru-šu ul i’-[dī] “If a man has experienced misfortune and does not know why this happened to him”. Other motifs shared by BAM 234: 1ff. with the texts related to PREGNANCY are the experience of financial losses and the death of the people and animals in the patient’s household, without special mention to his children (for the text see Kinnier Wilson and Ritter 1980: 23-40; Stol 1993: 29; Abusch 1999: 85f.; Buisson 2016a; Buisson 2016b).

110) Since in textual attestations of this incipit the verbal forms are negated (“for witchcraft not to approach a pregnant woman and for her not to have a miscarriage”), an emendation of the end of AMC line 110 to *ana ŠĀ-šā NU ŠUB-e* is justified. The incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3 is encountered in several texts with therapies to protect pregnant women from miscarriage caused by witchcraft (see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 13 Group 5 for texts to protect women or infants from sorcery). The Neo- or Late Babylonian extract tablet BM 42327+ (from Sippar or Babylon) starts with the matching incipit *ana* MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> UŠ<sub>11</sub>.ZU NU TE-ma šā ŠĀ-šā NU ŠUB-[e]. The tablet can thus be identified as an excerpt of textual material belonging to PREGNANCY Tablet 3; it contains three treatments (ointment, amulet charm, ritual) and two incantations (see above commentary to AMC line 109).

BM 42327+ is duplicated by passages in TCL 6, 49 rev. 13ff., SpTU 3, 84: 56ff., LKA 9 rev. iii 7’ff. and BM 51246+ obv. 1ff. (Farber 1989a: 110ff. §§ 39-40). The Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet BM 51246+ (probably from Sippar) is designated in its subscript as the “34<sup>th</sup> *nishu*-tablet with remedies for a [...] woman(?)” (rev. 19’: *ṭup-pi 34 nis-hu bul-ṭu* MU[NUS? ...]). Its first lines run parallel to BM 42327+: 1-4, 7 including the incipit *ana* MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> UŠ<sub>11</sub>.ZU NU TE-ma šā ŠĀ-šā NU [ŠUB-e] “for witchcraft not to approach a pregnant woman so that she does not abort her foetus” (for both see Farber 1989a: 26f., 110ff. §39A-40). However, BM 51246+ continues with remedies and rituals for women, concerned with various topics that can be connected with the AMC sections PREGNANCY and BIRTH (cf. below; Steinert forthcoming a for a complete edition). The Uruk compilation SpTU 3, 84 focussing on rituals related to PREGNANCY also contains the entry matching the AMC incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3 in l. 56: *ana* MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> UŠ<sub>11</sub>.ZU NU TE-ma šā ŠĀ-šā NU *na’-de-e*. LKA 9 forms a two(?) -column *Sammeltafel* with text sections that in some way deal with stones, including a stone list, an extract from the mythological text Lugal-e, protective rituals/incantations and amulet charms for women and babies (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 167ff. Kette 206, 346ff.; Farber 1989a: 22f., 78ff. § 21, 110ff. § 39). The section on rev. iii duplicates passages in the aforementioned manuscripts and also contains the AMC incipit in rev. iii 7f. (*ana* MUNUS *e-ri-ti kiš-pu* NU TE-e šā ŠĀ-šā *la* ŠUB-e). Another text from Assur, KAL 2, 41 obv. i’ 10ff. (Schwemer 2007b: 100ff.), a fragment of a two- or three-column tablet with amulet charms for pregnant women, contains a variant entry: [DIŠ MUNUS.PE]Š<sub>4</sub> *ep-ši ep-šu-ši-ma* / [šā Š]Ā-šā ŠUB.ŠUB-e / [*ana* š]a ŠĀ-šā NU ŠUB-e “If sorcery has been performed against a [pregn]ant women and consequently she repeatedly had miscarriages, so that she will not have a(nother) miscarriage”<sup>73</sup>. Another ritual text related to the topic and present text group is SpTU 5, 248, which contains ritual procedures for a woman who had repeated miscarriages (*sinništu lā mušēširtu*, see Scurlock 2002; Scurlock 2014b: 122ff.; Couto-Ferreira 2014). In the light of the evidence discussed, the emendation of the end of AMC line 110 to NU ŠUB-e seems inescapable. The very rare recipes to induce miscarriage (e.g. BAM 246) are irrelevant to the present context and argument, because they do not portray the pregnant woman as a victim of sorcery.

112) The *adi*-section of PREGNANCY in AMC ll. 112-114 cites mainly diagnostic entries from therapeutic texts, for many of which parallel attestations from the corpus of women’s health care texts can be identified. Such parallels are found

<sup>72</sup> See Farber 2014: 268ff. “RA”; Farber 1989a: 112ff. §§39-40, pl. 14f.; Scurlock 2014a: 587ff. and commentary to AMC line 110.

<sup>73</sup> *Contra* Schwemer who restores [*ana ša* Š]Ā-šā ŠUB.ŠUB-e in line 11, understanding the verb as the infinitive of Gtn *nadū*, it is suggested that the spelling ŠUB.ŠUB-e is a mistake for ŠUB.ŠUB-a (*itaddā* or *ittanaddā*).

on tablets of different scope and format, from excerpts to longer collections. The first fragmentary key phrase in AMC line 112 concerning the loss of amniotic fluid in a pregnant woman matches diagnostic entries in two Babylonian tablets concerned with women's health. The Late Babylonian gynaecological handbook BM 42313+ presents a collection of treatments for women.<sup>74</sup> A remedy inscribed on BM 42313+ rev. 16 is introduced with the matching phrase: DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> A.MEŠ-<šú> DU-ku "If a woman's (amniotic) fluid flows". The second text, the excerpt tablet BM 51246+, presents two recipes beginning in slightly varying form. Rev. 13' offers the entry "DIŠ PEŠ<sub>4</sub> A.A'-šá DU-ku ù' x' ŠUB'-a "If a pregnant (woman's) (amniotic) fluid flows and she drops/discharges ...", whereas rev. 15' reads DIŠ PEŠ<sub>4</sub> A-šá DU-ku šá' ŠÀ-šá a-n[a] 'la?' [na]-de'-e "if a pregnant (woman's) fluid flows, so that she does 'not miscarry' her foetus".

Regarding the last key phrase in AMC line 112, several prescriptions in the corpus of women's health care texts are known that are introduced by the expression "to stop a woman's blood", but only a few examples speak explicitly of a pregnant woman's blood. None of the sources currently known provide an exact counterpart to the AMC key phrase DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> MÚD. MEŠ-šá DU-ku "If a pregnant woman's blood flows". The gynaecological compendium BM 42313+ contains one prescription in rev. 12ff. beginning with: DIŠ MUNUS šá 3 ITI MÚD-šú DU-ak ana šá ŠÀ-ŠÀ-[šú NU ŠUB] "If a woman who is three months (pregnant) has a haemorrhage, so that she does not miscarry her fetus".<sup>75</sup> A second entry in BM 42313+ rev. 20f. is phrased in a slightly different way: DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> MÚD. MEŠ U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM DU-ku U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM NU [DU-ku?] "If a pregnant woman has a haemorrhage on one day, (but) no haemorrhage on the next day". Another Neo-Babylonian tablet with an extract of recipes to stop female bleeding (FLP 1306: 1) offers a fragmentary incipit likewise related to the AMC key phrase: "MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> šá MÚD 'i'-[ta-nam-ma-ru]" "(for) a pregnant woman who [keeps discovering?] blood" (for the cited texts see Steinert forthcoming a). Moreover, the Late Babylonian tablet SpTU 4, 153: 7f. containing a collection of prescriptions for female bleeding and for speeding up birth offers another parallel, with a remarkable recommendation appended to a remedy:

*ana tak-ša-a-tú šá MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> E-ú MUNUS šá' Û.TU-ma MÚD. MEŠ la ip-par-ra-su SUM-s[u] / šá  
MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> šá 3 4 ITI. MEŠ-šú u MÚD i-ta-nam-ma-ru SUM-su*

"For cooling a pregnant woman, as they said: You prescribe (it) for a woman (lit. "give it to her") who<sup>7</sup> has given birth and (whose) blood does not stop. You can (also) prescribe (it) for a pregnant woman who is in her third or fourth month and keeps discovering blood."<sup>76</sup>

It is possible that other texts dealing with female haemorrhage, which do not explicitly speak of the patient being pregnant, were also applied for pregnant women suffering from bleeding and collected with texts belonging to PREGNANCY (at least at Assur). However, some texts concerned with gynaecological haemorrhage seem to have been included in the section BIRTH (e.g. BAM 235-236), cf. below commentary to AMC line 118.

113) There are no textual parallels currently known that could be used to restore or clarify the first two entries in this line. A restoration DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> i-sa-ap-[pid(ma) la i-na-a]h<sup>7</sup> "If a pregnant woman mou[rns, and cannot calm do]wn" may be tentatively suggested. The key phrase would indicate therapies dealing with extreme emotional upset during pregnancy, which could trigger miscarriage or illness. Compare the fragmentary catchline of BM 42327+ rev. 40: DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> [...-a]h ú-šam-šu "If a pregnant woman [...], they shall grant (to her what she desires?)", which may be potentially related to the present AMC entry.

The key phrase DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> kun-nu-kât "If a pregnant woman is sealed off" is currently unknown in the gynaecological text corpus, but it may allude to a woman who is past her expected delivery date or otherwise delayed in giving birth (cf. Lambert 1969: 31: 48, where it is the unborn baby who is "sealed" (*kanka*)). Such delays may have been understood as caused by sorcery (e.g. through symbolic actions of "sealing", which were thought to have the same effect on the victim, thereby hindering the birth of the baby). The last entry in AMC line 113, consisting in a parallel formulation with a verb in the D-stem stative, DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ<sub>4</sub> kul-lu-mat "If a pregnant woman has been shown

<sup>74</sup> E.g. for fertility and conception (including a fertility test), bleeding, miscarriage; Finkel 2000: 171ff. Text 17, with the duplicate (student's tablet) BM 42333+; Finkel and Seymour 2009<sup>2</sup>: 200 Fig. 189-190; Steinert forthcoming a.

<sup>75</sup> For *ša liblibbiša*, a variant of *ša libbiša* "her foetus" cf. CAD L 179f.; AHW 550a sub B.3c.

<sup>76</sup> For *takšātu* see CAD T 87, and Steinert 2012b: 79f. for discussion.

(something)”, also describes a sorcery-induced problem affecting pregnant or parturient women (cf. Stol 2000: 157). This latter phrase is similar to LKA 9 rev. iii 2’f., see the commentary to the next line.

114) The last key phrase in AMC line 113 and the two following citations enumerated in AMC line 114 are concerned with the word *kullumu* “to show something to someone”. The expressions listed here refer to specific things observed by a woman in her environment during the dangerous periods of pregnancy, birth and postpartum, which were understood as evil signs of sorcerous machinations that could lead to miscarriage or illness. The section concerned with amulet charms for women in LKA 9 rev. iii 2’f. contains a remedy for a leather bag, which is destined for this very purpose, being “a leather bag to release a pregnant woman or a woman in confinement to whom (something evil) has been shown” (*me-e-lu šá MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> u munus ha-riš-t[i] šá kul-lu-ma-tu<sub>4</sub> pa-šá-ri*, cf. Reiner 1959-60: 150b; Farber 1989a: 23; Stol 2000: 156 n. 56; the text posits that when the woman wears the charm “(if) they show her (something), it will not come near to her”). It is noteworthy that this text from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 63 (167)) is presently the only attestation for the phrases in AMC lines 113-114 (which may be a coincidence). The listing of multiple entries devoted to this special type of bewitchment implies that there existed longer collections of such remedies for women at Assur (and possibly elsewhere).

The rubric *MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA* at the end of line 114 is connected to the previous entries by *u* “and”, while at the same time the scribe separated the last key word with a division marker. The Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 15 //) mentions the rubric *MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA* “to bind a pregnant woman” (with appended gloss *MUNUS la al-du* “a woman not giving birth”) in conjunction with the rubrics <sup>d</sup>*ĐIM.ME.KÂM* and *LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ* designating spells (and rituals) that protect women and babies from evil and demonic attacks. The rubric *KA.INIM.MA MUNUS.KÉŠ.D[A].KAM* “recitation to bind a woman” marking Sumerian incantations to stop bleeding during pregnancy is so far only attested on tablets from the Old Babylonian period (CBS 1509 i 20, iii 25; Finkel 1980: 38-39, 42-43 text C; the Old Babylonian texts also feature the variant rubrics *KA.INIM.MA IDIM.(KA).KÉŠ.DA.KAM* “recitation to bind the source (at the mouth)”, cf. Finkel 1980; Rudik 2011: 332ff.). In the corpus of first millennium medical texts, collections of therapies for the same purpose are attested (e.g. the two-column Assur tablet BAM 237, Scurlock 2014a: 571ff.), containing ceremonies and recipes against *nahšātu* (i.e. bleeding during pregnancy) and other vaginal discharges. The relation of BAM 237 with the AMC section PREGNANCY remains unclear, however, due to the lack of an incipit or matching catchline. A popular therapy in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium texts consists in amulet charms for pregnant women, designated as *takširū/kušārū ša erīti* “amulet strings/knots for a pregnant woman”<sup>77</sup>, which were included in special handbooks collecting amulets charms for different purposes.<sup>78</sup> But such charms, usually combined with incantations, can also be found on tablets with links to PREGNANCY, such as TCL 6, 49 (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 162ff.; cf. Farber 2014: 35f.), LKA 9 etc. Compare also STT 241, an extract with amulets/spell to protect from a premature delivery (*NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ/ KA.INIM.MA ša MUNUS NU.SI.SÁ.KÂM*), Schuster-Brandis 2008: 149f.; cf. above commentary to AMC line 110 *sinništu lā mušēširtu*).

The occurrence of the rubric *MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA.KÂM* in the AMC very likely indicates the transmission and continued use of an incantation genre known from the Old Babylonian period, although the rubric itself is yet unattested in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium texts. Note the Sumerian incantation *munus ka-kēš* “woman with a bound mouth” in TCL 6, 49: 15 // KAL 2, 41 obv. i 14ff. (Thureau-Dangin 1921; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.8.1 and *ibid.* Summary 12), which likewise uses the motif of “binding”, and is recited over the knots of an amulet protecting from miscarriage caused by sorcery.

115) Since most of the incipits in this AMC section are concerned with women in delivery, BIRTH has been chosen as the title for this section of the therapeutic corpus, although there are hints that the last tablets of the section included material that was devoted to gynaecological ailments not directly related to delivery or a postpartum context (cf. below lines 118-119).

All the source texts featuring an entry that matches the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 1 are only incompletely preserved. Two fragments from Nineveh contain this line. AMT 66/4 is a fragment of a two- or multi-column tablet, preserving a few treatments (including amulet charms) for women to ease delivery (rev. i’, with parallels in the Assur tablet BAM 248

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. the inventory BAM 363 rev. 13’ listing 130 stones for “knottings for a pregnant woman” (*kušārī ša MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub>*; also in K. 4727+: 21’ // KAL 2, 41 rev. v 5’).

<sup>78</sup> E.g. the series *kunuk halti*, see especially the texts K. 4727+ // BAM 346 // STT 278 // K. 9071 // BM 47770+47904 // KAL 2, 41; cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 146ff., 192ff.; Steinert forthcoming a.

etc.). A section in AMT 66/4 i' 3'ff. starts with DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> *i-na a-l[a-di-ša šup-šu-qat ...]* “If a woman [has difficulty in her] deli[very ...]”. The second column of AMT 66/4 contains fragmentary lists of amulet ingredients summarised as the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> *ṭurru* “string/bracelet”,<sup>79</sup> followed by three two-line sections (rev. ii' 5'-10') with colophon-like content. S. Parpola (1983b: 21 with note to 1.1) interpreted rev. ii' 7 as [*pir-su reš-tu*]-*ṛu' NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB hal-ti* “[first *pirsu*] of (the series) *kunuk halti*”, however, the following NU SAR “has not been written down/copied (on the tablet)” argues against this reconstruction, cf. the expression ZI.MEŠ-*ha* “excerpted” in the next line (ii' 8'). AMT 66/4 rev. ii' 6 mentions a copy from Assyria ([... GA]BA.RI KUR AN.SĀR<sup>ki</sup>). It is thus likely that AMT 66/4 belongs to the women's corpus rather than to the series *kunuk halti*; it probably contains material related to the AMC section BIRTH, assembled from different sources. The mention of *kunuk halti* in rev. ii' 7' could refer to the series known under the same name, possibly because the *kunuk halti*-compendium contained similar or identical amulet charms as the therapeutic texts for women in labour (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 192ff. with n. 480; Böck 2014b: 176).

The second text that features a line similar to the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 1 is K. 11956+14200, a small landscape-format excerpt tablet with two short rituals, one of which is duplicated in the Assur birth compendium BAM 248. The incipit of K. 11956+ can be restored: [DIŠ MUNUS Û.T]U-*ma šup-š[u-qat ...]* “[If a woman gives] birth, but suffers from hard labour, [...]” (for an edition of these texts see Steinert forthcoming a). Since it is quite certain that AMC ll. 115 contains only one incipit (for BIRTH Tablet 1), the Nineveh source texts could be restored according to the AMC.

The two-column tablet BAM 248 from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 63 (146)) certainly belongs to the context of the AMC section BIRTH, presenting a compendium with incantations, rituals and therapies for women in labour. Unfortunately, BAM 248 does not preserve an incipit, and its catchline does not correspond to the AMC (for the text cf. Veldhuis 1989; Veldhuis 1991; Stol 2000: 64ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 594ff.). BAM 248 i 36 features a damaged line that can be partially restored [... *šup-šu-qat a-la-da* “[...] she has difficulty in (her) labour”, following the Nineveh duplicate K. 8210(+) i 9'. J. Scurlock supplements [KA.INIM.MA MUNUS] at the beginning of this line, regarding it as an incantation rubric. However, the ruling copied by F. Köcher following BAM 248 i 36 is doubtful, since no trace of it is now visible on the tablet.<sup>80</sup> BAM 248 i 36 could thus also form the first line of the incantation continued in i 37ff. The same phrase *šup-šu-qat a-la-da* occurs within another incantation in BAM 248 iii 41.<sup>81</sup> It is noteworthy that the AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 may be very similar to that of BIRTH 1, using a form the verb *pašāqu* “to be narrow”, cf. below commentary to AMC line 118.

116) The birth incantation cited here as the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 2 is so far only attested in Old Babylonian sources. Presently, four varying “versions” of the spell are known, three of which preserve the incipit. YOS 11, 86 obv. 1ff. forms the longest version beginning *i-na me-e ṛna'-a-ki-im / ib-ba-ni e-še-em-tum* “From the fluids of intercourse, the ‘bone’ was created” (van Dijk 1973: 502ff.; Veldhuis 1999: 38ff.). The tablet is inscribed with a second text on the reverse (a Sumerian Lamaštu incantation). The second source is the unpublished school(?) tablet BM 115745, containing a mathematical table on the obverse, and the birth incantation on its reverse, beginning [*ina m*]e-*e na-ki'(DI)-im / ṛib'-ba-ni e-še-em-tum* “[From the flu]ids of intercourse, the bone was created”. MS 3067 from the Schøyen Collection presents a similar combination of spells as YOS 11, 86. The birth incantation in obv. 1ff.: *ṛi'-[na me]-e' na-ki-im ib-[ba-ni (e-še-em-tum)]* “From the [flu]ids of intercourse [(the bone)] was cre[ated]” is followed by two more spells, one of which is against Lamaštu (George 2016: 47, 89, 140f. No. 28a, Pl. LXXVII). The fourth source MS 3387, a fragment of a multi-column incantation compendium, preserves a few fragmentary lines of the spell in a similar version as found in MS 3067 (George 2016: 46f., 138, 142, No. 26a, pl. LXXII).<sup>82</sup> All four sources append a rubric to this spell: KA.INIM.MA MUNUS Û.TU.DA.KAM “recitation for a woman in labour” in YOS 11, 86 rev. 28 and MS 3387 obv. i' 13', whereas in BM 115745 the composition is classified as *šipat aruhtim* “spell for a ‘hastened’ woman”, using a variant term for the woman in travail. The rubric in MS 3067 obv. 19 may be read KA.INIM.MA [*a-li-it*]-*tum* or [*a-ru-uh*]-*tum*. The AMC incipit, which slightly

<sup>79</sup> Schuster-Brandis 2008: 60, 192 n. 480, *contra* Böck 2014b: 176. For amulet text collections that divide groups of amulet bracelets into numbered sections designated as *ṭurru* see also BAM 368, 370, 372-373, 375-377; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Texts 4 and 9.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the rubrics KA.INIM.MA ÉN *mu-šap-ši-i[q-tu]* in KUB 4, 13: 3' (Veldhuis 1991: 12f., 65) and MU-Û *mu-ša-ap-ši-iq-tum* in E 47190 rev. 6' (Farber 1984: 314).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. also the spell in BAM 248 iv 6ff. beginning ÉN *šup-šu-qat re-mi k[a-ni-i]k-tam* “Spell: The woman in difficult labour, she with the sealed womb” (with Stol 2000: 70; cf. CAD Š/III 327a; CAD R 263b; CAD Š/I 16b). For a discussion of the terms for hard labour, *pušqu* (Sum. LA.RA.AH) and *muš(t)apšiqtu* (MUNUS LA.RA.AH) “woman in hard labour”, as well as for Mesopotamian texts relating to birth see also Stol 2000; Couto-Ferreira 2014.

<sup>82</sup> For these texts see also Wasserman forthcoming; Steinert 2017b and Steinert forthcoming a.

differs from the Old Babylonian sources, by using the logograms A and GĪR.PAD.DU instead of purely syllabic spellings, shows that this birth incantation was also transmitted to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium tradition, although sources for it remain to be discovered.

117) The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 is found in BAM 248 iv 13 and AMT 67/1(+) iv 6, which form duplicating manuscripts of a compendium for childbirth on two-column tablets, presenting the line beginning DIŠ MUNUS *ina* Û.TU *uš-tap-šiq* “If a woman has difficulty (lit. is made too narrow) during (her) delivery” (Scurlock 2014a: 599). It is noteworthy that in both texts, the entry forms the beginning of the last section on the tablets that is concerned with delivery (BAM 248 iv 13-38 // AMT 67/1(+) iv 6-31), with prescriptions (potions, ointments, special foodstuffs) and a short ritual for the same purpose. Both tablets conclude with three short protective recipes for the baby (BAM 248 iv 39-43 // AMT 67/1(+) iv 32 //, cf. Farber 1989a: 124ff. § 44-45). The text section introduced by DIŠ MUNUS *ina* Û.TU *uš-tap-šiq* shows some peculiar features and therapeutic strategies compared with the preceding paragraphs (cf. Couto-Ferreira 2014: 298ff., 306ff., 311ff.), which indicates that BAM 248 and AMT 67/1 present a compilation of material of diverse origins. Both sources seem to diverge from the organisation of textual material outlined in AMC (the catchline preserved in BAM 248 does not correspond to AMC). It is possible that BAM 248 and AMT 67/1(+) include texts that belong to BIRTH Tablets 1-3.

The incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 is also encountered in other sources, in varying spellings. The Assur fragment BAM 249 likewise formed part of a two-column tablet. It contains prescriptions for women in difficult labour in col. i', duplicating a few lines of BAM 248 iv 13-16 //), from col. i' 8' onward, headed by the entry [DIŠ MUNUS] 'Û.TU' *uš-tap-šiq-l-šú* “[If (concerning) a woman], (her) delivery is difficult for her” (see also i' 11'). It is unclear whether BAM 249 formed a collection of solely gynaecological material, since a section in col. ii' 11'ff. seems to concern apotropaic rituals to undo the evil foreshadowed by a man's dream. Another medical text from Nineveh in Neo-Babylonian script, AMT 65/2 + K. 11752 obv. 12', probably features the fragmentary entry DIŠ MUNUS Û.TU-*ma* *u[š-tap-šiq]* “If a woman has [difficulty] giving birth”, but the preserved passages are not only concerned with with therapies for women, but include remedies applied to the baby (cf. Farber 1989a: 28, 130). In addition, the still unpublished Neo-Babylonian gynaecological compendium BM 38624+ on a two-column tablet (probably from Babylon) represents a collection of recipes for women ranging from fertility, to bleeding and problems during and after delivery. In obv. ii 25ff., it offers a section with remedies DIŠ MUNUS *a-lad uš-tap-šiq* “if a woman has difficulty giving birth”. For similar tablets see also STT 98 and STT 284.<sup>83</sup>

The second entry in AMC line 117 with the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 4 is so far only attested in the Neo-Babylonian extract tablet BM 51246+ obv. 18, in a likewise damaged line: [DIŠ MUNUS Û.T]U-*ma* *ni-ip-šú šá ina kir-ri-š[á ...]* “If a woman gives birth, and subsequently a stench, which [...] in/from her throat [...]” (cf. Steinert forthcoming a). The AMC incipit diverges by spelling *ni-ip-šá ina kir-ri-š[á ...]*, and the relative pronoun *ša* in BM 51246+ may thus be superfluous. For *nipšu* cf. CAD N/2 248 “smell; stench”; AHw 702a. The word is also attested as a disease term in the Assur fragment BAM 268 iii 3', containing a recipe introduced by DIŠ NA *ni-ip-še* GIG [...] “If a man suffers from *nipšu*”, which can be compared with the Nineveh fragment AMT 77/6: 4' (also l. 8'), offering the entry: [DIŠ NA ... GI]G MIN *ni-ip-še* DIRI.DIRI-*m[a ...]* “[if a man] suffers [from ...], ditto, he is constantly full of *nipšu*”. The word here seems to refer to a type of skin lesion, since the attached recipe instructs to sprinkle a remedy onto the sore (BAM 268 iii 5': *ina* IGI GIG *ta-sa-raq*), while the following recipe in iii 6' speaks of *sikkatu*-lesions (GAG.MEŠ) on the patient's body. Furthermore, a commentary on disease terms explains the phrase DIŠ NA KA.È GIG “If a man suffers from KA.È”<sup>84</sup> with *ni-ip-šú šá sim-me* “*nipšu* (stench?), said of *simmu*-lesions” (cited in CAD N/2 248b sub 2, see K. 8599+: 4' (CDLI P397694) // KADP No. 22 i 4). The equation of KA.È with *nipšu* is of interest in the light of the present AMC incipit, because both seem to point to the mouth/throat as the locus of the disease.

Another occurrence of *nipšu* is found in BAM 575 iii 30f. (= STOMACH Tablet 2) // BAM 55: 1f. // BAM 56 rev. 8'f. // BAM 57 obv. 1'f. (cf. Cadelli 2000: 138; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.99; Scurlock 2014a: 483f. text 2.8.5 Bácskay 2018: 76ff.). Among the symptoms described here are “wind” rumbling in the belly, fever, stinging pain in the shoulders and chest, numbness and UZU<sup>85</sup> (var. UZU.MEŠ)-*šú áš-tu u ni-ip-še* DIRI “his body is stiff and full of *nipšu*”. J. Scurlock

<sup>83</sup> The discussed texts will be edited in Steinert forthcoming a. Note further the remedy on three duplicating Late Babylonian school tablets (BM 42507 rev. 15ff. //, Finkel 2000: 157ff., Fig. 9-11) described as *a-na* MUNUS *šá tu-lu-di ta-kul-lu-ú ik-kal-lu-ši* SIG<sub>5</sub>, “good for a woman for whom giving birth and birth pangs (*takulū*) are held back(?)”. Drug compendia also included plants/drugs destined for a woman in hard labour (Û MUNUS LA.RA.AH), see BAM 380 rev. 31ff. // BAM 381 iii 25ff., BAM 379 iii 9; Stol 2000: 54f.; Couto-Ferreira 2014.

<sup>84</sup> An unknown illness with uncertain reading, lit. “coming out of the mouth”? One could also consider reading KA HĀD.DU “dry mouth”.



(2014a: 484) translates *nipšu* as “stink” (which is produced by an anaerobic lung abscess), but the phrase could also refer to a symptom visible on the skin and accompanied by a bad smell. The meaning of *nipšu* as “smell” is confirmed by passages such as SpTU 5, 272: 21, 26, 29, where the word is used to describe the odour of plants (e.g. as “sweet, pleasant”), see also CAD N/2 248b sub 2.

To complicate things further, there is another cognate disease term *nipištu*, which likewise designates a skin condition in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 16-17 (Heeßel 2000: 354; Scurlock 2014a: 231). It remains to be elucidated whether *nipšu* in the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 4 is related to a skin disease, or whether it merely describes a symptom of a specific, unrelated female health problem occurring in the postpartum period. Note in addition an Old Babylonian Akkadian incantation (YOS 11, 9: 1-8, Farber 1985: 61 no. 9; van Dijk 1985: 22 no. 9; SEAL text 5.1.5.7) with the rubric KA.INIM.MA *ni-ip-šum* SU NAM.x[x.K]A, combined with a spell against the *sāmānu*-disease/demon; its exact purpose remains unclear as well.

118) A matching incipit or entry for BIRTH Tablet 5 beginning with DIŠ *ālittu*(MUNUS.Û.TU) *ūlid*(Û.TU)-*ma* “If a fertile woman gives birth” is to my knowledge not attested so far within the gynaecological texts. Only *Sakikkû* Tablet 36, which makes prognoses concerning the outcome of an expected pregnancy, uses the term *ālittu*(TU), see Stol 2000: 193ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 245ff. The AMC incipit implies that this tablet was concerned with postpartum conditions. One tablet from the Assur library N4 focussing on this aspect of female ailments is BAM 240 (Pedersén 1986: 61 (94); Scurlock 2014a: 608ff.). Although the first lines of BAM 240 contain recipes for pregnant women, the long section from obv. 17'-rev. 68' deals with postpartum conditions, and several of these remedies start with the phrase DIŠ MUNUS Û.TU-*ma* (ll. 17', 25', 26', 29', 39'). Thus, although BAM 240 is apparently not a series tablet organised according to AMC, it may include material related to BIRTH Tablet 5. Other texts with therapies for postpartum complications that preserve entries beginning DIŠ MUNUS Û.TU-*ma* are found e.g. in BM 38624+ (with duplicating sections in BAM 240), BAM 408 ii 4'ff., SpTU 4, 153 obv. 1-18. See also Lambert 1969: 29ff. obv. 1-rev. 31 (Fales 1989: 195ff. No. 62), a Middle Assyrian tablet from Assur, complemented by two birth incantations on rev. 33-62 (both sections are divided by a scribal annotation implying that they were extracted from different sources).<sup>85</sup>

The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 6 may have to be restored in accordance with the Assur text BAM 235 (with duplicating sections in BAM 236), which contains recipes to stop gynaecological bleeding. The first and third prescription (obv. 1ff. and 7ff.) begins with two slightly varying entries: [DIŠ MUNUS?] x šu/’šá’-gu-šá *pe-lu-ti* DU-ku “[If a woman?] ... her *menstrual discharge* flows with a bright-red color”.<sup>86</sup> The adjective form indicates that *šagû* is a plural noun (spelled wrongly as *šugû* in BAM 235 obv. 1?) and perhaps the same word as *sagû*, which in gynaecological texts from Babylonia is used as a term for the menstrual period.<sup>87</sup> Thus, in the commentary SpTU 1, 39: 6' (on *Sakikkû* Tablet 36: 100ff.), *sagû* is explained as *dam ardati* “the blood of a (young) woman”. This meaning is likewise indicated by texts which contain recipes to provoke a woman’s menstrual flow, see e.g. BM 38624+ obv. ii 28': *ana* MUNUS *sa-gu-šá ana kul-lu-mu* “to make a woman’s *sagû* appear”; also BM 54587 + BM 73802+ rev.(?) 9': [*ana* MUNUS *sa-gu-u-šá ana*] *kul-lu-mu*. All relevant texts and attestations will be discussed in Steinert forthcoming a.

119) The restoration of the fragmentary incipit of BIRTH Tablet 7 at the beginning of the line is not entirely certain, since exactly matching textual parallels are lacking, but the current interpretation is suggested by the context and by similar references to female “semen” (*rihûtu*, i.e. vaginal discharges looking similar to male semen) in other medical texts (cf. CAD R 342a sub 1a). See e.g. BAM 205: 40'-42', var. 81-2-4, 466: 3' (photo: CDLI P452364; Biggs 1967: 68a (i 24); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 89f. 4.3); *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS *su-u'-us* (var. *su-u'-su*) *re-hu-su-nu* [*m*]a-a'-da<sup>2</sup>(UŠ) DU-ak ina K[ÀŠ]. MEŠ-šu-nu [B]IR.[BIR ...] “(If) either a man’s or a woman’s seminal fluids flow copiously (and) they ‘spill’ it when they urinate [...]”.<sup>88</sup> LKA 144 also presents a ritual ceremony and prescriptions for witchcraft-induced sexual impurity due to

<sup>85</sup> All relevant texts will be discussed in Steinert forthcoming a. For postpartum conditions in Mesopotamian gynaecological texts see also Steinert 2013.

<sup>86</sup> For a differing reading cf. Scurlock 2014a: 586.

<sup>87</sup> See CAD S 27a s.v. *sagû* B; Steinert 2012b: 72 n. 33; Steinert 2013: 5ff.

<sup>88</sup> For discussion see Stol 2000: 8 and Reynolds 2010: 301f. note on l. 22', who suggests that *su'su/suhsu* is a synonym of *rihûtu* (contra CAD S 249 s.v. *suhsu*, translating “bed”; cf. further George 2013: 119: 28, 121, 235: 40, 245 for *suhsu* in the meaning “crotch; pubic region”). The word is also used beside *rihûtu* for a morbid genital discharge in STT 280 i 24 (// LKA 144 rev. 25 // BM 68033 rev. 10, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 104 text 2.5 sub 3; Biggs 1967: 66; Farber 1977: 234), in a collection of ŠĀ.ZI.GA material that includes remedies for witchcraft-induced ailments related to sexual matters.

genital discharge (Farber 1977: 227ff.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5 Ms. G; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 Ms. D, with parallels). In this example, abnormal male discharge (continuous flow of “semen”) is described as “like (that of) a woman (his) *genital discharge* is impure” (GIN<sub>7</sub> MUNUS *su-u-su* [l[a e-l]il (var. *e-el*).<sup>89</sup> The incipit of BIRTH Tablet 7 seems to suggest that the AMC section BIRTH also included gynaecological material dealing with female conditions not directly concerned with birth or pregnancy, e.g. illnesses that we would regard today as sexually transmitted diseases.

The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 8 is unfortunately almost completely lost and remains uncertain. The fragmentary signs could also be read ŠÀ GA[L<sub>4</sub>.LA-šá ...] “inside her va[ginal]”.

120) It should be kept in mind that the “eight tablets” summed up here refer only to the section BIRTH and do not include the preceding section PREGNANCY, which itself consists of three tablets and has its own summary section. Since most of the preserved incipits in BIRTH refer to women during or after delivery and MUNUS.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> is not mentioned at all, the restoration combining “for pregnant women and women in childbirth” in this line is not quite certain. There is potentially room for more text in the gap after the restored MUNU[S.PEŠ<sub>4</sub> û MUNUS.Û.TU?]. It is striking that the summary line does not repeat the incipit of BIRTH 1, as is usually the case throughout the catalogue, but is formulated as a descriptive phrase introduced with ša (“a total of eight tablets concerning ...”), to summarize the topic of the whole section. The same phenomenon is found in the summary line of the section VETERINARY (AMC line 122). It is further noteworthy that neither the summary of BIRTH nor that of VETERINARY includes a list of *adi*-phrases.

121-122) The syllabic spelling šum-mu at the beginning of line 121 may point to an earlier tradition. The use of this variant of the conjunction šumma is already occasionally attested in 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium texts (e.g. from Ugarit), but spellings such as šum-ma/mu are mostly found in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts (see CAD Š/3 275ff.; Ebeling 1949b: 407: 15', 408: 7', 413: 32, 38, 416: 27, 417: 1, 5; Jacob 2003: 480ff. (Middle Assyrian perfume recipes); cf. also DIŠ šum-ma in Middle Assyrian omen texts, Heeßel 2012: 31, 292 No. 100).

The incipit of the single-tablet AMC section VETERINARY dealing with diseases of domestic animals (according to the summary line 122 with horses and cattle) cannot be completely restored due to lacking text sources. The present reading is based on the context and partially follows similar omen entries about epidemics among animals (cf. CAD M/2 296 s.v. *mūtānu* and CAD Š 121 s.v. *šehēru*). The catalogue confirms that the *asû* (just like his colleague, the *āšipu*) treated both humans and animals, at least the larger, particularly valuable domestic animals. The Laws of Hammurapi even point to veterinary specialists in the Old Babylonian period, which are called “*asû* of cattle or donkey(s)” (A.ZU GU<sub>4</sub> û lu ANŠE, see Stol 2011: 380).

This AMC section probably included medical remedies for various animal diseases, and not only for epidemics. However, only a few veterinary prescriptions have been preserved in the textual record (cf. Huber 2005: 24-30; Stol 2011: 363-402; Maul 2013: 16-37, especially on the medical and anti-epidemic care of horses). Among early texts related to the topic is an Old Babylonian incantation in Akkadian to treat bloat in cattle or sheep (KA.INIM.MA GU<sub>4</sub> UDU.NÍTA *emrum*), which is accompanied by a prescription (*kikkittum*) for a salt-water “flush therapy” (George 2016: 36ff., 133f. No. 8d, Pl. XXVIII). The text is embedded in a collection with Sumerian and Akkadian spells for different illnesses, which may have belonged to a “magician’s archive” (cf. George 2016: 29f.). Similarly, two recipes for colics in horses (*kīs libbi ša* ANŠE.KUR.RA) are interspersed between remedies for human patients in BAM 159 v 33-47, a Neo-Assyrian multi-purpose medical compendium found in the Assur library N4 (Maul 2013: 18; Cohen 1983: 1-12; Stol 2011: 388-399; Parys 2014: 23). A variant of one of these remedies (potion/enema) was also included in BAM 579 iv 1-11 (= STOMACH 5), as a potion for “internal” illness (see Cadelli 2000: 265ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 498f. text 2.9.4).

A Neo-Assyrian excerpt tablet from Assur (Scheil 1918: 75-80, designated as 32<sup>nd</sup> *nishu*, Hunger 1968: 70 No. 200) contains recipes to treat animal bites on the obverse, and two fragmentary remedies on the reverse, which are similar to the treatments for horse colic in BAM 159 (read in rev. 8: [a]-na ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA ša *qīd-hi* DAB-su SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq “it is good for a horse that is seized by *qīdhu*(?)”; cf. Stol 2011: 401; CAD Q 251). Note further the fragment of the two-column Assur tablet BAM 309 i' 4, which mentions “[...] of the horse” in an unclear context (Stol 2011: 402). From outside central Mes-

<sup>89</sup> For a further discussion of female “semen” in Mesopotamian gynaecology, see Steinert 2017b. Regarding the connection between genital discharge and sorcery note also BAM 237 iv 29, where the discharge is designated as “fluid; water” (*mû*; Scurlock 2014a: 577; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 36; for the terminology cf. also Steinert 2013); DIŠ MUNUS Û.HI.A *ze-ru-te* šu-ku-ul A.MEŠ *ina* ŠÀ GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA-šá *ma-gal* DU-ku “If a woman has been given ‘drugs of hatred’ to eat (and) much fluid flows from her vagina”.

opotamia, a few texts with treatments for horses have also been preserved in the Ugaritic language, dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Pardee 1985: 73-75; Loretz 2011: 179ff.). Drugs for the treatment of animal diseases also occur in handbooks of *materia medica*, see e.g. CT 14, 41 (Rm. 362): 1-5, a fragment with a section on plants for horse colic ([Ú ki-i]s ŠĀ šĀ ANŠE.KUR.R[A], Stol 2011: 393). The series *Šammu šikinšu* (STT 93 obv. 35'-37' // KADP No. 33 rev. 2'-4', Stadhouders 2011: 8 Text I § 15', 26f. Text III § 11; Stol 2011: 400) describes a plant lost in the lacuna, which is good for the same illness, including a short instruction similar to BAM 159 v 36.

Comparing these texts with attestations for rituals or incantations with a corresponding purpose in the corpus of the *āšipu*, a catalogue of incantation incipits from the Assur library N4 has to be mentioned (VAT 13723+ iv 7; Geller 2000a: 230f.), which cites the entry 'ĒN anše'-k[ur-ra] sikil-e-dē "Incantation: In order to purify the horse(s)", which seems to designate the incipit of a spell, but may have to be regarded as a descriptive rubric. Thus, in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 24 //) we find a very similar entry used as a rubric for a collection of rituals/incantations "to purify the stall(s) of cattle, flocks and horse(s)" (TÜR ÁB.GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A U<sub>8</sub>.UDU.HI.A ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DĒ (cf. Geller *infra*, p. 299).

Textual evidence for a ceremony "to purify the horse pen", which may have been part of a larger text group referred to in the Exorcist's Manual, is found in the Middle Assyrian tablet KAR 91 from Assur (written by the royal exorcist Ribātu), duplicated in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium fragments Sm. 1708 (4R<sup>2</sup> pl. 18 No. 2), CTN 4, 101 and VAT 11019 (Maul 2013). The Middle Assyrian manuscript indeed features the rubric KA.INIM.MA [É].TÜR ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DA.KĀM (KAR 91 obv. 25', rev. 9).

Among the Nineveh texts from Ashurbanipal's library are also examples of prophylactic and purificatory ceremonies to prevent epidemics among the horses and troops of the Assyrian army, which are designated by the specialists as a NAM.BÚR.BI "loosening ritual" and may possibly have been part of the NAM.BÚR.BI series at Nineveh (82-3-23, 1: 1f.; Caplice 1970: 118ff., Pl. III-IV; Maul 1994: 220: *a-na di'-hu šib-ṭi* NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ *a-na* AN[ŠE.KUR.RA] *u* ÉRIN.HI.A LUGAL NU TE-e e-nu-ma NAM.BÚR.BI [*te-ep-p*]u-šú "So that *dī'u*-disease, epidemic and plague do not come near to the king's horses and troops: when you perform the 'loosening ritual'"). For the disease terms, cf. also Wiggermann 1992: 95; Stol 2007a: 15ff. A related Babylonian tablet from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium with a ritual/incantations against epidemic (NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ/*mūtānū*), written by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, is BM 38126 (unpublished; courtesy I. L. Finkel and C. B. F. Walker). The tradition of the protective and apotropaic rituals for animals, especially the Sumerian incantations, very likely go back to the Old Babylonian period (Maul 2013: 20f.). Typical components of the ceremonies consist in the application of ointments to animals and pens, sprinkling of holy water, amulet charms and the use of a ritual substitute (goat).

A few other Sumerian and Akkadian incantations from the Old Babylonian period for animal diseases are preserved. YOS 11, 7 (van Dijk 1985: 21; Cunningham 1997: text 378; Foster 2005: 183; SEAL text 5.1.18.1) features a single Akkadian incantation for sheep affected by *sikkatu*-disease (rubric: ka-inim-ma udu gag-šub-ba, pox?). The Sumerian spell found in VAS 17, 32 (rev. 44-65) may likewise be directed against a disease of herd animals (van Dijk 1971: 11 no. 32; Cunningham 1997: text 256). YOS 11, 69 rev. 9'-15' is an Akkadian spell against the *maškadu*-disease, which has affected milk cows (van Dijk 1985: 45; Cunningham 1997: 112 text 401; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 10f.; SEAL text 5.1.15.3; Wasserman 2012; the tablet also includes spells against rodents and enemies). Cf. also YOS 11, 14 (Foster 2005: 182; SEAL text 5.1.15.2) and A. 663: 8-15 (Collins 1999: 234f.; SEAL text 5.1.15.1) for other *maškadu*-spells mentioning animals as transmitters of the disease (cf. Wasserman 2012). An Old Babylonian bilingual composition (De Genouillac 1925: pl. XX C 1; Lambert 1991: 415-419; Geller 2002b; Foster 2005: 198; SEAL text 5.1.10) about a sick bleating goat can be regarded as a parody of a Sumerian incantation.

123-125) AMC lines 123-124 are parallel to line 58 (summary for PART 1), giving the total of tablets registered in PART 2 of the catalogue. The following ruled-off line 125 provides the grand total of tablets registered in both parts of the AMC. The spacing between the partially visible signs NĪGIN and the number 38 at the beginning of line 123 allows for a higher total, although the preserved subtotals of the sections in AMC PART 2 suggest that AMC PART 1 consisted of a considerably higher number of tablets. At least three sections in PART 2 are formed by only one tablet. Line 123 repeats the incipit of the first section of AMC PART 2 (= SKIN Tablet 1), with slightly varying spelling, which thus functions as a series title for the latter part of the therapeutic corpus. For discussion of the incipit see commentary to AMC line 59.

The phrase *sadīrū ša* SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* has been restored in AMC lines 124 and 125 according to line 58, speaking of "sections" that "have been edited". The phrase is understood here as an expression describing the redaction processes that have led to the text corpus outlined in the catalogue, consisting in the creation a textual order (series) and corpus structure. Contents of the corpus were grouped in sections, based on a thematic order, and a fixed sequence of these

sections was established. The term *sadīru* (also “line; row, sequence”, from *sadāru* “to do regularly; to do little by little; to set in a row”) often stands for a ruled-off section on a tablet (CAD S 18 sub 2b), but in catalogues such as AMC and the *Sakikkū* catalogue (CTN 4, 71 //), paired with the phrase SUR.GIBIL *šabātu*, *sadīru* refers to longer text sections of a larger composition, which can consist of multiple tablets arranged in a sequence, and which are thematically coherent. In the *Sakikkū* catalogue, the phrase *sadīru* (*ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* is likewise found as an editorial note in the ruled-off summaries following the incipits of two sections of the series (Ms. A 19, 31, see Schmidtchen *infra*, pp. 314-315). For further discussion of *sadīru* see also the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert *infra*.

The phrase SUR.GIBIL (= *za-ra-a*) *šabātu* has been understood as an idiomatic phrase and translated attributing meanings ranging between “to undertake a revised edition/new text”, “to produce an (authorized) edition”, but also “to undergo serialisation”, “to create a text series” (cf. CAD Z 70; Kinnier Wilson 1956: 138; Lieberman 1990: 333 n. 182; Stol 2007b: 241f.; Heeßel 2000: 106; Heeßel 2010b: 142f.; Heeßel 2011: 194; Lambert 2005: xvii and xix n. 10; Frahm 2011: 328; Wee 2015: 251ff.). It has been recognized that the expression applies a textile metaphor of weaving or threading to describe processes of “textualisation” (see especially Stol 2007b: 241f.; Frahm 2011: 328; Wee 2015: 253f.). The equation SUR.GIBIL = *zarû* is not attested in lexical lists, but suggested from the usage of either SUR.GIBIL or *zarû* with *šabātu* in identical contexts. The word *zarû* is probably derived from a Sumerian loanword /zara/, which is equated with *ṭamû* “to spin” (MSL 14, 250: 82; CAD Z 70; CAD T 45; cf. also Sumerian *sur*, meaning “to spin; to weave”). Alternatively, *zarû* may have to be connected with *zāru* “to twist” (to thread a rope); others prefer the reading *ša-ra-a* and have suggested Semitic cognates (cf. Wee 2015: 254; for *zarâ* see also Geller and Steinert in this volume). Most discussions of SUR.GIBIL/ *zarâ* *šabātu* refer to the Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial note in the *Sakikkū* catalogue, which describes that before his revision of the diagnostic texts leading to a serial arrangement following the principle “from the top of the head to the toe(s)”, these texts were never edited (*ša ultu ulla* SUR.GIBIL *lā šabtū*) and they were “like tangled threads” (GIN, GU.MEŠ GIL. MEŠ), i.e. with no clear order or arrangement (Ms. A 51ff. // B 18’ff.), see Schmidtchen *infra*, pp. 316-317). Thus, Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial activities are described as a “(new) weaving together” (SUR.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-*ma*), through which a consistent “compilation” (*riksu*, “a bundle bound together by a structure”) was created (Ms. A 62, 65f. // B 24’, 26’; cf. Wee 2015: 253f.). That the phrase SUR.GIBIL *šabātu* represents a process of “canonisation”, whereby “a standard version” of a text or composition is produced (Finkel 1988: 150), is a matter of debate and remains a critical issue in the light of the textual evidence regarding the development of text series in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE concomitant with varying local traditions (cf. the contributions of Geller, Rochberg, Schmidtchen and Steinert in this volume).

The same expression occurs also in the colophon of an extract-series (*nishu*) of the drug compendium Uruanna from Ashurbanipal’s library (CT 14, 22+ vii-viii 55ff. //; Hunger 1968: No. 321; Böck 2011: 692f.; Böck 2015: 21). Similar to the *Sakikkū* catalogue, the colophon describes efforts and processes involved in producing a revised text edition, but in the Uruanna colophon the logogram SUR.GIBIL is replaced by the word *zarâ* spelled syllabically: Ú.HI.A *ša ina* *ṣ[a]-a-ti u* EME BÚR.MEŠ *ša ul-tú ul-la za-ra-a la šab-tu ... la i-šu-u sa-di-ru ... ina* UGU DUB.MEŠ *ú-še-li* “plants which are explained in *šātu*- and *lišānu*-lists, (but) which never received an edition, ..., which did not have a sectional order, I/he (i.e. Ashurbanipal) entered them on tablets (producing an edition)” (cf. Frahm 2011: 49, 329). The phrasing of this colophon seems to be modelled on Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial note in the *Sakikkū* catalogue (see Frahm forthcoming; cf. also Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert in this volume).

126-129) The first line of the AMC colophon has been freely restored. That the scribe was copying an older *Vorlage* is implied by the annotation *he-pí* “broken” in line 83. The colophon was apparently written when the tablet was already quite dry, and especially the signs in line 127 appear shallow and faint. It has thus not been possible to identify the fragmentary name of the scribe. The first halfway visible sign in this line may be UŠ, which would form the last element in the scribe’s name, followed by LÚ and what looks like an erased sign (another LÚ?), followed by A.ZU TUR “young physician”. However, Böck (2015: 31 n. 68) sees an erased MAŠ.MAŠ instead. This would mean that the scribe had inscribed his own professional title wrongly by mistake. The interpretation of a corrected dittography is preferred here.

Line 128 contained the name of the scribe’s father, now lost, but his professional title, *šangû*-priest of the goddess Baba (Gula) at Assur, can be read with confidence. A few descendents of *šangû*-priests of Baba are known from the Neo-Assyrian period. Other texts written by an *asû* from Assur are likewise known, but none of them can be identified with the scribe of the AMC (see e.g. BAM 1, Hunger 1968: No. 234). Note KAL 2, 9, an early Neo-Assyrian tablet with an anti-witchcraft text, written by [...]Gula, an apprentice and young physician (<sup>ríá</sup>ŠAMAN.LÁ <sup>ríá</sup>A.ZU *a-g[a-aš-gu-u]*), who was a descendent of diviners employed as *šangûs* of the Baba temple (Schwemer 2007b: 36f. rev. 16’ff.). A *šangû* of

Baba known by name is Gula-zēra-ibni, who is identified as the father of the scribe Baba-aha-iddina in the colophons of two manuscripts of the *Erra Epic* from Assur (Menzel 1981: 201f. Nr. 28 with n. 2793; Hunger 1968: no. 238; Weszeli 1999: 430b). Cf. also BAM 148 rev. 29'ff. (Hunger 1968: No. 222; Bácskay 2018: 152, 154).

For *šangû*-priests of Baba in colophons of the Middle Assyrian period, cf. KAL 1, no. 6, written by a descendent of a *šangû*-priest of Baba (Heeßel 2007b: 28 rev. vi 2'ff.). Note also among the medical texts BAM 36 (a Middle Assyrian fragment of a “series” on the lungs) with a fragmentary colophon mentioning a *šangû*([lú] É<sup>7</sup>.MAŠ) <sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> šá<sup>ur</sup>BAL. TIL<sup>[ki]</sup> (Hunger 1968: No. 242).

The formula in AMC line 129 has been restored following corresponding pious phrases in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE colophons (see e.g. Hunger 1968: No. 246: 10). The choice of Gula in the formula corresponds with the profession of the scribe (*asû*). For the use of similar formulae in the colophons of medical texts, see e.g. BAM 148 rev. 33' (Hunger 1968: No. 222 and *passim*).

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## 1.4 Textual Sources to the Therapeutic Series in AMC

(S) = Series tablet (*Nineveh Medical Compendium* and other related series)

(F) = Fragment

(E) = Excerpt/extract tablet (including extract series)

(P) = Parallel (for a cited AMC incipit or for passages of a series tablet)

(C) = Collection ("Sammeltafel")

This table lists only a selection of sources; for further material see the commentary to AMC.

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
PART 1					
CRANIUM 1	BAM 480 (S) BAM 4 (F) BAM 481 (P) AMT 5/3 (F)	BAM 3 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E) BAM 12 (P) (Middle Assyrian)	CTN 4, 123 (F/P)		Tablet in private collection (S?/P) (court. H. Stadhouders)
CRANIUM 2	BAM 482 (S) AMT 15/2(+) 19/1+20/1 (S) K. 19766 (S?)	BAM 3 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E) BAM 9 (E)			BAM 11 (P) (Middle Babylonian) IM 132670 (C/P)
CRANIUM 3	AMT 102/1-105/1+ CT 23, 49 (S) K. 7642 (S) K. 7834 (S) K. 8090 (S) BAM 485 (S)	BAM 9 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
CRANIUM 4	CT 23, 50 (S) BAM 494? (S?/P)	BAM 3 (E)			
CRANIUM 5	BAM 494?				
adi-section		BAM 33 (E) AO 11447 (E)			
EYES 1	BAM 510 (S) BAM 513 (S) BAM 514 (S)	BAM 18 (E) BAM 19 (F) BAM 20 (E)		STT 279 (E)	IM 132670 (P) BM 54641+ (P)
EYES 2	BAM 515 (S)	BAM 15 (F) BAM 20 (E) BAM 22 (E) BAM 23 (E)			IM 132670 (P) BM 54641+ (P)
EYES 3	BAM 516				IM 132670 (P) BM 54641+ (P) SpTU 2, 50 (P)
EYES 4	?				
EARS 1	BAM 503 (S?) BAM 506 (E) BAM 507 (F) BAM 508 (C) CT 51, 199 (C)	AO 11447 (E/P) AO 6774 (P) BAM 3 (E/P) BAM 155 (C)	CTN 4, 113 (P)	STT 281 (P)	IM 132670 (P)
NECK 1	AMT 97/4 (E)				
NECK 2	AMT 97/6 (S) AMT 94/6 (F) AMT 81/7 (F)	BAM 52 (E) BAM 155 (C) BAM 221 (C) BAM 225 (F)			
NECK 3	BAM 473 (S) BAM 474 (S)	BAM 209 (S) (/) BAM 473 i/iv)			
NECK 4	BAM 475 (S)	(BAM 338) = <i>Muššu'u</i> IV (P)		(STT 137-139) = <i>Muššu'u</i> IV (P)	
NECK 5	AMT 77/1- AMT 79/1 +BAM 523 (S) AMT 23/2 (P) BAM 533 (P) BAM 534 (P)	BAM 28 (P) BAM 132-136 BAM 138 (P)			SpTU 1, 46 (S) OECT 11, No. 72-74 (P)  BAM 398 (P) (Middle Babylonian)
NECK 6	?				
NOSEBLEED	BAM 530 (S?) BAM 524 (S?) BAM 525 (F) BAM 526 (F) BAM 529 (F)				
TEETH 1	BAM 538 (S) BAM 541-542 (F)	Cf. BAM 26 (F) BAM 27 (F)			
TEETH 2	BAM 543 (S) AMT 54/3 (P)	BAM 159 (C) BAM 28 (P) BAM 29 (P)	CTN 4, 140 (P)	STT 279 (E)	SpTU 1, 44 (S/P) IM 132670 (P)

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
BRONCHIA 1	BAM 547 (S)	Cf. BAM 36 (MA fragment of a “lung series”) BAM 37 (MA) BAM 40-41 (F) BAM 43-44 (F/E?) BAM 45 (F) BAM 47 (F)			SpTU 1, 44 (S/P)
BRONCHIA 2	AMT 48/4 (S)				
BRONCHIA 3	AMT 49/4+ (S)	BAM 39 (F)			
BRONCHIA 4	AMT 49/1(+) AMT 51/5 (S) AMT 45/4 (S)				
BRONCHIA 5	BAM 548 (S) BAM 549 (S) BAM 550 (S) BAM 551 (S) BAM 552 (S) AMT 80/1+81/1 (S) BAM 567 (F)				
BRONCHIA 6	BAM 554-556 (S?) AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9? (F)	BAM 42 (E? / P) BAM 44 (E? / P)			IM 132670 (P) BM 78963 (E)
STOMACH 1	BAM 574+577 (S) BAM 573(S?) BAM 576 (S?)	BAM 48-50 (F/E) BAM 52 (E)		STT 252 (E)	
STOMACH 2	BAM 575 (S)	BAM 49 (E/P) BAM 51-52 (E/P) BAM 54 (E/P) BAM 55-59 (E/P)			
STOMACH 3	BAM 578 (S)	BAM 52 (E) BAM 60 (F) BAM 62 (F) BAM 64 (F) BAM 72 (F) BAM 92 (S/C?)			
STOMACH 4	AMT 14/7 (S/F) AMT 44/6+45/1 (S/F) AMT 78/3+45/6+ 48/3+48/1+23/5 (S?)	BAM 66 (MA) BAM 174 (E)			
STOMACH 5	BAM 579 (S)	BAM 50 (E) BAM 52 (E) BAM 54 (E) BAM 67-70 (E/F)			
EPIGASTRIUM 1	AMT 43/6 (S)				
EPIGASTRIUM 2	?				
EPIGASTRIUM 3	?				
EPIGASTRIUM 4	?	BAM 156 (E/C)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
ABDOMEN	Cf. BAM 449 (P) Cf. K. 3661 (+) AMT 44/7 (= EPIGASTRIUM 8 at Nineveh)				
KIDNEY 1	AMT 66/11? (F)	Cf. BAM 111 (C) BAM 112 (MA, C) BAM 113 (F) BAM 114-118 (E)			Cf. BAM 396 (Middle Babylonian)
KIDNEY 2	AMT 31/1+ (S?)				
KIDNEY 3	AMT 58/3+ 62/1+K. 2960 (S) AMT 82/1+ (E?)				
ANUS 1	AMT 43/1(+) (S)	Cf. BAM 95 (E) BAM 96 (C) BAM 99 (E) BAM 101 (E) BAM 102 (E) BAM 104 (E) BAM 108 (E) BM 103386 (S?)		Cf. STT 100+100A	
ANUS 2	AMT 43/2 (S)				
ANUS 3	AMT 40/5 (S)				
ANUS 4	AMT 47/1+ (S) AMT 43/5 (S?)				
ANUS 5	AMT 58/2 (S)				
HAMSTRING 1	AMT 29/2+91/1 (E?) AMT 37/5+92/4+ 92/9 (P/S?)	Cf. BAM 81 (E) Cf. BAM 130 (E)			
HAMSTRING 2	AMT 42/6 (S) AMT 32/5+43/3+ 51/4 (S) CT 23, 1-4 (E?) Cf. CT 23, 5-14 (?)	BAM 124 (P) BAM 131 (E?) Cf. BAM 128-129			
HAMSTRING 3	?				
HAMSTRING 4	AMT 73/1-75/1+15/3+ 18/5+32/2+ 100/3 (S?)	BAM 124 (P)			
PART 2					
SKIN	BAM 580 (S?) AMT 52/3 (?) BAM 581-583 (F) BAM 584 (S?)	BAM 32 (E) BAM 35 (E) BM 108872+ (?)	CTN 4, 116 (?)		BM 41282+ (Babylon) BAM 409 (Uruk)
HAZARDS	AMT 92/7? (F/E)	BAM 42 (E?) Scheil 1918: 76 (E)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
EVIL POWERS	K. 2993 (P) Sm. 1343 (P)				Jursa 1997: No. 58 (P) SpTU 1, 58 (P) CBS 14161 AO 17622 (P)
D. ANGER 1	AMT 40/2+ K. 9085 (P) K. 8907 (P)	BAM 315 (P) BAM 316 (P) BAM 314 (P) KAL 4, 35 (P)		STT 95+295 (P)	
D. ANGER 2	?	BAM 316 (P) KAR 74 (E/P)		STT 95+295 (P)	BM 64174 (P)
D. ANGER 3	Sm. 925 (P) K. 7641 (P)	LKA 26 (P) LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 (P) KAR 39+45+VAT 9147 (P)			
D. ANGER 4	BAM 446 (E/P)				SpTU 2, 22+ (P)
ORACLES 1-2		LKA 93 (P) LKA 137 (P)		STT 73 (P)	
MENTAL I. 1	BAM 444 (+BAM 443) (P) BAM 445 (P)	KAR 92 (E/P) BAM 317 (P) BAM 316 (P) BAM 315 (P) BAM 311 (E/P)			
MENTAL I. 2	K. 3628+4009+ Sm. 1315+ K.19939 (P)	BAM 311 (P)	CTN 4, 115 (P) CTN 4, 159 (P)	STT 57+263 (P) STT 58 (P) STT 286 (P)	BM 62397 (P) AO 17613 (P) SpTU 1, 48 (S) LKU 32 (P)
MENTAL I. 3	?				
POTENCY	K. 9451+ Sm. 961+K. 11676+ Sm. 818 (P) AMT 66/1 (P) AMT 65/7 (P) K. 2499+ (P)	KAR 70 (P)		STT 280 (P)	SpTU 1, 9 (P) SpTU 1, 10(?)
SEX	AMT 65/7 (P) Cf. K. 8698 AMT 62/3 (P)	Cf. LKA 95 LKA 101 LKA 102 KAR 61 (P) KAR 69 (P) Tisserant 17 (P)		Cf. STT 280 (P) STT 257 (P) STT 249 (P)	
PREGNANCY 1	?				Cf. BM 42327+ (E/P)
PREGNANCY 2	?				SpTU 3, 84 (P)
PREGNANCY 3	?	LKA 9 (P) KAL 2, 41 (P) Cf. BAM 237 (?)		Cf. STT 241	BM 42327+ (E/P) BM 51246+ (E/P) SpTU 3, 84 (P) TCL 6, 49 (P)



SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
BIRTH 1	AMT 66/4 (P) K. 11956+ 14200 (E/P) AMT 67/1 (P) (+) K. 8210 (+) K. 3485+10443 (+) K. 18482	BAM 248 (P)			
BIRTH 2	?				YOS 11, 86 (P) BM 115745 (P) MS 3067 (P) MS 3387 (P) (Old Babylonian)
BIRTH 3	AMT 67/1 (P) (+) K. 8210 (+) K. 3485+ 10443 (+) K. 18482 AMT 65/2+ K. 11752 (P)	BAM 248 (P) BAM 249 (P)		Cf. STT 98 STT 284	BM 38624+ (P)
BIRTH 4	?				BM 51246+ (P)
BIRTH 5	?	Cf. BAM 240 (P) Coll. Ligabue (Lambert 1969)			Cf. BM 38624+ (P) BAM 408 (?) SpTU 4, 153
BIRTH 6	?	BAM 235-236 (P)			Cf. BM 38624+ (P) BM 54587+ 73802 (P)
BIRTH 7	?				
BIRTH 8	?				
VET	?	Cf. BAM 159 (C/P) Scheil 1918: 76 (E/P)			

## 2 The Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44)

### 2.1 Introduction: The Importance of the Exorcist's Manual

The publication within the present volume of the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) is a good opportunity to return to the first of such catalogues to be published, the so-called Exorcist's Manual also known by its original copy as KAR 44, first studied in depth by Heinrich Zimmern a century ago (Zimmern 1915-16: 204-229), then later elaborated by Jean Bottéro (1974-75), followed by a new copy of the tablet by the present writer (Geller 2000), and finally published again as part of a doctoral thesis (Jean 2006).<sup>1</sup> Despite a century of study, many details of this text remain unclear and it will continue to provide a basis for future studies of the exorcist's training and expertise. One noteworthy feature of KAR 44 is that it does not present a single curriculum for the aspiring *mašmaššu*, but *two* different curricula with very different aims and objectives, and this bipartite division of the basic texts required for the exorcist reflects a similar pattern in two other catalogues being studied in the present volume: both AMC and the *Sakikkû* catalogue CTN 4, 71 have two separate listings of works relevant to the disciplines of medicine and diagnostics, and in two cases (KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71), the two lists are separated by additional colophon-like insertions.<sup>2</sup>

The opening statement of KAR 44 clearly explains the purpose of this remarkable document, and in particular the basic curriculum: 'incipits of compositions of exorcism, fixed for study and reading, named in their entirety'. These texts were designated for the training and examining of the art of exorcism (*mašmaššûtu*), although it must be emphasised that we have no trace of any cuneiform diploma or degree qualifications; it is not clear whether the title *mašmaššu* (or *āšipu*) reflected the successful completion of professional training or a professional title.

The first texts to be mastered by an aspiring exorcist are somewhat unexpected: incantations addressed to Kulla (patron god of bricks and by extension builders)<sup>3</sup>, mouth-washing incantations for purifying divine statues, and finally incantations for the investiture of a high priest (KAR 44: 2). The first of these incantations for the 'brick', as represented by Kulla, reflects the fact that every brick of a sacred building had to come from virgin soil and be purified through incantations, in order for the resulting sacred building or temple to be pure (Hruša 2015: 137). The mouth-washing rituals had various applications: they could be used to inaugurate a new cult statue (Hruša 2015: 69), with royal rituals (inaugurating a king), as well as with a divine image, which had its mouth washed before giving an oracle; a sheep might have its mouth washed before being sacrificed, and an ordinary person might require a mouth-washing ritual before reciting a penitential prayer (see Walker and Dick 2001: 10-11). Such high standards of purity were also necessary for consecrating a high priest, which is why various cultic rituals performed in the temple are mentioned next ('word of Apsû', regular-offering, and hand-washing rituals), followed by three types of prayers, *Ki'utukku*, *Šu'illa*, and penitential (DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA)<sup>4</sup> incantations, all of which reflect the normal duties of a priest operating within a temple context, rather than specifically as an exorcist. The same is true of the following entry (KAR 44: 5), which refers to rituals to be carried out in a sequence of months between Tammuz and Tishri, reflecting the period between the summer solstice and autumn equinox. It is not clear why this quarter of the cultic year is specifically singled out, although it is possible that these months have special significance in hemerologies which are not preserved, but in any case the royal ritual (*sakkû*) appearing at the end of this list provides further proof of the cultic rather than healing nature of these first components of the curriculum for exorcists. Since all initial entries in KAR 44 consist of priestly duties in the temple, an important question can be addressed, whether the exorcist was essentially a priest who practiced exorcism or an exorcist who happened to be a priest. We now know the answer: the *mašmaššu* was first and foremost a temple priest.

<sup>1</sup> A recent new treatment of the text by E. Frahm has not been used in the present study, since it is not yet published. This introduction to KAR 44 is partly based upon a lecture given in Brussels and later published (Geller 2012).

<sup>2</sup> It is the overall similarities of all three of these catalogues which has led the present writer to suggest (in a separate contribution to this volume) that all three catalogues could have been attributed to the same scholar, Esagil-kin-apli. One should note that attribution does not imply authorship or even responsibility for the works being listed in these catalogues.

<sup>3</sup> Kulla is identified with temple-building rituals, published in Ambos 2004.

<sup>4</sup> This genre was also called, 'My god, I did not know!', see Lambert 1974.

The first items in his long and complex training involved learning temple rituals, which have nothing at all do with exorcism or healing patients.<sup>5</sup>

The next category of texts in KAR 44 for the *mašmaššu* to study is diagnostics, which fits a known pattern: according to the standard work on diagnostic omens (the *Diagnostic Handbook*), it was the exorcist<sup>6</sup> who visited the patient at home to make a diagnosis. But the exorcist had to learn more than disease symptoms, since he also had to be an expert in various types of physiognomic omens, to be able to predict a person's character based on physical appearances. Yet so far the exorcist continues to act as a priest in a classic mode, with cultic functions, prayers, and visiting the sick, but still no exorcisms! Only after these primary priestly functions of the exorcist are listed do we encounter actual *magic* in the curriculum, with the colourful titles of incantation compositions of 'Purifying waters', 'Evil demons', 'Who are you (i.e. demons)?' and incantations 'to eradicate that evil' (KAR 44: 7); this is hardly, however, an exhaustive listing of magical genres. These incantation compositions are followed by thematic texts dealing with 'hand-wiping'-rituals (*takpertu*), the scattering of flour rituals and incantations to nullify the effects of a false oath, or incantations against *asakku*-disease (KAR 44: 8).<sup>7</sup>

We next encounter a subtle change in the listings. KAR 44: 9 begins with a small gloss, *sak-ki-ke*<sub>4</sub> 'symptoms',<sup>8</sup> as a signifier that what follows are magical texts dealing with medical symptoms, such as 'head-diseases', 'neck-diseases', and a catch-all 'general diseases', but we must be clear that these items refer to incantations treating these conditions rather than medical recipes. What follows are incantations and rituals against the incubus and succubus and their attempts to have sexual congress with victims, which is often countered through a ritual marriage of substitute figurines (KAR 44: 10).<sup>9</sup>

Next in the sequence come bathing and more mouth-washing rituals; this line (KAR 44: 11) opens with another small gloss indicating 'ritual', pointing to the ritual rather than incantation content of the *Bit rimki*, *Bit mēseri*, and mouth-washing procedures listed here. There is no doubt that cleanliness and pure water served as important ritual tools against disease and demons, although in antiquity the idea was hardly antisepsis or creating a germ-free environment; water, fire, and smoke (fumigation) were used to remove the perceived threat of unclean demons. Similarly, wiping the patient down with flour and throwing the flour into fire was a dramatic way of making the patient feel unburdened from feelings of guilt, and the psychological impact was the real aim of such rituals. In fact, the very next topics to be studied by the exorcist would roughly correspond in modern parlance to rudimentary forms of 'psychotherapy', since they all involve addressing levels of anxiety: 'evil spells', 'evil curses', '(spells) for undoing witchcraft', '(spells) for undoing the (effects) of an oath' (KAR 44: 12-13). These are all, in one way or another, expressions of paranoia, that is the fear of an unknown enemy or power which can cause great harm, such as a witch, the evil tongue (slander) or evil eye (envy), and results can manifest themselves in various forms, such as insomnia, sexual impotence, or simply neurotic behaviour. These types of conditions are reflected in the line which follows (KAR 44: 14), listing the classical incantation texts used to counter witchcraft (*Maqlû*), feelings of personal guilt (*Šurpu*), nightmares, or sexual impotence.

5 The predominant priestly role of the exorcist persisted into the Hellenistic period, as demonstrated by the prolific Uruk scribe Iqīša, who in addition to being a *mašmaššu* was also an *ērib bīti* (one allowed to enter the inner temple precincts) and owner of a brewer's prebend (see Veldhuis 2014: 419).

6 Known by his title KA.PIRIG, a class of exorcist known only by this logogram, the Akk. equivalent of which is uncertain (see Geller 2007: 3-4). It may be that the *asû*-physician visited the patient under special or even normal circumstances, but this is never mentioned in the literature.

7 The nature of the *asakku*-demon and the illness associated with him (*asakku maršu*) requires further discussion, since the demon and its associated disease are not known from medical texts or symptoms and are hence magical in nature, suggesting psychological rather than physical illness. The question is whether the Sum. homonyms Ā.SĀG-demon and AZAG(KÛ.AN)-taboo have any semantic connections, which could suggest that a violation of a taboo (*asakku*) resulted in a visitation from the *asakku*-demon and *asakku*-illness. It is difficult to imagine that Mesopotamian scholarship would have ignored the obvious play on words, and indeed we find in *Multābiltu*-commentary texts the evidence for the connection. A comment on liver divination provides the following apodosis: *maršu ma-mit* Ā.SĀG DAB-su, '(concerning) a sick man – the taboo-curse has seized him' (Koch 2005: 157, 245), which associates 'taboo' (AZAG) with the demon name Ā.SĀG. Nevertheless, although suggestive, this does not prove any etymological connection between the two terms.

8 We assume that the gloss in this case cannot represent a phonetic rendering of SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ (headache), which normally appears in Akk. contexts as *sakikkū*.

9 While Lilith is known from manuscripts and numerous references within magical texts, the male counterpart or GURUŠ.LĪL.LA incantations are lost, perhaps reflecting the general pattern in all systems of ancient magic that Lilith was much more popular than her male counterpart *lilû*.

This brings us to the next phase of the exorcist's curriculum, which deals with healing arts. One of the most common 'illnesses' encountered was childbirth, although it is likely that women's diseases were treated in the first instance by a midwife. Nevertheless, the exorcist appears to have been consulted in cases in which a woman could not bring the foetus to term because she was 'bound', or in cases where a woman was 'in travail', probably indicating physical impediments to birth which later periods would treat through Caesarean section. At the same time, paediatric medicine was also indicated in this line (KAR 44: 15) by an attack of the feared Lamaštu-demon<sup>10</sup> or the symptoms of infant-distress indicated by the baby's incessant crying. The question is what was uniquely offered by the exorcist which was not available from either the physician or midwife.

This question becomes even more pertinent to what follows in the exorcist's curriculum, namely 'eye disease', 'dental disease' and *bu'sānu*-disease, followed by 'internal disease' and 'lung disease', 'to stop nosebleed', 'to stop vomiting' and 'to stop diarrhea' (KAR 44: 16-18). Nothing could be more medical than these ailments, for which we know that the *asû*-physician employed – along with incantations and rituals – tampons and a great variety of drugs within therapeutic prescriptions.<sup>11</sup> Here we come to the crux of the matter: what is the difference between the exorcist's magic and physician's recipes, if used for the same conditions, such as nosebleed, vomiting, or diarrhea? How does an incantation stop nosebleed? Are we dealing here with a 'sick eye' or an 'evil eye', with 'tooth decay' or with a tooth-worm which was thought to cause toothache? The solutions to these and other problems were to be found within the exorcist's repertoire; he was expected to counteract snakebite and scorpion stings, as well as migraine, pestilence and epidemic (KAR 44: 20), but that was not all. Not only was his magic expected to protect the city, houses, fields, gardens, and canals from flood and locusts (KAR 44: 22), but within this framework the exorcist's powers extended beyond disease to protect against all manner of natural catastrophes, and hence *beyond* the expertise of the physician. These included rituals for the promotion of safe travel, dodging enemy arrows, and avoiding imprisonment, as well magical cleansing of stalls of domestic animals, hardly the most sanitary of environments (KAR 44: 23-24).

The final two remaining items in this basic curriculum come as a particular surprise, since they appear to encroach on the professional turf of diviners. The *mašmaššu* was expected to pay attention to omens and to study predictions from stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, and oracles based on stones or flour, as well as being familiar with explanatory lists of stones and plants (KAR 44: 25-26). We cannot tell from this single remark how much training in omens the *mašmaššu* was expected to have at this stage; it appears that he only needed to know the omen results ('decisions'), probably reported by other scholars. At the same time, the exorcist was expected to know something about the nature of medicinal plants and stones, although obviously such plants and stones also comprised the *materia medica* for medical recipes used by the *asû*-physician. Why would the exorcist need to know this? The answer appears at the very end of the list: he required this information for 'strings' and 'pendants' (KAR 44: 26), for the use of amulets (see Schuster-Brandis 2008), but how much of this knowledge of stones and plants would overlap with the training of a physician is difficult for us to gauge.

We now arrive at the end of the first curriculum, which is certainly far-reaching in its breadth; it includes all cultic functions of the *mašmaššu*, as well as his training in a variety of incantations based on an elementary appreciation of human psychology. This basic curriculum also encompasses a number of specific medical problems associated with body fluids and waste matter, as well as the prevention of environmental disasters, veterinary medicine, and the study of divination and the nature of stones and plants. If all this were not enough, KAR 44 then introduces a second curriculum, with a completely different array of themes, presumably for more advanced students of exorcism.<sup>12</sup>

What is particularly interesting about this second curriculum is that it introduces the exorcist to esoteric knowledge, clearly designated as 'secret' (*niširtu*), specifically the 'totality of sources of wisdom, the secrets of the art of incantations, the sources of the plans of heaven and earth, the secrets of the Lalgār (abyss), and non-canonical (*ahû*) incantations' (KAR 44: 30-31). The emphasis here is on 'sources' or 'springs' of knowledge, based on the metaphor of the

<sup>10</sup> See Farber 2014. The fear of Lamaštu is clear from the fact that although she has a divine pedigree, as daughter of Anu, she never needed to be designated as 'evil' (as is the case with other demons), since she was intrinsically evil; there is no benevolent Lamaštu. An infant would usually be strangled by this demon, an image possibly evoked by a foetus being choked by the umbilical cord during delivery.

<sup>11</sup> See Steinert in this volume, with reference to incantations and recipes for this same genre in AMC.

<sup>12</sup> A special ruled section between the two curricula listed on the tablet (l. 27) attributes the contents of this tablet to the scholar Esagil-kin-apli, whose role is treated elsewhere in this volume (see Geller *infra*, pp. 51-52). Although there is some dispute as to whether this line refers to the texts listed prior to this attribution or to texts listed after the mention of Esagil-kin-apli, the discussion is largely irrelevant, since the only person whose name appears in KAR 44 and in the *Sakikkû* catalogue (CTN 4, 71) is Esagil-kin-apli, and the attribution of these texts to a named scholar belongs to him alone.

Apsû or subterranean sweet water being associated with Ea, god of wisdom, and by analogy also being the origin of esoteric knowledge. Knowing the source of knowledge is how one defines secret or esoteric knowledge in concrete terms.

One example of such high-level knowledge is the study of Namburbi-rituals which counteract bad portents resulting from ordinary occurrences, such as the sudden appearance of a snake, scorpion, lizard, or ants in the house. It is clear from our text that the exorcist was responsible – if not for the omens themselves – for the incantations and rituals used to counteract the evil omens: ‘rituals and Namburbi-solutions for whatever ominous signs exist in heaven and on earth’ (KAR 44: 29).

Another subject of the advanced curriculum pertains to medical matters, the study of texts dealing with paralysis and related muscular illnesses (paralysis, palsy, tendon-complaints, muscular-illness, pain, a sailor's fractures, KAR 44: 32), which we also recognise from medical therapeutic texts associated with the *asû*-physician. Nevertheless, we also know of incantations addressed to these same ailments, which is precisely why they are listed in KAR 44. Within this more advanced curriculum, the exorcist had to have some knowledge of medical recipes or *bulṭī*, which clearly belong to the province of medicine; there is no doubt here that the exorcist was partially infringing on the territory of the physician. However, the specific *bulṭī* or treatises mentioned in KAR 44 are included for magical rather than for medical reasons; these include *bulṭī* or recipes for ‘falling sickness’ (epilepsy), ‘Lord of the roof’-demon (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of ghost-afflictions’, as well as ailments encountered in the basic curriculum, ‘the evil *alû*-demon and the *lilû*-spirit,<sup>13</sup> as well as the ‘Supporter of evil’-demon, the ‘Hand of the (broken) oath’ (affliction), ‘Hand of mankind’ (sorcery)’ (KAR 44: 33-34). Despite their colourful names, these diseases often manifest some kind of stroke or seizure, and many are listed together in a unique text dating from the Persian period, in which they are all defined as coming ‘from the heart’, or in other words ‘from the mind’ of the patient (see Geller 2014: 3, 7, 24). The Greeks continued to refer to epilepsy as a ‘sacred disease’, with unexplainable causes originating in the realm of magic and demons. Moreover, there was precious little that a physician could do to treat stroke or seizures, so it is hardly unexpected that the exorcist was left to treat such ailments.

The final section of KAR 44 offers further surprises, since it suddenly adopts a new style of addressing the reader in the second person, reverting back to the original classification of these texts as esoteric: ‘until you master (these texts) and discover the secrets’ (KAR 44: 36). The remainder of the catalogue refers to the tools of the trade, namely the use of high-level commentaries and sophisticated lexical aids which will help the scholar contemplate and comprehend his sources. The question is how much of a challenge does this higher curriculum pose to other professions within the exorcist's realm of activities.

For instance, this second advanced curriculum has the *mašmaššu* studying omens, which include the extensive corpus of liver divination and astrology comprising thousands of lines of text. However, examination of the entrails of animals belonged squarely to the profession of the diviner, the *bārû* or haruspex, whose job it was to record omens derived from the organs (involving mainly the liver) of a slaughtered animal, and hepascopy was equally known as *niširti bārûti*, the ‘secret lore of divination’, within that professional group. Are we witnessing here a breakdown of barriers between professions and professional training? Chronology may help us in understanding this mass of contradictory and confusing data: would the exorcist have really been expected to master so many other disciplines? In late periods, it seems that he may well have done, somewhat to the detriment of his other colleagues.

Nevertheless, we can begin to isolate patterns in this data as follows: in the second millennium BCE, there was a clear distinction between the *disciplines* belonging to the *asû*-physician, *mašmaššu*-exorcist and *bārû*-diviner. The *asû*-physician was certainly the most prominent among these professions, being the only one mentioned in the Laws of Hammurapi, and distinguished representatives of this profession were invited abroad to foreign courts. The *bārû*-diviner was prized in the royal palace for his ability to predict future events affecting king and country. The *mašmaššu* or *āšipu*-exorcist had his status as priest to rely upon, with its own spheres of influence.

By the time we peruse the late tablet archives of Nineveh, Assur, Sippar, Uruk, Sultantepe, and Babylon, we note significant changes in how scientific texts are being composed and copied. The large omen compendia appear to be copied by ‘scribes’ who are in fact scholars, rather than by diviners themselves; the *mašmaššu* participated in this activity. The clear distinctions between professional texts belonging to separate professions appear to have broken down,

<sup>13</sup> The higher curriculum includes references to magical texts by the same terms mentioned in the basic first curriculum, such as incantations dealing with the sexy ghost Lilith, or the *alû*-demon (KAR 44: 34). It is difficult to know what distinction is being made between these texts appearing in both curricula.

and school curriculum was more generally based on a variety of genres, of which magic and medicine probably played a primary role. Nevertheless, the integrity of the distinctive disciplines remained intact, as we can see from the various catalogues edited in the present volume. Despite overlapping genres and themes, the basic differences between medical therapy and prescriptions, magical incantations and rituals, and diagnostic omens formed three separate genres, and these remained stable throughout the history of the use of these texts. An exorcist using a medical recipe remained an exorcist, and a physician using an incantation remained a physician. Once we separate the idea of disciplines from praxis and procedure, we get a much clearer picture of how these various forms of healing arts operated in tandem throughout Mesopotamian history of science.

## 2.2 The Edition of KAR 44, the Exorcist's Manual<sup>14</sup>

### Manuscripts

- A VAT 8275 (KAR 44, Geller 2000: 245-246), 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, from Assur (copy by Kišir-Aššur);<sup>15</sup> Plate 7-8  
 B 79-7-8, 250 (Geller 2000: 252), from Nineveh (7<sup>th</sup> century BCE); relevant but not a duplicate; Plate 9  
 c BM 55148 + 68411 + 68658 (Geller 2000: 247), from Sippar, ca. 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century BCE; Plate 10  
 d Rm. 717 + BM 34188 + 99677 + 140684 (Geller 2000: 249), from Babylon; copied by Mušallim-Bēl, a member the Mušēzib family (4<sup>th</sup> century BCE; courtesy E. Frahm); Plate 11  
 e BM 36678 (Geller 2000: 250), from Babylon; Plate 12  
 f W 23293/4 (SpTU 5, 231), from Uruk, written by Rimūt-Anu (Šangū-Ninurta clan), ca. end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (reign of Darius II);<sup>16</sup> Plate 13

- 1 A SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A kun-nu PAP MU.NE  
 d 'KA DUB' SAG.MEŠ 'ÉŠ.GÀR' LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-ti 'šá' [x] 'NÍG'.ZU u IGI.D[U<sub>8</sub>.A k]un-nu 'PAP' MU.N[E]  
 f [KA DU]B SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-tu<sub>4</sub> šá a-na ih-zu u ta-mar-tu<sub>4</sub> kun-nu nap-ha-ri MU-ár<sup>1</sup>

The incipits (i.e. titles)<sup>17</sup> of exorcism compositions<sup>18</sup>, established for recensions<sup>19</sup> and reading (lit. 'viewing'), named in their entirety.

- 2 A dSIG<sub>4</sub> SUHUŠ É DINGIR [ŠUB] LUH KA u né-šu-tu EN.NA  
 d dSIG<sub>4</sub> LUH KA DINGIR.R[A] u ni-šu-ut EN.NA  
 f dSIG<sub>4</sub> [LUH] 'KA DINGIR.RA' u ni-šu-ut EN.NA

Kulla ('brick-laying'-ritual) gloss: for [laying] the foundation of a house / temple, mouth-washing (rituals) (var. for a god) and (rituals for the) installation of a priest.

- 3 A INIM ABZU GI.NU.TAG.GA-ú u ŠU.LUH DINGIR.RA  
 c [.....] u 'ŠU'.L[UH .....]  
 d [IN]IM ABZU gi-'nu-taq'-qu-ú 'u ŠU.LUH.HA' DINGIR.RA  
 f TU<sub>6</sub> 'ABZU GI.NU.TAG.GA'-[ú] u ŠU.LUH DINGIR.RA

'Word (var. spell) of Apsû'(-rituals), *ginutaqqû*-(ritual offerings) and hand-washing(-rituals) for the god.

- 4 A KI dUTU.KAM<sup>20</sup> ŠU.ÍL.LA.KAM u DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA  
 c K[I .....] L[A.KU u DINGIR.Š[À .....]  
 d [.....] (traces) ..... u DINGIR.'ŠÀ×X'.DAB.BA

<sup>14</sup> This edition was produced with the assistance of Strahil V. Panayotov and Ulrike Steinert, as well as the BabMed team, Berlin.

<sup>15</sup> For a second copy of the Manual from the same Assur library, which remains unpublished (A 366), see Jean 2006: 63 n. 259.

<sup>16</sup> The Uruk tablet (Ms. f) was copied from an earlier original by a notable Uruk scribe, Rimūt-Anu, who was remarkable for copying other unique tablets; one is SpTU 1, 43, which lists diseases according to four regions of the body (see Geller 2014: 3-16), while a second unusual tablet (Heeßel 2000: 353-358 Ms. A = SpTU 4, 152), belongs to the *Diagnostic Handbook* but appends an explanatory commentary table to the end of the tablet.

<sup>17</sup> The variants read *pī tuppi* (KA DUB), lit. '(according to) the "mouth" of the tablet (of incipits)', an oblique reference to the authority of the written records (of compositions) listed in this catalogue.

<sup>18</sup> Literally 'series'.

<sup>19</sup> See below, l. 28.

<sup>20</sup> See l. 13 below, with a second reference to this same genre of prayers, although the distinction is difficult to work out.

f [K]I<sup>d</sup>[.....]A.KAM u DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA  
*Ki'utukku*(-prayers), *Šu'illa*(-prayers), penitential prayers.

- 5 A *né-peš*<sup>iti</sup>ŠU.<sup>d</sup>INANNA (sic)<sup>iti</sup>NE<sup>iti</sup>KIN<sup>iti</sup>DUL u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-ti  
 c *n[é-.....]N*E<sup>iti</sup>KIN<sup>iti</sup>DUL u *sak-ke-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>* [.....]  
 d [.....] DU]L u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-tu  
 f [*né-pe*]š<sup>iti</sup>[.....] KI]N [i<sup>iti</sup>D]UL u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-ti  
 Rituals for the month of Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Tishri and cultic rites of kingship.

- 6 A SA.GIG-ú ALAN.DÍM.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MU-ú u KA.TA.DU<sub>11</sub>.G[A-ú]  
 c S[A.GIG].<sup>r</sup>GA<sup>r</sup> A[LAN].DÍM.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MU-ú u KA.T[A .....]  
 d [.....]DÍ]M.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍ[M.MU]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup> u KA.TA.DU<sub>11</sub>.GA-ú  
 f [.....] u KA.TA.DU<sub>11</sub>.GA-ú

*Sakikkû* (diagnostic omens), *Alamdimmû* (lit. 'physical-form' = physiognomic omens), *Nigdimdimmû* (lit. 'physical shape' = physiognomic omens), *Kataduggû* (lit. 'orally recited' = physiognomic omens).

- 7 A A.KÛ.GA.MEŠ UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ<sup>ur-sag hul-gál-me-en</sup> u HUL.BA.Z[I.ZI<sup>si-la</sup>]<sup>re-ri<sup>r</sup>-m[a]</sup>  
 c A.[KÛ].GA.MEŠ UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>A<sup>r</sup>.[.....E]N.[M]EŠ u HUL.B[A.....]  
 d [.....] U]DUG.HUL.MEŠ A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ u HUL.BA.Z[I.ZI  
 f [.....] u [HUL].B[A.Z]I.ZI.MEŠ

'Purifying waters'(Akuga-incantations), 'Evil demons' (Udughul-incantations), 'Who are you?' (Aba.men.meš-incantations) gloss: 'you are the evil hero', 'To eradicate that evil' (Hulbazizi-incantations) gloss: "depart, hostile one!".

- 8 A ŠU.GUR.GUR.MEŠ<sup>tak-pe-er-tú</sup> Á.SÀG.GIG.GA<sup>di-<sup>r</sup>u GIG-tu<sup>4</sup></sup>.MEŠ u ZÌ.SUR.RA.ME[Š<sup>sag</sup>]-ba-sag-ba  
 c Š[U.Z]U.ZU.MEŠ Á.SÀG.GIG.GA.MEŠ u Z[Ì.....]  
 d [.....].MEŠ Á.SÀG.GIG.GA.TA u ZÌ.SUR.[R]A.MEŠ  
 f [.....] u Z[Ì.SUR.R]A.MEŠ

'Hand wiping' (rituals) gloss: purification ceremony, 'Taboo-illness' (*asakkû maršūtu*-incantations) gloss: headache-diseases, *zisurrû* (-magic circle of flour) gloss: Ban! Ban!.

- 9 A *sa-kik-ke<sup>4</sup>*SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ GÚ<sup>sag-gig</sup>GIG.GA.MEŠ u TU.RA KÌLI[B].BA  
 c [S]AG.GIG.MEŠ GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ [.....]  
 d [.....].GA.MEŠ GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ u TU.RA KÌLI[B].<sup>r</sup>BA<sup>r</sup>  
 f [.....] u TU.RA [KÌ]LIB.BA

gloss: symptoms 'head-diseases', 'neck diseases' gloss: head-disease, 'general diseases' (lit. 'illness in its entirety').

- 10 A <sup>gu-ru-uš</sup>GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ u ALAN.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.ME[Š]<sup>udug hul-gál-a mu-du-du</sup>  
 c GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ [.....]  
 d [.....]L]Á.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ u ALAN.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.M[EŠ]  
 f [.....] <sup>r</sup>u ALAN<sup>r</sup>.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.MEŠ

gloss: lad 'lad of *lilû*-demon', 'maiden of *lilû*-demon', 'substitute figurines' gloss: the evil demon is walking around.

- 11 A *e-piš-tû*<sup>bit</sup>rim-ki bit me-se-ri<sup>meš</sup> u KA.L[U]H.Û.DA  
 c *bit rim-ki bit me-se-ri* [.....]  
 d [.....]-ki bit me-sè-ri<sup>meš</sup> u KA.LUH.Û.DA  
 f [.....-r]i<sup>r</sup> u KA.LUH.Û.DA.[À]M-ú

gloss: ritual 'bath house' (*Bīt rimki*-ritual), 'house of enclosures' (*Bīt mēseri*-ritual), 'mouth washing'(-ritual).

- 12 A UŠ<sub>11</sub>.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>UŠ<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup>.BÚRU.DA u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA [<sup>ma-mi-t</sup>]a a-na pa-šá-ri  
 c UŠ<sub>11</sub>.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>UŠ<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup>.B[ÚR .....]  
 d [.....HU]L.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚRU.DA u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA

- e [.....R]U.D[A]  
 f UŠ<sub>11</sub>.H[UL.....] UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR[U.D]A<sup>2</sup> u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA  
 ‘evil spells’, ‘evil curses’, ‘(Ušburrudû-spells) for undoing witchcraft’,  
 ‘(Namerimburrudû-spells) for undoing the (effects) of a (broken) oath’ gloss: to undo an oath
- 13 A KI<sup>d</sup>UTU.KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM<sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>8</sub>.ME.KE<sub>4</sub>  
 c KI<sup>d</sup>UTU.KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM[IM.....]  
 d [.....].KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.‘U<sub>18</sub>.‘[LU] UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM u lam-sa-‘tu<sub>4</sub><sup>21</sup>  
 e [.....] ‘NAM’.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU. DA e-‘dep IM<sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME‘.[...]  
 f KI<sup>d</sup>UTU.[..... BÚ]R.RU.DA NAM.[ÉR]IM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM<sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME

Ki’utukku (prayers) to a man’s personal god, ‘(Ušburrudû-spells) for undoing witchcraft’,  
 ‘(Namerimburrudû-spells) for undoing the (effects) of a (broken) oath’, ‘blowing of the wind’, Lamaštu,

- 14 A HUL ka-la ma-aq-‘lu-ú šur-pu MAŠ.‘GI<sub>6</sub> HUL‘ SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA u ŠÀ.ZI.GA  
 c ‘HUL‘ ka-la ma-aq-lu-ú šur-‘pu MÁŠ‘.[..... SI]G<sub>5</sub>.‘GA‘ u ‘ŠÀ‘.[...]  
 d [..... m]a-aq-lu-‘[.‘] š[ur]-pu MAŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> HUL SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA u ŠÀ×X.ZI.GA  
 e HUL ka-la ma-aq-lu-ú šur-pu MÁŠ.‘GI<sub>6</sub> HUL‘ SIG<sub>5</sub>.‘G[A] / u ŠÀ.ZI.GA  
 f H[U]L ka-la [.....]-pi-e MA[Š.....] u ŠÀ.ZI.GA

(and) ‘All evil’. ‘Combustion’ (Maqlû-ritual), ‘Burning’ (Šurpu-ritual), ‘(rituals) to make bad dreams good’ and ‘(rituals) for arousing desire’,

- 15 A munus là al-‘du‘ munusPEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA MUNUS LA.RA.AH<sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>8</sub>.ME.KÁM u LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ  
 c munusPEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.DA MUNUS LA.RA.AH<sup>d</sup>[IM<sub>11</sub>.ME].KAM u LÚ.TUR.[.....]  
 d [.....] MUN[US LA].‘RA.AH‘<sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>11</sub>.ME.KE<sub>4</sub> u LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ  
 e munusPEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.‘DA‘ MUNUS LA.RA.A[H]<sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>11</sub>.ME.KAM u LÚ.‘TUR.HUN‘.G[Á]  
 f MUNUS [.....] u LÚ.TUR.HUN‘.GÁ

gloss: a woman not giving birth ‘to bind a pregnant woman’, ‘woman in travail’, Lamaštu and (incantations) ‘to calm a baby’,

- 16 A IGI.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> u KA.‘HAB‘.DIB.BA  
 c IGI.GIG.GA.ŠÈ ZÚ.GIG.GA.ŠÈ u KA.‘HAB‘.DIB.BA  
 d [.....].KE<sub>4</sub> ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> u KA.‘HAB‘.DIB.BA  
 e IGI.GIG.GA.KÁM ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> u KA.HAB.‘DIB‘.B[A]  
 f IGI.GI[G.....] u KA.HAB.DIB.BA

‘eye disease’, ‘dental disease’ and ‘malodourous nose’ (bu’sānu)-disease,

- 17 A ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> MUR.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> u TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> GIG DÛ.A.BI  
 c ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KÁM MUR.GIG.GA.[...] u TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> G[IG .....]  
 d [.....K]E<sub>4</sub> GÚ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub> u TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> GIG DÛ.A.BI  
 e ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KÁM GÚ.GIG.GA.KÁM u ‘TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> GIG‘ [.....]  
 f ŠÀ.G[IG.....] u TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> GIG DÛ.A.BI

‘internal disease’, ‘lung (variant: neck) disease’ and ‘spells for any disease’,

- 18 A MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.DA BURU<sub>8</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA<sup>du-ga-nu</sup> GIG u ŠÀ.SUR.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA[qa]-na šī-ta-šú  
 c MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA BURU<sub>8</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.R[U.D]A u ŠÀ.SUR.K[U<sub>5</sub>.....]  
 d [.....R]U.‘DA‘ u [ŠÀ].SUR.K[U<sub>5</sub>.....]  
 e MÚD ‘KIR‘.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.‘DA BURU‘.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA [.....]  
 f MÚD<sup>i</sup> K[IR<sub>4</sub>.....] u ŠÀ.SUR.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA

‘to stop nosebleed’, ‘to stop vomiting’ gloss: dugānu illness and ‘to stop diarrhoea’ gloss: second (meaning of nišhu is) ‘reed’,

21 This variant may be a form of the protective spirit lamassatu, or a corruption of Lamaštu.



- 19 A ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.TAB TI.LA u SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA<sup>BE NA sa-ma-nu GIG</sup>  
 c ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.ṽTAB TIṽ.LA u SAG.NIM.N[IM .....]  
 d [.....NI]M.MA TI.[.....]  
 e ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.TAB TI.[.....]  
 f ZÚ MUŠ TI[.....] u SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA  
 ‘to heal snakebite’, ‘to heal scorpion (sting)’ and ‘to heal *sāmānu*-disease’ gloss: If a man suffers from *sāmānu* disease,
- 20 A GÌRI HUL-*tim ina* É LÚ TAR-is *di-hu* : šib-ṽta NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-qí u SÍSKUR GABA.RI  
 c GÌRI HUL-*tim ina* É LÚ TAR-is *di-ṽi šib-ṽti* NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-qí u SÍSK[UR .....]  
 d (traces)  
 e ṽGÌRIṽ HUL-*tim ina* ṽÉ LÚṽ T[AR.....]  
 f GÌRI HUL-*tim ina* É [.....].ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-qu u SÍSKUR GABA.RI  
 ‘to prevent the foot of evil from (entering) a man’s house’, to avoid *di-ṽu*-disease, epidemic (and) pestilence, and the substitute offering,
- 21 A *né-peš* URU É A.ŠÀ<sup>giš</sup> KIRI<sub>6</sub> ÍD u *ki-né-e*<sup>d</sup> Nisaba<sup>he-pí eš-šú ri-da ga-ra-na : e-nu-ma ÍD ta-he-ru</sup>  
 c ṽ*né-peš* URU É A.ŠÀ<sup>ṽgiš</sup> KIRI<sub>6</sub> ÍD u *kiṽ*(KU)-n[é-e]<sup>ṽd</sup> Nisabaṽ  
 e (traces)  
 f *né-[p]eš* URU É A.ŠÀ<sup>giš</sup> KIRI<sub>6</sub> ÍD [...-t]i u *ki-né-e*<sup>d</sup> Nisaba  
 ‘ritual(s) for city, house, field, garden, canal and heaps of grain, gloss: new break, heaping up *ridu*-flour; when you dig a canal,
- 22 A U<sub>4</sub>.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA ZÚ BURU<sub>5</sub> DIB.BÉ.DA u *bar-bar*<sup>e-di-na</sup> EDIN.NA  
 c [... D]È.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.D[A] ZÚ BURU<sub>5</sub> DIB.BÉ.DA u B[AR.....]  
 f U<sub>4</sub>.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA ZÚ [.....] u *šá-maš* DINGIR EDIN.NA  
 (Rituals) ‘to make flooding pass by’ and ‘to make the locust tooth pass by’ and ‘(ritual against) the wolf in the steppe (var. Šamaš, god of the steppe),
- 23 A EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE<sub>26</sub>.E.DÈ u KI.ŠÚ<sup>22</sup> AL.DIB  
 c [..... N]A DIB.BÉ.D[A ...] LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE<sub>26</sub>.DÈ u [.....]  
 f EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE<sub>26</sub> [.....] u KI.ŠÚ AL.DIB  
 (Rituals) ‘to travel (safely) through the steppe’, ‘for enemy arrows not to approach’ and ‘(rituals) avoiding imprisonment’,
- 24 A TÙR ÁB GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A u U<sub>8</sub>.UDU.HI.A ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DÈ  
 c [.....] ṽu U<sub>8</sub>ṽ [.....] u AN[ŠE .....]  
 f TÙR GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u U<sub>8</sub>.UDU[.MEŠ u ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DÈ  
 ‘(Rituals) to purify the pen(s) of cattle, flocks and horse,
- 25 A EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ INIM.GAR NA<sub>4</sub> ZÌ NA.RI DINGIR DÙ.A.BI  
 c [.....] INIM.GAR NA ZÌ NA.RI u DINGIR DÙ.[...]  
 d [E]Š.BAR ṽMULṽ.M[EŠ .....]  
 f EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.ME[Š ..... M]ÁŠ.ANŠE.[MEŠ ..... N]A<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ZÌ NA.RI u DINGIR DÙ.A.BI  
 ‘Predictions from stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, oracles (based) on stones (or) flour, on incense, (and) on a god, in their totality,

22 Although no incantations with this rubric have as yet been identified, it would be easy to mistake the reading KI.ŠÚ (Akk. *kīlu*, ‘prison’) for KI-šú or *ašaršu*, ‘his place’, hence misunderstanding this term.

- 26 A NA<sub>4</sub> GAR-šú Ú GAR-šú DUB NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ DUB Ú.HI.A *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-<sup>7</sup>li*  
 c [.....] 'DUB' N[A<sub>4</sub>.....] 'Ú.MEŠ' *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-[x]*  
 d [N]A<sub>4</sub> GAR-šú Ú GAR-[š]ú 'tup-pi NA<sub>4</sub> tup-pi ú tak-ši-ri' [...]  
 f NA<sub>4</sub> GAR-šú Ú GAR-šú DUB NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ DUB Ú.MEŠ *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-lu*

'explanatory stone lists', 'explanatory plant lists', the 'tablet of stones', the 'tablet of drugs', 'strings' and 'pendants'.

23

- 27 A SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá <sup>m</sup>É-sag-íl-kîn(GIN)-apli(A)<sup>24</sup>  
 c [ŠU.NIGIN-e É]Š.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-t[i šá <sup>m</sup>É]Š.GÚ.ZI.GI.IN.A DUMU <sup>md</sup>ASAL.LÚ.HI-[MA.AN.SUM / ABGAL  
<sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL T[IN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] ŠÀ.BAL.BAL <sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>-a GUDU<sub>4</sub> É.ZI.DA  
 d ŠU.NIGIN-e ÉŠ.GÀ[R] a-ši-pu-tu šá <sup>m</sup>ÉŠ.GÚ.ZI.DA.IBILA DUMU <sup>md</sup>AS[AL.LÚ.HI-MA.AN.SU]M / ABGAL  
<sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL ŠÀ.BAL.BAL <sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>-a i-šip-p[u É.ZI]I.DA  
 f SAG.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> KA<sup>25</sup> ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti š[a] <sup>m</sup>ÉŠ.GÚ.ZI.GI.A DUMU šá <sup>d</sup>ASAL.LÚ.HI-MA.AN.SUM / 'ABGAL'  
<sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL [T]IN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ŠÀ.BAL<sup>7</sup>.BAL <sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>-a LÚ.GUDU<sub>4</sub> É.ZI.[D]A

The titles (var. total of) of the compositions (series) of exorcism of Esagil-kin-apli (var. descendant of Asalluhi-mansum, sage of King Hammurapi [var. of Babylon], descendant of Lisia, purification priest of the Ezida-temple)

- 28 A šī-pīr GI.TAG.GA ma-la <sup>d</sup>é-a ib-ši-mu KĪD.KĪD-ṭè-e ŠÈR.KÛ.GA-e  
 c [KIN] GI.TAG KI ma-la <sup>d</sup>IDIM i[b-ši-m]u KĪD.KĪD-ṭè-e ŠÈR.KÛ.GA.[...]  
 d NÍG.ZU.ŠÈ IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A GUB.BA KIN GI.TAG.GA ma-la <sup>d</sup>é-a ib-ši-mu KĪD.KĪD.DA.MEŠ ŠÈR.KÛ.GA.MEŠ  
 f NÍG.[Z]U.ŠÈ IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A GUB.BA KI[N .....] KI ma-la <sup>d</sup>[... i]b-ši-mu KĪD.KĪD-ṭè-e ŠÈR.KÛ.G[A].MEŠ

(var. established for study and reading).<sup>26</sup> The art of writing (lit. work of the stylus), whatever Ea designed: rituals and cult songs (*šerkugû*),

- 29 A NÍG.AK.A.MEŠ NAM.BÚR.BI Á.MEŠ AN u KI-tim ma-la ba-šá-a  
 c [NÍG.KĪ]D.KĪD NAM.BÚR.B[I .....] 'KI' ma-la ba-š[á-a]  
 d NÍG.AK.A NAM.BÚR.BI.MEŠ GIZKIM.MEŠ AN-e u KI-tim ma-la ba-šá-a  
 f NÍG.KĪD.KĪD NAM.BÚ[R.B]I G[IZKIM].MEŠ AN-e u KI-tim ma-la GÁL-a

Rituals and Namburbi-solutions for whatever ominous signs exist in heaven and on earth,

- 30 A kul-lat nag-bi né-me-qí ni-šir-ti KA.KÛ.GA-lu-ti  
 c kul-lat nag-bi né-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>7</sup>-q[i ..... K]A.KÛ.GA-l[u-x]  
 d kul-lat nag-bi né-me-qí ni-šir-ti KA.KÛ.GÁL-u-tu  
 f kul-lat na[g-.....-m]e-qí ni-š[i]r-tu<sub>4</sub> KA.KÛ.GÁL-lu-ti

the totality of sources of wisdom, the secrets of the art of incantations,

- 31 A i<sub>5</sub>-na<sub>8</sub> GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN u KI pi-riš-ti LÂL.GAR TU<sub>6</sub>TU<sub>6</sub>BAR.RA  
 c i<sub>5</sub>-na<sub>8</sub> GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>HUR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ A[N ..... T]U<sub>6</sub>TU<sub>6</sub>BAR.[RA]  
 d i<sub>5</sub>-na<sub>8</sub> GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN-e u KI-ti AD.HAL LÂL.GAR u TU<sub>6</sub>TU<sub>6</sub>BAR.RA  
 f [.....] GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN u KI AD.HAL LÂL.GAR u TU<sub>6</sub>TU<sub>6</sub>B[AR.R]A

the 'sources' (lit. 'eyes') of the plans of heaven and earth, the secrets of the Lalgar (abyss), and non-canonical (*ahû*) incantations.

<sup>23</sup> The ruling is not found in Ms. f.

<sup>24</sup> Ms. A is unique in adding a ruling here.

<sup>25</sup> Not as read in Bácskay and Simkó 2012: 69. The reading *pī iškārī* in Uruk would mean, 'according to compositions'.

<sup>26</sup> See an alternative interpretation of this phrase elsewhere suggested in this volume (Geller *infra*, p. 50 n. 45), 'established for text recensions and reading'.

- 32 A *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-ti u* SA.GAL SA.GIG GIG<sup>27</sup> *ki-sat ši-bir-ti*<sub>tu</sub> MÁ.LAH  
 c KIN *šim-ma-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ri-mu*<sup>2</sup>-[.....-*bī*]*r*<sup>2</sup>-*ti m*[*a*-...]  
 d *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-tu u* SA.GAL SA.GIG-*ki ki-is-sat ši-na-ti ma-lah*  
 f [.....]-*ma-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ri-mu-tu*<sub>4</sub> *u* SA.GAL SA.GIG *ki-is-sa-tu*<sub>4</sub> *u* KIN-*ti* [*m*]*a*-*lāh*<sup>2</sup>

Treatises (lit. 'work') on paralysis, palsy, tendon-complaints, muscular-illness, gnawing (pain), a sailor's fractures.

- 33 A *bul-ṭi* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>d</sup>INANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA  
 c *bul-ṭi* AN.TA.ŠUB<sup>2</sup>.[BA .....].<sup>d</sup>GIDIM<sup>2</sup>.[.....]  
 d *bul-ṭu* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>d</sup>INNIN.NA  
 f [...]-*ṭi* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA [Š]U.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>d</sup>INANNA *u* ŠU.GI[DIM.M]A.<sup>d</sup>KE<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>

Remedies for 'falling sickness' (epilepsy), 'Lord of the roof'-demon (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of ghost-afflictions,

- 34 A A.LÁ HUL LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.<sup>d</sup>MA<sup>2</sup> ŠU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.U.LU  
 c A.LÁ <sup>d</sup>LÍL.LÁ.EN<sup>2</sup>.N[A SA]G.H[UL .....]  
 d A.LÁ LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA / SAG.HUL.HA.ZU ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA ŠU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 f [.....HU]L L[ÍL.LÁ].EN.NA KI.SIKIL.L[ÍL].LÁ.EN.NA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA *u* ŠU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.U.LU

the evil *alû*-demon, the *lilû*-spirit, 'Supporter of evil'-demon, the 'Hand of the (broken) oath' (affliction), 'Hand of mankind' (sorcery),

- 35 A *ù bul-ṭi kal gim-ri ri-kis*<sup>28</sup> TAG-it GIG KÚM DAB-su *u* KIN MUNUS  
 c *ù*<sup>2</sup> *bul-ṭi*<sup>2</sup> *kal gim*<sup>2</sup>-[*ri* .....]  
 d *u bul-ṭu kal gim-ri ri-kis lip-it* LÚ.GIG KÚM DAB-su *u ši-pir* MUNUS  
 f *ù bul-ṭi*<sup>2</sup> *kal gim-ri ri-k*[*is*] TA[G-i]t GIG KÚM DAB-su *u* KIN MUNUS

and the whole (corpus) of remedies, the corpus (concerned with) affliction of a patient seized by fever and (with) treatment(s) for a woman—

- 36 A EN<sup>29</sup> *ri-kis i-šip-pu-ti ta-kaš-šá-du tam-ma-ru* NÍG.ŠEŠ  
 c EN *ri-kis* <sup>d</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>-*ma* [.....]  
 d *a-di kiš-ša*[*t*] *i-šip-pu-tu ta-kaš-šá-du ta-am*<sup>2</sup>-*ma-ru ni-šir*<sup>2</sup>-*t*[*i*]  
 f *a-di rik-sat i-šip-pu-ti ta*<sup>2</sup>-*kaš-šá*<sup>2</sup>-*du tam-ma-ru* NÍG.ŠEŠ

(all this you will study) until you master the (entire) corpus of purification (*išippūtu*) and discover the secrets.

- 37 A EGIR-nu NÍG.ZI.GÁL EDIN.NA INIM.BAL.E.NE *u* EME.SAL.MEŠ  
 c <sup>d</sup>ár<sup>2</sup>-*ka-nu* <sup>d</sup>NÍG.ZI<sup>2</sup>.G[ÁL .....]  
 d [*á*]*r-ka-nu* [NÍG.ZI]<sup>d</sup>I.GÁL EDIN.NA INIM.BAL.E.NE *u* EME.SA[L]  
 f *ár-ka-na* NÍG.ZI.GÁL EDIN.NA IN[IM.BAL].E.NE *u* EME.SAL.MEŠ

Afterwards, (when through) *šātu*-lexical lists, translations and synonyms,

- 38 A KI.DU.DU.MEŠ EME.GI<sub>7</sub> EME.URI<sup>ki</sup> *ši-te*<sup>2</sup>-*a ta-ah-ha-zu*  
 c [K]I.DU.DU-*e* EME.[.....]  
 d [K]I.D.KĪD.D[A.ME]Š *šu-me-ri u ak*<sup>2</sup>-*ka-di*<sup>2</sup>-*i ši-te*<sup>2</sup>-*a ta-ah-ha-zu*  
 f KI.DU.DU-*e* EME.MEŠ E[ME .....] *ši-te*<sup>2</sup>-*a ta-hi-za*

you will grasp how to examine Sumerian and Akkadian rituals,

<sup>27</sup> Ms. A is the only manuscript to repeat GIG, which is likely to be a dittography, since the line can be understood without it.

<sup>28</sup> See the author's discussion of *riksu* as 'corpus' elsewhere in this volume.

<sup>29</sup> The same usage of EN occurs in AMC, see elsewhere in this volume.



6' [..... š]á<sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>10</sub>.ME.<sup>r</sup>KE<sub>4</sub> ÉN<sup>r</sup> x[ ...  
 7' [..... ma-aq-lu]-ú šur-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>r</sup> M[ÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>.HUL SIG<sub>5</sub>.G]A [.....  
 8' [..... PE]Š<sub>4</sub>.KÉŠ.<sup>r</sup>DA<sup>r</sup> MUNUS L[A.RA.AH .....

## 2.3 Notes to KAR 44

1) Note that the works in this catalogue are mainly cited according to their KA.INIM.MA rubrics and not according to their incipits, see Geller 2000: 225-226.

The variant expression KA DUB, literally *pīṭuppi*, 'mouth of the tablet', is an expression which appears in a medical text rubric, explaining that the recipe is *šá pi-i ṭup-p[i]* (BAM 240: 10'), meaning that the text is based on the authority of the tablet rather than from an oral source or dictation. See also the colophon of Ms. f of KAR 44 and an Ur-III incantation catalogue cited in van Dijk and Geller 2003: 4, which begins *dub-sag-ta* 'from the tablet of incipit(s)'.

The final phrase in this line is repeated below in l. 28 in two Mss. (NÍG.ZU.ŠÈ IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A GUB.BA), and has parallels in colophons; cf. Rm. 441 (BAK No. 517: 6-7), [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup> ih-zi ù ta-mar-ti [LÚ].<sup>r</sup>ŠAGAN.MÁL.LÁ<sup>r</sup> a-na da-ra-a-ti ú-kin, 'he (the *ummānu*) established (the text) for a recension and reading for perpetuity for the apprentice' (see CDLI P424771).<sup>34</sup> The term IGI.DU<sub>8</sub> (= *tāmartu*) refers to correct reading of the text and is a technical term found frequently in colophons (e.g. BAK No. 329, see also Frahm 2011: 47 n. 191), but the most interesting parallel occurs in the Esagil-kīn-apli instruction (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen's edition of CTN 4, 71 below), [NÍG.Z]U.ŠÈ NAM.BA.ŠE.BI.DA šá NÍG.ZU NU GUB.BÉ sa-kik-ka ul DUG<sub>4</sub>.[GA-ma], 'you should not neglect your editions, (since) the one who does not establish a (text) recension cannot then recite the diagnostic omens'.<sup>35</sup> The expression *ihza kunnu* has a technical meaning in these contexts of 'fixing' or establishing a canonised text.

2) The gloss (SUHUŠ É DINGIR [ŠUB]) reflects Ambos 2004: 186 21', referring to the incipit of a ritual, which reads *e-nu-ma UŠ<sub>8</sub> É DINGIR ŠUB-ú*, in which UŠ<sub>8</sub> is a variant for SUHUŠ in this line of KAR 44; see also Ambos 2004: 156: 2. This is the first example of the use of a gloss to indicate the incipit of the first incantation of the Series indicated by the rubric being listed. This pattern is repeated throughout KAR 44 (cf. l. 8, 10, etc.).

3) For INIM ABZU in an incipit catalogue from Assur, see Geller 2000: 232 (Text A<sub>2</sub>), [KA.INIM.MA] INIM ABZU. This type of ritual belongs to the context of consecration of priests, see Löhnert 2010: 189. See also Linssen 2004: 275, 17, 26, in which the INIM ABZU incantation is whispered into the ear of the ox, from which the hide of the kettledrum is made; see *ibid.* 96-97; this clearly points to another of the cultic obligations of the *mašmaššu*, rather than a healing role.

The term *ginutaqqû* also appears in an unpublished *Sakikkû* commentary (BM 55491), edited by E. Jiménez (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P461263>), but the context is not very elucidating. See also the note to l. 27 below.

4) All of the prayers cited in this line are described in Hruša 2015: 118-123, as being addressed to gods as part of temple rituals and reflect the role of the *āšipu* or *mašmaššu* as a temple priest.

5) For <sup>iii</sup>DUL, see Ambos 2013: 159-160 (A<sub>2</sub>15' and B<sub>1</sub>1), [e-n]u-ma né-pe-ši šá É sa-la me-e ina <sup>iii</sup>DUL te-ep-pu-šú, 'when you carry out the ritual of the house of water-sprinkling (*Bit sala' mē*) in Tašritu'. The months mentioned in this line all occur in sequence, representing the time span from summer solstice to autumn equinox. Two of these months are also

<sup>34</sup> This translation is subject to the objection that an 'apprentice' (*šamallû*) would hardly be in a position to create a text edition (*ihzu*); Finkel (1988: 149) uses the neutral term 'knowledge' as does the edition in this volume (see below). There are two answers to this objection. One, the *šamallû*-apprentice, although technically not yet a professional scribe, could have acquired considerable experience in copying tablets, such as the large and well-executed Assur tablet copied by the apprentice scribe Šulgi-enu (Geller 2007). This expertise is captured in a Susa omen text which reads, *šamallû mali ummāni imašši*, 'the apprentice will be as worthy as his master' (Labat 1974: No. 3 rev. 9). Second, the term *ihzu* in this specific context of colophons has a technical meaning derived from the root *ahāzu*, 'to grasp' (both physically and intellectually), since the product of this activity is a completed text comparable to the fashioned mountings for stones (*ihzû*, derived from the same root). The English term 'edition' is not entirely apt in this context, although it is likely that scribes produced their texts on the basis of more than a single *Vorlage*, and hence were producing a form of edited or composite text.

<sup>35</sup> See Veldhuis 2014: 358-359, relating the term *tāmartu* in colophons to a lexical list having this term in its opening entry.

reflected in the rituals performed for Ištar and Dumuzi, which specify rituals scheduled for the months of Abu (Farber 1977: 139) and Tammuz (ibid. 185).

For *sakkû*, cf. Linssen 2004: 21 and BAK No. 107, the colophon of the Seleucid ritual tablet which was based upon a wax tablet for ŠU.LUH.HA KÙ.MEŠ *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-tú *a-di* ŠU.LUH.HA DINGIR.RA, ‘purifying hand-washing of the royal ritual up to the hand-washing of the god’. Up to this point in KAR 44 the cultic role of the *āšipu/mašmaššu* has little to do with exorcism.

6) This is the same sequence of diagnostic/prognostic texts which appear in Esagil-kīn-apli’s *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988 and Schmidtchen’s edition below); see also Geller (*infra*, pp. 44-45), for these compositions supposedly being associated with Ea.

7) For A.KÙ.GA.MEŠ, see *Šurpu*, Appendix (Reiner 1958: 52), in which this opening incantation appears within NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA incantations. What is surprising in this context is to find no hierarchy of incantation texts being listed in KAR 44, either in terms of length or themes. Although the texts listed in KAR 44: 7 are both bilingual and unilingual, they vary from being incantations of only a few lines to extremely lengthy multi-tablet compositions. One possible specific motif common to this particular cluster of incantation texts is that these incantations are all exorcistic, highlighting demons as the cause of disease and misfortune.

For UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ, see Geller 2016. The incipit of the first tablet is unknown, but it is likely that this text was known by its Udug-hul-rubric rather than by its incipit.

The rubric A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ is unknown, but the phrase can be found as an incipit together with incipits of other incantations to be recited in connection with house-building rituals (SpTU 2, 16 ii 24), and it also occurs in a short four-line incantation as part of a ritual dealing with necromancy (Finkel 1983-84: 8). The rubric is glossed by ur-saḡ hul-ḡál-me-en, which appears to be the incipit of this incantation, also unidentified.

The gloss [si-la] ‘e-ri’-m[a] represents the incipit of the first incantation in the series HUL.BA.ZI.ZI (én sil<sub>7</sub>-la lú-érim-ma, see STT 241-247 and K. 255+ i 1 = Craig, ABRT 2, pl. 14-15.)

8) The gloss *takpertu* refers to ritual procedures of wiping down the king, see Linssen 2004: 148-149 and Hruša 2015: 142, as well as from CT 17, 1: 4, in which *takpertu* translates Sum. šu-úr-úr, similar to the correspondence in KAR 44: 8.

Since the first tablet of the Series Ā.SĀG.GIG.GA is unknown, the gloss *dī’ū maršūtu* presumably represents its missing incipit of the first incantation of the series.

ZĪ.SUR.RA.ME[Š<sup>sag</sup>]-ba-sag-ba : This incantation compilation and its incipit are known, see Schramm 2001 (incantations against the broken oath). This rubric and its incipit also appears in an Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+), see Geller 2000: 231 iii 20”-22”.

9) *sa-kik-ke<sup>4</sup>* SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ: The gloss at first looks like a phonetic rendering of Sum. SAG.GIG ‘headache’, although the incantations usually use Akk. *dī’u ša qaqqadi* or *murūš qaqqadi* as translations of this term; see e.g. CT 17, 26: 76-79. In fact, Akk. *sakikkû* is the word for ‘symptoms’ and often refers to the diagnostic omens or to the *Diagnostic Handbook*, which appears in l. 6 (SA.GIG) above and in l. 32 below. So instead of being a phonetic rendering of SAG.GIG, this gloss actually introduces incantations which record medical symptoms (diseases of the head and neck, etc.), and these incantations have corresponding medical recipes and prescriptions (*asûtu*) designed to treat the same symptoms. In effect, the gloss *sakkikê* intends to alert the reader to the medical nature of incantations appearing in this line. An Old Babylonian exemplar of this genre appears in YOS 11, 78 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA SAG.GIG.GA.KAM.

GÚ<sup>sag-gig</sup>SAG.GA.MEŠ: The gloss refers to the incipit of these medical incantations tagged with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GÚ.GIG.GA.KAM; see BE 31 No. 60 + AMT 29/4 = K. 2542 +, as well as AMT 46/1 and 47/3, but none of these medical incantations has our incipit.

10) For <sup>gu-ru-uš</sup>GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ, see Geller 2000: 231: 16, where this rubric appears in an Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+), with the full incipit reading, én guruš dingir siḡ-ga; the gloss gu-ru-uš in our line is either an abbreviation of this incipit or a phonetic gloss of the Sumerian word GURUŠ.

For ALAN.NÍG.Ē.SAG.ÍL.ME[Š]<sup>udug hul-ḡál-a mu-du-du</sup>, see Geller 2000: 231 iv 21-22, where the incipit is listed in the Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+) after this rubric (KA.INIM.MA ALAN.NÍG.SAG.ÍL).

11) The gloss *epištu* ‘ritual’ at the beginning of this line epigrammatically describes all three genres of texts listed, since these texts consisted of incantations and rituals specifically designed for the purification of cult objects, etc. The latest information on the *Bit mēseri* series sources can be found in Hruša 2015: 133 n. 349. For a discussion of the rubric KA.LUH.Ū.DA (as opposed to KA LUH), see Walker and Dick 2001: 98-100.

12) Cf. the Old Babylonian incantation in VAS 17, 31 with the rubric, KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BŪR.RU.DA.KAM. The last two genres of texts mentioned in this line (*Ušburrudû* and *Namerimburrudû*) are repeated in the following line, and the distinction between the two is probably that of incantation versus ritual. The gloss (*ma-mi-ta a-na pa-šá-ri*) most likely serves as a simple translation of the Sumerian. It is interesting to note canonical *Ušburrudû* tablets from Nineveh (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 117-125) are listed separately from *Maqlû* incantations in KAR 44.

13) KI <sup>4</sup>UTU.KĀM šá DINGIR LŪ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU: These prayers appear in *Bit rimki* texts (see Walker and Dick 2001: 131, 172, 175, and Læssøe 1955: 28-29, 57), and it is therefore possible that *ki’utukku*-prayers in this line refer back to *Bit rimki* rituals mentioned above in l. 11. The specific connection between these particular prayers and a personal protective deity is far from clear, since *ki’utukku* prayers were normally addressed to Šamaš, see Hruša 2015: 118-119, perhaps to enhance the relationship between the subject and his personal god. Note that KI <sup>4</sup>UTU.KĀM prayers also appear in l. 4 above. As mentioned, the assumption is that references in this line to *Ušburrudû* and *Namerimburrudû* refer to rituals, for which see Hruša 2015: 132-133.

*e-dep* IM <sup>4</sup>DIM<sub>8</sub>.ME.KE<sub>4</sub>: The reading *e-dep šāri*(IM) is confirmed by the reading in Ms. B l. 5’ (edited separately at the end of KAR 44), instead of the previous reading DAB IM (= *šibit šāri*, ‘flatulence’), but neither reading is problem-free. The expression *edēp šāri* occurs in a lexical text (Nabnītu F a 24’-25’ = MSL 16, 275) im-dal = MIN (= *e-de-pu*) šá IM, [š]u-bar-ra mu-un-ak = MIN (= *e-de-pu*) šá IM, showing the underlying meaning of this phrase refers to ghosts, as argued in Steinert 2012: 317-321, perhaps alluding to *Totengeist* incantations.

As for Lamaštu in this line, like the repetition of UŠ.BŪR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BŪR.RU.DA in KAR 44: 12-13, Lamaštu appears both in ll. 13 and 15, although in quite different contexts. Since many of the incantations mentioned in the present line have a connection with Šamaš, it is possible that the Lamaštu incantations follow a similar pattern (suggestion of U. Steinert).

14) HUL *ka-la*: This refers to the Universal Namburbi, see Maul 1994: 476, KA.INIM.MA HUL.MEŠ DŪ.A.BI NAM.BŪRU.DA.KAM, ‘incantation for undoing all evil’. All of the incantations in this line refer to remedies employed to rectify a specific problem, caused either by bad omens, witchcraft, guilt, nightmares or impotence, all of which have a dominant psychological dimension.

15) <sup>munus</sup> *lā al-r-du* <sup>munus</sup>PEŠ<sub>4</sub>.KĒŠ.DA: The gloss clearly shows that the pregnant woman being ‘bound’ indicated that she should not give birth prematurely; see the Old Babylonian incantations published in Finkel 1980 with the rubrics, KA.INIM.MA MUNUS.KĒŠ.DA.KAM.

MUNUS LA.RA.AH: See the rubrics in BAM 248 throughout, KA.INIM.MA MUNUS LA.RA.AH.A.KAM, cf. Stol 2000: 129, and for a description of the text, see Stol 2000: 64-72. See also BAM 244: 71.

For the rubric LŪ.TUR.HUN.GĀ within the context of Lamaštu-texts, see Farber 2014: 272 and generally in Farber 1989. All of the compositions in this line reflect difficult childbirth and paediatrics.

16) All the ailments (eye and dental disease, and *bu’šānu*) described in this line are known from medical prescriptions, but the compositions in KAR 44 refer specifically to *medical* incantations designed to help treat these diseases, i.e. incantations found within medical texts, for which see Collins 1999: 200ff., 262ff., and 185ff., and for *bu’šānu*, see Scurlock 2014: 394, 75, KA.INIM.MA *bu-’-šā-nu* DAB-su, ‘incantation (if) *bu’šānu* has seized him’.

17) ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>: An older exemplar of these incantations appears in YOS 11, 91 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM. See also Collins 1999: 136: 3 KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KĀM, ‘three incantations for internal disease’, and see *ibid.*, 170. All the compositions mentioned in this line are clearly medical in nature, designed to treat various forms of internal disease, such as flatulence; cf. Collins 1999: 163, [KA.INIM.M]A IM šá ŠĀ DAB-šú, ‘incantation for wind which attacks the inside’ (BAM 574 iv 34-40). There is actually no clear evidence from Akkadian medical texts that respiration

was associated with the lungs, and in fact the function of most internal organs was not clearly understood. This can be seen from descriptions of the second rubric in this line, MUR.GIG.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>, ‘lung disease’, which is often associated with *suālu*, ‘cough’, which also includes digestive problems. Cf. AMC I. 27: [DIŠ NA *su-a-lam ha-ha*] u ‘*ki-šir-te*’ <MUR. MEŠ> GIG, ‘if a person coughs from *suālu*-disease and suffers from constriction of the lungs,’ is the closest we find to a catalogue entry in the medical corpus against lung disease. In reality, lung disease was either treated as related to constriction of the windpipe and cough, problems associated with bile, or general conditions of the belly, and it is therefore difficult to find specific incantations devoted to the MUR.GIG or sick lungs. It may be for this reason that two of the later copies of KAR 44 preferred the variant reading GÚ.GIG, ‘sick neck’ in this line, although this same rubric (in the plural) appears above in KAR 44: 9. It cannot be ruled out, however, that this phrase could refer to the liver (UR<sub>5</sub>) rather than lungs, but this latter term is also poorly attested in magico-medical contexts.

The expression GIG DÛ.A.BI is similar to TU.RA KĪLIB.BA already encountered in KAR 44: 9 above, but the expression here may be an allusion to the incipit of *Muššu’u* Tablet 4, which reads, TU<sub>6</sub> *ta-ri-da-at ka-la mu-úr-š[ī]*, ‘incantation driving out all sickness’; see Böck 2007: 150. See also the two *Muššu’u* incipits appearing in the Assur incipit catalogue, in Geller 2000: 235.

18) MÚD KIR<sub>4</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.DA: This title refers to incantations (rather than recipes) to treat nosebleed, cf. Collins 1999: 179, KA.INIM.MA MÚD *ina* KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú *šur-du-ma* GIN-ku, ‘incantations for blood which flows and comes out from his nose’.

BURU<sub>8</sub>.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA<sup>du-ga-nu</sup> GIG : The disease *duganu* is known from a recipe (STT 96: 9 = Scurlock 2014: 493), DIŠ NA *du-ga-nu* DAB-su, ‘if vomiting seizes him’, but no incantation with either this incipit or rubric is known.

ŠĀ.SUR.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA<sup>[qa]-na šī-ta-šú</sup> : For the gloss, see the discussion in Geller 2000: 253, and incantations to halt diarrhoea are known under a somewhat different rubric, namely KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ SI.SÁ.KE<sub>4</sub>, ‘incantation against evacuation of the belly’, and see CAD E 356 for further attestations. Once again, all the compositions in this line are aimed specifically at medical problems rather than at general misfortune.

19) ZÚ MUŠ TĪ.LA: An Old Babylonian exemplar of this genre is known from VAS 17, 4, KA.INIM.MA MUŠ TĪ.L[A.KAM].

GĪR.TAB TĪ.LA: An Old Babylonian exemplar of this incantation genre is known from YOS 11, 1, with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GĪR.TAB TĪ.LA.KAM, and in VS 17, 10 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GĪR.TAB TĪ.LE.DA.KAM. Incantations against snake and scorpion bite are best known from Old Babylonian examples (see YOS 11 *passim*), but not from first millennium manuscripts.

SAG.NIM.NIM TĪ.LA<sup>BE NA sa-ma-nu</sup> GIG : The connection between *sāmānu*-disease and treating snake and scorpion bites (magically) is not clear, but the gloss in this line is not found among Samana incantations published in Finkel (1998: 71-106) and appears to be an incipit of a medical-type recipe.

20) GĪR HUL-*tīm* *ina* Ê LÚ TAR-is: These incantations have been treated by Wiggermann 1992: 41-104.

*dī-hu* : *šib-ṭa* NAM.ŪŠ.MEŠ *šu-tu-qí*: cf. Maul 1994: 472, referring to Universal Namburbi-lists against the evil of *dīhu šibṭu mūtānu*. The term *dīhu* is some form of fever, in contrast to the *dī’u*-disease in KAR 44: 8 above, associated with ‘taboo-disease’ or with headache and head-disease. No specific incantations, however, are known which are designed to avoid plague or pestilence, although these fit well into the general pattern of apotropaic magic in this line, i.e. preventing disease from happening rather than trying to cure it afterwards.

For SÍSKUR GABA.RI, see Schramm 2008: 49, KA.INIM.MA MÁŠ GABA.RI.GA.KE<sub>4</sub>, ‘incantation for the scapegoat substitute’, with the incipit *én á-sàg gig-ga su lú-ka mu-un-ḡál*, ‘*Asakku*-disease is present in a man’s body’. This incantation also relates to the rubric in CT 17, 1: 40 and 2: 14, KA.INIM.MA SÍSKUR GABA.RI ŠĀH.TUR.RA.[KE<sub>4</sub>], ‘incantation of the piglet substitute’ (Asag-gig incantations), referring specifically to a piglet as a substitute, which serves as means of preventing the disease associated with the Asag (or taboo)-demon from occurring, and is hence medical.



21) See SpTU 1, 6, listing Namburbi-rituals accompanying *Šumma ālu* omens, and these include the following (ll. 30ff.):

[NAM.BÚR].BI A.ŠÀ u <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> 'u' Í[D' .....]  
 'e-nu-ma DÛ<sup>7</sup> ÍD GIBIL  
 e-nu-ma KÁ ÍD i-pat-tu-u  
 ÉN ÍD SAHAR bi-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 A Namburbi-ritual for the field and garden and canal [.....]  
 when a new canal is made,  
 when the mouth of a canal is opened.  
 Incantation: canal, house-dust.

The gloss on the entire line, *he-pí eš-šú ri-da ga-ra-na : e-nu-ma ÍD ta-he-ru*, is clearly citing an incipit from a damaged original, which means that the *Vorlage* incantation was not known from other duplicates in Assur and probably somewhat rare. In line with the gloss *garānu* 'to heap up,' one may connect *ki-né-e* with *kinnû* 'mountain', cf. AHW 480, CAD G 82b, with reference to Nisaba, the grain goddess, meaning 'heaps of grain' (courtesy S. Panayotov). The rituals in this line break the pattern of medical incantations of previous lines and instead focus on protecting prosperity and material wealth. These rituals are not known and may have been almost as obscure to Kišir-Nabû as they are to us.

22) U<sub>4</sub>.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA: The term *rihišti Adad* can either refer to flooding or trampling of the storm god, and it appears among diseases listed in *Muššu'u* VI 23 (Böck 2007: 226), and see also Schwemer 2001: 62-63.

For the genre ZÚ BURU<sub>5</sub> DIB.BÉ.DA, cf. George and Taniguchi 2010.

*bar-bar* <sup>e-di-na</sup>EDIN.NA: The interpretation of 'wolf' in the steppe is not based upon any known text but is consistent with other genres mentioned in this passage. The variant reading *šā-māš il šēri* in Ms. f is likely to be an error or misunderstanding of the text.

23) EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE<sub>26</sub>.E.DÈ: similar rubrics appear in an incantation text, namely KA.INIM. MA LÚ.KÚR.Š[È EDIN.NA D]IB.BÉ.DA.KÁM, 'incantation to pass through the steppe towards the enemy', and KA.INIM. MA LÚ.KÚR LÚ.ÉRIM LUGAL.RA NU.TE.GE<sub>26</sub>.DA.KAM, 'incantation so that the enemy or foe do not approach the king', cf. Schwemer 2012: 212, 4 and 213, 26. The rubrics also occur in CT 22, 1: 21 (edition Fincke 2003-04: 122-123; Frame and George 2005: 280-281), in a letter from Ashurbanipal specifying what tablets should be brought from Borsippa for his library, many of which are included in KAR 44:

<sup>16</sup>ÉN <sup>dé-a</sup>u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-hi né-me-qa <sup>17</sup>li-gam-me-ru-ni pu-uh-hu-ru <sup>18</sup>ÈŠ.GAR MÈ ma-la ba-šú-ú <sup>19</sup>a-di IM.GÍD.DA.ME-šú-nu at-ra-a-ti <sup>20</sup>ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú <sup>21</sup>ina MÈ GI ana LÚ NU TE-e <sup>(rev.)</sup><sup>22</sup>EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA.KE<sub>4</sub> É.GAL.KU<sub>4</sub>.RA <sup>23</sup>né-pi-šá-a-nu ŠU.ÍL.LA.KÁM-a-nu

The incantation, 'Let Ea and Asalluhi supply wisdom', (and) the collection of the Series of War-(rituals), as many as exist, including their extra single-column tablets, as many as exist; *ina MÈ GI ana LÚ NU TE-e* ('may an arrow not approach a man in battle'); EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA.KE<sub>4</sub> 'to pass through the steppe'; É.GAL.KU<sub>4</sub>.RA ('entering the palace') (and) their rituals; *Šu'illa*-prayers.

Judging from this letter, it appears that the rubrics mentioned in this line refer to 'extra' (*atru*) tablets of War-rituals, perhaps meaning that they are non-canonical.

24) For this genre of text, cf. Stol 2011: 377.

25) EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ: The logical assumption is to assume that the 'stars' refer to celestial omens best known from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but such omens were later ascribed (post Kišir-Nabû) to the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* 'scribe of EAE'. Nevertheless, it may be that in Neo-Assyrian times celestial omens were being copied by the *mašmaššu*, in the same way that the KA.PIRIG-exorcist was responsible for diagnostic omens, while being designated as an exorcist (*āšipu*).

INIM.GAR NA<sub>4</sub> ZÌ: The phrase I<sub>5</sub>.GAR (*egerrû*, 'oracular utterance') appears to be an alternative to EŠ.BAR (*purussû*, 'verdict') in other Assur texts, such as LKA 137, edited by Finkel 1995: 272, which has the rubric, KA.INIM.MA EŠ.BAR

NA<sub>4</sub> <sup>giš</sup>NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>KUR.NU.[DAB], ‘incantation for an oracle based on alabaster and haematite’. Our assumption is that NA<sub>4</sub> in this line is an abbreviation of the full rubric known from LKA 137. Similarly, the term ZĪ for ‘flour’ in this line may equally be an abbreviation for some type of ritual flour, with *zidubdubbū* or *tappinmu* being likely candidates. For omens derived from smoke, flour, and birds, see Koch 2015: 138-142. However, the references in this line may not necessarily refer to the act of determining the oracle, but rather to devise a Namburbi-ritual to counter the omen predictions (EŠ. BAR and I<sub>5</sub>.GAR), which was much closer to the job of the exorcist.

26) For editions of the explanatory texts on plants and stones, *Šammu šikinšu* and *Abnu šikinšu*, see Stadhouders 2011 and 2012, and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 24-40. The list of stones mentioned in this line, to be used for amulets (i.e. strings and pendants) may be the same as that referred to by Ashurbanipal in his letter specifying which texts from Borsippa were to be brought to Nineveh, which included a *mal-ṭaru šā* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ, ‘listing of stones’ (CT 22, 1: 24, see Fincke 2003-04: 123).

28) GI.TAG.GA is presumably a word for the stylus (lit. ‘touching reed’), although no loanword has been identified. However, in KAR 44: 3 above we encountered the rare loanword *ginutaqqū* for ritual offerings, suggesting that an analogous reading could be proposed for GI.TAG.GA in this line, i.e. *qantaqqū*, which we would simply translate as ‘stylus’. See also the comment in Lenzi 2008: 88 n. 125, with all relevant references from CAD.

Mss. d and f add a phrase at the beginning of this line, NĪG.ZU.ŠĒ IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A GUB.BA (*ana ihzi tāmarti ukinnu*), which Frahm considers to be the continuation of the previous line and translates accordingly (Frahm 2011: 329). In fact, this phrase is a direct quote from the incipit of this same text, KAR 44: 1, *a-na* NĪG.ZU *u* IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A *kun-nu* (see above). These variants reiterate the importance of establishing text editions as the goal of scribal work, which was originally designed (*ibšimu*) by Ea; this in no way, however, supports the usually accepted idea of the god Ea being responsible for editing texts, as assumed from the list of ‘texts and authors’ (Lambert 1962: 64); this matter is discussed in more detail by the present author elsewhere in this volume (see Geller *infra*, pp. 44-45). However, from this point on, the remainder of KAR 44 is not actually concerned with text editions of known compositions but rather with lists of more esoteric topics from either the academic curriculum or intellectual property associated with the practice of exorcism.

30) Lenzi (2008: 88) translates *kullat nagbi nēmeqi* as the ‘entire totality of wisdom’, based on references in CAD, but there is little reason to ignore in this context the idea of the ‘depth’ or ‘source’ of wisdom within the semantic range of total knowledge, in particular since there is a parallel expression in the following line, namely *pirišti lalgar*, the ‘secrets of the abyss’. Referring to our line again, he translates *kakugallūtu* as ‘the secret exorcism corpus’, parallel to *niširti bārūti*, ‘secrets of extiscipy’ (Lenzi 2008: 88 n. 128). There is a difference, however, between *mašmaššūtu* and *kakugallūtu*, since the former categorises the entire scope of the profession of the *mašmaššu*-exorcist, while the latter refers only to the art of incantations and the purity (KÙ) implied by its application.

31) *i<sub>5</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>* GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN *u* KI: The correct reading of this phrase was discovered by S. Panayotov, and it is an improvement on the previous reading of the first word as *ka-nak*, ‘seal’ (or as Lenzi 2008: 89, ‘sealed’ or ‘sealed document’); no such sealing or sealed document of the plan of the cosmos is known from elsewhere and this is likely to be a fiction. Panayotov’s new reading allows us for the first time to interpret the title of an important esoteric text, usually rendered as *i-NAM* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI, which so far has defied decipherment (see Livingstone 1986: 19ff.). This new reading (*i<sub>5</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI for *i-na<sub>7</sub>* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI) refers to the ‘eyes (*inā*) of the plan of heaven and earth’, with ‘eyes’ being a common metaphor in all Semitic languages for a ‘spring’ or ‘source’, which is parallel to two other expressions in KAR 44: 30-31: *kullat nagbi nēmeqi* and *pirišti lalgar*, both referring to sources or springs of secret or esoteric knowledge, and both accord well with the idea of *inā ušurāt šamē u eršeti*, the ‘sources’ of the plans of the universe.

The term *lalgar* in KAR 44: 31 is a poetic term for the *apsū* (see Lenzi 2008: 89 n. 130) with the Abyss figuratively being the source of esoteric wisdom. Sennacherib inscriptions refer repeatedly to the *niširti lalgar*, ‘secrets of the Lalgar’ (see Lenzi 2008: 128 n. 312), and in fact the Sennacherib inscription describes Nineveh as follows:

*ašru naklu šubat pirišti ša mimma šumšu šipir nikilti gimir pelludē niširti lalgar šutābulu qerebšu*

A clever place, home of all manner of secrets and skilled works, within which all kinds of cultic rites, and secrets of the Lalgar (cosmic source) are interpreted. (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap3/corpus/>)

However, the closest parallel to our passage comes from *Marduk's Address to the Demons* (Udug-hul Tablet XI: 86), *ana-ku* <sup>a</sup>*asal-lú-hi ha-'-iṭ lál-gar ba-ši-mu giš-hur-ri*, 'I am Asalluhi (Marduk), who observes the Lalgar (cosmic source) and designs a (cosmic) plan' (see Geller 2016: 359). The associations are obvious, since we noted earlier that Ea 'designed' (*ibšimu*) the use of writing (see KAR 44: 28 above), while Marduk here adopts Ea's role and designs the plan (*bāšimu gišhurri*) of the cosmos after observing the 'sources' (*lalgar*); these terms are all metaphors for the sources of esoteric knowledge. In fact, the sources of information about the plans of the cosmos is how esoteric knowledge is defined in non-abstract Mesopotamian metaphor. A Late Assyrian commentary on this line of *Marduk's Address* (Geller 2016: 394) provides the following interpretation: MU *iš-šur-tú šā ina muh-hi* <sup>a</sup>UTU *iq-ta-bi*, 'this refers to what is called the "bird-symbol" which is above Šamaš'. This reference to a bird-like object (*iššurtu*) on one hand alludes to the winged sun-disk (*šamšatu*), but otherwise puns on *išurtu* / *ušurtu*, another term for a cosmic plan or design (GIŠ.HUR = *ušurtu*).

For the meaning of TU<sub>6</sub>.TU<sub>6</sub> BAR.RA as non-canonical (*ahū*) incantations, see the discussion elsewhere in this volume.

32) The dictionary translation of 'treatment' for *šipru* in this context (CAD Š/3 84) is plausible as a general expression but does not reflect any technical terms within either magic or medical texts or reflect any genre of therapeutic texts. However, the term *šipru* occurs repeatedly in Ashurbanipal colophons, including but not exclusively magical and medical texts (see BAK Nos. 319, 329, 338, and 339) referring to scribal 'work', and this cannot be coincidental, despite the fact that KAR 44 is earlier and from Assur. The meaning in our line has been adopted on this basis to refer to texts dealing with these kinds of diseases, rather than as a more limited reference to 'treatments' in the form of prescriptions.

The first four diseases mentioned in this line (*šimmatu*, *rimūtu*, *sagallu* and *sakikkū*) often occur together since they refer to various types of paralysis and muscular conditions. What these have in common is that they are all treatable through incantations and rituals as well as through medical prescriptions and are hence directly relevant to exorcism (*mašmaššūtu*). The first of these diseases, *šimmatu*, features in an incipit of an incantation which was widely applied (ÉN *šimmatu šimmatu*); it was included in an incipit catalogue from Assur (VAT 13723+) within the series *Muššu'u* (Geller 2000: 227 i 21'), as well as occurring in a separate and much more complete catalogue of *Muššu'u* incantations (Böck 2007: 18), and in other contexts (BAM 398 rev. 23, KA.INIM.MA *šim-ma-tu*<sub>4</sub>.KAM). The disease *rimūtu* often occurs together with *šimmatu* in recipes, but one medico-magical composition from Assur (with three manuscripts) identifies the conditions of *šimmatu* and *rimūtu* as being caused by a ghost; the diagnosis is similar to that of a medical prescription, but the treatment prescribed is purely magical, consisting of a ritual offering and accompanying incantation to be recited by the patient; see Scurlock 2006: 339-349. Incantations against *sagallu* appear frequently within *Muššu'u* incantations (see Böck 2007: 58 *et passim*), which makes sense if one is treating paralysis and muscular conditions through massage, which is the theme of *Muššu'u* incantations and rituals. The last disease, SA.GIG, is not well attested in its Akkadian equivalent *sakikkū* (as suggested by the variant in Ms. d).

*ši-bir-ti*<sub>11</sub> MĀ.LAH: the reading of this last medical condition is problematic. One solution is to adopt the variant reading of Ms. d, *šināti malāhi*, 'sailor's urine', as a form of *Dreckapotheke*, but this could also be a corrupt reading for *šibirtu*, which also has a variant learned orthography in KIN-ti for *šibir-ti*, based upon KIN corresponding to the near homonym *šipru*.

33) The next group of genres to be considered (KAR 44: 33-34) are all subsumed under the rubric of a *bulṭu* or 'recipe', a term which appears regularly in medical tablet colophons from Assur exorcists (i.e. from the 'Haus des Beschwörungspriesters'). It is worth noting that in the Assyrian library records collected by Parpola, *bulṭu* are listed separately from other compositions of *āšipūtu* (e.g. Parpola 1983: 15). The first four diseases mentioned in this line (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <sup>a</sup>LUGAL.ÜR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>a</sup>INANNA) appear in a Seleucid medical text (TCL 6, 34) which treats these diseases through a fumigation ritual which is both magical and medical; see Geller 2010: 173-175. Moreover, most of the diseases listed in this line are associated with *libbu*, the 'heart' (i.e. mind) and *hip libbi*, 'depression' in a unique Seleucid tablet, SpTU 1, 43 (see Geller 2014: 3) and hence have a psychological dimension which would be suitable for magic as well as medicine, despite being characterised as *bulṭu*, 'recipes'. The only disease listed here and not in SpTU 1, 43 is ŠU.GIDIM. MA, 'Hand of a ghost' (but listed in SpTU 1, 43: 13 among diseases of the thorax), and like the others, this particular condition has a rich history of treatment in both magic and medicine (see Scurlock 2006). None of the diseases mentioned in this line of KAR 44 are anatomical or associated with any particular region of the body, in contrast to the

‘head-to-foot’ ordering of diseases in other texts. One interesting example is KAR 31: 29, which has the following rubric (see Geller 2016: 38-40):

KA.INIM.MA GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ MAŠKIM <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.ÛR.RA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA A.LÁ.HUL AN.TA.ŠUB.BA *mim-ma šum-šú ana*  
MAŠ.MAŠ NU TE-*e*

Incantation so that the sheriff-demon (*gallû*), bailiff-demon (*rābišu*), epilepsy, ‘Accessory-to-evil’ demon (*mukil rēš lemutti*), *alû*-demon, ‘falling disease’ (*miqtu*), and whatever else should not approach the exorcist.

Many of these diseases are mentioned in ll. 33-34 of KAR 44. A similar list of diseases appears in a prayer to Marduk (KAR 26 and dupl., see Oshima 2011: 406: 28f. and 44f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 218f.: 38f., 54f.): AN.TA.ŠUB.BA LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU <sup>d</sup>INANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM ŠU.NAM.LU.U<sub>18</sub>.LU. Because these terms all represent both demons and disease names, they were the subject of both incantation-prayers and medical prescriptions, reflecting the complementary nature of Babylonian healing therapies.

36) Esagil-kin-apli refers to himself in his ‘instructions’ within the *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen below) as *išippu ramku*, which is archaic in terms of first millennium temple practices. The *išippu*-priest was important in the Old Babylonian period but afterwards the *āšipu*-priest appears to have taken over all his functions, although the similarity between the titles cannot be adequately explained.

The change of person is remarkable in this line, indicating that the second half of KAR 44 is actually advice to the reader, similar in vein to the style of Esagil-kin-apli’s ‘instructions’ within the *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen below), in which Esag-kin-apli speaks directly to the reader with words of advice, *it’id pitqad la teggi*, ‘Pay attention, check, do not neglect (your editions)!’ The remainder of KAR 44 is devoted to the ‘tools of the trade’, namely which texts to consult which will help the scholar in understanding his texts.

37) For NÍG.ZI.GÁL EDIN.NA, see Johnson and Geller 2015: 8-10, explaining this phrase in a Sumerian Edubba text as referring to a *šātu* (word-for-word) commentary; see also Frahm 2011: 41.

For INIM.BAL.E.NE, see Frahm 2011: 329 n. 1574, expressing uncertainty as to read ka- or inim-bal here, citing Akk. *nāpalû*, although a gloss in Nabnītu IV 77 (MSL 16, 79) gives the matter away: inim<sup>i</sup> = MIN (= *nāpalû*). Since the primary references to *nāpalû* are found in bilingual contexts, a meaning of ‘translation’ rather than ‘conversation’ might well be possible, but in any case, it seems clear that the art of translating is what is meant in KAR 44. But for inim-bal see PSD B 54-55. See also the following line in Examenstext A (Sjöberg 1974: 140: 14): inim-bal inim-sār-sār an-ta eme-URI<sup>ki</sup>-ra ki-ta e[me-gi<sub>7</sub>-ra] ... i-zu-u // INIM.BAL.E.DA *šu-ta-bu-la e-liš ak-ka-da-[a] šap-liš šu-me-ru ... ti-de-e* ‘you know ... how to translate and how to mix (meanings), with Akkadian above (the line) and Sumerian below (the line)’.

EME.SAL.MEŠ: See Frahm 2011: 329 n. 1575 and Bottéro 1985: 85, interpreting EME.SAL.MEŠ as *lišānātu*, as a technical term for synonym lists, ignoring the SAL component of this logogram. It is possible, however, to consider the reading here to be an Akkadian loanword *emesallu* (usually known as a type of salt). The word is used in KAR 44: 37 as a specialised meaning for ‘thesaurus’, with the logogram SAL corresponding to Akk. *uṣṣû* or *rapāšu*, both meaning ‘to widen, extend’, which in reference to language (EME) would be suitable for semantics and synonyms.

39) ZAG.GAR.RA: Because of the context of other medical symptoms in this line, the reference to ZAG.GAR.RA probably refers to ‘tithes’ frequently mentioned in the apodoses of the *Diagnostic Handbook*, e.g. Scurlock 2014: 93: 5; it is the patient’s failure to pay a tithe to the god (Šamaš) which has caused the symptoms. The logogram for tithes in this text is usually ZAG.10, but the writing ZAG.GAR is based on the usual equivalence of ZAG.GAR = *aširtu* and the homonym *ešrētu*, as already pointed out in CAD E 439. Another possibility is to take ZAG.GAR.(RA) as a term for the ‘liver’ (*amūtu*), based on a single lexical reference (CT 18, 49 obv. i 31-32, zag = *a-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>*, zag-gar = *a-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>*), and other entries in this list also refer to parts of the liver; the idea would be that since the expression ZAG GAR (lit. ‘positioned on the right’) occurs frequently in omen texts, it was cited as a keyword here.

A.ZA.AD A.ŠU.UŠ.MA: the terms A.ZA.AD and U<sub>4</sub>.ŠU.UŠ are both equated with *qaqqadu* ‘head’ in lexical lists and occur together as synonyms in Nabnītu I 78-79 (= MSL 16, 52), but no titles of texts are known by these terms. The logogram A.ZA.AD for *šuruppû*, ‘chills’, occurs in the *Diagnostic Handbook* (Tablet 17, see Scurlock 2014: 163: 14), and in the incipit of Udug-hul Tablet V, while the condition of *lu<sub>4</sub>tu* (Sum. *u<sub>4</sub>-šú-uš-ru*), ‘decay’ occurs frequently in Udug-hul

incantations (see UH III 142), but the latter disease also occurs in bilinguals as *ašāšu*, ‘to worry’ (see Schramm 2001: 83-84,  $u_4$ -šū-uš-ru // *tu-uš-šiš*), and this may explain the conflicting orthographies in KAR 44: 39. It may be that A.ŠU. UŠ.MA in Ms. A and  $U_4$ .ŠU.UŠ-*tu*<sub>4</sub> in Ms. d intend to provide logographic writings for Akk. *ašuštu*, ‘anxiety’, the lexical evidence for which is incomplete. On balance, we would favour understanding these terms as symptoms rather than as anatomical.

41) The translation interprets UR (phonetic for ŪR) DUB.LÁ as Akk. *išid dubli*, ‘base of the foundation platform’, another metaphor for learning, although Frahm (2011: 327 n. 1561) suggests reading the entire phrase as ‘the capable servant of the Dub-lá’, since Ur-dub-lá is attested as a Sumerian personal name. No less complicated is the phrase PAB.MIN.NA.BI in Ms. A, which has a variant BÜLUG.KAM in Ms. f. PAB.MIN is actually an esoteric writing for BÜLUG (PAP.PAP), which was employed by Esagil-kīn-apli in just this sense (Finkel 1988: 148 and see Schmidtchen below): *ina GEŠTUG<sup>1</sup> ni-kil-ti šá 40 u BÜLUG iš-ru-ku-šú*, ‘in the clever wisdom which Ea and the son (BÜLUG = Marduk) gave to him’ (referring to himself).

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E. Schmidtchen

### 3 The Edition of Esagil-kīn-apli's Catalogue of the Series *Sakikkû* (SA.GIG) and *Alamdimmû*

#### Manuscripts

- A ND 4358 + 4366 (Kinnier Wilson 1956: 130-148; CTN 4, 71 Pl. 44), 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, from Nimrud; Plate 14-15  
B BM 41237 + 46607 + 47163 (Finkel 1988: 143-159), 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, from Babylon (coll. 11/2014); Plate 16-17

1 A<sub>1</sub> [SAG DUB.MEŠ u] ʿŠU.NÍGINʾ MU.MEŠ ʿšaʾ SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.ʿNEʾ  
These are the names of the [tablet incipits and] the sum total of the entries of *Sakikkû*.

---

2 A<sub>2</sub> [x e-nu-ma ana É] ʿlúGIGʾ KA.PIRIG DU-ku  
[x (entries): “When] the KA.PIRIG goes [to the house of] a sick man”.

3 A<sub>3</sub> [x DIŠ NA ana É] ʿlúGIGʾ DU-ku  
[x (entries): “If a man] goes [to the house] of a sick man”.

4 A<sub>4</sub> [...] ʿx (x) biʾ GIBIL NU TIL  
[...] new, not finished.

---

5 A<sub>5</sub> [NIGIN x e-nu]-ʿmaʾ ana É ʿlúGIGʾ KA.PIRIG DU-ʿkuʾ  
[Total of ...]: “When the KA.PIRIG goes to the house of a sick man”.

---

6 A<sub>6</sub> [x] ana ʿGIGʾ ina TE-ʿkaʾ  
[x (entries):] “If you approach a patient”.

7 A<sub>7</sub> [x] DIŠ SAG.KI he-si-ma  
[x (entries):] “If he (feels) a pressing (pain in his) temple and ...”.

8 A<sub>8</sub> [x] DIŠ IGI 15-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú  
[x (entries):] “If his right eye hurts him”.

9 A<sub>9</sub> [x] DIŠ KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú <SA<sub>5</sub>-át>  
[x (entries):] “If his nose (is red)”.

10 A<sub>10</sub> [x] DIŠ EME<sup>1</sup>-šú SA<sub>5</sub>-ʿátʾ  
[x (entries):] “If his tongue is red”.

11 A<sub>11</sub> [x] DIŠ GEŠTU 15-šú tar-ʿkàtʾ  
[x (entries):] “If his right ear is dark”.

12 A<sub>12</sub> [x] DIŠ GIG pa-nu-šú SA<sub>5</sub>  
[x (entries):] “If the patient, his face is red”.

13 A<sub>13</sub> [x] DIŠ GIG ʿGÚ-suʾ [ana 15 NIGIN.MEʾ]  
[x (entries):] “If the patient, his neck [turns to the right?]”.

14 A<sub>14</sub> [x] DIŠ<sup>1</sup> rit-ta-šú šá 15 GU<sub>7</sub>-šú<sup>1</sup>  
[x (entries): “If his right wrist hurts [him]”].

15 A<sub>15</sub> [x] DIŠ] GABA-su GU<sub>7</sub>-[šú]  
[x (entries): “If] his chest hurts [him]”].

16 A<sub>16</sub> [x] DIŠ] SAG ŠÀ-šú [SA<sub>5</sub>]  
[x (entries): “If] his epigastrium [is red]”].

17 A<sub>17</sub> [x] DIŠ] gi<sup>1</sup>-liš 15-šú [SA<sub>5</sub>]  
[x (entries): “If] his right hip [is red]”].

18 A<sub>18</sub> [NIGIN x ana] GIG<sup>1</sup> ina TE-[ka]  
[Total of ...: “If you] approach [a patient]”].

19 A<sub>19</sub> [... (sa-di-ru<sup>2</sup>)] šá<sup>1</sup> SUR.GIBIL šab-[tu<sub>4</sub>]  
[... sections] for which an edition has been undertaken.

20 A<sub>20</sub> [x] DIŠ] UD<sup>1</sup> 1.KAM GIG-ma šá TAG-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>2</sup> [(x)]  
[x (entries): “If] he is sick for one day and”, “(entries/prognoses) which are ill-portending”].

21 A<sub>21</sub> [x] DIŠ] UD<sup>1</sup> 1.KAM GIG-ma SAG<sup>1</sup>-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú<sup>1</sup>  
[x (entries): “If] he is sick for one day and his head hurts him”].

22 A<sub>22</sub> [x] DIŠ<sup>1</sup> ina SAG GIG-šú IR bu-bu-<sup>1</sup>ta ir-ta-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>  
[x (entries): “If at the beginning of his sickness he constantly has sweat and boils”].

23 A<sub>23</sub> [x] DIŠ GIG SU-[šú <KÚM-im u SED>]  
[x (entries): “If the patient’s body [gets hot and cold]”].

24 A<sub>24</sub> [x] DIŠ i-mim u SED  
[x (entries): “If he gets hot and cold”].

25 A<sub>25</sub> [x] DIŠ GIG IR ú-<sup>1</sup>kal<sup>1</sup>  
[x (entries): “If the patient presents sweat”].

26 A<sub>26</sub> 60 40 DIŠ NIGIN SA.MEŠ SILIM.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ-ma<sup>1</sup>  
100 (entries): “If all of his sinews are healthy and ...”].

27 A<sub>27</sub> 60 20 8 DIŠ GIG iṣ-búr<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>2</sup> u 3 GIG ina še<sup>1</sup>-re-e-ti<sup>1</sup> il<sup>1</sup>-te-<sup>1</sup>né<sup>1</sup>-eb-bu  
88 (entries): “If the patient has been spasmodic, one, two and three (times and if) the patient keeps on groaning in the morning”].

28 A<sub>28</sub> 60 40 3 DIŠ ZÉ<sup>1</sup> ip-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>  
103 (entries): “If he vomits bile”].

1 Alternatively, read ir-ta-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[ši].



29 A<sub>29</sub> 60 60 10 ʿ4/7ʿ DIŠ ʿGIGʿ<sup>giš</sup>HAŠHUR URU<sub>4</sub>-iš  
137 (entries): “If the patient requests an apple”.

30 A<sub>30</sub> 60 20 5 DIŠ ʿIZIʿ. GAR šá ina SAG<sup>lú</sup>GIG kun-nu  
85 (entries): “If a lamp which has been set up at the patient’s head”.

31 A<sub>31</sub> ʿŠUʿ. NIGIN 10 4 UŠ 20 DIŠ UD ʿ1ʿ. KAM GIG-ma sa-ʿdi-ruʿ SUR. GIBIL šab-ʿtu<sub>4</sub>ʿ  
Total of 860 (entries): “If he is sick for one day and ...”; sections *edited*.

32 A<sub>32</sub> 60 DIŠ ŠUB-tu ŠUB-su-ma  
60 (entries): “If *collapse* befalls him and ...”.

33 A<sub>33</sub> ʿ60ʿ DIŠ NA mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma  
60 (entries): “If a man is stricken with stroke of the face and ...”.

34 A<sub>34</sub> ʿ(x)ʿ šum<sub>4</sub>-ma ŠU. GIDIM. MA ana AN. TA. ŠUB. BA GUR-šú  
[(x)]<sup>2</sup> (entries): “If *Šugidimmakku* turns into *Antašubbû*”.

35 A<sub>35</sub> 60 60 20 4 DIŠ ʿLUGAL. ÛR. RA ʿKIʿʿ. BI Û. TU  
B<sub>1</sub>ʿ [x (x)] ʿxʿ [...]  
144 (entries): “If *Lugalurra* is born with him”.

36 A<sub>36</sub> 60 20 4 DIŠ GIG-ma KA-šú BAD. BAD-ʿteʿ  
B<sub>2</sub>ʿ [...] ʿxʿ [...]  
84 (entries): “If he is sick and he constantly opens his mouth”.

37 A<sub>37</sub> ʿNÍGINʿ 4 2 UŠ ʿ20ʿ [(x x)] ʿxʿ ŠUB-su-ma SA. GIG ʿANʿ. TA. ʿŠUBʿ. BA<sup>su</sup>SUKUD. GIM  
B<sub>3</sub>ʿ [.....]-ʿsu-ma ʿSAʿ. [GIG ...]  
Total of 380+ (entries): [“If *collapse* befalls him and ...” (including?) the symptoms of *Antašubbû*; according to (topics) recorded (on the tablets?)].

38 A<sub>38</sub> ʿ60ʿʿ 20 1 DIŠ UD. DA TAB-su-ma  
B<sub>4</sub>ʿ [.....] ʿxʿ [...]  
81(?) (entries): “If *šetū*-fever has made him feverish and ...”.

39 A<sub>39</sub> [x+] DIŠ IM iš-bit-su-ma  
B<sub>5</sub>ʿ [ DIŠ] ʿIMʿ[...]  
[x (entries)]: “If wind has struck him and ...”.

40 A<sub>40</sub> [x+] DIŠ ʿGIGʿ GAR-šú EN ʿsaʿ-ma-nu ŠU<sup>d</sup>ME. ME  
B<sub>6</sub>ʿ [ DIŠ] GIG GAR-šú EN [...]  
[x (entries)]: “If the nature of the lesion” including “*Sāmānu* (is) Hand of Gula”.

<sup>2</sup> The copy of CTN 4, 71 shows no trace of a possible number, but indicates a slight damage.

- 41 A<sub>41</sub> [x+] DIŠ 'NA' ana 'MUNUS' ŠĀ-šú 'ÍL'-šú-ma  
 B<sub>7'</sub> [...] DIŠ NA ana 'MUNUS'-šú 'ŠĀ'-[šú ...]  
 [x (entries)]: "If a man is aroused towards a (var. his) woman and ...".

- 42 A<sub>42</sub> [x+] 'DIŠ' 'NA' IGI.ME-šú NÍGIN.'ME'-du'  
 B<sub>8'</sub> [...] DIŠ NA IGI.MEŠ-šú 'NÍGIN' [...]'  
 [x (entries)]: "If a man's face is constantly trembling".

- 43 A<sub>43</sub> [x] '3?' [x] 'UŠ' 5' DIŠ 'UD.DA TAB-su'-ma SUKUD.'GIM'  
 B<sub>9'</sub> [.....] UŠ 5 DIŠ UD.DA 'TAB'-su-ma [...]  
 [Total of x]+185? (entries): "If *šētu*-fever has made him feverish and ..."; according to (topics) recorded (on the tablets?).

- 44 A<sub>44</sub> 60 60 20 7 šum<sub>4</sub>-ma TU [PEŠ<sub>4</sub>-ma UGU SAG]. 'KI'-šú [SIG<sub>7</sub>]  
 B<sub>10'</sub> [x] '20?' 9 šum<sub>4</sub>-ma TU 'PEŠ<sub>4</sub>-ma UGU [...]  
 147/149 (entries): "If a fertile woman is pregnant and the top of her [forehead is green-yellow]".

- 45 A<sub>45</sub> 60 50 8 DIŠ munus[PEŠ<sub>4</sub>] 'GIG'-ma  
 B<sub>11'</sub> [x] '50?' 8 DIŠ munusPEŠ<sub>4</sub> GIG [...]  
 118 (entries): "If a pregnant woman is sick and ...".

- 46 A<sub>46</sub> 60 60 20 1 DIŠ MUNUS [.....] 'DU'-ku'  
 B<sub>12'</sub> '60?' 60 20 9 DIŠ MUNUS A-šá 'ina' UD 3.KÁM [...]  
 141/149 (entries): "If a woman's water flows for three days (i.e. over a three-day period)".

- 47 A<sub>47</sub> 60 60(?) '30' 2 DIŠ MUNUS 'ha'-[riš-tu i-di-ip i] 'giš'-šú  
 B<sub>13'</sub> 60 <60?> 20 2 DIŠ MUNUS ha-riš-'ti i-di-ip u 'i'-[giš-šú]  
 152/82 (entries): "If a woman in labour is bloated and belches".

- 48 A<sub>48</sub> 60 2/60! 20 '3/4' DIŠ lú[TUR] 'x' la'-ú  
 B<sub>14'</sub> 60 60 20 3/4 DIŠ lúTUR la-'[ú]  
 124 (entries): "If an infant, a suckling".

- 49 A<sub>49</sub> 'NÍGIN' 4/5? 6 'UŠ 40?' 2 munusPEŠ<sub>4</sub> [ ] GIŠ.GIŠ.A  
 B<sub>15'</sub> NIGIN 4/5? 6 UŠ '40?' [2 ] 'GIG'-ma GIŠ'.GIŠ'.[A]  
 Total of 642/702(?) (entries): "(If) a pregnant woman(?) is sick (and)"; properly arranged(?).

- 50 A<sub>50</sub> ŠU.NÍGIN 40 DUB.MEŠ 60 10 60 10 '60 10 60 10 60 10 6? 4?' [(x)]  
 'MU'.MEŠ šá SA.GIG ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ  
 B<sub>15'</sub> ŠU.NIGIN 40 <DUB.MEŠ> 60 10 60 10 60 10 'x' [...]  
 Total of 40 Tablets (and) 3000+(?) entries of *Sakikkû*; complete.

- 51 A<sub>51</sub> ša ul-tu ul-la 'SUR'.[GIBIL] 'la' šab-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 B<sub>16'</sub> ša ul-tu ul-[la ...]

That which since old times had never received an edition,

52 A<sub>52</sub> ù GIN<sub>7</sub> GU.MEŠ GIL.ṽMEŠ ša<sup>2</sup> GABA.RI<sup>7</sup> NU TUK  
B<sub>16</sub><sup>f</sup> [...]

and (which has been) like twisted threads for which there was no copy,

53 A<sub>53</sub> i-na<sup>i</sup> BAL-e m.d<sup>r</sup> IŠKUR-IBILA<sup>7</sup>-SÚM-na<sup>3</sup> ṽLUGAL KÁ<sup>7</sup>.DINGIR.ṽRA<sup>7</sup>  
B<sub>17</sub><sup>r</sup> ina BAL-e dIŠKUR-IBILA-MU LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup><sup>7</sup>

during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, King of Babylon,

54 A<sub>54</sub> GIBIL.BI.ŠÈ [DÙ<sup>7</sup>].ṽÀM<sup>7</sup> mÈŠ.GÚ.ZI-GIN-A A m<sup>r</sup>ASAL<sup>7</sup>.LÚ.HI-  
MA.AN.SUM

B<sub>17</sub><sup>f</sup> [.....] / m<sup>r</sup>ÈŠ<sup>7</sup>.GÚ.ZI-GI-A DUMU mASAL.LÚ.HI-  
MA.AN.SUM

to work it anew(?), Esagil-kīn-apli, son of Asalluhi-mansum,

55 A<sub>55</sub> AB[GAL] mha-ṽam<sup>7</sup>-mu-ra-pí LUGAL um-mat<sup>r</sup> d<sup>30</sup> li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>  
B<sub>18</sub><sup>f</sup> ṽABGAL<sup>7</sup> mha<sup>7</sup>-[x x] ṽx<sup>7</sup> [...] / um-mat<sup>r</sup> d<sup>30</sup> li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>

the sage of Hammurapi the king, the descendant of Šin, Lisi

56 A<sub>56</sub> [d]<sup>r</sup> na-na<sup>7</sup>-a bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-i ṽreš<sup>7</sup>-ti-i  
B<sub>19</sub><sup>r</sup> d<sup>r</sup>na-na<sup>7</sup>-a bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-i ṽreš<sup>7</sup>-ti-i<sup>7</sup>

and Nanaya, a prominent (citizen) of Borsippa (lit. a noble Borsippaeon),

57 A<sub>57</sub> [ZABA]R<sup>7</sup>.ṽDAB<sup>7</sup> É.ZI.DA pa-šiš<sup>d<sup>4</sup></sup>ṽI.ZU.ṽZU<sup>7</sup>  
B<sub>20</sub><sup>r</sup> ZABAR.DAB.BA É.ZI.DA pa-šiš<sup>d<sup>4</sup></sup>ṽI.ZU.ZU

chamberlain of the Ezida, anointed one of Nabû,

58 A<sub>58</sub> [x x] ṽDUB<sup>7</sup> [šī]-ṽmat<sup>7</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ sa-ni-qu<sup>5</sup> ṽmit-hur-ta<sup>7</sup>  
B<sub>20</sub><sup>r</sup> na-āš DUB šī-mat DINGIR.MEŠ sa-níq mi<sup>7</sup>-hur-ṽta<sup>7</sup>

who holds the tablet of the gods' destinies, who checks conflicting (versions),

59 A<sub>59</sub> [x x] ṽx<sup>7</sup> [x] ṽx<sup>7</sup> dNIN.ZÍL.ZÍL.LE<sup>7</sup> be-let tak-ṽné<sup>7</sup>-e ṽta<sup>7</sup>-[li-mat nar-mi-šú<sup>7</sup>]  
B<sub>21</sub><sup>r</sup> ṽi<sup>7</sup>-šip-pu ram-ku šá dNIN.ZÍL.ZÍL.LE be-let tak-ṽné<sup>7</sup>-e<sup>7</sup> ta-li-mat nar-mi-ṽšú<sup>7</sup>

the išippu (purification-) and ramku (ablution)-priest of Ninzilzil, patron-lady of careful preparation, close sister of his loved one (i.e. Nabû),

60 A<sub>60</sub> [ ] ṽEME.GI<sup>7</sup> u URI<sup>ki</sup> ina GEŠTU<sup>i</sup> ni<sup>7</sup>-kil-ti šá ṽ40<sup>7</sup> u ṽx<sup>7</sup> [...]  
B<sub>22</sub><sup>r</sup> ṽUM<sup>7</sup>.ME.A KUR EME.GI<sup>7</sup> u URI<sup>ki</sup> ina GEŠTU<sup>ii</sup> ni<sup>7</sup>-kil-ti šá 40<sup>i</sup>(50) u BÚLUG(PAB-PAB)

scholar of the land of Sumer and Akkad, with the skillful wisdom with which Ea and Marduk (or Gula?)

61 A<sub>61</sub> [x x (x)] ṽx<sup>7</sup> ina ka-bat-ti-šú uš-ta-bil-ma SA.GIG.MEŠ ṽx<sup>7</sup> [x x (x x)]<sup>7</sup>  
B<sub>22</sub><sup>f</sup> iš-ru-ku-ṽšú<sup>7</sup> / ṽina<sup>7</sup> ka-bat-ti-šú uš-ta-bil-ma SA.GIG TA UGU-hi EN  
GIR.ṽMEŠ<sup>7</sup>

3 Finkel (1988: 148 n. 40) reads SÚM.NA.

4 The copy of witness A (CTN 4, 71) reads HAL which might be a mistake for the similar DINGIR sign.

5 Possibly, emend to -iq<sup>7</sup>?

6 For the sign form of NIMIN in this manuscript cf. witness A line 67, which clearly reads 40 (NIMIN).

7 Finkel (1988: 148 n. 49) reads SA.GIG ṽiš<sup>7</sup>-[tu ...] which is hardly legible on the copy.

gifted him, in a *methodical* manner, he *undertook an edition* (lit. weaving together) of *Sakikkû* from the top of the head to the feet,

62 A<sub>62</sub> [.....] DAB.MEŠ-*ma ana* NÍG.ZU DU-*in it-id* [...]  
B<sub>24</sub> 'SUR'.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-*ma ana* NÍG.ZU DU-*in it-id* 'pit'-[*qad*]  
and he established it for instruction. Pay attention! Take care!

63 A<sub>63</sub> [...].ZU.ŠÈ NAM.BA.ŠE.'BÉ?'.[DA]  
B<sub>25</sub> [NÍG].'ZU'.ZU.ŠÈ NAM.BA.ŠE.BÉ.DA  
Do not neglect your knowledge!

64 A<sub>64</sub> [.....] 'x' GUB.BÉ *sa-kik-ka* 'x x' [...]  
B<sub>25</sub> šá NÍG.ZU NU GUB.BÉ 'sa'-*kik-ka ul* DU<sub>11</sub>.'GA?'.[*ma*]  
The one who has not obtained knowledge shall not speak (about) *Sakikkû*,

65 A<sub>65f</sub> [.....] 'x'-*a ul i-nam-bi* <*sa-kik-ka*> [ri]-*kis* ku-'ri?' 'ri?'-[*kis*? GIG?] / [(u) *ri-kis*? a]-'dir'-*ti*  
B<sub>26</sub> 'alam'-*dím-ma-a ul i-nam-bi sa-kik-ka ri*-'*kis* GIG' u *ri-kis* 'ku?'-[*ri* ...]<sup>8</sup>  
and tell (about) *Alamdimmû*. *Sakikkû* is a compilation concerning disease, depression [and anxiety],

66 A<sub>66b</sub> 'alam'-*dím-mu-ú bu*-'un?'-[*na-an-né-e* ...]  
B<sub>27</sub> 'alam?'-*dím-mu-ú bu-un-na-an-né-e la-a-nu*  
*Alamdimmû* (concerns) the (external bodily) features and shape,

67 A<sub>67</sub> [ ] šá 40 u [...]  
B<sub>27f</sub> 'ši'-*mat* NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.'LU' / [šá 40] 'u' BÚLUG(PAB-PAB)  
(reflecting) the fate of mankind which Ea and Marduk (or Gula?)

68 A<sub>68</sub> [x x] 'x x (x)' [(x)] 'x KÉŠ'-*su-nu* [x x (x x)]  
B<sub>28</sub> *i-ši-mu šá ÉŠ.GĀR ki-lal-la-an* 'KÉŠ'-*su-nu* DIŠ-*ma*<sup>9</sup>  
established. Regarding both series, their *arrangement* (lit. bundling) is a unity.

69 A<sub>69</sub> [x x] 'x<sup>10</sup> KUD?'-[*is* EŠ.BAR *ha*-'-iṭ [...]

B<sub>29</sub> [*a-ši-pu*/MAŠ.MAŠ?] KUD-*is* EŠ.BAR *ha*-'-'iṭ' ZI-ti UN.MEŠ  
[The exorcist?] who makes decisions, who watches over people's life,

70 A<sub>70</sub> [SA].GIG'-*ka u* 'x' [x x (x)] 'x x' [...]  
B<sub>30a</sub> [SA.GIG]'-*ka u* 'alam'-*dím-ma-a ka-liš* ZU-ú  
who knows *Sakikkû* and *Alamdimmû* in its entirety,

71 A<sub>71</sub> 'li-hi'-iṭ lib-ri 'lib'-[bi? ...]  
B<sub>30f</sub> 'li-hi'-iṭ lib-ri ŠĀ-bi / [liš-ta-bil?]-*ma ana* LUGAL ME-*a liš-kun*  
(he) shall inspect, check, [ponder], and offer (his) *interpretation* to the king.

<sup>8</sup> Witness B most likely omits the following [*rikis*] *adirti* in A.

<sup>9</sup> The sign looks rather like DAB.

<sup>10</sup> The traces in witness A could be interpreted as [i<sup>10</sup>MAŠ.MA]Š.

- 72 A<sub>72</sub> DIŠ SAG.DU IGI BAR-at ʿDINGIRʿ. MEŠ<sup>1</sup> : DIŠ [...]   
 B<sub>34f</sub> [.....] ʿxʿ KĀR ʿBARʿ-at DINGIRʿ. MEŠʿ / ʿDIŠ ŠĀ.NIGINʿ [inaʿ   
 SAG]. ʿDUʿ LÚ ʿ<<anaʿ>><sup>11</sup> 15ʿ sah-ru

“If the head *appears to resemble* the gods”. “If the curls on a man’s head turn (to) the right”.

- 73 A<sub>73</sub> [DIŠʿ] SAG.KI NU TUK : DIŠ ʿSIGʿ IGI-ʿšúʿ [...]   
 B<sub>36f</sub> DIŠ ʿSAG.KIʿ NU TUK / DIŠ SIGʿ IGI-ʿšúʿ 15 ka-ʿbarʿ

“If a man has no forehead”. “If his right eyebrow is thick”.

- 74 A<sub>74</sub> ʿDIŠ KIR<sub>4</sub> ʿšú a-rik : DIŠ ʿEMEʿ-šú nam-ʿrat x xʿ [...]   
 B<sub>38f</sub> ʿDIŠ KIR<sub>4</sub> ʿšú a-ri-ʿikʿ [:] ʿ(x) DIŠ EMEʿ-šú nam-ʿratʿ / DIŠ   
 ʿTE.MURUB<sub>4</sub>ʿ. MEŠ-šú ʿbaʿ-ʿlaʿ

“If his nose is long”. “If his tongue is shiny”. “If his cheek bone is pronounced”.

- 75 A<sub>75</sub> [DIŠ] ʿpaʿ-nuʿ<sup>12</sup>-šú GÍD.DA : DIŠ GÚ-ʿsuʿ GÍD. ʿDAʿ : DIŠ ʿGABAʿ [...]   
 B<sub>40ff</sub> ʿDIŠ paʿ-nuʿ-šú [GÍD].DA / ʿDIŠ GÚ (x)ʿ [GÍD].DA / ʿDIŠ GABAʿ-ʿsuʿ   
 GÍD.DA]

“If his face is long”. “If his neck is long”. “If (his) chest [is long]”.

- 76 A<sub>76</sub> ʿDIŠ is-quʿ<sup>12</sup>-bitʿ<sup>13</sup> GU<sub>4</sub> GAR-ʿinʿ [:] ʿDIŠʿ ALAM.DÍM.MA [...]   
 B<sub>43f</sub> [DIŠ] ʿis-qu-bitʿ GU<sub>4</sub>ʿ [...] / [DIŠ] ʿALAMʿ. DÍMʿ(NIMʿ).MA [...]   
 “If he has the hump of an ox”. “If the shape [...]”.

- 
- 77 A<sub>77</sub> [(x)] 10 2 ʿDUB.MEŠ alam-dím-mu-ú TA UGU-hiʿ EN ʿGİRʿ [SUR.GIBIL   
 šab-tu<sub>4</sub>ʿ]<sup>14</sup>   
 B<sub>45</sub> ʿ10ʿ 2 DUB.MEŠ alam-dím-ʿxʿ[...]   
 [Total of] 12 tablets of *Alamdimmu*; from the cranium to the foot; [edition undertaken].
- 

- 78 A<sub>78</sub> ʿDIŠʿ paʿ (x)ʿ [ana DINGIR]-šú ŠĀ.GI. ʿGURU<sub>6</sub> sa-dirʿ [:] ʿDIŠ x (x)<sup>15</sup>   
 SAG.DU-su ʿxʿ[x x]   
 B<sub>46f</sub> [DIŠ] ʿxʿ ana DINGIR-šú {erasure} ŠĀ.GI. ʿGURU<sub>6</sub>ʿ x (x)ʿ [...] / [DIŠ]   
 ʿxʿ ina DU<sub>11</sub>. ʿDU<sub>11</sub>ʿ<sup>16</sup>-šú [...]

“[If ... is] continuously (giving) a free-will offering(?) to his god”. “If ... (while speaking?) his head [...] / B: [If a man] while speaking [...]”.

- B<sub>48</sub> [2ʿ] ʿDUBʿ. MEŠ [níg-dím-dím-mu-ú ...]   
 [Total of 2ʿ] tablets of [*Nigdimdimmu* ...].
- 

11 Here as well as in B ll. 36ʿ-37ʿ the traces should be interpreted as scratches.

12 Or [DIŠ] ʿIGI.MEʿ-šúʿ?

13 The copy of witness A reads is-ʿÚR-SU/biʿ.

14 Finkel (1988: 151) restores ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ but according to the copy there does not seem to be enough space for this restoration.

15 Maybe ʿKI.MINʿ.

16 The traces could also be read GA.

79 A<sub>79</sub> [UD-*mā*<sup>2</sup>] ʾDINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ NAM.LÚ.ʾU<sub>18</sub>.LU? *za*<sup>1</sup>-*qí-iq*-ʾšá *ana*  
<sup>d+</sup>EN.LÍL-[*tí*<sup>2</sup> GAR-*nu*]

B<sub>49</sub> [x] ʾxʾ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ʾMEŠ NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub><sup>2</sup>.[LU ...]

“[When] the great gods [established] the *spirit* of mankind for *rulership*,

80 A<sub>80</sub> [ú<sup>2</sup> KA.TA].ʾDU<sub>11</sub>.ʾGA-šá *ana re-te-ed*-ʾdī<sup>2</sup>-šá ú-ʾkinʾ-*nu*

B<sub>50</sub> [(x x)] ú KA.TA.ʾDU<sub>11</sub>.[GA ...]

and established its (i.e. mankind’s) *utterance* for its constant guidance.”

81 A<sub>81</sub> [(x x)] 1 DUB ʾKA.TA.DU<sub>11</sub>.GAʾ-ú<sup>17</sup>

B<sub>51</sub> [...] (empty) [...]

[...] One tablet of *Utterance* (*Kataduggû*).

82 A<sub>82</sub> [.....] ʾxʾ GAL-*at*

B<sub>52</sub> [DIŠ MUNUS] ʾSAGʾ.DU<sup>1</sup> [GAL-*at*<sup>2</sup>]

“[If] the head [of a woman] is big”.

83 A<sub>83</sub> [DIŠ MUNUS SAG.DU] GAL-*at* GIBIL NU TIL

B<sub>53</sub> [x (x)] ʾx (x)ʾ [...]

“[If the head of a woman] is big”; new, not finished.

84 A<sub>84</sub> [DIŠ MUNUS ŠĀ<sup>2</sup>].ʾNIGINʾ SAG.DU-šú 15 GUR-*ru*

“[If (regarding) a woman, the curls(?)] of *her* head turn to the right”.

85 A<sub>85</sub> [x x DUB].ʾMEŠ DIŠ MUNUS SAG.DU GAL-*at*<sup>1</sup>

[Total of 2(?) tablets]: “If the head of a woman is big”.

86 A<sub>86</sub> [DIŠ TAG-*tum*<sup>2</sup> *ina* SAG].ʾDU NA BAR-*ma*ʾ [GAR<sup>2</sup>] EN ʾlī<sup>2</sup>-*ip*-ʾteʾ *pe-li-i*

“[If a *liptu*-mark] on a man’s head is *scattered* and [present]”, including “(If) the *liptu*-mark is light-red”.

87 A<sub>87</sub> [...] ʾx bi/qu ku<sup>18</sup> [x x DIŠ SAMAG<sup>2</sup> *ina*] ʾSAGʾ.DU NA ZAG GAR-ʾát<sup>2</sup><sup>19</sup>

ʾDUB/TAʾʾ *pe-en*-[*dī*]

[... “If an *umšatu*-mark] is present on the right side of a man’s head”, (including?) the tablet(?) (concerning) the *pin-dû*-mark(?).

88 A<sub>88</sub> [DIŠ *pi-in-du-ú*<sup>2</sup> *ina* SAG].DU NA [GAR (:)] DIŠ *ina* SAG.DU NAʾ]

ʾIBʾʾ.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ MIN *ina* ʾSAG<sup>2</sup>.KIʾʾ[x (x)]

“[If a *pindû*-mark(?) is present on] a man’s head”. “[If] *urāšu*-marks are situated [on a man’s head(?)]]”, (including?) “ditto on the [forehead(?) ...]”.

17 In witness A (CTN 4, 71 rev. 38), this line is inscribed in slightly smaller script over the ruling separating the incipits of the section *Kataduggû* from the following “If the head of a woman is big”.

18 It is possible that these traces represent the incipit of the sub-series *Šumma kurāru* (read: [DIŠ GI]Gʾ.P[EŠʾ ...]?).

19 Finkel (1988: 152) reads *zaq-pat* [Š]Ā um ud en [(x)], but an entry matching this reading is so far unattested in the witnesses of the *Šumma liptu* sub-series.

89 A<sub>89</sub> [...] ʾùʾ i-ʾbaʾ²-[ruʾ² (x)] ʾ(x)ʾ ʾx GĀLʾ²²⁰  
[...] and an *ibāru*-mark(?) [...] is present(?).

90 A<sub>90</sub> [NIGIN ... DUB].ʾMEŠʾ² [...] ʾliʾ²-[ipʾ²]-ʾtúʾ  
[Total of ... tablets: “If a(?)] *liptu*-mark(?)”.

91 A<sub>91</sub> [ŠU.NIGIN ... šá] ʾalam-dīm-muʾ-ú ʾZAG.TILʾ.LA.BI.ʾŠÈʾ GİŠ.GİŠ.A  
[Total of ... tablets of] *Alamdimmū*. Completed (and) *properly arranged*.

92 A<sub>92</sub> [ŠU.NIGIN ... SAʾ].ʾGIGʾ.MEŠʾ ʾalamʾ-dīm-muʾ-ú ʾmunusŠEŠʾ ʾABGALʾ²¹  
(Total of ... tablets of) *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū*, secret of the *apkallu*-sage.

93 A<sub>93</sub> [...] ʾlúʾ²TUʾ².RA TAG-ʾma MEʾ{-aʾ}  
(...) a sick man is touched and the *interpretation*(?).

## Notes

1) The reconstruction SAG DUB.MEŠ “incipits” was already proposed by Kinnier Wilson 1962. Since most of the other compendia catalogues with preserved heading also begin with this expression, this reconstruction is very likely. Cf. the *Šumma ālu* catalogue from Assur in Freedman 1998: 322 (SAG DUB.MEŠ *ša* DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD-*e* GAR ÉŠ.GĀR ʾMUʾʾ.NE [(x)])<sup>22</sup> and the Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44: 1 //: SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá *a-na* NÍG.ZU *u* IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A *kun-nu* PAP MU.NE),<sup>23</sup> see Geller *infra*, p. 296.

3) The reconstruction DIŠ NA *ana* É lúGIG follows the serial witness A of *Sakikkū* Tablet 2 (A 3439), which reads DIŠ NA *ana* É lúGIG DU-*ma* SÚR.DŪ<sup>mušen</sup> *ana* 15-šú DIB-*iq* (...), see Labat 1951: 6. But witness D (LKU 98) differs to some degree (DIŠ UD-*ma* *ana* É GIG KA.PIRIG DU-*ku* / SÚR.DŪ<sup>mušen</sup> *ana* 15 NA DIB-*ma*), offering a phrasing reminiscent of the incipit of *Sakikkū* Tablet 1. Cf. also the catchline in witness D (BM 38362) of *Sakikkū* Tablet 1, see George 1991: 144. Finkel (1988: 146) inserts a ruling after line 3 in his transliteration of the catalogue, which is not in the copy of manuscript A (CTN 4, 71).

4) As is known from the serial witnesses, the first section of *Sakikkū* consisted of two tablets, registered in lines 2-3 of the catalogue. Line 4 seems to contain an editorial remark. But differently from other occurrences in the catalogue, where such remarks are found in the ruled-off summary sections following the total (of entries) and the section title, the fragmentary line 4 is not ruled off from the preceding incipits (cf. ll. 19, 31, 37, 43, 49). The traces ([...] ʾx aʾ biʾ GIBIL NU TIL “[...] new, not finished”) suggest that this section or possibly only its second tablet contained some newly arranged material, but that the redaction process was not completed. Cf. also the section on women in the *Alamdimmū* catalogue (ll. 82-84), where the remark GIBIL NU TIL “new, not finished” is added to one the enumerated tablet incipits, at the end of line 83. Since the remnants of the first signs in line 4 do not resemble the end of one of the previous lines (both end in DU-*ku*), it is uncertain whether one should restore one of these incipits or take the traces as they are. Possibly, read ʾKÉŠʾ.BIʾ or ʾx DŪʾ.Aʾ.BIʾ (“its *arrangement* / all of it (is new, not finished)”).

20 The traces could be interpreted either as GI, ZI or GĀL.

21 Finkel (1988: 152) reads *niširti E[zida]* (ʾSAL.ŠEŠʾ é-[zi-da]) instead of NUN [M]E).

22 Copy in Weidner 1941-44: pl. 3 ii 6' (VAT 9438+).

23 The Babylonian witnesses of the Exorcist’s Manual (d and f) begin somewhat differently: KA DUB.MEŠ.

6) The incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 3, which is cited in abbreviated form in the catalogue, can be restored [ana G]IG ina TE-ka EN É[N ana NÍ-ka] ŠUB-ú ana GI[G NU TE-hi] [“When you approach the sick man, [do not approach the sick] man before you have cast a spe[ll over yourself]” (Scurlock 2014: 13). R. Labat has previously suggested that the incipit alludes to the prophylactic incantation KAR 31 (ÉN ġá-e <sup>lu</sup>kîġ-gi<sub>4</sub>-a dingir gal-gal-e-ne), which was spoken by the *āšipu* before approaching the sick man (Labat 1951: 18-19 n. 27). A commentary on *Sakikkû* Tablet 3 recently identified by E. Jiménez (BM 55491, CCP 4.1.3B; Jiménez and Schmidtchen, forthcoming) confirms this assumption and connects the introductory reference in *Sakikkû* 3 further with another core text of *āšipūtu*, the spell Udug-hul 3: 124-145 (ÉN ġá-e <sup>d</sup>namma me-en ġá-e lú <sup>d</sup>nanše me-en), see Geller 2016: 114-120.

9) The restoration of SA<sub>5</sub>-át at the end of the catalogue incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 6 stems from the citation of the tablet incipit in the Late Babylonian commentary SpTU 1, 31 (W 22307116): 39 (catchline).

12-13) The phrase DIŠ GIG (+ body part) appears sporadically within the *Sakikkû* catalogue, see ll. 12 and 13 (= *Sakikkû* Tablets 9<sup>24</sup> and 10), l. 23 (= *Sakikkû* 18) and possibly also ll. 27 and 29 (= *Sakikkû* 22 and 24). But in contrast to the witnesses of several tablets of the second section of *Sakikkû* from Nineveh, whose incipits frequently begin DIŠ GIG, the catalogue seems to omit GIG in most instances, see the incipits of *Sakikkû* Tablets 5 (attested as catchline on Tablet 4), 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21<sup>25</sup>, 22, 23 (attested as catchline of *Sakikkû* Tablet 22, which is actually a Neo-Babylonian witness). Since GIG is not grammatically integrated into the conditional clause, it has to be regarded as a topicalisation clarifying that the context of the examination is a sick person – not to be confused with the examination of a healthy person by means of physiognomic omens (*Alamdimmû*).

13) The restoration of the incipit of *Sakikkû* 10 is based on the serial witnesses A (AO 6679, Neo-Babylonian), B (K. 3687+, Neo-Assyrian), and C (LKU 86, Neo-Babylonian), see Labat 1951: 80; Scurlock 2014: 74. Since the catalogue incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 9 differs from that of the serial witnesses (see above), it is possible that the fragmentarily preserved catalogue incipit of *Sakikkû* 10 may have been different as well, cf. the third entry in *Sakikkû* Tablet 10: DIŠ GÚ-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú (*Sakikkû* 10: 7).<sup>26</sup>

19) The translation and interpretation of the idiomatic phrase SUR.GIBIL *šabtû* is discussed elsewhere in this volume. See especially Schmidtchen *infra* 3.1.1. as well as Steinert *infra*.

27) The serial witnesses of *Sakikkû* 22 (A = AO 6678 (Neo-Babylonian), B = K. 2603 (Neo-Assyrian) and C = K. 2203+ (Neo-Assyrian)) preserve only an abbreviated version of this incipit (DIŠ GIG ina še-re-e-ti il-te-né-eb-bu, Heeßel 2000: 250). The verbal form *iš-bûr* could be connected either with *šabāru* I “to move quickly; to flit; to wink, squint (with the eyes)”, in transferred meaning “to whisper; to chirp” or with *šabāru* II “to recurve sth., to bend” (AHw 1065-1066). Both verbs are sparsely attested in diagnostic texts, and a connection of *iš-bûr* in the present passage with the verb *šapāru* “to pinch (hard); to press in, to incise” (AHw 1082) cannot be excluded. The verb *šabāru* probably refers here to an unstable or jerky movement of the patient and could tentatively be translated as “he is spasmodic” or “he squirms” (cf. Heeßel 2000: 258; Scurlock 2014: 188 translate the verb with “to groan”).

29) Due to the slightly damaged sign it is unclear whether one has to restore the number 4 or 7. In comparison with the number signs 4 (NÍG) and 7 (IMIN) preserved in other lines of witness A (see e.g. CTN 4, 71 obv. 35 (NÍG) and rev. 1 (IMIN)), both readings are possible.

<sup>24</sup> The incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 9 attested in the serial witnesses ([šumma maršu] pānūšu zu'ta ukāl u iktanattam) differs from the one given in the catalogue (šumma maršu pānūšu sāmū), the latter of which forms the second entry in the manuscripts of Tablet 9.

<sup>25</sup> The incipit is not attested on a serial tablet, but it is found as incipit and rubric in a commentary to *Sakikkû* 21 (FLP unn. 73 obv. 1 and 14, Heeßel 2000: 247).

<sup>26</sup> It is noteworthy that the same symptom (GU<sub>7</sub>-šú) occurs within the incipits of the following Tablets 11 and 12, cf. also the incipit of *Sakikkû* 5.



31) The signs before SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*<sub>4</sub> have been read previously as SA x 'SA' in Finkel (1988: 147), but the copy of witness A (CTN 4, 71) suggests the reading *sa-ṛ-di-ru* which is underscored by the similar phrase *sa-di-ru šā* SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu* in comparable rubrics of the AMC (II. 58, 122 and 123), see Steinert et al. *infra*.

34) The copy of witness A (CTN 4, 71) indicates a slightly damaged area, but no sign traces at the beginning of the line, whereas Finkel (1988: 147) restores the number '60?' as the number of entries in *Sakikkū* Tablet 28. In the standard version of *Sakikkū*, Tablet 27 and 28 are abridged to one physical tablet<sup>27</sup> consisting of a total of 54 entries all together. Thus, it could be assumed that the preceding number of 60 entries mentioned for *Sakikkū* Tablet 27 in line 33 of the catalogue may also have referred to both Tablets 27 and 28 in the catalogue. In this case, no number was inscribed at the beginning of line 34. If this interpretation is correct, it would imply that both tablets were already abridged at the time of the series' compilation by Esagil-kīn-apli. However, one should note that the summary rubric in line 37 counts 4 2 UŠ '20?' [(x x)] = 380+ entries for the section, which is a higher number than the 346 entries preserved for Tablets 26-31 in lines 32-36. Therefore the restoration of '60?' in line 34 cannot be excluded on the basis of the serial witnesses from the first millennium alone, and it is possible that the total number given in line 37 for the entries in section 4 was in fact 408.

36) A serial tablet of *Sakikkū* 30 has not been identified, but ND 4368 (CTN 4, 72) vi 1' begins in the same way as the incipit of *Sakikkū* Tablet 30 in the catalogue (DIŠ GIG-*ma* KA-šú BAD.BAD-*te*).<sup>28</sup> The preceding passages in CTN 4, 72 (especially col. i) contain similar entries as *Sakikkū* Tablet 27 focussing on demonic attacks.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it is possible that CTN 4, 72 belongs to a varying recension of the standard series *Sakikkū* or to the so-called "Second Diagnostic Handbook".<sup>30</sup>

37) Cf. also the discussion concerning the total of entries for the section, in the commentary to line 34 above. It is notable that the summary in line 37 does not only repeat the section title ("If *collapse* befalls him"), but appends the phrase "(including) symptoms of *Antašubbū*/epilepsy", providing additional information about the contents or main topic of the section. Such references to topically related information are also attested in AMC, where they are usually introduced by *adi* "including; together with", which is omitted in line 37 of the *Sakikkū* catalogue. Such additional information is not found in other section rubrics in the catalogue. It is noteworthy however that in some instances, the contents of individual *Sakikkū* tablets are registered in the catalogue not only by listing the respective tablet incipit, but by appending additional citations from entries included on a tablet, which are either introduced by *adi* (see II. 40 and 86) or appended in an unintroduced format (II. 20, 87(?)).

The reading SUKUD is confirmed by the gloss <sup>su</sup>SUKUD. The phrase and editorial remark SUKUD.GIM encountered in line 37 (proposed reading *kīma šūlī* "(structured) according to (topics) recorded (on the tablets)") could refer to a sectional arrangement, in which each tablet has its own topic, as implied by the incipits of *Sakikkū* Tablets 26-30, in contrast to a "sectional order" (*sadīru*) found in *Sakikkū* sections 2 and 3 (= *Sakikkū* Tablets 3-14 and 15-25), in which all constituent tablets are arranged according to one ordering principle (e.g. "from head to toes" in section 2). See the discussion in Schmidtchen *infra* 3.2.1.

38-39) Of *Sakikkū* Tablets 31-32, only Tablet 31 (with a fragmentary incipit matching line 38 of the catalogue) is attested in textual sources. But it is interesting to note that treatments for the diseases *himiṭ šēti* and *šibiṭ šāri*, which indicate

<sup>27</sup> See Heeßel 2000: 297-317. Three witnesses (A (= AO 6680), B (= A 3441), C (= SpTU 3, 89)) bear the complete text of both tablets on one physical tablet. Witness D of *Sakikkū* Tablet 28 (CTN 4, 70) is fragmentary and only preserves some lines of the tablet's last section. It is thus not possible to say whether also this Neo-Assyrian text contained the text of Tablets 27-28. None of the witnesses insert a rubric at the end of the text of Tablet 27, only a ruling. However, the beginning of Tablet 28 is marked in witnesses A/B through an additional DIŠ ("one (item)") preceding the incipit (see Heeßel 2000: 307, 315). Cf. also the comments on SUKUD.GIM in line 37 as well as the detailed discussion in Schmidtchen *infra*.

<sup>28</sup> See Stadhouders 2011: 44; Scurlock 2014: 223. This incipit is also attested as catchline in a manuscript of *Sakikkū* Tablet 29 (Heeßel 2000: 323': 87').

<sup>29</sup> See the entries in CTN 4, 72 i 3'-9', 10'-14' and 26' are similar or parallel to *Sakikkū* 27: 14-15, 16-17, and 18.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Stol 1991-92: 43 and Heeßel 2000: 102 and 107-108. See further STT 89 for another first millennium witness of this alleged series. See also Labat 1956 for a Middle Babylonian witness.

the topics of *Sakikkû* 31-32, are also grouped together within therapeutic contexts. See e.g. the Assur text BAM 146 (VAT 13793), which is concerned with treatments for *himiṭ ṣēti* and related symptoms and presents a catchline that echoes the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 32 *verbatim* (*šumma šāru išbissuma magal ēm*).

40) For the use of *adi* (EN) in the *Sakikkû* catalogue, see Schmidtchen *infra* 3.1.2.

41) For a discussion of the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 34, which is attested as catchline in a manuscript of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33, see Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.1. The complete incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 34 reconstructed from this serial witness (DIŠ NA ana MUNUS-šú ŠĀ-šú ÍL-šú-ma [ana MUNUS BAR]-ti ŠĀ-šú NU ÍL-šú MUNUS BI ŠĀ-[šú ...] “If a man feels sexual desire for (his/a) woman but he does not feel sexual desire for [another?] woman: this/his woman [has ...] his heart/desire [...]”) suggests that this tablet dealt not only with potency loss, usually connected with the term ŠĀ.ZI.GA. The incipit could rather indicate that the topic of *Sakikkû* 34 was concerned with minor magical acts, which induced various symptoms such as peculiar behaviour patterns (e.g. excessive wailing) and changes in usual capabilities (e.g. loss of potency). This is furthermore underscored by the commentary SpTU 2, 39 (W 22730/2) which shows a nearly identical incipit with that of *Sakikkû* Tablet 34 as the title of the composition on which it comments (see also Frahm 2011: 128), and which comments explicitly on magical practices referred to in an apodosis of the source text (rev. 6': [...] ta mu : NA BI ina kiš-pi du-um-ma “[...] : this man has been brought to tears by sorcery”).

42) No serial witness of *Sakikkû* Tablet 35 has been identified so far, but the symptom listed in the incipit (*šumma pānūšu iššanundū*) suggests that *Sakikkû* 35 was concerned with illnesses attributed to witchcraft. “Trembling(?) of the face” is frequently attested as a symptom of witchcraft-induced ailments, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011.<sup>31</sup> The non-canonical diagnostic text STT 89 also seems to begin with this main symptom and continues with illnesses due to different types of sorcery throughout the obverse (up to line 102, e.g. “cutting of the throat”, “hate magic” and “seizing of the mouth”), see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 434ff.

43) See the comment on line 37 above and the discussion of SUKUD.GIM in Schmidtchen *infra* 3.2.1.

44-49) This section of the catalogue is preserved in both witnesses, but they show considerable differences in a number of details. Line 44 (= *Sakikkû* Tablet 36) registers 60 60 20 7 = 147 entries in witness A against [60 (60<sup>2</sup>)]<sup>20</sup> 9 = 149(?) entries given in witness B. Similarly, in line 46 (= *Sakikkû* Tablet 38), witness A counts 60 60 20 1 = 141 entries against <sup>60</sup> 60 20 9 = 149(?) entries in witness B. Further divergences in the number of entries are found in line 47 (= *Sakikkû* Tablet 39), where A gives this time a slightly higher total (60 60 <sup>30</sup> 2 = 152) than B with (60 <60<sup>2</sup>> 20 2 =) 82/142(?) entries. Also line 48 (= *Sakikkû* Tablet 40) offers two different numbers: witness A reads (60 120<sup>2</sup>/60<sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>3</sup>/4<sup>2</sup> =) 143/144/204(?) against (60 60 20 3/4<sup>2</sup> =) 143/144(?) in B. The summary rubric for *Sakikkû* section 6 (l. 49) seems to give an identical total of 642 entries in both catalogue manuscripts (read 4 6 UŠ 40 2 (in A) and 4 6 UŠ <sup>40</sup> 2<sup>2</sup> (in B)). Note that the 4 (UŠ) at the beginning of the total has been interpreted by Finkel (1988: 148) as a mistake for 5 (UŠ), since a total of 702 would come closer to the total of entries listed before for the individual tablets of section 6, which is in minimum 682 and in maximum 712. However, it is noteworthy that the totals given in the preserved series witnesses are much lower than in the catalogue,<sup>32</sup> and one has thus to assume a textual reduction, see Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.1.

46) The reading <sup>DU</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup> in witness A is confirmed by the catchline of the serial witness A of *Sakikkû* Tablet 37 (A 3348 rev. 3'), which reads [DIŠ MUNUS A-šá (ina<sup>2</sup>) UD] <sup>3</sup>.KĀM DU-ku [(x x)] GE<sub>6</sub> IGI GAR-ši “[If a woman's (amniotic) fluid] flows [for] three [days (...)], trouble is set for her” (cf. Labat 1951: 216, with a different interpretation of the signs).

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. BAM 317 rev. 24 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49 Ms. C sub 3), BAM 214: 1 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 247 text 8.1 Ms. A). See also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 275: 31 and KAR 80 obv. 1 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 294 text 8.4. Ms. A). Similar are BAM 231 obv. 1 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 337 text 8.7 Ms. A<sub>1</sub>) and AMT 13/4 + BAM 460 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 417 text 10.4. obv. 1).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the preserved rubrics in *Sakikkû* Tablets 36, 37 and 40, which count 114 (Tablet 36), 64 (Tablet 37), and 112 entries (Tablet 40). See Labat 1951: 212, 216, and 230.

46-47) Up to now, no serial witness could be identified for *Sakikkû* Tablets 38 and 39. For possible source texts, cf. also Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.1.

49) The summary rubric for section 6 of the diagnostic series shows a further peculiarity, since it seems to label the section with the title <sup>munus</sup>[PEŠ<sub>4</sub> ?] GIG-*ma*, which would rather correlate with the incipit of the second tablet (= *Sakikkû* 37) than with the expected incipit of the first tablet (= *Sakikkû* 36, *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* TU PEŠ<sub>4</sub>-*ma*). It is possible that the label in line 49 is a descriptive designation for the whole section (“(for) a [pregnant] woman being sick”, cf. also the discussion on line 36 above). Note that at least the serial witnesses of Tablets 37 and 40 designate the section by the incipit of its first tablet (*šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* TU PEŠ<sub>4</sub>-*ma*). For a tentative interpretation of GIŠ.GIŠ.A as *šūtešur* “properly arranged”, see Schmidtchen *infra* 3.2.2. Cf. likewise the commentary on line 91 of the catalogue below.

51-52) For the phrase SUR.GIBIL *lā šabtū* in this section cf. Schmidtchen *infra* 3.1.1. See also Kinnier Wilson 1956: 138, Lieberman 1990: 333 n. 182; Stol 2007: 241-242, Frahm 2011: 326-328, Wee 2015: 251-255. It is uncertain whether the verb *šabātu* should be considered as a singular or plural form. The grammatical forms used in ll. 19, 31, and 62 as well as in AMC ll. 58, 122, and 123 (cf. the comment on l. 31) suggest a plural, but the introduction with *ša* in this case could also indicate a subordinate clause with singular subject. The logograms GEN<sub>7</sub> GU.MEŠ GIL.MEŠ (l. 52) may hint at a plural form of the verbal subject. Thus, apart from the usual interpretation as *kīma qê itgurūti* “like entangled threads”, the whole passage *ša ultu ulla zarā lā šabtū u kīma qê etgurū ša gabrē lā irašši* could also be translated “(The (series) ‘Symptoms’ (*Sakikkû*), for which (pl.) since old times no edition had been undertaken, but (which) was twisted (stative, pl.) like threads, for which there was no copy ...”).

53-54) For the reading of the names cf. Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.3. with additional literature. Notice the slight differences in the use of certain logograms (for Adad-apla-iddina, A: <sup>m.d</sup>ʾIŠKUR-IBILA<sup>ʾ</sup>-SŪM-na<sup>ʾ</sup> LUGAL KÁ<sup>ʾ</sup>.DINGIR.ʾRA<sup>ʾ</sup>, B: <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-IBILA-MU LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ʾki</sup>; for Esagil-kin-apli, A: <sup>m</sup>ĒŠ.GŪ.ZI-GIN-A A<sup>m</sup>ʾASAL<sup>ʾ</sup>.LŪ.HI-MA.AN.SUM, B: x ĒŠ<sup>ʾ</sup>.GŪ.ZI-GI-A DUMU <sup>m</sup>ASAL.LŪ.HI-MA.AN.SUM). The phrase GIBIL.BI.ŠĒ [DŪ?].ʾĀM<sup>ʾ</sup> in line 54 of witness A may have stood in the broken passage of line 17' in witness B.

55) The exact meaning of *ummatu* is still uncertain. Finkel (1988: 149 n. 57) assumes the meaning “descendant”. See also Jursa 2001-02: 84 II 5' (in connection with a list of “temple personnel”). A more neutral rendering “(a member of a group of cultic) personnel” could likewise cover the attested contexts referring to temples and deities.<sup>33</sup>

57) For the equation of <sup>d</sup>Ī.ZU.ZU with Nabû cf. Pomponio 1978: 158-159.

58) The title “the one who checks the opposing (things)” (or: correspondences?) could refer to omens in the series *Sakikkû* that contradict each other and have to be brought into harmony with each other. It is not entirely certain whether this and the second title in line 58, “the one who holds the tablet of destinies of the gods” refers to Nabû as divine scribe and patron of the scholar, or whether it refers to Esagil-kin-apli and his outstanding capabilities of dealing with contradicting omens and traditions – a circumstance alluded to at the beginning of Esagil-kin-apli's editorial note in l. 52.

59) Nanaya (here named Ninzilzil)<sup>34</sup> usually appears as the “twin-sister; close sister” or “favourite sister” (cf. AHW 1310, s.v. *talimtu*) of Šamaš and as the daughter of Sîn, but not as sister of Nabû who is usually considered to be her consort. According to Finkel (1988: 149 n. 61) one should consider translating the word *talimtu* here as “lover”.

55-59) Since the beginning of line 55 presents an epithet of Asalluhi-mansum and not of Esagil-kin-apli, it is uncertain whether the epithets of Esagil-kin-apli continue from the latter half of line 55 onward (... *um-mat* <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>na-na-a

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also the meanings given in CAD U/W 117 “main contingent, unit (of an army or workforce), mainstay, principal support, main part (of something), pack (or animals)”.

<sup>34</sup> Ninzilzil is the Emesal name of Nanaya who is also associated with Ištar in her connections with sexuality and desire. Cf. for example the syncretistic hymn KAR 109, see also Reiner 1974. Cf. also Finkel 1988: 149 n. 60.

*bār-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-i ʿreš-ʿti-ʿi*) or whether they are resumed at a later point (line 60?). However, since the respective passage is concerned with attributing authority and competence to Esagil-kīn-apli, it is relatively likely that the epithets “noble Borsippaeen” and “*ummatu* of Sīn, Lisi and Nanaya” refer to him and not to Asalluhi-mansum. Especially the association of Nabû with the Ezida (cf. line 57) and his strong connection with Borsippa during the Middle Babylonian period (at least since Marduk-šāpik-zēri und Adad-apla-iddina), further hint at Esagil-kīn-apli as the subject of the epithets in ll. 56-57. In line 59, where the scholar is described as *išippu*- and *ramku*-priest of Ninzilzil, a further connection is drawn between Nabû and Nanaya/Ninzilzil. This connection is attested especially in the post-Old Babylonian periods, when Nabû and Muati became syncretised and when Nabû took over from Muati the association with his spouse Nanaya.<sup>35</sup>

60-61a) As Finkel (1988: 149 n. 62) has argued, the first deity, written in abbreviated form with the number 40<sup>17</sup> (in witness A) and mistakenly with 50<sup>36</sup> for 40<sup>17</sup> (in witness B) should represent Ea, the god of wisdom and magic, since he is usually responsible for human fate and associated with the lore of exorcism or conjuring. Finkel identifies the following cryptic signs PAB-PAB/BÛLUG with Ea’s son Marduk/Asalluhi who is considered as the patron of the *āšipu par excellence*. This view has been contested by E. Frahm (2011: 327 n. 1561) who interprets PAB-PAB as a spelling for Nisaba or Gula, which finds support in some equations of the form PAB-PAB with ME.ME, a varying rendering of Gula’s name.<sup>37</sup> Alternatively, the signs PAB-PAB could be interpreted as *ba<sub>14</sub>-ba<sub>14</sub>*, another one of Gula’s names.

On the other hand, M. Geller stresses the point (as Finkel before him did) that one should expect Marduk/Asalluhi standing next to Ea/Enki in such a sequence, especially since both are most closely connected with the profession of *āšipūtu* and appear regularly together within incantations. According to Geller *infra*, PAB-PAB should be read BÛLUG, standing for the homophonous word BULUG, which is rarely used for Akk. *aplū* or *bukru* “(first-born) son”,<sup>38</sup> a designation that would perfectly fit Marduk standing next to his father Ea. However, since Frahm’s arguments (see above) offer direct equations of the form PAB-PAB, i.e. for the deity Gula, this proposition is likewise worth considering and should still be regarded as an option until new evidence is available.

The phrase in line 60 itself resembles the corresponding formulation in KAR 44: 41 //, where Ea and Marduk/Gula are said to have bestowed wide understanding (GEŠTUG.(MIN) DAGAL.LA GAR.RA.NA (var. SUM.MU) on Esagil-kīn-apli, see Geller *infra*, p. 311).

62a) Cf. the similar formulation in KAR 44: 1 (*šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DUG.A kun-nu* “which are established for teaching and reference”).

62b-63) See Finkel 1988: 148, n. 50 and 57, citing the text K. 2596 rev. iii 24’ with a similar passage *it-id pit-qad la te-gi la te-ʿmi?* [...] “Take care! Pay attention! Do not be neglectful! Do not ...!”. The logographic phrase in line 63 of the *Sakikkû* catalogue is equated with Akk. *ana ihzika lā teggi* (cf. also the Diviner’s Manual, Oppenheim 1974: 200: 71 for *it-i-id la te-eg-gi*). For a different interpretation of the expression *ana ihzi kunnu* see Geller *infra* commentary on KAR 44: 1 //.

64a) The phrase NÍG.ZU NU GUB.BÉ has been interpreted by Finkel 1988: 148 n. 51 as a logographic spelling of the common Akkadian expression *ihza lā kašādu* “not to be versed in the precepts (of a craft)” (cf. CAD I/J 47 sub *ihzu*). Since the equation of GUB with *kašādu* is not attested so far in lexical lists, it could be speculated whether the signs GUB BI represent a cryptographic syllabic spelling *du:kaš*, to be read *kaš-du* (stative). Other possible readings for GUB are *kānu* (i.e. “whose knowledge is not firm for him”) or *izuzzu*, which are however not attested in this negative formulation with *ihzu* (*lā X*).

35 Cf. Pomponio 1998: 21 §§ 4-5. See also the remark about “Nanaya of the Ezida, whom Nabû loves” going into the *bīt mummi* of Nabû-šuma-iškun of Babylon (SpTU 3, 58 ii 7f.; RIMB 2, 119).

36 The number 50 (NINNU) conventionally represents Enlil.

37 See Frahm 2011: 327 n. 1561, with additional literature and attestations. The “Weidner God List” identifies PAB-PAB with Nisaba, Gula and a mother goddess (see also the Syllable Alphabet A, and the Middle Babylonian Syllable Alphabet). Note further the passage in KAR 44: 41 //, which presents varying forms of the name: PAB.MIN.NA.BI (witness A), <sup>d</sup>ME.ME.KE<sub>4</sub> (witness d) and BÛLUG.KAM (witness e). The pairing of deities is also similar to the sequence of deities in the *lišlim*-formula found in Late Babylonian scholarly texts, which likewise uses the form AN-AN (maybe a pseudo-syllabic spelling for *a<sub>11</sub>-a<sub>11</sub>*, i.e. Aya = Ea).

38 See Sjöberg 1967: 216f.; cf. further CAD B 308f. *Bukru* can also be written with the logogram PAB.

64b-65a) Finkel (1988: 149) translates the phrases *Sakikkû ul iqabbi* and *Alamdimmu ul inambi* as “(he) must not speak/pronounce aloud (the *Sakikkû* omens/*Alamdimmu*)”.<sup>39</sup> But these expressions may also refer to the activity of reading ominous signs, e.g. “he shall not *diagnose* symptoms nor *determine* physical signs”. Since the noun *qibu* derived from *qabû* (DU<sub>11</sub>) can mean “interpretation; prognosis, diagnosis”, it is possible that the verb *qabû* could likewise mean “to diagnose” in the context of *Sakikkû*.

65b) The expression *rikis murši* “the compilation of (all forms of) sickness” is attested several times as a regular circumscription of SA.GIG in commentaries.<sup>40</sup> This explanation of the series title may have emerged from its use in the Esagil-kin-apli catalogue, and is underscored by the common rendering of SA (usually Akk. *šer’ānu* “sinew; muscle”) as *riksu* “compilation/bundle” (also often equated with *napharu* “all”) in the commentaries on the diagnostic series from the second half of the first millennium BCE.<sup>41</sup> The following expressions in line 65 of the catalogue, *rikis kûri* “the compilation (lit. bundle) concerning depression” and *rikis adirti(?)* “the compilation concerning distress” (the latter of which is probably omitted in witness B), are otherwise not attested as descriptive titles for the diagnostic series.

68) The phrase KĒŠ-su-nu DIŠ-ma (*rikissunu ištēnma*) “their arrangement (or: structure) is one” possibly refers to the *a capite ad calcem* organisation principle, which is encountered in the two main sections of the diagnostic and physiognomic series (*Sakikkû* section 2<sup>42</sup> and *Alamdimmu* sub-series 1).<sup>43</sup> Cf. Finkel 1988: 149, n. 64 who renders šā ĒŠ.GĀR *kilallān* as “(regarding) the twin-series”.

69) The characterisation of the *āšipu(?)* (restored in the break at the beginning of line 69) as *pāris purussê* “the one who determines the (oracular) decision” is otherwise not attested, but the expression is used idiomatically to describe oracular decisions, predictions and prognoses, which partially belong to the field of *āšipūtu* (i.e. celestial signs, signs stemming from animals etc.) and to the field of *bārūtu* (extispicy), cf. CAD P 533f. s.v. *purussû* sub 3. Note also Marduk’s self-description in *Marduk’s Address to the Demons* (Geller 2016: 355 l. 65: *ana-ku<sup>44</sup> asal-lu-hi<sup>45</sup> HAL pu-ru-us-su-u pa-ri-is hal-hal-li* “I am Asalluhi, seer who gives decisions, who assigns lots”), which shows him in the role of a seer who gives oracular decisions. The restoration of <sup>46</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ or *a-ši-pu* at the beginning of line 69 of the catalogue follows Finkel 1988: 148, and is further supported by the traces in witness A, which suggest the reading [<sup>46</sup>MAŠ.MA]Š.

The second characterisation of the healer as *hā’it napišti niši* “who watches over people’s life” is reminiscent of several divine epithets such as *hā’it/hayyiṭ niši* “who watches over the people” for the god Dayyānu or *hayyiṭ urti gimri* “who watches over all commands” for Nusku.<sup>44</sup>

71) The restoration follows Finkel 1988: 148 l. 71. For the idiomatic use of (w)*abālu* Š together with *libbu*, *kabattu*, and *karšu* as “to ponder” cf. CAD A/2 28 sub 10d.<sup>45</sup>

Following Finkel 1988: 150, n. 65, ME-a is interpreted as *qiba* (accusative), a noun which is regularly used with *šakānu* in divinatory texts, to refer to the activity of prognostication (see the attestations in CAD Q 249 s.v. *qibu* sub 4).

72) Only one textual witness can be ascribed with certainty to “If the head *appears to resemble* the gods”, which preserves traces of five or six lines, a catchline and the beginning of a rubric designating it as first tablet (of *Alamdimmu*). Cf. further the *ahû*-tablet TBP 64 related to *Alamdimmu* Tablet 1 (Böck 2000: 262). B. Böck (2000: 24) interprets the whole sentence tentatively as “Wenn ... das Abbild der Götter ist”, regarding the phrase BAR-at DINGIR.MEŠ as Akk. *maṭṭalat ilī/ilāni* “an image/resemblance of the gods”. Böck also points out similarities between the beginning of *Alam-*

<sup>39</sup> See also Heeßel 2010: 141, translating the passage “(...) Wer kein Wissen erwirbt, der soll die Einträge des Diagnosehandbuchs nicht lesen noch soll er die physiognomischen *alamdimmu*-Omina erklären. (...)”.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the commentaries on *Sakikkû* Tablets 1 (a = AO 17661: 47), 5 (SpTU 1, 31: 33f.), and 36 (SpTU 1, 39, rev. 9’).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the *Sakikkû* commentary to Tablets 13 and 12/14(?) (a = GCCI 2, 406: 7).

<sup>42</sup> See Heeßel 2010: 141, Wee 2015: 253.

<sup>43</sup> The sub-series *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* and the tablets concerned with moles and body marks in the sub-series *Šumma liptu* of the physiognomic series are also organised in this way.

<sup>44</sup> See for both attestations CAD H 159, sub *hātu*.

<sup>45</sup> More often *libbu* + (w)*abālu* G is attested with the meaning “to wish, yearn”, cf. CAD A/1 21f. sub 5d.

*dimmû* 1 and a passage in the god-list AN = *Anum* (CT 24, 45-46 vii 50-69), see Böck 2000: 24, which equates different body parts with certain deities and features the same expression in CT 24, 45: 49-50.

The interpretation of the logograms IGI (in witness A) vs. [... IGI].KÂR (in witness B) remains difficult. However, a reading of IGI as *inu* “eye” should be rejected because of KÂR in witness B. IGI.KÂR is conventionally equated with *barû* “to see”, which also means “to check; inspect; to establish by observation”. If IGI.(KÂR) is to be identified with a form of *barû*, it could be a reference to the context of examinations of the human body, from which these omens stem. The literal wording of this phrase would then be “If the head has been examined (and) it (resembles) the image of the gods” – supposing that this resemblance refers to special features of divine statues or divine iconography in general.

The restoration of the incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 2 is based on the serial witnesses A (K. 227+ obv. 1, TBP 2a) and C (K. 3804 obv. 1, TBP 3a), and on the catchline of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 1 A (K. 12484 rev. 7', TBP 1), see Böck 2000: 71-72. It is conspicuous that all serial witnesses preserve the syllabic spelling *ti-ra-nu* “curls”, whereas witness B of the catalogue gives the logogram ŠĀ.NIGIN.

73b) The incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 4 is attested as catchline in manuscripts of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 3, see witnesses A (K. 8071, TBP 5) and B (K. 3815+, TBP 6) in Böck 2000: 96: 135. However, no textual sources for Tablet 4 have been identified yet.

74) Apart from the catalogue, the incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 5 is not preserved on serial witnesses. The incipits of Tablets 6 and 7 are otherwise attested only as catchlines on Tablet 5 Ms. A (W 22660/7a+ = SpTU 4, 151) and Tablet 6 Ms. A 2 (W 22695 = SpTU 4, 150), see Böck 2000: 98: 37 and 104: 88.

75b) The pronoun (GŪ)-*su* given in the catalogue incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 9 is omitted in the catchline preserved on a manuscript of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 8 Ms. A (K. 6473+, TBP 7), see Böck 2000: 116: 148. According to Finkel (1988: 151 n. 72), manuscript B of the catalogue likewise omits the *-su* after GABA in the incipit of *Alamdimmû* 10 in line 75c (B l. 42'), which might also be the case for GŪ in B l. 41. The new join of *Alamdimmû* Ms. A with K. 7956 (identified by the author) now allows a full reading of the catchline (DIŠ GŪ GĪD.DA ŠĀ.HUL *i-šarru*(LUGAL) U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šū *i-šu* “If (his) neck is long: happiness, he will be rich, (but) his days will be few”). Since no serial witnesses of Tablet 9 are attested, it is uncertain whether the pronominal suffix was generally omitted in the source texts or only in the respective catchline.

75c) Cf. the varying incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 10 mentioned in the unpublished *Alamdimmû* commentary BM 38788 (CCP 3.7.2.J): 10 (DIŠ GABA DAGAL-aš).

76a) The signs at the beginning of the line have been misunderstood in Finkel 1988: 151 and Böck 2000: 15 as ‘UMBIN’, but the *Alamdimmû* commentary BM 38788: 23 preserves DIŠ *is-qu-bit* GU<sub>4</sub> GAR as incipit of *Aladmimmû* Tablet 11, thus clarifying the partially damaged passages of the catalogue witnesses A and B. Cf. Böck (2000: 126f.) who assumes a discrepancy between the catalogue and the preserved catchline in a witness of *Alamdimmû* tablet 10 (Ms. E = K. 6407, TBP 9a). This manuscript preserves two independent ruled-off lines before the colophon. The first line ([DIŠ] ‘x-x-bit’ [G]U<sub>4</sub> GAR DAM-su TAG<sub>4</sub>-šū : ‘TAG<sub>4</sub>’ [...] “[If] he has the ... of an ox, his wife will leave him, var. leaving [...]”) seems to agree with the incipit of *Alamdimmû* Tablet 11 given in the catalogue (DIŠ *is-qu-bit* GU<sub>4</sub> GAR), but the second line (DIŠ ‘ap-par-ri ku-ri’ u ti-ik-ki [...] “[If he has matted hair, is short and the neck ...]”) is puzzling (it may refer to a differing incipit or text section not mentioned in the catalogue).

76b) No witness to *Alamdimmû* Tablet 12 has been identified. It is interesting to note that, differing from the usual practice of naming a series according to the incipit of the first tablet, in this case the incipit of the last tablet was chosen as the name for the sub-series as well as for the whole physiognomic series. In accordance with the incipit *šumma alamdimmû* “If the form (or: shape)”, it can be assumed that this tablet was concerned with general signs derived from the shape of the whole human body. The tablet may have included entries concerned with behavioural peculiarities during actions such as walking, as is suggested by some commentaries<sup>46</sup> and *ahû*-tablets.<sup>47</sup> See further the *Alamdimmû*

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Böck 2000: 246 ll. 114-119 witness E (K. 12087, TBP 12e) and F (BM 65706).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Böck 2000: 272-274 ll. 105-126 witness A<sub>1</sub> (K. 141+, TBP 22), e (BM 66963), and f (K. 2166+, TBP 24).

commentary BM 38788 (CCP 3.7.2.J) ll. 24-30. The mention of ALAM = *lānu* (in l. 25 of the commentary) underscores the suggestion that *Alamdimmu* Tablet 12 was concerned with observations derived from the whole body or from a person's *habitus*.

77) Finkel (1988: 151) restores ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ in the break at the end of the summary line for the sub-series *Alamdimmu*. But in terms of space one could rather suppose fewer signs missing in the gap. Since the sub-series *Alamdimmu* is organised in an *a capite ad calcem* structure (see ll. 72-76), which is highlighted in the editorial note as a special feature of Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial programme, the editorial remark SUR.GIBIL *ṣab-tu* (cf. ll. 19 and 31) could also form a possible restoration at the end of line 77.

78a) Just a small fragment from the end of *Nigdimdimmu* Tablet 2 has been identified (Ms. A = K. 9779+, TBP 53) so far. Thus, the reading of the incipit of *Nigdimdimmu* Tablet 1, "If ... constantly gives a free-will offering" (DIŠ x (x) *ana* DINGIR-šú ŠÀ.GI.GURU<sub>6</sub> *sa-dir*), is not confirmed by textual sources. A similar section in connection with the "throne" (BÁRA) is attested in the *Šumma ālu* excerpt tablet K. 2192 obv. 8: DIŠ BÁRA *a-na* DINGIR-šú ŠÀ.GI.GURU<sub>6</sub> *sa-dir* (CT 40, 8), followed on the reverse by entries attributed to *Šumma ālu* Tablet 8. See *Šumma ālu* Tablet 11 in Freedman 1998: 182.

78b) The reading of the traces in A is uncertain (except for the last signs SAG.DU-*su*) and in need of collation. Witness B suggests the reading *ina dabābīšu* (*ina* DU<sub>11</sub>.<sup>71</sup>DU<sub>11</sub><sup>72</sup>-šú). The only identified serial fragment of this tablet (A = K. 9779+, TBP 53) also indicates omens drawn from a person's behaviour during speaking, see Böck 2000: 128f. See further the fragment K. 12495 + 82-3-23, 56, which may likewise be part of K. 9779+ and which lists similar omens beginning with the phrase DIŠ *ina da-ba-<sup>73</sup>bi<sup>74</sup>-[šú ...]*, see Kraus 1939: 13. Cf. further the possible Middle Babylonian forerunner PUM 4501<sup>48</sup> in Kraus 1936-37: 222-226.

The name of the sub-series, NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA or *Nigdimdimmu* in Akkadian, has been formerly interpreted as "äußere Form" (Böck 2000: 16 and 128) or "appearance" (CAD N/2 212f. s.v. *nigdimdimmu*). But in the light of the incipits of *Nigdimdimmu* listed in the catalogue, which refer to a person's behaviour and actions, one could propose to interpret the title *Nigdimdimmu* as "deeds" or "actions" (cf. the equations with *epšētu* in Igituh 389ff. and HAR-ra = *hubullu* XI 348f., see CAD N/2 121 lex. section). Thus, this section of the physiognomic omen series seems to have been concerned with behavioural omens *stricto sensu*. It is likely that both *Nigdimdimmu* and the following sub-series *Kataduggu* are steeped in human behaviour that is interpreted in ethical and moral terms. In this connection, it is conspicuous that witness A does not insert a summary rubric for the sub-series *Nigdimdimmu*. The incipits of *Nigdimdimmu* are inscribed on a single line (l. 78) followed by a ruling and the tablet incipit of *Kataduggu*.

79-80) The incipit of the single-tablet section *Kataduggu* can be restored following the incipit preserved in the serial witnesses (A = K. 3994+, TBP 54 + 59, and E = CTN 4, 74); the first signs in line 79 probably have to be read as *e-nu-ma* or *UD-ma* (see Böck 2000: 130). In its phrasing, tone and mythological allusions, the incipit of *Kataduggu* is rather unusual for a "divinatory" series, which seems to underline the more morally oriented content of the omens, which are partially reminiscent of precepts uttered in proverbs and wisdom texts, cf. Böck 2000: 41f., Böck 2010: 204-206, and generally Kraus 1936.

81) In witness B, the summary rubric is inscribed in a separate ruled-off line (but the inscribed text is completely lost in the gaps). In witness A, the summary rubric was written over the ruling separating the incipits of *Kataduggu* from those of the following section *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*.

82-83) Several texts representing witnesses that belong to the section *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* "If a woman has a large head" (lit. "is big-of-head") have been published in Böck 2000: 152-173, but none of them preserves an incipit.<sup>49</sup> Since this section of the catalogue is likewise fragmentary, it is difficult to provide a firm reconstruction of the section

<sup>48</sup> Formerly published with autography in Lutz 1919: 155f.

<sup>49</sup> Note Böck 2000: 172 witness 6 A l. 7' (BM 30209), which may have preserved the rubric [DIŠ ...] SAG.DU GAL-*at ana* [...]. The main witness for the section is K. 6190+ (Böck 2000: 152ff., 4 A), a large eight-column tablet of which only the reverse is preserved. The omens begin with the ears of a woman and move downward to the toes, followed by more elaborate entries that combine multiple body features for a prognosis.

and clear attribution of the textual sources to specific tablets of the section. Line 83 of the catalogue in witness A is unusual, adding the editorial remark “new, not finished” (GIBIL NU TIL) to a tablet incipit (this phenomenon is also encountered at the end of the catalogue section listing the incipits of *Sakikkû* section 1 (witness A line 4)). Furthermore, it is unclear why the incipit of the first tablet of *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* stated in line 82 is repeated once more in line 83, as the traces seem to suggest ([...] GAL-at GIBIL NU TIL). It is not excluded however that the incipit cited in line 83 differed from that of *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* Tablet 1 and thus represents an additional tablet, recently added to the section.

84) Until now, no serial witness has been identified for this tablet of *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*. But the possible join of K. 6551+ (+) K. 8625 suggests that at least in the Neo-Assyrian period, the text of the whole sub-series could have been compiled on one physical tablet. K. 8625(+) is concerned with different characteristics of women’s hair on its obverse and could have belonged to the main witness for the subseries (K. 6190+), see the argument in Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.2. If this interpretation is correct, the sequence of the tablets would have been reversed in comparison with the order of the catalogue, possibly analogous to the organisation to the physiognomic omens drawn from the male body in the sub-series *Alamdimmû*.

Conspicuous but not extraordinary is the use of the third person masculine pronominal suffix -šû instead of the assumed feminine form -šá in this line of the catalogue.

86) The first incipit of the sub-series on skin moles (with the reconstructed title *Šumma liptu*) is further explained in the catalogue by registering content included in the tablet, which is introduced by *adi* (EN) “including”. The same phenomenon occurs in line 40 of the catalogue, which lists not only the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33, but also another entry marking the beginning of a second section included on the tablet. An entry corresponding to the phrase following *adi* in line 86 of the catalogue is attested in the serial witnesses A (Rm. 268+, TBP 50, Assyrian script) and C (VAT 17299, Babylonian script), see Böck 2000: 176, *Šumma liptu* l. 43, offering a section beginning with the entry DIŠ li-ip-tum pe-lu-ú ina SAG.DU NA GAR “If a red *liptu*-spot is present on a man’s head”).

87a) The text of the catalogue witness A is too fragmentary for a reconstruction and needs collation. The reconstruction of ll. 87-89 of the catalogue relies primarily on the serial witnesses and is far from certain. According to the catchline of the serial tablet A from Nineveh, which contains the “first tablet of *Šumma liptu*” (DUB 1.KÂM DIŠ TAG-tu<sub>4</sub>, witness A rev. 37’, see previous note above), the tablet whose incipit is cited at the beginning of this line of the catalogue should be concerned with the *kurāru*-mark (written GIG.PEŠ, see Böck 2000: 178: 88). However, the traces in line 87a suggest the signs ‘qu/bi ku’, which does not fit the incipit preserved in the source texts (DIŠ GIG.PEŠ ina SAG.DU LÚ GAR “If a *kurāru*-mark is present on a man’s head”). It is noteworthy that a Neo-Babylonian tablet seems to contain the text of *Šumma liptu* and *Šumma kurāru* on one physical tablet (see the text VAT 17299, Böck 2000: 174ff., 179ff. witness C *Šumma liptu* and witness A *Šumma kurāru*). It is therefore not possible to say whether the text in line 87a of the catalogue continued over from line 86, listing material included in *Šumma liptu* Tablet 1 or whether it listed a varying incipit for the second tablet of the sub-series *Šumma liptu* that differed from the incipit of *Šumma kurāru* attested at Nineveh.

It is further noteworthy that the unpublished Neo-Babylonian text BM 39166 (obv.) contains omens that belong to a tablet of the sub-series on moles entitled *Šumma tirku*, whereas the catchline on the reverse identifies the following tablet as DIŠ SAMAG ina SAG.DU LÚ ZA[G GAR ...] “If an *umṣatu*-mark is present (on) the right side of a man’s head”.<sup>50</sup> This could suggest that the tablet incipit in line 87a of the catalogue, cited before that of *Šumma umṣatu* (l. 87b), could have been the tablet on *tirku*-moles, whose position in the sub-series is not entirely certain due to the lack of preserved catchlines and tablet incipits (Böck 2000: 17-18). A further problem is posed by the traces of the catchline in the Nineveh recension of *Šumma tirku* ([...] ÚKU-in), which does not match the incipit of *Šumma umṣatu* at Nineveh (DIŠ SAMAG ina SAG.DU LÚ ZAG GAR HUL ŠÀ GIG di-hu ana IGI-šû GAR KI.MIN du-us-su KAR-ir “If an *umṣatu*-mark is present on the right side of a man’s head: unhappiness, illness and *dī’u*-disease are in store for him; (if) ditto: his manliness will be taken away”, cf. Böck 2000: 184: 1 (Ms. A obv. i 1); 210: 114 (Ms. A rev. 45)). One should therefore reckon with discrepan-

<sup>50</sup> The following rubric reads DUB ‘1/2’.KÂM<sup>2</sup> DIŠ x x[...], which could imply that the tablets following *Šumma liptu* could be counted either independently from one another or according to the overarching section title (*Šumma liptu*).



cies in the order of the tablets forming part of the sub-series, between the recensions from Nineveh and later recensions from the Neo- and Late Babylonian period.

87b) The restoration of the second entry in this line is supported by the serial witness A (K. 12548+, TBP 36) offering the matching incipit [DIŠ S]AMAG *ina* SAG.DU LÚ ZAG GAR (Böck 2000: 184). It is uncertain whether the signs given at the end of the line (TA/DUB<sup>2</sup> *pe*<sup>2</sup>-*en*-[*du*<sup>2</sup> (x)]) refer to material included in the *umṣatu*-tablet. The *pindû*-mark which may be mentioned here could alternatively have formed the topic of the following tablet cited in line 88a. Another possible reading instead of (ZAG GAR)-*ât*<sup>2</sup> could be ŠĀ/TA<sup>2</sup> DUB *pe-en*-[*dî*] “from/according to(?) a tablet on *pindû*-moles”.

88a) The restoration of the incipit is based on the tablet sequence suggested by the traces of the catchline in witness A of the tablet *Šumma umṣatu* (K. 12548+ vi 1: [... *ni-š*]ir-ta<sub>5</sub> IGI-mar), which corresponds to the incipit of *Šumma pindû* witness A (K. 2063+, TBP 38a obv. 1: DIŠ *pi-in-du-ú ina* SAG.DU LÚ GAR *ni-šir-ta IGI-[mar] “If a *pindû*-spot is present on a man’s head, he will find a treasure”), see Böck 2000: 192: 157 and 195: 1. It is interesting to note that catalogue and serial witnesses differ in their rendering of *amēlu* “man” (NA vs. LÚ).*

88b) In accordance with the traces [...] IB<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ, the second entry can be identified with the incipit of the tablet *Šumma urāšu*, see Böck 2000: 202 Ms. A (K. 10667, TBP 43) obv. 1 and Ms. B (BRM 3, 23) rev. 2, which read (DIŠ *ina* SAG.DU) LÚ/NA IB ŠUB.MEŠ “[If] *urāšu*-spots are situated [on a man’s head]”. The following signs at the end of line 88 of the catalogue are debatable, but the entry begins with MIN “ditto”, which probably stands for DIŠ *ina* SAG.DU NA IB. Thus, the entry very likely represents a citation from a section of the tablet *Šumma urāšu*, indicating material included in the text. Note that a group of protases in the serial witnesses focus on *urāšu*-marks on the forehead (SAG. KI), comparing them with specific objects such as snakes, a lentil etc. This section could possibly be referred to at the end of line 88 of the catalogue.

89) This line is too fragmentary to gain much information regarding a possible sequence of the remaining tablets of the sub-series on skin moles. The only certain signs are [...] ù *i*<sup>2</sup>-*ba*<sup>2</sup>-[*ru*<sup>2</sup> ...], which points to the fragmentarily preserved tablet on *ibāru*-moles, see Böck 2000: 210-211 A (K. 7176, TBP 37). The textual evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period reveals the existence of two or three other tablets whose incipits are not preserved or represented in the catalogue. They are concerned with *tirku*-moles (Böck 2000: 204ff.), *kittabru*-spots (Böck 2000: 212ff.) and with *kittabru*-spots on the female body (Böck 2000: 230ff.). The latter two tablets followed each other in a sequence, as is indicated by the catchline preserved in two manuscripts of *Šumma kittabru* (Böck 2000: 228: 132, Ms. B (K. 4039+) rev. 6 and Ms. I (VAT 17022, TBP 63) rev. 24<sup>1</sup>). The catchline preserved on manuscripts of the tablet on *kittabru*-spots for women shows that it was followed by a tablet dealing with twitching muscles (Böck 2000: 232 Ms. A rev. 9<sup>1</sup> and Ms. B rev. 8<sup>1</sup>; Böck 2000: 234ff.).

The tablet on *tirku*-moles may have preceded the tablet concerned with *umṣatu* (see above comment on line 87a), but the incipits of the other tablets on *kittabru*-moles and twitching muscles could hardly have fitted all into the space of line 89. These tablets may represent, at least in part, later additions to the series. However, the sign ù “and” before *i*<sup>2</sup>-*ba*<sup>2</sup>-[*ru*<sup>2</sup> ...] in line 89 rather suggests that this catalogue passage did not list complete incipits, but only keywords referring to the topics covered by the remaining tablets of the sub-series. The fragmentary state of line 89 precludes definite conclusions.

90) If the reconstruction [NIGIN x DUB].MEŠ<sup>2</sup>[...] *li*<sup>2</sup>-[*ip*<sup>2</sup>]-*tû*<sup>2</sup> is correct, the sub-series seems to have been named after the incipit or topic of its first tablet, *Šumma liptu*. On the other hand, most of the tablet witnesses for this sub-series which preserve rubrics are not identified as belonging to a series with the name *Šumma liptu*. All the Neo-Assyrian witnesses are connected only through their catchlines (and incipits). The only exception is the first tablet of *Šumma liptu* (Rm. 268+, TBP 50 rev. 37<sup>1</sup>), which is indeed designated in a rubric as DUB 1.KĀM *šumma liptu* “Tablet 1 (of) ‘If a *liptu*-mark’” (see the discussion on line 87a above).

91) None of the serial witnesses of the sub-series belonging to the physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmū* are linked explicitly through a serial rubric or an overall numbering of the constituent tablets (as in the case of *Sakikkū*). However, the summary rubric in line 91 of the catalogue shows that the five sub-series of the physiognomic and behavioral omens were grouped together as a text corpus under the name *Alamdimmū*. This point is also hinted at by the excerpt tablet

K. 105+ (TBP 25), which lists physiognomic omens from the sub-series *Alamdimmû*, from the series on women (*Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*) and from the Neo-Assyrian excerpt series *Šumma Ea liballiṭka*<sup>51</sup>, the letter of which contains omens that may have been excerpted from *Kataduggû*, *Nigdimdimmû* and *Šumma ālu*.<sup>52</sup>

For a tentative interpretation of GIŠ.GIŠ.A (also found in l. 49 of the catalogue) as *šūtešur* “properly arranged” see Schmidtchen *infra* 3.2.2. Furthermore, it is striking that the term is used here for the whole series. Since most of the sub-series within *Alamdimmû* could have been regarded as series in their own right (see the discussion concerning *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû* in Schmidtchen *infra* 2.1.2. as well as 3.2.2. n. 133), this editorial remark may indeed point to a secondary editorial process, during which the tablets of the sub-series were arranged according to a systematic ordering principle.

The total of tablets belonging to the physiognomic series *Alamdimmû* is still uncertain due to the problems regarding the allocation of tablets in the last sub-series on skin moles. A library account from the Neo-Assyrian period lists around 37+ tablets, together with *ahû*-tablets and commentaries, cf. Parpola 1983: 24-25 and Böck 2000: 18 with additional bibliographical information. However, additional material such as commentaries and *ahû*-tablets are not expected to have been mentioned in the catalogue.

92) An overarching summary rubric stating the total of tablets registered in the catalogue, representing a corpus of texts divided into two parts or series, is likewise attested in the final section of AMC l. 123, see Steinert et al. *infra*. Contrary to Finkel’s reading *niširti Ezida* at the end of line 92 (Finkel 1988: 152), the restoration <sup>“munus”</sup>NUN NUN.[M]E(= ABGAL) for *niširti apkalli* “secret of the sage” is preferred here. For the secrecy label cf. Lenzi 2008: 251 and 269 with further attestations. None of the secrecy labels discussed by Lenzi occur in a major divinatory series, although the lore of the *kalû* is described in one Neo-Assyrian colophon as “the wisdom of Ea, the lore of the *kalû*-singer, the secret of the sage” (*nēmeq Ea kalûtu niširti apkalli*), see Lenzi 2008: 142.

93) In correspondence with AMC, one would expect a tablet colophon here. However, the preserved signs do not support this possibility. The interpretation of the signs <sup>“AL”</sup>TU RA TAG MA <sup>“ME”</sup>{A/ZA} remains difficult. Finkel (1988: 152) reads AL.TU.RA ŠUM.MA.<sup>“ME”</sup>, which he interprets as “the *šummu* (i.e. omen entries starting with *šumma* “if”) concerning a sick person”. Another possibility is to read the signs ŠUM.MA as TAG-*ma* (*lapātu*), referring to the sick man being “touched” (e.g. by a deity?). The remaining ME{-a} may be interpreted as *qība* “interpretation, prognosis” in the accusative. However, this reading poses a problem for the syntax of line 93, since one expects that *qību* would be followed by *šakānu*, i.e. “to make a prognosis”. Cf. also the comment on l. 71 above.

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<sup>51</sup> For the series see Reiner 1982 and von Soden 1981.

<sup>52</sup> The rubric of K. 105+ identifies it as the 6<sup>th</sup> and final *giṭtu*-excerpt of *Alamdimmû* (l. 13: 6-ti IM.GÍD.DA ŠĀ-ú *alam-dim-mu-ú* ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ).

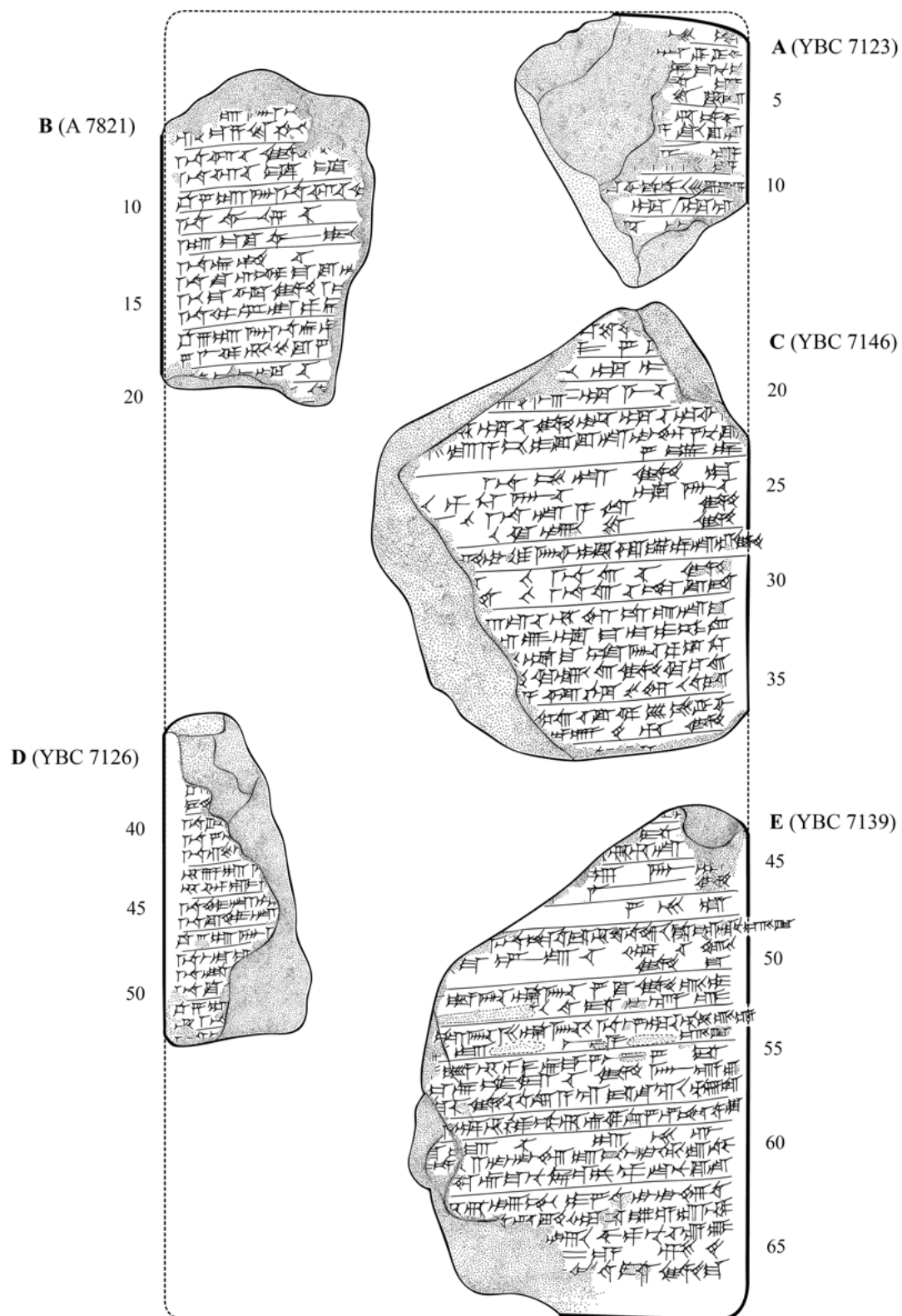
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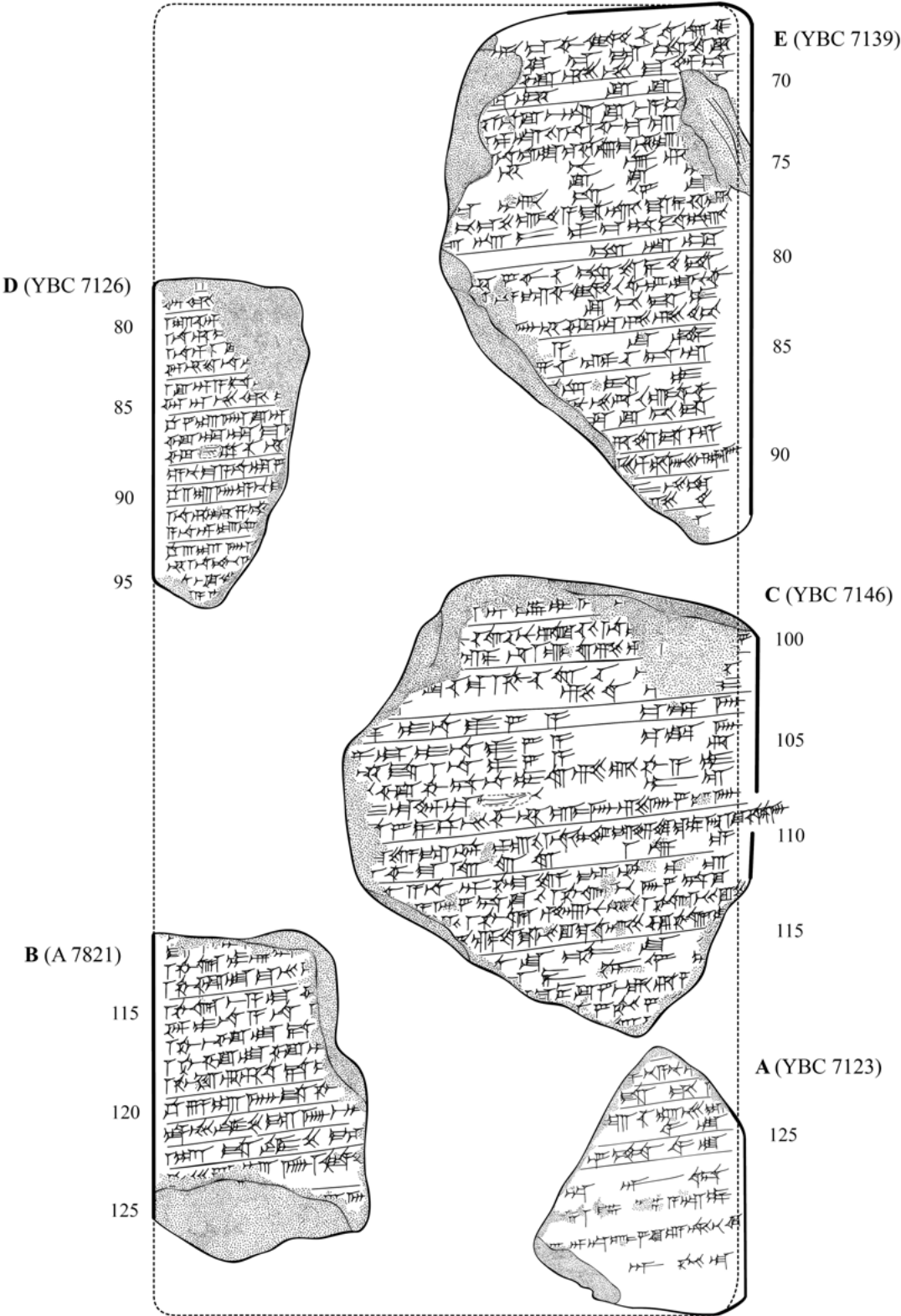


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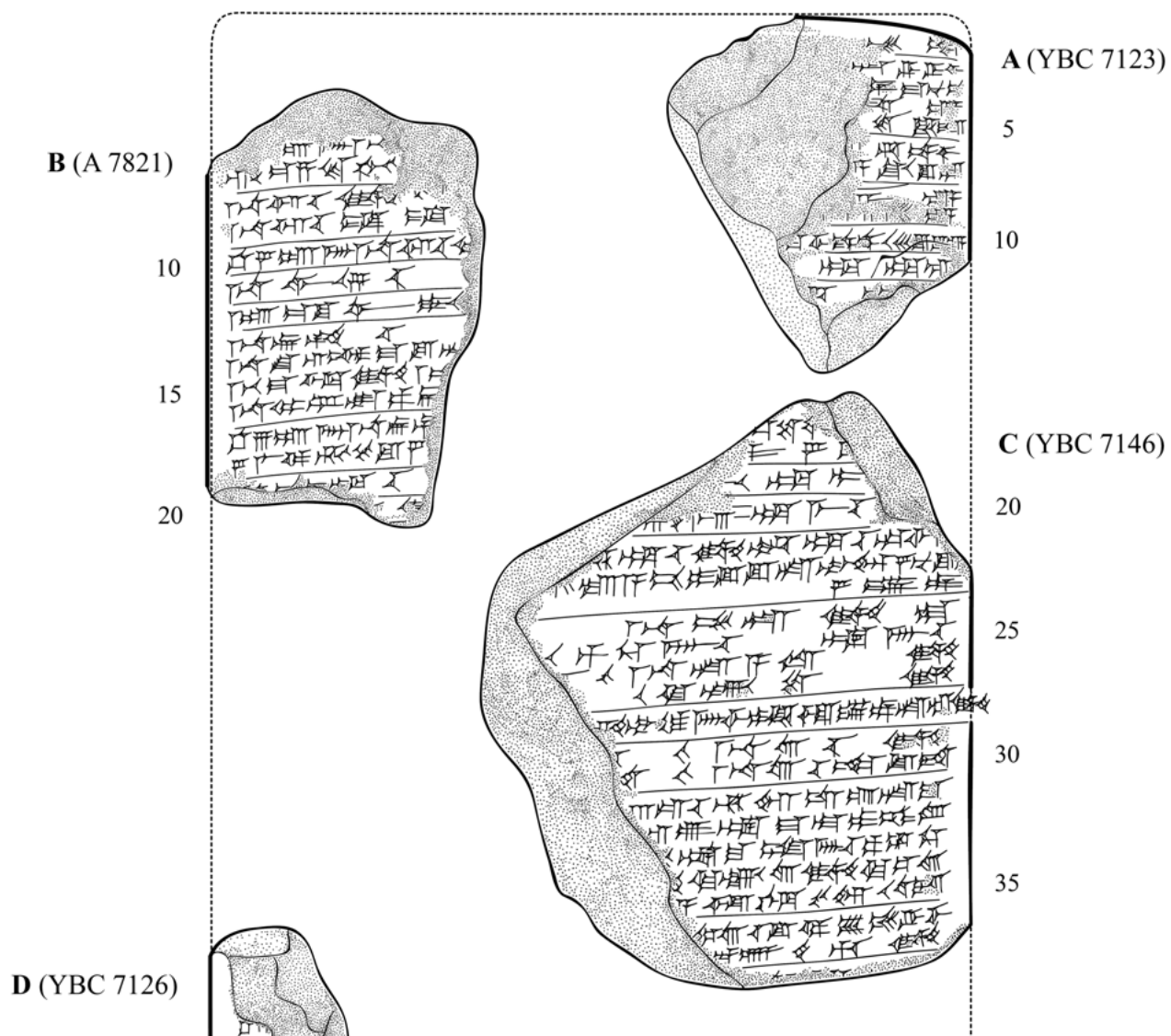
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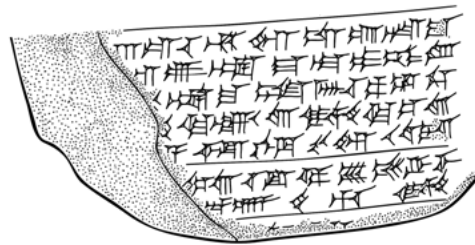
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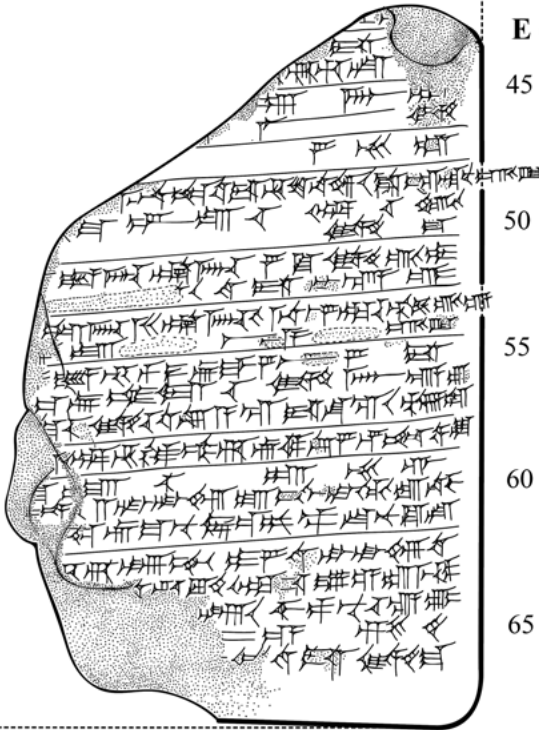
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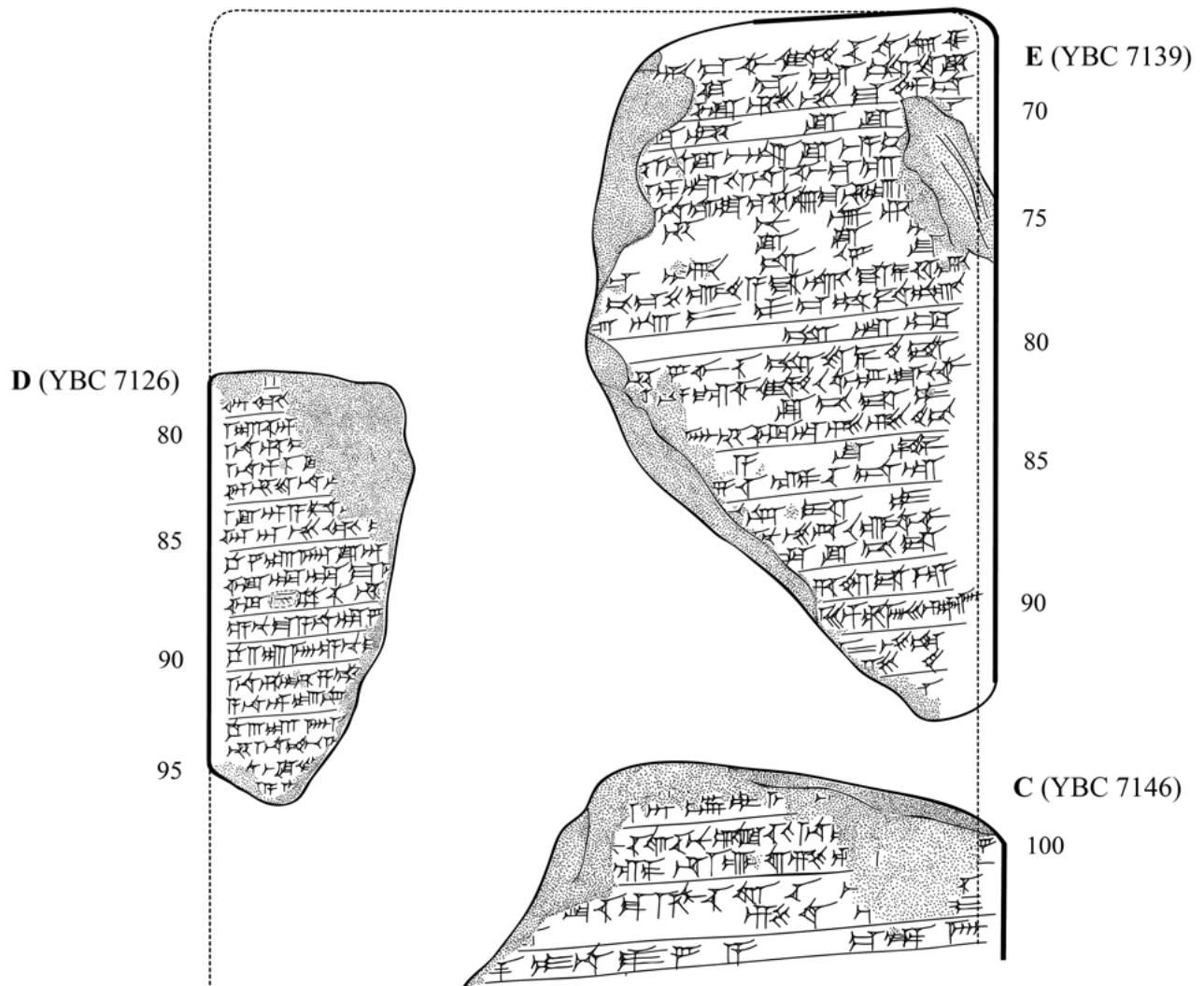
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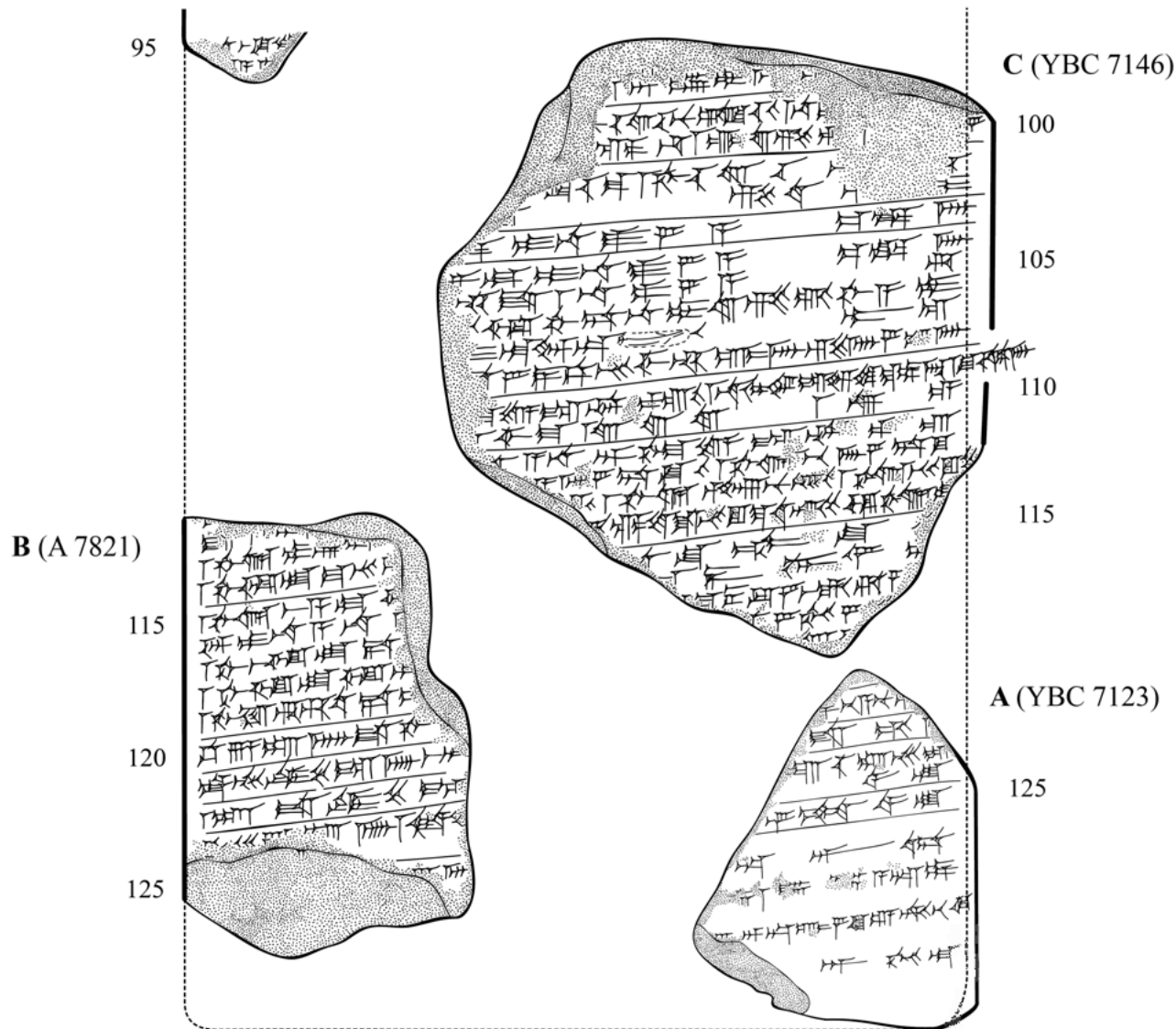
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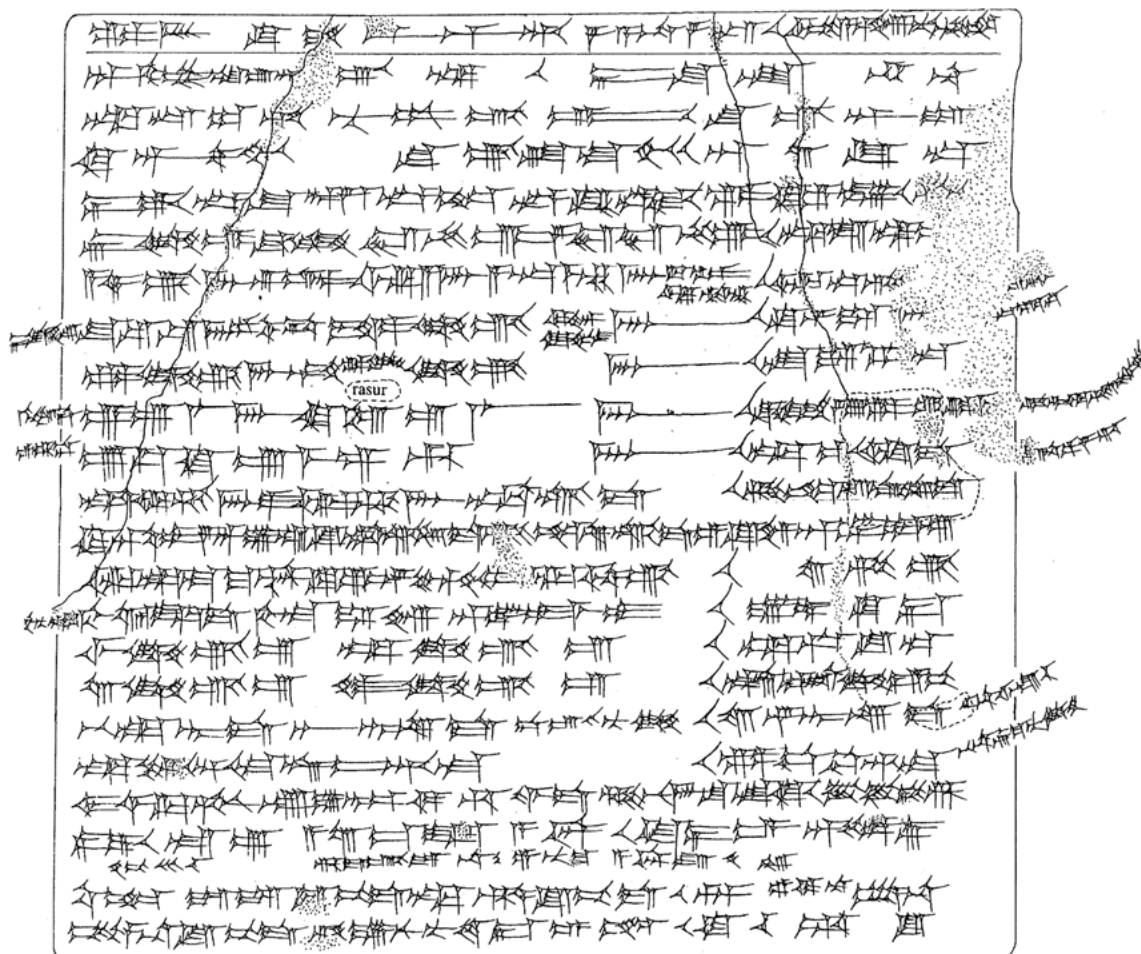
No. 4: Assur Medical Catalogue obv. lower section



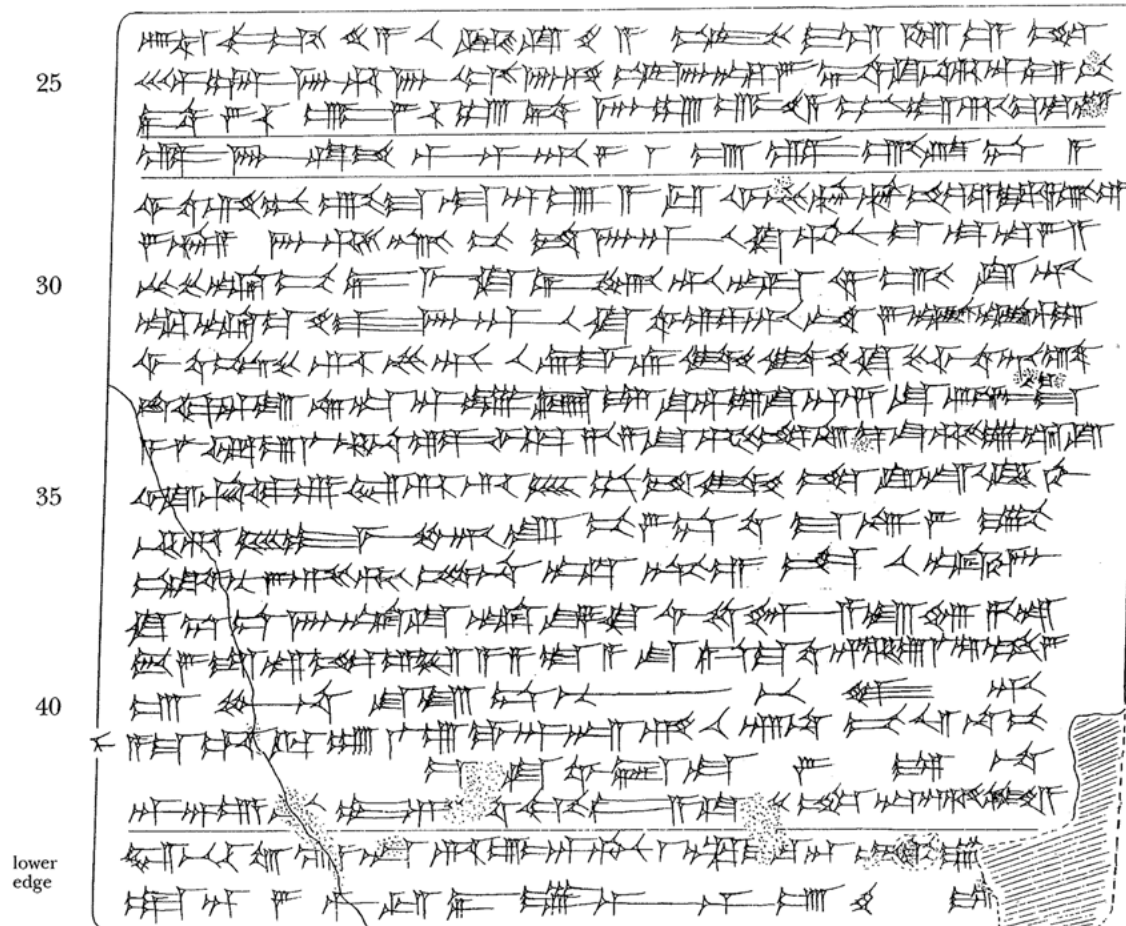
No. 5: Assur Medical Catalogue rev. upper section



No. 6: Assur Medical Catalogue rev. lower section



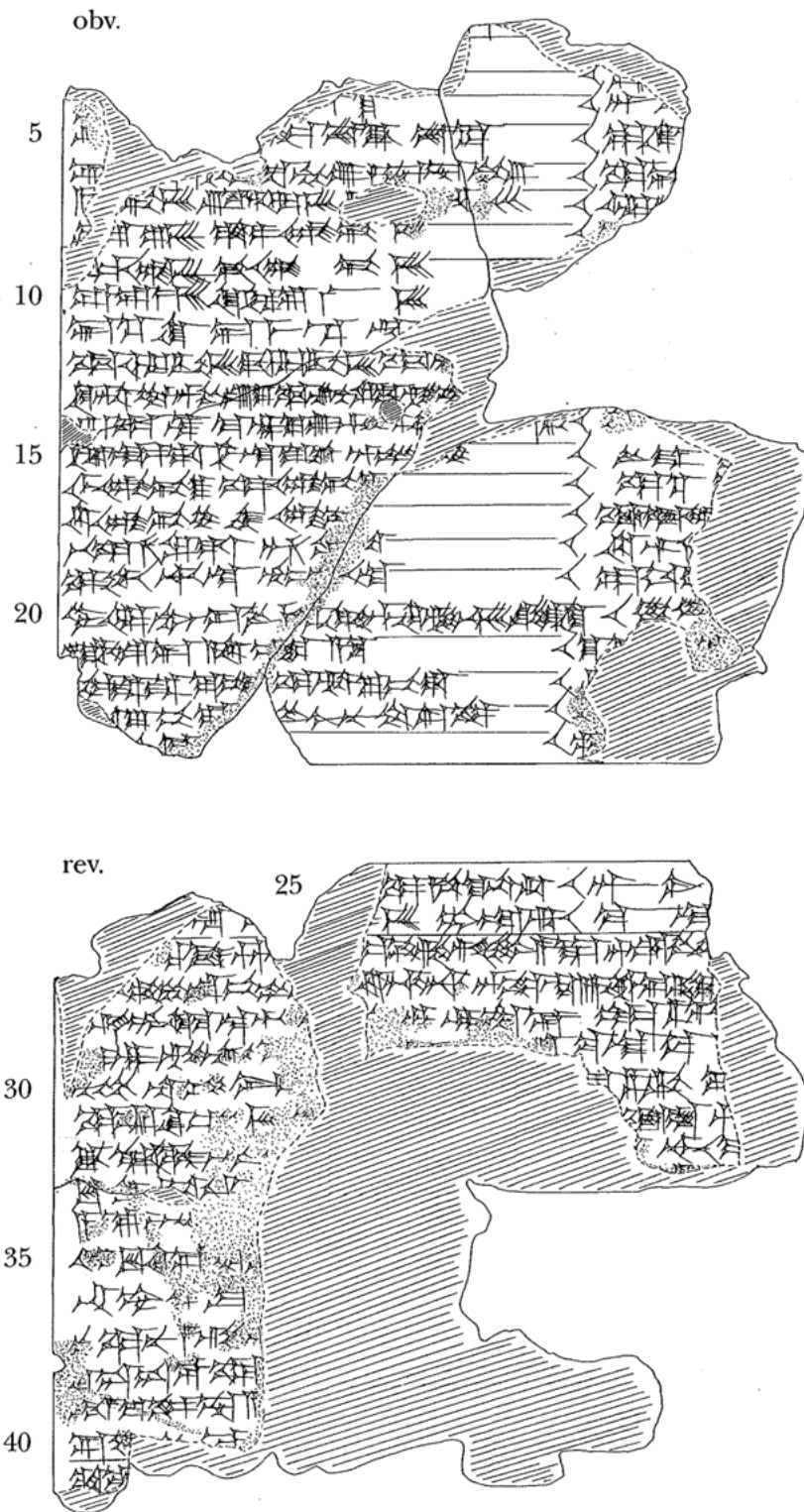
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No. 8: KAR 44 rev.

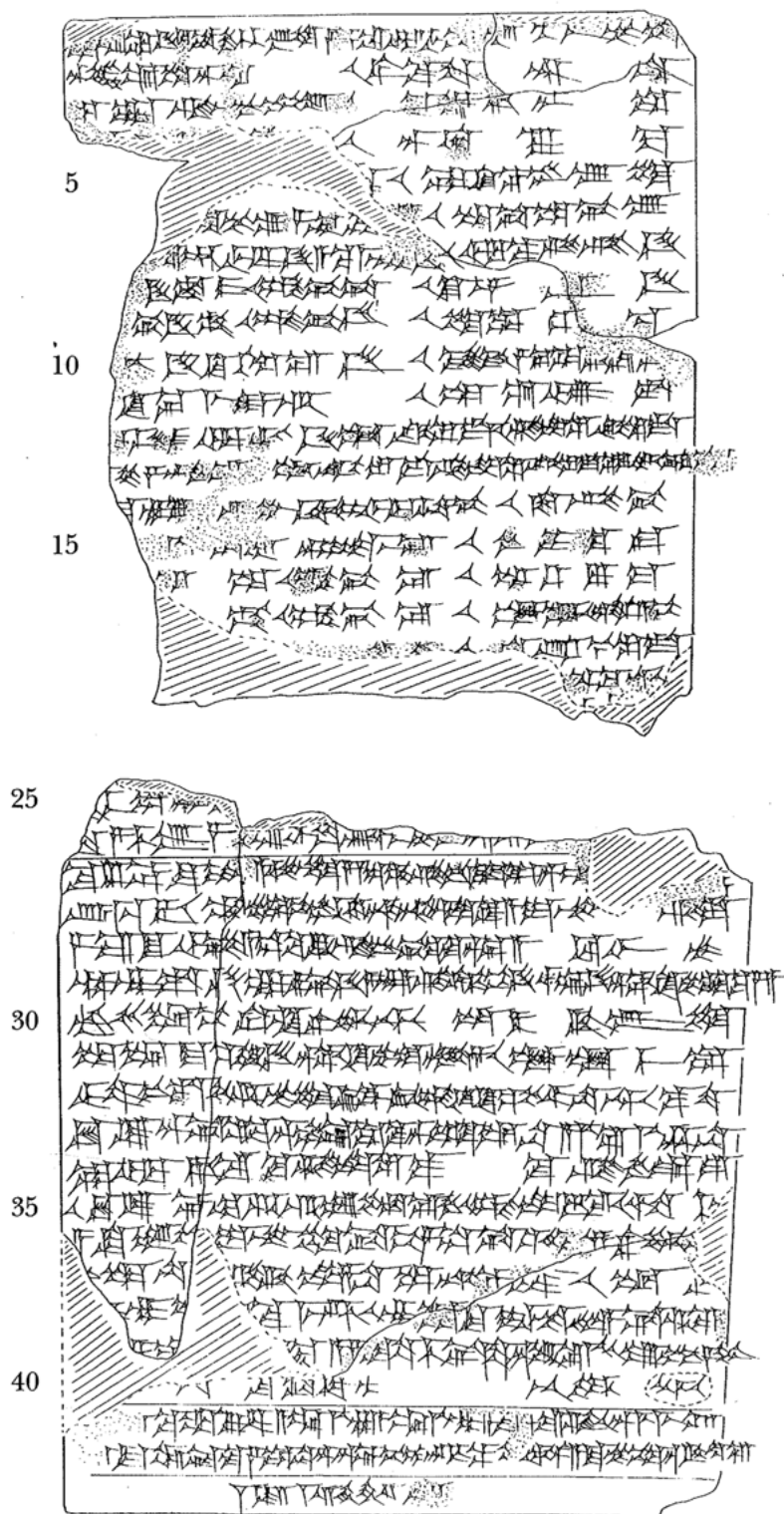


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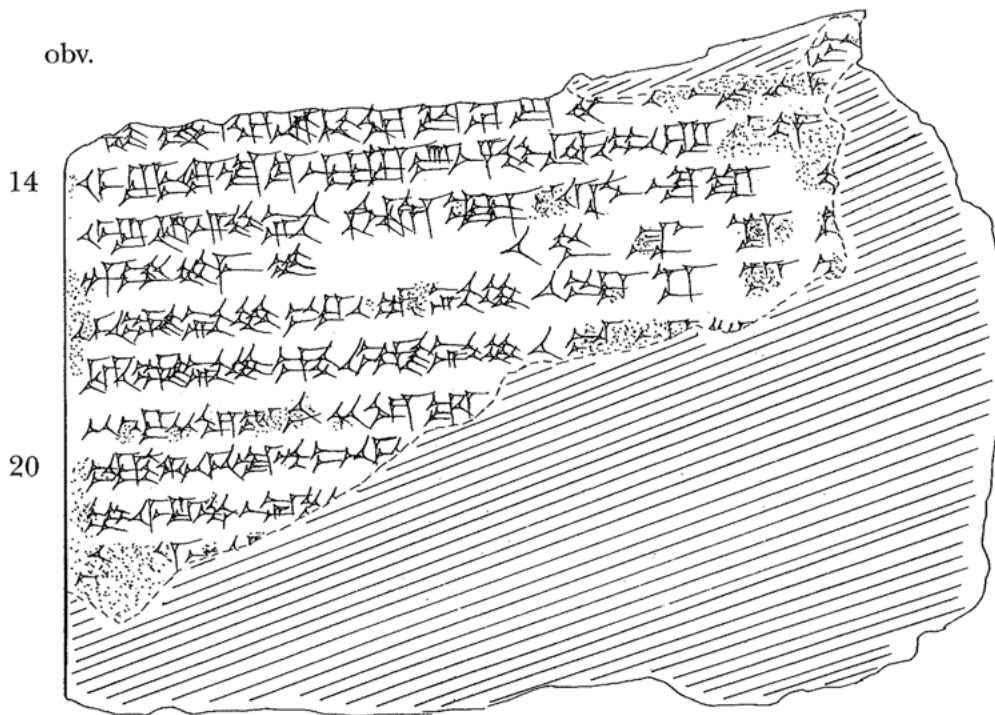


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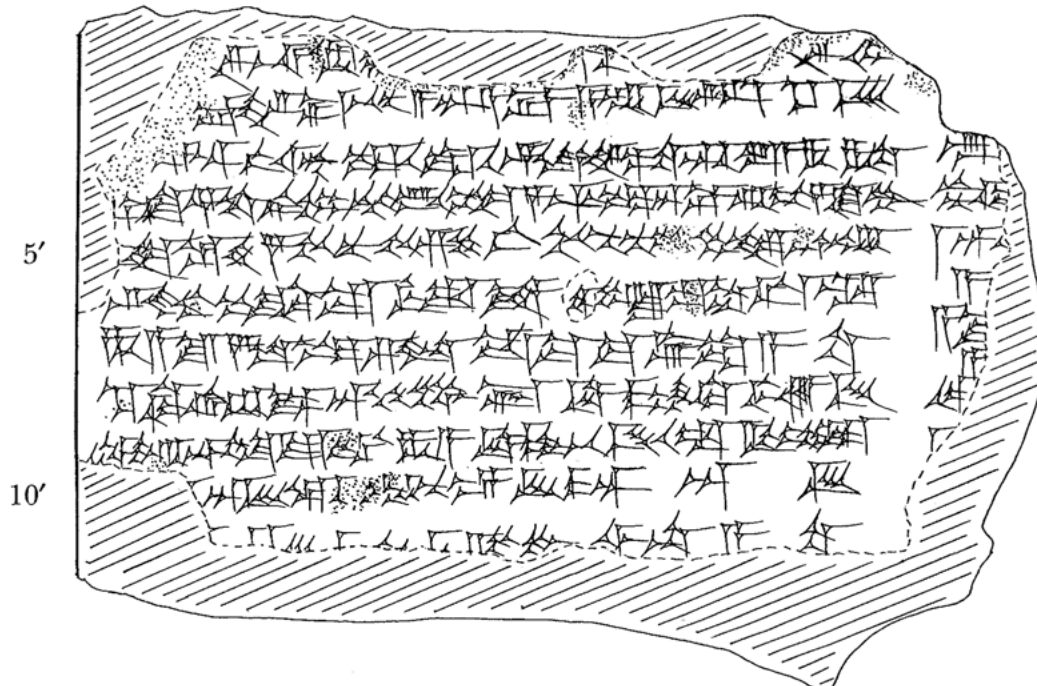




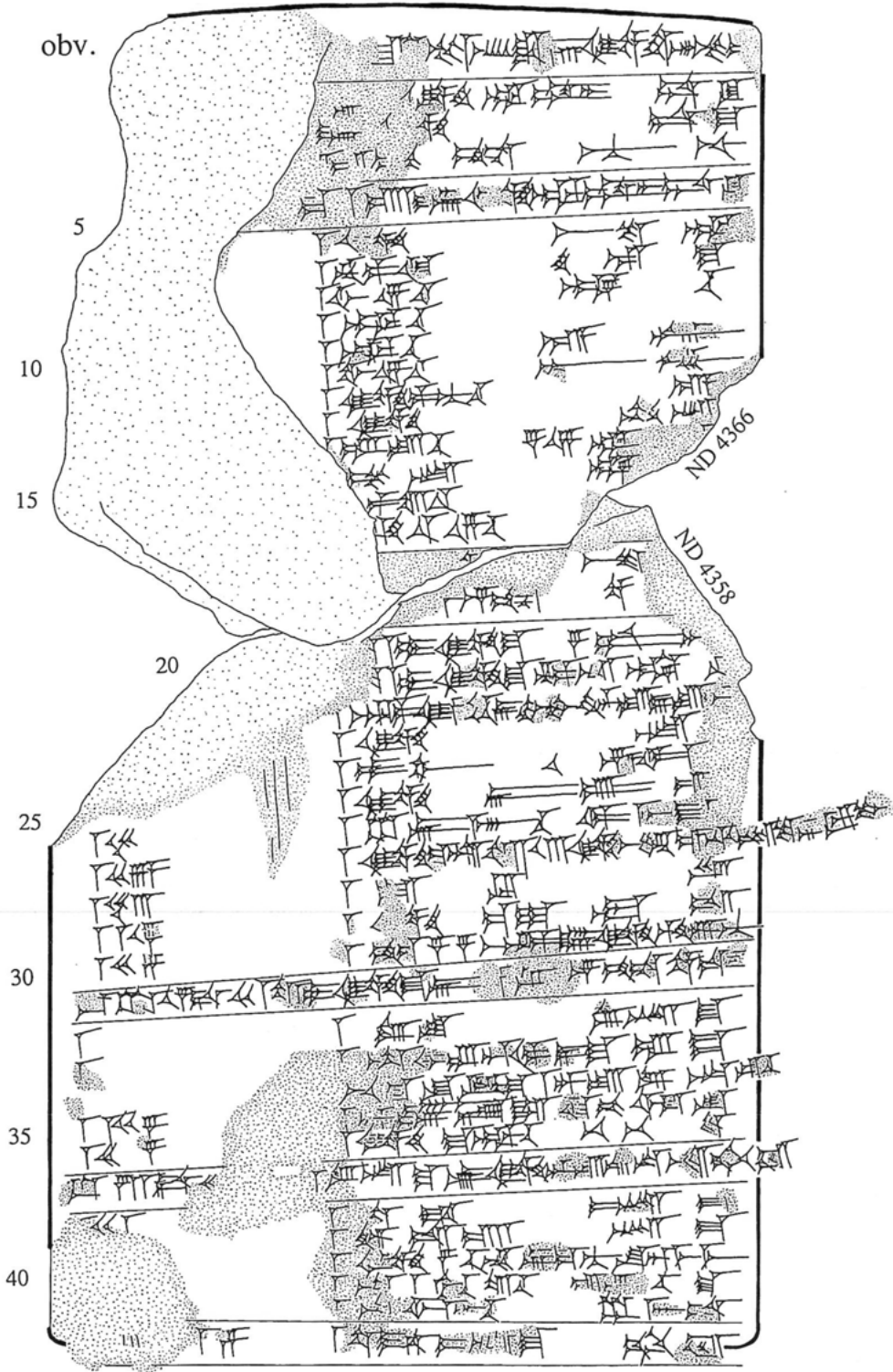
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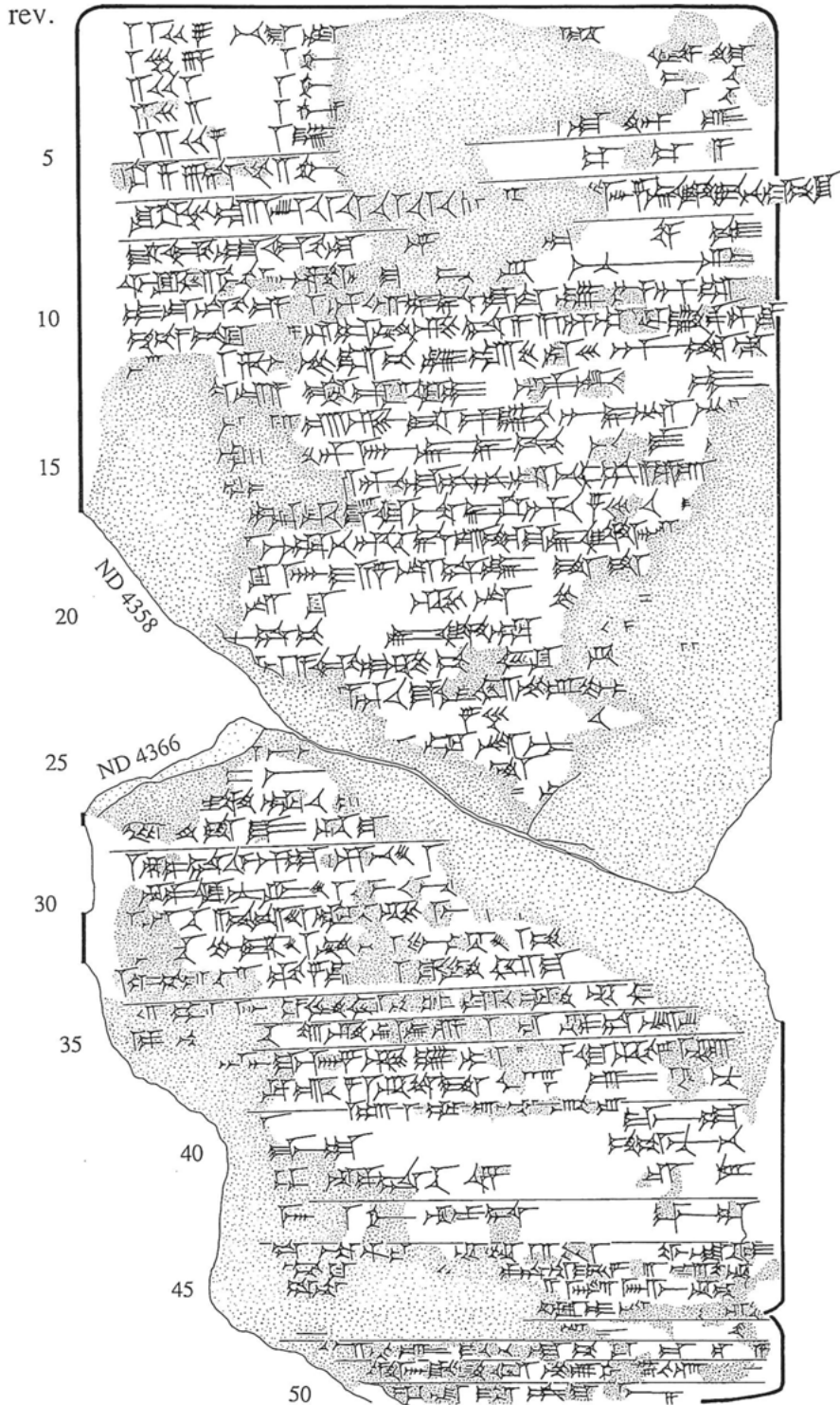
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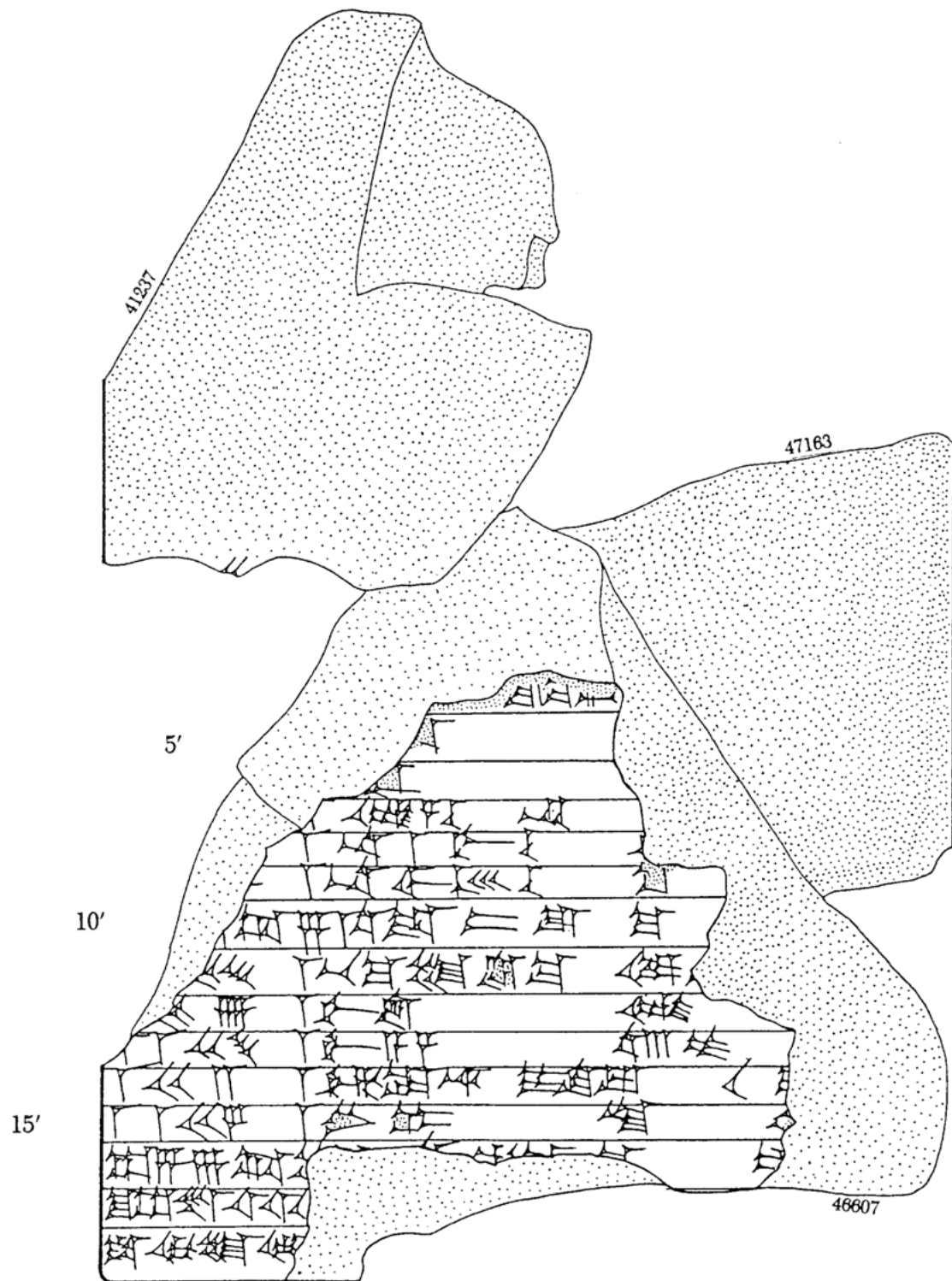




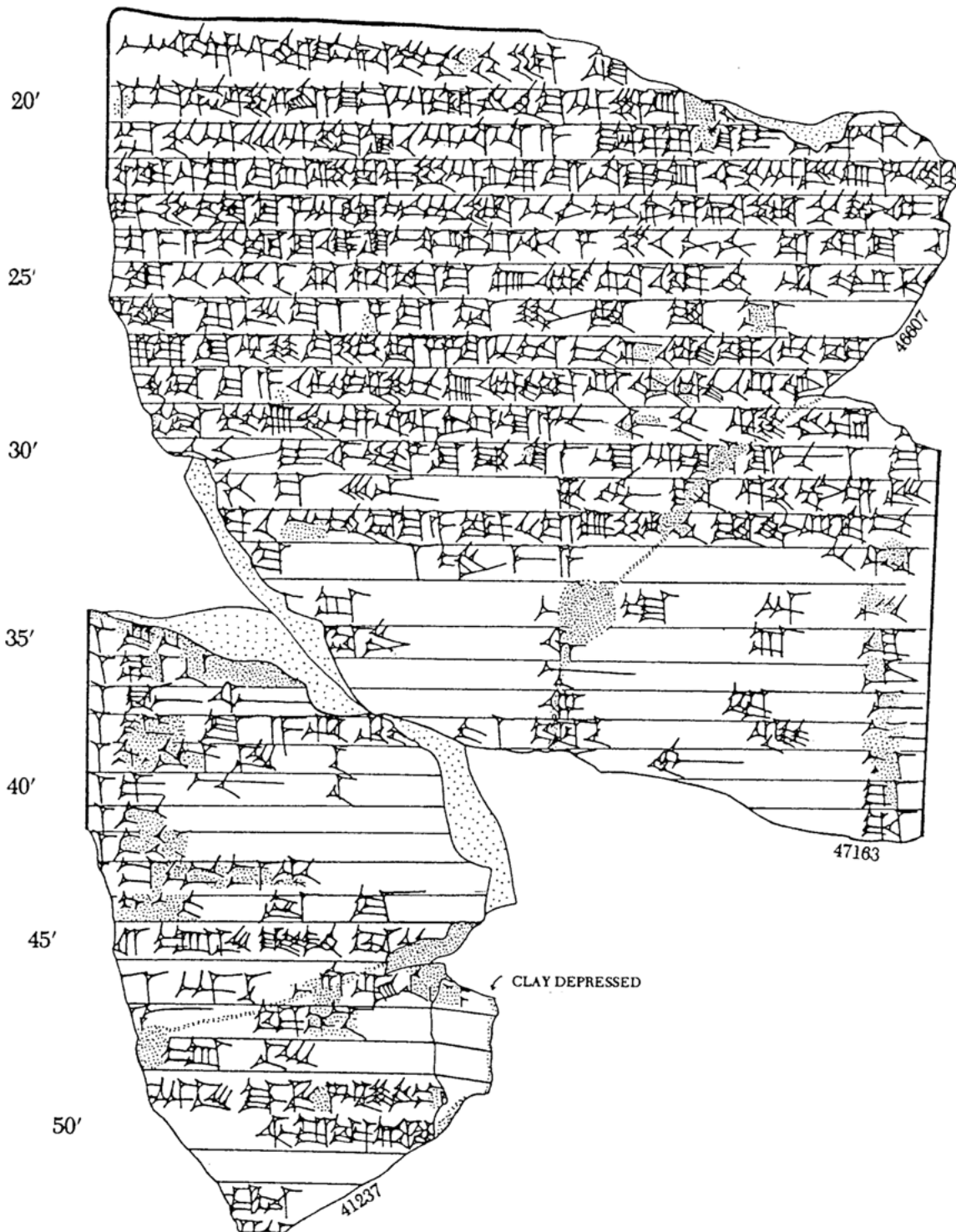
No. 14: ND 4358 + 4366 (CTN 4, 71) obv.



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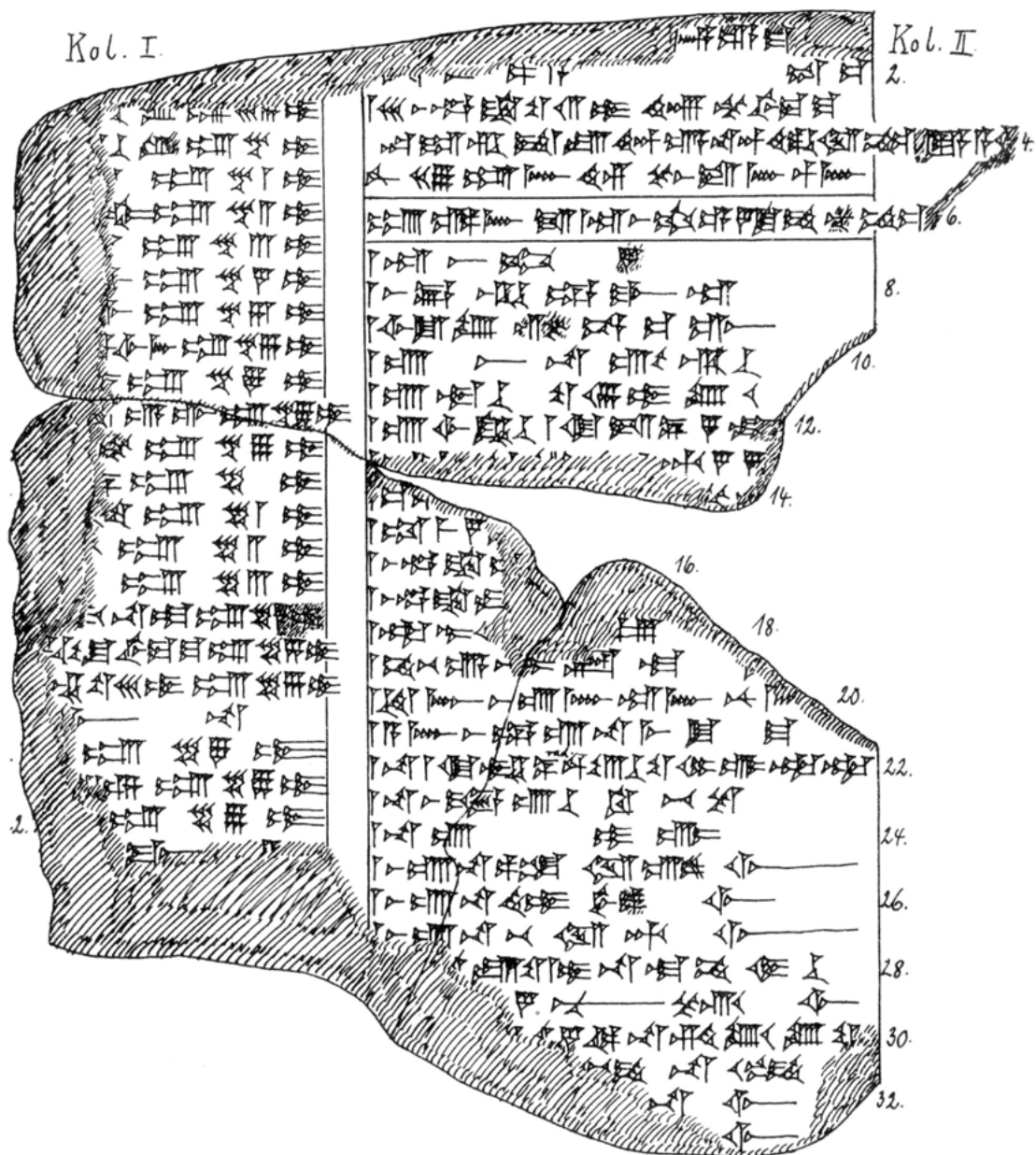


No. 16: BM 41237 + 46607 + 47163 obv.



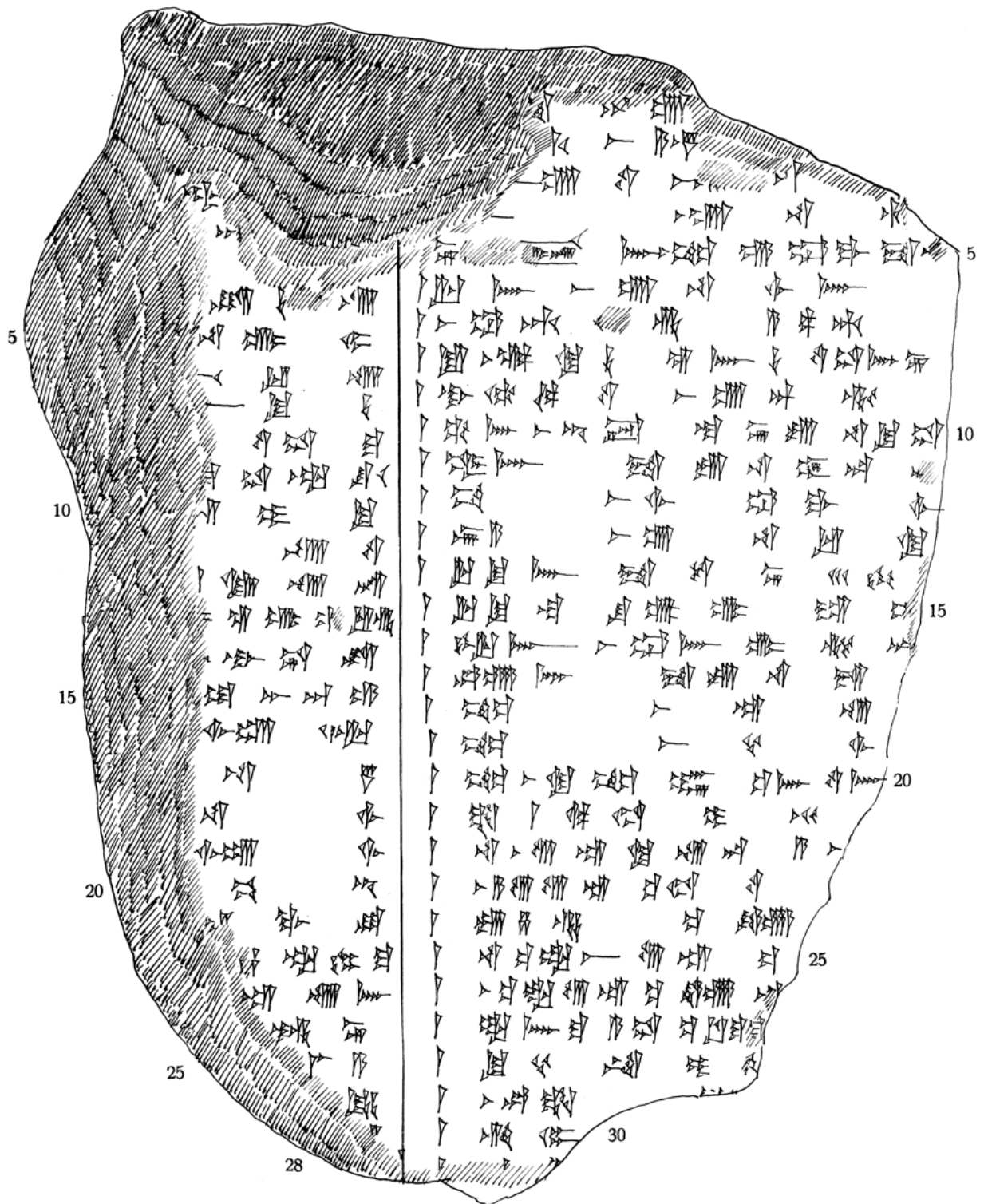
No. 17: BM 41237 + 46607 + 47163 rev.



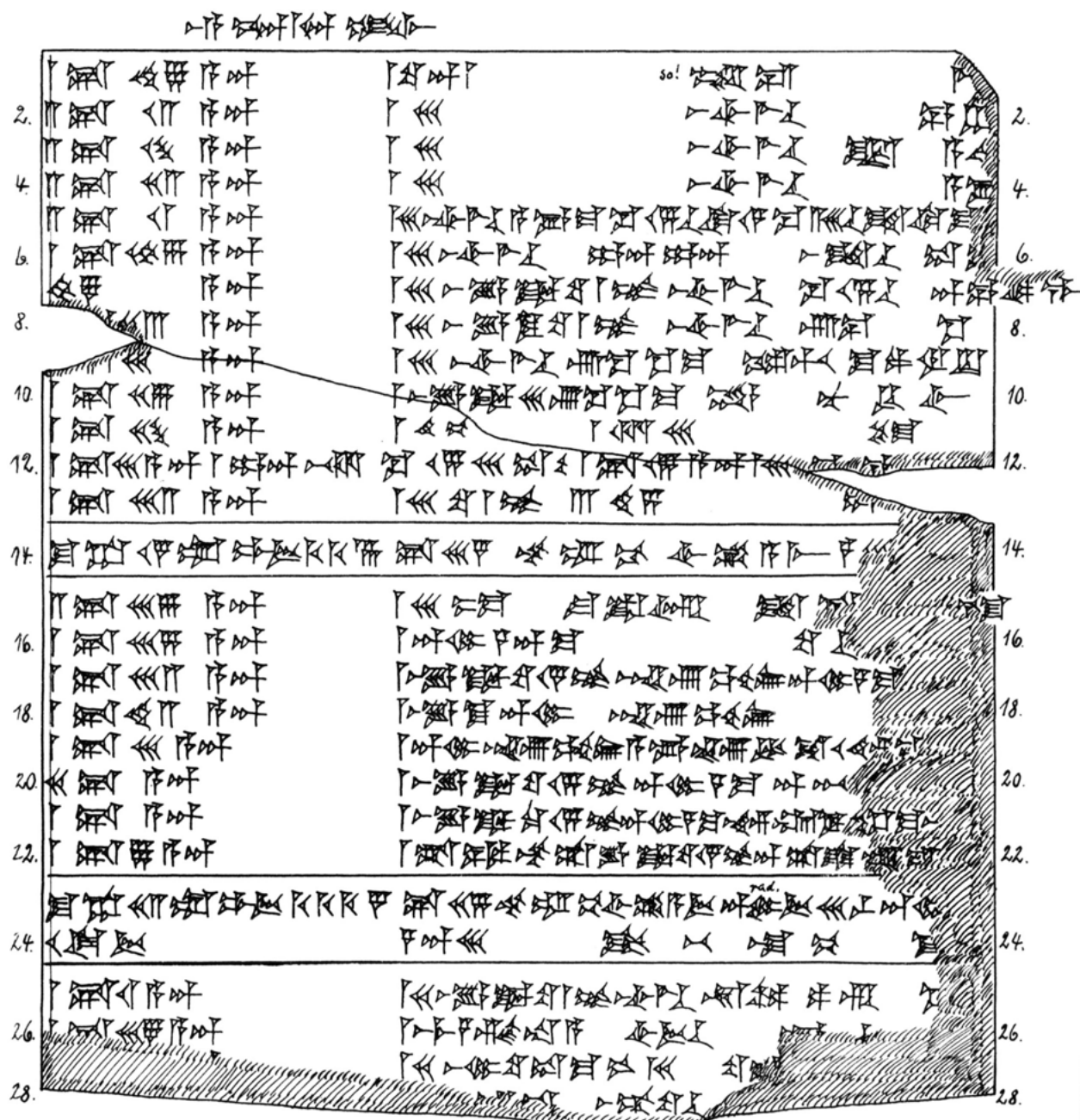


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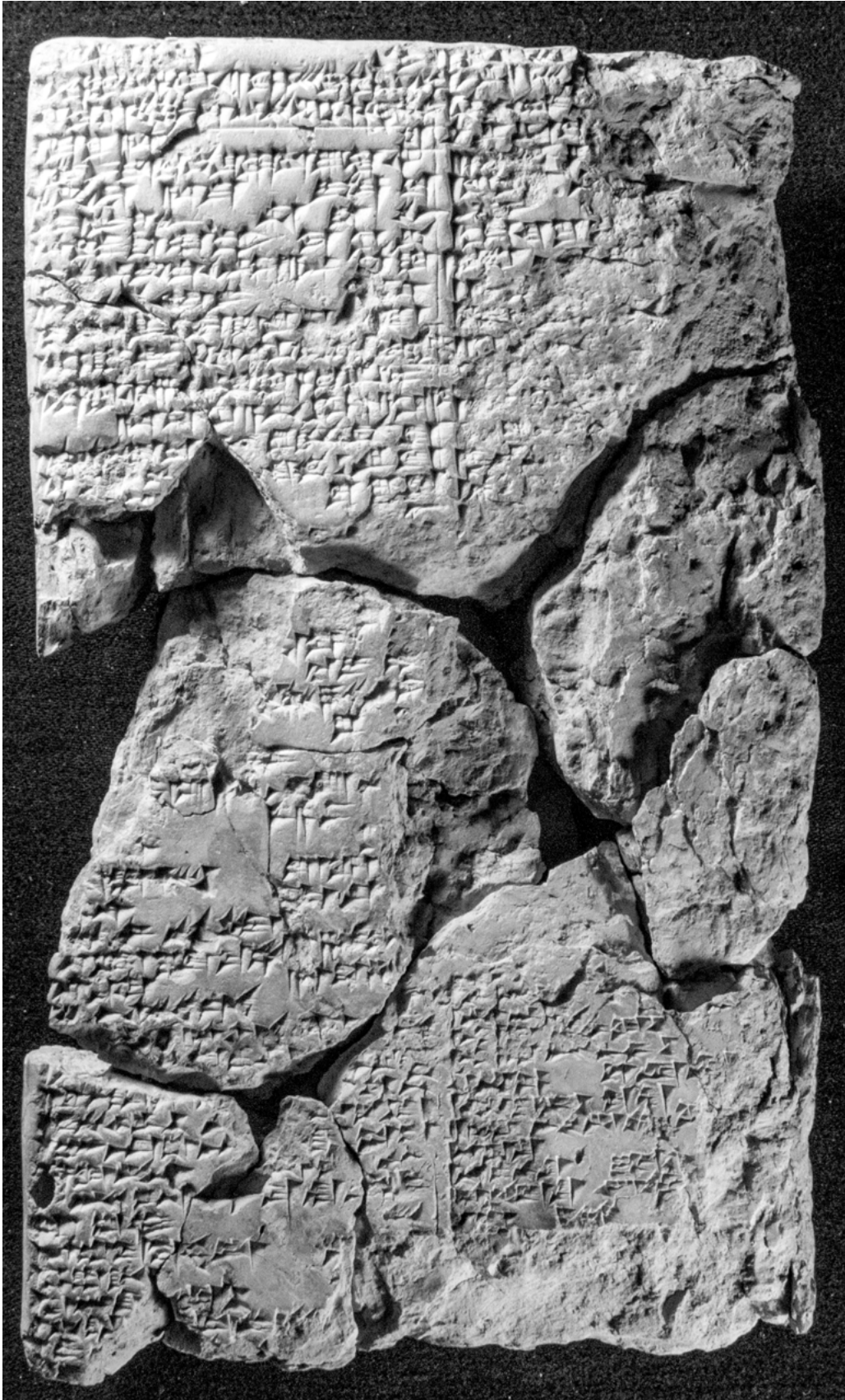


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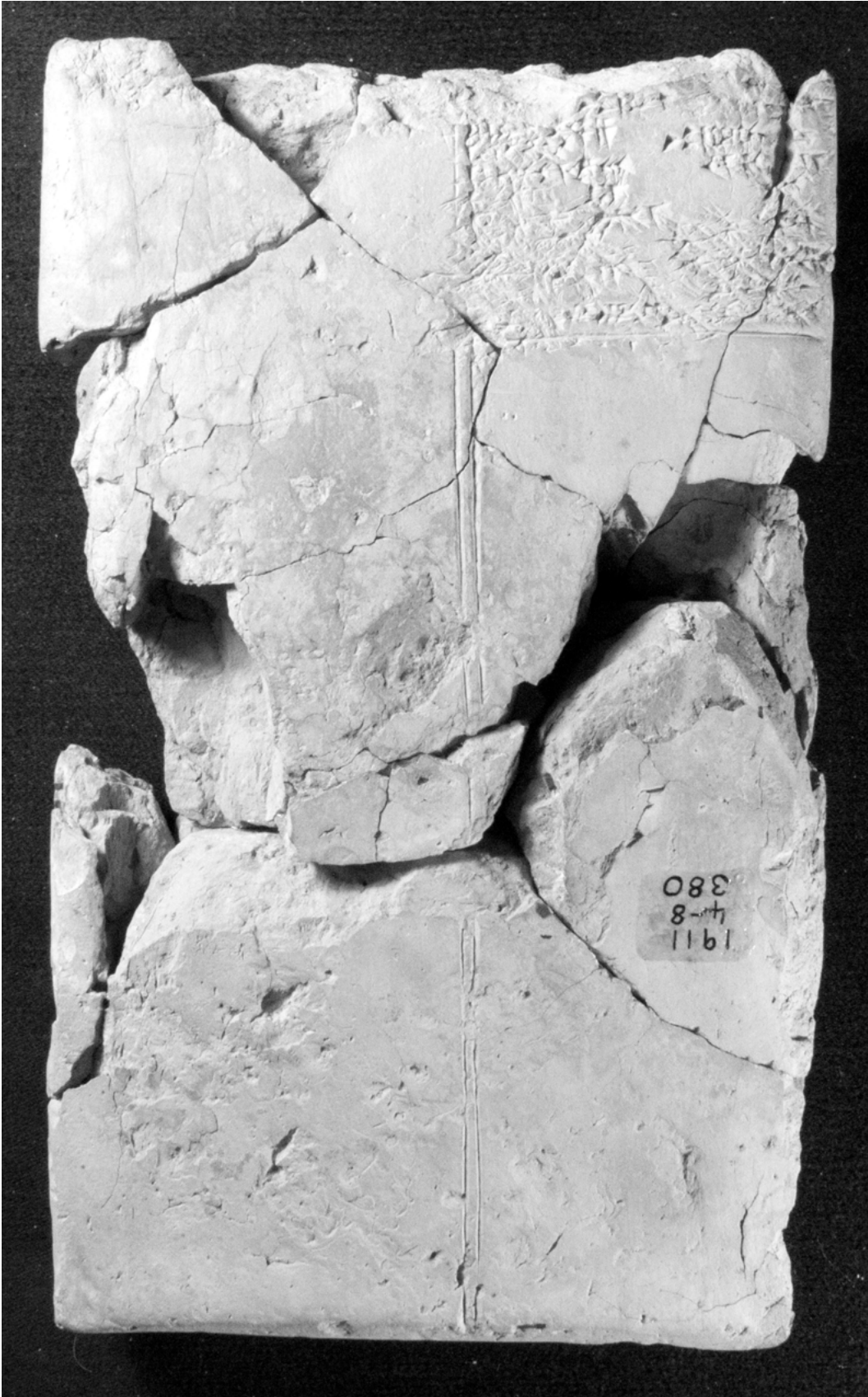


No. 20: VAT 7814 + AO 6470 obv.



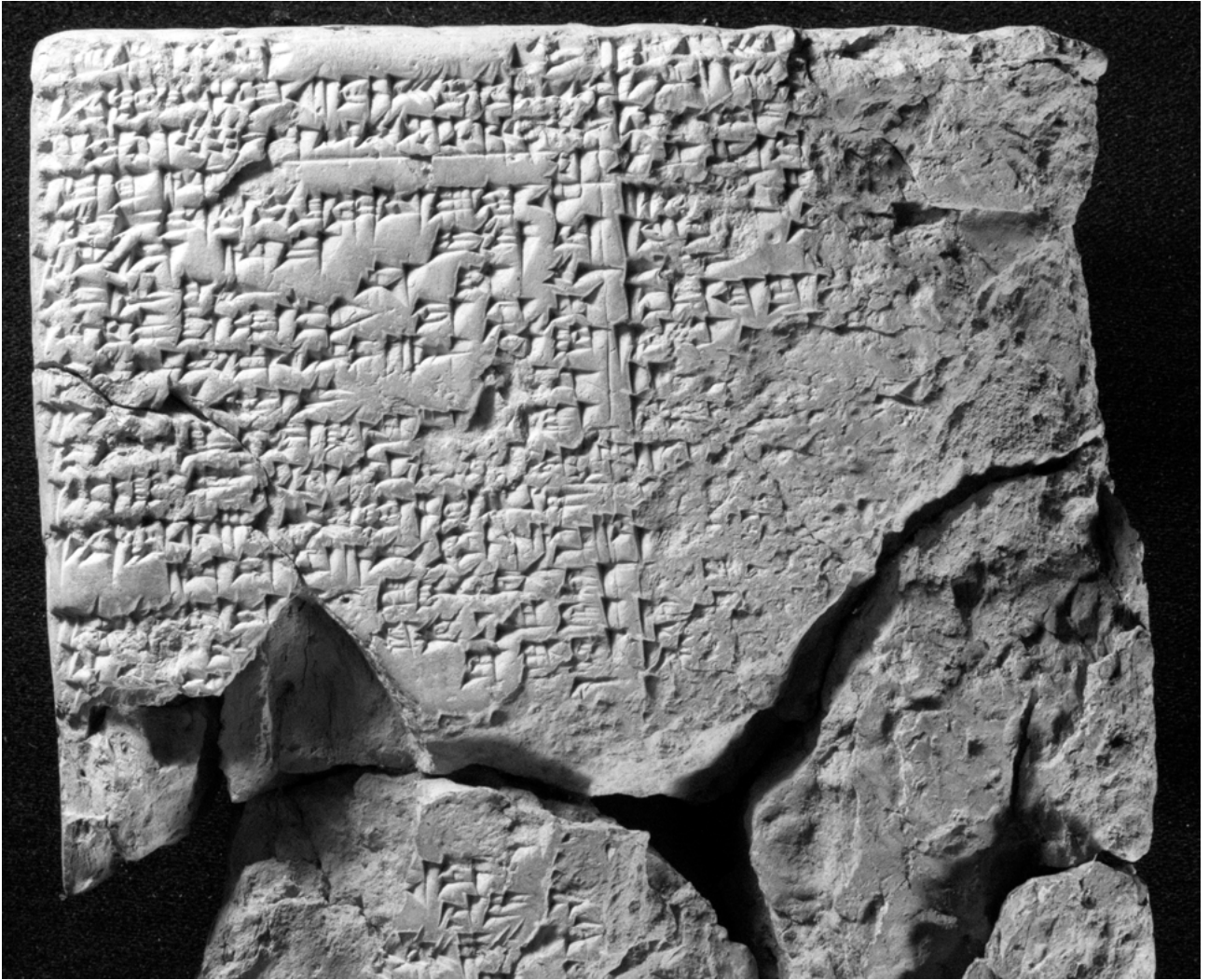


No. 22: BM 103690 obv.



No. 23: BM 103690 rev.





**No. 24:** BM 103690 obv., upper section



No. 25: BM 103690 obv., middle section




















**No. 26:** BM 103690 obv., lower section





No. 27: BM 103690 rev. col. iii

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