Edition of *BAM* 3

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This article is dedicated to James and Helen Kinnier Wilson

Recent years have witnessed a considerable regeneration in the edition of Mesopotamian therapeutic medical prescriptions, with several monographs appearing: Cadelli on the *su'alu* series (unpublished PhD thesis, 2000), Geller on renal and rectal diseases (*BAM* VII, 2005), Scurlock on ghost-induced illnesses (*AMD* III, 2006). These publications, and others in preparation, choose which prescriptions to edit according to a thematic focus. The heuristic desirability of such thematic foci is obvious, and yet it would be a pity if they led to the neglect of the logic which governed the internal composition of tablets. The study of individual tablets should, in the long run, prove highly informative about the manner and context in which tablets were compiled and transmitted. Particularly in the case of better-preserved exemplars, it is possible to detect the importation of recipes from different sources, to identify the logic underlying how recipes were ordered and grouped, to gauge the competence of ancient scribes, and to clarify the process of textual transmission (copying vs. dictation).

We here present an edition of a previously unedited Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur, dealing mostly with complaints of the head (including throbbing temporal arteries, constant tear flow, sun stroke, various skin conditions, hair loss, tinnitus, fever). According to the colophon it was copied or excerpted (nasaḫu) from an ‘Akkadian’ (i.e. Babylonian) writing-board (*le‘id*). The colophon suggests it is part of a series, possibly ordered *a capite ad calcem*. In several places it duplicates recipes in the canonical series *šurna avītu muḫḫašu urma ukāl*. It includes only one incantation, and a very simple one at that (ii.18-19), though at iii.5 and iii.6 one is directed to recite an incantation the text of which is not supplied. The actual efficacy of several of the prescriptions has been discussed by Martha Haussperger, a fully qualified medical doctor.¹

The tablet has a number of features of interest. In one place, it differs from a duplicate over the gender of a patient (see lines ii.24-26 with note). In another, one can identify a switch in sources (see iii.20-25 with note). At several junctures the scribe seems to have misread his Vorlage (also true of a duplicate tablet from Nimrud, see note to iv.28). A subsection of the tablet is ordered *a capite ad calcem* (see iii.42-v.1 with note). The tablet also enables a restoration in a Neo-Assyrian scholarly letter (see iii.5 with note). Its unusually good state of preservation (as photographed) may lend it added interest in the eyes of those who are new to cuneiform medical literature and their teachers.

Thanks to the good offices of Dr Joachim Marzahn (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin) it was possible to collate the tablet. Köcher’s copy in *BAM* is based on the excavation photograph, taken before the First World War. The condition of the tablet has deteriorated considerably since the photo was taken. Many signs pristine as photographed/copied are now damaged, some beyond recognition, and a few flakes bearing several signs are missing altogether. The deterioration has been worst where the tablet was damaged already, so that precisely the spots which one would have liked to collate are now mostly illegible. It did not seem profitable to list the cases of damage vis-à-vis Köcher’s copy, and where deterioration has taken place the transliteration below follows the copy. The excavation photograph will be published in a future issue of this journal. The tablet measures approximately 19.0 cm (height) by 13.2 cm (width).

Köcher tacitly regularised the layout of the tablet. The lines are not, *contra* the copy, all parallel: lower down the columns they tend to curve. The ends of the lines are not all as neatly aligned as copied. Thus, in col. iv, min in line 11, gūr.gūr in line 14, dūg.ga in 17, *-an* in 19, *-ru* in 20, and bi.iz² in 23 are

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¹ See J. Black, “*nasāḫu* ‘to copy’”, *RA* 79 (1985), 92-93.


all written to the right of the vertical line which is supposed to mark the right-hand edge of the recipes in
that column.

It is a pleasure to thank a number of scholars for their assistance. I had the benefit of discussing
BAM 3 with Irving Finkel. Marten Stol very kindly read an early draft of the edition and made many
useful and detailed suggestions. Farouk Al-Rawi helped me collate K.

Nicholas Postgate and Eleanor Robson have been unfailingly supportive and helpful. Annie Attia and
Gilles Buisson once again exercised minute, insightful and indefatigable editorial vigilance, saving me
from ungainly slips and inconsistencies, alerting me to additional duplicates, and generously putting at my
disposal their transliteration of the relevant passages of CTN IV 113. I am particularly grateful to them for
their thorough revision of the index.

Perhaps my profoundest debt is to James Kinnier Wilson, who first encouraged my interest in
cuneiform medicine, suggested an edition of UGU 1 (now published in JMC 5, 2005) as the nucleus of my
MPhil thesis, and fostered my work from its beginning, always being ready to offer advice, erudition and
wisdom. To him and Helen I owe many hours of warm and ever delicious hospitality, stimulating
conversation, and ongoing encouragement with my little endeavours in cuneiform medicine. To both of
them this edition is dedicated, in friendship and gratitude.

List of manuscripts:

A = BAM 3; B = BAM 480 (UGU 1, see JMC 5 (2005), 6-43); C = BAM 494 (K. 6224+, includes AMT
1,2); D = BAM 497 (K. 54); E = BAM 152 (VAT 10170); F = Sm. 950 (UGU 4); G = BAM 155 (VAT
13779); H = BAM 499 (AMT 3.2 // K. 2416+); I = BAM 469 (K. 3243+); J = BAM 472 (AMT 100,2+);
K = BAM 482 (UGU 2, see JMC 1 (2003), 1-24); L = BAM 503 (AMT 33,1+); M = BAM 410 (VAT
14531); N = AO 11447 (see Labat, RA 53 (1959), 1 ff); O = AMT 96,1 (K 4054); P = BAM 217 (VAT
13778+); Q = BAM 34 (AO 7482); R = IM 132670 (see HeeBel and Al-Rawi, Iraq 45 (2003) 221-39); S
= CTN IV 113 (ND 4390/IM 67604); T = BAM 33; U = BAM 564; V = BAM 495, W = K 4957+
(formerly AMT 82,1+, now BAM VII no. 9, plate 4); X = Finkel, Studies Lambert, Text 23 (BM 42298).

The alleged duplicate AMT 3,5 iv 8-9 (now BAM 494 ii 75-76) was not judged sufficiently similar to
merit inclusion.

Transliteration

\[
\text{DIS na ugu-šú kám dib-âl sa [sag.ki]-šú zi.[zi]-bšt}
\]

\[
\text{igišú tı dac; igišú bu-ri-rat i !p[!-tam] ![ši-tam mur-din-n[a]
}\]

\[
}\]

\[
\text{ina \text{\textit{u}š sa \text{\textit{a}ra-en sim sag-ka \text{\textit{u}q-à-a ina ša 3 sila
}}}
\]

\[
\text{saš-lé-e šeš 4 [sil]a sab-lé-e te-e-ne-ti tuš-ta-bal ina a\text{\textit{med}}
\]

\[
\text{gazi\text{\textit{med}} sila11 sag.du-su SAR-ab lál-su-ma 3 uš-me nu duž
}\]

\[
\text{im.sahar.na14 kur.ra im.sahar.ge16 kur.ra ina i.udu ur.A hi.hi igišú
}\]

\[
\text{mar\text{\textit{med}}-ma ti-tšf
}\]

(for duplicates of this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 7, 1-4)

\[
\text{DIS ki.min 1/3 sila sab-lé-e 1/3 sila zi še.saa tuš-ta-bal ina a\text{\textit{med}}
}\]

\[
\text{gazi\text{\textit{med}} sila11 sag.du-su SAR-ab lál-su-ma 3 uš-me nu duž
}\]

\[
\text{šeš mun eme-sab-la ina i.udo súd igišú sú mar\text{\textit{med}}-ma tin-ú"
}\]

\[
\text{DIS ki.min 1/3 sila sab-lé-e fe-e-ne-te 1/3 sila šika ninnindu sumum 4 gin im.babbar
}\]

\[
\text{gaz tuš-ta-bal ina a\text{\textit{med}} gazi\text{\textit{med}} sila11 sag.du-su SAR-ab
}\]

\[
\text{lal-su-ma 3 uš-me nu duž úš.i, ina i súd igišú sú mar\text{\textit{med}}-ma tin
}\]

\[
\text{UD-ma lá\text{\textit{med}} an-na-tí lál-uš 10 gin sab-lé-e ša ka
}\]

\[
\text{úši ša šu-l-qa nu šu b.a.géšini na nu šúl-pu-tú
}\]

\[
5 gin sab-lé-e ina ninda AŠ_AN.A NA küm tab-ma gu; 5 gin
\]

\[
\text{saš-lé-e ki 1/2 sila kaš gáz nag-šú ú-ža-ka-ma
}\]
Collations

Translation

NB the *apparatus criticus* only registers lacunae as variants to *BAM* 3 if it is impossible to restore them after duplicate manuscripts.

i.1 If the crown of a man’s head is feverish, his [em]oral arteries [constantly] throb, it affects (lit. ‘kills’) his eyes, his eyes <are clouded by> birratu, ipetu, isitu, murdinnu, qāgānu, and constantly shed tears, grind [terebinth] (and) 1/3 litre of cress on a lower millstone, sift; have it ready (lit. ‘it awaits your attention’), stir in (i.e add) 3 litres of unsweetened cress, four litres of ground cress; knead in kasū-water, shave his head, bind onto him, and do not untie for three days. Mix alum (and) black paste in ‘lion fat’, daub repeatedly onto his eyes, and he will recover. (For variants to this recipe see *JMC* 5 (2005) 15, 1-4)

i.9 If ditto, stir in (i.e. add) 1/3 litre of cress, 1/3 litre of flour of parched corn, knead in kasū-water, shave his head, bind onto him, and do not untie for three days. Pulverise myrrh (and) emesalla salt in fat, daub repeatedly onto his eyes, and he will recover.

i.12 If ditto, crush (and) stir in (i.e. add) 1/3 litre of ground cress, 1/3 litre of shard from an old oven, 4 shekels of gypsum, knead in kasū-water, shave his head, bind onto him, and do not untie for three days. Pound yellow sulphur in oil, daub repeatedly onto his eyes, and he will recover.

i.15 When you have bound these bandages onto him, gather up with warm emmer bread 10 shekels of cress from the mouth of a mortar which has not discarded broken shards (into the cress) or come into contact with vinegar, (and) 5 shekels of cress, and give him it to drink. Crush 5 shekels of cress with 1/2 litre of beer, give him it to drink, he will bring it up and vomit. Cress bandages for the eyes.

i.20 If the crown of a man’s head burns with šétu fever and his eyes are dim, [...] knead [...] boiled left-overs, juniper, ṭumalatu, balifju, cress, (sesame) bran (and) wormwood in milk, (B: shave) ditto.

i.23 [If ditto], have ready (lit: ‘there awaits your attention’) 1 litre of cress, 1 litre of cedar [flour], 1 litre of juniper, 1 litre of sedge- (tubers), 1 litre of wormwood, Sagapenum, two litres of (sesame) bran, (chick’) peas, malt powder, [ground ...], take two litres, ditto.5

i.26 If a man has been seized by rašānu (and) his head, his face, his lips are swollen, to cure him pulverise kukuru, juniper, atā'isu, ... , kammantu, roast cress, roast kasū, flour of parched corn, [Euphorbia] - these nine ingredients - together, knead in kasū-water, shave the head, anoint thoroughly with old butter, bandage onto him, and he will recover.

i.31 If a man’s head has been seized by rašaman, when you rise, early, on an empty stomach, soak your hands in fluid from a potter’s bowl, smear this fluid onto the dust from a lime[stone] threshold slab from an old house seven times and seven, daub this (now moistened) dust on, bandage him, and he shall recover.

i.35 If a man’s head has been seized by ‘flying ašū-disease’, pulverise together kukuru, kasū (and) salt, anoint his head thoroughly (with these substances) in water, and he will recover.

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4 B: kūkurut.
5 B (entire recipe): [xx] take [1/3 litre cre]ss, 1/3 litre ç[edar flour], 1/3 litre juniper, 1/3 litre ... , 1/3 litre wormwood, 1/2 litre argannu, n litre Sagapenum, [sesame] bran, flour of (chick’) peas, [malt pow]der, boiled billatu [...] take [...], knead in kasū-water, shave, ditto.
If a man has been seized by *asû*, lay down opopanax, *balûhu* resin, (and) *kurkanû* embers, **+ blow at them**, (C+D: fumigate his nostrils) **+ (so that) the smoke enters his mouth and his nostrils; afterwards, + blow filtered oil into his nostrils using a pipette, and he will recover.**

If a man has been seized by *asû*, heat up sweet *billatu* (and) roasted cress over embers, **fumigate** his head, bandage on; let him drink ground cress in beer; induce him to vomit using a feather, place *balûhu* resin in his nostrils, and **+ he will recover.**

If a man’s head has been seized by *kurâru*, heat up fennel, [ ... ], colocynth, *bûšânu*, (and) *Ammi* while fresh in the water of a well, [w]ash with ... plant, pulverise colocynth stone, mix in cedar oil, anoint him, daub on thoroughly, bandage him, and he will recover.

If a man is troubled by *kurifru*, anoint him with butter, pulverise ‘white plant’, [daub] on, and he will recover.

If a man’s head is troubled by *kurifru* and dryness, <pound> salt, Salicornia, fennel, *Ammi*, cress, boil down donkey urine, strong vinegar, + [or] vinegar, bind on; [rub <seed of>] + hot + *kustu*-grass onto the dryness, smear with oil; pulverise ‘white plant’, daub on; bind him with these [poultices], and he will recover.

If a man is troubled by scabies or reddening, pulverise sulphur, mix in cedar oil, anoint him (C: thoroughly), and he will recover.

If a man’s head is full of scabies or reddening, pulverise *Salicornia*, heat in oil, rub onto the sore; pulverise *kammantu*, alum (and) black cumin, bandage on with honey, and he will recover.

If a man’s head is watery and the middle of his head and his temples hurt him, place scorching cedar above his neck tendons and neck, and **+ the will recover.**

If a man’s head is completely full of ‘sweet sores’, (F: shave his head,) pulverise cress, add ten shekels of *balûhu*, five <shekels> of opopanax, ten shekels of Salicornia, *kukuru*, (and) juniper, mix in vinegar, bind on five <shekels> of slag, and [he will recover].

If a man’s head is completely full of ‘sweet’ sores, shave his head, [anoint thoroughly] with cedar oil, pulverise [cedar], daub on thoroughly, and he will recover.

If a man’s hair is loose, [ ... ] *aktam* (and) boxthorn in hot water [ ... *pound* [ ... ], crush and sift seed of tamarisk, seed of *kamkadu*, seed of [ ... ], ‘shepherd’s staff’ plant, (and) shard of ostrich egg, mix in oil, anoint his head, and the hair will stay firm.

(For variants to this recipe see *JMC* 5 (2005) 20, 155’-158’)

Charm: the hair is strong, the hair is strong, the hair will grow, the hair will grow. Recital of the charm.

(For variants to this recipe see *JMC* 5 (2005) 20, 159’-160’)

Its ritual: thread carnelian, lapis lazuli, quartz, calcchody, *papparmînu*, ‘fish eye’ stone, serpentine, ‘shepherd’s staff’ plant, (and) magnetic iron ore, *subû*, *subû* of the right (and) *subû* of the left, on a red woolen thread, tie onto his hair, the hair ditto.
(For variants to this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 20, 162’-164’)

ii.24 If ditto, take his hair which came away on combing, press it into a woollen-like ball; fibre of date-palm which leans against the wind (lit: goes towards the wind), and a tuft of stud horse’s hair: tie (herewith) seven knots and seven, tie to his hair; recite the charm seven times. (H: ... for three days her neck hurts her, do not untie until the hair says firm.)

ii.27 If a man burns with sétu fever, the hair on his head falls out, and he constantly gets a throbbing sensation in his temples, shave his head, pulverise one shekel of bat spur in oil, cool his head, and he will recover.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 19, 141’-142’)

ii.30 If ditto, dry, crush (and) sift seed of lupin — litre —, mix with coarse flour, [knead] in kású-water, shave his head, anoint with oil, bind onto him, and do not untie for three days; he will recover.

ii.32 If a man’s head (hair) is falling out in tufts, pulverised cress [ ... ] his head on the right [ ... , bandage], (and) do not untie for three days; on the fourth day shave his head and [wash his] head with potash, anoint (Q: thoroughly) with cedar oil, crush cedar (and) cypress, mix in cedar oil, anoint his head for three days, (and) he will recover.

ii.35 If ditto pulverise bašamu, daub on, (and) bind him with juniper.

ii.36 If a man’s head is feverish, to eradicate the head fever: knead shard of an old oven (and) coarse flour in kású-water, [bind.] his head.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 19, 128’)

ii.38 Knead cress, juniper (and) kókurù in kású-water, bind on. Knead qudrù, ..., haltappānu, (and) kalbānu, bind on. Knead fox grapes in kású-water, bind on, ditto rosemary. Knead laḥagū in kású-water, bind on.

(For variants to the first two lines above see JMC 5 (2005) 19, 129’)

ii.43 If a man’s head is heavy, to cure him pulverise together kukuru, juniper, atā’iṣu, myrrh, (and) Amun, mix with balūhu resin or bull fat, rub in with leather, bandage him for five days, shave his head, knead an infusion in hot kású-water, bind on.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 22, 223’-224’)

ii.47 If a man’s head buzzes, [pound] harmunu, aktam, coral, kukuru, juniper, cedar, cypress, atā’iṣu, kurkanû, šasumu-lichen, wormwood, arganunu, Sagapenum, (and) lone plan, mix in oil (and) wax, rub in with leather, bind on, and [he will recover].

ii.52 If through seizure by a ghost a man’s temples sting [him ...], crush sulphur, (I: atā’iṣu), spurge, (I: hartshorn, shard of) hu[man] skull, sap of abukkatu, fat from the left kidney of a black bull, [wormwood], arganunu, Sagapenum, gazelle droppings, human flesh, gazelle flesh, lunpy salt, hartshorn, these fourteen ingredients — together for the hand of a ghost; recite the charms ‘Depart, evil!’ and ‘Preserver of the Ekur’ over him and fumigate him.

iii.7 If a man is prematurely bothered (lit. ‘pursued’) by ‘seizure of the temples’, and everything in his entire body (lit. flesh) hurts him: hand of a ghost, deputy of Istar. To cure him, boil down wormwood, arganunu, Sagapenum, one shekel of yellow sulphur, maštakal, (and) šalālu-reed in

19 On MS H the pronouns in this recipe are feminine.
20 H: †which leans when there is no wind†.
21 H: omits.
22 Q: †water of Salicornia†.
23 I: †If a ghost prevails over a man†.
24 I: J: omit.
25 I: J: †gazelle flesh, human flesh†.
26 I: †emesallim salt : Lunpy salt†.
27 I: omits.
28 I: in total†, J: omits.
29 I, J: omit.
30 I: omits.
coarse flour and beer, bind on.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 14, 126'-128a')

iii.12 If ditto, pulverise beer dregs, dregs of strong vinegar, dregs of <beer of> Dilmun dates, (and) one [sh]ek[el] of kanaktu fat in butter, daub on.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 14, 128b'-129')

iii.15 If a man has been ‘seized’ by his temporal arteries and his eyes are bloodshot, dry, crush and sift kukuru, juniper, flour of parched corn, (and) (sesame) bran, boil down in beer, bind on.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 13, 70)

iii.20 If the temporal artery in a man’s right temple throbs and his right eye waters, boil down roast cress?, thyme?, kasû, (and) ‘d og’s tongue’ plant in kasû-water, sprinkle flour of parched corn in front (of him), shave his head, bind on, and he will recover.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 13, 103'-104')

iii.21 If the temporal artery in a man’s right temple is sore, boil down juniper, kukuru, gazelle droppings (and) wheat flour together in beer, bind on, and he will recover.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 13, 102')

iii.25 If a man has been ‘seized’ by his right temple and his right eye is bloodshot, mix together cress?, thyme?, gypsum, dadanu, flour of parched corn, (and) mal[t] gruel, boil down in vinegar, ditto.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 5 (2005) 22, 227'-229')

iii.28 If a man has been ‘seized’ by his right temple and his right eye is bloodshot, dry, crush and sift kukuru, juniper, seed of kammantu, §'a§'untu-Ilichen, ‘sheep’s ... plant’ - these five ingredients - together, mix in oil, heat over embers, fumigate his head, anoint him, and he will be cured.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 13, 94'-95')

iii.37 If a man is ill and the disease affects him in the head, to cure him pulverise kukuru, juniper, seed of kanmantu, şaşunctu-lichen, ‘sheep’s ... plant’ – these five ingredients – together, mix in oil, heat over embers, fumigate his head, anoint him, and he will be cured.

(For variants to this recipe see JMC 1 (2003) 13, 94'-95')

iv.1 [If during a man’s sickness an inflammation affects him in his neck, ... a lump of salt ...], bind his neck, and he will get better.

iv.3 [If during a man’s sickness an inflammation] affects him in his midriff, crush together pressed grapes [...] gazelle droppings, bat dung, dove dung [...] (and) foliage of lipâru, sift, mix in fat, rub in with a (water)-skin [...] bind his midriff, and he will recover.

iv.7 [If] during a man’s sickness an inflammation affects him in his lower abdomen, pulverise together şumlâlu (and) ‘dog’s tongue’ plant, boil in beer, bind onto him, and he will recover.
iv.9 If during a man’s sickness an inflammation affects him in the groin, boil šiqqu-sauce, bind onto him, and he will recover.

iv.10 If during a man’s sickness an inflammation affects him in his penis, pulverise myrrh, bind onto his penis in filtered oil, and he will recover.

iv.11 If during a man’s sickness an inflammation affects him in the foot, crush and sift an oven shard, mix in wheat flour, knead in kasû-water, his feet ditto.

iv.12 If it hurts and stings a man in his ear like the ‘hand of a ghost’, perfume <oil of> kanaktu, oil of sweet reed, (and) oil of juniper separately, mix together, place in his ears; wrap a lump of (L: ennesallim)-salt in woollen fleece, place in his ears. (L, N, R: sweet billatu, chick pea flour, lentil flour, emmer flour, kasû flour: mix (all these) in cedar oil in equal parts, boil down in beer, bind on (N: -to him, L: and he will recover)).

iv.14 If a man’s ears are diseased and the inside of his ears smells, stings him (L: pricks him [...] [...] and hurts him, and he cannot (comfortably) recline, throw juniper, kukuru, baliukku (and) kalgukku onto embers, fumigate his ears and place inside his ears; (L: do this for three days, and on the fourth day wipe his ears and [...] fumigated) blow alun into the interior of his ears.

iv.17 (N: If the interior of a man’s ears hurts him like ‘hand of a ghost’) perfume kukuru, juniper, šummalû, Euphorbia, myrrh, myrtle, ballukku, balu!Ju, (N, S: myrrh,) myrtle, ballukku, balu!Ju, sweet reed, thyme, (and) ‘white plant’ - (N, S: sift,) roll into tampons, place inside his ears. Tested tampons.

iv.20 If a man’s ears discharge (lit. ‘have’) pus, to cure him grind myrrh, old cedar, kasû, annu!Jaru, gypsum, thyme, (and) ‘white plant’ - (N: these) seven substances -, (N, S: sift,) roll into tampons, place inside his ears. Tested tampons.

iv.23 If blood flows from a man’s ears, mix pomegranate juice, filtered oil (and) cedar oil, trickle into his ears; trickle oil of Euphorbia and ‘frog skin’ into his ears; pig fat together into his ears ditto.

iv.25 If a man’s ears constantly ring, crush juniper, kukuru, ballukku, sift; boil billatu (and) aktam in beer, bind on while hot; spread juniper oil on his head, repeat constantly for five days, and he will recover.

iv.28 If a man’s ears are heavy (i.e. have difficulty hearing), sprinkle one shekel of pomegranate juice and one shekel of kanaktu juice onto a tuft of wool, insert into his ears, do this regularly: (L.iv, S, Lu: for three days); on the fourth day wipe his ears clean (Lii: with a pipette).

31 L, R, N: †If (R, N: the interior of) a man’s ears hurt(s) him and sting(s) him†.
32 L: †pour†.
33 L: †cedar flour†.
34 L: †fumigate the interior of his ears with juniper, kukuru, myrtle, ballukku, nukkatu, ..., yellow ochre, kalgukku, [all this] is on embers of camelthorn†.
35 L: †pulverise alun, blow into his ears with a pipette†.
36 N: †juniper, kukuru†.
37 S: †kanaktu†.
38 R: omits.
39 S: †kasû, kalgukku†.
40 N: †[a]†, R: †[14]†, S: †together 17†.
41 S: †Nûma† (probably corrupt, see note).
42 S: †for sick ears†.
43 S: †a tampon†.
44 S: †tested tampon†.
45 N: †boil juniper, kukuru, ballukku, aktam, sweet billatu in beer, bind on while hot; remedy†.
46 S: †a-dür† (probably corrupt for a *dûr, see note).
47 S: omits (i.e. uses G stem instead of Gt).
iv.33  †[If ditto]†48  †fumigate him with†49  kukuru, juniper, myrrh, †baluukkan, cedar, <swe>et reed,†50  †(sedge)-tubers†51  kasū, kalgukku †9†52 (L: R: substances), fumigants for †his†53 ears †[over embres  †of camel]thorn†54†55.

iv.35  As a bandage for a swelling, whether on (lit. 'of) the right side or the left, pulverise separately †dates†,†56  crushed malt, yeast, †ballukku, †seed of aktant†57 (and) sweet billatu, mix †together†58  †in oil†,†59  boil †over embres †60  rub in †[with leather]†61  bind on (P, O, U: while hot); w[he]n you [have unboun]d, bathe him †thoroughly†62 with water of 'chaste tree'; †pulverise old cedar, †[ ... ], fumigants for thist †[the]†53 ears - †over embres tof camel†63t. 55

Notes

i. küm // ummu: on the evidence of the scholarly letters to the king published by Parpola, SAA X, the word used by Assyrian scholars for ‘fever’ was ḫuntu not ummu (cf. especially X 328.17-8 ḫu-un-ḫu ... kallu). Accordingly, it is possible that Assyrian scribes read küm aloud as ḫuntu (as opposed to Babylonian ummu).

i.2 On the disease ḫisitu see Scurlock, AFO 48-49, 242-244.

i.3 <a-šā-ăr>: in the absence of this emendation (stative of ešā ‘to confuse’, see JMC 2 (2005) 23 ad 2) the text would read ‘if ... his eyes shed bīrattu, ipštu, isītu, murdinu, ḡīqānu and tears’. However, these entities are not, except for tears, normally shed (nadū), so the emendation is requisite.

i.4 Reading u-qa-a with CAD K 517b.

i.5 ses // marru: marru normally means ‘bitter’. The translation ‘unsweetened’ supposes a contrast with za.lī.lī ju-ub-ba-a-tī ‘sweetened saḥī’ (Zimmern, BBR 1-20:34, see CAD S 64b). saḥī te-ne-tī (f. pl.): note the different gender at i.40: saḥī qa-lu-tū (m. pl) (recipes originating from different sources?).

i.7 Though it occurs without gloss or paraphrase in the Practical Vocabulary of Assur (Landsberger and Gurney, AFO 18 (1957-58), 329:138), ‘lion fat’ here is almost certainly a cover name.64  Urbanana I 266-7
Assyrian scholar letter to the king (SAA X 336) instructs that for 'any potion' of the first recipe (not to the whole of it), see (cited Sâ comment). These three substances as abbreviations for the forms to the agargarïtu=black sulphur unfortunately obscure. The medical recipe it is commenting on has ru'tïtu, agargarïtu=pappasïtu=without kibrïtu, showing that the commentator regarded these three substances as abbreviations for kibrïtu=agargarïtu, kibrïtu=pappasïtu. (18) As is common, the recipe does not specify in what quantity the potion is to be drunk. A Neo-Assyrian scholar letter to the king (SAA X 336) instructs that for 'any potion' (maṣīq me-me-[mm]) one should take three drops, diluted in specially prepared water (the exact description of the water is unfortunately obscure), before eating.

In one case, derivation and meaning can be established with confidence: [summa awītu maṣītu ni]arsa-na ònne na 'dtti lā iqattî] (tī) ina umni qaqqadisū ònne salla 46 diri-ju, " qaqqassu tugallab ina ònne 3-su òsia taqṣṣa maṣṭakal turrar 42 [ina ḫimmētī iti]qūtu tasāk teqqe mē šızbu temessu kasē eli ′nṣu taṣṣakkan adī ʿu ya-ku-ū ṭattanār "[If a man's eyes are] diseased and for many days (the disease) does not end, owing to a fever of his head his eyes are full of shadow. Shave his head, each day cool down three times with dough, parish maṣṭakal, pound (into) an ointment with butter, daub on, wash with water (and) milk, place kasū on his eyes, continue repeating this until he uzakkû (BAM 515 ii.45-47). The plene spelling argues strongly in favour of a derivation from a III-weak root, thus zakû D not saḳû D. As to meaning, no drugs are administered orally and the ailment has no gastric dimension, so vomiting does not occur. However, the adjective zakû meaning 'clear' is often paired (contrasted) with dalītu 'blurred', which is used to describe pathologies of the eye. Accordingly, this is a factitive D stem of the related verb zakû used intransitively, meaning 'to become clear' and here referring to an improvement in vision. Another passage unequivocally includes a III-weak root (thus zakû D not saḳû D): [...] ina ṣīṣib (ga) inešī (anše) ištēniš (1-niš) tuballal (hihi) ud 7 kām ud 10 kām adī (en) ʿu-za-ki-ū ištanattī/taštanaqiq (nag.meš) 'mix together [...] in donkey milk, he should drink it / give him it to drink for 7 to 10 days until he uzakkû′u' (AMT 91,5:3). If the understanding of the temporal indication as an approximate period of time is correct, then 'until he becomes clear (i.e. gets better)' fits better than 'until he vomits': in the

vi. 44: A[syrian]H[erbal] 46, 190, 251) as the later alchemists were to give ridiculous synonyms for mercury, cinnabar, cadmia, and such.” Campbell Thompson regarded such usages on a par with the frequent use of logograms (as opposed to syllabic spellings) as expressions of "professional jealousy ... intended to conceal ... professional knowledge from the layman". Though Campbell Thompson recognised the principle, Köcher (apparently unaware of Campbell Thompson) was able to lend it a wider application. 65 Symptoms edited and duplicates collected by Fincke, Augenleiden, 206 fn. 1546. Instead of til(iqattî) one could read baḍ(pēttī), '(for many days he has not) opened (his eyes)' (thus Böck, NABU 2004/2, 38). What was translated as a diagnosis (following Fincke) could (with Böck and others) be a continuation of the symptoms. The beginning of line 46 is difficult, as one would expect maḥā not maḥāi.

See Kouwenberg, Genemination in the Akkadian Verb, Assen, 1997, 262-65 for other examples. Kouwenberg notes that D zakû is used intransitively in astronomical texts with eclipses as subject. The instance above can be added to those collected by him.
former case, the temporal latitude (7-10 days) reflects an estimate of how quickly different patients can usually be expected to recover, and makes good sense; in the latter case, by contrast, the difference between 7 and 10 days would be entirely arbitrary.

A commentary to Summa šlu XXX (CT 41, 26, 31, cited CAD P 208a) explains nag-ma ú-zak as nag-ma i-par-rî (recalling the close association between the two verbs in BAM 3). Though in principle one could read ú-zak as ú-zaka (uzakkâ), the orthography is awkward for a form of zakû (III-weak), and fits a II-weak root better, hence probably sâku D, according to the commentary synonymous with parû 'to vomit'.

On the (scant) evidence currently available, it thus seems as if two distinct medical usages existed, zakû D 'to become clear, ≈ to recover' and sâku D '≈ to vomit' (cf. the use of the D stem of tabâku 'to pour' meaning 'to excrete'). Of the two, the latter better seems to fit the context in BAM 3 (the spelling ú-za-ka representing either uzâk, with CV-CV for CVC, or uzakka, with ventive ending), hence the translation 'bring it up'.

"iparrà 'he will vomit': on von Soden's idea (expressed in extremely concentrated fashion in AHw 1506b) that the vomited matter is to be used for the bandages, see Atzia and Buisson, JMC 2 (2003), 22, with an ethnographic parallel from Dhofar.

i.20 bar˘âtû meaning unclear. See Fincke, Augenleiden, 86-91.

i.23-25 The disagreement over quantities (1 vs. 1/3) between MSS A and B is noteworthy, as is 1/2 (contra 1/3 for previous ingredients) in MS B.

i.26-34 Additional prescriptions to treat râšanû have been published in a veritable treasure-trove of an article by Finkel, Studies Lambert, 149-51 (Text 1).

i.24 The omission of argannu between šîhu and barîrâtu is surprising and probably erroneous (particularly as argannu can confidently be restored on MS B).

i.26 According to Borger, MesZL 259, suû (ziqnu 'beard') and nundum (šapûtu 'lip') are (contra the dictionaries) not used interchangeably. Here, however, šapûtu 'lip' gives a better sense (with CAD N i 268b), so suû is perhaps best emended to nundum. The mistake, if such it is, probably originated in a misreading of the scribe.

i.27 Restoration [nu-up]-pu-ḫa ‘are swollen' (with CAD N i 268b and AHw 732b). [gu-ub]-bu-ḫa ‘are hairless' also possible (thus Biggs, RA VI 211a).

i.27-8 As nine ingredients are said to be listed, and eight are otherwise accounted for (kukuru, bûrâšu, atâ-šîwu, kammantu, saḫlē qašû, kasē qašû, qēm qašû, niškûtu), the signs from šu-ḫat in line 27 to gu-šû in line 28, inclusive, must write a single ingredient (represented by ... in the translation). Atzia and Buisson suggest an attractive reading šuḫat x [qâ] narmaḫšû/zermandû(nig.ik) ikkalû(gu.)-šû 'verdigris of ... which wild animals (or: zermandû-bugs) eat'.

i.30 Not enough space for [-su s]ar, though this is surprising.

i.33 Cf. BAM 494 i.38', read eper askoppat tiš pûli ša bîti arûl[l] ‘dust from a limestone threshold slab of the house of the man[n] (i.e. patient)' by Köcher, AUWE 10, 211a. Atzia and Buisson observe that on the strength of BAM 3 one might read sum[un]labûr instead of n[a]arûl in BAM 494. In support of this suggestion, the pharmacological topos of dust from an old threshold is standard, cf. CAD A/i 335b.

i.35 The restoration muttaprišû ‘flying (i.e. vanishing?)' is certain. The disease asû muttaprišû (‘flying ašû') is thus described in the Diagnostic Handbook: susûma gig(mûsu? simnu?) sîkınšû kûma nišk kalânu-ti ma pagarûšu mali asû m(u)ta[ppišû šumšû ‘[If] the look of the disease is that it is like bug-bites and his body is full (of them), it is called ašû muttaprišû' (see Scullock and Andersen, Diagnoses 226).


67 According to CAD P 208a lex., a Late Babylonian commentary (Hunger, SpTU 1 33 r2) explains nag-ma ú-zâk 'he will drink and ú-zâk' in tablet VII of the Diagnostic Handbook as [libbašu ana] arê ittanašaš 'his stomach constantly lifts itself to vomit', libbašu ana parê [išaqâ] 'his stomach rises to vomit'. However, nag-ma ú-zâk does not appear in the commentary, and it seems rather (with Hunger) as if the commentary is explaining the phrase libbašu ana arê ittanašaš. The full text of tablet VII of the DH is not yet available, but the phrase libbašu ana arê ittanašaš is attested on other tablets, e.g. XXII (see Heefèl, Diagnostik, 253:26, and 266 ad 25-26 on the identity of the verb).

68 Vomiting bearing an obvious reference to emptiness, one wonders what connection, if any, exists with van Soden, AbB 12 180:9 qar talks-ka-at, where (with van Söldt ad loc.) context suggests the translation 'my hand is empty'.

69 If šu-ḫat were to be read qat-pa ‘plucked' (i.e. plucked atâ-šîwu), the name of the mystery ingredient would begin at the start of line 28. This is unlikely, however, as ‘plucked atâ-šîwu' would be unparalleled.

70 On zermandû see recently Atzia and Buisson, JMC 6 (2005) 42.
i.36 ... süd ina a sag.du-su šēšmēš: translation "pound ..., anoint him thoroughly with the juice" also possible.

i.37 On ḫīl baluḫḫi as a resin specially prepared for medical therapy (as noted also by Heeβel and Al-Rawi, Iraq 65 (2003), 237 ad i.21) see note to iii.2. On kurkanû (perhaps a fern) see Kinnier Wilson, JMC 6 (2005) 12-13.

i.38 The verb concealed by the logogram SAR is uncertain (the phrase is ḫapax). CAD Q 326b (ref. courtesy M. Stol) assigns it to qutturu (tuqattar-šī), translating "cause it to fume (or: light it)". The likely sense is, as recognised by CAD, that the therapist should blow on the embers to produce smoke, so perhaps naṭādu 'to blow' (tanappah-šī) fits best.

qut-ra ana piṣu u nahlītšu ku₄-tub (MS D): since ku₄-tub must represent the G stem and not the Š stem of erēbu 'to enter', qut-ra must be the subject, and so the triptotic accusative ending -a on qutra is unexpected. This may be a Sandhi writing resulting from vocalic elision and crasis: /quttru ana/ > /qutranu/ written qut-ra-ana.

i.40 sahlē qa-lu-tū (m. pl): note the contrast with sahlē te-ne-ti (f. pl) at i.5.

i.41 In the frequently occurring phrase sag.du-su SAR, SAR is normally taken to represent tugallab 'you shave', but here the embers and the similarity with the previous recipe perhaps render tuqattar 'you fumigate' more appropriate. One wonders whether this is sometimes the correct reading of SAR in the same phrase even when embers are not mentioned, and whether confusion might occasionally have arisen in antiquity.

i.43 ana nahlītšu tašakkan 'place in his nostrils': the Neo-Assyrian scholar Urad-Nanaya complains in a letter to the king (SAA X 322) that an unspecified third party has treated a patient with nosebleed incorrectly, pressing nasal tampons against the cartilage (ina muḫḫī nahnatke unnunûd) instead of blocking up the nostrils with them (piṯ nahlīr liškumû). It is understandable that Urad-Nanaya recommended blocking up the nose in the case of a nosebleed, to staunch the flow of blood. The intention to block fluids running from the nose is voiced explicitly in a Late Babylonian recipe: [...] sa ištu ap algoša ilašku ana kalē šamaḫa ḫaša ana nahlītšu tattanāmди 'To hold back the [...] which flows (from his nose), constantly pour filtered oil into his nostrils' (Hunger, SpTU I, 45: 19). However, in cases where the nose does not seem to be bleeding or running, as with this recipe, the intention was probably that the patient should sustainably breathe in the smell of the substance applied, so blocking up the nostrils would be counter-productive. It seems that the practitioner criticised by Urad-Nanaya was confusing the function (and hence mode of application) of the tampons (lipph) intended to stop bleeding with that of substances to be smelled, such as resin of baluḫḫu in BAM 3 i.43.


i.44 ŧHA: though this is thought normally to represent šimru or urijša'n (the reading which the duplicate supports here), the Neo-Babylonian commentary BRM 32:26 (cited CAD N/ii 336b) explains ŧHA as šamma nu-ū-šu 'fish plant'.

i.45 The signs a gigir(LAGAB*BAD) 'water of chariot' require emendation. That tacitly adopted by CAD N ii 241b, normalising arqissumu ina tınḫī tesekkīr 'while they are fresh you heat in an oven', is rather energetic: a gigir(LAGAB*BAD) 'water of chariot' > LAGAB*NÎG 'oven', requiring deletion of the sign A.

i.46 A reading of na₇ as a logogram in its own right, not as a determinative, is encouraged by cases such as ūkušḫuṭ na₇ ūkušḫuṭ and ūkušḫuṭ na₄ min (see CAD I-I 183a).

i.48 For the restoration cf. ii.2.


i.50 süd on MS E: omission in BAM 3 probably erroneous.

i.51 "kul-ti kūm.mā (BAM 3) / "xx-tī šēg-û (MS E): problematic. CAD R 377b leaves the substance untranslated. On MS E the ending -lī (genitive) encourages the restoration [zēr kul₇ī basīlī 'seed of boiled kuṣṭu-grass' (cf. zēr 'kuš-ti' 'seed of kuṣṭu-grass' in BAM 311:7'). The ending i in kult on BAM 3 is unexpected in context, but becomes explicable through the emendation <zēr(numum)> "kul-ti emūrû (kūm)
'seed of hot kuštu-grass'. Both manuscripts would then agree, and these solutions were adopted in the transliteration and translation.71 kūm.ma (MS A) vs. seg6-li (MS E): providing the readings are correct, the variants suggest that an ancestor manuscript had NE, which was variously read as kūm (emēmu ‘to be hot’ and derivatives), resulting in the addition of .ma, and as seg6 (basālu ‘to boil’ and derivatives), resulting in the addition of -li. The ending -tā in pān ri-šik-tā (genitive rišiktē/e expected) probably reflects the graphic merging of TŪ and ŠE in Neo-Assyrian script (on which see Parpola, LAS II 71 n. 139 and Luukko, SAAS 16, 22) i.3 A Mari letter concerning treatment for ekkētu was recently published by Marti in JMC 5 (2005), 1-3. i.9 gi:gi: probably to be read simmu (not mursu) in the light of syllabic writings si-mu ma-at-qum etc. in two Old Babylonian incantations (Goetze, JCS 9 (1955) 8 A6 and B4, 10 A26 and B22). However, on the generality of both words and their close association see Attia and Buisson, JMC 6 (2005) 42 sub a). ku7,ku7 // matqu ‘sweet’: since ‘sweet’ sores are enumerated among skin complaints in the OB incantations, the only body part they are connected with in medical literature is the head, and there are even attestations of kalma mu matuqtu (also on the head),72 it is likely that there is a connection between simmu matuqtu ‘sweet sore’ and matqu ‘head-lice’, the former being perhaps a synonym of the latter. Indeed, a Late Babylonian medical commentary (Hunger, SpTU 51 rs. 1) explains kal-ma-tu ma-tuqt-ta as mut-[q]il ‘head-lice’. Cf. Köcher apud Borger, MesZL 389, reported to the effect that matuqtu ≈ kalma tu. i.9-18 Damage continues round right edge of tablet, with space for several more signs than on copy. ii.13 On the possible reading of mar as zarā ‘to sprinkle’ (not eqū ‘to daub on’) with powders see Bök, AuOr 21 (2003) 169, though, as she notes, the Gtn stem of this verb (corresponding perhaps to marmed) is not yet attested in syllabic writings. ii.21 na4 igi ku7 // aban in nūm. note the explanation in STT 108:28 (cited CAD N ii 340b): abnu šikinšu kīma in nūm aban in nūn [šumšu] ‘the stone whose appearance is like the eye of a fish: [its name] (is) “fish eye stone”’. ii.22 According to Uruanna III 56 (û mun ene-sal-lim : na4 ka.gi.na.dib.ba, cited CAD E 148b) “magnetic iron ore” is a cover name for enesallim-salt. It is difficult to know which substance is meant here. ii.24-26 A curious difference between BAM 3 and BAM 499 (=MS H) is that the possessive pronouns referring to the patient are masculine in the former, feminine in the latter. Indeed, the incantation rubric preceding the ritual on BAM 499 (line 7’) is: ka.inim.ma sik sag.du munus “fish eye stone”. Cf. Kocher apud Borger, MesZL 389, reported to the effect that matuqtu ≈ kalma tu. ii.25 (MS H): the scribe erroneously changed the position of ina li. Cf. UGU 2 (Attia and Buisson, JMC 1 (2003) i.21: gisimmarā sa ina li šāri imnazzū ‘palm which swishes when there is no wind’. ii.26 nikša rakšasu. the literal meaning ‘to tie a knot’ fits the context better than ‘to set up a ritual arrangement’. ii.27 x: more traces than copied (see collation), TUKU unlikely. Probably rather an abortive writing of šık, ineffectually erased. ii.32 Traces as copied, and not consistent with the restoration še[d]: // tukassha ‘you cool’ proposed in CAD S 64b. Owing to an idiosyncrasy of the scribe they resemble xv // imittu as at iv.35. The translation adopts this reading over t[akš] // ekēku ‘to scratch’, which is equally plausible orthographically, but perhaps less likely in context. ii.35 The sign MAR includes an extra vertical, so that the first part looks like GIŠ. ii.36-37 HeeBel and Al-Rawi have observed that, while not a duplicate, this recipe resembles the first recipe on IM 132670, published by them in Iraq 65 (2003), 221-39.
ii.40 Difficult. CAD Q 323 reads ‘qut-ra-tu’ among other materia medica’, leaving the two MIN signs unexplained. The text may be corrupt.

ii.41 The writing geštin lul.1a on an advanced Late Babylonian school tablet (Finkel, Studies Lambert, 219 62:3) shows that kašu was sometimes pronounced lul.

ii.47 On imbu-tum lu as ‘coral’ (not ‘algae’) see recently Kinnier Wilson, JMC 6 (2005), 19.

ii.49 On sašumtu as a lichen see Kinnier Wilson, JMC 6 (2005) 4 (ibid. 14-15 on medical usages). At the end of the line one expects to be able to restore a form of šitu in view of the following two ingredients (cf. JMC 5, note to UGU 1 line 214).

ii.50 In a medical commentary šili is described as being kitua šallu summati ‘like dove’s dung’ (see CAD S 380b), this possibly being a way of saying that ‘dove’s dung’ is a cover name for it (another two being ‘human bone’ and ‘shame’, see CAD E 38a).

ii.51 duš.1al: Finkel, Studies Lambert, 137-223 transliterates tu,-lal, implicitly suggesting that this logogram became accadianised as tālulu, tululu or similar (see the comment by Schwerner, Br.Or. 59 1/2 (2002), p. 101 n. 2). See now also Kinnier Wilson, JMC 6 (2005) 5 on tuḫlušu. It is also possible that duš.1al should be read isštā dišpi (see Durand, FM VII, 116 sub c, on a spelling [u]s-ka-ra-at lál at Mari; ref. courtesy Atta and Buisson).

ii.52 Emendation [a]-I-kar to [g]idim with AHw 264a and CAD E 401a.

ii.53 On the reading of ša.gidim as šagedimmakku (the disease, distinct from šu gidim // qat ĝeterneni, cause of the disease) see Heefel, Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik, Münster, 2000, 51 (but cf. below note to ii.8). On the charm dūppir lemnu ‘Depart, evil!’ see Geller, Studies Lambert, 238 note to iii.3’. Its occurrence on BAM 3 in a context involving ghosts (which were thought to be responsible for buzzing of the ears) encourages the restoration of the same charm in a fragmentary letter of the scholar Urad-Nanaya to Esarhaddon (SAA X 327):

r.12 xxx
r.13 i-ma-ta na̱p-ša-[a-ti] ‘he will die. Salves,’

r.14 q5-ta-ra maś[q]-a-ti ‘fumigants, poti[ons]’

r.15 ša šu-gu-mu-[e geštu] ‘against buzzin[g ears],’

r.16 [q]u-ta-ra ša en um-[x] ‘fumigants to go with the incantation …’

Line r.16 could be read [q]u-ta-ra ša en du[p-pir lem-nu] ‘fumigants to go with the incantation düppir lemnu’

ii.7 The reading uš (iredd)šu ‘pursues him’ follows CAD A/I 101a and S 25b. The form was not booked by CAD R 233b-234a ‘Añu’ and AHw 966a.

ii.8 ša-nē-e: CAD Š/i 398a-b assigned this passage and similar ones to šanu ‘deputy’ (lit. ‘second’), but with the proviso ‘meaning uncertain’. On deputys see Stol, Epilepsy, Groningen, 1993, 6 with the comment by Scurlock, ASD 42/43, 250b. A reading qat ĝeterneni šanē Īṣtar ‘hand of ghost, deputy of Īṣtar’ seems preferable to sugidimmakku šanē Īṣtar ‘hand-of-ghost-disease, deputy of Īṣtar’. Accordingly, the passage is an exception to the principle identified by Heefel, Diagnostik, 51, that the presence of .ma after ŠUDIM indicates the reading sugidimmakku (instead of qat ĝeterneni).

ii.13 sursummē <kas.sag>: sursummē ‘dregs’ are otherwise attested only for non-liquid substances. CAD Š/i 365b interprets the entire sign group zû.lum.ma.NI.TUK as a logogram for asnum, which it translates

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73 On the translation of asurû as “toilet” see most recently M.J. Geller, BAM VII, 78 fn. 1. Rather than simply stating a resemblance between abukkatu resin and “toilet dust”, the commentary is more likely indicating that the latter is a secret name for the former. eper asurû “toilet dust” is also a cover name for kurkanû (see Köcher in Böhmer et al., Uruk: Die Gräber (=AUWE 10), 204b).

37
'Telmun-date beer', however, according to its use and the English word 'beer', the phrase 'Telmun-date beer' would be ungrammatical. According to the sign group zu₂₂₂ mam₂₂₂ ma₂₂₂, it should be read su₂₂₂ lip₂₂₂ as₂₂₂ dilmun-dates. An emendation therefore seems to be made to the text. Köcher's suggestion [kas_{sag} (BAM I xii)] is supported by UGU 2 (see Attia and Buisson, JMC 1 (2003)) ii.65.

iii.13-14 lipi (iudu) kanaktu 'fat of kanaktu': Köcher, AUWE 10, 212b, observed that BAM 525:5 specifies in full lipi kanaktu ša šamma ukallu 'fat of kanaktu that contains oil (i.e. probably 'oily kanaktu')', and that this phrase is explained in a Late Babylonian commentary (Hunger, SPTU I 47:12): lipi kanaktu ša šamma ukallu : kanaktu tasāk adi šamma uṣṣa 'fat of kanaktu that contains oil: crush kanaktu until oil emerges'. Note also Uruanna II 542 (edited CAD S/iīi 334b), šu-uq-lu-ur (var. u i.udu) ša šamme kanaktu šuqlur the substance (var. the fat) from inside kanaktu'.

iii.22 ta-šap-aḫ: non-standard syllabification also at iii.48 and iii.25.

iii.20-27 In these lines the sign ZI is thrice written NAM. Since ZI is otherwise correctly written on the tablet (i.i, i.1, i.4, ii.22, ii.34, iii.36, iv.47), it is likely that the difference in sign forms reflects the use of different sources. Apparently, the scribe of BAM 3 had difficulty recognizing the form of ZI on the source for lines iii.20-27, or recognized the oddity but chose not to correct it. In contrast in iii.28-36, where a different condition (sore temple and bloodshot eye) is treated, different remedies are prescribed for the left side, right side, and both sides.

iii.25 ki-la-la-ak: non-standard syllabification also at iii.22 and iii.48.

iii.37 ip-pu-usu: both dictionaries initially took this as a present form of epēšu in the sense 'to be active, of a fever' (AHw 224a, CAD E 195a-196b), but von Soden subsequently changed his mind, and interpreted it as a preterite form of napišu (AHw 1578a). In favour of this interpretation is the fact that the relevant usage of epēšu would be extremely rare, while napišu is attested in conjunction with diseases elsewhere (note especially the lexical equivalence su.e.a = [(na-pa-šu)] ša mu-ur-ši-im 'Sumerian' su.e.a = (Akkadian) napišu, (said) of a disease' (Namaštu (Finkel, MSL XVI) A 67). On the other hand, the question next arises of what napišu would mean. The context in BAM 3 seems to require some sort of negative meaning (i.e. one of harm for the patient), and indeed von Soden (AHw 1578a) assigned the attestations in BAM 3 to the meaning 'be protracted' ('sich ausdehnen'). CAD N i 288a-289b draws attention to an Old Babylonian letter (AbB 5 255), suggesting implicitly that uranu there is 'fever' rather than (as edited by Kraus) 'mother'. If this were the case, pace CAD N a negative meaning for napišu would perhaps fit the context better: išu inanna ud 10 kam šumma um-ma-ki it-ta-pu-us allakakkim mimmna lā tanakkudū 'in ten days' time, if your fever has napišu-ed I will come to you, do not worry at all.' However, the dictionaries (CAD N i 288b, AHw 736b) cite two OB oil omens in which napišu in connection with disease seems to have a positive meaning (i.e. one of well being for the patient). Indeed, on the strength of a third, similar OB omen the phrase murussu inappasu 'his disease will napišu for him' seems to be synonymous with inappatu 'he will recover': šumma šammu šulmam iddi-ma eli ummatišu bišam šu maršum murussu i-na-pu-su-ma išanišu-ma imat ana ħarrānim nippa 'If the oil emits a bubble and has a sheen over its main body, a sick person's disease will napišu for him, then return to him again, and he will die; for an expedition (this means) a quarrel' (Pettinato, Ölwahragsung II, 23: 63).

[šumma šammu] ana šit šamsi išpur šu [lma_m iddi]-ma eli ummatišu bišam [šu m]urussu i-na-pu-su-ma iš(aniššu-ma) imat ana ħarrānim [...]. 'If the oil dissolves towards the west, [emits] a bubble, and has a sheen over its main body, his [dis]ease will napišu for him, he will become sick again, and die; for an expedition (this means) [...]' (Pettinato, Ölwahragsung II, 47:14').

šumma šammu šulmam iddi-am ma eli ummatim bišam šu maršum iballut ma itār imarras-ma imat 'If the oil emits a bubble and has a sheen over (its) main body, a sick person will recover, but then fall sick again, and die' (Pettinato, Ölwahragsung II, 63: 30).

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74 For preterites in šumma clauses with the sense of English presents see GAG § 161d, though the usage is not common in medical texts.

75 With the possible exception of the fragmentary passage AMT 87,6:4' cited by CAD E 196a, the usage would be confined to the recipes transmitted on BAM 3 and duplicates.
Thus, if *ip-pu-us* in *BAM* 3 derives from *napāšu*, this verb would, surprisingly exhibit both a positive and a negative meaning in conjunction with diseases. For the present it is perhaps better to reserve judgment.

iii.39 As five ingredients are said to be listed, and four (*kukur, ḫurāšu, zēr kammati, šasantu*-lichen) are already accounted for, the first half of line iii.39 up to *še*-enį inclusive must be the name of a single ingredient. The translation ‘sheep’s … plant’ (otherwise unattested)\(^76\) relies on a tentative reading *a ... še*-enį.

iii.43 Köcher compares *BAM* 578.i.46 *qaggassu ana pētū ištadanassu* ‘his head constantly drags him forward’. The restoration and reading *(ina *n[u]-)*-sa *(in a.m)*ortar* is strongly supported by the Jastrow duplicate, which has *aa*żā.ḥi.i // *usu*, but the ending -a is unexpected after *ina*.

iii.45 By analogy with the following recipe (in which i. sumun // *lušu* ‘anointing oil’ acts as a carrier for the other ingredients), and given that the scribe seems to have been guilty of other misreadings, one might wonder whether *ina sili*‘ti (ili) lušā (i.sumun) tanaddî (sub) ‘you pour anointing oil onto the inflammation’ is not a corruption of *ina širki*‘ti (nun) lušē (i.sumun) talāš (silasi) ‘knead in butter (and/or) anointing oil’.

iii.48 *tu-qar-dr* non-standard syllabification also at iii.22 and iii.25.

iii.52 On *hēsū* D see Stol, *Fs. Borger*: The writing of *hēsū* with *has* (KUD) attested here is, so far, unique (see Stol p. 345).

iii.42-v.11 These recipes, whose symptoms are introduced with the formula ‘*šurna awtu ina sili tišu ummu ana ... šu ippu*’ ‘If during a man’s illness an inflammation affects him in the ...’, are ordered a capite ad calcem. The sequence is *qaggadu* ‘head’, *nā* ‘eyes’, *uznā* ‘ears’, *kišādu* ‘neck’, *libbu* ‘midriff’, *enmu* ‘lower abdomen’, *qablu* ‘groin’, *isaru* ‘penis’, *ēpā* ‘feet’. The sequence shows that *qablu* must mean ‘groin’ (not ‘abdomen’) here.

iii.50-51 Note the opposition *kabštu* ‘to be heavy’ and *qalāšu* ‘to be light’, the verbs respectively being used to express the pathology (difficulty with hearing) and the improvement (ease of hearing).

iv.9 al.ū.sas // *siqtu*: *siqtu* is a pungent fish sauce; a Late Babylonian medical commentary (Hunger, *SpTU* I 48: 17) glosses al.ū.sas as *sī-iq* and *ta-ba-a-tū* (tābatu vinegar).

iv.10 Note the change in the verb for ‘to bind’: *šarmādu* (objects: *kišādu* ‘neck’, iv.2; *libbu*, iv.6; *enmu*, iv.8; *qablu* ‘groin’, iv.9) – *rakūsu* (object: *isaru* ‘penis’, iv.10).

iv.15 (MS L) *[i]kal��a // kalā*: this is attested as a cover-name for the plant *ašqalātu* (*Ūrunna* iii.51, cited *CAD* K 95a). On the translation of *kalā* as ‘yellow ochre’ see Stol, *Fs Borger*, 347-348.

(MS L): the reading *taq-qat-rū* is possible and *vqrt* would fit the context, but an N stem of *vqrt* is otherwise unattested.

iv.17 (MS S ii.23): the writing GAM.me for GAM.ma // *sumalātu* is rare outside lexical texts. See *CAD* § 245a and *AHw* 1112a, citing *AMT* 58.8:5 and *Iraq* 31, 29, 21 (both medical, latter Middle Assyrian).

iv.19 *lip-pi* ‘tampons’ // (MS S ii.27) *NU*[^141]: NU is not otherwise attested as a logogram of *lippu*, and the words which NU normally represents logographically (*u[lā] *not*, *lipisti* ‘sperm’, *salmu* ‘statue’) do not yield good sense here. As there are indications elsewhere on the tablet that the scribe had difficulty reading his Vorlage (probably owing in part to damage), it is possible that *NU* derives from a damaged PI, thus [lip]-pi read as (x) NU.MES by the scribe of MS S. If this were the case, he must have had scant acquaintance with the idiom of medical texts. Cf. the notes to iv.21 and iv.28, also those to *UGU* 1, 68', 141', 162', 229' and 237' in *JMC* 5 (2005).

iv.21 Instead of āra (*ḤAR*)-en, MS S ii.19 reads *hildu*-en. *Hildu* probably reflects a misreading of *ḤAR* on a (damaged?) Vorlage (cf. the notes to iv.19 and iv.28) by a scribe possessing little acquaintance with medical literature.

iv.22 *lip-pi* *laḫ-ku-x*: x unclear (see collation), one would expect -ti, -te or -tu. The wedges look like the first half of -te. Combined with the oddity at iv.23 (see note), they suggest that perhaps at some point a damaged Vorlage was copied as seen, without restoration.

iv.23 bi.iz[^17]: the wedges do not match a full bi.iz (see collation), but could conceivably derive from bi.iz on a damaged Vorlage. (Cf. previous note.)

iv.24 *i-nis* ‘together’ is unexpected after only one ingredient (pig fat), and if this were supposed to be poured in alongside the others it is hard to see why they were not all listed as a single group. The text is probably corrupt.

iv.24 *nikiptu*-oil is dripped into the ear for therapeutic purposes also in a NA scholarly letter (SAA X 323.e15, see *LAS II* 250-51). *mušak musa* ‘irānu ‘frog skin’ is probably a cover name (on *muša* ‘irānu as a cover name for *kuk(u)ru* see Kinnier Wilson, *JNES* 64 (2005), 48).

\[^76\] But see *BAM* 497:9 ‘sa-ar-a’ *še*-enį lāl-*ma* ‘bind him with sheep fat’ (see *CAD* S 175b disc.).
iv.25 gù. dé on duplicate could represent both šasû 'to call' and šagômu 'to roar' (cf. Farber, *BID*, 75 ad 6, though syllabic writings of šasû are now attested, see *CAD* S/ii 151b).

iv.28 (MS S ii.11'): the beginning of the recipe on MS S differs substantially from the other MSS, with different symptomatology and ingredients. The text is fragmentary and difficult, and only a provisional rendering can be offered here: [Doc na geš]tu gûb-šû dugud ñum ses ina li-še sûd 10 [xx ana' geš]tu'-šù bi:rîz (text: NE) i-ti giš 1st 'eren šû 1 11 [x] lu' sar' a-du nu.ür.nu 'If a man’s left ear is heavy (i.e. has difficulty hearing), knead myrrh in dough, trickle [xx] into his [ear, ...] cedar oil, ... together with pomegranate'. NE for bi:rîz // fanattuk 'you drip (into his ear)' (corresponding to gar-an 'you place (into his ear)' in the previous recipe on the same tablet, line 5') probably reflect a misreading by the scribe (cf. the notes to iv.19 and iv.21). Accordingly, a-du nu.ür.ma 'together with pomegranate', corresponding to a giš nu.ür.ma 'juice of pomegranate' on the other manuscripts, is suspect, and probably reflects a misreading of GIS as DU. Again on the strength of the duplicates, the fragmentary sign which precedes a-du (not GIS as copied) might be derive from a misreading of GIS. In the circumstances, it is provisionally wisest not to attempt restoration at the start of line 11'.

mē kanakti (lim·gīg) on BAM 3 is rare, and MS S omits sim. Is the text corrupt?

iv.29 The inclusion of MS Lii commends itself here even though it was also cited as a duplicate to iv.14-15 above.

iv.29-30 It is extremely rare for a logogram to be split across lines. The division of im.sahar.na.kur.ra // gabû 'alun' on BAM 3 (im.sahar nà.kur.ra) perhaps suggests that the scribe misunderstood the sign group as embodying two different ingredients (epru (im.sahar) aban šadî (na.kur.ra) '(clay) dust, mountain stone') or at least two different words (eper aban šadî 'dust of mountain stone').

iv.30 The absence of så on MS S is suspect, doubly so in view of errors elsewhere on the tablet (see the notes to iv.19, iv.21 and iv.28).

iv.34 The (rebus) writing kù.gi for quṭâru (qu5-târu) occurs also in an early Neo-Babylonian letter (S. Cole, *The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor’s Archive from Nippur* (1996), no. 70). The writing is, on the evidence currently available, confined to magico-medical documents (though attestations of the word quṭâru, however spelled, are admittedly sparse outside magic and medicine). This suggests that the author of the letter was acquainted with the genre. What then becomes noteworthy is that the purpose of the same letter is to request fumigants from another city, to cure badly buzzing ears. Apparently, even though he had access to medical literature (and knew that buzzing ears were cured by fumigation), the author of the letter did not regard himself capable of preparing the necessary substances. At the same time, there is no suggestion that he required the services of an imported practitioner. Thus it seems that the fumigation was going to be performed by someone local (perhaps even himself) who could not, however, prepare the ingredients.

iv.36 MS W offers be-pi 'broken' at the end of all lines whose end is legible. As observed by Finkel, *Studies Lambert* 180, this indicates that it was copied from a source whose right-hand edge was damaged. Accordingly, although there is not enough space to restore [munû5 sa-hi-in-du ñum mug] at the end of W line 4 or [3]sê.nû.a Ra-su] at the end of W line 5, this is not bona fide evidence of a shorter variant. The question is rather how much was lost on the right-hand edge of the source from which W was copied, and this is at present difficult to determine.

iv.36-37 a-he-e 1-niš 'separately together' on MS W is obviously corrupt and justifies at least the emendation <sùd>.

iv.44 gag is normally used for sikkatu 'peg'. Here it is probably a rebus writing for the homophone 'yest'.
Index and glossary

Square brackets mean the word is partly damaged; an underlining in square brackets appears in the index even if the word is fully preserved in a duplicate passage. Numbers and 'ditto' are not indexed separately.
to depart

swelling

tear

honey, date syrup

quartz

see šamumu šedu

to scratch

see note to ii.32

scabies?

name of Enlil's temple in Nippur

over

on, over

to go up and away

to heat

hot

lower abdomen

when

she-goat

dust

do this: iv.15, [iv.29]; see also note to iii.37: iii.37, iii.42, iii.47, iv.33, iv.35, iv.1, iv.3, iv.7, iv.9, iv.10, iv.11 (i-p-pu-us)

its ritual

to daub on, apply

to daub on, apply, repeatedly, thoroughly

eyes: i.7-8, i.11, i.14; <a> i.13 (? see note)

enter

cedar

lower millstone

collect, gather

to go towards

to confuse, blur

ghost

alum

feather

gypsum

constantly

date palm

<i> powder/flour</i>

skull

to shave

head: i.6, i.10, i.13, [i.30], i.41, i.56, [ii.9, ii.12 (sadu)], ii.28, ii.31, ii.33, iii.23, iii.27, iii.40

chick peas

<plant>

oil: i.39, iv.10, iv.23

a fever

early

crush

<plant>

old oven, i.12, ii.37, ii.16(ostrich egg), iii.1(skull), iv.11(oven)

to crush

thyme

'shepherd's staff' plant

resin

butter, ghee

chalcchodu

head:

loss bits

heated

fear

<note to i.11>

'donkey'

right (opposite of left)

eye

clouding over

colocynth

'coarse flour'

penis

blurring (an eye disease)

wax
ištar 1.-niš  Ittar (name of goddess)  iii.9 (deputy of)
ištaš  sik-aka  together  i.29, 36, 55, ii.44, iii.5, 19, 30, 32, 39, iv.5, 8, 13, 24, 37
išqu  gúb  woollen tuft, fleece  iv.13, iv.28
išnu  dugú  to become firm (of hair)  i.17, ii.26
kaštu  uhuru  to be heavy, to have difficulty  ii.43, iii.42, iii.50, iv.28
kakù  gùrûr  lentil?  iv.13 (flour)
kalkakkù  giš.mal.i̯al  <plant>  ii.40
kalakù  im.kal.gig  <red paste>  iv.15, iv.18, iv.34
kalù  cillag  kidney  i.ii (black bull, left, fat), iv.31 (bull, fat)
kalû  im.kal.la  yellow ochre  [iv.15]
kalû  all  iii.8
ka(m)antu  á.A.B.A.B  <plant>  i.28, ii.6, iii.38 (seed), iii.46 (seed)
karpêtu  šim.gig  <plant>  i.15 (seed)
karâtu  an incense bearing tree  iii.14 (fat, see note), iv.12 (<oil>), i.17, iv.28 (extract)
kirbiinu  to wipe  iv.15, iv.29
kàštu  qisâdu  grapes  ii.41 (fox), iv.3 (pressed, without ū)
kizâdu  <plant>  [i.52], ii.6
kisâdu  to rub (onto)  i.28 (roasted), i.36, i.54, iii.21, iv.12 (flour), iv.18, iv.20, iv.34, iv.42; see also ni₂šu
kaštu  D  to make cool  ii.29
kibètu  psš(K.I.A),šd  sulphur  ii.3, iii.1
kigû  wheat  iv.44; flour: iii.19, iv.11
kidû  both  [iii.25]
kibûtu  lag  [iv.32], iv.40
kibûtu  lump  salr: iv.1, iv.13
kigû  neck  iv.1, iv.2
kigû  <plant>  i.56 (as cloth), iv.36 (as plant, seed)
kulû  leqû  flax, linen garment  i.2, 27, 35, ii.10, 39, 43, 48, iii.16, 18, 35, [38], 46, iv.14, 17, 25, [33], 40
kùnâ  emmer  i.1 (ummu), ii.7 (head, water), ii.36 (ummu), iii.15, iii.20 (right, tears), iii.24 (left, tears), iii.26 (both, tears), iii.28 (right, blood), iii.31 (left, blood), iii.24 (both, blood), iv.20 (pass); see also ni₂šu
kásu  to test / tested  i.51 (<seed>)
kàta  Â.A.B.A.B  <grass>  i.17 (bread), iv.13*
kaštu  šed,  emmer  ii.24
kušû  uhs.še.giš.i  ball of wool  i.22, 1.24, iii.16, iii.35 (dried)
kîbašu  G.R.G.G  leaf, foliage  i.4.4, i.4.8, i.4.9
kurânu  šaš.giš.ri  <disease>  i.3.7, i.49, iv.18, [iv.32], iv.40
kurû  kur.kimûnen  goose  [iii.51] (samnu)
lâšu  smûn  old  i.12 (oven shard), i.30 (hizûtu), i.33 (house), i.37 (oven shard)
làšu  nesûn  new  i.42
làšu  ni₂šu  to have, to hold, to be  iv.13
lèsû  ù₂šu  ... ⅗  iv.21
lèsû  to roll  iv.19
lampû  tag.ma₄ / tag.tag  to palpate, to rub, to hurt  ii.7 / iii.8
lapûtu/lâtu  še.sa.a  roast grain  see qalûtu  iii.32
ləru  ù₂.K.I.K.I.L.ri  <grass>  iv.5 (liparu)
lu₂šu  sila₂  to knead  i.6, 10, 13, 22, 23, 30, [ii.30], 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, iii.36, iv.11
lûtu  to test / tested  iv.22 / [iv.22] evil  iii.5 (in name of charm)
lûtu  leqû  to take  i.2.5, [i.2.5*2](lùtu), ii.24
lu₂šu  qalût  to knead  iv.3, iv.6, ana libbi *thereto*: i.11, išu libbi *therfrom*: i.4, i.2.5
lipûtu  li₂šu  to knead  iv.5 (folicage)
lûtu  lipûtu  tampon  iv.19, iv.21, iv.22
lûtu  li₂šu  to knead  i.7 (lion), i.11, ii.44 (bull), iii.2 (black bull kidney), iii.13 (kana₂tu), iv.3, iv.26 (bârûšu), iv.31 (bull kidney)
lûtu  lipûtu  fat  iii.21, iv.8
lûtu  li₂šu  'dog's tongue plant'  [i.56], iv.35
lûtu  ù₂ce.mu.ru.ši  either ... or  ii.11
lûtu  lipûtu  ‘ostrich’  i.16 (egg, shard of) ostrich  iii.45, iii.46
lûtu  li₂šu  anointing oil?  iv.12, iv.14
lipûtu  li₂šu  to be full of  iv.13, iv.26, iii.6
lipûtu  li₂šu  to prevail  ii.52 (ghost over patient)
lipûtu  li₂šu  to be diseased, sore, ill  i.48, i.49, ii.5, iii.18, iii.37, iv.14
lipûtu  li₂šu  a bath, a rinse  iii.44
lipûtu  li₂šu  bitter, unsweetened  iv.45
lipûtu  li₂šu  diseased  i.5 (sahbâ)
lipûtu  li₂šu  skin, leather  iv.19 (ears)
lipûtu  li₂šu  <an alkaline plant>  [i.56], ii.45 (edîn), ii.51, iv.24 (frog), iv.37
lipûtu  li₂šu  <plant>  iii.10
lipûtu  li₂šu  sweet  iv.18
lipûtu  li₂šu  rosemary?  simmû  ii.9, [ii.12]
lipûtu  li₂šu  to wash  i.41
lipûtu  li₂šu  [i.45*2](head), [iii.33*2](head)
to heat up i.41, i.55
to wash, smear i.52
to thread iv.24(fat)
to put, to place, to insert i.43(in nostrils), ii.8(on neck); into ears: iv.13(*2), 15,19,21,29
<type of reed> see qanû
'loose plant' ii.29, i.3, i.39, iv.19, iv.21, iv.34, iv.44
'white plant' ii.50
oil, fat i.48, i.52, iv.21
to thread i.14, i.35, i.52, i.55, ii.2, ii.5, ii.17, ii.29, ii.31, ii.34 , ii.51, iii.40, [iii.48](juniper), [iii.51](goose), iv.12(*2)(kanaktu, sweet reed), iv.13(burstu), iv.24(pig), iv.24(akpuri), iv.37; cedar: i.46, ii.4, ii.13, iii.34, iv.13; iv.23, filtered: i.39, iv.10, iv.23

deputy i.3, i.41, i.55


to sprinkle i.43(in nostrils), ii.8(on neck); into ears: iv.13(*2), 15,19,21,29
to give to drink iv.20
to to call out, to ring? iv.25
to thread i.14, i.35, i.52, i.55, ii.2, ii.5, ii.17, ii.29, ii.31, ii.34 , ii.51, iii.40, [iii.48](juniper), [iii.51](goose), iv.12(*2)(kanaktu, sweet reed), iv.13(burstu), iv.24(pig), iv.24(akpuri), iv.37; cedar: i.46, ii.4, ii.13, iii.34, iv.13; iv.23, filtered: i.39, iv.10, iv.23


to pulsate? iv.44(malt)
to heat up iv.9


to thread i.14, i.35, i.52, i.55, ii.2, ii.5, ii.17, ii.29, ii.31, ii.34 , ii.51, iii.40, [iii.48](juniper), [iii.51](goose), iv.12(*2)(kanaktu, sweet reed), iv.13(burstu), iv.24(pig), iv.24(akpuri), iv.37; cedar: i.46, ii.4, ii.13, iii.34, iv.13; iv.23, filtered: i.39, iv.10, iv.23


to thread i.14, i.35, i.52, i.55, ii.2, ii.5, ii.17, ii.29, ii.31, ii.34 , ii.51, iii.40, [iii.48](juniper), [iii.51](goose), iv.12(*2)(kanaktu, sweet reed), iv.13(burstu), iv.24(pig), iv.24(akpuri), iv.37; cedar: i.46, ii.4, ii.13, iii.34, iv.13; iv.23, filtered: i.39, iv.10, iv.23
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