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- Page 1      A Newly Discovered Drawing of a Neo-Assyrian  
Demon in BAM 202 Connected to Psychological and  
Neurological Disorders  
**Troels Pank Arbøll**
- Page 32      A Short Note on a New Join to K. 3628+  
(Epileptic and Demonic Afflictions of Infants)  
**Eric Schmidtchen**  
*kasû(ÚGAZI<sup>SAR</sup>) Revisited*  
**Sona Choukassizian Eypper**
- Page 50      The libbu our second brain? Appendix part 2  
**Annie Attia**
- Page 93      Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes :  
sommaires 2003-2018

# Cunéiformes

## A Newly Discovered Drawing of a Neo-Assyrian Demon in *BAM* 202 Connected to Psychological and Neurological Disorders

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*“The oldest and strongest emotion of mankind is fear, and the oldest and strongest kind of fear is fear of the unknown.”*

- H. P. Lovecraft, *Supernatural Horror in Literature* (1938)

Losing control of one's faculties and motor functions are among the most frightening symptoms of any medical condition, not only among the patients themselves, but also among family members (Stol 1993: 146). And for healers to diagnose the cause and describe the physiology of these overwhelming symptoms has remained difficult until the rise of modern medicine (Gross 1992: 71ff.). Today we label many such afflictions as psychological and neurological disorders. In ancient Mesopotamia, however, symptoms related to abnormal behaviour and involuntary movements were considered to have been inflicted upon a person by supernatural forces, such as gods or demons. In the massive corpus of magico-medical cuneiform tablets, a fair amount of diagnoses with symptom descriptions, prescriptions, rituals and incantations allows us to examine how healers described and cured such afflictions (e.g., Scurlock 2014: 196ff., 555ff.). Yet, the evidence that indicates how specific demons causing these ailments were visualized is remarkable fragmentary.

Particularly two groups of conditions we today would classify as psychological and neurological conditions have received attention within recent years: the ailments *demmaḫurrū* “derangement” and *ṭēmu šanū* “altering mind” causing insanity, as well as an illness called *bennu*, often translated as “epilepsy” (Chalendar 2013; Stol 2009; Avalos 2007; Kinnier Wilson 2007; Stol 1993; Kinnier Wilson 1965). All these afflictions were described, diagnosed, and treated in an illustrious text published as *BAM* 202, most recently edited and analysed by Vèrène Chalendar (2013). The tablet was originally excavated in the N4 library of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*, originating in 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Assur (Maul 2010; see also May 2018; Pedersén 1986: 41ff.; Hunger 1968: 19-20). The manuscript was later published by Franz Köcher (1964: XI and pl. 4-5) in the third volume of *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin (BAM)* as no. 202. Besides prescriptions for treating the mental alterations *demmaḫurrū* and *ṭēmu šanū*, as well as *bennu*-epilepsy, the tablet contains a depiction of a demon on the reverse, which has not been noticed in previous publications. Illustrations of such demonic forces on cuneiform tablets with magico-medical treatments are rare, and only a handful is known from the first millennium BCE.<sup>1</sup>

This article presents a new line drawing, edition, and commentary of *BAM* 202 in order to publish and discuss the drawing on this manuscript for the first time. In the first section I

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<sup>1</sup> Finkel 2011: 338, 38-42 Figs. 4-6; Zilberg and Horowitz 2016: 175-177, 183; Reiner 1987: 30; Nougayrol 1972: 141.

examine the connection between the illnesses *demmakurrû*, *ṭēmu šanû*, and *bennu*-epilepsy by considering the diagnoses and symptom descriptions in the prescriptions of *BAM* 202. This analysis serves as a backdrop for describing and discussing which demon is depicted on *BAM* 202 in Section 2 and 3, and who copied the tablet in Section 4. As indicated by the title and opening quote, I have chosen to address medical as well as emotional aspects of the symptoms described in *BAM* 202 in order to examine the relationship between the diagnoses and the depicted demon. A conclusion is offered in Section 5. The new line drawing, edition, commentary and pictures of *BAM* 202 are supplied as an appendix in Section 6.

## 1. The Illnesses Diagnosed in *BAM* 202

Two groups of ailments are diagnosed and treated in *BAM* 202: mental changes (obv. 1-3)<sup>2</sup> and various symptoms grouped under the heading *bennu*-epilepsy (rev. 5'-7').<sup>3</sup> The first diagnosis on *BAM* 202 reads as follows:

“If *dem[makurr]û* (derangement) has seized a man and his mind a[lters time and again], his speech is incoherent, he [get]s a dep[ression] time and again (lit.: his [min]d continually fa[lls on him]), and he talks a lot, (in order) to res[tore] his mind to him ...”.

The passage has been treated in depth by Stol (2009), who distinguished two primary psychological changes, namely *demmakurrû* and *ṭēmu šanû* (see also Chalendar 2013: 15-29; Steinert 2012: 385ff.; Geller 2010: 181 n. 40; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 374ff., 383; Kinnier Wilson 1965: 292). The term *demmakurrû* is a loan word from the scholarly Sumerogram DÍM.MA.KÚR.RA<sup>4</sup> which is translated into Akkadian as *ṭēmu* “reason, intelligence” and *nakāru* “to alter, led astray, become hostile, become estranged, become deranged” (Stol 2009: 1; see Chalendar 2013: 14; *CAD* N/1: 159ff.; *AHw*: 718ff.). The term *ṭēmu šanû* relates to the illness named “alteration of the mind” (*šinūt ṭēmi*).<sup>5</sup> The verb *šanû* means “to become different, strange”, and with *ṭēmu* it has the connotations “to change one’s mind, become deranged, become insane” (*CAD* Š/1: 403ff.; *AHw*: 1166f.). Stol (2009: 2, 6, 12) interpreted *demmakurrû* as a mild derangement, whereas he saw *ṭēmu šanû* as insanity, but other researchers translate the terms carrying evenly weight (Scurlock and Andersen

<sup>2</sup> For mental illness in Mesopotamia, see Buisson 2016; Reynolds and Kinnier Wilson 2014 and 2013; Chalendar 2013; Couto-Ferreira 2010; Stol 2009; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 367-85; Worthington 2003: 4; Geller 1999; Stol 1999; Ritter and Kinnier Wilson 1980; Kinnier Wilson 1967 and 1965.

<sup>3</sup> For epilepsy and neurological conditions in Mesopotamia, see Reynolds and Kinnier Wilson 2014; Fales 2010: 20ff.; Reynolds and Kinnier Wilson 2008; Scurlock 2008; Avalos 2007; Kinnier Wilson 2007; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 284-344; Kinnier Wilson 1996: 137; Stol 1993; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 1990; Labat 1953: 21.

<sup>4</sup> The writing KA.ĤI.KÚR.RA, found in *BAM* 202, had the phonetic value *dimma* according to various lexical lists (Stol 2009: 1; see Chalendar 2013: 14ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Stol 2009: 6-8; see also Farber 1977: 74-95; *CAD* T: 95-96. It is important to note that *šinūt ṭēmi* was referred to as a “*šēdu*-demon deputized by Marduk/Gula” in *šammu šikinšu*, see Stadhouders 2011: 10-11, 35 and *ibid.* 2012: 4, 16.

2005: 375-76), or identifies *demmakurrû* as more severe than *tēmu šanû*.<sup>6</sup> Regardless, both ailments were associated with epilepsy.<sup>7</sup>

To have incoherent speech is described with the words *amātu* “spoken word, utterance” and *nakāru* in the Gtn-stem with the meaning “to talk senselessly” (*CAD* N/1: 163; see Chalendar 2013: 23-24; *AHw*: 719). The loss of meaningful words, possibly involving some aggression, was therefore related to a loss of proper use of one's faculties.<sup>8</sup> When a patient's “mind continually falls on him” (*tēmšu imtanaqqussu*), it may insinuate “depression” (Steinert 2012: 391; Stol 2009: 6, 11 and n. 69), although the interpretation remains open for debate.<sup>9</sup> The verb *maqātu* “to fall (upon), collapse” could also be used referring to illnesses or demons in the sense “to attack, afflict” (see recently Salin 2015: 330ff.). I use the translation “depression” in lack of a better alternative, but it is questionable if the phrase in *BAM* 202 discussed above describes the modern mental disorder (see n. 9).

Talking a lot appears to be a significant symptom for distinguishing the malady from other mental changes, during which the patient is silent or not able to use his mouth.<sup>10</sup> The Sumerogram *DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>* is commonly read *dabābu* “to speak (aloud), talk” (Borger 2010: 256),<sup>11</sup> but can also be read “complain, protest”.<sup>12</sup> The symptom is mentioned in both

<sup>6</sup> Chalendar (2013: 21-22) suggests that the verb *nakāru* carries more severe connotations than *šanû*, which indicates that *demmakurrû* may have been worse than *tēmu šanû*. For other cases of illness described from mild to severe forms, see, e.g., Arbøll 2018a; Stol 1993: 56. Furthermore, it is possible that *demmakurrû* was the diagnosis and name of the illness, whereas *tēmu šanû* and the remaining description were symptoms (Chalendar 2013: 22-23). Several lexical lists equate the two types of mental changes discussed here (ibid.: 15-19; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 255). Some texts list *demmakurrû* as an illness together with, e.g., *bennu*-epilepsy (Chalendar 2013: 48-50; Steinert 2012: 393 n. 38; Farber 1977: 56). For *šabātu* describing causes of illness, see Salin 2015: 325ff.; Heeßel 2000: 55. It is unclear if *tēmu šanû* could be personified as a demon (see Stol 2009: 6). In some texts, it “seizes” the patient (e.g., Geller 2010: 34).

<sup>7</sup> Chalendar 2013: 15 and n. 36, 16; Stol 2009: 11-12; Stol 1993: 25 and n. 19, 95.

<sup>8</sup> Stol 2009: 2, 5-6, 11. A similar symptom is observed in a text possibly describing a state of anxiety (Ritter and Kinnier Wilson 1980: 25-26).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Chalendar 2013: 25-26 with further references; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 375 no. 16.43, 383 no. 16.87. The word depression is, due to its modern connotations, difficult to use in the context here. Furthermore, it is troublesome to correlate a symptom connected to depression with the patient talking a lot. Comparably, translations of the related term *miqit tēmi* appear as “dejection, desperation” (*CAD* T: 96), “Depression, Niedergeschlagenheit” (Steinert 2012: 91 n. 29), “loss of reason” (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 284), “Verzweiflung” (*AHw*: 657), and “affective loss” (Kinnier Wilson 1965: 292). Concerning this term, Chalendar (2013: 26) suggests “démence, plus ou moins synonyme, à l'origine d'aliénation mentale”. Note that a medical commentary equates *muqqut* with *šapil*, “it is collapsed means it is low” (Wee 2012: 635, 640; see also Scurlock 2014: 120, 128 l. 19). Although the text commented on does not concern mental alterations, the equation could tentatively link the expression in *BAM* 202 discussed here with the phrase *libbašu šapil* “his heart is depressed” (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 64, 144, 329, 343). Antašubba-epilepsy also appears to be connected to sorrow on the basis of the outcry *ai* “woe!” (Stol 1993: 70), although similar outcries are difficult to interpret (cf. Heeßel 2000: 44-45; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 1990: 193, 197). Note that depression can be an accompanying disorder for people suffering from epilepsy (Kanner 2006). Medically, depression does not show itself during epileptic seizures. If the diagnoses on *BAM* 202 are connected, they may refer to a long-term affliction instead of two separate episodes of illness. As discussed below, the focus in *BAM* 202 on the patient's bed could indicate that the healer observed symptoms at the patient's bedside. However, the clinical pictures painted in the two diagnoses on *BAM* 202 are not easy to correlate, as the symptoms observed by a healer would then have to occur within a relatively short time span, although the first diagnosis possibly includes a statement connected to a long-term observation (recurrent depression). The question is therefore, if it is possible to translate *tēmšu imtanaqqussu* as “repeated moments of desperation/loss of reason” occurring within a limited time span. If the two diagnostic statements in *BAM* 202 are connected to two related medical occurrences within a limited time span, it can cautiously be suggested that the first diagnosis describes a confusional state occurring after an epileptic seizure, which is then described in the following diagnosis.

<sup>10</sup> See *CAD* D: 6; Abusch et al. 2016: 398; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 3-4, 16; Stol 2009: 10; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 72-76; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 307, 376, 450; Reynolds and Kinnier Wilson 2004.

<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to see if the writing hides a Gtn-stem (see *CAD* D: 4). The D-stem *dubbubu* can be read “to rave (said of a madman)”, and the verb is equated in lexical texts with terms for insanity (Chalendar 2013: 15; *CAD*

diagnoses on *BAM* 202. Other texts indicate that “madness” (*šēhu*, cf. *CAD* Š/2: 266, “possession”; *AHw*: 1209) and the term “ecstatic” (*muhḫû*, *CAD* M/1: 90f.; *AHw*: 582), designating a person overcome by a divine being, imply lunacy.<sup>13</sup> Madness was also related to *bennu*-epilepsy (Stol 1993: 49-50).

By finally “restoring a patient’s mind”, the cure intends to “return” (D *tāru*) a patient’s mind to him. This may imply that the mind had been taken away (Stol 2009: 11; cf. Herrero 1984: 38, 41). Although it remains uncertain to what extent the two diagnostic statements in *BAM* 202 are related to a single (hypothetical) medical case, it cannot be ignored that the *bennu*-epilepsy in the second diagnosis, acting as a *šēdu*-demon of Sîn, could be responsible for removing a patient’s *īēmu*.<sup>14</sup>

Turning to the second diagnosis on *BAM* 202, it reads as follows:

“If a man continually j[er]ks in his bed, he cries like a goat, he groans, he shudders (lit.: he is afraid), (and) he talks a lot: ‘Hand of *bennu*-epilepsy’, a [*šē*]du-demon deputized by Sîn ...”.

In this entry the patient was confined to his bed, in which he experienced abnormal movements (*galātu*, 𒂍𒌷𒍪) in rev. 5'.<sup>15</sup> The G-stem of *galātu* is translated “to twitch, quiver, be/become restless or nervous, be/become frightened” (*CAD* G: 11ff.; *AHw*: 274) or simply “to jerk” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 315), and the Gtn-stem can be translated as “repeated or continuous shivering in bed” (Stol 1993: 38).<sup>16</sup> The word *galātu* is commonly used to describe symptoms of epilepsy (Stol 1993: 95, 97-98).<sup>17</sup> Such shivering was habitually connected to “terrors at night”, such as the evil *alû*-demon and “fit” (*ḥayyatu*),<sup>18</sup> which could occur in bed.<sup>19</sup>

D: 13). A translation such as “to complain” in the context of *BAM* 202 may be considered (see also Chalendar 2013: 26-27).

<sup>12</sup> Although the majority of examples listed in *CAD* are Old Babylonian, see *CAD* D: 10-11.

<sup>13</sup> See Stol 2009: 9; Stol 1993: 49-53. Possibly, an ecstatic state was related to being rabid (see Wu 2001: 38).

<sup>14</sup> Note that an affected *īēmu* can also occur during some cases of severe illness or imbalance, see *SAA* 10 no. 196 rev. 16-18; *CAD* T: 95b.

<sup>15</sup> Descriptions stating that the patient is in bed have been interpreted differently, e.g., indicating that the patient is lying down (Stol 1993: 6, 72) or that the event occurs at night (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 199; see Chalendar 2013: 37-38). Note that the verbs *galātu* (rev. 4') and *parādu* (rev. 6') are generally associated with night time and the bed (e.g., Scurlock 2014: 644, 652, 199; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 75, 202; Stol 1993: 71-72). Shaking with fear in the bedroom was also described in relation to a state of anxiety, which could cause sleepless nights (Ritter and Kinnier Wilson 1980: 25-26). Chalendar (2013: 42) suggests that in some cases, it is possible that the state of horror could be important for diagnosing an illness. Fear seems closely associated with sleep and dreams (see Fales 2010: 17; Butler 1998: 48ff.). The muscles jerks experienced directly before drifting off to sleep (hypnagogic jerks) may be an indicator as to why sleep, dreams, muscle problems, and loss of consciousness were connected. Through the combination of physical symptoms, fear, and a connection to the bedroom, the verb *galātu* can also mean “to have a premature emission” (*CAD* G: 12).

<sup>16</sup> On the semantic difference between *galātu* (*BAM* 202 rev. 4') and *parādu* (*BAM* 202 rev. 6'), see Arbøll 2018a: 266 and n. 20; Chalendar 2013: 38-40; Wee 2012: 349 and n. 26; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 138 and 144; Böck 2010a: 94; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 75, 199, 202; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 294ff., 303, 315, 734 n. 30; Fincke 2000: 108-109, 146; Heeßel 2000 tablet 15 (155, 160 l. 82'-83'+85'+90'), tablet 17 (197, 203, 207, 210 l. 23-24+80+84), tablet 22 (256, 261 l. 63), tablet 26 (282, 285, 289, 291, 295 l. 44'+82'+84'-85'), tablet 27 (297, 301 l. 2), tablet 33 (357, 363, 372 l. 96); Volk 1999: 14 n. 88, 20-21 and n. 124, 28, 29 n. 174; Cadelli 1997: 26 n. 110; Stol 1993: 38ff, 65, 71-72, 75, 95, 98; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 1990: 192-93; Farber 1989: 62-63, 74-75; Köcher 1978: 35.

<sup>17</sup> It is also used to describe, e.g., abnormal movement of the eyes (Fincke 2000: 108-109; Stol 1993: 93-94) and a symptom of the *šašātu*-illness (Arbøll 2018a: 266).

<sup>18</sup> The term *ḥayyatu* is translated differently as, e.g., “confusional state” (Scurlock 2006: 357), “attack” (Wee 2012: 349 n. 26, 605, 609, 611, 613, 621, 625, 629), “fit” (Stol 1993: 42-44), “terror” (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 405), “emanation” (Abusch 2002: 129), or “Späher” (Farber 1977: 146-49, 152-55, 190-91; see also Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 315-16, 318; *CAD* H: 1; *AHw*: 309). Medical commentaries also identify the term

The text further specifies in rev. 5' that the patient "cries like a goat" (*kīma enzi išassi*), clearly indicating an abnormal behaviour.<sup>20</sup> Goats were connected to epilepsy, and invoking this simile emphasizes the diagnosis (see Stol 1993: 106-7 and n. 67, 149-50).<sup>21</sup> Considering the incoherent speech mentioned in the first diagnosis, a lack of meaningful utterances must have been an overlapping diagnostic trait (see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 374-75).

In the beginning of rev. 6', the symptom *ramāmu* can be translated "to rumble, roar, howl, bellow, groan" (*CAD* R: 116-17; *AHW*: 949f.; Stol 2009: 12) or "to drone" (e.g., Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83 no. 3.268, 375 no. 16.41). The verb is regularly used in connection to animals or similes involving animals (*CAD* R: 116), and this may have been a conscious description due to the animal simile directly before in *BAM* 202 rev. 5'. In relation to patients, the verb seems to indicate abnormal behaviour as well as an agitated emotional state, such as anger (ibid.: 117). The following description of the patient "shuddering" originates in the verb *parādu* meaning: "to be fearful, disturbed, restless, upset" (*CAD* P: 141-44; *AHW*: 827; see n. 16). The verb seems to reflect the physical shaking when being afraid or suffering from conditions similar to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,<sup>22</sup> and it was used to describe epilepsy (e.g., Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 294ff., 315; Stol 1993: 66, 71-72, 75). Similarly to the first diagnosis in *BAM* 202, the second diagnosis also describes the patient talking a lot (*magal idabbub*).

In rev. 7', *BAM* 202 identifies the illness in the second diagnosis as "Hand of *bennu*-epilepsy".<sup>23</sup> The term *bennu* was used as a general word for epilepsy in Mesopotamia, related to most diagnostic statements describing this illness (Köcher 1978: 35; Stol 1993: 7; Avalos 2007: 131-32; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83f., 696 n. 261). Yet, *bennu* differed from what we understand as "epilepsy" in modern medicine,<sup>24</sup> and the term could be used to describe convulsions, such as (sudden) involuntary muscle movement, twitches, or jerks (Avalos 2007: 133-34; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83ff.; Stol 1993: 6; Kinnier Wilson 1967: 202).<sup>25</sup> Although the modern neurological condition is not contagious, the *bennu*-illness was considered transmittable (Stol 1993: 119, 146).<sup>26</sup> *Bennu* appears to be used both as a term

as "jitters" (*gilittu*) or "fear" (*puluhtu*) (Wee 2012: 604-605, 611). It could act as a demon or a symptom, and it was connected to Antašubba-epilepsy (Stol 1993: 7-8, 42-46 and n. 196-201).

<sup>19</sup> See Stol 1993: 41ff.; in *BAM* 376 col. ii 26-30, prescriptions against *hayyattu* and *alū lemnu* are followed by the diagnosis: "If a man continuously jerks (Gtn *galātu*) in his bed". Both the *alū*-demon and Antašubba-epilepsy were treated together in *SAA* 10 no. 238 (see Stol 1993: 41 n. 173).

<sup>20</sup> *CAD* Š/2: 147ff. lists *šasû* as "to shout, make a loud noise, utter a cry", and in the context of animals the translation "to cry (out)" is used (ibid.: 149-50; *AHW*: 1195ff.). It is possible that alterations of the voice could result from frightening dreams or similar (Geller 2010: 148; concerning this commentary, see also Wee 2012: 391, 605). For this passage, see Chalendar 2013: 40.

<sup>21</sup> Various cries of other animals were also associated with epilepsy (Stol 1993: 150 and n. 13-14 with references).

<sup>22</sup> For the symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, see Mellman et al. 1995.

<sup>23</sup> Concerning the writing ŠU<sup>II</sup> *be-en-ni* in *BAM* 202, see the commentary to rev. 7'. For diagnoses formulated as "Hand of a divinity", see Heeßel 2007.

<sup>24</sup> For a modern definition of "epilepsy", see Avalos 2007: 132-33; Kwasman 2007: 160. I use "epilepsy" here to refer to symptoms, which in modern medicine may be defined by a broad range of diseases and disorders including non-epileptic convulsions and seizures (Avalos 2007: 134-35). Epilepsy was connected to mental changes in much of the ancient world (Stol 1993: 121ff.), although definitions seem to have differed (Avalos 2007: 133).

<sup>25</sup> Such involuntary movements are called myoclonic jerks. This may explain the overlap between *bennu* and the *šaššatu*-illness in lexical lists (Stol 1993: 7; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 67-68, 693 n. 195 with discussion).

<sup>26</sup> Note that some infectious diseases, such as malaria, can produce chills, tremors and occasionally mental confusion, which could mirror the effects of epilepsy (see Warrell 2004: 748; see also Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 36-37, 696). In general, contagion in Mesopotamia was probably rooted in the idea that "some magical power inherent in the body, belongings and abode of a person who was under the wrath of a god could negatively affect anybody entering into this person's intimate personal sphere" (Farber 2004: 124).

referring to convulsive problems, as well as an overarching demonic influence.<sup>27</sup> Among other common expressions related to epilepsy are *Antašubba*<sup>28</sup> and *miqtu*<sup>29</sup> (see Stol 1993: 7-21; Avalos 2007: 131-32).

Several associated illnesses underline the motoric problems<sup>30</sup> and potential for being bedridden.<sup>31</sup> In the diagnostic-prognostic series Sa-gig, epileptic disorders occupy large parts of the fourth subseries (Heeßel 2000: 19),<sup>32</sup> and such diagnoses also appear in the final tablet concerning illnesses of babies (Scurlock 2014: 258ff.; Volk 1999: 16-18; Cadelli 1997: 23-24). Especially infants may have been predisposed for showing muscle contractions, likely because of an immature nervous system (Kinnier Wilson 2007: 64). Commonplace among several of the epileptic disorders is that they displayed symptoms potentially disapproved of socially.<sup>33</sup> These illnesses could be acquired in various places, e.g., in or near a gate, (cattle) pen, river, uncultivated plot, or a corner (Stol: 1993: 68 and n. 38, 97; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 84 and n. 271).<sup>34</sup>

The illness is further described in *BAM* 202 rev. 7' as "a *šēdu*-demon deputized (*šanû*) by *Sîn*".<sup>35</sup> The god *Sîn* was the moon god, and epileptic disorders were connected to the moon (Stol 1993: 6, 130). The fact that the illness acts on behalf of *Sîn* seems to indicate that the moon may not have been visible on the time of contracting the ailment (*ibid.*).<sup>36</sup> It is possible that periodicity was occasionally a characteristic of *bennu*, similarly to the moon's renewal (*ibid.*: 7, 132, 134).

The diagnostic-prognostic series Sa-gig provides a diagnosis explaining a case of *bennu* where the patient appears to observe the evil afflicting him: "[If *miqtu* falls upon him, and at the time it has falle]n upon him he says: 'It is he!' – the roving (*šāidu*) *bennu*-epilepsy has

<sup>27</sup> See Scurlock 2014: 145 l. 23'; Heeßel 2000: 287 l. 4', 291 l. 84'; Stol 1993: 5-7; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 84. The association of *bennu* with (recurrent) fevers (*humtu*) in lexical texts may indicate the shivering, spasm-like, nature of *bennu* (Stol 1993: 6 and n. 13, 7 and n. 22). As noted by Stol, "feverish shivering" can be an early sign of an epileptic seizure (*ibid.*: 38).

<sup>28</sup> AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ("what has fallen from heaven") appears to be a learned expression for epilepsy denoting a sudden attack, although it could also be recurrent (Stol 1993: 7-9, 25-26, 77, 132; Avalos 2007: 131, 134; see also Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 88 and n. 54).

<sup>29</sup> The term *miqtu* seems regularly to designate seizures, and it may indicate an illness overcoming a patient suddenly (Stol 1993: 10-11; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 216). Possibly, *miqtu* refers to a visible malady (*CAD* M/2: 103ff.; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 216, 718 n. 33; Stol 1993: 11-12). The word *miqtu* refers to "something that has fallen down" or "falling (spell)" (Stol 1993: 9-11; see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 316-17, 717 n. 17).

<sup>30</sup> Associated illnesses describing motoric disturbances include the *maškadu*-, *sagallu*-, and *šaššaṭu*-illness complex (Arbøll 2018a; Stol 1993: 7, 13 and n. 81, 103 and n. 35-36).

<sup>31</sup> E.g., *miqtu*, which may in some cases refer to spasms and indicate lameness (Stol 1993: 10-11 and n. 53).

<sup>32</sup> In a tablet of Sa-gig (*STT* vol. 1 no. 89), possibly representing the pre-Esagil-kīn-apli recension of the work, entries seem to have been grouped according to various types of witchcraft and epileptic disorders (Stol 1993: 91-98; Heeßel 2000: 105-11; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 434-43; Wee 2012: 272, 279).

<sup>33</sup> Stol 1993: 146; Volk 1999: 17-18; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 316-17. Babies could be born with the "spawn of Šulpaea" or Lugal-urra, and women could give birth to the spawn itself, which foreshadowed the scattering or destruction of the household (Kinnier Wilson 2007: 63; Volk 1999: 18 and n. 108; Cadelli 1997: 15; Stol 1993: 14ff., 89; Leichty 1970: 38 l. 68).

<sup>34</sup> *Bennu* is even said to "head straight for that man on the high street" in some manuscripts of Udug-ḫul (Geller 2016: 100). Some demons simply occur in the street (*ibid.*: 90, 139, 146, 209, 213; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 93).

<sup>35</sup> Note BM 40183+, in which *bennu* is written <sup>d</sup>*be-en-nu*. Stol (1993: 6, 130) interpreted this as *Sîn* being responsible for the ailment and the demon acting on his behalf. For *bennu* as a "deputized" (*šanē*) affliction, see also Heeßel 2000: 164 with further references.

<sup>36</sup> The rays of the moon could cause various skin afflictions, such as *garābu* or *eqbu* ("scales", Stol 1993: 128-130; see also Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 231-32; Stol 1987-88), and it is possible that epilepsy and skin problems were considered internal and external manifestations of afflictions originating from the moon god *Sîn* (Stol 1993: 147).

seized him; he will be saved”.<sup>37</sup> The entry implies that the evil is manifest and observable by the patient (see Section 3). Furthermore, rituals intended to protect the healer when approaching a patient also targeted Antašubba-epilepsy and related demons (e.g., *KAR* 31, see Maul 2018; Geller 2016: 38ff.).<sup>38</sup>

The two diagnoses in *BAM* 202 diagnose and describe specific symptoms of first insanity and secondly *bennu*-epilepsy. Although the first diagnosis does not elaborate upon time, place, or bodily movements, it is possible to infer from the context of the final treatment (obv. 17-rev. 4') that some of the proposed actions took place while the patient was in his bed. The symptoms pertaining to the second diagnosis also seem to be experienced, at least partly, by the patient in his bed.<sup>39</sup> The two diagnostic statements and their treatments therefore overlap in terms of abnormal behaviour, and by focusing on the sickbed.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the *bennu*-epilepsy is the only affliction identified as a demonic entity in *BAM* 202 with certainty.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. Description of the Demon

The drawing on *BAM* 202 is located on the reverse of the tablet underneath the colophon in a fragmentary part of the manuscript. Originally, the colophon was believed to be two lines long (Chalendar 2013: 12), although the second line is written in a smaller script and away from the first line. In general, colophons from the N4 library are not written with individual lines in smaller script. Although greater space between the lines in colophons is common, the blank space in the colophon of *BAM* 202 comprises at least three lines. The unused area combined with the final line in smaller script near the drawing at the end of the tablet, indicates that the copyist intended to separate the final line and image from the remaining colophon. It is therefore likely that the last line relates to this illustration.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, the final line is very broken and difficult to read. The drawing of the demon without breaks is provided below in Fig. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Sa-gig tablet 26 line 4' in Heeßel 2000: 278, 287 “Sieh da! Er!”; Stol 1993: 56-57 line 3; see also Scurlock 2014: 196 line 4', cf. 200 “This is it”. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds (1990: 194) suggests the translation “It is he (again)”, which they interpret as implying an aura. In some cases of the associated condition “Spawn of Sulpaea”, the patient responds to a wailing voice (Stol 1993: 72 and n. 54; see Butler 1998: 53 with further references to similar examples).

<sup>38</sup> Antašubba was also blocked out in the apotropaic ritual *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* (Wiggermann 1992: 6-7).

<sup>39</sup> Insanity and epilepsy were illnesses bordering on one another (Stol 1993: 121).

<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, it is plausible that expressing abnormal behaviour must have stigmatized an individual, thereby secluding the patient to his bedroom (see Stol 1999: 67-68).

<sup>41</sup> See n. 5, 6 and 35 above.

<sup>42</sup> A similar situation was suggested for a tablet published by Zilberg and Horowitz (2016: 176-77), but Jiménez (2018: 45) has recently reinterpreted the relevant line. However, explanatory lines in relation to drawings are attested (e.g., Finkel 2011: 340-341 Figs. 4 and 7).





Fig. 1: Drawing of the demon on *BAM* 202 upright

The drawing is incised along the width of the reverse, and the tablet therefore has to be turned 90 degrees to observe the illustration (see also Zilberg and Horowitz 2016: 176-177; Finkel 2011: 339 Figs. 3a-b). The figure is roughly 6,4 centimetres high and 2,6 centimetres wide, and it is clearly anthropomorphic. The head has ears and curvy horns, a serpent's tongue, and possibly a reptile-like eye. The neck is long, and in general the being appears to be covered with badly preserved scales or hair. Unfortunately, the majority of the torso is fragmentary. The left hand appears claw- or paw-like, and the right hand is lumpy with a pointy thumb. The creature has a long tail placed alongside the left leg, and this leg appears to have discernible muscles. The figure is displayed in an upright position standing on two legs (see also Finkel 2011: 339-340 Figs. 3b and 5). The feet are badly damaged, but the right foot may have had claws. Furthermore, there appears to be a curvy line drawn with intent between the right leg and right hand.<sup>43</sup>

### 3. Which Demon is Depicted?

The being depicted on *BAM* 202 seems to relate to the evil afflicting a patient. None of the two figurines described in the instructions in obv. 9-12 or obv. 17-rev. 4' represents demonic beings.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, it seems unlikely that the depiction represents any of the initial psychological problems in obv. 1, as these are not described as divine powers in *BAM* 202 (see n. 6; cf. n. 5). Consequently, the only evil incarnate mentioned in *BAM* 202 is *bennu*-epilepsy, identified in the text as “a *šedu*-demon deputized by *Sîn*”. This seems to resonate with the tentative reconstruction of the final line of *BAM* 202: “The *i[mage]*<sup>17</sup> of divine<sup>17</sup> *Be[n]nu*<sup>17</sup>-(epilepsy), de[puty of *Sîn*]”. This line must therefore refer to the depiction, which is drawn along this line and below.

<sup>43</sup> This depiction sets itself apart from Reiner's description of such drawings as “schematic” or “clumsy” (Reiner 1987: 30).

<sup>44</sup> The two prescriptions describe the production of figurines representing the patient's body and a figurine presumed to be married off to the evil afflicting the patient (see Section 6; Chalendar 2013: 10-13).

As discussed in the previous section, *bennu* is the common word for (recurring) epilepsy-like reactions. However, its appearance as a demon remains largely unknown,<sup>45</sup> and descriptions of *bennu* are poorly attested.<sup>46</sup> The diagnosis concerning *bennu* also mentions the patient “crying like a goat”, thus underlining the connection between goats and epileptic disorders. However, the drawing does not seem to resemble a goat (see Section 2). Consequently, it is difficult to locate any significant features linking the depiction on *BAM* 202 to concrete descriptions of *bennu*-epilepsy.

Several parallel passages in *BAM* 311, the unpublished BM 40183+, *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83, and *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 contain diagnoses and treatments for *bennu*, the generic “Any evil” *mimma lemnu*, and the *alû*- and associated demons, as well as instructions for keeping such evils from a man and his bed (Chalendar 2013: 4-8; Finkel 2011: 338, 340 Fig. 4).<sup>47</sup> Chalendar (2013: 11-13) also reconstructed the ritual in *BAM* 202 obv. 17-rev. 4’ to describe the removal of *mimma lemnu*. These texts therefore display a general overlap in cures against generic epilepsy (especially *bennu*) and the demon *mimma lemnu*, as well as a focus on the patient’s bed. However, descriptions of *mimma lemnu* do not overlap with the depiction on *BAM* 202, and this demon can therefore be ruled out.<sup>48</sup>

Epilepsy was associated with specific involuntary movements, as well as a particular behaviour exhibited by the patient in his bed (Stol 1993: 38; see Section 1). The patient’s sickbed therefore appears to be connected to, e.g., epileptic disorders, and it is mentioned explicitly as an important location twice in *BAM* 202 (obv. 17-23 and rev. 5’).<sup>49</sup> Focusing on the sickbed may aid in the search for a comparable demon. As shown by Wiggermann (2011: 313-14; Wiggermann 2007: 106-9 and n. 5), a nameless evil with the head of a dragon-snake (*bašmu*?), perhaps representing “Death” (*mūtu*), the messenger of Ereškigal, is depicted on an amulet from the first millennium BCE rearing its head from underneath a man’s bed.<sup>50</sup> As noted by Wiggermann, the scene seems to mirror the situation described in a Ḫulbazizi incantation found on various amulets, which reads:

“He who transgressed the privacy of my bed, made me shrink for fear, and gave me frightening dreams ...” (Wiggermann 2007: 106-7 and n. 3; see also Wilhelm 1979; Butler 1998: 50-51).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Stol 1993: 5-7, 20-21, 132.

<sup>46</sup> An account of this demon is found in the Middle Babylonian Armana recension of the myth Nergal and Ereškigal, in which *bennu* is stationed as a demon in the 9<sup>th</sup> gate of the netherworld, see Ponchia and Luukko 2013: xcv; *CAD* B: 206; Stol 1993: 21.

<sup>47</sup> An overview of targeted problems: *BAM* 311: obv. 22’ (depression); obv. 30’ (persistent “Hand of Ištar”); obv. 23’, rev. 52’-53’, rev. 59’, rev. 77’ (epileptic disorders); obv. 41’, obv. 46’ (keeping *mimma lemnu* from a man and his bed); obv. 47’ (*alû*-demon); *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii: 2, 9 (epileptic disorders); *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83: obv. 16, rev. 15, rev. 22 (keeping *mimma lemnu* from a man); obv. 23 (eradicating evil); obv. 13, rev. 10 (keeping evil from a man and his house); obv. 31 (*alû*-demon? See Chalendar 2013: 7). Chalendar (ibid.: 4-6) states that BM 40183+ contains treatments against mental changes, attacks of the *gallû*- and *alû*-demons, to keep “Any evil” (*mimma lemnu*) from approaching a man, for an evil *šēdu*-demon in a bed, attack of the *bennu*-demon, and instructions to tear out the *lilû*-, *ardat lilû*- and *mimma lemnu*-demons.

<sup>48</sup> In the so-called “underworld vision of an Assyrian prince”, *mimma lemnu* is stated to have two heads, one of a lion and another unknown one, see *SAA* 3 no. 32 rev. 7. Only a single crude and partly damaged depiction of *mimma lemnu* exists (Finkel 2011: 338, 340 Fig. 6), and this does not resemble the drawing on *BAM* 202. I cannot describe any significant features of this drawing from the picture published by Finkel.

<sup>49</sup> The patient’s bed and the influence of various demons were also described in numerous rituals connected to, e.g., dreams, see Butler 1998. Possibly, the bedroom offered the most privacy, and it was the place where the healer visited the patient. Van der Toorn (1996: 60-61) argues that in the Old Babylonian period the bedroom also had the family tomb underneath the floor due to the room’s high degree of privacy and silence. The patient’s bed in connection to illness and demons should be examined further elsewhere. See n. 15.

<sup>50</sup> Wiggermann 2011: 313 Fig. 6, copied after Becker 1993: pl. 2 no. 7 (photo). Wiggermann (2011: 313-14) proposes that this illustration represents a nameless evil sharing iconographic features with *mūtu*.

<sup>51</sup> Wilhelm 1979: 38. The following is a composite transliteration of the relevant lines: ÉN šá mal-di <sup>giš</sup>NÁ-iaš DAB ú-pal-lih-an-ni ú-šag-ri-ra-an-ni MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ pár-da-a-ti ú-kal-lim-an-ni ...

The bed may generally have been linked to certain evils, such as *mimma lemnu* and *mūtu*.<sup>52</sup> A physical description of Ereškigal's messenger *mūtu* is known from the "underworld vision of an Assyrian prince". The demon is described as having the head of a *mušhuššu*-dragon, human hands and some unknown description of the feet.<sup>53</sup> The *mušhuššu* is a snake-dragon with a long neck and the head of a snake with a forked tongue, two horns occasionally curled up, front paws of a lion, and hind legs with talons of a bird (Wiggermann 1993-97: 456).<sup>54</sup> Although the *mušhuššu* is commonly depicted without ears and on all fours, for example on the Istar Gate, it can also be depicted with ears and standing up (e.g., Parpola 1993: 212). This description could reflect parts of the drawing on *BAM* 202, though the demon does not appear to be depicted with paws or human hands exclusively.<sup>55</sup> Although death could be personified, the Neo-Assyrian recension of the Epic of Gilgamesh informs us that "No one sees Death, no one sees the face [of Death]".<sup>56</sup> Yet, a related *bennu* diagnosis referenced in Section 1, emphasizes that occasionally the patient did in fact see the evil in question. Possibly, a similar situation is mirrored in Gilgamesh as well: "In my bed-chamber Death abides, and wherever I might turn [*my face*], there too will be Death".<sup>57</sup>

The drawing on *BAM* 202 does not conform completely to any descriptions of demons associated with the content of the text or the larger demonological context. Yet, it is possible that the creature on *BAM* 202 illustrated a specific version of a demon.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps its particular physique was once described in the statement in rev. 15'. Therefore, it seems plausible that the demon represented a version of *bennu*-epilepsy, possibly representing our first depiction of this demon in the cuneiform record. Still, the drawing may instead have depicted an

<sup>52</sup> For a recent analysis of *mūtu*, see Sibbing-Plantholt in press. Also note that Kišir-Aššur likely fumigated the bed in relation to treatments of the epilepsy-associated *šaššaṭu*-illness (*BAM* 129 col. iv 10', col. iv 16'; Farber 2004: 127 n. 54), and Kišir-Nabû copied a *namburbi*-ritual to negate evil emanating from a man's bed (VAT 13682 = N4 no. 404; Maul 1994: 379ff., 546-547; see Butler 1998: 46-47).

<sup>53</sup> Wiggermann 1997: 34-35; *SAA* 3 no. 32 rev. 3: ... <sup>d</sup>mu-ú-t[u'] SAG.DU MUŠ.ḪUŠ' ša-ki-in ŠU<sup>II</sup>-šú LÚ.MEŠ GÌR<sup>II</sup>-šú [x][x x]. Alternatively, *mūtu* could appear Anzû-like (Sibbing-Plantholt in press). For *mūtu* as personified death, see Stol 1993-97; see also George 1992: 108. "Death" is blocked out of a man's house, alongside other evils, in the apotropaic ritual *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* (Wiggermann 1992: 6-7).

<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the animal of Marduk was described as a possible sender of *šinūt tēmi* in *šammu šikinšu*, see n. 5.

<sup>55</sup> As described in Section 2, the demon on *BAM* 202 shows several reptile features. Note that the *mušhuššu*-dragon could be equated with a *hulmittu* (*CAD* H: 230). As argued by Landsberger (1934: 46, 62-63, 116ff.), it is possible that the *hulmittu* is to be identified as a chameleon. If so, this could explain why such related demons were difficult to detect, seeing as a chameleon can change its colour. Furthermore, chameleons move their eyes separately in various directions, which could be related to the abnormal eye movements occasionally encountered during various seizures. The *hulmittu* could also herald death (Freedman 2006: 73).

<sup>56</sup> Tablet 10 lines 304-5: [ul ma]-am-ma mu-ú-tu im-mar : <sup>305</sup> ul ma-am-m[a ša mu-ti i]m-[mar] pa-ni-šú (George 2003: 696-97). Note also lines 316-17: "The abducted and the dead, how alike they are! They cannot draw the picture of death", *šal-lu ù mi-tum ki-i KA a-ḫa-meš-ma* <sup>317</sup> šá mu-ti ul iṣ-ṣi-ru ṣa-lam-šú (ibid.; see Wiggermann 2011: 309).

<sup>57</sup> Tablet 11 lines 245-46: *ina É ma-a-a-li-ia a-šib mu-tum* <sup>246</sup> ù a-šar [pānīya?] lu-uš-kun šu-ú mu-tum-ma (George 2003: 718-19). It is unclear if "Death" here is considered an abstract or a personified figure.

<sup>58</sup> This was originally suggested to be the case concerning the demon on a ritual tablet published by Zilberg and Horowitz 2016; cf. Jiménez 2018. Furthermore, the appearance of various protective deities and demons is known from Neo-Assyrian reliefs, as well as from figurines buried beneath houses (Rittig 1977). Yet, the latter cannot always be coupled with the associated rituals (Wiggermann 1992: 99-100, cf. 102-3). Wiggermann (2011: 309-10) has stressed that images of the majority of evil demons are not found depicted in the available record. It is possible that a certain amount of danger was associated with displaying such evils. Note that an apotropaic figurine of *mūtu* could be used in some rituals (Sibbing-Plantholt in press; for other demons utilized in rituals to support a patient, see Schwemer 2018).

overarching evil, such as the messenger of Ereškigal, “Death” (*mūtu*), which was found lurking underneath the bed of some patients.<sup>59</sup>

#### 4. Discussion of the Colophon

Due to the damaged colophon, it is uncertain by whom the tablet was copied and what professional title the copyist may have had. The colophon states: “for undertaking a (ritual) procedure (of) Ki[šir- ...].<sup>60</sup> *BAM* 202 was therefore copied by Kišir-Aššur or his nephew Kišir-Nabû of the Baba-šuma-ibni family of *āšipu-/mašmaššu*-exorcists who inhabited the N4 house (see May 2018; Maul 2010; Pedersén 1986: 41ff.). *BAM* 311, which contains a parallel diagnosis to *BAM* 202 for *bennu*-epilepsy, was also excavated in the N4 house in Assur. And this manuscript was also copied by either Kišir-Aššur or Kišir-Nabû,<sup>61</sup> though it is plausible that the tablet may have been copied by Kišir-Nabû.<sup>62</sup> Below, I offer an overview of idiosyncrasies in *BAM* 202, which may aid in identifying the copyist.

Although a palaeographic study of particularities in Kišir-Aššur’s and Kišir-Nabû’s way of writing individual signs needs to be conducted before any definitive conclusions can be drawn, some tentative observations can be made concerning individual writing practices. The initial Winkelhaken of the GIM in *BAM* 202 rev. 5’ is not similar to, e.g., the one in the GIM<sup>1</sup> (mistakenly written as BAN) in Kišir-Aššur’s *šamallû šeḫru* manuscript *BAM* 129 col. i 10. Furthermore, the dual writing ŠU<sup>II</sup> *be-en-ni* in *BAM* 202 rev. 7’, which must be read as a singular, seems to reflect a scribal convention also found in, e.g., Kišir-Aššur’s *BAM* 9.<sup>63</sup>

*BAM* 202 also contains a number of odd writings and scribal mistakes (obv. 15, rev. 8’, rev. 11’, see the commentary), as well as scribal variants (rev. 5’-6’, see the commentary). For example, *BAM* 202 rev. 5’ describes the patient talking a lot (*magal idabbub*). Both the parallel passages in *BAM* 311 (rev. 52’) and BM 40183+ (rev. 25’) write “he continually cries out a lot” *magal ištānassi* (GÜ.GÜ-si). It remains uncertain if this change was a scribal

<sup>59</sup> Perhaps this is the reason why the demon on *BAM* 202 was illustrated horizontally. Bottéro (2001: 63) notices the following concerning generic demons: “It seems that people did not dwell very much on their persons, their nature, or their existence, as they have never been presented very clearly”.

<sup>60</sup> Chalendar (2013: 12-13, 45-46) offers the reconstruction *ana šabāt epēši Ki[šir-Aššur mašmaš bīt Aššur ...]*, thus providing Kišir-Aššur with the title “exorcist of the Aššur temple” without explicitly stating why. It is clear from the commentary, however, that the reconstruction [*mašmaš bīt Aššur*] is based on the observation by Maul (2010: 2012-13) that the phrase *ana šabāt epēši* is less likely to have been used by young apprentices, as there must have been a responsibility involved in copying knowledge for practical purposes. For the various attested phases of Kišir-Aššur’s and Kišir-Nabû’s careers, see *ibid.*: 208-10.

<sup>61</sup> The colophon reads rev. 94’-96’: [(x) x x x]x<sup>1</sup> SAR È *a-na ša-bat DÛ-ši* <sup>P</sup>*Ki-šir-dingir*-[x] <sup>95’</sup> [DUMU <sup>p.d</sup>x x (x)] <sup>16</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ È *Aš-šur ḥa-an-tiš ZI-ḥa* <sup>96’</sup> [x x x]x<sup>1</sup> GIM LIBIR.RA [x x (x)]. See Scurlock 2014: 667, 701, 754; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49-52; Böck 2010a: 92-93; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 63 and n. 179; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83 no. 3.268, 315 no. 13.169, 422 no. 18.25, 789; Heeßel 2000: 86 n. 61, 223, 316 and n. 15; Stol 1993: 6 and n. 10, 16 and n. 110-111, 29 and n. 49, 30 and n. 61, 37 and n. 140, 41 and n. 166-167, 82 and n. 101, 103-104 and n. 31, 33, 40, and 44, 150 and n. 14; Hunger 1968: 75 no. 218 (colophon); Köcher 1964: XXIII-XXIV and pl. 75-77 no. 311 (copy).

<sup>62</sup> *BAM* 311 contains the previously unnoticed sign KÚR “wrong!” on the left edge of the tablet in obv. 24’, which marks a mistake in the line (obv. 24’: ... <sup>1</sup>*qitl*-<*ma*<sup>2</sup>> *ina* KUŠ). The use of KÚR to mark mistakes has so far only been observed in three N4 manuscripts: *BAM* 311 (obv. 24’), Kišir-Nabû’s copy of the Exorcist’s Manual *KAR* 44 (rev. 41; Schwemer 2011: 422; Geller 2000: 254 with references), and *BAM* 193 (col. i 7’; Schwemer 2007: 110) with a broken colophon (see also Geller 2000: 254 with further references). As one out of three tablets contain Kišir-Nabû’s name, it is possible to tentatively suggest that tablets with this notation from the N4 library originated from his hand. Frahm (2011: 269 n. 1277) suggested that Kišir-Aššur might have been the instructor of his nephew Kišir-Nabû, possibly copying at least a commentary for Kišir-Nabû’s instruction, although this remains uncertain.

<sup>63</sup> *BAM* 9 obv. 14 and 16 list an eye of each side of the head, but in both instances Kišir-Aššur writes IGI<sup>II</sup>. Note that the manuscript was likely from an early stage of his career, and his use of such a convention does not continue in later texts. Whether or not such a scribal convention is also valid for Kišir-Nabû’s texts requires further study. For Kišir-Aššur’s earlier career phases, see Arbøll 2018b.

mistake. However, it is worth noticing that the ritual instructions in *BAM* 202 also differ from the parallel lines (see commentary to rev. 5'-11'). Furthermore, the copyist added one too many wedges to the sign 𒀠𒀭𒀪𒀭<sup>1</sup> (rev. 8'), which may be considered a mistake. The sign therefore looks similar to the Neo-Babylonian way of writing 𒀠𒀭𒀪𒀭 instead of the expected Neo-Assyrian variant (see commentary). Of the two individuals, Kišir-Nabû is the only one explicitly engaged in copying writing-boards in Babylonian writing, and he notices this in several manuscripts.<sup>64</sup>

It is entirely likely that the phrase *ana šabāt epēši*, which I translate: “for undertaking a (ritual) procedure” and refer to as a “purpose statement”, was added to colophons of the Baba-šuma-ibni family members to indicate that the tablet in question was copied for a specific purpose, e.g., in preparation of a specific healing ceremony.<sup>65</sup> Such statements largely do not seem to have been written in colophons by Kišir-Aššur before he reached the *mašmaššu*-stage of his career. It is furthermore difficult to determine if some of the idiosyncrasies in *BAM* 202 exist due to haste in copying or carelessness. The presence of the drawing indicates that the copy was not rushed more than necessary, although this remains uncertain.

Illustrations of demonic forces are rare on magico-medical cuneiform tablets, and the majority of drawings serve to depict a figurine produced during a ritual described in the text.<sup>66</sup> However, the drawing at the end of the reverse of *BAM* 202 is not likely to have served as a sketch for the production of figurines in the rituals (see n. 44). It is therefore possible that the drawing served as a unique testimony to how the Baba-šuma-ibni family envisioned a demonic foe.<sup>67</sup> Until now, few tablets from the N4 tablet collection have been shown to contain drawings linking theory to practice. Of the two likely candidates for writing *BAM* 202, only Kišir-Nabû copied another tablet with drawings, namely an extract of the *mīs pī* ritual.<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, the observations above must be considered inadequate for reconstructing the copyist's name with certainty. Therefore, the evidence remains inconclusive at present.

## 5. Conclusion

This article has presented and discussed the newly discovered demon depicted on the reverse of *BAM* 202, by providing the first revised line drawing of the manuscript since Köcher's copy from 1964. The two groups of associated ailments portrayed in the manuscript, namely labels of insanity and *bennu*-epilepsy, the latter explained as a demon acting on behalf of the moon god Sîn, are described in diagnoses to exhibit various types of abnormal behaviour associated with odd speech and sounds, as well as motoric disturbances in the patient's nervous system. It is plausible that several of these symptoms confined the patient to his bed, which is mentioned twice in the text.

<sup>64</sup> E.g., *BAM* 52 state to be copied from an “Akkadian” (URI<sup>ki</sup>) writing-board, which likely refer to Babylonian script. However, this observation is tenuous and it may be insignificant.

<sup>65</sup> I will review the previous literature on the phrase *ana šabāt epēši* and examine the use of such expressions in Kišir-Aššur and Kišir-Nabû's texts in a future monograph based on my dissertation (Arbøll 2017). For now, see the references in the commentary to *BAM* 202 rev. 14'. Chalendar (2013: 3) also suggests that the prescriptions on *BAM* 202 were collected for a specific purpose.

<sup>66</sup> Zilberg and Horowitz 2016: 175-177, 183; Finkel 2011: 338, 38-42 Figs. 4-6; see Reiner 1987: 30; Nougayrol 1972: 141. The texts are *STT* vol. 1 no. 73 col. ii (amorphous blob); BM 40183+ (antediluvian sage and assistant); BM 47817 (figurine to dispel a ghost); BM 47701 (the *mimma lemnu*-demon); Zilberg and Horowitz 2016 (the *māmītu*-curse).

<sup>67</sup> Chalendar (2013: 46-47) proposes that the text could have functioned as a differential diagnosis exercise. Principles of differential diagnosis of (divine causers of) illness can be observed in some sections of Sa-gig, see, e.g., Wee 2012: 167-68, 213; Heeßel 2000: 11 and n. 65, 57. Both Kišir-Aššur and Kišir-Nabû copied various texts, which can be classified as advanced training texts (see, e.g., Arbøll 2018a; Frahm 2011: 122).

<sup>68</sup> See Walker and Dick 2001: 227-42; Pedersén 1986, N4 no. 80. However, note that Kišir-Aššur's *LKA* 137 contains a crude diagram incised on the reverse (Finkel 1995).

Partly based on the tentative reconstruction of the final line in the colophon, I have suggested that the demonic variant of *bennu*-epilepsy described in the text was the being depicted on the reverse of the manuscript. If so, this would be the first depiction we have of *bennu*-epilepsy from Mesopotamia. However, the illustration does not conform completely to any descriptions of known demons, and it cannot be ruled out that the depiction represented a specific variant of a demon, or that the drawing was related to another overarching evil. Several associated demonic beings are mentioned in similar contexts in texts with parallel passages.

The copyist cannot be identified with certainty, as the evidence remains tenuous. The fact that the drawing is found on a medical tablet, combined with the Baba-šuma-ibni family's occupation as *mašmaššu*-exorcists, ensures us that the demonic being was real to the practitioners and its features must have been evoked when administering the cure. Not only is the drawing on *BAM* 202 one of the most detailed depictions of a demon on any magico-medical tablet from ancient Mesopotamia, it is also a unique testimony to how the copyist envisioned his demonic foe.

## 6. Appendix: Edition of *BAM* 202

*BAM* 202 contains eight paragraphs consisting of diagnostic statements and prescriptions. The text ends with a brief colophon and a drawing of a demonic creature. Each paragraph is separated by a single horizontal line, except between rev. 4'-5' and 13'-14', which are separated by two horizontal lines. Double rulings may indicate that the succeeding paragraph originated in a different text, and they also serve to mark off colophons (see Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl 2018: 169-170). Parallel passages are found in *BAM* 311 (rev. 51'-55'), the unpublished BM 40183+ (obv. 1'-2', 8'-11', rev. 25'-27'), *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 (obv. 5'-6', 9'-11'), and *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 (col. ii 14-29). I collated *BAM* 311 in the summer of 2016, and I read the parallel passages in BM 40183+ from online pictures (British Museum collection online 2018). The remaining passages were read from the hand drawings. The parallel passages are discussed in the commentary.

**Museum no.:** VAT 13739+14130

**Description:** Single-column tablet in portrait format; collated during the summer of 2015 at the Vorderasiatisches Museum zu Berlin

**Provenience:** Assur; the N4 library ("Haus des Beschwörungspriesters"); N4 no. 476

**Length - Width - Thickness:** 117 mm – 79 mm – 22 mm

**CDLI no.:** P285293 (photograph)

**Bibliography:** Chalendar 2013 (edition); Böck 2010a: 94; Stol 2009: 2 n. 10, 6-7, 11-12; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83 no. 3.268, 315 no. 13.169, 375 no. 16.43, 383 no. 16.87, 788; Heeßel 2000: 86 n. 61, 223; Stol 1993: 5-7 and n. 10, 20-21 and n. 163, 49-50 and n. 259 and 261, 149-150 and n. 14; Pedersén 1986: 71; Farber 1977: 74-75 n. 4; Hunger 1968: 70 no. 201 ms F (colophon); Köcher 1964: XI and pl. 4-5 no. 202 (old copy).



### 6.1. Line Drawing:

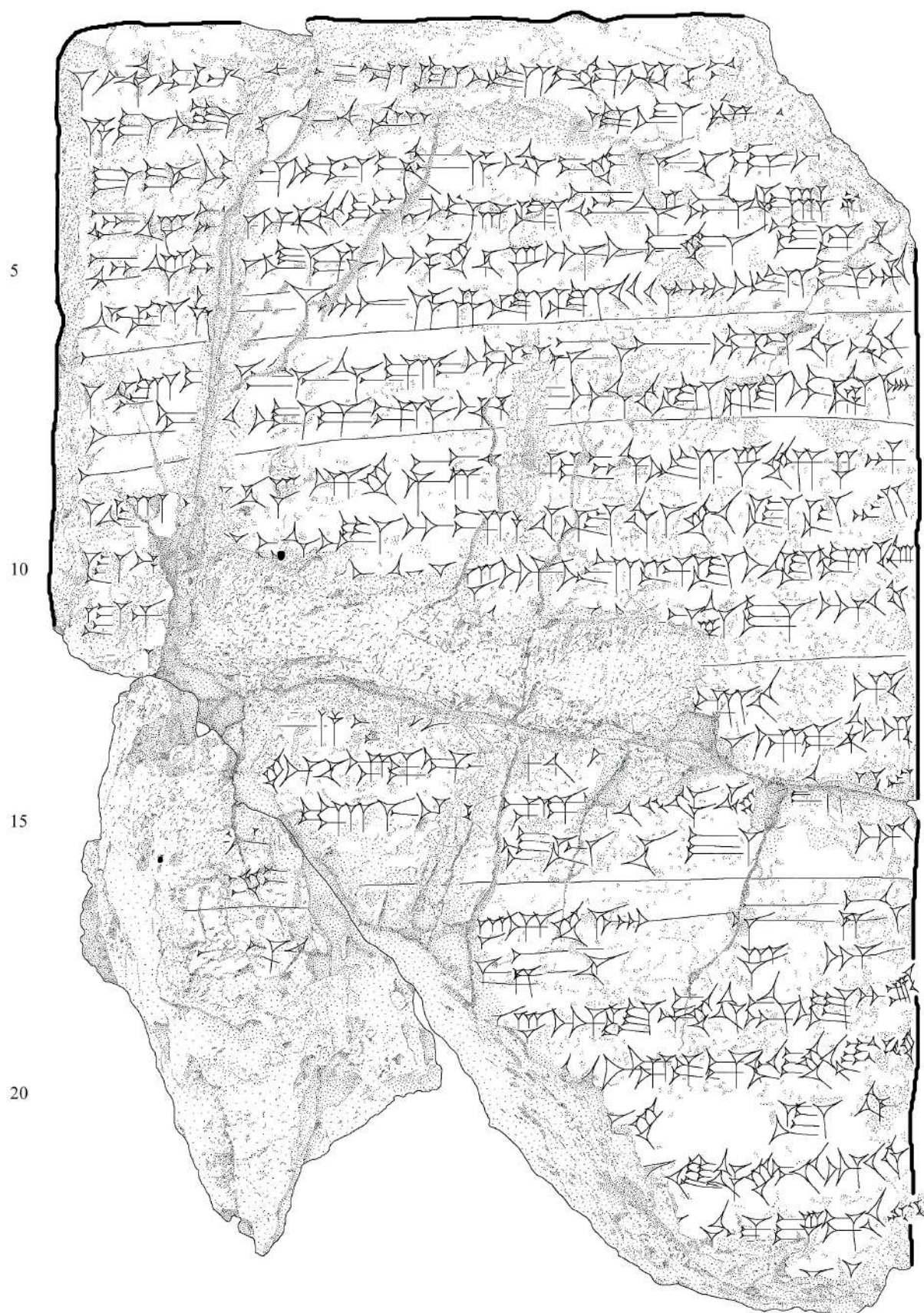


Fig. 2: Drawing of the obverse of *BAM 202*

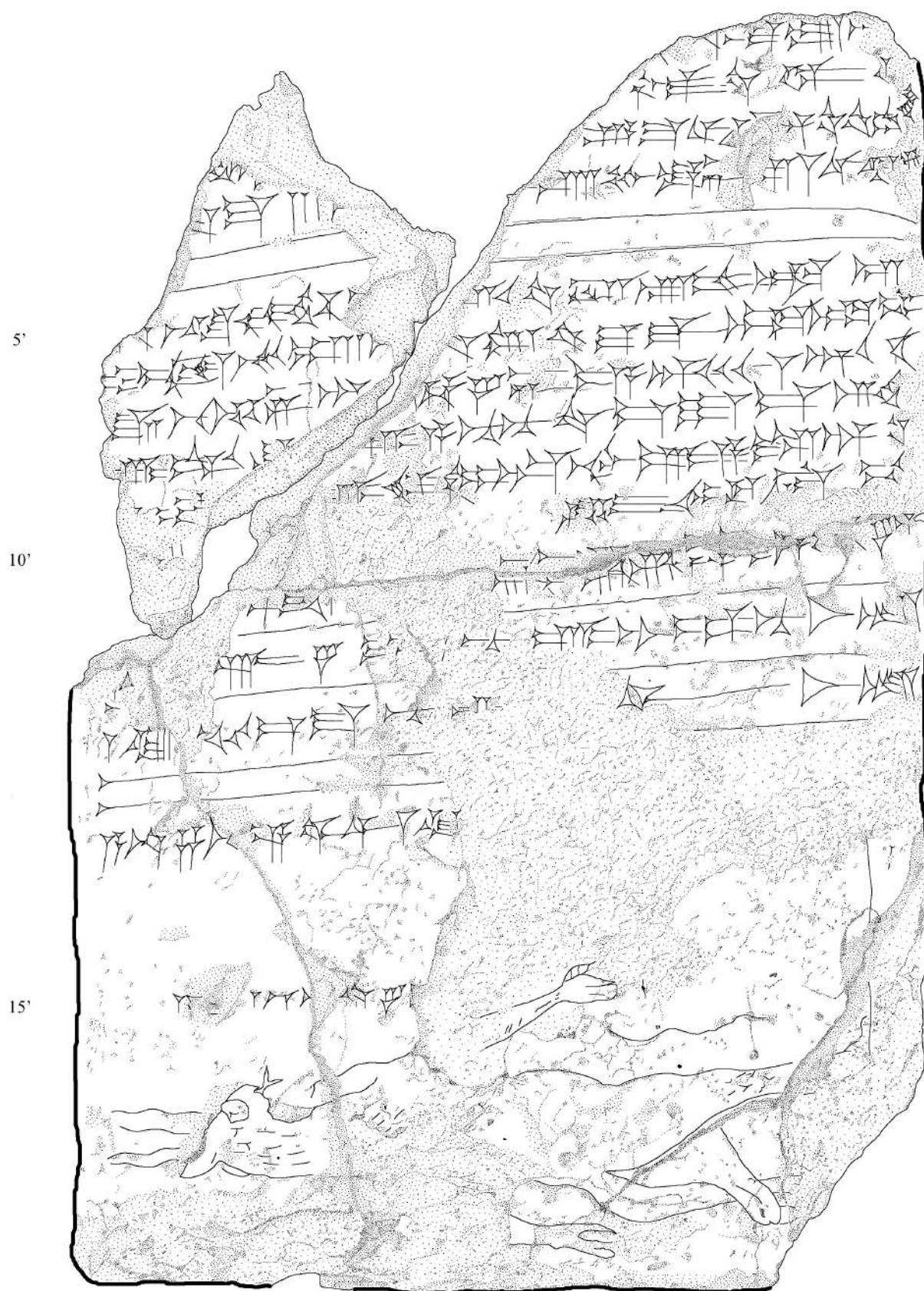


Fig. 3: Drawing of the reverse of *BAM* 202



## 6.2. Transliteration:

## Obverse

- 1 DIŠ NA KA.[HI.KÚR.R]A DAB-su-<ma> tē-en-šú i[š-ta-na-an-ni]  
 2 a-ma-tu-<sup>l</sup>šú<sup>l</sup> K[Ú]R.KÚR-ru [(x x)] [U]MUŠ-šu ŠU[B.ŠUB-su u]  
 3 ma-gal D[U]<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-ub a-na tē-me-šú tur-r[<sup>i</sup>šú]  
 4 GÌR.PAD.D[U] NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU GÌR.PAD.DU ŠÁḤ NI[TA]  
 5 GÌR.PAD.D[U] KA<sub>5</sub>.A ina GÚ-šú GAR-an ina NE SAR-šú  
 6 ù ÌÌ.MEŠ A.ZA.LU.LU EŠ.MEŠ-su-ma TI
- 
- 7 DIŠ KI.MIN <sup>l</sup>l[IGI-lim <sup>u</sup>KA.ZAL.LÁ KA tam-tim  
 8 ina K[A]Š la pa-tan EN <sup>l</sup>l-bal-lu-tu NAG.MEŠ
- 
- 9 DIŠ KI.MIN <sup>l</sup>SU<sup>l</sup>-šú šá GI DÙ-uš [S]AG.DU-su šá IM GAR-an  
 10 <sup>túg</sup>G[Ú].<sup>l</sup>È<sup>l</sup> tu-ḫal-lap-šú TÚG UD.1.KAM MU<sub>4</sub>.MU<sub>4</sub>-su  
 11 <sup>túg</sup>BAR[.SIG ina SAG.]D[U]-š[ú] GAR-an KUŠ UR.GI<sub>7</sub> ina KI.TA-šú ŠUB  
 12 <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup>[x x x x x]<sup>l</sup>x x x<sup>l</sup> [G]U<sub>7</sub>-ma TI-uṭ
- 
- 13 [DIŠ KI.MIN SA]G<sup>2</sup> a-<sup>l</sup>lal-<sup>l</sup>[<sup>i</sup>šú<sup>mušen</sup> SAG UG]A<sup>mušen</sup>  
 14 [SAG KUR.G]I<sup>mušen</sup> SAG GIŠ.N[U<sub>11</sub>?]<sup>mušen</sup> S[AG Í]GIRA<sup>mušen</sup>  
 15 [SAG du-r]u-um-me<sup>mu</sup>[<sup>š</sup>en SAG B[U]RU<sub>5</sub>.ḪAB[RUD<sup>l</sup>?].IDA<sup>mušen</sup> NÍTA<sup>l</sup>  
 16 [ina] NE<sup>l</sup> SAR-šú-ma TI
- 
- 17 [DIŠ KI.MIN] <sup>l</sup>x pi<sup>2</sup> x<sup>l</sup>[x x] šá GI.MEŠ DÙ-uš  
 18 [x x x x x ina p]a-ni-šú GAR-an  
 19 [(x) x x x x x x-š]<sup>u</sup> GAR-an <sup>túg</sup>GÚ.È tu-ḫal-lap-šú  
 20 [x x x x x x x]<sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> ina SAG <sup>giš</sup>NÚ GIG GAR  
 21 [(x) x x x ina<sup>2</sup> <sup>giš</sup>NÚ<sup>2</sup> GI]G tuš-tál  
 22 [(x) x x x x x x -m]<sup>a</sup> GIG BI TI-uṭ  
 23 [(x) x x x x x x x]<sup>l</sup>x šul-pur GUD BAL-šú  
 24 [(x) x x x x x x x x]<sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup>[(x)]

Breaks off.

## Reverse

- 1' [(x) x x x x x x te<sup>2</sup>-leq<sup>2</sup>-q]<sup>l</sup>šú<sup>l</sup>-ma <sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>-a[t<sup>l</sup>-ta<sup>2</sup>-lak<sup>2</sup>]  
 2' [(x) x x x x x x x] šu-ud-di-šú  
 3' [ana<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>l</sup>[i šá<sup>2</sup> BĀD<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>-še<sup>2</sup>]-rib-ma IGI-šú<sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup>UTU.È GAR-ma  
 4' [ta-bar-ra]<sup>m</sup>-ma <sup>l</sup>3<sup>l</sup> Z[Ì.DUB.D]UB.BU NAG[A.S]I ana IGI ḪA[BRU]D <sup>l</sup>ŠUB<sup>l</sup>
- 
- 5' <sup>l</sup>DIŠ<sup>l</sup> [N]A ina KI.NÁ-šú ḪU[LUḪ.ḪUL]UḪ-ut GIM ÛZ GÚ-si  
 6' i-ram-mu-um <sup>l</sup>l-[p]ar-ru-ud ma-gal DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-ub  
 7' ŠU<sup>l</sup> be-en-ni <sup>l</sup>l[AL]AD šá-né-e <sup>d</sup>30 ana TI-šú  
 8' <sup>l</sup>lGEŠTIN.K[A<sub>5</sub>.A] <sup>l</sup>l<sup>l</sup>a-nu-nu-tú <sup>giš</sup>ḪAŠḪUR<sup>l</sup> GIŠ.GI  
 9' [ILL]U<sup>2</sup> L[<sup>l</sup>ṭ<sup>2</sup>.TUR<sup>2</sup>] <sup>l</sup>lḪ[A]R.LUM.BA.ŠIR <sup>u</sup>a-ra-an-tú  
 10' [x]<sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup>[(x x x)] SÍG UGU.<sup>l</sup>DUL<sup>l</sup>.BI  
 11' [ina KUŠ <sup>munus</sup>]<sup>l</sup>ÁŠ.GĀR<sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup>[x x ina] <sup>l</sup>SA ÁB.RI.RI.<GA> <sup>l</sup>GAG<sup>l</sup>?<sup>l</sup>.GAG-p<sup>l</sup> ina <sup>l</sup>GÚ-šú<sup>l</sup> GAR-<sup>l</sup>an<sup>l</sup>
- 
- 12' <sup>l</sup>DIŠ<sup>l</sup> K[I.MIN] <sup>l</sup>lšá-r[a]-nu <sup>u</sup>ḫal-tap-pa-nu ina K[U]Š  
 13' DIŠ KI.MIN NUMUN <sup>giš</sup>MA.NU <sup>l</sup>l[IGI]-lim ina KUŠ
- 
- 14' a-na ša-ba[t] e-pe-ši <sup>p</sup>Ki-[šir-x-x (x x x x?)]  
 15' <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>l</sup>-[l]a[m<sup>2</sup>] <sup>l</sup>d<sup>l</sup>?(diš)-be<sup>2</sup>-e[n<sup>2</sup>]-[na<sup>l</sup>?] šá-n[é-e <sup>d</sup>30]

## 6.3. Translation:

- Obv. 1-3: If *dem[makurr]û* (derangement) has seized a man and his mind a[lters time and again], his speech is incoherent, he [get]s a dep[ression] time and again (lit.: his [min]d continually fa[lls on him]), and he talks a lot, (in order) to res[tore] his mind to him:
- 4-6: You place “bone of humanity”, the bone of a ma[le] pig, (and) the bone of a fox by his neck. You fumigate him by means of charcoals, and (then) you anoint him continuously with oils of herd animals (*nammaššû*), and he will recover.
- 
- 7-8: If “ditto”, he repeatedly drinks “It cures a thousand”-plant, *kazallu*-plant, (and) *imbu’ tâmti* in beer on an empty stomach until he recovers.
- 
- 9-12: If “ditto”, you make (a representation of) his body (made out) of reed, you place (a representation of) his head (made out) of clay (on it), you clothe it (in) a *naḥlaptu*-cloak, you cover it with the garment for one day. You place a *par[šigu]*-headdress on its [hea]d, you place the skin of a dog underneath it. [He (i.e. the patient) ...], he [e]ats [...], and he will recover.
- 
- 13-16: [If “ditto”], you fumigate him (with) the hea[d]<sup>2</sup> of an *allal[lu]*-bird the head of an *ārib[u]*-bird, [the head of a goos]e, the head of an *anpa[tu’]*-bird, the h[ead of a h]eron, [the head of a *dur*]ummu-bird, (and) the head of a male *iššūr ḥurri*-bird [on] charcoals, and he will recover.
- 
- 17-23: [If “ditto”] you make a [... (*figurine*)] of reeds, you place [... in f]ront of it, you place [... by it]s<sup>2</sup> [...], you clothe it in a *naḥlaptu*-cloak. [You<sup>2</sup> ...], you place [... (*the figurine*?)] at the head of the patient’s bed. You make (it) lie [in the bed of the patie]nt [...]. [You<sup>2</sup> ... an]d<sup>2</sup> that patient will live. [You<sup>2</sup> ...], (and) you pour [...] (for) it in an ox hoof, [You<sup>2</sup> ... (breaks off)]
- 
- Rev. 1’-4’: “[You will take] her a[way], and you [will depart].” [...] its travel provisions, [you sli]p [(it) into a drain]age ope[ning of the city wall], and you place it facing the sunrise, and then [you sea]l (the opening), and you pour three flour heaps (and) “horned salt-plant” in front of the op[eni]ng.
- 
- 5’-11’: If a man continually j[er]ks in his bed, he cries like a goat, he groans, he shudders (lit.: he is afraid), (and) he talks a lot: “Hand of *bennu*-epilepsy”, a [šē]du-demon deputized by Sîn. To cure him: you wrap up “f[ox] grape”, *anunūtu*-plant, “marsh-apple”, sap of *abukkatu*-plant, *ḥarmunu*-plant, *arantu*-plant, [...], (and) hair of a monkey [in the skin of a female] kid [... with] the tendon of a dead cow<sup>1</sup>, (and) you place (it) around his neck.
- 
- 12’: If “d[itto]”, (you place) *šarānu*-plant (and) *ḥaltappānu*-plant in a leather skin (around his neck).
- 
- 13’: If “ditto”, (you place) *ēru*-tree (and) “[It cures] a thousand”-plant in a leather skin (around his neck).
- 
- 14’: For undertaking a (ritual) procedure of Kišir-[Nabū]<sup>2</sup>, (*broken title*?).
- 15’: The i[m]a[ge]<sup>2</sup> of divine<sup>12</sup> *Be[n]nu*<sup>12</sup> (-epilepsy), de[puty of Sîn].

## 6.4. Commentary

Obv. 1-6: Parallel passages are found in *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 14-18 and *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 10'-11':

*STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii

- 14 [x x K]A.ḪI.KÚR.[RA] DAB-su-[m]a UMUŠ-šú iš-t[a-na-an-ni]  
 15 [a-ma-t]u-šú KÚR.K[Ú]R-ra té-em-šú ŠUB.ŠUB-[su] u ma-gal [x x (x)]  
 16 [ana té-e]m-šú tur-[ru]-šú [GÌR].PAD.DU NAM.[LÚ].U<sub>18</sub>.L[U?]  
 17 [x x x] ŠAḪ<sup>2</sup> GÌR.P[AD.D]U KA<sub>5</sub>.A ina GÚ-[šú] GAR-[an]  
 18 [ina] [NE x SAR? ]<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ<sup>12</sup> A.[Z]A.LU.[LU] ŠÉŠ [x x x x]

*SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 obv.

- 10' DIŠ [KI.MIN] GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU GÌR.PAD.DU ŠAḪ NITÁ  
 GÌR.PAD.DU KA<sub>5</sub>.A ina [GÚ]-šú GAR-an [SAR<sup>12</sup>]-šú  
 11' ina Ì.UDU A.ZA.LU.LU ŠÉŠ.ŠÉŠ-[su]

For a discussion of the diagnosis, see Section 1. For previous discussions of this passage, see Chalendar 2013: 10-13, 12-29; Steinert 2012: 391 and n. 29-30; Stol 2009: 1-2 and n. 10, 7, 11-12; Finkel 2008: 337; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 375-76 no. 16.43, 383 no. 16.87; Köcher 1964: XI; cf. *CAD* Š/3: 46. In addition, the commentary *CT* vol. 41 pl. 43 BM 59596 concerns the same diagnosis, although much of the text is obscure (see Chalendar 2013: 8-9; Frahm et al. 2013; Frahm 2011: 238; Stol 2009: 12; Labat 1933: 114-15).

- 1: For the tentative reconstruction of a Gtn-stem of *šanû*, see *CAD* Š/1: 406; *CAD* Ṭ: 95; Stol 2009: 2 n. 10; Chalendar 2013: 20; see also *AHW*: 1166.

The inserted <ma> is based on the duplicate passage in *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 14.

- 2: There is a break in the middle of the line, which may have held two signs. Considering the parallel passage in *STT* vol. 2 no 286, it seems likely this space was originally left blank.

The reconstructed [u] at the end of the line is based on the parallel passage in *STT* vol. 2 no. 286.

- 3: Chalendar (2013: 10) suggests reading the partly broken sign at the end of the line as *tur-r*[i<sup>2</sup>-šú], which the visible wedges support.

- 4: Based on my collation, there appears to be a small wedge impressed above the U<sub>18</sub> sign, which cannot be explained. Chalendar (2013: 10) transliterated the end of the line as ŠAḪ NI[TAḪ], which is presumably a typo for the reading ŠAḪ.

- 4-5: Whether or not some of the bones mentioned were *Decknamen* for plants remains uncertain (Rumor 2017: 27; Chalendar 2013: 29-30; Böck 2010b and 2011; Stol 2009: 12).

- 5-6: The phrase *ina pēnti tuqattaršu*, “you fumigate him (with various plants) on charcoal” (e.g., Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 127, 203, 267-68), is followed in *BAM* 202 obv. 16. As no specific fumigants are mentioned in obv. 5, I have translated “by means of” for *ina*. For fumigation in the context of insanity and epilepsy, see Chalendar 2013: 29-30; Böck 2011: 700, 702; Böck 2010a; Stol 2009: 12; Stol 1993: 106-107 and n. 75; Walker 1980. For fumigation in Mesopotamia, see also Reiner 1957-58: 394; Labat 1961; Goltz 1974: 83-86; Herrero 1984: 109f.; Finkel 1991; Stol 1998: 350-351; Geller 2010: 20, 81f., 181 n. 44; Geller 2016: 25-26; Stadhouders 2016.

6: Note that the ending (verbal form)-*ma* TI “he (drinks/eats/etc.) ..., and he will recover” in *BAM* 202 obv. 6, 12, and 16 may designate “a subordinate ‘if’ clause” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: xvi).

7-8: This prescription runs largely parallel to *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 19-20 and *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 9’:

*STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii

19 DIŠ K[<sup>1</sup>].MIN <sup>1</sup>GI-lim <sup>1</sup>k[a-za[l-la KA ta]m-tim GA[Z x x (x)]

20 [NU] p[a]-tan E[N]<sup>1</sup>x x[x x] T[IN<sup>2</sup> x x]

*SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 obv.

9’ DIŠ KI.MIN <sup>1</sup>IGI-lim <sup>1</sup>ka-zal-la KA A.AB.BA ina KAŠ NU pa-tan EN  
[ba<sup>1</sup>l-tu [NAG<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ

For a discussion of this passage, see Chalendar 2013: 10, 30-31.

8: Imbibing medication on an empty stomach is well attested (see, e.g., Geller 2005; Scurlock 2014).

9-12: The prescription runs parallel to *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 21-24:

*STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii

21 DIŠ [KI.MIN] NU-šú [š]á [GI]-šú D[Ü-uš<sup>2</sup>] [SAG].D[U]-[su] šá I[M GAR-  
[an]

22 [x x][x][x t]u-*hal-lap*-šú T[ÚG x x][x][x x x]

23 [x][x][x x] [SAG.DU<sup>2</sup>]-šú [GAR<sup>2</sup>]-[an<sup>2</sup>] KUŠ<sup>2</sup> UR<sup>2</sup>. [GI<sup>2</sup> x x x x (x)]

24 [x]([ca. six signs missing])[x]([no more than five signs missing])

For a discussion of this passage, see Chalendar 2013: 10, 31-32.

9: The sign in the break is difficult to see. Chalendar (2013: 10) suggests the reading [SU]-šú, which is supported by the new line drawing. However, note the reading NU-šú in *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 21.

11: The *paršīgu* is a headdress made out of a sash (*CAD* P: 203ff.; see Chalendar 2013: 13).

13-16: The prescription runs parallel to the unpublished BM 40183+ obv. 1’-2’:

BM 40183+ obv.

1’ [x x x x x] [SAG.DU UGA<sup>mušen</sup> SAG].DU KUR.[GI]<sup>mušen</sup> SAG.DU  
GI]Š<sup>2</sup>. [NU<sup>1</sup>]<sup>mušen</sup> SAG.DU [e<sup>1</sup>]-giri<sup>2</sup>[<sup>mušen</sup>] (I can barely see the last sign on  
the photograph)

2’ [SAG.DU d]u<sup>2</sup>-ru-um-mi<sup>mušen</sup> [SAG].DU [B]URU<sup>5</sup>.HABRUD<sup>ru</sup>.DA<sup>muse</sup>[<sup>n</sup>  
NÍT]A ina NE SAR-šú-ma TI

Alternatively, the penultimate bird listed in BM 40183+ obv. 1’ could very cautiously be read SAG.D]U [LAGAB<sup>2</sup>]<sup>mušen</sup> for a mysterious bird whose Akkadian name is unknown (Veldhuis 2004: 164, 191, 197, 202, 265), or perhaps SAG.D]U [BUL<sup>2</sup>]<sup>mušen</sup>/SAG.DU BU]L<sup>2</sup>. [BUL<sup>2</sup>]<sup>mušen</sup> indicating the expected *anpatu*-bird (this reading would likely require the long form NIN.BUL.BUL; cf. *CAD* A/2: 143). The tentative reading of the final bird in obv. 1’ as [e<sup>1</sup>]-giri<sup>2</sup>[<sup>mušen</sup>] for the *igirû*-heron is not attested elsewhere (cf. *CAD* I-J: 41). For this passage, see Chalendar 2013: 4-5, 10, 32-33. Note that Chalendar has a typo listing BM 40183+ obv. 1’-5’ as parallel to *BAM* 202 (ibid.: 10; cf. ibid.: 4-5).

13: The reconstruction -[i<sup>2</sup>]<sup>mušen</sup> SAG UG]A(Ú.NAGA.GA)<sup>mušen</sup> follows Chalendar (2013: 10 and n. 26, 33). The broken space could ideally have fitted the reconstructed signs.

14: The remains of the sign GI fits with the writing in obv. 17.

The final ingredient is written with the Sumerogram KI.SAG.MUNUS<sup>mušen</sup> (*igirû*), and the remains of the sign K]I can be spotted on the original.

15: The *durummu*-bird (*CAD* D: 198) is mentioned in the commentary *CT* vol. 41 pl. 43 BM 59596 obv. 4 in an obscure passage (see Chalendar 2013: 8-9, 33).

*BAM* 202 records BURU<sub>5</sub> as 𒃶.ŠE.ERIM, whereas BM 40183+ has the reading as 𒃶.ERIM.

The sign read 𒃶AB[RUD<sup>17</sup>] is different from 𒃶ABRUD in rev. 4', and it does not appear as neither KIXU nor KIXBAD (Borger 2010: 414; Labat 1995: 208f.).

- 17-rev. 4': *BAM* 202 obv. 17 may have run parallel to the broken entry in *STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii 29. Chalendar (2013: 11, 33ff.) edits the section from *BAM* 202 obv. 23-rev. 4' parallel to BM 40183+ obv. 8'-11', although the passage is almost completely broken in *BAM* 202:

*STT* vol. 2 no. 286 col. ii

29 [(ca. seven missing signs)] GI DÙ 𒄩<sup>18</sup> al[(breaks off)]

BM 40183+ obv.

8' NINDA.Ī.DÉ.A LÁL Ī.NUN.NA GAR-an NÍG.NA šim<sup>19</sup>LI GAR-[an] KAŠ SAG BAL-q[í (ca. eight signs missing)]

9' DAM šu-ḫu-za-ta at-[ta] DAM-[sà ší<sup>20</sup>-i DAM<sup>21</sup>l-ka ana pu-[uḫ] NENNI A [NENNI] te-leq-qí-ši-ma ta<sup>22</sup>-at<sup>23</sup>-ta-[lak]

10' [ta<sup>24</sup>-qab<sup>25</sup>-bi<sup>26</sup>-ma NU a-di šu-de-e-šú ana bi-<sup>27</sup>i [šá BÀD] tu-še-[rib] IGI.MEŠ-šú ana [d<sup>28</sup>?]UTU.ŠÚ.A<sup>29</sup>] GAR-an<sup>30</sup>-ma BAD-[ḫi]

11' 3 [ZÌ.DUB].D[U]B.BU NAGA.SI ana IGI 𒃶ABRUD ŠUB.ŠUB-di NIM UR.GI<sup>31</sup> ú-paṭ tim-bu-ut A.ŠÀ ina KUŠ

The text in *BAM* 202 obv. 17-rev. 4' may have concerned a ritual where the evil afflicting the patient is offered a figurine representing a wife and married off to this figurine, after which the demon is removed (Chalendar 2013: 33-34, 36; see Scurlock 2006: 52-53; Farber 2004: 128-30; Farber 2001: 255; Schwemer 1998: 60-63, 66-67).

- 17: As noted by Chalendar (2013: 11, 33), the opening of the line must have referred to the figurine (*šalmu*). Perhaps the break once contained additional information concerning what sort of figurine was constructed. One of the uncertain signs before and after [pi<sup>32</sup>] may have been NU, but this does not account for the remaining traces. No useful reconstruction is suggested.
- 19: Chalendar (2013: 11, 33-34) reconstructs [tūgBAR.SIG ina SAG.DU]-[šú<sup>33</sup>]. The sign read -šú is not clear on the original.
- 20: The few traces are reminiscent of the sign kur or the end of a NÚ, although Chalendar (2013: 11, 33) suggests reading [NU<sup>34</sup>]. The line could be reconstructed as [ina še-pit gišN]Ú, although something would be missing directly after, and the foot and the head of the bed would be in reverse order (cf. *CAD* Š/2: 293).
- 21: Chalendar (2013: 11, 33-34) reconstructs [ina<sup>35</sup> gišNÚ<sup>36</sup>? GI]G tuš-tál, which is reasonable in accordance with the original. For the verb *itūlu*, see *CAD* N/1: 204ff.; *CAD* U-W: 344ff.; Kouwenberg 2010: 365, 480; Huehnergard 2002: 178ff. Similar actions can be found in other rituals (e.g., Scurlock 2006: 515-19; Tsukimoto 1985: 125-27).
- 22: The ending GIG BI TI-uṭ is problematic, as it indicates the cure is over (Chalendar 2013: 34-35). Horizontal lines divide prescriptions in *BAM* 202, and there is no line between obv. 22-23. Thus, it is unclear if the prescription continued.
- 23: Chalendar (2013: 11 n. 27) suggests that the tablet may hide a -qí on the edge, although the original only contains the final signs BAL-šú. For the possible reconstruction [nignak burāši tašakkan šīnāt imēri an]a [šul-pur ..., see Chalendar 2013: 35.
- 24: Only a few traces remain. This and a hypothetical missing line may have contained instructions for marrying off the demonic being to a substitute figurine, reconstructed as: *maḫar Šamaš kiām taqabbi mimma lemnu aššata šūḫuzāta atta mussa šī aššatka*, "You say the following in front of Šamaš: 'Any Evil'-demon, you

are made to take a wife, you are her husband, she is your wife” (Chalendar 2013: 11-13; see references to obv. 17-rev. 4’).

Rev. 1’: The broken end of the line can barely hold the reconstructed signs  $^l\text{tal}-a[{}^l\text{t}^{\text{?}}-\text{lak}^{\text{?}}]$ . Perhaps it is possible to read  $^l\text{tal}-t[{}^l\text{al}^{\text{?}}-\text{lak}^{\text{?}}]$ , although this spelling of the second person singular verbal form is not attested in the *CAD* (A/1: 322ff.; see also *AHW*: 33). Chalendar (2013: 11 and n. 28) suggests the alternative reading  $t[{}^l\text{a-at-ta-l}][{}^l\text{ak}]$  on the basis of the CDLI picture of *BAM* 202. This proposal can now be dismissed on the basis of my collation.

The line may have contained the end of a phrase uttered before Šamaš concerning the evil afflicting the patient (*ibid.*: 13, 35).

2’: Chalendar (2013: 11) reconstructs  $[annâ \text{taqabbima} \text{NU } a-di]$ . I have refrained from reconstructing this passage, due to the unclear and few remaining signs.

3’: I have drawn on the parallel passage in *BM* 40183+ to reconstruct the line, and the remains in *BAM* 202 rev. 3’ support the proposed reconstruction. For the use of a “drainage opening”  $bî'u$  in connection to figurines in a ritual context, see *CAD* B: 297. Abusch and Schwemer (2011: 156, 285, 345) translate the word as a “sewage opening”.

4’: Chalendar (2013: 35) suggests reconstructing the line as  $[bî'a \text{tepehhi } k]îma$  (see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 156 line 32). However,  $kîma$  makes little sense in the context here. In light of the duplicate *BM* 40183+ obv. 10’, the line must refer to the closing of the deposit. The reconstruction  $[ta-bar-ra]m^{\text{?}}-ma$  reflects this interpretation.

The final sign  $\text{HABRUD}$  ( $hurru$ ) is translated “hole” (*CAD* H: 252-53), e.g., in relation to a hole made in a wall to hide a figurine in (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 144, 186). The word must refer to the previously mentioned drainage opening.

5’-11’: The diagnosis and prescription has parallel lines in *BAM* 311 rev. 51’-55’, *BM* 40183+ rev. 25’-27’, and *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 obv. 5’-6’:

*BAM* 311 rev.

- 51’  $\text{DIŠ N[A in]a [KI].NÁ-šú } \text{HULUH.} \text{HULUH-ut GIM GÜ } \text{ÜZ GÜ-si } [i]-$   
 $[ram-mu-um]$   
 52’  $i-par-ru-ud \text{ma-g[al]} \text{GÜ.GÜ-si } \text{ŠU } be-en-nu \text{ } ^d[\text{ALAD } \text{šá-né-e } ^d30]$   
 53’  $ana \text{TI-šú } [{}^u]\text{GEŠTIN.KA}_5.A \text{ } ^u\text{a-nu-n[u-t]} \text{ } ^u\text{ } ^{giš}[\text{HÁŠHUR}] \text{ } ^{giš}[\text{GI}]$   
 54’  $^u\text{HAR.LU[M.BA.ŠI]R } ^u\text{a-ra-r[i]-a-nu } \text{ILLU LI.TUR}$   
 55’  $\text{SÍG U[GU.DUL.BI } ina \text{K]UŠ PÉŠ.} \text{ÜR.R]A GAG.GAG } ina \text{GÜ-šú GAR}$

*BM* 40183+ rev.

- 25’  $\text{DIŠ NA } ina \text{KI.NÁ-šú } \text{HULUH.} \text{HULUH-ut-ma GI[M x x x x] } [{}^u] i-ram-mu-$   
 $[mu \text{ } i\text{-na-ru-ut } \text{ma-[gal]} \text{GÜ.GÜ-si}$   
 26’  $[Š]U \text{ } ^d\text{be-en-nu } ^d[\text{ALA}]D^{\text{?}} [\text{šá-l-né-e } ^d30] \text{ } ^d[0 \text{ } ana \text{TI-šú}] \text{ } ^{giš}\text{GEŠTIN.KA}_5.A \text{ } ^u\text{a-}$   
 $nun-nu-tu_4^{\text{?}} \text{ } ^{giš}[\text{HÁŠHUR}] \text{ } ^{giš}[\text{GI}] \text{ } ^u\text{HAR.LUM.(BA.[ŠIR}] according to$   
 Chalendar, but I cannot see it)  
 27’  $[{}^u\text{a-r}]a-[ri]-a-nu \text{IL[LU L]I.DUR SÍG U[GU.D]UL.BI } ina \text{KUŠ } ina \text{SA}$   
 $\text{PÉŠ.} \text{ÜR G[AG.GAG } ina \text{GÜ-šú}] \text{GAR-an-ma } [{}^l\text{TI}^{\text{?}}]$  (I can barely see the last sign)

*SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 obv.

- 5’  $[{}^l\text{DIŠ}] \text{K[I.MIN]} \text{ } [{}^l\text{GEŠT}] \text{IN.KA}_5.A \text{ } ^u\text{a-nu-nu-tu}_4 \text{ } ^{giš}\text{HÁŠHUR} \text{ } ^{giš}\text{GI}$   
 $^u\text{HAR.LUM.BA.ŠIR } ^u\text{a-ra-r[i-a-nu]}$   
 6’  $\text{ILLU LI.TAR SÍG UGU.DUL.BI } ina \text{KUŠ } ina \text{SA PÉŠ.} \text{ÜR}$

For a discussion of this diagnosis, see Section 1. See previous discussions in Chalendar 2013: 10-13, 37ff.; Böck 2010a: 94; Stol 2009: 12; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 83 no. 3. 268; Heeßel 2000: 86 n. 61, 223; Stol 1993: 6 and n. 10; Köcher 1978: 35.

- 5': The parallel line in *BAM* 311 reads GIM GÜ ÛZ GÜ-*si*, thereby adding GÜ, *rigmu* “voice, sound, noise, wailing” of a goat (*CAD* R: 328ff.).
- 6': Both the parallel lines in *BAM* 311 (rev. 52') and BM 40183+ (rev. 25') write GÜ.GÜ-*si* instead of *BAM* 202's DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-*ub*. See Section 4.
- 7': The copyist chose to write the diagnosis “Hand of *bennu*-epilepsy” with the dual of “hand” (ŠU<sup>II</sup> *be-en-ni*). The writing was likely due to a scribal convention used among certain members of the Baba-šuma-ibni family (see Section 4 and n. 63). Further analysis of this phenomenon is required. Note that BM 40183+ writes <sup>d</sup>*bennu* (see Stol 1993: 21 and n. 162-63).
- 8': The copyist imprinted one horizontal wedge too many in the beginning of the ḪAŠḪUR sign, which makes it similar to the Babylonian writing of the sign, as seen in *SpTU* vol. 3 no. 83 obv. 5'.
- 9': The reconstruction is based on the parallel passages cited above (see Chalendar 2013: 11-12).
- 10': Chalendar (2013: 11 n. 29) suggests that the break may have held the ingredients found in the beginning of rev. 9', although this would require other ingredients in rev. 9'. For the use of “monkey hair”, see Dunham 1985.
- 11': The reconstruction is based on the duplicate passages (see Chalendar 2013: 11-12).  
The first sign GAG of the partly preserved [SA ÁB.RI.RI].<GA> [GAG]<sup>17</sup>.GAG-*pi*l *ina* [GÚ-šú] GAR-[*an*] is problematic, and if properly restored, the copyist must have miscalculated the space available for writing the ingredient GAG.GAG-*pi*, thereby missing the restored <GA>.  
None of the other duplicates use the skin of an *unīqu* “female kid”, although such skins were occasionally used in rituals connected to epilepsy (see *CAD* U-W: 160). For the writing “dead cow” (ÁB.RI.RI.GA, *šalquttu*), see *CAD* Š/1: 262; *CAD* L: 217.
- 12'-13': The description “in leather” is an abbreviation for producing a *mēlu* “phylactery, poultice, bandage, (leather) bag” (see Reiner 1959-60: 150; Lambert 1980; Stol 1993: 102-104; *CAD* M/2: 14-15). Such bags were used to ward off an epileptic attack, and to eradicate ailments (Stol 1993: 102-103 and n. 30, 109). For a discussion of the ingredients, see Chalendar 2013: 44-45.
- 12': The *šarānu*-plant is also mentioned in the LB medical commentary BM 54595 (= *CT* 41 pl. 43) obv. 12: *ša-ra-nu: kur-sis*<sup>1</sup>-s[u], “*šarānu*-plant (is) *kursissu*-rodent”. This commentary is described as “relating to (the work) ‘in order to tear out and [release] Antašubba-epilepsy’” (*ša ana Antašubba nasāhi u [pašāri]*, BM 54595 rev. 3'; see discussion and edition in Frazer 2017; cf. *CAD* Š/2: 50; see also *CAD* K: 567). A similar sentence is also mentioned in the related manuscript *BAM* 311 rev. 59'.
- 14': The meaning and use of the phrase *ana šabāt epēši* is discussed briefly in Section 4; see especially n. 65. See also Couto-Ferreira 2018: 152 n. 10, 157-62; Maul 2010: 212-13, 216; Böck 2008: 296; Maul 2003: 180-81; Maul 1994: 159 n. 16; Bottéro 1983: 159; Hunger 1968: 12; Leichty 1964: 153; Eilers 1933: 325. Chalendar's (2013: 12-13) reconstruction of this line is discussed in Section 4.
- 15': The reading of this line is uncertain. The initial traces could be [ša<sup>1</sup>]-[l]a[m<sup>2</sup>], although this does not explain the writing *benna*. I have cautiously emended the visible vertical wedge after -[l]a[m<sup>2</sup>] to [d<sup>1</sup>](diš), but the reading remains tentative. The

sign *be*<sup>2</sup>- is questionable. The following sign could be an *-e[n]*<sup>2</sup>, and I emend the next sign to *-[na]*<sup>1,2</sup>. Compared with the writing of *bennu* in rev. 7', it does not look identical. The writing *be-en-na* is attested, although infrequently (e.g., *CAD* B: 206d; Schwemer 2007: 115; Reiner and Pingree 1981: 46). An alternative reading of the opening as *[ša]*<sup>1</sup>-*[l]*<sup>am</sup><sup>2</sup> *[d]*<sup>1</sup>*b[e]*-*[na]*<sup>1,2</sup> makes the problematic vertical wedge part of *-lam*, although this sign would take up more space than other signs in the line. Furthermore, the spelling *be-na* is awkward. The final traces support the reading *ša-n[é-e]*<sup>d30</sup>, although the reconstructed three signs can barely fit in the broken space before the drawing. None of the traces permit <sup>d</sup>ALAD. Alternatively, the final line could refer to the removal of *bennu*, e.g., *[a]*<sup>1</sup>-*[n]*<sup>a</sup>/*ana* Š[U<sup>(II)</sup>]<sup>1,2</sup> *[d]*<sup>benna</sup><sup>1,2</sup> *ša-h[a]*<sup>1</sup>-*tī* (*CAD* Š/1: 94), but the final traces of the line do not fit this reconstruction well. Although the initial wedge could be a *Personenkeil*, the traces after *ša* do not permit *tir*, and I find it difficult to reconstruct the line as part of the colophon.



6.5. Pictures of *BAM* 202:

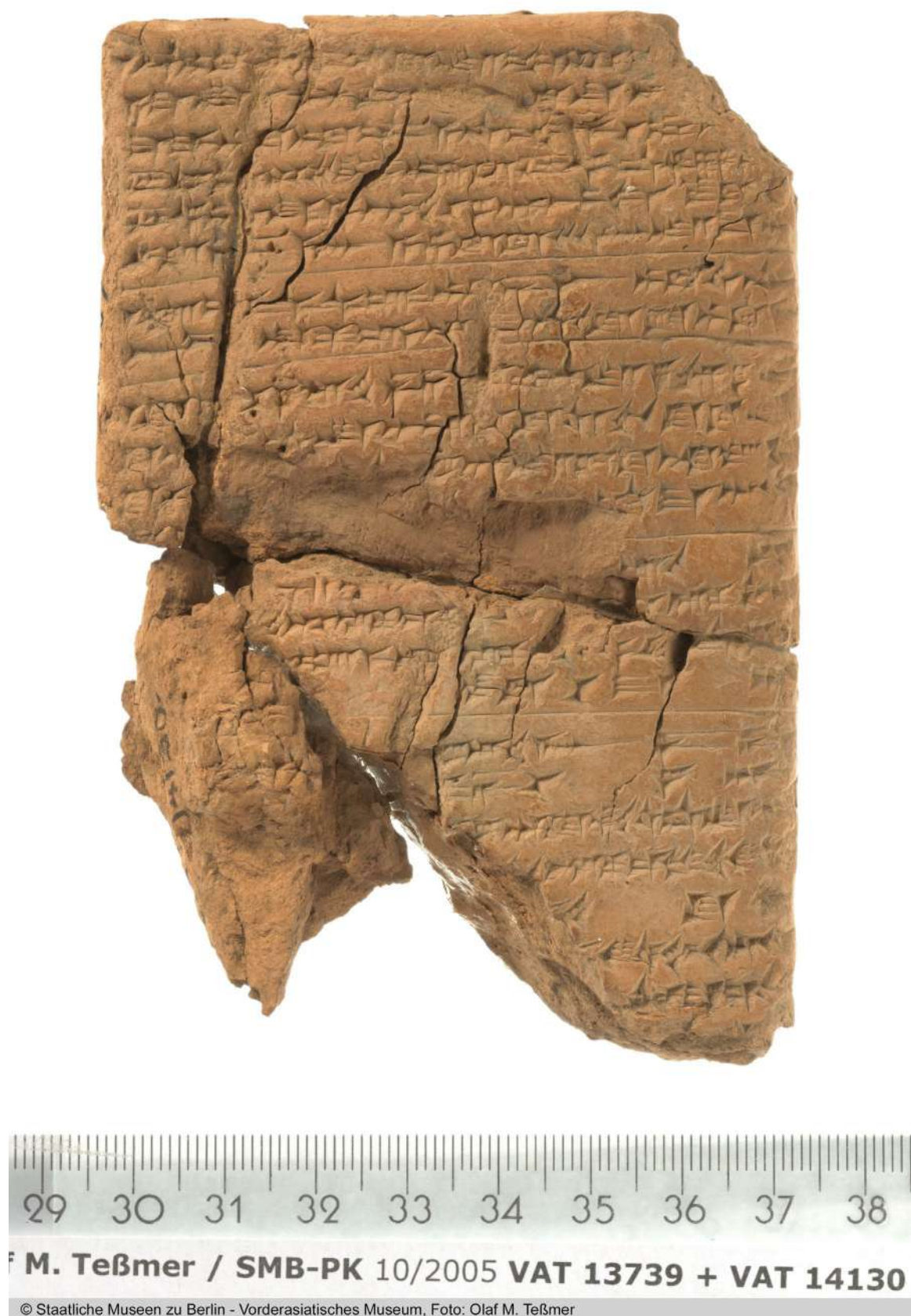


Fig. 4: The obverse of *BAM* 202

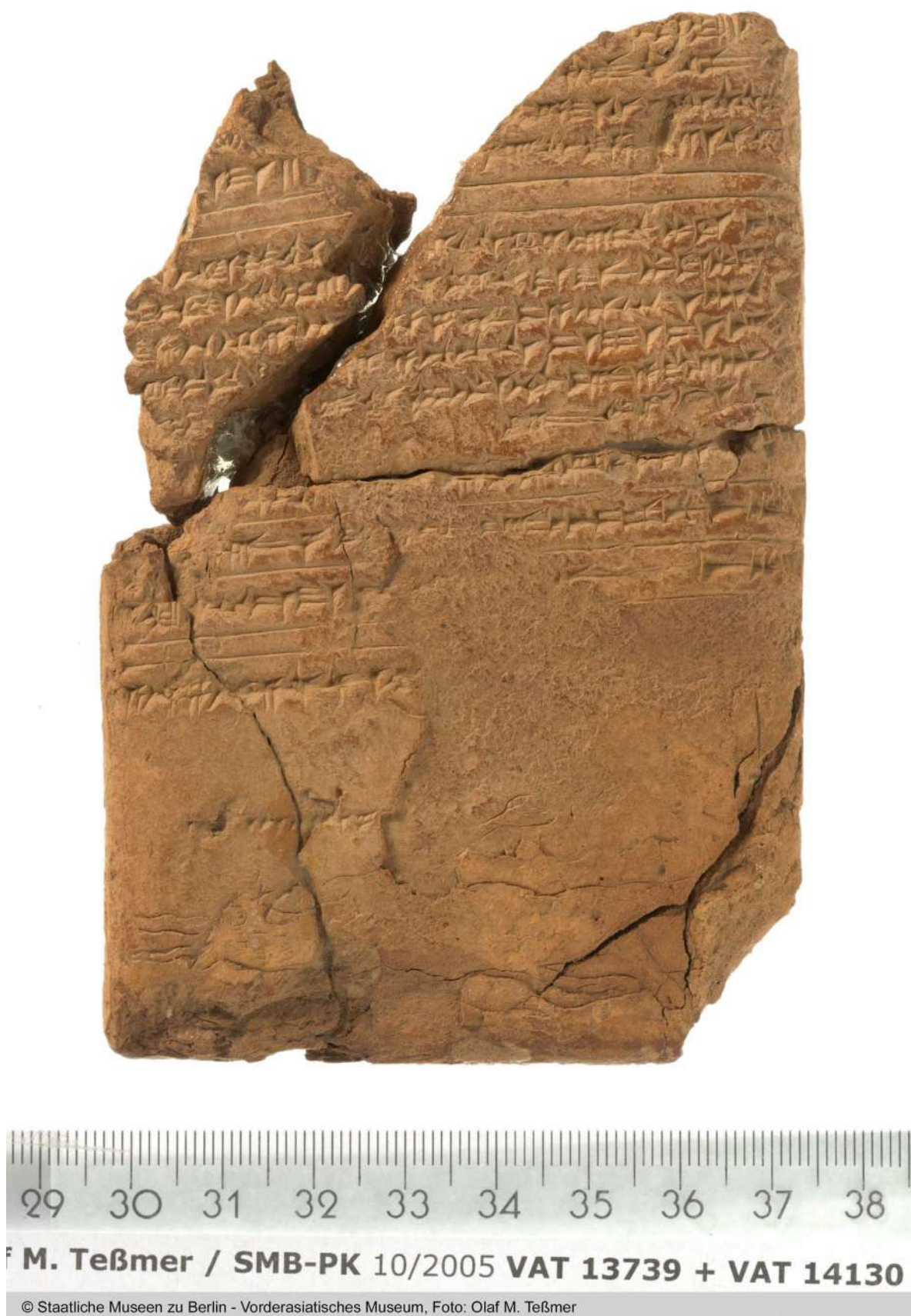


Fig. 5: The reverse of *BAM* 202

## 7. Bibliography

Abbreviations follow R. Borger 1975: *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur. Band II* (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter), pp. XI-XXXII, with the addition of *JMC* for *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* (Paris) and *NABU* for *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (Paris).

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