

# Le Journal des Médecines

2019 n°33



- 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**
- Page 35      *kasû*(<sup>Ú</sup>GAZI<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

## The *libbu* our second brain? \*

### Appendix part 2

Annie Attia

#### 5 – “Mal de vivre”, desperation, hopelessness, sickness-of-living *nissatu(m)*.

This section will study the Akkadian term *nissatu*, in Sumerian *zarah* (sag.pa.lagab).

Dominique Charpin introduced us to the hopeless bilingual scribe (1992). This scribe lost the royal favour and became desperate, expressed in Akkadian with the term *nissatum* (in the text in Sumerian: pa.sag.lagab). This man could have a medical background, as some scribes probably had, but it is not obvious when reading his letter. The term *nissatum* is associated with mourning as it is derived from the verb *nasāsu* “to lament, wail, and moan”. Interestingly in the Mari corpus (see ARCHIBAB) in a letter<sup>1</sup> this term is employed to describe an old lion, and is translated by “maladie” linked to the weakness of old age. Another letter<sup>2</sup> associates *nissatum* with *pirištum*, in this context it means “hard feelings, grievance”.

In the letters found in the Royal Library of Neo-Assyrian Nineveh *nissatu* is used in scholarly contexts. The authors quote predictive omens. E.g. there is a mention of this desperation in the letter SAA 10 42 (Parpola, 1993) written by Balasî, an astrologer, to Esarhaddon. He explains how a ritual should be performed in case of a storm. He quotes from a tablet the following prediction: “the said man <sup>8</sup>will be (lit. will walk continuously) <sup>7</sup>restless and hopeless (<sup>2</sup>*ina ku-û-ri u ni-is-sa-te*<sup>3</sup>) for three years”.<sup>4</sup> How much older this omen is than the letter is uncertain. Another example comes from the letter SAA 18 24 (Reynolds 2003). The author complains and denounces some fellow, cursing him thus: “may ... bestow upon him <sup>9</sup>grief (*ni-is-sat*) and <sup>10</sup>wailing ([*q*]u<sup>1</sup>-be-e)”. In other terms, the man will lament out loud from sheer hopelessness. In Esarhaddon’s succession treaty (Parpola/Watanabe 1988, SAA 2 §38A), *nissatu* is one of the numerous curses against the violation of the oath threatening that the god Anu will rain down illnesses on transgressors.

The use of *nissatu* in a literary text, *Gilgamesh*, is interesting: it is significant to have several occurrences of this word in a text where the problem of death and mourning is predominant (see George 2003: 678 l. 8, 680 l. 42, 684: 114 –in the *karšu*, stomach, belly, body, mind, and heart, 692 l. 256 –in the *šer’ānu* sinews and cord-like body parts).

*Nissatu* is found frequently in incantations enumerating different diseases (it is no coincidence that in several Sargonid documents this ailment occurs in curses, in the same way it could be a bad omen, see for instance Böck 2000: 44b, 164: 199-200, 170: 264). Even if these texts were learned and known by different types of physicians, they are just lists and do not help to understand the nature of *nissatu*. Thus, I shall concentrate on technical texts.

\* **Reminder:** in JMC 31, in a paper entitled “Mieux vaut être riche et bien portant que pauvre et malade” I try to find in the texts of practice, especially in the letters, “case histories” related to melancholy, a severe form of depression. In an appendix to this paper, entitled “the *libbu* our second brain”, I confront the words and expressions used in these letters to their attestations in the medical texts. This way I try to check if a “specific” language is found in the medical texts, accounting for a “specific” medical reasoning. My working hypothesis is that physicians used technical words or expressions that are not found in everyday language, this type of behaviour is proper to the medical practice (and, probably, among scholars). Along the way, this study comes across several developments or digressions which I try to clarify. I do not pretend to solve all the questions or to clarify all the obscurities. I am not like the man running around shouting “I have an answer, who has a question?” I am afraid to admit that I have more questions than answers!

<sup>1</sup> ARM (Archives Royales de Mari) 14 1 [A.263]: 26, Durand 1997: 349 note f) and Streck 1997: 109.

<sup>2</sup> ARM 28 25 [A.328].

<sup>3</sup> For the same formulation see the incantation CMAwR vol. 2, text 10.7: 71.

<sup>4</sup> See further on.

### 5.1 Plants against “mal de vivre” / desperation, misery, sorrow.

Several plants were known to be good for this mood disturbance, and several medical prescriptions (*bulṭu*) list plants with the following indications:

**BAM 1 i 59** ú *azallû*: *šammu nissati*(zarah): *lâ patân akâlu u šatû* “The plant *azallû* is the plant (for) ‘mal de vivre’: to eat or drink on an empty stomach.”<sup>5</sup>

**BAM 209 r 8’-9’**<sup>6</sup> // **BAM 318 i 40-42**:<sup>7</sup> *ana amêli nissatu*(zarah) *ul iṭehhe: kamkadu* [...] *ana amêli nissatu ul iṭehhešu / ilu ina dannata* <it><sup>12</sup> *tirš[u]*? “so that ‘mal de vivre’ will not approach the patient, *kamkadu*-meadow saffron ... (then) ‘mal de vivre’ will not approach the patient (and) the (personal) god will save him<sup>9</sup> from distress.”

**BAM 209 r 10’-11’**// **BAM 318 i 43-45** (with the complete formula: *ana amêli nissatu*(zarah) *ul iṭehhešu dannatu*(munus.kala.ga) *paṭrassu* “so that ‘mal de vivre’ will not approach the patient, distress will be undone for him.”) *ana min urqîta*(ú.šim) *adârâna teleqqe tub*[*bal ištêniš tasâk i’-n*]a<sup>2</sup> *šik[ari’ rešti’ išat]ti*, “for ditto: you take green leaves (and) *adârânu*-plant, you [dry (them), (and) pound them together; he drin]ks (it) [i]n be[er].”

**BAM 318 iii 29, 39**: *šumma azallâ ikkalma nissata*(*ni-is-sa-ta*) *im[ašši]* “If he eats the plant *azallû*, he will forget ‘mal de vivre’”.

This plant of oblivion against “mal de vivre” is also quoted in the series devoted to plants. *Uruanna* I v 64’ the plant is broken in the indication: ú zarah *ma-[še-(e) ...]*, *Uruanna* II 2, as ú *ni-is-sa-ti* (var. sag.pa.lagab/zarah): “(*azallû* is) the plant for ‘mal de vivre’”. Cf. also BRM 4 32:19 and CT 14 32 ú.a.zal.lá // ú *ni-is-sa-at ma-še-e* “*azallû* = plant to forget ‘mal de vivre’”<sup>8</sup>.

It is noteworthy that *azallû* was supposed to help to forget the strains and to have a tranquillizing effect (see above –this plant was prescribed in BAM 316): it could be called *amnesia*-plant. This is one of the reasons why it is sometimes assimilated with cannabis or poppy (since according to *šammu šikinšu* its flower is red<sup>9</sup>). However, this identification may be questionable (see the comments on *azallû* in Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 468-469). Anyway, it is possible that *azallû* was efficacious and the result was that the desperate patient calmed down, or even became euphoric and could live with his mental disturbance.

### 5.2 A clinical observation?

In the Mari petition mentioned above, the poor scribe laments that “mal de vivre made him bow down (*ni-sà-tum u[q-da]-di-da-a[n-ni]*)”. Does this phrase indicate humiliation?<sup>10</sup> Is he bowing down because he feels ashamed? Or is he afraid of blows? Ursulla Garrigue comments on the traditional iconography representing the melancholic patient: “la tête appuyée sur une main (voire les deux) pour contrebalancer sa propre lourdeur”.<sup>11</sup> Ulrike Steinert states that the head stands for the person and thus, to “bow the head” in Akkadian conveys notions of humiliation, especially if one is disdained by others (2012, 198-200). In the catalogue of the exhibition dedicated to “Mélancolie, génie et folie en Occident” it is obvious through numerous works that the attitude of our Mari scribe is the traditional way to represent a melancholic person, be it a character trait or be it a diseased person.

<sup>5</sup> For BAM 1 See Attia / Buisson (2012) for transcription and comments.

<sup>6</sup> BAM 209 r 8’ *ana na zarah nu te* <sup>10</sup>*kam-ka-d[u ... ana na]*<sup>9</sup> zarah nu te-šú dingir *ina* munus.[kalag].[ga (*iṭtir*(š*u*)] BAM 209 r 10’ *diš min ú.šim* [<sup>10</sup>*a-da-ra-na ti-qé x*...] [<sup>11</sup> *ana na zarah nu te-šú munus.kalag.ga duh* [...] ].

<sup>7</sup> For BAM 318 see Schwemer, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Geller (2010a: 168-173) edition of BRM 4 32.

<sup>9</sup> See §6.2.5, Stadhouders (2011: 17, §8) and Stadhouders (2012: 8).

<sup>10</sup> As in Dietrich 2003: SAA 17 n°53 r 10’-12’ (and 54 r 16), the viceroy of Babylon, Bêl-ibni begs for rehabilitation: “may I not be slighted and humiliated (<sup>11</sup>*re-si-ia* <sup>12</sup>*la i-šap-pi-la*) in the eyes of my fellow Babylonians”.

<sup>11</sup> Guarrigue 2004.

### 5.3 “Mal de vivre” in BAM 316

In BAM 316 iii 23-24 “mal de vivre” shares the salient initial position with “(crushing, oppressive) vice-like heartbreak”, where both are linked by *u* “and”: *šumma amêlu hušša hîp libbi u nissata(zarah) irtanašši nullâti libbušu îtammu* “If, without letting up, a man has vice-like heartbreak and ‘mal de vivre’ (and/so that) his heart makes him ponder (literally: his heart ponders) nonsense/foolishness”<sup>12</sup>

Both feelings are on the same level, as two aspects of feeling miserable. Nonsense or foolish talk can be a facet of this mental despair, or it can aggravate it. It may correspond to a special clinical feature. The physician could choose between three treatments (or try all of them). They could be administrated as a potion, an ointment or amulet-bag, the preparation was based twice on the plant *azallû* already encountered above, with more common medicinal plants. It is difficult to know if *nissatu* was considered as an internal illness needing a potion or an external sickness needing an external treatment (oily ointment): two different problems are associated in this case. The leather-bag containing *materia medica* is usually considered as a magical treatment, but we do not know how it was supposed to treat or to prevent ailments.

<sup>iii 25</sup> *azallû*-plant, *imhur-lîm ina šikari ina šamni ina maški*, “*amnesia*-plant, it-confronted-1000 in beer, in oil, in leather.”

<sup>iv 1</sup> *imhur-lîm zêr bîni ina ma[ški...]*, “it-confronted-1000, seeds of tamarisk in leat[her ...]”

<sup>iv 2</sup> *arariânu zêr bîni zêr azallî ina šikari rešti išatti* “*arariânu*-plant, seeds of tamarisk, seeds of *amnesia*-plant, to drink in first quality beer.”

### 5.4 Could *nissatu* earn its stripes as a disease?

In a prayer addressed to Marduk (Abusch/Schwemer 2016: 235, text 8.28: 59a), the patient begs the god to clear him from his diseases. He is ill in his “soul” and in his body and requests: B<sub>1</sub><sup>13</sup> obv. 29’ *muruš nissati(gig zarah) lâ tûb šîri(nu dūg.ga uzu) ina [zum]riya nussi* “Remove the ‘mal de vivre’-*nissatu* (and) the ill-being of my body!”

It is interesting to find here the mental ailment *muruš nissati* and on the other hand *lâ tûb šîri* “the sickness-of-the-body”, an organic sickness. The phrase could match *lâ tûb libbi lâ tûb šîri iškuna* “he inflicted mental (and) physical ill-health” found in one prayer to Marduk.<sup>14</sup> Tzvi Abusch and Daniel Schwemer understood the sequence of *gig* and *zarah* as two different entities, translating “remove the illness (*murša*), wailing (*nissata*), (and) physical ill-health (*lâ tûb šîri*) from my [bo]dy” (p. 242). If my interpretation is correct, and taking into account that it is not a technical text but a poetic incantation, mental illness is represented here by a feeling of grief or agony and is distinct from physical illness.<sup>15</sup> I believe that, in this incantation, *zarah/nissatu* is a generalization for mental disease.

But what about a prescription of seventeen plants against *ka.dib.bi.da*, often translated by “aphasia”, one of which effects is to suppress the pain-of-living? It seems that *nissatu* was a manifestation of aphasia-illness; this is not found in the usual descriptions of this illness, it could mean that it was a cause of sorrow to suffer from such an illness and that the patient will be happy once healed (Leichty 1988: 262, CBS 14161:10 “*zarah ina su-šú duh-at*, pain-of-living will be relieved from his body”). I owe this interesting and puzzling attestation to Marten Stol).

<sup>12</sup> See also KAR 92: 1 *diš na hu-uš gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši [nu]-ul-la-[tim]* <sup>2</sup> *ša-šú i-ta-mu* (§6.1.4).

<sup>13</sup> K 3151B + 3346 + 8188 + 10055 + 10063 + 13271 (+).

<sup>14</sup> See Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 383: 28 for this long incantation.

<sup>15</sup> As in another prayer to Marduk (Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 218, text 8.27: 39), where *zarah nu dūg.ga uzu*<sup>mes</sup> are found at the end of a list of disorders linked by *u* “and”. Noteworthy *ša.dūg.ga* is a positive feeling with attestations in the medical corpus, see references for “herbs for a Good Heart” in Stol 1993: 35 note 83. See another reference in Finkel (2000: 142) and Bácskay (2015: 5, BM 422772: 8).

### 5.5 External treatments:

There is a treatment in which *nissatu* is supposed to leave the patient's body with the water with which he washes his hands and which is poured on him (in this case *nissatu* is provoked by witchcraft, Abusch/Schwemer 2016, text 8.4: 45'); in a Bīt Rimki ritual (CMAwR 9.1.1:33-34) bathing can remove several diseases, including *nissatu*, and transfer them to a statue representing the witch. In a *Maqlû* incantation (Maqlû VII: 38) dedicated to "Pure Oil", this "oil of healing" can remove illnesses including *nissatu*. Even if these treatments are found in so-called magical texts, they reveal that several illnesses were considered as external, like some kind of dirt or some kind of unpleasant cover. The rain bringing misery on the houses of traitors in the Esarhaddon succession treaty (mentioned above) conveys a similar idea of external attack producing disease and expelled with an external manipulation.

### 5.6 Conclusion?

*Nissatu* is a feeling of grief and unhappiness, a special sort of pain-of-living –in French, *mal de vivre*. This translation was inspired by the title of a song of Barbara, a French singer.<sup>16</sup> She describes admirably this terrible feeling creeping into the soul. In a similar type of poetic composition, the Mesopotamian scribes imagined it as rain falling on a patient and his household, soaking him and flooding him with sorrow<sup>17</sup> or like dust covering him with filth (see references in §5.5). This dirt is reminiscent of the mourning rituals of grieving people.<sup>18</sup> It reminds also of Job's disgusting skin disease. This profound unhappiness is a form of depression linked to mourning feelings without ruin-delusional ideas which are (as we will see in the next section) characteristic of heartbreak. The fact that prejudice is external is an element to differentiate it from heartbreak (*hûṣ*) *hîp libbi*. In the medical texts, however, mundane treatments (potions, etc.) are also proposed. It seems that a plant (*azallû*) with a euphoric or calming effect, for which I proposed the name *amnesia-plant*, was recommended in this medical indication.

## 6 – Heartbreak (*hûp libbâtî, hîp libbi, kusup libbi*) and crushed, oppressive broken heart: vice-like heartbreak (*hûṣ hîpi libbi*).

### • Reminder: texts of practice

– **Old-Babylonian period.** This expression was already used in the Mari correspondence.<sup>19</sup> It is found in a lady's letter: Gabêtum, to Yahdun-Lîm. She hopes that he will be relieved by the god Dagan of "tes soucis actuels, *hi-ip šà-ka*" and be able to travel safely and be in good health. In another letter, not yet published but highlighted by Jean-Marie Durand (in the note a), the author complains that his correspondent writes only sad news (*hi-pî li-ib-bi-i[m]*). It was a mild expression denoting a sad or unpleasant mood.

Another Old-Babylonian attestation is interesting: a man has received worrying news about his employer's health and writes to him: *šu-ú ru-qú-uq li-ib-bi ma-di-iš i-te-eh-[pî] te4-em si-li-ih-ti [š]u-up-ra-am*, "he, he is very thin', my heart is so much broken, send me (good) news about your illness." (Kraus 1985: AbB 10 28: 8-11). The employee is alarmed by the health of his boss (*awîlum*), he expresses this feeling by *libbî mâdiš ittehpi*, it is not, as will be proposed later on, the heart which or "who" breaks him but it is the heart which is broken.

<sup>16</sup> Barbara 1964, her song can be found on <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barbara>.

<sup>17</sup> See in Esarhaddon's succession treaty cited above, among other calamities *nissatu* is said to "rain upon all your houses" (Parpola/Watanabe 1997: 45 §38 and §3.5).

<sup>18</sup> See Charpin 2006: 101-103.

<sup>19</sup> I thank Dominique Charpin who gave me these references. I was complaining that I didn't find *hîp libbi* in the Mari archives and he could immediately point this letter (1216) to me: Durand 2000: 421-2 (with further references).

Kouwenberg (2010: 428) quotes several attestations of this expression in Old-Babylonian texts. He points out (note 236) that, in this context, it was “an idiomatic expression”:

AbB 3, 80:11' The writer of the letter asks his correspondent to give him some good news about his journey so that his heart will not be “continuously broken”, [l]-ib-bi la it-te-ne-eh-p[i].

AbB 1, 124:19 In a letter concerning commercial matters the author sends something to his correspondent and adds: *li-ib-bi la it-te-né-eh-<pi>*, “let my heart not be broken continuously”,

IM 30976 In a letter concerning complicated commercial problems Šilli-Šamaš writes: *aš-šum 2te-em m.d enzu-ú-sé-li ša ta-aš-pa-ra-am 10li-ib-bi it-te-eh-pi* “concerning the case of Sin-uselli, about which you wrote to me, my heart is broken.”

AbB 11, 168: 17 the writer instructs his correspondent for protecting the harvest. He finishes on a polite letter ending: “write to me about your well-being” *li-ib-bi la it-te-né-eh-[p]i*, “so that my heart will not be broken”.<sup>20</sup>

In these letters this idiomatic expression could be translated “I am very annoyed and upset”, it corresponds to a disturbed state of mind, it is not obvious that the person who uses this expression has a painful crushing sensation in his chest or has a depressive illness.

In these examples *hepû* is in the passive system (IV/1 or IV/3): “the heart is broken”. There is no medical text of this period, describing heartbreak, allowing making a comparison. But another pain symptom is described in an Old-Babylonian version of SA.GIG (see Heeßel 2000: 97-98, text LB 2126: 18' *šum-ma mar-šu qá-ta-a-šu ù še20-pa-a-su 18' i-ik-ka-la-a-šu*, “if a sick person (complains that): his hands and his feet devour him (hurt him in a devouring way)”, the verb is in the active I/1 stem. In later medical texts, the verbs for pain are mostly written with a logogram and the grammatical form is often unknown. It is, as will be observed later, a difficult problem especially for the expression *ša-šú gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú* but this OB attestation provides a clue that the verb is in the active form.

And last (and not least?) a similar expression is found in a literary text, Atrahasis, in the Old-Babylonian version: Atrahasis' family enters the boat and sits down at the table for eating and drinking (with relief and pleasure) but Atrahasis does not feel well, “(he could not sit still, he was restless <sup>47</sup>*he-pi-i-ma li-ib-ba-šu i-ma-a' ma-ar-ta-am* for his heart was broken (and) he was vomiting gall (Lambert/Millard 1969: 92 ii 42-47). This attestation is significant: the hero is in a restless state of mind, he cannot participate in the meal with his family, and it leads to a broken heart feeling with a somatic symptom: “vomiting gall”. This somatic symptom could be a metaphor for Atrahasis' bitterness before the arrival of the Flood.

– **Neo-Assyrian period.** This feeling is expressed in several letters in the Sargonids' archives in different ways. The expressions *hûp* or *hûp libbi* derived from *hêpu* “to smash, destroy an object, to break, to crush” (CAD H: 170-171, AHw: 340-341), and *kusup libbi* derived from *kasâpu* “to chip, to break into pieces” (*kasâpu* A, CAD K: 241, *kasâpu* I, AHw: 45) convey similar feelings and sensations. As both expressions are found in the same letter (Parpola 1993, SAA 10 334) they are supposed to be differentiated, and in consequence, Simo Parpola choose to translate *hûp libbâte* and *hûp libbi* as “crushing of heart” vs. *kusup libbi* as “broken-heart”, both being depressive feelings with a tightening sensation in the chest. It is difficult to appreciate whether this distinction was just hollow rhetoric or meaningful. Parpola's analysis evolved from what he proposed in 1983: 51 concerning the letter LAS 41 = SAA 10 45: *hi-ip lib-bi* corresponded to “fear of the heart” comparable to the Arab *hāfa*, and *ku-su-up lib-bi* was the “broken heart”, (attestation courtesy Marten Stol).

The translation suggests that a person suffering from these feelings is at the same time unhappy and worried and that he (or she) experiences a thoracic pain characteristic of anxious fits. This sensation was sufficiently unpleasant and scary to make one fear death or to wish to

<sup>20</sup> These references would not have been found without the help of Ilya Arkhipov whom I warmly thank.

die in order not to suffer anymore (behind a possible rhetorical expression, an exaggeration, authentic situations give to this expression an element of realism). The relation between death and bereavement suffering is found in a scholar's letters to the king: SAA 10 224 *ina hûp libbâte imûat* "he is dying of crushed-heart", SAA 10 334 *ina kusup libbâte amûat* "I am dying of broken-heart". Significantly, that it is coupled with being terror-stricken (*hîp libbi iššabtani aptalah*) which is a salient mental symptom.<sup>21</sup>

This "idiomatic" expression seems to have gained a more severe meaning in the Neo-Assyrian period than in the Old-Babylonian examples (apart from the Atrahasis attestation). Is it because the authors of the letters were close to the medical sphere?

● **The different translations of (*hûš*) *hîp libbi* in the medical texts: there is no consensus!**

The medical texts often use the same expression as in BAM 234: *gaz lib-bi, hîp libbi* referring to a mental disorder associated with a broken, crushed or tense sensation in the chest, but they employ also a ready-made expression *hûš hîpi libbi* (see CAD H 260b and AHW 361a) which Tzvi Abusch and Daniel Schwemer (2011: 150) tie to depression. Marten Stol (1993: 27-31) analyses these expressions and considers that they are equivalent: "Adding this word *hûšu* was obviously a matter of style and we gather from a late Babylonian commentary that later they no longer understood this word. We conclude that this variant of heart-break makes no difference for us." (p. 30).

– **What can be said about *huššu*?**

The problem lies in the fact that the verbal root of *huššu/hûšu* is not known, and consequently, not given in the dictionaries. Ulrike Steinert (2018: 259) recalls that there is a verb in Mandaic (an Aramean language), *hûš*, that could be linked to this root with a meaning of compression, tenseness or oppression.

An attestation of a verb *huššu* (II/1 stem of *hiâšum*) in an Old Babylonian letter (AbB 4, 58) and its translation proposed by Jesse L. Boyd in 1983 (see most recently ARCHIBAB with references) is enlightening: a man named Lu-Ninurta seeks satisfaction for a person who has been prejudiced by a lady. After reparation the man who suffered harm will "*la uh-ta-na-as-si*", no more harass/be a burden for" this lady. The verb includes a notion of intimidation and anger. Of course, there is a big gap between this OB letter and the attestations of the *huššu*-oppression in the medical texts, but it helps to better define this feeling.

Another rare attestation of *huššu* alone (which I owe to Marten Stol whom I thank a lot) is found in a medical text edited by Mark Geller (2010c: 49 iv 15') "[if ditto (unfortunately the case line iv 13' is broken: skin disease or fever or both?)] and 'stomach pains' have overwhelmed him" [*diš ki.m*] in *hu-uš-šú ik-šu-su-ma*. the context is without doubt somatic: skin disease or/and fever. To treat this "oppression" (or, if we follow Mark Geller, this somatic pain), hot bandages are prescribed.

Moudhy Al-Rashid's recent approach is interesting in the sense that she tries to understand the significance of *huššu* with the help of the medical commentary explaining *hušša* in TDP 126: 7<sup>22</sup> quoted by Stol<sup>23</sup>, GCCI II 406: "<sup>10</sup> *hu-uš-ša // še-mu-ú šá ka-ba-bu* "*hušša*

<sup>21</sup> For this important mental disorder, see Stol's analysis of fright during epileptic fits (1993: 38-46) and in "psychosomatic suffering" (1999: 61-67) and Buisson (2016a) for his analysis of fears during mental diseases. These fears were an important feeling in the Mesopotamian civilisation and the richness of the vocabulary for fear is relevant. See the importance of fear provoked by *zikurrudā* witchcraft and leading to death in Abusch 2008: 63-66.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Rashid 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Stol (1993: 30 n. 63) considers this commentary as a hint that this word was not understood. See Geller 2010a: 151-152 who points out the interesting analogy with the Greek "physiopathology" of cooking and digestion, see also Genty 2010: 18, 24; Wee, 2012: 488: "Thus, *še-mu-ú šá ka-ba-bu* ('to roast') in the case of burning" in Comm. Sagig 13 & 12/14 = GCCI II, 406: 10. 'Burning' clarifies that the form *se-mu-ú* refers to the verb *šemû* ('to roast') instead of its more common homonym *šemû* 'to hear'".

corresponds to *šemû* (to roast), with the meaning ‘to burn’.” Interestingly Cadelli (2000: 362) points out that a belly illness *kīs libbi* conveys also a burning concept. Al-Rashid suggests that line 11 of the commentary gives another aspect of this pain: *ša-a-lim ša INIM ana GIG-um*, “quarrelling (with regard) to speaking (stands) for an illness”. If her interpretation is correct, this comment adds the semantic aspect of “delusional ideas of ruin” to the sensation of burning conveyed by *huššu*. It is attractive, but it remains hypothetical.

It is noteworthy that a particular formulation is found in an incantation in which the patient curses the witch responsible for his adversity: text 10.7: 72 (Abusch/Schwemer 2015: 373): “may she end her years in oppression and heartbreak! *ina hušši(hu-uš-ši) u hîp libbi (gaz šà) liqattâ šanâtîša*”, the ready-made expression has found here a poetic formulation slightly different from the conventional one but parallel to the preceding “numbness and ‘mal de vivre’, *ina kûru(ku-û-ru) u nissati(ni-is-sa-ti)*” (see Stol’s comment 1993: 30). This formulation has been chosen by Ulrike Steinert (2018: 258-259), she considers that there are “two independent nominal entities” and the translation is: “*tenseness* (and/of) ‘heartbreak’” (p. 259).

#### – So, what can be said of *hûš hîpi libbi*?

As seen previously (see §4.5), the common language evolved when it was used in medical texts. The physicians used this standardized formula as a technical expression; it became a medical term even if it was very close to everyday language. Stol’s statement is for me more convincing than Steinert’s. I believe that *hîp libbi* and *hûš/huššu hîpi libbi* describe the same ailment but the second one belongs to the medical world. As will be seen in the following study these denominations were sometimes employed interchangeably: in BAM 316 iii 17-24 (§6.1.2) or BAM 317 r 10-r 27 (§6.1.2) different ways of naming this ailment follow each other without allowing understanding what distinguishes one from the other. More interesting is the fact that the same treatment (see §6.2.3) can be prescribed for *hîp libbi* (BM 78963: 82-83 in a potion) and for *hûš hîpi libbi* (BAM 311: 8’-9’ and 22’ in an amulet-bag, *mêlu*), or for *šà-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû* (STT 95+295: 7-12 in an amulet-bag, as an ointment or a potion. Surprisingly, all of these methods of administration being qualified by *mêlu* –an amulet-bag in BAM 317 r 29-30 –see further notes 68 and 69 and Stol 1993: 30 note 61 for a list of attestations of the same type). These observations point to the fact that all the denominations were more or less equivalent.

#### – Different translations convey different approaches for this ailment: is it heartbreak or heart/belly pain?

René Labat’s translation (1951: 126-7: 43) is: “colique déchirante”. He was followed by Adamson (“severe abdominal colic”, 1993: 154). Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 71, note 14) discuss the different opinions concerning this painful sensation (to summarise they contest the preceding translations and consider that it is only a physical “crushing pain”, linked to cardiac involvement or abdominal harm). Scurlock modified her translation to “a crushing sensation in the chest”, which is closer to anxious pain, but she sticks to a somatic pain of cardiac origin (Scurlock 2014: 537). Geller (2010a: 151) considers that *hûš* designates a “stomach cramp” (p. 151) but translates also *gaz libbi* by “heartache” (p. 176). It seems that this expression was difficult to understand for the Mesopotamian scholars themselves and that they needed commentary to explain it (see Stol 1993: 30, Geller 2010a: 151 and Al-Rashid 2014, quoted above). Gilles Buisson (2016) considers that it is a precursor of the Hippocratic Melancholia. See the note (235) dedicated to this ailment by Danielle Cadelli (2000: 341): she comments on Adamson’s (1993: 154) interpretation negatively.

As I will emphasize several times, it is until now difficult to differentiate acute coronary syndrome from anxious or depressive chest pain (and numerous other diagnoses), the differential diagnosis needs modern explorations. And just a comment: how would react a patient with depression when he reads that he does not suffer from a “real” pain? Painful



symptoms (including “non-cardiac chest pain”) are common in depressive illnesses. Different localisations are possible and sometimes pain and somatic complaints dominate the clinical picture, formerly, this type of depression was called “masked depression”. There are numerous medical articles on the subject, one is particularly significant: Stephen Stahl and Mike Briley (2004: S9-S13) in the article “Understanding pain in depression” explore the neurophysiology of pain and depression in order to understand why they are associated and intricate. I quote a passage from the conclusion (S12): “With the realization that pain is an integral part of depressive symptomatology and an improved understanding of the psychopharmacology of pain in depression, it is now possible to coherently aim for the goal of full remission with the elimination of all depressive symptoms, including painful ones.”

To come back to the letters written to Esarhaddon, Simo Parpola (1933: 51) pointed out in a very astute observation that *hîp libbi* could be the counterpart of *tirik libbi*. This bad feeling is found in a letter of Urad-Nanaya, a physician (LAS 264 = SAA 10 316) “*ina ti-ri-ik lib-bi mé-e-tu*, they died of a throbbing heart” or as proposed by Parpola (1993: 242) “they were frightened to death”. This rapid heart rate is the somatic consequence of fear and could be at the origin of metaphors used for fear, anxiousness, panic attack, etc. It is meaningful that a physician used this expression which, for us, describes several somatic disorders of the heart rhythm (e.g. tachycardia or other heart rhythm disorders) to evoke terrible or irrational fear. Again, we are confronted with an example where mental and somatic spheres are entangled. And, what’s more, the metaphor using heartbeat proves that *libbu* corresponds to the heart! I thank Marten Stol for drawing my attention to this helpful reference.

Therefore, I will try to determine if (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi* belongs to the (neuro)-psychiatric or the somatic field –to the melancholic area or cardiovascular (or another organ) failure. My suggestion is to translate *hûš hîpi libbi* with “vice-like heartbreak” thus maintaining this ambiguity: vice-like recalling coronary pathology and heartbreak depressive sorrow.<sup>24</sup>

### **6.1 Heartbreak (*hîp libbi*) or vice-like heartbreak (*hûš hîpi libbi*) as the main symptom/medical sign introducing or concluding the description of a clinical case.**

Several cases of this type of painful heartbreak are described in tablets focussing on illnesses caused by divine wrath, but the expression can also appear in other contexts. I shall go through several tablets where (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi* is the “flagship” sign or a malady name either beginning or concluding the clinical description. John Wee’s arguments (2012, 99) about a malady name appearing at the beginning of a clinical description in the Diagnosis-Prognostic Handbook, SA.GIG, seem for me applicable to therapeutic texts:

“Once a doctor had determined the nature of the patient’s malady, that knowledge would remain the most noteworthy information he had concerning the patient, and the malady name ( $S_M$ ) accordingly would receive the first mention before any other medical signs ( $S_P$ ) in *Semiosis*.” It would be useful because “Such an arrangement provides a convenient cue for the doctor on where to begin his search, should he desire to browse through the numerous medical entries in the Diagnostic Series”.

<sup>24</sup> During my medical training a certain type of pain was called “avoir le cœur serré en étau”. This pain is found in the McGill pain list (<https://eprovide.mapi-trust.org/instruments/mcgill-pain-questionnaire>). This well-known questionnaire lists in English several types of constrictive sensations “pinching, pressing, gnawing, cramping, or crushing”. The translation in French (<http://www.antalvite.fr/pdf/QDSA.pdf>) is slightly different: “pincement, serrement, compression, écrasement, en étau, broiement”. This is close to the *hušsu* oppression of the Aramaic verbal root.

For descriptions of thoracic pains once attributed to cardiac failure and now considered from psychiatric origin see e.g. Da Costa’s syndrome (Wikipedia with references).

A heading malady name is a convenient starting point for searching significant medical signs comforting the diagnosis or allowing to determine the different clinical forms or to seek a differential diagnosis. A malady name that concludes a series of clinical signs represents the clinical diagnosis, the preceding signs being its “typical” description.

This review is meant to determine if (*hûs*) *hîpi libbi* is a clinical diagnosis, a mental disease with defined and established signs, or just a painful-anxious symptom with a localization in the chest.

I will also try to point out if the use of this expression in the medical corpus is different from its everyday utilisation. In fact, without wishing to reveal right away my conclusions, I can say that most of the cases belong to the field of psychological disorders like in everyday language.

**6.1.1 BAM 234** has been the subject of Gilles Buisson’s interrogations. I will not repeat his transcription, translation, and commentaries (see Buisson 2016).<sup>25</sup>

**6.1.2 BAM 316** is a late Middle-Assyrian tablet found in Aššur in the library of an exorcist, Kišir-Aššur. This tablet is revolving around the topic of divine wrath of the personal deities, and contains several cases describing different aspects of the pathological condition “vice-like heartbreak”. In this tablet, several clinical cases and their treatments are grouped and separated from other cases by double rulings. Therefore two types of occurrences of heartbreak must be interpreted separately. The first one is found in the second column in a clinical case where heartbreak concludes the description and is treated by a ritual manipulation and an incantation. The others are grouped in the third column, and are, as will be seen, closely linked with “*nullātu*”, foolish talk.

**BAM 316 ii 5’-9’** (// BAM 315 iii 1-6 // STT 95+295 iv 130-134 // SpTU II-22 + III 85 i 21-30 // Bu 91-5-9, 214 ii 3’-7’ // *AfO* 35, 21: 1-4.<sup>26</sup>) If a man is constantly frightened by *dark premonitions/by dark thoughts* (*ginâ šûdur*),<sup>27</sup> he worries day and night (*inazziq*), he is repeatedly suffering losses, his profit is cut off, (people) slander him, who(ever) speaks to him lies to him (or speak in a deceptive way, *dâbib ittišu kîtte lâ idabbub*), (people) point with an ‘accusing’ (lit. evil) finger at him (*ubân lemutti arkîšu taršat*), being present in the palace is no longer welcome (*ina êkalli izzazzu lâ mahrâšu*),<sup>28</sup> his dreams are dreadfully frightening (*šunātušu pardâ*), he keeps seeing dead people in his dream: he suffers from heartbreak (lit. heartbreak is placed on him, *gaz ša gar-šû, hîpi libbi šakinšu*).

The case opens with the main symptom: fright. Afterwards, the following description develops the reasons why the patient is fearful.<sup>29</sup> Marten Stol (1999: 57-68) focuses on the notion of fear in this type of text linked to witchcraft and/or divine wrath, and explains how a

<sup>25</sup> See also the translation of this text in Ritter & Kinnier Wilson’s (1980) and in Geller (2007b: 37)

<sup>26</sup> See Abusch 2002: 31-32, Abusch/Schwemer 2015: 31-34, text 3.5 (BAM 315 and Bu 91-5-9: 17-32), text 3.6 p. 35-38 (BAM 316: 1-12) and text 3.7 p. 39-44 (*AfO* 35, 21 and STT 95+295: 1-7). See Gilles Buisson’s transcription of these texts under the rubric “le club des 5” (Buisson, 2016a: 47-49 and his comments on pages 27-32). For SpTU see von Weiher 1983: 109, 114 text 22: 16-25, Abusch 1999: 114-117, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 247-264, text 6. For *AfO* 35, 21 see Geller 1988, 21: 1-4); cf. also Scurlock, 2005 §16.95, §19.110. See how Abusch (1999) analyses these texts in relation to the part played by the witch in the drama between the patient and the personal god.

<sup>27</sup> This refers to the fact that there are two verbs *adâru*; one conveys the sense of fear and the other one of being dark, gloomy.

<sup>28</sup> SpTU II 22: 18 and STT 95: 132-133 are different: *ina é.gal-šû* “in ‘his’ palace or in his (lord’s) palace”. *gub-zu izzazzu* “being present” is found only in BAM 316: ii 7’ and 315 iii 4.

<sup>29</sup> In the parallel SpTU II 22+ line 44 a second treatment is proposed, only the main problem, i.e. fear, is quoted, the other symptoms, explaining this fear, are summarized by “*šu.bi.aš.àm*, idem i.e. see above”. See how Tzvi Abusch (1999: 114-117) analyses this tablet and the differences with the other parallels.

person suffering from a disease could feel: “In subjective terms: his experience of physical deterioration takes away his strength, his awareness of divine wrath makes him desperate, the attitude of people drives him into a corner.”(p. 68).

The different problems encountered by the patient are of the same type as the “ruin-delusional ideas” described in BAM 234. Either they correspond to real misfortunes, in which case the patient should be called “mister bad-luck”, or this extravagant abundance of adversities is a bit “too much” and may correspond to a melancholic delirium. The conclusion is that all these misfortunes belong under the realm of heartbreak, which is “placed” or “imposed” on the patient. Therefore, it is tempting to interpret *hîp libbi* as the clinical diagnosis of a mental disease dominated by fear and ruin delusional ideas. This is coherent with Parpola’s interpretation (1983: 51, *hîp libbi*, fear of the heart).

The divine wrath, to which the patient’s problems are attributed, is believed to be caused by black magic, indicated in the text through the statement that the experts in divination cannot clarify the bad omens encountered by the patient.

Worth mentioning SpTU II 22+ III 85 i 21-30, a late Babylonian tablet, from the library of Iqîšâ, written by his son Ištar-šumu-êreš (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 247 with references), contains, among other problems, this clinical description with adequate treatment. It follows cases of phosphenes (visual illusion of lightning) and precedes descriptions of stone necklaces and amulet-bags against enemies or to soften the god’s wrath. Meaningful is the fact that this clinical catalogue follows a case of visual illusion: the ruin complaints fall probably also within the realm of delusion.

It is noteworthy that, in SpTU II 22 i 20-21, another problem is added after “*gaz lib-bi tuk-šî*”: “He does not hold back/remember the dreams he sees” (or the dreams he sees do not contain meaning?), *šunât immaru lâ ukâl*” and “in his dream it is as if he was having (illicit?) sex with a woman and he ejaculates sperm, *ina šuttîšu kîma ša itti sinništi uštahhu*”<sup>30</sup> (*uš-ta-hu*-(ri)-<u>) *u a.ri.a-šû*<sup>30</sup> *išarrurû*”. Lots of questions are raised by this peculiar dream, and there is no obvious answer. Is the ejaculation real so that the man wakes up with traces of sperm, or is he just dreaming that he has a sperm emission? Is it a nightmare or an erotic dream? How to correlate this with the previous night terrors full of ghosts?<sup>31</sup> Maybe the fact that this problematic erotic dream was so different from the usual expected bad dreams was considered significant? Anyway, this second type of dream supplements, or contradicts, the “classic living-dead” nightmares. Another problem is that in SpTU II 22 *hîp libbi* is no more the conclusion of the description; it is mentioned as a simple clinical sign hidden in the middle of the description. It is difficult to explain this anomaly: the clinical diagnosis was not more recognized in this late tablet? A “case history” obliged to change the “classical” case description?

The treatment for this case consists in an amulet-bag filled with plants and stones and comes with an incantation. Signally the goal of this treatment does not mention heartbreak, which could be the “clinical diagnosis”. So, what is its purpose? Is it to make the illness disappear (without mentioning heartbreak or the main symptom –fear)? Is it to get rid of the cause of the misfortune (god’s wrath and witchcraft will leave the patient so that the different pathological manifestations will disappear)?<sup>32</sup> This type of treatment is difficult to categorize:

<sup>30</sup> See comment Abusch/Schwemer 2016: 28-29 note 6.

<sup>31</sup> Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 101) comment on this “sexual impurity” in connection with divine wrath and witchcraft diagnoses (like in BAM 205). I thank Ulrike Steinert for drawing my attention to this reference. See also Abusch (1989: 45-48) who explains the association of witchcraft and dreams.

<sup>32</sup> For these amulet-bags see Reiner (1959-60: 150), Geller (2007: 15) draws attention to the difficulty of attributing the action of phylacteries to magic or traditional medicine. See JoAnn Scurlock’s (2006: 66-67) for a discussion about how these amulet-bags could have functioned. It is interesting to read in Jouanna (2011) how Galen tried to explain why amulets were efficacious. It is a good lesson to see this esteemed physician checking

is it an “ordinary” or a “magical” treatment against a supernatural etiology with the aim to drive out the evil or is it supposed to alleviate the symptoms?<sup>33</sup> In a recent article Panayotov (2018: 192-222) highlights the preventive action of plants inserted in amulets against bad luck and evil. The amulet-bags could be a prophylactic magical procedure against evil, maybe by way of purification.

In col. iii-iv of BAM 316 a series of clinical cases are framed by double rulings (iii 8'-iv 10)

**BAM 316 iii 8'** (// BAM 317 r 9): *šumma amêlu libbušu ihteneppešu pîqam la pîqam iparrud amêlu šû kimilti ili u ilti elîšu irašši ilušu ittišu zenî* “If a man, without letting up, his heart oppresses him (and) he is periodically dreadfully frightened: the anger of god and goddess is upon him.” (Scurlock/Andersen, 2005 §8.8 and §19.109, Buisson 2016: 36).<sup>34</sup>

**BAM 316 iii 16'** (// BAM 317: 16 // STT 95+295: 145) *šumma amêlu hîpi libbi irtanašši<sup>35</sup> urra u mûša puluhtu irašši ilušu ittišu zenî* “If, without letting up, a man has heartbreak (and) day and night he is terror-stricken: his god is angry against him.” (Scurlock/Andersen, 2005 §8.17 and §16.18, Buisson 2016: 36).<sup>36</sup>

Heartbreak or heart oppression is again coupled with fright. Fear, panic attacks are, as mentioned, salient symptoms of mental disorders (see note 21), these symptoms comfort the diagnosis of “mental” heartbreak.

The same type of treatment is recommended in these two cases: an amulet-bag containing different stones and plants is placed around the patient’s neck in order to restore divine favour, as an etiological treatment (it is worth noting that the same type of treatment is indicated in other cases of divine wrath in this tablet).

In **BAM 316 iii 17, 20, 23-24** heartbreak is associated with *nullâtu* foolish, outrageous or shameful talk close to delirium. This clinical sign has been quoted already in a catalogue of manifestations (e.g. §2.3, text 7.6.7 in Abusch/Schwemer 2011) bound to insanity (*šaniš tēmšu ušta[nnā]*) and to “low spirit” (*libbušu šapil*). Here each clinical sign is first treated separately, then associated, treatment is recommended for their separate and combined occurrences:

*šumma amêlu libbušu ihteneppešu* “If a man, without letting up, his heart oppresses him.”

*šumma amêlu libbušu nullâti itammu* “If a man his heart (makes him) ponder nonsense/foolishness.”

*šumma amêlu hušša hîp libbi u nissata irtanašši nullâti libbišu itâmu* “If without letting up, a man has vice-like heartbreak and ‘mal de vivre’, his heart (makes him) ponder nonsense/foolishness.”<sup>37</sup>

the efficacy of phylacteries in a “scientific” way, ending up with a wrong conclusion. It shows, if there was any doubt on the subject, the limits of empirical medicine.

<sup>33</sup> For an analysis of magical treatments *versus* “pharmacological” treatments see Worthington (2003: 4-7), for the differences between treatments for somatic diseases and mental distress see Geller (2010a: 27-39). For a different tune see Zucconi (2007: 27, 31): The *asû*’s treatments were “charged substances (i.e. medications)” used for their property to communicate with the supernatural forces more than with their medical properties.

<sup>34</sup> BAM 316 iii 8' diš na šà-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû pi-qam nu pi-qam i-pâr-ru-ud <sup>iii9'</sup> na bi dab-ti dingir u <sup>d</sup>išg-târ ugu-šû gál-ši dingir-šû ki-šû ze-ni

BAM 317 r 13 diš na šà-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû pi-qam nu pi-qam i-pâr-ra-[ad na bi dab-ti <sup>d</sup>išg-t]ár<sup>2</sup> [ugu-šû gál-ši dingir-šû ki-šû ze-ni]

<sup>35</sup> In the different tablets *rašû* is written: tuk<sup>meš</sup>-ši, tuk.tuk-ši and tuk, it shows the limits of the passage from transliteration to bound transcription and the problems linked to the *tan* sub-system in medical texts.

<sup>36</sup> BAM 316 iii 13' diš na gaz lib-bi tuk<sup>meš</sup>-ši u<sub>4</sub> u ge<sub>6</sub> pu-luh-tú tuk-ši <sup>iii14'</sup> dingir-šû ki-šû ze-ni

BAM 317: 16 diš na gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši ur-ra u g[e<sub>6</sub> pu-l]uh-tú tuk-ši <sup>16</sup> dingir-šû [...]

STT 95 iv 145 diš na'(an) gaz šá tuk u<sub>4</sub> u ge<sub>6</sub> pu-luh-tú tuk dingir-šû ki-šû ze-ni

<sup>37</sup> BAM 316 iii 17 diš na šà-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû

BAM 316 iii 20 diš na šà-šû nu-ul-la-ti i-ta-mu

BAM 317 r 31 [diš na šà-šû nu-u]-l-la-a-ti i-l-ta-mu-u

BAM 316 iii 23 diš na hu-uš-ša gaz lib-bi u zarah tuku<sup>meš</sup>-ši

The clinical cases in column iii are short and quote only a few mental problems: fear, foolish talk (delirium, insults, or unintelligible speech?), and “mal de vivre”. Again the clinical diagnosis of mental distress, namely heartbreak is confirmed.

It is noteworthy that in the fourth column of the reverse, inside the frame of the double ruling, after two alternative treatments,<sup>38</sup> a clinical case gives an example, and maybe an explanation, of what is hiding behind “*nullâti*”:<sup>39</sup>

*šumma amêlu ‘libbî libbî’ iqabbi libbušu lâ ikkalšu akala lâ ikkal mê lâ išatti idammum amêlu šû kimilti ilišu u iltišu elišu ibašši* “if a man (whines) saying ‘my belly, my belly’, (but) his belly is painless, he does not eat (and) does not drink, he moans, this man the anger of his god and of his goddess is on him.”<sup>40</sup>

This small text shows that the sick person’s complaints are groundless, it could be an example of what is meant by *nullâti*, and it confirms the delusiveness of the “ruin complaints” like what is described in the next case:

*ana tapulti amêli lâ qabî ubân lemutti arkišu lâ tarâši* “so that there will be no disrespectful talk against (this) man, and that no spreading of malicious rumour (evil finger pointed behind him) spreading behind his back.”<sup>41</sup>

This is an example of the sick person’s fears and delusions, born in his disturbed mind, and expressed in his “foolish talks”.

The treatments are composed of amulet-bags filled with plants, stones, of potions or preparations to be eaten on an empty stomach, and of ointments.<sup>42</sup> The choice of plants is sometimes based on mental symptoms. It could be the case with *azallû*-(*amnesia*-plant)<sup>43</sup> which is prescribed for *libbušu ihteneppešu*, the heart of the patient oppressing him and for

BAM 316 iii 24 *nu-ul-la-ti šà-šû i-ta-mu*

<sup>38</sup> See §5.3 and further on.

<sup>39</sup> For this type of foolish talk see Buisson 2016a: 34 and Chalendar 2013: 17.

<sup>40</sup> BAM 316 iv 3 *diš na lib-bi lib-bi i-qab-bi šà-šû nu gu<sub>7</sub>-šû ninda nu gu<sub>7</sub> a nu nag*  
STT 95 ii 70 *diš na lib-bi lib-bi dug<sub>4</sub>.ga š[à-šû nu] gu<sub>7</sub>-šû [ninda] nu [gu<sub>7</sub>] [a nu nag]*  
KAR 92 r 4’ *diš na lib-bi [lib-bi] dug<sub>4</sub>.dug<sub>4</sub>-si šà-[šû nu gu<sub>7</sub>-šû]<sup>3</sup> ninda nu gu<sub>7</sub> kaš nu nag*  
BAM 316 iv 4 *i-dam-lmu-um* na bi dab-ti dingir-šû u <sup>d</sup>*iš<sub>8</sub>-târ ugu-šû gál-ši*  
STT 95 ii 71 *i-da-mu-um* na bi dab-[ti dingir-šû (u)] <sup>d</sup>*15-(šû) <sup>22</sup>ugu-šû gál-ši*  
KAR 92 r 5’ *i-da-mu-um* <sup>d</sup>*dab-ti dingir u 15 ugu-šû gál-ši*

<sup>41</sup> BAM 316 iv 7 *ana ta-pul-ti lú la qá-bi-i šu.si hul-ti egir-šû nu lal-še*  
STT 95 iii 126 *ana [ta-pul-ti lú la qá-bi-i šu.si hul-ti] egir-šû [ba<sup>7</sup>].ra ta-ra-ši*

<sup>42</sup> BAM 316 iii 10’ *ana búr ka a.ab.ba <sup>u</sup>nu-ša-bu <sup>giš</sup>sur.mìn <sup>u</sup>nigin<sup>sar</sup> <sup>iii11</sup>’ na<sup>4</sup>zálag <sup>u</sup>aš ina <sup>sig</sup>àka nigin-mi ina kuš gag.gag <sup>iii12</sup>’ ina gú-šû gar-an-ma dingir.šà.dab.ba silim-im*, “to release (from deitie’s wrath) you spin it in raw wool coral, cypress, plant nigin-sar (or nigin-vegetable or *supâlu*), shiny stone, (and) single plant, you wrap (it) in a leather (amulet-bag and) place it around his neck and the god’s angry heart will become peaceful.”

BAM 316 iii 14 *š<sup>i</sup>i-qit-tú <sup>iii15</sup> ka a.ab.ba na<sup>4</sup>babbar.dili na<sup>4</sup>ēš-me-kám <sup>iii16</sup> [ha]-he-e šá udun zì.mad.gá igi <sup>d</sup>nuška ina kuš*, “*šiqittu* plant, coral, agate, malachite, furnace slag (and) flour: offering to Nuska in a leather-bag.”

BAM 316 iii 17 *š<sup>i</sup>gi-lim nu pa<sup>1</sup>-tan gu<sub>7</sub><sup>meš</sup> <sup>iii18</sup> ina kaš [nag] <sup>i</sup>giš eš<sup>meš</sup> ina <sup>sig</sup>àka nigin-mi ina kuš*, “it-confronted-1000 to eat on an empty stomach, to drink in beer, to anoint (in) oil, to envelop in carded wool for a leather-bag.”

BAM 316 iii 19 *ana ki.mìn <sup>u</sup>a.zal.lá súd ina kaš nag-šû*, “for the same (purpose/case), you pound *azallû*-*amnesia*-plant, (and) make him drink in beer.”

BAM 316 iii 21 *er-kul-la <sup>u</sup>tar-muš<sub>8</sub> <sup>u</sup>har.lum.ba.šir <sup>iii22</sup> <sup>u</sup>lú-a-nu <sup>u</sup>h.<sup>d</sup>id ka a.ab.ba ina kuš*, “*erkulla* plant, lupin, *harmunu* plant, man-like-plant, river-spittle, (and) coral in a leather-bag.”

BAM 316 iii 25 *š<sup>i</sup>a.zal.lá <sup>u</sup>gi-lim ina kaš ina <sup>i</sup>giš ina kuš* “*azallû*-*amnesia*-plant, it-confronted-1000: in beer, in oil, (and/or) in a leather-bag.”

BAM 316 iv 1-2 *ana ki.mìn <sup>u</sup>gi-lim numun <sup>giš</sup>bi-ni ina k[uš<sup>?</sup>] <sup>iv2</sup> diš ki.mìn <sup>u</sup>a-ra-ri-a-nu numun <sup>giš</sup>bi-ni numun <sup>u</sup>a.zal.lá ina kaš sag nag* “for the same (purpose/case): it-confronted-1000, seeds of tamarisk in lea[ther ...]; for the same: *arariānu*-plant, seeds of tamarisk, seeds of *amnesia*-plant, to drink in first quality beer.”

<sup>43</sup> See §5.1.

the association of *hušša hîpi libbi*, *nissatu* and *nullâtu*. The other plants and minerals are found in various indications and it is difficult to understand the reasons of their selection. There is also a wide-range of methods of administration. The target of these “all-out” methods of administration of treatment is difficult to appreciate. One hypothesis is that it counters all the effects of bewitched food or oil (to eat and to drink against magical potions or aliments, anointment against evil oil). Alternatively, the fact that certain plants counteract specifically certain clinical signs or illnesses must also intervene (*azallu* to cure or to accept frustrating feelings or depression). Whatever the purpose of the treatment, questionable is how to make sense about the way treatments are administrated (iii 24 *ina kaš ina i.giš ina kuš*) when the same preparation (depending on the mood of the moment?) can be drunk, rubbed or hanged on the neck as an amulet-bag?

• **So, just to summarise:** In BAM 316, *hîp libbi*, *hûš hîpi libbi* and *libbušu ihteneppešu* are different formulations for the same disease. It is the leading manifestation initiating or concluding the case descriptions; two types of clinical pictures are related to this mental disorder, the “delusions of ruin” and particular psychological disturbances (fear, foolish talk, “mal de vivre”). It is closely linked to the divine anger by the ancient physicians. Already it can be stressed that the heart is somehow responsible for the disease since it is his heart which –or, if we personalize it, “who”– breaks or oppresses the patient (see *side comment* sub §6.3.1.1). Similarly it is the *libbu* “who” utters delusional discourse.

If we compare with the *hîp libbi* complaints in the letters, especially with the letters of the Ninevite scholars, the overall meaning is similar: dreadful feelings associated with fear and ruin complaints.

### 6.1.3 BAM 317

This seventh-century tablet, found in Aššur, concerns mainly *libbu* problems, especially *hîp libbi*. The beginning and the end of this tablet containing several cases of heartbreak are missing. A summary of the contents of BAM 317 is found in Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 49-50).

The obverse is difficult to analyse, but two lines parallel it to a complete case in BAM 438 and BAM 445 which allows restoring it: it concerns *hûš hîpi libbi*.<sup>44</sup> The context is globally somatic without the “psychiatric” manifestations of melancholia.

The beginning of the reverse of the tablet is damaged but the remaining lines include an incantation. These lines<sup>45</sup> parallel an incantation of BAM 316 vi 4'-13' and STT 95+295: 84-97: so, thanks to these lines, we know which pathology is described in the missing part of the tablet: insane talk in a confused mind provoked by the anger of the personal god: *šumma awîlu itti libbišu nullâti îtammu atmûšu išannû zamar šalil zamar êr u tēmšu lâ ukâl*, “if a man speaks out loud to himself, (uttering) foolish things, his utterings change, sometimes he sleeps (and) sometimes he is awake and his mind wanders (he cannot control it).”<sup>46</sup> The

<sup>44</sup> BAM 317: 7' diš na *hu-uš* gaz *lib-bi* tuk-ši *mi-na-t[u-šu dub.dub]*<sup>8</sup> [eme]-šú *it-te-nen-bi* x x [ . . ]

BAM 438: 6 [*hu*]-uš gaz šà tuk<sup>mes</sup>-ši (in Abusch/Schwemer 2011, text 7.2: p. 118-119 where vice-like heartbreak is only a secondary symptom in a long list of ailments see §6.3.3.1.3)

BAM 445: 10 diš na *hu-uš-ša* gaz *lib-bi* tuk-ši (in Abusch/Schwemer 2011, text 7.7: 47-53 p. 154, 157, where vice-like heartbreak appears as the first manifestation of a disease associating somatic pathological manifestations, see §6.1.4).

<sup>45</sup> BAM 317 r 1' *ag-gu* [lib-ba-ka] li-nu-ha-[ka (...)] a<sup>mes</sup> [x] [x]<sup>12</sup> a<sup>mes</sup> ta-ni-ih-ti lim-hu-[ru-ka 3]-šú dug<sup>4</sup>.ga <sup>13</sup> nu tuš-ken ma-la lib-bi-šú dab ka [x (x)] // BAM 316 vi 11' *ag-gu* šà-ka li-nu-ha a<sup>mes</sup> ta-ni-ih-ti <sup>12</sup> lim-hu-ru-ka 3-šú dug<sup>4</sup>.ga-ma ki.za.za-[x] <sup>13</sup> [...]gur.gur-ma dab-ti dingir-šú duh-su, “May your angry heart calm down, may the ‘waters-of-appeasement’ receive you! ” He repeats (this) three times and he (does not?) prostrate himself, and the wrath of his god will be released for him.”

<sup>46</sup> With the help of Scurlock’s translation (2014: 661).

pathology and the origin of this case should be very close to the (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi*'s pathology. It could be a clinical form of this illness or a special development of it.

Then follow cases dedicated to vice-like heartbreak which are separated by horizontal rulings (rev. 10'-30') as if the redactor wanted to dedicate a sort of chapter to this ailment and delimited a small tablet.

**BAM 317 r 10** diš na *hu-uš-ša gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši*

**BAM 317 r 13** diš na šà-šú *gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú pi-qam nu pi-qam i-pár-ra-[ad na bi dab-ti <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-t]ár<sup>2</sup> [ugu-šú gál-ši dingir-šú ki-šú ze-ni] <sup>r14</sup> ana búr*

**BAM 317 r 16** diš na *gaz lib-bi tuk-tuk-ši ur-ra u g[e<sub>6</sub> pu-l]uh-tú tuk-ši dingir-šú [ze-ni] <sup>r17</sup>dingir-šú ki-šú ana silim-me*

**BAM 317 r 19** diš ki.min

**BAM 317 r 20** diš na šà-šú *gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú*

**BAM 317 r 23** diš na *gaz lib-bi tuk-tuk-ši*

**BAM 317 r 24** diš na *igi<sup>meš</sup>-šú nigin-du me.[dím]<sup>meš</sup>-šú dub.dub-ka hu-uš-ša gaz [lib-bi] <sup>r25</sup>pi-rit-tu<sub>4</sub> tuk.tuk-ši šu nam.lú.u<sub>18</sub>.lu ugu-šú gál-[ši ]*

**BAM 317 r 26** [diš ki.m]in<sup>7</sup>

**BAM 317 r 27** [diš na *ina ma-k]a-li šà-šú gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú ina é lú.ne [ina] sila pu-ú[h-pu-hu-u gar-šú] <sup>r28</sup>[šá na b]i ki-mil-ti <sup>d</sup>amar.utu ugu-šú gál-ši [dab<sup>7</sup>]-ti [<sup>d</sup>amar.utu ana búr-ri]*

Several cases already translated (with parallel treatments) under §6.1.2 (BAM 316) are inscribed at the beginning of this section. The link between the different cases seems to be that the treatments are based on amulet-bags. It is noteworthy that the mental ailment “vice-like heartbreak” is written in several ways and represents the same pathological entity, with or without *huššu*: *hušša hîpi libbi irtanašši* (*hu-uš-ša gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši*), *hîp libbi irtanašši* (*gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši*), *libbušu ihteneppešu* (*šà-šú gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú*). The first six clinical cases of the reverse are related to the anger of one's personal god. They are associated with fear symptoms. The hand of mankind and Marduk's wrath are held responsible for the last cases:

*šumma amêlu pânušu iššanundû minâtûšu ittanašpakâ hušša hîpi libbi pirittu irtanašši qât amêluti elišu ibašši* “If a man's face seems continually to be spinning, his limbs are flaccid, without letting up, he has vice-like heartbreak (and) dreadful fright: the hand of mankind is upon him”.<sup>47</sup>

The description begins with abnormal somatic clinical signs. The physician seeks signs allowing him to adjust his diagnosis; here the vice-like heartbreak and the frightful mental distress allow him to tie them to the hand of mankind. It is the typical medical procedure – in view of such a problem we seek the presence or absence of such and such signs and it orients the clinical/etiological diagnosis. The first signs are similar to what is described in the first “somatic heartbreak” case of the obverse of the tablet. Significantly this case is different from the “typical” ruin delusional ideas encountered in heartbreak and looks more like a somatic disorder with mental instability. It seems that the physician wanted to know if he had to tie these somatic pathological signs to one diagnosis or another. The fact that he could relate the case to the typical diagnosis of melancholia (melancholic distress with fear) allowed him to guide the etiological diagnosis. This being stated, each ailment is not specific enough and not sufficiently understandable to know what the patient was suffering from.

*šumma amêlu ina mâkâli libbušu ihteneppešu ina bîti šâltu ina sūqi puhpuhu šaknûšu amêlu šuātu kimilti Marduk elišu irašši* “If during the meals, without letting up, his heart oppresses him, he experiences quarrel at home (and) squabble in the street: this man, Marduk's wrath is upon him...”.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Abusch/Schwemer 2011, text 1.5 p. 49, 50, Scurlock/Andersen 2005 §8.11, 19.121.

<sup>48</sup> //STT 95 i 7-8, AMT 40/2: 4'-6'; Scurlock/Andersen 2005 §8.15, §16.17, §19.111.

Painful oppression can be caused by food digestion (e.g. in stomach ulcers or gastro-esophageal reflux), it can also be one of the ailments composing a panic disorder,<sup>49</sup> as such it can introduce the classical description of misfortunes which follows and completes it.<sup>50</sup> It is not possible to settle the somatic or mental origin of this oppressive feeling just with this description. Mental and somatic pains have the same origin in the brain and people can suffer in the same way regardless of the origin of the pain.<sup>51</sup> As will be seen later on (§6.2.3) the same treatment is found in a tablet (BM 78963: 82-84) dealing with somatic ailments. The indication is then *hîp libbi*, and the context directs towards a somatic pain. In BAM 317 Marduk's divine wrath was chosen instead of the personal god's anger, this type of choice emphasises the difficulties for us to understand the logic of ancient etiological diagnosis.

• *In fine*, this tablet describes two different clinical pictures of “heartbreak” pathology: one with psychological distress and one with “tangible” somatic disorders. What must be stressed is that the same clinical diagnosis is ascribed to these different clinical cases. The question is: are they “various clinical forms” of a given illness or different illnesses bearing the same name? The same type of ambivalence will be found in the next paragraph with the occurrence of two distinct types of pathology related to “*huššu hîpi libbi*”. Noteworthy, these somatic clinical descriptions are not found in the letters where heartbreak is a mental disturbance more or less profound.

The treatments, as far as the breaks in the tablet allow their reading, consist in leather-bags that probably protect and oppose the effects of witchcraft and divine wrath. Eventually, another method of administration is implied (rev. 23: *diš na gaz lib-bi tuk-tuk-ši numun* <sup>giš</sup>*bi-ni* <sup>û</sup>*sumun.dar sūd*): the plants are ground: usually ground plants are given to drink but it is not mentioned in the end of the line.

#### 6.1.4 Text 7.7 “Ušburruda against depression”: dedicated to heartbreak.

Text 7.7 in Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 150-158 is dedicated to heartbreak. The authors compiled several incomplete and broken tablets,<sup>52</sup> elements of which combined together form

<sup>49</sup> See DSM 5 <https://www.verywellmind.com/diagnosing-panic-disorder-2583930> (05/06/2019).

<sup>50</sup> Gilles Buisson suggests an alternative solution: meals were a pleasure of life, not being able to enjoy eating was significant (see how Atrahasis was unable to seat down peacefully and appreciate his meal with his family).

<sup>51</sup> Medical studies on the physiological and anatomical basis of physical and psychological pains, using imaging techniques, show that both types of pain have the same cerebral representations. Thus, it is not surprising that the Mesopotamian physicians used the same words to designate morale and somatic pains (occurring in thoracic or abdominal ailments). The “modern” approach considering that psychological pains are imaginary is far from the neurosensory truth, and, as Gilles Buisson states, will belong probably to history. Macdonald and Leary (2005: 212) comment on the issue: “Overall, strong evidence for a physiological connection between responses to physical pain and social exclusion has been found across a variety of physiological markers.” and (p. 218): “Evidence from a wide range of psychological disciplines converges to suggest that physical and social pain operate via common mechanisms”. Gaillard *et al.* (2010) come to a similar conclusion: “Le psychiatre est confronté à toutes sortes d'états émotionnels, de la tristesse à l'exaltation de l'humeur, et le terme de douleur morale est couramment utilisé dans la description d'un épisode dépressif à caractéristiques mélancoliques. Mais est-il possible de caractériser cette douleur sans lésion visible ni délimitation corporelle ? Nous montrons qu'il est légitime de parler de douleur psychique, à la fois d'un point de vue physiopathologique, d'un point de vue pronostique et d'un point de vue thérapeutique. Les neurosciences cognitives permettent en effet de montrer que les structures cérébrales impliquées dans la représentation de la douleur physique sont également activées par la douleur psychique.”

<sup>52</sup> BAM 443 + 444 + K 16808 + 81-2-4, 393 (plates 28-30) // KAR 92 // BAM 445. From Nineveh (Ashurbanipal's Library): BAM 443 and 444 are fragments of single column tablets of 13 lines, completed by the fragments K 16808 + 81-2-4, 393; BAM 445 is a fragment of a single-col. tablet face and reverse inscribed and decipherable. From Aššur (library N 4) KAR 92 is a broken tablet face and reverse being decipherable.



a coherent picture. The last line of text A (planches 28-30) before the colophon introduces text E (BAM 445).

The clinical descriptions are followed by suitable medicinal treatments and rituals including incantations and prayers.

Text 7.7 (KAR 92: 1-2): <sup>1</sup> “If, without letting up, a man has vice-like heartbreak (*hušša hîpi libbi irtanašši*),<sup>2</sup> if a man, his heart (makes him) ponder foolishness (*nullât[i] libbušu îtammu*)”.<sup>53</sup>

Two transfer rituals and a prayer-incantation to Šamaš follow the description. The patient requests the transfer of all his ailments to a figurine. It is worth noting that this request concerns the mental distress:

Text 7.7 (pl. 28 obv. 14'-rev. 1 and parallels): 21-23 “delirium (foolish talk, *nullātu*), vice-like heartbreak (*hûš hîpi libbi*), panic (*hattu*), dreadful fright (*pirittu*) which I continually experience in my body, my flesh (and) my ‘sinews’ (*ša ina zumrîya šîrîya šer'ânî[ya] âtanamdaru aptanallahu*), (and which make me) continually terrorised.”

This passage is extracted from a prayer, and it is risky to make physiological statements on this basis. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that the mental suffering is experienced in the body made of “flesh and sinews” (or “cords” if we consider that craftsmen used sinews as ropes, see Attia 2000: 47-56 and Barbara Böck’s recent update 2014: 26-30), i.e. in the entire body and not exclusively in the organs of sentiments. It seems that the ancients, even in poetic language, had a prosaic conception of mental sufferance. This observation shows also how mental and somatic spheres were entangled.

Then follows a treatment for *huššu hîpi libbi irtanašši*: “for a patient who, without letting up, has vice-like heartbreak”.<sup>54</sup> This statement introduces medicinal treatments composed of plants, which had to be eaten and/or drunk on an empty stomach; other methods of administration are lost in tablet breaks. These types of administration are consistent with inside/abdominal indications and are also efficacious against bewitched food or drinks. The implied question is: is this treatment intended to sooth the vice-like heartbreak, considered to be an inside sickness, or to fight the cause of it, namely the witchcraft?

The third clinical description is similar to the description of text 7.2: 4-13 (BAM 438: 118-119 see §6.3.4.1<sup>55</sup>) succinctly presented above (§6.1.3) and differs notably from the first ones:

Text 7.7: 47-53 (pl. 28 r. 16 rest broken // BAM 445: 10-16) “If, without letting up, a man has vice-like heartbreak (*hušša hîpi libbi irtanašši*), his limbs are flaccid (*m[inâtûšu ittanašpakâ]*), his tongue is swollen (*lišânšu ittenenbiṭ*), he bites his lips *lišânšu una[ššak]*), his ears are buzzing (*uznâšu išaggumâ*), his hands are numb (*qâtâšu išammamâšu*), his knees (and) legs gnaw at him (*b[irkâšu kimšâšu] ikassasâšu*), his epigastrium continually pro[trudes] (*rêš libbîšu ittan[azqar]*), his sexual capacity towards women is diminished (*ana sinniṣti alâki muṭtu*), cold tremors afflict him repeatedly (*hurbâšu imtanaqqussu*), he gets fat (and) then skinny (*i[kabbir ibahhu]*), he drools (*ru'ta ina pîšu ittanadd[i]*): that man has been given (bewitched) bread to eat and (bewitched) beer to drink, he has been anoi[n]ted] with (bewitched) oil.”<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> This clinical description is only found in ms. B KAR 92 from Aššur but the treatment is identical to ms. A, pl. 28, from Nineveh.

<sup>54</sup> BAM 445: 1 [diš n]a *hu-uš-šû* gaz š[â tuk].*Ituk-ši* numun *‘ninniṣ*l(?)

Pl. 27 r 16 (= BAM 444 r 18) [diš na *h*]u-uš-šû gaz šâ tuk.tuk-ši numun *‘ninniṣ*

<sup>55</sup> The clinical case 7.2: 4-13 allows restoring damaged passages, but several important details are different.

<sup>56</sup> See 2014 Scurlock’s translation of BAM 445 10-25 p. 463. She signals that in BAM 388 “The last treatment of potions and a bath (i 12-18) is parallel to BAM 445:10-25.”

This case is disturbing. The clinical description goes through different perturbations of different parts of the body, from head to legs, including disabling behaviour (weight, impotence). Some of them, for the modern doctor, point towards neurological disturbances (flaccidity, numbness, drooling and eventually buzzing ears). The context is thoroughly somatic. This clinical case is different from the “psychiatric” cases encountered before: here we do not find any “ruin delusional ideas”, any mental disability, no fear, and no speech alteration. The treatment does not help to characterize this clinical case: medicinal preparations are drunk or ingested on an empty stomach, induced vomiting follows, and then a new potion and a bath (l. 17-25). The purpose was to get rid of the bewitched food and the evil oil. As already quoted, this type of treatment was also often prescribed for internal diseases.<sup>57</sup> Afterwards a series of fumigations are also indicated in this case (l. 26-31). And, most interestingly, the final conclusion (text 7.7: 69 = BAM 445: 32) is: *[mur]ussu ul itârma ul isanniqšu šahluqtu ul iṭehhe[šu]*, “his [illn]ess will not return and will not come near him; ruin will not approach [him].” This indicates, even if the “typical” heartbreak symptoms are missing, that these different types of clinical descriptions, for the therapist, were closely entangled. In the end, a release-ritual (*ušburruda*) is performed. Again the goal of the treatment is interesting: (text 7.7: 75=BAM 434 iii 9): *ša itanamdaru lâ ikaššassu*, “(the black premonitions) which he fears will not reach him”: here too we find a hint that the symptoms are what the patient fears that could happen and not the reality.

How can we explain so different descriptions for heartbreak?

The physical signs developed in 7.7: 47-53 were just added to the typical description found on the obverse of the tablet. This description is a possible complement to the typical case. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, as seen above, the purpose of the treatment of the “somatic” case is to eliminate ruin-symptoms, even if no description of any bad-luck event is found in the scenario of this description.

Alternatively, it is possible that this last description of vice-like heartbreak corresponds to a “real” somatic illness and that two different diseases with the same name coexisted. The painful aspect could prevail and be part of different clinical forms of heartbreak. Moreover, for the “somatic disease”, there is no prayer and no transfer ritual as for the former one, therefore it may not belong to the same kind of pathology. All these ambiguities are puzzling and could underline the impression that the malady names and even the clinical signs are not immutable, and that a name could correspond to different ailments.<sup>58</sup>

It is worth noting again that the somatic pathology is missing in the letters and does not belong to the heartbreak of the everyday language.

**6.1.5 STT 95+295** a seventh-century tablet from Sultantepe concerns methods to regain divine favour (Scurlock 2014: 650-663). In some cases, heartbreak initiates or concludes the clinical case. These cases are duplicates to cases already mentioned before, and will not be analysed any further.<sup>59</sup> JoAnn Scurlock comments (p. 650): “In addition to the medical

<sup>57</sup> This similarity could explain the purpose of internal diseases’ treatments: not only to soothe the symptoms but get rid of a malicious intruder or *vice versa*! See for the relation of internal diseases and witchcraft Abusch 2002: 79-87.

<sup>58</sup> Historians of medicine and of ideas are confronted with this type of problem. In a recent article about melancholia in the Middle-Ages, Sebastià Giral (2017) reports that melancholia could have several forms, the main one with classic manifestations of “unmotivated fears or speech disorders” and a special one: the “hidden melancholy” (p. 276)!

<sup>59</sup> STT 95+295: 7-8 // BAM 317 r 27-28 // AMT 40/2: 4’-6’ (initiates)

STT 95+295: 130-144 // BAM 316 ii 5’-25’ // BAM 315 iii 1-16 (final position)

STT 95+295: 145-148 // BAM 316 iii 13’-16’ // BAM 317: 16-18 (initiates)

A treatment established for STT 95+295: 145-148 (and parallels) is also found in BAM 311: 6’.

treatments for various conditions caused by divinities of the pantheon, there were things for the patient to do to regain divine favour, a particular problem where the patient was depressed, anxious, or stressed with or without any other symptoms.”.

**6.1.6 BAM 315** is a tablet from the seventh-century library of Kišir-Aššur in Aššur.<sup>60</sup> This tablet contains mainly *mêlu*, amulet-bags, intended to cure or to protect against illnesses (as fever-kúm) or to release from the anger of a deity.<sup>61</sup> In the third column iii 1-16 there is a description parallel to BAM 316 ii 5'-9',<sup>62</sup> where heartbreak (*gaz lib-bi gar-šú*) concludes a long list of mental troubles and introduces the etiological diagnosis. This clinical case is more detailed than the other indications of *mêlu* in this tablet. The amulet-bags, in this case, are intended to counteract the deity to blame for the personal damage; they are not directed against any clinical diagnosis. This statement is supported by the fact that the treatment is not intended to cure *hîp libbi*: the symptoms and the evil methods employed against the patient are repeated, as goals of the amulet-bag, but heartbreak is not mentioned.

### 6.1.7 One attestation in a broken context in SA.GIG.

**TDP 126 iii 43** [... *h*]uṣṣa *hîpi libbi irtanašši qât Ištar – qât* [...] “[...]without letting up he has [v]ice-like heartbreak: hand of Ištar – hand of [...]

This case is mentioned in a list of *libbu* ailments following two cases of *nîš libbi* impotence. The link between the different cases is the *libbu* localization, either with the anatomic or with the functional meaning (like impotence). The main lesson is provided by the commentary (GCC I II 406: 10-11) explaining that *huṣṣu* was a type of burning pain (see above in the introduction). The heartbreak can be connected with the heart or the inside organs of the belly or with a function of these locations, i.e. mental sufferance.

**6.1.8 To sum up:** (*huṣṣu*) *hîp libbi* is a clinical diagnosis with two different clinical presentations: one could be the typical form, comparable to the heartbreak of the letters with fear, delusion, abnormal behaviour, and a different form, in which the pain prevails with movement and behavioural disorders. Other signs can be associated with this atypical clinical presentation pointing, more or less, towards a neurological problem. This diagnosis can be the main topic of tablets or appear as a clinical diagnosis in tablets addressing deities' wrath and/or witchcraft. In these tablets, the different ways of naming the disease (*huṣṣu hîp libbi - hîp libbi irtanašši - šakinšu, libbušu ihteneppešu*) follow each other and seem to be interchangeable.

**6.2** Texts in which the **therapy is indicated for (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi*** without clinical description: **the ailment is considered as a complete entity, perhaps a disease necessitating a specific treatment.**

Without clinical description, it is difficult to determine if we are confronted with a mental or a somatic disorder. Eventually, the context or the method of administration helps more or less to orientate towards a mental or a somatic field.

Amulet-bags for *hûš hîpi libbi* in STT 95+ i 8-21 are also found in BAM 311: 8'-13'.

<sup>60</sup> See Abusch/Schwemer 2015, text 3.5 p. 31-34 (BAM 315 and Bu 91-5-9: 17-32)

<sup>61</sup> E.g. BAM 315 i 42 [pap 8 *me*]-*eli ana k[ûm ša lû dab-su zi-hi]*, “total: 8 bags to root out a fever gripping a patient”, i 27 pap 18 *me-eli šu nam*.[érim], “total: 18 bags for the hand of Curse.”, ii 30 *ana dab-ti dingir uru-šû bûr*, “to release from the anger of the god of his town.”

<sup>62</sup> See §6.1.2.

### 6.2.1 BAM 388<sup>63</sup>

This Neo-Babylonian tablet lists treatments for a series of ailments. Two fumigations and an ointment are indicated for heartbreak. These prescriptions follow a fumigation for a stroke: BAM 388 i' 2 [...*qutâ*]ru ša mišittu). Then we find three fumigations for heartbreak (*qutâru ša hîp libbi*) in BAM 388 i' 3-7 // TCL 6.34 iii 3'-6', and an ointment for heartbreak (*napšaltu ša hîp libbi*) in i' 8-11 // TCL 6.34 iii 7'-11'.<sup>64</sup> It seems that treatments were directed against maladies i.e. clinical diagnosis and not against symptoms or etiological diagnosis.

A third prescription (BAM 388 i 12-18 and TCL 6.34 iii 12'-16') does not mention the indication, but the prescription is parallel to BAM 445: 17-25 so we know that it is for heartbreak (see §6.1.4 text 7.7). The administration of the treatment is broken, but the parallel allows restoring: potions, ingestion, vomiting and bath.

**6.2.2 BAM 159 iii 29** This Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur features “three ingredients for permanent/recurrent vice-like heartbreak, to drink in beer” (3 ú hu-ša gaz lib-bi tuku<sup>meš</sup>-ši ina kaš n[ag]).<sup>65</sup>

**6.2.3 BM 78963<sup>66</sup>** is dedicated to inside illnesses, mainly to digestive and chest ailments, and to lung pathology. Other somatic ailments are also listed with their treatments. Two potions (l. 82-84) composed of different plants are intended to treat heartbreak: “<sup>83</sup>*mašqûtu ša hîp libbi*(gaz šà)”, and vice-like heartbreak “<sup>84</sup>*šalâšat šammê hûš hîpi libbi*(hu-uš gaz šà) na[sâh].i.”<sup>67</sup> Just afterwards the tablet ends on a catchline with a treatment for *li'bu*-fever (separated from the previous line by a double ruling and followed by the colophon). The context is “somatic”, (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi* is associated with a pain considered as coming from the heart or from an internal organ, without obvious connection with mental affliction. However, a pain in the chest (*gaba-su*, *irassu*) is found at the beginning of the tablet (l. 22) with the verb *akâlu*, frequently employed for painful feelings. It suggests that, even if heartbreak-pain is found in this tablet, the quality of the pain is not mundane.

The first treatment is for *hîp libbi*. The plants employed in this treatment are more or less identical to those found in BAM 311: 8'-9' // STT 95+295: 9-10 // BAM 317 r 29-30 // AMT 40/2: 6'-8'.<sup>68</sup> The second, against *hûš hîpi libbi* (with *azallû*, *amnesia*-plant) is parallel to a recipe of BAM 316 iv 2 (§6.1.2).<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> For BAM 388 a tablet of unknown provenance I follow Strahil Panayotov's transcription established for the workshop “Healing through Fumigation in Mesopotamia and the Ancient World” organized during July 2015 in Berlin by the BabMed project headed by Mark Geller. For TCL 6-34 see §6.2.6.

<sup>64</sup> Geller 2010a: 173-176; Scurlock 2014: 463-464.

<sup>65</sup> See Parys 2014: 32 “*Arariānu*, graines de tamaris, graines d'*azallû* : 3 simples contre les *accès* ‘d’oppression intérieure’ répétés, il b[oira] dans de la bière”.

<sup>66</sup> BM = Museum siglum of the British Museum, London. This tablet has been the subject of a detailed study and analyses (with pictures and references) by Henry Stadhouders and Cale Johnson (2018: 556-622). They propose that this tablet of unknown provenience could be a copy of a Neo (or Late) Babylonian tablet from Borsippa. See also Scurlock (2014: 469-479).

<sup>67</sup> See Stadhouders/Johnson 2018: 584 l. 82-84 and Scurlock 2014: 475, 479.

<sup>68</sup> BM 78963:82 [giš]sur.mìn [šiml][še.li] na<sup>4</sup>kur-nu dab ú<sup>5</sup>ra-nu ú<sup>6</sup>in<sup>6</sup>.uš ki-šir giš[ma].nu <sup>83</sup>[num]un giš[šim][i]g 7 ú<sup>hi.a</sup> še<sup>meš</sup> maš-qut ša gaz ša-b[i ina ka]š nag  
BAM 311:8' [diš k]i.min gišsur.mìn šimše.li na<sup>4</sup>kur-nu dab ú<sup>5</sup>ra-n[u]<sup>9'</sup>[(x)] [ú]in.nu.uš ki-šir gišma.nu numun gišbi-ni ina k[uš]

STT 95+ i 8 [(giš]sur.mìn) šimše.li.babbar<sup>9</sup> na<sup>4</sup>kur-nu [dab.ba] <sup>10</sup>ú<sup>5</sup>-[ra]-nu ú<sup>6</sup>in.nu.uš k[i-šir] gišma.nu numun gišsinig <sup>11</sup>7 ú<sup>[hi].[a]</sup> an-nu-te

BAM 317 r 29 [giš]sur.mìn šimše.li babbar na<sup>4</sup>kur-nu dab ú<sup>5</sup>ra-nu ú<sup>6</sup>[in<sup>6</sup>.uš]<sup>130</sup>[ki-šir] gišma.nu numun gišbi-ni 7 ú<sup>hi.a</sup> an-nu-ti<sup>1</sup> [ina kuš]

AMT 40/2:6' gišsur.mìn šimše.li b[abbar ... ] <sup>7</sup>ú<sup>5</sup>ra-an-nu ú<sup>6</sup>in<sup>6</sup>.uš ki-šir gišma.nu<sup>8'7</sup> ú<sup>hi.a</sup> an-nu-ti ina kuš [...]

<sup>69</sup> BM 78963:84 [ú]a-ra-ri-ia-a-nu numun gišsinig ú<sup>5</sup>.zal.lá 3 ú<sup>me</sup> hu-uš gaz ša z[i'-h]i' ina kaš nag

BAM 316 iv 2 diš ki.min ú<sup>5</sup>a-ra-ri-a-nu numun gišbi-ni numun ú<sup>5</sup>.zal.lá ina kaš sag nag.

The difference of denomination (with or without *hûš*) is not to be taken too seriously: in the first case (*mašqûṭ ša hîp libbi*), it corresponds in BAM 311, to a recipe which is one of the *mêlus* for *hûš hîpi libbi* (<sup>22</sup> 15 *me-eli diš na hu-uš gaz ša-bi tuk<sup>meš</sup>-ši*) and in BAM 317 (and duplicates see §6.1.3 §6.1.5) it is for heart oppression occurring during meals (*ša-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû*) with victimization feelings. The formulations vary but the meaning is identical.

It is also interesting to compare and see the similarities of the recipe of the second case: *hûš hîpi libbi* in BM 78963: 84 with the association of *hušša hîp libbi+nissatu* with *nullatû* in BAM 316 (iv 2). It illustrates that the choice of the different ingredients used in the composition of a medicinal recipe is not only based on the disease but on the various ailments implied and hidden in the malady name.

#### 6.2.4 BAM 311

This Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur lists treatments for a series of ailments (see the organization of the tablet in Chalendar 2003: 7-8). The beginning of the tablet is broken and we do not know if it included a clinical description or just the mention of the disease or of the symptom to treat (as it is the case later on). The therapies are indicated for supernatural diseases such as in l. 23': *diš na <sup>d</sup>lugal.úr.ra dab-su* "If the Lord of the Roof has seized him".<sup>70</sup> Another entry concerns the vicious grip of the goddess: BAM 311: 30' *ana šu <sup>d</sup>innana la-zi zi-hi* "to root out the tenacious 'stranglehold' of the goddess". There is also treatment for "common" disease like "falling sickness": BAM 311: 59' "*ana a[n].ta.šub.ba zi* "to root out an.ta.šub.ba (*miqtu*)". Interestingly these ailments correspond to "neurological/seizure" disorders to which heartbreak is also linked. But treatments are also recommended for simple symptoms such as BAM 311: 87' *diš [n]a [ina] k[i.ná]-šû zú<sup>meš</sup>-šû gûruš-aš* "If a man in his bed gnashes his teeth". The absence of consistency does not allow maintaining that only diseases –clinical diagnosis– are mentioned with their indications in this tablet.

The reference to vice-like heartbreak concludes a particularly long list of amulet-bags: BAM 311: 22' 15 *me-eli diš na hu-uš gaz lib-bi tuku<sup>meš</sup>-ši* "15 amulet-bags for a patient, presenting, without letting up, vice-like heartbreak". There are parallels to most of the treatments of this list in BAM 316, BAM 317 and STT 95+295 or as seen above in BM 78963. The formulation indicates that these bags were supposed to cure or to protect against heartbreak. They are not only directed against the supernatural cause of the disease.

**6.2.5** In the series *šammu šikinšu* describing plants, *azallû* is prescribed for *gaz ša, hîp libbi*: *šammu šikinšu kîma kanašî u sām azallû šumšu ana hîp-libbi damiq tasāk ina šamni tapa[ššaš]* "The plant whose appearance is like (that of) the *kanašû*-vegetable and which is also red – it is called *azallû*-poppy; it is good against melancholia. You pound it and ru[b it on] in oil'." (Following Henry Stadhouders' transcription and translation: 2011: 17, §8 and 2012: 8)

**6.2.6** In the series *Qutâru*, fumigations are prescribed for *hîp libbi* in TCL 6 34 r col iii 5<sup>71</sup>: 10 <sup>hi.a</sup> *quš-taru ša gaz lib-bi* "10 plants for a fumigation against heartbreak" and iii 6 "*kur-ka-nam <sup>u</sup>kur.kur naga.si ina dè sar-šû quš-taru ša gaz lib-bi* "*kurkânu, atâ'išu-hellebore, uhûlu qarnânu-salicornia*, for fumigation against heartbreak". This treatment is parallel to BAM 388 i' 7 as seen in §6.2.1.

<sup>70</sup> This type of epilepsy or convulsive illness is described by Stol (1993: 16-19).

<sup>71</sup> For TCL 6 34, a Seleucid tablet from Uruk, see the edition in Geller 2010a: 173-6. I follow also Strahil Panayotov's transcription established for the workshop "Healing through Fumigation in Mesopotamia and the Ancient World" (see footnote 63). The tablet was copied by Thureau Dangin (1922).

### 6.2.7 Amulet stones are also efficient for heartbreak:

Amulet stones were intended to relieve the anger of Marduk (BAM 370: 1'-4') or of Nuska (BAM 372: 1-2) when these deities were associated with heartbreak (*ù/u hîpi libbi irašši* "and (if) he gets heartbreak").<sup>72</sup> In BAM 375 i 8-11 stones are intended for *hîpi libbi(gaz lib-bi)*.<sup>73</sup> In a catalogue of stones the indication *gaz šà* is quoted (Shuster-Brandis 2008: 136, 209).

### 6.2.8 So?

This ailment was quite well-known: treatments could be delivered on its name, without a clinical description. The target of the treatment was often inside the body (potion, ingestion, and smoke) but it was also useful to intervene from outside with a bath or by soothing the skin with ointment. It is difficult to understand if the amulet-bags or amulet-stones had any outside effect (on the illness or its sender) or inside effect (the drugs getting inside the body through the skin). A bath is found only once in BAM 445: 17-25 // BAM 388: 6-19 (see §6.1.4 and §6.2.1) it is indicated for a clinical case of the "organic" type (initiated by *diš na hu-uš-ša gaz šà tuk.tuk-ši* BAM 445: 10). It is possible that the bath was prescribed in order to soothe the divine wrath (like in BAM 322: 30-32 or r. 71-73), but the indications for bathing are manifold and no conclusion can be given. Intuitively no plant or association of drugs asserts itself as "unusual or original" but this "impression" needs to be comforted by other comparative researches.<sup>74</sup> This illness, deserving so many different types of treatments and administrations, was probably frequent and considered difficult to cure. If I may venture a conclusion, the fact that the drugs and their delivery systems were varied, means that their targets were the different symptoms of the disease "(vice-like) heartbreak" even if they are labelled "treatment for (vice-like) heartbreak".

To my knowledge there is no presentation of incantations, prayers or rituals on the model: "this incantation wording is for (vice-like) heartbreak", *ka.inim.ma (hušša) hîp libbi*. The incantations are mainly directed against witchcraft or other supernatural forces, the origin of mental distress.

## 6.3 "Heartbreak" distress: a simple clinical sign inside clinical cases? On the mental or the somatic side?

When heartbreak appears at the beginning or at the end of a clinical case it is, as seen previously, a malady name. The problem is more complicated when this ailment is found in a list of symptoms or clinical signs: is it a malady name implying typical symptoms and signs or is it a symptom, a type of pain or of mental distress? It can already be noted that most of the clinical cases quoted in this part do not start with disease names but with pathological signs.

### 6.3.1 "Heartbreak" in tablets dedicated to pain syndromes.

In these tablets, the main symptom is pain with different localisations.

#### 6.3.1.1 Heartbreak as part of a description of an extensive multifocal pain syndrome

**TDP 20-23: 32-33** Labat (1951) considers it as being abdominal pain, colic. For Scurlock (2014: 14, 20:41-42) a crushing sensation in the chest: *šumma qaqqassu iššanabbassu(dab.dab-su), kišāssu iltanapassu(tag.tag-su) irassu itanakkalšu(gu<sup>meš</sup>-šú) libbušu ihteneppešu(šà-šú gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú) pîqam la pîqam i[tanadla]h ikkal u išatti lâ itârma (gu<sup>7</sup> u nag nu gur-ma) ikkal u išatti*, "If his head seizes him all the time, his neck gives him a stabbing pain, (and) his breast a nagging pain, without

<sup>72</sup> See on BabMed and in Schuster-Brandis (2008: 79-80) the transcription and other parallels listing these stones.

<sup>73</sup> Schuster-Brandis (2008: 136).

<sup>74</sup> Sometimes certain plants or methods of administration allow eliminating a diagnosis of mental disease such as melancholy: see Giusfredi (2012, 40-63).

letting up, his heart oppresses him, from time to time he is [pert]urbed, he does not regurgitate what he eats and drinks, and therefore, he eats and drinks.”<sup>75</sup>

The clinical description follows the classical progression “from head to toe”. The heartbreak enters this enumeration because of the presence of “his heart *ša-šú/libbušu*” after “his chest *gaba-su/irassu*”. Noteworthy the succession of chest and “heart/inside/belly” implies different interpretations: the enumeration of the body parts is from top to bottom so *libbušu ihteneppešu* can be an organic pain in the heart or in the belly. Conversely, as heartbreak is linked to sorrow and to depressive feelings, and as pain in the chest is expressed by “his chest gives him a nagging pain, *irassu itanakkalšu*”, *libbušu ihteneppešu* has a different connotation: it is the link between somatic pains and psychological perturbations. Meaningful is the presence of an eating disorder, which can be secondary to the digestive tract or to mental disturbances. This case is close to the case described in BAM 317 r 27-28, §6.1.3 where oppressive heartbreak appears during meals (and is expressed identically: *ša-šú gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú*<sup>76</sup>). It could be a clue that the physician interpreted this pain as an intermediate pain, a sort of mixture between somatic and psychogenic pain. Noteworthy, different body parts, head, neck, chest, and heart are responsible for pains. It explains why the verbs for pain are different for each organ, each of them inducing a different type of pain. This is based on observation of the reality of illnesses but may have evolved in a theory of the origin of sickness, regardless of who or what is responsible for the disease, the organs create the ailment.

• **Side comment:** This physio-pathological theory largely hinges on the assumption that *gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šú* (or other verbs conveying pain feelings) corresponds to I/3 stem with active meaning. The subject is the organ with a possessive suffix *-šu*, the verb being suffixed with an accusative suffix *-šu* which refers to the patient. This could be in contradiction with the way pain feelings were expressed in Old-Babylonian letters, as seen before, (with the verb in the passive IV system, without pronominal suffix). Or this could witness the fact that the expression of pain differs in the medical texts:

– see above the SA.GIG Old-Babylonian example with the verb in the I/1 stem with an accusative suffix *-šu* (*šumma maršu qatâšu u šêpâsu ikkalâšu*). It is notable that the pronominal suffix is an accusative suffix. Later the dative and accusative suffixes are no more distinguishable, this attestation is a hint or a proof that later *-šú* are accusative suffixes.

– in the medical texts from the Neo-Assyrian period verbs can be in the I/1 system e.g. BAM 168: 16 [*bur-ka*]-*a-šú i-za-qata-šú* *úr<sup>meš</sup>-šú*<sup>17</sup> [*i-ta-na*]-*ah bur-ka-šú i-kaš-ša-ša-šú*, “his shins pierce him (with pain), his thighs are always weak, his knees gnaw at him” (see Geller 2007: 130 with duplicates)

<sup>75</sup> This last part is difficult, I followed more or less CAD Š II 213b (‘and therefore’ instead of ‘but’ for the *-ma* in *itarma*) instead of Labat (s’il mange et boit sans pouvoir recommencer à manger ni boire). Scurlock offers a similar translation (2014: 20) “he eats and drinks (but/‘and therefore’) does not eat and drink again”.

<sup>76</sup> It is a challenge to give the Akkadian transliteration of *ša-šú*. There are attestations of *libbašu* in the nominative form: in Atra-hasis (see the introduction to §6) we have *he-pi-i-ma li-ib-ba-šu* where the *libbu* is the subject of the verb. In the Mari archive (see ARCHIBAB website) the same transliteration is found in several examples (e.g. with *marâšu*: A.2548 [see bibliography in ARCHIBAB] r. 21 *li-ib-ba-šu i-ma-ra-aš*). The phonetic attestations of the singular nominative form *libbušu* are rare in CAD L 170-171 sub *libbu*. But in Assyrian the vowel assimilation matches the ending vowel (von Soden GAG §10 5/e, but this assimilation is not made on the pronominal suffix). This is corroborated by the search in the glossary of the SAA texts: *libbušu* is attested in several letters (for instance in SAA 19 152: 17 *lib-bu-šu is-lsi-ni ip-[pa]-šar* ‘his heart will be favourably disposed towards us’) Interestingly in this corpus in Neo-Babylonian *libbušu* is also attested (SAA 4 177: 2’ and r 6). But there are also attestations with *libbašu* in the nominative form e.g. SAA 10 294 r. 9 [*ša-ba-šú*] *lu-u dūg.ga-šú* “let his heart please him”. I thank Martin Worthington for his help in this thorny grammatical problem.

– or in the II/1 system e.g. BAM 434 i 13 sag šà-šú ú-šar-[rap]-[šú] (*rêš libbišu ušarrapšu*)<sup>14</sup> gaba-[sul] gu<sub>7</sub>-šú (*irassu ikkalšu*), “his epigastrium burns him (with pain), his breast devours him,”

– or I/3 system e.g. BAM 574 ii 15 diš na šà-šú ik-ta-na-su-šú (*libbušu iktanassušu*), “his belly ‘binds’ him constantly (whatever pain or problem being described by ‘bind’).”

These differences between everyday language and technical language could be due to a divergence (or to scholarly theory) in the understanding of the responsibility of organs in the occurrence of pain. This responsibility can also be guessed or inferred from this case: BM 78963: 25. diš na lu mur<sup>meš</sup> lu ki-šir-ti mur<sup>meš</sup> lu su-alu gig ana din-šú (Scurlock 2014: 472) in which diseases and body parts are on the same level.

### 6.3.1.2 Heartbreak is also part of a description in which **cephalalgia localized in the middle of the head** is the “flagship” ailment:

– In UGU 1

**UGU 1: 239’-241’** (BAM 480 iv 38-40 // Jastrow: obv. 43-r 1) *šumma amêlu qabal qaqqassu uzaqqassu birkâšu kabtâ utabbaka<sup>?</sup>(ú-ta-b[a-ka]) êtannah hîpi libbi irtanašši kalîssu êtanabbal [...]* *iššanammu ikkašu iktenerru ana murša nasâhi* “If the middle of a man’s head causes him a stinging pain, his knees are heavy, he excretes a lot<sup>?</sup> (and) is constantly tired, without letting up he has heartbreak (pain) (gaz šà tuku<sup>meš</sup>), and his kidneys dry up<sup>77</sup> constantly [...], he is constantly thirsty, he is short of breath – in order to [remove] the illness” (Worthington 2005: 14, 22).<sup>78</sup>

The symptomatology is mainly somatic. A local dressing is prescribed, the exact localisation of the bandage is not specified but the middle of the head is likely. The classical progression “head to toe” is not found here, the scribe begins with the head, and then moves directly to the knees and the other signs are enumerated messily. It seems to me that the patient suffers from a special pain in the chest called “painful heartbreak, *hîp libbi*”. But it may be a depressive mental disturbance connected with the (nervous?) exhaustion.

– In LKA a “magical text” with a clinical case beginning with a headache.

**LKA 88: 1-8 // LKA 87: 1’-9’** (Scurlock 2006: 339 text 115). The text begins with symptoms of the top of the head with pain in the middle of the skull and in the two temples, buzzing ears, dry mouth (palate), neurological ailments follow: numbness and paralysis. Then another set of symptoms with pain in the chest ‘gaba<sup>meš</sup>-šú gu<sub>7</sub><sup>meš</sup>-šú, *irâtišu îtanakalûšu*’ and gasping for breath ‘zi-šú ik-ta-nâr-rû, *napištašu iktanarru*’, hair standing on the head (fright? awkward feeling?), cold chills and body numbness complete the physical disorders before arriving to the mental ailments: vice-like heartbreak ‘*hûš hîpi libbi irtanašši, hu-uš gaz lib-bi tuk.tuk-ši*’, torment constantly overwhelming him ‘*a-šu-uš-tum šub.šub-su, ašuštu imtanaqqassu*’. The last problems concern appetite (abnormal behaviour): hunger but the impossibility to eat and in an exhausting way the patient vomits. Several etiological diagnoses are possible: hand of a ghost, *lubâtu*-disease, and hand of Marduk. The treatments consist in rituals and prayers.

<sup>77</sup> It is difficult to translate é[ll]ag-šu e-ta-na-ba<sup>ll</sup>: with *abâlu* A (but does not begin with e CAD A/1 10-29) to bring, to carry and *abâlu* B (beginning by ‘e’ is possible CAD A/1 30b 1-2’-d for body parts) to dry. Worthington, 2006: 22 chose to interpret *abâlu* A as “to affect”. I suppose that Scurlock 2014: 328 chose the same verb, with a re-interpretation of the meaning: the patient changing his position in bed. *Abâlu* B does not seem to be in favor, the meaning “to dry” is difficult to use for the kidneys. But this verb is used for several parts of the body (CAD A I 30b) so I select it: the skin in the region of the kidneys could be dry or the patient experiences a dry sensation in this area, and thanks to the grammatical precisions, courtesy of Marten Stol, it fits the grammar.

<sup>78</sup> See also Scurlock 2014: 318, 328 and for Jastrow’s duplicate see Scurlock proof-reading 2003: 16-17. For a discussion on breathing difficulty see Attia (2018: 87-88) §4.4.2 and note 71.



This clinical picture associates a large range of varied clinical signs, pains, neurological ailments, mental sufferance, digestive problems, etc. It is difficult to differentiate it from the rag-bag catalogues. The association of *hûš hîpi libbi* and *ašuštu* points toward mental sufferance more than towards somatic clinical signs. It is important to notice that in the same clinical case we find a pain in the chest described in two ways: first it is the chest, as a whole, which devours the patient, and afterwards, he has the vice-like heartbreak. This can be considered to prove that (*hûš*) *hîpi libbi* is not a “simple” intrathoracic pain.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly all these ailments are found in various associations in other clinical pictures comprising heartbreak. As often there is a family resemblance in these descriptions but no obvious reproducible description. The reason why this type of clinical description was attributed to one etiology remains mysterious (at least for me!).

**6.3.2** Heartbreak is one of the ailments in clinical cases where the main problem is “neurological”.<sup>80</sup>

### **6.3.2.1 – In SA.GIG:**

**SA.GIG Tablet 26: 28’-29’**, Stol 1993: 62, Heeßel 2000: 288, Scurlock 2014: 197, 201 *enûma ihîtaššu nakkapātušu itanakkalâšu(gu<sup>meš</sup>-šû) libbušu ihteneppešu(gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû) arkânu qâtâtêšu u šêpêšu ukappar nabalkut ru’tašu la išû u* (variant: //) *ittanagarar* ... “If, at the time it (a fit) overwhelms him, his temples keep causing him a nagging pain, without letting up his heart oppresses him (*šà-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû*, lit. ‘his ‘heart’ constantly breaks him’, for Nils Heeßel ‘sein Herz ihm andauernd gebrochen ist’); later on he rubs his hands and feet, he is upside down(?), he does not have saliva (no drooling) and/but (variant //) he is rolling over”.

This description shows how the physician searched for clinical signs characteristic of epilepsy (drooling, turning, having uncontrollable movements) in an atypical case (“fit” with headache and heartbreak but without drooling). The translation of *ittanagarar* is crucial, because, if it denotes rolling over, it points in the direction of epilepsy. Marten Stol suggests: “Instead of the translation ‘he is rolling over’ for *ittanagarar*, ‘he is made frightened’ could be possible, deriving the form from the verb *garâru* with this meaning”,<sup>81</sup> so it may point in the direction of a nervous fit with “hysterical” behaviour. Two clinical diagnoses are given by the physician: *miqtu*(šub-tu), a type of falling-epilepsy or *hamîtu*-disease.<sup>82</sup> Thus, the physician still hesitated between two different diagnoses. It is difficult to appreciate if this description was good enough to enable him to choose or not. Interestingly, the etiological diagnosis is the same for the two diseases: grip of Ištar.

Here the context is clearly neurological, the strong headache being utterly suggestive of such pathology. Vêrène Chalendar (2013), in her study of BAM 202, highlights the link between mental and neurological disorders. We will see later other links between these types of pathology.

### **6.3.2.2 – In a late commentary text BRM 4 32:**

A commentary explaining the names of diseases due to supernatural agents (TCL 6 34, see also §6.2.6) describes different “neurological” conditions is also interesting. The first malady

<sup>79</sup> See §6.2.3 (in the tablet BM 78963) for a similar constataion.

<sup>80</sup> Neurological is in quotation marks: this is a modern retrospective diagnosis, the ancient doctor would not understand this term!

<sup>81</sup> See Stol (1993, note 25 p. 62) with the equation in SpTU II 166 no. 39:3 (*ga-ra-ru* = *pa-la-hu*, *garâru* = to be afraid). The verb was difficult to understand for the ancient scribes ... as for us.

<sup>82</sup> For the latter see Stol 1993: 62-63 “goose-flesh”, Heeßel (2000: 293) the disease is named after an animal, the sand wasp. For diseases named after an insect’s name see Stol (1998: 344). See also Scurlock (2005: 290) who interprets *hamîtu* with *hamû*, as paralysis, and Salin *mise au point* (2018: 34).

name is *antašubba* the “seizure falling-sickness” which places these diseases under the patronage of convulsive ailments:

**BRM 4 32:2-3** <sup>2</sup>šu.dingir.ra: *ilī inamzar šillat iqabbi ša immaru imahhaš* šu.dingir.ra; šu.<sup>d</sup>innin.na: <sup>3</sup>*hušši hīpi libbi irtanašši u amātušu imtanašši*: Hand-of-the-god: (is when the patient) curses the gods, utters grievous blasphemies, and smashes whatever he finds – (this is) *šudingirrakku*-disease. Hand-of-the-goddess: (is when the patient) without letting up has vice-like heartbreak and keeps forgetting his words – (this is) *šuininnakku*-disease.<sup>83</sup>

The scribe selected two or three significant signs allowing him to attribute them to special deities or to name a disease. The association of heartbreak with a speech impairment is interesting as this disorder is found in stock lists (§2.2.1, §2.2.2) and with insanity (§2.3). It is also found in BAM 234 (<sup>9</sup>*i-qab-bu-ú i-maš-ši*) the text at the origin of the search for *hīp libbi*. And, last but not least, the mental suffering *hušši hīpi libbi* is listed with epileptic and behaviour pathology.

**6.3.3** Heartbreak within the framework of cases where **scary feelings** dominate the clinical description (Abusch/Schwemer 2011, text 8.10, p. 358 presentation, transcription, p. 359 translation):

**Text 8.10: 3-4** “[If a m]an is constantly shivering with fear (even) in his bed (*ina mayyâlišû igdanallut*), without letting up his [heart] oppresses him ([šâ]-šû gaz<sup>meš</sup>-šû, [*libbu*]šu *ih̄teneppešu*), his face seems continually to be spinning ([*pânûš*]u *iššanundû*), his feet cause him a stinging pain (*šêpâšu uzaqqatâšu*): figurines of that man have been buried in the tomb of a dead person.”

A similar expression of *ina mayyâlišû igdanallut* is found in text 8.6: 15 (*ina mayyâlišu iptanarrud*, see §2.2.2), and thus, the fright is designated by two synonyms. Moreover, the association of heartbreak and fear is the subject of several clinical cases (see §6.1.2, 6.1.3, 6.1.4, 6.3.3, 6.3.4.3, 6.3.5, 6.4.1). It is, nevertheless, difficult to opt for a general pain syndrome (heartbreak pain and feet stinging pain provoking quiver and fright) or for a mental distress description (fear and anxious heartbreak with strange feelings in the face and paresthesia in the feet). This type of motor and behavioural disorder reminds of the “atypical” somatic heartbreak (BAM 317: 7’ and r 24, BAM 438: 4-13, BAM 445: 10-16 see §6.1.4). If I may venture a retrospective diagnosis, I would imagine complications of alcoholism which could explain the pains, mental disturbance and strange feelings, but of course, it is just a guess.

**6.3.4** Within the framework of **rag-bag catalogues: there is no outstanding clinical sign.**

These catalogues are difficult to interpret, especially when the beginning of the list of ailments is broken! They look like juxtapositions of health disorders without any dominant clinical sign. In the following examples, the link between them could be the cause of the pathology –sorcery, curse, supernatural forces, etc.

**6.3.4.1** Most of these attestations are related to *witchcraft diagnoses*:

– Text 8.6 (see §2.2.2) with the complete formulation ***hûš hīpi libbi irtanašši***.

– Text 2.3 (Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 83-98; lines 42’’-46’’ = p. 86, 92, 96 manuscript A<sub>2</sub>, AMT 85/1)

**Text 2.3: 42’’-46’’** If a man’s face seems continually to be spinning, his skull [...], is blackened, his appearance is st[range?] (*šikinšu itt[anakkir<sup>2</sup>]*), [his appear]ance<sup>2</sup> is dark/gloomy (*[šiki]nšu<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>83</sup> Stol 1993: 25-26, Frahm 2011: 235, I used also the transcription and translation given by Nils Heeßel’s during the workshop about fumigation (see note 63).

*ûtaṭṭa*), what he says [...], without letting up, he has vice-like heartbreak (*[hu]ṣṣa hîpi libbi irtanašši*), his sexual capacity towards women i[s diminished] (*ana sinništi alâka u[maṭṭa(?)]*), he is constantly short-tempered (*[ik]kašu iktenerru*), his ears buzz.

Several symptoms have been already quoted in other catalogues linked to witchcraft (see for instance §2.2.2). Vice-like heartbreak is just part of the list, without special importance or meaning, eventually representing a psychogenic pain in the chest or delusional ideas of ruin, the strange aspect, and the behaviour of the patient being the salient symptoms, as in the atypical heartbreak form.

– Text 7.2 (BAM 438 // BAM 437): 4-13<sup>84</sup> the context is unknown due to a break in the tablet.

After four fragmentary lines at the beginning, the first observation (it is possible to restore just before, following Scurlock 2014: 634 *akâla*) *muṭṭu*, he has no appetite for bread) is mutism (*ana dabâbi libbušu l[â inaššišu]*) and vice-like heartbreak (*(hû)ṣ hîpi libbi irtanašši*). Several of the following clinical signs are already familiar: slowing down, impotence, food problems, odd behaviour with, maybe, an auto-mutilation tendency or uncontrollable behaviour (he bites his lips, saliva drooling, short-temper *ikkašu iktanarru*, and not being able to stay in bed).

It should be noted that in contrast with cases where (vice-like) heartbreak is a salient symptom there is no foolish talks, but mutism. Other particularities are more or less unusual: the patient is impotent and no more attracted by women (*ana sinništi alâka mu[ṭṭu]* <sup>10</sup> *ana sinništi libbušu lâ inaššišu*), he also refuses to stay in bed (*mayyala la inašši*). This last symptom represents for me a type of uncontrollable wandering about, or a stubborn attitude.<sup>85</sup> The treatment consists in 37 plants administrated in a potion. The fact that this case is close to BAM 445 (§6.1.4), where vice-like heartbreak is the first symptom, is problematic regarding the importance of first-rank symptom for the identification of heartbreak as the dominant symptom and, eventually, as a malady name and a clinical diagnosis. It is tempting to explain this fact by a creative scribe who copied two cases one after the other without recognizing heartbreak as the introductory malady, and for whom heartbreak as a disease was questionable. But to criticize the scribes (they didn't understand what they wrote, they were not physicians but mere compilers, etc.) is an easy way to bypass the difficulties and could be equated with our “psychosomatic” etiologies which are merely cunning ways to hide our ignorance.

It should be pointed out that several of these abnormal behaviours could be part of “epilepsy” descriptions<sup>86</sup> with sialorrhea, biting the lips, speech disturbances, and all the neurological problems (numbness, etc.). This description was (maybe) intended to correlate a psychological disorder, especially heartbreak, to convulsive pathologies (see BAM 202 in Chalendar 2013). This could explain the awkward position of heartbreak.<sup>87</sup>

**6.3.4.2** An attestation is related to *Hand of a Curse*: K 2426 i 9'-12'

*[šumma amêlu ...] piṭrûšu irtanammû šittu irtenehhišu [... ] ummi libbi irašši mê iṣṣanamma akalî u šikara rêštâ muṭṭu birdi imtanalla [... ] ikkašu iktanarru hîp libbi irtanašši ana sinništi alâka muṭṭu [... qât] mâmîti iṣbassu* (K 2426 i 9'-12') “[If a man ... ] his *piṭrû* are consistently relaxed, sleep

<sup>84</sup> Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 118, 119: 4-13. See also Scurlock/Andersen 2005: 171 §8.28 (to be corrected) and 2014: 634.

<sup>85</sup> Elsewhere, I have commented on this behaviour (Attia 2015: 84): “Se coucher (et dormir) quand on est malade est une attitude courante, un ‘médicament’ efficace, il est possible que le patient n’arrivait pas ou ne voulait pas se conformer à cet usage”.

<sup>86</sup> It is interesting to read the description of seizure on Medline website: the similarity of the symptoms of seizure and mental disturbance is striking.

<sup>87</sup> See §6.6 for SpTU I 43 which ties several “neurological” illnesses, including heartbreak, to the organ *libbu*.

keeps flowing over him, [...] he has internal fever, he is continually thirsty for water (but) his appetite for bread and beer is diminished, he is continually full of *birdu*-nodules, [...], he is continually short-tempered, without letting up he has heartbreak (*hîp libbi irtanašši*), his sexual capacity towards women is diminished [...] “hand” of a curse afflicts him (*šju nam.érim, qât māmîti*).” Scurlock/Andersen 2005: 561-562, Ap.59.

This syndrome associates somatic ailments, mental and behaviour disturbances with heartbreak preceding impotence. JoAnn Scurlock considers all these disturbances as somatic manifestations: “he is continually short of breath; he continually has a crushing sensation in his chest”. This interpretation is as valid as the “psychiatric” one and shows how difficult it is to identify the symptoms and to give, in consequence, a retrospective diagnosis.

**6.3.4.3** Within the framework of a “neuro-psychiatric” rag-bag “syndrome” *linked to a cohort of supernatural causes*:

Marten Stol (1999: 64-65) in his study of psychological disturbances has noticed a text evoking imaginary fears. Mark Geller (2007: 38) has chosen this clinical picture mixing neurological and psychiatric elements to clarify the respective role of the *asû* and the *âšipu*. Gilles Buisson (2016: 29, 46) describes this text and analyzes the purpose of the treatment. This text, edited by Farber (1977: 56, 64-65, l. 1-13) can help to interpret the catalogue-like enumerations.

The text begins with a list of supernatural diseases attributed to deities or demons. Notable is the first one, *qât eṭemmi*: the first mentioned ailment is ‘*uznâšu išaggumâ*, his ears are buzzing (with malicious gossip?)’ which is frequently associated with ghost’s seizure. The following supernatural seizures are more or less related to convulsions ailments (e.g. *bennu*, an.ta.šub.ba, lugal.ûr.ra), to mental disorders (e.g. *šanê tēmi*), to different demons and to divine angers. Afterwards, clinical signs or ailments are listed. After tinnitus, the second ailment is our ‘*hîp libbi irtanašši*, without letting up he has heartbreak’ (which can be linked to *šu* ‘inanna and/or to different sorts of divine anger) followed by the usual ruin complaints, fears and speech disturbances. Several clinical signs can be linked to ‘*šanê tēmi*, foolishness’ like ‘*tēnšu lâ šabit*, he is not able to act, to make a decision’.<sup>88</sup> It is difficult to attribute specifically each clinical sign to one of the divine illnesses: there is no unequivocal clinical description for these affections, just a sort of category of clinical signs evoking them.

After attributing all these disturbances to ‘*kimilti ili u ištari*, god and goddess’ wrath’ the conclusion is: ‘*ana pašârimma adirâtîšu lâ kasâdišu u muršî annûti ina zumrišu nasâhi*, to appease (the deities’ wrath) in order (-ma) to prevent his fears from happening to him, and to remove these illnesses from his body.’

This conclusion allows understanding that, for the author, this is a real catalogue and not a multifocal disease. It is also more or less possible to attribute to the different deities, demons or illness categories the pathologies listed after them (see Stol 1999: 26 for other examples of this type of concordances). Noteworthy is the fact that the real ultimate cause of all these diseases and ailments is the divine wrath. It seems to me (following Gilles Buisson 2016: 30) that the conclusion (“to prevent his fears from happening”) highlights their fictitious character, denoting a delusional disorder.

**6.3.5** Heartbreak within the framework of **impotence**. An attestation related to evil finger and witchcraft: AMT 71/1

Impotence is the core problem in this case, and additional misfortunes (introduced by *lu/or*) contribute to the psychological breakdown of the patient. The case is found in the fragmentary tablet AMT 71/1. I follow more or less Ebeling’s transcription and translation (1955: 168-

<sup>88</sup> For *tēnšu lâ šabit* see Stol (2009a: 3-4)

171),<sup>89</sup> his restitutions of broken passages are based upon other passages in this tablet and parallels from his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (in particular KAR 228). See a new transcription on Babmed website.

AMT 71/1: <sup>1</sup>diš na [ni-iš] lib-bi-šú kar-ir [=8]hîrtašu u aššātušu<sup>2</sup> lu dumu<sup>meš</sup> lu-u dumu.munus<sup>meš</sup> lu-lu [ ... ]<sup>3</sup> mit-ha-riš úš<sup>meš</sup> lu-u zi.[ga sad-rat-su<sup>90</sup>...] <sup>4</sup>inim [hul-x]x ina é-šú sa-dîr lu [... (=12)huluqqû šahluqtu ša ittišu raksu] <sup>5</sup>lu hu-luṣ'(ú)-ša gaz lib-bi g[i-lit-tú ina su-šú gál-ši] <sup>6</sup>šu.[si hull-ti egir-šú l[al-at] <sup>7</sup>ta-[di]-[ra-a<sup>91</sup>]-tú ul-[ta-dir (=13)kišpû ruhû rušû ...], <sup>1</sup>“If a man has been deprived of his potency [his beloved wife<sup>91</sup> and his wives<sup>92</sup>] <sup>2</sup>either his sons, either his daughters [...], either [his ... ]<sup>3</sup>die together, either [he always suffers] loss[es ...]<sup>4</sup> words [unpleasant?] in his house are regular, either<sup>7</sup> [...the commercial losses, the ruin that are tied to him]<sup>5</sup> or vice-like heartbreak [(and) fear shiver inside his body]: <sup>6</sup>an evil finger is pointed against him<sup>7</sup> he is overshadowed by gloominess: [evil spell, sorcery, dirty witchcraft]”

Unfortunately, the clinical description is very fragmentary but mainly consists of delusional complaints of ruin (see line 12: níg.ha.lam.ma-ti (*šahluqtu*) ruin/disaster). The author considers different possibilities of misfortunes: all are not expected to occur together. It is a rag-bag enumeration!

It is noteworthy that the death of children and probably of other members of the household are mentioned together with misfortune and losses, and are part of a severe and terrifying heartbreak. It seems to contradict what I have written in “Mieux vaut être riche et bien portant que pauvre et malade” about the difference between mourning, and melancholic depression: delusions of ruin is its salient manifestation, mourning just leading to sorrow. But these deaths, similar to those of Job’s family, could be part of the ruin delusional complaints. Noteworthy, apart from the death of the children, that of the wives and probably of the household is included, which is different from Job losing only his children; it may be an exaggeration or a serious reason for a severe nervous breakdown. Important to note the purpose of the treatment is to chase away all the calamities affecting the patient, among them, the vice-like heartbreak (l. 11) and shivering of fear. Another goal is to prevent supernatural forces from approaching the patient. There is no mention of the impotence, and yet, it was the hallmark of the disease. In this text it is possible that *nîš libbi eṭir* is the initial diagnosis and that the following signs lead to *huṣṣa hîp libbi* and *gilittu* which appear like an “intermediate” conclusion or a “complementary diagnosis” before the real one, namely the evil finger (probably followed by all sorts of evil witchcraft in the break). Terror and vice-like heartbreak probably represent the names given to all the sorrows listed after impotence.

### 6.3.6 Is there something to be learned from these clinical pictures?

Heartbreak as a clinical sign appears in different contexts close to what was found in typical descriptions of heartbreak-disease: convulsive fits, mental and behavioral disorders, impotence and fear. Ruin complaints are often described but the nonsense foolish talk, namely delirium, is missing even if the delusional aspect of heartbreak complaints is sometimes pointed out (e.g. §6.3.4.3). Other contexts, less meaningful and less tangible, like pain, fever

<sup>89</sup> See Stol 1993: 30 note 62 and Scheyhing 2011: 112.

<sup>90</sup> Restored with the help of Henry Stadhouders, whom I thank. He pointed to me the association of zi.ga and *sadâru*, see e.g. Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 144 ritual 7.6.7: 8 against the *bêl lemutti* (ms. H). For ka [hul x]x Stadhouders proposes hul-t[i], which is credible see e.g. Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 166, line 9.

<sup>91</sup> This translation is under the influence of the conference made th 24<sup>th</sup> of May 2019 at the College of France by Lionel Marti during the Colloquium “Des femmes au pouvoir!” organized by Thomas Römer and Hervé Gonzales. He proposes “chosen wife” following the meaning of the root (*hâsu* to chose and take as wife). I selected a romantic translation (it could be a choice after one’s own heart) but it could have been a customary arranged marriage.

<sup>92</sup> Restored with line 8 [munus<sup>?</sup>.nita<sup>?</sup>.dam<sup>?</sup>-šú<sup>?</sup>] ù dam<sup>meš</sup>-šú d[umu<sup>meš</sup>-šú ...]

or skin disease are more or less difficult to connect with this mental disorder. Finally, the presence of a broken heart in the context of pluri-painful diseases makes it necessary to consider that this broken heart corresponds sometimes to special painful symptomatology.

In clearly somatic contexts, heartbreak is reduced to its painful or depressive aspect (but also to both), and its background (terror, delirium, eating disorder) is not part of the clinical description. It is questionable if these mental disturbances are or not implied in it.

When it appears in what I called “rag-bag catalogues”, especially with its complete name, *huṣṣu hîpi libbi*, vice-like heartbreak, I propose that it is a “program name” involving several typical symptoms i.e. ruin complaints and delusions.

It is no surprise that in these complex contexts it is difficult to recognize the *hîp libbi* of everyday language.

#### **6.4 Could incantations, prayers help to understand (*hûṣ*) *hîpi libbi*?**

As mentioned in the preamble, incantations and prayers represent a special type of composition. They are part of the scribal repertory of knowledge. Quite often, the composition of the medical incantations (or prayers) seem to reflect the conceptions of the time about the ins and outs –“what”, “when”, “where” and “how”– of pathology. This must be handled with caution since the language of these texts differs from technical and from ordinary language. Nick Veldhuis (1999) analyses the “Poetry of Magic” and states that: “Magic language is usually distinguished from ordinary language.” Furthermore, as demonstrated by Geller (2007), the purpose of these medical incantations was to “illustrate the problem in some way easily understandable by the patient, without being too technical or complex” (p. 397).

However, there are also incantations using medical vocabulary. It is interesting to see how (vice-like) heartbreak was used in these texts. Even if we do not know who exactly composed them (Geller 2007: 393), it can be assumed that they fell under the field of ancient scholarship: scholars (*asûs* or not) composed them and used them for medical purposes. If we follow Mark Geller (2007) and Strahil Panayotov (2017) they were meant to impress and to convince the patient, and probably also the disease and the therapist, of the necessity and the efficacy of healing. For this purpose, the vocabulary used in them was a mixture of technical and everyday language in a poetic form. When incantations seem to describe “physio-pathological” aspects of diseases and to reveal the doctor’s conceptions of sickness, the use of poetic language, images, and metaphors, is not meant to give precise explanations but to convince all the parties of the physicians’ capacity to “defeat” the disease. This type of discourse, close to propaganda, may blur the reality of how they really understood diseases. Similarly the nursery-rhyme style incantations or ritornello are not intended to provide a “scientific” explanation of the sickness but to give a nice story easily understandable by the patient, the doctor, and maybe also, by the disease itself. The fact that I translated *nissatu* with “mal de vivre”, the title of a famous French song, was deliberate and indicates that poetry can reveal a lot, but is far from the scientific realities.

##### **6.4.1 In prayers to Šamaš the sun god of justice.**

– **Text 8.2**<sup>93</sup> presents a ritual intended to cure ailments caused by black magic. The clinical case has no symptom of interest for us, but the prayer quotes vice-like heartbreak.

In this prayer appealing to Šamaš’s omnipotence, the patient enumerates his hardship in the same way as the sufferer in *Ludlul*; he lists a series of troubles which are part of catalogues of “available types of mental distress”. Numerous diseases are listed, among which a cluster of mental disorders occupy a prominent place:

<sup>93</sup> Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 256-269: 57-61 and 72-77 transcription p. 259-260.

**Text 8.2: 57-61** without letting up I have vice-like heartbreak (*hūš hīpi libbi*) terrible fear, dreadful fright, shivering (*gilit[<sup>tu</sup> pi]rittu hurbāšu artanaššū*), I am always gloomy (*ātanamdaru*), (and) terror stricken (*[ap]anallahu*), I keep on talking to myself (*itti libbīya addanabb[ubu]*), I have dreadful dreams (where I talk with<sup>7</sup> / meet<sup>7</sup>) dead people (*[šu]nāte pardāte anaṭṭalu itti mītūti [...]*...), my ominous signs are always strange (*idātū'a ittanakkirū*)... torment constantly overwhelms my heart, I am always confused (*libbī ētanaššāšu ittanadlahu*).<sup>94</sup>

Afterwards, several physical complaints introduce another set of psychic disorders bound to nightmares, with sensations of depersonalisation and unreality:

**Text 8.2: 72-77** the patient suffers personality problem with lack of control over his life: 'my heart, my intelligence, my understanding, the appearance of m[y] body becomes strange and deranged; I have no control over my own planning and thoughts' (*libbī milkī [t]ēmi šikin zumrīy[a it]tanakkirū u išanannū tē[m r]amāniya u [m]ilkīya lā idū*), as well as pathological procrastination, slow-down behaviour and gloomy prostration: 'I linger on (in my disease), I am always grim, sombre (and) constantly overwhelmed' (*uzabbalu ē[tene]rrupu ētenetṭū attanaktamu*).

This never-ending list of mental disturbances does not correspond to a real case or to a theoretical medical construction but to a purely stylistic composition. The redactor has multiplied the synonyms, the repetitions using a diversified vocabulary. This catalogue is based on (at least) two lists of mental troubles; vice-like heartbreak initiates the first one. It could correspond to the melancholy-disease. The second list depends on nightmares similar to hallucinations. It is noteworthy that the unreality feelings recall psychotic manifestations. It would be remarkable if the ancient physicians were able to distinguish two types of mental syndromes, the "anxious-depressive" ones and the "hallucinatory-psychotic" ones (as suggested by Kinnier-Wilson 1965)! But this text has more ambitious literary purposes than medical ones; as noted above, it is the same type of text as *Ludlul*. Like *Ludlul* it was a literary text composed artificially with the help of medical texts, without the help of real and tangible clinical observations. It was inserted in a natural way in the treatment of the consequences of black magic and divine anger.

– **Text 8.4**<sup>95</sup> Similarly *hīpi libbi* is found in a list of mental ailments in another prayer to Šamaš, the somatic ailments being listed in another prayer.

– **KAR 228** In this Neo-Assyrian prayer to Šamaš (from Aššur) the suppliant describes his unhappy fate:

'I am exhausted, sleepless, sad, mistreated, defeated (ruined)' (<sup>16</sup>*anhu dalpu nassu hablu šagšu*), he has the feeling of being excluded and despised: 'at home quarrel (and) in the street squabble' (<sup>19</sup>*ina bīti šaltu ina sūqi puhpuhū*), it is a worrying affliction: 'I am ill, day and night to worry is imposed to me' (<sup>20</sup>*maršaku urra u mūša nazāqu* <sup>21</sup>*šaknamma*) with the conclusion: 'vice-like heartbreak is tied to me and does not cease' (<sup>21</sup>*hūš hīpi libbi* = *hu-uš gaz lib-bi* <sup>22</sup>*ittiya raksuma lā ippaṭṭaru*).

The same type of complaints: unhappiness, "ruin-delusional complaints" lead to the same conclusion as in the letters or the therapeutic clinical descriptions: *hūš hīpi libbi*.

**6.4.2** In a prayer to Nabû the text 9.7<sup>96</sup> provides an interesting element. Tzvi Abusch and Daniel Schwemer point out that "The same version (D = LKA 40a) names *hūš hīpi libbi* 'depression' as the patient's illness instead of the more generic *maruštu* 'distress' of the other sources" (line 17, p. 344). May we deduce that since "(vice-like) heartbreak" alternates with generic "illness (nīg.gig)", heartbreak was a generic name of mental disease?

<sup>94</sup> It is meaningful that *ašāšu* and *dalāhu* conveying ideas of worry and confusion are coupled.

<sup>95</sup> Text 8.4 Abusch/Schwemer 2011: 297 tablet KAR 80 r 8 *hi-pi lib-bi*.

<sup>96</sup> Abusch / Schwemer 2016: 341-355.

**6.4.3** Heartbreak is rarely found in lists of curses like in the namerimburruda incantation BM 50558 (edited by Geller, 1998: 131 iv 9):<sup>97</sup> several disparate somatic and mental ailments, including *hîp libbi*, are listed, but no connecting thread can be identified.

– *In fine, no hesitation!* Except for the last case, in the different incantations or prayers, (*hûš*) *hîp libbi* corresponds to a mental disorder. The ruin complaints connect it to melancholia disease.

## **6.5 In the second part of the Aššur Medical Catalogue<sup>98</sup>**

It is impossible to summarize the information derived from this important text listing tablets belonging to the arsenal of treatment methods. As seen in section 6.1, heartbreak is the main topic of several tablets, so it is not surprising to find it as a tablet incipit/title in this list.<sup>99</sup> It is particularly enlightening to find it linked with *antašubbû*-epilepsy, the falling sickness (there is a third illness lost in a break). Anyway, the association with seizure disorders has already been recorded (§6.2.4, 6.3.2, 6.3.4.3 and further on §6.6). It is noteworthy that the complementary cases introduced by *adi*, “including” (l. 93-98) begin with somatic problems. This could correspond to the “somatic” aspect of heartbreak which has been encountered several times (e.g. discussion in §6.1.4, §6.1.8) and is atypical. The terror (maybe describing a baby or a child crying out of night terror) is a salient symptom of mental diseases. The other *adi* included in the paragraph could be linked to the third unknown incipit.

Even if these three ailments come after paragraphs dedicated to evil powers, divine anger and oracles, which are the frequent causes of mental disorders, they deserve a paragraph of their own and are separated from the causal agents. Another particularity is that this section is followed by impotence which is often associated with heartbreak, as seen in several examples (e.g. §6.1.4, §6.3.4.1, §6.3.4.2, §6.3.5), to find it after *huššu* gaz šà is no surprise.

## **6.6 In an unclassifiable classification of diseases: the Uruk “taxonomy”.<sup>100</sup>**

The matching of psychological and “neurological” ailments is again found in a passage of an enigmatic late text –SpTU I 43– which relates several illnesses to organs. The first body part responsible for sickness is the heart, *libbu*.<sup>101</sup>

This text has been discussed by several scholars. Stol (1993: 26-27) highlights how this text links neurological and mental illnesses. He is sufficiently interested in these similarities to include heartbreak in his book dedicated to epilepsy. Worthington (2003: 3) discusses the signification of the origin of the disease of the head from the stomach, Geller (2014: 3-9) is particularly attentive to the theoretical bases of the relation between organ and diseases. Interestingly he compares this text with BAM 212 which enumerates organ’s diseases from head to toe. He emphasises the fact “that certain inherent factors or properties of these four organs can create conditions which cause disease” and questions the identification of the “four” based on Galen’s classification (2014: 24-25). Steinert (2016: 230-242) explains what type of rationale allowed these associations to four body parts. The illnesses associated with the heart are the painful heartbreak and different types of convulsive syndromes. Steinert

<sup>97</sup> Reference courtesy Marten Stol.

<sup>98</sup> For a complete study of this Neo-Assyrian text and the history of its reconstruction see BAM 9 (2018).

<sup>99</sup> Steinert, Panayotov, Geller, Schmidtchen, Johnson 2018: 216, lines 91-98. See Steinert’s comments about *hûš hîpi libbi* lit. “tenseness (and) heartbreak” p. 258-259. Her analysis differs from mine: she considers that the expression is a hendiadys corresponding to two painful feelings when I believe that the expression is the same type of metaphor for pain as our modern “douleur en étau”.

<sup>100</sup> I borrow this appellation (including the quotation marks) to Geller (2014).

<sup>101</sup> *libbu*: <sup>1</sup> *ultu libbi hîp libbi* from the heart: heart-break <sup>2</sup> *ki.min miqtu* (an.ta.šub.ba) ditto seizure <sup>3</sup> *ki.min qât ili* (šu dingir.ra) ditto hand of the god <sup>4</sup> *ki.min qât ištari* (šu <sup>d</sup>innin <sup>d</sup>innin) ditto hand of goddess <sup>5</sup> *ki.min be[n]nu* ditto epilepsy <sup>6</sup> *ki.min <sup>d</sup>lug[al].«ùr».[r]a* ditto Lord-of-the-roof-epilepsy (Hunger 1976: 50-51, Geller 2014: 3).



(2016: 222), further, points out that the four body parts responsible for several diseases are well-delimited organs and so *libbu* is not a vague denomination of inside organs. It is because *libbu*, the heart, the “Seelen-Organ” (“soul-organ”) is responsible for the mood and of its pathology that it is associated with *hîp libbi*.

We must admit that it is not a philological etiology: the presence of *libbu* in the name of a malady is not crucial for the association of this ailment with the organ designated as responsible for the pathologies. E.g. (line 26) *nîš libbi* (šà.zi.ga) comes from the kidneys (which is clever: they understood that the kidneys were part of the genito-urinary system) and not from the heart (or the digestive tract).

The text is from the Seleucid period, but the fact that already symptoms of convulsion and mental disorder were mixed in older texts is relevant. As Marten Stol states: “This (heartbreak) is naturally a disease of the ‘heart’ according to its name, but there are more texts that group it together with the epilepsies” (1993: 27).

For our purpose, in this article, the main information is that in Seleucid time *hîp libbi* was a disease, i.e. a clinical diagnosis, related to convulsive ailments.

## 6.7 To summarize

The expression *hîp libbi*, found in everyday life documents, corresponds to an upsetting mental distress –worry, annoyance– more or less serious, often tied to fear and to ruin complaints.

When used in medical documents, its meaning develops into mental illness with a painful feeling in the chest. Heartbreak-disease is different from the abnormal mental manifestations studied previously in this article: several tablets are dedicated to this disease and, it frequently appears as the core ailment of clinical pictures. It is a painful sensation experienced in the “soul” (the “*libbu*”) and in the body, in the chest. It is associated with “ruin complaints” real or delusional, fear, and with weird speeches. But it may also occur in completely different somatic contexts. This contrast is not so inconceivable. Recent research demonstrates that mental pain and physical pain have the same physiological and anatomical origin in the brain and are experienced in the same way.

The ancient physicians and scholars described this distress in clinical pictures often attributed to the anger of the personal god. It was also part of clinical pictures attributed to malevolence (of a witch or an enemy). It was on the same level as neurological ailments, in particular, seizure ailments due to the *libbu*, the heart understood as the organ of mood and feelings. The very clever association of mental disorder and convulsion ailment shows the analytical capabilities of these ancient doctors. Without having any knowledge of what could be a neurological pathology they selected disorders of this type and connected them with mental troubles. They were excellent observers of the body and of the psychological signs; it seems that their conclusions were not so much blurred by prejudice or by preconceived theories. This observation has been stressed by JoAnn Scurlock in 2004 in her article: “From Esagil-kīn-apli to Hippocrates”. We should not reduce their observations to mere old wives’ tales full of magic and superstitions and judge their observations with condescension.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> If I may venture a comparison with a “recent” (1751) medical description of melancholy, it is interesting to read the article dedicated to it in Diderot and d’Alembert Encyclopedia. Saint-Lambert et Jaucourt (1751: 307-311) describe a multiform entity not so different from the Mesopotamian *hûš hîpi libbi*: see the clinical picture, the descriptions of delirium (“Ce délire est joint le plus souvent à une tristesse insurmontable, à une humeur sombre, à la misanthropie, à un penchant décidé pour la solitude, on peut en compter autant de sortes qu’il y a des personnes qui en sont attaquées ... on peut rapporter à la *mélancholie*, la nostralgie ou maladie du pays, le fanatisme & les prétendus possessions du démon. Les mélancholiques sont ordinairement tristes, pensifs, rêveurs, inquiets, constans dans l’étude & la méditation, patients du froid & de la faim ; ils ont le visage austere, le sourcil froncé, le teint basané, brun, le ventre constipé”) and the supposed causes of this mental disease (“les chagrins, les peines d’esprit, les passions, & sur-tout l’amour & l’appétit vénérien non satisfait ; les craintes

Several types of treatments are dedicated to curing or preventing its occurrence: liquid or solid preparations to be drunk or swallowed, fumigations, oily ointments, bath, bags containing medicinal ingredients and stone amulets. Often these treatments are similar to those prescribed for internal diseases. Ointments could have a soothing effect on the anxious side of the affection but were probably intended to erase the action of evil oil. The mechanism of action of amulet-bags is mysterious and does not provide any indication of the mechanism of the illness. What is surprising is the absence of “magical” treatment –incantations or rituals– specifically dedicated to this illness. Interestingly in the so-called magical texts, (*hûṣ*) *hîp libbi* belongs to the mental disorders field. It seems that the painful aspect of the heartbreak was not quoted in these types of texts.

It is, with these characteristics, a coherent entity, provoked by similar causes. It is justified to think that the ancient doctors identified a cluster of signs leading to this clinical diagnosis comparable to psychiatric melancholia. I tried to demonstrate that the complaints of ruin and the nonsense foolish talks belonged to the field of delusion and were recognized as insane but it is not totally and always certain. The fact that “ruin complaints” could correspond to real misfortunes or to delusion does not challenge this conclusion. In the “preamble” I warned against the difference of conceptions of disease and symptoms/clinical signs of the Mesopotamian physicians. In the same way, as it is difficult for a modern physician to discriminate between somatic and psychogenic chest pain, they might have considered that real or delusional “ruin complaints” were similar, and may result in the same type of mental sufferance, and thus have the same meaning, the same conclusions, and the same treatments. More difficult to admit, for our “modern logic”, is the description of a medical entity linked to malevolence, but with a clinical picture far away from that of melancholy. I may venture that the initial concept, found in letters, of mental suffering, evolved and that the pain feelings gained importance and thus, heartbreak found another clinical field.

I follow Gilles Buisson: (*hûṣ*) *hîp libbi* was a real mental disease and a clinical diagnosis. Sometimes, when it appears inside a clinical description or in rag-bag catalogues, it seems to be a simple symptom: it could just be reduced to a psychogenic pain or be a symbol of ruin complaints. We can then assume that a clinical diagnosis could be reduced to one of its characteristic symptoms and used, thus shortened, in varied contexts. This could explain why we have so many difficulties to identify coherent pathological entities. A clinical diagnosis could “vivre sa vie” in manifold directions.

## 7 – Conclusions

The study of the vocabulary dedicated to mental disorders, mild or severe, allows a relatively unbiased approach to Mesopotamian medicine without the help of the knowledge provided by modern technology. Our understanding, as well as that of Mesopotamian doctors’, of psychic pathologies, is mostly based on interrogation of the patient, or of his entourage. The doctor has to examine the patient by himself. Even if, sometimes, the modern physician needs complementary technical explorations to eliminate a differential diagnosis (e.g. neurological or cardio-vascular problems), in this field, modern and ancient doctors are more or less on an equal footing. So what are the results of this investigation?

The comparison between the use of words or expressions dedicated to mental disability in everyday language and in scientific language shows that they gain a specialized meaning in the technical texts. These expressions could correspond to a clinical diagnosis with specific symptoms or to a mental symptom with some significant value for the physicians. In the

vives & continuelles manquent rarement de la produire : les impressions trop fortes que font certains prédicateurs trop outrés ... Les dérangemens qui arrivent dans le foie, la rate, la matrice, les voies hémorroïdales donnent souvent lieu à la *mélancholie*. Le long usage d’alimens austers ..., les débauches, le commerce immodéré avec les femmes ... quelques poisons lents”.

everyday language, they were used in a larger field with a vaguer meaning, with probably more flexibility than in the technical texts.

Sometimes special expressions or words were used specifically in the medical texts e.g. *ašūštu* or *hūš hīpi libbi*. It must be noted that certain expressions had different significations according to the context (customary language, prayers or medico-technical texts) e.g. *murūš libbi*. It is also possible (if the system of the verbs in the medical texts is relevant) that doctors believed that pains (and maybe other symptoms) were produced by the body-parts, this medical theory is different from what is found in the everyday language of the Old-Babylonian letters.

This overview showed the diversity of ways to name the feelings of sorrow, anxiety, and distress in the medical corpus. The significant number of “psychiatric” medical texts and the variety of treatments dedicated to mental disorders is relevant. It is notably astonishing to have so many words for all sorts of fears. In the same way, the variety of technical terms for mental distress found in the “literary and everyday” corpus is amazing and reflects the interest of the scholars and of the ancient society for mental disorders. It is questionable if this society and its culture were an ideal seedbed for developing anxious and depressive disorders (one should note especially the notion of “where there is smoke there is fire”, i.e. if you are unfortunate you just deserve it, you are guilty). Marten Stol’s pessimistic remark (1999: 68) is significant: “Illness is a stigma transposing a person into the realm of social death”. Notably, this type of technical vocabulary does not reflect a distance between the scholars and their public. The vocabulary of the scholars and their “audience” overlaps. And the specialised medical vocabulary concerning mental distress was understood by medical practitioners, scholars and educated “ordinary people”. Since knowledge of the scribal art was highly respected, it is also possible that the use of technical vocabulary gave more credibility to the specialists’ argumentations.

The scholars likely kept in mind the technical and scientific meaning of the medical vocabulary when they wrote a letter or a literary text; but in several situations, it is possible to state that (as one would expect *a priori*) there is more freedom in the everyday language than in the technical medical expressions. As I stated earlier, there is a to-and-fro movement between every day and medical language. Each one enables the signification to evolve and allows its concept to extend.

I cannot give definitive answers to all my questions about symptoms and clinical diagnosis, just hints. The border between symptom and disease, mental and somatic illness, real ruin and ruin delirium, and finally between madness and reason remains blurred.<sup>103</sup> To get to the point of wondering about the reality of the ruin symptoms and not being able to affirm without hesitation whether the medical complaints in BAM 234 (and other texts) are real or delusional shows to what extent we are left unsatisfied. But what is the situation nowadays? If a person faces a painful situation, grief, adversity (illness, loss of money, etc. just like in our letters), and if this burden is too difficult to bear, modern physicians can help him with different types of treatments –including psychotropic drugs!

In the same vein, no decisive light has been shed on the notion of mental disease *versus* mental symptom. It is difficult to discriminate symptoms from disease, even when trying to classify according to their rank of occurrence in the clinical descriptions. This difficulty, which was anticipated in the introduction, has been confirmed in my survey. I would like to

<sup>103</sup> The same harsh facts are one of the subjects of a recent article: “the reliability of DSM-IV is satisfactory for severe pathologies whereas it is mediocre for others. Besides, its validity is weak since most patients suffer from a combination of mental health disorders supposedly distinct and the supposed distinct limit between normal and pathological has proven to be very inaccurate in clinical practice. This lack of scientificity merely reflects our ignorance regarding mental disorders,” (Gonon 2013).

believe that the fact that modern psychiatry encounters the same type of difficulty since progress in this field is challenging.<sup>104</sup>

This survey has led to clues indicating that mental and somatic disorders overlapped, and, that this was dependent on the body conceptions of these times. It goes hand in hand with the statement that disease, and especially mental disease, has a culturally linked signification.<sup>105</sup> Anyway, mental and somatic suffering is tied up in the brain by modern physiological arguments. The couple pain–insecurity/anxiety is meaningful and important to investigate since in some pathologies like thoracic or abdominal pain, an anxiogenic aspect of the pain orientates the diagnosis. We may wonder whether the ancient healers detected this relation and were guided by it in their perception of mental pain so that they proposed treatments for these mental disorders that are typical for internal diseases.

This interaction between the body parts and the sphere of feelings and consequently the mental disturbance is also due to the fact that the body parts are in some way responsible for their own disability. As stated previously, several times, in the medical texts a body part is said to provoke symptoms: e.g. the *libbu* provokes heartbreak and foolish talk (see text 7.7/KAR 92: 1-2) §6.1.4, BAM 316 iii 20, 23-24 §5.3 and §6.1.2). And the Uruk taxonomy (§6.6) could be a late witness of this conception of the role of the body in the occurrence of ailments.

One of the topics of this study was the “positive” clinical diagnosis. A useful definition is given by Frederic Dubas.<sup>106</sup> This professor of neurology describes how maladies were named in the past and nowadays, he explains how scientific progress has changed the methods of naming disease. He states:

En pratique, on continue de dire la plupart des maladies comme elles ont été décrites et considérées en tant qu’entités cliniques, parce que constituées de signes cliniques et d’éléments de biologie et d’imagerie *régulièrement associés* formant les *critères d’ensembles clinico-biologiques cohérents* que sont les maladies. C’est de ces ensembles globalement stables, ou phénotypes, dont le médecin clinicien a besoin, pour classer, ce afin d’identifier une maladie et de la traiter.

As mentioned in the preamble, and as Bácskay (2009) states “It has been obvious for a long time that the so-called symptom descriptions in the source groups of Mesopotamian medicine (particularly in prescriptions of therapeutic and diagnostical/prognostic texts) cannot be exclusively applied to specific diseases, as the same symptoms appear in connection with a variety of illnesses, and symptom descriptions relating to individual diseases can be very varied.” Moreover, it is difficult to understand what the medical purpose of naming a disease was for the Mesopotamian physicians. As Dubas states: “L’essai de réponse à la question ‘comment se disent les maladies’ est donc indissociable de ‘quand’ et ‘par qui’ elles sont dites

<sup>104</sup> An article about the history of anxiety by Marc-Antoine Crocq (2015) shows the difficulty of defining mental illnesses linked to anxiety. Even the recent recensions vary in their descriptions. Interestingly Crocq interprets Job’s complaint resembling heartbreak sensation as anguish: “the same relationship between the idea of narrowness and anxiety is attested in Biblical Hebrew. In fact, Job expresses his anguish (Job 7:10) literally with the Hebrew expression “the narrowness (tsar) of my spirit.” (2015: 321)

<sup>105</sup> In this perspective it is important to place all these mental diseases in the context of concepts linked to the body in this civilisation. Ulrike Steinert in her book “*Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien*” (2012) conclusion (p. 511-534) states that in this civilisation there was no real separation or opposition between the physical body and an immaterial body comprising soul, spirit, emotions. It is then not surprising to find emotions or mental disturbances depending on anatomic localisations: “In der Vorstellung der Babylonier und Assyrer bestand demnach kein Dualismus zwischen Leib und Seele, Körper und Geist, denn nicht nur das Leibesinnere / Herz bildete den Sitz von Empfindungen und Bewußtsein, sondern auch der Körper als Ganzes.” (p. 513). See also her comments p. 233-4 with the note 10 on (*hūs*) *hipi libbi*.

<sup>106</sup> This article (“Comment se disent les maladies?”) is the result of a communication given during a colloquium in Nantes, 2011, entitled: “La santé, quel travail!?” (<http://www.msh.univ-nantes.fr/>).

et conduit à ‘pourquoi’ et ‘pour qui’ elles le sont (ou ne le sont pas).” For us a medical diagnosis means that the disease has been categorized so that the physician can choose the treatment: e.g. the treatment for a red eye is different if it is due to trauma, haemorrhage or infection (etc.). We do not find the same approach in the Mesopotamian ancient texts: the doctors choose the drugs or the magical material in order to alleviate the symptoms (e.g. the redness of the eyes or, even more confusing, a sick eye) and, eventually, to chase away the cause of the disease, but there is no specific treatment for a named eye disease.<sup>107</sup> Must we conclude that it was unnecessary to make a clinical diagnosis in order to treat the eyes? In the same spirit, there is a Middle Hittite text with a prescription for a disease (probably a skin ailment) that has no name.<sup>108</sup> It seems that it was meaningful for the physician if a disease had no name but it was no problem for prescribing treatment.<sup>109</sup> Mark Geller in *Melothesia* (2014: 21) recalls how “Galen criticizes Methodists for failing to distinguish between a disease and disease-symptom” and that he could have in the same way criticized the Mesopotamian doctors for “being confused in their terminology”. Galen would have been disconcerted to find that it lasted until recent times.<sup>110</sup> Troels Arbøll (2018: 279) wonders why the same treatments were used for two different illnesses, he proposes: “Possibly it was of little importance whether an illness was diagnosed as *maškadu* or *sagallu* as long as the clinical signs were related to both illnesses and could be relieved with the right treatment”. In this study, I proposed that for (*hûš*) *hîp libbi* there were no specific drugs or way of administration because their targets were the different symptoms constituting the disease and not the disease itself with all its components.

Perhaps the medical diagnoses were connected with the body parts affected and this guided the choice of the methods of drug administration. This would mean that these diagnoses implied a theory of how, and above all where, the diseases damaged the healthy body. But this is a subject for another study.

Another hypothesis, suggested by Gilles Buisson, is that the diseases, once named, were classified and this helped to connect them to the deity responsible for their occurrence. This is based on the fact that in SA.GIG 33 (Heeßel 2000: 357-358, l. 103-123) the diagnoses are correlated with deities’ names. But it is a real challenge to understand how and why a deity was viewed as responsible for a disease. There is only, as stated before, a “family resemblance” in the clinical descriptions linked to a supernatural cause. And so, the relationship between clinical diagnosis and etiological diagnosis not being reproducible, this relationship is problematic.

Maybe the last word must be left to Dubas, the purpose of the clinical diagnosis and the naming of a malady is: “nommer pour classer, classer pour identifier, identifier pour soigner et si possible guérir”. It was similar in these old days. Doctors were looking for medical signs

<sup>107</sup> As a matter of fact the eye illnesses do not deserve any clinical diagnosis, the treatments are mostly symptomatic, the only mentions looking like a disease name concern a skin disease present on the eyelids *kiššatu* (BAM 22 r 13 and parallels), or etiological diagnoses corresponding to a certain type of abnormal visual perceptions e.g. in BAM 516 i 2, i 9, i 43’ šu.gidim.ma, hand-of-a-ghost disease. A special diminution of eyesight deserves a clinical diagnosis “Šin-lurmâ” in BAM 516 ii 30’-32’, iii 1, but the presence of the moon god in the name makes it look like an etiological disease name.

<sup>108</sup> Weidner 1922, KUB 4, 62: 4- r.3 <sup>4</sup>ana giġ ša ni-ba nu tuk pa <sup>giš</sup>mi.par<sub>7</sub> [...] <sup>5</sup>a.gar.gar maš.dà numun ki.<sup>d</sup>im [...] <sup>11</sup>tēš.bi ta-sāk ina i.giš he.[he ...] (the following lines are badly broken) “for a nameless sore/disease: leaves of the *lipāru*-tree..., gazelle dung, seeds of *qutru*-plant ..., you pound together [these plants] mix them in oil [...]”. My thanks to Gilles Buisson who helped me to get rid of the “puzzling” *mahiš* of CAD N/2 205a.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. the first three lines of the incantation K 6057+(unpub.) i 1-3 (I give Stadholders’ transcription and translation 2018: 166 note 19): ÉN *simmū ma’dū šumīšunu ul īdī<sup>2</sup>miqtū ma’dū nībašunu ul īdī<sup>2</sup>[sim]mū ma’dū ittašunu ul īdī* “Incantation: diseases are many, I do not know their names; afflictions are many, I do not know their designation; [disea]ses are many, I do not know their identity.”

<sup>110</sup> The article of Jean-Joseph Menuret “jaunisse” in the famous Encyclopedia created by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert is edifying (1766: 1751-1772).

allowing them to classify clinical forms. When these clinical cases were atypical or unusual they tried to find signs guiding the diagnosis: the methodology was good and it is significative or comforting to find typical “medical” reasoning.

The notion of clinical diagnosis is supported by the use of technical ready-made, stereotypical expressions often based on metaphors. I was surprised to state, even if it is a naïve observation, that the ancient Mesopotamian metaphors seem so similar to ours. The “sick heart” of the mourning person has a modern equivalent of a suffering or wounded heart. The šà.gig “heart-belly-disease of the medical texts is found in a French expression for nausea “avoir mal au cœur” or in English “to be sick in one’s stomach”, and *libbu šapil* is comparable to “happy is up, sad is down” or “avoir le moral au plus bas”. The broken, crushed or tight heart is part of our familiar language in French “cœur brisé ou serré”, English “heartbreak”, German “Herzschmerz”, Italian “crepacuore”, etc. The relation between anxiety, worrying feelings and, abdominal or cardiological pathologies are as up to date as they were in the past. Modern medical students learn how to differentiate anxious pain in the chest from a heart attack as it is not obvious at first sight. And the new “fashion” is to tie mental distress to the enteric nervous system or the intestinal microbiota. All these similarities are comforting and at the same time quite common, but, it can also be a real “miroir aux alouettes”, a luring trap, with its narcissistic risk of recognizing ourselves too much in the mirror and allowing to project our own fears instead of identifying the ancient Mesopotamians’ frights. But, despite these warning points of caution, it is important to take into account these similarities when we try to understand Mesopotamian doctors’ system of thought or beliefs.

### Bibliography<sup>111</sup>

- Abusch T. 1989.** The Demonic Image of the Witch in Standard Babylonian Literature: The Reworking of Popular Conceptions by Learned Exorcists, in J. Neusner *et al* (eds.), *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict*, New York: Oxford University Press, 27-60.
- Abusch T. 1999.** Witchcraft and the Anger of the Personal God, in T. Abusch, K. van der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic. Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives*, Groningen: Styx Publications, 81-121.
- Abusch T. 2002.** *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Towards a History and Understanding of Babylonian Beliefs and Literature*, Ancient Magic Divination 5, Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill-Styx.
- Abusch T. 2008.** “The Witch’s Messages: Witchcraft, Omen, and Voodoo-death”, in R.J. van der Spek *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Mesopotamia. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society, presented to Marten Stol on the occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday, 10 November 2005, and from his retirement from the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*, Bethesda, Maryland: CDL press, 53-68.
- Abusch T., Schwemer D. 2011.** *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals 1*, Ancient Magic Divination 8/1, Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Abusch T., Schwemer D. 2016.** *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals 2*, Ancient Magic Divination 8/2, Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Adamson P. B. 1993.** “An assessment of some akkadian medical terms”, *RA* 87, 153-159.
- Al-Rashid M. 2014.** “A Note on the Meaning of Ḫūšu and Ḫuṣṣu”, *Cuneiform Digital Library Notes* 7. <http://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdln/php/single.php?id=000034>. [Accessed April 2017].
- Arbøll T.P. 2018.** “Tracing Mesopotamian Medical Knowledge: A Study of *maškadu* and Related Illnesses”, in D. Schwemer *et al.* (eds.), *The Sources of Evil: Complexity and Systematization, Differentiation and Interdependency in Mesopotamian Exorcistic Lore*, Ancient Magic Divination 15, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 261-284

<sup>111</sup>Abbreviations follow the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (volume 20, U and W, 2010), with the exception of SpTU for *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* (cf. Hunger 1976, von Weiher 1983).

- Attia A. 2000.** “A propos de la signification de šer’ânu dans les textes médicaux mésopotamiens : une question d’anatomie”, *Histoire des sciences médicales* 34, 47-56.
- Attia A. 2015.** “Traduction et commentaires des trois premières tablettes de la série IGI”. *JMC* 25.
- Attia A., Buisson G. 2004.** “Du bon usage des médecins en assyriologie”, *JMC* 4, 9-15.
- Attia A., Buisson G. 2012.** “BAM 1 et consorts en transcription”, *JMC* 19, 22-51.
- Bácskay A. 2009.** “Illness or Symptom? Some Remarks on the Terminology of Mesopotamian Medical Texts”, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 49, 269-280.
- Bácskay A. 2015.** “Magical-medical prescriptions against fever: an edition of BM 42272”, *JMC* 26, 1-27.
- Bácskay A. 2018.** *Therapeutic Prescriptions against Fever in Ancient Mesopotamia*, AOAT 447, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Biggs R. D. 1967.** *ŠA.ZI.GA. Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*, TCS 2, Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin.
- Biggs R. D. 1974.** “A Babylonian Extispicy Text concerning Holes”, *JNES* 33, 351-356.
- Biot M. 1974.** *Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Sagarâtum*, ARM 14, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner/publisher
- Böck B. 2000.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, AfO Beih. 27, Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität.
- Böck B. 2014.** *The Healing Goddess Gula, Towards an Understanding of Ancient Babylonian Medicine*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 67. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Boyd J. L. III 1983.** “Hušsum, ‘to anger, harass, irritate, trouble’, in TCL VII 58:15”, *Or. NS* 52, 246-247.
- Buisson G. 2016.** “À la recherche de la mélancolie en Mésopotamie ancienne”, *JMC* 28, 1-54.
- Cadelli D. S. 2000.** *Recherche sur la Médecine Mésopotamienne. La Série šumma amêlu suâlam maruṣ*, PhD thesis, Université de Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne/Université de Genève, unpublished.
- Cadelli D. S. 2018.** “Les parties du corps dans la série šumma amêlu suâlam maruṣ”, *JMC* 31, 2-25.
- Chalendar V. 2013.** “Un aperçu de la neuropsychiatrie assyrienne. Une édition du texte BAM III-202”, *JMC* 21, 1-60.
- Campbell Thompson R. 1923.** *Assyrian medical texts from the originals in the British Museum*, Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press.
- Charpin D. 1992.** “Les malheurs d’un scribe, ou de l’inutilité du sumérien loin de Nippur”, in M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia 1988*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14, Philadelphia: The Samuel Noah Kramer Fund/The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 7-27.
- Charpin D. 2013.** “‘Garde ma lettre en témoignage’. Le rôle de la correspondance dans le système juridique mésopotamien de la première moitié du deuxième millénaire av. n. è. ”, in U. Yiftach-Firanko (ed.), *The Letter: Law, State, Society and the Epistolary Format in the Ancient World. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the American Academy in Rome 28-30.9.2008*. Legal Documents in Ancient Societies 1, 45-60.
- Clair J. (dir.) 2005.** *Mélancolie. Génie et folie en Occident*. Grand Palais, Paris, 13 octobre 2005-16 janvier 2006, Paris: Gallimard/Réunion des Musées nationaux.
- Clay A. T. 1923.** *Hymns, Omens and Other Texts*, BRM 4, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Crocq M.-A. 2015.** “A history of anxiety: from Hippocrates to DSM”, *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience* 17/3, 319-325.
- Dhorme É. 1963.** *L’emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, Paris: Lecoffre/Gabalda.
- Dietrich M. 2003.** *The Neo-Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*, SAA 17, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Dougherty R. P. 1933.** *Archives from Erech: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 2, New Haven: Yale University Press/ London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. [Reprint 1980, New York: AMS Press].
- Durand J.-M. 1988.** “Maladies et médecins”, in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, ARM 26/1, Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 543-584.

- Durand J.-M. 1997.** *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome I*, Littérature Ancienne du Proche-Orient 16, Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Durand J.-M. 1998.** *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome II*, Littérature Ancienne du Proche-Orient 17, Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Durand J.-M. 2000.** *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome III*, Littérature Ancienne du Proche-Orient 18, Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Ebeling E. 1919.** *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, Band I*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Ebeling E. 1923.** *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, Band II*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 34, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Ebeling E. 1953.** *Litterarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Ebeling E. 1955.** "Ein neuassyrisches Beschwörungsritual gegen Bann und Tod", *ZA* 51, 167-179.
- Farber W. 1977.** *Beschwörungsrituale an Istar und Dumuzi*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Finkel, I. L. 2000.** "On Late Babylonian Medical Training", in A.R. George, I.L. Finkel (eds), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 137-223.
- Frahm E. 2011.** *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation*, Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 5, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Gaillard R., Léo H., Olié J.-P. 2010.** "Douleur psychique : un symptôme ?", *Bulletin de l'Académie Nationale Médecine* 194, n°3, 567-581.
- Geller M. J. 2005.** *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts*, BAM 7, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Geller M. J. 1988.** "New Duplicates to SBTU II", *AfO* 35, 21-22.
- Geller M. J. 1998.** "An Incantation against Curses", in S.M. Maul (ed.), *Festschrift für Rylke Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994, tikip santakki mala bašmu...*, Cuneiform Monographs 10, Groningen: Styx, 127-140.
- Geller M. J. 2004a.** "West Meets East: Early Greek and Babylonian Diagnosis", in H.F.R. Horstmannshoff, M. Stol (eds), *Magic and Rationality in ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 27. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 11-61.
- Geller M. J. 2004b.** "Anus and Kidneys", *JMC* 4, 1-7.
- Geller M. J. 2007a.** "Incantations within Akkadian Medical Texts", in G. Leick (ed.), *The Babylonian World*, New York: The Routledge World, 389-399.
- Geller M. J. 2007b.** "Comment et de quelle façon les praticiens gagnaient-ils leur vie ?", *JMC* 10, 34-41.
- Geller M. J. 2010a.** *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Geller M. J. 2010b.** *Look to the Stars: Babylonian Medicine, Magic, Astrology and Melothesia*, Pre-Print, Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte.
- Geller M. J. 2010c.** "Skin Disease and the Doctor", *JMC* 15, 40-56.
- Geller M. J. 2014.** *Melothesia in Babylonia. Medicine, Magic, and Astrology in the Ancient Near East*, Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Cultures 2, Boston/Berlin/Munich: Walter De Gruyter.
- Geller M. J. 2017.** "Some remarks on Babylonian Pharmacology", in L. von Lennart, M. Martelli (eds.), *Collecting Recipes: Byzantine and Jewish Pharmacology in Dialogue*, Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 31-34
- Genty T. 2010.** "Les commentaires à TDP 3-40: Première Partie", *JMC* 16, 1-38.
- Giusfredi F. 2012.** "The Akkadian Medical text KUB 37.1", *AoF* 39/1, 49-63.
- Giralt S. 2017.** "The melancholy and necromancer in Arnau de Vilanova's Epistle against Demonic Magic", in S. Bhayro, C. Rider (eds.), *Demons and Illness Theory and Practice from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 271-290.
- Gonon F. 2013.** "Quel avenir pour les classifications des maladies mentales ? Une synthèse des critiques anglo-saxonnes les plus récentes", *L'information psychiatrique* 89, 285-294.



- Goodnick Westenholz J. 1987.** “A Forgotten Love Song”, in F. Rochberg-Halton (ed), *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to E. Reiner*, AOS 67, New Heaven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 415-425.
- Goodnick Westenholz J. 2010.** “The Tale of Two Little Organs: the Spleen and the Pancreas”, *JMC* 15, 2-24.
- Goodnick Westenholz J., Sigrist M. 2006.** “The Brain, the Marrow and the Seat of Cognition in Mesopotamian Tradition”, *JMC* 7, 1-10.
- Goodnick Westenholz J., Sigrist M. 2008.** “The Measure of Man: The Lexical Series Ugu-mu”, in R.D. Biggs, J. Myers, and M.T. Roth (eds), *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, July 18–22, 2005*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 62, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 221-232.
- Guarrigue U. 2004.** “Sur la mélancolie dans l'art”, *Sociétés* 86, 79-84.
- Gurney O. R., Finkelstein J. J. 1957.** *The Sultantepe Tablets I*, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3, London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Gurney O. R., Hulin P. 1964.** *The Sultantepe Tablets II*, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 7, London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Heeßel N. P. 2000.** *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, AOAT 43, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Heeßel N. P. 2004.** “Reading and Interpreting Medical Cuneiform Texts - Methods and Problems”, *JMC* 3, 2-9.
- Hunger H. 1976.** *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk I*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Hunger H. 1992.** *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*, SAA 8, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Jaques M. 2006.** *Le vocabulaire des sentiments dans les textes sumériens : recherche sur le lexique sumérien et akkadien*, AOAT 332, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Jastrow M. 1913.** “An Assyrian medical tablet in the possession of the college of physicians”, *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 15, 365-400.
- Johnson J. C. 2014.** “Towards a reconstruction of SUALU IV: Can we localize K 2386+ in the therapeutic corpus?”, *JMC* 24, 11-38.
- Jouanna J. 2011.** “Médecine rationnelle et magie: le statut des amulettes et des incantations chez Galien”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 124, 47-77.
- Kinnier Wilson J. V. 1965.** “An Introduction to Babylonian Psychiatry”, in H. Güterbock, T. Jacobsen (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his seventy-fifth Birthday April 21, 1965*, Assyriological Studies 16, Chicago: Chicago Oriental Institute, 289-298.
- Köcher F. 1963a.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen I. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* 1, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Köcher F. 1963b.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen II. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* 2, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Köcher F. 1964.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen III. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* 3, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Köcher F. 1971.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen IV. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur 4, Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, Uruk und unbekannter Herkunft*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Köcher F. 1980a.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen V. Keilschrifttexte aus Ninive* 1, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. doute sur 1979
- Köcher F. 1980b.** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen VI. Keilschrifttexte aus Ninive* 2, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kouwenberg N. J. C. 2010.** *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, Languages of the Ancient Near East 2, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Kraus F.R. 1985.** *Briefe aus kleineren Westeuropäischen Sammlungen*, Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung 10, Leiden: Brill.
- Kupper J.-R. 1998.** *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*, ARM 28, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations
- Labat R. 1951.** *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux 1 : Transcription et traduction*, Paris/Leyde: Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences/Brill.

- Lambert W. G., Millard A. R. 1969.** *Hatra-Hasis: the Babylonian story of the Flood*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Leichty E. 1988.** “Guaranteed to Cure”, in E. Leichty *et al.* (eds), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Occasional Publications of the S. N. Kramer Fund vol. 9, Philadelphia: University Museum, Babylonian Section.
- Livingstone A. 1989.** *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA 3, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Luukko M. 2012.** *The Correspondance of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*, SAA 19, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Luukko M., Van Buylaere G. 2002.** *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, SAA 1, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- MacDonald G., Leary M. R. 2005.** “Why does social exclusion hurt? The relationship between social and physical pain”, *Psychological Bulletin* 130, 202-223.
- Menuret J.-J. 1766.** “Jaunisse”, in D. Diderot, J. d’Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, tome 8, Paris, 476-478.
- Panayotov S. V. 2017.** “Eye Metaphors, Analogies and Similes within Mesopotamian Magico-Medical Texts”, in Wee J. Z.-E (ed.), *The Comparable Body - Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman Medicine*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 49, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 204-246.
- Panayotov S. V. 2018.** “Magico-medical Plants and Incantations on Assyrian House Amulets”, in D. Schwemer *et al.* (eds.), *The Sources of Evil: Complexity and Systematization, Differentiation and Interdependency in Mesopotamian Exorcistic Lore*, Ancient Magic Divination 15, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 192-222.
- Parpola S. 1970.** *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part I Texts*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 5/1, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, reprint Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- Parpola S. 1983.** *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part II Commentary and Appendices*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 5/2, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, reprint Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- Parpola S. 1993.** *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA 10, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Parpola S., Watanabe K. 1988.** *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA 2, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Parys M. 2014.** “Édition d’un texte médical thérapeutique retrouvé à Assur (BAM 159)”, *JMC* 23.
- Reiner E. 1958.** *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, AfO Beih. 11, Graz: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers.
- Reiner E. 1959-60.** “ME.UGU = mēlu”, *AfO* 19, 150.
- Reynolds F. 2003.** *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*, SAA 18, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Ritter E. K., Kinnier Wilson J. V. 1980.** “Prescription for an Anxiety State: a study of BAM 234”, *AnSt* 30, 23-30.
- Robson E. 2008.** “Mesopotamian Medicine and Religion: Current Debates, New Perspectives”, *Religion Compass* 2/4, 455-483.
- Saint-Lambert J.-F. de, Jaucourt L. de 1751.** “Mélancolie”, in D. Diderot, J. d’Alembert (eds.) *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, tome 10, Paris, 307-311.
- Salin S. 2018.** “Words for Loss of Sensation and Paralysis in Assyro-Babylonian Medical Texts: Some Considerations”, *JMC* 31, 26-37.
- Scheyhing H. 2011.** “Babylonisch-assyrische Krankheitstheorie. Korrelationen zwischen medizinischen Diagnosen und therapeutischen Konzepten”, *Die Welt des Orients* 41, 79-117.
- Schuster-Brandis A. 2008.** *Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel. Untersuchung zu ihrer Verwendung in der Beschwörungskunst Mesopotamiens im 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, AOAT 46, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Schwemer D. 2013.** “Prescriptions and Rituals for Happiness, and Divine Favour: the Compilation A 522 (BAM 318)”, *JNES* 65, 181-200.

- Scurlock JA. 2003.** “Collation of the ‘Jastrow’”, *JMC* 3, 16-17.
- Scurlock JA. 2004.** “From Esagil-kīn-apli to Hippocrates” *JMC* 3, 10-30.
- Scurlock JA. 2006.** *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Ancient Magic Divination 3, Leiden/Boston: Brill-Styx.
- Scurlock JA. 2013.** “Marginalia to Mesopotamian Malevolent Magic”, *JAOS* 133/3, 535-540.
- Scurlock JA. 2014.** *Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine*, Writings from the Ancient World 36: Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press.
- Scurlock JA. 2017.** “‘Supernatural’ Causes: ‘Cutting of the Breath’: Ritual Messages; Sour Milk (BAM 449)”, in K. Lawson Younger Jr. (ed.), *Context of Scripture IV, Supplements*, [Akkadian Inscriptions: Medical Texts: 4.88L], Leiden/Boston: Brill, 306-308.
- Scurlock JA., Andersen B. R. 2005.** *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Stadhouders H. 2011.** “The Pharmacopoeial Handbook *Šammu šikinšu* - An Edition”, *JMC* 18, 3-51.
- Stadhouders H. 2012.** “The Pharmacopoeial Handbook *Šammu šikinšu* - A Translation”, *JMC* 19, 1-21.
- Stadhouders H. 2018.** “The Unfortunate Frog: On Animal and Human Bondage in K 2581 and Related Fragments with Excursuses on BM 64526 and YOS XI, 3”, *RA* 112, 159-176.
- Stadhouders H. Johnson J. C. 2018.** “A Time to Extract and a Time to Compile: The Therapeutic Compendium Tablet BM 78963”, in S.V. Panayotov and L. Vacin, *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honour of Markham J. Geller*, Ancient Magic Divination 14, 556-622.
- Stahl S., Briley M. 2004.** “Understanding pain in depression”, *Human Psychopharmacology* 19 Suppl 1: S9-S13.
- Starr I. 1990.** *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA 4, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Steinert U. 2012.** *Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien: Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, Cuneiform Monographs 44, Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Steinert U. 2016.** *Körperwissen, Tradition und Innovation in der babylonischen Medizin*, Paragrana, Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Anthropologie 25(1), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 195-254.
- Steinert U. 2018.** “The Assur Medical Catalogue”, in U. Steinert (ed.), *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic, and Divination*, BAM 9, Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 203-291.
- Steinert U., Panayotov S. V., Geller M. J., Schmidtchen E., Johnson J. C. 2018.** “AMC Text Edition”, in U. Steinert, *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic, and Divination*, BAM 9, Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 209-219.
- Streck M. P. 1997.** *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit*, AOAT 271, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Stol M. 1993.** *Epilepsy in Babylonia*, Cuneiform Monographs 2, Groningen: Styx Publications.
- Stol M. 1998.** “Einige kurze Wortstudien”, in S. Maul (ed.), *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994, tikip santakki mala bašmu...*, Cuneiform Monographs 10, Groningen: Styx Publications, 343-352.
- Stol M. 1999.** “Psychosomatic Suffering in Ancient Mesopotamia”, in T. Abusch, K. Van Der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic. Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives*, Ancient Magic Divination 1, Groningen: Styx Publications, 57-68.
- Stol M. 2009a.** “Insanity in Babylonian Sources”, *JMC* 13, 1-12.
- Stol M. 2009b.** “‘To Be Ill’ in Akkadian: The Verb *salā’u* and the Substantive *sili’tu*”, in A. Attia, G. Buisson (eds.), *Advances in Mesopotamian medicine from Hammurabi to Hippocrates proceedings of the International Conference ‘œil malade et mauvais œil’*, Collège de France, Paris, 23rd June 2006, Cuneiform Monographs 37, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 79-104.
- Thureau-Dangin F. 1922.** *Tablettes d’Uruk à l’usage des prêtres du Temple d’Anu au temps des Séleucides*, TCL 6, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Veldhuis N. 1999.** The Poetry of Magic, in T. Abusch, K. van de Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretive Perspectives*, Ancient Magic Divination 1, Groningen: Styx, 35-48.

- Von Soden W. 1995.** *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, AnOr 33, Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Weidner E. F. 1922.** *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi IV*, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
- Wee J. Z.-E. 2012.** *The Practice of Diagnosis in Mesopotamian Medicine: With Editions of Commentaries on the Diagnostic Series Sa-gig*, PhD. Dissertation, Yale University.
- Weier von E. 1983.** *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk II*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Wilhelm G. 1994.** *Medizinische Omina aus Hattuša in Akkadischer Sprache*, StBoT 36, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Winitzer A. 2017.** *Early Mesopotamian Divination Literature: Its Organizational Framework and Generative and Paradigmatic Characteristics*, Ancient Magic Divination 12. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Worthington M. 2003.** “A Discussion of Aspects of the UGU Series”, *JMC* 2, 2-13.
- Worthington M. 2005.** “Edition of UGU 1 (=BAM 480 etc.)”, *JMC* 5, 6-43.
- Worthington M. 2009.** “Some notes on medical information outside the medical corpora”, in A. Attia, G. Buisson (eds.), *Advances in Mesopotamian Medicine from Hammurabi to Hippocrates: Proceedings of the International Conference ‘Œil malade et mauvais œil’, Collège de France, Paris, 23rd June 2006*, Cuneiform Monographs 37, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 47-78.
- Zucconi L. M. 2007.** “Mesopotamian Healers as Diviners”, *JMC* 10, 19-33.

#### Online sites consulted:

- ARCHIBAB**, Archives babyloniennes (XXe-XVIIe siècles av. J.-C.), <http://www.archibab.fr>
- BabMed**, Babylonische Medizin, <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/index.html>
- CDLI**, Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>
- CMAwR**, Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro/corpus>
- Medical dictionary online**, <https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/clinical+diagnosis>
- MEDLINE**, <https://medlineplus.gov/ency/article/003200.htm>
- SAA**, State Archive of Assyria Online, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saa/corpus>

#### Addenda:

- Three references have been forgotten in the bibliography in **Attia A. 2018.** “Mieux vaut être riche et bien portant que pauvre et malade”, *JMC* 31, 67-88:
- Appelboom T., Cogan E., Klusterskyn J. 2007.** “Job of the Bible: Leprosy or Scabies?” *Mount Sinai Journal of Medicine* 74(1), 36-39.
- Groneberg B. 2002.** “‘The Faithful Lover’ Reconsidered: Towards Establishing a new Genre”, in S. Parpola, R.M. Whiting (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001*, Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 165-183.
- Held M. 1961.** “A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue”, *JNES* 15(1), 1-26.

## COMITÉ DE LECTURE

Tzvi Abusch, Robert Biggs, Barbara Böck, Dominique Charpin, Jean-Marie Durand, Irving Finkel, Markham Geller, Nils Heeßel, Stefan Maul, Strahil Panayotov, Daniel Schwemer, JoAnn Scurlock, Henry Stadhouders, Ulrike Steinert, Marten Stol.

## COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION

Annie Attia, Gilles Buisson, Martin Worthington.

## CONSEILS AUX AUTEURS

Les articles sont publiés sous la responsabilité de leurs auteurs.

Les auteurs doivent envoyer leur manuscrit sous format A4 par courrier électronique.

Les auteurs peuvent rédiger leurs articles dans une langue européenne en étant conscients que l'utilisation des langues de grande diffusion facilitera la compréhension par une majorité de lecteurs.

Les articles peuvent aller de quelques lignes à plusieurs pages. Les articles volumineux pourront faire l'objet d'une parution en un ou plusieurs numéros.

Un résumé de l'article est souhaité.

Les manuscrits pour publication sont à envoyer à l'adresse suivante :

AZUGAL c/o Dr Gilles Buisson, 14 rue de la Salle, 78100 Saint Germain En Laye, France.

e-mail : gilles.buisson9@orange.fr

## ABONNEMENTS

Le prix de l'abonnement (deux numéros par an) est de :

25 euros pour un envoi en France

30 euros pour un envoi en Europe.

35 euros pour un envoi dans d'autres pays.

**Paiement par virement bancaire**, à l'ordre d'AZUGAL sur le compte suivant :

(IBAN) FR76 1820 6004 4339 3711 4300 148, (BIC) AGRIFRPP882.

**Paiement par chèque**, libellé à l'ordre d'AZUGAL :

- en euros, compensable en France,

- en euros, compensable à l'étranger, ajouter 20 euros pour les frais bancaires,

- en devises autres que l'euro, établir la conversion, au taux de change en vigueur, de la somme correspondant à l'abonnement, majorée de 50 euros de frais et commissions de banque.

Les chèques doivent être envoyés à l'adresse suivante :

AZUGAL, c/o Dr Gilles Buisson, 14 rue de la Salle, 78100 Saint Germain En Laye, France.

## MENTIONS LÉGALES

Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes est publié par Azugal, association loi 1901 sans but lucratif, 14 rue de la Salle, 78100 Saint-Germain-En-Laye, représentée par A. Attia.

Imprimeur : Cydergies, 208 avenue Roland Garros, BP 136, 78531 Buc Cedex. Dépôt légal : 01-2020. ISSN 1761-0583. Directrice de la publication : A. Attia, responsable de la rédaction : G. Buisson, secrétaire de rédaction : M. Worthington.