

Le Journal des Médecines

2014 n°24



Cuneiformes

- Page 1 Some remarks on Sa-gig I and its commentaries
András Bácskay, Réka Esztári, Krisztián Simkó
- Page 11 Towards a reconstruction of SUALU IV:
Can we localize K 2386+ in the therapeutic corpus?
J. Cale Johnson
- Page 39 Masturbation in Babylonia
Marten Stol
- Page 41 KTU 1.124 Revisited: A Second Opinion
Wilfred G.E. Watson, Nicolas Wyatt

Some remarks on Sa-gig I and its commentaries¹

András Bácskay, Réka Esztári and Krisztián Simkó

Introduction

The largest corpus of diagnostic commentaries originates from the late period of Uruk, where it belonged to the archive of Anu-ikšur (4th century B.C.E.).² Even though these commentaries are of rather fragmentary condition, it seems that each of them interprets a single tablet of Sa-gig. As far as their colophons are concerned, they do not make remarks on the commented original texts, but some commentaries contain technical terms referring to the fragmentary state or illegibility of the copied tablet.³

The structure of each diagnostic commentary is the same: the quotation of the lemma is followed by the separate explanations. The quoted lemma is generally either the entire *protasis* or only a part of it, while sometimes also the *apodosis* is commented on.⁴ The explanations of commentary texts are ordered by the source text line by line, but they do not comment on every single line or all omens of Sa-gig. The diagnostic commentaries use common exegetic methods, that is, lexical synonym chains, antonyms and quotations from scientific texts (e.g., Šumma ālu, liver omens, etc.), as well as from literary compositions (e.g., Gilgameš, Erra, etc.).⁵ However, it can be seen that their interpretations are frequently based on various astronomical texts.⁶

In his monograph E. Frahm argues that a great number of commentary tablets were copied from older originals, and he supposes that the parallel explanations from various commentary tablets can be seen as an evidence for the canonisation process of the commentaries themselves.⁷ Regarding the diagnostic commentaries, parallel passages or duplicates have been identified only in the case of the first tablet of Sa-gig.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, we present the results of our investigations concerning the textual and orthographical differences between the various manuscripts of Sa-

¹ The list of abbreviations can be found in the volumes of *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, except for CAMS, that is, *Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship* (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams>).

² For the publication of the commentary tablets from Uruk see SpTU 1, 34-50 and plates 27-42; Wee 2012. The archival context of the tablets was discussed by Frahm 2011, 291-294.

³ The technical term (*hepi*), which refers to the fragmentary condition of the original tablet is included in the following commentaries: [... ^{he}-^{pi}] (SpTU 1, 29 rev. 29); [^{he}-^{pi}] ^{es-sū} (SpTU 1, 29 rev. 30); *šal-šū* : ^{he}-^{pi} ^{es-sū} (SpTU 1, 38 obv. 20). Similar terms, referring to the illegibility of the original tablet are *ina im nu igi* (*ina tuppi la āmir*) = “it is not seen on the tablet” (SpTU 1, 32 rev. 4 and 50 rev. 30) or *ina dub nu di* (*ina tuppi la šalim*) = “it is not preserved on the tablet” (SpTU 1, 83 rev 4 and 10); see Frahm 2011, 40 n. 148; Gabbay 2012, 284-285.

⁴ When the *apodosis* is commented on, our commentaries frequently deal with various demons as the cause for diseases, as well as with specific medical terms. For example, the following commentary interprets the term “Hand of Maiden Lilith” as cause for fever: (The lemma) “Hand of Maiden Lilith (means) *la’ābu*-illness (to infect) (it means) which Lillû-(demon) leaves to him (to the patient), *la’ābu*-illness (means) *li’bu* -illness (it is like) *zi’pu*-illness” (SpTU 1, 30 obv. 6-7).

⁵ While the general exegetic methods of commentary texts are well described (see Cavigneaux 1987; Maul 1999; Frahm 2011, 59–79 and recently Gabbay 2012), much less has been written about the specific interpretative methods of medical commentary texts. So far only individual medical commentary texts were treated in detail in some recent essays: M. J. Geller elaborated a commentary tablet from Uruk (SpTU 1, 51), which explains medical terms of an unidentified therapeutic tablet concerning dermatological problems (Geller forthcoming); A. Bácskay dealt with a commentary tablet from Sippar (BAM 4, 401), which contains the explanation of an unidentified therapeutic tablet against diarrhoea (Bácskay forthcoming).

⁶ The astronomical aspect of diagnostic texts is discussed by Heeßel (2000, 111-117); the importance of astronomy regarding a tablet from Uruk was recently discussed by Geller (2010, 25-59).

⁷ Frahm 2011, 333.

gig I and their commentaries. Second, we intend to give new interpretations on some entries of the Sa-gig I commentaries, not having been suggested earlier.

The manuscripts of Sa-gig I and their commentaries

The first tablet of the diagnostic omen series is known from eight manuscripts together with five commentary texts. Instead of discussing all these texts individually, two tables containing the necessary information have been prepared. Based on the third and fourth columns of Table 1, it can easily be established that the manuscripts of Sa-gig I have not been labelled consistently in the scholarly literature. As for the first six manuscripts, the present paper follows the system of George 1991, the seventh and eighth manuscripts, identified by Heeßel,⁸ are labelled here as Ms. G and Ms. H, respectively.

Museum no.	First publication	George 1991	Heeßel 2000	Place within Sa-gig I	Provenance	Tablet Type	Date
A 3439a+b	Geers 1926	Ms. A	Ms. B	1-50	Uruk ⁹	one-column tablet	NB ⁹
VAT 14536	LKU 69	Ms. B	Ms. G	4, 26-29, 32-33, 35-39, 44-45, 47	Uruk	fragment	late NB, early Ach. ¹⁰
IM 77038	SpTU 3, 87	Ms. C	Ms. C	1-16	Uruk	extract	LB
BM 38362	George 1991	Ms. D	Ms. A	1-28, 28a, 29-50	Babylon	one-column tablet	NB ¹¹
BM 54629(+)	George 1991	Ms. E	Ms. E	5-13, 15-30, 33-50	Abu Habbah or Babylon ¹²	re-joined from many fragments ¹³	LB
D-Š 32-15	unpublished	Ms. F	Ms. D	1-50	Khorsabad	?	NA
BM 53683	unpublished	-	Ms. F	5-11	Abu Habbah ¹⁴	fragment	LB ¹⁵
BM 50734	unpublished	-	Ms. H	20-22	Abu Habbah [?]	fragment	LB ¹⁶

Table 1: Sa-gig I manuscripts

⁸ Heeßel 2000, 139.

⁹ George 1991, 138 n. 9.

¹⁰ LKU p. 1.

¹¹ George 1991, 137.

¹² George 1991, 138-139 n. 9.

¹³ George 1991, 138 n. 4.

¹⁴ CBT VI, p. xxxii.

¹⁵ CBT VI, p. 116.

¹⁶ CBT VI, p. 41.

Unlike these eight manuscripts, the commentaries on Sa-gig I have been labelled identically by different authors, as shown in Table 2.

Museum no.	First publication	Cavigneaux 1982	George 1991	Heeße 2000	Frahm 2011	Provenance	Tablet type	Date
AO 17661	Durand 1979	A	a	a	a	Nippur	“long tablet” ¹⁷	Ach. ¹⁸
IM 74357	SpTU 1, 27	B	b	b	b	Uruk	one-column tablet	Ach
IM 74374	SpTU 1, 28	C	c	c	c	Uruk	fragment	Ach
W 22666/1c	SpTU 5, 256	-	-	d	d	Uruk	fragment	LB
S.U. 51/70	STT 403	-	-	e	e	Sultantepe	long tablet with two sub-columns	NA

Table 2: Commentaries on Sa-gig I

As was already observed by George,¹⁹ the known manuscripts of Sa-gig I and the related commentaries represent two different versions of the same text according to the sequence of the individual entries. While his “standard version” is attested by Mss. C, D and F,²⁰ that can be paired with commentary *a*. The “variant version” is represented by Mss. A, B, E, and the two commentaries *b* and *c*. Our investigation concentrated not only on the ordering of the entries in the individual Sa-gig tablets and the commentaries attached to them, but also on orthographic differences observable in each manuscript. The survey has basically confirmed George’s thesis about the existence of two different versions or traditions of Sa-gig I. After the comparison of orthographical particularities of the manuscripts it became obvious for us that while the overall structure of commentary *a* follows the tradition the “standard version”, its orthography often differs from the manuscripts belonging to this version. On the other hand commentary *b*, representing the “variant version”, shows closer orthographical similarities to the textual tradition of Ms. D (i.e., “standard version”). The notable correspondences between Ms. D and the Uruk commentary *b* can be seen at least in five cases, where the lemmata of the commentary *b* are more closely related to the textual tradition transmitted by Ms. D: for instance šu ^dNin-urta is used instead of šu ^dMAŠ or šu ^dIš₈-tár instead of šu ^dXV. (The *Partitur* of the relevant manuscripts can be found in Appendix)

Based on these observations the conclusion can be drawn that the actual source text commented on by com. *b* might represent a tradition that was not only familiar with but also elaborated and amalgamated by both versions.

¹⁷ Comm. *a* rev. 24: im-gì-da ^{m.d}En-líl-en-šú-nu ^{lú}maš-maš [tur[?]]. See George 1991, 152 and Frahm 2011, 221.

¹⁸ Oelsner 1982: 94-95.

¹⁹ Who, by means of the textual evidence, affirmed the hypothesis of A. Cavigneaux, who in turn already assumed the existence of two different textual traditions, see George 1991, 138–139.

²⁰ Unfortunately we had no opportunity to analyse Ms. F, which contains the whole text of Sa-gig I (see George 1991, 138 note 5 and 141 with note 18; Heeßel 2000, 139), therefore we had to rely on the observations of George, who connected its line ordering to his standard version.

New interpretations of some entries of the Sa-gig I commentaries

Sa-gig I 13

diš gu₄ babbar igi gig bi šu dingir-šú : šu ^dNin-urta : šu ^dMaš-tab-ba na-qud là te-šú
“If he sees a white ox: that patient (is suffering from) the Hand of his God; (or) the Hand of Ninurta; (or) the Hand of the Divine Twins; he is dangerously sick, one must not go near him.”

Com. *b*, the single commentary text which contains the explanation of this entry, tends to associate the ox of the *protasis* with the god Ninurta (first, quoting the lemma in Obv. 23, written as ^dMaš, but then as ^dNin-urta in the course of the interpretation in line 24), by means of, according to George, an obscure literary (?) quotation.²¹ The linking of the key expressions might shed light on the original correlation between the *protasis* and *apodosis* of Sa-gig I l. 13. The attributive *babbar* was written with the sign UD, a common Sumerian equivalent of the Akkadian adjective *ellu* (‘clean, pure’).²² Although it is unknown to the lexical tradition, in certain, very rare instances the Sumerian literary texts identify the latter word with the verb *maš*.²³ This term was in turn used for the name of Ninurta, and also appears in the name of the other deities of the *apodosis*, as the first element of ^dMaš-tab-ba. Therefore, one could suppose that, if the latter denotation of the sign MAŠ was known to the learned Urukian commentator, the *protasis-apodosis* string of Sa-gig I 13 was based on the common Akkadian equivalents of the graphemes used for the key Sumerian expressions of each part of this omen entry.

Sa-gig I 22

diš anše ème u₅-ma igi gig bi mu-tu u šu-ú ik-tap-pi-lu na-qud là te-šú
“If he sees a donkey mounting a jenny: that patient and death are intertwined; he is dangerously sick, one must not go near him.”

The following explanation can be found only in one commentary text:

[*mu-tu*]-^ru^r šu-ú ik-ta-pi-lu : la-ga : anše : la-ga : *la nap-tu-ru*²⁴

George interpreted *la-ga* as a logogram and translated it as “not to be released”, referring to the interpretation of Durand who suggested that *la-ga* contains a phonetic variant of the sign GAB.²⁵ The lexical part of the verb *paṭāru* in CAD includes the lexical reference *GÁ = pa-ta^r-rum^r* from Proto-Aa, which, in turn, should be complemented with the even more relevant equation of the preceding line, according to which: *gi = GÁ = nap-t[^ru-ru]*²⁶ Based on the latter we suppose that the sign GA is probably a phonetic variant for *GÁ*, according to the well-known explanatory method, the homophony of the two logograms. In consideration of this interpretation we suggest the following transliteration: *la ga : la nap-tu-ru*.

²¹ See George 1991, 156.

²² For the numerous lexical equations see CAD E 102, sub. *ellu*.

²³ See ePSD sub. *maš* with Sallaberger 2006, 424.

²⁴ Com. *b*. rev. 8, restored by George 1991, 148.

²⁵ Durand 1979, 161 n. 28.

²⁶ See MSL 14 101: 728: 9-10.

Sa-gig I 30.

diš dingir *sah-ḫi-ra* igi šu (var.: siḡ^{is}) ^dMaš-tab-ba

If he sees a “Prowling god”: (the patient is suffering from) the Hand (var.: Stroke) of the Divine Twins.²⁷

Sa-gig I 30 mentioning the “roaming god” (*ilu saḫḫiru*) is commented on by four different commentaries: com. *a* rev. 2-5, com. *b* rev. 13-17, com. *c* rev. 4’ and com. *d* 4’-6’. Instead of explaining the individual entries of all four commentaries, done already by Cavigneaux and George,²⁸ attention needs to be paid to the fact that the first item the “roaming god” is equated with in com. *a* rev. 2, is still not known to us because of the fragmentary state of the passage. On the basis of the prominent role Lātarāk plays in com. *b* and *c*, George posed the question if there is enough room for this word in the fragmentary part of com. *a*.²⁹ Another possible text reconstruction can be based on the comparison of com. *a* with the recently identified com. *d* that was discussed by Frahm as follows: “The fragment (=com. *d*) is another testimony to the intellectual contacts that existed between Nippur and Uruk during the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic periods. What is preserved of it duplicates the Nippur commentary Ms. a (=com. *a*), even though SBTU 5, 256 does not follow the former table sign by sign (...).³⁰

If the relevant lines of these two commentaries are compared, the following suggestive picture arises:

com. a rev.

2. diš dingir *sah-ḫi-ri* igi : *lu-u* ^{r^d} [Bēlet-ilī]

3. *lu-u ur-gu-la-a lu-u* ^d*Gaz-ba-ba* : šá-niš un-na-niš-šú : ^dmar-d[ù]

4. ^{lú}an-na-ba-ti : ^{lú} ^{giš}kéš-da : nin nun-gal-e-ne : ^reš-še^r-bu-u

5. *ri-*^rkis^r ^dNa-ru-du

com. d

4’. [šumma ili saḫḫiri īmur : lū] ^{r^d} Be-let dingir.meš *lu-ú*

5’. [Urgulú lū Gazbaba : šaniš] un-na-niš^r-šú : ^{lú}an-ni-ba-t[i]

6’. [^{lú} ^{giš}kéš-da : nin nun-gal-e]-^rne^r : eš-še-bu-ú : *ri-kis* ^dNa-r[u-du]

Apart from some minor orthographical differences, com. *d* differs from com. *a* in omitting ^dMar-dù (l. 5’) and mentioning Bēlet-ilī at the beginning of the passage.³¹ The reason for the appearance of the mother goddess is not easy to explain,³² but if we take into consideration Frahm’s above quoted remark on the duplicate nature of these two commentary texts, she seems to be the first item the “roaming god” is equated with in these texts.

²⁷ For the translation of the line see George 1991, 145.

²⁸ Cavigneaux 1982, 238; George 1991, 158-159.

²⁹ George 1991, 158.

³⁰ Frahm 2011, 223.

³¹ It is worth mentioning that line 4’ of com. *d* containing the name of Bēlet-ilī cannot belong to the preceding unit (lines 2’-3’), for this unit is parallel to com. *a* rev. 1-2, and treats Sa-gig I l. 26.

a rev. 1. diš []-su : gir ra-ra : *ra-ha-šu* : gir : še-e-pi : r[a]

d 2’. [] ge[r^r-ra-r[a^a]

a rev. 2. šá-niš ^dUd-dè-anše : hād-da : ^dIškur

d 3’. šá-niš Ud-dè-^dr^r []

³² For possible explanations see Wee 2012, 541-542.

Sa-gig I 32

diš *suk-ku-ka* igi šu ^d*Nergal*(U.GUR): šu ^dUtu

“If he sees a deaf man: (the patient is suffering from) the Hand of Nergal; (or) the Hand of Šamaš.”

Regarding the link between the *protasis* and the *apodosis* of this entry, i.e. more specifically the deaf man (*sukkuku*) and the hand of Nergal (^dU.GUR), beyond the association which is based on a horoscope text (TCL 6, 14) quoted by both mss. *a* and *b*, commentary *a*, taking the also quoted Šumma izbu IV 38 as its basis,³³ offers a further, rather elaborate explanation concerning the association between the *apodosis* and the god Nergal, as follows:

Com. *a* 36–38:

iz-bi uznā(geštu)^{min}-*a-šú ki-la-at-ta-an l[ā(ba-ra) pal]šā*(būr)^{meš!}
mi-qit-tu₄ Dúr^{du-ur}-giš-lu-ú ibašši(gál)^{ši} : *Dúr-giš-lu-ú* : D[ur[?]-giš[?]]-lam[?] Nibru^{ki?}
Dúr-giš-lu-ú : *Nippuru*(Nibru)^{ki}-ú : *áš-šú^d Nergal*(U.GUR) :

“(If) both earholes of a newborn child are lacking, the downfall of Durgišlû will come to pass’ : Durgišlû: *Durgišlam*, *Nibru* = Durgišlû, Nippur; on account of Nergal.”

As was already observed by Durand and later affirmed by George,³⁴ apropos of the rare toponym *Durgišlû* (Sumerian *Dur-gišlam*), the above interpretation contains a vertical quotation from Erimhuš, according to which:³⁵

Dur-giš-lam-ma	=	<i>Dur-giš-lam</i>
Nibru ^{ki}	=	<i>Ni-ip-puru-ú</i>
Ki-in-gi ^{ki}	=	<i>Šu-me-ru-ú</i>

Beyond that, the significance of this variant name of the town Nippur in respect to Nergal was unknown to both authors. However, considering the first element (d u r / d ú r) either as an equivalent of the Akkadian *šubtu* (‘abode’),³⁶ or rather, alternatively as a *status constructus* form of the Akkadian word *dūru*, which in turn could generally refer to the enclosures / sacred precincts of temples,³⁷ one might propose a possible association. Reading the sign GIŠ as mīš or meš_x in the Sumerian form,³⁸ the expression *dūr-Miš/Meš_x-lam* might recall the popular name which used to refer to various temples of the god Nergal.³⁹ In other words, the commentator of com. *a* might have demonstrated the relevance of the Šumma izbu *apodosis* to the Sa-gig entry in question by the homophony of the alternative reading of the toponym *Durgišlû* /*Dur-gišlam* with the names of the temples of Nergal, houses of the “Warrior of the Netherworld”.

³³ Cf. Durand 1979, 164 with note 44 and George 1991, 160.

³⁴ See the preceding note.

³⁵ Erimhuš V 21-23, see MSL 7, 67.

³⁶ As it was already noted by Durand, see Durand 1979, *ibid*, with: *dúr* = *šub-tum* (STC 2, pl. 54, rev. ii 16, commentary on Enūma eliš VII 96), and see also: *kúr dūr* = *nu-uk-kur šub-tum* (CT 41, 33 K. 118:20, Šumma-ālu comm.).

³⁷ See CAD D 196, sub. *dūru* A mng. 4b.

³⁸ Compare MZL 130 with MSL 9 11 a4 190 (glossed as me-iš).

³⁹ George 1993, 126–127, é-mes/meš-lam 1,2 and 4 (802, 803 and 805), and compare Hammurapi Year 40: *šanat* (mu) *mi-iš-la-mi* (see Horsnell 1999, Vol. II, 162, no. 142, with note 133).

References

- Bácskay, András (forthcoming): Interpretation of a medical commentary text BAM 401. In: Zoltán Csabai (ed.), *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas* (Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies 2). Pécs – Budapest: L'Harmattan.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine 1982: Remarques sur les commentaires à Labat TDP I. *JCS* 34: 231-241.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine 1987: Aux sources du Midrash: l'hermeneutique babylonienne. *AuOr* 5: 243-255.
- Durand, Jean-Marie 1979: Un commentaire a TDP I, AO 17661. *RA* 73: 153-170.
- Frahm, Eckart 2011: *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries. Origins of Interpretation* (GMTR 5). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Gabbay, Uri 2012: Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis. *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19: 267-312.
- Geers, Frederick W. 1926: A Babylonian Omen Text. *AJSL* 43: 22-41.
- Geller, Markham J. 2010: *Ancient Babylonian Medicine. Theory and Practice*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Geller Markham J. (forthcoming): A Case of Babylonian Medical Hermeneutics (manuscript).
- George, Andrew 1991: Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens, Tablet I. *RA* 85: 137-163.
- George, Andrew 1993: *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (MC 5). Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Heeßel, Nils P. 2000: *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik* (AOAT 43). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Horsnell, Malcolm John Albert 1999: *The Year-names of the First Dynasty of Babylon: With a Catalogue of the Year-names from Sumuabum to Samsuiluna*. 2 vols. Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University Press.
- Maul, Stefan 1999: Das Wort im Worte. Orthographie und Etymologie als hermeneutische Verfahren babylonischer Gelehrter. In: Glenn W. Most (Hrsg.), *Commentaries – Kommentare* (Aporemata 4). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1-18.
- Oelsner, Joachim 1982: Spätachämenidische Texte aus Nippur. *RA* 76: 94-95.
- Sallaberger, Walther (Hrsg.) 2006: *Leipzig-Münchener sumerischer Zettelkasten*. München. http://www.assyriologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/sumglossar/zettelkasten2006_09.pdf
- Wee, John Zhu-En 2012: *The Practice of Diagnosis in Mesopotamian Medicine: With Editions of Commentaries on the Diagnostic Series Sa-gig*. Yale University (unpublished doctoral dissertation).

Appendix

Textual and orthographic similarities and differences between Sa-gig I ms. D and commentaries *a* and *b*.

For the sake of clarity and simplicity, instead of giving a full score transliteration of the relevant entries, the analysis presented below is restricted to the lemmata of ms. D and their quotation in the commentaries in question. However, the line numbering of the latter ones, which is in itself also relevant regarding to the correspondences between the main text and the commentaries, refers to the whole commentary entry. The notable correspondences between the sequence of the entries and the textual variants of the given texts, respectively, are marked with bold type.

Sa-gig I 1

ms. D obv. 1. *e-nu-ma ana é^{lú}gig ka-pìrig du-ku*
ms. *a* (obv. 1-3a) [diš] [e]-[nu-ma] [ka]-pirig
ms. *b* –

Sa-gig I 2

ms. D obv. 2. [diš] *ina sila šika zaq-pa igi [gig] bi na-qud là te-šú*
ms. *a* (obv. 3b-6a) diš *ina sila šika zaq-pa igi [gig] [bi] [na-qud] là te-šú*
ms. *b* (obv. 1-5) broken

Sa-gig I 3

ms. D (obv. 3) [KI]. [UD].BA : [nam-érim] : *ú-zab-bal-ma*
ms. *a* (obv. 6b-10) diš [KI].UD.[BI] [igi nam-érim dab]- [su]
ms. *b* (obv. 6-11a) KI.UD.BA : nam-érim: [ú]-za-bal-ma

Sa-gig I 4

ms. D (obv. 4) sig₄-[al]-ùr-ra igi gig bi ba-úš
ms. *a* (obv. 11-13a) diš [sig₄]-al-ùr-ra igi
ms. *b* (rv. 21b-23a) sig₄-al-ùr-ra igi gig úš

Sa-gig I 6

ms. D (obv. 6) šaḥ ge₆ igi gig bi ba-úš pap-ḥal^{meš}-ma ti
ms. *a* (obv. 13b-17a) šaḥ [ge₆] [igi] : [pap-ḥal^{meš}]- [ma] tin-uṭ
ms. *b* (obv. 12b-16a) šaḥ ge₆ igi gig bi úš : *uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma tin*

Sa-gig I 7

ms. D (obv. 7) m^íkalag-ga
ms. *a* –
ms. *b* (obv. 16b-17a) m^íkalag-ga

Sa-gig I 9

ms. D (obv. 9) šaḥ **gùn-a** igi [a-ga?]- [nu]-til-la-a
ms. *a* (obv. 17b-18) diš bu¹(BA)-ri-ma-<mu[?]> ÚŠ[?] igi: *a-ga-nu-til-la-a*
ms. *b* (obv. 17b-23a) šaḥ **gùn** igi: *a-ga-n[u-ti]l-la-a*

Sa-gig I 13

ms. D (obv. 13) gu₄ babbar [igi šu dingir-šú :] šu ^dNin-urta : šu ^dMaš-tab-ba
ms. *a* –
ms. *b* (obv. 23b-24a) [gu₄ babbar] [igi] gig bi šu¹ ^d[MAŠ]

Sa-gig I 15

ms. D (obv. 15) gu₄ **gùn-a** igi ^dDìm-me dab-su
ms. *a* (obv. 19-20a) diš gu₄ [gùn]-a igi gig bi ^dDìm-me dab-su
ms. *b* (obv. 24b-29) gu₄ gùn igi gig bi [^dDìm]-[me] dab-su

Sa-gig I 16

ms. D (obv. 16)

ms. a (obv. 20b-24)

ms. b (obv. 30-rv. 1)

diš gu₄ si-šú šub-*ma* igidiš gu₄ si-šú šub-*ma* igi

broken

Sa-gig I 18

ms. D (obv. 18)

ms. a –

ms. b (rv. 5)

gu₄ *ik-kip-šu na-qud là te-šú*[gu₄ *ik*]- [*kip*]-šú gig bi *na-qud là te-šú***Sa-gig I 19**

ms. D (obv. 19)

ms. a –

ms. b (rv. 6-7a)

si gu₄ igi gig bi úš[si gu₄] [igi] gig bi úš**Sa-gig I 21**

ms. D (obv. 21)

ms. a (obv. 25)

ms. b –

líl-*ma**is-sa-al-la-['-ma]***Sa-gig I 22**

ms. D (obv. 22)

ms. a (obv. 26-27)

ms. b (rv. 7b-9a)

anše ème u₅-*ma* igi gig bi *mu-tu u [šu-ú ik]-tap-pi-lu**ik-tap-pi-lu*anše ème u₅-*ma* igi gig bi [*mu-tu*] u *šu-ú ik-tap-pi-lu***Sa-gig I 23**

ms. D (obv. 23)

ms. a –

ms. b (rv. 9b)

šu dam [lú]

šu dam na

Sa-gig I 26

ms. D (obv. 26)

ms. a (rv. 1-2a)

ms. b (rv. 10a)

anše ra-*su*diš [anše ra]-*su*[anše] [ra]-*su***Sa-gig I 30**

ms. D (obv. 30)

ms. a (rv. 2b-5a)

ms. b (rv. 13b-17a)

[dingir] *sa-ḫi-ra* igidiš dingir *sa-ḫi-ri* igidingir *sa-ḫi-ra***Sa-gig I 31**

ms. D (rv. 1)

ms. a (rv. 5b-7)

ms. b (rv. 10b-12a)

[*mah-ḫa*]-[*a*] igi šu ^dNin-[*urta*]diš *mah-ḫa-a* igi šu ^dMAŠ*mah-ḫa-a* igi šu ^dNin-*urta***Sa-gig I 32**

ms. D (rv.2)

ms. a (rv. 8-11a)

ms. b (rv. 20-21a)

suk-ku-[ku] igi šu ^dNergal (U.GUR)diš *suk-ku-ku* igi šu ^dNergal (U.GUR)[*suk-ku*]-*ku* igi : šu ^dNergal(U.GUR)**Sa-gig I 33**

ms. D (rv. 3)

ms. a (rv. 11b-13)

ms. b (rv. 17b-19)

lú [ba]-an-za igi šu ^dNin-*urta*diš lú ba-[an]-[za] igi [šu ^dMAŠ]lú ba-an-za igi šu ^dNin-*urta***Sa-gig I 36**

ms. D (rv.6)

ms. a (rv. 14)

ms. b –

diš [á zag]-šú *iz-qut-su*diš [á] 15-šú *iz-qut-su*

Sa-gig I 42

ms. D (rv.12)

šu-si gùb-šú gal [ik]-kip

ms. a –

ms. b (rv. 11b-12a)

šu-si 15-šú gal^{ti} ik-kip**Sa-gig I 44**

ms. D (rv. 14)

túg^gBAR. [dára] šu-lál

ms. a –

ms. b (rv. 12b-13a)

[túg^g]níg-dára [šu-lál]**Sa-gig I 46**

ms. D (rv. 16)

[^{giš}gigir] igi [šu] [^dIš₈]-[tár]

ms. a (rv. 15-16a)

[^{giš}] [gigir] igi šu ^dXV

ms. b (rv. 23b-26a)

^{giš}gigir igi šu ^dIš₈-[tár]**Sa-gig I 47**

ms. D (rv. 17)

[^{giš}gag-si-lá]

ms. a (rv. 16b-17a)

^{giš}gag-si-lá

ms. b (rv. 26b-27a)

^{giš}gag-si-[lá]**Sa-gig I 48**

ms. D (rv.18)

^{giš}mar-[gíd-da]

ms. a (rv. 17b-18a)

^{giš}[mar-gíd]-da

ms. b (rv. 27b-28)

^{giš}[mar]-[gíd-da]**Sa-gig I 49**

ms. D (rv. 19)

^{giš}gaba-gál-[la]

ms. a (rv. 18b-19)

^{giš}gaba-gál-la

ms. b (rv. 29-30)

broken

Towards a reconstruction of SUALU IV: Can we localize K 2386+ in the therapeutic corpus?

J. Cale Johnson (Freie Universität Berlin, jcale@zedat.fu-berlin.de)¹

Abstract

This paper argues that the well-known “fever” tablet K 2386+, the tablet that Stol used as the centerpiece of his discussion of his “Fevers in Babylonia” paper (Stol 2007), actually can be assigned to the fourth tablet of the therapeutic subcorpus known as SUALU. Although no direct join to the known pieces of SUALU IV has yet been identified, several different arguments suggest that K 2386+ should be located at the bottom of the first column of SUALU IV. This placement of K 2386+ in SUALU, a subcorpus that is otherwise largely concerned with diseases of the lower digestive tract and several forms of jaundice, raises a number of important questions as to the place of therapies against fever in the therapeutic corpus generally. The paper concludes with a discussion of mixed prognostic / therapeutic materials from the late second millennium BCE and their relationship to later diagnostic and therapeutic compendia.

Introduction

In this contribution I present a preliminary transliteration and translation of K 2386+ and then argue that this tablet can be assigned to the therapeutic subcorpus known as SUALU IV with relative certainty. The tablet is the result of numerous joins made sometime between Campbell Thompson’s publication of AMT in 1923 and his survey of “Assyrian Medical Prescriptions for Diseases of the Stomach,” published in 1929. K 2386+ is frequently cited in the dictionaries under one or another of its formerly disparate parts, but it is perhaps best known from the central role that it played in Stol’s masterful overview of fevers in Babylonian medicine (Stol 2007). Basing himself on Campbell Thompson’s 1929 survey, Stol offered a new translation of the text and a discussion of its contents, but no transliteration, nor did he attempt to locate it precisely within the Babylonian therapeutic corpus of the first millennium BCE. On the basis of detailed photographs as well as first hand collation of the original, a transliteration of K 2386+ is provided here along with a translation and a few preliminary comments, but I also pose the question of the location of K 2386+ within the therapeutic corpus. Although indisputable evidence is not yet available, three distinct pieces of evidence support my contention that K 2386+ was part of SUALU IV, the most badly broken section in the SUALU subcorpus. I should emphasize that this is a preliminary edition and that a revised edition and new handcopy of the tablet will appear in a BAM volume in preparation.²

¹ I would like to thank M. Geller for a detailed collation of K 2386+ in the British Museum as well as numerous comments on the contents of the texts as well as Ulrike Steinert for taking photographs of the K 2386+ and a number of other tablets in the British Museum. Thanks as well to Gilles Buisson who also suggested numerous improvements to the paper. References to the handcopies in BAM I through VI simply name the number of the tablet and omit the volume number, hence “BAM 574” instead of “BAM VI, 574”. BAM VII and future volumes, largely consisting of editions, include both volume and tablet numbers, viz. BAM VII, no. 37. Where copies are included in these latter volumes, the plate number on which the relevant copies are published should also be included in these references: BAM VII, no. 37 (pl. 27).

² It should also be noted that this paper is the first installment in what will be a series of preliminary editions stemming from the ERC-funded BabMed project in Berlin (2013–2018) and has benefited from the collaborative efforts of this new project.

The Location of SUALU within the Therapeutic Corpus

The Assyrian Catalogue of Medical Incipits in the Yale Collection, represented by the fragments YBC 7123, YBC 7146, YBC 7126 and YBC 7139, published by Gary Beckman and Benjamin Foster in the memorial volume for Abraham Sachs (Beckman and Foster 1988), is the key piece of evidence for organizing the therapeutic compendia of first millennium BCE Babylonia into coherent subcorpora. Franz Köcher makes no mention of these fragments, although we cannot exclude the possibility that he knew of them to one degree or another through informal channels. If he did not, however, we must assume that Köcher's working editions (including their incipits and catchlines) allowed him to assign tablets to their *correct* sequential position within his magnum opus, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (BAM). Either way, the materials from a particular subcorpus (as defined by the Yale Catalogue and/or the system of incipits and catchlines) tend to occur in relatively close proximity within BAM. The subcorpus that is of particular interest here is SUALU, a subcorpus first partially described in Küchler 1904: although Küchler refers to the subcorpus using the entire incipit, Köcher seems to be the first to speak of the subcorpus in abbreviated terms as *suālu* in the Inhaltsübersicht of BAM 1. In order to explain the localization of SUALU within the broader therapeutic corpus, we need to review the set of incipits preserved in the Yale Catalogue for both the five tablets assigned to the SUALU subcorpus as well as the immediately preceding six tablet subsection concerned with respiratory diseases, which I will refer to as ATEMWEGE. The part of the catalogue that corresponds to ATEMWEGE and SUALU in the Yale Catalogue (YBC 7146 = Beckman and Foster no. 9b), obv. lines 8'–15', can be reconstructed as follows:

Beckman and Foster no. 9b, obv. lines 8'–15'

ATEMWEGE ①②	8'. [① diš na <i>na-piš</i> kir ₄ -šú dugud:] ② diš na <i>gaba-su</i> gig- <i>at</i>
ATEMWEGE ③	9'. [③ diš na <i>gaba-su</i> sag.šà]-[šú ¹] maš.sìla.meš-šú gu ₇ .meš-šú
ATEMWEGE ④⑤	10'. [④ diš na <i>kúm-em ú-ga-na-ah</i>] : ⑤ diš na <i>su-a-lam</i> gig
ATEMWEGE ⑥	11'. [⑥ diš na <i>su-a-lam ha-ha</i>] <i>u ki-šir¹-te¹</i> <mur.meš> gig ³

	12'. [nígin 6 dub.meš diš na <i>na-piš</i> kir ₄ -šú dugud en diš na <i>ina</i>] [gìl.gíd mur.meš <i>ši-i-qi</i> ù lú.tur <i>su-alu</i> (URU) gig
--	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

SUALU ①②	13'. [① diš na <i>su-a-lam</i> gig <i>ana ki-is</i> šà gur]-[šú ¹]: ② diš na šà-šú gig
----------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

³ The interpolation of <mur.meš> follows BAM VI, p. xxiii, n. 46. See BAM 548 rev iv 14' as well as the last section in IM 132670 (Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 232, reference courtesy G. Buisson) for partial versions of the incipit, but it should be kept in mind that this incipit is not yet attested in this form.

⁴ The copy published by Beckman and Foster is broken along the vertical of the ŠÚ sign, but the end of the oblique is visible. This in combination with the parallel form in line 15' strongly support this reading. Likewise the idiom isolated in CAD T 259b 'to develop into (said of diseases)' also seems to regularly appear with the object pronoun. The problem with this generalization is that it does not apply to the text that this line in the catalogue is citing: BAM 574 (SUALU I) omits the object pronoun from both the incipit and the description of the series in the colophon: dub 1.kam diš na *su-a-lam* gig *ana ki-is* šà gur. The same goes for the reference to the series in BAM 575 (SUALU II), while BAM 578 (SUALU III) omits the series reference from its colophon. In the colophon of BAM 579 (SUALU V), however, we find the following: dub [5.kam diš na *su-a*]-[lam] gig *ana ki-is* šà gur-*šu*. Both Köcher's handcopy and the CDLI photo (P396196) confirm the presence of ŠU₁ at the end of the line and, since the incipit in BAM 574 (SUALU I) was immediately followed by the phrase *šu-ru-uš*^{gis} nam.tar, this suggests that the object pronoun was omitted from the incipit of BAM 574 by haplography. The

SUALU ③④⑤ 14'. [③ diš na sag šà-šú gu₇-šú : ④ diš na u₄.da kur]-*lid* :

⑤ diš na šà-šú kúm dab-*it*

15'. [nígin 5 dub.meš diš na *su-a-lam* gig *ana ki-is*] [šà¹] gur-šú en
tumu⁵ *iš-biṭ-su-ma*

We would expect a horizontal ruling following line 15', given the overall structure of the catalogue, but in fact the next horizontal ruling only comes after line 19'. The section following line 15' (and thus following the end of the SUALU subcorpus) raises a set of questions that are orthogonal to the issues raised here and will be dealt with in a separate paper.

In speaking of the five tablet subcorpus enumerated in lines 13' and 14' as SUALU we are following convention, since the incipit begins with diš na *su-a-lam* gig . . . “If a man suffers from the *suālu* disease . . .,” but it is actually quite misleading as incipits go, since the second half of the incipit reads *ana ki-is* šà gur “(and) it turns into *kīs libbi* disease.” In other words, the SUALU subcorpus begins at the point at which the respiratory disease known as *suālu* transforms itself into various other diseases involving the digestive tract and a number of different kinds of fevers. Thus nearly all of the discussion of the disease known as *suālu* occurs in ATEMWEGE tablets 4–6, while the subcorpus known as SUALU concerns itself with further complications of *suālu* as it moves deeper into the internal organs, but never discusses the *suālu* disease itself.⁶ Stol has argued that “[t]here are some indications that the Babylonians associated the lungs with the digestion of food,” (2006: 104) but only enchanted food seems to be related to lung disease and we do not understand how the Mesopotamian conceptualized these causal relations. The ordinary food in the texts edited in this paper are only associated with the epigastrium (sag šà / *rēš libbi*), the middle of the shoulder blades (murub₄ maš.sila^{II} / *naglabu*) and the stomach (šà / *karšu*), not with the windpipe (gi.gíd / *embūbu*) or lungs (mur / *hašū*).⁷

SUALU is actually among the best studied of the therapeutic subcorpora: Friedrich Kūchler's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin* (1904) was one of the first major studies of the therapeutic materials (including hand copies and editions of what are now known as BAM 574, BAM 575, and BAM 578, the key witnesses for SUALU I, II and III respectively), while more recently Collins' unpublished 1999 University of Chicago dissertation on medical incantations and Cadelli's unpublished 2000 Sorbonne dissertation re-edit the SUALU compendium in different ways.⁸ Cadelli's work is particularly important

original first line of SUALU I must have been diš na *su-a-lam* gig *ana ki-is* šà gur-šú šu-ru-uš^{8is} nam.tar šu-ru-uš^{8is} šu-še, but the first occurrence of ŠU between GUR and šu-ru-uš was accidentally omitted from BAM 574; this was repeated in the colophon of BAM 575 and only corrected in BAM 579.

⁵ The logogram for ‘wind’ is traditionally {im}, with {tumu} taken as its Emesal equivalent (Landsberger and Civil 1967: 119–121). But in recent years some new evidence has emerged that may suggest that {tumu} was the correct reading for ‘wind’ in both forms of Sumerian (Cavigneaux 1993: 102–103; Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1995: 44; Alster 2007: 77). The adoption of {tumu} as a conventional logogram for IM in the sense of ‘wind’ also allows for a straightforward differentiation of the logograms for ‘wind’ and ‘clay’.

⁶ Capital letters will be consistently used here to designate the SUALU compendium, while lowercase *suālu* will designate the disease.

⁷ Only the reference to mur.meš gig-*ma* in SUALU IV 14 is an exception to this statement; it is also the only occurrence of *hašū* in the entire SUALU sub-corpus according to Cadelli's edition.

⁸ Elements of SUALU are also discussed quite extensively in the early papers of Erich Ebeling (1921) and R. Campbell Thompson (1929), and various sections of SUALU are dealt with in Scurlock and Andersen 2005:

SUALU I (BAM 574) on p. 124

SUALU II (BAM 575) on pp. 48, 54, 119, 129, 131, 288, 300 and 382

SUALU III (BAM 578) on pp. 129, 134, 136, 139 and 192

since it offers a transliteration, transcription and French translation of all five tablets of SUALU, to the degree that she was able to reconstruct them. In contrast to the five tablets of SUALU, the six tablets of the respiratory compendium ATEMWEGE are much more poorly known, largely because they are exceedingly fragmentary and have not yet been reconstructed.⁹

The reason that SUALU has garnered so much attention, as opposed to other parts of the therapeutic corpus, is that four of its five tablets are relatively well preserved in large, two column tablets stemming from Ashurbanipal's Library, now known as BAM 574, BAM 575, BAM 578 and BAM 579. These four tablets are the key witnesses for SUALU I, II, III and V, and represent one of our most complete examples of a subcorpus among the therapeutic compendia outlined in the Yale Catalogue. Fate has not been so kind of SUALU IV, however, which in Cadelli's dissertation (2000: 240–251) amounts to only 22 reconstructed lines spread over only two or three actual fragments (AMT 14/7 and AMT 45/1 as well as BAM 66 to some degree; BAM 174 is an extract tablet with a broader horizon than SUALU IV alone and Cadelli's manuscript B [BAM 575 iv 47] is the catch-line in SUALU III). M. Geller has made a new join to the key text for SUALU IV: K 11317 (AMT 45/1) now directly joins Rm 250 (AMT 44/6), providing the end of the first lines of column one and the first few lines of the second column as well.¹⁰ Commonalities in thematic content and vocabulary between K 2386+ and the current reconstruction of SUALU IV strongly suggest that K 2386+ originally formed part of the first column of SUALU IV. The extract tablet BAM 174 provides a second line of evidence for the location of K 2386+ within SUALU IV and a few termini technici that appear on the badly damaged reverse of K 2386+ also support this contention. Before turning to my arguments for the location of K 2386+ within the therapeutic corpus, however, I offer a preliminary transliteration and translation of K 2386+ as well as some other comments that are relevant to its possible assignation to SUALU IV.

K 2386+

The tablet that I am referring to here as K 2386+ consists of five fragments that were published separately in AMT:

K 2386	= AMT 78/3
K 6779	= AMT 45/6
K 7258	= AMT 48/3
K 10247	= AMT 48/1
S 937	= AMT 23/5

These fragments now form a 33 line section that must have been the left hand column on the obverse of a two column tablet (four columns in all) of the type usually associated with the therapeutic materials in Assurbanipal's library. This is evident from the vertical rulings (between first and second column) in the lower right corner of K 2386+ as well as the preservation of the first cuneiform signs in the last three lines of the second column. Stol's translation and discussion of K 2386+ in his paper "Fever in Babylonia" seems to be the only

SUALU V (BAM 579) on pp. 55, 123 and 128.

Previously known pieces of SUALU IV are treated in Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 30–31, 53–54, 58, 126, 174, 329 and 506 plus various footnotes.

⁹ Much of ATEMWEGE appears in pieces in Campbell Thompson's AMT pp. 45–55 and in BAM nos. 547–572, but the reconstruction of the ATEMWEGE subcorpus is still in its infancy. Campbell Thompson 1934 ("Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Chest and Lungs") was the first step in this direction, but a great deal of work remains to be done.

¹⁰ A sketch of the join and a new partitur and translation of SUALU IV are included below.

detailed treatment of the text as it currently stands.¹¹ The five tablets are configured as follows in the Figure 1.

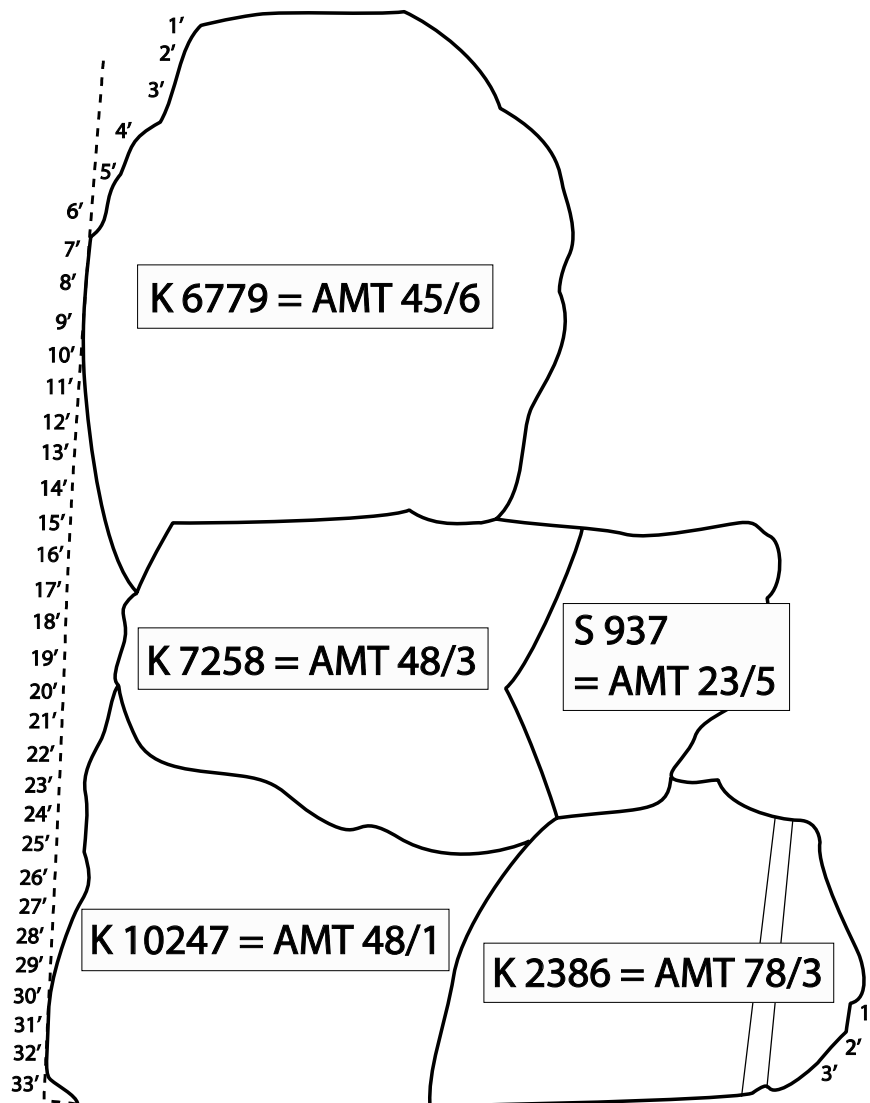


Figure 1: The five fragments from AMT that form K 2386+

Transliteration of K 2386+

Asterisks (*) mark signs that (i) do not appear or do not appear correctly in the published copies, (ii) have been repeatedly collated by both myself and Mark Geller and (iii) for which we are fairly certain that our reading is correct. It should be noted, however, that these signs are nearly all damaged substantially and occur on edges, so we cannot be completely certain even after repeated collation.

¹¹ Various lines from K 2386+ are extracted in Scurlock and Andersen 2005: line 5' on p. 288, line 6' on p. 287 (cf. n. 11 on p. 733), line 20' on p. 61, line 28' on pp. 55 and 125 (cf. n. 49 on p. 703), line 31' on pp. 61, 105 and 128, line 31' on pp. 61, 105 and 128, and line 33' on pp. 52 and 55.

Obv.

col. i

- 1' [diš na ...] x [*ú- *tan- *né- *eh]-*šú¹² x [.....]

- 2' [ú]lgi-lim úgi.niš [.....]

- 3' [ki.min] [*ú]har.har úúr-né-e [*šim][x]

- 4' [ki.min] [ú]har.lum.ba.šir [.....]

- 5' [diš] [*na] sag šà-šú ú-šar-rap-šú¹³ na-piš kiri₄-šú [dugud *na].[bi gig]

- 6' diš na sag šà-šú i-ha-maṭ-su i-dak-ka-su úh-[su x] [.....]

- 7' [u₄.da].sá.sá ì.giš bára.ga ina a nu pa-tan nag.[nag]-šú [.....]

- 8' [šim]i šim gúr.gúr illu šim buluh pa giš bi-ni pa úGÍR[?]-[x]¹⁴

- 9' diš na murub₄ maš.sila^{II}-šú ú-ha-maṭ-su ki úh-šú múd šub.šub [*na.*bi] [..... gig]
10' [šim]i šim gúr.gúr zà.hi.li [.....]

- 11' [*giš]gi.zú.lum.ma im.gú.en.<na> gaz ina kaš sila₁₁-aš [.....]

- 12' diš na ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma sag šà-šú i-kaš-ša-su šà-šú [mú]¹⁵ x [.....]

- 13' [u₄].[*da].sá.sá úak-tam úgi-lim útar-[muš] [.....]

¹² The traces suggest *ú-tan-né-eh-šú*, which would be a Dt-stem preterite of *anāhu*, but the form is not otherwise attested and we should consider other possibilities. The final two signs before the object pronoun, namely *-né-eh-*, are also attested in the verb *iš-še-né-eh* in tablet XXII of the *Diagnostic Handbook*, lines 6 and 62 (Heeβel 2000: 251 and 257), but an object suffix on an N-stem of *šanāhu* 'to void excrement' makes little sense. These two attestations of *iš-še-né-éh* also occur in relative proximity to a number of expressions that also occur in K 2386+, including telltale phrases like *ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma* in line 8 and *sag šà-šú i-ḥa-am-maṭ-su* in line 12.

¹³ AMT 48/2 (= K 8469), obv. line 1' includes the expression *sag šà-šú ú-ša-rap-šú* as well as the expression *sag šà-šú ru-púl-ta* *tuku.meš-ši*.

¹⁴ The end of the this line needs to be re-examined, but in all likelihood it is simply to be read as *pa [kiš₁₆]*, viz. leaves or sprigs of the *ašāgu* plant (CAD Š/2 410a), a simplicium that is attested as a treatment for *šētu* in BAM 1 i 42 (recently edited by Attia and Buisson in this journal, JMC 19: 22–50 [Attia and Buisson 2012], the passage in question is on p. 26). Other possibilities such as *patrānu* (written *ú.gír-a-nu*, CAD P 278b, citing Uruanna II 326) still deserve some further consideration, however.

¹⁵ BAM VII, p. 160, line 5' may be partially analogous: *diš na ninda kaš [nag] šà.meš-šú mú.meš ú-na-paq na.bi . . .*

- 14' [ina] [ì.giš] bára.ga eme-šú dab-bat [nag i-ár-rù]¹⁶
-
- 15' [diš na i-ta]-[*na-ša-aš a-šú]-*uš-tu₄ [šub.šub]-[su]
- 16' [x x] pa^{giš} geštin.ka₅.a súd ina kaš nag uzu.[*gur₄.ra *gu₇ x] [x x x]¹⁷ [x-šú ina *kaš
*nag] x x x
-
- 17' [ki.min] [geštin].ka₅.a súd ina kaš nag im.gú.en.na a.gar.gar maš.dà pa
giš.*ú.*ul₄-ha-ah^{giš} gi.zú.lum.[ma]
- 18' [*gu]-ur¹⁸ gišul.hi^{zi} gig duh.še.giš.ì ta-sàk ina kaš ta-là-áš¹ ina túg te-ter-ri
[min]
-
- 19' [ki.min] ak-tam súd ina kaš.sag [nag]
-
- 20' [diš na] [*i]-ta-na-ša-aš a-šú-uš-[tu₄] šub.šub-su di-hu u₄.da tag.tag-su úh-šú
ma-a-[da]
- 21' [nag].nag¹⁹ u₄.da.sá.sá úigi-lim^ú šiz-ba-nam^{šim} še.li babbar súd ina kaš [nag]
-
- 22' [*diš *na *ninda *gu₇] kaš [nag]-ma šà-šú in-nin-me-er nap-hu a ma-gal nag
u₄.da.sá.sá^ú[igi-lim]
- 23' [ú]igi.niš^ú [tar-muš]^{šim} gam.ma^ú ti-ía-tú^ú har.har súd ina kaš nu [pa-tan] x [...]
- 24' [im].[gú.en.na] a.gar.gar maš.dà^{šim} li^{šim} gúr.gúr zà.hi.li pa [šim[?] X] [x x x x]
- 25' [úkuš].[hab[?]] pa^{giš} šul.hi^{zi} gig duh.še.giš.ì súd ina kaš sila₁₁-aš²⁰ x [.....]
-
- 26' [ú][*ak]-tam súd ina kaš nag uzu.gur₄.ra gu₇ šà-šú i-ár-[rù] x ina kaš nag

¹⁶ The reconstruction is based on BAM 575 iv 14: *ina ì hal-ša eme-šú dab-bat nag i-ár-rù*; see CAD § 38a.

¹⁷ Given the parallel in line 26', we might expect an expression such as *šà-šú i-ár-rù* here, but it is not clear whether or not the traces can be aligned with such a reconstruction.

¹⁸ See CAD G 142a sub *gūru* 'blades of reed plants'. The CAD references to CT 23, 41 i 12 (= BAM 482) and AMT 20/1 obv. i 44 now correspond to witnesses A and B in UGU 2 (Attia and Buisson 2003: 5), line 57. The reference to AMT 11/2: 37 now corresponds to BAM 515, which is one of the eye disease tablets.

¹⁹ Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 61) reconstruct the missing elements at the end of line 20' and the beginning of line 21' as follows: *ma-a-d[a di-hu] / [a ma-gal] nag*, but there is no room for any additional cuneiform signs after *ma-a-[da]* in line 20' and not enough room for *[a ma-gal]* at the beginning of line 21'.

²⁰ The *sil₁₁* is not particularly clear, but similar expressions of "kneading something in beer" occur in line 11' (*ina kaš sila₁₁-aš*) and line 18' (*ina kaš ta-là-aš*).

^ú[igi-lim súd]

27' [ina] [*i+giš] bára.ga nag im.gú.en.na súd ina kaš [*nag] [..... ti]-iá-tú súd ina kaš nag

28' [diš] [*na] ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma šà-šú in-nim-me-ru nap-hu [a ma-gal]²¹ [*nag]
u₄.da.sá.sá

29' [gurun] úkuš.hab en la uk-tap-pi-tu [*hád.*rá] [ta]-[sàk] ina kaš nag

30' ^úkur.ra súd ina kaš nag ^ú[*har.*lum].ba.šir súd ina kaš nag

31' diš na ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma šà-šú in-nim-me-ru [kàš.meš]-šú dab.dab-at u₄.da.sá.sá

32' [gurun] úkuš.hab en la uk-tap-pi-tu hád.rá ta-sàk ina kaš nag

33' [diš] [na] ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma šà-šú in-nim-me-ru in-né-bi-tú ri-du-ut ir-ri tuku
u₄.da.sá.sá

(end of column)

col. ii (last 3 lines from bottom of obv.)

1' x [.....]

2' diš [na] [.....]

3' [giš] [.....]

(rest missing)

Rev.

col. iv

1' [^ú][^úkuš].[hab]

2' [^{na4}]ur₅.[ra] [.....]

3' na.bi x x x [.....]

4' ^úak-tam ina hi-iq [kaš] [.....]

²¹ This reconstruction is based on BAM 174, obv. 26'; see already Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 55 and 125.

- 5' [egir-nu] ina hi-iq [kaš x] [.....]
-
- 6' diš ki.min a-šu-uš-tú šub.šub [.....]
- 7' ru-pu-uš-tu ina [pi-šú] x [.....]
- 8' nu gíd.da ^úap-ru-šá [x] [.....]
- 9' diš-[niš] [.....].[meš] x [.....]
-
- 10' [.....] [ma]-gal tuku.tuku [.....]
- 11' [.....] x x x [.....]

(rest missing)

Translation of K 2386+

Pharmaceutical plants are generally rendered here in their citation form in Akkadian; plants are not secondarily marked, hence simply *imhur-līm*, not *imhur-līm-plant*.

Obv.

col. i

- 1' [If a man . . .] makes him suffer [. . .]
-
- 2' *imhur-līm*, *imhur-ešrā* [. . .]
-
- 3' DITTO *hašû*, *urnû* [. . .]
-
- 4' DITTO *harmunu* [. . .]
-
- 5' If a man's epigastrium burns him and his nostrils are swollen,²² that man [suffers from . . .]
-

²² The conventional translation of *na-piš kiri₄-šú*, presumably *napīš appišu*, is “his breathing is labored” (CAD N/1 305a) or “Wenn einem Menschen das Atmen durch die Nase (wörtl[ich]: der Atem seiner Nase) schwerfällt/schwer wird” (Köcher 1980 [BAM VI]: xxi), but the literal meaning of the phrase is “the breath of his nose is heavy” (see Couto-Ferreira 2009: 153) as opposed to breathing in general, so I have translated the phrase as “his nostrils are swollen” to capture the sense that breathing is only difficult through the nose and not the mouth.

- 6' If a man's epigastrium is enflamed, it stings him, (and) his phlegm [dribbles . . .],
- 7' it is an intermittent fever. You make him keep drinking strained oil in water on an empty stomach [. . .]
- 8' [You crush] juniper (*burāšū*), *kukru*, essence of the *baluhhu* tree, sprigs of tamarisk (*bīnu*) and *taramuš* [. . .]
-
- 9' If a man has sharp pains between his shoulder blades (and) he expectorates blood with his phlegm, that man [suffers from . . .]
- 10' Juniper (*burāšū*), *kukru* and *sahlû* [. . .]
- 11' *bušinnu*/*gišlammu*,²³ river mud, you crush them and knead them in beer . . .
-
- 12' If, when a man eats bread and drinks beer, his epigastrium gnaws at him (and) his belly is bloated . . . ,
- 13' it is an intermittent fever. [You crush . . .] *aktam*, *imhur-līm* and *taramuš*
-
- 14' You make his tongue seize the strained oil, [he drinks it and vomits]
-
- 15' If a man is plagued by worries and depression constantly overwhelms him . . .
- 16' You pulverize sprigs of fox-vine (*karān šēlebi*) (and) he drinks it in beer and eats fatty meat [. . .] and drinks . . . in beer,
-
- 17' [DITTO (= If a man is plagued by worries and depression constantly overwhelms him)], you pulverize fox-vine (*karān šēlebi*) (and) he drinks it in beer, (then)

²³ The Sumerogram that we have in the text is *giš.gi.zú.lum.ma*, which according to Hh III 468–469 (MSL 5: 135) corresponds to either *gišlammu* or *bušinnu* in Akkadian (CAD B 348a, CAD G 104a). The list of reeds in Hh VIII 151 (MSL 7: 17) equates the simpler Sumerogram *gi.zú.lum.ma* (without *giš*) with *ku-ú-ri* (presumably *kūru* C 'thick piece of reed' in CAD 571b on the basis of subsequent entries such as *iš-dī qa-né-e*, *lib-bi* MIN and so on in Hh VIII 153–156), but it is noteworthy that the entry that immediately follows *gi.zú.lum.ma* in Hh VIII 152 has *gi.kur₄*(LAGAB) = *ku-ú-ri*. This may represent an attempt at an etymographic analysis in order to forge a link between *kūru* to *gūru*, both of which are associated with reeds and occur in subsequent sections in Hh VIII 151–152 and 158–160 respectively. This folk re-analysis may have proceeded from the fact that LAGAB can be read as either *kur₄* or *gur₄* and that a lengthy section of *gi.gur* entries follows in Hh IX; see the discussion of *gu-ur* in line 18' and n. 18 above. If the two occurrences of *giš.gi.zú.lum.ma* in the CAD entry for *kūru* are excluded (since there is no evidence that either of these must be taken as *kūru* rather than *gišlammu* or *bušinnu*), *kūru* as well as other Deckname such as *kurmittu*, *kuršiptānu* or *kuršiptu eqli* are consistently written with *gi.zú.lum.ma* or syllabically (CAD K 564a and 568), while *giš.gi.zú.lum.ma* regularly corresponds to *bušinnu* or *gišlammu*. As AHW 512b already suggests, the equation because *giš.ku-u-ru*LAGAB and *ku-u-ru* in Hh VI 46 (MSL 6: 54) may be mistaken, with entries such as *giš^{gi-iš} MIN(= il-lag)*LAGAB in Hh VI 44 leading to some confusion between *giš.gi.zú.lum.ma* and *gi.zú.lum.ma*. Several references courtesy of G. Buisson.

you pulverize river mud, gazelle droppings, sprigs of *ulhah*, sprigs of
bušinnu/gišlammu

18' blades of the *qan šalāli* reed, wheat flour, (and) bran, knead it in beer (and) smear it on
a piece of cloth, DITTO.

19' DITTO (= If a man is plagued by worries and depression constantly overwhelms him),
you pulverize *aktam* (and) he drinks it in high-quality beer.

20' If a man is plagued by worries and depression constantly overwhelms him, he is
constantly affected by headaches (*di`u*) and fever (*šētu*) (and) he constantly
swallows a lot of his (own) phlegm,

21' it is an intermittent fever. You pulverize *imhur-līm*, milkweed (*šizbānu*), white
kikkirānu (and) he drinks it in beer.

22' If, when a man eats bread (and) drinks beer, his belly burns, he is bloated, (and) he
drinks a lot of water, it is an intermittent fever.

23' You pulverize *imhur-ešrā*, *taramuš*, *šumlalû*, *tīyatu* (and) *hašû*, (and) [he drinks] it in
beer on an empty stomach.

24' You pulverize river mud, gazelle droppings, juniper (*burāšu*), *kukru*, *sahlû*, sprigs of
[. . .]

25' [. . .], sprigs of *qan šalāli* reed, wheat flour, (and) bran, (and) knead it in beer [. . .]

26' You pulverize *aktam* (and) he drinks it in beer and eats fatty meat, (then) he will vomit
up (what is in) his belly. [You pulverize . . .] (and) he drinks it in beer. You
pulverize *imhur-līm*

27' (and) he drinks it in strained oil. You pulverize river mud (and) [he drinks it] in beer.
You pulverize *tīyatu* (and) he drinks it in beer.

28' If, when a man eats bread and drinks beer, his belly swells up, he is bloated (and) he
drinks a lot, it is an intermittent fever.

29' You dry and pulverize the fruit of the colocynth (*errû*) before it contracts (and)
he drinks it in beer.

30' You pulverize *nīnû* (and) he drinks it in beer. You pulverize *harmunu* (and) he drinks
it in beer.

- 31' If, when a man drinks beer and eats bread, his belly swells up and his urine is blocked, it is an intermittent fever.
- 32' You dry and pulverize the fruit of the colocynth (*errû*) before it contracts (and) he drinks it in beer.
- 33' If, when a man drinks beer and eats bread, his belly swells up, he has cramps, and he has diarrhea, it is an intermittent fever.

col. ii

1' [. . .]

2' If a man [. . .]

3' [. . .]

(rest missing)

Rev.

col. iv

1' Colocynth (*errû*) [. . .]

2' Hard millstone (*erû atbari*) (?) [. . .]

3' That man [. . .]

4' *aktam* in diluted beer [. . .]

5' Afterwards in diluted beer [. . .]

6' If DITTO he is plagued by worries [. . .]

7' Spittle in his mouth [. . .]

8' (In order to) not extend (the illness), *aprušu* [. . .]

9' Together . . . [. . .]

10' He has a lot of [. . .]

11' (illegible)

U₄.DA.SÁ.SÁ

It is fairly clear that u₄.da corresponds to Akkadian *ṣētu*, which is a frequent element in descriptions of fevers and other diseases involving an overheating of the body, especially *himiṭ ṣēti*. Stol 2007 offers a detailed investigation of *himiṭ ṣēti* as well as other kinds of fevers, and goes on to note that “[s]un-heat can ‘reach’ or ‘overcome’ a person, used with verb *kašādu*, Sumerograms KUR and SÁ.DI (DI.DI)” (Stol 2007: 23; see also Worthington 2010: 194 and 2012: 79). In her unpublished edition of SUALU, Cadelli (2000: 125, n. 1) refers to Cavigneaux’s discussion of the use of KUR to write *kašādu* (1976: 126) in positing u₄.da sá.di as a uniform reading of u₄.da SÁ.SÁ. But Cavigneaux only explains that this orthography puns on the similarity between *kašādu* ‘to reach’ and *šadû* ‘mountain’ in Akkadian as well as the Sumerian compound verb that is most frequently used to code Akkadian *kašādu*, namely sá — du₁₁. Cavigneaux does not state that all occurrences of SÁ.SÁ are to be read as sá.di. Attinger (1993: 632–633) offers a particularly detailed bibliography and a list of attestations in which sá—du₁₁ corresponds to Akk. *kašādu*, but there is no mention of this particular idiom. Lexical entries like sá^{sa-du}di are clearly related to the equation between *kašādu*, *šadû* and sá — du₁₁.

The semantic field associated with sá.sá, however, is somewhat different from sá.di and the lexical tradition frequently glosses SÁ.SÁ as sá^{sa-sa}sá, so we should allow for the possibility that u₄.da sá.sá is distinct from u₄.da kur-*id*. The ostensibly reduplicated form sá.sá is equated with Akk. *kašādu*, ‘to reach, to accomplish’ in Izi H 263 (MSL 13: 208, between gal.di = Akk. *ziq-[ru]* [normally *tizqāru* ‘exalted’] and [sá]-[sá] = *šá-[na]-[nu]* ‘to equal, to rival’), in Erimhuš III 73 (MSL 17: 49, between kas₄.di = *ner-ru-[bu]* ‘to flee’ and kar = *ku-uš-šu-du* ‘to pursue, to chase away’) and in Erimhuš III 165 (MSL 17: 51, between KA.KA šu.gál = *ner-ru-bu* ‘to flee’ and an.dùl = [šú]-[lu]-[lu] ‘to cover’). In at least two of these instances SÁ.SÁ is juxtaposed to an entry that includes the sign SÁ, where it must be read as di: gal.di and kas₄.di; in the third instance it is juxtaposed to another term, viz. an.dùl, whose second element begins with /d/. These juxtapositions already raise that possibility that SÁ.SÁ is to be read as sá.di, when it corresponds to *kašādu*, while the reading sá.sá must be assigned to a different verb. Only in Erimhuš II 20 (MSL 17: 27) do we find sá.di and sá.sá explicitly juxtaposed and differentiated:

Erimhuš II 19–21 (MSL 17: 27)

19	sá ^{sa-sa} sá	<i>šá-na-nu</i>	‘to rival’
20	sá ^{sa-du} di	<i>ka-šá-du</i>	‘to reach, to conquer’
21	silim ^{si-lim-di} di	<i>šu-tar-ru-lhu</i>	‘to glorify’

This passage suggests that the reduplicated form sá.sá designated an on-going competition or struggle of some kind, while the nominalized form of sá—du₁₁ in line 20, namely sá.di, refers to the end point of such a competition. The competitive nature of this semantic field is made particularly clear at the end of Nabnitu XXVII:

Nabnitu XXVII 268–271 (MSL 16: 237)

268	a-da-mìn	<i>te-ši-tu</i>	‘discord, conflict’
269	a-da-mìn di	<i>šu-te-šu-u</i>	‘to fight with one another’
270	a-da-mìn du ₁₁ -ga	<i>šu-te-šu-u</i>	‘to fight with one another’
271	sá ^{sa-sa} sá	<i>šu-te-šu-u</i>	‘to fight with one another’

Here a.da.mìn is the usual Sumerian term for a conflict or competition, whether verbal or physical, but *sá^{sa}-sá* is entered here immediately after a series of a-da-mìn entries and translated with the same term, namely *šu-te-šu-u*.

The semantic value of *sá.sá* is made particularly clear, however, in a passage from Izi tablet C (VAT 9715), in which *sá.di* = *ka-ša-du* is juxtaposed to *sá.sá* = *šu-mu-ru*:

Izi tablet C iv 1–4 (MSL 13: 178)

1	<i>sá.sá</i>	<i>šu-ta-hu-qu</i>	?
2	<i>sá.sá</i>	<i>šu-mu-ru</i>	‘to strive, to pursue (an enemy)’
3	<i>sá.di</i>	<i>ka-ša-du</i>	‘to reach, to conquer’
4	[<i>sá</i>]. <i>dù</i>	<i>ra-a-du</i>	‘to tremble’

As the editors of MSL 13 (Civil and co-workers 1971) make clear, this tablet is not a regular part of the Izi tradition and many of its entries, including this one, have no clear parallel in the current reconstruction of Izi. Although the editors render all three occurrences of *SÁ.SÁ* in lines 1–3 as *sá.sá*, the lexical evidence that we have just looked at suggests that line 3 is best rendered as *sá.di* = *ka-ša-du*. This seems to be confirmed in part by the entry in line 4, which replaces the second element of the logogram with *dù*, hence *sá.dù*, and by the section that follows line 4, in which all of the entries deal with legal situations where *SÁ* must be read as *di*: *di*, [*di*].*ku₅.ru* and so on. The opposition between *šummuru* and *kašādu* is particularly interesting because these two verbs often co-occur in Akkadian in the description of an agonistic situation (*šummuru*) and its eventual conclusion (*kašādu*).

YOS 10 9:17–18a, apud CAD § 93a, cf. Labat 1951: 14, line 78

LÚ *šu-mu-[ra-at]* [*ú*]-[*ša*]-*ma-ru qá-as-sú* / *i-ka-ša-ad*
the man will attain what he strives for

The following line from a Nabonidus inscription includes all three of the relevant lemmata (*šummuru*, *kašādu* and *šanānu*).

VAB 4 276 v 11'–13' (Nbn.), apud CAD § 93a = Schaudig 2001: 518

e-ma ú-ša-am-ma-ru / *a-kaš-šad-ma* / *ša-ni-ni ul i-ši*
I have success wherever I strive and have no rival

Both *šummuru* and its byform *šurumu* regularly occur in the D-stem and designate an agonistic situation between two rivals, a situation whose resolution in favor of one side or another is expressed through the use of *kašādu*.

I would like to suggest that the agonistic semantics of *šummuru* (as well as its regular appearance in the D-stem) can be juxtaposed to the use of *kašādu* in the G-stem to express the resulting state of this agonistic situation. If so, we can in my view carry over this semantic relationship as an explanation for *u₄.da.sá.sá* and *u₄.da.kur-id* respectively: *u₄.da.sá.sá* can be rendered as *šēta šummur*, while *u₄.da.kur-id* with its clear phonetic complement obviously corresponds to *šēta kašid*. When *u₄.da.sá.sá* or *u₄.da.kur-id* is used to describe a patient suffering from an illness, the subject of the stative verb (*šummur* and *kašid* respectively) is the prototypically male person who is ill, with *šēta* acting as an accusative of relation [*Akkusativ der Beziehung*] that contributes to the meaning of the predicate rather than designating the subject). If we then attempt to map these semantics into ordinary English, we might describe a

person who is ‘struggling with a fever’ as having an ‘intermittant fever’, while a person who has been ‘overtaken by fever’ has lost the battle against the fever and therefore suffers from an ‘acute’ (or alternatively ‘continuous’) fever. In the paper I have regularly translated these two terms in this way.

The expression *u₄.da.sá.sá* often occurs in conjunction with *im.gú*, and we find various forms of this expression in connection with texts dealing with fevers. The form that we have in line 11' on the obverse of our text, viz. *im.gú.en.<na>*, and the full forms of the expression, viz. *im.gú.en.na* in lines 17', 24' and 27', presumably correspond to *qadūt šikāni* ‘river mud’ (CAD Q 53b) here perhaps *dried* river mud since it is kneaded in beer. But given the thematic elements within K 2386+, the significance and interpretation of *im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá* requires some additional comment here. Since *im.gú* often appears in combination with *u₄.da.sá.sá*, it was likely a type of river mud that was especially suited for the treatment of *u₄.da.sá.sá*. The CAD entry for *šētu*, viz. *u₄.da* (CAD Š 152b), lists a number of relevant texts, including most of the following:

UGU I (BAM 480), line 126' (Worthington 2005: 10–11)

diš ki.min im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá gaz sim *ina a gazi^{sar}* sila₁₁-aš u₄ 3.kam : u₄ 5.kam
lál

BAM 571 ii' 25'

[... im].gúl šá *ina u₄.da SÁ-kat* gaz sim *ina a gazi^{sar}* sila₁₁-aš

BAM 575 iv 1' (SUALU II)

[... u₄].da.sá.sá gaz sim

BAM 578 i 11 (SUALU III)

ana ù.bú.bú.ul bu-le-e ^ulaga a.šà im.gú šá u₄.da SÁ-kàt

BAM 584 ii' 28'

diš ki.min im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá gaz *ina* [x] [...]

The example of the construction in BAM 584 (paralleling the corresponding section in SUALU III) has *im.gú.en.na* in the immediately preceding line (*im.gú.en.na* laga a.šà.ga gaz *ina a* [gazi] [...] / diš ki.min im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá gaz *ina* [x] [...]), so it is not entirely clear whether *im.gú.en* in line 11' represents an abbreviated version of *im.gú.en.na* (without *na*) or a cryptic writing of *im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá*, although presumably the former. Note in particular that the procedure in our line 11' seems to represent an abbreviated version of the routine outlined in UGU I and BAM 571 (*gaz* sim *ina a gazi^{sar}* sila₁₁-aš) with *kaš* in our text replacing a *gazi^{sar}* in the others. The same omission of the sign SIM seems to have taken place in BAM 584 as well.

CAD Š 152b distinguishes between (i) *u₄.da.sá.sá* used as a description of disease, (ii) *u₄.da.sá.sá* used as a qualification of river mud (Sum. *im.gú* = Akk. *qadūtu*) and (iii) a slightly different qualification of *im.gú* (= *qadūtu*), namely *u₄.da di-kat₁*(GADA) and *u₄.da di-kàt*(KÀD). CAD translates the line in SUALU III (*im.gú šá u₄.da di-kàt* gaz), for example, as “you crush yeast which has been killed by (exposure to) the open air.” This interpretation takes *u₄.da* as a logogram for Akkadian *šētu*, as above, but reads the following *SÁ-kàt* as a third feminine singular stative *dīku* ‘killed,’ hence *šēta dīkat* for “killed by (exposure to) the open air.” This is not very convincing as it stands and Stol simply states that he “do[es] not understand UD.DA *di-kat*” (Stol 2007: 24, n. 66). Although the ordinary logographic writing *im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá*, when it describes a type of ‘mud’ (*im.gú* = *qadūtu*) rather than describing a

patient, gives no hint as to its grammatical form, the two variant orthographies represent attempts on the part of native scribes to make sense of the expression: im.gú šá u₄.da SÁ-kàt in BAM 578 i 11 and [im].[gú] šá ina u₄.da SÁ-kat in BAM 571 ii' 25'. In these two attempts to interpret the expression im.gú u₄.da.sá.sá, however, the forms SÁ-kàt(KÀD) and SÁ-kat(GADA)—without reduplication—clearly represent third *feminine* singular stative verbs. Since *šētu* (u₄.da) in these two examples shows variation between an accusative of relation in im.gú šá u₄.da SÁ-kàt (BAM 578 i 11) and a prepositional phrase in [im].[gú] šá ina u₄.da SÁ-kat (BAM 571 ii' 25'), it is unlikely that *šētu* itself is the subject of these third feminine singular statives. Instead, we must hypothesize that the scribes who came up with these more elaborate descriptions of the ‘mud for the u₄.da.sá.sá fever’ were attempting to describe the effect of the mud (corresponding to the feminine noun *qadūtu*) on the fever. One possibility is that they are reinterpreting SÁ-kàt and SÁ-kat as third feminine singular stative forms of *dekû* ‘to remove, to drive away’ (viz. *de-kàt* and *de-kat* respectively). Here the scribes are using the polyvalence of the sign to reinterpret SÁ as di or de rather than sá. This would mean that they have reanalyzed these forms as so-called “transitive” or “active” statives meaning “the mud that removes *šētu*-fever” (*qadūtu ša šēta / ina šēti dekât*). The verb *dekû* would make little sense with a human patient as its subject, so there is no reason to extend this interpretation to examples in which u₄.da.sá.sá refers to the patient above.

UZU.GUR₄.RA

The Sumerian logogram uzu.gur₄.ra in lines 16' and 26' corresponds to Akkadian *šīru kabru*, literally “fatty meat,” which is listed among several different types of meat in both descriptions of illness and in medical therapies in CAD Š/3 120b, including the meat of oxen, pigs, foxes, owls, geese, goats, mongooses and gazelle. Our passage, however, leaves the type of meat unspecified, only requiring that it be fatty. CAD K 22b only locates *šīru kabru* in a handful of medical texts: uzu gur₄.ra gu₇ in our text (listed under AMT 48/1, line 5); uzu *kab-ra ša šah* gu₇ in SUALU II (BAM 575 i 56), uzu gur₄ in SUALU II (BAM 575 ii 11), uzu gu₄ *kab-ra* gu₇.meš in SUALU III (BAM 578 iv 1); and a uzu šah *kab-ra* nag in SUALU V (BAM 579 i 23), among other fragments such as AMT 37/1. One likely occurrence that goes unmentioned in the dictionaries is [. . .] gur₄.ra gu₇.meš in SUALU II (BAM 575 ii 23), which comes just two lines after an occurrence of u₄.da.sá.sá. At least among the references collected in the dictionaries, nearly all of the reference to fatty meat in the medical corpus occur within the confines of SUALU. Moreover, András Bácskay is currently finishing up a revised version of his dissertation on fever texts in the cuneiform therapeutic tradition, provisionally entitled *Therapeutic Fever Texts*, and he was recently in Berlin to read through some of his texts in Mark Geller’s seminar on medical texts. It soon became apparent, as we read through his texts, that the association between consumption of fatty meat as a therapeutic device and the texts associated with fevers was not accidental, and in fact there seems to be a rather strong connection between “fatty meat therapy” and the treatment of fevers.

In anticipation of Bácskay’s forthcoming edition of “fever” texts and in order to more carefully specify my working definitions, I would like to emphasize that I am not including *ummu* (kúm) in my definition of ‘fever’ and that the foregoing discussions of intermittent vs. acute fever, for example, are in reference to *šētu*, which Stol consistently translates as ‘sun-heat’ (2007: 24). In my view, *ummu* simply represents ‘heat’ or ‘warmth’ as in “if the patient’s feet are warm,” diš na giri^{II}-šú *um-ma* (BAM 120 iii 1). In standard present-day English, for example, it would be decidedly odd to speak of someone’s feet as feverish, but Stol takes the opposite point of view (Stol 2007: 3–4). In order to arrive at a narrow (and therefore reasonably useful) definition of ‘fever’ as a designation of an illness, I include here

its agonistic character and its description in terms of periods of time as defining features. Stol (2007: 22) speaks of ‘sun-heat’ in much the same terms:

We have seen that *ummu* ‘fever’ [according to Stol’s definition] is never a diagnosis; it is just a concomitant symptom. The word *ṣētu* actually serves as diagnosis.

...

So sun-heat [*ṣētu*] is worse than fever and it can return repeatedly (*târu* Gtn). It can be a long, protracted disease and a few important texts discuss its varying length computed in days. They have a parallel in the Diagnostic Handbook (Chapter XXXI).

In this paper, however, I have consistently translated *ṣētu* as ‘fever’ and left *ummu* with weaker translations such ‘be warm’. It is noteworthy, therefore, that *ṣētu* ‘fever’ is found almost exclusively in UGU and SUALU, namely in those groups of texts dealing with symptoms of the head, where fevers are often localized, or with the serious illnesses of the digestive tract and internal organs. These are the same two “areas” in which fatty meat plays a particularly significant role as a therapy.

Indirect evidence suggesting that K 2386+ is a part of SUALU IV

Although there is no direct evidence that K 2386+ forms a part of SUALU IV, three pieces of indirect evidence strongly support this contention:

- (i) a new join between K 11317 (AMT 44/6) and Rm 250 (AMT 45/1), which is already known to be a piece SUALU IV, allows us to reconstruct the first two lines in the second column of SUALU IV and these two lines resume an incomplete therapeutic entry at the end of K 2386+
- (ii) the extract tablet BAM 174 draws a series of passages from the beginning of the first column of SUALU IV, then K 2386+ and then from SUALU V (BAM 579), suggesting that K 2386+ corresponds to the end of the first column of SUALU IV
- (iii) several turns of phrase on the *reverse* of K 2386+ such as *hi-iq* kaš and *ma-gal* tuku.tuku also occur in a parallel section from the observe of BAM 66 and BAM 416, which is one of the two manuscripts for tablet XXXI of the Diagnostic Handbook according to Finkel (1994) and Heeßel (2000: 342).

Each of these three pieces of evidence will be briefly addressed in sequence.

In his 2007 paper on fevers in Babylonian medicine, Stol had raised the possibility that AMT 44/6 was a piece of the tablet under discussion here (K 2386+). Stol had observed that both AMT 44/6 and K 2386+ make use of the expression *šà-šú* “his innards” (without MEŠ) rather than *šà.meš-šú* “his innards” (with MEŠ), the expression found elsewhere in the therapeutic corpus. As is often the case, however, the possibility that K 2386+ was somehow related to AMT 44/6 is already implicit in R. Campbell Thompson’s 1929 survey of diseases of the stomach, in which AMT 44/6 follows almost immediately after K 2386+. Campbell

Thompson does not argue that they belong to the same tablet, however.²⁴ Moreover, although Stol only alludes to thematic parallels by juxtaposing translations of the two fragments, the same (or at least very nearly the same) symptom description that we find in the first two lines of column ii in AMT 44/6 also occurs in the last two lines of K 2386+. As it happens, AMT 44/6 (= K 11317) does *not* directly join K 2386+, but in the course of collating a number of tablet fragments on my behalf in early 2013, M. Geller was able to identify a join between AMT 44/6 and AMT 45/1 (= Rm 250). Since AMT 45/1 is one of the very few pieces that must belong SUALU IV (see below), Stol's observation in combination with Geller's join raises the possibility that K 2386+ represents the bottom half of the first column on the obverse of SUALU IV.

The incipit of SUALU IV, namely *diš na u₄.da kur-id*, is found as the catch-line on BAM 578 (= SUALU III), as we might expect, and on one other tablet: K 4114 (= AMT 14/7). Consequently, previous efforts to reconstruct SUALU IV have focused, reasonably enough, on building out from K 4114 (AMT 14/7). Cadelli's edition of SUALU IV (Cadelli 2000: 240–251) identified five manuscripts for SUALU IV, two of which are actually fragments of the text in the narrow sense of the term: K 4114 (AMT 14/7) and Rm 250 (AMT 45/1). Parts of BAM 66 and BAM 174 duplicate sections in SUALU IV, but BAM 174 is an extract tablet that includes sections from a broader range of texts than SUALU IV alone. We return to the status of BAM 66 below. The siglum marking BAM 174 (“D”) appears in **bold** in the following. A sketch of the new join between Rm 250 and K 11317 is in Figure 2 below.

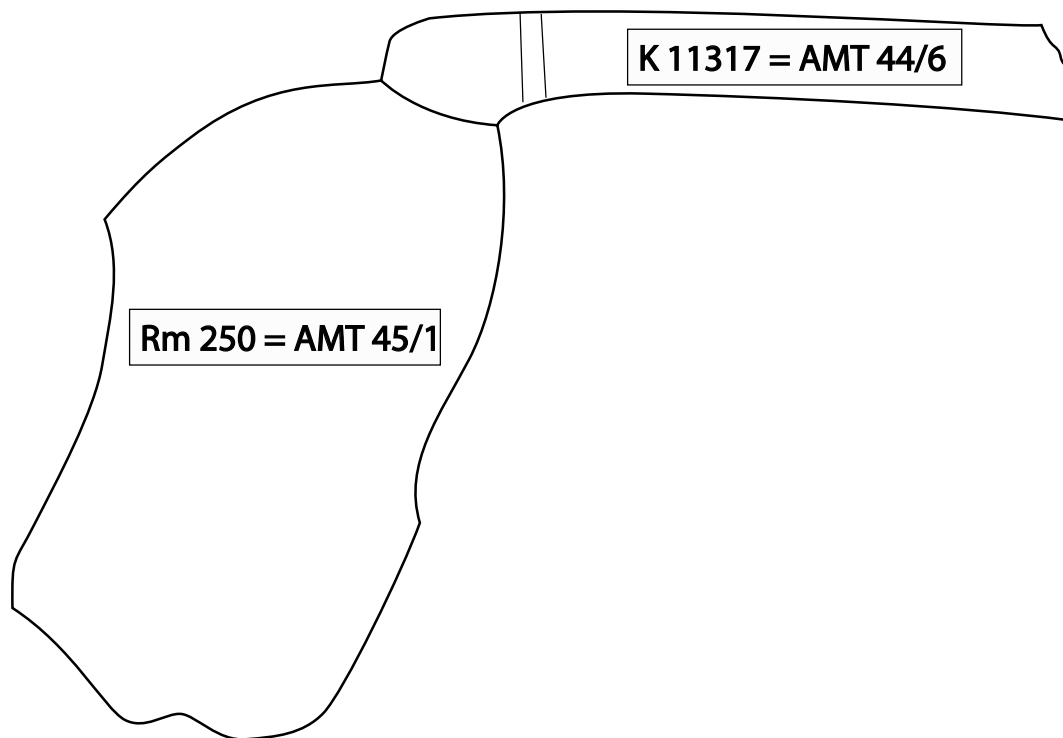


Figure 2: New join between Rm 250 (AMT 45/1) and K 11317 (AMT 44/6)

²⁴ Campbell Thompson 1929: 77–80. Campbell Thompson notes the similarities between line 33' in K 2386+ and the first line of col. ii of K 11317 without further comment (1929: 80, n. 4), and these similarities were subsequently reiterated in CAD E 148a sub *emēru*.

Transliteration of SUALU IV

- A = K 4114 (AMT 14/7)
 B = K 11317 (AMT 44/6) + Rm 250 (AMT 45/1)
 C = VAT 9475 + VAT 9499 + VAT 10753 (BAM 66, Middle Assyrian)

D_{extract} = VAT 13761 (BAM 174, Middle Babylonian)

Obv.

col. i

- 1 A_{obv1} diš na u₄.da kur-[id^l x x x [.....]
 B_{i1} [.....] [ana^l ti.bi
 C_{rev4a'} diš na u₄.da kur-id zi sag.ki [.....]
 2 A_{obv2} ru-uš-šu [ša^l x x x x x x [.....]
 B_{i2} [.....] x x x ti
 C_{rev4b-5'} [.....] / ša na₄ ká.gal ti-qé [ki ì] [.....]

 3 A_{obv3} diš na min kúm [tuku^l [.....]
 B_{i3} [..... ina] ì.giš² šés.meš-su
 ^úan.ki.nu.ti
 C_{rev6'} diš na min kúm tuku ana ti.bi ú ap-rù-šá [.....]
 D_{21'} diš na u₄.da kur-id kúm tuku-ši ana ti-šú ^úáp-ru-šá ina ì+giš šés
 ^úan.ki.nu.[ti]
 4. A_{obv4} ta-sàk ina geštin [šeg₆ šés^l-su [.....]
 B_{i4} [.....] [x^l ta-na-šar-BI-ma ti
 C_{rev7'} ta-sàk ina kaš.sag tu-šab-šal [šés^l [.....]
 D_{22'} súd ina kaš šeg₆-šal šés tu-ta-[na-šar^l-RAŠ-[ma]²⁵ ti-uṭ

 5 A_{obv5} diš na min ninda u kaš nu i-le-em ana [ti]-[šú]
 B_{i5} [.....] x ì.giš^{šim} gúr.gúr šés-su
 C_{rev8a'} diš na min ninda u kaš nu i-le-em ana ti.bi ì [šim^l [.....]

²⁵ The variation between [x^l ta-na-šar-BI-ma in manuscript B and tu-ta-[na-šar^l-RAŠ-[ma] in D remains problematic and I cannot yet offer a clear explanation of the variation. The two signs in question, namely BI and RAŠ, are indeed very similar in their orthographic form, but after repeated examination manuscript B does appear to have BI, while manuscript D has RAŠ. Note as well that the RAŠ sign is used in an unexceptional way in manuscript D line 6, viz. ina á tú-šap-raš-šum-[ma] (with RAŠ) “you make someone vomit with a feather,” in contrast to ina á tu-šap-ra-šú-ma in witness B. Given the confusion that von Soden’s suggestion of tu-šar-raš^l in manuscript C has caused in the secondary literature (see next footnote), it should be emphasized that the only text, among those under consideration here, that makes clear use of KASKAL to write -raš- is BAM 174, the Middle Babylonian manuscript. Moreover, the earliest attestation of -raš- occurs in a Middle Babylonian glassmaking text (next footnote). The other supposed occurrences of -raš- in manuscripts A and B (first millennium) and C (Middle Assyrian) are exclusively written with the BI sign. Obviously one could simply emend RAŠ in manuscript D to BI and interpret the verb as a Dtn-stem present of našāru (uttanaššar < *untanaššar) with a logographically written object pronoun: tu-ta-na-šar-šu₁₃(BI)-ma. The alternative reading tu-ta-na-šar-raš-ma presents its own problems, however: the doubling of the /r/ is difficult to explain with našāru, for example. Since no straightforward solution presents itself at the moment, for the time being I leave the verb untranslated.

- D₂₃'** diš na u₄.da kur-*id* ninda u kaš *la i-ma-har ana* [ti]-[šú ì].giš^{šim}gúr.gúr šéš-su
- 6 **A_{obv6}** illu *a-bu-kat kur-i ta-sàk ina* *hi-[x] [.....]
B_{i6} [.....] nag-šú ina á tu-šap-ra-šú-ma ti
C_{rev8b-9'} [.....] / *ta-sàk ina hi-iq* kaš nag-šú ina á tu-[šap]-[ra-šú-ma ti]
D_{24'} [...] [li].tur šá kur-i súd *ina hi-iq* [kaš] [nag]-šú ina á tú-šap-raš-šum-[ma] [ti]
-
- 7 **A_{obv7}** diš na min *ku-šú hur-ba-šú-[u]* [.....]
B_{i7} [.....]-[su] ana ti-šú ì.giš^úap-rù-šá šéš-su
C_{rev10'} diš na min *ku-šú hur-ba-šu* šub.šub-su ana ti.bi ì.[giš] [...]
- 8 **A_{obv8}** ana udun lú se x [.....]
B_{i8} [.....] [šim]gúr.gúr nag.meš-ma [ti]
C_{rev11'} ana udun lú *se-pi-i* kuš.bar^{šim}gúr.gúr nag.meš-[ma ti]
-
- 9 **A_{9-10a}** diš na min kúm [tuku] [.....] / šéš-su
B_{i9} [..... ana] [ti]-šú ì.giš^{šim}gúr.gúr ì.giš^{šim}ti šéš-[x]
C_{rev12'} diš na min kúm *tuku ha-tu* šub.šub-su ana ti.bi ì^{šim}gúr.gúr ì [.....]
- 10 **A_{obv10b}** [.....]
B_{i10} [.....] [ina]-qú tu-šar-raš[!](BI)-ma [ti]
C_{rev13'} izi ana *igi-šu ta-šá-rap šum₄-ma ina-qú tu-šar-raš_x-ma²⁶* [.....]
-
- 11 **A_{obv11}** diš na [min] [.....]
B_{i11-12} [.....] [ú]ap-rù-šá^úil-kúl-la šá [tú] [hád.rá]
/ [.....] šéš-su-[ma] [ti]²⁷

²⁶ This line presents us with a major stumbling block: the correct reading of both AŠ.KU and *tu-šar-RAŠ/BI-ma* is rather uncertain. Von Soden's postulation of *šarāšu* (AHw 1085) in the sense of '(mit Behandlung) fortfahren' is based on this line as well as a similar passage earlier in BAM 66, obv. 12: 3 u₄.meš *tu-šar-raš[!](BI)-ma* ti "you continue treatment for three days and he may get better." In both occurrences of von Soden's postulated form (*tu-šar-raš[!](BI)-ma* ti), the sign assigned the reading -*raš[!]*- is BI, not KASKAL. The corresponding entry in CAD (§ 260b sub *šurrušu*) assigns the meaning 'to grow shoots, branches' or 'spreading, proliferating' (CAD § 114b sub *šarrišu*, apud Stol 2007: 24, n. 67), neither of which make much sense in our passage. The "BI" sign in the Middle Assyrian manuscript (C, transliterated here as -*raš_x*- but only as a temporary heuristic device) can be differentiated from BI, as in the preceding line for example, by the length of the horizontals (nicely captured in Köcher's handcopy and confirmed by the photograph available at CDLI). For a Middle Assyrian tablet this is an exceedingly problematic distinction, however, since BI normally exhibits a great deal of variation in the length of the horizontals (and Middle Assyrian texts normally write KASKAL with two obliques crossing the horizontals, as we might expect; see for instance the occurrences of KASKAL in Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: no. 6, line 24' [pl. 6] and no. 17, line 13 [pl. 18]). The syllabic value -*raš[!]*- does not seem to be attested anywhere in the Middle Assyrian legal or administrative corpus and in fact the earliest attestations of this value in *Das akkadische Syllabar* (von Soden and Röllig 1976: 21) are a Middle Babylonian glassmaking text (Gadd and Campbell Thompson 1936; re-edited in Oppenheim 1970: 59–65, where the exceedingly obscure character of the tablet's orthography is emphasized) and *tu-šar-raš[!]* in our text (the "!" in AHw reduced to "!" in *Das akkadische Syllabar*). Unlike manuscript C, the corresponding sign in the first millennium manuscript (B) is clearly BI (compare, for instance, the BI sign in the first line, end of left column in K 11317). Referring to expressions such as *zì.sur.ra.a te-šir* (AMT 69/2 6) G. Buisson suggests to read AŠ.KU more conventionally as *ina zì*, but I take this as an example of *lectio facillior*. For the time being (and with some hesitation), I retain the *lectio difficilior* for both expressions: *ina-qú tu-šar-raš_x(BI)*.

C_{rev14'-15'} diš na min ana tab-iṭ u₄.da dù.a.bi-ma^ú ap-rù-šá^ú il-[ki-la] šá túl ta-[tab]-[bal]
/ ina ì^{šim} gúr.gúr hi.hi šéš.meš-su-ma [ti]

-
- 12 B_{i13} [.....] [tu]-bal ta-sàk ina ì hi.hi šéš.[meš-su]
C_{rev16'} diš na min^ú ku₆ kúm šá a.meš tu-bal [ta]-[sàk] ina ì.giš hi.hi šéš.meš-su-ma
min
-
- 13 B_{i14} [.....] [tu]-bal ta-sàk ina ì hi.hi šéš.meš-[su]
C_{rev17'} [.....] [x] ina ì.giš hi.hi šéš.meš-su-ma min
-
- 14 B_{i15} [.....] mur.meš gig-ma na.bi ši-na-[ah]-[tu-ra]
C_{rev18'} [.....] gig-ma na-šú ši-na-ah-tu-ra
- 15 B_{i16} [.....] 3 ú.hi.a šá-šú-[nu] [...]
C_{rev19'} [.....] [sìla]^{šim} ses 3 ú.meš šá-šu-nu²⁸
- 16 B_{i17} [.....] ú.[babbar ta]-[sàk]
C_{rev20'} [.....] [x] dib-bat ina 2 u₄-me ú.babbar ta-sàk
- 17 C_{rev21'} [.....] [ta]-šá-ni-ma ina á tu-šap-ra-šu₁₃(BI)-ma min²⁹
-
- 18 C_{rev22'} [.....][x] ì.giš bára.ga ba-lu pa-tan
- 19 C_{rev23'} [.....] ti
-
- 20 C_{rev24'} [.....] pa-tan nag-ma ti
- 21 C_{rev25'} [.....] pa]-[tan] nag-ma ti

col. ii

- 1 B_{ii1} diš na ninda gu₇ kaš nag-ma šà-šú in-nim-me-ru in-n[im-...] ³⁰
- 2 B_{ii2} [u₄.da].sá.sá na₄ zú.lum.ma gaz gim tu₇ zì.da tara-[bak] [.....] ³¹

²⁷ Approximately half of the line (the left side) of manuscript B is missing at this point and I assume here that this missing part of the line corresponds to *ina ì^{šim} gúr.gúr hi.hi* in manuscript C. Manuscript B then has a blank space of three or four signs between the missing left sign of the line and *šéš-su-ma [ti]* in the remaining part of the right side of the line. It is clear from the overall configuration of manuscript B that *šéš-su-ma [ti]* is not the indented direct continuation of the preceding line.

²⁸ See CAD Š/2 183b, reference courtesy G. Buisson.

²⁹ See the discussion of *šanû* in hendiadys to mean “to do again” in CAD Š/1 399b; reference courtesy G. Buisson.

³⁰ See n. 22 above.

³¹ Campbell Thompson (1929: 80) reads what I have transliterated as *kam zì.da* as *hé.zi.da*, citing a parallel in KAR 178 rev. vi 43 and translating (ì du₁₀.ga ana sag na dub-ak 7 u 7 bur.zi.gar.meš) / KAM zì.da zú.lum.ma diri.meš as “date-stone(s) thou shalt pound like HE.ZID.DA.” In the parallel cited by Campbell Thompson, the

3 B_{ii3} [diš na min ina] ¹du_gutu_{l7} šeg₆]-[šal ...]

(rest missing)

col. iv

(colophon on the reverse of AMT 14/7 is omitted here, see Cadelli 2000: 244)

*Translation of SUALU IV*³²

Obv.

col. i

1 If a man has an acute fever (and) his temples throb [. . .], in order for him to recover,

2 Take dirt from the doorstone and [. . .] with oil.

3 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever) and he is warm (all over), in order for him to recover, you rub *aprušu* in oil on him,

4 You pulverize *ankinutu*, heat it in beer and rub it on him. You . . . (and) he will recover.

5 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever and) cannot eat, in order for him to recover, you rub oil and *kukru* on him,

6 you pulverize *abukkatu* resin from the mountains, have him drink it in diluted beer, and make him throw up with a feather, (then) he will recover.

7 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever and) he is afflicted with cold and chills, in order for him to recover, you rub oil and *aprušu* on him,

8 he drinks a wineskin of *kukru* (viz. *kukru* in wine), while facing the bartender's oven, (then) he will recover.

9 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever), is warm (all over) and is constantly afflicted with fear, in order for him to recover, you rub him with *kukru* (in) oil,

correct reading remains unclear, since there are clear attestations of *zì.da zú.lum.ma* in the Namburbi literature (see Captlice 1971: 142, rev. 10 and 14, apud CAD Q 208a), but immediately preceding a form of the verb *rabāku* 'decoct', the expression *tu₇ zì.da* makes good sense and is even attested as such in the lexical tradition (Forerunner to Hh XXIV [OECT 4, 154 and 159], line 18 = MSL 11: 152).

³² See also Böck's recent translation of lines 1–8 (Böck 2010: 82).

10 you light a fire in front of him, (and) if he cries out, you continue the treatment, (then) he will recover.

11 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever and) any type of sun-fever (*himiṭ ṣēti*), then you dry out *aprušu* and *elkula* from the well, mix *kukru* in oil, rub it on him, (then) he will recover.

12 If a man DITTO (= has an acute fever), you dry the liquid out of warm *urânu*, pulverize it, mix it in oil (and) rub it on him, (then) DITTO (= he will recover).

13 [If a man . . .], you dry out [. . .], pulverize it, mix it in oil, (and) rub it on him, (then) DITTO (= he will recover).

14 [. . .] the lungs are sick, that man has diarrhea (*ṣinah tiri*),

15 [. . .] is bitter, these three plants,

16 [. . .] you seize (and) on the second day you pulverize the white plant,

17 [. . .] then you make him throw up with a feather again, then DITTO (= he will recover).

18 [. . .] strained oil on an empty stomach [. . .]

19 [. . .] he will recover.

20 [. . .] he drinks it on an empty stomach, then he will recover.

21 [. . .] he drinks it on an empty stomach, then he will recover.

(rest missing)

col. ii

1 If, when a man eats bread and drinks beer, his belly swells up, he has cramps [. . .],

2 it is an intermittent fever. You pulverize date-palm seeds, decoct them like

(rest missing)

The importance of the new join is that it demonstrates that the beginning of the second column of SUALU IV represents a logical continuation of the last line of K 2386+, which is repeated here.

K 2386+ obv. line 33'

[diš] [na] ninda gu₇ kaš nag-*ma* šà-šú *in-nim-me-ru in-né-bi-tú ri-du-ut ir-ri* tuku
u₄.da.sá.sá

If, when a man drinks beer and eats bread, his belly swells up, he has cramps, and he has diarrhea, it is an intermittent fever.

Although the first line of SUALU IV column ii breaks off after *in-[nim]-[...]*, up to that point it is identical with the last line of K 2386+. The last line of K 2386+, which I am suggesting is the last line of the first column of SUALU IV, also ends rather incongruously with u₄ .da.sá.sá, the name of the ailment, and gives no treatment. The fact that the second column of SUALU IV (in the form of manuscript B [K 11317 (AMT 44/6) + Rm 250 (AMT 45/1)]) reiterates the beginning of the incomplete therapeutic entry at the end of K 2386+ (but then adds a therapy) strongly suggests that it is resuming and completing the entry at the end of K 2386+.

The second piece of evidence for locating K 2386+ at the end of the first column of SUALU IV is that the extract tablet BAM 174 draws its passages sequentially from the beginning of the first column of SUALU IV, then K 2386+ and thereafter SUALU V (in the form of BAM 579). Although I am currently preparing a new edition of BAM 174, for our purposes here, a simple list of the parallel sections from BAM 174 is a useful first step:

BAM 174	Incipit	Duplicates
Obv. 5'–10'	[diš na ka-šú nundum- <i>su ana zà</i>] [<i>kubl-bu-ul-ma da-ba-ba la i-le-[']</i>]	BAM 523 rev. iii 9'–14'
Obv. 11'–16'	[diš na mur.meš]-šú ki kak.ti-šú <i>it-pu-qu ana ti-šú šen.tur a u kaš [...]</i>	BAM 558 rev. 7–11
Obv. 17'–20'	diš na mur.meš-šú ki kak.ti-šú <i>lit-bul-qu ana ti-šú úh.íd SAH [...]</i>	BAM 558 rev. 12–14
Obv. 21'–22'	diš na u ₄ .da kur- <i>id kúm tuku-ši</i>	SUALU IV i 3–4
Obv. 23'–24'	diš na u ₄ .da kur- <i>id ninda u kaš la i-ma-har</i>	SUALU IV i 5–6
Obv. 25'–27'	diš na <it>-<i>ta-na-ša-aš ina a-šu-uš-tú [šub].[šub]-su ...</i>	K 2386+ obv. 20'–25'
Obv. 28'–31'	diš na šà-šú ninda u kaš <i>la i-ma-[...]</i> ki úh-šú múd šub.šub- <i>a na.bi</i> u ₄ .da.sá.sá	unclear
Obv. 36'–42'	diš na šà.meš-šú <i>na-šu-u igi^{II}.meš-šú ur-ru-pa zi-mu [x x] / [na].lbi gig^I e-sil-te gig ana gig [x x x x]</i>	BAM 175, obv. 1–7 (?)
Obv. 43'–44'	(traces)	
Rev. 1–3	[<i>ana ši</i>]-[<i>ri</i>]-[<i>ih-te kúm šà zi</i> ^ú babbar [...]	SUALU V (BAM 579) i 34–37
Rev. 4–6	[<i>ana kúm šà</i>] [zi] 1 <i>sila lagab munu₄ kaš ...</i>	SUALU V (BAM 579) i 61–63
Rev. 7–9	[diš na] [kúm] šà tuku.meš-šú ^ú har.har ^ú nu.[luh.ha(?) ...]	SUALU V (BAM 579) ii 1–3

Although some uncertainties remain, it appears that the extract tablet BAM 174 moves through SUALU tablets IV and V in a fairly methodical way: lines 21'–24' on the obverse of BAM 174 correspond to the beginning of the first column of SUALU IV, while lines 1–9 on the reverse of BAM 174 corresponds to several sections from SUALU V (BAM 579). In between, we find an extended excerpt from K 2386+ (obv. 20'–25') in BAM 174, obv., lines 25'–27'. While I have not yet been able to identify a text that precisely corresponds to BAM 174, obv., lines 28'–31', no less than three distinctive turns of phrase that repeatedly appear in K 2386+ (*ša-šú ninda u kaš* <+ verb>, *ki úh-šú múd šub.šub-a* and *u₄.da.sá.sá*) occur in these lines from BAM 174. Given the repetitive nature of the therapeutic materials, it may well be possible that the incipit in BAM 174 obv., lines 28'–31', corresponds to an entry in the second column of the obverse of SUALU IV, for which we still do not have any evidence.

The third piece of evidence for the position of K 2386+ within SUALU IV is somewhat more problematic than the other two: several distinctive turns of phrase such as *hi-iq kaš* and *ma-gal* *tuku.tuku* occur on the poorly preserved reverse of K 2386+ and these phrases also occur in close proximity to one another on the obverse of BAM 66. This fact might easily lead to the suggestion that the obverse of BAM 66 corresponds to the reverse of K 2386+, but there are extenuating circumstances. In a brief note that Finkel published in 1994, he identified BM 38530 as a witness for Diagnostic Handbook XXXI on the basis of its colophon, but he also noted that the distinctive format and phraseology of BM 38530 was also found in BAM 66. In his *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik* (2000), Heeßel was then able to use these parallels to identify the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 416 as a likely witness for the 31st tablet of the Diagnostic Handbook. Heeßel then goes on to describe BAM 66 (at least as far as rev. 4', where SUALU IV begins) as a “forerunner” to tablet XXXI of the Diagnostic Handbook (Heeßel 2000: 348).

The format and phraseology that Finkel first noted (and that Heeßel uses as a justification for including BAM 416 in his edition of Diagnostic Handbook XXXI) can be summarized as follows: (i) one or more symptoms followed by *na.bi u₄ n.kam gig* “that man will be sick for n days,” then (ii) a statement of purpose *ana gig-su nu gíd.da* “to avoid prolonging his sickness” (functionally analogous to the expression *ana ti-šú* found elsewhere in the therapeutic corpora) and lastly (iii) a therapeutic prescription. There are some traces of this pattern in the short and fragmentary passage on the reverse of K 2386+: the phrase *nu gíd.da* followed by a bit of pharmacology in line 8', for example. On the whole, however, I have not been able to align the reverse of K 2386+ with BAM 66 or either of the two witnesses that Heeßel used in his reconstruction of Diagnostic Handbook XXXI. But this raises a difficult question: does the reverse of K 2386+ correspond to a section from the Diagnostic Handbook in much the same way that BAM 66 ostensibly contains a section from the Diagnostic Handbook on its obverse and the beginning of SUALU IV on its reverse? Or was the mixed genre outlined by Finkel incorporated into both the prognostic/diagnostic tradition and the therapeutic corpus?

At minimum it is clear that one of Heeßel's textual witnesses (BM 38530 = manuscript A) is from Diagnostic Handbook XXXI and exemplifies the mixed prognostic/therapeutic genre outlined by Finkel. Heeßel does not use BAM 66 as an actual witness for tablet XXXI and one could also argue against using the other witness in Heeßel's edition (BAM 416 = manuscript B), since it never directly overlaps with BM 38530 and seems to have a distinct numerical sequence for the lengths of illnesses. This leaves us with one first millennium example (BM 38530) of Finkel's prognostic/therapeutic mixed genre that must belong to Diagnostic Handbook XXXI as well as two late second-millennium examples of Finkel's mixed genre (BAM 66 is Middle Assyrian and BAM 416 is Middle Babylonian) that do not overlap or exactly parallel BM 38530. Heeßel locates one of these

older witnesses (BAM 416) in the gap in the middle of BM 38530 and treats the other older witness (BAM 66) as a forerunner.

The most parsimonious interpretation of this small group of texts would be to simply acknowledge that prior to Esagil-kīn-apli's compilation of the Diagnostic Handbook (the first diagnostic compendia that clearly included materials drawn from the Finkel's mixed prognostic/therapeutic genre), texts like BAM 416 and the obverse of BAM 66 simply represent an independent genre that was not wedded exclusively to either the diagnostic or the therapeutic camp. This would also fit very nicely with the position of Diagnostic Handbook XXXI at the beginning of subseries 5 within the Diagnostic Handbook, since as Heeßel points out (2000: 107), existing second-millennium compendia were largely incorporated into subseries 4 or 5 (corresponding to Diagnostic Handbook XXVI through XXXV), immediately before the gynecological materials at the end of the handbook. This might help us explain how Finkel's prognostic/therapeutic mixed genre could be so closely connected with both SUALU IV in the therapeutic corpus and tablet XXXI in the Diagnostic Handbook. Given the relatively frequent incorporation of pre-existing materials into the part of the Diagnostic Handbook in and around tablet XXXI, there is no reason to assume *prima facie* that the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 416 belongs to the diagnostic corpus. If anything, the fact that BAM 66 combines elements from Finkel's mixed prognostic/therapeutic genre (obverse plus first few lines on the reverse) with SUALU IV (on the reverse) suggests that Finkel's mixed genre was closer to the therapeutic corpus in many respects than the diagnostic materials.

Bibliography

- Alster, Bendt. 2007. *Sumerian Proverbs in the Schøyen Collection*. CUSAS 2. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.
- Attia, Annie, and Gilles Buisson. 2003. Edition de texte “Si le crâne d’un homme contient de la chaleur, deuxième tablette”. *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* 2: 1–24.
- Attinger, Pascal. 1993. *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne: La construction de du₁₁/e/di <dire>*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.
- Beckman, Gary, and Benjamin R. Foster. 1988. Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection. In E. Leichty and M. Ellis, eds., *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, pp. 1–26. Philadelphia: The University Museum.
- Böck, Barbara. 2010. Fieberkrankheiten. In B. Janowski and D. Schwemer, eds., *Texte zur Heilkunde*, pp. 78–84. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments NF 5. München: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Cadelli, Danielle Sandra. 2000. *Recherche sur la médecine mésopotamienne: la série šumma amêlu suâlam maruș*. PhD dissertation, Sorbonne and Université de Genève.
- Campbell Thompson, R. 1929. Assyrian Medical Prescriptions for Diseases of the Stomach. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 26(2): 47–92.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva Christiane. 1996. *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēh Hamad*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine. 1976. *Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten: Überlieferungsprobleme*. PhD dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine and Farouk al-Rawi. 1993. New Sumerian Literary Texts from Tell Haddad (Ancient Meturan): A First Survey. *Iraq* 55: 91–105.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine and Farouk al-Rawi. 1995. Textes Magiques de Tell Haddad (Textes de Tell Haddad II): Deuxième partie. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 85: 19–46.
- Collins, Timothy Joseph. 1999. *Natural Illness in Babylonian Medical Incantations*. PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Couto-Ferreira, Érica. 2009. *Etnoanatomía y partonomía del cuerpo humano en sumerio y acadio: El léxico Ugu-mu*. PhD dissertation, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Ebeling, Erich. 1921. Keilschrifttafeln medizinischen Inhalts I. *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 13(1/2): 1–42.
- Finkel, Irving L. 1994. On TDP Tablets XXIX and XXXI, and the Nature of SA.GIG. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 46: 87–88.

- Gadd, C. J., and R. Campbell Thompson. 1936. A Middle-Babylonian Chemical Text. *Iraq* 3(1): 87–96.
- Heeßel, Nils P. 2000. *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Küchler, Friedrich. 1904. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchlandlung.
- Labat, René. 1951. *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*. Leiden: Brill.
- Landsberger, Benno, and Miguel Civil. 1967. *Materialien zu sumerischen Lexikon 9: The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablet XV (MSL IX)*. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo et al. 1970. *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*. London: Goring Museum of Glass Press.
- Rutz, Matthew T. 2011. Threads for Esagil-kīn-apli: The Medical Diagnostic-Prognostic Series in Middle Babylonian Nippur. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 101: 294–308.
- Schaudig, Hanspeter. 2001. *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen*. AOAT 256. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Scurlock, JoAnn, and Burton R. Andersen. 2005. *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine: Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Medical Analyses*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- von Soden, Wolfram, and Wolfgang Röllig. 1976. *Das akkadische Syllabar, 3. Auflage durchgesehen und verbessert*. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum.
- Stol, Marten. 2007. Fevers in Babylonia. In I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller, eds., *Disease in Babylonia*, pp. 1–39. Leiden: Brill.
- Worthington, Martin. 2005. Edition of UGU 1 (=BAM 480 etc.). *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* 5: 6–43.
- Worthington, Martin. 2010. The lamp and the mirror, or: Some comments on the ancient understanding of Mesopotamian medical manuscripts. In A. Imhausen, T. Pommerening, eds., *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 189–199.
- Worthington, Martin. 2012. *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Masturbation in Babylonia

Marten Stol, Leiden

Among the omen texts recently published by Andrew R. George, one contains unusual apodoses. It speaks of unnatural sexual relationships.¹ Understandable to us are those involving a sheep (*immēru*, § 2), a goat (*ezzu* = *enzu*, § 12), and "a mother who (still) is able to give birth" (*ummu wālittu*, § 11).

It is striking that these apodoses are not forecasts about the future (as is usual in omens), but refer to misdeeds in the past. The past is indicated by the preterite: *it-ti-il i-ni-ik*, from *itūlu* "to lie down" and *niāku* "to copulate".

This use of the preterite is unusual. More normal in omens referring to an action in the past with consequences in the present are statives, e.g. *mamīt eršetim awīlam šabtat* "a curse of the netherworld has seized the man". K. Metzler lists many such examples under the heading "Beziehungen zwischen Göttern und Menschen".² For both the preterite and the stative, the message can also be positive: "The god has been present (*izziz*, preterite) in the sacrifice of the man"; "the sacrifice of the man has been received (*maḥir*, stative) by the god".³ Or: "The god has heard (*išme*) the prayer of the man".⁴

Returning to the new omens published by George, it is interesting that the preterite is also used in a text of similar content from Emar. Here necrophilia and relationships with women, cattle and female family members are likewise said to have been perpetrated in the past,⁵ and again we find the preterite: *illik* from *alāku* "to go (to)".

We interpret George's omens and the similar ones at Emar as signifying that, where the diviner would expect to find a "forecast" about what will happen in the future, he instead finds alarming news of a terrible sin that has happened in the community, and needs to be atoned for.

¹ A.R. George, *Babylonian Divinatory Texts Chiefly in the Schøyen Collection* (= CUSAS 18) (2013) 299-301, Lambert Folios no. VI.

² K.A. Metzler, *Tempora in altbabylonischen literarischen Texten* (= AOAT 279) (2002) 192-198.

³ U. Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen texts in the British Museum* (= PIHANS 64) (1989) 43, 53 f.

⁴ N. Heeßel, *KAL 5* (2011) 37 no. 1 II 25; earlier duplicate George, CUSAS 18 (2013) 152:4.

⁵ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.4* (1987) 284-5 no. 669:35 (necrophilia), 45-50, 58-61. Edited by J.-M. Durand, L. Marti, *Journal asiatique* 292 (2004) 19-23, § 33, 39-53.

In the new text published by George, the statement about the past sin is sometimes followed by what will happen next. In the case of the sheep: "Samkan [the god of domestic animals] will curse (*ezēru*) him and expel him from his mouth" (§ 2). The other omens are full of problems in interpreting the signs and words. For the first omen (which is perhaps introductory) we can, however, offer an interpretation.

In the translation by George it runs: "If on top of the 'shepherd' [of the liver] there is a hole (*šīlum nadi*) and alongside the hole is located a (piece of tissue) like half of a chickpea: The man has lain with the earth and copulated with the earth (*itti qaqqari ittīl qaqqaram inīk*), and Allatum will curse (him). She will expel him from his (!) mouth. Šamaš has destroyed his seed (*zērašu*)" (lines 1-5, § 1).

Allatum is a goddess of the netherworld – sometimes called *eršetu* "earth" in Akkadian – and she is clearly offended by what the man has done. This reminds me of the sin of Onan as told in the Bible:

"Then Judah said to Onan: 'Go in to your brother's wife, and perform the duty of a brother-in-law to her, and raise up offspring for your brother.' But Onan knew that the offspring would not be his; so he went in to his brother's wife, and he spilled [the semen] on the ground (*šihhēt 'aršā*), lest he should give offspring (*zēra'*) to his brother. And what he did was displeasing in the sight of the LORD, and he slew him also" (Genesis 38:8-10; Revised Standard Version, Oxford).

Onan's deed is both *coitus interruptus* and a way of masturbating, as the Jewish sages interpreted it.⁶ What connects the Akkadian and Hebrew passages is the focus on "the earth" (*qaqqarum*), "the ground" (*èrèš*). Note that the Akkadian forecast ends with "Šamaš has destroyed his seed / offspring (*zērašu*)", using the preterite, which may mean that the god has already punished him.

⁶ David M. Freedman, *Marital relations, birth control and abortion in Jewish law* (1974) 109-131 ("Improper emission of generative seed"), 144-165 ("The 'Act of Er and Onan'").

KTU 1.124 Revisited: A Second Opinion

W.G.E. Watson – N. Wyatt¹

This intriguing medical text was discovered in the 24th season at Ras Shamra (autumn 1961) near the southern acropolis and published as RS 24.272 (KTU 1.124). Unfortunately, the condition of the tablet is poor².

The currently broadly accepted translation of this difficult but almost complete Ugaritic text is as follows³:

1 <i>kmgy.adn</i> 2 <i>ilm.rbm.c.m.dtn</i>	When the lord of the great gods came to Ditānu,
3 <i>wyšal.mtpz.yld</i>	he asked concerning the diagnosis ⁴ of the child,
4 <i>wy^cny.nn.dtn</i>	Ditānu answered him:
5 <i>t^cny.</i>	“Reply:
<i>nad.mr.qh</i>	‘Take a bag of myrrh
6 <i>wšt.b[b]t.hrn.</i>	and place it in Horon’s [tem]ple.
<i>trh</i> 7 <i>hdt m[r].qh</i> [.]	Take a new ⁵ container/measure ⁶ of my[rrh]
<i>wšt</i> 8 <i>bbt.b^cl.</i>	and place it in Baal’s temple.
<i>bnt.qh</i> 9 <i>wšt.bbt</i>	Take a tamarisk figurine ⁷ and place it in the temple
<i>wpr^c</i> 10 <i>hy. hlh</i>	and it will remove her disease.’”
<i>wymg</i> 11 <i>mlakk.c m dtn</i>	And your ⁸ messenger came to Ditānu:
12 <i>lqh mtpz</i>	he accepted the diagnosis.

13 <i>wy^cny.nn</i> 14 <i>dtn</i>	And Ditānu answered him:
<i>btn.mhy</i>	“Let that house be cleansed:
15 <i>ldg.wklb</i>	no more fish and no more dog!”

LOWER EDGE

waṭr.in.mr Then afterwards there will be no illness.

The final four lines of the text, below the line scored across the tablet, constitute the divine response and ritual instruction (purification) for the healing of the sick patient, together with a positive prognosis. This short paper proposes a new interpretation of some key terms in these final lines, with a significant shift in our understanding of the text as a whole. Like the preceding text on the tablet, it is written in a mythological form, following a discussion

¹ Broadly speaking, Wyatt is responsible for the first half of the paper, Watson for the second.

² “The tablet is complete, though badly cracked” (Pardee 1983: 127). For a description of the signs see Pardee 1983: 128-31.

³ Following Wyatt RTU, 423-25 and Pardee 2002: 171-72; Pardee 1988: 183 is very similar, but with some differences; see below.

⁴ For the various meanings of *mtpz* here (but not “diagnosis”) see Cazelles 1984: 179-81; he prefers “judgement”. Dietrich/Loretz 1988: 330 n. 3a prefer “Schicksalsspruch”, lit. “Richtspruch”, which refers to the life and destiny of the male child about to be born.

⁵ It is uncertain whether *hdt* refers to “flask” or “myrrh”. For discussion, see Spronk 1986: 193 n. 3; he opted for “new (fresh) myrrh”, i.e. newly gathered fruit, but, in fact, myrrh is a resin.

⁶ For the meaning of this term see Watson 2012: 94.

⁷ For this meaning see Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín 1975: 540-41; Sanmartín 1978; Xella 1981: 176. Pardee (1983: 136) very tentatively suggested “berries”, based on Arabic.

⁸ The second sg suffix on *mlakk* presumably refers to the person requesting this healing procedure. Thus Husser 2012: 119.

between “the lord of the great gods”⁹ and Ditānu (himself evidently a god here), the prescription being delivered, therefore, with divine authority. The first question to attempt to answer is, who were the gods in the narrative?

The formulation of the opening lines raises an interesting point of divine identification and protocol. Who is “the lord of the great gods”, or “... of the many gods” (*adn ilm rbm*), who apparently defers to Ditānu as the more authoritative power in the present circumstances? The identification was described by Pardee as “remaining a mystery”, but he proposed, in view of his perception of the difficulty of envisaging El as a suppliant of Ditānu, that the phrase *adn ilm.rbm*, referred to the inhabitants of the underworld (“habitants de l’au-delà”), and that their “lord” was Yaqaru, the putative founder of the Ugaritic monarchy, a view accepted by Husser¹⁰. Given Ditānu’s role as leader or eponym of the Rāpi’ūma, also dead kings (*rpi arš = qbš dtn*, KTU 1.161.2-3, 9-10), this would appear to give to the deities concerned in the present text an entirely chthonian nature, inviting a necromantic interpretation of the whole procedure¹¹. However, we have no evidence to support the view that *ilm rbm* were ancestral powers. If the chief (*adn*) of this group were to be identified with El, which seems a reasonable, if equally hypothetical, alternative, we would have a celestial power deferring to an infernal power, still involving a technically necromantic process, but perhaps at first remove from the person making the initial consultation. That is, there is no specifically necromantic intention on the part of the medico-religious specialist, though this becomes a consequence of the particular consultation on account of the nature of the divine specialist (“consultant”!) to whom the case is referred. A third option is to identify the *adn ilm rbm* as *ilib*, in view of the appearance of this figure in the first line of the “pantheon lists” (following the heading *il špn* in KTU 1.47) occurring in KTU 1.47.2 = KTU 1.118.1 = RS 20.24.1 (DINGIR *abi*), who may indeed have been identified with Yaqaru, but is nowhere said so to be. But the factors against identification with Yaqaru seem to us also to obtain with this option. So let us pursue the second of our three options.

We have two interesting parallels to the above narrative, giving additional support to the view that the “lord” (*adn*) may well have been El (*ilu*) himself, each of which involves a deferral. Firstly, there is the passage in the course of the story of *Kirta* (KTU 1.16 iv 10-vi 2), where El asks of each of the gods in turn, “who will heal the dying king?” When all have failed to respond positively in spite of seven pleas for assistance, he has recourse to the manufacture of a draconian (implicitly chthonian?) figure who will perform the necessary healing, “the Remover”, Shatiqat (*š^ctqt*). In this narrative, El is manifestly in overall charge of the pantheon, but delegates particular tasks to other deities, in what is probably a rational division of labour among the members of the pantheon¹². The second passage, the snake-bite incantation in KTU 1.100, is slightly different. Here each of a number of deities, beginning with El himself, is approached in turn—twelve in all—until finally Horon, the twelfth, rises to the occasion. The idiom is therefore not quite the same, but the rationale is similar, the searching out of the deity appropriate for the task, by an exhaustive procedure represented by the numbers seven and twelve. Healing snake-bite is Horon’s role¹³, not El’s. These analogues suggest that El himself appears in the present text. He comes to Ditānu, the god for the specific task in hand, which falls, as we shall see, within the field of psychological medicine. This is significant, since it implies that different deities were invoked—almost as

⁹ Pardee 1988, 185: ‘dieux nombreux’, followed by Husser 2012: 119.

¹⁰ Pardee 1988: 184-85; Husser 2012: 119. For Yaqaru’s place in the so-called king-list (KTU 1.113 verso) see Wyatt RTU, 402-3 n. 13.

¹¹ By Husser 2012: 119. He noted the genre allotted in CAT (KTU²) 136 *ad loc.*: “protocol of necromancy”.

¹² For some of the logical factors in the construction of a pantheon see Wyatt 1998.

¹³ Cf. Horon’s role in executions, discussed in Wyatt 2006. See also KTU 1.107, another snake-bite text, where a number of paired gods are invoked, El and Horon being the first pair (ll. 40-43). On both El and Ditānu/Didānu as aurochs gods (with implicitly chthonian overtones, see Wyatt and Wyatt 2013).

hospital consultants or proprietary medicines—to deal with different symptoms.

It is perhaps significant that El is given the epithet *adn*. If Hurrian/Semitic *ad*, “father”¹⁴, is to be discerned behind this term, then El’s paternity of the other deities is invoked. It might be thought that this would apply equally to Yaqaru. But *he* is a descendant of Ditānu in the (fictitious) royal genealogy, not his father, as is El, so that such a claim necessarily falls.

The second deity requiring brief discussion here is Ditānu¹⁵. Like Horon, he is a chthonian deity. This implies that he has a particularly dangerous character (that is, it is hazardous to invoke him, because he dwells in the underworld). His pedigree as an eponymous figure from ancient tribal life in Assyria, where he appears in the King List, is well-known. In Ugarit, he appears to have been a patron of the *Rāpi’uma* (in the variant form *Didānu* in KTU 1.161.3, 10; the present form appears in KTU 1.15 iii 4, 15); their collective name suggests that they were seen as healing powers. Whether Ditānu is to be understood as an *alter ego* of the eponymous god *Rāpi’u*, hymned in KTU 1.108, remains obscure.

Very similar to the last three lines (as translated above) is the interpretation of Pardee (1988: 183): “frotte la (?) maison: plus de poisson et plus de chien! Et après l’amertume ne sera plus”. Otherwise, there is a range of versions and readings. As Pardee comments (1988: 189): “Il existe de grandes difficultés d’interprétation dans les lignes 14 et 15. Toutes les lectures, à l’exception du (b) à la fin de la ligne 15, sont quasi-certaines”. His later translation (Pardee 2002: 172) is much the same: “Cleanse (lit. “wipe”) the house: no more fish and no more dog!”.

Caquot (1989: 123) reads *ldg wtkl* in line 15 and translates lines 14-15: “la *sterilité* et la *dénatalité* ont détruit notre maison”. He explains *dg* from Heb. *dāgāh* and Arab. *dağā*, “to proliferate, spread” (HALOT, 213a). Del Olmo Lete (1999: 314) reads *kll* instead of *klb* (or even *klš*) and translates: “Clean the inside of the house; no fish and none at all, and afterwards there will be no ‘bitterness’ (i.e. ‘illness’). For discussion of the reading as *kll* see Del Olmo Lete (1999: 314 n. 70) – he bases his reading *kll* on the expression *wkl šbšlt dg*, “and every kind of fish stew” (KTU 1.106:21-22). However, the reading established by Pardee (1988: 180, 182-83) is *ldg wklb*.

Dietrich/Loretz (1988: 331): “Das Haus sei gereinigt von Fisch und Hund, und es sei dort keine Myrrhe”. Slightly different is Xella (1981: 175): “E gli rispose Ditanu: – Spezza la figurina / non (dare al fanciullo) pesce né pane e in seguito non ci sarà più sofferenza”, reading *bnt mḥš* in line 14 and *<a>kl* in line 15. Spronk (1986: 193-94) has “Clean our house / for the fish and dog / and afterwards the bitterness will be no more”.

There are however serious problems with such an understanding of the text, particularly in the last four lines. Why the sudden mention of a “fish” and a “dog”?¹⁶ What is the connection between cleansing the (previously unmentioned) “house” and the unnamed child being healed? Is the house in question (*btn*) actually the “temple”, already mentioned three times in lines 6-9? And in particular, why is the disease afflicting the child not identified?

The solution to these problems comes from lexicography. Starting with line 15, a meaning that can be proposed for *dg* is something like “irrational, mentally ill”, based on Syriac *dgg*, “to become dumb”, *dgg*, “to stammer” and *dgyg*, “crazy”; cf. also Syr. *dgg*, “*surdus, mente captus, balbutivit*” (LS, 141a) and Syr. *dwg*, “*surdus*” (LS, 141a). Similarly, here the word *klb* in the same line does not actually mean “dog” but “madness”, literally “rabies”, which of course is derived from the word for “dog”. See Syriac *klb*, “madness”; “to be rabid” (LS,

¹⁴ See DUL²: 18 (second option) and Hurr. *attai*, “father” (GLH, 63), i.e. Hurr. *[áta²-i] “father” (Fournet 2013, 253).

¹⁵ See Spronk, 1999 and bibliography; also Lipiński 1978 and Wyatt 2005, 2007 (where I discussed his titanic associations).

¹⁶ Further discussion of this perplexing phrase in Pardee 1988: 190.

328b) and Arab. *kaliba*, “he (a man) was seized with madness like that of dogs, in consequence of his having been bitten by a [mad] dog; he lost his reason by the kind of madness termed *kalab*; he was slight-witted; weak and stupid or foolish” (AEL, 2624-2625); Mod. Arab. *kaliba*, “to be seized by hydrophobia; to become mad, crazy” (DMWA, 836a) and Mod. Arab. *kalab*, “rabies, hydrophobia” (DMWA, 836a). Here it seems to refer to behaviour symptomatic of rabies rather than to the actual disease. Taken together, the expression *dg wklb* seems to denote someone whose mind is severely damaged, possibly raving.

Furthermore, in line 14, *btn* refers neither to a previously unmentioned “house” nor to the “temple” of lines 6-9, but to the “child” (*yld* in line 3), here a girl (*bt*)¹⁷. The final enclitic particle *-n* is used after a topicalised clause¹⁸ and therefore *btn mḥy* means “that girl will be cleansed” or “the girl in question will be cleansed”.

Finally, the term *mr* (line 16) can mean either “sorrow” or “bitter pain” (cf. DUL, 569), but here probably means “illness”.¹⁹ See Eg. *mr*, “körperlich krank sein; leiden; schmerzhaft, schlimm” (Wb II 95); “sick, ill diseased; painful” (FCD, 110); “schmerzen, krank sein, Schmerzen haben; seelisch schlimm sein, etc.” (GHWb, 344)²⁰.

The last four lines can now be translated as follows:

wy^cnynn dtn
btn mḥy
ldg wklb
waṭr in mr

And Ditānu answered him:
 “Let that girl be (ritually) cleansed:
 no more madness and no more raving!”
 Then afterwards there will be no illness/sorrow.

¹⁷ Although in Semitic *yld* (and its cognates) can denote a male child, as in Heb. *yeled*, “boy, male child” (HALOT, 412b) and Heb. *yālīd*, “son” (HALOT, 413a), this is not always the case. It can simply mean “child”: see Syr. *yld*, “child” (LS, 301); Akk. (w)*ildu(m)*, *mildu*, “offspring, young; child” (CDA, 438a; AHw, 1496; CAD I/J, 71); Akk. *līdu(m)*, *līddu*, “child, offspring” (CDA, 182a); Arab. *walīd*, “a new-born child, a young infant” (AEL, 2966).

¹⁸ See Tropper 2012² §89.11 (pp. 823-824) “E[nklitische]P[artikel] nach topikalisiertem (betont vorangestelltem) Satzglied”, where this example is cited (§89.11 c.), but with the translation “Man reinige das Haus von Fisch und Hunde(fleisch)”.

¹⁹ Instead, Pardee (2002: 171) tentatively suggests that it is a reference to snakebite (Ug. *šmrr*).

²⁰ For discussion see EDE III, 361-366. See also Nunn 1996, 222 (*mr*: “ill, sick or in pain”).

Bibliography

- Caquot, A., 1989, "Textes religieux", in A. Caquot - J.-M. de Tarragon - J.-L. Cunchillos, *Textes ougaritiques Tome II: Textes religieux et rituels; Correspondance* (LAPO 14; Paris 1989) 119-23.
- Cazelles, H., 1984, "*mtp̄* à Ugarit", *Orientalia* 53: 177-82.
- Del Olmo Lete, G., 1999, *Canaanite Religion according to the liturgical texts of Ugarit* (translated by W. G. E. Watson; Bethesda 1999).
- Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O., 1988, "Ugaritische Rituale und Beschwörungen: Evokation königlicher Ahnen. a) Protokoll einer Anfrage anlässlich der Geburt eines Prinzen (KTU 1.124)", in W. Farber *et al.* (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* vol. 2/3 *Rituale und Beschwörungen* (Gütersloh) II, 329-331.
- Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. – Sanmartín, J., 1975, "Bericht über ein Orakel (RS 24.272 = Ug. 5, S. 563 Nr. 6)", *UF* 7: 540-41.
- Fournet, A., 2013: *A Manual of Hurrian* (La Garenne Colombes).
- Husser, J.-M., 2012, "Nécromancie et oracles cultuels à Ugarit", 111-27 in J.-M. Durand, T. Römer and J. Hutzli (eds), *Les vivants et leurs morts. Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 14-15 avril 2010* (OBO 257; Fribourg / Göttingen).
- Lipiński, E. 1978, "Ditānu", 91-110 in Y. Avishur and J. Blau (eds), *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his 70th Birthday* (Jerusalem).
- Nunn, J.F., 1996, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London).
- Pardee, D., 1983, "Visiting Ditanu: The Text of RS 24.272", *UF*, 15: 127-40.
- Pardee, D., 1988, *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)* (Paris 1988) 179-92.
- Pardee, D., 2002, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 10; Leiden / Boston MA / Köln) 170-72.
- Sanmartín, J., 1978, "Zum Begriff 'Struktur' (*bnt*) im Ugaritischen", *UF* 10: 445-46.
- Spronk, K., 1986, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- Spronk, K., 1999, "Dedan", *DDD*², 232-33.
- Tropper, J., 2012, *Ugaritische Grammatik. Zweite, stark überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage* (AOAT 273; Münster 2012²).

Virolleaud, C., 1968, “Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra (xxiv^e campagne, 1961)”, *Ugaritica* 5: 545-606.

Watson, W. G. E., 2012, “Ugaritic terms for containers in the light of Comparative Semitics”, in: F. Corriente – G. del Olmo Lete – Á. Vicente – J.-P. Vita (eds), *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages. Proceedings of the IV Meeting on Comparative Semitics, Zaragoza 11/6-9/2010, Aula Orientalis Supplementa 27* (Sabadell 2012) 81-112.

Wyatt, N., 1998, “Understanding polytheism: structure and dynamic in a West Semitic pantheon”, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 5:24-63.

Wyatt, N., 2006, “‘May Horon Smash Your Head!’: a Curse Formula from Ugarit”, 471-79 in G. del Olmo Lete – Ll. Feliu – A. Millet Albà (eds) *Šapal tibnim mû illak : Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Aula Orientalis 17-18).

Wyatt, N., 2007, “A la recherche des Rephaim perdus”, 579-613 in J.-M. Michaud (ed.) *Le royaume d’Ougarit de la Crète à l’Euphrate. Nouveaux axes de recherche* (Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique II, Sherbrooke, QC).

Wyatt, S. – Wyatt, N., 2013, “The longue durée in the beef business”, 417-50 in O. Loretz – S. Ribichini – W.G.E. Watson – J.-Á. Zamora (eds) *Ritual, Religion and Reason. Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella* (AOAT 404, Münster).

Xella, P., 1981, *I testi rituali di Ugarit* (Studi Semitici 54; Rome 1981).

Abbreviations

DDD	K. Van der Toorn – B. Becking – P. W. van der Horst (eds), <i>Dictionary of deities and demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden 1999 ²).
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson) 2 vols (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/67; Leiden 2004 ²).
EDE III	G. Takács, <i>Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian</i> , vol. III (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/48/3; Leiden 2008).
FCD	R. O. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> (Oxford 1962).
GHWb	R. Hannig, <i>Die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v.Chr.): Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch</i> (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 64; Mainz 1995).
GLH	E. Laroche, <i>Glossaire de la langue hourrite</i> (Paris 1980).
HALOT	L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , 5 vols. (translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson) (Leiden 1994–2000).
RTU	N. Wyatt, <i>Religious Texts from Ugarit</i> (London–New York 2002 ²).
Wb	A. Erman – H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , vols. 1-7 (Berlin 1926-1963) and <i>Belegstellen</i> , vols. 1-5 (Leipzig 1825-1955) (courtesy of the TLA website).

Plate 1



Recto

Plate 2



Bottom Edge

Photographs courtesy D. Pardee, Mission de Ras Shamra

COMITÉ DE LECTURE

Tzvi Abusch, Robert Biggs, Barbara Böck, Dominique Charpin, Jean-Marie Durand, Irving Finkel, Markham Geller, Nils Heeßel, Stefan Maul, Daniel Schwemer, JoAnn Scurlock, 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. Il faudra joindre la police utilisée pour que les signes diacritiques puissent être lus.

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 :

Annie Attia, 68 avenue d'Italie, 75013 Paris, France.

e-mail : attia@noos.fr

ABONNEMENTS

A partir de 2015, 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 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.

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 mandat international, à l'ordre d'AZUGAL.

Les chèques et les mandats internationaux 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, 9 rue de la Sabotte, 78160 Marly-Le-Roi. Dépôt légal : 08-2014. ISSN 1761-0583. Directrice de la publication : A. Attia, responsable de la rédaction : G. Buisson, secrétaire de rédaction : M. Worthington.