

# Le Journal des Médecines

2015 n°26



# Cuneiformes

Page 1

Magical-medical prescriptions against fever:  
an edition of BM 42272

**András Bácskay**

Page 33

Sāmānu as a Human Disease

**Susanne Beck**

Page 47

On ne saurait songer à tout

**Annie Attia**

# Magical-medical prescriptions against fever: an edition of BM 42272<sup>1</sup>

András Bácskay (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

## Abstract

Containing twenty prescriptions, the Neo- or Late-Babylonian tablet edited here is one of the most comprehensive sources for the phylacteries against fever. Although a duplicate of the whole text is yet unknown to me, several parallels or text variants of the single prescriptions can be identified in the published and unpublished medical tablets from Aššur and Ninive. In the present paper I transliterate and translate the tablet, with special attention to the fever prescriptions and their parallels.<sup>2</sup>

## Introduction

The tablet BM 42272 (81-7-1, 31) belongs to the collection 81-7-1 in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The uncertainty of the archival context makes exact dating impossible, but the palaeography suggests that it was written during the Neo-Babylonian or Late-Babylonian period.<sup>4</sup> At first, Franz Köcher identified this tablet as an unpublished parallel to BAM III 315 i 38-41 and BAM II 151 13'-17', but unfortunately he did not indicate the BM number of the tablet.<sup>5</sup> In 2011, Abusch and Schwemer published six prescriptions from the obverse as duplicates for prescriptions against ušburruda-witchcraft,<sup>6</sup> in addition to which they described the structure of the tablet, remarking that the remaining part of the obverse and the reverse contain prescriptions against fever.<sup>7</sup> The fever prescriptions were recently transliterated and translated by JoAnn Scurlock but she did not take all parallels of the single prescriptions into account,

---

<sup>1</sup> My paper is based on the research funded by German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in 2013 and the Central Fund Programs in Pázmány Péter Catholic University in 2014.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Jonathan Taylor, Assistant Keeper of Cuneiform Collections in British Museum, and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the tablet. I am also greatly indebted to Gilles Buisson, Mark Geller, Nils Heeßel, Henry Stadhouders, Walther Sallaberger and the participants of the Keilschriftmedizin Seminar at the Freie Universität Berlin for their advice and suggestions. For the photos, I am no less pleased to express my gratitude to Zoltán Niederreiter.

<sup>3</sup> The tablets in this collection originate from the northern Babylonian excavations of Hormuzd Rassam, between 1879 and 1880; for a description of the 81-7-1 collection, see Reade (1986, p. xxxi) and Jursa (1999, 19-22). Both scholars assert that the tablets originate from various north-Babylonian sites, mainly from Babylon, Sippar and Borsippa. Although Böck mentions the tablet as a manuscript from Babylon in the list of incantations of the standard *muššu'u* series (Böck 2007, 37), and Abusch and Schwemer refer to its Babylonian origin (Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 205), the fragmentary colophon of the tablet does not refer to Babylon or any other Babylonian city.

<sup>4</sup> Abusch and Schwemer date the tablet between the sixth and third centuries BC (Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 205), Böck does not give information about the dating of the tablet.

<sup>5</sup> „einen unveröffentlichten Text der Babylonian Collection des British Museum” (Köcher BAM III, p. xxv and BAM II, p. xiii).

<sup>6</sup> Schwemer 2007a, 112 (KAL 2, no. 49); Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 204-245 (CMAR 1, no. 7.10 ms. J.). The authors transliterated and translated one part of the tablet as a duplicate of the text no. 7.10.1 (BAM V 434-436). They discussed the following lines of the obverse of the tablet: 1-2 (their pp. 224 and 238); 3-9 (pp. 216-219 and 234); 21-31 (pp. 224 and 238); 25-27 (pp. 227-228 and 240). Furthermore, lines 8-9 were transliterated and translated earlier by Finkel (Finkel 2000, 142), and Böck discussed lines 21-22 and their parallels (Böck 2007, 46-47). Finally, Scurlock and Andersen referred to lines 23, 25-26 and 28-29 as parallels of prescriptions against sorcery (*kišpū*) (Scurlock-Andersen 2005, 742:6 and 758:237).

<sup>7</sup> They identified 21 prescriptions against fever but did not refer to the parallel texts and did not make any comments (Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 225).

therefore her transliteration contains several problems.<sup>8</sup> In this paper I transliterate and translate the whole tablet, with special focus on the fever prescriptions and their parallels. In my work I collected more parallels than Scurlock,<sup>9</sup> and I offer alternative readings and interpretations for several passages.<sup>10</sup>

The study of this tablet was part my recent research into phylacteries against fever. In my work I identify 11 tablets which include phylacteries against ‘heat’ (*ummu*), permanent heat (*ummu lazzu*), ‘strong heat’ (*ummu dannu*) and *li’bu*. The related prescriptions are attested on the following tablets: VAT 13750+ col. i 28-42 (hand-copy by Köcher, BAM III 315); BM 35512 (unpub.); Rm II 256+ col. ii (hand-copy by Thompson, AMT 63,2 + AMT 19,2); the reverse of A 41 (hand-copy by Köcher, BAM II 147; transliteration and translation by Scurlock, 2014, 407-412) // VAT 13927+ reverse (hand-copy by Köcher, BAM II 148); VAT 13757+ obv. 13-24 (hand-copy by Köcher, BAM II 151); K 2581 obverse (hand-copy by K. van der Toorn, 1985, pl. 1-2; transliteration and translation by Scurlock, 2014, 675-676) // K 6732+79-7-8, 202 (transliteration and translation by Scurlock, 2002, 373:30); BM 42431+ (hand-copy and transliteration by Finkel, 2000, text 51A) // F 232 (Finkel, 2000, text 51B); Bo 339/c+ (hand-copy by Ehelolf, 1938, KUB 29 58) + Bo 569/c (Ehelolf, 1938, KUB 29 59) + Bo 167/c (hand-copy by Köcher, 1953, KUB 37 84) col. v 30-vi 7 (translation and transliteration by Meier, 1939); and the tablet here discussed. The importance of our tablet is twofold: firstly it contains the most complete collection of phylacteries against ‘fever’, and secondly the prescriptions of our tablet have several duplicates from different time and places.

### ***Description and content of the tablet***

BM 42272 is a single-column horizontal tablet (24 cm high and 12 cm wide) including 12 prescriptions on the obverse, and 18 prescriptions and a colophon on the reverse. As usually, prescriptions are separated by rulings. According to the fragmentary colophon, the tablet is the 30<sup>th</sup> extract (*pirsu*) of the series ‘If a man’s skull / brain contains heat’ (*šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukāl*, also known as “UGU series”), and was copied from a wax tablet. The name of the scribe and all other information is lost. The poor condition of the wax exemplar is attested to by several *hepi*-notes (lines 38, 41, 42 and 54). The Neo-Assyrian version of the therapeutic UGU series does not refer to any ‘extracts’,<sup>11</sup> but the colophon of a Late-Babylonian tablet from Uruk mentions the 9<sup>th</sup> ‘extract’ of the series.<sup>12</sup> It could be theorized that in the Late-Babylonian period the Neo-Assyrian version of the series was expanded and re-edited, dividing it into sections.<sup>13</sup> In the state of our present knowledge the reconstruction of this process is not possible and we do not know how many sections were created during the re-edition of the work.

The content of the tablet is as follows:

---

<sup>8</sup> Scurlock 2014, 412-417. In connection with our tablet Scurlock identifies the following parallels: BAM II 147 rev. 5’-16’, BAM II 148 rev. 7’-18’, BAM III 315 i 38-41, K 2581 obv. 1’-19’ and BM 35512 obv. 1-3, 14-19.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, Scurlock rightly identified obv. 1-3 and 14-19 on BM 35512 as parallels but she did not mention that lines 4-13 and 20-26 are also parallel with our text. I identified further parallels on two tablets: Rm II. 256 + 79-07-08, 148 (AMT 63,2+AMT 19,2) ii 12’-13’ and VAT 13757 + 13939 + 13987 (BAM II 151) obv. 13-24

<sup>10</sup> My alternative interpretation can be found in the following prescriptions: 32-36, 37-38, 39-44, 66-67, 68-69 and 82.

<sup>11</sup> The manuscripts of the Neo-Assyrian mini-series originate mainly from 7th century Niniveh and Aššur. For the edition of the series, see UGU I (Worthington 2003; Worthington 2005) and UGU II (Attia-Buisson 2003).

<sup>12</sup> SpTU I no. 44 (Hunger 1976).

<sup>13</sup> The colophon of BM 35512 mentions the 34<sup>th</sup> extract of the tablet: 34 *nis-ḥu* DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal bul-tu GABA.RI É *ḏà-b*[*i-bi* ...] = 34<sup>th</sup> extract from the (series) “If a man’s skull /brain contains heat”, medicines according to the original tablet from the house of Dabi[bi]

## Obverse

- 1-2: Fragmentary therapeutic treatment (probably a potion) against witchcraft, using five plants.
- 3-9: List of 25 plants for mental (lit. internal) well-being (*tūb libbi*), against witchcraft and curse.
- 10-18: The incantation “I am the Vigil, sister of Marduk” (*anāku nubattu aḫāt Marduk*) and its connected ritual to resolve sorcery and curse.
- 19-20: List of seven plants against curse.
- 21-22: Therapeutic treatment (potion) against curse, using four plants and the incantation “Ea cast (the incantation)” (*iddi Ea*).
- 23-24: Therapeutic treatment (potion) to stop the flow of saliva, using four plants.
- 25-27: Therapeutic treatment (potion) to stop the constant flow of saliva, using seven plants.
- 28-31: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) to stop the flow of saliva, using nine plants and *annuharu*-alum.
- 32-36: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using ten plants and a live lizard as well as an incantation “The Sky is destroyed, the Earth is destroyed”.
- 37-38: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using four plants.
- 39-43: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using dust from various places, an amulet and the incantation “Lamaštu, the child of Anu”.

## Reverse

- 45-48: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using three plants and a phylactery made from various hairs and four plants.
- 49-53: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using a *ḫallulāja*-insect and fumigation with rancid oil and sweat from a horse.
- 54-63: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever, using dust from various places, plants and a live lizard, as well as an incantation and an amulet (putting a live lizard into a reed tube or reed mat and closing it with black textile).
- 64-65: Therapeutic treatment (fumigation) against fever, using six drugs.
- 66-67: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) against fever and phylactery using a specific dust, animal drugs mixed in oil.
- 68-69: Therapeutic treatment (ointment) and phylactery against fever using animal drugs and one plant.
- 70-71: Phylactery against fever, using plant, animal drugs and a soiled rag, as well as a fumigation with animal drugs, one plant, a soiled rag and combed hair.
- 72: Phylactery against fever, using animal hair and ‘human bone’.
- 73: Phylactery against fever, using animal hair and a plant.
- 74-75: Phylactery against fever, using animal hair and a plant, and a therapeutic treatment (ointment) using a plant mixed in oil.
- 76-77: Phylactery against fever, using animal drugs, stones and plants.
- 78-79: Phylactery against fever, using animal hair, a fumigation with plants over *nikiptu*-coals, and a therapeutic treatment (ointment) used coral mixed in oil.
- 80: Phylactery against fever, using animal drugs and a plant.
- 81: Phylactery against fever, using plants.
- 82: (Fragmentary:) phylactery against fever, phylactery using animal drug and a plant.
- 83: Phylactery against fever, using plants.
- 84: Phylactery against fever, using a plant mixed in oil.
- 85: (Fragmentary:) catchline or prescription using at least one plant against fever
- 86-88: colophon

We can divide the above content of the tablet into three text units: 1) five therapeutic prescriptions and two incantations to undo witchcraft (*ušburruda*) and curses (*namerimburruda*) (lines 1-22); 2) three therapeutic prescriptions to ‘stop the flow of saliva’ (lines 23-31); 3) twenty one prescriptions against ‘heat’ (*ummu*) (lines 32-85). The flowing saliva could be interpreted as one of the typical symptoms of sorcery (*kišpū*) and the complementary character of witchcraft, curse and sorcery seems clear.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, formal differences between the three main text units can be observed. The prescriptions to undo witchcraft and curses do not contain any medical rubrics (such as “If somebody has such-and-such symptoms, he is ill with such-and-such” or “in order to release so-and-so”): all these prescriptions are lists of healing plants without any reference to the method of therapy. In contrast, the prescriptions against *kišpū*-sorcery always have a symptom description. The prescriptions against ‘heat’ (*ummu*) start with the incipit (*diš na kúm dab-su* “If somebody has been seized by fever”) or ditto signs. This medical incipit occurs three times on the tablet (lines 32, 49 and 85).<sup>15</sup> The third occurrence of the incipit seems to be a catchline, but the first and the second references formally divide the list of fever prescriptions into two sections: the first section from lines 32 to 48 and the second lines 49-84. The separation of the two fever sections was indicated by double rulings after the first section (between the lines 48 and 49). All of the remaining fever prescriptions start with a ditto sign. The first fever section has four prescriptions and the second has sixteen. The indication of the broken condition of the original tablet (*hepi*) is attested several times in the first section (in lines 38, 41 and 42), but only once (line 54) in the second section. It can also be observed, that the treatments for fever are quite variable, including therapeutic treatments (generally ointments or fumigation) and especially phylacteries. The fever prescriptions mainly use plants and various magical-medical drugs like dust from various places, animals, hair from different animals, etc. The vast majority of the healing procedures involve phylacteries and they are often applied together with an ointment or fumigation.<sup>16</sup>

No duplicate of the whole text is known to me, but several parallels or text variants of individual prescriptions can be identified in the published medical tablets from Aššur and Niniveh. Since Abusch and Schwemer collected the parallels of the prescriptions against curse, oath and sorcery,<sup>17</sup> my work focuses on the parallels to the fever prescriptions, with special emphasis on the phylacteries. Most of the parallels occur on two tablets. One of these is the list of phylacteries against fever in BAM III 315 col. i 28-42, which contains a total of eight prescriptions; five of these parallel ones in our tablet. The other is the unpublished BM

---

<sup>14</sup> Schwemer (2007b, 66; 2011, 429-430). The symptom descriptions of the various types of „magical diseases” were not analysed separately, but Schwemer identified the typical symptom complexes for „magical diseases” as follows: headache, vertigo, pain of limbs, paralysis, deafness, bodily pain, nausea, depression, fear, embarrassment, flow of saliva, bleeding of the mouth, loss of libido and impotence. It can be noted, that the paralysis, deafness, depression, fear and flow of saliva as symptoms can be attested in just all of the symptom descriptions (Schwemer 2007b, 167 and 169-179).

<sup>15</sup> This incipit is attested only in three other therapeutic tablets (BAM II 143 obv. 1, BM 35512 obv. 1 and BAM III 315 i 28), but a similar incipit referring to ‘internal heat’ (*KÚM ŠÀ = ummi libbi*) occurs several times in the *suālu* series (BAM VI 579 i 46; 51; 59; BAM VI 579 i 61 // BAM II 174 rev. 4.; BAM VI 579 ii 1 // BAM II 174 rev. 7) and the catalog of medical texts from Aššur contains this incipit: *DIŠ NA ŠÀ-ŠÚ KÚM DAB-it* (YBC 7146 obv. 14’, Beckman-Foster 1988, 12, no. 9b).

<sup>16</sup> The complementary or auxiliary aspect of the phylactery is attested in the prescriptions and also in some letters of the Neo-Assyrian royal scholars. For example, Urad-Nanaya, the chief physician of Esarhaddon, wrote to the king that he had prepared and sent to the king various therapeutic medicines (lotion, *šilbānu*-medication and ointment) together with a phylactery (Parpola, 1993, SAA 10, no. 315), and Ikkāru, the successor of Urad-Nanaya, likewise wrote a letter mentioning both a therapeutic treatment and a phylactery (Parpola 1993, SAA 10, no. 328).

<sup>17</sup> See note no. 6.

35512, which includes 13 parallel prescriptions. It can be observed that the parallels are not exact duplicates, and some prescriptions have several extant text variants.<sup>18</sup>

### Transliteration and translation

Obverse

1. ʾÚ.ʾKUR.RA ʾKUR.KUR ʾLAG.ʾA.ŠÀ.GA ʾsah-lʾ[ʾu-ú<sup>19</sup> ...]
2. 5 ʾMEŠ ʾUŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU ina ʾxʾ[...]
3. ʾtar-muš ʾIGI-lim ʾIGI-ešrā {ú} ʾkur.ʾxʾ<sup>20</sup>[...]
4. ʾúr-nu-ú ʾti-iaʾ(text: za)-a-ti ʾnuʾ.LUḤ.Ḥ[A ʾsah-lu-ú]<sup>21</sup>
5. GAZI<sup>sar</sup> ʾakʾ-tam ʾGEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A ʾ<LUḤ.>MAR.TU [...]
6. NUMUN ʾMIN MUN <eme->sal-lim ʾSIKIL ŠINIG NUMUN Š[INIG ʾLI<sup>sim</sup>ʾ]
7. NUMUN ʾLI ʾA.ZAL.LÁ NUMUN ʾMIN ʾIN.[NU.U]Š

---

8. 25 ʾḤÁ<sup>22</sup> ŠÀ.DU<sub>10</sub>.GA ʾUŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA u NAM.ʾÉRIMʾ.[BÚ]R.R[E]
9. GABA.RI ir-ni-ni-ni

---

10. ÉN ana-ku [n]u-bat-ʾtu<sub>4</sub>ʾ a-ḥat<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>d</sup>za-ap-pi i-ra-an-ʾniʾ
11. <sup>d</sup>bal-lu<sub>4</sub>ʾ ʾúʾ-li-dan-ni<sup>d</sup>LÚ.ḤUŠ ʾanaʾ li-qu-ti ʾilʾ-qa-an-ni
12. [ana-á]š-ši ŠU.SI.MEŠ.MU ina bi-rit<sup>d</sup>za-ap-ʾpiʾ u <sup>d</sup>balʾ-lu<sub>4</sub> ʾú-šeš-šib
13. ʾušʾ-t[e-e]š-šib ina IGI.MU<sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN GAL-tu<sub>4</sub> a-pi-lat ʾkiʾ-[m]u-ʾúʾ-a ŠE[Š] ʾAMARʾ.UTU
14. um-m[i] U<sub>4</sub>-15-KAM AD-a u<sub>4</sub>-mu KI-ia-a-ma lip-šu-ru ka-la [ta-ma]-a-ti
15. ma-mit šá at-tim-mu-ú la ʾú-qar-ra-ab re-mé-nu-ú<sup>d</sup>A[MAR.UT]U ʾTU<sub>6</sub>.ÉNʾ

---

16. DÙ.DÙ.BI ina nu-bat-ti ÉN an-ni-ti ana UGU ʾUŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.ʾRUʾ.DA
17. u N[AM.É]RIM.BÚR.RU.DA ŠID-ma U<sub>4</sub>-3-KAM U<sub>4</sub>-7-KAM U<sub>4</sub>-16-KAM ʾŠUB<sup>2ʾ</sup>-ma
18. ki[š-pu] ʾúʾ NAM.ÉRIM pa-áš-ru

---

19. ʾ.[KUR.RA] ʾḤAR.ḤAR ʾNU.LUḤ.ḤA ʾGAZI<sup>sar</sup> sah-lu-ú
20. ʾ[LAG.A]ʾŠÀʾ.GA ʾúr-nu-ú [7] ʾúʾ.[ḤÁʾ] ʾšáʾ NAM.ÉRIM

---

21. ʾ[IGI-li]m ʾIGI-ešrā ʾtar-muš ʾSUḤUŠ<sup>2ʾ</sup> ʾḤAB 4 ʾḤÁʾ [šáʾ]
22. NA[M.ÉR]IM.<BÚR.RU>.DA ina KAŠ NAG-šú ÉN id-di<sup>d</sup>é-ʾa ŠIDʾ-nu

---

23. DIŠ NA il-la-tu-šú il-la-ku NU KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ana TI-šú ʾIGI-lim
24. ʾtar-muš ʾeli-kul-la NUMUN ʾIN.NU.UŠ ba-lu pa-tan a-ḥe-e NAG

---

25. DIŠ NA il-la-tu-šú ina KI.NÁ-šú-ma ina kal u<sub>4</sub>-mi lu ina kal GE<sub>6</sub> DU.MEŠ-ma
26. NU KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ana TI-šú ʾḤAR.ḤAR ʾKUR.KUR ½ GÍN an-nu-ḥa-ra ŠINIG
27. ILLU [š<sup>im</sup>]BULUḤ ʾGÚR.GÚR ʾLI ina KAŠ NAG-šú

<sup>18</sup> Our analysis of the parallels and text variants for BM 42272 confirms the observation of Mark Geller, who states that the therapeutic prescriptions do not form a canonical composition including duplicates from various archives like the standard magical series. The process of duplicating individual therapeutic prescriptions seems unique and it can be attested in different types of medical tablet (plant lists, amulet lists, excerpt tablets, library tablets etc.) (Geller 2010a, 97-98). We can suppose that the different text variations of the individual prescriptions could have originated from the various text traditions or different scholarly interpretations. In my paper the terms ‘parallel text’ and ‘text variant’ are used with different meanings. By ‘parallel text’ those prescriptions are meant which show only orthographical differences. The term ‘text variant’ means little textual differences between the manuscripts. For instance the order of the healing materials can differ in the various manuscripts or one manuscript can contain more healing material than the other. Another feature of the prescriptions is that the various manuscripts omit or add technical steps in the preparation or application of the medicament.

<sup>19</sup> The restoration of the syllabic writing of *sahlû* (*sah-lu-ú*) is based on line 19.

<sup>20</sup> Abusch and Schwemer reconstructed the plant name as *ú ú kur ʾbaʾʾ* [...] (Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 216 and 234). Based on the parallels, the broken part of the line contains two healing plants (ʾKUR.KUR ʾU.KUR.RA) but the name of the fragmentary drug remains obscure.

<sup>21</sup> Contra Abusch-Schwemer: ʾxʾ ʾs[ah-lu-u]. The restoration of the syllabic writing of *sahlû* (*sah-lu-ú*) is based on line 19.

<sup>22</sup> Abusch-Schwemer: ʾ, but Finkel’s transliteration is correct (Finkel 2000, 142).

28. DIŠ NA [i]l-la-tu-šú DU.MEŠ-ma A.ZU u MAŠ.MAŠ KU<sub>5</sub>-sam la i-le-'i-i  
 29. ana T[I-š]ú<sup>ú</sup>IGI-lim<sup>ú</sup>IGI-ešrā<sup>ú</sup>tar-muš<sup>ú</sup>NU.LUḪ.ḪA<sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR  
 30. <sup>ú</sup>[KUR.K]UR<sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub><sup>ú</sup>IN.NU.UŠ NAGA.SI [a]n-nu-ḫa-ra  
 31. [Ú].<sup>ú</sup>Ḫ<sup>ú</sup>[Á] <sup>ú</sup>šú<sup>ú</sup>-nu-tim 1-niš SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ BĀRA.GA LĀL u GEŠTIN N[U p]a-tan NAG-ma DIN
- 
32. DIŠ NA [KÚ]M DAB-su<sup>ú</sup>GAMUN<sup>ú</sup>sar<sup>ú</sup>kam<sup>ú</sup>-man-tú<sup>ú</sup>kam-ka-[d]u  
 33. <sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> ŠIM.<sup>d</sup>MAŠ NITA u MUNUS ŠIM BABBAR<sup>šim</sup>[L]I<sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.SAG<sup>[s]</sup>ar<sup>giš</sup>GEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.<sup>ú</sup>A SIG<sub>7</sub><sup>ú</sup>  
 34. KUŠ UZU.DIR.KUR.RA 1-niš<sup>ú</sup>(text: u) SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ ḪI.ḪI ana<sup>ú</sup>urudušEN<sup>ú</sup>.TUR DUB-ak EME.ŠID  
 35. TI-sa ana ŠÀ ŠUB-di ina DÈ<sup>ú</sup>ŠEG<sub>6</sub><sup>ú</sup>-[šal] <sup>ú</sup>GIM<sup>ú</sup> ip-ta-ru-ú E<sub>11</sub>-ma ta-na-<sup>ú</sup>suk<sup>ú</sup>  
 36. tu-kāš-ša ÉN AN BA.GUL KI BA.<sup>ú</sup>GUL<sup>ú</sup> 3-šú ŠID-ma ŠÉŠ-su-ma DIN
- 
37. DIŠ KIMIN<sup>ú</sup>an-ki-nu-tú<sup>šim</sup>LI<sup>šim</sup>GÚR.GÚR<sup>šim</sup>GAM.MA 1-niš<sup>ú</sup> ta-sāk<sup>ú</sup> [ina] <sup>ú</sup>ḪI.ḪI  
 38. ŠÉŠ-su šum<sub>4</sub>-ma EN.[TE].NA ina DÈ tu<sup>he-pi</sup>
- 
39. DIŠ KIMIN SAḪAR SILA.LÍM.MA<sup>ú</sup>SAḪAR<sup>ú</sup> É ÉŠ.DAM.MA SAḪAR KÁ É.GAL<sup>ú</sup> (text: É KÁ GAL) SAḪAR KÁ É DINGIR  
 40. SAḪAR KÁ É<sup>ú</sup> KURUN.NAM SAḪAR KÁ É<sup>ú</sup> MUḪALDIN SAḪAR KÁ É<sup>ú</sup> KA.PÌRIG<sup>ú</sup> (text: MUŠ)  
 41. SAḪAR<sup>giš</sup>MÁ.DIRI.GA SAḪAR kar-ri u né-bir ina Ì.ḪI.ḪI Á LÁ.LA<sup>he-pi</sup>-šá ŠÀ-šá  
 42. u BAD-šá TI KEŠDA tara-kas<sup>he-pi</sup> ina UGU<sup>ú</sup> (text: BAD KA) GIŠ.<sup>he-pi</sup>BI<sup>ú</sup> ŠID-nu ÉN<sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME  
 43. DUMU AN.N[A] 7-šú ana IGI<sup>d</sup>UTU ana ŠÀ Ì.GIŠ ŠID-nu mé-el-tú ina GÚ-šú GAR-an ù Ì.GIŠ an-na-a  
 44. ŠÉŠ-su-ma DIN

#### Reverse

45. DIŠ KIMIN<sup>ú</sup>ša-su-un-tú<sup>ú</sup>áp-ru-šá<sup>giš</sup>GEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A ḪÁD.DU SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ  
 46. ḪI.ḪI <ina><sup>na4</sup>BUR ALGAMES tu-ba-ḫar-ma ŠÉŠ-su<sup>si</sup>ḪÉ.ME.DA SÍG UR.MAḪ  
 47. SÍG MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR 1-niš DUR NU.NU<sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub><sup>ú</sup>IGI-lim<sup>ú</sup>LÚ-a-nu  
 48. <sup>ú</sup>LAL ŠURUN<sup>d</sup>ŠERIS KI-šú-nu ina DUR NIGIN-mi ina GÚ-šú [GAR-an-m]a ina-eš
- 
49. DIŠ NA MIN KÚM DAB-su ḫal-<sup>ú</sup>lu<sup>ú</sup>-la-a-a ina Ì ŠÉŠ-su [... ina] DÈ SAR-šú  
 50. ANŠE.KUR.RA pu-ḫa-la ina<sup>giš</sup>GIGIR ana GÙB LÁ-su-ma<sup>ú</sup>x<sup>ú</sup>[x] šá GÙB  
 51. Ì.UDU LIBIR.RA tu-kaš-ša tu-kaš-šad-ma ANŠE.KU[R.RA IR<sup>ú</sup> ŠU]B<sup>ú</sup>-di-<sup>ú</sup>ma<sup>ú</sup>  
 52. IR šu-a-ti<sup>ú</sup>GIG ŠÉŠ Ì.UDU U<sub>4</sub>-um DAB-šú ina [DÈ ...] 2-<sup>ú</sup>šú<sup>ú</sup>  
 53. 3-šú tu-qat-tar-šú a-ḫu-ú ú-qat-tar-šu-ma TI [...]
- 
54. DIŠ KIMIN ina AN.[B]IR<sub>9</sub> SAḪAR GIS[SU] <sup>ú</sup>u<sup>ú</sup> [U]D.DA TI-qé-ma<sup>he-pi</sup>x x x x<sup>ú</sup>  
 55. SAḪAR KU[N<sub>4</sub>] IGI-i SAḪAR KI.TA<sup>ú</sup>MUNUS<sup>ú</sup> šá Ù.TU KU<sub>5</sub>-si SAḪAR K[I].M[AḪ] <sup>ú</sup>ku[R.ZI]<sup>sar</sup>  
 56. SÚD i[na] <sup>ú</sup>ḪI.ḪI<sup>na4</sup>BUR ALGAMES ina DÈ ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-šal EME.ŠID TI-<sup>ú</sup>sa<sup>ú</sup> ana ŠÀ [ŠU]B-<sup>ú</sup>di<sup>ú</sup>  
 57. E<sub>11</sub>-[m]a ta-na-suk ana ŠÀ ki-a-am ŠID-nu ÉN ki-i UD.DA KÚM-im  
 58. ki-<sup>ú</sup>i<sup>ú</sup>[GIS]SU lik-ša ki-i ZAG.DU<sub>8</sub><sup>ú</sup> (text: GA) ana ZAG.DU<sub>8</sub><sup>ú</sup> (text: GA) <sup>ú</sup>la<sup>ú</sup> i-qer-ru-bu mu[r-š]u  
 59. NENNI [A NE]NNI a-a iq-rib-šú ki-ma KUN<sub>4</sub><sup>ú</sup> (text: ID+LU) [l]i-kab-bi-su-šú-ma ma-am-man  
 60. a-a [ir-š]i<sup>ú</sup>ki<sup>ú</sup>-ma pi-sa-an-na ana ur-ri-šú u ti-bi-šú la iz-zi-bu mur-šu  
 61. a-a in-né-zi[b ki]-ma mi-tu la i[n]-nu-ú ÉLLAG-su GIG ÉLLAG-su  
 62. a-<sup>ú</sup>a<sup>ú</sup> i-ni<sup>ú</sup>TU<sub>6</sub><sup>ú</sup>.ÉN ÉN 7-šú ana ŠÀ ŠID-ma ŠÉ[š-s]u EME.ŠID TI-ma  
 63. ana š[À-b]i ŠUB-di ina TÚG GE<sub>6</sub> <sup>ú</sup>KÁ<sup>ú</sup>-š[ú] KEŠD[A ina GÚ-šú GAR-ma DIN
- 
64. DIŠ KI[MIN] Ì.UDU ÉLLAG GU<sub>4</sub> GE<sub>6</sub> A.GAR.<sup>ú</sup>GAR<sup>ú</sup> M[AŠ].DÀ SI DÀRA.MAŠ GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 65. NAGA.[SI] PIŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ÍD ina DÈ [t]u-qat-tar-šú-ma TI
- 
66. DIŠ K[IMIN] <sup>ú</sup>IGI-ešrā SAḪAR KI.TA MUNUS <sup>ú</sup>šá<sup>ú</sup> Ù.TU pár-sat É NIM lab-bi-<sup>ú</sup>ni<sup>ú</sup>  
 67. ina Ì.GIŠ ina<sup>si</sup>ÀKA  
 68. DIŠ KIMIN AŠ ša<sup>ú</sup> NIM<sup>ú</sup> i-bar-ru ḫal-lu-la-a-a NIM UR.GI<sub>7</sub>

69. <sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> *ina* Ì.GIŠ *ina* KU[Š]
- 
70. DIŠ KIMIN <sup>ú</sup>*u<sub>5</sub>-ra-an-nam* É NIM <*lab-bi-ni*> <sup>túg</sup>NÍG.ṚDÁRA.ŠU.LÁL *ina* GÚ-ŠÚ BAR MUŠ
71. *um-me* GÍR.TAB ZĀ.ḪI.LI<sup>sar</sup> <sup>túg</sup>NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL SÍG.ŠAB *ina* DÈ SAR-ŠÚ
- 
72. DIŠ KIMIN ṚSÍG ṚUGU.DU<sub>6</sub>.BI GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU *ina* KUŠ *ina* GÚ-ŠÚ GAR-*an*
- 
73. DIŠ KIMIN AŠ *ša* NIM *i-bar-ru* *ina* <sup>síg</sup>ÀKA
- 
74. DIŠ KIMIN GE<sub>6</sub> PAP.ḪAL ANŠE GE<sub>6</sub> PAP.ḪAL ANŠE.KUR.RA KUR.RA Ṛšá <sup>lú</sup>ṚAŠGAB<sup>23</sup> *ina* KUŠ DÙ.DÙ
75. *u* <sup>ú</sup>*áp-ru-šá* *ina* Ì.GIŠ
- 
76. DIŠ KIMIN BAR MUŠ GÍR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU *um-me* GÍR.TAB <sup>túg</sup>NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>*ku-*  
*pa-a*
77. <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>*mu-ša* <sup>ú</sup>*ša-šu-un-tú* *ina* [KU]Š
- 
78. DIŠ KIMIN SÍG ANŠE.KUR.RA SÍG UR.MAḪ SÍG UR.BAR.RA SÍG UR.GI<sub>7</sub> GE<sub>6</sub> *ina* KU[Š] DÙ.DÙ-*pí*
79. *ina* GÚ-ŠÚ GAR-*an* Ú.KUR.RA *saḫ-lé-e* *ina* DÈ *ni-kip-tú* KA *tam-tim* *ina* Ì.GIŠ [Š]ÉŠ-*su-ma* [DIN]
- 
80. DIŠ KIMIN PÉŠ.SÌLA.GAZ Ú <sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME *ina* <sup>síg</sup>ÀKA NIGIN-*mi* *ina* GÚ-ŠÚ GAR-*a*[*n*]
- 
81. DIŠ KIMIN <sup>giš</sup>GEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A <sup>ú</sup>IN.NU.UŠ *ina* KUŠ [...]
- 
82. DIŠ KIMIN SAG.DU SU.TIN<sup>1</sup>(text: UD)<sup>mušen</sup> <sup>ú</sup>GÌR.UGA<sup>mušen</sup> šá 7 SAG.DU.MEŠ Ṛx [...]
- 
83. ṚDIŠ KIMIN Ṛ<sup>ú</sup>LAL <sup>šim</sup>LI *ina* <sup>síg</sup>ÀKA NIGIN-*mi* [...]
- 
84. ṚDIŠ KIM[IN] PA <sup>giš</sup>DÌḪ *ina* Ì.GIŠ [*ina*] Ṛ<sup>síg</sup>ÀKA Ṛ[NIGIN? ...]
- 
85. [DIŠ N]A KÚM DAB-*su* <sup>ú</sup>*an-ki-nu*-[*tú*? ...]
- 
86. 30 *pir-su* DIŠ ṚNA ṚU[GU-šú KÚM *ú-kal*...]
- 
87. <sup>giš</sup>DA Ṛx x [...]
88. SAR-*ir*I[M.GÍD<sup>?</sup>.DA<sup>?</sup> ...]

<sup>23</sup> The transliteration and translation of KUR.RA Ṛšá <sup>lú</sup>ṚAŠGAB is based on the interpretation of KUR.RA šá <sup>lú</sup>ṚAŠGAB = *kammu ša aškāpi* = ‘fungus of leatherworker’ (CAD A2, p. 444 sub *aškāpu*), contra the different interpretation in CAD U (p. 71 sub *ulāpu*): *kurru ša aškāpi* = fuller’s paste.



<sup>1</sup>*nīnû*-plant, *atā'išu*-plant, 'field-clod'-plant, *sahl[û*-plant, ...-plant]. <sup>2</sup>Five plants for undoing witchcraft, in x [...]

<sup>3</sup>Lupin, 'heals-a-thousand'-plant, 'heals-twenty'-plant, ...-plant [...] <sup>4</sup>*urnû*-plant, *tīyatu*-plant, *nuḥurtu*-plant, [*sahlû*-plant], <sup>5</sup>*kasû*-plant, *aktam*-plant, 'fox-vine'-plant, *šiburratu*-plant, [...]

<sup>6</sup>seed of the same plant, *emesallu*-salt, *sikillu*-plant, tamarisk, [tamarisk] seed, [*burāšu*-juniper?] <sup>7</sup>*burāšu*-juniper seed, *azallû*-plant, seed of the same plant, *maš[takal*-soap]wort.

<sup>8</sup>Twenty five plants for mental (lit. internal) well-being, undoing witchcraft and undoing curse. <sup>9</sup>Copy by *Ilī-rēm-anni*.

<sup>10</sup>Incantation. I am the evening, sister of Marduk. The Pleiades conceived me. <sup>11</sup>The god Bālu gave birth me, Luḥušû took me as an adopted child. <sup>12</sup>[I raise my fingers, I install (them) between the Pleiades and Bālu. <sup>13</sup> In front of me I have installed Ištar, the mighty mistress who answers instead of me. (My) brother is Marduk, <sup>14</sup>my mother is the fifteenth day (of the month) (and) my father is the first day (of the month), (they are) with me. May they absolve all [oa]ths! <sup>15</sup>May merciful Marduk not bring near the oath that I swore! Incantation formula.

<sup>16</sup>Its ritual: <sup>17</sup>you recite <sup>16</sup>this incantation in the evening over the plant for undoing witchcraft (and) <sup>17</sup>undoing the 'curse'. You recite (it) for three days, seven days (and) sixteen days and <sup>18</sup>the wi[tchcraft] and curse will be undone.

<sup>19</sup>[*atā'išu*]-plant, *ḥašû*-plant, *nuḥurtu*-plant, *kasû*-plant, *sahlû*-plant, <sup>20</sup>'field-clod'-plant, *urnû*-plant. [Seven] plants for curse.

<sup>21</sup>'[Heals]-a-thousand'-plant, 'heals-twenty'-plant, lupin, madder root. Four plants [for?] <sup>22</sup>undoing a curse. You have him drink (them) in beer (and) recite the incantation "Ea cast (it)".

<sup>23</sup>If a man's saliva is flowing (and) cannot be stopped, to cure him: he drinks 'heals-a-thousand'-plant, <sup>24</sup>lupin, *elikulla*-plant, *maštakal*-soapwort seed, separately on an empty stomach.

<sup>25</sup>If a man's saliva is flowing (while he is lying) on his bed either all day or all night and <sup>26</sup>cannot be stopped, to cure him: You have him drink *ḥašû*-plant, *atā'išu*-plant, ½ sheqel *annuhara*-alum, tamarisk, <sup>27</sup>*baluḥḥu*-resin, *kukru*-plant, (and) *burāšu*-juniper in beer.

<sup>28</sup>If a man's saliva is flowing and neither the physician nor the exorcist are able to stop it <sup>29</sup>to cu[re h]im: 'heals-a-thousand'-plant, 'heals-twenty'-plant, lupine, *nuḥurtu*-plant, *ḥašû*-plant, <sup>30</sup>*atā'išu*-plant, 'dog's tongue'-plant, *maštakal*-soapwort, 'horned' salt-plant, *annuhara*-alum. <sup>31</sup>You pound these plants together; he drinks (it) on an empty stomach in filtered oil, syrup and wine, then he will recover.

<sup>32</sup>If a man has been seized by heat, <sup>34</sup>you pulverize together <sup>32</sup>cumin, *kammantu*-plant, *kamkadu*-plant, <sup>33</sup>'dog's tongue'-plant, male and female *nikiptu*-plant, 'white aromatic', *burāšu*-juniper, *azupīru*-plant, fresh 'fox-vine', <sup>34</sup>rind of fungus. You mix (them) in oil, you pour (them) into a bronze *tamgussu*-vessel, <sup>35</sup>you throw a live <sup>34</sup>lizard <sup>35</sup>into it (and) boil (the medicine) on coals. When (the medicine) overflows, you lift (it) out and remove (the lizard), <sup>36</sup>cool (the medicine) (and) recite the incantation „The Sky is destroyed, the Earth is destroyed” three times, then you salve him and he will recover.

<sup>37</sup>If ditto you crush together *ankinūtu*-plant, *burāšu*-juniper, *kukru*-aromatic, *šumlalû*-aromatic, you mix [with] oil, <sup>38</sup>salve him. If (it is winter you <sup>broken</sup> on coals.

<sup>39</sup>If ditto, you mix in oil dust from the crossroad, dust from a tavern, dust from the gate of a palace, dust from the gate of a temple, <sup>40</sup>dust from the gate of the brewer's house, dust from the gate of the cook's house, dust from the gate of the incantation priest's house, <sup>41</sup>dust from the ferry-boat, dust from the harbour and ford, <sup>42</sup>you take <sup>41</sup>the wing of an owl, its <sup>broken</sup>, its heart <sup>42</sup>and its blood, tie a knot (and) recite <sup>broken</sup> onto the <sup>broken</sup>-tree (and) <sup>43</sup>recite <sup>42</sup>the

incantation „Lamaštu <sup>43</sup>the offspring of Anu” before Šamaš seven times over the oil, and place the phylactery around his neck. Moreover <sup>44</sup>salve him <sup>43</sup>with this oil <sup>44</sup> then he will recover.

---

<sup>45</sup>If ditto you dry *šašuntu*-plant, *aprušu*-plant, ‘fox-vine’-plant, crush (and) <sup>46</sup>mix (them) <sup>45</sup>with oil <sup>46</sup>(and) cook (in) *algamišu*-stone vessel, then salve him. <sup>47</sup>You twine together <sup>46</sup>red wool, hair of a lion, <sup>47</sup>(and) hair of a female kid into yarn. <sup>48</sup>You wrap <sup>47</sup>‘dog’s tongue’-plant, ‘heals-a-thousand’-plant, *amīlānu*-plant, <sup>48</sup>*ašqulālu*-plant, ‘ox-dung’ with them in yarn. You [place] (it) around his neck, (and) he will recover.

---

<sup>49</sup>If somebody has been seized by heat on a second time you salve him with a *ḥallulāya*-insect in oil [...] (then) you fumigate him over [...] embers]. <sup>50</sup>You harness a male horse to a wagon on the left side and <sup>51</sup>you cool down <sup>50</sup>the left side of [the horse] <sup>51</sup>with rancid (lit.: old) tallow. You drive (the horse) and the horse [will sweat], then <sup>52</sup>you salve the ill man with this sweat. <sup>53</sup>You fumigate him <sup>52</sup>two times <sup>53</sup>(and) three times <sup>52</sup>over [...] embers (with) tallow on the day when it (= the illness) seized him. <sup>53</sup>(If) a stranger fumigates him and he will recover.

---

<sup>54</sup>If ditto, you take dust from shady and sunny (places) at midday and <sup>broken</sup> ‘...’

---

<sup>56</sup>You crush <sup>55</sup>dust from the front threshold, dust from under a woman who has ceased giving birth, dust from the grave and *samīdu*-plant, <sup>56</sup>mix (them) in oil from a *būru*-bowl, you boil (the medicine) over coals in a vessel of *algamešu*-stone. You put a live lizard into it. <sup>57</sup>You lift (the medicine) out and remove (the lizard), (then) recite into it as follows: Incantation - he is as hot as midday, <sup>58</sup>may he be cool as shade! As doorjamb does not approach doorjamb, let the illness <sup>59</sup>not approach so-and-so son of so-an-so. Let them tread upon him like upon the threshold, <sup>60</sup>(then) he will catch (lit. acquires) none! As one does not allow the drainpipe to be separated or get out, so may the illness <sup>61</sup>not be allowed (to move).<sup>24</sup> As death does not change his kidney, may the sick man <sup>62</sup>not change his kidney. Incantation formula. You recite the incantation seven times on (it) and you salve him. You take a lizard and <sup>63</sup>put it inside. You tie its (i.e. the reed tube’s)<sup>25</sup> opening with a black textile, you put it around his neck and he will be cured.

---

<sup>64</sup>If ditto, you fumigate him over embers (with) tallow from the kidney of a black ox, dung of a gazelle, stag’s horn, ‘bone-of-mankind’ <sup>65</sup>‘horned-*uḥūlu*’-plant, *kibrītu*-sulphur and he will recover.

---

<sup>66</sup>If ditto, ‘heals-a-twenty’-plant, dust from under a woman who has ceased giving birth, ‘nest-of-*labbinu*-fly’ <sup>67</sup>(mixed) with oil: (you wrap them) in a tuft of wool.

---

<sup>68</sup>If ditto, ‘fly-catching spider’, *ḥallulāya*-insect, dog fly, <sup>69</sup>‘dog’s tongue’-plant (mixed) in oil: (you wrap them) in leather.

---

<sup>70</sup>If ditto, *urānu*-plant, ‘nest-of-*labbinu*-fly’, soiled rag: (you place it) around his neck, <sup>71</sup>(and) fumigate him over embers with scales of a serpent, mother scorpion, *saḥlū*-cress, soiled rag, combed-out hair.

---

<sup>72</sup>If ditto, put monkey hair, ‘human bone’: (you wrap them) in leather around his neck.

---

<sup>73</sup>If ditto, ‘fly-catching spider’: (you wrap it) in a tuft of wool.

---

<sup>74</sup>If ditto, black (hair from) the upper leg of donkey, black (hair from) the upper leg of horse and ‘leatherworker’s fungus’: you wrap (them) in a leather <sup>75</sup>and (salve him) with *aprušu*-plant (mixed) with oil.

---

<sup>76</sup>If ditto, scales of a snake, ‘human bone’, mother scorpion, soiled rag, black frit, <sup>77</sup>*mūšu*-stone, *šašuntu*-plant: (you wrap them?) in leather.

---

<sup>24</sup> Contra CAD T p. 390 sub *tību*. The translation of this sentence was suggested by H. Stadhouders.

<sup>25</sup> The restoration is based on a parallel text in K 2581 obv. 19.

<sup>78</sup>If ditto, you wrap horse hair, lion hair, wolf hair, black dog hair in leather, <sup>79</sup>place (it) around his neck, (and fumigate him) with *nīnû*-plant (and) *saḥlû*-cress over *nikiptu* embers, (then) salve him with coral (mixed) in oil and he will recover.

---

<sup>80</sup>If ditto, you wrap shrew-mouse, ‘plant-of-Lamaštu’ in a tuft of wool, (and) place (it) around his neck.

---

<sup>81</sup>If ditto, ‘fox-vine’-three, *maštakal*-soapwort: [you wrap<sup>?</sup> (them)] in leather [...]

---

<sup>82</sup>If ditto, head of a bat, ‘raven's-foot’-plant with seven head [...]

---

<sup>83</sup>If ditto, you wrap *ašqulālu*-plant, *burāšū*-juniper in a tuft of wool [and place (it) around his neck]

---

<sup>84</sup>If ditto, [you wrap] branch of *baltu*-three (mixed) in oil a tuft of wool [(and) place (it) around his neck]

---

<sup>85</sup>[If somebody] has been seized by heat, *ankinūtu*-plant [...]

---

<sup>86</sup>30<sup>th</sup> section (from the series) ‘If a man’s br[ain contains heat’] [...]

---

<sup>87</sup>wax tablet xx [... according to its original]

---

<sup>88</sup>copied. [Long] tablet [...]

## Notes

### Lines 3-9

For the identification of this prescription, see Köcher BAM V xi (sub no. 430 vi', 8-18).

The sequence lupin, 'heals-a-thousand'-plant, 'heals-a-twenty'-plant (<sup>ú</sup>*tar-muš* <sup>ú</sup>*IGI-lim* <sup>ú</sup>*IGI-ešrā*) is frequent in medical texts, and occurs three times on our tablet (in lines obv. 3, 21 and 29).<sup>26</sup>

The name '*ir-ni-ni-ni*' was interpreted by Finkel as a corruption of É <sup>m</sup>DÙ.DÙ.DÙ (Finkel 2000, 142:14).

### Lines 10-18

For parallels to the incantation, see Stol 1992, 251-255.<sup>27</sup> The incantation was transliterated and interpreted also by Livingstone.<sup>28</sup> The description of the connected ritual (lines 16-18) is attested only in our text.

### Lines 19-20

The prescription has two parallels (BAM II 161 iii 8'-10' and BAM II 174 rev. 27-28) both of them part of a list of prescriptions against 'ban'. The parallels of the two BAM tablets were noted by Köcher in the second volume of BAM<sup>29</sup> and Schwemer noted that the previous prescription in BAM II 161 is parallel to the first prescription on our tablet.<sup>30</sup> Abusch and Schwemer transliterated the relevant prescription of BAM II 161 but they did not discuss the parallel passages.<sup>31</sup> It can be observed that BAM II 161 iii 8'-10' could be interpreted as a parallel text and BAM II 174 rev. 27-28 as a text variant of our prescription.

1. a obv. 19-20a <sup>ú</sup>[KUR.RA] <sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR <sup>ú</sup>NU.LUḪ.ḪA <sup>ú</sup>GAZI<sup>sar</sup> *saḫ-lu-ú*<sup>20</sup>  
<sup>ú</sup>[LAG.A] <sup>ú</sup>ŠÀ. <sup>ú</sup>GA <sup>ú</sup>*úr-nu-ú*  
b iii 8'-9' <sup>ú</sup>KUR.RA <sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR <sup>ú</sup>*nu-ḫur-tú*<sup>9'</sup> <sup>ú</sup>GAZI<sup>sar</sup> *saḫ-lé-e* <sup>ú</sup>LAG.AŠA<sup>5</sup> <sup>šim</sup>GÚR.GÚR  
c rev. 27. <sup>ú</sup>KUR.RA <sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR <sup>ú</sup>NU.LUḪ.ḪA *saḫ-lé-e* <sup>ú</sup>GAZI<sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup>LAG.AŠA<sup>5</sup> <sup>ú</sup>[...]
2. a obv. 20b [7] <sup>ú</sup>.<sup>ú</sup>[ḪÁ] <sup>ú</sup>šá' NAM.ÉRIM  
b iii 10' 7 <sup>ú</sup>NAM.ERÍM UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA  
c rev. 28. <sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.SAG 8 <sup>ú</sup>MEŠ NAM.ERÍM.BÚR.RU.DA *ina* KAŠ <sup>ú</sup>KÚRUN.NA NA[G-ma  
TI]

<sup>1</sup>*nīnû*-plant, *ḫašû*-plant, *nuḫurtu*-plant, *kasû*-plant, *saḫlû*-plant, 'filed-clod'-plant, *urnû*-plant (only in ms.a)/*kukru*-plant (only in ms.b), <sup>2</sup>*azupīru*-plant (only in ms.c), 7 plants (ms.b: 8 plants) dealing with curse (curse (and) witchcraft in ms.c). He drinks (them) in brewer's beer and [he will recover] (only in ms.c)

(a = BM 42272 obv. 19-20; b = BAM II 161 iii 8'-10'; c = BAM II 174 rev. 27-28)

### Lines 21-22

This prescription and its parallels were discussed by Böck, but the references to the incantation were first collected by Köcher.<sup>32</sup> Böck identified more parallel texts and argued

<sup>26</sup> The same sequence was noted by Geller in the renal and rectal prescriptions (Geller 2005, 6).

<sup>27</sup> Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 225.

<sup>28</sup> Livingstone 1999, 136.

<sup>29</sup> Köcher BAM II xvi.

<sup>30</sup> For the parallels to this prescription, see Schwemer 2007a, 112 and Abusch-Schwemer 2011 216-217.

<sup>31</sup> For the transliteration and translation of BAM II 161 iii 6'-10', see Abusch-Schwemer 2011, 224. Cf. Schwemer 2007b, 66 note 151.

<sup>32</sup> Böck 2007 46-47; cf. Köcher BAM II xv (sub. no. 159 ii 30-32).

that this incantation was recited against two different medical problems: it was recited during the application of a potion for *zikuruddû*-sorcery (BAM II 159 iii 30-32; SpTU I 60 rev. 14'-15') and during the use of an amulet against paralysis of the right arm (K 7098+9004 (unpub.) i 4-9 // BE 31 Nr. 58 + AMT 88,1 obv. 3-6, 11).

### Lines 32-36

This prescription has four parallels (BM 35512 obv. 1-3, BAM III 315 i 38-41, K 2581 obv. 1-6 and BAM II 151 obv. 18'-24'), but we can observe differences in the sequence and the content of the manuscripts, the most complete prescription was written on BM 42272. The parallel prescriptions are the following:

1. DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-*su* <sup>ú</sup>GAMUN<sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup>*ka*<sup>ˀ</sup>-*man-tú* <sup>ú</sup>*kam-ka-d[u* .....

2. <sup>giš</sup>GEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A SIG<sub>7</sub> KUŠ UZU.DIR.KUR.RA 1-*niš* SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ ĦI.ĦI *ana* <sup>urudu</sup>ŠEN<sup>ˀ</sup>. T[UR ...]

3. GIM *ip-ta-ru-ú* E<sub>11</sub>-*ma ta-na-suk* <sup>ˀ</sup>*tu-kàš*<sup>ˀ</sup>-*ša* ÉN AN BA.G[UL .....

<sup>1</sup>If a man has been seized by heat <sup>2</sup>you pulverize together <sup>1</sup>cumin, *kammantu*-plant, *kamkadu*-plant [...] <sup>2</sup>fresh 'fox-vine'-plant, rind of fungus, mix (them) in oil, [pour (it)] into bronze *tamgussu*-vessel [...] <sup>3</sup>when (the medicine) overflows, you lift (it) out and remove (the lizard), cool (the medicine) (and) [recite] the incantation „The Sky is destroy[ed], the Earth is destroyed” ...].

(BM 35512 obv. 1-3)

38. DIŠ KIMIN (= DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-*su*) <sup>ú</sup>GAMUN <sup>ú</sup>ÁB. <sup>ˀ</sup>DUĦ<sup>ˀ</sup> [<sup>ú</sup>*ni-k*] *ip-tú* NÍTA *u* <sup>ˀ</sup>MUNUS<sup>ˀ</sup> <sup>ˀ</sup>GÚR.GÚR

39. <sup>šim</sup>LI <sup>ú</sup>GEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A *in*[*a* ...] 1-*niš* <sup>ˀ</sup>ĦI.ĦI<sup>ˀ</sup> *ina* <sup>urudu</sup><sup>1</sup>(text: URUDU *ina*)ŠEN.TUR

40. [*ta*]-*tab-bak* EME.DIR *ana* ŠÀ Š[UB ... *kīma*] <sup>ˀ</sup>*ib*<sup>ˀ</sup>-*ta-aš-lu* <sup>ˀ</sup>*tú-še-la-am-ma*<sup>ˀ</sup>

41. [*ta-n*]*a-suk* ŠED<sub>7</sub>-*ma* ÉN [AN BA.GUL K]I BA.GUL *ana* ŠÀ ŠID-*nu* EŠ-*su*

<sup>38</sup>If ditto <sup>39</sup>you mix together <sup>38</sup>cumin, *kammantu*-plant, male and female [*nik*]*iptu*-plant, *kukru*-plant, <sup>39</sup>*burāšu*-juniper, 'fox-vine'-plant in [oil], <sup>40</sup>[you] pour (them) <sup>39</sup>into bronze *tamgussu*-vessel, <sup>40</sup>[throw] a lizard into it, [... as soon as] it has been boiled, you lift out (the medicine) and <sup>41</sup>remove (the lizard), cool (the medicine) and recite the incantation [“The Sky is destroyed, the Earth is destroyed” onto it and salve him.

(BAM III 315 i 38-41)

1' [... <sup>ú</sup>GAMUN]<sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup>[*kammantu* ...]

2' [... *ni-kip*]-*tum* NÍTA *u* MUNUS SUĦUŠ[...]

3' [... KUŠ<sup>ˀ</sup>] <sup>ú</sup>UZU.DIR.KUR.RA 1-[*niš* ĦI.ĦI...]

4' [... D]UB-*ak* EME.ŠID <sup>ˀ</sup>DIN<sup>ˀ</sup>-*su* DAB [...]

5' [...] E<sub>11</sub>-*ma ta-na-suk tu-ka*[*š-ša* ...]

6' [ÉN<sup>ˀ</sup> ŠID<sup>ˀ</sup>]-*ma* ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-*su*<sup>1</sup> (text: ŠÉŠ-*su* MEŠ)-*m*[*a* TI]

<sup>1</sup>[... <sup>3</sup>you mix] together <sup>1</sup>[*cumi*]*n*, [*kammantu*]-plant [...] <sup>2</sup>[...] male and female [*nikip*]*tu*-plant, root of [...] <sup>3</sup>[...rind<sup>ˀ</sup>] of fungus [...] <sup>4</sup>you pour (it) [...] you catch a live lizard <sup>5</sup>[...] you lift out (the medicine) and remove (the lizard), cool (the medicine) [...] <sup>6</sup>[You recite the incantation<sup>ˀ</sup>] then salve him repeatedly an[d he will recover.]

(K 2581 obv. 1'-6')

18' [DIŠ KIMIN <sup>ú</sup>G]AMUN <sup>ú</sup>*ka-man-tú* Ú.KUR.RA

19' [...] <sup>šim</sup>GÚR.GÚR <sup>šim</sup>LI <sup>ú</sup>DIN.TIR.KI SIG<sub>7</sub>

20' [... Ú.Ħ]Á *an-nu-ti*

21' [...] NE [...]

22' [...] <sup>ˀ</sup>*ana*<sup>ˀ</sup> ŠÀ Š[UB-*di*<sup>ˀ</sup>] <sup>ˀ</sup>x x x<sup>ˀ</sup> <sup>ˀ</sup>si<sup>ˀ</sup> [...]

23' [...] <sup>1</sup>E<sub>11</sub>'-ma ŠÉŠ še-ra AN.[ BIR<sub>9</sub>]

24' [...] ŠÉŠ-su-ma ina-[eš]

<sup>18</sup>[If ditto, c]umin, *kammantu*-plant, *nīnū*-plant <sup>19</sup>[...] *kukru*-plant, *burāšu*-juniper, fresh cumin <sup>20-21</sup>[...] these [pla]nts <sup>22-23</sup>[...you put] into it ... [...] you lift out (the medicine) and salve (him). In the morning and midday <sup>24</sup>[...] you salve him and he will reco[ver.] (BAM II 151 obv. 18'-24')

Besides these parallels the sequence of plants *kamūnu*, *kammantu* and *kamkadu* is attested in the prescription against *šēta ḥamiṭ* and its duplicate.

1. a 38' KÚM ṠÀ TUKU.T[UKU-š]i NA.BI UD.DA TAB.BA ana TI-šú  
b 16b-17 KÚM ŠÀ TUKU.MEŠ <sup>17</sup>[...]
2. a 39' úGAM[UN<sup>sar</sup>] UZU.DIR.KUR.RA ka-man-tu  
b 18-19a [úGAMUN] ka-mu[n KUR.R]A <sup>19</sup>[úk]am-man-tú
3. a 40' úŠE.L[ú ú]kám-ka-du úša-šu-un-t[ú]  
b 19b-20a úŠE.LÚ <sup>20</sup>úkám-ka-du úNIM.NIM
4. a 41' [š<sup>i</sup>]mL[I GEŠ]TIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A 8 Ú.ḤÁ ŠEŠ 1-niš GAZ  
b 20b-21a úGEŠTIN.KA<sub>5</sub>.A <sup>21</sup>7 Ú.MEŠ ŠEŠ 1-niš GAZ
5. a 42' SI[M ina K]AŠ NAG ina ì ŠÉŠ-ma TI  
b 21b-23 SIM <sup>22</sup>ina KAŠ<sup>1</sup>(text: KAŠ.KAŠ) NAG.MEŠ <sup>23</sup>ina ì EŠ.MEŠ-su-ma TI

<sup>1</sup>(If) somebody has constantly internal heat, this man is inflamed by heat-radiance. For his cure: <sup>2</sup>cumin, fungus, *kammantu*-plant, <sup>3</sup>*kisibirru*-plant, *kamkadu*-plant, *šašuntu*-plant, <sup>4</sup>*burāšu*-juniper (only in ms.a), 'fox-vine'-plant, you crush (and) sieve together these 8 plants (ms.b 7 plants). <sup>5</sup>You have (him) drink (them) in beer, rub him with oil and he will recover. (a = BAM II 146 rev. 38'-42'; b = BAM II 145 17-23)

Scurlock's transliteration and translation in line 35 does not seem correct to me. She interpreted the line as follows: EME.ŠID TI-sa ana ŠÀ ŠUB-di ina ṠIZI ŠEG<sub>6</sub>'-[šal EN ŠEG]<sub>6</sub>-lu ša ŠUB-ú E<sub>11</sub>-ma ta-na-suk = "You drop a live *šurāru*-lizard into it (and) boil (it) over a fire [until] 'it has cooked'.<sup>33</sup> What you dropped in (i.e., the lizard), you take out and throw away." I have reconstructed the fragmentary part of the line in different way. On the tablet at least one fragmentary sign after the broken /šal/ can be observed. I read this fragmentary sign as GIM = *kīma* and interpret it as a temporal conjunction. The next two signs are clearly IB and TA and not LU and ŠA and I suppose that /ip-ta-/ is a start of Sg/3 Perf. verb. The problem is that this part of the sentence was broken just all of the parallel text, and in one text another text variant is preserved: ana ŠÀ Š[UB ...*kīma*] 'ib'-ta-aš-lu 'tu-še-la-am-ma' (BAM III 315 i 40). Fortunately in the lines 56-57 we can find a similar medicine using live lizard, and in this case we have more manuscripts.

- I. 35-36** *kīma iptarrú tušellâmma tanassuk tukašša*  
BM 35512 *kīma iptarrú tušellâmma tanassuk tukašša*  
BAM 315 *kīma ibtašlu tušellâmma tanassuk tukaššama*  
K 2581 [... ] *tušellâmma tanassuk tukašša*  
BAM 151 [... ] *tušellâmma tapaššaš*  
**I. 57** *tušellâmma tanassuk*

<sup>33</sup> Scurlock 2014, 412 and 415.

BM 35512	<i>tušellâmma tanassuk</i>
BAM 147	<i>tutarrama tanassuk</i>
BAM 148	<i>tutarrama tanassuk</i>
K 2581	<i>adi iarrû tukalla [tušellâm]a' tanassuk</i>

The beginning (putting the live lizard into the vessel filled with healing drugs, and heated on coals) and the end of the process (to throw away the boiled lizard) are the same in all manuscripts. Two or three texts (ms.d, ms.e and probably ms.c) use the logogram E<sub>11</sub> = *tušella(m)* (*elû Š* with the meaning to lift out),<sup>34</sup> but two manuscripts contain the Akkadian verb *tutarra*. The first question is whether *tutarrama tanassuk* corresponds to *tušellamma tanassuk*. The term *tušellâmma* is well known in medicine and in cooking with the meaning of 'lift out from the kiln' or 'remove from the heat' - it means to stop cooking.<sup>35</sup> The verb *tutarra* was interpreted as "again" (Koppelung-construction) in CAD N/2 p.18 but this interpretation seems a conceptual translation for me. The verb can be interpreted formally as *târu* D with the meaning of 'return' or 'bring back',<sup>36</sup> but I am not satisfied with this solution. It is possible that our verb is the *tarû* B which was translated as 'to turn upward' in CAD but one lexical commentary gives the verb *šaqû* as synonym<sup>37</sup> and the meaning of the D stem probably has the same meaning as *tušella*. Before the term *tušella* we find an addition in more manuscripts: *kîma iptarrû*, *adi iarrû tukalla*, *kîma ibtašlu*. At first, who is the subject of the third person verb the lizard, the patient or the medicine? In the case of *kîma ibtašlu* = 'as soon as it has been boiled', we can rightly think about the medicine or the lizard. The two terms *kîma iptarrû* and *adi iarrû* seem synonyms – *parû* and *arû* is almost the same verb, which was used as synonym in medical texts, but in these case the traditional meaning of the verb (to vomit) seems incorrect. The real question is how can we match these terms with *kîma ibtašlu*? We can suppose that the subject of the term is the medicine, which will be lifted out (*tušellâ*) as soon as it is cooked/boiled. Heating oil foam or bubbles appear in good standing above the start of an overflow, the idea would be to stop cooking just before bubbles or foam emerge or just before the mixture begins to overflow. It is conceivable that the cooking vessel gives similar sound as vomiting or because it will overflow (the cooking vessel "vomits") or because appears a foam or bubbles (as if somebody starts to vomit). So I translated the term *kîma iptarrû* / *adi iarrû* as 'when/until (the medicine) overflows'.<sup>38</sup> The term *tanassuk* = 'you remove' could refer to the lizard or the remaining part of the boiled lizard in order to make an ointment.

We can find that, the lizard was used as pharmacopoeia of an ointment in two prescriptions (in lines 32-36 and 54-63) and additionally it was applied also as an amulet in the same prescription (in lines 54-63) against fever. The explanation may be Mesopotamian healers thought that the ectotherm animal took the patient's heat upon itself.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> CAD E 132 sub *elû* 10d.

<sup>35</sup> Bottero 1995, 199.

<sup>36</sup> CAD T 264 sub *târu* 8.

<sup>37</sup> *tarû* = *šaqû* (Izi Comm. 541) in CAD T p. 249 sub *tarû* B

<sup>38</sup> This interpretation of the term was suggested by Gilles Buisson. I am very thankful for his help.

<sup>39</sup> The sympatetic aspect of the lizard can be attested in Hittite medical texts (Haas 2003, 473-474) and Pliny mentions a green lizard enclosed in a vessel and used as an amulet against fever (Pliny, Book XXX chap. xxx. 104).

Scurlock's transliteration and translation of the incantation does not seem correct to me.<sup>40</sup> My suggestion (ÉN AN BA.GUL KI BA.GUL) is based on the parallel text (ÉN AN BA.G[UL ...] - BM 35512 obv. 3) and the incipit was also identified by Schuster-Brandis on Lamaštu amulets.<sup>41</sup>

### Lines 37-38

I cannot identify any parallels, but the sequence *burāšu*-juniper, *kukru*-plant and *šumlalû*-aromatic is well attested in other therapeutic prescriptions, such as BAM VI 578 i 50 // BAM II 159 i 40 ([DIŠ N]A GABA-su u šá-šal-la-šú KÚM.MEŠ ZÚ.MEŠ-šú [...]e<sup>7</sup>-peš KA-šú DUGUD NA.BI ZÍ.GIG); BAM I 52 69 // BAM I 88 22 // BAM II 168 4 (NA.BI *ni-kim-tú* IM UD.DA GIG KIN-šú *i-la-bir-ma* ŠU.GIDIM.MA); BAM I 3 iv 17 (DIŠ NA GEŠTU<sup>II</sup>-šú GIG), 40 (*ana na-aš-mat di-ik-ši* DAB).

Scurlock's interpretation of the second part of line 38 is problematic because her transliteration disregards the sign *ina* before the sign NE.<sup>42</sup> I transliterate this passage as *ina* DÈ *tu*<sup>he-pi</sup> restoring *tu*<sup>he-pi</sup> as *tu*-<*qat-tar*> = you fumigate (it) on coals.

### Lines 39-44

The use of dust from various places as a drug and as an ingredient for magical figurines is well attested. I did not find any parallels to this particular sequence, but a similar one is attested in the standard Lamaštu series for making a tablet and a dog (Lamaštu II 61-65)<sup>43</sup> or for making a Pazuzu-head (CTN IV/115 2-6 and STT 57 2-6).<sup>44</sup> I can identify the dust from the harbour and dust from the ford as a sequence in one other text: SA[ḪAR *k*]ar-ri SA[ḪAR *n*]é-<sup>7</sup>*bé*-ri (KAR 144 rev. 10 // K 3464 + N 3554 rev. 14; for a discussion of the tablets, see Panayotov 2013). A similar writing for “dust from the ford” (SAHAR *né-bir*) is attested in STT 281 iv 3.

The incipit of the incantation “ÉN <sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME DUMU AN.NA” is attested in the standard Lamaštu incantation series (Lamaštu series I 1-8).<sup>45</sup> According to the medical tablet BM 45393+, this and three other incantations were recited during fumigation against Lamaštu.<sup>46</sup>

Based on the parallel text (BM 35512 obv. 6), Scurlock interpreted *ša*<sup>1</sup>-*lal-la*<sup>he-pi</sup> as a corrupted syllabic writing of *šalālu*-reed.<sup>47</sup> The problem is that the relevant line of BM 35512 is fragmentary. The cuneiform signs ŠA, LÁ and LA are clear, but the text after LA sign was broken. In our text the first sign is clearly Á and not ŠA and the Akkadian *ḫepi* can refer to the broken part of the previous word – similarly to the broken verb in line 38. (*ina* DÈ *tu*(*qattar*)<sup>he-pi</sup>) in line 38 or the broken name of the tree (*giš*<sup>he-pi</sup>) in line 32. I am sceptical about Scurlock's solution because I do not find any other references to the pith and resin of *šalālu*-reed as drug in medical texts, and the syllabic writing without the determinative *gi* is quite rare. I suggest that the ‘broken’ word be completed as LAL.LA(.RI<sup>mušen</sup>)<sup>he-pi</sup>, an unusual logogram for owl,<sup>48</sup> assuming that the Á as logogram for the Akkadian *kappu* is correct in our text and the ŠA could be a mistake in BM 35512. Although the various part of different type of birds were

<sup>40</sup> ÉN DINGIR-šú GUL.KI (i.e. ḪUL.GIG<sup>2</sup>) BA.DU<sub>8</sub> = the recitation “The hatred(?) of his god has been loosened” (Scurlock 2014, 412).

<sup>41</sup> Schuster-Brandis 2008, 145 (Kette Nr. 142), 146 (Kette Nr. 144) and 280 and 317 (Text 9 = BM 56148+ col. vi 41) and Farber 2014, 29 note no. 70.

<sup>42</sup> KÚM-tu (*ḫe-pi*) (Scurlock 2014, 412).

<sup>43</sup> Farber 2014, 168 and 170 (transliteration) and 169 and 171 (translation).

<sup>44</sup> For a translation and transliteration of the text, see Heeßel 2002 71-73 and Geller 2000 335-336.

<sup>45</sup> For this incantation, see Myhrman 1902, 188; Farber 1989, 116; Heeßel 2002, 100; Farber 2014 68-70 (transliteration) and 145 (translation).

<sup>46</sup> 4-ta ÉN.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ *ana* UGU KÙ.GI šá <sup>d</sup>DÌM.ME ŠID-ma = you recite these four anointment incantations onto the fumigation against Lamaštu (BM 45393+ ii 94).

<sup>47</sup> Scurlock 2014, 413

<sup>48</sup> In the lexical reference of *qadû* : *lal.la.ri*<sup>mušen</sup> = *qadû* (CAD Q 51a sub *qadû*)



used as drugs (for example the blood, the fat and internal organs etc. of *kurkû*-bird), I find only single reference to the blood of owl as drug in medical prescriptions.<sup>49</sup> Another explanation can be envisaged. If we suppose that *hepi* pertains only to the LA sign, I suggest the reading *la(ahhan)* for *la<sup>he-pi</sup>* and the previous two sign (Á and LÁ) as a corrupted form for LÁ-*id* = you bind (him). The *lahannu*-bottle was used for libations in apotropaic rituals and for preparing medicines in therapeutic prescriptions; I suppose that this character of the bottle could have qualified it for use as a drug.

### Lines 45-48

I have not found parallels to the sequence of the three plants: *šašuntu*-plant, *aprušu*-plant and ‘fox-vine’-plant.

The use of the *šašuntu*-plant is extremely varied in medical prescriptions and I can not outline a specific use for this plant. The pharmacological list refers to three various uses of this plant: the *ašû*-disease (BAM I 1 ii 3), *himiṭ šēti* (BAM I 1 ii 49 // BAM V 422 iii 2) and the *samānu*-disease (BAM I 1 ii 19), but the plant is attested in other prescriptions (such as for rectal problems, head problems, etc.).<sup>50</sup> I can identify the *šašuntu*-plant as simplicium in the prescriptions for *šēta hamit* (BAM II 146 obv. 15’ and 18’) and for *himiṭ šēti* (BAM V 422 iii 2), and it was used together with other plants in the prescription for *himiṭ šēti* (BAM II 168 40-41 // STT 97 iii 29-31).

The *aprušu*-plant was used together with other plants against various diseases (*kabartu*, *mišittu*, rectal problems etc.) but in particular against *himiṭ šēti*: BAM I 1 i 51; BAM II 171 rev. 61-62; BAM I 66 rev. 14’-15’ // Rm 250 obv. 11-12 (AMT 45,1) // K 4114 obv. 11-[12] (AMT 14,7); BAM I 66 rev. 6’-7’ // Rm 250 obv. 2’-3’ // K 4114 obv. 3’-4’ // BAM II 174 obv. 21’-22’. This plant and *šašuntu*-plant can be found in the section of *himiṭ šēti* in the pharmacological list BAM I 1.

The use of the ‘fox-vine’-plant is widely attested in medical texts. In fever texts it appears in the prescriptions against various forms of fever diseases: *šēta hamit* (BAM II 146 obv. 15-16 and 12-18; BAM II 145 17-23), *šēta kašid* (BAM II 174 28’-31’, AMT 45,6+ 15-16 and 17-18); *himiṭ šēti u šibit šāri* (BAM I 52 47-59; SpTU I 63 1-8), *nikimti šāri u šētu* (BAM II 168 (BAM VII, no. 34) 7-17 // BAM I 52 27-38); *himiṭ šēti šāru u kalātu* (SpTU I 63 1-8); *ummu ḥimiṭ šēti šibit šāri* (BAM I 52 rev. 55-59); *ummu dannu* (BAM II 147 obv. 16-20 // BAM II 148 obv. 16-20); *ummi libbi* (simplicium in BAM VI 579 i 2); *ummu zu’tu u lubātu* (BAM II 151 rev. 42).

Wool of different colours and different types, and the hair of various animals (ram, sheep, female kid, lion, etc) are well attested as materials for spinning into a yarn for an amulet in the medical and magical corpus, but I cannot identify any parallels for this sequence of magical ingredients in the corpus, and the use of plants as ingredients for a *ṭurru*-amulet is rare in medical prescriptions.<sup>51</sup>

### Lines 49-53

I could not find any other reference to the use of the *ḥallulāya*-insect as drug in the fever prescriptions, but the insect was used as an ingredient in phylacteries in the prescriptions against SAG.KI.DAB.BA (AMT 104 iii 13-16) and in the standard Lamaštu series (Lamaštu series III 39).<sup>52</sup> The *ḥallulāya*-insect was identified as a centipede by Farber and he

<sup>49</sup> TCL VI no. 34 col i 6 and its commentary BRM 4 no. 32:8 (for the references CAD Q sub *qadû*).

<sup>50</sup> Based on an Uruanna passage (Ú <sup>d</sup>*gu-la* <sup>d</sup>*ša-šu-un-tú*) Böck interprets this plant in connection with the goddess Gula and discussed the medical references to this plant (Böck 2014, 158-163). Cf. the list of plants against *himiṭ šēti* (Stol 2007, 39).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008, 63.

<sup>52</sup> Farber 2014, 188 (transliteration) and 190 (translation).

interpreted it as a dangerous animal affiliated with the iconography of Lamaštu.<sup>53</sup> Böck has argued that we should differentiate between two usages of the term *hallulāya* in therapeutic prescriptions: the term without the logogram *u<sub>2</sub>* means an insect and with the logogram means a plant which could be connected to the insect (for example, food for the insect).<sup>54</sup> Horse sweat as a drug and its connected ritual are unique to my knowledge.

### Lines 54-63

This magical-medical incantation and ritual have several parallel texts: two excerpted tablets (BAM II 147 and 148) originate from Aššur, one from Niniveh (K 2581), and another from Babylon (BM 35512 obv.14-19) but there are differences between the various manuscripts.<sup>55</sup> Based on the fact that BM 42272 has ‘broken’ with one healing ingredient (supposedly the plaster from both doorjambes), we assume that BM 42272 and its duplicates had different source text. The more detailed ritual is attested on the two Aššur tablets (BAM II 147 rev. 5’-25’ and BAM II 148 rev. 7’-27’), the second incantation is omitted on K 2581 and BM 42272, and the application of phylacteries (a reed tube containing a live lizard and closed with black textile) is shorter on K 2581 and incomplete on BM 42272. The partiture of the duplicates is as follows:

- a = BAM II 147 rev. 5’-16’ and 21’-25’
- b = BAM II 148 rev. 7’-18’ and 23’-25’
- c = K 2581 obv. 7’-19’
- d = BM 42272 54-63
- e = BM 35512 obv.14-19

1. a 5’ DIŠ KIMIN *ina* AN.BIR<sub>9</sub> SAḪAR GISSU UD.DA TI-*qí si-ra*  
 b 7’ [... *i*]na AN.BIR<sub>9</sub> SAḪAR GISSU *u* UD.DA TI-[*qí* ...]  
 c 7-8a [DIŠ KÚM<sup>2</sup> U<sub>4</sub> 1]-KÁM DAB-*su* U<sub>4</sub>-1-KÁM *ú-maš-šar-šú ina* AN.BIR<sub>9</sub> DÙ.[DÙ.BI]  
     <sup>8</sup>[SAḪAR GIS]SU *u* UD.DA TI-*qí si-i-ri*  
 d 54 DIŠ KIMIN *ina* AN.[B]IR<sub>9</sub> SAḪAR GIS[*SU*] ‘*u*’ [U]D.DA TI-*qí-ma*<sup>he-pi</sup> ‘x x x x’  
 e 14a [.....]
  
2. a 6’ *šá sip-pí ana sip-pí* SAḪAR KUN<sub>4</sub> IGI-*ti* SAḪAR *šá* KI.TA ‘MUNUS Û.TU’ KU<sub>5</sub><sup>56</sup>  
 b 8’ [*šá sip-p*]*í ana sip-pí* SAḪAR KUN<sub>4</sub> IGI-*ti* SAḪAR *šá* KI.TA [...]  
 c 8b-9a *šá sip-pi ana sip-[pi]*<sup>9</sup>[SAḪA]R KUN<sub>4</sub> *maḫ-ri-ti* SAḪAR *šá-pal pi*<sup>1</sup>(text:i)-*sa-anni*  
 d 55a SAḪAR KU[N<sub>4</sub>] IGI-*i* SAḪAR KI.TA ‘MUNUS’ *šá* Û.TU KU<sub>5</sub>-*si*  
 e 14b [*sip-p*]*í ana sip-pí* SAḪAR KUN<sub>4</sub> IGI-*ti* SAḪAR *ša* KI.TA [.....]
  
3. a 7’ SAḪAR KI.MAḪ<sup>ú</sup>KUR.ZI SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ.BUR ḪI.ḪI *ina*<sup>na4</sup>BUR ALGAMESŠ  
 b 9’ [SAḪAR] KI.MAḪ<sup>ú</sup>[KUR].ZI SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ.BUR ḪI.ḪI *ina*<sup>na4</sup> B[UR ...]  
 c 9b-10a SAḪAR K[I.MAḪ]<sup>10</sup>[<sup>ú</sup>KUR.ZI] SÚD *ina* Ì.BUR *ina* BUR<sup>na4</sup>ALGAMESŠ  
 d 55b-56a SAḪAR K[I].M[AḪ]<sup>‘ú’</sup>KU[R.ZI]<sup>‘sar’</sup> 56 SÚD *i[na]* ‘Ì’ BUR ḪI.ḪI<sup>na4</sup>BUR ALGAMESŠ  
 e 14c-15a [...] <sup>15</sup>[.....]
  
4. a 8’ *ina* DÈ ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-*šal* EME.ŠID TI-*qí* TI-*sa ana* ŠÀ ŠUB-*di*  
 b10’ [*ina*] DÈ ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-*šal* EME.ŠID TI-*qí* TI-*sa ana* ŠÀ ŠUB-[*di*]

<sup>53</sup> Farber 1987, 103-104.

<sup>54</sup> Böck 2011a, 697.

<sup>55</sup> For the identification of the incantation of this prescription, see Stol 2007, 38.

<sup>56</sup> Köcher: ‘NIN LA’ ŠÚ. My restoration of the fragmentary text is based on the relevant line in BM 42272, but I have not had the possibility to collate BAM II 147.

- c 10b-11a *ina* DÈ ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-šal<sup>11</sup>[EME.ŠID] DIN-*su ana* ŠÀ ŠUB-*di*  
d 56b *ina* DÈ ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-šal EME.ŠID TI-<sup>ˈ</sup>sa<sup>ˈ</sup> *ana* ŠÀ [ŠU]B-<sup>ˈ</sup>di<sup>ˈ</sup>  
e 15b [..... T]I-*sa ana* ŠÀ ŠUB-*di*
5. a 9' *tu-tar-ra-ma ta-na-suk ana lib-bi ki-a-am* ŠID  
b 11' *tu-tar-<sup>ˈ</sup>ra<sup>ˈ</sup>-ma ta-na-suk ana lib-bi ki-a-am* Š[ID]  
c 11b-12 *a-di i-ár-ru-u tu-kal-la*<sup>12</sup>[E<sub>11</sub><sup>?</sup>-m]a *ta-na-suk* TU<sub>6</sub> *ana lib-bi* UR<sub>5</sub>.GIN<sub>7</sub> ŠID-*nu*  
d 57a E<sub>11</sub>-[m]a *ta-na-suk ana* ŠÀ *ki-a-am* ŠID-*nu*  
e 15c E<sub>11</sub>-*ma ta-na-suk ana* ŠÀ *k[i-a-am ...]*
6. a10' ÉN *ki-i* UD.DA KÚM-*em* : *ki-i* GISSU *lik-ši*<sup>1</sup>  
b 12' <sup>ˈ</sup>ÉN *ki-i*<sup>ˈ</sup> [...] : *ki-i* GISSU *lik-ši*<sup>1</sup>  
c 13a [ÉN *ki*]-<sup>ˈ</sup>i<sup>ˈ</sup> UD.DA *e-me-em u* GIM GISSU *lik-ši*  
d 13b-14a. ÉN *ki-<sup>ˈ</sup>i* UD.DA<sup>ˈ</sup> KÚM-*em*<sup>14</sup>*ki-<sup>ˈ</sup>i*<sup>ˈ</sup>[GIS]SU *lik-ša*  
e 16a [.....]
7. a 11' *ki-i sip-pí ana sip-pí* [a-a i]q-ri-*bu* : *mur-šu a-a iq-rib-šú*  
b 13' [*ki-i*]<sup>ˈ</sup> *sip-pí ana sip-pí a-a iq-ri-bu* : *mur-šu a-a iq-ri*[b-šú]  
c 13b-14 GIM *sip-pi*<sup>14</sup>[*ana sip-p*]i<sup>ˈ</sup> NU KU.NU *mur-šu* NENNI A NENNI a<-a> *iq-rib-šú*  
d 58b-59a *ki-i* ZAG.DU<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> *ana* ZAG.DU<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>ˈ</sup>la<sup>ˈ</sup> *i-qer-ru-bu mu*[r-š]u<sup>59</sup>NENNI [A NE]NNI a-*a iq-rib-šú*  
e 16b [.....] *ana* ZAG.DU<sub>8</sub> *la i-qer-ru-bu mur-šu ana* <sup>ˈ</sup>NENNI<sup>ˈ</sup> [...]
8. a 12' GIM KUN<sub>4</sub> *li-[kab-bi]-su-šu-ma ma-am-ma-an a-a ir-ši*  
b 14' [GIM K]UN<sub>4</sub> *li-kab-bi-su-šu-ma ma-am-ma-an a-a ir-[ši]*  
c 15 [GIM K]UN<sub>4</sub> *li-kab-bi-su-ši-ma mam-ma-an a-a ir-ši*  
d 59b-60a *ki-ma* KUN<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [*li-kab-bi-su-šú-ma ma-am-man*<sup>60</sup>a-*a* [*ir-š*]i  
e 17a [.....]
9. a 13' GIM *pi-sa-an-ni ana ur-ri*<sup>1</sup>(Köcher hand-copy: *hu*)-šú *u ti-bi-šú la iz-zi-bu*  
b 15' [GIM p]*i-sa-an-ni ana ur-ri*<sup>1</sup>(Köcher hand-copy: *hu*)-šú *u ti-bi-<sup>ˈ</sup>šú<sup>ˈ</sup> la iz-zi-[bu]*  
c 16 [GIM *pi-s*]a-*an-ni ana ur*<sup>1</sup>(text: *tu*)-*ri-šú u te-bé-e-šú la iz-zi-bu*  
d 60b <sup>ˈ</sup>ki<sup>ˈ</sup>-*ma pi-sa-an-na ana ur-ri-šú u ti-bi-šú la iz-zi-bu*  
e 17b [*ki-ma pi-s*]a-*an-ni ana ur-ri-šú u ti-bi-<sup>ˈ</sup>šú<sup>ˈ</sup> la*<sup>ˈ</sup> [*iz-zi-bu*]
10. a 14' GIG a-*a in-né-zib* GIM<sup>14</sup>BAD *la in-nu-u ÉLLAG-su*  
b 16' [GIG] a-*a in-né-zib* GIM<sup>14</sup>[BA]D *la in-nu-u ÉLL[AG-su]*  
c 17a [...] a-*a in-né-zib* GIM BAD NU BAL-*u ÉLLAG-su*  
d 60c-61a *mur-šu*<sup>61</sup> a-*a in-né-zí*[b *ki*]-*ma mi-tu la i*[n]-*nu-ú ÉLLAG-su*  
e 18a [.....]
11. a 15' GIG ÉLLAG-*su a-a i-ni* TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN É.NU.RU  
b 17' [GIG ÉLLAG]-*su a-a i-ni* TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN É.NU.[RU]  
c 17b-18a *mar-šu*<sup>18</sup>[...] a-*a i-ni*  
d 61b-62a GIG ÉLLAG-*su*<sup>62</sup>a-<sup>ˈ</sup>a<sup>ˈ</sup> *i-ni* <sup>ˈ</sup>TU<sub>6</sub><sup>ˈ</sup>.ÉN ÉN  
e 18b [GIG ÉLLAG -s]u a-*a i-ni* <sup>ˈ</sup>TU<sub>6</sub><sup>ˈ</sup>.ÉN ÉN
12. a 16' 7-šú *ana* ŠÀ ŠID-*nu-ma* ŠÉŠ-*su*  
b 18' [7-šú *ana* ŠÀ] ŠID-*n[u-m]*a ŠÉ[Š-*su*]  
c 18b 7-šú ŠID-*ma* ŠÉŠ-*su*

- d 62b 7-šú ana šà šID-ma šÉ[š-s]u  
e 18c 7-šú ana šà šID-ma ʿšÉš-suʿ
13. a 21' DÙ.DÙ.BI Ú.KUR.RA PIŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ÍD <sup>u</sup>KUR.KUR *ni-kip-tú*  
b 23' [DÙ.DÙ.B]I Ú.KUR.RA PIŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ÍD [...]
14. a 22' *tur-ár* SÚD KI Ì.GIŠ HI.HI ÉN 3-šú ana šà šID-nu  
b 24' [*tur-ár*] ʿSÚDʿ KI Ì.GIŠ HI.HI ÉN 3-šú [*ana šà šID-nu*]
15. a 23' ŠÉŠ.ŠÉŠ-su-ma TI-uṭ GI.DÙ.A TI-qí 7 ŠU.SI  
b 25' [ŠÉŠ.Š]ÉŠ-su-ma TI-uṭ GI.DÙ.[A TI-qí 7 ŠU.SI]
16. a 24' *te-še-rim* EME.ŠID TI.LA-su SAG.DU-nu-uš-šá ana šà šUB-di  
b 26' [*te-še-rim* EM]E.ŠID TI.LA-su SAG.DU-[*nu-uš-šá ana šà šUB-di*]  
c 19a [EME].ŠID TI-su ina <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD šUB  
d 62c-63a EME.ŠID TI-ma <sup>63</sup>ana š[à-b]i šUB-di  
e 19a [...]
17. a 25' *ina* TÚG GE<sub>6</sub> KÁ-šá KEŠDA-ma *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-an  
b 27' [*ina* TÚG GE<sub>6</sub> K]Á-šá KEŠDA-ma in[*a* GÚ-šú GAR-an]  
c 19b TÚG GE<sub>6</sub> KÁ-šú KEŠDA *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-an  
d 63b *ina* TÚG GE<sub>6</sub> ʿKÁʿ-š[ú KEŠD]A *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-ma DIN  
e 19b [...GÚ]-ʿšú GARʿ-ma TI-uṭ

<sup>1</sup>If ditto (ms. c: [on one day] seizes him (and) on the same day leaves him) at midday, you take dust from shadow (place) (and) from hot (place), <sup>3</sup>you crush plaster <sup>2</sup>from both doorjamb, dust from the front threshold, dust under a woman who has ceased giving birth (ms. c: dust from beneath the drainpipe), <sup>3</sup>dust from the grave, *samīdu*-plant, mix (them) in oil from the *būru*-bowl, <sup>4</sup>you boil (the medicine) over coals <sup>3</sup>in a vessel of *algamešu* stone. <sup>4</sup>You take a live lizard (and) put it into it. <sup>5</sup>You lift (the medicine) out (ms.c: you keep (fire) until it overflows) and remove (the lizard), (then) recite (only ms.c the incantation) into it as follows. <sup>6</sup>Incantation - he is hot as midday, may he be cool as shade! <sup>7</sup>As doorjamb does not approach to doorjamb, let the illness not approach him (or in ms.c, ms.d and ms.e: to so-and so, son of so-and-so)! <sup>8</sup>Let them tread upon it (= the illness) (ms.c: her) like upon the threshold, (then) (the illness) will catch (lit. acquires) none! <sup>9</sup>As one does not allow the drainpipe to be separated or get out, <sup>10</sup>so may the illness not be allowed (to move). As the dead man (ms.c death) does not change his kidney, <sup>11</sup>may the sick man can not change his kidney. Incantation formula. <sup>12</sup>You recite <sup>11</sup>the incantation <sup>12</sup>seven times on it and salve him. <sup>13</sup>Its ritual: <sup>14</sup>you dry (and) pulverize <sup>13</sup>*nīnū*-plant, *kibrītu*-sulphur, *atā'īšu*-plant, spurge, <sup>14</sup>you mix (them) with oil, recite the incantation three times on it, <sup>15</sup>(then) salve him constantly and he will recover. <sup>16</sup>You cut off <sup>15</sup>a seven finger length of a reed mat, <sup>16</sup>you put a live lizard into it, (ms.a and ms.b: its head first) <sup>17</sup>you tie up its opening with black textile, you put it around his neck (ms. c.: you take a lizard, you put it into a reed tube when still alive, you tie up its opening with a black textile and you put it around his neck).

The incantation contains various metaphors. One of them refers to the treading upon the threshold which was interpreted by Scurlock as a 'superstition attends marriages' but she did

give any other references.<sup>57</sup> Although I do not know medical references to the ‘trample of the illness’ but the meaning of the verb *kabāsu* involves the trample of the evil forces.<sup>58</sup> The other metaphor uses the term *pisannu*. Volumes U and T of CAD interpreted the metaphor with the drainpipe (*pisannu*) in different ways.<sup>59</sup> Following the hand-copy of Köcher (*ur-ḥu* instead of my *ur-ri*<sup>1</sup>) volume U considered our metaphor as an obscure reference to the road or path (*urḥu* A meaning a1’), with reference to *tību* in the volume T. Here, however the translation of the metaphor runs as follows ‘just as a basket does not groan at its lowering (?) and rising (?), let the sick man not groan’. The interpretations of CAD give rise to many problems. Both translations in the respective CAD volumes seem incorrect in certain respect (*iz-zi-qu* instead of my *iz-zi-bu* and *in-né-ziq* instead of my *in-né-zib*), and even if we accept the interpretation of *urḥu* as road or path, we can not explain the consideration of volume T which translates *urḥu* as ‘lowering’. Scurlock translated the line differently: ‘Just as the drainpipe can never abandon its runnel and its riser so may the sick person not be given up on’ and her notes referred to the previous translation of Böck.<sup>60</sup> Böck translated the sentence as follows: ‘Gleichwie ein Türpfosten weder seinen Weg noch seinen Angelpunkt verlassen kann, so soll die Krankheit nicht fortgelassen werden’.<sup>61</sup> By the interpretation of *pisannu* I agree with Scurlock but by the interpretation *murṣu* based on the clearly syllabic writing of ms.d I go along with Böck. The reading of *ur-ḥu* (as ‘runnel’ or as ‘Weg’) seems incorrect to me because this interpretation did not take account of the parallel texts which contain clearly *ur-ri* and not *ur-ḥu*. I interpreted this expression (*ana urri*) as a genitive infinitive of the verb *urrû* (to separate) after a preposition supposing that the *pisannu* is not a subject but an object of the first part of the sentence.

The phrase *kalīta enû* (lit. to change the kidney) was interpreted as “to change the man’s side” in CAD and AHw,<sup>62</sup> and as “to move (on) in the bed” by Farber.<sup>63</sup> The term could be interpreted as an expression to the immobility in the everyday language. The metaphor with the drainpipe is probably based on the analogy of the drainpipe which was in fact bolted into the masonry, and similarly to the metaphor concerning the kidneys of the sick man, could be understood as absolute immobility.<sup>64</sup>

## Lines 64-65

A similar sequence of drugs is used for fumigation against ‘seizure of the ghost’:

10. DIŠ NA GIDIM DAB-*su ana* DIN-šú ŠE<sub>10</sub> ŠAḤ ŠE<sub>10</sub> UR.GI7 ŠE<sub>10</sub> UR.BAR.RA ŠE<sub>10</sub> KA5.A  
A.GAR.GAR MAŠ.DÀ  
11. Ú.KUR.RA NAGA.SI SI DÀRA.MAŠ PIŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ID *ku-up-ra*  
12. GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU<sup>túg</sup>NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL *ina DÈ tu-qat-tar-šú*

<sup>57</sup> She translated the sentence as follows: ‘Just as should anyone step on the threshold (he will never obtain anybody as a wife), so may (the illness) not obtain anybody (as a wife)’. (Scurlock 2014, 411 and note no. 10) One sex omen from the series Šumma ālu mentions that the copulation happens on the threshold of the temple’s gate (AMT 65,3 19).

<sup>58</sup> For this meaning of the verb see CAD K p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Contra CAD U p. 218 sub *urḥu* and CAD T p. 390 sub *tību*.

<sup>60</sup> Scurlock 2014, 411 and her notes no. 11.

<sup>61</sup> Böck 2011b, 84.

<sup>62</sup> CAD K 75 sub *kalītu*; CAD E 326b sub *enû*; AHw 220-221 sub *enû*.

<sup>63</sup> For example: *gim mi-ti la tin-na-a* = Wie ein Toter dreh dich nicht um (Farber, 1989, 49 no. 5 line 72) or *šallu ina majjāli kallissu aj īni* = der Schläfer möge sich auf dem Bette nicht umdrehen (Farber 1989, 50 note to line 72) The one sleeping in the bed should not toss around (Farber 2014, 112 Lamaštu series II line 110, 171 and 172)

<sup>64</sup> This interpretation of the metaphor was suggested by Antoine Cavigneaux and Walther Sallaberger, I am very thankful for their help.

<sup>10</sup>If somebody has been seized by a ghost, for his cure <sup>12</sup>you fumigate him with <sup>10</sup>‘dung of a pig’, ‘dung of a dog’, ‘dung of a wolf’, ‘dung of a fox’, ‘dung of a gazelle’, <sup>11</sup>*nīnū*-plant, ‘horned-*uḫūlu*’-plant, stag’s horn, *kibrītu*-sulphur, bitumen, <sup>12</sup>‘bone-of-mankind’ (and) a soiled rag.

(68-5-23,2 (AMT 93,1) obv. 10’-12’)<sup>65</sup>

Stag horn and gazelle dung occur together as drugs for phylacteries against the permanent ‘hand-of-Ištar’:

37. *ana* KIMIN (= *ana* ŠU <sup>d</sup>INNIN *la-zi* ZI-*ḫi*) <sup>na4</sup>ZÁLAG <sup>na4</sup>*mu-ša* A.GAR.GAR MAŠ.DÀ SI DÀRA.MAŠ *ina* KUŠ

To remove (the permanent ‘hand-of-Ištar’): (you wrap) *zalāqu*-stone, *mūšu*-stone, ‘dung of a gazelle’ (and) a stag’s horn in leather.

(BAM III 311 obv. 37)

### Lines 66-67

The prescription contains two steps: first, the ointment; then the application of the phylactery with the same drugs. Among the healing materials we can find one healing plant and two magical drugs. I can identify one further text variant.<sup>66</sup>

13’. [DIŠ KIMIN] <sup>u</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR SAḪAR KI.TA<sup>1</sup>(Köcher copy: KĀŠ) MUNUS šá Û.TU *pār-sat*

14’. [x?]<sup>r</sup>x’ *ina* ì ŠÉŠ-*su* *ina* <sup>sig</sup>ÀKA NIGIN *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-*an*

<sup>13</sup>[If ditto] *ḫašū*-plant, dust from under a woman who has ceased giving birth, <sup>14</sup>[...] you salve him with oil, you wrap (these drugs) in a tuft of wool (and) place (it) around his neck.

(BAM II 151 obv. 13’-14’)

Scurlock’s transliteration and translation for the two last drugs in line 66 seems erroneous to me.<sup>67</sup> The sign ì+giš does not appear in the text; we always find ì.giš (in lines 31, 43, 67, 69 and 84). Contrary to Scurlock’s interpretation, I suggest the following transliteration: É NIM *lab-bi-ni* = *bīt zumbi labbini* (nest-of-*labbinu*-fly). The term has only two references as materia medica in CAD (BAM VI 575 iii 60 and BAM V 480 ii 1), and further occurrences were collected by Buisson in his review on Scurlock’s book (Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamian. Brill, 2006), but he did not mention our text.<sup>68</sup> The AHW interpreted the term as a type of fly, while CAD translated it as wasp without, any further explanation. We have to emphasize that all occurrences of *labbinu* were connected to the fly (*zumbu*) and its house (BAM VI 575 iii 60; BAM V 482 ii 1; Geller 2010b, 40-56 iii 10’; BM 42272 66) and we have only one text (BAM V 470 obv.17’ and its duplicate AMT 96,4:3’<sup>69</sup>) with *bīt zumbi* (‘house-of-the-fly’). Here two possible solutions can be offered: on the one hand, if we accept the traditional interpretation of CAD, we can translate our term as ‘house of fly (and) wasp’<sup>70</sup>, or, on the other hand, if we suppose that the ‘*bīt zumbi*’ is probably a shortened form for *bīt zumbi labbini*, than the ‘house’ of the insect

<sup>65</sup> For the elaboration of the text, see Scurlock 2006, 603, no. 287. A similar prescription is BAM V 469 obv. 14’-17’ (Scurlock 2006, 573, no. 257).

<sup>66</sup> See as well Köcher BAM II xiii notes to the lines 13’-17’.

<sup>67</sup> ì+<sup>gis</sup>DIḪ ì+<sup>gis</sup>*bi-ni* = *baltu*-thorn oil (and) *bīnu*-tamarisk oil (Scurlock 2014, 414 and 416). The same misinterpretation can be found in line 26: ì+<sup>gis</sup>DIḪ = *baltu*-thorn oil (Scurlock 2014, 414 and 417) instead of é nim <*labbini*>. I am grateful to Henry Stadhouders for this suggestion.

<sup>68</sup> Buisson, RA 103 (2009), 150-151.

<sup>69</sup> I suppose that <sup>gis</sup>DIḪ in BAM III 216 66’ could be interpreted as a mistake by the ancient scribe because both parallel texts (BAM V 470 obv.16’-19’ and AMT 96,4 1’-6’) clearly have É NIM.

<sup>70</sup> Mark Geller interpreted it on this way: “fly and wasp nest” (Geller 2010b, 51)

can be interpreted as a nest, or, less likely, a chrysalis/cocoon. With regard to the interpretation of the meaning of this term it should be noted that like in the cases other plant and animal names, the meaning of *zumbu* is rather more general than our conventional translation; it could refer to any flying insect similar to a fly in form or behaviour.

### Lines 68-69

Similar to the previous prescription, this one also has an ointment and a phylactery using the same medicament. I can identify one further text variant.<sup>71</sup>

15'. [...] AŠ ša NIM *i-bar-ru* : *hal-lu-la-a-a* NIM UR.GI<sub>7</sub>  
 [...] 'fly-catching spider', *hallulāya*-insect, dog fly  
 (BAM II 151 obv. 15')

Scurlock's transliteration and translation<sup>72</sup> for "AŠ ša NIM *i-bar-ru*" (in lines 68 and 73) seems erroneous, because her interpretation leaves the sign TI in the duplicate unaccounted for<sup>73</sup> and because I also fail to see how *i-bar-ru* can yield the translations she proposes. The term 'fly-catching spider' (*ettūtu ša zumba ibarru*) was identified on the second tablet of the diagnostic omen series by Nils Heeßel.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the references in fever texts (BAM II 151 obv. 15'; BAM III 315 i 32; BM 42272 rev. 25 and 29) I can identify it as drug in the prescription against an unidentified disease.<sup>75</sup>

### Lines 70-71

This prescription contains two treatments: phylacteries and fumigation. A textual variant can be found in the list of fumigations against Lamaštu.

14. *sah-lí-i* <sup>túg</sup>NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LAL  
 15. *mu-šá-ti* NAGA.SI *ina* DÈ SAR-ŠÚ  
<sup>14</sup>*sahlû*-plant, soiled rag, <sup>15</sup>combed-out hair, 'horned-*uhūlu*'-plant: you fumigate him.  
 (BAM II 183 obv. 14-15)

### Line 72

The phylactery appears in three parallel texts. Two of them (BAM II 147 rev. 3' and BAM II 148 rev. 5') are fragmentary and it seems to me that they have a shorter version containing only the drugs. The third parallel (AMT 63,2+AMT 19,2 ii 12-13) also includes the technical instructions.

- |    |           |                                                                                                                         |
|----|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | a rev. 3' | [.....UGU.DU]L.BI ĠÌR.PAD.DA NAM.LÚ.[U <sub>18</sub> .LU]                                                               |
|    | b rev. 5' | [.....] SÍG U[GU]. <sup>ˆ</sup> DUL <sup>ˆ</sup> .BI ĠÌR.PAD.DU NAM.[LÚ.U <sub>18</sub> .LU]                            |
|    | c ii 12'  | DIŠ KIMIN SÍG UGU.DUL.BI <sup>ˆ</sup> ĠÌR <sup>ˆ</sup> .PAD.DU NAM.LÚ. <sup>ˆ</sup> U <sub>18</sub> <sup>ˆ</sup> . [LU] |
| 2. | a rev. 4' | [.....] <i>ina</i> GÚ-ŠÚ [GAR- <i>an</i> ?]                                                                             |
|    | b rev. 6' | [.....] <sup>ˆ</sup> KUŠ <sup>ˆ</sup> <i>ina</i> G[Ú-ŠÚ GAR- <i>an</i> ?]                                               |
|    | c ii 13'  | <i>tur-ár</i> SÚD <i>ina</i> [KUŠ.....]                                                                                 |

<sup>71</sup> See also Köcher BAM II xiii, notes to lines 13'-17'

<sup>72</sup> *ina ša-nim i-bar-ru* = On the second (day) he feels well (Scurlock 2014, 414).

<sup>73</sup> DIŠ KIMIN AŠ TI ŠA NIM [...] = If ditto (you wrap) 'live fly-catching spider' [in tuft of wool] (BAM III 315 i 32).

<sup>74</sup> Heeßel 2001-2002, 42.

<sup>75</sup> AŠ GE<sub>6</sub> šá DU-*ku-ma* NIM *i-bar-r[u]* = "walking and fly-catching black spider" (BAM V 476 obv. 10').

<sup>1</sup>If ditto you dry and pulverize monkey's hair, 'bone-of-mankind', <sup>2</sup>(wrap) in leather (and) place (it) in his neck.

(a = BAM II 147 rev. 3'-4'; b = BAM II 148 rev. 5'-6'; c = AMT 63,2+AMT 19,2 ii 12-13)

The two drugs ('human bone' and monkey hair) are attested in a phylactery in a fragmentary prescription against an unidentified disease.

2' [...] ḠİR.PAD<sup>7</sup>.DA(Köcher copy: LU) NAM.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU

3' [...] ŠÍG UGU.DUL.BI *ina* KUŠ

[...] 'human bone' [...] monkey hair: : (you wrap) in leather  
(BAM V 477 2'-3')

### Lines 74-75

The prescription includes two procedures: a phylactery using animal hair and 'leatherworker's fungus' and an ointment. The phylactery has one fragmentary duplicate in BAM III 315.

33. DIŠ KIMIN GE<sub>6</sub> ANŠE KUR.RA šá AŠGAB [...]

If ditto, black (hair from the hind leg) of a donkey, 'leatherworker's fungus' [...]  
(BAM III 315 i 33)

Moreover I can identify hair from the thigh (*paḥallu*) and hind leg (*šulu*) of a donkey or a horse in a phylactery in two prescriptions.<sup>76</sup>

[... MUNŠU]B ANŠE šá 15 u 150 <sup>u</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> *ina* Ḡ KUŠ<sup>7</sup>

[hair from] the right and left [hind legs<sup>7</sup>] of a donkey, 'dog's tongue'-plant.  
(BAM II 151 obv. 17')

[...] ḡ*šu-lum* šá PAP.ḤAL šá 150 šá ANŠE.KUR.RA šá 15 EME.ŠID KUN MIN.NA IGI GU<sub>4</sub> GE<sub>6</sub> ḡ X X<sup>2</sup><sup>7</sup>  
hair from the left and right thighs of a horse, lizard, tail of the same (animal), eye of an ox  
(BAM V 476 obv. 15')

The *Decknamen* section of Uruanna interprets GE<sub>6</sub> PAP.ḤAL ANŠE as an alias of *pillû* (mandrake) and *hašû*-plant (Uruanna III 41 and 43), but the list do not contain any reference to the term GE<sub>6</sub> PAP.ḤAL ANŠE.KUR.RA KUR.RA (cf. Finkel, 2000, 213).

### Lines 76-77

I can identify one duplicate for this prescription.

34. DIŠ KIMIN (DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-*su*) BAR.MUŠ EME<sup>me</sup>.DA<sup>77</sup> GÍR.TAB ḠİR.PA[D.D]U  
N[AM.LÚ]<sup>7</sup>U<sub>18</sub>.LU<sup>7</sup>

35. <sup>u</sup>ḡNÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL<sup>na4r</sup> *kut-pa-a* ḡ<sup>na4</sup> *mu-ša* ḡ X<sup>7</sup>[...]

<sup>34</sup>If ditto the scale of a snake, spider, mother scorpion, 'bone-of-mankind', <sup>35</sup>soiled rag, black frit, *mūšu*-stone [...]  
(BAM III 315 i 34-35).

### Lines 78-79

A similar phylactery is attested against against the permanent 'hand-of-Ištar'.

<sup>76</sup> See also Köcher BAM II xiii, notes to lines 13'-17'

<sup>77</sup> For similar writing of mother scorpion (EME.DA GÍR.TAB), see BAM V 477 obv. 4 (CAD p. 233 sub *tārītu* A).



35. *ana* KIMIN (=ana ŠU<sup>d</sup>INNIN *la-zi* ZI-*ḫi*) SÍG UR.MAḪ SÍG UR.BAR.RA SÍG KA<sub>5</sub>.A SÍG UR.GI<sub>7</sub> GE<sub>6</sub>  
*ina* KUŠ

To (remove the permanent ‘hand-of-Ištar’): (you wrap) hair of a lion, hair of a wolf, hair of a fox, hair of a black dog in leather.

(BAM III 311 obv. 35)

### Line 80

This prescription has one duplicate.

36. DIŠ KIMIN PÉŠ.SÌLA.GAZ Ú [<sup>d</sup>D]ÌM.ME *ina* SÍGÀKA [NIGIN?<sup>?</sup> *ina*] GÚ-šú GAR

If ditto *hulû*-mouse, ‘plant-of-Lamaštu’: [you wrap] in a tuft of wool (and) place around his neck.

(BAM III 315 i 36)<sup>78</sup>

### Line 82

Scurlock correctly translated the cuneiform signs: SU.UD<sup>mušen</sup> as a bat with a question mark because the SUD<sub>x</sub> (NU<sub>11</sub>)<sup>mušen</sup> refers to an unknown bird and the writing is suggested by few lexical references: ED Fara bird list: <sup>su-ud</sup>NU<sub>11</sub><sup>mušen</sup>, ED Ebla: SU<sup>mušen</sup> and Ur III Girsu <sup>NU<sub>11</sub></sup><sup>mušen</sup> (Veldhuis 2004, 282). The preceding cuneiform sign was transliterated by Scurlock as UMBIN (claw), however the sign is more likely SAG.DU.<sup>79</sup>

### Conclusions

The collection of phylacteries against various types of ‘fever’ is clearly defined in therapeutic text from Neo-Babylonian Aššur and Niniveh as well as from Neo-, and Late-Babylonian Uruk. Despite orthographic and textual differences across manuscripts from various periods and sites, there is clearly a strong degree of continuity in the scribal tradition. Although the colophons of the Neo-Assyrian tablets BAM II 147 and its duplicate (BAM II 148) and probably the fragmentary colophon of BM 42272 refer to a Babylonian original, we can not identify the Babylonian *Vorlage* of our tablet or the Neo-Assyrian manuscripts. The differences of the Neo-Assyrian manuscripts of the prescription in lines 54-63 could originate from different Babylonian originals.

The majority of the phylacteries on BM 42272 have parallels, but the various manuscripts are not really duplicates more likely text variations. The closest parallel could be with the sections of phylacteries in BAM III 315 (five parallels), BM 35512 obv. 1-26 and with BAM II 151 obv. 13-24 (three parallels). It can also be noted that four prescriptions (32-36; 54-63; 68-69 and 72) have at least two or more parallels. Some treatments and incantations show close similarity to the standard Lamaštu-series.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, it should also be noted that fumigation and ointment is attested very frequently together with phylacteries in our text (at least seven prescriptions).

<sup>78</sup> For the reference see CAD L p. 67, sub Lamaštu.

<sup>79</sup> UMBIN SU.UD<sup>mušen</sup> = bat (?) claw (Scurlock 2014, 415 and 417).

<sup>80</sup> See the notes for lines 36, 39-41 and 42.

## References

- Abusch, T./Schwemer, D. (2011):** Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals. Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1. Leiden-Boston (CMAR)
- Attia, A./Buisson, G. (2003):** Edition de Texte 'Si le crâne d'un homme contient de la chaleur, deuxième tablette', JMC 1, 1-24
- Beckman, G./Foster, B.R. (1988):** Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, in: E. Leichty [e. a.] (ed.), A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs. Philadelphia, 1-26
- Böck, B. (2007):** Das Handbuch *Mussu'u* "Einreibung". Eine Serie sumerischer und akkadischer Beschwörungen aus dem 1. Jt. vor Chr. Madrid
- Böck, B. (2011a):** Sourcing, organizing, administering medicinal ingredients, in: K. Radner [e. a.] (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture. Oxford, 690-705
- Böck, B. (2011b):** l'ibu-Fieberkrankheit, starkes Fieber, lang anhaltendes Fieber in: B. Janowski [e. a.] (ed.), Texte zur Heilkunde. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments Neue Folge 5. München, 83-84
- Böck, B. (2014):** The Healing Goddess Gula. Leiden
- Bottéro, J. (1995):** Textes culinaires mésopotamiens. Mesopotamian Civilizations 6. Winona Lake
- Buisson, G. (2009):** Chroniques Bibliographiques 13. Moyens médico-magiques pour contrer les fantômes, RA 103, 149-158 (Review of Scurlock 2006)
- Ebeling, E. (1915-1923):** Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I. WVDOG 28. Leipzig (KAR)
- Ehelolf, H. (1938):** Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoï XXIX. Berlin
- Farber, W. (1973):** *ina kuš.dù.dù(.bi) = ina maški tašappi*, ZA 63, 59–68
- Farber, W. (1987):** Tamarisken-Fibeln-Skolopender. Zur philologischen Deutung der 'Reiseszene' auf neuassyrischen Lamaštu-Amuletten, in: F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner. American Oriental Series 67. New Haven, 85-105
- Farber, W. (1989):** Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale. Mesopotamian Civilizations 2. Winona Lake
- Farber, W. (2014):** Lamaštu. An edition of the canonical series of Lamaštu incantations and rituals and related texts from the second and first millennia B.C. Mesopotamian Civilizations 17. Winona Lake
- Finkel, I. L. (2000):** On Late Babylonian Medical Training. in: A. George [e. a.] (ed.), Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert. Winona Lake, 137-223
- Geller, M. J. (2000):** Fragments of Magic, Medicine, and Mythology from Nimrud, BSOAS 63/3, 335-336
- Geller, M. J. (2005):** Renal and Rectal Disease Texts. BAM VII. Berlin-New York
- Geller, M. J. (2006):** Les maladies et leurs causes, selon un texte médical paléobabylonien. JMC 8, 7-12
- Geller, M. J. (2007):** Textes médicaux du Louvre, nouvelle édition. AO 11447, AO 7760 et AO 6674. Première partie. JMC 10, 4-18
- Geller, M. J. (2010a):** Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice. Chichester
- Geller, M. J. (2010b):** Skin disease and the doctor, JMC 15, 40-56.
- Gurney, O.R./Finkelstein, J.J. (1957):** The Sultantepe Tablets I. London (STT)
- Gurney, O.R./Hulin, P. (1964):** The Sultantepe Tablets II. London (STT)
- Haas, V. (2003):** Materia Magica et Medica Hethitica. Berlin-New York

- Heeßel, N. P. (2001-2002):** “Wenn ein Mann zum Haus des Kranken geht...” Intertextuelle Bezüge zwischen der Serie šumma ālu und der zweiten Tafel der Serie SA.GIG. AfO 48/49, 24-49
- Heeßel, N. P. (2002):** Pazuzu. Archäologische und philologische Studien zu einem altorientalischen Dämon. Ancient Magic and Divination 4. Leiden-Boston-Köln
- Hunger, H. (1976):** Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk 1. Berlin (SpTU)
- Jursa, M. (1999):** Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmāni. Leiden
- Köcher, F. (1953):** Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoï XXXVII. Berlin (KUB)
- Köcher, F. (1963-1980):** Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen I-VI. Berlin (BAM)
- Langdon, S.H. (1914):** Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur. BE 31. München
- Livingstone, A. (1999):** The Magic of Time, in: T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds.): Mesopotamian Magic textual, historical, and interpretative perspectives. Groningen, 131-137
- Meier, G. (1939):** Ein akkadisches Heilungsritual aus Boğazköy. ZA 45, 195-215.
- Myhrman, D. W. (1902):** Die Labartu-Texte. Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu, ZA 16, 141-200
- Panayotov, S.V. (2013):** A Ritual for a Flourishing Bordello. BiOr 70, 286-309.
- Parpola, S. (1993):** Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars. SAA 10. Helsinki.
- Pliny, translated by W.H.S. Jones (1963):** Natural History, Books 28-32. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge (MA)-London
- Reade, J. (1986):** Rassam’s Babylonian Collection: the Excavations and the Archives, in E. Leichty, Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI. Tablets of Sippar I. London
- Schuster-Brandis, A. (2008):** Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel. Untersuchung zu ihrer Verwendung in der Beschwörungskunst Mesopotamiens im 1. Jt. v. Chr. AOAT 46. Münster
- Schwemer, D. (2007a):** Rituale und Beschwörungen gegen Schadenzauber. KAL 2. WVD OG 117. Wiesbaden
- Schwemer, D. (2007b):** Abwehrzauber und Behexung. Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien. Wiesbaden
- Schwemer, D. (2011):** Magic Rituals: Conceptualization and Performance, in: K. Radner [e. a.] (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture. Oxford-New York, 418-442
- Scurlock, J.A. (2002):** Animals in Ancient Mesopotamian Religion, in: B.J. Collins (ed.), A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East. Leiden-Boston-Köln, 361-387
- Scurlock, J.A. (2006):** Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia. Ancient Magic and Divination 3. Leiden-Boston
- Scurlock, J.A. (2014):** Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine. Writings from the Ancient World 36. Atlanta
- Scurlock, J.A./ Andersen, R. B (2005):** Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine. Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Analyses. Urbana-Chicago
- Stol, M. (1992):** The Moon as seen by the Babylonians, in: D. J.W. Meijer (ed.), Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East: Proceeding of the Colloquium, Amsterdam, 6-8 July 1989. Amsterdam, 245-274
- Stol, M. (2007):** Fevers in Babylonia, in M. J. Geller [e. a.] (ed.), Disease in Babylonia. Cuneiform Monographs 36. Leiden, 1-39
- Thompson, R.C. (1923):** Assyrian Medical Texts. London (AMT)
- Toorn (van der), K. (1985):** Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia. SSN 22. Assen
- Veldhuis, N. (2004):** Religion, Literature and Scholarship: The Sumer composition <<Nanše and the birds >>. Cuneiform Monographs 22. Leiden

- Wiseman, D.J./Black, J.A. (1996):** Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû. CTN IV. London
- Worthington, M. (2003):** A Discussion of Aspects of the UGU Series, JMC 2, 2-13
- Worthington, M. (2005):** Edition of UGU 1 (= BAM 480 etc), JMC 5, 6-43



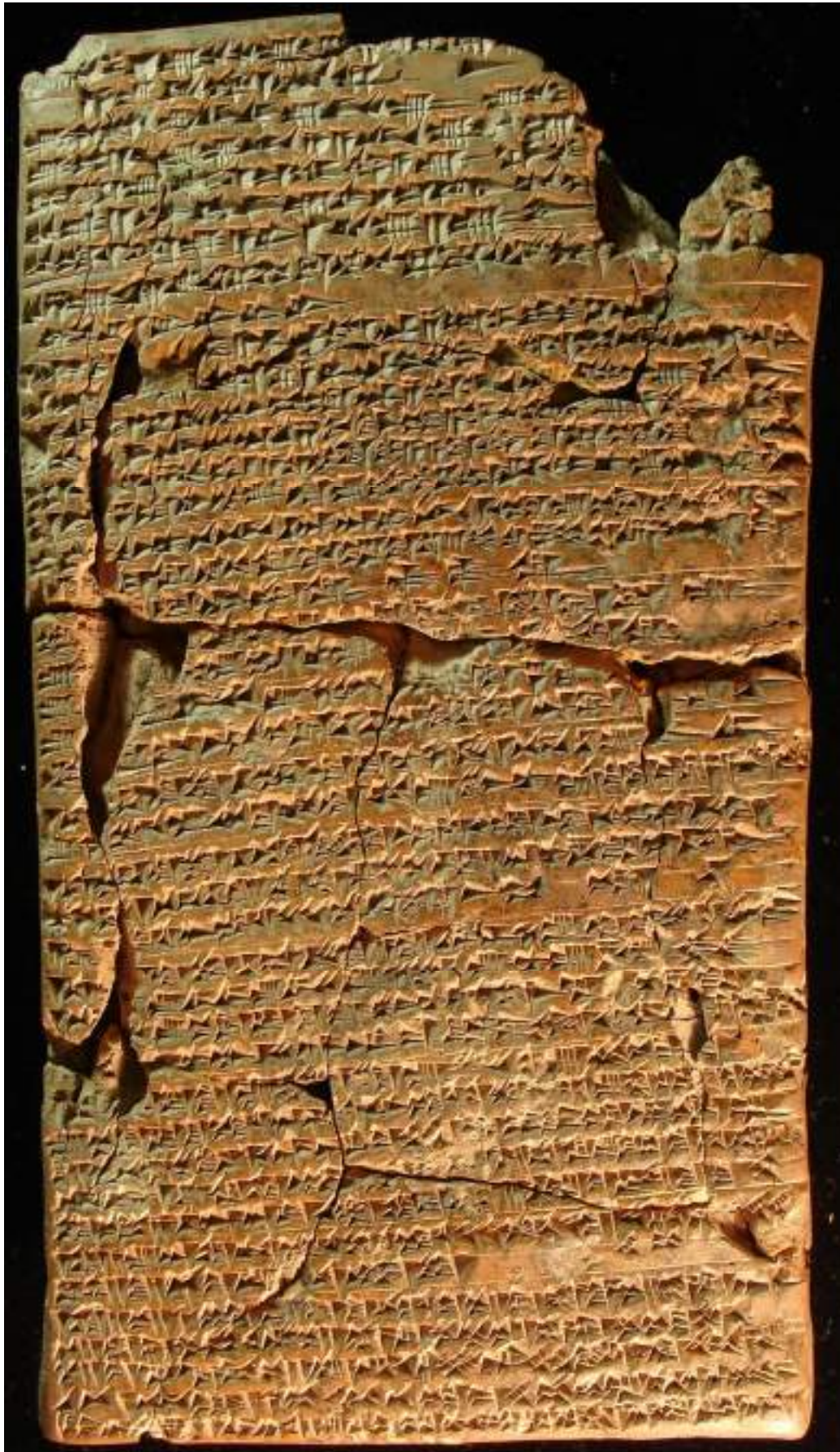


Figure n°1 BM 42272 Obverse



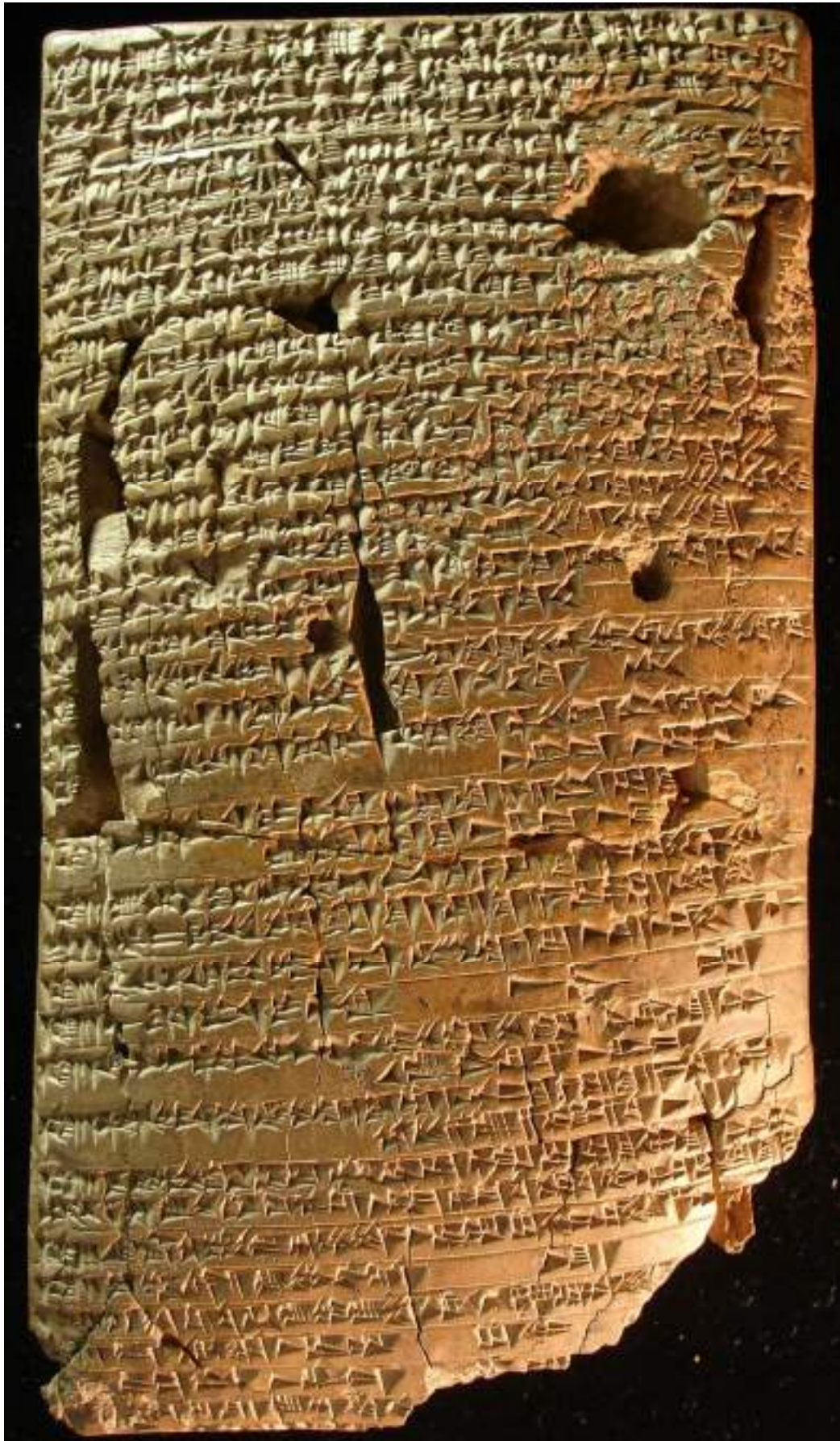


Figure n°2 BM 42272 reverse



Figure n°3 BM 42272 obverse edge



Figure n°4 BM 42272 reverse edge



1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40

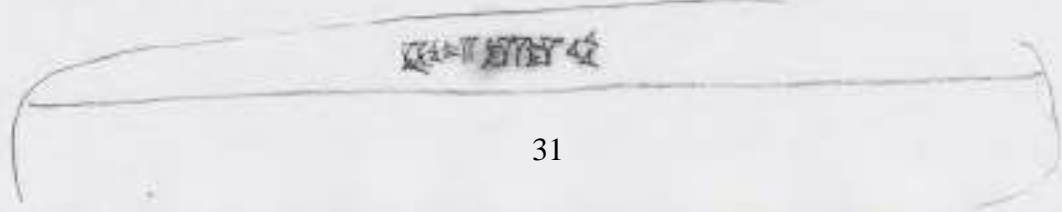


Figure n°5



45.  
50.  
55.  
60.  
65.  
70.  
75.  
80.  
85.

20.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, organized into horizontal lines. The text is dense and covers most of the page area. There are some irregular shapes and markings interspersed within the lines of text.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, contained within a large, irregular, rounded rectangular frame. The text is arranged in several lines within this frame.

BM 42272 rev.

Figure n°6



# Sāmānu as a Human Disease

Susanne Beck<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The ancient Near Eastern demon Sāmānu is described as a human disease in Mesopotamian documents. There exist numerous magical and medicinal textual sources, which are very descriptive of his nature. Described as a skin disease, Sāmānu is always associated in the cuneiform tablets with specific parts of the human body. The tablets identify symptoms and prognosis. This article offers a deeper insight into the medical-magical sources describing the demon as a human disease, and suggests possible identifications of this disease in modern medicine.

## Introduction

The demon Sāmānu (*sa-ma-na<sub>2</sub>*, *sa-ma-na*, *nim-nim/sa-ma-nu-um*) is attested as a disease of human, animals (sheep, cattle, and donkeys), and plants (barley), as pest (Sumerian *ur-me-me*) in the ancient Near East. He also manifests as occurrence in rivers. This article deals with Sāmānu as a human disease. There exist abundant textual sources, both magical and medicinal, referring to this disease-demon. The cuneiform tablets provide information about the typical location of the ailment on the human body, the symptoms, and its prognosis.

## Textual Attestations

The Mesopotamian sources originate in lexical lists, diagnostic and therapeutic texts, as well as incantations. They date from the Ur-III-period through to the Hellenistic period. The 33rd tablet of the Diagnostic Handbook – the tablet dates to the Hellenistic period – states:

DIŠ GIG GAR-š<sub>u2</sub> SA<sub>5</sub> *e-em* MU<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>h</sub><sup>?</sup> u D[U-a]k *sa-ma-nu* [MU.NI]

“If the (medical) finding of the disease is red, hot (and) swollen, and discharges: Sāmānu is [its name].”

DIŠ GIG GAR-š<sub>u2</sub> SA<sub>5</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> KUM<sub>2</sub>.KUM<sub>2</sub>-*im* u i-t[a-na]r<sup>?</sup>-ru<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup> *sa-ma-nu* [MU.NI]

“If the (medical) finding of the disease is red, the patient (lit. man) is continually feverish and it consistently re[tur]ns: Sāmānu is [its name].”

DIŠ GIG GAR-š<sub>u2</sub> *da-an* TAB [...] *ma ina* IGI-*ka la i-na-aš* UŠ<sub>2</sub> ŠUB KI.MIN *sa-ma-nu* [MU.NI]

“If the (medical) finding of the disease is hard, fever [...] and you observe it, it does not recede from you (and) rejects (?) blood, ditto: Sāmānu is [its name].”<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, several recipes contain short descriptions of the ailment, too. The Neo-Babylonian tablet W 21033 R:14'–15' and R:19' (BAM 409) reads:

---

<sup>1</sup> Curator of the Egyptian Collection, Institute of Ancient Near East Studies (IANES), Department of Egyptology, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen, Germany.

<sup>2</sup> W 23292 R:23–25 & BM 121082 R:3'–5', Egbert von Weiher, *URUK: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18*, IV, AUWE 12 (1993): 81–88, 179–180; CT 51 pl. 51.148; Nils P. Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik* (AOAT 43, Münster, 2000), 354, 360, 368.

DIŠ NA *sa-ma-nu lu-u<sub>2</sub> SA<sub>5</sub> lu-u<sub>2</sub> GE<sub>6</sub> lu-u<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>7</sub> lu-u<sub>2</sub> [BABBAR] lu-u<sub>2</sub> ši-tu lu-u<sub>2</sub> mi-ḫi-iṣ*  
<sup>giš</sup>DALA<sub>2</sub> *it-tab-[ši] [...]* *šum-ma UŠ<sub>2</sub> u LUGUD ŠUB<sup>meš</sup> [...]*

“If Sāmānu occurs either red or black or yellowish green or [white] or (as) an abscess (?) or prick of a thorn (at) a patient (lit. man) [...] if blood and pus consistently extravasate [...].”<sup>3</sup>

As in passages of the 33rd tablet of the Diagnostic Handbook, Sāmānu is also described as a swelling, which could be either red, black, yellow or white, with a sanguineous to purulent discharge. Furthermore, the recipe explains how the disease is passed on. The ailment is apparently transmitted by a prick of a thorn. Similarly, the Neo-Assyrian lexical list K. 207 + Sm. 24 + Rm. 2,24 (= CT 19, 3) + K. 264 mentions Sāmānu beside the stings of scorpions and the pricks of other plants:

214 [...]	[zi]-iq-tu	[sti]ng
215 [...]	[KIMIN]	[ditto]
216 [...]	[sa]-ma-nu	[Sā]mānu
217 [te]	[sa]-ḫa-lu	[to pri]ck
218 [te.te]	[si-ḫi-i]l-tu	[pri]ck
219 [ḡiš.IGI.DU <sub>3</sub> .te.te]	[KIMIN <i>šil-l</i> ]i-e	[ditto of a thorn]
220 [gi.te.te]	[KIMIN <i>qa<sub>2</sub></i> ]-ni-e	[ditto of a re]ed
221 [ḡiš.ra.aḫ]	[KIMIN <i>i-ṣ</i> ]i-im	[ditto of a tree/]wood <sup>4</sup>

In another therapeutic text, BAM 494 (K. 6684 + BM 134589), the suffering is similarly characterized:

DIŠ NA SAG.ṚDU-su' *sa-ma-nu DAB-it i-raš-ši-šum-ma i-na-saḫ i-na-aḫ* [EGIR]-nu GAL-bi  
 “Case: Sāmānu seizes the patient’s (lit. man’s) head, he turns red and it recedes, abates (and) afterwards increases (again) [...].”<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the text mentions where Sāmānu might appear: on the head. The same statement is made in the following recipe.<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the therapeutic and diagnostic texts, the incantations reveal a lot more about Sāmānu, accurately describing the location of the ailment as well as the affected persons. In the conjuration HS 1555 + 1587 R:10–12, V:13 (TMH 6, 6), dating to the Ur-III-period, it is said:

u<sub>3</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>-e ḫa-aš<sub>2</sub>-gal-na 'ba'-ni-na 'ki'-sakil-e ga-na ba-ni-na ḡuruš-e sa-na ba-ni-na  
 “The poor caught (him) at his thigh. The girl caught (him) at her breast (lit. milk). The man caught (him) at his tendon.”<sup>7</sup>

A similar statement is made on the tablet 6 NT 145 (YOS 11, 73) of the same period:

[MU]NUS.sakil gaba šu<sub>2</sub>-ba [ḡu]ruš gu<sub>2</sub>-na šu<sub>2</sub>-ba

<sup>3</sup> Franz Köcher, “Ein Text medizinischen Inhalts aus dem neubabylonischen Grab 405”, in *Uruk, die Gräber*, ed. Rainer M. Boehmer, Friedhelm Pedde, and Beate Salje (AUWE 10, Mainz 1995), 205, 209, 215.

<sup>4</sup> L. 214–218, see MSL 9, 97.

<sup>5</sup> R:I35', see BAM 494, pl. 93.

<sup>6</sup> K. 6684 + BM 134589 R:I38' [...] DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su *sa-ma-nu DAB-it* [...] “[...] If Sāmānu seizes a patient’s (lit. man’s) head [...]”, see BAM 494, pl. 93.

<sup>7</sup> Johannes J.A. van Dijk and Markham J. Geller, *Ur III Incantations from the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Collection, Jena* (Wiesbaden, 2003), TMH 6, 26–31, 117 (pl. 9 no. 10), 134 (pl. 26), 149 (pl. 41); Irving L. Finkel, “A Study in Scarlet: Incantations against Samana” *CM* 10 (1998): 78–81 (text no. 3). The verbal stem is a= a<sub>5</sub> (AK).

“The [gi]rl is affected (at) her breast, the [ma]n is affected at his nape.”<sup>8</sup>

In the Neo-Assyrian Incantation STT 178 (S.U. 51/128+) & duplicates, the same persons are mentioned as possible victims of attack:

‘guruš’ haš<sub>2</sub>-a-na-‘ta’ ba-‘ni’-i[n ...] // eṭ-lu [ina] šap<sup>1</sup>-ri-š<sub>u2</sub> i[š-bat]  
ki-sikil GIŠ.GABA-na-‘ke<sub>4</sub>’ // ‘ar<sub>2</sub>’-[da-ta] ina ši-ti-iq ‘ir’-ti-ša<sub>2</sub> i[š-bat]  
lu<sub>2</sub>-tur ga-naḡ-e sa gu<sub>2</sub>-bi ba-[...] // šer<sub>2</sub>-ru e-niq ši-iz-bi ina la[-ba-nu iš-bat]  
“The man’s thigh is sei[zed] (by him). The girl’s breastbone is sei[zed] (by him). The infant’s nape’s [tendon is seized] (by him).”<sup>9</sup>

Infants are named in addition here as a potential victim. In the conjuration ArOr 17, 213 (AO 11276) R:11–15, which dates from the Ur-III-period, the same is said:

dumu-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> niḡ<sub>2</sub>-guru<sub>5</sub>-na ba-ni-de<sub>6</sub>-a-gen<sub>7</sub> ki-sikil-le gaba BIR.BIR-a-na ba-ni-de<sub>6</sub>-a-gen<sub>7</sub>  
ḡuruš-e za<sub>3</sub> š<sub>u2</sub>-š<sub>u2</sub>-a-na ba-ni-de<sub>6</sub>-a-gen<sub>7</sub> nu-geg-e nam-nu-ge<sub>17</sub>-ga-na ba-ni-[x]-a-de<sub>6</sub>-a-gen<sub>7</sub>  
‘nu’-bar-re nam-nu-ba-ra-na ba-ni-de<sub>6</sub>-a-gen<sub>7</sub>  
“as the infant suffered from him of his cutting off (?), as the girl suffered from him at her breast dropping (?), as the man suffered from him at his covered (?) shoulder, as the qadištu suffered from him in her position, as the kulmašītu suffered from him in her position.”<sup>10</sup>

Besides toddlers, the qadištu and kulmašītu are also listed. Both name priestly offices whose functions are not clear, but who were active as wet nurses.<sup>11</sup> In all of the attestations, the girl (ki-sikil) is affected on her breast, while infants are not spared either.<sup>12</sup> Apparently Sāmānu was perceived to be transmitted by breastfeeding:

<sup>8</sup> R:18–19, similar in R:II2–3, see YOS 11, pl. LXXI no. 73, Finkel “Samana”, 76–78, 99–100. Šu-ub here for šub. For Sāmānu’s attack at the nape, see also Barbara Böck, *The Healing Goddess Gula, towards an Understanding of Ancient Babylonian Medicine* (Leiden, Boston, 2014), 153. In her opinion, the attack at the nape reflects Sāmānu’s inherent canine qualities, for dogs usually direct their bite to the nape, cf. 154–155.

<sup>9</sup> Composite text, 15–17 (line counting is based on S.U. 51/128+), see for S.U. 51/128+: STT 178; for K. 2402+9219: Finkel, “Samana”, 105 (fig. 8b), for K. 13922: Finkel “Samana”, 103 (fig. 7).

<sup>10</sup> See Jean Nougayrol, “Conjuration ancienne contre samana”, *ArOr* 17/2 (1949): 213–226, pl. III–IV, Finkel, “Samana”, 72–76, 98. According to Graham Cunningham, “*Deliver me from Evil*”: *Mesopotamian Incantations 2500–1500 B.C.* (StPohl SM 17, Rome, 1997), 68–69, in this incantation, as well as in 6 NT 145 (see above), no special disease is characterized, but both texts deal with general depictions of an ailment.

<sup>11</sup> As stated above, the functions of the priestly offices of the nu-ge<sub>17</sub> and the nu-bar are not clear. It is sometimes suggested that they were temple prostitutes. In any cases, they were employed as wet nurses. For a general overview of temple prostitution, see Marten Stol, *Vrouwen van Babylon, Prinsessen, Priesteressen, Prostituees in de Bakermat van de Cultuur* (Utrecht 2012), 263–272, Gwendolyn Leick, *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature* (London, New York 1994), 147–156, and, especially on the nu-ge<sub>17</sub> and nu-bar, see Johannes Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit, 1. Teil”, *ZA* 58 (1967): 179–187, Daniel Arnaud, “La prostitution sacrée, un mythe historiographique?”, *RHR* 183 (1973): 111–115, Marten Stol, *Zwangerschap en geboorte bij de Babyloniërs en in de Bijbel* (Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het vooraziatische-egyptisch genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux” 23, Leiden, 1983), 56–57, 86, 88–89, Wilfred G. Lambert, “Prostitution”, in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen, Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients*, ed. Volkert Haas (Xenia 32, Konstanz, 1992), 140, 141, Volkert Haas, *Babylonischer Liebesgarten, Erotik und Sexualität im Alten Orient* (München, 1999), 56–57, 60–62, Stol, *Vrouwen*, 264–265, 373–377, Böck, *Healing Goddess*, 32.

<sup>12</sup> In HS 1555 + 1587, the girl is affected at her milk. In all the other attestations, the girl is caught at her breast and it is probable to assume that the scribe forgot to write the -ba for ga-<ba> “breast”. For infants, cf. W 21033 (BAM 409) R:20’ DIŠ lu<sub>2</sub>TUR sa-ma-nu DAB-su [...] “If Sāmānu seizes a child [...]”, Köcher, “Grab 405”, 206, 209, 215.

DIŠ<sup>lu2</sup>TUR *a-šu-u<sub>2</sub> u sa-ma-ni* DAB-su ana tu-<sup>7</sup>la<sup>7</sup>-a eš-ša<sub>2</sub> tu-na-kar-šu-ma u EN<sub>2</sub> ŠUB-dī<sup>1</sup>(RU)-*šum-ma* TI  
 “If Ašû or Sāmānu seize a child (then) you hand him over to another breast and you recite an incantation over him and he is going to recover.”<sup>13</sup>

It is not clear whether it is meant that the ailment was caused by an infection of the breast, or whether it was transmitted by the milk. Moreover, prognoses are specified in the texts. In KUB IV, 49 (Bo 4832), it is said:

DIŠ LU<sub>2</sub> *sa-ma-nam* ‘GIG’ *a-na* TIL.A [...] TIL.A  
 “If a patient (lit.: man) falls sick with Sāmānu, in order to cure (him) [...] he will recover.”<sup>14</sup>

The aforementioned cuneiform tablet K. 6684 + BM 134589 (BAM 494) shares this same phrasing:

[...] TI  
 “[...] he will recover.”<sup>15</sup>

BM 92690 and 46228 also read similarly.<sup>16</sup> The demon Sāmānu is almost always listed in an identical order of other ailments in lexical lists and incantations.<sup>17</sup> Ordinarily he is combined together with *Šaššatu* (5×), *Šanadu/Šanudu* (5×), *Ašu*-skin disease (4×), the red *Girgiššu*-boil (4×), *Sikkatu*-pustule (3×), *Maškadu* (3×) and *Amurriqānu*-jaundice (3×). These illnesses are attested 5 to 3 times alongside Sāmānu.<sup>18</sup> All the other diseases are only occasionally

<sup>13</sup> BM 92690 R:38 & BM 46228 R:38, see René Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, vol. I–II (Paris, Leiden, 1951), I: 222–223, II: pl. LIX, LXIII.

<sup>14</sup> Bo 4832 III4, KUB IV, 49.

<sup>15</sup> K. 6684 + BM 134589 R:141', BAM 494 (pl. 93).

<sup>16</sup> In each case in line R:38, see above. In BM 46228, the sign KUR “he will persist”, is used in opposition to TI (*balāṭu*), Labat, *Traité akkadien*, II: pl. LIX, LXIII.

<sup>17</sup> The analysis involves Erim ḥuš = *anantu* (MSL 17, 19), K. 2473 & K. 9689 (CT 23, pl. 3.), IM. 15289 (Antoine Cavigneaux, “Magica mariana”, *RA* 88 (1994): 155–161.), Practical Vocabulary of Assur (Oliver R. Gurney, and Benno Landsberger, “Practical Vocabulary of Assur”, *AfO* 18 (1957–1958): 334), R.S: 17.155 20 (Jean Nougayrol, “II. La bibliothèque du lettré”, *Ugaritica* 5 (1968): 29), S.U. 51/102 + (STT 136), SMUI 1913.14.1465 & “duplicates” (Albrecht Goetze, “An Incantation against Diseases”, *JCS* 9, (1955): 8–18), VAT 10392 R:25 & duplicates (KAR 233 = BAM 338), Zipa<sub>3</sub>-incantation K. 156 + & duplicates (Rykle Borger, “Die erste Teiltafel der zi-pà-Beschwörungen (ASKT 11)”, *AOAT* 1 (1969): 1–22), K. 6057 + (Böck, *Healing Goddess*, 112–113), ka<sub>2</sub>-gal = *abullu* B (MSL 13, 236) and MMA 86.11.121 (Leo Oppenheim, and Louis F. Hartman, “The Domestic Animals of Ancient Mesopotamia According to the XIIIth Tablet of the Series ḪAR.ra = ḫubullū”, *JNES* 4 (1945), 152–177).

<sup>18</sup> *Šaššatu* is identified with a kind of epilepsy (Goetze, “Incantation”, 13.16), a joint disease (Thomas Kämmerer, “Die erste Pockendiagnose stammt aus Babylonien”, *UF* 27 (1995): 154, 164–165) or tetanus (JoAnn Scurlock and Burton R. Andersen, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine. Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Medical Analyses* (Urbana, Chicago, 2005), 66–68, 666–667). *Šanadu/šanudû/šannadu* classifies a disease or pain in the belly (Goetze, “Incantation”, 12.6, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154), cf. Nathan Wasserman, “Between Magic and Medicine – Apropos of an Old Babylonian Therapeutic Text against Kurārum Disease”, *CM* 36, (2007): 51. *Ašu*-skin disease describes an ailment which involves headache and fever and which could be fatal, see Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 224–226, Martha Hausperger, *Die mesopotamische Medizin aus ärztlicher Sicht*, Schriften zur Medizingeschichte 12, Baden-Baden, 2012, 79–87, especially 82–84, Böck, *Healing Goddess*, 59. Goetze, “Incantation”, 11–12.3, and Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 161–162, identify this sickness with vertigo. The red *girgiššu*-boil could be a scarlet skin rash (Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 158–159) or an erysipelas (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 235). *S/šikkatu* is identified with obstipation (Goetze, “Incantation” 1955, 11.1, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 164), different skin lesions or orf, genital warts or abscesses (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 235–236). *Maškadu* is sciatica according to Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 257–

mentioned. *Rapādu*, *epqennu*, *šennītu*, *šadānu*, *išātu*, *šu'u* and *miqtu* are named with *Sāmānu* twice.<sup>19</sup> The ailments *garābu*, *širiptu*, *sagbānu*, *simmu*, *aḥḥāzu*, *ziqtu*, *di'u*, *šimmatu*, *šimmat šīri*, *kissatu*, *šadānu* are only cited once.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that skin diseases (*epqennu*, *girgiššu*, *sikkatu*, *šennītu*, *išātu*, *garābu*, *sagbānu*, *simmu*, *širiptu*, *ziqtu*) as well as skin alterations (*amurriqānu*, *aḥḥāzu*) apparently form a focus. Amazingly, *Sāmānu* is listed together with ailments that present together with dizziness, numbness or the like. Several of the diseases cannot be identified at all. Nevertheless, as they occur in connection with other alterations of the skin, it is possible that they also indicate a similar remarkable dermal alteration.

In light of the aforementioned symptoms, *Sāmānu* may be a disease of the skin or a skin infection. Furthermore, *Sāmānu*, as an ailment, is known to be related to the healing goddess *Gula*:

*sa-ma-nu* [ŠU] <sup>d</sup>*gu-la*  
 “*Sāmānu*, *Gula*’s [hand]”<sup>21</sup>

*Gula* is usually associated with skin lesions, skin alterations, and skin diseases.<sup>22</sup>

---

258, 667, and *amurriqānu*, a kind of jaundice or liver cancer (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 138–140, Hausperger, *Medizin*, 252–257). Cf. also these lemmata in CAD and AHw.

<sup>19</sup> *Rapādu* specifies a syndrome accompanied by disorientation, trauma, and fever (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 350–351) or listeriosis (CAD R, 147). *Epqennu* is a kind of skin alteration (Goetze, “Incantation”, 13.20, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 158, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 232). *Šennītu* is a skin disease, too (CAD Š, 127, Goetze, “Incantation”, 12.9, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 160, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 229). *Šadānu* is vertigo (CAD Š, 171–172). *Išātu* is identified with an abscess, inflammation, fever or an exanthema (CAD I-J, 233.4, Goetze, “Incantation”, 11.2, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 162, Wasserman, “Magic”, 51, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 239). *Šu'u* is unidentified (CAD Š.3, 417), and *miqtu* may be disease generally (CAD M.2, 103–104), an onset (Goetze, “Incantation”, 12.5, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 162, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 216) or a skin lesion like bruises (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 216).

<sup>20</sup> *Garābu* possibly specifies leprosy (CAD G, 46, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 231–232). *Širiptu* could be a burn (CAD Š, 207) or perhaps scarlet fever (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 219). *Sagbānu* is generally an illness (CAD S, 22), or more specifically, athlete’s foot with superinfection (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 227) or shedding of skin scales (Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 160). *Simmu* is either a general term for a skin lesion (Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 209) or carbuncle, skin eruption (CAD S, 276). *Aḥḥāzu* names a kind of jaundice (CAD A.1, 185, Hausperger, *Medizin*, 257–260, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 33–34, 138). *Ziqtu* is a kind of pock, pimple or milia (CAD Z, 132.3, Kämmerer, “Pockendiagnose”, 154, 161, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 228). *Di'u* classifies a severe illness with headache, such as typhus (CAD D, 165–166, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 59–60). *Šimmatu* and *šimmat šīri* are numbness or paralysis (CAD Š.3, 7–8, Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 289–290). *Kissatu* as well as *šadānu* are both unidentified diseases (CAD K, 428–429, CAD Š.1, 38).

<sup>21</sup> W 23292 V:103, von Weiher, *Uruk*, 180. Cf. ND 4366 + 4358 R:40 [...] *sa'-ma-nu* ŠU <sup>d</sup>ME.ME “[...] *Sāmānu*, *Gula*’s hand.”, James V. Kinnier Wilson, “Two Medical Texts from Nimrud”, *Iraq* 18 (1956): pl. XXIV.

<sup>22</sup> Böck, *Healing Goddess*, 54–55.

## Data Sheet of Sāmānu

Taking into consideration all the aforementioned sources, the following data, then, may be collected on Sāmānu as a human disease.

Cause and Communication:

- thorn prick
- breastfeeding

Location:

- non age-specific and sex-specific
- head, nape, shoulder, breast (woman), thigh

Symptoms:

- swelling: hard, hot, red, black, yellowish-green, white
- sanguineous, purulent discharge
- fever

Prognosis:

- curable

The sources do not specify where Sāmānu did *not* occur, but the fact that he is frequently described as occurring in the abovementioned areas is indicative of the ailment's usual localization at these points.

## Analysis of Potential Identifications

Since Sāmānu is an ancient Near Eastern disease-demon, the ailment or ailments he embodies should be typical of that region.<sup>23</sup> This lead us to ask what disease or, more probable, what type of diseases he might represent from a present-day perspective. One possibility is a form of leishmaniasis<sup>24</sup> which commonly occurs today in tropical and subtropical climates, especially in dry territories, such as the Middle East, Africa, the Mediterranean region, central Asia to southeastern Europe. Leishmaniasis is a protozoan infection which may be caused by varying leishmania species. The disease is transmitted by the bite of the sand fly (*Phlebotomus* spp.). Besides human beings, farm animals, rodents, and dogs (as well as canids more generally) are all potential hosts, while the pathogens *L. donovai* and *L. tropica* use only humans as reservoirs. Sand flies prefer wet places abundant in organic material, such as clefts in rocks, trunks or burrows, for their breeding sites. Though they are capable of flight, sand

---

<sup>23</sup> The following identifications are based on suggestions by Professor Stefan Schubert, Infection and Tropical Medicine, University Hospital Leipzig, Germany, and Privatdozent Pietro Nenoff, dermatologist specialized in tropical dermatology, Doctor's Office for Microbiology, Mölbis, Germany. To them, and to Dr. Claudia Kreyssig who established the contact, I give my warmest thanks.

<sup>24</sup> Leishmaniasis is differentiated by leishmaniasis of the Old World and leishmaniasis of the New World. Here, only leishmaniasis of the Old World is of interest; this is why it alone is described. For leishmaniasis of the New World see among others Stephen Tying, Omar Lupi, and Ulrich R. Hengge (eds.), *Tropical Dermatology* (Edinburgh, 2006), 41–45, Christian G. Meyer, *Tropenmedizin, Infektionskrankheiten*, (Landsberg, 2007 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)), 224–232, Gundel Harms-Zwingerberger, “Leishmaniosen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrations-medicin*, ed. Thomas Löscher (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 600–615.

flies prefer not to do so, and are unable to ascend highly. They fly, for the most part, at nightfall. In subtropical areas, such as in Iraq, they exist as vectors only during the summer and spring time. The female sand fly alone sucks blood. During their short life span of two weeks, they look for hosts two to three times. By biting an affected person, the insect infects itself. In sand flies, as well as in other hosts, the leishmania species pass through flagellated and non-flagellated stages (promastigote/amastigote). In addition to the bites of sand flies, it is possible to become infected by blood transfusion and contaminated surgical instruments. The leishmania species are also able to pass through the placental barrier and may be transmitted by the birth process, even if this is very rare. Infection does not necessarily lead to the onset of disease. Leishmaniasis has no preferences as to age and sex. The most recent infections account for cutaneous leishmaniasis.<sup>25</sup> Depending on species and the patient's condition, different kind of leishmaniasis may develop: visceral leishmaniasis, mucocutaneous l., cutaneous l., diffuse cutaneous l., and lupoid leishmaniasis. Visceral leishmaniasis affects the whole body bit by bit and runs a chronic course, including weight loss, coughing, diarrhea, fever and color changes to the skin (kala-azar). Inadequate therapy may lead to death, which makes it to an improbable candidate for Sāmānu.<sup>26</sup> Mucocutaneous leishmaniasis runs a similar course to cutaneous leishmaniasis (see below) but leads to elaborate destruction of the mucosal tissue. The illness is limited to Eastern Africa in the Old World, and is therefore also rather unlikely as a candidate for Sāmānu.<sup>27</sup> Diffuse cutaneous leishmaniasis and the lupoid l. are also excluded as suspects as they run a chronic course and do not resolve spontaneously. Furthermore, the diffuse cutaneous leishmaniasis is caused by *L. aethiopica* which is only attested in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Kenya.<sup>28</sup> For the identification of the disease-demon Sāmānu, cutaneous leishmaniasis is of special interest. This illness is also known as Aleppo boil, Delhi boil, oriental sore, and tropical sore. The infection occurs frequently on the head (non-hairy area), especially on the face, but may also occur anywhere on the body uncovered by clothes, excluding the hands and soles of the feet. In other words, anywhere a sand fly may bite. Two different forms are distinguishable: the rural form, caused by *L. major*, and the urban form, caused by *L. tropica*. Besides these pathogens, *L. infantum* may also cause cutaneous leishmaniasis, depending on the patient's immune response. The incubation period for both forms is two weeks to three months, in rare cases up to one year. A red papule appears at the inoculation point and develops a nodule which starts to ulcerate within the next two to six weeks. The center of the lesion is covered by a reddish-yellow to

---

<sup>25</sup> Gustav Niebauer and Harald G. Bardach, *Urlaubsdermatosen einschließlich tropischer Dermatosen bei Touristen* (Stuttgart, New York, 1982), 56, Dieter Stürchler, *Endemic Areas of Tropical Infections, Updated and Completely Revised 2nd Edition* (Toronto, Lewiston (N.Y.), Bern, Stuttgart, 1988), 148, Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 41–42, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 224–226, Harms-Zwingenberger, “Leishmaniosen”, 600–602.

<sup>26</sup> Also known as kala-azar, black fever or Dumdum fever, see Friedrich A. Bahmer, *Tropische Hautkrankheiten: Epidemiologie, Immunologie, Diagnostik und Therapie*, (Beiträge zur Dermatologie 10, Erlangen, 1984), 56, René Chatelain, “Protozoen”, in *Dermatologie und Venerologie*, ed. Otto Braun-Falco et al. (Heidelberg, 2005(5<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 287–288, Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 45, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 224–226, Harms-Zwingenberger, “Leishmaniosen”, 605–606.

<sup>27</sup> See Stürcher, *Endemic Areas*, 148, Chatelain, “Protozoen”, 285–286, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 228, especially 230, Harms-Zwingenberger, “Leishmaniosen”, 605–606, especially 609–610.

<sup>28</sup> See Bahmer, *Tropische Hautkrankheiten*, 56–57, Stürchler, *Endemic Areas*, 148, Chatelain, “Protozoen”, 285, Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 42–43, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 225, Harms-Zwingenberger, “Leishmaniosen”, 606.



black scab, but may be wart-like, too. The lesion may be singular or multiple. The wound has raised borders and may form an abscess. The rural form is characterized by a rather humid, exudative ulcerating lesion whereas the urban form is dry and resolves spontaneously after approximately 18 months. The rural form also heals completely, but earlier. Generally, cutaneous leishmaniasis heals with scarring. Recovery comes with an immunity against the specific pathogen.<sup>29</sup> The symptomatology, i.e. the swelling (covered with a reddish-yellow to black scab), discharging, age and sex non-specificity, and the course of the disease, especially its spontaneous resolution (conforming with support of the positive prognosis “curable”), is indicative of an identification with Sāmānu.<sup>30</sup>

Another candidate might be pyodermas, or skin abscesses, which are caused by staphylococci and streptococci. Pyodermas are classified as ecthyma and impetigo contagiosa. The former is an unlikely possibility as it occurs mainly on the lower leg and is incurable without appropriate systemic antibiotic treatment.<sup>31</sup> More probable are forms of impetigo contagiosa. This illness occurs worldwide. The disease is transmitted by pathogens which are naturally located in the nasopharyngeal space of every human, through smear infection of micro-lesions of the skin. It usually occurs on the face, but may also appear on practically every limb. It is largely restricted to children, but adults may be affected, too. Impetigo contagiosa is categorized further by bullous and nonbullous forms.<sup>32</sup> Nonbullous impetigo begins with maculae which evolve into small (approximately pin-point), bulging, water-clear blisters whose margins are reddened and attributable to inflammation. Its first phase is not often noticed as the blisters’ skin is rather thin and quickly bursts. After the blisters are burst, an increased exudation can be observed. This dries off to a honey-yellow scab on a reddened surface.<sup>33</sup> Bullous impetigo consists of big, intact blisters which are initially water-clear before they blur from milk-like gray to cream-like purulent coloration. If the blisters burst, a reddened, eroded surface becomes visible which, by contrast with nonbullous impetigo, does

---

<sup>29</sup> Bahmer, *Tropische Hautkrankheiten*, 57, Karl F. Schaller (ed.), *Colour Atlas of Tropical Dermatology and Venereology* (Berlin et al., 1994), 107–109 (with figures), Peter Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten der Haut”, in *Dermatologie, Venerologie, Grundlagen, Klinik, Atlas* (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, 2004 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)), 355, Chatelain, “Protozoen”, 284–285 (with figures), Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 43–44 (with figures), Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 225, 228 (with figures), Harms-Zwingenberger, “Leishmaniosen”, 608 (with figures).

<sup>30</sup> A fever alone is not typical, and sometimes the lesions are secondarily infected with bacteria. Moreover, transmission may take place through the placental barrier; to what extent transmission by breastfeeding may occur, nothing is said in the specialized literature.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 251, Dietrich Abeck, “Staphylokokken und Streptokokken”, *Braun-Falco's Dermatologie, Venerologie und Allergologie*, vol. I, ed. Gerd Plewig et al. (Berlin, Heidelberg, 2012 (6<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 147 (with figures).

<sup>32</sup> The literature gives differing information as to whether the infection is caused by *Staphylococcus aureus* (Abeck, “Staphylokokken”, 145) or whether the nonbullous form is caused by streptococci and the bullous form by *Staphylococcus aureus* (Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 250), or whether the nonbullous impetigo is an infection by *Staphylococcus aureus* with a rare multiple infection by streptococci, and the bullous form a result exclusively of an infection by *S. aureus* (Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 242). Cf. also Markus Fischer, “Importierte Dermatosen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 69.

<sup>33</sup> Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 250 (with figures), Abeck, “Staphylokokken”, 145 (with figures), Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 242, 243 (with figures), Fischer, “Importierte Dermatosen”, 69–70 (with figures), Wilfried Schmeller and Christoph Bendick, “Tropische Dermatologie”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 179 (with figures).

not form a scab.<sup>34</sup> The ailment involves intense itching in part, which may spread the infection to neighboring skin areas. If the infection runs a severe course, fever and nausea may occur as accompanying symptoms. The blisters usually heal, without scarring.<sup>35</sup> The symptomatology, i.e. the reddish-white to yellow appearance of the blisters and the skin, the potential exudation, as well as the fever, fit very well with Sāmānu. Furthermore, Sāmānu affected infants and toddlers, even if adults could be infected, too.

Sāmānu may additionally be identified with skin abscesses. Skin abscesses are characterized as either furuncles (boils) or carbuncles. Both are inflammations of the skin, including the hair follicle. The infection is transmitted by the smear infection of staphylococci, which originate from within the patient's body and may also be transferred from human to human or by contaminated clothes. The abscesses frequently occur on the head or nape, but may be located on other limbs, too. Often they are the result of poor hygiene, where persons who have a weakened immune system due to metabolic disorders or immunodeficiency may also be affected. The infection is attested worldwide.<sup>36</sup> Where furuncles occur, the follicular channel is contaminated with bacteria which start cloning until an inflammatory alteration develops. Based on this change, leukocytes travel to the inflammation, which causes the follicle's abscess. The necrosis spreads in the cutaneous and subcutaneous tissues until a central melting with liquefaction develops. The pustule is initially reddened, hard and extremely tender. Bit by bit, its coloration changes to yellowish-brown, a result of the tissue's necrosis. Some neighboring follicles may be affected, too. After the pus, including the clot, has discharged, the tenderness reduces and the former abscess heals with scarring. Fever may occur in addition.<sup>37</sup> A carbuncle is, in a manner of speaking, several furuncles which lie close to each other and result in a conglomeration. They affect one's general state of health: exhaustion, fever, shivering, up to toxemia, may occur. Prognoses should be made with caution, even in the case of sufficient treatment.<sup>38</sup> The hard, reddened, yellowish-brown swelling, the fever, and the persons affected match well the description of Sāmānu, where the furuncle should be considered as a match, rather than the carbuncle, because of the latter's dismal prognosis.<sup>39</sup>

Diverse approaches exist which identify the disease-demon Sāmānu with various illnesses, such as mycetoma, smallpox, cellulitis, miliaria rubra or tick bites.<sup>40</sup> Quite a number of these

---

<sup>34</sup> Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 257–258 (with figures), Abeck, "Staphylokokken", 145–146 (with figures), Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 242, Schmeller and Bendick, "Tropische Dermatologie", 179.

<sup>35</sup> Wolf D. Germer, Hartmut Lode and Helmut Stickl (eds.), *Infektions- und Tropenkrankheiten, AIDS, Schutzimpfungen* (Berlin et al., 1987 (3rd ed.)), 110–112, Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 250, 258, Abeck, "Staphylokokken", 146, Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 243, Fischer, "Importierte Dermatosen", 70, Schmeller and Bendick, "Tropische Dermatologie", 179.

<sup>36</sup> Schaller, *Colour Atlas*, 43, Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 262, Abeck, "Staphylokokken", 158.

<sup>37</sup> Germer, Lode and Stickl, *Infektions- und Tropenkrankheiten*, 110–112, Schaller, *Colour Atlas*, 43 (with figures), Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 261–262, Abeck, "Staphylokokken", 158–159, 160 (with figures), Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 244.

<sup>38</sup> Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 261–262, Abeck, "Staphylokokken", 160 (with figures).

<sup>39</sup> Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 63–64, argue in favor of a similar identification; they prefer the carbuncle which, because of its dismal prognosis, is rather unlikely.

<sup>40</sup> Mycetoma: James V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Sāmānu Disease in Babylonian Medicine", *JNES* 53 (1994): 111–115; smallpox: Kämmerer, "Pockendiagnose", 129–168; cellulitis: Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 62–64, 227, 664; miliaria rubra: René Labat, "Geschwulst, Geschwür, Hautkrankheiten", *RIA* 3 (1857–1971): 233; tick bites: *MSL* 2, 113–115.

suggestions are problematic, either because of their symptoms or the rather dismal prognosis for the patient.

Mycetoma describes an infection of the skin and deeper tissue layers. It is caused by different fungi (eumycetoma) and bacteria (actinomycosis, formerly actinomycetoma).<sup>41</sup> Today it is widely distributed in tropical to subtropical regions, such as Africa, Latin America, and less often in the Middle East. Frequently the mycetoma is located on the foot, which is why it is also called Madura foot, but it may occur all over the body, commonly on the limbs, and shoulders and nape, but seldom on the head. The infection is transmitted by thorn pricks or the like, as dead plant matter remains under the skin. The incubation period is not clear. It stretches from several weeks to years. At first, a painless, hard and moveable nodule develops at the inoculation site, which increases bit by bit and discharges a sanguineous secretion. This secretion contains granules specific to the pathogens. During the further course of the disease, cavities develop in the tissue, as well as fistulae. The possibility of spontaneous recovery exists, but the recidivism rate is extremely high. Depending on the pathogens, the ailment may spread to surrounding tissues, such as the muscles and bones. Eumycetoma is characterized by a well-defined lesion, whereas the actinomycosis's lesion is rather diffuse in the tissues. Essentially, the bacterial infection is faster acting and more drastic. Therapy is difficult. Smaller lesions may be surgically removed. Otherwise, depending on the specific pathogen, antibiotics or antimycotics are administered systemically. It is frequently impossible to cure a mycetoma, especially the actinomycosis; one may only stop the progress of the disease. In unfavorable cases, localization of the mycetoma on the head or thoracic region may prove fatal.<sup>42</sup> James V. Kinnier Wilson was able to show that Sāmānu's description mirrors that of mycetoma in part: the granules of the fungi in the secretion (see above), depending on its species, are described as white, yellow, red or black, and inoculation occurs through the pricks of plant remains or thorns.<sup>43</sup> He argues that eumycetoma is mostly present as an infection which progresses with less speed than actinomycosis, and which occurs only as a swelling on the skin.<sup>44</sup> The specialized literature does not provide information about the percentage distribution of eumycetoma and actinomycosis.<sup>45</sup> Kinnier Wilson's final argument is based on a medical text in which Sāmānu occurs on both the hands and feet, where mycetoma is mostly to be found. In this cuneiform tablet, the disease's name, sa-ad-nim, is used, and not Sāmānu.<sup>46</sup> The word sa-ad-nim is equated with Sāmānu in the lexical list 𒍪 XIII:594, but it is equated with *Rapādu*, too.<sup>47</sup> Frequently sa-ad-nim is used for *Šaššaṭu*, with the result that there exists no positive attestation for the location of Sāmānu on

---

<sup>41</sup> For the various pathogens see, among others, Dodé Grigoriu, Jean Delacrétaz, and Dante Borelli, *Lehrbuch der medizinischen Mykologie* (Bern, 1984), 433, Schaller, *Colour Atlas*, 92, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 353.

<sup>42</sup> Bahmer, *Tropische Hautkrankheiten*, 21–25, Grigoriu, Delacrétaz, and Borelli, *Mykologie*, 433–442, Schaller, *Colour Atlas*, 92–93, Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 322–323, Hans C. Korting, “Mykosen”, in *Dermatologie und Venerologie*, ed. Otto Braun-Falco, (Heidelberg, 2005 (5<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 201–202, Meyer, *Tropenmedizin*, 353–355, (in each case with figures).

<sup>43</sup> Kinnier Wilson, “Sāmānu”, 112, 113. Cf. the compilation of symptoms etc.

<sup>44</sup> Kinnier Wilson, “Sāmānu”, 113.

<sup>45</sup> See footnote L.

<sup>46</sup> CBS 332 (= UMBS I, 122) R:I16–18 & 151/c + 170/c + 431/c + 1404/c+1412/c (= KUB 30, 1 = CDLI no. P445110) R:22–23, see UMBS 1.2, pl. CXXVIII, KUB 30, pl. 1.1, Adam Falkenstein, “Sumerische Beschwörungen aus Boğazköy”, *ZA N.F.* 11, 45 (1939): 8–41, Kinnier Wilson, “Sāmānu”, 114–115.

<sup>47</sup> MSL 8.1, 12.57–58.

the hands and feet, the typical site of mycetoma.<sup>48</sup> Sāmānu thus cannot be identified with mycetoma because of his symptomatology, location on the body, and his positive prognosis.<sup>49</sup> Smallpox is a viral infection of two classes: smallpox (*variola major*) and alastrim (*variola minor*), where the former mostly runs a fatal course. After the infection, the virus spreads in the body, whence a sudden fever is caught. The patient suffers, in addition, from a general weakness, headache, and pain in the limbs, vomiting, and shivering, if the infection was caused by *variola major*. After two to three days, the fever abates and an exanthema occurs. This develops from maculae over papules to blisters and afterwards pustules which dry out and crust over. The different stages last always from one to two days and run a parallel course across the entire body. The rash spreads centrifugally across the body, i.e. the exanthema is located on the head, including the hairy parts, and the exterior limbs, including the palms of the hand and soles of the feet. The trunk, armpits, and the inner parts of the thighs are less affected, if at all. The lesions cure with scarring.<sup>50</sup> Thomas R. Kämmerer tried to identify Sāmānu with smallpox, for the disease's coloration (white, red, and black) describes the smallpox's varying occurrence (see above). He argues that the danger of the illness is highlighted by the Sumerian incantation AO 11276 (see above), where Sāmānu encompasses a distinct symptom of smallpox, making it necessary to devote to the demon an entire conjuration, as "gegen eine *minder bedrohliche Hautrötung* wäre eine solche Beschwörung wohl kaum notwendig gewesen."<sup>51</sup> The attack on special persons, such as the qadištu and kulmašītu, emphasizes the disease's importance. Moreover, he states that, due to the smallpox's distinctive symptoms, it became a name for the ailment itself. He excepts plague because it does not attack goats and sheep.<sup>52</sup> Against this identification, Thomas Kämmerer tried to trace a diagnosis of smallpox based on a listing of different ailments within one incantation. This is a little bit problematic, as the terms named classify varying diseases or "occurrences" of the skin, and ought to be analyzed separately. Only then would it be possible to determine their meaning.<sup>53</sup> A match is found in the fever, which is a symptom typical of smallpox, as well as Sāmānu. However, the following arguments speak against the identification as smallpox: admittedly the exanthema's occurrence passes through specific stages, but the most evident coloration is always red for smallpox.<sup>54</sup> Sāmānu is usually located on the area of the head, nape, shoulders, breast, and upper leg. However, the smallpox rash seldom occurs on the trunk and thighs, where Sāmānu definitely occurs. Any identification with smallpox is thus very improbable.

Cellulitis is distinguished as both erysipelas and phlegmon.<sup>55</sup> These are bacterial infections. Erysipelas, also known as ignis sacer, holy fire and St. Anthony's fire, is usually caused by

<sup>48</sup> For *rapādu* see CAD R, 147, and for *šaššaṭtu* see CAD Š.2, 175. Sāmānu, Rapādu and Šaššaṭtu are often named together in lexical lists and incantations (see above).

<sup>49</sup> Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 692.176, also comment critically on Kinnier Wilson's identification.

<sup>50</sup> Fritsch, "Infektionskrankheiten", 280, Regina Fölster-Holst, "Andere Viren", in *Dermatologie und Venerologie*, ed. Otto Braun-Falco et al. (Heidelberg, 2005 (5<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 74–75, Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 145–158 (with figures), especially 152 (table 13.6).

<sup>51</sup> Italics original, see Kämmerer, "Pockendiagnose", 159.

<sup>52</sup> Kämmerer, "Pockendiagnose", 156, 159–160. Sāmānu seems to attack only sheep. There exist no attestations for seizure of goats.

<sup>53</sup> Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 692.176, are also critical.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the figures by Tying, Lupi and Hengge, *Tropical Dermatology*, 149, 152–155, 156.

<sup>55</sup> Not to be confused with cellulite (orange peel skin).

*Streptococcus pyogenes*, but may also result from an infection by other pathogens. The ailment is neither age- nor sex-specific, but persons with skin injuries resulting from ulcers, wounds or dermatoses are especially at risk. The bacteria infiltrate the skin through tiny lesions, or where the skin exhibits abnormal barriers. The lower extremities are mostly affected. The arms and head are very rarely the site of an infection. Erysipelas is not to be located directly at the portal of entry. After the infection, a red swelling develops. It is hot, hard, and asymmetrical to flame-like, but sharply demarcated from neighboring areas of the skin. The derma is taut and glossy. Severe infection may result in blisters, and in partial bleeding of the skin. Accompanying symptoms are a high temperature, shivering, nausea, as well as lymphangitis and lymphadenitis. The disease is self-limiting. After several weeks the occurrence abates. The recidivism rate is extremely high untreated, even if the accompanying effects are no longer distinct.<sup>56</sup> Phlegmon runs a similar course to erysipelas, but is more severe. The infection is caused by *Staphylococcus aureus* and/or streptococci. They infiltrate traumata, such as stab or surgical wounds. Phlegmon is marked by a diffuse inflammation of the subcutaneous tissue. The point is hot, reddened, and painful, but in contrast to erysipelas, its consistency is dough-like. Observable are the typical signs of an inflammation: redness, heat, pain, and dysfunction. Bit by bit, the affected tissue develops necrosis. Partial breaches of deeper body areas are possible. The accompanying fever is severe, and the general state of health is affected. Prognoses should be given carefully, and depend on age, general condition, and localization of the phlegmon.<sup>57</sup> JoAnn Scurlock and Burton A. Andersen suggest identifying Sāmānu with cellulitis.<sup>58</sup> The symptoms of erysipelas and phlegmon match relatively well with Sāmānu and his redness, heat, and fever. Additionally the phrase:

“[...] he turns red and it recedes, abates (and) afterwards increases (again) [...]”<sup>59</sup>

could be interpreted as recidivism of an erysipelas. Against this identification is the common localization of the illness, which affects up to 90% of the legs, especially the lower thigh.<sup>60</sup> Sāmānu is not typically attested there. Arguments against phlegmon are the poor prognosis and the substantial wound as a necessary condition for infection, and not just a “prick of thorn” (see above). Furthermore, the consistency of the inflammation is described as dough-like, and not hard, leaving erysipelas possible only with certain reservations and phlegmon as rather unlikely.

Miliaria rubra, which is also known as heat rash, sweat rash, and prickly rash, is characterized by an exanthema with redness, papules, and blisters. The alteration of the skin is frequently described as prickly to stinging. It is a common disease in the hot and humid tropics, and affects persons who are not adapted to this climate. Usually those areas of the skin which are covered with clothes are affected such as the nape and breastbone, the areas around the collar bone, the crooks of the arm and hollows of the knee, wrists or the waist. The rash abates

<sup>56</sup> Germer, Lode and Stickl, *Infektions- und Tropenkrankheiten*, 108–109, Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 251–253 (with figures), Abeck, “Staphylokokken”, 149–152 (with figures).

<sup>57</sup> Fritsch, “Infektionskrankheiten”, 253–254, Abeck, “Staphylokokken”, 152–153 (with figures).

<sup>58</sup> Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 62–64, 227.

<sup>59</sup> See above.

<sup>60</sup> The distribution is approximately 90% on the lower thigh, approx. 5% on the upper limbs, and approx. 2,5% on the heads, Abeck, “Staphylokokken”, 149.

within two to three days with scaling. The ailment has a high recidivism rate.<sup>61</sup> René Labat noncommittally connected Sāmānu with Miliaria rubra.<sup>62</sup> The symptoms fit Sāmānu’s description only to a limited extent. Only the redness and, in part, the localization on the body correspond. Since miliaria rubra is common mostly to the hot, humid tropics, and Mesopotamia does not class as such, and since only persons not adapted to this climate are affected, the disease is rather an improbable candidate.<sup>63</sup>

Benno Landsberger suggests identifying the demon with a disease caused by tick bites. He argues that, in VAT 8257 (= KAR 44), Sāmānu is listed alongside with scorpion stings and snake bites, supporting the identification with an insect.<sup>64</sup> He admits that there are no such ticks in the Near East as may cause diseases dangerous to humans.<sup>65</sup> JoAnn Scurlock and Burton A. Andersen reject this identification on the basis that tick bites are spotty and do not fit Sāmānu’s description. They do not go into Landsberger’s assumption that the ailment is a transmitted disease.<sup>66</sup> Ticks can spread various kinds of borrelia, rickettsia, parasites and *Francisella tularensis*, as well as viral infections which manifest as encephalitis or hemorrhagic fever.<sup>67</sup> *Borrelia* species transmitted by ticks are widespread in parts of Europe, the USA, and Asia.<sup>68</sup> The term rickettsia describes different diseases which are caused mainly by *Rickettsia* spp., but may also be caused by *Orientea* sp., *Bartonella* spp., and *Ehrlichia* spp.. Only the Rocky-Mountain spotted fever, Japanese spotted fever, Flinders Island fever, Boutonneuse fever, Q fever, and ehrlichioses are transmitted by ticks. A form of Boutonneuse fever is common in the Mediterranean region. The rash which develops breaks out on the entire body, including the hands and feet, but excluding the head. It is thus rather an unlikely candidate, given the aforementioned symptoms. The Q fever is to be found worldwide but does not accompany an exanthema.<sup>69</sup> Tularemia is caused by the bacterium *Francisella*

<sup>61</sup> Wolfram Höfler, “Tropische Klimaprobleme”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis*, ed. Werner Lang and Thomas Löscher (Stuttgart, New York, 2000 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), 587–588, Schmeller and Bendick, “Tropische Dermatologie”, 193. Miliaria is classified by its localization in the epidermis and its appearance: Miliaria crystalline (non-itchy, clear blisters which easily burst), Miliaria rubra and M. profunda (pinpoint red nodules; secondary blebbing is possible), Schmeller and Bendick, “Tropische Dermatologie”, 193.

<sup>62</sup> He describes Sāmānu as “red spots” on the head and remarks in brackets “Hitzeblattern” (heat rash), Labat, “Geschwulst”, 233.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 692.176, who argue against this identification, too.

<sup>64</sup> ZU<sub>2</sub> MUŠ TILa GIR<sub>2</sub>.TAB TILa u SAG.NIM.NIM TILa <sup>BAD NA sa-ma-nu GIG</sup> ““(to) cure snake bites”, ‘(to) cure scorpion stings’ and ‘(to) cure Sāmānu’ if Sāmānu seizes a patient (lit. man)”. See, among others, Heinrich Zimmern, “Zu den Keilschrifttexten aus Assur religiösen Inhalts”, ZA 30 (1915–1916): 204–229, Markham J. Geller, “Incipits and Rubrics”, in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature, Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, ed. Andrew R. George and Irving L. Finkel (Winona Lake (Indiana), 2000), 225–226, 242, 245, 248, 253.

<sup>65</sup> MSL 2, 113–115.

<sup>66</sup> Scurlock and Andersen, *Diagnoses*, 693.181.

<sup>67</sup> Willibald Pschyrembel (ed.), *Pschyrembel, Klinisches Wörterbuch 2011* (Berlin, New York, 2011 (262<sup>nd</sup> ed.)), 2257 (tick).

<sup>68</sup> See Jürgen Knobloch, “Borelliosen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis*, ed. Werner Lang and Thomas Löscher (Stuttgart, New York, 2000 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)), 297–300, especially 298, table. 23.1, Jürgen Knobloch, “Rückfallfieber”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 499–503, table. 42.1.

<sup>69</sup> See Boris Velimirovic and Wolf Sixl, “Rickettsiosen, Ehrlichiosen und Bartonellosen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis*, ed. Werner Lang and Thomas Löscher (Stuttgart, New York, 2000 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)), 315–326, especially 318–320, 321–322, 322–323, Jürgen Knobloch and Thomas Löscher, “Rickettsiosen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 513–525, especially 518–521, 523–525; Thomas Löscher, “Bartonellosen, Ehrlichiosen und Anaplasnose”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und*

*tularensis* and is accompanied by a high temperature, shivering, and headache. It is common only to the USA, Central, North, and East Europe, as well as Japan and Canada.<sup>70</sup> Babesiosis is a parasitic infection which is caused by the pathogen of the genus *Babesia* spp.. It is attested only in Europe and the USA.<sup>71</sup> The type of viral infections which may be caused by ticks either carry dismal prognoses or are unaccompanied by a rash and are relatively unlikely candidates.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Landsberger does not discuss the distinction that existed between Sāmānu as a human disease (sa-ma-na/sa-ma-na<sub>2</sub>) and the pest Sāmānu (ur-me-me) in Sumerian. This distinction is lost in Akkadian, where both are referred to as *sāmānu*. Thus, a transfer from Sāmānu as a human disease to Sāmānu as pest is somewhat problematic, especially as no specific diseases can be determined.

## Conclusion

In summary, several ailments exist which match the appearance of Sāmānu as a human disease. According to our present state of knowledge, mycetoma, smallpox, miliaria rubra, phlegmon and tick-borne disease can probably be excluded, as their symptoms and/or prognosis only partially match the characteristics of Sāmānu. In some cases, geographical localizations disqualify a match, too. By contrast, cutaneous leishmaniasis and pyodermas, such as impetigo contagiosa or furuncles, are rather likely. Erysipelas may also be taken into consideration with some limitations.

---

*Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 530–532.

<sup>70</sup> Stefan Schmiedel, “Pest und Tularämie”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 480–482, Pschyrembel, *Pschyrembel*, 2123.

<sup>71</sup> Stephan Erhardt, “Babesiose”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 597–599, Pschyrembel, *Pschyrembel*, 215.

<sup>72</sup> See Gerhard Dobler and Jürgen Knobloch, “Arbovirus-Infektionen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 244–276, especially table 23.2 for vectors and distribution. For hemorrhagic fever in general, see Stephan Günther, Gerd-Dieter Burchard and Jonas Schmidt-Chanasit, “Virale hämorrhagische Fieber”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 277–303, especially for Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever (CCHF), 293–294, which is common in Asia and can be transmitted by ticks among others. It causes excessive hemorrhages of the (mucous) skin. The symptoms do not fit with Sāmānu (see above). For viral infections of the central nervous system, see Erich Schmutzhard and Thomas Löscher, “Virale ZNS-Infektionen”, in *Tropenmedizin in Klinik und Praxis mit Reise- und Migrationsmedizin*, ed. Thomas Löscher and Gerd-Dieter Burchard (Stuttgart, New York, 2010 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)), 304–323, which are not accompanied by exanthemas.

## On ne saurait songer à tout

Annie Attia

Ayant remis mon article sur les maladies oculaires de la série IGI pour publication et étant convaincue que je ne pouvais rien ajouter à mes commentaires je suis passée à la bibliothèque du Collège de France et, bien entendu, j'ai constaté qu'« il ne faut jurer de rien » ...

Un livre, arrivé à la bibliothèque pendant les vacances, attira mon regard. C'était l'excellente thèse de Nicla De Zorzi publiée en 2014 sous le titre : « La serie teratomantica *Šumma Izbu* : testo, tradizione, orizzonti culturali »<sup>1</sup>. En parcourant ce livre sa lecture me démontra que j'avais laissé de côté des informations utiles et que je n'avais pas suffisamment tenu compte de ce que pouvait apporter au dossier des maladies oculaires cette série publiée par Erle Leichty en 1970<sup>2</sup>. Je complète le dossier avec deux remarques :

### *suhhutu*

Nicla De Zorzi a consacré une note (p. 385) correspondant au paragraphe 75 de la première tablette de la série. Ce paragraphe donne un pronostic pour un nouveau-né ayant des yeux qualifiés de « beaux » ou de « bons » : *be munus dam-qá-mi-nam* min, si une femme dito (=accouche) d'un *bel œil*. Dans cette note elle rappelle que ce terme est un euphémisme pour une caractéristique oculaire entraînant une malvoyance. Elle cite le commentaire de la série *Šumma izbu* qui a fait l'objet d'une analyse dans JMC 25 p. 61 et elle présente les équivalences de *damqam īnam* avec *hummusu* et *šuhhuṭu*. Après un rappel des différents travaux concernant le terme *šuhhuṭu* elle adhère au fait qu'il décrit des yeux « larmoyants, chassieux ». À noter qu'Uri Gabbay dont elle utilise l'article « Some notes on an izbu commentary »<sup>3</sup> préfère ne pas s'engager sur ce que ce terme signifierait pour les yeux dans un contexte médical (note 14, p. 71 : « but the exact meaning of *šahātu* in the context of eyes is still problematic »). L'opinion de Nicla De Zorzi, qui rejoint celle de Jeanette Fincke<sup>4</sup> (2000, p. 161-162) et qui est différente de la mienne est à prendre en considération.

À ce propos je me permets une digression. La lecture du commentaire expliquant le sens de *damqam-īnam* est éclairée par un autre commentaire SPTU 4<sup>5</sup>, 144, l. 16 : *lú da[m]-qá igi šá igi<sup>II</sup>-šú da[n]-niš<sup>I</sup>(nu) [uṣ<sup>I</sup>]-[ša]*, un homme avec *bel-œil* cela signifie que ses yeux so[r]tent fortement (pour cette relecture et cette restitution voir Jeanette Fincke, 2000, p. 195). Le rédacteur nous donne sa version des faits, il s'agit d'yeux globuleux ou d'une grande ouverture palpébrale. Cet aspect peut correspondre à un grand éventail de situations pathologiques, myopie forte, exophtalmie basedowienne ou tumorale, glaucome, etc. ou à une simple caractéristique morphologique. Les paragraphes consacrés à cet euphémisme par Nicla De Zorzi et Jeanette Fincke sont intéressants, on y apprend que ce *bel œil* a pour équivalent dans la liste lexicale Nabnitu (MSL 16, p. 302, tablette R, l. 195) *ši-ši* qui correspond à la maladie *šišū* qui pourrait avoir une parenté avec *šišītu*, la membrane blanche qui occulte la vision. Les termes qui explicitent *bel œil* dans Nabnitu ne correspondent pas à la protrusion ou à la grande ouverture palpébrale qui sont décrites sans équivoque, comme on l'a vu, dans SpTU 4, 144, l. 16.

<sup>1</sup> HANE/M 15, Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N.

<sup>2</sup> E. Leichty, *The omen series Šumma Izbu*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources vol. 4 (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1970)

<sup>3</sup> NABU, 2009/53.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. Fincke, *Augenleiden nach keilschriftlichen Quellen. Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Medizin*, Würzburger Medizinhistorische Forschungen Band 70 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000)

<sup>5</sup> E. von Weiher, *URUK Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, IV*, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte 12 (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1993).



En définitive, *suhhuṭu* décrirait soit des yeux humides, qui auraient en permanence « la larme à l'œil » soit comme je le suggère une maladie dermatologique abrasive, douloureuse entraînant une déformation des paupières. Quant à *hummuṣu* il évoque une pelade, une chute des cils (ce terme décrit un chauve) et *šišû* renverrait à une membrane blanche qui diminue la vision. En fait *damqam-īnam* n'a pas pour équivalent pathologique *suhhuṭu*, *hummuṣu*, *šišû* et réciproquement. Il est la conséquence sur la vue de ces maladies, une vision altérée qui est l'apanage de ce *bel œil*.

#### À propos de l'ambiguïté du logogramme im

On trouve dans deux paragraphes de la première tablette des pronostics tirés d'une naissance anormale, un produit d'accouchement désigné par : im.

Première tablette § 45

be munus im<sup>ti-du</sup> min (= ù.tu) é.lú al.bir

Si une femme accouche d'argile : la maison de l'homme sera dispersée.

Première tablette § 49

be munus im<sup>ša-ru</sup> min (= ù.tu) lugal kur-šú kúr-šú-nu-ma na-an-še-e kur su.gu<sub>7</sub> ina kur gál-ši bir é lú

Si une femme accouche d'air : le pays du roi lui sera hostile, confusion du pays, il y aura une famine dans le pays, la maison de l'homme sera dispersée.

Le paragraphe suivant (§ 50 be munus im *i-ri-ma* im min [= ù.tu]) concerne une nouvelle fois un accouchement de im, la femme devient enceinte de vent (ou d'air) et accouche du vent, dans ce cas le logogramme im ne comporte pas de glose explicative, la répétition est automatique.

À noter que pour le paragraphe concernant l'accouchement d'argile tous les exemplaires (voir les sources dans De Zorzi, p. 338) sont glosés, par contre pour le paragraphe 49 im qui correspond au vent n'est pas glosé dans les duplicata en provenance de Ninive (B et G<sub>1</sub>) alors qu'il l'est pour l'exemplaire A provenant d'Uruk ou l'exemplaire babylonien K.

Dans JMC 25 (p. 59-60 et 93) j'ai suggéré que ce logogramme<sup>6</sup>, dans les textes oculaires, comportait une touche d'ambiguïté voulue par le rédacteur. On constate que lorsqu'un rédacteur veut être clair il dispose d'outils pour le faire (comme des compléments phonétiques ou, comme ici, des gloses). Ne pas utiliser ces marqueurs était peut-être intentionnel et irait dans le sens de ma proposition.

---

<sup>6</sup> Pour une lecture tumu de ce logogramme quand il serait question du vent, voir la note de Cale-Johnson (JMC 24, p. 13, n. 5).

## 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 :

AZUGAL c/o Dr Gilles Buisson, 14 rue de la Salle, 78100 Saint Germain En Laye, France.  
e-mail : gilles.buisson9@orange.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 : 12-2015. ISSN 1761-0583. Directrice de la publication : A. Attia, responsable de la rédaction : G. Buisson, secrétaire de rédaction : M. Worthington.