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The ‘AŠ section’ of Uruanna III in *Partitur*

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The text edited in this article is part of a series of four (and perhaps more) tablets, numbered I-IV, known as the pharmaceutical series *Uruanna* = *maštakal*,¹ from the first line of the composition, commonly shortened to Uruanna. The peculiarity of the section analyzed is that the right-hand column always begins with the sign AŠ (hence ‘AŠ section’) instead of a determinative, as would be expected.

As Franz Köcher remarked, Uruanna represented “the most comprehensive compendium of the Assyrian pharmaceutical lore,”² the study of which is fundamental for the general interpretation of Akkadian pharmaceutical terminology. The beginning of tablet III, which is the focus of this article, groups together in about 143 lines a number of medical ingredients, many of which carry puzzling names that today would be classified as *Dreckapotheke*. This text is probably the only, and so far the most ancient, reference work where such ingredients are grouped together in a clearly intentional way, raising various questions about its function. Nonetheless, the list is not well known to historians of ancient medicine because numerous difficulties impede the interpretation of the text, an edition of which is not yet published.

Below are found the transliteration and the translation; a fuller commentary with a reflection on the purpose(s) underlining this section of the series in the wider context of ancient pharmacology, and considerations regarding the logic behind the order of entries, will be provided in a future monograph based on the work began in my dissertation.³ As far as the entire series, this has been awaiting publication for a long time,⁴ but its full edition is under way and will hopefully soon be ready.⁵

¹ Or *‘Irianna* : *‘maštakal*, based upon which a more accurate name of the work would be Irianna. Cf. Stol 2003–2005: 504, §2.4a; *AHw* 386, 630; and Hunger 1968: No. 321 (colophon).

² Köcher, *KADP* (1955): 3.

³ I wish here to thank Gilles Buisson for the many valuable suggestions and corrections he made to the text. I am also greatly indebted to Mark Geller for the patience and generosity with which he read and commented on my work throughout the preparation of this edition. Any mistakes or misinterpretations remain mine.

⁴ The sequel to Köcher’s *KADP* (*BAM IX*) was said to be largely ready for printing already in 1978 (cf. Köcher, *BAM VI* (1980): viii). Köcher, however, has long since passed away (2002) without finishing this

1.1. DATING

According to the colophon, Assurbanipal collated older pharmacological handbooks to redact what became the canonical series Uruanna. One would expect, therefore, that the series was compiled from earlier sources and that the final product was produced during Assurbanipal's reign. In keeping with the colophon's claims, Köcher found evidence that some passages in the series may date as early as the Middle-Assyrian period,⁶ while the extant tablets are all Neo-Assyrian and mostly come from Nineveh and Assur. A Middle-Assyrian tablet (*KADP* 1) included in Köcher's publication on cuneiform pharmacological sources is particularly interesting, as it records the second chapter of a different series called ÁŠ.RA.BA.RI x-[x] that shows various similarities to Uruanna I and II.⁷

1.2. TRANSLITERATION

In the left sub-column in the table below, the first of the two numbers indicates my new line-count based on the tablets at my disposal, and the second number in parentheses represents the line numbering given by J. V. Kinnier Wilson in an unpublished composition prepared for the *CAD*. Whenever one of these numbers is followed by a letter (a, b or c), it indicates a variant line-count that represents different ed/add-itions brought about by the living scribal tradition. It is evident that variation existed, especially between the Assur and Nineveh redactions. Manuscript A (VAT 9817b+) is the only surviving exemplar of the entire text of Uruanna III, but even in this MS many lines are rather damaged. The other sources

project, and his notes, probably because of the complexity of the endeavour, have not yet been made public. While the main source for this text (MS A, VAT 9817b+) was already listed in Bezold's catalogue of 1893, it took forty more years before Lubor Matouš published it in cuneiform copy in 1933 [Matouš and von Soden 1933: I, 88 iii 70–74]. The following year Reginald Campbell Thompson (1934) and Benno Landsberger (1934) also mentioned some passages from the list, and shortly thereafter Eric Ebeling (1937: 92–97) offered a first transliteration of the text, today largely outdated. Franz Köcher then collected the fragments available to him in 1955 and published them in cuneiform copy in his “Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde” (*KADP*). Unfortunately, he never published his transliterations, translations, comments and indices to this material, which would have been invaluable aids to better our comprehension of Assyro-Babylonian pharmacology. Most lines of this text are today given under the relevant entries by the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, which follows an unpublished translation made in 1952 by J. Kinnier Wilson. Additionally, a few scholars (M. Stol, P. Attinger, B. Böck, *etc.*) have occasionally made brief comments about some of the entries of the list.

⁵ A complete edition of the entire series is currently being prepared by J.A. Scurlock and J. Fincke.

⁶ Köcher, *KADP* (1955): 1.

⁷ For instance, in the right sub-column the text uses mostly the determinative Ú for drugs, although in one instance (iv 52) the right-side entry is preceded not by a determinative, but by the sign ÁŠ. The text that followed this line was broken (or missing) in the *Vorlage*, leaving us wondering whether this may have included more of the ÁŠ entries, as in Uruanna III.

preserve only portions of the text.⁸ Below is a full *Partitur* in order to explicate the choices I have adopted for such a sequence. Finally, the sign AŠ should be read as ‘kúr.’⁹

List of Manuscripts:¹⁰

- A** = *KADP* 12 (VAT 9817b+)
B = *CT* 14 42 (K 8807)
C = *KADP* 13 (K 4431+) + K 18234 + *KADP* 16 (K 4140a+)
D = **Da** (+) **Db**
 Da = *KADP* 19 (K 274+)
 Db = *CT* 14 42 (K 4140b+) + K 14077
E = **Ea** (+) **Eb**
 Ea = *KADP* 14 (Bu 81-2-4,272)
 Eb = *CT* 14 10 (K 4218a+Sm50)
F = *KADP* 4 (VAT 13781)
G = **Ga** (+) **Gb**
 Ga = *KADP* 15 (Bu 83-1-18,692)
 Gb = Meek *RA* 17:181 (Sm 1701)
H = *KADP* 2 (VAT 13769+)
I = *CT* 14 44 (K 4152+) + *KADP* 18 (K 6548) + *CT* 14 3 (K 10028)¹¹ + *CT* 14 42 (K 14062)
J = *KADP* 17 (K 8782)
K = *CT* 14 42 (K 14351)
L = **La** (+) **Lb**
 La = *CT* 14 42 (K 11368)¹²
 Lb = *KADP* 20 (K 11380)
M = K 14060

⁸ From the reconstruction of the fragments that I have attempted, I believe what we are left with are: a) at least four big tablets (about 25-30 cm high and 16-20 cm wide) in (at least two and probably) three main columns of texts on each side. One of these tablets, A, is from Assur (the exact provenience is lost), the others Da (+) Db, I, and C are from the library of Assurbanipal, in Kuyunjik; b) At least two smaller tablets (about 17-18 cm high and 10-11 cm wide) present two columns on each side, both found in Kouyunjik and both made out of a light, greyish coloured clay; c) Other smaller fragments, again all from Nineveh, of which two are probably related. Finally, two more MSS are from Assur (H, found in the ‘*Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*,’ and F, found in an ‘*assyrisches Privathaus*’), but these merely include excerpts from the list.

⁹ For a discussion of this term, see my Dissertation, 2015: 152-156.

¹⁰ The tablet BM 42625+ (Finkel 2000: No. 29A) is not part of this preliminary edition, but I wish to include it in the future edition of this text in the publication of my dissertation.

¹¹ For this new join between K 4152+ with K 10028+, see Rumor 2013: 149–150.

¹² In *CT* 14 42, the number of this tablet was inadvertently given as K 11386.

Lines	Plant	Common Name	‘Alias’ (aka) Name
1 (1)	C ₁)	‘ú’ <i>šu-šum</i>	AŠ kun ^d nin.k[a ₆]
	Da ₁)	[ú <i>šu-šu</i>]m	AŠ kun ^d nin.ka ₆
	Ea ₁)	giš <i>šu-šum</i>	AŠ ‘kun’ ^d nin.ka[₆]
	Ga ₁)	[giš] ‘šu-šu-um’	AŠ ‘kun’ ^d [nin.ka ₆]
2 (2)	Da ₂)	[ú]	AŠ gú ur.gi ₇
	Ga ₂)	[giš] ‘šinig’	AŠ ‘gú’ ur.[gi ₇]
	Ea ₂)	giš <i>bi-nu</i>	AŠ [g]ú ur.gi ₇
	C ₂)	‘ú’ <i>bi-nu</i>	AŠ gú ur.gi ₇
3 (3)	C ₃)	ú <i>mur-din-nu</i>	AŠ gír <i>an-zu-zi</i>
	Ga ₃)	‘giš’ <i>mur-din-nu</i>	AŠ gír <i>an-zu-‘zi’</i>
	Ea ₃)	giš ‘ <i>mur-din’-nu</i>	AŠ gír <i>an-zu-zi</i>
	B ₃)	ú ‘ <i>mur-din’-nu</i>	AŠ gír <i>an-[zu-zi]</i>
	Da ₃)	[ú <i>mur-din-nu</i>]	AŠ gír <i>an-zu-zi</i>
	A ₃)	[giš <i>mur-din-nu</i>]	[AŠ gír] <i>an-‘zu’-[zi]</i>
4 (4)	C ₄)	ú sikil	AŠ ì.udu muš <i>qin-ni</i>
	B ₄)	ú sikil	AŠ ì.udu [muš <i>qin-ni</i>]
	A ₄)	[giš sikil]	[AŠ ì].udu muš <i>qin-ni</i>
	Ea ₄)	giš ú sikil	AŠ ì.udu muš <i>qin-ni</i>
	Ga ₄)	giš ú sikil	AŠ ‘ì.udu’ muš <i>qin-ni</i>
	Da ₄)	[ú sikil]	AŠ ì.udu muš <i>qin-ni</i>
5 (5)	C ₅)	ú <i>šu-mut-tu₄</i>	AŠ še ₁₀ nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu
	B ₅)	ú <i>šu-mut-tu₄</i>	AŠ še ₁₀ na[m.lú.u ₁₈ .lu]
	Da ₅)	[ú]	AŠ še ₁₀ nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu
	A ₅)	[ú]	[AŠ] lú
	Ea ₅)	giš sumun.dar	AŠ še ₁₀ lú
	Ga ₅)	giš sumun.‘dar’ [...]	AŠ [ze]-‘e lú’
6 (6)	C ₆)	ú <i>šu-mut- tu₄</i>	AŠ péš.síla.gaz <i>šá</i> giš.gi
	B ₆)	ú <i>šu-mut- tu₄</i>	AŠ péš.[síla.gaz <i>šá</i> giš.gi]
	Da ₆)	[ú <i>šu-mut- tu₄</i>]	AŠ péš.síla.gaz <i>šá</i> giš.gi

7 (7) ¹³	F ₂₅)	nu ¹⁴ ú <i>in-bu</i> gurun	kúrAŠ šir ^{šir} nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu ^{a-me-lu-tú}
	C ₇)	ú gurun	AŠ [ši]r na[m.´lú.u´ ₁₈ .[x]
	Da ₇)	[ú gurun]	[AŠ š]ir nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu
	B ₇)	ú gurun	AŠ ´šir´ [nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu]
	Ga ₆)	giš [gurun]	AŠ ´šir´ [lú]
	Ea ₆)	giš gurun	AŠ šir lú
	A ₆)	[ú gurun]	[AŠ ši]r lú
8 (8)	Ea ₇)	giš kan-´ka´-[du]	AŠ iš-qip-pu
	Ga ₇)	giš kam-ka-du	AŠ ´iš´-[qip-pu]
	B ₈)	ú kam-´ka´-d[u]	[AŠ iš-qip-pu]
	C ₈)	ú kam-ka-du	AŠ iš-[qip-pu]
	A ₇)	[giš kam-ka-du]	´AŠ´ [i]š-qip-pu
	Da ₈)	[ú kam-ka-du]	[AŠ iš]-qip-pu
9 (9)	C ₉)	´ú bu´-u´-šá-nu	AŠ eme [ur.gi ₇]
	Da ₉)	[ú bu-u´-šá-nu]	[AŠ] ´eme ur´.gi ₇
9a) ¹⁵	A ₈)	[giš ar-me-d]i	AŠ [em]e ur.gi ₇

¹³ Cf. *iški alpi* (ukuš.šir.gud.sar), ‘bull testicle,’ which is a variety of cucumber characterized by the shape of a kidney (for list of occurrences see CAD I: 250). The similarity in shape between a plant (or its parts) and some type of testicles was probably responsible for the association of ideas (cf. Ducourthial 2003: 183). The beginning of the right-hand column is preceded by a glossed sign PAP. This gloss is crucial, as it gives the translation of the sign at the beginning of the second column (AŠ) and, consequently, suggests the function of the terms in this sub-column. The most likely solution is reading PAP as ‘kúr’, which can be interpreted as ‘strange,’ ‘non-canonical,’ or ‘alternative/alias.’ This translation of AŠ [versus the suggestion of Köcher (1995: 24) that it should be read as the Sumerian dili, *pirištu*, ‘secret matter,’ or ‘protected lore’] also has the advantage of explaining the presence, in this group, of a few additional ingredients the name of which does not seem cryptic at all, such as minerals (i.e. *emesallim* salt | ‘alias’ magnetic ore). For a more extensive discussion of the gloss preceding the sign AŠ, see Rumor 2015 (op. cit. fn. 9), ch. 4.4.3. Cf. also fn. 46 below.

¹⁴ The sign NU is a gloss (not present in Köcher’s KADP copy) written on the edge, suggesting that the scribe had no *Vorlage* available. The following two lines, F₂₆ and F₂₇ (15a and 17), similarly carry the notation MIN (two *Vorlagen* available for that entry?).

¹⁵ In line 9, the descriptive name ‘dog-tongue’ is introduced by two plants, ú *būšānu* and, only in MS A, by [giš *armē*]di. MS A, from Assur, has the most variants throughout the list, whereas the other MSS from Nineveh carry a much more uniform version. Consequently, it is most likely that MS Da should be restored following C, while A would represent a variant and, therefore, be assigned a line number 9a. The restoration of 9a is supported by KADP 27 16, where ú *armēdu* is paired with ú *būšānu*. The term *būšānu* indicates both a severe disease affecting mouth, nose and skin, as well as a plant. The plant is often associated with the dog [in Uruanna II 110-117 (KADP 11 i 48 ff.) it is equated to ú ú.ḫab, ú ur.gi₇ ^dme.me (dog of Gula!), *qarbuḫu*, ú ka.ḫab, ú *armēdu*, ú *aralaš*, ú *ar’abu*, ú *piriduluš*]. In medical incantations it is described as being like a dog or having seized the mouth and other parts of the patient like a fierce animal [Cf. CAD B: 351 (BAM 29 18)]. It is, then, not surprising that in this entry of Uruanna III the two equivalent plants are paired with a drug name constructed with the term for dog. *Nikiptu* (Uruanna III 42) is also matched with ‘dog dung.’ It is not clear what the connection between these plants and the dog could have been.

10 (10)	Ea ₈)	[giš] ú hab	AŠ nim ur.gi ₇
	C ₁₀)	[ú] bu-šá!(ka)-nu	AŠ nim [ur.gi ₇]
	Ga ₈)	giš bu-[šá]-nu	AŠ ʾnimʾ [ur.gi ₇]
11 (11) ¹⁶	C ₁₁)	[ú] šá-mi eq-li	AŠ tim-b[u-ut a.šà]
12 (12)	C ₁₂)	ú šim	AŠ min (timbut eqli) na-[di-tú]
13 (13)	A ₉)	[ú a]k-tam	[AŠ tim-bu]-ti a.šà šub.šub-tú
	Ea ₉)	[giš] ʾúʾ ak-tam	AŠ tim-bu-ut a.šà šub.meš-tú
	C ₁₃)	ú ak-tam	AŠ min (timbut eqli) na-[di-tú]
13a)	Ga ₉)	giš a[k-tam] ʾšal-muʾ	AŠ ʾti-bu-tiʾ [.....]
14 (14) ¹⁷	C ₁₄)	ú ŠIM.ZU.TAR	AŠ ḫu-lu-ʾúʾ [giš.gi]
	Ea ₁₀)	[giš ŠI]M.ʾZUʾ.[TAR]	[A]Š ḫi-lu-ú giš.gi
	Ga ₁₀)	giš ʾŠIMʾ.ZU.TAR	AŠ ḫi-lu-ʾúʾ [giš.gi]
15? (15)	A ₁₀)	[ú]	AŠ ḫas-ḫal-la-tú šá gi
15a (15a)	C ₁₅)	ʾúʾ šá-mi eq-ʾliʾ	AŠ ʾgalʾ-[ga-al-ti šá kur-i]
	F ₂₆)	^{min} ú eq-li ^{lag a.šà!(šad)}	AŠ ʾgalʾ-ga-al-ti šá kur-i
16)	A ₁₁)	[giš t]i-ia-ʾruʾ	AŠ nam.tar ší-šé-eʾ(un)
	Ea ₁₁)	[giš ti-ia-ru]	[AŠ] ʾnam.tar ší-šé-[e]
16a)	Ga ₁₁)	[giš t]i-ia-ʾruʾ	AŠ ʾnunuz da-daʾ-[riʾ]
16b (16)	C ₁₆)	ʾúʾ ti-ia-ru	AŠ ḫa-[.....]
16c)	C ₁₇)	[giš t]i-ia-ʾruʾ	AŠ péš.[...]

¹⁶ The restoration of *tim-b[u-ut a.šà]* in line 11 and of *na-[di-tú]* in line 12 (occurring only on MS C) is based on the parallels from line 13: (...) AŠ *tim-bu-ut a.šà šub.meš-tú*, where *nadītu* makes it clear that the name refers to the plant. It is possible that lines 11 and 12 were simply variants collected only by the scribe of C (K 4140a).

¹⁷ Köcher adds a sign šá after *hi-lu-ú* in his copy of tablet Ea (Bu. 81-02-04.272:10, or *KADP* 14:10). This sign is not present on the actual tablet. MS A introduces *ḫaṣḫallātu ša qanē* after AŠ in the right sub-column, but it is not clear whether this is a variant of line 14 or a new line 15 (where it would alternate with *galgalti ša šadē*).

17) ¹⁸	F ₂₇)	^{min} ú giš kiši ₁₆	AŠ min šá <i>hal-li</i> anš[e]
	C ₁₈)	[ú giš k]iši ₁₆	AŠ g[al-.....]
17a)	Ga ₁₂)	giš kiši ₁₆ gal'-[x]-'u' AŠ' [.....] <i>hal-li</i> [?] 'a'[nše]	
17b (17)	A ₁₂)	[giš a-ša-g]u gal-u	AŠ <i>kak-ku-ša-ku</i>
18 (18)	A ₁₃)	[giš ú zú].lum.'ma'	AŠ gi.'me(š)' <i>ha-šu-šu-te</i>
	Ga ₁₃)	'giš ú zú'.lum.ma	AŠ g[i.me(š)]' <i>ha-šu-šu-te</i>
19 (19) ¹⁹	A ₁₄)	[ú su]-'pa-lu'	AŠ saḥar sila.limmu ₂ šá [ina] 'dè' gibil ₂ -u
	C ₁₉)	[ú] 'su'-'pa]-'lu'	[AŠ.....]
	Ga ₁₄)	'giš ú' munzur ²⁰	AŠ [.....]
20 (20)	A ₁₅)	[ú nunuz].sar	AŠ saḥar ki.ús máš.zu
	Ga ₁₅)	giš nunuz.sar	AŠ sa[h̄ar ki.ús máš.zu]
	C ₂₀)	[ú nu]nuz.s[ar]	[AŠ saḥar ki.ús máš.zu]
21 (21)	A ₁₆)	[ú az]ukna	AŠ saḥar ki.ús máš.zu nigin-šu [?]
	C ₂₁)	[ú az]ukna.sar	[AŠ
22 (21a) ²¹	C ₂₂)	[ú az]ukna.sar	[AŠ saḥa]r <i>ki-bi-is</i> [x] 'ha'-'[bil [?]]-tú
23 (23) ²²	C ₂₃)	[ú ig]i.lim	[AŠ saḥa]r <i>ki-bi-is</i> ur.bar.ra
	Ga ₁₆)	[giš] 'im-hur'-lim	AŠ [.....]

¹⁸ The three lines 17 and 17a-b record, on the left side, acacia[?] (*ašāgu*) or big acacia[?] (*ašāgu rabû*). The reading of the right sub-column is rather difficult, and only tablet F₂₇ (VAT 13781) preserves it completely. The first sign after AŠ, though, is the sign of repetition (MIN), suggesting that it is referring to the above *galgaltu* (line F₂₆). The CAD proposes that this may refer instead to šir (testicle) in line F₂₅, as testicles would seem more appropriate among the legs of a donkey than a plant. A new examination of C₁₈ (K 4140a), however, reveals that the first sign after AŠ could be gal, but not šir. Even though in a broken context, one can still see the beginning of a horizontal stroke on the top-left part of the first sign after AŠ, too high for it to be a šir. We could, therefore, argue that the MIN in tablet F referred not to 'šir' (testicle), but to *galgaltu*. The identity of *galgaltu* remains problematic.

¹⁹ The plant *supālu* is a variety of juniper (*erēnu*), the oil of which was also used as a perfume. Interestingly, the name of this plant creates a metathesis with the name of the plant in the previous line, *suluppu*. This could be one of the devices used by the scribe to make a choice in determining the sequence of ingredients.

²⁰ Munzur = ki.^dnanna.

²¹ The line is in rather a poor state, so that it is not easy to suggest a definitive restoration. At the end of the line, the last three signs might be restored *ha-bil-tú* (wronged, oppressed woman) owing to the presence of 'footprints,' which suggests a living owner, an animal, or a person. *Ḥablu* already appears at line 111, where "blood of *ḥablu*" (an oppressed man) is matched with the *amuššu* plant.

²² For comments on this line, see Kinnier Wilson 2005a: 49.

24 (24)	A ₁₇)	[ú]	AŠ saḥa[r ki].ús lú.ḫal
24a)	C ₂₄) Ga ₁₇)	[ú ig]i 20 [giš] <i>im-ḫur aš-na</i>	[AŠ saḥa]r <i>ki-bi-is</i> lú kud- <i>si</i> AŠ [.....]
25	A ₁₈) Ga ₁₈)	[ú] [giš] GAN.U ₅	[AŠ saḥar ki].uš <i>ṣu-ú-te</i> AŠ [.....]
26	C ₂₅) A ₁₉)	[ú iṣ] <i>piš-ri</i> [ú]	[AŠ] síg munus.áš.<gàr> giš nu.zu [AŠ] ‘u ₈ ’ nu.bad
26a	C ₂₆)	[ú <i>el</i>]- <i>kul-la</i>	[AŠ s]íg munus.áš.<gàr> giš nu.zu
27 (25)	A ₂₀) Ga ₁₉)	[ú] [giš <i>ta</i>]š- <i>nu-qu</i>	[AŠ ^{na4} <i>mu</i>]- <i>ú-ṣu</i> AŠ ‘ <i>mu</i> ’-[- <i>ú-ṣu</i>]
28 (26) ²³	A ₂₁)	[ú]	[AŠ im.ka]l.ku ₇ .ku ₇
29 (27)	A ₂₂)	[ú]	[AŠ ^{na4} <i>kut</i>]- <i>pu-u</i>
30 (28)	A ₂₃)	[ú]	[AŠ ^{na4}]kù.gan
31 (29)	A ₂₄)	[ú]	[AŠ ^{na4}]á <i>s-har</i>
32	A ₂₅)	[ú]	[AŠ k]un ^d nin.ka ₆
33 (30) ²⁴	C ₂₇)	[ú]- <i>x-nu</i>	AŠ kun péš.sila ₃ .gaz nita

²³ Cf. also line 55.

²⁴ Cf. lines 6 and 14.

34 (31) ²⁵	A ₂₆)	[ú-nu]	AŠ kun <i>a-da-ri</i>
	C ₂₈)	[ú.....]-x-nu	AŠ kun <i>a-da-ri</i>
34a)	C ₂₉)	[ú]-x-nu	AŠ kun <i>a-da-ri</i>
<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: 0;"/> (horizontal line in tablet A)			
35 (33)	F ₂₈)	ú <i>il-lu-rù</i> ninda ₂	AŠ <i>i-šid bu-k[a-ni]</i>
	C ₃₀)	[ú nind]a ₂	AŠ <i>i-šid bu-ka-nu</i>
	A ₂₇)	[ú ninda ₂]	[AŠ] suḥuš <i>bu-ka-ni</i>
36 (34)	F ₂₉)	ú níḡ.gidir _{šu-me-rù}	AŠ ḡir.pad.du _{šu-me-rù} [lú]
	A ₂₈)	[ú níḡ.gidir]	AŠ ḡir.pad.du lú
	C ₃₁)	[ú níḡ.gidir]	ʾAŠ ḡirʾ.pad.du nam.lú.u ₁₈ .lu
37 (35)	A ₂₉)	[ú]	AŠ ki.ná lú
38 (36) ²⁶	A ₃₀)	[ú eme ur.gi ₇]	AŠ sag.du <i>šu-ti-ni</i>
	H _{iv1})	ú eme ur.gi ₇ :	AŠ sag.d[u <i>šu-ti-ni</i>]
39 (37)	A ₃₁)	[ú <i>ka-ra-an</i> ka ₅ .a]	AŠ <i>et-tu-tu du.du-ku</i>
	H _{iv2-3})	ú <i>ka-ra-an</i> ka ₅ .a	: AŠ <i>et-[tu-tu] / ʾdu.du-kuʾ</i>
40 (38)	H _{iv4})	ú <i>e-li-bu</i>	AŠ ḡal-ʾluʾ-la-a kun <i>šik-ke-ʾeʾ</i>
	J ₁₋₂)	[ú <i>e-li-bu</i>]	[AŠ] ʾḡalʾ-lu-la-[a] / kun ^d nin.ʾka ₆ ʾ
41 (38a)	H _{iv5})	ú min	AŠ <i>bar-mu</i>
	J ₃)	[ú]	AŠ <i>e-lí-lì bar-mi</i>
	I ₁)	[ú]	[AŠ] ʾminʾ e-lí-lì [<i>bar-mi</i>]

²⁵ *Adaru* is a type of mouse or an insect/worm? (CAD A I: 201). This line and the one that follows it (34 and 34a) are indicated as variants by the CAD (A I: 102), because in MS C one finds both lines 34 and 34a in sequence one after the other (C₂₈ and C₂₉). However, there is a possibility that line 34a was inadvertently recopied in MS C from the preceding line. After line 34, MS A draws a horizontal separation line, which in other contexts, and in the last part of Uruanna III (after the AŠ section) normally indicates the beginning of a new theme. In this AŠ section instead, it is not clear what these lines of separation represent (*cf.* also the separation lines between ll. 44–45, 48a–49, 109–110, 122–123).

²⁶ The term *lišān kalbi* is listed on the left-hand column. This was, in fact, the name of a very common plant that is often found in medical recipes and in the pharmaceutical literature. There is little doubt that this was a plant, although it is likely that contemporary scribes were also aware that the name could be misunderstood for its literal meaning. Lines 9, 9a and 42 list the same drug on the right sub-column (together with other dog body-parts/products) as alias names of the plants *būšānu*, *armēdu* and *nikiptu*. The fact that this plant is present on both sides of the equation suggests it is not a *Deckname* (if this were a list of code names, as Köcher argued (1995: 24), it would be rather difficult for the reader to decide when *lišān kalbi* is used as a *Deckname* and when it is not).

41a (38) ²⁷	A ₃₂)	[ú]	AŠ	<i>ḥa-lu-la-a buru₇-mi</i>
42 (39)	H _{iv6-7})	ú <i>ni-kip-ti</i>	AŠ	<i>ze-e kal-bi / :AŠ gír .pad.du kal-bi</i>
	J ₄₋₅)	[ú <i>ni-kip-ti</i>]	AŠ	<i>še₁₀ ur.gi₇ eme ur.gi₇ / [:AŠ] gír.pad.du ur.gi₇</i>
	I ₂)	[ú <i>ni-kip-ti</i>]	AŠ	<i>še₁₀ ur.gi₇ e[me ur.gi₇]</i>
	A ₃₃)	[ú <i>ni-kip-ti</i>	AŠ	<i>še₁₀ ur.gi₇ eme ur .gi₇ : AŠ gír.pad.du ur.gi₇</i>
43 (40)	H _{iv8})	ú <i>baq-qu</i>	AŠ	<i>bil.za.za sig[₇.sig₇]</i>
	I ₃)	[ú <i>baq-qu</i>]	AŠ	<i>bil.za.za ʿsig₇. ʿ[sig₇]</i>
	J ₆)	[ú <i>baq-qu</i>]	AŠ	<i>bil.za.za sig₇.sig₇</i>
	A ₃₄)	[ú <i>baq-q</i>]a	AŠ	<i>kuš mu¹-ša¹(UGU)-a-ra-[ni[?]]²⁸</i>
43a (40a)	I ₄)	ʿúʿ šim.gúr.gúr	AŠ	<i>bil.za.za sig₇.[sig₇]</i>
	J ₇)	[ú šim.gúr.g]úr	AŠ	<i>bil.za.za sig₇.sig₇</i>
44 (41)	J ₈)	[ú giš nam].tar	AŠ	<i>ge₆ pap.ḥal.la an[še]</i>
	I ₅)	ú giš nam.tar	AŠ	<i>ge₆ pap.ḥal an[še]</i>
	H _{iv9})	ú <i>pil-lu-u</i>	AŠ	<i>ge₆ pap.ḥal [anše]</i>
	A ₃₅)	[ú giš nam.t]ar	AŠ	<i>ge₆ šá ḥal-li [anše]</i>
<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: 0;"/> (horizontal line in tablet A)				
45 (42)	I ₆)	ú giš nam.tar	AŠ	<i>umbin ur.gi₇ ʿge₆ʿ</i>
	J ₉)	[ú giš nam].tar	AŠ	<i>umbin ur.gi[₇ ge₆]</i>
	A ₃₆)	[ú giš nam.t]ar	AŠ	<i>šu-pur!(pa) ur.gi₇ ge₆</i>
46 (43)	I ₇)	ú <i>ḥa-šu-u</i>	AŠ	<i>ge₆ pap.ḥal ʿanšeʿ</i>
	J ₁₀)	[ú <i>ḥa-š</i>]u-u	AŠ	<i>ge₆ pap.ḥal [anše]</i>
47 (44)	H _{iv10})	ú <i>ḥa-še-e</i>	AŠ	<i>šu-pur kal-[bi]</i>
	I ₈)	ú <i>ḥa-šu-u</i>	AŠ	<i>umbin ur.gi₇ ge₆</i>
	J ₁₁)	[ú <i>ḥa-š</i>]u-u	AŠ	<i>umbi[n ur.gi₇ ge₆]</i>

²⁷ The compilation used by CAD (H: 46) has this line as ‘AŠ *ḥa-lu-la-a* gurun ge₆’ (*ḥallulaja*-insect of the black fruit), although the meaning is still not completely clear. By reading the sign GURUN as buru₇ (Borger, MZL 2010, p. 474) and GE₆ as phonetic complement –mi, the expression in the right sub-column could be rendered as *ḥallulaja burrumi*, or ‘multicolored/speckled *ḥallulaja*,’ which fits better with line 41, where the same plant (min) is paired with the *ḥallulaja* (min) of a *barmu* (variegated) *ēlilu*-plant.

²⁸ It seems to me that *mul¹-ša¹-a-ra-ni* would be the most likely reconstruction in this context. The end of the line, which has a pitted hole, has enough space for an additional sign after the restored –ni, part of which is visible. This sign, however, ends with a vertical wedge, and consequently does not seem to be sig₇.

48 (45)	I ₉)	ú <i>a-tar-tu</i> ₄	AŠ saḥar ká.gal <i>ka-me-ti</i>
	H ₁₁)	ú <i>a-tar-tu</i>	AŠ saḥar ká'(ka).ṛg'[al] [...]
	H ₁₂)	--	AŠ saḥar [ká.gal <i>ka-me-ti</i>]
	J ₁₂)	[ú <i>a-ta</i>]r-tu ₄	AŠ saḥa[r ká.gal <i>ka-me-ti</i>]

48a)	A ₃₇)	[giš k]á.aš.àm	AŠ saḥar [ká.gal] <i>ka-mi-te</i>
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(horizontal line in tablet A)

49 (46a)	I ₁₀)	ú ṛ <i>saḥ</i> ṛ-lu-ú	AŠ ì šaḥ babbar šá su ₄ <i>bal-lu</i>
	H _{IV13-14})	ú <i>saḥ-lé-e</i>	A[Š ì šaḥ babbar šá] / <i>pi-i-l[u-ti bal-lu]</i>
	J ₁₃)	[ú <i>saḥ-l</i>]u-ú	[AŠ ì šaḥ babbar šá <i>bal-lu</i>]
	Gb ₁)	[giš <i>saḥ-lu-ú</i>]	[AŠ ì šaḥ babbar šá] <i>bal-lu</i>

49a (46)	A ₃₈)	[ú zà.ḥi].li.sar	AŠ ì ṛ <i>saḥ</i> ṛ nita šá sa ₅ ḥi.ḥi
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50 (47a)	A ₃₉)	[ú ḥi].ṛis'.sar	AŠ <saḥar > ki.u[š] lú
	I ₁₂)	ú ḥi.ṛis'.sar	AŠ saḥar <i>ki-bi-is</i> lú
	Gb ₂)	[giš]	[AŠ saḥar <i>ki-bi</i>]-ṛis' lú
	H _{IV15})	ú ḥa-ás-[su]	[AŠ saḥar lú]

51 (48a) ²⁹	A ₄₀)	[giš] ú <i>tar-muš</i>	AŠ ì šaḥ ṛnita' šá sa ₅ ḥi.ḥi
	J ₁₄)	[ú <i>tar</i>]- <i>muš</i>	[AŠ ì šaḥ nita šá sa ₅ ḥi.ḥi]

51a)	I ₁₁)	ú <i>tar-muš</i>	AŠ min (i) ellag ₂ .meš min (šaḥ babbar šá su ₄ <i>bal-lu</i>)
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51b)	Gb ₃)	[giš ú <i>tar-mu</i>]š ₈	AŠ ṛsaḥar' ki.ṛuš' lúḥa-an-ne
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52 (49) ³⁰	A ₄₁)	[giš] ú <i>el-kul-la</i>	AŠ síg u ₈ nu.bad
	Gb ₄)	[giš ú <i>el-ku</i>]l-la	AŠ síg u ₈ nu.bad
	J ₁₅ ?)	[giš ú <i>el-kul</i>]-ṛla'	[AŠ síg u ₈ nu.bad]

²⁹ *Tar-muš* is a plant that often occurs together with *imḥur-līm* and *imḥur-ešrā*, the other two cure-all. Nonetheless, while these three plants are often grouped together both in medical literature and in other pharmaceutical lists, in this section of Uruanna III, *tarmuš* occurs some 24 lines away from the other two drugs.

³⁰ Cf. line 26.

53 (50)	A ₄₂) [giš g]amun.sar <i>bi-ni</i>	AŠ na ₄ <i>ga-bé-e</i>
	Eb ₁) [giš gam]un.sar <i>b[i-ni]</i>	[AŠ na ₄ <i>ga-bé-e</i>]
	Gb ₅) [giš] <i>ʿka-mun</i> giš šinig	AŠ na ₄ <i>ga-bé-e</i>
	I ₁₃) <i>ʿú</i> <i>ka-mun</i> giš <i>ʿšinig</i>	AŠ na ₄ <i>ga-bi-i</i>
	H _{iv16}) <i>ú</i> <i>ka-mu-[un.....]</i>	[AŠ na ₄ <i>ga-bé-e</i>]
54 (51)	A ₄₃) [giš] <i>ʿl</i> al	AŠ im <i>ka-lu-u</i>
	Gb ₆) <i>ʿgiš</i> <i>ʿl</i> al	AŠ im <i>ka-lu-ú</i>
	Eb ₂) [giš] <i>ʿʿl</i> al	[AŠ im <i>ka-lu-ú</i>]
	I ₁₄) [<i>ú a</i>]š- <i>qú-la-lum</i>	AŠ <i>ka-lu-ʿú</i>
	H _{iv17}) <i>ú áš-q[u-la-lum]</i>	[AŠ <i>ka-lu-ú</i>]
55 (52)	A ₄₄) [giš] <i>ʿl</i> al	AŠ kal.ku ₇ .ku ₇
	Eb ₃) [giš] <i>ʿl</i> al	[AŠ kal.ku ₇ .ku ₇]
	Gb ₇) <i>ʿgiš</i> <i>ʿl</i> al	AŠ im.kal.ku ₇ .ku ₇
	I ₁₅) [<i>ú aš-qú-la</i>]- <i>lum</i>	AŠ im.kal.ʿgug
56 (53) ³¹	Gb ₈) giš <i>pu-qut-tu</i>	AŠ na ₄ <i>a-sak-ki</i>
	I ₁₆) [<i>ú pu-qut</i>]- <i>tu</i> ₄	AŠ na ₄ <i>a-ʿsak-ki</i>
	I ₁₇) [<i>ú pu-qut</i>]- <i>tu</i> ₄	AŠ na ₄ <i>ʿa-ʿsak-ʿ-[x]</i>
	A ₄₅) [giš <i>ú</i>] <i>pu-qut-tú</i>	AŠ na ₄ <i>a-sak-ki</i>
	Eb ₄) [giš] <i>pu-qut-tú</i>	AŠ [na ₄ <i>a-sak-ki</i>]
	H _{iv18}) <i>ú</i> <i>p[u-qut-tú]</i>	[AŠ na ₄ <i>a-sak-ki</i>]
57 (53a)	H _{iv19}) <i>ú ʿA</i> ʿ-[.....]	[AŠ]
58 (54)	Gb ₉) giš <i>ni-bi-ʿi</i> giš.dih	AŠ an.zaḥ
	Eb ₅) [giš <i>n</i>]i-bi-ʿi giš.dih	AŠ n[a ₄ an.zaḥ]
	I ₁₈) [<i>ú ni-bi-ʿi</i> giš.d]ih	AŠ na ₄ an.[zaḥ]
	A ₄₆) [<i>ú ni-bi-ʿi</i> giš.dih]	[AŠ] ʿna ₄ an.zaḥ
	H _{v1}) <i>ú</i> gurun <i>bal-ti</i>	AŠ na ₄ a[n.zaḥ]

³¹ I₁₆ and I₁₇ seem to be identical. However the first part of the tablet is broken, which opens the possibility that I₁₇ carried a variant. The other possibility is that it is a diplography. Cf. Uruanna II 18-18a: *ú pu-qut-tú* | *ú šá-mi* (var. na₄) *zum-bi*, *ú* na₄ *a-sak-ku*.

59 (55) ³²	Gb ₁₀)	giš gír uga (<ú>.naga.ga) šá 7 sag ⁷ .du. meš-šú : AŠ <ši>-i-pu	
	Eb ₆)	[gišu]ga šá 7 sag.du.meš-šú AŠ <ši>-i-[x]	
	I ₁₉)	[úuga šá 7 sag.du.meš-šú] : AŠ ši-i-[x]	
	A ₄₇)	[.....uga šá 7 sag.du.meš-šú] [AŠ.....]	
	H _{v2-3})	ú gír PAD PAP sa-e sag.du.[meš.šú :] / AŠ šip-[pu ¹ (tar) [...]	
60 (56)	A ₄₈)	giš mun eme-sal-lim	AŠ ^{na4} ka.gi.na dib.ba
	Gb ₁₁)	giš mun eme-sal-lim	AŠ ^{na4} ka.gi.na dib.ba
	Eb ₇)	[giš] mun eme-sal-lim	AŠ ^{na4} k[a gi.na dib.ba]
	I ₂₀)	[ú mun eme-sal-lim]	[A]Š ^{na4} ka.gi.n[a dib.ba]
60a)	H _{v4})	ú ši-i-pu	AŠ ^{na4} šad[a-nu ša-bi-tu]
61 (57)	A ₄₉)	giš ú guru ₅ .uš	AŠ zú.meš ga-ši-ša-tú
	Gb ₁₂)	giš guru ₅ .uš	AŠ zú.meš ga-ši-ša-a-te
	Eb ₈)	giš ú guru ₅ .uš	AŠ zú.meš ga-š[i-ša-a-te]
	I ₂₁)	[ú guru ₅ .uš]	[AŠ] zú.meš g[a-ši-ša-a-te]
62 (58)	A ₅₀)	giš ú šakir ^d Šá-maš	AŠ eme gud ti-qe-e
	Gb ₁₃)	[giš] šakir ^d Šá-maš	AŠ eme gud ti-qé-e
	Eb ₉)	giš ú šakir ^{7(?)} Utu ⁷	AŠ eme gud ti-qé-[e]
	I ₂₂)	ú šakir ^{7(?)} [Utu]	[AŠ e]me gud [ti-qe-e]
63 (59)	A ₅₁)	giš ú ka-zal-la	AŠ eme muš gùn.a
	Eb ₁₀)	giš ka-zal-la	AŠ eme muš gùn.a
	Gb ₁₄)	[giš] ka-zal-lu	AŠ eme muš gùn.a
	I ₂₃)	ú ka ⁷ -[zal-lu]	[AŠ eme muš gùn.a]

³² MS H is the only testimony for line 60a. I would suggest that this is not a real variant, but (again) the mistake of some struggling scribe/dictator. We have no way to know for sure whether MS H was copied, written under dictation, or even written down from memory. Certainly it differs from the other manuscripts, as it misses words in various places, many more terms are written syllabically, and in the case of line 59, the sequence of the signs, although clearly written, makes no sense, suggesting that the scribe was probably having a hard time understanding his source. On the right sub-column of line 59, he should have inserted 'ši-i-pu,' but this is instead written down at the beginning of the following line (line 60a = H_{v4}); and once he somehow filled in this space, he wrote the correct AŠ-alternative of line 60 in the right sub-column, missing altogether the beginning of the line.

64 (60) ³³	A ₅₂)	giš ^ú <i>iš-bab-tu</i> ₄	AŠ á buru ₅ ge ₆
	Gb ₁₅)	[giš <i>i</i>]š- <i>bab-tu</i> ³⁴	AŠ á buru ₅ ge ₆
	Eb ₁₁)	giš <i>iš-bab-tú</i>	AŠ á buru ₅ ge ₆
	I ₂₄)	ú <i>iš-[bab-tu</i> ₄]	[AŠ á buru ₅ g]e ₆
65 (61)	A ₅₃)	giš ^ú babbar	AŠ ì.udu babbar- ^ú
	Gb ₁₆)	[giš] [´] ú [´] babbar	AŠ ì.udu babbar- <i>u</i>
	Eb ₁₂)	giš ^ú babbar	AŠ ì.udu babbar- <i>u</i>
	La ₁)	[^ú] babbar	[AŠ ì.udu babbar- <i>u</i>]
	I ₂₅)	ú [babbar]	[AŠ ì.udu babba]r- ^ú
	Db ₁)	[´] ú [´] [babbar]	[AŠ ì.udu babbar- <i>u</i>]
66 (62)	A ₅₄)	giš <i>šam-mi</i> sa ₅	AŠ <i>ki-iš-ri</i> udu.nita ₂
	I ₂₆)	ú <i>šá-mi</i> [sa ₅]	[AŠ <i>ki-iš</i>]- [´] ri [´] udu.nita ₂
	Db ₂)	[´] ú [´] <i>šá-mi</i> [sa ₅]	[AŠ <i>ki-iš-ri</i> udu.nita ₂]
	La ₂)	[^ú <i>šá-mi</i>] sa ₅	[AŠ <i>ki-iš-ri</i> udu.nita ₂]
	Eb ₁₃)	[gi]š <i>šá-mu</i> sa ₅	AŠ <i>ki-šir</i> udu.nita ₂
67 (63)	A ₅₅)	giš ^ú gi.rim sig ₇	AŠ <i>a-bat-ti</i> íd sig ₇
	Eb ₁₄)	[giš g]i.rim sig ₇	AŠ <i>a-bat-ti</i> [´] íd [´] sig ₇
68 (64)	A ₅₆)	giš dumu.munus a.šà	AŠ <i>šá-su-ri</i>
	Eb ₁₅)	[giš dum]u.munus aša ₅	AŠ <i>šá-[´]su[´]-rù</i>
	I ₂₇)	ú dumu.munus [a.šà]	[AŠ <i>šá</i>]- <i>su-rù</i>
	Db ₃)	ú dumu.munus [a.šà]	[AŠ <i>šá-su-rù</i>]
	La ₃)	[^ú dumu.munus] a.šà	[AŠ <i>šá-su-rù</i>]
69 (65) ³⁵	A ₅₇)	giš <i>i-lat</i> a.šà	AŠ <i>a-la-pu-u</i>
	I ₂₈)	ú <i>e-lat</i> [a.šà]	[AŠ <i>a-l</i>] <i>a-pu-u</i>
	Db ₄)	ú <i>e-lat</i> a.[šà]	[AŠ <i>a-la-pu-u</i>]
	La ₄)	[^ú <i>e-lat</i>] a.šà	[AŠ <i>a-la-pu-u</i>]
	Eb ₁₆)	[giš <i>e</i>]- <i>lat</i> aša ₅	AŠ [´] a [´] -[<i>la-pu</i>]- [´] u [´]

³³ Cf. line 89 (*išbaltu* = *anapu*) and 105, where *išbaltu* appears in the right sub-column.

³⁴ Meek's copy of the tablet shows the sign 'gir₄', but on the tablet it is 'tu'.

³⁵ The same association is also reported by Uruanna II 338, where *ú i-lat* a.šà | *ú a-la-pu-u*. Cf. also lines 89 and 125.

70 (66)	A ₅₈)	giš ú <i>a-nu-nu-tú</i>	AŠ <i>im-du-ḫal-la-tú</i>
	I ₂₉)	ú <i>a-nu-<nu>-^ˆtú^ˆ</i>	[AŠ <i>im-du</i>]-ḫal-la-tú
	Db ₅)	ú <i>a-nu-nu-^ˆtú^ˆ</i>	[AŠ <i>im-du-ḫal-la-tú</i>]
	La ₅)	[ú <i>a-nu</i>]-nu-tú	AŠ [<i>im-du-ḫal-la-tú</i>]
71 (67)	A ₅₉)	giš <i>a-di-ma-^ˆti^ˆ</i>	AŠ ì.udu <i>ḫur-ba-bi-li</i>
	I ₃₀)	ú <i>a-du-[ma]-tú</i>	AŠ [ì.udu <i>ḫu</i>] <i>r-ba-bi-li</i>
	Db ₆)	ú <i>a-du-ma-tú</i>	[AŠ ì.udu <i>ḫur-ba-bi-li</i>]
	La ₆)	[ú <i>a-du</i>]-ma-tú	AŠ [ì.udu <i>ḫur-ba-bi-li</i>]
72 (68)	A ₆₀)	giš <i>ur-nu sa₅</i>	AŠ <i>ur-nu-u</i>
	Db ₇)	ú <i>ur-nu-u sa₅</i>	[AŠ <i>ur-nu-u</i>]
	La ₇)	[giš <i>ur-n</i>] <i>u-u sa₅</i>	AŠ [<i>ur-nu-u</i>]
72a (68a)	I ₃₁)	ú <i>ur-nu-[u] sa₅</i>	AŠ <i>si udu gal</i>
73 (69)	A ₆₁)	giš <i>ˆzi^ˆ-bu-u</i>	AŠ še ₁₀ munu ₆
	I ₃₂)	ú <i>zi-[b]u-u</i>	AŠ še ₁₀ munu ₆
	Db ₈)	ú <i>zi-bu-u</i>	[AŠ še ₁₀ munu ₆]
	La ₈)	[ú <i>zi-b</i>] <i>u-ú</i>	AŠ [še ₁₀ munu ₆]
74 (70) ³⁶	A ₆₂)	giš <i>ár-zal-lu</i>	AŠ <saḫar> <i>kib-si maš.dà</i>
	Db ₉)	ú <i>ár-zal-lu</i>	AŠ saḫ[ar ki.ús maš.dà]
	I ₃₃)	ú <i>ár-zal-lu</i>	AŠ saḫar ki.ˆušˆ maš.dà
	La ₉)	[ú <i>á</i>] <i>r-zal-lu</i>	AŠ s[aḫar ki.ús maš.dà]
75 (71)	I ₃₄)	ú <i>da-d[a-r]u</i>	AŠ muš [geštin].me
	Db ₁₀)	ú <i>da-da-ru</i>	AŠ mu[š geštin.me]
	La ₁₀)	[ú <i>da-d</i>] <i>a-ru</i>	AŠ [muš geštin.me]
	A ₆₃)	giš <i>dà-di-ru</i>	AŠ muš geštin
76 (72) ³⁷	A ₆₄)	giš <i>la-pát ra-<ma>-ni</i>	A[Š ^d nin].ka ₆ -u
	I ₃₅)	ú <i>la-pat [ár-man-n]i</i>	AŠ ^d nin.[ka ₆]-ˆuˆ
	La ₁₁)	[ú <i>la-pat ár</i>]-man-ni	AŠ [^d nin.ka ₆ -u]
	Db ₁₁)	ú <i>la-pat ár-man-ni</i>	AŠ ^d [nin.ka ₆ -u]

³⁶ Cf. line 20.

³⁷ Cf. lines 1, 32 and 40.

77) (-)	I ₃₆) ú gi.rim [sig ₇] Db ₁₂) ú gi.rim sig ₇ A ₆₅) giš ʿgiʿ.[rim] ʿsig ₇ La ₁₂) [ú gi.rim] sig ₇	AŠ <i>a-bat-ti</i> í[d ...] AŠ <i>a-bat-ʿtiʿ</i> [íd ...] [AŠ <i>a-bat-ti</i> íd ...] AŠ [<i>a-bat-ti</i> íd ...]
78 (73)	Db ₁₃) ú gi.rim sig ₇ I ₃₇) ú gi.rim [sig ₇]	AŠ <i>šu</i> -[.....] ʿAŠ <i>šuʿ</i> -[.....]
79 (74)	Db ₁₄) ú gi.rim babbar I ₃₈) ú gi.r[im babbar] A ₆₆) [giš gi.rim babbar]	AŠ <i>suḥuṣ</i> [...] [AŠ <i>suḥuṣ</i> ...] [AŠ <i>suḥuṣ</i> ...]
80 (75)	Db ₁₅) ú <i>zi-im</i> kù.babbar I ₃₉) ú <i>zi-ʿim</i> kùʿ.[babbar] A ₆₇) [ú <i>zi-im</i> kù.babbar]	AŠ <i>igi e</i> -[<i>re-bi</i>] [AŠ <i>igi</i>] [AŠ <i>igi</i>]x
81 (76)	Db ₁₆) ú <i>zi-im</i> kug.gi I ₄₀) ú <i>zi-im</i> kug. ʿgiʿ A ₆₈) [ú <i>zi-im</i> kug.gi]	AŠ <i>igi mu-r</i> [<i>a-še-e</i>] [AŠ <i>igi mu-ra-še-e</i>] [AŠ <i>igi mu-r</i>]a-še-e
82 (77)	Db ₁₇) ú <i>e-du</i> A ₆₉) [ú <i>e-du</i>] I ₄₁) ú <i>e-du</i>	AŠ <i>bu-uš</i> -[<i>ti-tú</i>] [AŠ <i>bu-uš</i>]-ʿ <i>tiʿ-tú</i> [AŠ <i>bu-uš-ti-tú</i>]
83 (78)	Db ₁₈) ú <i>sib-bur-ra-tu</i> I ₄₂) ú <i>sib-bur-ra-tu</i> A ₇₀) [giš <i>sib-bur</i>]-ʿ <i>ra-túʿ</i>	AŠ <i>ḥa-mi-i</i> -[<i>tú</i>] [AŠ <i>ḥa-mi-i-tú</i>] AŠ ʿ <i>ḥaʿ-mi-tù</i>
84 (79)	A ₇₁) [giš] <i>ka-mu-u-nu</i> Db ₁₉) ú <i>ka-mu-nu</i> I ₄₃) ú <i>ka-mu-nu</i>	AŠ á <i>šu-ti-ni</i> AŠ á <i>su-tin</i> -[<i>nī</i>] [AŠ á <i>su-tin-nī</i>]
85 (80)	A ₇₂) [giš] <i>a-na-me-rù</i> I ₄₄) ú <i>a-na-me-ru</i> Db ₂₀) ú <i>a-na-me-ru</i>	AŠ <i>ur-nu-u</i> AŠ [<i>ur-nu-u</i>] AŠ <i>úr-nu-ú</i>
86 (81)	A ₇₃) [giš <i>ḥ</i>] <i>al-tapʿ(pa)-pa-nu</i> Db ₂₁) ú <i>ḥal-tap-pa-a-nu</i> I ₄₅) ú <i>ḥal-tap-pa-a-nu</i>	AŠ <i>muš-šu-gal-li</i> AŠ <i>muš-šu-gal-lu</i> AŠ [<i>muš-šu-gal-lu</i>]

87 (82) ³⁸	A ₇₄) [giš] ú.kur.ra.sar ³⁹ Da _{ii1}) ú.kur.ra.sar	AŠ ku ₆ íd gal-tú AŠ ku ₆ í[d gal-tú]
88 (83)	A ₇₅) [giš šī]m- ^ʿ gu ^ʿ -uš-ti ^{giš} kiri ₆ Da _{ii2}) ú šim-gu-uš-te ^{giš} kiri ₆ K ₅) [ú šim-gu-uš-te ^{giš} ki]ri ₆	AŠ ku-ru-su šá a.meš AŠ ku-ru-[su šá a.meš] AŠ [ku-ru-su šá a.meš]
89 (84) ⁴⁰	A ₇₆) [giš i]š-bab-tu ₄ ^{giš} kiri ₆ Da _{ii3}) ú iš-bab-tu ₄ ^{giš} kiri ₆ K ₆) [ú iš-bab-tu ₄ ^{giš} ki]ri ₆	AŠ a-na-pu-u AŠ a-[na-pu-u] AŠ a-[na-pu-u]
90 (85)	Da _{ii4}) ú gi.rim ^{giš} kiri ₆ K ₇) [ú gi.rim ^{giš} kir]i ₆	AŠ suḥ[uš giš.dìḥ] AŠ su[ḥuš giš.dìḥ]
90a (85a)	A ₇₇) [giš] suḥuš ^{giš} kiri ₆	AŠ suḥuš giš.dìḥ
91 (86) ⁴¹	A ₇₈) [giš ḥaš]ḥur a-pi Da _{ii5}) ú ḥašḥur a-pi K ₈) [ú ḥašḥur a-p]i	AŠ ki ^ʿ (ku).ta íd ^ʿ ka-šir ^ʿ -tú AŠ ki.ta [íd ka-šir-tú] AŠ ki.t[a íd ka-šir-tú]
92 (87)	Da _{ii6}) ú gi.rim ^ʿ ap ^ʿ -pa-ri A ₇₉) [giš] gi.rim ^ʿ ša ^(?) ap-pa-ru <<li-pat>> AŠ <li-pat> ku- ^ʿ ša ^ʿ -ru	AŠ li- ^ʿ pa ^ʿ -[at ku-šá-ri] AŠ <li-pat> ku- ^ʿ ša ^ʿ -ru
93 (88)	Da _{ii7}) ú l[ag] aša ₅	AŠ tar/haš- [...]
93a (88)	A ₈₀) [ú] lag aša ₅	AŠ ziq-tú

³⁸ Landsberger [1957-58: 336] suggested that ú kur.ra.sar might be a variety of mint. Kinnier Wilson advanced the idea further by pointing out that the Sumerogram may be an abbreviation of the Sumerian name for ‘mint’ (ú kur.ra šim.bi (i).ir.ed.a; cf. Diri IV 1, and Nabnitu IV 260), “the plant whose fragrance can be smelled across the mountains” (2005a: 50). He also added that at least two types of mint are present in Iraq, the *Mentha Longifolia* or *sylvestris* (to which Hooper refers to as a variety of mountain mint that can be found in Iran; Hooper 1937: 140), and *Mentha spicata*, or spearmint. The second part of the line is more difficult to explain. As noted by Kinnier Wilson (2005a: 48), the metathesis of the vowels creates an obvious word play between the plant *nīnū* and *nūni*, fish.

³⁹ Šimbirida.sar? Cf. Borger 2010: 135.

⁴⁰ Cf. Uruanna II 339 (*KADP* 11 ii 65-68): ú iš-bab-tú^{giš}kiri₆ | ú a-la-pu-u, where *alapû* is translated as an aquatic plant, perhaps a seaweed or a type of algae.⁴⁰ In the cited passage of Uruanna II it is paired with plants which grow “in the river,” “in the garden,” and also “in the field (which can be wet from irrigation).”

⁴¹ Köcher’s copy of Da_{ii5} in *KADP* 19 ii 5 shows, in the left sub-column, a sign LA after the determinative ú. The sign on the tablet is instead ḥašḥur.

94 (89)	Da _{ii8}) ú nam.tar ⁴² A ₈₁) [ú] nam.tar	AŠ [x]-áš-[ba]- ^ˈ bu ⁴³ AŠ ^ˈ x-áš-ba-bu
95 (90)	Da _{ii9}) ú kal-ba-nu A ₈₂) [ú] kal-ba-nu	AŠ ba-a-šu AŠ bá-a-šu
96 (91)	Da _{ii10}) ú še ₁₀ má.la _h ⁴⁴ A ₈₃) [giš] še ₁₀ má.lá _h	AŠ ^ˈ bi- ^ˈ nu-ut a-ge-e AŠ bi-nu-ut <a>-ge-e
97 (92)	Da _{ii11}) ú ka a. ^ˈ ab ^ˈ .ba A ₈₄) [giš k]a a.ab.ba	AŠ tá _l giš.di _h AŠ tá _l giš.di _h
98 (93)	Da _{ii12}) ú a-zal-lu- ^ˈ ú ^ˈ A ₈₅) [ú a-z]al-lu-u	AŠ na-a-bu AŠ na-a-bu
99 (94) ⁴⁵	Da _{ii13}) ú kur.[kur] A ₈₆) [giš] ^ˈ ú ^ˈ kur.kur Lb ₁) [ú kur]. ^ˈ kur ^ˈ	AŠ mu-tal-lik mu-ši AŠ mu- ^ˈ tal ^ˈ -lik ^ˈ mu ^ˈ -ši [AŠ mu-tal-lik mu-ši]
100 (95)	Da _{ii14}) ú ku-si-pu A ₈₇) [giš ku-s]i-pu Lb ₂) [ú ku-si]-pu	AŠ ga-la-lu AŠ ga-la-lu [AŠ ga-la-lu]
101 (96)	Da _{ii15}) ú ku-ia-a-tu Lb ₃) [ú ku-ia]-a-tu	AŠ šu-pu-u šá igi a.meš [AŠ šu-pu-u šá igi a.meš]
101a (96a)	A ₈₈) [giš ku-ia]-a-tú	AŠ šu-pu-u šá íd

⁴² Akk. *pillû*, normally translated with ‘mandrake,’ although the identification is far from certain.

⁴³ CAD P: 376 reads ^ˈna-áš-^ˈx-bu.

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that this name of plant does not occur on the right-hand column where the ‘strange’ names are listed, but on the left-hand side where normal names of plants are collected.

⁴⁵ The same association of names (with ú instead of AŠ) occurs in Uruanna II 24a: ú kur.kur | ú du.du *mūši*.

102 (97) ⁴⁶	Da _{ii16}) <i>ú pu-qut-tu</i> A ₈₉) [<i>giš pu-qut</i>]- <i>tú</i> Lb ₄) [<i>ú pu-qu</i>]- <i>t-tu</i> Gb _{ii1}) <i>giš pu-[qut-tu]</i>	AŠ <i>na₄ zum-bi</i> AŠ <i>na₄ zum-bi</i> A[Š <i>na₄ zum-bi</i>] [AŠ <i>na₄ zum-bi</i>]
103 (98) ⁴⁷	Da _{ii17}) <i>ú ša-šu-um-tu</i> Gb _{ii2}) <i>giš ša-šu-[um-tu]</i> A _{ii1}) [<i>giš ša-šu-um-tu</i>] Lb ₅) [<i>ú ša-šu</i>]- <i>um-tu</i>	AŠ <i>sag.du buru₅ ge₆</i> [AŠ <i>sag.du buru₅ ge₆</i>] AŠ <i>sag.du buru₅ ge₆</i> AŠ [<i>sag.du buru₅ ge₆</i>]
104 (99)	Da _{ii18}) <i>ú si-ḫu</i> A _{ii3}) [<i>giš si-i-ḫ</i>]- <i>u</i> Lb ₆) [<i>ú si-i</i>]- <i>ḫu</i> Gb _{ii3}) <i>giš si-i-[ḫu]</i>	AŠ <i>ki.ná dingir</i> AŠ <i>ki.ná dingir</i> AŠ [<i>ki.ná dingir</i>] [AŠ <i>ki.ná dingir</i>]
105 (100)	A _{ii2}) [<i>giš ša-mu-ši-ru</i>] Da _{ii19}) [<i>ú ša-mu-ši-ru</i>] Lb ₇) [<i>ú ša-m</i>]- <i>u-ši-ru</i> Gb _{ii4}) <i>giš ša-mu-ṣ[i-ru]</i>	AŠ <i>iš-bab-tú</i> AŠ <i>iš-bab-tu₄</i> AŠ [<i>iš-bab-tu₄</i>] [AŠ <i>iš-bab-tu₄</i>]
106 (101)	Da _{ii20}) [<i>ú su-a-di</i>] Lb ₈) [<i>ú su</i>]- <i>a-di</i> Gb _{ii5}) <i>giš su-a-[di]</i> A _{ii4}) [<i>giš su-a</i>]- <i>ṛ di</i> ⁷	AŠ <i>izi šà gar</i> AŠ [<i>izi šà gar</i>] [AŠ <i>izi šà gar</i>] AŠ <i>izi šà-bi zi-hi</i>
107 (102) ⁴⁸	Da _{ii21}) [<i>ú ḫab ṣal-lu-ur-ḫu</i>] A _{ii5}) [<i>giš ḫab</i>]- <i>ṛ ṣal-lu-ur</i> ⁷ - <i>ḫu</i> Lb ₉) [<i>ú ḫa</i>]- <i>b-ṣal-lu-ur-ḫu</i> Gb _{ii6}) <i>giš ḫab-ṣal-lu-[ur-ḫu]</i>	AŠ <i>ul-lu-lu šá an-e</i> AŠ <i>ul-lu-lu ṛ ṣa an</i> ⁷ - <i>e</i> AŠ [<i>ul-lu-lu šá an-e</i>] [AŠ <i>ul-lu-lu šá an-e</i>]

⁴⁶ Cf. Uruanna II 18-18a: *ú pu-qut-tú* | *ú šá-mi* (var. ^{na4}) *zum-bi*, *ú na4 a-sak-ku*. Several associations of plants are listed both in the first two tablets of Uruanna, (especially tablet II) as synonyms, and in the AŠ-section of this third tablet. The main difference is that in tablets I-II the item in the right sub-column is preceded by the determinative *ú*, whereas at the beginning of tablet III it is preceded by the sign AŠ. Unless *all* tablets of Uruanna contained *secret* information, it seems unlikely that only the list at the beginning of the third tablet could be a collection of *Decknamen* or secret names. If, as the colophon suggests, special care was taken in Uruanna not to have repetitions, there must have been a reason why this was allowed here, but it is unlikely that the list was inserted in Uruanna with the intention to conceal botanical information [on the possibility of this term to mean ‘alias’ (or ‘aka’), ‘strange,’ or ‘non-canonical,’ see fnn. 9 and 13 above, and Paragraph 1.3 below].

⁴⁷ Cf. line 123.

⁴⁸ Cf. Uruanna II 103: *ú ḫab-ṣal-lu-ur-ḫu* | *ú ul-lu-lu šá an-e*.

108 (103) ⁴⁹	A _{ii6}) giš <i>kur-ka-nam</i>	AŠ saḥar <i>a-su-ur-ri</i>
	Da _{ii22}) [ú] <i>kur'-ka-nu-u</i>	AŠ saḥar <i>a-su-ur-ri</i>
	Lb ₁₀) [ú <i>ku</i>] <i>r-ka-nu-u</i>	AŠ [saḥar <i>a-su-ur-ri</i>]
	Gb _{ii7}) giš <i>kur.gi.[rin.na]</i>	[AŠ saḥar <i>a-su-ur-ri</i>]
109 (104) ⁵⁰	A _{ii7}) giš <i>ḥa-za-lu-nu</i>	AŠ an.bar giš <i>nu-úr-ma-a</i>
	Da _{ii23}) [ú] <i>ḥa'-za-lu-nu</i>	AŠ an.bar giš. <i>nu.úr'.ma</i>
	Lb ₁₁) [ú <i>ḥ</i>] <i>a-za-lu-nu</i>	AŠ [an.bar giš.nu.úr.ma]
	Gb _{ii8}) giš <i>ḥa-zal-l[u-nu]</i>	[AŠ an.bar giš.nu.úr.ma]
<hr/> (horizontal line in tablets A, Da, Lb)		
110 (105)	A _{ii8}) giš <i>pu-uḥ-pu-ḥu'(ri)</i>	AŠ <i>mu-tàk-pu</i>
	Da _{ii24}) [ú <i>p</i>] <i>u-uḥ-pu-ḥu</i>	AŠ <i>mu-[tāk]-pu</i>
	Gb _{ii9}) giš <i>pu-uḥ-[pu-ḥu]</i>	[AŠ <i>mu-tàk-pu</i>]
	Lb ₁₂) [ú <i>pu-uḥ</i>]- <i>ḥu'</i>	[AŠ <i>mu-tàk-pu</i>]
111 (106)	A _{ii9}) giš <i>a-mu-še</i>	AŠ úš <i>ḥab-li</i>
	Da _{ii25}) <i>ú' a-mu-še</i>	AŠ úš [<i>ḥab-l</i>] <i>i</i>
	Gb _{ii10}) giš <i>a-[mu-še]</i>	[AŠ úš <i>ḥab-li</i>]
112 (107)	A _{ii10}) giš <i>e-zi-zu</i>	AŠ úš <i>me-e-ti</i>
	Da _{ii26}) <i>ú e-zi-zu</i>	AŠ úš [<i>me-e-ti</i>]
	Gb _{ii11}) giš <i>e-[zi-zu]</i>	[AŠ úš <i>me-e-ti</i>]
113 (108)	A _{ii11}) giš <i>tàk-da-na-nu</i>	AŠ sag.du udu.nita ₂ - <i>e</i>
	Da _{ii27}) <i>ú' tàk-da-na-nu</i>	AŠ sag.du udu.[nita ₂ - <i>e</i>]
	Gb _{ii12}) giš <i>tàk-[da-na-nu]</i>	[AŠ sag.du udu.nita ₂ - <i>e</i>]
114 (109)	A _{ii12}) giš <i>tu₉.nim</i>	AŠ saḥar <i>ḥa-lu-la-a</i>
	Da _{ii28}) <i>ú' tu₉.nim</i>	AŠ saḥar <i>ḥa-lu-[la-a]</i>
115 (110)	Da _{ii29}) [ú <i>nag</i>] <i>a.si.meš</i>	AŠ še.ná.a : [.....]
	M ₃) <i>ú nag[a.si.meš]</i>	[AŠ]
	A _{ii13}) giš <i>naga.si</i>	AŠ giš.dih

⁴⁹ Cf. Uruanna II 257: *ú kur-ka-nu | saḥar a-sur-ri-e*.

⁵⁰ MSS A, Da and Lb all have a horizontal line of separation after this entry (cf. comment at line 34). The first element of the right sub-column is puzzling. One possibility is that an.bar (*parzillu*) may be a mistake for bar (*quliptu* or *qilpu*), but this seems unlikely as an.bar is repeated in two tablets (A and Da). *Parzillu* could instead mean ‘beads’ of pomegranate, referring to the ‘pips,’ the single seeds of the fruit, including the red, fleshy part around them.

116 (111) ⁵¹	Da _{ii30}) [ú <i>saḥ-l</i>]- <i>a-a-nu</i>	AŠ ì.udu ur.gi ₇ šá [sa ₅ ḫi.ḫi]
	M ₄) ú <i>saḥ</i> -[<i>la-a-nu</i>]	[AŠ ì.udu ur.gi ₇ šá sa ₅ ḫi.ḫi]
	Gb _{ii13}) giš <i>saḥ</i> -[<i>la-a-nu</i>]	[AŠ ì.udu ur.gi ₇ šá sa ₅ ḫi.ḫi]
	C _{ii1}) [ú <i>saḥ-la</i>]- ^ʿ <i>a</i> - <i>nu</i>	[AŠ ì.udu ur.gi ₇ šá sa ₅ ḫi.ḫi]
116a (111a)	A _{ii14}) giš <i>saḥ-la</i> ¹ (<i>tu</i>)- <i>a-nu</i>	AŠ ì ur.maḥ nita šá sa ₅ ḫi.ḫi
117 (112)	A _{ii15}) giš ur.tal.tal	AŠ <i>me-me-tú</i>
	Da _{ii31}) [ú ú.r.tál].tál	AŠ <i>me</i> ¹ (^ʿ <i>ši</i> ^ʿ)-[<i>me-tú</i>]
	Gb _{ii14}) giš ur.[tal.tal]	[AŠ <i>me-me-tú</i>]
	M ₅) ú <ur.>tal.[tal]	[AŠ <i>me-me-tú</i>]
	C _{ii2}) [ú ú.r.tál].tál	[AŠ <i>me-me-tú</i>]
118 (113) ⁵²	Da _{ii32}) [ú <i>al-lu</i>]- ^ʿ <i>zī</i>	AŠ ^ʿ <i>su</i> ^ʿ -x-[.....]
	M ₆) ú <i>al</i> ¹ (<i>ka</i>)-[<i>lu-zī</i>]	[AŠ]
	Gb _{ii15}) giš ^ʿ <i>al</i> ^ʿ -[<i>lu-zī</i>]	[AŠ]
118a (113a)	A _{ii16}) giš <i>al-lu-zī</i> ⁵³	AŠ <i>ši-ma-hu</i>
119 (114)	A _{ii17}) giš <i>bu-ka-nu</i>	AŠ giš.mi ⁵⁴ <i>na-pé-e</i>
	M ₇) ú <i>bu</i> -[<i>ka-nu</i>]	[AŠ giš.mi <i>na-pé-e</i>]
	C _{ii3}) [ú <i>bu</i>]- <i>ka-nu</i>	[AŠ giš.mi <i>na-pé-e</i>]
120 (115)	A _{ii18}) giš <i>e-di-du</i> babbar	AŠ giš.mi <i>na-a-ri</i>
	M ₈) ú <i>e-di</i> -[<i>du</i>]	[AŠ giš.mi <i>na-a-ri</i>]
	C _{ii4}) [ú <i>e</i>]- <i>di-du</i>	[AŠ giš.mi <i>na-a-ri</i>]
	Eb _{ii3}) giš ^ʿ <i>e</i> ^ʿ -[<i>di-du</i>]	[AŠ giš.mi <i>na-a-ri</i>]
121 (116) ⁵⁵	A _{ii19}) giš <i>iš-qí-pu</i>	AŠ ur.gi ₇ <i>ur-ši</i>
	M ₉) ú <i>iš-qí</i> -[<i>pu</i>]	[AŠ ur.gi ₇ <i>ur-ši</i>]
	C _{ii5}) [ú <i>i</i>] <i>š-qí-pu</i>	[AŠ ur.gi ₇ <i>ur-ši</i>]
	Eb _{ii4}) giš <i>iš</i> -[<i>qí-pu</i>]	[AŠ ur.gi ₇ <i>ur-ši</i>]
122 (117)	M ₁₀) ú <i>pu-ug</i> -[<i>la-nu</i>]	[AŠ.....]
	C _{ii6}) ^ʿ ú <i>pu</i> ^ʿ - <i>ug-la-nu</i>	[AŠ.....]

(horizontal line in tablet C, M)

⁵¹ Cf. line 49.

⁵² Cf. Uruanna II 306: ú *al-lu-zī* | ú *ši-ma-ḫu*.

⁵³ KADP 12 copies a sign ‘*ma*’ instead of ‘*lu*’, probably from LTBA 1.88, but ‘*lu*’ is clear on the tablet.

⁵⁴ *Luḫummû*, mud, sediment.

⁵⁵ Cf. line 8.

123 (118)	A _{ii20})	giš <i>ša-šu-un-[t]ú</i>	AŠ síg u ₈ nu bad
	C _{ii7})	ú <i>ša-šu-um-tú</i>	[AŠ síg u ₈ nu bad]
	M _{ii1})	‘ú’ <i>ša-šu-u[n-tú]</i>	[AŠ síg u ₈ nu bad]
	Eb _{iii5})	giš <i>ša-šu-[un-tú]</i>	[AŠ síg u ₈ nu bad]
124 (119) ⁵⁶	A _{ii21})	giš numun gi.zú.[lum].ma	AŠ <i>kur-šip-tú</i> a.šà
125 (120) ⁵⁷	A _{ii22})	giš <i>i-lat</i> a.šà	AŠ <i>i-šá-ri</i> a.šà
	Eb _{iii1})	giš <i>el-lat</i> a.šà	[AŠ <i>i-šá-ri</i> a.šà]
	C _{ii8})	ú <i>el-lat</i> a.šà	[AŠ <i>i-šá-ri</i> a.šà]
	M _{ii2})	ú <i>el-lat</i> [a.šà]	[AŠ <i>i-šá-ri</i> a.šà]
	I _{ii1})	[ú <i>el-lat</i>] ‘a.šà’	‘AŠ’ [i-šá-ri a.šà]
126 (121)	A _{ii23})	giš nunuz a.šà	AŠ <i>pi-i-ru</i>
	I _{ii2})	[ú n]unuz a.šà	AŠ [pi-i-ru]
	Eb _{iii2})	giš nunuz a.š[à]	[AŠ pi-i-ru]
	M _{ii3})	ú nunuz [a.šà]	[AŠ pi-i-ru]
127 (122)	A _{ii24})	giš lag a.šà	AŠ si gír.tab
	I _{ii3})	ú lag a.šà	AŠ [si gír.tab]
	M _{ii4})	[ú] ‘lag’ [a.šà]	[AŠ si gír.tab]
	C _{ii9})	ú lag a.šà	[AŠ si gír.tab]
	Eb _{iii3})	giš lag aša ₅	[AŠ si gír.tab]
128 (123)	A _{ii25})	giš <i>kám-me</i> a.šà	AŠ na ₄ zu-‘ni’ ⁵⁸
	I _{ii4})	‘ú’ <i>kám-me</i> a.šà	A[Š na ₄ zu-ni]
	C _{ii10})	ú <i>kám-me</i> a.šà	[AŠ na ₄ zu-ni]
	Eb _{iii4})	giš <i>kám-me</i> aša ₅	[AŠ na ₄ zu-ni]
129 (124) ⁵⁹	I _{ii5})	[ú <i>ká</i>]m-me a.šà	[AŠ.....]
	C _{ii11})	ú <i>kám-me</i> a.šà	[AŠ.....]

⁵⁶ Cf. Uruanna II 351 ff.: gi.zú.lum.ma | *kur-šip-ta-nu*, followed by Uruanna II 353: ú gi.zú.lum.ma | ú numun gi.zú.lum.ma | ú *kur-šip-ta*(var. -ti) a.šà.

⁵⁷ Cf. line 69.

⁵⁸ A bad crack traverses the tablet across the sign -ni. This fissure was evidently not there at the time Köcher read the tablet (and the sign -ni), as it does not show on his copy.

⁵⁹ The right sub-column is broken, but since this line occurs in two of the tablets (C and I) after line 128, it should be considered a separate line.

130 (125)	A _{ii26}) giš <i>kám-me</i> anše I _{ii6}) [ú <i>kám-m</i>]e an[še] Eb _{iii5}) giš <i>kám-me</i> anše	AŠ na ₄ .babbar.dili [AŠ na ₄ .babbar.dili] [AŠ na ₄ .babbar.dili]
131 (126)	A _{ii27}) giš <i>kám-me a-gúr-ri</i> Eb _{iii6}) giš <i>kám-me a-gur-ru</i> I _{ii7}) [ú <i>kám</i>]- <i>me a-gúr-[ri]</i> C _{ii12}) ú <i>kám-me gúr-gúr-`ri`</i>	AŠ <i>ši-bì-tú</i> [AŠ <i>ši-bì-tú</i>] [AŠ <i>ši-bì-tú</i>] [AŠ <i>ši-bì-tú</i>]
132 (127)	A _{ii28}) giš <i>ši-bu-ru</i> I _{ii8}) [ú <i>š</i>]i-bu-[ru] Eb _{iii7}) giš <i>ši-bu-ru</i> C _{ii13}) ú <i>ši-b[u-ru]</i>	AŠ <i>nì-šik` giš`.ig</i> [AŠ <i>nì-šik giš.ig</i>] [AŠ <i>nì-šik giš.ig</i>] [AŠ <i>nì-šik giš.ig</i>]
133 (128)	A _{ii29}) `giš <i>a`-ra-ri-a-nu</i> Eb _{iii8}) giš <i>a-ra-ri-a-n[u]</i> I _{ii9}) [ú] <i>a-ra-[ri-a-nu]</i> C _{ii14}) ú <i>`a-ra`-[ri-a-nu]</i>	AŠ ú _h ur.gi ₇ [AŠ ú _h ur.gi ₇] [AŠ ú _h ur.gi ₇] [AŠ ú _h ur.gi ₇]
134 (129)	A _{ii30}) giš kak.ku.ús gal Eb _{iii9}) giš kak.ku.ús g[al]	AŠ kur.kur anše [AŠ kur.kur anše]
135 (130) ⁶⁰	A _{ii31}) giš a.ma.ni Eb _{iii10}) giš ama.a.[ni]	AŠ ì.`udu` [ellag ₂] udu.nita _{2-e} [AŠ ì.udu ellag ₂ udu.nita _{2-e}]
136 (131)	A _{ii32}) giš DUMU!.A.NI Eb _{iii11}) giš DUMU.A.[NI]	AŠ <i>la-`bu`-bi-tú</i> [AŠ <i>la-bu-bi-tú</i>]
137 (132) ⁶¹	A _{ii33}) giš ama.a.ni Eb _{iii12}) giš ama ^l (ur).a.[ni]	AŠ <i>ši-ši-tú</i> [AŠ <i>ši-ši-tú</i>]

⁶⁰ Cf. line 137. The presence of ‘fat from the kidney of a sheep’ in the right-hand column at first glance seems rather surprising, as this is a very frequently used ingredient in the medical recipes. While kidney meat is very low in fat, a layer of fat (suet) accumulates around kidneys of ruminant animals (courtesy G. Buisson), such as sheep, cows, or deer. Suet, after being rendered as tallow, has been widely used in the past as a basic ingredient for skin salves and is still used today in traditional skin therapy. The preference for this type of fat is due to the fact that it is very white and hard, especially that derived from sheep, it contains the highest amount of solid fat, and it has little taste or smell. In addition, sweet mutton tallow melts at higher temperatures (between 45–50° C, or 113–122 °F) than other animal fats. The higher melting point must have been a clear advantage in the hot summers of Mesopotamia.

⁶¹ The same matching also occurs in other lexical works: ú a.ma.ni | ú *šišītu* (Uruanna II 450), and ú ama.a.ni | ú *ši-ši-tu* (Hh XVII 102). Cf. also line 135.

138 (133)	A _{ii34}) giš <i>ur!(ki)-ba-tu₄</i> Eb _{iii13}) giš <i>ur-ba-[tu₄]</i>	AŠ <i>ni-a-ru</i> [AŠ <i>ni-a-ru</i>]
139 (134)	A _{ii35}) giš <i>numun ur-ba-tu₄</i> Eb _{iii14}) giš <i>numun ur-b[a-tu₄]</i>	AŠ <i>kun-gu</i> [AŠ <i>kun-gu</i>]
140 (135)	A _{ii36}) giš <i>kun-gu</i> Eb _{iii15}) giš <i>kun-[gu]</i>	AŠ <i>gu-u-ru</i> [AŠ <i>gu-u-ru</i>]
141 (136)	A _{ii37}) ʿgišʿ <i>nam.ḡa.ra</i> Eb _{iii16}) giš <i>nam.ḡ[a.ra]</i>	AŠ [x x] ^d innin [AŠ ^d innin]
142 (137)	A _{ii38}) [giš <i>š</i>] <i>im-gu-uš-ti</i> Eb _{iii17}) giš <i>šim-g[u-uš-ti]</i>	AŠ <i>x-x-[i]t gud</i> [AŠ..... gud]
143 (138)	A _{ii39}) [giš] <i>qúl-qúl-la-a-nu</i> Eb _{iii18}) giš <i>qúl-q[úl-la-a-nu]</i>	AŠ <i>ḡal!(aš)-la-ʿmiʿ-šu</i> [AŠ <i>ḡal-la-mi-šu</i>]

1.3. TRANSLATION

The *initial* determinatives ú and giš (in the left sub-column) are both translated with ‘drug,’ as in the context they are used interchangeably with their meaning clearly expressing the general idea of ‘*materia medica*.’⁶² The sign AŠ is left un-translated in the right sub-column below, but I believe it should be translated as ‘alias’ (or ‘aka’) with an additional semantic range including ‘strange,’ ‘non-canonical.’⁶³ Also, the list of medicinal substances includes several expressions that could either have been understood literally, or that could have represented instead a figurative name. I thus chose to render them here with a translation that is as literal as possible.

Whenever the reading, identification, or interpretation are not sure, the symbol (?) is employed. When the translation seems to be correct but the meaning is obscure, the symbol (?) is inserted.

1 (1)	Drug <i>šūšu</i> -licorice ⁶⁴	AŠ tail of mongoose
2 (2)	Drug tamarisk	AŠ dog neck
3 (3)	Drug (<i>a</i>) <i>murdinnu</i> -bramble ⁶⁵	AŠ spider leg
4 (4)	Drug <i>sikillu</i>	AŠ fat of ‘nest’ snake (young snake?)
5 (5)	Drug <i>šumuttu</i>	AŠ human feces
6 (6)	Drug <i>šumuttu</i>	AŠ <i>hulû</i> -mouse of the canebrake
7 (7)	Drug ‘fruit’	kúr/AŠ human testicle
8 (8)	Drug <i>kamkadu</i>	AŠ <i>išqippu</i> -earthworm
9 (9)	Drug <i>bu’šānu</i>	AŠ dog tongue
9a	Drug <i>armēdu</i>	AŠ dog tongue
10 (10)	Drug <i>bu’šānu</i>	AŠ dog flea
11 (11)	Drug ‘plant of the field’ (wild growing plant)	AŠ field cricket/locust
12 (12)	Drug juniper	AŠ ditto (field cricket/locust)

⁶² A clear example can be seen at line 97, where *imbū tâmti*, which is normally preceded by the determinative na₄ and treated as a mineral in the medical recipes, is here instead given the determinatives ú and giš.

⁶³ Cf. fnn. 9, 11 and 38.

⁶⁴ CAD Š/3: 385-6.

⁶⁵ CAD A/2: 90-1.

13 (13)	Drug <i>aktam</i>	AŠ cricket/locust of fallow fields
13a)	Drug black <i>aktam</i>	AŠ cricket/locust [of fallow fields]
14 (14)	Drug ŠIM.ZU.TAR	AŠ <i>ḥulû</i> -mouse of the canebrake
15? (15)	Drug [...]	AŠ foliage of reed
15a (15a)	Drug plant of the field “clod of the field”	AŠ mountain <i>galgaltu</i> -insect
16	Drug <i>tijāru</i>	AŠ <i>pillû</i> of the swamp
16a	Drug <i>tijāru</i>	AŠ bud of <i>da-da-[ru]</i>
16b (16)	Drug <i>tijāru</i>	AŠ <i>ḥa</i> -[...]
16c	Drug <i>tijāru</i>	AŠ mouse [of the ...]
17	Drug <i>ašāgu</i> -thorn plant	AŠ idem (<i>galgaltu</i>) (or black spot ⁷) from the crotch of a donkey
17a	Drug <i>ašāgu</i> -thorn [...]	AŠ [...] of the crotch ^(?) of a donkey
17b (17)	Drug big <i>ašāgu</i>	AŠ <i>kakkusakku</i> ⁶⁶
18 (18)	Drug date-palm	AŠ snapped off reeds
19 (19)	Drug <i>supālu</i>	AŠ dust of the crossroad, from burnt ashes
20 (21)	Drug <i>puḥpuḥu</i>	AŠ dust from the tracks ⁶⁷ of a male goat
21 (21)	Drug <i>azupīru</i> (garden plant)	AŠ dust around ⁶⁸ the tracks of a male goat
22 (21a)	Drug <i>azupīru</i> (garden plant)	AŠ dust from the tracks of a wronged/oppressed woman(?)
23 (23)	Drug <i>imhur-līm</i>	AŠ dust from the tracks of a wolf
24 (24)	Drug [<i>imhur-ešrā</i>]	AŠ dust from the tracks of a diviner
24a	Drug <i>imhur-ešrā</i>	AŠ dust from the tracks of a slaughtered man
25	Drug GAN U ₅	AŠ [dust of tra]cks of a <i>šuttu</i> ^(?)
26	Drug <i>pišru</i> tree	AŠ wool of an unmated kid / of a virgin ewe
26a	Drug <i>elkulla</i>	AŠ wool of an unmated kid
27 (25)	Drug <i>tašnīqu</i> ⁶⁹	AŠ <i>mūšu</i> stone

⁶⁶ This is a medicinal plant, with broad leaves, used for *bibirru*-disease (cf. Uruanna II 330, CAD K: 60).

⁶⁷ *Kibsu* could also refer to the “droppings” of the goat (Cf. CDA: 156). This interpretation works well when the dust is from the *kibsu* of an animal, although I wonder whether it would be applicable to the *kibsu* of a person, as in lines 22, 24 and 24a.

⁶⁸ *Sihirtišu*? G. Buisson also suggests to me *gur₄.gur₄.ra*!, “a very fat” (goat), which probably makes more sense, but would require ‘šu’ to be read as ‘ra’.

28 (26)	Drug [...]	AŠ <i>kalgukku</i> paste
29 (27)	Drug [...]	AŠ <i>kutpû</i> stone
30 (28)	Drug [...]	AŠ <i>lulû</i> stone
31 (29)	Drug [...]	AŠ <i>ašhar</i> ⁷⁰ mineral
32	Drug [...]	AŠ tail of a mongoose
33 (30)	Drug [...]- <i>nu</i>	AŠ tail of a male <i>hulû</i> -mouse.
34 (31)	Drug [...]- <i>nu</i>	AŠ tail of an <i>adaru</i> ⁷¹
(horizontal line in tablet A)		
35 (33)	Drug <i>illûru</i> ⁷²	AŠ ‘base of a pestle’ (an insect or worm)
36 (34)	Drug shepherd’s staff ^{cfSumerian}	AŠ bone of a man ^{Sumerian} (or ‘human bone’)
37 (35)	[Drug ...]	AŠ man bed(-material) ⁷³
38 (36)	Drug dog tongue	AŠ bat head
39 (37)	Drug Fox-vine	AŠ creeping spider
40 (38)	Drug <i>ellibu</i>	AŠ mongoose-tail <i>hallulaja</i> -insect
41 (38a)	Drug idem (<i>ellibu</i>)	AŠ ditto ^(?) (<i>hallulaja</i> [?]) of a variegated <i>ēlilu</i> -plant
41a (38)	[Drug ...]	AŠ speckled <i>hallulaja</i> -insect
42 (39)	Drug <i>nikiptu</i>	AŠ dog-dung dog-tongue : AŠ dog-bone
43 (40)	Drug <i>baqqu</i> -gnat / mosquito ^(?)	AŠ green frogs / skin (of) [x] frog
43a (40a)	Drug <i>kukru</i>	AŠ green frogs
44 (41)	Drug <i>pillû</i>	AŠ black (spot/hair?) from the leg of a donkey
Var.)	Drug <i>pillû</i>	AŠ black (spot/hair?) from the upper leg [of a donkey]
(horizontal line in tablet A)		
45 (42)	Drug <i>pillû</i>	AŠ claw of black dog

⁶⁹ *Tašnīqu* appears to actually be a disease (CAD T: 294, based on its occurrence in *BAM* 575 iv 34). But it is very possible that a plant used to treat that symptom/disease was also given the same name.

⁷⁰ A mineral used, mixed in oil, to daub diseased eyes. It is also one of the medical ingredients in *KADP* 36 iii 18.

⁷¹ An animal or an insect. CAD A/I: 102.

⁷² A plant characterized by a red flower and berry.

⁷³ Probably the material stuffed in mattresses, which (M. Geller informs me) was also used in the Talmud as *materia medica*.

46 (43)	Drug <i>hašû</i>	AŠ black (spot/hair?) from the leg of a donkey
47 (44)	Drug <i>hašû</i>	AŠ claw of black dog
48 (45)	Drug <i>atartu</i> (grass)	AŠ dust of the outer city gate
48a)	Drug [...] of the outer city-gate	AŠ dust of the outer city gate
<hr style="width: 100%; margin: 10px 0;"/> (horizontal line in tablet A)		
49 (46a)	Drug <i>sahlû</i>	AŠ fat of a white pig mottled with red
49a (46)	Drug <i>sahlû</i>	AŠ fat of a male pig mottled with red
50 (47a)	Drug <i>ḥassû</i> -lettuce	AŠ dust from the footstep of a man
51 (48a)	Drug <i>tarmuš</i>	AŠ fat of a male pig mottled with red
51a	Drug <i>tarmuš</i>	AŠ fat from the kidneys of a white pig mottled with red
51b	[Drug <i>tarmu</i>]š	AŠ dust from the footstep of a <i>ḥannu</i> (?)-man ⁷⁴
52 (49)	Drug <i>elkulla</i> plant	AŠ wool of a virgin ewe
53 (50)	Drug <i>kamûnu</i> -fungus ^(?) of tamarisk	AŠ <i>gabû</i> -stone
54 (51)	Drug <i>ašqulālu</i>	AŠ <i>kalû</i> -paste ⁷⁵
55 (52)	Drug <i>ašqulālu</i>	AŠ <i>kalgukku</i> -paste
56 (53)	Drug <i>puquṭtu</i> ⁷⁶	AŠ <i>asakku</i> ⁷⁷ -stone
57 (53a)	Drug <i>a</i> -[...]	AŠ [...]
58 (54)	Drug (wild) growth? of <i>baltu</i>	AŠ <i>anzahḫu</i> -frit
59 (55)	Drug seven-headed ⁷⁸ <i>šēp āribi</i> plant	AŠ <i>šīpu</i> -paste ⁷⁹
60 (56)	Drug <i>emesallim</i> -salt	AŠ <i>šadānu šābitu</i> -magnetite ⁸⁰
60a)	Drug <i>šīpu</i>	AŠ <i>šadānu šābitu</i> -magnetite
61 (57)	Drug (a) <i>šarmadu</i>	AŠ gnashing teeth?

⁷⁴ Could this be from *enēnu* (**ḥenēnu*), to have mercy? CAD E: 164.

⁷⁵ A yellow type of paste.

⁷⁶ A spiny plant.

⁷⁷ ‘*Asakku*-demon-stone’? Or ‘taboo-stone’?

⁷⁸ This is probably a way to indicate buds.

⁷⁹ Another yellow mineral paste.

⁸⁰ Or lodestone.

62 (58)	Drug <i>šakir</i> ^d <i>šamaš</i>	AŠ tongue of <i>tiqqû</i> ⁸¹ -ox
63 (59)	Drug <i>kazallu</i>	AŠ tongue of multicolour snake
64 (60)	Drug <i>išbābtu</i> -grass	AŠ wing of a black raven
65 (61)	Drug white plant	AŠ white fat
66 (62)	Drug red plant	AŠ male-sheep joint ^(?)
67 (63)	Drug green <i>girimmu</i>	AŠ green river-gravel
68 (64)	Drug daughter of the field	AŠ <i>šassūru</i> -fly
69 (65)	Drug goddess of the field	AŠ <i>alapû</i> -algae ⁸²
70 (66)	Drug <i>anunūtu</i> -plant	AŠ <i>imduhallatu</i> -lizard
71 (67)	Drug <i>adamatu</i>	AŠ chameleon fat
72 (68)	Drug red <i>urnû</i> -mint ^(?)	AŠ <i>urnû</i> -mint ^(?)
72a (68a)	Drug red <i>urnû</i> -mint ^(?)	AŠ horn of a big sheep
73 (69)	Drug <i>zibû</i> (black cumin ³)	AŠ chaff ⁸³ of malt
74 (70)	Drug <i>arzallu</i>	AŠ dust from the tracks of a gazelle
75 (71)	Drug <i>daddaru</i> ⁸⁴	AŠ vine snake/s
76 (72)	Drug <i>armannu</i> turnip	AŠ mongoose
77	Drug green <i>girimmu</i>	AŠ [...] gravel of a river
78 (73)	Drug green <i>girimmu</i>	AŠ <i>šu</i> -[...]
79 (74)	Drug white <i>girimmu</i>	AŠ root [...]
80 (75)	Drug sheen of silver	AŠ r[aven ^(?)] eye
81 (76)	Drug luster of gold	AŠ wildcat eye
82 (77)	Drug <i>ēdu</i>	AŠ <i>bušītū</i>
83 (78)	Drug <i>sibburratu</i>	AŠ (a kind of) wasp
84 (79)	Drug <i>kamūnu</i>	AŠ bat wing
85 (80)	Drug <i>anameru</i>	AŠ <i>urnû</i> -mint ^(?)
86 (81)	Drug <i>haltappanu</i>	AŠ great serpent
87 (82)	Drug <i>nīnû</i>	AŠ fish of a big river
88 (83)	Drug <i>šigguštu</i> of the garden	AŠ water rat (<i>kursissu</i> -rodent)

⁸¹ The term usually designates a color. It is often used to describe some color or property of the eye. Cf. CAD T: 423.

⁸² An aquatic plant.

⁸³ Borger, *BiOr* 55 821 ff.

⁸⁴ A foetid plant.

89 (84)	Drug <i>išbaltu</i> of the garden	AŠ <i>alapû</i>
90 (85)	Drug <i>girimmu</i> of the garden	AŠ root of <i>baltu</i> -thorn
90a (85a)	Drug root of the garden	AŠ root of <i>baltu</i> -thorn
91 (86)	Drug apple of the canebrake	AŠ bottom of an constructed(?) canal
92 (87)	Drug <i>girimmu</i> of the swamp	AŠ turnip of <i>kušru</i> ^(?)
93 (88)	Drug lump of the field	AŠ [...]
93a (88)	Drug lump of the field	AŠ sting
94 (89)	Drug <i>pillû</i>	AŠ [...]- <i>áš-ba-bu</i>
95 (90)	Drug <i>kalbānu</i>	AŠ sand
96 (91)	Drug sailor's faeces	AŠ product of the current
97 (92)	Drug scum of the sea	AŠ thorn of <i>baltu</i>
98 (93)	Drug <i>azallû</i>	AŠ <i>nābu</i> -louse/nit
99 (94)	Drug <i>ata'išu</i>	AŠ 'creeper of the night'-insect
100 (95)	Drug <i>kusīpu</i>	AŠ pebble
101 (96)	Drug <i>kujātu</i>	AŠ <i>šupû</i> from the surface of the water (a residue or alga?)
101a (96a)	Drug <i>kujātu</i>	AŠ <i>šupû</i> ⁸⁵ of the river
102 (97)	Drug <i>puquttu</i> -thorn	AŠ fly-stone
103 (98)	Drug <i>šašumtu</i>	AŠ head of a black raven
104 (99)	Drug <i>sīhu</i>	AŠ god's bed
105 (100)	Drug <i>šamušīru</i>	AŠ <i>išbaltu</i> -grass
106 (101)	Drug <i>suādu</i>	AŠ that which eradicates ⁸⁶ <i>ummu libbi</i> (<i>lit.</i> internal heat)
107 (102)	Drug <i>habšallurhu</i>	AŠ 'purified' of the sky ⁸⁷
108 (103)	Drug <i>kurkanû</i>	AŠ dust of the latrine
109 (104)	Drug <i>hazallūnu</i>	AŠ pomegranate pip/seed (bead/grain) ⁸⁸
(horizontal line in tablets A, Da, Lb)		
110 (105)	Drug <i>puḥpuḥu</i>	AŠ goring?(-ox, or -insect)

⁸⁵ Some kind of 'soaked' material? Cf. CDA: 341.

⁸⁶ See CAD N/2:1 for gar = *na-sa-hu* in lexical lists (Antagal and Emesal). In MS A the same term is written with *zi-ḫi*.

⁸⁷ Cf. Uruanna II 103 (CAD U: 84), where this expression seems to refer to an aromatic plant.

⁸⁸ An.bar could be a mistake for bar, but it occurs in two different tablets (A from Assur and Da from Nineveh), which makes this hypothesis unlikely.

111 (106)	Drug <i>amuššu</i> ⁸⁹	AŠ blood of a wronged man
112 (107)	Drug <i>ezizzu</i> ⁹⁰	AŠ blood of a dead man
113 (108)	Drug <i>takdanānu</i>	AŠ male-sheep head
114 (109)	Drug <i>saggilatu</i>	AŠ dust of <i>ḥallulaja</i> -insect
115 (110)	Drug <i>uhūlu qarnānû-salicornia</i> ^(?)	AŠ <i>šunû</i> -shrub : <i>baltu</i>
116 (111)	Drug <i>saḥlānu</i>	AŠ fat of a dog mottled with red
116a (111a)	Drug <i>saḥlānu</i>	AŠ fat of a male lion mottled with red
117 (112)	Drug lamb ear	AŠ <i>memētu</i>
118 (113)	Drug <i>alluzu</i> -thorn	AŠ <i>su</i> -[.....]
118a (113a)	Drug <i>alluzu</i> -thorn	AŠ <i>šimāhu</i> -boxthorn ^(?)
119 (114)	Drug <i>bukānu</i> ⁹¹	AŠ sieve residue ⁹²
120 (115)	Drug white <i>eddidu</i> -thorn	AŠ mud of the river
121 (116)	Drug earthworm	AŠ dog of the earth (badger [?])
122 (117)	Drug <i>puglānu</i>	AŠ [...]
<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: 0;"/> (horizontal line in tablet C, M)		
123 (118)	Drug <i>šašumtu</i>	AŠ wool of a virgin ewe
124 (119)	Drug seed of <i>kūru</i>	AŠ nettle [?] (<i>lit.</i> : butterfly of the field)
125 (120)	Drug goddess of the field	AŠ penis of the field
126 (121)	Drug bud of the field	AŠ <i>pīru</i>
127 (122)	Drug clod of the field	AŠ scorpion horn
128 (123)	Drug <i>kammu</i> (fungus/ mushroom) of the field	AŠ <i>zunu</i> -stone
129 (124)	Drug <i>kammu</i> of the field	AŠ [...]
130 (125)	Drug donkey- <i>kammu</i>	AŠ <i>pappardilû</i> -stone
131 (126)	Drug <i>kammu</i> of the baked brick	AŠ <i>šibittu</i> -dill ^(?)
132 (127)	Drug <i>šibaru</i>	AŠ bite of the door ^(?)
133 (128)	Drug <i>arariānu</i>	AŠ dog saliva

⁸⁹ A bulbous vegetable, probably a kind of onion.

⁹⁰ Another type of onion.

⁹¹ While *bukānu* may refer to an insect, its primary meaning is ‘pestle.’ Cf. CAD B: 308.

⁹² *Luḥummû*, mud, sediment.

134 (129)	Drug big <i>kakkussu</i>	AŠ donkey <i>atā'išu</i>
135 (130)	Drug <i>amannu</i>	AŠ fat from the kidney of a sheep
136 (131)	Drug DUMU.A.NI	AŠ <i>labubittu</i>
137 (132)	Drug <i>amannu</i>	AŠ <i>šišītu</i>
138 (133)	Drug <i>urbatu</i> -reed	AŠ papyrus ⁹³
139 (134)	Drug seed of <i>urbatu</i> -reed	AŠ <i>kungu</i> -rush
140 (135)	Drug <i>kungu</i> -rush	AŠ <i>gūru</i> (leaves of reed-plants)
141 (136)	(Poisonous) drug <i>namharû</i>	AŠ Ištar's [...]
142 (137)	Drug <i>šigguštu</i>	AŠ cow [...] ⁹⁴
143 (138)	Drug <i>qulqullânu</i>	AŠ <i>hallamīšu</i>

⁹³ The *urbatu*-reed, to which *niāru*-papyrus is here associated and that appears also in the following line, is in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* used as an alternative of *urbānu*, another word for papyrus: *cf.*: *ur-ba-tu* // *giš ur-ba-nu*, 'reed (means) papyrus' [Lambert 1960: 42, comm. to line 69, *Ludlul II*].

⁹⁴ *Šišītu*-body part? Or kidney (*kalītu*)?

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“Stinging Pain” in Assyro-Babylonian Medical Texts: Some Considerations¹

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Abstract: The Assyro-Babylonian verbs *zaqātu*, *saḫālu* and *dakāšu*, and the related substantives *siḫlu*, *siḫiltu* and *dikšu* are the most common words denoting the action “to sting” (said of a pain) and the “stinging pain” itself. The purpose of this paper is to analyse these words by examining different types of texts (especially medical, but also omens and literary), to attempt to give an overview of stinging pain and its different shades.

INTRODUCTION

The first aspect on which every culture (past and present) relies to understand the nature of diseases is the pain experienced by the patient. This is defined by *The International Association for the Study of Pain* as “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage.”²

Pain is a very subjective and complex phenomenon, not clearly definable and classifiable. Suffering it personally is very different from observing this experience in another. Indeed, the distance between us and the other is immeasurable, and it is impossible to share our suffering with someone else. That is to say, to feel the same pain as another would require that we became that person,³ which is of course impossible. Therefore the only way to communicate our own suffering and thus make it understandable to those around us is through the use of metaphor. The Italian anthropologist G. Pizza defines it as a “social action”, as it uses everyday language – inadequate to express the suffering body – in order to place the sick person in his/her social context.⁴ Furthermore, according to the theory of linguists G. Lakoff and M. Johnson the metaphor is part of everybody’s daily life, not only in language but also in thoughts and actions. In their opinion, “most of our ordinary conceptual system is

¹ The present paper is a re-elaborated version of part of my PhD thesis (“Le espressioni della sofferenza individuale nei testi assiro-babilonesi”) discussed at the University of Verona in 2014.

² For an in-depth analysis cf. <http://www.iasp-pain.org/Taxonomy>

³ Cf. Allué (1999: 119).

⁴ Cf. Pizza (2011: 114).

metaphorical in nature”,⁵ and conceptual metaphors might refer to different ideas.

Conceptual metaphors might plausibly be used by every culture – past and present – and developed by them in different ways. Among the most interesting conceptual metaphors of the Assyro-Babylonian language are those relating to illnesses and the pain experienced by the patient. One of the most recurring is “illness is (like) war”. Verbs commonly used in military contexts – such as *ṣabātu* “to seize”, and *kašādu* “to overcome” – are also found in medical texts, describing illness, pain, and suffering as something attacking the victim, as if he/she was at war.⁶ Another interesting Assyro-Babylonian conceptual metaphor is that concerning “stinging pain”:⁷ in other words “pain is (like) that caused by a scorpion, a thorn, etc.”.

In medical texts stinging pain is usually described by certain words. The most common are the verbs *zaqātu*, *saḥālu* and *dakāšu*, and the related substantives *siḥlu*, *siḥiltu* and *dikšu*, which probably define some of its different shades and degrees of intensity. By examining different kinds of texts⁸ – in particular medical ones, but also *omina* and literary writings dating to the end of the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC – this article offers a brief analysis of the most common words used to describe this sort of pain, in order to give a brief overview of the terms used by ancient scholars.

THE WORDS RELATING TO STINGING PAIN

One of the most common words concerning stinging pain attested in Assyro-Babylonian texts is the verb *zaqātu*, which is generally understood as “to sting”.⁹ It usually refers to the sting or wound (*ziqtu*)¹⁰ made by a scorpion, as in the following *omen* from the series *Šumma ālu*:

⁵ Lakoff/Johnson (1980: 4).

⁶ For an in-depth analysis of these terms cf. Salin (2015). Cf. also Couto-Ferreira (2007).

⁷ Nowadays it is considered as one of the possible symptoms of neuropathic pain, which might be caused by damage or disease affecting any part of the nervous system involved in bodily sensation (the somatosensory system). It is often described not only as “stabbing” or “stinging”, but also as “burning”, “tingling”, and/or “electrical”. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 287-289) and Scurlock (2014: 555-570).

⁸ The transcription offered of texts such as BAM and AMT is mainly based on that of the BabMed website (<http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/>).

⁹ CAD (Z: 56); AHW (1513).

¹⁰ CAD (Z: 132); AHW (1532). The noun might be used to indicate not only the sting (and the wound) produced by a scorpion, but also a disease. While the first case is especially attested in omens, the second is found both in medical and omen texts. In JoA. Scurlock’s opinion *ziqtu* is a “small and raised lesion, (...) with a white spot on the top”, and identifies it as a whitehead, which might become a blackhead (Scurlock/Andersen 2005: 228). Cf. also Labat (1957-1971: 232).

- (1) DIŠ GÍR.TAB MURU₄ SAG.DU-šú **RA**¹¹-su [...]

‘If a scorpion **stings** the middle of his head [...].’¹²

In medical texts – both diagnostic and therapeutic – and sometimes in *omina* it can be translated as either “to sting” or “to cause to sting”. It might occur in the whole body or in some specific area, such as the tongue, anus, or penis. In the following passages from SA.GIG and the omen series *Šumma Alamdimmu* it refers to the entire body, the eye muscles and the female breast:

- (2) DIŠ SU LÚ *bir-di* SA₅ UZU.MEŠ-šú **ú-zaq-qa-t[u-š]**ú *u ri-šu-tu*₄ ŠUB.ŠUB-su *ha-ra-su* M[U.NI]

‘If a man’s body is full of *birdu* and his flesh **stings him**, and *rišûtu* continually falls on him, *harasu*¹³ is it[s name].’¹⁴

- (3) DIŠ SAG.KI-šú GU₇-šú **ú-maḥ-ḥa-ša-ma** SA.MEŠ IGI^{II}-šú **ú-z[aq-qa-tú]-šú**
SA GÚ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú ŠU GU₄

‘If his temple devours¹⁵ him, causes him throbbing pain,¹⁶ and his eyes’ muscles **st[ing] him**, (and) his neck muscles continually devour him, “Hand of ghost”.’¹⁷

- (4) DIŠ MÍ UBUR GAR-*at-ma* **GÍR-šú** NU GA DU-*ak* MÍ BI *i-ra-am* NINDA.MEŠ GU₇

‘If a woman has a breast (containing milk), and it **stings her**, (her) milk does not run, this woman will love, she will eat breads’.¹⁸

In the following examples the verb *zaqātu* indicates a stinging pain occurring in the epigastrium, and in the patient’s hands and feet, respectively.¹⁹

¹¹ On the use of the various Sumerograms for the verb *zaqātu*, cf. CAD (Z: 57).

¹² Cf. Freedman (1998b: 142, Tab. 30, colophon Ex(1), l. 8). Interesting is the ritual from the therapeutic text BAM 398, rev. 4’-27’, in which numbness is compared to the sting of a scorpion (cf. Scurlock 2014: 565).

¹³ Following Stol it is a skin disease (Stol 2007: 235).

¹⁴ SA.GIG 33, l. 21. Cf. Heeßel (2000: 354), Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 86, Text. no. 3.281), Scurlock (2014: 236). Very similar is the therapeutic text BAM 409, ll. 19’-20’ (cf. Böck 2010a: 90, Text no. 2.9.7).

¹⁵ On the translation of the verb *akālu* cf. Salin (forthcoming), “La sofferenza individuale nei testi Assiro-Babilonesi. Un approccio antropologico-linguistico”.

¹⁶ Cf. Salin (2015: 323-325).

¹⁷ SA.GIG 4: 35-36. Cf. Labat (1951: 36), Fincke (2000: 185), Scurlock (2014: 35). Very similar are AMT 106, l. 1, and AMT 19, l. 1.

¹⁸ Cf. Böck (2000: 160, l. 162c). On this line cf. also Heeßel (2004: 578).

¹⁹ Other interesting examples are those concerning legs, fingers, and foot (cf. for instance BAM 108: 16, BAM 9, l. 52, CT 51 147, l. 12, respectively).

- (5) [DIŠ] NA [SAG ŠÀ[?]]-šú ú-*ḥa*-[*ma-su ú-ma*]-*ḥa-su ú-za-qat-su*
 ú GU7-šú NA BI A.[GA.ZI G]IG

‘[If] a man, his [epigastrium] burns him, causes him a throbbing pain, **stings him**, and devours him, this man i[s sick] with the A.[GA.ZI-illness].’²⁰

- (6) DIŠ L[Ú S]ÍG UGU-šú *iz*-[*za-az ...*]
 NUNDUM-šú ú-*ṣab-ba-ta* G[EŠTUII-šú *išaggumā* (?)]
 ÚḤ-*su il-la-ka* [...]
 na⁴KIŠIB GÚ-šú ŠÌG.ŠÌG-*su* DU₈.MEŠ-šú GU₇.[MEŠ-šú (?)]
 SA.GÚ-šú *šag-gu* ŠU^{II}-šú *u* G[ÌRII-šú]
 ú-*šam-ma*-<*ma*>-šú ú-***zaq-qa-t[a-šú]***
 ŠÀ-[šú] *e-te-né-la-a la i-a[r-ru]*
 [zu-mur-šú šī]*m-ma-tum ú-kal*
 [mi-na-tú-š]ú *it-ta-na-áš-pa-k[a]*
 [...]
 a-na ZI-*e na-za-az-zi* DU₁₁.DU₁₁ *mu-uq*
 [NA BI ki]š-*pi ep-šu-šú-ma*
 [ina NINDA.MEŠ š]u-*kul ina KAŠ NAG*

‘If a ma[n, his ha]ir sta[nds up, ...], his lips are seized, [his] ea[rs buzz], his saliva runs, [...], his cervical vertebrae causes him a throbbing pain, his ...²¹ de[vours him], his neck muscles are stiff, his hands and [his feet] are numb, (and) **stin[g him]**, [he] continually heaves (but) he cannot vomit, [his body] de[vours him] with paralysis, his [limbs] continually falter, [...], he is slow to get up, to stand up, to speak, [wit]chcraft has been performed against [this man], and he has been given (bewitched) bread to eat (and bewitched) beer to drink’.²²

Interesting are the cases concerning the stinging pain occurring in the penis – sometimes during ejaculation or urination – and in the anus. Some examples from therapeutic texts follow:

²⁰ BAM 75, ll. 1-2. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 287, Text no. 13.21: 1-2). Also in STT I 96: l. 20.

²¹ The word *piṭru* seems denoting a part of the body, but it has not been identified yet.

²² VAT 13644//VAT 13609+VAT 13665//K 3394+9866. Cf. Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 263, ll. 1-13), and BAM 56, rev. 9.

(7) DIŠ NA GIŠ-šú *ú-zaq-qa-ta-šú* NUMUN ^ú[...]

(...)

[D]IŠ NA GIŠ-šú *ú-zaq-qa-ta-šú* NUMUN GADA x [x *ina* ^{urudu}ŠEN].¹TUR[?] *tara*¹-bak
ina KUŠ SUR-re TI

‘If a man, his penis **stings him**, seed of [...].

(...)

If a man, his penis **stings him**, seed of flax [...], decoct [it] in a small pot[?] (and) spread it on leather. He will recover.’²³

(8) [DIŠ N]A GIŠ-šú *ú-zaq-qa-su* U₄-ma KÀŠ.MEŠ-šú *i-šá-ti-nu re-ḫu-su* ŠUB-a
[*ina*] ŠÀ-šú *ša-bit-ma ana* MUNUS DU-ka LÁ LUGUD *gi-na-a ina* GIŠ-šú DU-ak
[NA.B]I *mu-ša* GIG (...)

‘If a man, his penis **stings him** when he urinates (or) ejaculates, he is seized [in] his abdomen, and he is “diminished” when he has intercourse with a woman, and pus constantly flows from his penis, [that ma]n is sick with the *muṣu*-disease. (...).’²⁴

(9) DIŠ NA DÚR GIG DÚR-šú *ú-zaq-qat*^{min}-*su* ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú *in-n*[*i-bi-tu*]
ú-ta-sàl A.GEŠTIN.NA KAŠ.SAG ŠEG₆-šal *tu-kaš-ša ana* DÚR-[šú DUB-ak]

‘If a man is ill in the anus, (and) his anus **stings him**, his insides are bloated, he suffers from constipation. Boil vinegar and fine beer, cool (it) and pour it into his anus.’²⁵

A different kind of stinging pain is that indicated by *saḫālu*, which is usually related to the prick of a thorn. This verb is generally understood as “to pierce, to sting, to stab, etc.”,²⁶ and is mainly attested in therapeutic texts, referring to many different parts of the body, such as the pubic region of a woman, and a man’s teeth:

(10) DIŠ MUNUS Û.TU-ma *e-la-an ú-ri-šá ú-sa-ḫal-ši* em-ša-ša TAG.MEŠ-ši
MUNUS BI Ì.RA DAB-si (...)

²³ BAM 182+, ll. 2’; 5’. Cf. Geller (2005: 188-193, Text no. 31), and Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 91, Text no. 4.9).

²⁴ BAM 112+, ll. 17’-19’. Cf. Geller (2005: 56-65, Texts nos. 3, ll. 16’-17’, and 4, ll. 17’-19’. Very similar is Text no. 4, ll. 34’-36’).

²⁵ BAM 182+, ll. r. 11’-12’. Cf. Geller (2005: 193, Text no. 31).

²⁶ CAD (S: 237); AHw (1003).

‘If a woman gives birth and her pubic region **stings her**, her hypogastric region continually touches her, *niru* seizes this woman (...).²⁷

- (11) DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú *i-saḥ-ḥa-la-šú*
ana TI-šú (...)

‘If a man, his teeth **sting him**, to cure him (...).²⁸

This verb is also attested in anti-witchcraft rituals, especially in the so-called “substitution rites”.²⁹ In these, figurines representing one (or more) person, gods, demons or evildoers are used as substitutes for those who cannot be present at the ritual procedure.³⁰ When, for instance, the *āšipu* (or the patient) removes the thorn of a date palm from the figurine representing the patient himself, and sticks it into the figurines of warlock and witch, he is sending back the evil they previously brought upon the victim. In such cases the conceptual metaphor relating the prick caused by a thorn and the type of pain perceived by the patient is clear; “pain is (like) that caused by a thorn”. An example follows:

- (12) *di-ni* EŠ.BAR *šur-ši šul-li-ma-an-ni-ma*
^{giš}DÁLA GIŠIMMAR *šá UGU NU-[MU ušahḥaṭ ina muḥḥi ṣalmīšunu ú]-tak-kap*
lu-mun-šú-nu ana UGU-šú-nu GUR-ra [kiš-pu-šú-nu lu(?) p]a-áš-ru
ki-su-ia lip-pa-aṭ-ru ^{lú}UŠ11.ZU ^{mí}U[Š11.ZU *lu sa-ḥi-lu*]

‘Provide a decision for my case, keep me safe!

[I remove] the thorn of a date palm from the head of [my] figurine, (then) I stick³¹ (it) [into the head(s) of their figurines].

May the evil they did return to them, [may their] witchcrafts be undone!

May my bonds be released, (while) may my war[lock (and) my witch **be stung!**]³²

²⁷ BAM 240, ll. 17’-18’. Cf. also Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 281, Text no. 12.120), and Böck (2010b: 112). Whereas the latter interprets Ì.RA as “*niru*”, the former translates it as “striking”, probably considering RA as “to sting” with prefix ì.

²⁸ BAM 26, ll. 1-2. Cf. also Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 419, Text no. 18.4).

²⁹ Cf. in particular Schwemer (2007: 205-208); Ambos (2010); Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 22-23); Verderame (2013).

³⁰ As Hubert and Mauss rightly state, “L’image n’est, en somme, définie que par sa fonction, qui est de rendre présente une personne” (Hubert/Mauss 1902-1903: 66).

³¹ Interesting is the use of the less common *takāpu*, another verb indicating stinging pain, which usually denotes a puncture (cf. CAD T: 68; AHW: 1305).

³² K 3196+3344//VAT 13611. Cf. Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 252, Text no. 8.1, ll. 45’-48’’).

Saḫālu might be accompanied by the related substantive *siḫlu*,³³ which might denote both the “thorn”, and the “stinging pain”, as the following examples from the Gilgameš Epic and an anti-witchcraft ritual show:

- (13) *lu-ú-up-te* ^dGIŠ-*gím-maš a-mat ni-šir-ti*
u AD.ḪAL š[á ilī^{meš} ka-a-šá lu-u]q-bi-ka
šam-mu šu-ú ki-ma ed-de-et-t[i šī-kin-šú² š]á-k[i]n
si-ḫi-il-šú GIM a-mur-din-nim-ma ú-sa[h-ḫal qāti-k]a

‘I will reveal, Gilgameš, a secret matter,
and [I will] tell you a mystery [of the gods].
It is a plant, its [appearance] is like the boxthorn,
its thorn is like the bramble’s, and **it will sting** your hands.’³⁴

- (14) *[k]i-ma A.MEŠ šá SU i-šá-ḫa-tu-ma*
[k]iš-pu ru-ḫu-ú ru-su-ú
[s]i-iḫ-lu up-šá-šu-u ḪUL.MEŠ
[š]á ina SU.MU GÁL-ú
li-pa-áš-ra-an-ni-ma ana UGU-šú-nu
u ra-ma-ni-šú-nu li-tu-ur

‘Just as the water is washed off (my) body, so may the witchcraft, magic, sorcery,
stinging pain, (and) evil machinations which are in my body be released from me and
may return to them, themselves!.’³⁵

Interesting are the cases in which *saḫālu* or *siḫlu* are associated to UZU (=šīru “meat, flesh”), denoting a particular disease (or perhaps a metaphor for an uncomfortable feeling),³⁶ which might be intended as “stinging pain of the flesh”. An example from the Dream-Book follows:

³³ CAD (S: 237). AHw does not register this substantive.

³⁴ *Gilgameš Epic* Tab. XI, ll. 281-284. Cf. George (2003: 720) and Pettinato (2004: 132).

³⁵ VAT 10094+VAT 10989/VAT 13611. Cf. Abusch/Schwemer (2011: 253, Text no. 8.1, ll. 61’-66’’).

³⁶ For a discussion cf. Oppenheim (1956: 270, note no. 42).

(15) [DIŠ UZ]U KA₅.A GU₇ *si-ḫi-il* UZU

‘If he eats the meat of a fox: *siḫil šīri* (=stinging pain of the flesh?).’³⁷

The other noun related to *saḫālu*, that is *siḫiltu*,³⁸ occurs only sporadically. It denotes not only “sting”, but also “stinging pain”, and is attested only in a few medical and omen texts. An example is:

(16) KA.INIM.MA *ana si-ḫi-il-ti* GIDIM (...)

‘Recitation for the **stinging pain** (caused by) a ghost (...).’³⁹

The verb *dakāšu* can be understood as “to pierce, to sting”,⁴⁰ normally concerning – like *saḫālu* – the prick of a thorn. It is very infrequently attested in medical texts, in one case accompanied by the related substantive *dikšu*:⁴¹

(17) DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú *i-ḫa-maṭ-su i-dak-ka-su* Úḫ-su x[...]
U₄.DA SÁ.SÁ (...)

‘If a man, his epigastrium burns him, (and) **stings him**, his phlegm is [...], *ṣētu* has reached him. (...)’⁴²

(18) DIŠ NA *di-ik-šá* TUKU-*ma ki-ma ṣil-le-e ú-dāk-k[as-su]*⁴³
ŠU.GIDIM.MA (...)

‘If a man has a **piercing pain** and **it stings him** like a thorn, illness “Hand of ghost”. (...)’⁴⁴

In the last example the type of pain perceived by the patient is clearly explained by the

³⁷ Cf. Oppenheim (1956: 270, Text no. 8.1, l. II x+7). For other examples cf. also Oppenheim (1969: 162, ll. 18’-18’), and Lauinger (2012: 102).

³⁸ CAD (S: 235); AHw (1040).

³⁹ KAR 56 r. 1. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 289, Text no. 13.33).

⁴⁰ CAD (D: 34). AHw (151) intends it as “etwa ausbeulen, austreiben”.

⁴¹ CAD (D: 137). AHw (169) translates it “Ausbauchung, Schwellung”, followed by Labat (1957-1971: 231) and Köcher (1978: 38, note no. 94).

⁴² AMT 45, 6, ll. 6-7. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 287, Text no. 13.20), and Stol (2007: 20, and 26). See now tablet K 2386+ Johnson (2014: 14-16).

⁴³ Cf. the different interpretation of BabMed (http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/BAM-3/BAM-3_-216).

⁴⁴ BAM III 216, ll. 29’-30’. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 289, Text no. 13.31).

metaphor “it stings him like a thorn”.

Dikšu is more frequent than the verb, and occurs in both diagnostic and therapeutic texts. It might be generally used to indicate stinging pain or a specific disease, and might occur in different parts of the body.

- (19) DIŠ NA DÚR.GIG GIG-*ma di-ik-ša* TUKU NINDA *u* A ŠÀ-šú *la i-m[a-ḥar]*
ÚḪ *ina* DÚR-šú *ú-ta[b]-ba-ka* (...)

‘If a man is sick in the anus, and has a **stinging pain**, and his abdomen cannot receive food and water, liquid runs from his anus. (...).⁴⁵

- (20) DIŠ UB.MEŠ-š[ú] DU₈.MEŠ SAG ŠÀ-šú *di-ik-ša*[?] T[UK[?] *pi-q*]*a la pi-qa* ÚŠ [*ina*]
KIR₄-šú DU-*ku* Á^{II}-šú SIG.MEŠ NÍG.ZI.[IR] ŠUB.ŠUB-*su* IGI^{II}-šú ÚŠ *šu-u[n-n]u-*
[*a*]-*a* ŠU^dAMAR.UTU *a-dir-ma* GAM

‘If his limbs[?] are loose, his epigastrium has a **stinging pain**, blood on repeated occasions flows from his nose, his arms are continually weak, affliction continually falls upon him, his eyes are suffused with blood: “Hand of Marduk”. He will be worried and (then) he will die.’⁴⁶

- (21) [DIŠ NA] *di-kiš*^{giš} GIGIR GIG-*ma* ŠÀ-šú *u* TÙN-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú (...)

‘[If a man] is sick with **stinging pain** (because of riding in) a chariot, and his abdomen and his liver[?] continually devours him (...).⁴⁷

- (22) [...] ŠÀ-šú KÚM TUKU.TUKU *di-kiš* GABA GIG [...] *-ḥa-ru sa-ḥa ḥa-aḥ-ḥa ši-ḥat*
UZU.ME [...] *-aḥ-ḥa* DAB.MEŠ-*su* *ú-sa-al ina su-a-[li-šú ...]* x-šú *nu-pu-ḥa ina lam*
DUGUD-šú NA BI x x [...] TÙM^{lu}ḪAL *qí-ba la* GAR-*an* (...)

‘[If ...] his abdomen has continually fever, he is sick with **stinging pain** in the chest, [...], *saḥḥu*, *ḥaḥḥu*, wasting away of the flesh, [...] continually seizes him, he coughs, (and) when he coughs [...] are bloated, before it becomes difficult for him, that man

⁴⁵ BAM 96+, iii 15'-16'. Cf. Geller (2005: 164-165, Text no. 26, iii, ll. 15'-16').

⁴⁶ SA.GIG 22, ll. 34-35. Cf. Heeßel (2000: 260), Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 77, Text no. 3.238) and Scurlock (2014: 190).

⁴⁷ AMT 96, 1, l. 17. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 23-24, Text no. 2.37).

[...], the diviner should not make a prognostication (...).⁴⁸

In the following example from the second tablet of the series *Maqlû*, the substantive is followed by UZU.MEŠ, creating an expression very similar to *siḫil šīri*:

- (23) *lu-u di-kiš UZU.MEŠ šim-ma-[tú ri-mu-tú]*
[*lu-u mim-m*]a *lem-nu šá šu[ma la na-bu-u]*
[*lu-u mim-m*]a *e-piš le-mut-ti šá [a-me-lu-ti]*
[*šá šab-ta*]-ni-ma *mu-šá u ur-ra U[Š.MEŠ-an-ni]*
(...)

‘Be it *dikiš šīrī* (=stinging pain of the flesh?), paralysis, numbness,
be it [anythi]ng evil that has not been named,
be it [anythi]ng that causes suffering to humanity,
that seizes me and continually purses me day and night, (...).⁴⁹

Even in this case it might be suggested the literal translation “stinging pain of the flesh”⁵⁰, probably denoting a determined disease. Interesting is its closeness to *šimmatu*⁵¹ and *rimûtu*⁵², words indicating paralysis and numbness, often caused by the sting of a scorpion or the bite of a snake.

In any case, it is possible to state that both the verb *dakāšu* and the noun *dikšu* denote the stinging pain normally caused by a thorn, but perhaps designate a different degree of intensity in comparison with *saḫālu*.

CONCLUSION

In general, when reading the texts cited in this paper it is very difficult to understand the intensity of the stinging pain expressed by the words discussed here. In fact, modern scholars have translated these terms in various ways, sometimes without a clear distinction among them. Indeed, verbs and related substantives have been taken to describe a “stinging”, “piercing”, “stabbing” or “needling” pain indistinctively.

A specific study on the matter has not yet been done, but in *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine*, JoA. Scurlock gives a brief interpretation of *saḫālu* and *dakāšu*; she

⁴⁸ AMT 51, 2, ll. 2-6. Cf. Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 183, Text no. 8.93).

⁴⁹ *Maqlû* Tab. II, ll. 64-67. Cf. Abusch (2015a: 59, ll. 64-67), and Abusch (2015b: 60, ll. 64-67).

⁵⁰ For a different interpretation cf. Abusch (2015a: 59), who translates it as “swelling”.

⁵¹ CAD (Š: 7); AHw (1238).

⁵² CAD (R: 363); AHw (987).

suggests that the former could indicate “a brief and relatively mild needling sensation”, while the latter might describe “the same type of pain, only more intense and continuous”.⁵³ In my opinion, there is little evidence for such a conclusion.

Perhaps, presuming its similarity to that caused by a scorpion, we may suppose that the pain denoted by *zaqātu* is very sharp, while that indicated by *saḥālu* and *dakāšu* (and related substantives) is less intense, inasmuch as it generally describes the puncture of a thorn, but some questions remain unanswered. Were *saḥālu* and *dakāšu* considered as synonyms and used in an interchangeable way, or was there a distinction between them? If so, which one was used to denote a more intense pain? Furthermore, how were they considered in comparison with *zaqātu*?

In conclusion, even though it is very difficult to understand the precise meanings of these words, it is possible to state that the Assyro-Babylonians made an attempt to describe how the patient felt, sometimes using metaphors, that “serve to make objective something, which is indeed subjective by definition, and to provide it with a ‘social’ and ‘technical’ explanation”,⁵⁴ and sometimes taking advantage of the lexical repertoire that offered the possibility of different expressions – although often synonyms – to which more technical meanings could be associated.

⁵³ Scurlock/Andersen (2005: 288). It is worth noting the presence – though very rare – of another verb denoting stinging pain, i.e. *šaḡāru* (CAD S: 13; AHW: 1179). It is usually understood as “to pierce (with an arrow or a weapon)”, but unfortunately it is only attested in a few broken texts (cf. for instance Stol 1993: 93). JoA. Scurlock suggests its similarity to *dakāšu* (cf. Scurlock/Andersen 2005: 733, note no. 17).

⁵⁴ Salin (2015: 335).

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A Remedy for Equine Bloat?

Wilfred G. E. Watson

1. The text

Line 9 of KTU 4.863 (= RS 94.2276) reads as follows: *mītm. tyt. l. mzl. ššwm*, “Two hundred (shekels) of *tyt* for the *mzl* of horses”. The translation in the *editio princeps* is: “Deux cents (sicles d’) *asa foetida* pour le MZL des chevaux”, with the explanatory note: “On en conclura qu’il s’agissait soit d’une dérivé de la plante qu’on mélangerait au fourrage des chevaux, soit du médicament bien connu”¹. The quantity involved is about 2 kilograms², but an even larger amount is recorded in another recently published text: *tlīm prqt tyt*, “thirty sackfuls of the *tyt*-plant” (KTU 4.811:9)³. There are similar quantities in its occurrences in other Ugaritic texts (see below), so clearly the material in question was not expensive.

2. Two difficult words

Evidently, the two key words in this line are *mzl* and *tyt* and here they are considered in reverse order.

2a. *tyt* - We can begin with Ug. *tyt*, which also occurs, in large amounts, in KTU 4.14:14; 4.203:17; 4.337:26; 4.811:9; 5.11:13⁴. It has been equated with Akk. *tījatu*, “(an herb and shrub)” (CAD T, 400); “eine Drogenpflanze” (als Droge oft neben *nuḫurtu*: AHw, 1357a); Akk. *tīyatu*, occas. *tiat*, “(a medicinal plant)” (M/NB, NA; CDA, 408a)⁵. What, then, are Ug. *tyt* and Akk. *tīyatu*? Akk. *tīyatu* has been equated with JAram. *tīj/’ā*, “Hahnenfuß” (AHw, 1357a) or crowfoot. However, Aram. *tiyyāh*, *tīyāh*, *tī’āh*, “root of crowfoot (*Ranunculus*)”, though used as a spice, is considered poisonous for beasts (cf. DTT, 1663a)⁶. To identify the plant in question, it is helpful if we look at how it was used. In fact, in

¹ RSOu 18, p. 110.

² RSOu 18, p. 112.

³ On the meaning of Ug. *prqt* see Watson 2007b, 99 n. 284; 2015, 34.

⁴ Texts: *kkṛ w mlth tyt*, “one talent and one measure of *tyt*” (KTU 4.337:26); a *kkṛ* or talent weighed about 1 kilogram; *ālp arbš māt tyt*, “one] thousand four hundred (shekels) of *tyt*” (KTU 4.14:14); *hmšt kkr tyt*, “five talents of *tyt*” (KTU 4.203:17); *mītm tyt*, “two hundred (shekels) of *tyt*” (KTU 4.863:9).

⁵ See Nougayrol 1968, 121 n. 4. Note the equivalence Ú.LUḪ.ḪA = *ti-a-tu*₄ (RS 23.368:15') in an unpublished text cited by Van Soldt 1990, 348. For other spellings see DUL, 871; CAD T, 400 and Van Soldt 1990, 348-349 (with discussion). He notes (*ibi*): “The word *tiyatu* seems to have been borrowed from Akkadian both by the people of Ugarit and the Aramaic-speaking Jews. This does, of course, not mean that in both communities exactly the same plant was referred to”.

⁶ However, it has also been noted that “The identification with *asafoetida* in Thompson DAB 358 is not supported by the botanical evidence” (CAD T, 400) and in fact, it occurs together with Akk. *nuḫurtu*, “*asa foetida*”.

Mesopotamia *tījatu* was one ingredient of an enema (among 35 weighed herbs) in texts such as BAM 3 iv 43⁷. It was borrowed by Hittite as *tijati*, “Teufelsdreck (*Ferula assa-foetida* L.)”⁸, which was used against chronic gastritis, dyspepsia and irritable colon as well as hypoacidity of the stomach, flatulence, flatulent colic, diarrhoea etc.⁹ In other words, it acted as a laxative.

2b. *mzl* - This brings us to the second Ugaritic word, namely *mzl*, considered to be derived from **nzl*, “to pour out”, but without a translation (RSOu 18, 112). It is probably a maqtal form¹⁰ derived from this verb. If so, it may correspond to Akk. *mazzaltu* (< **manzaltu*), “Ausräumung” (AHw, 637b), “clearing (out)” (CDA, 205b), or more specifically, *manzaltu*, “flow (of excrement)” (CAD M/1, 230b)¹¹. Then it would refer to defaecation.¹² The meaning seems confirmed by the gloss KI.GUB-*su* : *man-zal-ta-šu₂*, “«KI.GUB-*su*» means «his faeces»”¹³. The word occurs in the following text: *šumma qinnatišu tarkâma manzāssu lā ušša u* (var. //) *mê lā ušēridi*, “if his buttocks are dark(?)¹⁴ and he does not let out his excrement(?) and (variant :) he cannot pass water”¹⁵. As is well known, the Ugaritic hippiatric texts mention similar symptoms: *w. k. l. yhrû. w. l. ytn. ššw* “If a horse does not defaecate and does not urinate” (KTU 1.85:9)¹⁶. However, *tyt* is not listed among the various remedies prescribed in these texts¹⁷.

⁷ BAM 68:4; 69:5; 168:20; 575 iv 19; 579 ii 56, 579 iv 18; all cited in CAD T, 400. On enemas and their administration (to humans) see Böck 2009, 116.

⁸ Zinko 2001, 747. See also Stivala 2004, 43; Watson 2004, 125; 2007a, 135.

⁹ See Zinko 2001, 747-748; Hoffner 1974, 10.

¹⁰ Cf. Tropper 2012 §51.45.e, p. 266, although this word is not mentioned.

¹¹ Cf. also Akk. *manzāzu*, “excrement(?)” (CAD M/1, 239a, mng 8); and Akk. *mazzāzu*, “med. “faeces” or “flatulence”?” (CDA, 206a).

¹² Note, however, that Geller (2000, 339) rejects the meaning “excrement” in favour of “drainage”, i.e. “a discharge of fluid from the body”.

¹³ E. Jiménez, “Commentary on Sagig 13 and 12/14 (?) (CCP no. 4.1.13.B)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (2015), at <http://ccp.yale.edu/P294665> (accessed November 16, 2015). See previously CAD M/1, 230a.

¹⁴ CAD M/1, 239a *tarku*, “dark-colored(?)” (CDA T, 234-235); cf. *tarāku*, “to beat, thump; be dark” (CDA, 399a).

¹⁵ DIŠ GU.DU.MEŠ-šú MI.MEŠ-*ma* KI.GUB-*su* *la È-a u* (var. //) *mê la ušērid* (Labat TDP, 132 i 59-60 and 236:51; cited in CAD Q, 255b); similarly, GU.DU-*su* NU È-*a* *manzaltu la ušē[sû]* (Hunger SpTU 36:10; cited in CAD M/1, 239a).

¹⁶ With near parallels in KTU 1.71:9 ([*k l yhr*]*â w l ytn*) and KTU 1.72:12 (*k. l. yhr*[*â. w. l. ytn. ššw*]) and cf. Loretz 2011, 214-215.

¹⁷ For the remedies, which are poured into the horse’s nostrils, see Loretz 2011, 215-217; Watson 2001, 241-249. Note that of these, Ug. *āškr* (KTU 1.71:11; 1.72:18; 1.85:13) has been equated with Akk. *šakirû*, which in turn is used in the treatment of colic in horses; see Stadhouders 2011: 6 (Text I §15’: 35’-36’) and 2014, 3 (Text I §15’) and Ug. *qlql* (KTU 1.71:8; 1.72:13; 1.85:10) corresponds to Akk. *qulqullānu*, which is used, pounded up and mixed with water, for stopping diarrhoea; see Stadhouders 2011, 14 (Text II §3) and 2012, 7 (Text II §3).

3. Conclusion

It would seem that here Ug. *tyt*, perhaps mixed with fodder or simply as a medicine¹⁸, was used to prevent or cure bloating in horses. The large quantities mentioned seem to indicate the former. For humans it was one of five ingredients used to cure a bloated stomach, as in the following Babylonian medical text:

If a man's intestines (feel) swollen, his bowels discharge a putrid liquid, his bowels rumble incessantly, the wind in his belly rumbles and in his rectum ... – this man suffers from “bloating”(?). In order to heal him: the *atā'īšu*-plant, the *tīyatu*-plant, colocynth(?), salt of fine quality, and alum – these five drugs in water you should steep, into his anus you should pour, and he will (then) recover.¹⁹

Similarly:

If, when a man eats bread (and) drinks beer, his belly burns, he is bloated, (and) he drinks a lot of water, it is an intermittent fever. ...
You pulverize river mud (and) [he drinks it] in beer. You pulverize *tīyatu* (and) he drinks it in beer²⁰.

Its medicinal use as a laxative points to Ug. *tyt* meaning *asa foetida*. In turn, the meaning “flow (of excrement)” for Ug. *mzl* has a parallel in Akkadian, and loanwords from that language certainly feature in the Ugaritic hippiatric texts²¹. All this suggests that *mītm. tyt. l. mzl. ššwm* (KTU 4.863:9) is to be translated: “Two hundred (shekels) of *asa foetida* for the (bowel) movement of horses”.

¹⁸ Both possibilities suggested in RSOu 18, p. 110.

¹⁹ BAM II 159: 48-52; translation: Cohen 1983, 12.

²⁰ K 2386+ col. i 22' and 27'; text and translation: Johnson 2014, 17-18 and 21.

²¹ Watson 2004; 2007b, 65-75 §2.2.

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Abbreviations

- DUL** G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson) 2 vols (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/67; Leiden 2004²).
- RSOu 18** P. Bordreuil – D. Pardee (eds), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994–2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d’Ourtenou* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XVIII; Lyon 2012).

Addendum to Sm. 460

Henry Stadhouders

When this article had materialized in print its author realised that he had omitted a reference to yet another cuneiform fragment duplicating the *Qutāru* compendium BM 45393+, iii, 9-12 and consequently running parallel to the reverse of Sm. 460 likewise. The fragment concerned is BM 42542+, which was published by I. Finkel as Text 36 (p. 193) in his “On Late Babylonian Medical Training,” (in: *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake 2000, 137-224). The spell **é[n x] šà gig.ga** occupies ll. 1-7 of the tablet’s obverse, with about a third of the beginning of each line being lost. Its text, as far as can be told from what has been preserved, follows BM 45393+ as against Sm. 460 in that (1) it has the Enki-Asalluḫi dialogue in an abridged format (l. 5; yet differently truncated than the standard way found in BM 45393+), (2) it reads **[še.en.dú]r'.gim** (l. 6 // **B**, iii, 12) and (3) it, too, inserts **du₁₁.ga** before the final phrase *tê šipti*. Like BM 45393+ it has this spell followed by the incantation **a.ra.zu šu.te.ma.ab**.

It could be speculated that the phrase **še.en.dúr(dur).gim** somehow represents in truncated format a therapeutic instruction involving the use of a **še.en.tur** “cauldron;” it seems less plausible that it is the corrupted outcome of an original ***še.en.ḫun.gá**, let alone ***ḫé.en.ḫun.gá** “(in order that) he may find relief.”

In hindsight the phrase **du₁₁.ga** is most likely to be explained as an abbreviation of the formula **du₁₁.ga DN₁ DN₂ DN₃** “at the command of DN₁ DN₂ and DN₃.”¹

As an aside, it is worth notifying that the transliteration of the BM 45393+ version of the spell **é[n ...] šà.gig.ga** as given by Finkel in fn. 42 has been revised considerably as a result of preparations and discussions entailed by the BabMed 2015 Fumigation Workshop.

In the light of the catalogue fragment he published as Text 35 in the same article Finkel convincingly reconstructed the incipit of the prayer incantation mentioned above in fn. 9 (**B**, iii, 4-8) as **ÉN [telītu] Ištar munammirat burrumu** (p. 192).

¹ E.g. the Sumerian **šu.dus.a** spell *SpTU* II, 23, ll. 30-35, which concludes as follows: **du₁₁.ga ḏasal.lú.ḫi ḏutu <dingir>.maḫ te én**, and where the **du₁₁.ga** stands for the phrase *ina qibīt (iqbū)* innumerable incantations begin their concluding formula with (e.g. Maqlū, passim).

Finally, the ‘Hand-of-Gods’ diagnoses as found massively in the Handbook of Nosomancy (a.k.a. Diagnostic Handbook, footnote 8 of the article) have just been discussed insightfully by M. Geller, who points out, inter alia, that these diagnoses primarily function as descriptive labels in the systemization of disease names (which themselves basically cover symptoms and syndromes, not underlying causes); they do not indicate that the godhead in question has caused the illness.²

² Review of: N. Heeßel, *Divinatorische Texte II: Opferschau-Omina* (KAL 5, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), AfO 53 (2015), 201-207

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