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against the skin diseases of the head.

**András Bácskay, Krisztián Simkó**

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## Edition of BAM 494

### The fifth tablet of UGU or a compilation of recipes against the skin diseases of the head<sup>1</sup>

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#### **BAM 494: a manuscript of UGU V?**<sup>2</sup>

In this paper we review the history and take a broad fresh view of the tablet BAM 494, which is an important source for studying skin diseases in connection with the head. Since the only topic of this tablet is the patient's head, it has been considered to represent the fifth tablet within the first chapter of the therapeutic series, called UGU.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted, however, that this assumption is not without doubt, because both the incipit and the colophon of BAM 494 are missing. In the absence of these two components of the text, which would clearly define the place of the tablet within the therapeutic corpus, it is only possible to look at some suggestive indirect evidence. With regard to its format, for instance, BAM 494 is a clearly written two-column tablet with double rulings separating each column from the next. In this respect, it is exactly like the other tablets of UGU, such as BAM 480+<sup>4</sup> (UGU I), BAM 482 / AMT 19, 1 + AMT 20, 1 (UGU II), AMT 102-105, 1 (UGU III)<sup>5</sup> and CT 23 50 (UGU IV). In addition to the physical similarities, the content of the text also seems to imply some kind of relation between BAM 494 and the first chapter of the therapeutic series. As indicated by the summary<sup>6</sup> of the Aššur Medical Catalogue, *kurāru*, *kibšu*, *giššatu*, *guraštu* and *ašû*, are some

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<sup>2</sup> For the edition of UGU I and UGU II see Worthington 2005 and Attia – Buisson 2003, respectively. For UGU I, see also Scurlock 2014: 306-328. On the other hand, UGU III and UGU IV are known mainly from cuneiform copies and from the translations provided by Thompson (1937).

<sup>3</sup> BAM V p. xxix. See also Farber 1982: 594 n. 5, Böck 2003: 166, Scurlock 2014: 297, Panayotov 2016: 59 n. 1 and Panayotov forthcoming. Köcher also raised the possibility that BAM 494 is the fourth tablet of UGU, or it represents a different part within the therapeutic series. A further study will be needed to investigate the probable connections between BAM 494 and UGU IV.

<sup>4</sup> Joins to BAM 480 are BAM 488 + AMT 3, 4. See Panayotov 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Note that AMT 102-105, 1 contains the eclectic copy of the tablets K 2566 + K 10475 (+)<sup>7</sup> K 8090, K 4023, K 7642 and K 7834.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Scurlock 2014: 295-296. For a different interpretation of these sections in the Aššur Medical Catalogue, see Panayotov forthcoming.

of the medical conditions discussed by UGU,<sup>7</sup> but three of these diseases occur only in BAM 494 where they are treated quite exhaustively (*ašû* in ii 3-58, *guraštu* in iii 1-6 and *kurāru* in iii 21'-iv 7).<sup>8</sup>

Another important characteristic of the serialized therapeutic tablets is that aside from the parallel passages, containing a longer or shorter section of the text, there also are complete duplicates.<sup>9</sup> One of these duplicates is BAM 34 (= ms. Q), which is a fragment from a Neo-Assyrian tablet of unknown origin. The preserved fifteen lines of this fragment overlap with that section of BAM 494 where recipes, incantations and rituals against the boil *kurāru* as well as against baldness are presented. The sequence of the individual passages within this section is the same in BAM 494 and BAM 34, the only difference being that in BAM 34 the whole section occurs in one column, while in BAM 494 it starts at the end of the third column (iii 75'') and ends in the fourth column (iv 10). This difference is of less importance, however, for it is evidenced in connection with other tablets of the therapeutic series, as well.<sup>10</sup> It is due to the fact that sometimes the line organisation is not the same in each manuscript, that is, the same prescription could be cited by one manuscript in a single line, and by another manuscript in two lines. Should BAM 34 thus be considered to be another manuscript of the text represented by BAM 494, originally it should have belonged to the end of the third column of a standardized two-column tablet (two columns on the obverse and another two on the reverse). Besides BAM 34, AMT 25, 8 (= ms. M) appears to be another complete duplicate of BAM 494, since the remaining seven lines of this small fragment appear in the same sequence in BAM 494 ii 53-57. It is noticeable, furthermore, that AMT 16, 4 (= ms. K), a fragment from the middle part of a Neo-Assyrian tablet, contains fifteen lines which overlap with a sequence of prescriptions, incantations and rituals in BAM 494. The two manuscripts are almost complete duplicates, but the prescription from BAM 494 ii 45-46 is

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<sup>7</sup> Aššur Medical Catalogue II. 6-7. For its edition, see Scurlock 2014: 296-297 and Geller – Johnson – Panayotov – Schmidtchen – Steinert forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Note that only a few prescriptions have remained from UGU IV. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that originally this tablet could also have dealt with some of the diseases listed in the Aššur Medical Catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> UGU I: BAM 480+ and BAM 4 (Panayotov 2016a); UGU II: BAM 482 and AMT 19, 1 / AMT 20, 1; UGU III: AMT 102-105, 1 (eclectic copy of K 2566 + K 10475 (+)<sup>2</sup> K 8090, K 4023, K 7642 and K 7834), AMT 13, 5 / AMT 14, 5 (possible join to K 7642), AMT 19, 3 + (?) AMT 38, 5, AMT 35, 5, BAM 485 (possible join to K 7642), BAM 486 and BAM 493. Note that UGU IV is known only from Sm 950 = CT 23 50. For an overview of the manuscripts of UGU, see Scurlock 2014: 297 and Panayotov forthcoming.

<sup>10</sup> A good example is K 2974 (AMT 13, 5 / AMT 14, 5), which is the right corner piece of a two-column tablet containing UGU III. The line ordering of the tablet represented by K 2974 (AMT 13, 5 / AMT 14, 5) differs from that of the other manuscripts, since the text contained by this fragment overlaps with an earlier part of the other manuscripts (e.g., K 2566+ or K 4023). In fact, the obverse side of K 2974 (AMT 13, 5 / AMT 14, 5) should be the beginning of the second column of the mentioned tablet, and it corresponds to the end of the first column on the other manuscripts. Similarly, the reverse side of K 2974 (AMT 13, 5 / AMT 14, 5) is the end of the third column, but the text, which it contains, is presented circa 12 lines earlier by the other manuscripts of UGU III.

omitted in AMT 16, 4, and there is a difference between them regarding the line organisation, as well (AMT 16, 4: 1'-5' = BAM 494 ii 40-44; AMT 16, 4: 6'-15' = BAM 494 ii 47-53).<sup>11</sup>

The presence of complete duplicates suggests that BAM 494 is in fact a standardized tablet, and if it represents UGU V, it should have begun with the incipit DIŠ NA MURUB<sub>4</sub> SAG.DU-šú GÍR.GÍR-su UGU-šú 'x x x' [...] x te 'ŠÉŠ' 'If the middle of his head constantly stings him, anoint his skull with [...]'.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand it must be noted that besides *ašû*, *guraštu* and *kurāru* other skin diseases are also mentioned in this text (e.g., lice, *sāmānu*, *rišûtu*), therefore, the possibility of BAM 494 being a different compilation cannot be excluded either. In this respect attention can be drawn to the fact that according to the Aššur Medical Catalogue there was another chapter devoted to dermatology within the therapeutic series.<sup>13</sup> In this case, too, the catalogue refers to some of those medical conditions, which are treated in BAM 494 (*sāmānu*, *kurāru*, *rišûtu* and *simmu*), although it should be noted that, unlike in UGU, the patient's head does not seem to play an important role here.

While it is much more reasonable to believe that BAM 494 represents UGU V, some arguments should also be mentioned, which may contradict this assumption. It has been considered unusual, for instance, that BAM 494 contains a prescription, which is known from UGU IV.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, the question could be posed that if this tablet is in fact UGU V, why would it repeat a prescription which already occurred in an earlier part of the series. Similarly, the remark 'according to the wording of the tablet' (*šá KA tup-pi*), which introduces the prescription in BAM 494 ii 38'-41', and the quotations from the therapeutic vademecum BAM 426 as well as from the pharmacological list BAM 1<sup>15</sup> could lead to the conclusion that this tablet represents a non-serialized compilation put together from different base texts. This does not seem to be the case, however, because the repetition of an earlier prescription and the quotation from another piece of work are characteristic features not only of BAM 494, but also of the therapeutic series in general. As for the circulation of single textual units within the same series, UGU III contains in its third column the very same incantation as UGU I in its second column.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the same prescription can appear again with some variation

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<sup>11</sup> In addition, there is another fragment, BAM 495 (= ms. J), the remaining parts of which correlate completely with BAM 494, but the prescriptions are in a different order: BAM 495 ii 1'-6' = BAM 494 ii 37-40 and BAM 495 ii 7'-9' = BAM 494 ii 29.

<sup>12</sup> See the catch-line of UGU IV (Sm 950 = CT 23 50 iv 5') and Aššur Medical Catalogue l. 5 (Scurlock 2014: 296-297; Geller – Johnson – Panayotov – Schmidtchen – Steinert forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> Aššur Medical Catalogue ll. 59-69. See Geller – Johnson – Panayotov – Schmidtchen – Steinert forthcoming.

<sup>14</sup> Sm 950 (CT 23 50) i 5-6 = BAM 494 i 30'-31'. See BAM V p. xxix n. 74 and Farber 1982: 594 n. 5.

<sup>15</sup> BAM 494 ii 41-42 = BAM 426 ii' 13'-14' and BAM I i 62.

<sup>16</sup> AMT 104, 1 iii 11'-12' // BAM 486 iii 1'-2' (UGU III) = BAM 480+ ii 32-34 (UGU I). See especially Panayotov 2016: 64. Add that the incantation is also attested in OECT 11 71 rev. 1-2.

in different chapters of the therapeutic series, as well.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the quotation from other scientific works, as demonstrated by BAM 494, it is noticeable that sometimes the serialized therapeutic tablets also use passages from other series. UGU III, for instance, shares passages with the series *Hulbazizi*, *Kunuk ħalti* and *Muššu’u*, although in this case the direction of transmission is not always clear.<sup>18</sup> In addition, other tablets, which might be related to the therapeutic series, contain symptom and treatment descriptions that can be linked to the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series as well as to pharmacological texts.<sup>19</sup> Turning now back to BAM 494, the remark ‘according to the wording of the tablet’ (*šá KA tup-pi*) in ii 38’ can be understood as a reference the fact that the prescription originates from a series dealing with *sāmānu*; as Finkel and Stol argued, the existence of a ‘medical handbook’ about *sāmānu* is evidenced by the manual of the incantation priests, which mentions the rubric SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA<sup>BAD NA sa-ma-nu GIG</sup> (KAR 44 obv. 19).<sup>20</sup>

In conclusion, it is reasonable to believe that BAM 494 is a serialized tablet probably representing UGU IV<sup>21</sup> or UGU V. Its connection to another chapter of the therapeutic series, such as the one devoted to dermatology according to the Aššur Medical Catalogue, is less probable. Also, there does not seem to be any hard evidence, which would suggest that BAM 494 is a non-serialized compilation of prescriptions and incantations against the skin diseases of the head.

### Content of the text

Twenty lines are preserved in the tablet’s first column, where therapies are presented against lice (four recipes), ‘sweet’ lice (one recipe), *ekketu* combined with *rišūtu* (two recipes), *sāmānu* (two recipes) and *girgiššu* (probably two recipes). Due to the fragmentary condition of the column, no disease name is preserved in the first prescription. In the therapies against lice, mixtures were made of plants (e.g., colocynth or myrrh) and liquids (e.g., cedar oil), and

<sup>17</sup> A remark we owe to S. Panayotov. See, for example, BAM 510 i 18’-20’ // BAM 513 i 8’-10’ // BAM 514 i 23(24)’-26(27)’ (IGI I) = BAM 515 ii 45-47 (IGI II). The prescription is also attested in BAM 20 obv. 11’-16’ and BAM 159 iv 2’-7’ (Parys 2014: 10, 33 and 56-57 §47; Attia 2015: 9 §13).

<sup>18</sup> E.g., AMT 102, 1 i 7-16 (UGU III) = K 255+ iii 16’-33’ (*Hulbazizi*); AMT 102, 1 i 33-37 (UGU III) = K 9288 ii 1-7 (*Kunuk ħalti*); AMT 103, 1 ii 32-33 (UGU III) = STT 136 iii 30’-31’ // K 6250 rev. 3’-4’ (*Muššu’u* VIII). See Schuster-Brandis 2008: 193, pl. 39 (K 9288) and Böck 2007: 286, pl. XLIII (STT 136 and K 6250); the tablet K 255+ was edited by Finkel in his dissertation entitled *ĪUL.BA.ZI.ZI: Ancient Mesopotamian Exorcistic Incantations* (1976).

<sup>19</sup> For example, BAM 32 (cf. Aššur Medical Catalogue II. 57 and 67) obv. 5’-6’ // BAM 417 obv. 4-5 = *Šammu šikinšu* Text II §7 (after Stadhouders 2011: 15 and Stadhouders 2012: 8) and BAM 380 rev. 11 // STT 92 iii 27’; BAM 35 (cf. Aššur Medical Catalogue I. 63) i 12’-15’ = *Alamdimmū* VIII 16 (Böck 2000: 109).

<sup>20</sup> Finkel 1998: 97; Stol 2009-2011: 610. For the manual of the incantation priests, see Zimmern 1915: 206-229; Bottéro 1975: 95-144; Geller 2000; Jean 2006: 62-82; Bácskay – Simkó 2012.

<sup>21</sup> This possibility will be investigated in another study.

applied on the patient's head as washing agent (*mesû*) or ointment (*pašāšû*); some of these therapies are *simplicia*-based. The recipes employed for *ekketu* and *rišûtu* mentions various minerals (e.g., sulphur) that were either burnt or mixed with oil and applied in the form of salve. The disease *sāmānu* was also cured with salves, while sometimes dried and crushed drugs were scattered over the patient's skin, and bandages were put on afterwards. The medicine for *sāmānu* consists of a great number of drugs, including powder from various plants and sites as the representative ingredient in both recipes.

The second column of BAM 494 contains prescriptions, incantations and accompanying rituals against the disease *ašû* and some other complementary complaints (*miqtu*, hair loss). The first part of the column (BAM 494 ii 1-30) lists 18 therapeutic prescriptions. This is followed by a section of two incantations and the corresponding two rituals (BAM 494 ii 31-40); in this section the rubric KA.INIM.MA MAŠ.TAB.BA.KE<sub>4</sub> occurs twice (BAM 494 ii 35 and 39). The language of the first incantation seems to be Akkadian, accompanied with magical formulas like *hulqi* and *haltib*. The meaning of the second incantation, written with logograms, is far from certain, although the repetition of the sign EDIN would suggest that it belongs to the corpus of meaningless abracadabra incantations. The next passage (BAM 494 ii 41-46) contains four prescriptions; two of them (BAM 494 ii 41 and 42) appear to be quotations from the therapeutic vademecum BAM 426 ii' 13'-14' and from the pharmacological list BAM 1 i 62. Then, another abracadabra incantation and ritual description (BAM 494 ii 47-52), as well as further recipes follow (BAM 494 ii 53-55). The remaining part of the column presents one further abracadabra incantation together with its ritual (BAM 494 ii 56-58) and therapeutic prescriptions (BAM 494 ii 59-77), some of which are separated not only by dividing lines, but also by *Glossenkeil* (two prescriptions in line 71 and three prescriptions in line 72). Among the therapies discussed in this column, the internal application of medicine, made of various healing plants and liquids, is quite common. The medicine was usually drunk, while sometimes it also had to be sniffed into the nostrils by using a reed tube. As for the external application of medicine, the column mentions fumigation and salves.

The third column of BAM 494 presents therapeutic prescriptions, incantations and rituals against the skin problems called *guraštu* and *kurāru*. First, the disease *guraštu* is treated in six prescriptions (BAM 494 iii 1-6), which list different plants (e.g., 'white plant,' *urānu* and *aktam*) and animals (e.g., *sāmānu* insect) as healing drugs. These drugs had to be crushed and mixed with some kind of liquid (generally oil). Then, the mixture had to be used externally on the skin as washing agent or ointment. In addition, complex therapeutic procedures, including

both washing and salving, are also attested in the first part of the column. Due to the fragmentary condition of the tablet, the content of the next section (BAM 494 iii 9-19') is unknown. After a break of approximately ten lines, a long passage follows up to the end of the column (BAM 494 iii 20'-78''). This passage presents at least 16 prescriptions (BAM 494 iii 20'-63'') and six incantations with their accompanying rituals (BAM 494 iii 64''-78''); they all were employed for the boil *kurāru*. Most incantations seem to be abracadabra consisting of words that sometimes appear to be Akkadian or Sumerian, but they do not make a comprehensive text. On the other hand, two clearly Akkadian incantations also occur in this passage (BAM 494 iii 72'' and 73''). The therapies against *kurāru* are mostly salves made of various healing plants, minerals and other materials (e.g., different flours), which had to be mixed in different liquids (e.g., oil or ghee). Many prescriptions describe complex treatments where both salves and bandages were applied for several days. During these days, the diseased part of the head had to be washed, salved and bandaged many times, while in one recipe the boil *kurāru* also had to be shaved (*gullubu*).

Although only a few lines remained of the fourth column of BAM 494, a substantial portion of its text can be reconstructed with the help of parallel passages. The first two fragmentary lines might have contained a rubric and an incantation; the incantation is very similar to the one in BAM 494 iii 72''. These lines are followed by the description of a ritual (BAM 494 iv 3-6), which comprised a complex therapy: different drugs had to be smeared and scattered repeatedly over the surface of the sore, until it could be peeled away (*kāšu*) with the help of a golden ring. The fourth column of BAM 494 closes with two further prescriptions, to be employed for hair loss (*gurrudu*) (BAM 494 iv 8-10).

### Earlier studies

The first autograph copies of the fragments belonging to the tablet whose edition is provided in this paper, appeared in Ebeling's *Keilschrifttexte medizinischen Inhalts* (KMI),<sup>22</sup> followed by Thompson's *Assyrian Medical Texts* (AMT) where not only the KMI-fragments were republished, but also some hitherto unknown texts.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Thompson has translated

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<sup>22</sup> K 6560 = KMI 47; K 10562 = KMI 48; K 11546 = KMI 46; Sm 414 = KMI 45; K 8074 = KMI 43; K 13502 = KMI 44.

<sup>23</sup> K 6684 = AMT 1, 2; K 6224 = AMT 3, 5; K 6560 = AMT 17, 1; K 7953 + 8999 = AMT 64, 1 / AMT 65, 5; K 9173 = AMT 4, 2; K 9192 = AMT 67, 4; K 10416 = AMT 37, 1; K 10460 = AMT 37, 3; K 10562 = AMT 7, 3; K 11546 = AMT 77, 4; K 15435 = AMT 88, 6; K 15532 = AMT 65, 8; K 16403 = AMT 19, 4; Sm 414 = AMT 6, 5; K 8074 = AMT 5, 5; K 13502 = AMT 2, 3.

most of these fragments, and also indicated the first joins.<sup>24</sup> From the AMT-fragments and one other piece (BM 134589) this tablet was finally put together by Köcher who published it in cuneiform copy as the 494th text of his six-volume *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (BAM).<sup>25</sup> Since the hand-copy of BAM 494 was published, the most comprehensive work dealing with this tablet has been that of Böck's who edited BAM 494 iii 20'-iv 6 in her paper discussing the boil *kurāru*.<sup>26</sup> Parts of the tablet were transliterated and translated later by Fincke, while editing the text BM 41282 (+) BM 41294 (= ms. C),<sup>27</sup> as well as by Scurlock who concentrated mainly on the symptom descriptions, and the passages duplicating BAM 156 (= ms. P).<sup>28</sup> In addition, the parallels between BAM 3 (= ms. D) and BAM 494 have also been taken into consideration by Worthington in his paper containing the edition of the former text.<sup>29</sup>

It must be noted that BAM 494 has not yet been edited as a whole. This article presents its transliteration, together with the parallels in *Partitur* format. The transliteration is accompanied by a translation and commentaries on the difficult passages.

## Manuscripts

Out of the eighteen manuscripts that could be included into the *Partitur* edition, BAM 34 (= ms. Q) and AMT 25, 8 (= ms. M) are complete duplicates of BAM 494. The other sixteen manuscripts are parallels duplicating a longer or shorter section of the text. The majority of them was written in the Neo-Assyrian period; Neo- and Late-Babylonian manuscripts are BM 41282 (+) BM 41294 (= ms. B) and BAM 387 (= ms. N).<sup>30</sup>

A. BAM 494

B. BM 41282 (+) BM 41294 (Fincke 2011: 189 and 192) i 13'-14' (= A i 30'-31'), ii 5'-7' (= A i 33'-34'), ii 23'-24' (= A i 28'-29')

C. Sm 950 (CT 23 50) i 5-6 (= A i 30'-31')

D. VAT 9029 (BAM 3) i 37-39 (= A ii 29), ii 3-4 (= A i 33'), ii 32-35 (= A iv 8-10)

E. A 259 (BAM 33) 19 (catch-line) (= A i 33')

<sup>24</sup> Thompson 1924: 2-5, 9-10 13-14, 18-22; Thompson 1926: 49-50; Thompson 1929: 67-72; Thompson 1934: 15-16.

<sup>25</sup> Note that Köcher also drew attention to the separately published fragments AMT 6, 1 and BAM 511, which might be non-physical joins to BAM 494 (BAM V pp. xxix-xxx; BAM VI p. xi).

<sup>26</sup> Böck 2003: 167-181.

<sup>27</sup> Fincke 2011. See especially pp. 182, 185, 199, 201 and 202.

<sup>28</sup> Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 20 no. 2.24, 63 no. 3.174, 214 no. 10.33, 226 nos. 10.98 and 10.99, 234 no. 10.141, 240 no. 10.176. For the duplicates, see Scurlock 2014: 715-716, 722.

<sup>29</sup> Worthington 2006. See especially pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> Note that BAM 481 (= ms. H) is also written in Neo-Babylonian script.



- F. K 54 (BAM 497) ii 12'-13' (= A iii 69''), ii 14'-16' (= A ii 29), ii 17'-iii 1 (= A ii 14-15)  
 G. K 2424+ (BAM 498) iv 2-11 (= A ii 16-22)  
 H. K 10212+ (BAM 481) + K 17205 obv. 10' (= A ii 23)  
 I. K 8346 (AMT 1, 3) 7' (= A iii 69''), 11' (= A ii 23), 13'-14' (= A ii 25-26)  
 J. K 15216 (BAM 495) ii' 1'-6' (= A ii 37-40), ii' 7'-9' (= A ii 29), ii 10'-11' (= A ii 30)  
 K. K 6206 (AMT 16, 4) 1'-5' (= A ii 40-44), 6'-15' (= A ii 47-53)  
 L. K 10624+ (BAM 500) i 1'-14' (= A ii 28-38)  
**M. K 16449 (AMT 25, 8) (= A ii 53-57)**  
 N. VAT 400 (BAM 387) obv. 1-7 (= A ii 59-60), rev. 1-3 (= A ii 61)  
 O. VAT 13779 (BAM 155) iii 3'-4' (= A iii 5)  
 P. A 238+ (BAM 156) 25-31 (= A iii 24'-26'), 32-39 (= A iii 31'-35'), 40 (= A iii 40'')  
**Q. AO 7482 (BAM 34) (= A iii 75''-iv 10')**  
 R. AO 11447 (Labat 1959: 110-13; Geller 2007: 5-6) obv. 43 (= A iii 47''), 44 (= A iii 49'')  
 S. S.U 52/207 (STT 99) obv. 6'-7' (= A iii 21'-22')

## Transliteration

i

Ai 26'	[.....] 'x' -su ŠÉŠ-ma T[I?]
Ai 27'	[.....] <i>kal-m</i> ]a-tu <sub>4</sub> ul i-sa-niq-[šú]
Ai 28'	[.....] 'x x' [...] 'x' ḫa NU GÁL ŠUB TU <sub>5</sub> -šú-ma Uḫ NU T[E-šú]
Bii 23'	<i>ana</i> NA 'Uḫ NU TE <sup>e</sup> -m[a.....] U]ḫ NU TE-'šú'
Ai 29'	[.....] <i>ina</i> Ì.GIŠ <i>e-re-ni</i> ḫI.ḫI EŠ.M[EŠ(-su)]
Bii 24'	<i>ana</i> KIMIN <i>er-ri</i> 'ú?' [.....] ḫI.ḫI ŠÉŠ.ŠÉŠ-su
Ai 30'	[DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su <i>kal-m</i> ]a-ta <sub>5</sub> ma-tu-uq-ta ma-li <sup>ú</sup> <i>mu-ur-ru</i> MU.N[I]
Bi 13'	[DIŠ KIMIN <sup>ú</sup> <i>mur-r</i> ]u
Ci 5	[DIŠ KIMIN] <sup>ú</sup> <i>mur-ru</i> MU.NI
Ai 31'	[.....] <i>za-ku-ti-šú i-na-pa-aḫ-ma</i> TI-š[u]
Bi 13'-14'	ḫÁD.DU SÚD <i>ina</i> 'A' ḫI.ḫI 'SAG'-su [MAR?] / [.....] z]a-'ku'-ti-šú MÚ <sup>r</sup> ah <sup>7</sup> <sup>ú</sup> IGI- <i>lim</i> <i>ina</i> Ì gišEREN ḫI.ḫI ŠÉŠ.MEŠ
Ci 5-6	ḫÁD.A SÚD <i>ina</i> A ḫI.ḫI [.....] / ŠE <sub>10</sub> <sup>zu-u</sup> ŠÉŠ <i>za-ku-ti-šú</i> MÚ <sup>r</sup> ah <sup>7</sup> <sup>ú</sup> IGI- <i>lim</i> <i>ina</i> Ì gišEREN ḫI.ḫI [.....]
Ai 32'	[ <i>ana kal-ma-tú</i> ] 'la ba'-ši-i gišURI SÚD <i>ina</i> Ì.GIŠ BÁRA' ŠÉŠ <i>kal-ma-tú ul ib-ba-áš-ši</i>

- A<sub>i</sub> 33' DIŠ NA SA[G.DU-s]u *ek-ke-ta u ri-šu-ta* DIRI PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ÍD SÚD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup>e-re-ni ҒI.ҒI EŠ.MEŠ-su
- B<sub>ii</sub> 5' [.....] 'x' DIRI PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>ÍD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup>EREN ҒI.ҒI S[AG.DU-su ŠÉŠ]
- D<sub>ii</sub> 3-4 DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su *ek-ke-ta<sub>5</sub> u ri-šu-ta<sub>5</sub>* DIRI PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>Í[D] / SÚD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup>EREN ҒI.ҒI ŠÉŠ-su-ma DIN<sup>ut</sup>
- E<sub>19</sub> [.....SAG.D]U-su *ek-ke-ta u [r]i-šu-ta* DIRI
- 
- A<sub>i</sub> 34' DIŠ KIMIN PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>d</sup>Í[D] *ta-qal-lu ina Ì.GIŠ SAG.DU-su tu-kàš-ša id-ra šá* MUN *ta-qal-lu ina Ì SAG.DU-su tu-kàš-ša*
- B<sub>ii</sub> 6'-7' [.....SA]G.DU-su *tu-kàš-ša* KUD.'RA' : *id-ra-nu 'ta-qal-lu' / [..... SAG.DU-s]u tu-kàš-ša*
- 
- A<sub>i</sub> 35' DIŠ NA SAG.D[U-s]u *sa-ma-nu* DAB<sup>it</sup> *i-raš-ši-šum-ma i-na-saḫ i-na-aḫ* 'EGIR'<sup>nu</sup> GAL<sup>bi</sup> NUMUN <sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>
- A<sub>i</sub> 36' SAḪAR ŠE.GIŠ.'Ì'<sup>31</sup> [x (x)] SAḪAR *di-ki(?)*<sup>32</sup> <sup>giš</sup>DÌḪ 'SAḪAR ŠE'.GIŠ.Ì SAḪAR MUNU<sub>4</sub> ŠE<sub>10</sub> TU<sup>mušen</sup>.MEŠ *šá* <sup>giš</sup>'GIŠIMMAR.KUR'.RA ḪÁD.DU<sup>ti</sup>
- A<sub>i</sub> 37' NUMUN <sup>ú</sup>DILI [DIŠ<sup>niš</sup>(?)<sup>33</sup> S]ÚD ina A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> KÚM<sup>ti</sup> SILA<sub>11</sub><sup>as</sup> SAG.DU-su SAR<sup>ab</sup> *tu-kàš-ša* LAL
- 
- A<sub>i</sub> 38' *šá* KA *ṭup-'pi'* DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su *sa-ma-nu* DAB<sup>it</sup> SAḪAR KUN<sub>4</sub> *ša* <sup>na4</sup>*pu-li ša É* SUM[UN]
- A<sub>i</sub> 39' Ú BABBAR 'SIG<sub>7</sub>'-su UD<sup>ma</sup> ina ŠÀ <sup>giš</sup>*ár-ga-ni* GAL<sup>bi</sup> NUMUN <sup>ú</sup>EME.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> SAḪAR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *šá* SUḪUŠ *maš-ḫal-t[i]*
- A<sub>i</sub> 40' GAZ DUḪ.ŠE.'GIŠ.Ì' ḪÁD.A UŠ MUNU<sub>4</sub> ŠE<sub>10</sub> TU<sup>mušen</sup> *ḫa-šab-ti* <sup>na4</sup>PEŠ<sub>4</sub> NUMUN <sup>ú</sup>DILI 9 Ú.ҒI.A ŠEŠ DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> SÚD
- A<sub>i</sub> 41' SAG.DU-su [ina Ì.G]IŠ MÚD <sup>giš</sup>EREN EŠ.MEŠ Ú.ҒI.A *an-nu-ti ana* UGU MAR LAL-su-ma TI
- 
- A<sub>i</sub> 42' 'DIŠ NA' SAG.DU-[su *gir-giš-š*]um(?) DAB<sup>it</sup> *a-la-pa-a šá* IGI A.MEŠ SAḪAR *a-sur-re-e šá* ŠAḪ ŠE<sub>10</sub> PÉŠ <sup>giš</sup>ḪUR.'SAG'
- A<sub>i</sub> 43' [.....] 'x' <sup>giš</sup>'TASKARIN KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>KIŠI<sub>16</sub> *šá* ina *pi-ti-iq-ti'-šú* *i-ra-bu-ú bar-ša* SUḪU[Š.....]
- A<sub>i</sub> 44' [.....PA] <sup>giš</sup>'sír-di PA <sup>giš</sup>*bi-ni* PA <sup>giš</sup>ŠE.NU ZÍD GÚ.GAL ZÍD GÚ.TUR ZÍD ŠE.SA.A L[AL-su-ma TI?]

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Kinnier Wilson 1994: 113.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Kinnier Wilson 1994: 113.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Kinnier Wilson 1994: 113.

- Ai 45' [.....DA]B<sup>it</sup> *a-la-pa-a šá* IGI A.M[EŠ.....]
- Ai 46' [.....] 'x x x' [.....]
- ii
- Aii 1 [.....š<sup>im</sup>GÚR.GÚR š<sup>im</sup>LI ú<sup>r</sup>KUR.KUR' [.....]
- Aii 2 [.....] 'x' a *ni-kip-ta<sub>5</sub> DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> SÚD* [.....]
- 
- Aii 3 [.....] 'a' -*šu-ú* SAG 'NA x x' [.....]
- 
- Aii 4 [DIŠ NA S]AG.DU-*su a-š[u-ú DAB<sup>it</sup>*.....]
- Aii 5 [.....] 'x' š<sup>im</sup>GÚR.GÚR š<sup>im</sup>[.....]
- Aii 6 [.....] SIM KI GÚ.T[UR.....]
- 
- Aii 7 [DIŠ NA SA]G.DU-*su a-š[u-ú DAB<sup>it</sup>*.....]
- Aii 8 [.....] 'x x' [.....]
- Aii 9 [.....] 'x' *ana* K[A.....*na*]-*hi-ri* [.....]
- 
- Aii 10 [DIŠ NA S]AG.D[U-*su a-š[u-u DAB<sup>it</sup>* 'x' [.....]
- Aii 11 [.....] 'x' *ina* KAŠ.SAG NAG-*šú*' [.....]
- 
- Aii 12 [.....] 'x' SAG.DU-*šú* DAB<sup>it</sup> SUĤU[Š.....]
- Aii 13 [.....] 'x' [.....] *ba-lu pa-tan* NAG-*šú* 'x' [.....]
- 
- Aii 14 DIŠ NA *a-šu-[ú] lu ŠUB<sup>tu</sup> DAB-su 10 GÍN saḥ-lé-e k[ab-ra-ti* .....  
.....]
- Fii 17'-18' DIŠ NA *a-šu-ú u ŠUB<sup>tu</sup> DAB-su 10 GÍN saḥ-lé-e kab-ra-ti ina* A.MEŠ SÚD / *ina*  
A.MEŠ SUĤU[R]<sup>ku6</sup>.MEŠ *tur-ár* BAR-*šú-nu*
- Aii 15 *ú-nu-u[t ŠÀ-š]ú-nu ta-tab-bal tu-šá-bal ina ŠU-ka ta-pa-šá-<sup>r</sup>áš'* [.....]
- Fii 18'-iii 1 *ú-nu-ut ŠÀ-šú-nu ta-tab-bal tu-šá-bal* / [.....]
- 
- Aii 16 DIŠ NA *a-šu-<sup>r</sup>ú'* [.....] 'x' DAB-*su 5 GÍN* ú<sup>r</sup>[.....GA]ZI<sup>sar</sup> GAZ-*ma*  
<sup>dug</sup>BUR.ZI] <sup>dug</sup>UTUL<sub>7</sub> 'ta-pal'-[*la-aš*]
- Giv 2-3 [.....]-*su 5* 'GÍN ú<sup>r</sup>[.....GA]ZI<sup>sar</sup> GAZ-*ma* /  
[<sup>dug</sup>ÚTUL <sup>dug</sup>B]UR.ZI ta-<sup>r</sup>pal'-*la-aš*
- Aii 17 IGI <sup>dug</sup>UTUL<sub>7</sub> *i[na NÍG.SILA<sub>11</sub>.G]Á ÁŠ.A.AN ÚŠ<sup>hi</sup> IZI ta-šár-rap* <sup>gi</sup>SAG.[KUD ta-  
*pal-l]a-aš-ma ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>at</sup> <sup>dug</sup>BUR.ZI 'ta-sà'-*niš*
- Giv 3-4 IGI <sup>dug</sup>ÚTUL [*ina NÍG.SIL]A<sub>11</sub>.GÁ ÁŠ.A.AN ÚŠ<sup>hi</sup> / [.....<sup>gi</sup>]SAG.KUD ta-  
*pal-la-aš-ma ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>at</sup> <sup>du</sup>[<sup>g</sup>BUR. ZI] ta-sà'-*niš**
- Aii 18 [.....] <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD E<sub>11</sub><sup>a</sup> *ina* KA-*šú* GÍD<sup>ad</sup> 'x' [.....  
.....ŠEG<sub>6</sub>]<sup>r<sup>al</sup></sup> A.UZU *u* UZU AL.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA GU<sub>7</sub>-*ma ina-eš*

- G<sub>iv</sub> 5-6 [.....u]š<sup>?</sup> <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD È<sup>a</sup> ina K[A-šú GÍ]D<sup>ad</sup> / [.....  
.....] ŠEG<sup>al</sup> A.UZU u UZU AL.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R[A.....] ina-eš
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 19 [.....] DAB<sup>it</sup> IM.KAL SÚD ina [.....NAG].MEŠ<sup>ma</sup> TI<sup>ut</sup>
- G<sub>iv</sub> 7 [.....DA]B<sup>it</sup> IM.KAL SÚD ina KAŠ.SAG [.....T]I
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 20 [.....] <sup>r</sup>DAB<sup>it</sup> <sup>7</sup>it u <sup>7</sup>it<sup>r</sup> ŠE.MEŠ ina IZ[I.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> ha-an-za-a šá ŠÀ GI DU<sub>10</sub>.GA TI<sup>qi</sup>
- G<sub>iv</sub> 8-9 [.....] <sup>r</sup>DAB<sup>it</sup> <sup>7</sup>it u <sup>7</sup>it<sup>r</sup> ŠE.MEŠ ina [.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> / [.....Š]À GI DU<sub>10</sub>.GA TI<sup>qe</sup>
- A<sub>ii</sub> 21 [.....] an ina KA-šú ú-la-a<sup>’</sup>-[at-ma ana n]a-*hi-ri-šú* in-niq-ma TI<sup>ut</sup>
- G<sub>iv</sub> 9-10 ina [.....] / [..... K]A-šú ú-la-a<sup>’</sup>-at-ma ana na-*hi-ri-šú*.....]
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 22 [.....tu]r-ár SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ u KAŠ.[SAG] NAG<sup>ma</sup> T[I<sup>ut</sup>]
- G<sub>iv</sub> 11 [.....SÚ]D ina Ì.GIŠ u KAŠ.SAG [.....]
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 23 [.....SAG.DU]-su <a-šá-a> a-*hi-iz eriš*<sub>6</sub>-ti GAZI<sup>sar</sup> NUMUN<sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub> [.....  
.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>.ME-šú ŠÉS.MEŠ T[I<sup>ut</sup>]
- H<sub>obv.</sub> 10<sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup>DIŠ NA<sup>r</sup> SAG.DU-su a-šá-a a-*hi-iz* GAZI<sup>sar</sup> LAL <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [.....  
.....]
- I<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup> [.....a-šú]-<sup>r</sup>ú a-*hi*<sup>r</sup>-iz e-riš-ti GAZI<sup>sar</sup> LÁL NUMUN<sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub> ina Ì  
SÚD SAG.DU-su E[Š<sup>?</sup>.....]
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 24 [.....D]IDA SIG<sub>5</sub> LAL<sup>id</sup> saḫ-lé-e ÀRA<sup>tim</sup> ana U[GU.....š]ú<sup>?</sup> GAR<sup>an</sup>-ma [.....]
- A<sub>ii</sub> 25 [.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> tu-zak ina UL tuš-bat ba-lu pa-tan NAG-šú DIŠ K[IMIN<sup>?</sup>.....  
.....šur-š]um-me KAŠ <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [x x x]
- I<sub>13</sub><sup>r</sup> [.....] pa-tan NAG Ì u KAŠ NAG.NAG<sup>ma</sup>  
BURU<sub>8</sub> 1/2 SÌLA šur-šum-me KAŠ 1/2 SÌLA <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [.....]
- A<sub>ii</sub> 26 [.....] iš-tu e-liš ana šap-liš tu-maš-šad <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [.....] LAL<sup>ma</sup> [(x)] TI
- I<sub>14</sub><sup>r</sup> [.....A]N.TA ana KI.TA tu-maš-šad UD 10.KÁM LÁL
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 27 [..... DAB]IN ina KAŠ ta-sàk SAG.DU-su ŠED<sub>7</sub> NUMUN<sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub> SÚD ina Ì ҀI.ҀI [I  
ina<sup>urudu</sup>Š[EN.TU]R ŠE[G<sup>sal</sup> E]Š.MEŠ<sup>ma</sup> TI
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 28 [.....a-šú]-u DAB<sup>it</sup> ILLU<sup>šim</sup>BULUḪ<sup>šim</sup>BAL ina NE SAR-šú ana na-*hi-r*[i-šú  
M]Ú<sup>?</sup>.M[Ú<sup>?</sup>-m]a TI
- L<sub>i</sub> 1<sup>r</sup> [.....] a-šú-ú <sup>r</sup>DAB<sup>it</sup> [.....  
.....]
- 
- A<sub>ii</sub> 29 [DIŠ KIMIN<sup>šim</sup>]ḪAB ILLU<sup>šim</sup>BULUḪ<sup>ú</sup>KUR.GI.RÍN.NA ina NE ŠUB na-  
*hi-ri-šú tu-qat-tar* Ì.GIŠ KA KI[R<sub>4</sub> ... MÚ<sup>?</sup>].MÚ<sup>?</sup>-ma TI

D<sub>i</sub> 37-39 DIŠ NA *a-šu-ú* DAB-su šim<sup>š</sup>HAB ILLU šim<sup>š</sup>BULUḪ <sup>ú</sup>*kur-ka-nu* / *ana* IGI NE ŠUB<sup>di</sup>  
MÚ-ši *qut-ru ana* KA-šú *u na-ḫi-ri-šú* KU<sub>4</sub><sup>ub</sup> / EGIR-šú Ì *ḫal-ša ina* <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *ana*  
*na-ḫi-ri-šú* MÚ-ma DIN<sup>ut</sup>

F<sub>ii</sub> 14'-16' [.....] DAB<sup>it</sup> šim<sup>š</sup>HAB ILLU šim<sup>š</sup>BULUḪ <sup>ú</sup>KUR.GIRIN.NA *ana* IGI NE ŠUB /  
[*na-ḫ*]i-ri-šú SAR *qut-ra ana* KA-šú *u na-ḫi-ri-šú* KU<sub>4</sub><sup>ub</sup> / [EGIR-šú] Ì *ḫal-ša ina*  
<sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *a-na na-ḫi-ri-šú* BÚN-ma TI

J<sub>ii</sub> 7'-9' [DIŠ N]A *a-šu-ú* DAB-su šim<sup>š</sup>HAB I[LLU .....  
.....] / [K]A-šú ù *na-ḫi-ri-šú tu-qat-t[ar]* / [EGIR-šú] Ì.GIŠ *ḫal-ša ina* <sup>g</sup>[SAG.KUD  
.....]

L<sub>i</sub> 2'-3' [DIŠ KIMI]N šim<sup>š</sup>HAB ILLU šim<sup>š</sup>BULUḪ [.....  
.....] / [*na-ḫ*]i-ri-šú *tu-qat-tar* Ì.GIŠ KA KIR<sub>4</sub> 'x' [.....]

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A<sub>ii</sub> 30 [DIŠ NA *a-šu-ú*]-u DAB-su <sup>ú</sup>IGI-lim <sup>ú</sup>KUR.KUR NUMUN GAZI<sup>sar</sup> NUMUN  
<sup>ú</sup>ÁB.DUḪ Ú MAŠ.TAB.BA *ina* Ì ŠÉ[Š .....] 'SAR'-šú

J<sub>ii</sub> 10'-11' [.....] <sup>ú</sup>KUR.KUR N[UMUN ...] / [.....]  
'x x' [.....]

L<sub>i</sub> 4'-5' [DIŠ N]A *a-šu-ú* DAB-su <sup>ú</sup>IGI-lim [.....] / [NUM]UN <sup>ú</sup>ÁB.DUḪ  
Ú MAŠ.TAB.BA *ina* Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ-su [.....]

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A<sub>ii</sub> 31 [ÉN qar].ra.ti.ia qar.ra'.ti.ia ti.ti qar.ra.ti.ia šu.ša.aḫ ša.aḫ *u* qar.[ra.ti.ia]-ma

L<sub>i</sub> 6'-7' [É]N qar.ra.ti.ia qar.ra.ti.ia t[i.ti qar].ra.t[i.ia] / [š]u.ša.aḫ ša.aḫ ù qar.ra.ti.ia-ma

A<sub>ii</sub> 32 [ḫu.ul.qi]i ḫu.ul.qi ḫa.al.ti.ib ḫa.al.ti.ib *ia-nu-um-ma te-ne-eš-ma* [.....n]a

L<sub>i</sub> 7'-8' ḫu.[ul.qi]i ḫu.ul.'qi' / ḫa.al.ti.ib ḫa.al.ti.ib : *ia-nu-um-[ma.....]* 'x' mar 7 na

A<sub>ii</sub> 33 [di.ḫu.u]n di.ḫu.un *du-li rap-šu-ma* KÚM-šú-nu *i-na-a-a[š m]a-a'-du-ma* la' [.....]

L<sub>i</sub> 9'-10' di.ḫu.un di.'ḫu.un *du-li*' [.....]-'nu' *i-na-áš / ma-a'-du-m[a.....]*

A<sub>ii</sub> 34 [.....] *a-šu-ú šá a-me-lu-ti* T[U<sub>6</sub>.ÉN]

L<sub>i</sub> 10' [.....] 'a'-me-lu-ti ÉN

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A<sub>ii</sub> 35 [KA].INIM.MA MAŠ.TAB.BA.[KE<sub>4</sub>]

L<sub>i</sub> 11' 'KA'.[INIM.MA MAŠ.T]AB.BA.KE<sub>4</sub>

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A<sub>ii</sub> 36 [DÚ.DÚ].BI GAZI<sup>sar</sup> šim<sup>š</sup>GÚR.GÚR Ú *a-ši-i ina* NE 'SAR'-šú ÉN *an-ni-ta*<sub>5</sub> 3-šú  
ŠI[D<sup>nu</sup>-ma TI]

L<sub>i</sub> 12' [.....] *an-ni-t*]a<sub>5</sub> 3-šú  
ŠID<sup>nu</sup>-ma TI

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A<sub>ii</sub> 37 [ÉN] edin lal edin na edin lal edin na 'edin' ki gir si ga edin ki [x x x]

J<sub>ii</sub> 1'-2' 'ÉN' [.....] / edin k[I .....]

- Li 13'-14' [..... gi]r si ge<sub>5</sub> / [... ..]
- Aii 38 [...] mul ra ku ú ma an du 'x x x?' na mul.mul da ta [ÉN]
- Jii' 2'-3' [.....] / ú su nu 'x' [.....]
- Li 14' [.....] ta É[N]
- 
- Aii 39 [K]A.INIM.MA MAŠ.TAB.B[A.KE<sub>4</sub>]
- Jii' 4' KA.INIM.MA [.....]
- 
- Aii 40 'DÙ'.DÙ.BI <sup>ú</sup>ÁB.DUḪ ta-pa-a[š.....] ḪI.ḪI ÉN 3-šú ŠID<sup>nu</sup> ŠÉŠ.ŠÉ[Š x x x]
- Jii' 5'-6' DÙ.DÙ.BI <sup>ú</sup>ÁB.DUḪ 'ta'-[pa-aš .....] / 'ÉN' 7-šú ana UGU ŠID [.....]
- K1' [.....] '<sup>ú</sup>ÁB.DUḪ ta-pa-aš ina Ì.GIŠ' [.....]
- 
- Aii 41 'Ú a-ši-i KUD<sup>si</sup> NUMUN [<sup>ú</sup>kám]-ka-di SÚD ina Ì.G[IŠ x x x]
- K2' 'Ú' a-ši-i KUD<sup>si</sup> NUMUN <sup>ú</sup>kám-ka-di S[ÚD.....]
- 
- Aii 42 '<sup>ú</sup>ka-man-'ta' [SÚD] ina Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ 'Ú BABBAR SÚD ina Ì.G[IŠ x x x]
- K3' '<sup>ú</sup>ka-man-ta SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ 'Ú B[ABBAR.....]
- 
- Aii 43 [<sup>ú</sup>ḫa-š]u-u '<sup>ú</sup>[ḪAB] saḫ-lé-e <sup>ú</sup>zi-bu-u 'Ú BABBAR ILLU [x x x]
- K4' '<sup>ú</sup>ḫa-šu-ú <sup>ú</sup>ḪAB ZÀ.ḪI.LI <sup>ú</sup>zi-bu-ú 'Ú B[ABBAR.....]
- Aii 44 [.....] TÉŠ.BI ta-sàk ina Ì.GIŠ u KAŠ.SAG NAG.MEŠ-ma [x x]
- K5' [ŠI]M.BI.KÙ.GI TÉŠ.BI ta-sàk ina Ì.GIŠ u KAŠ.SAG NAG.ME[Š.....]
- 
- Aii 45 [.....DA]B-su ana TI-šú 'Ú BABBAR U<sub>5</sub>.ARGAB<sup>mušen</sup> MUN eme-sal-lim  
<sup>ú</sup>KUR.RA 'x' [x x]
- Aii 46 [.....] 'x' SAG.DU-su LUḪ<sup>si</sup> GUR-ma ta-bi-lam ana SAG.DU-šú MAR  
sígÀKA NIGI[N x x]
- 
- Aii 47 [.....] 'gi.im.ma an' [.....š]u.uḫ.di.am 'x' [x x]
- K6' [.....i]š.ka.gi.im.ma an.ki.min: šu.uḫ.di.am [.....]
- Aii 48 [.....]
- K7' [.....] 'x' ud aš.šim.ḫi iš.ka.ki.im.ma te.eš.a T[U<sub>6</sub>. ÉN]
- 
- Aii 49 [.....SÌG] <sup>ras</sup>-su  
u SAG.KI'.[MEŠ-šú x x (x)]
- K8'-9' [K]A.INIM.MA a-šu-ú DAB-su-ma A.MEŠ ina nap-pa-še-šú D[U<sup>ak</sup>....] / [SÌ]G<sup>as</sup>-su u  
SAG.KI.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub> [.....]
- 
- Aii 50 [DÙ.DÙ.BI(?)...... Š]À ŠID<sup>nu</sup> ana na-ḫi-  
r[i-šú MÚ?]
- K 10' [...G]I DU<sub>10</sub>.GA u MÚD <sup>giš</sup>EREN DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> ḪI.ḪI ÉN 3-šú ana Š[À .....  
.....]

Aii 51	[.....] <i>ba-a]ḫ-ra</i> GU <sub>7</sub> <i>ba-aḫ-ra</i> NAG-[ <i>ma</i> x (x)]
K <sub>11'-12'</sub>	[.....] 'x' DUB SAG.DU- <i>su</i> u GABA- <i>su</i> [.....] / [.....] 'x' DUL-šú <i>baḫ-ra</i> GU <sub>7</sub> <i>baḫ-ra</i> NAG- <i>ma</i> [.....]
Aii 52	[.....] <sup>ru</sup> ÁB.DUḪ Ú MAŠ.TAB.BA <i>ina</i> Ì.GIŠ Š[ÉŠ x (x)]
K <sub>13'-14'</sub>	[... DA]B <sup>2</sup> - <sup>su</sup> <sup>u</sup> IGI- <i>lim</i> <sup>u</sup> KUR.KUR [.....] / [.....] Ú M]AŠ.TAB.BA <i>ina</i> Ì.GIŠ Š[ÉŠ.....]
Aii 53	[.....] <i>i]t<sup>2</sup>-ta-mu-uḫ</i> 'x' [x (x)]
K <sub>15'</sub>	[.....] <i>it-ta]-<sup>mu</sup>-uḫ</i> [.....] <sup>34</sup>
M <sub>1'-2'</sub>	[.....] 'x an' x x' [.....] / [.....] <i>it-ta-mu-u]ḫ</i> [.....]
Aii 54	[.....] <i>a-šá-a</i> KA 'x' [x (x)]
M <sub>3'</sub>	[.....] <i>a-šá-a</i> [.....]
Aii 55	[.....] <sup>u</sup> <i>aš-lim</i> <i>ina</i> NE SAR-šú- <i>ma</i> MAŠ.TAB.BA Z[I]
M <sub>4'</sub>	[.....] 'x' NUMUN <sup>u</sup> <i>aš-lim</i> <i>ina</i> NE SAR-šú- <i>ma</i> M[AŠ.TAB.BA ZI]
Aii 56	[.....] 'x' pa ú.pa.ak ú.pa.ak T[U <sub>6</sub> .ÉN]
M <sub>5'-6'</sub>	[...] 'ú' pa.ak ba.ap.pa [...] / [.....] ú.pa.a]k TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
Aii 57	[.....] D]Û.DÛ.BI A <sup>giš</sup> NU.ÚR.MA 'x' [x (x)]
M <sub>7'</sub>	[.....] <sup>gi</sup> ]šNU.'ÚR'.M[A.....]
Aii 58	[.....] 'x' <i>ana</i> KA-šú <i>ta-šap-pak-[ma]</i> 'ina'-[ <i>eš</i> <sup>2</sup> ]
Aii 59	[.....] 'x' NUMUN <sup>u</sup> KU <sub>6</sub> <sup>u</sup> <i>tar-muš</i> <sup>u</sup> IGI- <sup>u</sup> <i>lim</i> <sup>u</sup> IGI.NIŠ <i>ina</i> [Ì]
N <sub>obv. 1-4</sub>	[.....] GI]G DIRI / [.....] <sup>u</sup> K]U <sub>6</sub> <sup>u</sup> <i>tar-muš</i> / <sup>u</sup> IGI- <sup>u</sup> <i>lim</i> <sup>u</sup> IGI.NIŠ / <i>ina</i> Ì
Aii 60	[.....] G]AR <sup>an</sup> <i>ina</i> še- <i>rim</i> SAG.DU- <i>su</i> LUḪ <sup>si</sup> EŠ.MEŠ- <i>ma</i> <i>ina</i> -[ <i>eš</i> ]
N <sub>obv. 4-7</sub>	<i>ina</i> GIŠ GAM <sup>giš</sup> ÍLDAG / <i>ina</i> IGI <sup>d</sup> Gu- <i>la</i> GAR <sup>an</sup> / <i>ina</i> še- <i>rim</i> SAG.DU- <i>su</i> LUḪ <sup>si</sup> - <i>ma</i> / <i>ina-eš</i>
Aii 61	[.....] N]A <sub>4</sub> ÚKUŠ.ḪAB GAZI <sup>sar</sup> KÚM <sup>ti</sup> <i>ina</i> Ì <sup>giš</sup> <i>e-re-ni</i> ḪI.ḪI ŠÉ[Š.MEŠ]
N <sub>rev. 1-3</sub>	DIŠ KIMIN [.....] Ì.UDU ÚKUŠ.ḪAB / 'NA <sub>4</sub> ' [.....] KÚM <sup>ti</sup> / <i>ina</i> Ì <sup>giš</sup> EREN ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ.MEŠ
Aii 62	[.....] 'x' KÚM <sup>am</sup> <i>ana</i> SAG.DU-šú ŠUB[ <sup>di?</sup> ]
Aii 63	[.....] 'x' ḪI.ḪI <i>tu-kàš-ša</i> <i>ina</i> Ì <sup>giš</sup> <i>e-re-ni</i> . <i>ina</i> Ì.NUN ḪI.ḪI [x (x)]

<sup>34</sup> After G. Buisson who raised the possibility that ms. A ii 50-53 and ms. K 10'-15' are in fact parallel passages.

Aii 64	[.....] ʿxʿ SAG.DU-su LUḪ <sup>si</sup> NA <sub>4</sub> ÚKUŠ.ḪAB SÚD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup> e-re-ni [x (x)]
Aii 65	[.....] ʿxʿ ŠUB <sup>di</sup> TA <i>ib-taš-lu-u</i> SAG.DU-su EŠ.MEŠ <i>ku-lil-ta<sub>5</sub></i> ḪÁD.[DU <sup>?</sup> (x)]
Aii 66	[.....] ʿÌ.UDU BIL.ZA.ZA ina Ì.NUN ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-ma SÍG ʿÈʿ <sup>a</sup>
Aii 67	[..... ina A.GEŠT]IN.NA KALAG.GA ḪI.ḪI SAG.DU-su <i>tu-kàš-ša-ma</i> [x (x)]
Aii 68	[.....] ʿxʿ [.....] ʿxʿ-šú-ʿmaʿ ina <i>še-rim</i> ina A KÚM <sup>ti</sup> SAG.DU-s[u LUḪ <sup>?</sup> ]
Aii 69	[ina Ì <sup>?</sup> giš]e-re-ni EŠ.MEŠ Ì.UDU ÚKUŠ.ḪAB <i>tur-ʿárʿ</i> [.....] MAR <sup>ru</sup> EŠ.MEŠ-ma T[I]
Aii 70	[... Ì <sup>?</sup> giš e-r]e-ni KÚM <sup>am</sup> ana SAG.DU-šú ŠUB : DIŠ K[IMIN.....] ʿgišGEŠTINʿ.[KA <sub>5</sub> ].A SÚD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup> e-re-n[i x (x)]
Aii 71	[... PIŠ <sub>10</sub> . <sup>d</sup> ]Í[D ina] ʿliʿ-ši ḪI.ḪI EŠ.MEŠ : DIŠ KIMIN ʿPEŠ <sub>10</sub> . <sup>d</sup> IDʿ ina LÁL KUR <sup>i</sup> ḪI.ḪI EŠ.[MEŠ <sup>?</sup> (x)]
Aii 72	[...] <sup>u</sup> IN <sub>6</sub> .ÚŠ SÚD ina Ì EŠ.MEŠ : DIŠ KIMIN <sup>u</sup> ak-tam SÚD ina Ì.UDU ḪI.ḪI EŠ.MEŠ : DIŠ KIMIN <sup>u</sup> TÁL.TÁL SÚD ina Ì EŠ.[MEŠ <sup>?</sup> (x)]
Aii 73	[...] ʿ <sup>u</sup> ʿKU <sub>6</sub> ina GA ÁB : KÀŠ ÁB SÍG <sup>as</sup> SAG.DU-su LUḪ <sup>giš</sup> MAŠ.ḪUŠ <i>tur-ár</i> SÚD SAG.DU-su SAR <sup>ab</sup> Ì EŠ.MEŠ-s[u]
Aii 74	[... Ì.UDU ÚKUŠ.]ḪAB <sup>35</sup> NA <sub>4</sub> ÚKUŠ.ḪAB <i>tur-ár</i> SÚD SAG.DU-su SAR <sup>ab</sup> Ì EŠ.MEŠ LAL ŠUB LAL
Aii 75	[...] SÚD ina Ì <sup>giš</sup> e-re-ni ḪI.ḪI EŠ.MEŠ-ma SÍG È <sup>a</sup>
Aii 76	[...] SÚD SAG.DU-su EŠ.MEŠ ZÍD GÚ.GAL ZÍD GÚ.TUR <sup>u</sup> LAG.GÁN SÚD ina A GAZI <sup>sar</sup> SILA <sub>11</sub> <sup>as</sup> LAL <sup>u</sup> ak-tam NAGA.SI
Aii 77	[(x)] ina A KÚM <sup>ti</sup> SAG.DU-su LUḪ <sup>si</sup>
iii	
Aiii 1	DIŠ NA <i>gu-raš-tu</i> DIRI <sup>u</sup> KU <sub>6</sub> <sup>u</sup> ʿxʿ [.....] ʿxʿ SÚD ina Ì ḪI.ḪI [.....] SÍG È <sup>a</sup>
Aiii 2	DIŠ KIMIN <sup>u</sup> ak-tam <sup>u</sup> ÁB.DUḪ SÚD ina [.....SAG.DU-s]u LUḪ <sup>si</sup> BAR <sup>giš</sup> ʿxʿ [x] ʿxʿ <i>ta-qal-lu</i> ÀRA <sup>en</sup> MAR [(x)]
Aiii 3	DIŠ KIMIN Ì ŠÁ KU <sub>6</sub> EŠ.MEŠ [.....] ʿxʿ SÚD M[AR]
Aiii 4	DIŠ KIMIN <i>sa-ma-nam šá</i> É.GAR <sub>8</sub> <i>ta-kar-ma</i> Š[ÉŠ.....] ʿxʿ ud ina LÁL KUR <sup>i</sup> BABBAR <sup>?</sup> u A LUḪ-ma <i>ina-eš</i>

<sup>35</sup> The restoration is based on BAM 494 ii 61.



- A<sub>iii</sub> 5 Ú BABBAR <sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub> <sup>ú</sup>*ak-tam* 3 Ú *gu-[raš-ti* .....] 'x' *ina* Ì EŠ.MEŠ  
<sup>ú</sup>IGI-*lim* <sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub>
- O<sub>iii</sub> 3'-4' Ú BABBAR <sup>ú</sup>KU<sub>6</sub> <sup>ú</sup>*ak-tam* 3 Ú *gu-raš-t[i*.....] / 'KUŠ?' LUḪ<sup>si</sup> *ina* Ì.GIŠ E[Š.MEŠ]
- A<sub>iii</sub> 6 SUḪUŠ <sup>giš</sup>MAŠ.ḪUŠ SUḪUŠ <sup>giš</sup>*bi-ni* UZU.DIR 'SÚD' [.....] 'x' *ina* A SAG.DU-  
*su* LUḪ *ina* Ì EŠ.'MEŠ'
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 7 DIŠ 'NA' 'x' [.....] 'A' LUḪ<sup>si</sup>-*ma* <sup>ú</sup>*u<sub>5</sub>-ra-*  
*na* SÚD *ina* Ì EŠ.[MEŠ?]
- A<sub>iii</sub> 8 [.....] 'SÚD' *ina* LÁL KUR'  
EŠ.[MEŠ?]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 9 [.....] 'x' *i-šal-[lim]*<sup>36</sup>
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 10 [.....] 'x' [.....]

Circa ten lines are missing.

- A<sub>iii</sub> 20' [DIŠ KIM]IN 'úLAG.GÁN GAZ Ì.UDU A.ZA.LU.LU SÚD' [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 21' [*ana*] *ku-ra-ri* ZI<sup>hi</sup> *ḫu-bu-uš* SÚN *ina* šur-š[*um-me*.....]
- S<sub>obv.</sub> 6' [.....Z]I<sup>hi</sup> *ḫu-bu-uš* SÚN *ina* šur-š*um-me* K[AŠ.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 22' *ana* KIMIN <sup>ú</sup>LAG.A.ŠÀ *ina* IGI *ta-kar* IM.SAḪAR.GE<sub>6</sub>.KUR.R[A.....]
- S<sub>obv.</sub> 7' [.....] 'x' *ina* IGI *ta-kar* IM.SAḪAR.NA<sub>4</sub>.KUR.RA S[ÚD?.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 23' *ana* KIMIN NUMUN GA.RAŠ <sup>ú</sup>*ak-tam* <sup>ú</sup>*ša-lam-ta<sub>5</sub>* DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> SÚD [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 24' DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su* *ku-ra-ra* DAB<sup>it</sup> ŠE<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>Nisaba SÚD *ta-kar* 'e?' [.....  
.....]
- P<sub>25-26</sub> DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su* *ku-ra-ru* DAB<sup>it</sup> ŠE<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>Nisaba / ḪÁD.A SÚD LAL *ina* še-*rim* *ku-*  
*ra-ar-šú* SAR<sup>ab</sup>
- A<sub>iii</sub> 25' *laq-laq-ta-šú ta-tab-bal* *ina* KAŠ LUḪ<sup>si</sup> KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>TASKARIN MAR LAL *ina* IGI  
K[I.NÁ-šú.....]
- P<sub>27-29</sub> *laq-laq-ta-šú ta-ta-bal* *ina* KAŠ LUḪ<sup>si</sup> / KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>TASKARIN MAR<sup>ni</sup> LAL *in*[a I]GI  
KI.NÁ-šú DU<sub>8</sub>-šú-*ma* / *tu-šá-kal* *ina* KAŠ LUḪ<sup>si</sup>
- A<sub>iii</sub> 26' KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>TASKARIN KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>*e-lam-ma-ku* KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>*kal-mar-ḫi* ŠE<sub>10</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>[Nisaba.....]
- P<sub>29-31</sub> KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>*e-lam-ma-ki* / KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>TASKARIN KU.KU <sup>giš</sup>*kal-mar-ḫi* ŠE<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>Nisaba /  
GAZI<sup>sar</sup> BÍL<sup>ti</sup> LAL *ina* LAL

<sup>36</sup> Reading and restoration of the passage follow the suggestion of G. Buisson.

Aiii 27' *ina šér-ti* DU<sub>8</sub> SAR<sup>ab</sup> šim<sup>1</sup>MAN.DU giš<sup>1</sup>EREN *tur-ár* SÚD *ana* [.....]  
.....]

Aiii 28' *ina* A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> LUḪ<sup>si</sup> KU.KU giš<sup>1</sup>TASKARIN KU.KU *e-lam-ma-ku* KU.KU giš<sup>1</sup>kal-mar-  
[*hi* .....]

---

Aiii 29' DIŠ KIMIN SAG.DU-*su tu-gal-lab* Ì.ḪAB ŠÉŠ *ina* IGI KI.NÁ-šú DU<sub>8</sub> SUḪU[Š.....  
.....]

P<sub>32</sub> DIŠ KIMIN

Aiii 30' SUḪUŠ giš<sup>1</sup>ku-ma-*hi* IM.GÚ.NÍG.NÍGIN.NA útar-muš NUMUN úqut-ra-te 'x' [.....  
.....]

Aiii 31' DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> SÚD *ina* KÀŠ ÁB.GU<sub>4</sub> SAG.DU-*su te-sír* *ina* KAŠ LUḪ<sup>si</sup> *ina* A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> t[*u*  
.....]

P<sub>32-33</sub> KÀŠ ÁB SAG.DU-*su te-sír* A NAGA.SI / A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> LUḪ<sup>si</sup>  
SAG.DU-*su SAR*<sup>ab</sup>

Aiii 32' NUMUN giš<sup>1</sup>ŠE.NÁ.A NUMUN giš<sup>1</sup>NAM.TAR NUMUN GADA NUMUN úÁB.DUḪ  
PA úTÁL.TÁL giš<sup>1</sup>[.....]

P<sub>34-35</sub> NUMUN giš<sup>1</sup>ŠE.NA.A NUMUN giš<sup>1</sup>rNAM.TAR NUMUN giš<sup>1</sup>qud-ri úÁB.DUḪ /  
'ú'TÁL.TÁL 'giš<sup>1</sup>DÌḪ?' 'ú'ru'-*uš-ru-šu* úša-*šu-um-tu*

Aiii 33' úKUR.GI.RÍN.NA úsag-gi-la-tú PA úMÁ.ERÍŠ<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>(LA).MÁ.LÁ<sup>e</sup> 'ú'[.....]

P<sub>36-37</sub> úKUR.GI.RÍN.NA úte-gi-la-a 'úMÁ.ERÍŠ<sub>4</sub>' .MÁ.LÁ / úMAŠ.ḪUŠ 11 Ú.MEŠ

Aiii 34' ḪÁD.A GAZ SIM *ina* A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> SILA<sub>11</sub><sup>as</sup> GUR-*ma* ḪÁD.A GAZ SIM *ina* KAŠ [....  
.....]

P<sub>37-39</sub> ḪÁD.A GAZ SIM *ina* A GAZI<sup>sa[r]</sup> / SILA<sub>11</sub><sup>as</sup> GUR-*ma* ḪÁD.A GAZ SIM *ina*  
KAŠ.SAG *u* A.GEŠTIN.NA ḪI.ḪI / SAG.DU-*su LAL-ma*

Aiii 35' '3 *u<sub>4</sub>-me* NU DU<sub>8</sub> *ina* 4 *u<sub>4</sub>-me* *ina* DU<sub>8</sub>-*ka* *ina* KÀŠ KÚM<sup>me</sup> LUḪ<sup>s</sup>[i.....]

P<sub>39</sub> UD 3.KÁM NU DU<sub>8</sub>

---

Aiii 36' [.....] 'x x x' [.....]

At least two lines are missing.

Aiii 39'' [.....] 'GU<sub>4</sub>? x Ì.UDU x x x' [.....]

---

Aiii 40'' [.....] PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.d<sup>1</sup>ÍD úGAMUN.G[E<sub>6</sub>.....]

P<sub>40</sub> DIŠ KIMIN úGAMUN.GE<sub>6</sub> *kib-rit* SÚD *ina* Ì EŠ.MEŠ DIN

---

Aiii 41'' [DIŠ K]IMIN IM.KAL SÚD [.....]

---



- A<sub>iii</sub> 65'' la.ni ḫu.bi.la.a.ni ḫu.bi.la.ni [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 66'' DÙ.DÙ.BI <sup>šim</sup>er-ra UGU ku-ra-<sup>r</sup>ri'' [.....]
- A<sub>iii</sub> 67'' sa-ma-nam šá É.GAR<sub>8</sub> ta-[kar .....]
- A<sub>iii</sub> 68'' ina Ì.NUN SUMUN ḪI.ḪI <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 69'' ÉN ki.ni.ip ki.ni.ip ba.<sup>r</sup>ah'' [.....]
- F<sub>ii</sub> 12'-13' [ÉN É.NU].RI ki.ni.ip ki.ni.ip / [ki.ni.i]p ši.ḫa.ma ši.ḫa.ma <sup>r</sup>TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN É'.NU.RU
- I<sub>7</sub>' ÉN É.NU.RU ki.<sup>r</sup>in.ip'' ki.ni.ip ki.ni.ip šu.uḫ ki.ni.ip. š[i.ḫa.ma.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 70'' [DÙ.DÙ].BI ina an-ša-ab-ti K[Ù.GI IGI GIG ta-kàs.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 71'' [.....] <sup>r</sup>GA<sup>r</sup>.RAŠ<sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup>ša-lam-tas <sup>ú</sup>kur[.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 72'' [ÉN ma]-mit GIM šar-ra-qí ina KÁ pil-ši <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 73'' [ÉN a]-šar tab-ba-ni-i <sup>dé</sup>a lip-šur [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 74'' [ÉN] at.ḫi.ma at.ḫi.e ḫi.li.e.ma at.ḫi.li [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 75'' [DÙ].DÙ.BI na-<sup>r</sup>gap''-pa šá A.GEŠTIN.NA ta-kar qut-ra MAR <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- Q<sub>1</sub>' D[Ù.....]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 76'' [5 KA.INIM.M]A GIG.G[IR ZI<sup>hi</sup>]
- Q<sub>2</sub>' 5 KA.INIM.MA [GIG.GIR ZI<sup>hi</sup>]
- 
- A<sub>iii</sub> 77'' [..... i]m su.ub ḫur.ri.im a.la šu.uḫ.ta <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- Q<sub>3</sub>' ÉN su.ub ḫur.ri.<sup>r</sup>im su'. [.....]
- A<sub>iii</sub> 78'' [..... a.p]i.il.lat ina kur.ba.an.ni id.ki.a ul <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- Q<sub>4</sub>' šá sa.ku.tú ḫi.si a.pi.il.lat ina <sup>r</sup>x'' [.....]
- 
- iv
- A<sub>iv</sub> 1 [.....]
- Q<sub>5</sub>' KA.INIM.MA GIG.GIR ZI<sup>hi</sup> DÙ.DÙ.BI <sup>r</sup>SÍG SA<sub>5</sub><sup>37</sup> [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iv</sub> 2 [.....] <sup>r</sup>gi ḫa x x x'' [..... Z]<sup>hi</sup>
- Q<sub>6</sub>' ÉN ma-mit GIM šar-ra-<sup><qí></sup> ina KÁ pil-ši un gi ḫa ba [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iv</sub> 3 [..... ḫu-bu<sub>(4)</sub>]-uš SÚN ŠÉŠ KUŠ ANŠE ina IZI tur-ár SÚD MAR a-la-pa-a ina IZI
- Q<sub>7</sub>' DÙ.DÙ.BI ina ŠIM IGI GIG ta-kar ḫu-bu<sub>4</sub>-uš SÚN [.....]
- 
- A<sub>iv</sub> 4 [tur-ár ..... tur]-ár IGI GIG MAR ta-a'-a šá UDU.NÍTA IGI GIG EŠ.MEŠ KUŠ ḪÁD.A GAZ

<sup>37</sup> Scheyhing 2011: 104 <sup>r</sup>SÍG S'[AG.DU ...].

- Q7<sup>7-8</sup> [tur-ár] / IGI GIG MAR šimŠEŠ ina IZI tur-ár IGI GIG [.....]  
 .....]
- Aiv 5 [..... T]I GU<sub>4</sub> ÍD ina IZI tur-ár IGI GIG MAR úIGI-lim SÚD IGI GIG  
 EŠ.MEŠ
- Q9<sup>9</sup> IGI GIG MAR TI GU<sub>4</sub> ÍD ina IZI tur-ár IGI GIG [.....]  
 .....]
- Aiv 6 [.....t]a-kar ina an-ša-ab-ti KÙ.GI IGI GIG ta-kàš
- Q10<sup>10</sup> SÚN LÚ.KÚRUN.NA IGI GIG ta-kar [.....]
- 
- Aiv 7 [.....] 'x' [.....] 'TI'.LA.KE<sub>4</sub>
- Q11<sup>11</sup> 2 KA.INIM.MA [.....]
- 
- Aiv 8 [..... si]-'ki-tú SAG.'[DU-su.....]  
 .....] ina 'UD 4<sup>2</sup>.KAM' SAG.DU-su
- Dii 32-33 DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su gur-ru-ud saḥ-lé-e si-ka-ti SAG.DU-su 'x' [.....]<sup>38</sup> / UD 3.KÁM  
 NU DU<sub>8</sub><sup>ár</sup> ina 4 u<sub>4</sub>-me SAG.DU-su
- Q12<sup>12</sup> DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su gur-ru-ud saḥ-lé-e si-ki-[ti.....]  
 .....]
- Aiv 9 [.....]  
 .....]
- Dii 33-34 SAR<sup>ab</sup> ina úNAGA SAG.DU-[su .....] / Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ gišEREN gišŠUR.MÌN GAZ ina  
 Ì.GIŠ gišEREN ḪI.ḪI 3 u<sub>4</sub>-me SAG.DU-su ŠÉŠ 'TI<sup>ut</sup>'
- Q12<sup>12-13</sup> [.....] / 'ina' A NAGA SAG.DU-su LUḪ<sup>si</sup> Ì.GIŠ 'EŠ.MEŠ' [.....]  
 .....]
- 
- Aiv 10 [.....]  
 ...]
- Dii 35 DIŠ KIMIN úḪAB SÚD MAR' úZA.BA.LAM LAL-  
 su
- Q14<sup>14-15</sup> [DIŠ KIM]IN SAG.DU-su tu-gal-l[ab...] / 'úḪAB' [..... ú?]'ZA'.[BA.LAM(?) .....  
 ...]

## Translation

i

<sup>38</sup> In his notes on BAM 3 ii 32, Worthington rejected the reading ŠE[D<sub>7</sub>] // *tukašša* 'you cool (his head),' as suggested by CAD (§ p. 64), and transliterated the passage as X[V? x x x LAL]. In addition, he mentioned that the reading T[AK<sub>4</sub>] // *ekēku* should also be plausible orthographically, but it does not fit the context (Worthington 2006: 22, 36).

- 26'. [...] anoint his [...] and he will recover.
- 
- 27'. [...] lice will not approach him.
- 
- 28'. In order for the lice not to approach a person, and for the [...] not to be present, throw (him<sup>2</sup> into<sup>2</sup> water<sup>2</sup> and) wash him so that lice will not approach him.
- 
- 29'. In order for ditto, mix colocynth, the plant [...] in cedar oil (and) anoint him repeatedly.
- 
- 30'-31'. If a person, his head is full of 'sweet' lice,<sup>39</sup> dry (and) pound the plant whose name is 'myrrh,' mix (it) in water, daub (it) onto his head; anoint (his head) with excrement<sup>2</sup> (and) *heal it by blowing (it until) it becomes clean.*<sup>40</sup>
- 
- 32'. In order for the lice not to be present, pound the tree *urû*, anoint with filtered oil (and) lice will not appear.
- 
- 33'. If a person, his head is full of the lesions *ekketu* and *rišûtu*, pound<sup>41</sup> the sulphur *kibrîtu*, mix (it) with cedar oil (and) anoint him<sup>42</sup> repeatedly.<sup>43</sup>
- 
- 34'. If ditto, burn the sulphur *kibrîtu* (and) cool his head with oil; burn saltpetre from salt<sup>44</sup> (and) cool his head with oil.
- 
- 35'-37'. If a person, his head has been seized by the disease *sāmānu*, it makes him red (first) but then it diminishes (and) calms down, (and) it increases (again) afterwards, pound the seed of 'dog's tongue' plant, powder of [...] sesame, powder from the 'dead' wood of the tree *baltu*, powder of sesame, powder of malt, dried 'dove dung' from the tree *gurummaru* (and) the seed of the plant *ēdu* together, knead (them) in warm *kasû* juice; shave, cool (and) bandage his head.
- 
- 38'-41'. According to the wording of the tablet: If a person, his head has been seized by the disease *sāmānu*, pound dust from the limestone threshold of an old house, fresh 'white plant' when it grows on conifer tree, seed of 'dog's tongue' plant, powder of sesame from the fundament of a sieve, cut-off pieces of dried sesame bran, ... of malt, 'dove dung,' the shell of the mussel *biššûr atāni* (and) seed of the plant *ēdu* – these nine drugs – together; anoint his head repeatedly with oil (and) cedar 'blood'; scatter these plants over it; bandage him and he will recover.

<sup>39</sup> Mss. B and C: 'If ditto (= If a patient, his head is full of 'sweet' *simmu* and fever).'

<sup>40</sup> Mss. B and C add: 'mix the plant 'facing thousand (diseases)' in cedar oil (and) anoint repeatedly.'

<sup>41</sup> Ms. B omits.

<sup>42</sup> Ms. B: 'anoint his head.'

<sup>43</sup> Ms. D adds: 'and he will recover.'

<sup>44</sup> Ms. B 'KUD.RA : potash.' The passage can be understood as a gloss with the help of which the difficult expression KUD.RA was explained (i.e., KUD.RA meaning 'potash'). It is also possible that KUD.RA read as *qut-ra*, denotes here a drug that could have been used instead of *idrānu* (i.e., *qutru* plant or potash).

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42'-44'. If a person, his head has been seized by the boil *girgiššu*, bandage him with algae from the surface of the water, earth from the pigsty, excrement from the mouse, the tree *azupīru*, [...], box tree, powder from the tree *ašāgu* growing on its mud wall, the juniper *burāšu*<sup>45</sup>, root of [...], leaf from an olive tree, leaf from a tamarisk, leaf from a chaste tree, pea flour, lentil flour, flour from parched grain, and he will recover.

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45'-46'. [...] have been seized by [...], algae from the surface of the water [...]

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ii

1-2. [...] pound together [...], the aromatic *kukru*, the juniper *burāšu*, the plant *atā'išu*, [...] (and) the plant *nikiptu* [...]

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3. [...] the disease *ašû*, head of the person [...]

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4-6. If a person, his head has been seized by the disease *ašû* [...] (and) sieve [...] the aromatic *kukru*, the aromatic [...], with lentils [...]

---

7-9. If a person, his head has been seized by the disease *ašû* [...] ... [...] for mouth [...] nostrils [...]

---

10-11. If a person, his head has been seized by the disease *ašû* [...] give him to drink in prime beer [...]

---

12-13. [...] of his head has been seized by [...] root of [...] give him to drink on an empty stomach [...]

---

14-15. If a person has been seized by the disease *ašû* or<sup>45</sup> *miqtu*, pound 10 shekels of thick *sahlû* plant in water; dessicate *dādu* fishes from the water, take away their scales (and) internal organs, let (them) become dry; anoint with your own hands [...].

---

16-18. If a person has been seized by the disease *ašû* (or) [...], crush 5 shekels of the plant *nīnû* (and) 5 shekels of the plant *kasû*; pierce a *pursītu* (and) a *diqāru* bowl;<sup>46</sup> lute the surface of the *diqāru* bowl with emmer dough, burn (it over) fire; pierce a reed tube, insert (it) into the middle of the *pursītu* bowl; [...] draw up<sup>47</sup> (the medicine) with the reed tube (so that) he can suck (it) up with his mouth; cook [...]; he eats the broth and the thick cut of meat and he will get well.

---

19. [...] has been seized by [...], pound the mineral *kalû*; he drinks it repeatedly in prime beer and he will recover.

---

<sup>45</sup> Ms. F 'and.'

<sup>46</sup> Ms. G seems to list these two bowl types in a different order.

<sup>47</sup> The two manuscripts are different: ms. A E<sub>11</sub><sup>a</sup>; ms. G È<sup>a</sup>.

- 20-21. [...] has been seized by [...], [...] seven and seven grains into fire; take pulp from the heart of sweet reed; [...] in [...]; he swallows (it) with his mouth, sniffs (it) into his nostrils and he will recover.
22. [...] dessicate (and) pound [...]; he drinks (it) in oil and prime beer and he will recover.
23. If a person, his head has been taken by the disease *ašû*, [...] ‘requested’<sup>48</sup> *kasû* plant, seed of the plant *urânu* [...] <sup>49</sup> anoint repeatedly his ... [...] <sup>50</sup> (and) he will recover.
24. [...] bandage (him with) [...] (and) fine *billatu* beer; put ground *sahlû* plant onto the surface of his [...] and [...]
- 25-26. [...] crush completely [...] leave (it) out overnight under the stars; give him to drink on an empty stomach. If ditto, [...] beer dregs [...];<sup>51</sup> rub (him) from above to downward; put on a bandage for 10 days and he will recover.
27. [...] pound [...] (and) coarse flour in beer, cool his head; pound seed of the plant *urânu*, mix (it) in oil, cook (it) in a bronze *tangussu* vessel, anoint (him) repeatedly and he will recover.
28. [...] has been seized by the disease *ašû*, fumigate him (with) the resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu* (and) the aromatic *ballukku* in embers, blow (the smoke) repeatedly into his nostrils and he will recover.
29. If ditto,<sup>52</sup> throw the aromatic *tūru*, resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu* (and) the plant *kurkanû* into<sup>53</sup> embers, fumigate his nostrils;<sup>54</sup> blow repeatedly oil (into his) mouth, nose (and) [...] <sup>55</sup> and he will recover.
30. If a person, the disease *ašû* seized him, anoint him with the plant ‘facing thousand (diseases),’ the plant *atā’išu*, seed of the plant *kasû*, seed of the plant *kamantu* (and) the plant (against) the disease *ašû* in oil; fumigate him [...]
- 31-34. Incantation: qar.ra.ti.ia qar.ra.ti.ia ti.ti qar.ra.ti.ia šu.ša.aḥ ṣa.aḥ and qar.ra.ti.ia and ḥu.ul.qi ḥu.ul.qi ḥa.al.ti.ib ḥa.al.ti.ib *There is no (disease), you are alive and [...]*

<sup>48</sup> Ms. H omits.

<sup>49</sup> Ms. H: ‘bandage (him) with the plant *kasû*’; ms. I: ‘bandage (him) with ‘requested’ *kasû* plant; pound seed of the plant *urânu* in oil.’

<sup>50</sup> Ms. I: ‘anoint his head.’

<sup>51</sup> Ms. I: ‘he keeps drinking oil and beer until he vomits (and) [...] half a litre of beer dregs, half a litre of [...].’

<sup>52</sup> Mss. D, and J: ‘If a person, the disease *ašû* has seized him’; Ms. F: ‘[...] has been seized by [...].’

<sup>53</sup> Mss. D and F: ‘onto.’

<sup>54</sup> Ms. D: ‘blow on them (i.e., on embers) (so that) smoke enters his mouth and his nostrils’ (see esp. Worthington 2006: 35); ms. F: ‘fumigate his nostrils (so that) smoke enters his mouth and his nostrils;’ ms. J: ‘fumigate his mouth and his nostrils.’

<sup>55</sup> Mss. D, F and J: ‘After that, you blow filtered oil through a reed tube into his nostrils.’



seven di.ḥu.un di.ḥu.un the hardship is increased(?) but their fever weakens(?), many(?) [...] ‘going out of mankind’ Incantation formula.

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35. It is the wording (of the incantation against) the disease *ašû*.
- 
36. Its ritual: fumigate him (with) the plant *kasû*, the aromatic *kukru* (and) the plant (against) the disease *ašû* in embers; recite this incantation three times and he will recover.
- 
- 37-38. Incantation: edin lal edin na edin lal edin na ‘edin’ ki gir sì ga edin ki [...] mul ra ku ú ma an du [...] na mul.mul da Incantation formula.
- 
39. It is the wording (of the incantation against) the disease *ašû*.
- 
40. Its ritual: crush the plant *kamantu*, mix (it) with oil, recite the incantation three times,<sup>56</sup> anoint repeatedly [...]
- 
41. The drug for stopping the disease *ašû* (is) the seed of the plant *kamkadu*; pound (it), [...] in oil [...]
- 
42. Pound the plant *kamantu* (and) anoint with oil; pound ‘white plant’ (and) [...] with oil.
- 
- 43-44. Pound the plant *ḥašû*, the plant *būšānu*, the plant *sahlû*, cumin, ‘white plant,’ resin of [...] (and) the mineral *šīpu* together; he drinks (them) repeatedly in oil and prime beer and [...].
- 
- 45-46. [...] seized him, in order to cure him, [...] ‘white plant,’ bat guano, the salt *emesallu*, the plant *nīnû*, [...]; wash his head; repeat (this therapy) but (now) scatter (the drugs) in dry form over his head, wrap a wad of wool (around it) [...]
- 
- 47-48. [...] iš.ka.gi.im.ma an.ki.min šu.uḫ.di.am šu.uḫ.di.am [...] ud aš.šim. ḥi iš.ka.ki.im.ma te.eš.a Incantation formula.
- 
49. It is the wording (of the incantation against) the disease *ašû* (that) has seized him so that fluid flows from his nostril, [...] strikes him and his temples continually hurt him [...]
- 
- 50-51. [Its ritual: ...] mix sweet reed and cedar blood together, recite the incantation three times over it, blow (it) into his nostrils; pour [...] his head and his breast [...] cover him [...]; he eats (and) drinks (the remedy) hot and [...]
- 
52. [...] seized him, anoint (him) with the plant ‘facing thousand (diseases)’, the plant *atā’išu*, [...], the plant *kamantu* (and) the plant (against) the disease *ašû* in oil [...]
- 
53. [...] has seized(?) [...]
- 

<sup>56</sup> Ms. J: ‘recite the incantation over it seven times.’

54. [...] the disease *ašû* [...]
- 
55. [...], fumigate him (with) [...] (and) seed of the plant *ašlu* in embers and the disease *ašû* will be removed.
- 
56. [...] ú.pa.ak ba.ap.pa [...] ú.pa.ak ú.pa.ak Incantation formula.
- 
- 57-58. [...] Its ritual: pour juice from pomegranate [...] into his mouth and he will get well.
- 
- 59-60. [...] full of *simmu* lesions, place seed of the plant *urânu*, the plant *tarmuš*, the plant ‘facing thousand (diseases)’ (and) the plant ‘facing twenty (diseases)’ in oil together with a bent(?) stick(?) of(?) poplar wood before Gula; in the morning wash his head, anoint repeatedly<sup>57</sup> and he will get well.
- 
61. If ditto, mix [...], colocynth fat, colocynth kernel (and) hot *kasû* plant in cedar oil (and) anoint repeatedly.
- 
62. [...] heat [...] (and) sprinkle (it) on his head.
- 
63. [...] mix (and) cool [...], mix in cedar oil: in ghee [...]
- 
64. [...] wash his head; pound colocynth kernel; [...] with cedar oil [...]
- 
- 65-66. [...] throw; anoint his head repeatedly after it has been cooked; mix dried *kuliltu* insect [...] (and) fat from a frog in ghee, anoint repeatedly and (his) hair will grow.
- 
67. [...] mix [...] in strong vinegar; cool his head and [...]
- 
- 68-69. [...] him and wash his head in the morning with hot water; anoint repeatedly with cedar oil; dessicate colocynth fat; scatter (and) anoint repeatedly [...] and he will recover.
- 
70. [...] heat cedar oil (and) sprinkle (it) on his head. : If ditto, pound [...] (and) ‘fox wine’ [...] with cedar oil [...]
- 
71. [...] mix the sulphur *kibrîtu* in dough, anoint repeatedly. : If ditto, mix the sulphur *kibrîtu* in mountain honey (and) anoint repeatedly.
- 
72. [...] pound the plant *maštakal* (and) anoint repeatedly with oil. : If ditto, pound the plant *aktam*, mix (it) with fat (and) anoint repeatedly. : If ditto, pound the plant *urânu* (and) anoint repeatedly with oil.
- 
73. [...] crush the plant *urânu* in cow milk : cow urine, wash his head; dessicate (and) pound the tree *kalbānu*, shave his head (and) anoint (him) repeatedly with oil.
- 
74. [...] dessicate and pound colocynth fat (and) colocynth kernel, shave his head, anoint repeatedly with oil (and) *put on a bandage by binding (it) on*.

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<sup>57</sup> Ms. N omits.

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75. [...] pound [...], mix (it) with cedar oil, anoint repeatedly and (his) hair will grow.
- 
- 76-77. [...] pound [...] (and) anoint his head repeatedly; pound pea flour, lentil flour (and) ‘field-clod’ plant, knead (them) in the juice of the plant *kasû* (and) bandage (him); wash his head with the plant *aktam* (and) ‘horned’ alkali in hot water.
- 
- iii
1. If a person is full of *guraštu* boils, pound the plant *urânu*, the plant [...], mix in oil [...]; (his) hair will grow (again).
- 
2. If ditto, pound the plant *aktam* (and) the plant *kamantu*, [...] in [...], wash his head; burn the bark of the tree [...], grind (and) scatter.
- 
3. If ditto, anoint repeatedly with oil from the inside of a fish [...] pound (and) scatter.
- 
4. If ditto, rub and anoint with the insect *sāmānu* from a wall, [...], wash (him) with white mountain honey and water, and he will get well.
- 
- 5-6. ‘White plant,’ the plant *urânu* (and) the plant *aktam* (are) three plants (against) the boil *guraštu*; wash (his) skin [...] (and) anoint repeatedly with oil; pound the plant ‘facing thousand (diseases),’ the plant *urânu*, root of the tree *kalbānu*, root of tamarisk (and) fungus [...] wash his head with water (and) anoint repeatedly with oil.
- 
- 7-8. If a person [...] wash (him) with water and pound the plant *urânu*, anoint repeatedly with oil; pound [...] (and) anoint repeatedly with mountain honey.
- 
9. [...] he becomes healthy.
- 
10. [...]

Circa ten lines are missing.

- 20’. If ditto, crush ‘field-clod’ plant, pound fat from wild animals [...]
- 
- 21’. In order to remove the boil *kurāru*, [...] foam from beerwort in beer-dregs [...]
- 
- 22’. In order to ditto, rub ‘field-clod’ plant over the surface; pound the paste *qitmu*<sup>58</sup> [...]
- 
- 23’. In order to ditto, pound leek seed, the plant *aktam* (and) ‘black plant’ together [...]
- 
- 24’-28’. If a person, his head has been seized by the boil *kurāru*, pound ‘excrement of Nisaba’<sup>59</sup> (and) rub (the boil with it);<sup>60</sup> shave his *kurāru* boil in the morning, take

<sup>58</sup> Ms. S: ‘alum.’

<sup>59</sup> Ms. P: ‘pound dried ‘excrement of Nisaba’.’

<sup>60</sup> Ms. P: ‘bandage (the boil with it).’

away its *flakes*, wash (it) with beer, scatter powder from box tree (and) bandage (it); untie (the bandage) before his (going to) bed,<sup>61</sup> and make him eat; wash (the boil *kurāru*) with beer (and) *bandage (it) with a bandage (made of)* powder from box tree, powder from the tree *elammakku*, powder from the tree *kalmarḥu*, ‘excrement of Nisaba’ (and) roasted *kasû* plant; untie (the bandage) in the morning, shave (the boil *kurāru*); dessicate (and) pound the aromatic *suādu* (and) cedar, [...] for [...]; wash (the boil *kurāru*) with the juice of the plant *kasû*; [...] powder from box tree, powder from the tree *elammakku*, powder from the tree *kalmarḥu* [...]

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29’-35’. If ditto, shave his head, anoint ill-smelling oil (and) remove (it) before his (going to) bed,<sup>62</sup> pound root of [...], root of the tree *kumāḥu*, ‘dirt from a bird nest,’ the plant *tarmuš*, seed of the plant *qutrātu* (and) [...] together;<sup>63</sup> smear his head with cow urine, wash (it) with beer, [...] (it) with the juice of the plant *kasû*;<sup>64</sup> shave his head; dry, crush, sieve (and) knead seed of chaste tree, mandrake seed, flax seed,<sup>65</sup> seed<sup>66</sup> of the plant *kamantu*, leaf<sup>67</sup> from the plant *urānu*, the tree *baltu*, the plant *rušrušu*, the plant *šašumtu*, the plant *kurkanû*, the plant *saggilatu*,<sup>68</sup> leaf from the plant *mirišmara*<sup>69</sup> (and) the plant *kalbānu* – the eleven plants – in the juice of the plant *kasû*; dry, crush (and) sieve (them) again, mix (them) in prime beer and vinegar; bandage his head and do not untie (the bandage) for three days, wash (the spot) with warm urine on the fourth day when you are untying (the bandage)<sup>70</sup> [...]

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36’. [...]

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At least two lines are missing.

39’’. [...] ox ... fat [...]

---

40’’. If ditto, pound the sulphur *kibrītu* (and) black cumin, anoint repeatedly with oil (and) he will recover.

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41’’. If ditto, pound the mineral *kalû* [...]

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<sup>61</sup> Lit. ‘in front of his bed.’

<sup>62</sup> Ms. P omits.

<sup>63</sup> Ms. P omits.

<sup>64</sup> Ms. P: ‘wash (it) with water of ‘horned’ alkali (and) juice of the plant *kasû*.’

<sup>65</sup> Ms. P: ‘seed of the tree *quḍru*.’

<sup>66</sup> Ms. P omits.

<sup>67</sup> Ms. P omits.

<sup>68</sup> Ms. P: ‘*tegilû*.’

<sup>69</sup> Ms. P omits ‘leaf.’

<sup>70</sup> Ms. P omits.

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42''-44''. If a person, his head [...] the boil *kurāru*, [...] the plant *nīnū*, the plant *sahlū*, the plant *urānu* [...], anoint repeatedly with cedar oil [...]

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45''-46''. [...]

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47''. If ditto, smear sore<sup>71</sup> vinegar (on him) [...]

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48''. Secondly, [...] river mud [...] 'excrement of Nisaba' [...]

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49''. If ditto, smear the insect *sāmānu* (on him);<sup>72</sup> scatter [...],<sup>73</sup> anoint repeatedly with ghee [...]<sup>74</sup>

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50''. If ditto, sprinkle sour vinegar (and) [...], [...] garlic, the onion *šusikillu* [...]

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51''-52''. If a person, his head [...], crush (and) sieve [...] the flour *isqūqu*, pea flour, burnt gypsum, 'horned' alkali, [...], river mud, [...]; he has (the remedy) ready for you (while) you anoint (him) repeatedly (with) ghee; *put on a bandage*; [...] 'fox wine' [...]

---

53''. If ditto, [...]

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54''-63''. [...], mix [...] the juniper *burāšu* (and) barley flour in vinegar; cool his head; [...] on the third day [...]; wash his head (with) [...]; besprinkle (and) shave (it) on the third day; [...] on the boil *kurāru* [...]; cool [...]; boil ghee (and) salt; [...] in fine *billatu* beer and cedar oil [...]; dessicate, pound, scatter [...]; [...] fruit of colocynth [...]; [...] on the sore [...]; [...] vinegar [...], anoint repeatedly (with) cedar oil; [...] 'white plant,' the plant [...], the plant *urānu* (and) the salt *amānu* in donkey urine and vinegar [...]

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64''-65''. Incantation: su.ub.ḫi.im su.ub.ḫi.im ... [...] la.ni ḫu.bi.la.a.ni ḫu.bi.la.ni [...]

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66''-68''. Its ritual: [...] colocynth on the boil *kurāru* [...] rub the insect *sāmānu* from a wall [...] mix in old ghee [...]

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69''. Incantation: ki.ni.ip ki.ni.ip ba.aḫ [...]

---

70''. Its ritual: peel away the surface of the sore with a golden ring [...]

---

71''. [...] leek, 'blake plant,' the plant [...]

---

72''. Incantation: The curse, like a thief, [...] at the opening of a hole [...]

---

73''. Incantation: Where you are created, may Ea dispel (you)' [...]

---

74''. Incantation: at.ḫi.ma at.ḫi.e ḫi.li.e.ma at.ḫi.li [...]

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<sup>71</sup> Ms. R: 'strong'.

<sup>72</sup> Ms. R: 'you smear the insect *sāmānu* every day (on him)'.

<sup>73</sup> Ms. R omits.

<sup>74</sup> Ms. R: '[...] with honey (and) ghee'.

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75''. Its ritual: rub the *nagappu* of vinegar (on him); scatter the plant *qutru* [...]

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76''. It is the wording of five (incantations used for) removing the boil *kurāru*.

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77''-78''. Incantation: su.ub ḥur.ri.im su.ub ḥur.ri.im a.la šu.uḥ.ta [...] šá sa.ku.tú ḥi.si  
a.pi.il.lat ina kur.ba.an.ni id.ki.a ul [...]

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iv

1. It is the wording (of the incantation used for) removing the boil *kurāru*. Its ritual: red wool [...]

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2. Incantation: The curse, like a thief, [...] at the opening of a hole ... [...] remove [...]

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3-6. Its ritual: rub the surface of the sore with aromatics; anoint foam from beerwort; dessicate donkey leather on fire, pound (and) scatter; [dessicate] the algae on fire (and) scatter (over) the surface of the sore; dessicate myrrh on fire (and) scatter (over) the surface of the sore; anoint the surface of the sore repeatedly (with) *spider*<sup>7</sup> from a sheep; crush dried leather, scatter (over) the surface of the sore; dessicate the rib of a water ox on fire (and) scatter (over) the surface of the sore; pound the plant 'facing thousand (diseases)' (and) anoint the surface of the sore repeatedly; rub the surface of the sore (with) beerwort from a tavern keeper; peel away the surface of the sore with a golden ring.

---

7. It is the wording of two (incantations used for) healing [...]

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8-9. If a person, (the hair of) his head is falling out in tufts, [...] his head (with) pulverized *sahlû* plant (and) do not untie (it) for three days; on the fourth day shave his head, wash his head with alkali<sup>75</sup> (and) anoint<sup>76</sup> (with) oil; crush cedar (and) cypress, mix in cedar oil, anoint his head for three days (and) he will recover.

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10. If ditto, shave his head<sup>77</sup> [...] pound (and) scatter plant *būšānu* [...] bandage him with the juniper *supālu*.

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## Notes

i 30'-31'. Although the therapy described by BAM 494, BM 41282(+) (= ms. B) and Sm 950 (= ms. C) is the same up to the point where the lesion has to be cleaned by blowing, the medical problems to which this therapy is connected is different in BM 41282(+) and Sm 950. In both manuscripts the recipe is introduced with the sign KIMIN ('ditto'), which relates to an

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<sup>75</sup> Ms. Q: 'water of alkali.'

<sup>76</sup> Ms. Q: 'anoint repeatedly.'

<sup>77</sup> Ms. D omits.

earlier symptom description telling that the patient's head is feverish and full of the lesions called 'sweet' *simmu*.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, the same medical incipit that is known from BAM 494 i 30', is attested together with a different therapy in AO 11447 (= ms. R) whose missing parts can be restored with the help of BM 41282(+):

AO 11447<sub>obv. 35</sub> DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su kal-ma-ta<sub>5</sub> ma-tuq-ta<sub>5</sub>* DIRI Ú GAR-šú GIM *k[a-mu-*  
*ni*.....]

BM 41282(+)<sub>ii 21'</sub> [.....] 'DIRI' Ú 'GAR'-šú GIM *ka-mu-*  
*ni* <sup>ú</sup>*mur-ru* M[U.NI]

AO 11447<sub>obv 36 nu</sub> *ina* Ī ĤI.ĤI *ina bar-šú* SAG<sub>kād.</sub>DU-*su* Š[ÉŠ.....]

BM 41282(+)<sub>ii 22'</sub> [.....] 'x' SAG.DU-'*su*' Š[É]Š-'*su*' [.....]

In spite of the fact that either the medical incipit or the therapy attached to it is somewhat different, the first drug mentioned by all manuscripts is the aromatic myrrh (*murru*) that is compared to another plant called *kamūnu* ('cumin') in the passage cited above. On the other hand, BAM 494 does not present the whole comparison, which seems to be a citation from the series *Šammu šikinšu* ('plant whose appearance'),<sup>79</sup> but contains only its closing formula <sup>ú</sup>*mu-ur-ru* MU.NI ('myrrh is its name').

In addition, attention can be drawn to the fact that a similar prescription against 'sweet' lice can be found in the Old Babylonian medical text CUSAS 32 73:

*qá-<sup>r</sup> qá-di-šu ka-al<sup>r</sup>-ma-<sup>r</sup> ta<sup>r</sup>-[a<sup>2</sup>-am<sup>2</sup>] ma-tu-uq-ta-a-am<sup>r</sup> ma-li<sup>r</sup> ša-am-mu-[um<sup>2</sup>] / mu-ur-<sup>r</sup> ru<sup>2</sup> x*  
*x* [x (x)] *i-na* Ī.<sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup> *tu<sup>r</sup>-ba-la-al-ma ša-<sup>r</sup> am<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>-am<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>r</sup>-pa-ša-aš-ma* [...]

(If) his head is full of 'sweet' lice, mix the plant myrrh [...] in oil and anoint (him) with the oil and [...]<sup>80</sup>

i 31'. The exact meaning of the phrase ŠE<sub>10</sub><sup>zu-u</sup> ŠÉŠ *za-ku-ti-šú i-na-pa-aḥ-ma* is unclear. Should the sign sequence 'ku zu u' be understood as the Sumerian word for 'faeces' (ŠE<sub>10</sub>), which is followed by a gloss indicating the Akkadian pronunciation (*zû*), the healing activity

<sup>78</sup> BM 41282(+) i 10' // Sm 950 (CT 23 50) i 1: [DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su* GI]G.MEŠ *mat-qu-tu* TAB UD.DA DIRI.

<sup>79</sup> See especially CTN 4 195 + 196 ii 12' (Stadhouders 2011: 14; Stadhouders 2012: 7). That the passage presents the otherwise unknown disease name *umurru* (i.e., *ú-mu-ur-ru* instead of <sup>ú</sup>*mu-ur-ru*), as suggested by the Akkadian dictionaries (AHw III p. 1420; CAD U p. 155) and later accepted by Stol (1991-1992: 64), does not seem possible. See also Geller 2007: 10 with n. 37; Fincke 2011: 201; CAD M/II p. 221.

<sup>80</sup> CUSAS 32 73 rev. 20. See also George 2016: 167 §19.

might have started by rubbing excrement on the surface of the lesion.<sup>81</sup> Then, a cleaning procedure (*zakûtu*) might have taken place, when the already dried excrement was removed by blowing (*napāhu*) from the surface of the lesion.

i 32'. The recipe is a *simplicium* mentioning only one plant, *urtû*, as the drug used against lice. The importance of this plant in treating lice is also shown by the pharmacological lists BAM 1 and STT 92 that connect it to said medical condition.<sup>82</sup>

BAM 1<sub>iii 33</sub>    <sup>ù</sup>*ur-tu-ú* : Ú UḪ.MEŠ : *ina* SU NA NU GÁL  
*urtû* : plant for lice : it will not appear on the patient's body

STT 92<sub>iii 8'</sub>    [<sup>ù</sup>*ur-tu*]-*u* : Ú UḪ *ina* SU NA NU GÁL : *ina* I<sub>3</sub>.GIŠ EŠ.MEŠ  
*urtû* : plant so that lice will not appear on the patient's body : anoint repeatedly with oil

Based on the photo of the tablet, kindly provided by J. Fincke, the sign after Ì.GIŠ could be read as an uncertain BÁRA. Otherwise, it is the sign sequence 'ku an' the exact meaning of which is unclear. This sign sequence might represent, on the one hand, the phonetic spelling of the Sumerian word KÙ.GAN or KÙ.ÁM (Akk. *lulû*, 'antimony'), which is attested in some therapeutic texts.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, it might also be possible to read the sign sequence as TUKUL.DINIGIR, which is the Sumerogram for the Akkadian word *miṭtu* '(divine) weapon.' Note, however, that weapon oil (Ì.GIŠ TUKUL.DINGIR or rather Ì<sup>giš</sup>TUKUL.DINGIR) does not seem to be used as medicine in the therapeutic texts.

i 33'. Note that Fincke has read the incipit of BM 41282(+) (= ms. B) as [DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su kib*<sup>2</sup>-š]*á*<sup>2</sup> DIRI.<sup>84</sup>

i 35'. The incipit was collated by Scurlock who proposed the reading 'EGIR'-*nu* GAL-*bi* 'afterward it increases (again).'<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Note, however, that the source of excrement is usually defined in therapeutic texts.

<sup>82</sup> Fincke 2011: 185.

<sup>83</sup> CAD L p. 243.

<sup>84</sup> Fincke 2011: 190.

<sup>85</sup> Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 63 no. 3.174. See also Thompson 1924: 4; Kinnier Wilson 1994: 113; Köcher 1995: 211 (notes on BAM 409 obv. 14'); CAD R p. 45; Böck 2014: 59.



i 36'. The drug called 'dust from sesame' (SAḪAR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì) is repeatedly mentioned in this line. However, in the break after the first ŠE.GIŠ.Ì there seems to be room for at least one further sign so that it is possible that a different quality of sesame is referred to here (e.g., crushed or filtered) than later in the same line.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, attention should be drawn to Kinnier Wilson's remark on the second SAḪAR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì, which appears to be partially deleted. Thus, it is also reasonable to believe that SAḪAR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì was erroneously repeated in this line and that the scribe tried to remove his mistake by deleting the second occurrence of this drug name.<sup>87</sup>

According to the Akkadian dictionaries, the word *dīku* ('killed, slain') is connected to trees only by lexical lists.<sup>88</sup> Should the difficult passage in BAM 494 i 36' be read as SAḪAR *di-ki*(?) <sup>giš</sup>DÌḪ (''dead' wood of the tree *baltu*'), this could be the first attestation of the word used in therapeutic context. The idea behind the drug name might be the decaying wood of the tree *baltu*, being used in the form of powder. On the other hand, the passage could also be read tentatively as SAḪAR *ti-ki-<in>* <sup>giš</sup>DÌḪ 'powder from the ashes of the tree *baltu*.' In this case the word *ti-ki-<in>* might be a by-form of *ṭikmēnu* ('ash'), similar to the expressions *ti-ki-im-(šu)* and *ti-gi-mam* occurring in the Old Babylonian medical texts UET VI 895 and BAM 393, respectively.<sup>89</sup>

i 38'. For the discussion of the phrase *šá KA tup-pi*, see the chapter 'BAM 494: a manuscript of UGU V?' above.

Following Worthington, the last fragmentary sign in this line was restored as SUM[UN] ('old').<sup>90</sup> Another possibly reading is N[A] ('man'), as suggested by Köcher in his note on BAM 409 obv. 1'-13'.<sup>91</sup> The reading *aš-[tam-me]*<sup>92</sup> does not seem possible because in the break there is not enough room for two signs.

i 40'. The interpretation of the healing drug UŠ MUNU<sub>4</sub> poses some difficulties, because it is unclear what exactly was meant by the sign UŠ in this context. Besides BAM 494, UŠ

<sup>86</sup> See CAD Š/I pp. 304-305.

<sup>87</sup> See especially Kinnier Wilson 1994: 113.

<sup>88</sup> CAD D p. 140 and AHW I pp. 169-170.

<sup>89</sup> See especially UET VI 895: 8, 11, 15; BAM 393 obv. 24.

<sup>90</sup> Worthington 2006: 34 (notes on BAM 3 i 33).

<sup>91</sup> Köcher 1995: 211.

<sup>92</sup> CAD A/II p. 473.

MUNU<sub>4</sub> occurs in another prescription employed for kidney diseases.<sup>93</sup> This prescription was edited by Geller who suggested the reading SAḪAR MUNU<sub>4</sub> instead of UŠ MUNU<sub>4</sub>, and translated it as ‘malt-powder’.<sup>94</sup> In her review of BAM VII, Scurlock argued that the sign is in fact UŠ, which could be interpreted as ‘an abbreviation of 𒄩.𒄩 which is lexically equated with *ḥašālu ša buqli* = ‘to crush said of malt’ (CAD B 323a).<sup>95</sup> The drug name was finally defined as UŠ MUNU<sub>4</sub> by Buisson who did not suggest any translation.<sup>96</sup>

i 42’. The medical incipit could be restored as ‘DIŠ NA’ SAG.DU-[*su gir-giš-š*]um<sup>97</sup> DAB<sup>it</sup> ‘If a man’s head has been seized by the boil *girgiššu*,’ although the presence of mimation is unusual in this context. Also, the verb *šabātu* does not seem to be used together with this skin complaint in any other texts that contain the verbs *malû*<sup>98</sup> or *maḥāšu*<sup>99</sup> instead. Another possible restoration of the passage could be [NÍG.T]AG, which is the Sumerogram for *liptu* (some kind of discoloured spot on the skin).

i 42’-44’. The recipe lists several different materials of magico-medical importance, some of which are rarely attested in any other sources. For instance, the only other reference to earth coming from the pigs’ lair (SAḪAR *ru-bu-uš ŠAḪ*)<sup>100</sup> is known from the therapeutic text AMT 98, 3: 17’ + AMT 39, 3: 3’ where it was employed as *materia medica* for the pulsating veins of hands and feet. A further passage where the term *asurrû* stands together with the word for ‘pig,’ can be found in BAM 577 8’ (ŠAḪ *ina a-sur-re-<sup>r</sup>e*) and STT 2 252 rev. 12 (ŠAḪ *a-na a-<sup>r</sup>sur-e*).

i 43’. The form *bar-ša* (l. 43’) has been understood as a variant of the word *burāšu* (‘juniper’). Another variant of this word is *bar-šû* that occurs in AO 11447 obv. 36 (= ms. R).<sup>101</sup>

<sup>93</sup> BAM 111 (= BAM VII no. 3) iii 8’-14’ // K 11230+ (= BAM VII no. 16) i 18’-22’. The variant of this prescription is known from BAM 396 ii 5’-12’ (BAM VII no. 1). The drug name UŠ MUNU<sub>4</sub> is missing from this text.

<sup>94</sup> Note that K 11230+ (= BAM VII no. 16) i 18’-22’ was copied earlier by Thompson (AMT 16, 11) who drew the relevant sign as NA<sub>4</sub> instead of UŠ (BAM VII no. 16 i 22’ = AMT 16, 11: 19).

<sup>95</sup> Scurlock 2009: 47 n. 4.

<sup>96</sup> Buisson 2006: 186.

<sup>97</sup> The emendation is based on the fragment BAM 511, which could be classified as a non-physical join to BAM 494. For the edition of this fragment, see appendix 1 below.

<sup>98</sup> BAM 393 obv. 14.

<sup>99</sup> Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1993: 104 side B 1’-2’.

<sup>100</sup> Although CAD interprets *rubšu* in this context as the word for ‘dung’ (CAD R p. 395).

<sup>101</sup> Geller 2007: 10 with n. 38.

ii 12-13. A similar prescription employed for the disease *ašû* occurs in BAM 481 + K 17205 (= ms. H) obv. 11'-12':

[DIŠ NA SAG.D]U-su a-šû-ú DAB<sup>it</sup> SUḪUŠ<sup>giš</sup>šû-šû ṛtu-ḥaš-ṛšá<sup>ʿ</sup>-[al<sup>ʿ</sup>.....]  
 [tara<sup>ʿ</sup>]-bak ṛina U[L tu]š-[ba]t [.....]ṛx x ṛina še-rim NU pa-tan NAG [.....]

If a person, his head has been seized by *ašû*, crush liquorice root, decoct [...] leave (it) out overnight under the stars [...] in the morning he drinks (it) on an empty stomach [...]

On the basis of the context, it seems reasonable to believe that in BAM 494 ii 12-13, too, the disease to be cured was *ašû*. However, in BAM 494 the possessive suffix of the third person singular, attached to the word SAG.DU, shows no sign of assimilation, thus suggesting the presence of a genitive construction with SAG.DU as *regens rectum*. Since the passage before SAG.DU is broken off, it cannot be determined with certainty which part of the head was meant in this passage.

ii 16-18. The passage describes an elaborate ritual during which two different types of bowl appear to have been utilised. The exact sequence of events is unclear, although it seems that the two bowls were used separately for two different reasons. One of them, called the *diqāru*, might have been used for preparing the broth and thick cut of meat mentioned at the end of the prescription; this bowl was sealed with emmer dough and placed into fire. The other vessel called *pursītu* seems to have contained the crushed *nīnû* and *kasû* plants, which had to be sucked up by the patient using a reed tube.

A similar ritual is known from the following lung disease text where the vessel *burzigallu* had to be sealed with emmer dough and put onto emmer.<sup>102</sup>

A = K 5172+ (BAM 564) ii 18'-25'

B = K 8070+ (BAM 557) 1'-6'

C = K 10575 (AMT 21, 4) rev. 6'-11'

D = K 2950+ (BAM 558) iv 16-19

E = K 3516 (BAM 548) iv 9'-10'

A<sub>ii 18'</sub>. [DIŠ NA] ṛMUR ṛ.MEŠ GIG MÚD ú-ga-aš-ši<sup>im</sup>KAL.LA A NA<sub>4</sub> ZÚ.LUM.MA

C<sub>rev. 6'</sub>. [.....]

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Scurlock 2014: 486 n. 5. For the translation of the passage, see Thompson 1934: 15-16 and Stol 2004: 32.

- A<sub>ii</sub> 19'. [... *sah<sup>?</sup>-le<sup>?</sup>*]-e <sup>ú</sup>r GAM<sup>r</sup>.MA <sup>šim</sup>GÚR.GÚR <sup>šim</sup>LI
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 6'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> <sup>ú</sup>KUR.RA <sup>šim</sup>GÚR.GÚR <sup>šim</sup>LI
- A<sub>ii</sub> 20'. [.....MÚ]D <sup>giš</sup>EREN MÚD <sup>šim</sup>BAL 12 Ú.ĪI.A ŠEŠ
- B<sub>1</sub>'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [.....]
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 7'. [.....]
- A<sub>ii</sub> 21'. [*mal-ma-liš(?)*] *tu-šam-ša* ÀRA<sup>en</sup> SIM *ina* Ì.UDU ÉLLAG UDU.NITA
- B<sub>1</sub>'-2'. [.....] / [À]RA SIM *ina* Ì.UDU ÉLLAG UDU.NITA
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 7'. [*mal-ma-liš(?)*] <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>r</sup>-šam-ša ÀRA<sup>en</sup> SIM *ina* Ì.UDU ÉLLAG UDU
- A<sub>ii</sub> 22'. [.....GA]R<sup>an</sup> *ana* IGI NE KIŠI<sub>16</sub> ŠUB
- B<sub>2</sub>'-3'. ĪI.ĪI *ina* <sup>d</sup>[<sup>ug</sup>BUR.ZI.GAL(?).....] / [*ana* I]GI NE <sup>giš</sup>KIŠI<sub>16</sub> ŠUB<sup>di</sup>
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 8'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>KIŠI<sub>16</sub> ŠUB<sup>di</sup>
- A<sub>ii</sub> 23'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>Á<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ-šú *ina* NÍG.SILA<sub>11</sub>.GÁ
- B<sub>3</sub>'-4'. <sup>dug</sup>BUR.[ZI.GAL .....] / <sup>r</sup>Á<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ-šá *ina* NÍG.SILA<sub>11</sub>.GÁ
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 8'-9'. <sup>dug</sup>BUR.ZI.GAL NÍG.BÚR.BÚR / [.....]
- D<sub>iv</sub> 16-17. <sup>dug</sup>[BUR.ZI.GAL.....] / Á.MEŠ-šá *ina* NÍG.SILA<sub>11</sub>.GÁ
- E<sub>iv</sub> 9'-10'. <sup>dug</sup>BUR.ZI.GA[L.....] / Á.MEŠ-šá *ina* NÍG.SILA<sub>11</sub>.GÁ
- A<sub>ii</sub> 24'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>LÁL<sup>r</sup> [.....] *ana* KA-šú *te-s*[*ir<sup>?</sup>*]
- B<sub>4</sub>'-5'. ÁŠ.A.AN ÚŠ<sup>hi</sup> <sup>g</sup>[<sup>i</sup>SAG.KUD.....] / [LÀ]L *u* Ì.NUN.NA *ana* KA-šú GAR<sup>an</sup>
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 9'. [ÁŠ].<sup>r</sup>A<sup>r</sup>.AN ÚŠ<sup>hi</sup> <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *ana* ŠÀ GAR<sup>an</sup> LÁL *u* Ì.NUN *ana* KA-šú GAR<sup>an</sup>
- D<sub>iv</sub> 17-18. ÁŠ.A.AN ÚŠ<sup>hi</sup> <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *ana* ŠÀ [.....] / *ana* [KA]-šú GAR<sup>an</sup>
- E<sub>iv</sub> 10. ÁŠ.A.AN [.....]
- A<sub>ii</sub> 25'. [..... *u*<sub>4</sub>]-*me an-na-a* DÙ.DÙ-  
*ma ul ši* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>
- B<sub>5</sub>'-6'. *ina* <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *ba*[*h-ra* GÍD<sup>ad</sup>(?)] / MUR.MEŠ-šú SÌG<sup>as</sup> 9 *u*<sub>4</sub>-*me an-na-a* DÙ.MEŠ-  
*m*[*a* .....]
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 10'-11'. [..... M]UR.MEŠ-šú SÌG<sup>as</sup> 7 *u*<sub>4</sub>-*me an-na-a* DÙ.DÙ-  
*ma* / [.....]
- D<sub>iv</sub> 18-19. *ina* <sup>gi</sup>SAG.KUD *ba**h-ra* [GÍD<sup>ad</sup>(?)] / <sup>r</sup>ana MUR<sup>r</sup>.MIN-šú [SÌG<sup>a</sup>]<sup>s</sup> 9 *u*<sub>4</sub>-*me an-na-a*  
D[Ù.DÙ-*ma* ...]
- C<sub>rev.</sub> 11'. [.....] <sup>r</sup>GU<sub>7</sub><sup>r</sup>.MEŠ KAŠ <sup>lu</sup>KÚRUN.NA DU<sub>10</sub>.GA NAG-*ma* TI

If a person, (his) lungs are sick (and) he coughs up blood, use sufficient amount of these 12 drugs: *kalû* mineral, juice from the stone of a date palm, [...], *sahlû* plant, *šumlalû* plant, *kukru* plant, *burāšu* juniper, [...], cedar ‘blood’ (and) ‘blood’ from the aromatic *ballukku*; grind, sieve (and) mix (them) in the tallow of a sheep’s kidney, put (the mixture) into a

*burzigallu* vessel (and) throw (it) onto embers of the plant *ašāgu*; pierce the *burzigallu* vessel, lute its sides with emmer dough (and) put a reed tube into it; smear<sup>103</sup> honey and ghee into his mouth; through the reed tube he will suck (the medicine) up while it is still hot (so that the boiling heat) will hit his lungs; do this repeatedly for 7<sup>104</sup> days

Note that in mss. D and E the first half of the passage describes a partly different ritual during which both a *diqāru* bowl and a *burzigallu* bowl were utilized. The manuscripts are rather fragmentary at this point, but it seems that the mixture of drugs and carrying materials was to be found in the *diqāru* bowl on the top of which the pierced *burzigallu* was placed. Then, the edges of the vessels were sealed with emmer dough and the *diqāru* was put on fire. Finally, when the mixture boiled, the patient sucked it up with the help of the reed tube inserted into the hole of the *burzigallu* vessel.<sup>105</sup>

ii 25. Although the morphology of the form *tu-zak* clearly shows that this form is a derivate of the Akkadian verb *zāku* ('to pound'), its interpretation has been controversial. The most convincing explanation seems to be the one suggested by Meier,<sup>106</sup> Goltz,<sup>107</sup> Herrero<sup>108</sup> and von Soden<sup>109</sup> who considered *tu-zak* to be a finite form of *zāku* in the D stem (i.e., *tuzāk*), and translated it as 'to crush finely / completely, pulverise.' CAD interpreted *tu-zak* similarly, but it distinguished between two different meanings: firstly, 'to bring up, to vomit' in the context of drinking and vomiting medicine; secondly, 'to strain, or the like' which can be connected to the preparation of liquid medicine.<sup>110</sup> The latter meaning has also been accepted in a recent edition of anti-witchcraft texts.<sup>111</sup> The form *tu-zak* has been explained differently by Cadelli who drew attention to the fact that on the basis of the relevant passages it is in fact impossible to translate *tu-zak* as if it were derived from the verb *zāku*, since it always appears in a context where the preparation of liquid remedies is dealt with. She connected this form to the verb

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<sup>103</sup> Mss. B, C and D: 'put.'

<sup>104</sup> Mss. B and D: '9.'

<sup>105</sup> For a detailed description of this ritual, see Scurlock 2014: 465-466. The passages with the ritual description were edited in Scurlock 2014: 467 (ms. E iv 6'-12') and 482-483 (ms. D iv 15-19).

<sup>106</sup> Meier 1939: 214 (note to KUB 29, 58 + vi 2).

<sup>107</sup> Goltz 1974: 33.

<sup>108</sup> Herrero 1984: 63.

<sup>109</sup> AHW II p. 1013.

<sup>110</sup> CAD S pp. 84-85. It is noticeable that CAD discusses some attestations of the D form of *zāku* (e.g., KUB 37, 55+ vi 17', 22') under *zakû*. See CAD Z p. 29.

<sup>111</sup> See especially AMD 8/1 pp. 79 (ll. 136'''' and 141''''), 94 (ms. D<sub>2</sub> l. 4').

*zakû* ('to clean'), and translated it as 'dilute.'<sup>112</sup> However, the equation of *tu-zak* with the verb *zakû* does not seem possible due to the lack of vowel after the last radical. As for the preparation of liquid remedies, it should be noted on the one hand that sometimes the therapeutic texts also refer to drugs being crushed in different liquids.<sup>113</sup> On the other hand, it seems reasonable to assume on the basis of the passages listed below that the remedy was in fact a type of preparation for which a small amount of liquid was used to soften or decompose the already crushed solid materials. The result should have been a semi-fluid mixture that, in most cases, was left standing for a while. The activity described by *tu-zak* comes before the consumption of the medicine by the patient, and it may have included a second pounding exercised on the homogenous semi-fluid mixture.

While *zâku* in the G stem is one of the most frequently used verbs expressing the crushing of drugs in therapeutic texts, the D stem of the same verb is rarely mentioned. Some passages are known from the third tablet of *Su'ālu* where *tu-zak* is connected to drinking potions. In this series *tu-zak* is presented by three recipes, out of which one (BAM 578 iii 11) also contains the Sumerian equivalent of *zâku* (SÚD). Consequently, the verb SÚD denotes in this prescription the crushing of drugs, which then had to be put into some kind of liquid. The final pulverisation expressed by the verb *tu-zak* comes only after the crushed materials have been added to liquids. Similarly, the second and third recipes (BAM 578 iii 13 and 16) describe a procedure when the patient had to drink a mixture of liquids and crushed (KU.KU) or heated drugs (*ina* NINDU ÚŠ<sup>er</sup>).

BAM 578 iii 11: IM.SAḪAR.NA<sub>4</sub>.KUR.RA SÚD *ana* A.MEŠ ŠUB *tu-zak* NAG<sup>114</sup>  
 You pound alum, put (it) into water, crush (it) completely (and) he will drink (it).

BAM 578 iii 13: 5 ŠE KU.KU AN.ZAḪ *ina* KAŠ ŠUB *ina* UL *tuš-bat tu-zak* NAG  
 You put five grains of powder from the mineral *anzahḫu* into beer, leave (it) out overnight under the stars, crush (it) completely (and) he will drink (it).

<sup>112</sup> Cadelli 2000: 152 n. 19. See also AHW III p. 1506 and CAD Z p. 29 where the respective meanings 'Flüssigkeiten absetzen lassen, abklären' and 'to clarify (a preparation)' have been defined for *zakû*.

<sup>113</sup> See the list of relevant passages in CAD S p. 84.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. the restored passage in BAM I ii 64 (esp. Attia – Buisson 2012: 41-42).

BAM 578 iii 16: SUḪUŠ<sup>giš</sup>MA.NU SUḪUŠ<sup>giš</sup>N[U.ÚR.MA *ina* NIND]U ÚŠ<sup>er</sup> A.MEŠ  
*šu-nu-ti tu-zak tu-kàš-ša NAG-ma ina-eš*

You heat the root of *ēru* tree and the root of pomegranate tree in an oven, crush them completely (in) water, cool (them); he will drink (them and) get well.

Other references come from the anti-witchcraft texts, which present a context similar to the one listed above:

KUB 37, 55+ vi 14'-18': ù<sup>ˆ</sup> *in-bi<sup>ˆ</sup> ki-i an-nu-ti-ma / ta-ḥa-aš-ša-<sup>ˆ</sup>al<sup>ˆ</sup> ina KAŠ.SAG / ta-ma-ḥa-aš ina <sup>ˆ</sup>MUL.MEŠ tu<sup>ˆ</sup>-uš-bat / ina še-er-t[i] KAŠ.SA[G] tu-<sup>ˆ</sup>za-a-ak<sup>ˆ</sup> / ba-lu <sup>ˆ</sup>pá<sup>ˆ</sup>-[t]a-a-an NAG-šú-ma TI.LA*

(...) and crush the fruits like these (herbs), **stir** (their powder) into prime beer, leave (the mixture) out overnight under the stars, crush the prime beer (mixture) completely in the morning, make him drink (it) on an empty stomach and he will recover.<sup>115</sup>

KUB 37, 55+ vi 19'-23': BAD LÚ *ka-ši-ip sú-<sup>ˆ</sup>a-a-di ḥa-še-e / nu-ḥu-ur-ta ṭa-ab-ta ina me-e / ta-ra-as-sà-an ina MUL.MEŠ tu-uš-bat / ina še-er-ti tu-za-a-ak (Var. tu-zak) / ba-lu pa-tá-an NAG-šú-ma TI.LA*

If a person is bewitched, steep the aromatic *suādu*, the aromatic *ḥašú*, the aromatic *nuḥurtu* (and) salt in water, leave (the mixture) out overnight, crush (it) completely in the morning, make him drink (it) on an empty stomach and he will recover.<sup>116</sup>

AMT 85, 3 rev. 3-4: DIŠ LÚ *ka-šip<sup>ˆ</sup> a-nu-nu-taš ú-bal i-ḥaš-šal i-nap-pi ina [...] / ina KAŠ i-ra-sà-an ina UL uš-bat ina šèr-ti ú-zak-ma [...]*

If a person is bewitched, he dries, crushes (and) sieves the plant *anunūtu*, [...] in [...], steeps (it) in beer, leaves (it) out overnight under the stars, crushes (it) completely in the morning [...]<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> AMD 8/1 pp. 73, 78-79 (text 2.2 ms. A).

<sup>116</sup> AMD 8/1 pp. 73-74, 78-79 (text 2.2. ms. A). Parallel passages are BAM 208 rev. 3-5 (ms. E) and AMT 85, 1 v 3-4 (ms. F<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>117</sup> AMD 8/1 pp. 90, 94 (text 2.3 ms. D<sub>2</sub>).

Here, too, the result should have been a homogenous semi-fluid mixture being left outside for the night. The final pulverisation, described by *tu-zak*, took place in the morning just before the medicine was applied. In addition to the already discussed passages, there is another text that contains the form *tu-zak*. Although this text is too fragmentary for the reconstruction, it seems that it presents a very similar context.

STT 286 i 7-10

[...] <sup>ú</sup>KA.ZAL <sup>ú</sup>ḪAR.ḪAR / [... m]a<sup>?</sup> ti ŠUR<sup>at</sup> ŠUB<sup>di</sup> ina UL  
*tuš-bat* / [... a]n-nu-ti E<sub>11</sub>-ma *tu-zak ba-lu* / [pa-tan NA]G<sup>?</sup>-ma  
 TI

[...] the plant *kazallu*, the plant *ḫašû* [...] ... extract, put it (into it and) leave (it) out overnight under the stars; remove these [...] plants] and crush (them) completely; he drinks (it) on an empty stomach and he will recover.

Although no water or the like is mentioned in the preserved part of the passage, it seems reasonable to believe that it also dealt with the putting of solid remedies (ŠUB) in some kind of liquid. Like in most other cases, the operation expressed by *tu-zak* comes after the medicine was left standing for a while. In this respect, it is interesting to note that BAM 494 ii 25 is the only known passage so far, where the verb *tu-zak* comes before the reference to the medicine being left outside for the night.

Finally, *tu-zak* occurs on the third tablet of the series DIŠ NA KA-šú DUGUD whose relevant passage seems to present it in a different context. The verb occurs here in connection with a surgical procedure employed for removing blood and abscess from the patient's chest. It is difficult to understand what exactly was meant by this verb in this prescription.<sup>118</sup> It could have referred either to the final pounding of the healing drugs or to some kind operation standing in connection with the surgery described a couple of lines before.

A = AMT 49, 4

B = BAM 39

A<sub>iv</sub> 5' 5 SÌLA A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> ŠEG<sub>6</sub><sup>šal</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>-[šá-ḫal.....]

B<sub>5'-6'</sub> [...] SÌLA A GAZI<sup>sar</sup> sek-ru-te ta-šá-ḫal [.....] / [.....]

A<sub>iv</sub> 6' *tu-sa-ba-a'-šú-ma tu-[za-ak .....*]

<sup>118</sup> Scurlock translated 'you clear (it) away' (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 46 no. 3.93; Scurlock 2014: 485). This translation does not seem probable, however, since the verb is *zâku*, not *zakû*.



B<sub>6</sub><sup>7</sup>: *tu-sa-ba-a'-šu-ma tu-za-ak GUR-m[a<sup>?</sup>.....] / [.....]*

A<sub>iv</sub> 7: *DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> tu-šá-ḥa-an [.....]*

B<sub>7</sub><sup>8</sup>: *[TÉ]Š.BI tu-šá-ḥa-an ana ŠÁ-šú DUB<sup>ak</sup> [.....] / [.....]*

You cook (and) filter 5 litres of *kasû* juice.<sup>119</sup> [...] You shake<sup>120</sup> him (= the patient<sup>?</sup>) and *crush completely*<sup>?</sup> (and) [...] again. You boil (it) together, pour (it) into it<sup>?</sup> [...].

ii 30. That MAŠ.TAB.BA (lit. ‘twin’) is the Sumerogram of the Akkadian disease name *ašû* was suggested by Köcher in BAM V p. xxix.<sup>121</sup> For there is no lexical text which would connect these two lexemes, the equation proposed by Köcher can mainly be based on the rubric KA.INIM.MA MAŠ.TAB.BA.KE<sub>4</sub> that appears in BAM 494 after the incantations to be recited against the disease *ašû*. Nevertheless, if this assumption is correct, the plant name Ú MAŠ.TAB.BA could also be associated with *šammi ašî* ‘plant (against) the disease *ašû*,’ known from pharmacological and therapeutic texts.<sup>122</sup>

ii 31-34. The passage contains the first incantation to be recited against the disease *ašû*. This abracadabra incantation seems to consist mainly of the repetition of Akkadian sounding words, which sometimes alternate with meaningless magical formulas. In spite of this, there are some parts of the passage that allow a provisional translation. For instance, Akkadian verb forms might be *te-ne-eš-ma* (ii 32) and *i-na-a-aš* (ii 33), which probably derive from the verbs *nêšu* (‘to live’) and *nâšu*<sup>123</sup> (‘to increase’), respectively. In addition the Akkadian conjunctive particle *-ma* and the conjunction *u* can also be identified in the text.

While the magical formulas appearing in this passage are not attested elsewhere, similarly sounding words (*ḥa.ti.ib* instead of *ḥa.al.ti.ib* and *ḥu.un.di* instead of *di.ḥu.un*<sup>124</sup>) are known

<sup>119</sup> Ms. B: ‘You filter [...] litres of heated *kasû* juice.’

<sup>120</sup> Translated similarly as ‘you make him ‘wave’’ in Stol 2004: 72. Different translations are ‘après l’avoir fait se courber,’ ‘(pendant ce temps) tu maintiendras le malade dans cette position’ (Labat 1954: 217 mit n. 1) and ‘you spill (it) over him’ (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 46 no. 3.93; Scurlock 2014: 485); no translation is suggested in CAD S p. 3. See also Kinnier Wilson 1996: 136 where this difficult passage is explained as follows: ‘From a damaged section of the text there is evidence that, to sweeten (?) the atmosphere, incense was to circulate or even ‘swirl’ (*sabā’u*) through the house from a time immediately before the operation.’

<sup>121</sup> The suggestion was later accepted by Scurlock who remarked on it as follows: ‘The fact that prescriptions for *ašû* and MAŠ.TAB.BA are frequently intermixed on the same tablet (as in BAM 494) would seem to support this suggestion. Moreover, the idea of ‘twins’ would not be inappropriate to *ašû*, which is typically characterized by a number of more or less identical lesions appearing together in clusters’ (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 720 n. 72).

<sup>122</sup> See CAD A/II p. 477. The plant name *šammi ašî* is also attested in BAM 494 ii 36.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. CAD N/II p. 115

<sup>124</sup> Note, however, that *di.ḥu.un* could also denote the disease name *dīḥu* followed by UN, the Sumerogram for the Akkadian word *nīšu* (‘people’). This assumption can be based on the fact that the incantation also mentions fever, which is often associated with the *dīḥu* disease.

from two other incantations. One of these incantations was to be recited against witchcraft, and it consists only of meaningless magical formulas:<sup>125</sup>

ÉN pa.ti pa.ti.ti pa.ta.kar pa.ta.kar  
ḫa.ti.ib ḫa.ti.ib TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN  
KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM

The second incantation is known from the corpus of amulet stone lists, and it begins with the word ḫu.un.di followed by a list of disease names and an appeal to Asalluḫi who should keep the patient safe from all harm.<sup>126</sup>

ii 35. See the notes on BAM 494 ii 30.

ii 37-38. The first line of this incantation is similar to the first line of the previous incantation in that it repeats the same word several times. This incantation also seems to be an abracadabra making use of meaningful Sumerian words sometimes. Thus, the first line of the passage could also be emended as edin.lal edin.na edin.lal edin.na, followed by a phrase that can be translated literally as ‘steppe where the feet are put’ (edin ki gir si.ga).<sup>127</sup> The second line of the incantation is unintelligible.

ii 38. The form *ta* ÉN at the end of this incantation appears to be a syllabically written variant of TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN ‘incantation formula.’<sup>128</sup>

ii 39. See the notes on BAM 494 ii 30.

ii 41. The passage appears to be a quotation from the therapeutic vademecum BAM 426.<sup>129</sup>  
BAM 426 ii’ 13’:     ‘Ú’ NUMUN *kám-ka-du* : Ú *a-ši-’i*’

ii 42. The passage may be connected to the pharmacological list BAM 1, as well as to the

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<sup>125</sup> BAM 445 obv. 33-35 // AMT 35, 3 iv 2’-3’ // BAM 434 iii 4-6 (AMD 8/1 p. 154 text 7.7 mss. E, F and G; AMD 8/1 pp. 214-215, text 7.10 mss. A, B and C).

<sup>126</sup> For this incantation, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 226-227 ll. 74f’-i’.

<sup>127</sup> The meaning ‘attendant’ (GÌR.SÌ.GA = *girseqû*) does not seem to fit the context.

<sup>128</sup> CAD T pp. 441-442.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. BAM V p. xxx.

therapeutic vademecum BAM 426.<sup>130</sup>

BAM 1 i 62:            <sup>u</sup>ÁB.DUḪ : Ú *a-ši-i* : SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ

BAM 426 ii' 14':    <sup>u</sup>*ka-man-tú* : Ú *a-ši-i'*

ii 47-48. This unintelligible passage should contain an abracadabra incantation against *ašû*. Note the repetition of the almost identical forms *iš.ka.gi.im.ma* (ii 47) and *iš.ka.ki.im.ma* (ii 48), which is a typical feature of this type of incantations. Similarly the sign sequence *šu.uḫ.di.am* occurs twice in this incantation.

ii 52. See the notes on BAM 494 ii 30.

ii 55. See the notes on BAM 494 ii 30.

ii 60. The translation 'bent stick of poplar wood' (GIŠ GAM <sup>giš</sup>ÍLDAG) is provisional, since this phrase is not attested in therapeutic texts.

ii 74. Although the exact meaning of LAL ŠUB LAL is unclear, it seems reasonable to believe that it denotes something similar as the comparably constructed phrases LAL *ina* LAL and LAL ŠUB known from BAM 494 iii 26' and BAM 494 iii 51'', respectively. While in the latter case the verb ŠUB (*nadû*) certainly refers to the application of medicine,<sup>131</sup> thus conveying the meaning 'put a bandage on' with LAL as Sumerogram for 'bandage' (*našmattu*), it is difficult to decide if the very same instruction was meant by the phrase LAL ŠUB LAL appearing in BAM 494 ii 74. The reason for the uncertainty is the second LAL the function of which is unclear in this context. Here, the tentative translation 'put on a bandage by binding (it) on' has been suggested, which is based on the verbal meaning 'to bind, to bandage' of LAL. It must be noted, however, that instructions of this kind are rather unusual in therapeutic texts that usually refer to the act of bandaging by using LAL alone. A different explanation of this obscure phrase can be based on another meaning of the verb ŠUB, namely, 'to sprinkle liquid medication on a patient.'<sup>132</sup> This meaning would suggest a procedure consisting of a primary bandaging (LAL), which would have been followed by the sprinkling of drugs (ŠUB), and, finally, a second bandage could have been put on (LAL). However, this

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<sup>130</sup> Cf. Scurlock 2014: 714 notes on l. 62.

<sup>131</sup> For this meaning of the verb *nadû*, see CAD N/I p. 82.

<sup>132</sup> CAD N/I p. 75.

explanation does not seem probable due to the fact that the prescription does not mention liquid medication that could have been used this way.

Instead of ŠUB, the third phrase contains the preposition *ina* between the two LAL signs.<sup>133</sup> For this phrase the provisional translation ‘bandage him with a bandage’ was suggested, which is just as unusual as the one presented in connection with LAL ŠUB LAL. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to believe that it denotes the act of bandaging just like the other two phrases discussed above. For a different interpretation of LAL *ina* LAL see the notes on BAM 494 iii 26’.

iii 4. The Akkadian dictionaries interpret ‘*sāmānu* from a wall’ (*sāmānu ša igāri*)<sup>134</sup> as a kind of insect or worm living on walls.<sup>135</sup> Stol explains this term differently as a sort of mould on walls (‘Schimmel an der Wand’).<sup>136</sup> However, Stol’s interpretation does not seem plausible, because the term ‘*sāmānu* from a wall’ is listed among other animal substances on the third tablet of Uruana<sup>137</sup> where it is identified as a reddish worm (*tūltu sāmtu*).<sup>138</sup>

Besides BAM 494 iii 4 and iii 67’’, ‘*sāmānu* from a wall’ is known from two other therapeutic prescriptions belonging to three medical tablets.<sup>139</sup> For the first time, this drug name occurs in the Old Babylonian text CUSAS 32 73 where it is applied against the boil *kurāru* affecting the finger of patient.<sup>140</sup> The other recipe can be found on two Neo-Assyrian tablets, which describe treatments for various head problems (BAM 497 ii 10’-11’ // AMT 1, 3: 6). This recipe is part of a sequence of prescriptions against the illness called ‘seizure of sweetness’; the term could probably be understood as an abbreviated form of skin complaints, such as ‘sweet’ lice or ‘sweet’ *simmu*.<sup>141</sup>

A = AMT 1, 3: 6’

B = BAM 497 ii 10’-11’

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<sup>133</sup> Note that this phrase is known primarily from BAM 156 (= ms. P). The corresponding part of BAM 494 is in fragmentary condition.

<sup>134</sup> An Old-Babylonian passage gives *sā-ma-an du-ri-im*, see MS 3285 (CUSAS 10, 10) obv. 14 // Si 57 (von Soden 1950) i 7.

<sup>135</sup> See especially AHW II p. 1017 where the translation ‘ein Kornwurm (lebt auch an Mauern)’ is suggested. CAD S p. 112 translates ‘wall-*samānu*’.

<sup>136</sup> Stol 2009-2011: 611 § 5.

<sup>137</sup> See also the somewhat different term *sa-ma-nu ša IZ.ZI* || *tul<sub>5</sub>-tu’ s[a-a]m-tú* in VAT 10171+ (KADP 12) iii 40 and [...] || *tul<sub>5</sub>-tu sa-am-tu* in K 4228 (CT 14 10) rev. 17. Both passages were edited in MSL VIII/2 p. 62 line 237.

<sup>138</sup> Note, however, the CAD interprets *tūltu sāmtu* as a red dye extracted from the kermes worm (CAD T p. 467).

<sup>139</sup> See CAD S p. 112.

<sup>140</sup> CUSAS 32 73 rev. 17: *ú-ba-a-’an-šu ku’-ra-rum sa-ma-nam ša i-ga-ra* (...). See also George 2016: 167 §16.

<sup>141</sup> For the disease names being defined as ‘sweet,’ see Scheyhing 2011: 101.

A 6' [DIŠ KIMIN<sup>?</sup> ...] MÚD.MEŠ-šú TI<sup>qé</sup> UGU-šú ŠÉŠ UR.ME.E šá É.GAR<sub>8</sub> ta-  
sàk [.....]  
B ii10'-11' [DIŠ KIMIN<sup>?</sup> ... MÚD.M]EŠ-šú TI<sup>qé</sup> 'UGU-šú' EŠ<sup>as</sup> UR.ME.E ša É.GAR<sub>8</sub>  
SÚD / [..... š]ar-tu<sub>4</sub> e-la-a 'EN LÁL-uš' ÉN ki-a-am ŠID<sup>nu</sup>  
[If DITTO<sup>?</sup> ...], you take its blood (and) anoint his skull. You pound an insect *sāmānu* from a  
wall [...] (his) hair will grow again. While you are bandaging him, you should recite the  
incantation as follows: (the text continues with an abracadara incantation which is identical to  
the one known from BAM 494 iii 69'')

In addition to these three references, *sāmānu* alone occurs in BAM 494 iii 49'' // AO 11447  
obv. 44), as well as in UGU I that writes this drug name with the determinative Ú.<sup>142</sup> With  
regard to the latter writing, it seems reasonable to follow Böck's interpretation, who argued in  
connection with *hallulāya* that in therapeutic prescriptions one should differentiate between  
two meanings of this word: the insect *hallulāya* and a plant having something to do with this  
insect (e.g., food or habitat).<sup>143</sup>

The sign UD occurring after the phrase LÁL KUR<sup>i</sup> ('mountain honey') can be explained as a  
word denoting either the colour of the material (i.e., LÁL KUR<sup>i</sup> BABBAR 'white honey from  
the mountain') or its consistency (i.e., LÁL KUR<sup>i</sup> ḪÁD 'dried honey from the mountain').<sup>144</sup>  
The possibility of UD referring to the consistency of honey is supported by the fact that in  
therapeutic texts this sign is often used to express the dryness of substances. In spite of this  
usage, the reading LÁL KUR<sup>i</sup> BABBAR ('white honey from the mountain') is preferred here  
over LÁL KUR<sup>i</sup> ḪÁD ('dried honey from the mountain'), since the passage lists liquids of  
different kinds used to wash the patient. It should be emphasized, however, that in therapeutic  
texts there is no known attestation of 'mountain honey' being defined as 'white'<sup>145</sup> so that the  
possibility of a scribal mistake cannot be excluded either. Should this be the case, the base  
text might have listed three liquids out of which the scribe of BAM 494 included 'mountain  
honey' and 'water,' but omitted the third one, save its qualifier 'white.' The third liquid might

<sup>142</sup> <sup>u</sup>sa-ma-nam [...] SILA<sub>11</sub><sup>as</sup> SAR<sup>ab</sup> KIMIN (= LAL-ma UD 3.KAM NU DU<sub>8</sub>) 'You knead the plant *sāmānu*  
[...] shave (his head) ditto (= bind (it) on and do not untie (it) for three days)' (BAM 480+ ii 18 edited by  
Worthington 2005).

<sup>143</sup> Böck 2011: 697.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. CAD D p. 163.

<sup>145</sup> The phrase 'white mountain honey' is known from the Practical Vocabulary of Aššur 114-115: LÁL.MEŠ /  
[L]ÁL.MEŠ KUR<sup>e</sup> BAB[BAR]<sup>u</sup> (Landsberger – Gurney 1957-1958: 329; Gurney 1981-1982: 96 pl. II).

thus have been wine; white wine (GEŠTIN BABBAR) occurs together with ‘mountain honey,’ for instance, in a prescription against seizure of ghost.<sup>146</sup>

iii 7-8. This fragmentary passage seems to describe a procedure, which consisted of washing and anointing the patient. A similar prescription can be found in the therapeutic texts AO 11447, AMT 18, 3 and BM 41282(+):<sup>147</sup>

A = AO 11447 (Labat 1959: 110-113; Geller 2007: 5-6) obv. 25-26

B = AMT 18, 3: 1-3

C = BM 41282(+) (Fincke 2011: 189, 192) ii 14’-16’

A<sub>obv. 25</sub> DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su* g[i]-iṣ-ša-ta<sub>5</sub> TUKU<sup>ṣi</sup> úak-tam NAGA.SI [.....  
.....]

B<sub>1</sub> [..... gi]-iṣ-ša-ta<sub>5</sub> TUKU úak-tam NAGA.SI [I .....  
.....]

C<sub>ii 14’</sub> ʾDIŠ NA<sup>ʾ</sup> [SAG].ʾDU<sup>ʾ</sup>-[su.....TUK]U<sup>ṣi</sup> úak-tam NAGA.SI SÚD.MEŠ  
ŠEG<sub>6</sub>-ma

A<sub>obv. 26</sub> SAG.DU<sub>kād</sub>-*su* LUḪ<sup>si</sup> úLAL ú<sub>5</sub>-ra-nu SÚD ʾinaʾ [.....  
.....]

B<sub>2-3</sub> [.....] úKU<sub>6</sub> ina Ì.GIŠ Ú BABBAR SÚD ina ʾÌ.[GIŠ<sup>ʾ</sup>] /  
[.....] ʾxʾ Ì.KUR.RA ŠÉŠ-*su-m*[a .....]

C<sub>ii 14’-16’</sub> SAG.DU-*su* LUḪ<sup>si</sup> / [.....] úak-tam úIGI-*lim* SÚD ina Ì PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.dÍD  
: Ì.KUR.RA / [..... ŠÉ]Š-*su-ma* DIN

If a person, his head has the disease *giššatu*, pound (and) cook the plant *aktam* (and) ‘horned’ alkali, and wash his head; pound the plant *ašqulālu* (and) the plant *urānu* (mixed) in [...].<sup>148</sup>

iii 20’. That the passage STT 99 obv. 5’ (= ms. S) is a duplicate to the now missing second half of this prescription has been suggested by Böck, who seems to have based her restoration of the text on the fact that the next recipe occurs both in STT 99 and BAM 494.<sup>149</sup> Although her suggestion is reasonable, it is not sure if STT 99 obv. 5’ and BAM 494 iii 20’ are in fact

<sup>146</sup> BAM 52: 8-9 and duplicates. See Scurlock 2006: 639 no. 318.

<sup>147</sup> See especially Geller 2007: 9 n. 30.

<sup>148</sup> Ms. B: ‘pound [...] (and) the plant *urānu* in oil (and) ‘white plant,’ anoint him with oil [...] (and) naphtha [...]; Ms. C: ‘pound [...], the plant *aktam* (and) the plant ‘facing thousand (diseases),’ anoint him with oil from the sulphur *kibrītu* : naphtha [...] and he will recover.’

<sup>149</sup> Böck 2003: 172 no. 9.

duplicates, since both passages are in fragmentary condition, and there is no overlapping part between the two manuscripts.

One of the drugs referred to in this prescription is the obscure A.ZA.LU.LU that might be understood as a variant of the plant name A.ZA.LU (*azallu*).<sup>150</sup> It is more probable, however, that the sumerogram A.ZA.LU.LU stands here for the Akkadian word *nammaštu*, meaning ‘wild animals.’ Together with the preceding Ì.UDU, the drug mentioned by the prescription might thus be ‘fat from wild animals’ (*lipi nammašti*).<sup>151</sup>

iii 21’. The medicine in this prescription is probably an ointment for which a certain drug had to be mixed with beer dreg (*simplicium*). Following Böck’s interpretation,<sup>152</sup> the drug seems to be called ‘foam from beerwort’ (*hubuš narṭabi*), although it must be noted that this term is not attested in any other therapeutic text.<sup>153</sup> For this reason, an alternative reading can be suggested as follows: NAM.DIL NITA GUL ‘you ‘destroy’ male mandrake.’ The verb ‘destroy’ (GUL) could tentatively be interpreted as a reference to the pounding or crushing of the plant. The problem with this interpretation is that the crushing and pounding of plants is not expressed with the verb GUL (*abātu*) in any other therapeutic text. Also, this passage would be the only example for NAM.DIL being a variant writing of NAM.TAR, the Sumerian word for *pillū* (‘mandrake’).<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, it is noticeable that <sup>gi</sup>NAM.TAL also is a common logogram for mandrake and that in BAM 494 iii 21’ the sign DIL could stand for TÀL. Instead of NAM.DIL the reading could thus be NAM.TÀL, which could be a learned writing of the name of the mandrake.

iii 22’. Based on the missing dividing line between STT 99 obv. 6’ and 7’ (= ms. S), it seemed probable that both lines of the STT text duplicate BAM 494 iii 21’ only, while BAM 494 iii 22’ is without any known duplicates.<sup>155</sup> However, the preserved parts of BAM 494 iii 22’ and STT 99 obv. 7’ are very close to each other, the only difference being the drug name IM.SAḪAR.GE<sub>6</sub>.KUR.RA, which is replaced by IM.SAḪAR.NA<sub>4</sub>.KUR.RA in the STT text. Because of this similarity, it cannot be excluded that BAM 494 and STT 99 were similarly

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<sup>150</sup> Böck 2003: 172 no. 9.

<sup>151</sup> For the therapeutic use of fat from ‘wild animals,’ see CAD N/I p. 235.

<sup>152</sup> Böck 2003: 172 no. 10.

<sup>153</sup> The word *hubšū*, a probable derivative of the verb *habāšu* (‘to break into pieces, to chop up’), is also known from the Erra Epic IIb 11 and IV 68 where it also has the meaning ‘scum, foam.’ Note especially that both passages in Erra say *hu-bu-uš pa-an A.MEŠ* ‘foam on the surface of the water’ (Gössmann 1956: 46; AHw I p. 351; Cagni 1969: 82-83, 112-113, 203-204; Cagni 1977: 36, 54; Dalley 1989: 294, 305).

<sup>154</sup> See CAD P p. 376.

<sup>155</sup> Böck 2003: 172.

segmented, that is, STT 99 obv. 6' is the only line duplicating BAM 494 iii 21', while STT 99 obv. 7' represents the same prescription as BAM 494 iii 22'. As for the missing dividing line, its omission in the STT text might be a scribal mistake.

iii 23'. While 'leek' is often used as drug according to therapeutic texts, 'leek seed' (NUMUN GA.RAŠ) appears only a few times in the corpus. In addition, it is unexpected that the drug name is written without the determinative SAR. In fact, 'leek' is referred to in BAM 494 iii 71'' where this determinative occurs after the plant name.

The word *šallamtu* is a derivate of the verb *šalāmu* ('to be black'), and it can denote various materials, such as stone ('black stone'), tree ('black tree') and plant ('black plant'). As for 'black plant,' the Akkadian dictionaries list BAM 494 iii 23' as single reference,<sup>156</sup> but *šā-lam-tam* also occurs in BAM 494 iii 71'' without the plant name *aktam*, which precedes it in BAM 494 iii 23'. For this reason, it is not possible to agree with Böck who defined *šā-lam-tam* as a qualifier of the preceding *aktam*, and translated the passage as 'die Pflanze namens 'Schwarze *aktam*'.<sup>157</sup>

iii 24'-28'. According to Böck, BAM 494 iii 24'-28' and BAM 156 25-31 (=ms. P) are not the manuscripts of one and the same recipe, but rather they are two separate, although very similar, prescriptions.<sup>158</sup> While it is indeed the case that BAM 494 iii 27'-28' describes a complementary treatment not known from BAM 156, the differences between the healing procedures preserved in BAM 494 iii 24'-26' and BAM 156 25-31 are so minimal that these two passages can in fact be duplicates. In this respect, the presence of a complementary treatment known from only one manuscript might point to a healing procedure having a longer (BAM 494) and a shorter (BAM 156) version.

iii 25'. The noun *laqlaqtu* can be understood as the feminine form of *laq(a)laqqu*. While in CAD<sup>159</sup> the two forms *laqlaqqu* and *laqlaqtu* have separately been translated as some kind of eczema, Böck<sup>160</sup> put forward the translation 'secretion' ('Absonderung') on the basis of the Standard List of Diseases where the lexeme LA.GA / ZA.RA.AḤ = *laqlaqqu* occurs together

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<sup>156</sup> See AHW III p. 1077 and CAD S p. 73.

<sup>157</sup> Böck 2003: 172 no. 12.

<sup>158</sup> Böck 2003: 170 no. 3 and 172-173 no. 13.

<sup>159</sup> CAD L p. 102. See also AHW II p. 538 where, too, *laqlaqqu* and *laqlaqtu* are discussed separately.

<sup>160</sup> Böck 2003: 170 no. 3.



with the words denoting ‘pus,’ ‘flowing pus and blood,’ ‘bloody faeces’ and the skin complaints *gurištu*.<sup>161</sup>

[L]UGUD	:	<i>šar-ku</i>
MÚD.LUGUD.DÉ.DÉ	:	<i>da-mu u šar-ku a-la-ku</i>
MÚD.LUGUD.GU <sub>7</sub> .GU <sub>7</sub>	:	KIMIN
ÚŠ.ŠÈ.DA	:	<i>ni-i-tú</i>
[L]A.GA	:	<i>gu-ri-iš-tu</i>
[L]A.GA	:	<i>laq-laq-qu</i>
[ZA].RA.AḪ	:	KIMIN

According to the cited passage, LA.GA could be the Sumerogram for *gurištu* and *laqlaqqu*. That the same Sumerian word was also used to refer to the feminine form *laqlaqtu*, can be seen with the help of the lexical series Erimhuš where it appears together with its masculine counterpart *laqlaqqu*.<sup>162</sup>

ZA.RA.AḪ	:	<i>laqlaqqu</i>
LA.GA	:	<i>laqlaqtu</i>

In this list *laqlaqqu* and *laqlaqtu* are equated with different Sumerograms. The reason for the two lexical entries occurring together in one and the same passage of the text might be the near-homonymic character of the Akkadian words.<sup>163</sup>

The close connection that existed between the skin complaint called LA.GA (*laqlaqqu*, *laqlaqtu* or *gurištu*) and the patient’s head, can also be demonstrated with the help of the series UGU.MU where this skin problem is defined as belonging to the head and ears (LA.GA SAG.DU.MU and LA.GA GEŠ.TU<sub>9</sub><sup>gěštu</sup>.MU).<sup>164</sup>

The verb *tu-šá-kal*, preserved only in BAM 156 (=ms. P), could be understood as the second person singular imperfect form of the verb *akālu* in the Š stem (i.e., ‘you make (him) eat’ or ‘you give (him) medication’).<sup>165</sup> Another possible reading of the sign sequence in question is

<sup>161</sup> Standard List of Diseases 158-164 (MSL IX pp. 95-96).

<sup>162</sup> Erimhuš VI 231-232 (MSL IX p. 87).

<sup>163</sup> See Cavigneaux 1980-1983: 635.

<sup>164</sup> UGU.MU 49 and 145 (MSL IX pp. 53, 56).

<sup>165</sup> See CAD A/I pp. 257-258.

*tu-ša-lap*,<sup>166</sup> which should be the second person singular imperfect form of the verb *šalāpu* ('to tear out') in the D stem. Note, however, that the verb *šalāpu* does not seem to be attested in therapeutic texts.<sup>167</sup>

iii 26'. Based on Böck's interpretation, the difficult phrase LAL *ina* LAL could be connected to the passage BAM 22 rev. 22 where the syllabically written form *i-na* LAL ('bandage the eye') occurs.<sup>168</sup> Consequently, *ina* would be an unorthographic writing for the noun *īnu* ('eye'), standing in accusative. However, LAL *ina* LAL should rather be compared with the similarly constructed phrases LAL ŠUB LAL and LAL ŠUB occurring in BAM 494 ii 74 and BAM 494 iii 52'', respectively. For these phrases see the notes on BAM 494 ii 74.

iii 30'. The tree name <sup>giš</sup>*ku-ma-ḥi* could also be read as <sup>giš</sup>*š<sub>i4</sub>-ma-ḥi*.<sup>169</sup>

iii 45''-46''. Although nothing has remained of this part of the text, the passage was considered to have contained the very same prescription that is known from BAM 3 i 48 (=ms. D) // AO 11447 obv. 42 (=ms. R):<sup>170</sup>

D<sub>i 48</sub> DIŠ NA GIR.GIG GIG Ì.NUN ŠÉŠ Ú BABBAR SÚD *ana* UGU<sup>hi</sup> [.....] 'DIN'

R<sub>obv. 42</sub> DIŠ NA *ku-ra-ra-ri?* GIG Ì.'NUN.NA' [.....]

If a person suffers from the boil *kurāru*, anoint with ghee; pound 'white plant,' [...] onto [...] (and) he will recover.

The next few lines of BAM 494 are duplicated by AO 11447.<sup>171</sup>

iii 51''-52''. Böck connected this passage of BAM 494 to the recipe preserved in BAM 152 i 19'-23'.<sup>172</sup> It must be noted, however, that BAM 152 i 19'-23' is in a very fragmentary condition, and it does not allow such a restoration. In addition, the tablet also contains another prescription against *kurāru* (BAM 152 i 14-18), which cannot be found in BAM 494, either.

<sup>166</sup> Reading suggested by G. Buisson.

<sup>167</sup> See CAD Š/I pp. 230-231.

<sup>168</sup> See Böck 2003: 170 no. 3.

<sup>169</sup> Böck 2003: 173 no. 14. For the reading <sup>giš</sup>*ku-ma-ḥi*, see CAD K pp. 531-532.

<sup>170</sup> Böck 2003: 175 no. 19. Note that Labat (1959), Geller (2007) and Worthington (2006) did not consider BAM 494 iii 45''-46'' to be a duplicate to BAM 3 i 48 or AO 11447 obv. 42.

<sup>171</sup> BAM 494 iii 47'' // AO 11447 obv. 43 and BAM 494 iii 49'' // AO 11447 obv. 44.

<sup>172</sup> Böck 2003: 176 no. 24.

iii 66''-68''. The drug called 'sāmānu from a wall' is used against the boil *kurāru* in the Old Babylonian medical text CUSAS 32 73, as well. See the notes on BAM 494 iii 4.

iii 70''. The passage seems to have contained the description of a ritual that accompanied the abracadabra incantation appearing in the previous line. The only legible part of this passage presents the word *anšabtu*, which is defined by Uruana III<sup>173</sup> and Malku VIII<sup>174</sup> as a synonym of the Akkadian lexemes *lulmû* ('earring') and *anatu* ('ring'). The first lexeme, *lulmû*, appears to be explained in Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra XI 297 as the Akkadian equivalent of KÙ.KAM GE<sub>6</sub> 'black antimony.' Using this lexical entry, Böck connected the lexeme *lulmû* to *lulû*, the original Akkadian equivalent of KÙ.KAM ('antimony'), and drew attention to a third lexical passage (Uruana I 318) where *lulû* is equated with the plant *zibû* ('black cumin'). This has given Böck the idea that *lulmû* – by extension – could also denote 'antimony' and 'black cumin.' As she concluded, the original lexeme, *anšabtu*, did not necessarily mean 'ring' in BAM 494 iii 70'', but it could also stand for a metalloid (antimony) or a plant (black cumin), since its synonym, *lulmû*, might have conveyed the very same meanings on the basis of the above-discussed lexical passages.<sup>175</sup> It must be noted, however, that Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra XI 297 is a fragmentary entry, which is restored as [KÙ].KAM GE<sub>6</sub> : *lu-u[l-mu-u]*, although this restoration is uncertain.<sup>176</sup> In addition, the exact meaning of KÙ.KAM = *lulû* is also questionable. According to Schuster-Brandis, the interpretation of KÙ.KAM = *lulû* as the word denoting 'antimony' has been based on the glassmaking texts, but even in the case of these texts it cannot be decided with any certainty what exactly was meant by this word.<sup>177</sup> Finally, it is noticeable that the lexeme *anšabtu* occurs in the ritual description of BAM 494 iv 3-6 where it definitely denotes a golden ring with the help of which the surface of a sore had to be scratched (*ina an-ša-ab-ti* KÙ.GI IGI GIG *ta-kàš*). Thus, it is reasonable to believe that in BAM 494 iii 70'', too, *anšabtu* had nothing to do with the synonymic expression *lulmû* and its alleged meanings, but it had the same function as in BAM 494 iv 3-6.

iii 72''. Based on the complete duplicate BAM 34 (= ms. Q), a very similar incantation occurs in BAM 494 iv 2. For the discussion of this incantation see the notes on BAM 494 iv 2.

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<sup>173</sup> K 240 (CT 14 15-16) rev. 5-6: *lu-ul-mu-ú* : *an-ša-ab-tum* / *a-na-tum* : MIN; VAT 13781 (KADP 4) rev. 60: [*lul-m*]u-*u* *ab-nu* : *a-na-tú* : *an-šab-tú*. Both passages are listed in AHW I p. 54 as well as in CAD A/II p. 144 and CAD L p. 242. Note that in CAD K 240 rev. 5 is categorized as Uruana III 184, while CDLI (P349862) defines the very same text as a possible candidate for Malku IX.

<sup>174</sup> Malku VIII 24 (Hrúša 2010: 138-139): *lulmû* : *anša[btu]*.

<sup>175</sup> Böck 2003: 178.

<sup>176</sup> See the discussion of this entry in CAD L p. 242.

<sup>177</sup> Schuster-Brandis 2008: 424.

iii 75''. A probable reading of the obscure sign sequence in this line might be *na-gap-pu*, which is an Akkadian term denoting a kind of vegetable.<sup>178</sup> It must be noted however, that *nagappu* is not known from therapeutic texts. Nor does it occur elsewhere in connection with vinegar.

iii 77''-78''. The passage probably contains an abracadabra incantation that makes use of Akkadian or Akkadian-sounding words: *šuhtu* 'patina' (šu.uḫ.ta), *sakkuttu* 'residue' (sa.ku.tú), *hesû* 'to cover up' (ḫi.si), *kurbanni* 'lump' (kur.ba.an.ni).<sup>179</sup> However, the passage does not seem to be meaningful as a whole. In addition, it should also be noted that the repetition of phrases like su.ub ḫur.ri.im is a typical feature of abracadabra incantations.

iv 2. The verb form *ZI<sup>bi</sup>* might suggest the presence a rubric at the end of this line (cf., BAM 494 iii 76''). Based on the complete duplicate BAM 34 (= ms. Q), the presumed rubric was preceded by an incantation, which is very similar to the one known from BAM 494 iii 72''. While the first part of this incantation is well understood,<sup>180</sup> the exact meaning of the sign sequence after *pil-ši* is still unclear. Following Böck,<sup>181</sup> the provisional reading *un-qi* ('ring') can be suggested, although this reading is based on a syllabic value of the sign GI, which is unusual in this context.

iv 3-6. The prescription describes several consecutive treatments, all of which are *simplicia*. In most cases a single healing drug had to be dessicated and scattered over the sore. In other treatments the drug had to be mix with some kind of liquid and applied as an ointment.

iv 3. Concerning the difficult passage in line 3, Böck's interpretation can be accepted, according to which the same drug occurs here as in BAM 494 iii 21; this drug is called 'foam from beerwort,' written differently as *ḫu-bu<sub>4</sub>-uš SÚN*, instead of *ḫu-bu-uš SÚN*.<sup>182</sup> An alternative reading of these signs can also be suggested: MUŠEN TÚL NITA, meaning 'male bird from a well'. Although this term is not mentioned elsewhere in the medical corpus, similarly constructed phrases, such as *iššūr ḫurri* ('bird from a hole,' probably rock-patridge)

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<sup>178</sup> After Böck 2003: 178. Note that CAD (N/I p. 104) translates this term as 'sheaf, bundle.'

<sup>179</sup> See Böck 2003: 180.

<sup>180</sup> CAD Š/II p. 72 and P p. 379. See also Böck 2003: 178.

<sup>181</sup> Böck 2003: 178.

<sup>182</sup> Böck 2003: 178 and 179. See also the notes on BAM 494 iii 21'.

*iššūr appāri* ('bird from the marsh') and *iššūr ašāgi* ('bird from the *ašāgu*-thorn') are known, some of them also appear in medical texts.<sup>183</sup>

iv 4. The translation of the phrase *ta-a'-a šá* UDU.NÍTA as 'spider<sup>2</sup> from a sheep' is highly conjectural; it is based on the following equation known Uruana III 238-239:

*ettūtu* : *tu-u'-a* (Var. *tu-ú-ia*)

*ettūtu* : GÍR.TAB ANŠE<sup>184</sup>

It must be noted, however, that because of the morphological differences between *tu-u'-a* and *ta-a'-a* this translation is far from certain. If one follows the suggestion in CAD, the basic form of *ta-a'-a* should be *ta'u*, which is defined there as a word of unknown meaning.<sup>185</sup> In addition, *ta-a'-a* could represent, according to CAD, the same word as the form *ta-'a* attested in three therapeutic texts (TCL 6 34 i 4' // BAM 178: 2' // AMT 35, 3 i 3') and in the connected commentary BRM 4 32 obv. 4:

TCL 6 34 i 4': *ta-'a šá hu-pat* SAG.DU u GÚ

BAM 178 2'-3': *ta-'a šá hu'-[pat]* / [SAG.DU u GÚ]

AMT 35, 3 i 3': [*ta-'*]a šá hu-pat SAG.DU u lu GÚ

BRM 4 32 obv. 4: *ta-'a* : *a-pir* (or: *a-par*) : *hu-up-pat*<sup>1</sup> : *šup-lu-šú* : *šup-lu* : *a-pir* (or: *a-par*) šá SAG.DU u GÚ

According to Geller, these two passages should be translated as '(you take) (...) cover of the depressions of the head and neck (...) (TCL 6 34 i 4' // BAM 178: 2' // AMT 35, 3 i 3') and '(The word) "cover" means "covered." The "cavity" refers to its "depression," the "depression" is (what is) "covered by the head and neck"' (BRM 4 32 obv. 4).<sup>186</sup> These translations are probably based on the stative meaning of the verb *apāru* 'to be covered, coated,'<sup>187</sup> as well as on the fact that *ta-'a* could be related to the verb *tê'u*, which means 'to wall up (with bricks), to cover.'<sup>188</sup> A different interpretation has been put forward by Scurlock who suggested the meaning '(the stuff) in the depths' for *ta-'a*, and translated the passages as

<sup>183</sup> E.g., 'head of male *iššūr hurri*' (BAM 480+ iii 38) and 'blood of *iššūr hurri*' (BAM 476 obv. 10).

<sup>184</sup> MSL VIII/2 p. 62. See also CAD T p. 443.

<sup>185</sup> CAD T pp. 300-301.

<sup>186</sup> Geller 2010: 171, 175, 199 n. 235.

<sup>187</sup> CAD A/II p. 166.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. CAD T p. 301. See also CAD T p. 377.

‘(you take), in the depths of the socket of head and neck, (...)’ (TCL 6 34 i 4’ // BAM 178: 2’ // AMT 35, 3 i 3’) and ‘*ta’ a* means “(the stuff) in the depths.” The eye socket is the hole for the eye; the hole is in the depths of head and neck’ (BRM 4 32 obv. 4). In addition, it must be noted that Scurlock understood the form *a-par*, with which *ta’ a* is equated in the commentary, as an adverb from the word *apru* ‘hole.’<sup>189</sup>

Should *ta’ a* be translated either as ‘cover’ or as ‘(stuff) in the depths,’ it does not seem to be the same word as the one represented by the form *ta’ a-a*, standing in connection with sheep in BAM 494 iv 4. Based on an equation from Uruana, the uncertain translation ‘*spider*’ from a sheep’ was suggested above. The same passage has been discussed by Böck who raised the possibilities of *ta’ a-a* being a derivate of one of the two words *tā’ u* (‘inner room’) or *ta’ ū* (‘to eat, to graze’).<sup>190</sup> If the form represents the word *ta’ ū* (‘to eat, to graze’), another hypothetical translation of BAM 494 iv 4 might be as follows: ‘(you anoint repeatedly the surface of the sore with what) a sheep has grazed.’

### **Appendix 1: Non-physical joins to BAM 494**

According to Köcher,<sup>191</sup> there are two small fragments that could be classified as non-physical joins to BAM 494. One of these two fragments is AMT 6, 1 (K 11544)<sup>192</sup> whose connection to skin diseases is shown by the last prescription mentioning in its last line the disease name *gurištu*. In addition, close variants of this prescription are known from three other manuscripts (AO 11447 obv. 30-33, BAM 33 1-7 and BM 41282(+)-41294 ii 8’-11’), which refer not only to *gurištu*, but also to the skin and hair problems called *pištu*, *kibšu* and *giššatu*; it is noticeable that the very same disease names (i.e., *kibšu*, *giššatu* and *gurištu*) occur in the summary section of the Aššur Medical Catalogue under UGU.<sup>193</sup> Based on its content, AMT 6, 1 (K 11544) may have belonged to the first column of BAM 494 where several different skin diseases are discussed, sometimes together in one and the same recipe (e.g., BAM 494 i 33’). On the other hand, it is probably more reasonable to assume that this fragment comes from the third column of the tablet where there is now a ten-line-long break after the passage dealing with *gurištu*.

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<sup>189</sup> Scurlock 2014: 340, 343, 357 n. 34. Note that CAD A/I p. 64 defines the word in question as *abru*, not as *apru*.

<sup>190</sup> Böck 2003: 179. See also CAD T p. 301 and AHW III p. 1340.

<sup>191</sup> BAM V p. xxix; BAM VI p. xi; Farber 1982: 593 n. 3, 597. In addition, Köcher raised the possibility that the fragment BAM 519 may also be a non-physical joint to BAM 494 (BAM VI p. xiv n. 20). However, this fragment does not have any indication as to its connection to BAM 494.

<sup>192</sup> Thompson 1924: 19; Geller 2007 (ms. F).

<sup>193</sup> Aššur Medical Catalogue II. 6-7. See Scurlock 2014: 296-297, Geller – Johnson – Panayotov – Schmidtchen – Steinert forthcoming and the section ‘BAM 494: a manuscript of UGU V?’ above.

The second fragment, which could be a non-physical join to BAM 494, is BAM 511 (Rm 971), containing an incantation against the skin disease *girgiššu*. The only place in BAM 494, where one may be able to read the name of this disease, is the fragmentary incipit in BAM 494 i 42'. After a short break, this line has the sign ŠUM which could be interpreted as the ending of the disease name *girgiššu*, hence the restoration [*gir-giš-š*]um.<sup>194</sup> If *girgiššu* is discussed here up the point where the first column of BAM 494 breaks off (i.e., BAM 494 i 46'), then it is possible that the fragment BAM 511 (Rm 971) belonged somewhere in the missing part of the very same column of this tablet, maybe right after the recipe occurring in BAM 494 i 45'-46'.

### AMT 6, 1 (K 11544)

1'. [.....] 'x x' [.....]

2'. [.....ú*i-l*]u-ru sa-a-mu GAZ SAG.DU-[su.....]

3'. [.....e-q]i-di šá la MUN GAZ ina GA 'x' [.....]

4'. [.....] 'x' ú*i-lu-ru* sa-a-mu SAG.DU-su 'x' [.....]

5'. [.....tu-k]àš-ša EGIR-šú e-qi-di-ma ša la MUN 'x' [.....]

6'. [.....L]ÁL<sup>id</sup> SAG.DU-su ina túgš*i-in*-[di.....]

7'. [.....] 'x'-šú la ta-ša-ba [.....]

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8'. [.....] ZÍD bu-ṭu-tú 'ina' A 'tara-bak' SAG.DU-su LÁL [.....]

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9'. [.....] PEŠ.<sup>d</sup>ÍD NAGA.SI U<sub>5</sub>.AR[GAB<sup>mušen</sup>.....]

10'. [.....Š]EŠ DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> ina GISSU HÁD.DU GAZ S[IM.....]

11'. [.....gu-r]iš-tú i-tel-[i]

1'-7'. [...] crush red *illūru* plant [...] his head [...] crush unsalted cheese [...] in milk [...] red *illūru* plant [...] his head [...] you cool [...] thereafter [...] unsalted cheese [...] bandage [...] his head with the bandage [...] do not soak his [...]

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8'. [...] decoct *bututtu* flour in water, bandage his head [...]

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9'-11'. [...] the sulphur *kibrītu*, 'horned' alkali, 'bat guano' [...] dry these [drugs] together in the shade, crush, sieve [...] (so that) *gurištu* will go away.

### Notes

<sup>194</sup> See also the notes on BAM 494 i 42' above.

Variants of the recipe in AMT 6, 1 (K 11544) 9'-11' are BAM 33 1-7 (A), AO 11447 obv. 30-33 (B) and BM 41282(+41294 ii 8'-11' (C).<sup>195</sup>

- A<sub>1</sub> [DIŠ NA SA]G.DU-*su lu piš-ta lu gi-iš-ša-tam*  
 A<sub>2</sub> [*lu kib-šá lu-u gu-[r]iš-ta DIRI*  
 A<sub>3</sub> [*ana TIL*]A-šú PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>dí</sup>ID NA[G]A.SI U<sub>5</sub>.ARGAB<sup>mušen</sup>  
 A<sub>4</sub> [BAR] <sup>giš</sup>PEŠ *haš-hal-lat* <sup>giš</sup>MA.ʾNUʾ <sup>giš</sup>MES.MÁ.KAN.NA  
 A<sub>5</sub> [BAR] <sup>giš</sup>ŠINIG <sup>ú</sup>*ak-ʾtam*ʾ A.GAR.GAR MAŠ.DÀ  
 A<sub>6</sub> 9 Ú.HI.A *an-nu-ti* DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> *ina* [G]ISSU HÁD.A GAZ SIM  
 A<sub>7</sub> *ina* KÀŠ ÁB GE<sub>6</sub> SAG.DU-*su* <sup>he-ʾpi</sup>*pap-ma* TI<sup>ut</sup>

A<sub>1-7</sub> If a person, his head is full of either *pištu* or *giššatu* or *kibšu* or *gurištu*, in order to heal him, dry the sulphur *kibrītu*, ‘horned’ alkali, ‘bat guano,’ bark from a fig tree, leaf from an *ēru* tree, the tree *musukkannu*, bark from a tamarisk tree, the plant *aktam*, gazelle droppings – these nine drugs – together in the shade, crush (and) sieve (them); (gloss: ‘broken’) *wash* his head with the urine of a black cow and he will recover.

- B<sub>obv. 30</sub> DIŠ NA SAG.DU-*su kib-šá gi-iš-ša-tam gu-riš-tam* DIRI PEŠ<sub>10</sub>.<sup>dí</sup>[D.....]  
 B<sub>obv. 31</sub> NAGA.SI U<sub>5</sub>.ARGAB<sup>mušen</sup> *haš-hal-tam* <sup>giš</sup>PEŠ BAR <sup>giš</sup>ŠIN[IG.....]  
 B<sub>obv. 32</sub> 7 Ú.ME ŠEŠ DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> *ina* GISSU<sub>ud.min</sub> HÁD.A<sup>nú-ba-al</sup> ʾGAZʾ SIM *ina* KÀŠ SAG.DU-  
*s*[*u*.....]  
 B<sub>obv. 33</sub> *kib-šá gi-iš-ša-tam gu-ʾriš-ʾtam* [.....]

B<sub>obv. 30-33</sub> If a person, his head is full of *kibšu*, *giššatu* (and) *gurištu*, dry the sulphur *kibrītu* [...] ‘horned’ alkali, ‘bat guano,’ leaf from a fig tree, bark from a tamarisk tree [...] – these seven drugs – together in the shade, crush (and) sieve (them); [wash] his head with urine (so that) *kibšu*, *giššatu* (and) *gurištu* [...]

- C<sub>ii 8</sub> ʾDIŠʾ N[A.....]*lu-u gi-iš-ša-tam lu-u kib-šá lu-u gu-riš-tam* DIRI  
 C<sub>ii 9</sub> *ana* T[I.....] ʾU<sub>5</sub>ʾ.ARGAB<sup>mušen</sup> BAR <sup>giš</sup>PEŠ *haš-hal-lat* <sup>giš</sup>PEŠ BAR <sup>giš</sup>ŠINIG  
 C<sub>ii 10</sub> BAR <sup>giš</sup>M[ES.MÁ.KAN.NA <sup>ú</sup>*ak-ta*]m A.GAR.GAR MAŠ.DÀ 9 Ú.HI.A *an-nu-ti*  
 DIŠ<sup>niš</sup> *ina* GISSU HÁD.DU  
 C<sub>ii 11</sub> GAZ SI[M.....] *ina* GA mun[us.Ú?.ZÚG?] [SA]G.DU-*su ta-hap-pap-ma kib-šú gi-iš-ša-tum*  
*gu-riš-tú i-tel-li*

<sup>195</sup> Geller 2007; Fincke 2012; Scurlock 2014: 429-430.



C<sub>ii</sub> 8<sup>o</sup>-11<sup>o</sup>. If a person, [his head] is full either of *giššatu* or *kibšu* or *gurištu*, in order to heal [him], dry [...] ‘bat guano,’ bark from a fig tree, leaf from a fig tree, bark from a tamarisk tree, bark from a *musukkannu* tree, the plant *aktam*, gazelle droppings – these nine drugs – together in the shade, crush (and) sieve (them); wash his head with [...] (gloss: ‘with the milk of an impure woman’) (so that) *kibšu*, *giššatu* (and) *gurištu* will be extinguished.

### BAM 511 (Rm 971)

The second possible non-physical join to BAM 494 is BAM 511 (Rm 971), which contains the remains of an incantation against the skin disease called *girgiššu*. Although a quite substantial portion of its text is missing, the incantation seems to refer to a field cultivated by the attendant *tīru*. Then, this field is connected to the potash *idrānu*, which is equated later with the boil *girgiššu*. If understood correctly, the potash *idrānu* could stand for soil salination,<sup>196</sup> described by the incantation as analogy to the attack of *girgiššu*. The underlying concept could be that the patient’s skin, being affected by this disease, is like a cultivated field the yield of which is decreased due to salt accumulation.

1<sup>o</sup>. ‘ÉN x la šu x x’ [.....]

2<sup>o</sup>. [g]ir-giš-šá e-ta-‘x’-[.....]

3<sup>o</sup>. ti-i-ru A.ŠÀ e-ri-iš ‘la a ši i’ [.....]

4<sup>o</sup>. ‘A’ .ŠÀ id-ra-nu ‘x’ [.....]

5<sup>o</sup>. ‘x’ i šá ti-i-ri la ib-šu-ú [.....]

6<sup>o</sup>. [GI]M id-ra-ni a-a-ú-še-ša [.....]

7<sup>o</sup>. [gi]r-giš-ši a-a-ib-ba-ni [.....]

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8<sup>o</sup>. [KA.INIM.MA ana<sup>2</sup>] gir-[giš-šu ZI<sup>2</sup>]

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9<sup>o</sup>. [.....] ‘x’ [.....]

1<sup>o</sup>-7<sup>o</sup>. Incantation: ... [...] you should not [...] the boil *girgiššu* [...] the attendant cultivated the field (but) not ... [...] (then) the field [...] potash [...] ... of the attendant may not exist [...] like the potash (on the fields), it (= the boil *girgiššu*) should not come out [...] of the boil *girgiššu* should not be created [...]

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8<sup>o</sup>. It is the wording (of the incantation used) for removing the boil *girgiššu*.

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9<sup>o</sup>. [...]

<sup>196</sup> For the potash *idrānu* being mentioned in connection with soil salination, see CAD I p. 9.

## Notes

Since ÉN usually introduces the incantations in therapeutic texts, it does not seem probable that there is any sign missing at the beginning of the lines.

## Appendix 2: Glossary

		<b>Disease names</b>	
<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>ašû</i>	MAŠ.TAB.BA	a head disease	ii 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35, 39, 41, 49, 54, 55
<i>ekketu</i>		an itching lesion	i 33'
<i>girgiššu</i>		a boil	i 42'
<i>guraštu</i>		a boil	iii 1, 5
<i>kalmātu</i>	UḪ	lice	i 27', 28', 32'
<i>kalmātu</i>	UḪ KU <sub>7</sub>	'sweet' lice	i 30'
<i>matuqtu</i>			
<i>kurāru</i>	GIG.GIR	a boil	iii 21', 24' (twice), 42', 55'', 66'', iii 76'', iv 1
<i>miqtu</i>		a skin disease	ii 14
<i>rišûtu</i>		a red lesion	i 33'
<i>sāmānu</i>		a red lesion	i 35', 38'
<i>simmu</i>	GIG	sore, wound	ii 59, iii 58'', iv 3, 4 (three times), 5 (three times), 6
		<b>Body parts</b>	
<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>appu</i>	KIR <sub>4</sub>	nose	ii 29 (missing in mss. D, F and J)
<i>irtu</i>	GABA	breast	ii 51
<i>naḫīru</i>	KA.BÚN	nostril	ii 9, 21, 28, 29 (twice), 50
<i>nakkaptu</i>	SAG.KI	temple	ii 49
<i>nappašu</i>		nostril	ii 49
<i>pû</i>	KA	mouth	ii 9, 18, 21, 29, 58
<i>qaqqadu</i>	SAG.DU	head	i [30'], 33', 34', 35', 37', 38', 41', 42', ii 4, 7, 10, 12, 23, 27, 46 (twice), 51, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 73 (twice), 74, 76, 77, iii 2, 6, 24', 29', 31' (twice), 34', 42'', 51'', 54'', 55'', iv 8 (three times), 9 (twice), 10
<i>qātu</i>	ŠU	hand	ii 15
<i>rēšu</i>	SAG	head	i 31', ii 3

<i>šārtu</i>	SÍG	hair	ii 66, 75, iii 1, iv 1
<i>zumru</i>	SU	body	iii 5

**Trees, plants, cereals etc.**

<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>aktam</i>		a plant	ii 72, 76, iii 2, 5, 23'
<i>alapû</i>		algae	i 42', 45', iv 3
<i>argānu</i>		conifer	i 39'
<i>ašāgu</i>	gišKIŠI <sub>16</sub>	a tree	i 43' (powder)
<i>ašlu</i>		a plant	ii 55 (seed)
<i>atā'išu</i>	úKUR.KUR	a plant	ii 1, 30, 52
<i>azupīru</i>	gišHUR.SAG	a tree	i 42'
<i>ballukku</i>	šimBAL	an aromatic	ii 28
<i>baltu</i>	gišDÌĪ	a tree	i 36' (powder), iii 32'
<i>baluḥḥu</i>	šimBULUḤ	an aromatic	ii 28 (resin), 29 (resin)
<i>bīnu</i>	gišŠINIG	tamarisk	i 44' (leaf), iii 6 (root)
<i>buqlu</i>	MUNU <sub>4</sub>	malt	i 36' (powder), 40' (UŠ)
<i>burāšu</i>	šimLI	juniper	i 43', ii 1, iii 54''
<i>būšānu</i>	úḤAB	a plant	ii 43, iv 10
<i>ēdu</i>	úDILI	a plant	i 37' (seed), 40' (seed)
<i>elammakku</i>		a tree	iii 26' (powder), 28' (powder)
<i>erēnu</i>	gišEREN	cedar	i 29' (oil), 31' (oil, only in mss. B and C), 33' (oil), 41' (blood), ii 50 (blood), 61 (oil), 63 (oil), 64 (oil), 69 (oil), 70 (oil twice), 75 (oil), iii 27', 44'' (oil), 56'' (oil), 62'' (oil), iv 9 (alone and with oil)
<i>errû</i>	ÚKUŠ.ḤAB	colocynth	i 29', ii 61 (fat, kernel), 64 (kernel), 69 (fat), 74 (fat, kernel), iii 57'' (fruit), 66''
<i>gurummaru</i>	gišGIŠIMMARKUR.RA	a tree	i 36'
<i>ḥallūru</i>	GÚ.GAL	peas	i 44' (flour), ii 76 (flour), iii 51'' (flour)
<i>ḥašû</i>	úḤAR.ḤAR	a plant	ii 43
<i>ildakku</i>	gišILDAG	poplar	ii 60
<i>imḥur-ešrā</i>	úIGI.NIŠ	a plant (‘facing twenty (diseases)’)	ii 59
<i>imḥur-līm</i>	úIGI-lim	a plant (‘facing thousand (diseases)’)	i 31' (only in mss. B and C), ii 30, 52, 59, iii 5, iv 5
<i>isqūqu</i>	ZÌ.KUM	a flour	iii 51''

<i>kakkû</i>	GÚ.TUR	lentil	i 44' (flour), ii 6, 76 (lentil)
<i>kalbānu</i>	gišMAŠ.ĤUŠ	a tree	ii 73, iii 6 (root), 33'
<i>kalmarĥu</i>		a tree	iii 26' (powder), 28' (powder)
<i>kamantu</i>	úĀB.DUĤ	a plant	ii 30 (seed), 40, 42, 52, iii 2, 32' (seed)
<i>kamkadu</i>		a plant	ii 41 (seed)
<i>kamūnu</i>	UZU.DIR	fungus	iii 6
<i>karān šēlebi</i>	gišGEŠTIN.KA <sub>5</sub> .A	'fox wine'	ii 70, iii 52''
<i>karašu</i>	GA.RAŠ <sup>sar</sup>	leek	iii 23' (seed), 71''
<i>kasû</i>	GAZI <sup>sar</sup>	a plant	i 37' (juice), ii 16, 23, 30 (seed), 36, 61 (hot), 76 (juice), iii 26' (roasted), 28' (juice), 31' (juice), 34' (juice)
<i>kirbān eqli</i>	úLAG.GÁN, úLAG.A.ŠÀ	'field-clod' plant	ii 76, iii 20', iii 22'
<i>kitû</i>	GADA	flax	iii 32' (seed, var. 'quдру' in ms. P)
<i>kukru</i>	šimGÚR.GÚR	an aromatic	ii 1, 5, 36
<i>kumāĥu</i>		a tree	iii 30' (root)
<i>kunāšu</i>	ÁŠ.A.AN	emmer	ii 17 (dough)
<i>kupsu</i>	DUĤ.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì	sesame bran	i 40' (cut-off pieces)
<i>kurkanû</i>	úKUR.GIRÍN.NA	a plant	ii 29, iii 33'
<i>laptu</i>	ŠE.SA.A	parched grain	i 44' (flour)
<i>lišān kalbi</i>	úEME.UR.GI <sub>7</sub>	'dog's tongue' plant	i 35' (seed), 39' (seed)
<i>maštakal</i>	úIN <sub>6</sub> .ÚŠ	a plant	ii 72
<i>mirišmara</i>	úMÁ.ERIS <sub>4</sub> .MÁ.LÁ	a plant	iii 33' (leaf)
<i>murru</i>	šimŠEŠ	myrrh	i 30', iv 4
<i>nikiptu</i>		an aromatic	ii 2
<i>nīnû</i>	úKUR.RA	a plant	ii 16, 45, iii 43''
<i>nurmû</i>	gišNU.ÚR.MA	pomegranat e	ii 57 (juice)
<i>pillû</i>	gišNAM.TAR	mandrake	iii 32' (seed)
<i>qanû t̥ābu</i>	GI DU <sub>10</sub> .GA	sweet reed	ii 20 (pulp), 50
<i>quдру</i>		a tree	iii 32' (seed, var. 'flax' in ms. A)
<i>qutratu</i>		a plant	iii 30' (seed)
<i>qutru</i>		a plant	iii 75''
<i>rīqu</i>	ŠIM	aromatic substance	iv 3
<i>rušrušu</i>		a plant	iii 32'
<i>saggilatu</i>		a plant	iii 33' (var. 'tegilû' in ms. P)
<i>sahlû</i>	ZÀ.ĤILI	a plant	ii 14 (thick), 24 (ground), 43, iii

			43'', iv 7 (pulverized)
<i>sirdu</i>		olive tree	i 44' (leaf)
<i>suādu</i>	šimMAN.DU	an aromatic	iii 27'
<i>supālu</i>	úZA.BA.LAM	juniper	iv 10
<i>šalamtu</i>		'black plant'	iii 23', 71''
<i>šašumtu</i>		a plant	iii 32'
<i>šamaššammū</i>	ŠE.GIŠ.Ì	sesame	i 36' (powder, twice), 39' (powder)
<i>šammi ašî</i>	Ú MAŠ.TAB.BA	'plant (against) the disease <i>ašû</i> '	ii 30, 36, 52
<i>šammu pešû</i>	Ú BABBAR	'white plant'	i 39' (fresh), ii 42, 43, 45, iii 5, 62''
<i>še'u</i>	ŠE	grain, barley	ii 20, iii 54'' (flour)
<i>šūmu</i>	SUM <sup>sar</sup>	garlic	iii 50''
<i>šunû</i>	gišŠE.NU, gišŠE.NÁ.A	chaste tree	i 44' (leaf), iii 32' (seed)
<i>šurmēnu</i>	gišŠUR.MÌN	cypress	iv 9
<i>šusikillu</i>	SUM.SIKIL <sup>sar</sup>	an onion	iii 50''
<i>tappinnu</i>	DABIN	coarse flour	ii 27
<i>tarmuš</i>		a plant	ii 59, iii 30'
<i>taskarinnu</i>	gišTASKARIN	box tree	i 43', iii 25' (powder), 26' (powder), 28' (powder)
<i>tegilû</i>		a plant	iii 33' (var. ' <i>saggilatu</i> ' in ms. A)
<i>ṭūru</i>	šimḪAB	an aromatic	ii 29
<i>uḫūlu</i>	úNAGA	alkali	iv 9 (its juice in ms. Q)
<i>uḫūlu</i>	NAGA.SI	'horned'	ii 76, iii 31' (its water in ms. P, var. 'beer' in ms. A), 51''
<i>qarnānu</i>		alkali	ii 23 (seed), 27 (seed), 59 (seed), 72, 73, iii 1, 5 (twice), 7, 32' (leaf), 43'', 63''
<i>urġû</i>	gišURI	a tree	i 32'
<i>zību</i>	úGAMUN.GE <sub>6</sub>	cumin	ii 43, iii 40''

#### Stones, minerals, salts, dusts etc.

Akkadian	Sumerian	English	passage
<i>abnu</i>	NA <sub>4</sub>	stone, kernel	ii 61 (colocynth), 64 (colocynth), 74 (colocynth)
<i>eperu</i>	SAḪAR	powder, dust	i 36' (sesame, <i>baltu</i> , malt), 38' (limestone threshold of an old house), 39' (sesame), 42' (pigsty)
<i>gabû</i>	IM.SAḪAR.NA <sub>4</sub> .KUR.RA	alum	iii 22' (var. ' <i>qitmu</i> paste' in ms. A)
<i>gaššu</i>	IM.BABBAR	gypsum	iii 51'' (burnt)
<i>idrānu</i>		potash	i 34' (var. 'salt' in ms. A)

<i>idru</i>		saltpetre	i 34' (var. 'KUD.RA' in ms. B)
<i>kalû</i>	IM.KAL	a mineral	ii 19, iii 41''
<i>kibrîtu</i>	PEŠ <sub>10</sub> . <sup>d</sup> ÍD	sulphur	i 33', 34', ii 71 (twice), iii 40''
<i>pîlu</i>		limestone	i 38' (threshold)
<i>qadût šikāni</i>	IM.GÚ.EN.NA	river mud	iii 48'', 52''
<i>qitmu</i>	IM.SAḪAR.GE <sub>6</sub> .KUR.RA	a paste	iii 22' (var. 'alum' in ms. S)
<i>sīktu</i>	KU.KU	powder, dust	i 43' ( <i>ašāgu</i> ), iii 25' (box tree), iii 26' (box tree, <i>elammakku</i> , <i>kalmarḫu</i> ), 28' (box tree, <i>elammakku</i> , <i>kalmarḫu</i> )
<i>šīpu</i>	ŠIM.BI.KÙ.GI	a mineral	ii 44
<i>ṭābat</i>	MUN <i>amānim</i>	a salt	iii 63''
<i>amānim</i>			
<i>ṭābat</i>	MUN <i>emesallim</i>	a salt	ii 45
<i>emesallim</i>			
<i>ṭābtu</i>	MUN	salt	i 34' (var. 'potash' in ms. B), iii 56''

#### Animals, birds, insects etc.

Akkadian	Sumerian	English	passage
<i>alpu</i>	GU <sub>4</sub>	ox	iii 39'', iv 5 (rib)
<i>biššūr atāni</i>	<sup>na4</sup> PEŠ <sub>4</sub>	a mussel	i 40' (shell)
<i>dādu</i>	SUḪUR <sup>ku6</sup>	a fish	ii 14 (scales and internal organs)
<i>ḫumšīru</i>	PÉŠ	mouse	i 42' (excrement)
<i>imēru</i>	ANŠE	donkey	iii 63'' (urine), iv 3 (leather)
<i>immeru</i>	UDU.NÍTA	sheep	iv 4 (spider)
<i>kulīltu</i>		an insect	ii 65 (dried)
<i>lītu</i>	ÁB, ÁB.GU <sub>4</sub>	cow	ii 73 (milk, urine), iii 31' (urine)
<i>muša'irānu</i>	BIL.ZA.ZA	frog	ii 66 (fat)
<i>nammaštû</i>	A.ZA.LU.LU	wild animal	iii 20' (fat)
<i>nūnu</i>	KU <sub>6</sub>	fish	iii 3 (oil)
<i>sāmānu</i>		an insect	iii 4 (from a wall), 49'', 67'' (from a wall)
<i>summatu</i>	TU <sub>10</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>	dove	i 36' (dung), 40' (dung)
<i>šaḫû</i>	ŠAḪ	pig	i 42' (dust)
<i>ta'u</i>		spider?	iv 4 (sheep)

#### Liquids, oils etc.

Akkadian	Sumerian	English	passage
<i>billatu</i>	DIDA	<i>billatu</i> beer	ii 24 (fine), iii 56'' (fine)
<i>dāmu</i>	MÚD	blood	i 41' (cedar), ii 50 (cedar)
<i>dišpu</i>	LÀL	honey	ii 71 (mountain), iii 4 (white, mountain), 8 (mountain), 49'' (in ms. R only)
<i>ḫimētu</i>	Ì.NUN	ghee	ii 63, 66, iii 49'', 52'', 56'', 68'' (old)

<i>ikuku</i>	Ì.ḪAB	ill-smelling oil	iii 29'
<i>lipiu</i>	Ì.UDU	fat, tallow	ii 61(colocynth), 66 (frog), 69 (colocynth), 72, 74 (colocynth), iii 20' (wild animal), 39''
<i>mû</i>	A	water	i 31', 37' ( <i>kasû</i> ), 42', 45', ii 14 (twice), 49, 57 (pomegranate), 68 (hot), 76 ( <i>kasû</i> ), 77 (hot), iii 4, 6, 7, 28' ( <i>kasû</i> ), 31' ('horned' alkali, <i>kasû</i> ), 34' ( <i>kasû</i> ), iv 9 (alkali in ms. Q)
<i>šamnu</i>	Ì, Ì.GIŠ	oil	i 29' (cedar), 31' (cedar, only in mss. B and C), 32' (filtered), 33' (cedar), 34', 41', ii 22, 23 (only in ms. I), 27, 29 (filtered in mss. D, F and J), 30, 40, 41, 42 (twice), 44, 52, 59, 61 (cedar), 63 (cedar), 64 (cedar), 69 (cedar), 70 (cedar twice), 72 (twice), 73, 74, 75 (cedar), iii 1, 3 (fish), 5, 6, 7, 40'', 44'' (cedar), 56'' (cedar), 62'' (cedar), iv 9 (alone and with cedar)
<i>šikaru</i>	KAŠ	beer	ii 25 (dregs), 27, iii 21' (dregs), iii 25' (twice), 31' (var. 'water of 'horned' alkali in ms. P)
<i>šikaru rēštu</i>	KAŠ.SAG	prime beer	ii 11, 19, 22, 44, iii 34'
<i>šizbu</i>	GA	milk	ii 73 (cow)
<i>ṭābātu</i>	A.GEŠTIN.NA	vinegar	ii 67 (strong), iii 34', 47'' (sore / strong), 50'' (sore), 54'', 61'', 63'', 75'' ( <i>nagappu</i> )
	A.UZU	broth	ii 18

#### Dreckapotheke

<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>adattu</i> <sup>?</sup>	IM.GÚ.NÍG. NÍGIN.NA	'dirt from a bird nest'	iii 30'
<i>rikibti</i> <i>arkabi</i>	U <sub>5</sub> .ARGAB <sup>mušen</sup>	bat guano	ii 45
<i>šīnātu</i>	KÀŠ	urine	ii 73 (cow), iii 31' (cow), 35' (warm), 63'' (donkey)
<i>zû</i>	ŠE <sub>10</sub>	excrement, dung, faeces	i 31', 36' (dove), 40' (dove), 42' (mouse), iii 24' (Nisaba), 26' (Nisaba), 48'' (Nisaba)

#### Verbs

<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>abālu</i>	ĤÁD.DU	to dry	i 31', ii 15, iii 34' (twice)
<i>aḥāzu</i>		to take	ii 23
<i>akālu</i>	GU <sub>7</sub>	to eat, to hurt	ii 18, 49, 51, iii 25'
<i>alāku</i>	DU	to flow (fluid)	ii 49
<i>baḥāru</i>		to boil	iii 56''
<i>balālu</i>	ĤI.ĤI	to mix	i 31', 33', ii 27, 40, 50, 61, 63 (twice), 66, 67, 71 (twice), 75, iii 1, 34', 54'', 68'', iv 9
<i>balātu</i>	TI, DIN	to recover, to cure	i 26', 33' (only in ms. D), 41', [44'], ii 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 36, 45, 69, iii 40'', iv 7, 9
<i>banû</i>		to create	iii 73''
<i>bašālu</i>	ŠEG <sub>6</sub>	to cook	ii 18, 27, 65
<i>bašû</i>	GÁL	to be present	i 28', 32'
<i>bi'ātu</i>		to leave out overnight	ii 25 (under stars)
<i>elû</i>	E <sub>11</sub>	draw up (the medicine)	ii 18 (var. 'to come out' in ms. G)
<i>emēmu</i>	KÚM	to heat	ii 62, 70
<i>enēqu</i>		to sniff (the medicine)	ii 21
<i>eqû</i>	MAR	to daub	i [31']
<i>erēbu</i>	KU <sub>4</sub>	to enter	ii 29 (only in mss. D and F)
<i>gullubu</i>	SAR	to shave	i 37', ii 73, 74, iii 24', 27', 29', 31', 55'', iv 9, 10
<i>gurrudu</i>		to fall out in tufts (hair), to go bald,	iv 8
<i>ḥašālu</i>	GAZ	to crush	ii 16, iii 34' (twice), 52'', iv 4, 9
<i>kāru</i>		to rub	iii 4, 22', 24' (var. 'to bandage' in ms. P), 64'', 75'', iv 3, 6
<i>kāšu</i>		to peel off	iii [70''], iv 6
<i>kašû</i>	ŠED <sub>7</sub>	to cool	i 34', 37', ii 27, 63, 67, iii 54'', 56''
<i>katāmu</i>	DUL	to cover	ii 51
<i>kullu</i>		to be ready	iii 52''
<i>la'ātu</i>		to swallow	ii 21
<i>lāšu</i>	SILA <sub>11</sub>	to knead	i 35', ii 76, iii 34'
<i>lawû</i>	NIGIN	to wrap	ii 46
<i>leqû</i>	TI	to take	ii 20
<i>maḥāšu</i>	SÌG	to strike, to crush	ii 49, 73



<i>malû</i>	DIRI	to be full	i 30', 33', ii 59, iii 1
<i>manû</i>	ŠID	to recite	ii 36, 40, 50
<i>mašādu</i>		ro rub	ii 26 (from above to downward)
<i>mesû</i>	LUḪ	to wash	ii 46, 60, 64, [68], 73, 77, iii 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 25' (twice), 28', 31', 35', 55'', iv 9
<i>nadû</i>	ŠUB	to throw, to besprinkle	i 28', ii 29, 62, 65, 70, 74, iii 52'', 55''
<i>nâḫu</i>		to calm down	i 35'
<i>napāḫu</i>	MÚ, BÚN	to blow	i 31', ii 28 ('repeatedly'), 29, [50]
<i>napû</i>	SIM	to sieve	iii 34' (twice), 52''
<i>nasāḫu</i>	ZI	to diminish	i 35', ii 55, iii 21', 76'', iv 1
<i>ni'āšu</i>		to get well	ii 18, 58, 60, iii 4
<i>palāšu</i>		to pierce	ii 16, 17
<i>parāsu</i>	KUD	to stop (the illness)	ii 41
<i>pāšu</i>		to crush	ii 40
<i>pašāru</i>		to dispel	iii 73''
<i>pašāšu</i>	ŠÉŠ, EŠ	to anoint	i 26', 29', 31', 32', 33', ii 15, 23 ('repeatedly'), 27 ('repeatedly'), 30, 40 ('repeatedly'), 42, 52, 60 ('repeatedly'), 61 ('repeatedly'), 65 ('repeatedly'), 66 ('repeatedly'), 69 ('repeatedly') (twice), 71 ('repeatedly,' twice), 72 ('repeatedly,' three times), 73 ('repeatedly'), 74 ('repeatedly'), 75 ('repeatedly'), 76 ('repeatedly'), iii 3 ('repeatedly'), 4, 5 ('repeatedly'), 6 ('repeatedly'), 7 ('repeatedly'), 8 ([ 'repeatedly']), 29', 40'' ('repeatedly'), 44'' ('repeatedly'), 52'' ('repeatedly'), 62'' ('repeatedly'), iv 3, 4 ('repeatedly'), 5 ('repeatedly'), 9 (twice)
<i>paṭāru</i>	DU <sub>8</sub>	untie	iii 25', 27', 29', 35', 35', iv 8
<i>peḫû</i>	ÚŠ	to lute	ii 17
<i>qalû</i>		to burn	i 34', iii 2
<i>qatāru</i>	SAR	to fumigate	ii 28, 29, 30, 36, 55
<i>rabû</i>	GAL	to increase,	i 35', 39', 43'

<i>ramāku</i>	TU <sub>5</sub>	to grow	
<i>rašû</i>		to wash	i 28'
<i>s/zâku</i>	SÚD	to be red	i 35'
		to pound	i 31', 32', 33', 37', 40', ii 2, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27 (two times), 41, 42 (two times), 44, 64, 70, 72 (three times), 73, 74, 75, 76 (two times), iii 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 20', 22', 23', 24', 27', 31', 40'', 41'', 57'', iv 3, 5, 10
<i>sanāqu</i>		to approach	i 27'
<i>sanāšu</i>		to insert	ii 17
<i>sêru</i>		to smear	iii 31', 47'', 49''
<i>šabātu</i>	DAB	to seize	i 35', 38', 42', 45', ii [4], [7], 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 28, 29, 30, 45, 49, 52, iii 24'
<i>šamādu</i>	LAL, LÁL	to bandage, to bind	i 37', 41', 44', ii 23 (only in mss. H and I), 24, 26 (for 10 days), 74, 76, iii 24' (var. 'to rub' in ms. A), 25', 26', 34', iv 10
<i>šadādu</i>	GÍD	to suck (the medicine)	ii 18
<i>šakānu</i>	GAR	to put	ii 24, 60 (before Gula)
<i>šalāmu</i>		to become healthy	iii 9
<i>šapāku</i>	DUB	to pour	ii 51, 58
<i>šarāpu</i>		to burn	ii 17 (over fire)
<i>šatû</i>	NAG	to drink	ii 11, 13 (on an empty stomach), [19] (repeatedly), 22, 25 (on an empty stomach), 44 (repeatedly), 51
<i>tabālu</i>		to take away	ii 15, iii 25'
<i>tarû</i>	GUR	to repeat	ii 46, iii 34'
<i>tamāḥu</i>		to seize	ii 53
<i>tehû</i>	TE	to approach	i 28'
<i>ṭênu</i>	ÀRA	to grind	iii 2
<i>urruru</i>		to dessicate	ii 14, 22, 69, 73, 74, iii 27', 57'', iv 3, 4 (twice), 5
<i>wašû</i>	È	to come out, to grow (the hair)	ii 18 (var. 'to draw up' in ms. A), 66, 75, iii 1
<i>zarû</i>	MAR	to scatter, to sprinkle	i 41', ii 46, 69, iii 2, 3, 25', 49'', 50'', 57'', 75'', iv 3, 4 (twice), 5 (twice), 10

		<b>Other terms</b>	
<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>passage</b>
<i>anšabtu</i>		ring	iii 70'' (golden), iv 6 (golden)
<i>askuppu</i>	KUN <sub>4</sub>	threshold	i 38' (dust)
<i>asurrû</i>		wall footing, pigsty	i 42' (powder)
<i>ašru</i>		place	iii 73''
<i>bābu</i>	KÁ	gate, opening	iii 72'', iv 2
<i>bītu</i>	É	house	i 38' (old)
<i>dīku</i>		'dead' wood(?)	i 36' ( <i>baltu</i> )
<i>diqāru</i>	duḡÚTUL, duḡUTUL <sub>7</sub>	a bowl	ii 16, 17
<i>epištu</i>	DÙ.DÙ.BI	ritual	ii 36, 40, 50, 57, iii 66'', 70'', 75'', iv 1, 3
<i>erištu</i>		requested	ii 23 (in mss. A and I before <i>kasû</i> )
<i>ḥanzû</i>		pulp	ii 20 (sweet reed)
<i>ḥašabtu</i>		potsherd, shell	i 40' ( <i>biššûr atāni</i> )
<i>ḥašḥaltu</i>	PA	leaf	i 44' (olive tree, tamarisk, chaste tree), iii 32' ( <i>urānu</i> ), 33' ( <i>mirišmara</i> )
<i>ḥīlu</i>	ILLU	resin	ii 28 ( <i>baluḥḥu</i> ), 29 ( <i>baluḥḥu</i> ), 43
<i>ḥīpu</i>	GAZ	cut-off pieces	i 39' (sesame bran)
<i>ḥubšu</i>		foam, scum	iii 21' (beerwort), iv 3
<i>igāru</i>	É.GAR <sub>8</sub>	wall	iii 4 ( <i>sāmānu</i> ), 67'' ( <i>sāmānu</i> )
<i>inbu</i>	GURUN	fruit	iii 57'' (colocynth)
<i>išu</i>	GIŠ	wood, tree, stick	ii 60 (bent)
<i>išātu</i>	IZI	fire	ii 17, 20, iv 3 (two times), 4, 5
<i>itqu</i>	sig <sup>À</sup> KA	wad of wool	ii 46
<i>kakkabu</i>	UL	star	ii 25
<i>laqlaqtu</i>		flake?	iii 25'
<i>līšu</i>	NÍG.SILA <sub>11</sub> .GÁ	dough	ii 17 (emmer), 71
<i>māmitu</i>		curse	iii 72'', iv 2
<i>mašḥaltu</i>		sieve	i 39' (fundament)
<i>mašku</i>	KUŠ	leather	iv 3 (donkey), 4
<i>mayyālu</i>	KI.NÁ	bed	iii 25', 29'
<i>nagappu</i>		?	iii 75'' (vinegar)
<i>nartābu</i>	SÚN	beerwort	iii 21' (foam), iv 3, 6 (tavern keeper)
<i>našmattu</i>	LAL	bandage	ii 74, iii 26', 52''
<i>pēntu</i>	NE	embers	ii 28, 29, 36, 55
<i>pilšu</i>		hole	iii 72'', iv 2
<i>pitiqtu</i>		mud wall	i 43'

<i>pursītu</i>	duḡBUR.ZI	type of bowl	ii 16, 17
<i>qēmu</i>	ZÍD	flour	i 44' (peas, lentil, parched grain), ii 76 (peas, lentil), iii 51'' (peas), 54'' (barley)
<i>quliptu</i>	BAR	scale, bark	ii 14 ( <i>dādu</i> ), iii 2
<i>sābū</i>	LÚ.KURUN.NA	tavern keeper	iv 6 (beerwort)
<i>sāmu</i>	SA <sub>5</sub>	red	iv 1
<i>šēlu</i>	TI	rib	iv 5 (ox)
<i>šarrāqu</i>		thief	iii 72'', iv 2
<i>šēru</i> or <i>šērtu</i>		morning	ii 60, 68, iii 27'
<i>šipātu</i>	SÍG	wool	iv 1 (red)
<i>šiptu</i>	ÉN ÉN É.NU.RI ÉN É.NU.RU	incantation	ii 31, 34 (var. 'TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN' in ms. A), 36, 37, 40, 50, iii 64'', 69'', [72''], [73''], [74''], 77'', iv 2
<i>šīru</i>	UZU	meat	ii 18 (thick)
<i>šuršu</i>	SUḤUŠ	root, fundament	i 39' (sieve), 43', ii 12, iii 6 ( <i>kalbānu</i> , tamarisk), 29', 30' ( <i>kumāḥu</i> )
<i>šuršummu</i> <i>tābīlu</i>		dregs (the drugs) in dry form	ii 25 (beer), iii 21' (beer) ii 46
<i>takkussu</i>	giSAG.KUD	reed tube	ii 17, 18
<i>tangussu</i>	uruduŠEN.TUR	a vessel	ii 27
<i>tē šipti</i>	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN	incantation formula	ii 34 (var. 'ÉN' in ms. L), 38, 48, 56, iii 69''
<i>tuppu</i>	DUB	clay tablet	i 38'
<i>ūmakkal</i>		every day	iii 49''
<i>unūt libbi</i>		internal organs	ii 15 ( <i>dādu</i> )
<i>zakātu</i>		cleaning	i 31'
<i>zēru</i>	NUMUN	seed	i 35' ('dog's tongue'), 37' ( <i>ēdu</i> ), 39' ('dog's tongue'), 40' ( <i>ēdu</i> ), ii 23 ( <i>urānu</i> ), 27 ( <i>urānu</i> ), 30 ( <i>kasû</i> , <i>kamantu</i> ), 41 ( <i>kamkadu</i> ), 55 ( <i>ašlu</i> ), 59 ( <i>urānu</i> ), iii 23' (leek), 30' ( <i>qutratu</i> ), 32' (chaste tree, mandrake, flax / <i>quдру</i> , <i>kammantu</i> )
	KA.INIM.MA	wording (of the incantation)	ii 35, 39, 49, iii 76'', iv 1, 7
	KUD.RA	?	i 34' (var. saltpetre in ms. A)
	UŠ	?	i 40' (malt)

## Abbreviations

[http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations\\_for\\_assyriology](http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations_for_assyriology)

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## „The king’s speech“ – die angebliche Aphasie des hethitischen Großkönigs Muršili II.

Zsolt Simon

Eine der bekanntesten persönlichen Geschichten aus der Welt des Alten Orients ist die Sprachlähmung von Muršili II., Großkönig des Hethitischen Reiches im letzten Drittel des 14. Jhs. Die einzige Quelle zu dieser Begebenheit ist der aus drei Manuskripten bekannten Ritualtext CTH 486, der der Heilung des Großkönigs gewidmet ist und in dessen Einleitung der Großkönig selbst von seiner Krankheit berichtet.

Die ersten Herausgeber des Textes haben die Krankheit vorsichtig allgemein als „Sprachlähmung“ bestimmt (Goetze – Pedersen 1934) und diese Formulierung wird auch bis heute benutzt.<sup>1</sup> Die Mehrheit der Forscher spricht allerdings über Aphasie (ohne weitere Begründung bzw. Präzisierung).<sup>2</sup> Dagegen ist van den Hout 2000: 645 der Meinung, dass eine Identifizierung der Krankheit nicht möglich ist. Um diese Auffassungen zu verstehen bzw. eine solide Basis zur Diskussion (und sofern möglich zur Identifizierung der Krankheit) zu gewinnen, muss die schon erwähnte Einleitung des Textes noch einmal erörtert werden, insbesondere weil die bisherigen Übersetzungen gewisse Teile und zwar gerade die Schlüsselbegriffe überraschend unterschiedlich wiedergeben. Im Folgenden gebe ich meine Übersetzung der Einleitung an und untersuche die darin beschriebenen „Symptome“ näher.<sup>3</sup>

„Folgendermaßen (spreche) ich, die Sonne, der Großkönig Muršili: Ich zog in die Ruinensiedlung Kunnū.<sup>4</sup> (Der Wettergott) brachte Unwetter her<sup>5</sup> und donnerte kontinuierlich

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<sup>1</sup> Z. B. Kümmel 1987; Lorenz 2013: 165; Görke 2015; vgl. noch Goedegebuure 2014: 178 („impairment of speech“).

<sup>2</sup> Z. B. Otten – Rüter 1973: 90; Lebrun 1985; Beckman 1995; Hoffner 1996: 254, 2013: 150; van den Hout 2004: 359; Mouton 2007: 161; Freu 2008: 67; Mazoyer 2008: 371; Haas 2008: 152; Melchert 2013: 162; CHD *passim*; nur in Anführungszeichen Groddek 2005: 16; Haas 2008: 152 Anm. 507; zufolge ist die Aphasie auch aus babylonischen Texten als *šibit pī* (KA.DIB.BI.DA) ‚das Ergreifen des Mundes‘ bekannt, vgl. Reiner 1995: 104-106 mit Lit.

<sup>3</sup> Die Übersetzung beruht auf der Textedition Görkes (2015), für frühere Editionen s. Götze – Pedersen 1934; Lebrun 1985 und Mouton 2007: 161-163. Der hethitische Text wird ebenfalls nach dieser Edition zitiert. Für weitere Übersetzungen dieses Abschnittes s. Kümmel 1987: 289; Beckman 1995; Bryce 2002: 167-168, 2005: 219; van den Hout 2004: 360; Mouton 2007: 163-164; Haas 2008: 153; Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 199-200. Abweichend von einigen Forschern habe ich in der Übersetzung die Satzstruktur des Originals beibehalten, deren Zerklüftung m.E. die Spannung wiedergibt. Wie die Beurteilung des Textstils immer sein mag, wurde versucht, eine originaltreue, d.h. interpretationslose Übersetzung anzubieten.

<sup>4</sup> Die Siedlung ließ sich bis heute nicht identifizieren, nicht einmal ihre nähere Lokalisierung ist bekannt (del Monte 1992: 85). Im Text steht URU.DU<sub>6</sub>, d.h. ‚Ruinenstadt‘, genauer gesagt ‚Ruinensiedlung‘, weshalb die Übersetzungen ‚Hügel‘ (Görke 2015) und ‚Tell‘ (Lebrun 1985: 109; Bryce 2002: 167, 2005: 219; van den Hout 2004: 360) nicht adäquat sind.

<sup>5</sup> Trotz der eindeutigen Verbalform (*udaš*, Prät. 3. Sg., transitives Verb) wird der Satz von fast allen Forschern mit unpersönlicher Konstruktion (‚brach ein Gewitter/Unwetter los‘ oder ‚kam ein Unwetter auf‘ u.ä.)

furchtbar.<sup>6</sup> Ich fürchtete mich. Das Wort wurde mir wenig im Munde. Die Sprache kam mir irgendwie kaum auf. Ich ließ diese Sache (allerdings) völlig außer Acht. Aber als die Jahre vergangen,<sup>7</sup> fing diese Sache an, mir im Traum zu erscheinen. Die Hand des Gottes erschien in meinem Traum<sup>8</sup> und mein Mund ging zur Seite.“ (CTH 486 §1, 1-12)<sup>9</sup>

Die Symptome sind also die Folgenden:

1. „Das Wort wurde mir wenig im Munde (*nu=mu=kan memiyaš* KAxU-i and[a] *tepawēšta*)“: Viele Forscher übersetzt diesen Satz korrekterweise so.<sup>10</sup> Ebenfalls viele Forscher haben ihn allerdings frei übersetzt:<sup>11</sup> obwohl sie den Sinn des Satzes wiedergegeben haben, ist die genaue Bedeutung des Satzes verloren gegangen, die allerdings eine Schlüsselrolle in der Diagnose spielen kann: das Verb *tepawēšš-* des Textes bedeutet ohne Zweifel ‚wenig werden,

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übersetzt, weil der Wettergott als Subjekt erst in dem nächsten Satz(teil) genannt wird (Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5; HW<sup>2</sup> H 370; Lebrun 1985: 10; Kümmel 1987: 289; Tischler 1993: 317; Beckman 1995: 2010; Bryce 2002: 167, 2005: 219; van den Hout 2004: 360; Mouton 2007: 163; Haas 2008: 153; Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 199). Dagegen hat Görke 2015 zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass der gleiche Ausdruck auch später vorkommt (§4, 62-63), allerdings mit der Benennung des Wettergottes als Subjekt (s. schon Friedrich 1936: 305).

<sup>6</sup> „Kontinuierlich“, weil das Verb eine *-ške/a*-Form zeigt (*tethiškit*), die in den meisten Übersetzungen (Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5; HW<sup>2</sup> H 370; Lebrun 1985: 110; Kümmel 1987: 289; Tischler 1993: 317; Bryce 2002: 167, 2005: 219; Mouton 2007: 163; Haas 2008: 153; Görke 2015) außer Acht gelassen worden ist, bis auf Beckman 1995: 2010 und Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 199. Aus grammatischer Sicht ist die Lösung van den Houts (,started to thunder‘, 2004: 360) ebenfalls möglich, ein fortlaufender Donner passt allerdings vielleicht besser zu den bekanntesten Folgerungen.

<sup>7</sup> In diesem Satz wird die mittlerweile identifizierte sog. serielle Konstruktion verwendet (*maḥḥan=ma uēr* MU<sup>HLA</sup>-uš EGIR-*anda pāer*), weshalb die Übersetzung „als aber die Jahre kamen und gingen“ / „comme les années vinrent à passer“ von Mouton 2007: 163; Haas 2008: 153; und Görke 2015 zwar als traditionell (vgl. Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5; Lebrun 1985: 110; Kümmel 1987: 289), aber heutzutage auch als falsch gilt.

<sup>8</sup> Wie Kümmel 1987: 289 und Haas 2008: 153 Anm. 511 anhand von babylonischen Analogien gezeigt haben, bedeutet der Ausdruck die plötzlich ausgebrochene Krankheit. Das hier verwendete Verb *ār-<sup>i</sup>/ar-* bedeutet ‚ankommen‘ (HW<sup>2</sup> A s.v.). Wenn zu jemandem im Traum ein Hand ankommt, kann man das am besten mit dem Verb ‚erscheinen‘ wiedergeben (statt der auch bildstörenden Vorschlägen der Fachliteratur: ‚erreichte (mich)‘ [Friedrich 1925: 288]; ‚(mich) traf‘ [Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5; Kümmel 1987: 289; Haas 2008: 153]; ‚came to me‘ [Kimball 2000: 140]; ‚parvint (jusqu’à moi)‘ [Mouton 2007: 163]; ‚trat (zu mir)‘ [Görke 2015]). Die Übersetzung von Friedrich 1936: 305; Lebrun 1985: 110; Beckman 1995: 2010; van den Hout 2004: 360; und Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 200, derzufolge die Hand der Gottheit ihn berührt hätte (sogar, nach Oppenheim 1956: 231 und Bryce 2002: 168, 2005: 219 geschlagen hätte) folgt nicht aus der Bedeutung des Verbs (Hoffner 2003a: 87\*, 2003b: 101-102, 2013: 150 geht einen Schritt weiter, ihm zufolge hätte sie seinen Mund berührt, ebenfalls ohne textliche Grundlage).

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. den Komposittext in Görke 2015: „(1) *UMMA* <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI <sup>m</sup>*Muršili* LUGAL.GAL (2) *INA* URU.DU<sub>6</sub> <sup>m</sup>*Kunnū nannaḥḥun* (3) *nu ḥaršiharši udaš* (4) *namma* DU-aš *ḥatuga tethiškit* (5) *nu nāḥun* (6) *nu=mu=kan memiyaš* KAxU-i and[a] *tepauēšta* (7) *nu=mu=kan memiyaš tepu kuitki šarā iyattat* (8) *nu=kan aši memian arḥa=pat paškuwanun* (9) *maḥḥan=ma uēr* MU<sup>HLA</sup>-uš EGIR-*anda pāer* (10) *nu=mu uit aši memiaš tešhaniškiuwan tiyat* (11) *nu=mu=kan zazḫī anda* ŠU DINGIR-LIM *āraš* (12) KAxU-*išš=a=mu=kan tapūša pait*.

<sup>10</sup> Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5; Friedrich 1936: 305; Lebrun 1985: 109; Kümmel 1987: 289; Tischler 1993: 317; Beckman 1995: 2010; van den Hout 2004: 360.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich 1925: 288: „die Sprache versagte mir im Munde“; Bryce 2002: 167: „speech withered in my mouth“; Mouton 2007: 163: „ma voix, dans (ma) bouche, devint hésitante“; Haas 2008: 153: „das Wort im Munde stockte mir“; Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 200: „the speech in my mouth became hesitant“; Görke 2015: „das Wort wurde mir im Mund schwach“.

knapp werden‘ aus dem Adjektiv *tēpu-* / *tēpaw-* ‚wenig, gering‘.<sup>12</sup>

2. „Die Sprache kam mir irgendwie kaum auf (*nu=mu=kan memiyaš tepu kuitki šarā iyattat*)“: die Bedeutung des Satzes ist klar.

3. „Ich ließ diese Sache (allerdings) völlig außer Acht (*nu=kan aši memian arḥa=pat paškuwanun*)“: Obwohl fast alle Forscher den Satz in diesem Sinne übersetzen,<sup>13</sup> ist der sehr vorsichtig, mit drei Fragezeichen aufgeführte Übersetzungsvorschlag Friedrichs (1925: 288, 1936: 305) ‚ich hatte (...) vergessen‘ bemerkenswert, weil er viel besser dem Kontext passt.<sup>14</sup> Oppenheim 1956: 230-231 (dem sich auch Hoffner 2003a: 87\* anschließt) baut seine Interpretation gerade auf diese Übersetzung auf: ihm zufolge hat der König diese Erinnerung unterdrückt, deshalb kehrt sie in seinem Traum zurück und erkrankte der König noch einmal daran. Dies klingt sehr logisch (für eine andere Erklärung s. allerdings unten), es passt aber auch zu dem anderen Übersetzungsvorschlag. Da allerdings die weiteren Belege des Verbs (CHD P s.v.) zu der traditionellen Übersetzung besser passen, habe ich sie gewählt.

4. „Mein Mund ging zur Seite (*KAXU-išš=a=mu=kan tapūša pait*)“: Die wörtliche Bedeutung des Ausdruckes ist klar.<sup>15</sup> Die Frage ist danach, was er genau bedeutet, ob er auf irgendeine physische Deformation hinweist, die uns bei der Diagnose Hilfe leisten könnte. Beckman 1983: 185 und Hoffner 1996: 253-254 (vgl. CHD P 34-35; van den Hout 2000: 645) haben gezeigt, dass die Bedeutung von „*tapūša pait*“ nur darin besteht, dass ein Körperteil nicht oder schlecht funktioniert, wie es sich aus einem hethitischen Geburtsritual, in dem die Fehler des Mundes, der Augen und der neun Körperteile beschrieben werden (KUB 44.4 Rs. 7-8), ergibt. Mit anderen Worten sind die Übersetzungen von van den Hout (2004: 360: „my mouth ceased to function“) und Görke (2015: „und mein Mund hörte auf zu funktionieren“) zwar inhaltlich ungefähr richtig (der Ausdruck kann allerdings auch bedeuten, dass das Mund des Königs „nur“ schlecht funktionierte), geben sie die hethitische Formulierung nicht wieder und manche Forscher haben wieder eine zu freie Übersetzung

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. CHD M 269; Tischler 1993: 317, 2008: 196, 2016: 374; Kloekhorst 2008: 869.

<sup>13</sup> Güterbock 1957: 355; Kümmel 1987: 289; Beckman 1995: 2010; Bryce 2002: 168, 2005: 219; Mouton 2007: 163; Haas 2008: 153; Puhvel 2011: 191; Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 200; Görke 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Dem schließen sich Oppenheim 1956: 230, Lebrun 1985: 109 und Tischler 2008: 141, 2016: 268 an. Van den Hout 2004: 360 lässt die Frage offen; Kronasser 1966: 481 geht mit einem Schritt weiter („sich verdrängen“). Ünal 2007: 531 (vgl. auch 2016: 407) nimmt ebenfalls die Bedeutung ‚außer Acht lassen‘ für das Verb mit Präverb auf, allerdings nimmt er ‚vergessen‘ unter den Bedeutungen des präverblosen Verbs auf (mit bzw. ohne Fragezeichen in der deutschen bzw. türkischen Fassung, nicht aufgenommen in der englischen Fassung). Schwer nachvollziehbar ist CHD P 209, demzufolge es keinen Grund für die Bedeutung ‚vergessen‘ gibt, „since Muršili may have been subsequently punished by the Stormgod for having failed to perform the necessary rituals soon after the incident“. Abgesehen davon, dass der Wettergott nicht existiert, schlägt dies die Möglichkeit des Vergessens noch nicht aus. Die Übersetzung von Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5 („trotzdem fand ich mich in besagten Zustand“) ist bestimmt nicht gut.

<sup>15</sup> Richtig übersetzen Beckman 1995: 2010; Hoffner 1996: 253; Bryce 2002: 168, 2005: 219; Mouton 2007: 163-164; Goedegebuure 2014: 178, 200.

gewählt.<sup>16</sup> Wichtiger ist allerdings aus unserer Sicht, dass es sich daher hier um keine Gestaltveränderung handelt, sondern einfach darum, dass sein Mund nicht oder nur schlecht funktionierte.

Mit diesem Hintergrund sollen wir jetzt einen Blick darauf werfen, welche anderen Erklärungen neben der in der Einleitung schon erwähnten Aphasie vorgeschlagen wurden. Interessanterweise haben sogar zwei Forscher das Ereignis als wegen Nervenüberreizung eingetretener Stimmverlust beschrieben (Oppenheim 1956: 230; Beckman 1995: 2010). Es geht allerdings aus dem Text eindeutig hervor, dass der Herrscher seine Stimme nicht verloren, sondern Probleme mit der Sprachperformanz gehabt hat. Als weniger wahrscheinliche Alternative hat Oppenheim 1956: 231 vorgeschlagen, dass das Herabschlagen „der Hand des Gottes“ (die, wie wir schon gesehen haben, nicht abgeschlagen hat) einen Schlaganfall verursacht haben konnte, der die Hälfte seines Gesichts gelähmt hätte, und deshalb wäre es „zur Seite gegangen“. Auch Bryce 1998: 239, 2002: 167, 2005: 219 und Collins 2007: 52, 186 haben vorsichtig einen kleinen Schlaganfall angenommen.<sup>17</sup> Ähnlich auch Ünal 1977: 433/458 und Anm. 64, der allerdings angenommen hat, dass die Sprachstörung mit einer durch den Schock verursachten und in den folgenden Jahren andauernden Gesichtslähmung einherging. Dagegen meint Friedrich 1925: 288, 1936: 305, dass sich der Mund des Königs ihm einfach wegen des Schmerzes verzogen hätte. Diese Vorschläge sollen allerdings anhand der Obigen ausgeschlossen werden (so auch Beckman 1983: 185 Anm. 493. und Hoffner 1996: 253-254, 2013: 150).

Was ist dann mit dem Herrscher geschehen? Eines soll sofort betont werden: anhand von diesen extrem wenigen Informationen kann keine zuverlässige Diagnose aufgestellt werden. Die Gattung des Textes erlaubt dies einfach nicht, weil der restliche Teil (58 Zeilen gegen die zwölf Zeilen der Einleitung) aufzeigt, welche Rituale auszuführen sind, damit sich der Herrscher askuriert. Die Funktion dieser Textsorte ist nämlich praktisch, die Sammlung, Verschriftlichung und Archivierung der „Heilmethoden“ und nicht die ausführliche Beschreibung der jeweiligen Krankheiten. Der dadurch entstandene, leider zu große Interpretationsspielraum lässt sich am besten mit dem berühmten Ritual von Paškuwatti illustrieren: traditionell wird das Problem des Patienten mit Impotenz erklärt (Hoffner 1987), dagegen schlägt Miller 2010 vor, der Patient sei homosexuell, schließlich argumentiert Simon

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<sup>16</sup> Götze – Pedersen 1934: 5 („das Sprachvermögen ging mir (ganz) verloren“); Kümmel 1987: 289 („meine Sprache mich (ganz) verließ“); Haas 2008: 153 („meine Sprache mich (gänzlich) verließ“). Die Übersetzung Lebruns (1985: 110: „ma bouche se mit de travers“) ist ungenau. Die Übersetzung Kimballs (2000: 140: „and (speech) went to the side of my mouth“) ist falsch, weil KAxU-*iš* nur Nominativ sein kann.

<sup>17</sup> Beide haben die oben zitierten Analysen Beckmans und Hoffners außer Acht gelassen und nur Bryce zitiert die Gegenmeinung van den Houts.

(2017) für Greiseninkontinenz (alle mit weiterführender Lit.).

Die Frage ist also danach, ob der König an Aphasie gelitten hat, wie es allgemein angenommen wird, und wenn ja, welche Art von Aphasie bzw. woran der König gelitten hat, wenn nicht an Aphasie.

Als Aphasie werden die durch eine Verletzung des Gehirns verursachten sprachlichen Einschränkungen bezeichnet (z. B. Lesser 1999: 294). Da wir schon gesehen haben, dass der Ausdruck „mein Mund ging zur Seite“ keine Lähmung bedeutet, kann dieser Ausdruck für die retrospektive Diagnose der Verletzung des Gehirns nicht verwendet werden und anhand der Beschreibung hat der Herrscher keine physischen Verletzungen erlitten. Dies stimmt damit überein, dass eigentlich keiner der Typen der Aphasie (vgl. z. B. Tranel – Anderson 1999) zum Zustand des Herrschers passt: anhand des Textes bestand das Problem des Herrschers darin, dass er wenig und schwer sprach und nicht darin, dass er falsch, d.h. ungrammatisch gesprochen hätte. Dies schließt diejenigen Aphasien aus, wo die Spontansprache fließend ist (Wernicke-Aphasie, transkortikale sensorische Aphasie und anomische Aphasie), sowie diejenigen, die zu ungrammatischen Äußerungen führen (die Broca-Aphasie; die Wernicke-Aphasie; die Leitungsaphasie; und natürlich die globale Aphasie, bei der schwerwiegende Störungen in allen Sprachfunktionen erscheinen). Durch Verständnisprobleme werden die Wernicke-Aphasie, die transkortikale sensorische und die globale Aphasie begleitet, die (auch) daher vermutlich auszuschließen sind, dass der Herrscher über Verständnisprobleme nicht geklagt hat.<sup>18</sup> Allein die transkortikale motorische Aphasie könnte vielleicht in Betracht kommen, die durch sehr knappe, aus einigen Worten bestehende Äußerungen gekennzeichnet wird, die zum Symptom „das Wort wurde mir wenig im Munde“ passt. Allerdings kann einerseits auch diese Art der Aphasie durch ungrammatische Äußerungen begleitet werden (eingeschränkte Wortfindung im Falle von Verben), die diese Identifizierung ausschließen würden, andererseits ist die Sprache im Falle dieser Aphasie gut artikuliert, wobei fraglich bleibt, ob der König diese Situation damit beschrieben hätte, dass sein Mund nicht oder nur schlecht funktioniert.

Mit anderen Worten gibt es im Gegensatz zu der allgemeinen Annahme der Forschung keinen Beweis dafür, dass Muršili an Aphasie gelitten hätte. Was ist dann aber mit dem König geschehen? Alles, was wir wissen ist, dass der König Angst gehabt und danach wenig bzw. holprig gesprochen hat – das heißt, dass ihm praktisch ein Schock versetzt wurde, der in einer

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<sup>18</sup> Man könnte allerdings einwenden, dass das Argument, Verständnisprobleme wurden nicht erwähnt, ein *argumentum e silentio* und daher nicht gültig ist. Wenn allerdings ein Herrscher auch ein ihm so empfindliches Problem wie die Sprachlähmung bespricht, warum hätte er in dem gleichen Kontext seine Verständnisprobleme verschwiegen?

verlassenen Landschaft (er war bei einer Ruinenstadt) in starkem Sturm mit Donner nachvollziehbar ist.<sup>19</sup> Lebrun 1985: 135, Beckman 1995: 2010 und Bryce 2005: 219 weisen darauf hin, dass der König gefühlsmäßig auch sonst extremem Stress ausgesetzt war, wenn man in Betracht zieht, dass er jung auf den Thron gestiegen ist, woraufhin sich ein breiter Aufstand formierte (und dies alles unter den Umständen einer angeblich zwanzig Jahre lang andauernden Seuche, die die hethitische Bevölkerung dezimiert hat, der vermutlich auch sein Vater und einer seiner Brüder zum Opfer gefallen sind<sup>20</sup>); ferner weitere persönliche Tragödien (der Mord an einem weiteren Bruder bzw. das frühe Ableben seiner geliebten Frau). Nichts weist also auf ererbte oder angeworbene physische Veränderungen hin, der König ist noch dazu von der Krankheit genesen: die Krankheit musste daher bloß über psychologische Gründe verfügen. Die durch traumatische(s) Erlebnis(se) teilweise und nur zeitweilig eingeschränkte Sprachfertigkeit kann typischerweise das Stottern bedeuten. Das Stottern wird nicht unbedingt durch die Wiederholung von Silben oder Phonemen begleitet, es kann durchaus durch stummes Stocken charakterisiert werden. Das dem Zustand des Königs entsprechende, d.h. durch psychologische Gründe angeworbene Stottern wird allerdings vor allem durch die Wiederholung der anlautenden oder der betonten Silbe gekennzeichnet (zur Beschreibung des angeworbenen Stotterns s. Ward 2006: 332-338, bes. 336, 338 mit Lit.). Hier stößt man auf das Problem, dass die im Text aufgezeichneten Symptome („die Sprache kam mir irgendwie kaum auf“ und „das Wort wurde mir wenig im Munde“) ziemlich allgemein sind und sich eigentlich auf beide Typen der Symptome (die Wiederholung der Silben oder Phoneme bzw. die stummen Phasen) beziehen können („das Wort wurde mir wenig im Munde“ kann nicht nur stumme Phasen bedeuten, sondern auch, dass der König mehr Zeit brauchte, sich auszudrücken, was allerdings auch den Silben- bzw. Phonemwiederholungen zugeschrieben werden kann). Man kann daher feststellen, dass die im Text erwähnten Symptome mit dem durch traumatische(s) Ergebnis(se) angeworbenen Stottern kompatibel sind. Damit stimmen auch die weiteren Bemerkungen des Königs überein, d.h. dass sein Mund nicht bzw. schlecht funktioniert (was auf Artikulationsprobleme hinweisen kann) und dass er „diese Sache völlig außer Acht ließ“: dies ist nämlich das typische Verhalten im Falle von aus psychologischen Gründen angeworbenem Stottern (im Gegensatz zum Geburtsfehler). Der König hätte es daher nicht unterdrückt, wie Oppenheim

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<sup>19</sup> Trotz der Behauptung Friedrichs (1936: 305) und Hoffners (2013: 150) gab es allerdings keinen „Blitz“.

<sup>20</sup> Die Historizität dieser Seuche wurde jetzt von Klinger 2012: 478-494 in Zweifel gezogen, der darin stattdessen das Propaganda Muršilis sieht, um seine Legitimation zu verstärken. Ob diese hyperkritische Stellungnahme aufrechtzuerhalten ist, möchte ich an einer anderen Stelle besprechen (zu Klingers These s. jetzt die kritischen Bemerkungen Metcalfs, 2015: 48 Anm. 35).

angenommen hat, sondern einfach außer Acht gelassen.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Friedrich 1936: 305 hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Sprachlähmung nicht unbedingt andauernd war: ihre Stimme konnte einfach versagen (und fügt hinzu, zum Beispiel stotterte er nicht). Obwohl der Text diese Interpretation erlaubt, wären ein erst später eintretendes Problem und ein ernsthaftes Reinigungsritual aus einem so kurz dauernden Ereignis kaum erwachsen.

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