

**Witchcraft in Medicine:  
the Ashur Medical Catalogue and Relevant Nineveh Series Reexamined**

With an appendix by Gilles Buisson

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**Introduction**

This is a case study on the relationship between cuneiform medicine and witchcraft in Nineveh and Ashur during the Late Assyrian period. The close relation between ušburruda ‘anti-witchcraft’<sup>2</sup> and therapeutic series in Nineveh was described in the monumental Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126:

‘K 3661 is a fragment of a two-column library tablet and preserves the end of an anti-witchcraft ritual closely related to a text otherwise known from ušburruda collections (see text 7.8), but also embedded in the Bīt rimki ritual. The colophon here shows that such rituals were not only transmitted within special collections of anti-witchcraft texts, but also formed part of the large medical-therapeutic series known from Nineveh, the Aššur catalogue and (later) Babylonian texts (Therapeutic Handbook).’

The colophon<sup>3</sup> mentioned by Abusch and Schwemer cannot be of only one kind, as will be shown below. Yet, neither choice contradicts Abusch and Schwemer’s observation. Furthermore, a close association between medicine and witchcraft can be easily observed in therapeutic prescriptions which are commonly employed by both genres. I will even argue that the distinction between witchcraft and medicine is a modern one. The Babylonian taxonomy often ‘understands’ witchcraft and medicine as part of one entity, which is precisely why anti-witchcraft therapy looks in many cases exactly like common medical prescriptions, and why serialized anti-witchcraft material was part of the medical system in Mesopotamia. As will be shown below, Assyrian scholars classified anti-witchcraft techniques (like ušburruda ‘anti-

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<sup>2</sup> Diverse incantations and therapies designed to counter witchcraft and reverse the evil deeds of sorcerers. See in detail Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 13f.; also chapter 7 in <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro/pager> and especially 7.5.

<sup>3</sup> I suppose that with the word ‘colophon’, Abusch and Schwemer also mean the catch-line and tablet’s designation.

witchcraft’ and zikurruda ‘cutting-of-the-throat’ magic<sup>4</sup>) under the general taxonomy of healing prescriptions, like bulṭu ‘remedy, cure.’

However, if we take a novel approach, we will see that a close connection finds an expression not only on the textual level, but also on the material and technical side, represented by type of tablets, incipits, catch-lines, catalogues, colophons and serialized manuscripts. These are structural instruments used by ancient scholars in order to systematize knowledge. Although holistic medical theory was never clearly expressed in cuneiform writings, among others,<sup>5</sup> we can deduct it partly with structural analyses of the sources, as will be shown below. Collections of tablets developed into series, interconnecting with other series, in order to create bigger collections. Their connection and arrangement were not random but followed certain theoretical principles. We can be sure that the systematization of medical knowledge is bound to a theory, because we can observe structural similarities in the medical sources from different cities and periods. In other words, arrangements of tablets and series are not accidental.

The best example of a serialized, therapeutic compendium is the Nineveh Medical Encyclopedia (henceforth NME). It is an edition of therapeutic texts, especially prepared for the library in Nineveh, commissioned by the king Ashurbanipal. To date, this is the biggest collection of medical text in original manuscripts from the Ancient Near East.<sup>6</sup> To the best of our knowledge, NME was divided into 12 head-to-toe, topically interconnected chapters (or series). Altogether, it consists of 50 standardized two-columned tablets.<sup>7</sup> NME was preserved in multiple sets in Nineveh, witnessed by the abundant duplicates. Thanks to preserved library colophons, we recognize different editorial stages of the NME, suggesting a work in progress rather than a final product. Not all tablets are identified with certainty, but the list below represents the bigger picture for now.

1. Head: DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal ‘For a person: his skull holds heat’ – 5 tablets.
2. Eyes: DIŠ NA IGL.MIN-šú GIG ‘For a person: his eyes are sick’ – 4 tablets.
3. Ears: DIŠ NA GÉŠTU ZAG-šú GÙ.GÙ-si ‘For a person: his right ear constantly rings’ – 1 tablet.

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<sup>4</sup> A specific witchcraft method, which made its victims helpless, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 3.

<sup>5</sup> Note the theoretical ‘vestiges’ in causations, etiologies and metaphors employed in incantations (Geller 2007; BAMTU 10: 17, 41; Panayotov 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the Graeco-Roman heritage, which is transmitted in copies and translations.

<sup>7</sup> Editions on <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/>.

4. Neck: DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA ‘For a person: his neck muscle hurt him due to ghost affliction (lit. it is ‘the hand of the ghost’)’ – 6 tablets.
5. Nose: DIŠ NA MÚD ina KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú DU-ku ‘For a person: blood flows from his nose’ – 1 tablet.
6. Oral: DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG ‘For a person: his teeth are sick’ – 2 tablets.
7. Bronchial: DIŠ NA KIR<sub>4</sub>-šú DUGUD ‘For a person: his nose (breathing) is difficult’ – 6 tablets.
8. Gastrointestinal: DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŠÀ GUR-šú ‘For a person: he is sick with phlegm (and) it turns for him into a stomach problem (lit. binding of the belly)’ – 5 tablets.
9. Abdominal area: DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši ‘For a person: his top of the belly is risen’ – 8 tablets.
10. Renal: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ‘For a person: his kidney hurts him’ – 3 tablets.
11. Rectal: DIŠ NA ina la si-ma-ni-šú MURUB<sub>4</sub>-MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú kim-ša-šú i-za-qata-šú bur-ka-šú i-kaš-ša-ša-šú NA BI ina meš-ḫi-ru-ti-šú DÚR.GIG ‘For a person: his middle body areas (lower back and hips) keep hurting him at the wrong moment (earlier in life), his shins cause him a stinging pain, his knees gnaw at him with pain – that man has sick anus (already) during his youth’ – 5 tablets.
12. Legs: DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG ‘For a person: he is sick with sagallu-problems (lit. big muscle)’ – 4 tablets.

Where we lack data from Nineveh we can reconstruct the structure of the NME with the help of the Ashur Medical Catalogue (hereafter AMC). A discussion in great detail can be found in BAMTU 9. What is important here is that the NME’s structure was greatly reflected in the first part of the AMC, but with several important differences around the ninth series. AMC includes material that was not part of the NME, as we know it. These discrepancies are of central concern for the present article. There, witchcraft series were interwoven in an orthodox cuneiform medicine. The break in AMC part 1 causes a lot of problems for the interpretation, but the sequence in Nineveh for the same part is clear, and will be discussed in detail below. New readings are offered for the broken part of AMC part 1, which suggest more data on medicine and witchcraft in Ashur and Nineveh. Additionally, an interesting case of anti-witchcraft tablet will be discussed. A tablet from the AMC part 1 was excluded from the NME, but it bears all the features of a standard NME tablet, showing the connection between witchcraft and medicine on a material level. Furthermore, I will discuss body parts and areas that were commonly

affected by witchcraft in Mesopotamia. Finally, special attention will be paid to the taxonomy of SAG ŠÀ in relation to the wide-spread translation as epigastrium.

### **Was the AMC data introduced in Nineveh?**

While the exact content of each medical series differs in all Mesopotamian city-based traditions, importantly, the title (incipit or respectively catch-line) always remains the same, with some insignificant variations in different periods and cities. The structure of the NME incipits corresponds almost entirely to the incipits of the first part of the AMC. This shall be of no surprise, since Nineveh was the royal capital and Ashur its old respected predecessor in the very same Neo-Assyrian period. We know that cuneiform texts from the core places of Mesopotamian scholarship, thus Ashur certainly included, were systematically introduced into the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh. In this regard, observe the statement from the so-called colophon b (Hunger 1968: no. 318, Asb. Typ b):

Ashurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. According to tablets and writing boards, copies from **Assyria, Sumer and Akkad (=Babylonia)**. I have written, checked and collated this tablet in the assembly of scholars, and placed it in my palace for my royal consultation. Whoever erases my inscribed name and writes his own, may Nabû, scribe of everything, erase his name!

The evidence from colophon b is also greatly supported by the Nineveh Library Records (Parpola 1983). Among others,<sup>8</sup> colophon b was designating serialized tablets belonging to the presumably earlier recension of the NME (this is one possibility for the colophon mentioned by Abusch and Schwemer, see below). Colophon b demonstrates directly that part of the data needed for the NME was introduced during the Ashurbanipal reign, among others from Ashur.<sup>9</sup> Thus, we can conclude that the AMC series and structure were well known in Nineveh.

### **Prerequisite for further reading**

Although NME was elaborated in great detail in BAMTU 9, it is obligatory to repeat some data here, since there is a confusion in the literature and among specialists, and it won't be easy to follow otherwise. The discussion below is quite technical in nature; thus the reader is strongly advised to have access to the following material:

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<sup>8</sup> <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu//asbp/rlasb/librarycolophons/colophonexplained/index.html#asbb>.

<sup>9</sup> This does not mean, however, that the relevant data was not known in Nineveh before Ashurbanipal.

- a copy of BAMTU 9
- or partly misleading alternative of the NME structure, which is based on the BAMTU 9, AMC part 1 edition:  
<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/whatisthenme/ninevehmedicalencyclopedia/index.html>
- NME's Gastrointestinal series (also known under the misnomer Suālu):  
<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/>

Sadly, due to technical errors the Oracc website is currently not reliable for some series of the NME. Luckily, the data can be accessed in the electronic Babylonian Library where it was initially entered:

- Renal 1? = [www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.11230](http://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.11230) (BAMTU 7: 118ff.)
- Renal 2 = [www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2405](http://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2405) (BAMTU 7: 42ff.)
- Renal 3 = [www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2960](http://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2960) (note the duplicate K.4957, BAMTU 7: 88ff.)
- Abdominal area 1: <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.7239+> (AMT 43/6)

### **On the sequence in NME**

After the gastrointestinal series and before the renal series we have abundant information on anti-witchcraft measures in NME, as shown by the AMC incipits. Both F. Köcher and J.A. Scurlock assumed that the gastrointestinal series in Nineveh has six tablets, the last one being K.7239+(AMT 43/6) with the incipit DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši 'For a person: his top of the belly is risen' (literature in BAMTU 9: 103). However, the placement of DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši as the sixth tablet to gastrointestinal series is disproven by two points.

#### **Point 1**

From Nineveh, we are aware of the 8<sup>th</sup> tablet of DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši (K.3661(AMD 8/1 pl. 23); K.13390(AMT 44/7), see edition below). This proves that this is a separate series, which is following on K.5834+(BAM 579+), tablet 5 of the gastrointestinal series. Most other tablets of the DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši series are not yet certain, but we are also aware of the 1<sup>st</sup> tablet (K.7239+(AMT 43/6)). Note that the fragment K.3661 must be a duplicate of K.13390, and not an indirect join as speculated by Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 127. The two fragments do look different. Yet, the tiny overlap of several signs from the catch-line and the tablets' designation

suggest the following reconstruction (first recognized by N. Hessel, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 127):

K.3661 iv 17' DIŠ NA ʿÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>'-šu lu ŠU DING[IR ... lu ŠU .....]

K.13390 iv 1' [ ] DAB-su

Catch-line: For a person: his kidney hurts him. Either the hand of god? [... or ... ] has seized him.

K 3661 iv 18' DUB.ʿ8.KÁM' [DIŠ NA SA]G ŠÀ-šú [.....]

K 13390 iv 2' [ ] na-ši

Tablet 8<sup>th</sup> (of the series,) [For a person: his to]p of the belly is risen.

For the colophon I see two possibilities, based on the evidence from the NME manuscripts:

a)

K 13390 iv 3' [m<sup>a</sup>š+šur-DÙ-IBILA LUGAL GAL LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL  
MAN<sup>kur</sup>A]N.ʿŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

[Ashurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of] Assyria, ...  
(The beginning of colophon b, see above)

b)

K 13390 iv 3' [É.GAL<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN<sup>kur</sup>A]N.ʿŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

[Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of] Assyria, ...  
(The beginning of colophon q, see below)

## Point 2

According to the AMC, the last tablet of the gastrointestinal series (K.5834+, BAM 579) is not called DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši, but its name is DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú KÚM DAB(-it) 'For a person: his belly is affected by heat/fever' (BAMTU 9: p. 211: 30).

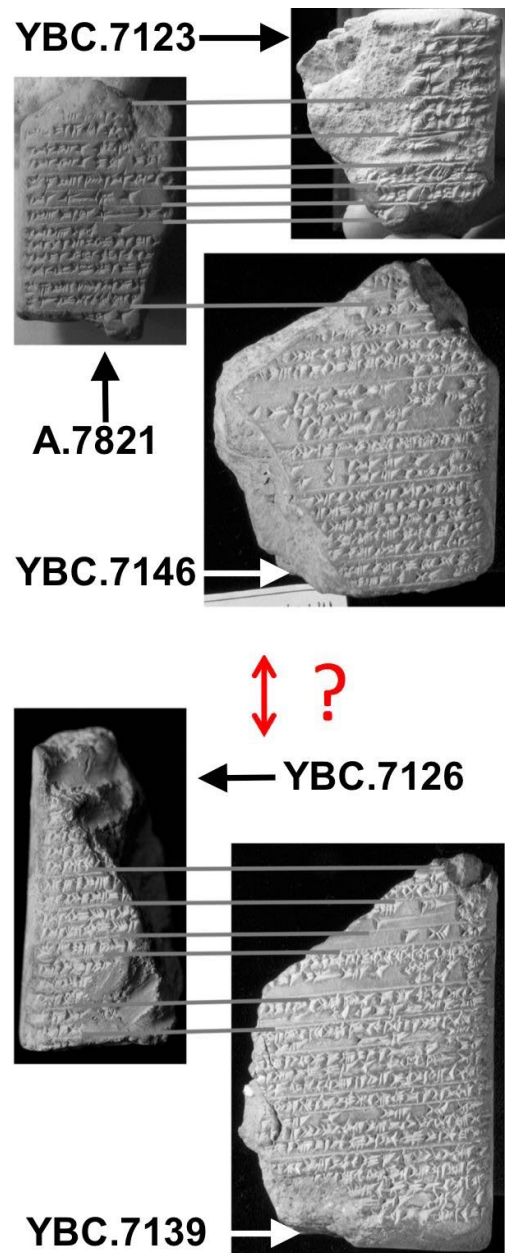
Therefore, proven by catch-lines and incipits directly from Nineveh manuscripts and indirectly from the AMC incipits, we have the series in the following sequence as part of the overall NME structure:

8. Gastrointestinal: DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŠÀ GUR-šú ‘For a person: he is sick with phlegm (and) it turns for him into a stomach problem (lit. binding of the belly)’ – 5 tablets.
9. Abdominal area: DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši ‘For a person: his top of the belly is risen’ – 8 tablets.
10. Renal: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ‘For a person: his kidney hurts him’ – 3 tablets.

Exactly in these series lures the witchcraft. Note that the NME information on the Oracc website is a mix between AMC and NME, thus misleading and was not changed according to my urges. The seventh tablet<sup>10</sup> of the DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši series under 09 Epigastrium-abdomen on the oracc website (<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/pager>) is a modern fabrication. It does not belong to DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši, according to the AMC part 1, and we do not have data from Nineveh to support the oracc arrangement. Paradoxically here more anti-witchcraft measures are hidden, but more in detail below.

### On the sequence in the AMC part 1

As said above, the order of the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> NME series does not correspond exactly to the structure we see in the AMC part 1. The arrangement of the AMC fragments plays a major role here. The alignment between YBC.7126 and YBC.7139 was figured out by the *Großmeister*, Franz Köcher (Beckman and Foster 1988: 1). A.7821 was discovered by I. Finkel, communicated to F. Köcher and M. Geller (BAMTU 9: 91f.). Specific challenge in the AMC reconstruction is the relation of YBC.7146 (Beckman and Foster 1988: 12 no. 9b) to YBC.7126 (Beckman and Foster 1988: 13 no. 9c). See the graphical explanation for a visual representation.<sup>11</sup>



<sup>10</sup> With the incipit DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a (K.3278(+))K.6172 (BAM 449+, AMD 8/1, pp. 407-415)).

<sup>11</sup> Adopted from <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/whatisthenme/reconstructingnme/index.html>.

We suggested the summary section in AMC line 38) as D(YBC.7126) 1' (+) C(YBC.7146) 22' 'NÍGIN 4' D[UB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú ...] (BAMTU 9: 212, 38).<sup>12</sup> Thus, assuming alignment between the end of YBC.7146 and the beginning of YBC.7126. The reading 'NÍGIN 4' D[UB is problematic. It was based on the copy and collations of Steinert in BAMTU 9: 337-342. The idea for DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú was borrowed from the order in NME, as discussed above. However, what we can certainly read in the AMC after the break on YBC.7126 does not represent a sequence we know from Nineveh until now. For the sake of convenience, I will first cite the BabMed edition in BAMTU 9: 212:

### AMC part 1

C = YBC.7146; D = YBC.7126; E = YBC.7139

36) C20'                    [DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši : DIŠ NA (...) mi-h]i-iš ŠÀ-šú lu di-kiš  
GABA TUK-ši

37) C21'                    [DIŠ NA? ..... : DIŠ NA NAM.ÉRIM š]ah-hi-hu 'GIG'

38) D1'(+)C22'            'NÍGIN 4' D[UB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši EN (DIŠ) ...] x 'xxx'  
39) D2'                    ne-he-[es <sup>giš</sup>GIGIR .....]

40) D3'                    DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma .....]  
41) D 4'                    DIŠ NA NINDA N[U GU<sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG .....]  
42) D5'(+)E1'            DIŠ NA ZI.K[U<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA DÙ-su .....] x x [x (x)]

43) D6'(+)E2'            EN 8 DUB.ME[Š ... KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.] 'DA'?.[KAM (x)]  
44) D7'(+)E3'            EN ú-š[á-an-ni na-mir-tum (u) DIŠ NA ... ina DU/KI.NÚ<sup>?</sup>-š]ú re-hu-su  
[DU-ma<sup>?</sup>]

45) D8'(+)E4'            DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U<sub>7</sub>-šú : DIŠ NA mi-na-tu-šú D]UB.MEŠ-'ka'

Note, the sequence of DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma] followed by DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú, which is not the case in NME, as shown above, where DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú comes after

<sup>12</sup> Scurlock 2014: 302 has an absolutely different restoration.



DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši. Therefore, it is not justified to use the NME order to reconstruct this section of the AMC, since they simply do not match.

The relation of YBC.7126 to YBC.7146 was suggested by the BabMed group in BAMTU 9. YBC.7126 was copied twice: by Beckman and Foster 1988: 13, no. 9c, and by Steinert in BAMTU 9: 337-342. The former detected two rests of vertical wedges after the NÍGIN, and the latter copied one rest of vertical wedge after the NÍGIN. The copy of Beckman and Foster 1988: 13, no. 9c, suggests reading 'NÍGIN 2' (Scurlock 2014: 302) or 'NÍGIN 5'. But according to Steinert's copy we have 'NÍGIN 4'. The latter comforts the BabMed placement, since this summary section seems to correspond in this way to the section on



YBC.7146 obv. 20-21, which will easily accommodate 4 incipits. In this way everything seems to fit into the BabMed reconstruction. However, by expecting diverse photographs of YBC.7126 obv. 1,<sup>13</sup> I see clear rests of 2 vertical wedges after NÍGIN, but there is also another thinner wedge in between the two! This shows, per se, what an unreliable methodology the copying of cuneiform tablets is. Digital photographs and examining the artefact is much more reliable since one can decide for himself. So, to continue with the confusion, I introduce my copy here. The outer two wedges are thicker and deeper than the middle one! In other words, the rests of 3 vertical wedges after NÍGIN will respectively suggest two scenarios in my opinion:

### SCENARIO A

We read 'NÍGIN 5' - in case the middle, slightly thinner tail comes from the upper row of wedges. However, this is not the case on the same side of the same fragment, YBC.7126: 14, where we read with BAMTU 9: 213 line 51) D14'(+)E10' NÍGIN 5 D[UB.MEŠ DIŠ NA ina la si-ma-ni-š]ú MURUB.MEŠ-šú GU<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ-šú ..., the summary section of the rectal series. There, I do not see a third vertical thin tail in the middle of the number 5. This makes it unlikely, but not impossible. If we opt for the number 5, a placement like in BAMTU 9 might be possible, if we assume that 5 incipits can be cited on 2 lines of YBC.7146 obv. 20-21. Note, that the 5 gastrointestinal incipits are cited over two lines on the AMC part 1, BAMTU 9: 211 lines 29) and 30). There are many 'ifs' for this placement, but it would look accordingly:

<sup>13</sup> The three ends of vertical wedges are clearly recognizable especially in the first top-to-bottom open-access photos on <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-021190>.

**AMC part 1**

C = YBC.7146; D = YBC.7126; E = YBC.7139

38) D1'(+)C22'	ʿNÍGIN 5ʿ D[UB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši EN (DIŠ) ...] x ʿxxxʿ
39) D2'	ne-he-[es <sup>giš</sup> GIGIR ...]
40) D3'	DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma ...]
41) D 4'	DIŠ NA NINDA N[U GU <sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG ...]
42) D5'(+)E1'	DIŠ NA ZI.K[U <sub>5</sub> .RU.DA DÙ-su ...] x x [x (x)]
43) D6'(+)E2'	EN 8 DUB.ME[Š ... KA.INIM.MA UŠ <sub>11</sub> .BÚR.RU.]ʿDAʿ <sup>?</sup> .[KAM (x)]
44) D7'(+)E3'	EN ú-š[á-an-ni na-mir-tum (u) DIŠ NA ... ina DU/KI.NÚʿ <sup>?</sup> -š]ú re-hu-su [DU-maʿ]
45) D8'(+)E4'	DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U <sub>7</sub> -šú : DIŠ NA mi-na-tu-šú D]UB.MEŠ-ʿkaʿ

Note that until now, we do not have a clear example where the number of tablets in each series of NME differs from what we know from the AMC part 1. Thus, speculating that DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši had 4 or 5 tablets in Ashur, although we know with certainty that there were 8 tablets of it in Nineveh, makes little sense until we find a clear example where we see such a difference between the AMC part 1 and the NME. I do not say it is impossible, but I say we lack telling evidence, and all other preserved NME series show the opposite until now.

**SCENARIO B**

If we accept ʿNÍGIN 6ʿ or respectively ʿNÍGIN 8ʿ as a possible reading, then YBC.7126 obv. 1 cannot be the summary section of YBC.7146 obv. 20-21. Note also that Franz Köcher did not align YBC.7126 and YBC.7146. I discuss in detail the two possibilities for the numbers:

ʿNÍGIN 6ʿ is the next possibility, but note as said above: the middle vertical tail is thinner and does not look as deep as the number 6 on A.7821, the summary section on neck problems induced by ghosts: AMC line 17) B12'(+)C1' NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SA.G[Ú-šú GU<sub>7</sub>-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA? EN ...]x ..., BAMTU 9: 210.

‘**NÍGIN 8**’ is also possible. Especially, if one compares to the number 8 on the same fragment YBC.7126: 6, BAMTU 9: 212 line 43) D6’(+)E2’ **EN 8** DUB.ME[Š...] The last two vertical wedges from the number 8 are written lavishly spaced apart from the first group of six vertical wedges. Thus, I presume that the last two vertical wedges were written in the broken part of YBC.7126 obv. 1.

In this case, the BAMTU 9 suggestion that YBC.7126 indirectly joins YBC.7146 does not hold true, since YBC.7146 obv. 20-21 will probably not accommodate more than 5 incipits. Again, speculating that DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši had 4, 5 or 6 tablets on the AMC and 8 tablets in NME, makes no sense until we find clear examples of such a difference. Thus, the best possible solution is to unify the traces of the numerical sign on YBC.7126 obv. 1 with the evidence from NME, where we are aware of 8 tablets. Nevertheless, only a join can prove this arrangement.

Here in this transliteration, I offer several deviations from the BabMed edition, especially in line 36), 38), 39’) and 43’) marked in bold script. For more data see the appendix.

### AMC part 1

C = YBC.7146; D = YBC.7126; E = YBC.7139

36) C20’                    [DIŠ NA ..... : DIŠ NA **KÚ]M ŠÀ ù**<sup>14</sup> di-kiš GABA TUK-ši

37) C21’                    [DIŠ NA ..... : DIŠ NA NAM.ÉRIM š]ah-hi-hu ‘GIG’

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38) C22’                    [**NÍGIN 4** DUB.MEŠ .....] x x x x x

### BREAK of unknown length, probably not more than 4-6 lines!

39’) D1’                    ‘**NÍGIN 8**?’ [DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši ...]

40’) D2’                    ne-he-[es <sup>giš</sup>GIGIR .....]

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<sup>14</sup> The reading **KÚ]M ŠÀ ù** is courtesy of Gilles Buisson. Steinert’s copy in BAMTU 9: 339, C(YBC 7146) dismantled the **ù** copied by Beckman and Foster 1988: 12 no. 9b obv. 20’, into šú and lu. Diverse photo collations, speak for Beckman and Foster’s copy and Buisson’s reading. This aligns also with Scurllock 2014: 299: 20’. This incipit makes a lot of sense since it is connected to the preceding series last tablet K.5834+(BAM 579+), where we find closely relevant incipit on two occasions: obv. i 30: DIŠ NA KÚM ŠÀ TUKU.TUKU-ši UD.DA SÁ.SÁ a[na TI-šú ...] and in obv. i 46: DIŠ NA KÚM ŠÀ TUKU saḡ-lé-e. It is a normal feature of NME to elaborate on similar symptoms and diseases in neighboring tablets and series.

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41') D3'	DIŠ NA GI[ <i>DIM DAB-su-ma ...</i> ]
42') D 4'	DIŠ NA NINDA N[U GU <sub>7</sub> KAŠ NU NAG ...]
43') D5'(+)E1'	DIŠ NA ZI.K[U <sub>5</sub> .RU.DA DÙ-su ...] x x [x (x)]

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44') D6'(+)E2'	<b>NÍGIN!</b> (EN) <sup>15</sup> 8 DUB.ME[Š ... KA.INIM.MA UŠ <sub>11</sub> .BÚR.RU.] ʾDA <sup>?</sup> . [KAM (x)]
45') D7'(+)E3'	EN ú-š[á-an-ni na-mir-tum (u) DIŠ NA ... ina DU/KI.NÚ <sup>?</sup> -š]ú re-hu-su [DU-ma <sup>?</sup> ]

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46') D8'(+)E4'	DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U <sub>7</sub> -šú : DIŠ NA mi-na-tu-šú DJUB.MEŠ-ʾkaʾ
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With **scenario b**, after the gastrointestinal series the AMC part 1 has an unknown, possibly anti-witchcraft series of 4 tablets, with fragmentary preserved incipits on YBC.7146 obv. 20-21 (see more in the appendix); then 8 anti-witchcraft tablets of DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši, guessed by the possible beginning of the number 8 on the summary section on YBC.7126 obv. 1', and finally 8 ghost and anti-witchcraft<sup>16</sup> related tablets of the series DIŠ NA GI[*DIM DAB-su-ma*], suggested by the fragmentary incipits on YBC.7126 obv. 3'-5' and the summary section on YBC.7126 obv. 6'. This may suggest up to 20 anti-witchcraft related tablets, spread over 3 series. A number that can easily meet the data presented in the anti-witchcraft corpus: <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro>. In other words, both scenarios show that the serialized anti-witchcraft material is more abundant than expected.

It is important to say that **scenario b** affects the reverse of the AMC tablet as well. Thus, the second part of the AMC has to be corrected as well in a similar manner:

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<sup>15</sup> **NB.!** I consider EN as a mistake for NÍGIN, since we have another EN on the next line. This suggestion comes from Scurlock 2014: 302, fragment 9c+d: 6'+2'. Obviously, my own unclear reasoning in BAMTU 9: 106, 7.1. is explained better in the present article. The mistake in the text (EN instead of NÍGIN) may be due to the fact that the scribe was still an apprentice, A.ZU TUR in the colophon, BAMTU 9: 219 line 127.

<sup>16</sup> For a more detailed discussion on this, see below under 'AMC's anti-witchcraft series, which were excluded from NME.'

**AMC part 2**

C = YBC.7146; D = YBC.7126; E = YBC.7139

91) Dr14'(+)Er25' DIŠ NA hu-<sup>r</sup>uṣ<sup>r</sup>-ša GA[Z ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši .....]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>?</sup> MU.NE

92) Dr15'(+)Er26' a-na AN.TA.ŠU[B.BA ZI-hi : ..... ana Z]I-hi

93) Dr16'(+)Er27' NÍGIN 3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N[A hu-uṣ-ša GAZ ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši ...-ú  
MU.N]E

94) Dr17'(+)Er28' EN DIŠ NA UZU.ME[Š-šú .....] x

95) Dr18' [DIŠ N]A <sup>r</sup>ina KI<sup>r</sup>.N[Ú-šú HULUH.HULUH-ut / GÙ.GÙ-si<sup>?</sup> ...]96) Dr19' [DIŠ N]A <sup>r</sup>A<sup>r</sup>.L[Á HUL DAB-su .....]**BREAK of unknown length, probably not more than 4-6 lines!**

97') Cr1' [.....] x [.....]

98) Cr2' [.....] <sup>r</sup>ana <sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>9</sub>.M[E] Z[I-hi? x x x]

This suggests, that after the so-called XVIII Mental Illness series, we might expect one more series before going into XIX Potency (BAMTU 9: 216f., and passim). It might be that the Lamaštu series is hidden here, as <sup>d</sup>DIM<sub>9</sub>.ME in line 98) Cr2' suggests. It will make more sense to expect a separate series including the baby snatching Lamaštu before the series on Potency, Sex and Pregnancy. We are aware that the Lamaštu material is connected to Pregnancy (BAMTU 9: 263), and among infants, pregnant mothers are also the victims of Lamaštu. In other words, a series including Lamaštu, before the series on Potency, Sex and Pregnancy, seems very logical for the Mesopotamian system and associational arrangements of the AMC and NME, both grouping thematically related material in close proximity.

**AMC's anti-witchcraft series, which were excluded from NME**

The following series, DIŠ NA GI[*DIM DAB-su-ma*]<sup>17</sup> 'For a person: a [ghost seized him]' (We rendered this under Abdomen in BAMTU 9: 212<sup>18</sup>) deserves special attention here. Its 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> tablet is probably called DIŠ NA ZI.K[U<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA DÛ-su] 'For a person: a cutting-of-the-[throat magic has been performed against a man]' (BAMTU 9: 212, 42). As said before, this is the tablet erroneously included as the seventh manuscript of the DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši series under 09 Epigastrium-abdomen on <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/pager>. Notably, this title is also known from an incipit in Nineveh (K.3278(+)*K.6172+*..., see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 407-415, and BAMTU 9: 235), with an alternative spelling: DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a. Unfortunately, the catch-line and designation of K.3278(+)*K.6172+*... are broken off. Thus, we are not informed from Nineveh proper, where this tablet really belonged, but it will be wise to expect it in the series DIŠ NA GI[*DIM DAB-su-ma*], as the AMC shows. This series is not recorded in the NME sequence as we know it for the moment. However, the colophon of K.3278(+)*K.6172+* is partly preserved and identifiable, and is of a particular interest for the present article. It is the so-called colophon q (Hunger 1968: no. 329, *Asb. Typ q*):

Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, on whom Nabû and Tašmētu have bestowed wisdom. He (i.e. Ashurbanipal) acquired for himself shining eyes, the pinnacle of scholarship. Of the kings who came before me, none were able to comprehend these tasks. Medical prescriptions from head to toenail (i.e. the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia), other selections, clever instructions, (and) whatever pertains to the great medical knowledge of Ninurta and Gula, I have written on tablets, checked, collated and deposited them in the middle of my palace (in Nineveh) for my reading and recitation.'

This colophon is mainly used to designate tablets from the Ashurbanipal library, which belong to the assumingly later editorial stage of the NME manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> Thus, we have an interesting

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<sup>17</sup> If our restoration is correct, then this is also the incipit of K.11772(AMT 94/5), courtesy of Gilles Buisson. It is not clear to me if it is a one or two-column tablet. It looks like it is a fragment of a one-column tablet, thus it might be that K.11772(AMT 94/5) was a source data, which was later edited into a two-columned tablet (similar to K.3278(+)*K.6172+*...). It has colophon c, which is related to colophon b, which we also find on NME manuscripts. We are furthermore aware of a Late Babylonian version of the same incipit: BM.47817, which interestingly also includes a drawing of a ghost, see Finkel 2021: Drawing Case 3.

<sup>18</sup> Abdomen is a *Notlösung* in BAMTU 9, but the abdominal area includes DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši, and probably also DIŠ NA GI[*DIM DAB-su-ma*]. In this way, abdominal area as a designation is less specific than epigastrium and thus it is vague enough to illustrate the general aspect of Mesopotamian medical taxonomy.

<sup>19</sup> Other medical material was also designated with colophon q in Nineveh which was to be seen in the AMC part 2, *SKIN*, like K.3993. Associated with colophon q are probably also K.7815+ and Sm.60. The latter looks like a variant of a q-kind colophon. Future research on colophons will certainly bring more data into consideration.

case: a tablet from an anti-witchcraft collection, DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA DÛ-su,<sup>20</sup> which is part of the series DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma], was also part of the therapeutic collection in the AMC part 1. Yet, the editorial board of Ashurbanipal did not include the series DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma] into the NME sequence. However, the scholars in Nineveh used colophon q to designate DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a (K.3278(+)-K.6172+), exactly like colophon q was designating at least 30 NME manuscripts. This unmistakably shows that collections like DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a fall under the categories mentioned in colophon q: ‘Medical prescriptions from head to toenail (i.e. the Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia), other selections, clever instructions, (and) whatever pertains to the great medical knowledge of Ninurta and Gula’. On top of this, the Nineveh manuscript of K.3278(+)-K.6172+ is written on a two-column tablet. This is the standard format *par excellence*, which the Nineveh scribes used for the earlier (colophon b) and the later (colophon q) edition of the NME manuscripts. There are no exceptions from this rule until now. Thus, tablets from the anti-witchcraft corpus that were not included in the incipit sequence of the NME, still look exactly like tablets from the NME having colophon q and the two-column format manuscript. This proves that anti-witchcraft tablets and NME tablets were considered one entity, even if systematized in different collections.

Here, I offer two additional, unlikely possibilities as well, because without a catch line and a designation of K.3278(+)-K.6172+ we do not have a real proof from Nineveh, where this tablet really belonged.

**a)** DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a (K.3278(+)-K.6172+) became part of DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši, but this will then contradict the data from the AMC. This is implied by <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/pager>, but it is not based on any evidence.

**b)** The NME had more recensions in Nineveh and DIŠ NA ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA e-pu-u[s-su-m]a (K.3278(+)-K.6172+) belongs to another recension of the NME, which includes the series DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma], and is thus similar to the data from the AMC part 1. However, we are not informed on such a scenario from Nineveh until now.

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<sup>20</sup> Another case is K.10515, discussed in the appendix below.

### Which body parts and areas are affected by witchcraft?

We have two approaches to answer this question. The first is to look into all diagnostic parts of the anti-witchcraft prescriptions and Maqlû ‘Burning’ (in <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro>), and systematize them. Yet the other approach, which I will argue generalizes the former, and provides a bigger picture, is to look into the structure of the AMC part 1 and NME. Since they both bear similar witness to Mesopotamian medical theory represented by the human body. Both, the Ashur and the Nineveh tradition position the anti-witchcraft material between the gastrointestinal and renal series. Thus, we can suggest that these areas are those normally affected by witchcraft. Notably, in the gastrointestinal series, especially tablets 3 and 5, witchcraft appears in connection to the body-area SAG ŠÀ or rēš libbi ‘top of the belly’. Also, in the renal series, tablet 2 and especially 3, SAG ŠÀ and witchcraft are mentioned as well. This might be the case for the first tablet of the renal series, but the data for the allegedly renal tablet one is very fragmentary. Interestingly, the NME and AMC data are greatly supported by Maqlû ‘Burning’:

Maqlû Tablet III, 30a:

šalam ṭīdi lipâ ina libbi u ē[ra ina kalâti]

A figurine of clay – (you insert) tallow in the belly, cor[nel in the kidneys].

Maqlû Ritual Tablet, 42')

šalam ṭīdi 43') lipâ ina rēš libbīša ēra ina kalâtīša tusannaš

A figurine of clay – (43') you insert tallow in her ‘top of the belly’, cornel in her kidneys.<sup>21</sup>

This sympathetic magic ensures that the belly, top of the belly and kidneys of the witch are affected the same way she affected those of the patient with her malevolent sorcery.

### SAG ŠÀ - ‘epigastrium’ or not?

Lastly, translating SAG ŠÀ or rēš libbi as ‘epigastrium’, adopted by the dictionaries, seems logical at first sight, since SAG ŠÀ ‘top of the belly’ has similar meaning to epigastrium in Greek - epi ‘on, above’ and gaster ‘stomach’. The latter is referred to as the area above the umbilical area. However, I will argue that this is too precise, since we are not informed if this corresponds exactly to Babylonian taxonomy, which rarely matches modern body parts and anatomical areas. The body parts arrangements of the NME and the AMC part 1 are not

<sup>21</sup> In Maqlû Tablet III, 30a, I translate belly and not epigastrium as in <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro/pager>.



exclusively vertical from head to toe, as I argued for a multilayered approach (BAMTU 9: 94). This is also true for the SAG ŠÀ body area as well. Since both the NME and AMC part 1 position SAG ŠÀ in-between internal areas, this suggests per se that SAG ŠÀ is an internal body area/part. Yet, omens observing a black spot tirku (GE<sub>6</sub>) on the human body show that SAG ŠÀ is also an external area (Böck 2000: 208, l. 72). These observations also align with a survey from the anti-witchcraft prescriptions, where SAG ŠÀ is both internal (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 233, 240) and external (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 77, 119). Furthermore, potions are a common therapy for SAG ŠÀ problems in anti-witchcraft measures. Thus, drinks also suggest internal association of SAG ŠÀ, while ointments external.<sup>22</sup> However, if we want to be precise, we shall not translate SAG ŠÀ as epigastrium, since we are not informed if they completely overlap, although they *grosso modo* do, also suggested by Annie Attia.<sup>23</sup> However, we better describe SAG ŠÀ as a part of the abdominal area, which is inside as well as on the outside of the body. Thus, I would like to translate it descriptively as ‘top of the belly area’ and not as epigastrium since we are not informed if it includes the umbilical area and the flanks or not. Also, in this way we are less specific, aligning more with the Mesopotamian taxonomy, which is less specific than the modern one. Moreover, SAG ŠÀ is a matter of perspective, and the one we have from the NME and AMC part 1 is multilayered in vertical and horizontal fashion. Thus, if the patient is lying on his back, as the sick-bed scenes suggest (Panayotov 2020), SAG ŠÀ designates all the belly surfaces on the skin. However, if the patient is standing, it seems similar to what we understand as epigastrium. Thus, SAG ŠÀ seems to partly but not entirely overlap with epigastrium, while being part of the bigger abdominal area.

## Conclusion

Many anti-witchcraft prescriptions and series are part of the orthodox cuneiform medicine both in Nineveh and Ashur. AMC part 1 includes more anti-witchcraft series than the data we have from the NME. New analyses of the data suggest that we are dealing with more serialized anti-

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<sup>22</sup> People ate bewitched food, and thus it affected the abdominal area; therefore, potions counteract the ingested food inside the body, and ointments counteract the witchcraft effect from the outside. See descriptions in Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 1, 6 and elsewhere.

<sup>23</sup> Annie Attia provided additional examples where we see SAG ŠÀ in connection to lower back/hips (BAMTU 7: no. 5 lines 9/10); shoulders, however translating flanks is better here: <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2614:line14>); rupuš/ltu in the SAG ŠÀ from bewitched drinks, BAM 193, KAL 2 no. 48, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 7.10 text O, see also BAM 190: 22-24, KAL 2 no. 48 Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 7.10 text F, etc; Also in connection with the illness dugānu STT 1, 96: 9-10, pī karši STT 1, 96 r. 7-8. All these possibilities show the association and connection of SAG ŠÀ with multiple inner and outer body parts and regions, which fall *grosso modo* in the abdominal area.

witchcraft material, than earlier proposed. This also suggests that we have more series in the AMC generally. The association between witchcraft and medicine is also apparent even if series and tablets which belonged to the AMC part 1 are excluded from the NME edition, since manuscripts are still crafted by the Nineveh scholars in the standards of the NME – a two-column tablet with the colophon q. All this shows that the anti-witchcraft material falls under the general category of *bulṭu* ‘remedy, cure’, and it is thus part of the Mesopotamian medicine.

The structure of the AMC part 1 and NME paint a big picture, showing which body parts and areas were affected by witchcraft. These observations are also greatly supported by the data from Maqlû. All shows that in the medical theory of Mesopotamia, witchcraft affected mainly the lower parts of the human trunk, grosso modo this is the inside and the outside of the abdominal area:

- a)** parts of the gastrointestinal series *DIŠ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŠÀ GUR-šú* ‘For a person: he is sick with phlegm (and) it turns for him into a stomach problem (lit. binding of the belly)’ – both NME and AMC part 1.
- b)** possibly another extra series in the AMC part 1, with comparable data from Nineveh, see the appendix.
- c)** ‘top of the belly area’ (*SAG ŠÀ* or *rēš libbi*), exemplified by the series *DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši* ‘For a person: his top of the belly is risen’ – both NME and presumably AMC part 1.
- d)** *DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma]* ‘For a person: a ghost [afflicted him and]’; AMC part 1 but excluded from NME.
- e)** the kidneys, exemplified by the renal series *DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU<sub>7</sub>-šú* ‘For a person: his kidney hurts him’ – both NME and AMC part 1.

However, one of the main areas affected by witchcraft is *SAG ŠÀ* (although we are not well informed about the content of the series *DIŠ NA GI[DIM DAB-su-ma]*, which will certainly bring more data on the relationship of ghosts, witchcraft and *SAG ŠÀ*). The *SAG ŠÀ* is a multilayered body area inside and outside of the abdominal area. Its translation as epigastrium is misleading since we cannot find proof that *SAG ŠÀ* exactly and only equates with epigastrium. Thus, a descriptive translation of *SAG ŠÀ* as ‘top of the belly area’ is preferable.

## Appendix by Gilles Buisson

K.10515<sup>24</sup> has colophon q. It was possibly part of a two-column tablet, having the catch-line: [DIŠ NA il-la-tu-š]u il-la-k[a-ma (ŠÀ-šú e-em KÚM u SED)], which is a tablet from the series [DUB.x.KÁM DIŠ NA] TÙN.ŠÀ-šú DAB.DAB-s[u]<sup>25</sup>. By comparing it to an unknown tablet from Nineveh<sup>26</sup> we acquire interesting information. The Nineveh tablet in question (AfK 1, 23-25) might be a two-column one, and intriguingly has the incipit DIŠ NA il-la-tu-šu il-la-ka-ma ŠÀ-šú e-em KÚM [u SED], which belonged to a series [DUB.x.KÁM DIŠ N]A! TÙN.ŠÀ-šú [DAB.DAB-su?]. Notably, on top of this, AfK 1, 23-25 has colophon q!<sup>27</sup> In other words, K.10515 precedes the unknown Nineveh tablet (AfK 1, 23-25), both dealing with anti-witchcraft techniques. If we apply this information to the scenario b on the Ashur Medical Catalogue part 1, as discussed above, we get the following picture:

**AMC part 1**

C = YBC.7146; D = YBC.7126; E = YBC.7139

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 36) C20' | [DIŠ NA TÙN.ŠÀ-šú DAB.DAB-su: DIŠ NA KÚM ŠÀ ù di-kiš<br>GABA TUK-ši                       |
| 37) C21' | [DIŠ NA il-la-tu-šu il-la-ka-ma ŠÀ-šú e-em KÚM u SED: DIŠ NA<br>NAM.ÉRIM š]ah-hi-hu 'GIG' |
| <hr/>    |   |
| 38) C22' | [NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA TÙN.ŠÀ-šú DAB.DAB-su EN ...] x x x<br>x x                         |

In this respect K.10515 might be the second tablet (DIŠ NA KÚM ŠÀ ù di-kiš GABA TUK-ši), and the unknown Nineveh manuscript (AfK 1, 23-25), respectively the third tablet (DIŠ NA il-la-tu-šu il-la-ka-ma ŠÀ-šú e-em KÚM u SED) of the anti-witchcraft series DIŠ NA TÙN.ŠÀ-šú DAB.DAB-su.

<sup>24</sup> Edited by Henry Stadhouders in <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.10515>.

<sup>25</sup> Note also BAM 397 33-36 and BAM 87.

<sup>26</sup> AfK 1, 23-25 also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 229, T obv. 1

<sup>27</sup> Pace Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 230 note 64, who thought on Ashurbanipal colophon, type d. However, colophon q probably derived from d and c, see:

<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/rlasb/librarycolophons/colophonsexplained/index.html#asbn>.

### Literature with Abbreviations

For typical assyriological abbreviations see:

[https://rla.badw.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Files/RLA/03\\_Abkverz\\_Ende\\_Nov2018.pdf](https://rla.badw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Files/RLA/03_Abkverz_Ende_Nov2018.pdf)

- Abusch and Schwemer 2011 = **Abusch T., Schwemer D. 2011.** *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals, Volume 1*, Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1, Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- AfK 1, 23-25 = **Ebeling E., Ungar E. 1923.** Keilschrifttexte aus Konstantinopel. 1. Ein medizinischer Text aus Kujundjik, Archiv für Keilschriftforschung 1: 23-25.
- BAMTU 7 = **Geller M. J. 2005.** *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts*. Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 7, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- BAMTU 9 = **Steinert U. ed. 2018.** *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic and Divination*, Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9, Leiden/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
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- Geller 2007 = **Geller M. 2007.** Incantations within Akkadian Medical Texts, in G. Leick ed., *The Babylonian World*, Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 389-399.
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- Panayotov 2020 = **Panayotov S. V. 2020.** Healing in Images and Texts: The Sickbed Scene, in J. Cale Johnson ed., *Patients and Performative Identities: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients*, University Park (PA): Eisenbrauns, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 129-158.
- Parpola 1983 = **Parpola S. 1983.** Assyrian Library Records, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, 1-29.