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Cunéiformes

Demons, Deputies of the Gods, and How to Get Rid of Them – CTN 4, 72 and Some New Duplicates*

Eric Schmidtchen

The text CTN 4, 72 (ND 4368) from Neo-Assyrian Nimrud occupies a special if somewhat isolated position within the Assyro-Babylonian therapeutic text corpus. If not unique, the special nature of this text results from its peculiar combination of traits, otherwise known from several different text-groups connected to the Mesopotamian medical corpus – a circumstance that requires a more detailed discussion of both formal and content-related features.

Accordingly, the aims of this article are first to add some new findings to the known textual witnesses, which, as is often the case, offer more additional questions than answers to the present discussion, and second to discuss the possible placement of the text within the Mesopotamian medical text traditions (see 3.3.). The latter will be carried out by a comparative overview and, if possible, short analyses of particular aspects of the text itself and similar features in related text groups.

A transliteration, commentary and translation of the main text (2.1.) will be followed by additional fragments from Nineveh (2.2.–2.3.), which cannot be positioned within the main text with certainty.

1. General Features of the Manuscripts

First edited by J. V. Kinnier Wilson in 1956/1957,¹ the text was re-edited by H. Stadhouders in 2011 in his edition of *Šammu šikinšu*,² identifying the fragment VAT 14534 (BAM 407)³ from Late Babylonian Uruk as another manuscript of possibly the same text as CTN 4, 72.⁴

The newly identified textual witness⁵ consist of the Late Babylonian text BM 46427 (Ms. C), possibly from Babylon, as well as some Neo-Assyrian fragments from Nineveh (Mss. E–G), which all show structural and terminological similarities to CTN 4, 72. Due to provenience and dating, the supposedly Middle Babylonian fragment Bo. 6226 (KUB 4, 56; Ms. D) from Ḫattuša might well prove to be of particular interest.⁶

Although the fragmentary state of the manuscripts is problematic, the similarities of the individual fragments A, B, C and D suggest that they belong generally to the same text. There are differences as well between manuscripts, especially with respect to the Middle Babylonian witness D from Ḫattuša, which is likely to be a precursor to this particular genre of text. The lack of the incipits prevents us from attributing the text to the extensive *bulṭu*-compendium of the first millennium B. C. (*Šumma amēlu muḫḫašu umma ukāl*)⁷ or the

* I would like to thank Mark Geller for his helpful remarks and suggestions as well as Gene Trabich for proofreading the manuscript. The numbering of the entries of chapter 2 of the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkû* tablets 3-14) differs from older editions and bases on a new numbering system (oriented on entries and not lines) adapted from Schmidtchen (2021).

¹ Kinnier Wilson (1956), pl. XXV (copy) and Kinnier Wilson (1957), pp. 40-49 (text edition and discussion).

² Stadhouders (2011), p. 39-48. Worth consulting are the comments of M. Stol within his book *Epilepsy in Babylonia* from 1993, p. 6 as well as p. 59 fn. 13, p. 62 fn. 22, p. 77 and p. 90.

³ Formerly edited in copy by A. Falkenstein as LKU 63.

⁴ Stadhouders (2011), p. 39. BAM 407 was as a duplicate of CTN 4, 72 already in Heeßel (2000), p. 111 fn. 69 and *ibid.* p. 264 fn. 15.

⁵ See for all manuscripts the chart in 2.

⁶ This text had already been mentioned as part of the discussion on special characteristics of the shared terminology in Stol (1993), p. 6 fn. 19 but it has not been recognized as duplicate or parallel to CTN 4, 72 or BAM 407. Schwemer (2013), p. 156 notes that KUB 4, 56 does not use the common ductus of Boğazköy.

⁷ As represented by the *Assur Medical Catalogue* (AMC), see Steinert (2018b), pp. 203-291.

Nineveh Medical Encyclopedia (NME)⁸ and its different Neo-Babylonian recensions. Since, however, the first entry of CTN 4, 72 column vi' seems to conform to the incipit of *Sakikkû* tablet 30,⁹ the text can be brought in connection with the *Diagnostic Handbook* or related material.

The most obvious features to be found within the fragments discussed below (see 3.1.–3.2.) are:

- a) Detailed symptom descriptions which are not directly connected to each other by anatomical relatedness,¹⁰ but which are loosely associated with symptomatic ailments like epilepsy-like conditions, faintness, insomnia, aphasia, and problems with the intake of food as well as fever.
- b) A particular focus on the divine and demonic origin of these ailments.
- c) This origin is expressed by a rather conspicuous diagnostic terminology, often identifying particular spirits or demons in the role of deputies of major-deities and originators of the respective ailments – especially from the second column of CTN 4, 72 onwards.¹¹
- d) A terminology that is, as far as is known, only shared by some passages of the explanatory plant-list *Šammu šikinšu*¹² and some parts of the *Therapeutic Vademecum*,¹³ as well as tablets 28 and 30 of the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkû*)¹⁴ and some scattered entries within other therapeutic texts.¹⁵
- e) Therapeutic prescriptions that might be considered as ritualistic- or *magico*-therapeutic, combining in most cases the application of *materia magica* to be hung around or on the neck of the patient¹⁶ together with ointments.¹⁷

⁸ For connections as well as possible deviations of the AMC in comparison to the material within the NMC cf. Panayotov (2018), pp. 89-120.

⁹ Cf. Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 45 as well as Heeßel (2000), p. 137 fn. 46. Both contributions express the idea that the text might be part of material related but not identical with *Sakikkû* 30. Otherwise, Scurlock (2014), p. 223 sees the partly differing parallels from *Sakikkû* tablet 27 in column i of CTN 4, 72 (see also below) as a confirmation for the rest of the material to be identifiable from at least *Sakikkû* 27 and *Sakikkû* 30, and the remainder in between columns ii-v' as possible space for *Sakikkû* 28-29.

¹⁰ Note that none of the attested entries has a second therapeutic prescription, which is usually introduced by KI.MIN in most therapeutic texts. Every entry seems to be a separate unit with a specific symptomatic content and/or proposition.

¹¹ The first recognizable passage after the break at the beginning of CTN 4, 72 is concerned with ailments due to the influence of either a not further specified “evil” (*Lemnu*-demon) (see §§1'-5'), and deviates from later passages. The problem with the Akkadian reading of the sign HUL as a diagnosis will be addressed later.

¹² Stadhouders (2011), pp. 3-39 (transliteration) and Stadhouders (2012), pp. 1-28 (translation).

¹³ For witnesses of this particular type of pharmaceutical list, referring to name of the plant, the ailment against which it is meant to be effective and the therewith connected therapeutic approach, see texts like KADP 1, BAM 1 as well as BAM 421-429, CT 14, pl. 23, 26, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 43 and Sm. 22, see Meek (1920), p. 179.

¹⁴ See for instance Heeßel (2000), pp. 307-317 and pp. 339-340. For the new witness to *Sakikkû* 30 (B = BM 40285), which underscores the use of the tripartite transitional pattern (see below), cf. Schmidtchen (2021), p. 637-639.

¹⁵ See for instance within the *kimiltu*-“anger of a god”-texts Scurlock (2014), p. 652 ll. 13-15 (= STT 92 + 295) or in connection with therapies against epilepsy BAM 202 rev 5'/BAM 311 rev 51-55'/BM 40183+/SpTU 3, 83 rev 25'-27' (treatment only), see now Arbøll (2019), pp. 21f., especially for BAM 202. However, the attestations within the more general medical-therapeutic texts seem to be rather sparse and coincidental. See also table 4 below.

¹⁶ Only one paragraph within the first section in column i (see 4') prescribes explicitly the use of a “hide” *mašku* (KUŠ) for preparing a poultice/pendants (*mêlu*) – an otherwise common therapeutic tool of the ritualistic-therapeutic practice that forms a part of *āšipūtu* (“lore of the conjurer”). It is possible to assume that the following therapeutic prescriptions might have been abbreviated in this regard.

¹⁷ This is especially the case for the second section of CTN 4, 72 (and duplicates) from column ii onwards which is likewise connected with the peculiar diagnostic pattern mentioned in c) above. The overall structure of the treatments resembles the formation attested likewise within *Sakikkû* tablet 31 (concerning *himiṭ šēti* “Overheating due to sun exposure/light” and accompanying symptoms) as well as the first section of the NMC's NECK-section tablet 3 (§1-12) which is concerned with serious forms of evil magic.

2. Text Edition of CTN 4, 72 and Duplicates

While the Mss. A–D, and maybe E from Nineveh as well, (see 2.1.) seem to be quite clearly witnesses of a shared main text, as explained above, the other fragments from Nineveh listed under 2.2. are, due to their fragmentary nature, not that easily attributable to such. However, certain terminological characteristics, as the frequent use of the diagnostic pattern ^dALAD *šanê* DN as well as the repeated use of the therapeutic practice of applying certain *materia medica/magica* upon the neck of the patient, indicate a possible affiliation of the fragments to the tradition as represented by CTN 4, 72 and its duplicates. Due to the fact that the additional fragments given in 2.3. show either one or the other of the distinctive features mentioned above, they might likewise belong to our text.

Another issue concerns the number of three columns per side assumed by Kinnier Wilson for Ms. A¹⁸ – a supposition which originates most likely due to the thickness of the fragment's middle portion. The length of the lines of Ms. B, which parallel entries from Ms. A column ii, allows in my view not more than two columns or even just one column per side for the witness from Uruk. And indeed, likewise paralleling entries of Ms. A column ii are to be found within the second column of the new Neo or Late Babylonian Ms. C as well, which marks simultaneously the right edge of the tablet. At least for Mss. B and C, this would suggest in maximum two columns per side. If the assumed number of three columns per side for Ms. A is correct, the spatial distribution of the entries in relation to the other witnesses might differ to a certain degree. This has certain implications for the not positioned passages in Ms. C reverse and Ms. D column i'. Since their exact position within the main text is uncertain, these entries will be listed subsequent to the transliteration of the main text individually with its own paragraph count. However, the position of these passages within the respective manuscripts suggests a relative position of them within the main text. Ms. D i' might therefore be located either in front of or shortly after §1'-5', whereas the passage on the reverse of Ms. C should lie in front of or after the passage §14'-16' (CTN 4, 72 column v'/iii').

Sigla	M.-Number	Period and Provenance	Copies	Editions	Passages
A	ND 4368	Neo-Assyrian, Nimrud/Kalḫu	Kinnier Wilson (1956), Pl. XXV; CTN 4, 72	Kinnier Wilson (1957); Stadhouders (2011), pp. 39ff.	§§1'-5', 9'-21'
B	VAT 14534 ¹⁹	Late Babylonian, Uruk	BAM 407 (LKU 63)	Stadhouders (2011), pp. 39ff.	§§7'-12'
C	BM 46427	Neo- or Late Babylonian, Babylon	see Appendix 2	-	§§6'-9', ...(?)
D	Bo. 6226 ²⁰	Middle Babylonian, Boğazköy/Hattuša	KUB 4, 56	-	§§...(?), 11'-13'
E	K. 21614	Neo-Assyrian, Nineveh	- ²¹	-	§8(?)
F	K. 5812	Neo-Assyrian, Nineveh	- ²²	-	not assignable
G	K. 18227	Neo-Assyrian, Nineveh	- ²³	-	not assignable

¹⁸ See Kinnier Wilson (1956), p. 130.

¹⁹ CDLI-photo: P285478.

²⁰ See the photos provided online at: <https://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw2.php?n=Bo%206226&x=2553fb2208fe22bda14951bc4411a8d7>

²¹ CDLI-photo: P419877.

²² CDLI-photo: P396182.

²³ CDLI-photo: P403464.

2.1.a. CTN 4, 72 and Duplicates (Mss. A–D)

§1'	A _i 1 ^{ff} .	[...] x x / [x (x)] <i>ana</i> ŠĀ ²⁴ GEŠTU [x x (x x)] UGU-šú [ZI ²¹]
2'	A _i 3 ^{ff} .	[DIŠ NA ² <i>ina</i>] [E].SÍR <i>ina</i> DU-šú <i>ana</i> IGI-šú [ŠUB ²¹ - <i>ut</i> IGI ¹¹ -šú <i>pal-ka</i>] ²⁵ / x x NU TUK ²⁶ ŠU ¹¹ -šú GÌR ¹¹ -šú [NÍ ¹ -šú <i>la ú-na-áš</i> / NA BI HUL DAB-su GEN ₇ AN.TA.ŠUB.BA <i>ir-te-né-ḫi-šú</i> / ŠURUN ^{d1} <i>še-riš</i> NAGA.SI HĀD.DU [SÚD ¹ <i>ina</i> ZÌ [GIŠ.BÚR ²¹ / GA ¹ (kid) [munus]ZÚG-ti ²⁷ šá ma-[ra ²] Û.TU HĪ.HĪ / [ÉN ¹ <i>ana</i> ŠĀ ŠID-[nu ¹] [ŠÉS ¹ .MEŠ-su AN.BAR ḫu-luḫ-ḫa / ina [GÚ-šú ¹ GAR-an-ma HUL UGU-šú ZI-aḫ
3'	A _i 10 ^{ff} .	DIŠ NA <i>si-mat</i> IGI.MEŠ-šú KÚR.KÚR- <i>ir</i> IGI ¹¹ -šú <i>it-ta-ṇap-ra-ra</i> / [NUNDUM ¹ -šú <i>zu-qat-su ú-lap-pat u</i> MÚD <i>ina</i> KIR ₄ -šú DU- <i>ku</i> / la [i ¹ -kal-lu-u NA BI [HUL DAB-su ^ú <i>an-ki-nu-te</i> LAL SÚD / [KI ²¹ [MÚD ²¹ [TU ¹²¹ mušen HĪ.HĪ [ŠÉS ¹ .MEŠ-su-ma TI-uṭ
4'	A _i 15 ^{ff} .	[DIŠ NA ² <i>ina</i> GÚ ²]-šú SĪG- <i>iš-ma e-li-a-at</i> / IGI ¹¹ -šú [GU ₇ .MEŠ ¹ -šú LUGUD : MÚD <i>ina</i> KA-šú ŠUB.ŠUB / ŠU ¹¹ -šú GÌR ¹¹ -šú ¹ <i>uš-[qá]-lal-[la¹] / ŠU¹¹-šú [GÌR¹¹-šú [(x)] la ú-na-áš</i> / NA BI HUL [DAB ¹ -[su] <i>ana</i> KAR-šú / PIŠ ₁₀ - ^{d1} ĪD GĪŠ [BAL].GĪ ^{ku6} / HĀD.DU SÚD KI MÚD [na ⁴ KA.GĪ.NA DAB / HĪ.HĪ UZU.MEŠ-šú DÚ ¹ .A.BI-šú-nu TAG.TAG / SAG ¹⁷ UGA ^{mušen} GE ₆ TI-qé / <i>ina</i> KUŠ SA PÉS ^{giš} ÚR.RA / GAG.GAG <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú GAR-ma TI
5'	A _i 26'	DIŠ NA GEN ₇ [AN.TA].ŠUB.BA <i>ir-te-né-ḫi-šú</i> (end of the column) (gap of unknown length)
6'	C ₁ ^{ff} .	[...] x (x) ²⁸ [du ²¹ [...] / [...] [KAR ² -šú ŠĀ ²¹ [...] / [...] [ANŠE.KUR.RA x (x) ²⁹ gišDĪH ² [NUMUN/nu ¹²¹ [x x x (...)] / [...] [BURU ₅ ²¹ .HĀBRUD.DA ^{mušen} [x x (...)] / [...] ŠÉS ¹ .MEŠ-su-ma [TI ¹ -[uṭ ²]
7'	B ₁ ^{ff} .	[...] x x (x) [...] [DIŠ x x x x x (x)] x DIRI.[MEŠ ¹ [x ¹ [dugud/MEŠ ²¹ u ² x x x (x) ³⁰ x [(x)] x [(...)] / [...] [x x <i>ana</i> ²¹ <i>ina</i> ŠU [d ¹ ah ²¹ -ḫa-zī ²¹ [KAR-šú ¹ / [...] TI-uṭ ²]
8'	B ₂ ^{ff} .	[DIŠ x x x (x x) NINDA u KAŠ/A ²] ŠĀ.BI URU ₄ .URU ₄ -[i ¹ š ¹] [NINDA ¹ [GU ₇ ²¹ [A ²¹ [NAG ²] ³¹ / [x x x x x (x)] [DINGIR ²¹ [URU ¹ -šú <i>ana</i> <i>ina</i> ŠU ^d na-ad-lru ²¹ [KAR-šú] / [x x x x x (x)] x ^ú ZĀ.HĪ.LI Ú.KUR.RA ^{na4} ZA.GĪN [...] / [] [bi ²¹] ³² <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú GAR-an ^ú še-lī-li-bi-na ud u ³³ (x) [...]

²⁴ The copy shows four vertical wedges instead of the usual three for ŠĀ.

²⁵ Reading according to Stol (1993), p. 77. see differently Stadhouders (2011), p. 39 (<ip>-pal-ka). The copy shows rather BAL-tu/ta²¹, which might likewise hint on the interpretation of the verb within the parallel *Sakikkū* 27:16-17 as *ib-bal-ka-<ta>-ma* “(his eyes) roll back” in CAD N/1, 17f. – reversely to the argumentation of M. Stol cited above.

²⁶ For the restoration of [ÚH] see again Stol (1993), p. 77, which is followed in Stadhouders (2011), p. 39. For the otherwise possible reading [tur-ra] see the commentary below. If the latter interpretation is correct, TUK should be emended to ZU¹, but due to the broken beginning of the line, this is far from certain. Note that the copied sign traces ([šú/sal²¹] [dul]) look different to both interpretative readings.

²⁷ Emendation according to Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 40 as well as CAD M/2, 239 sub b. This passage has been differently emended by Stadhouders (2011), p. 40 as KI¹ GA¹ / Ú^{munus}ZÚG-ti (...).

²⁸ The traces resemble vaguely RI, TA or x-šú.

²⁹ Maybe *šuršu*(SUḪUŠ) “root”.

³⁰ This passage is damaged and the traces heavily squeezed. The traces look like x MEŠ/DUGUD/TAG u NIGIN/GE₆ x e kur/lat². The last section might likewise be read [IGI-šú¹ *iz-qup*, but without a better preserved parallel the correct reading remains hopeless.

³¹ Reading according to Stadhouders (2011), p. 41. H. Stadhouders restores further within the break [KAŠ NAG ...]. The traces after [GU₇] on the actual tablet might otherwise suggest the restoration [A] [NAG (...)] afterwards. Likewise possible might be [šá] [GU₇] “what he eats (...)” or similar.

³² Stadhouders (2011), p. 41 restores [... GAG.GAG]-[p¹] for *šapú* “to wrap up”; see for the use of GAG.GAG in this text already §4'. Another possible restoration might be [...^{na4}ga]-[bi¹].

C ₉ ff.	[DIŠ x x x x (x)] (x) x [ŠÀ ² -šú ¹] [URU ₄ ² .MEŠ ¹] {(x x)} [NINDA] (blank) GU ₇ / [...] [^{d2}][na]-[ad ² -ri ²] [^d ALAD ¹] [šá-né ¹ -e DINGIR URU-šú / [ana ina ŠU ^d na-ad-ri ²] [KAR ² -šú ¹] [da ² -li ² -li ² šá [ŠÀ PEŠ ₄ ²] / [^ú ZÀ.ĤI.LI Ú].[KUR.RA ²] na ⁴ ZA.GÌN / [ina] [GÚ ² -šú ²] [GAR ² -an ¹] [šé-li-li-bi-ina ²] [(x ²)] / [... ŠÉŠ].[MEŠ-su-ma ¹] TI-[u ¹] E ₂ ff. [DIŠ ¹] KL.MIN da-bab-šú K[ÚR.(KÚR-ir ²)] / [ŠU] [^d na]-ad-r[i ...]
9'	A _{ii} 1'ff. [DIŠ] / la x [] / šá-né ¹ -e ¹ [] / Ĭ.UDU UR.[GI ₇ ² ...] B ₆ ff. [DIŠ x x x x x (x)] [URU ₄ .URU ₄ -iš NINDA u KAŠ la i-maḥ-ḥar A [ma]-[ga ² NAG ² ...] / [...] x [diri/kal ²] ŠU ^d mut-tak-li ^d ALAD šá-<né>-e ^d NI[N/GU ²³⁴ ...] / [... ana ina ŠU ^d mut-tak-li KAR-šú Ĭ.UDU UR.GI ₇ GE ₆ [(...)] ŠÉŠ.(ŠÉŠ/MEŠ)-su- ma TI(-u ¹)] ³⁵ C ₁₅ ' [DIŠ] [KAŠ ²] [la ²] [i-maḥ-ḥar [A] [ma-ga ²] [(x x)]
10'	A _{ii} 4'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma a'(za)-[di ²] [i]-[de-ek-ku-šú] / NINDA u KAŠ x (x) URU ₄ /la ²³⁶ [] / ^d ALAD šá-né ¹ -e ¹ [^d U.GUR] / BURU ₄ ¹ (ŠIR) ^{mušen} ina GÚ-šú [GAR(-an) ^ú SIKIL] / ^{giš} ŠINIG ina Ĭ.GIŠ [ŠÉŠ].[ŠÉŠ/MEŠ-su-ma TI(-u ¹)] B ₉ ff. [DIŠ (...)] [MIN ²]-ma a-di [i-de]-ek-[ku]-šú NU ZI-bi NINDA u KAŠ ŠÀ-šú ¹ [la ² /URU ₄ (.URU ₄ -iš) ² ...] / [(...)] ^d [ga]-úš-ri ^d ALAD šá-<né>-e ³⁷ ^d U.GUR ana ina ŠU ^d ga-úš-[ri KAR-šú ...] / [(...)] x (x)] [^{mušen}] ina GÚ-šú GAR-an ^ú SIKIL [^{giš}]ŠINIG ina Ĭ.GIŠ [...]
11'	A _{ii} 9'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma uš-tan-na-aḥ [] / ina ŠU ¹¹ -šú GÌR ¹¹ -šú i-[...] / ur-ra u GE ₆ la [i ²]-[šal-lal] / ^d ALAD šá-né ¹ -e ¹ [...] / B ₁₂ ff. [DIŠ x x] [uš ¹ -tan-na-aḥ É.[GAR ₈] ina ŠU ¹¹ -šú ²] [x (x)] x (x) [i ² -x-bi ²] ³⁸ x [...] / [i]- [šal-lal] ŠU ^d šam-ri ^d ALAD [šá-<né>-e (x x)] x x [...] / D _{ii} 1'ff. [] / [i-na ¹] [] / u-ur-ra ù mu-[šal] [] / ŠU ^d NIN/ÉGI ² -ri ³⁹ ^d ALAD [...] / a-na ŠU ^d NIN/ÉGI ² -[ri] [KAR-šú ...]
12'	A _{ii} 13'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma IGI.MEŠ-[šú] / da-ba-ba [] / i-riš x ⁴⁰ [] / ŠU [DINGIR] [... ^d ALAD] / šá-né ¹ -e ¹ [DINGIR ...] / ana ina [ŠU] [DINGIR ... KAR-šú] / hu-luḥ-[ha ²] /

³³ Stadhouders (2011), p. 41 restores S[AR²¹-šú-ma TI] which can be refuted with the new witness C. More likely is the mentioning of another ingredient followed by the prescription to anoint the patient as attested within the last line of this entry in Ms. C. The traces in B look like U x [...]. See also the comment on this line below. UD might likewise be interpreted as BABBAR, describing a white variety of *šellibīnu* or *šelilibīnu*(?). Cf. the comment on this line below.

³⁴ Possible deities to restore might be ^dgu¹-[la¹] or ^dNIN¹.[URTA].

³⁵ Restoration according to Stadhouders (2011), p. 42.

³⁶ Besides the interpretation as [ŠÀ(-šú)] URU₄.[URU₄/MEŠ-iš ...] in Ms. A the traces might likewise suggest the reading *la¹* [imaḥḥar ...] “his belly cannot keep (bread or beer)”, which is a very common symptom in symptom descriptions concerning disorders of digestion. Cf. the very same symptom within the previous entry.

³⁷ The sign looks more like a composite *né+e*.

³⁸ Another possible reading of the traces might be [i-qab]-bi x [...] “he speaks” or x [i-rap]-pí-[is²] “he is hitting (the wall with his hands and feet?)”. Ms. A might likewise suggest a verb which could describe a kind of embracing of the feet with the arms.

³⁹ The sign forms in the Middle Babylonian witness D are ambiguous. While the first sign is likely to be NIN, the following sign looks, especially at its first mentioning, rather like GÛB than RI. In the light of the Late Babylonian witness B, which shows clearly ^dšam-ri, the reading in Ms. D remains opaque for now.

B _{14'} ff.	x (x) [...] / ĩ ² [] / ina [] / x [...]
	[DIŠ [] x ⁴¹ [KA]-šú su-ub-[bu]-[ut-ma ² da-ba-ba la i-le- ² -e ...] / [] [GU ₇] ⁴² [ŠU ²] [DINGIR ²] [] / [... hu]-[luh-ha] [...]
D _{ii} 5'ff.	LÚ GIG-ma [IGI.MEŠ]-[šú [] / da-ba-ba la i-le-[-e ...] / e-ri-iš-ma [ú ²] [] / ^d ALAD šá-né ² [DINGIR] [... a-na ŠU [] / KAR-šú NUMUN x ⁴³ [] / [Ú].HIA ŠEŠ [] / i-na GÚ-šú GAR-[an ...] / ŠEŠ.[ŠEŠ-su-ma ² ...]
13'	A _{ii} 24' DIŠ [...] (end of column) D _{ii} 13' [LÚ] [GIG]-[ma ...] (gap of unknown length)
14'	A _{iii} 8'ff. x [...] / ina ² [...] / x [...]
15'	A _{iii} 11'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma [...] / x [...] / [ša/da ²] [...] / ŠU DINGIR [...] / ^d x ⁴⁴ [...] / x ⁴⁵ [šu ²] [...] / NA ₄ [...] / x [(x)] x ⁴⁶ [...] / ù in ²⁴⁷ [...] / SÍK GÌR ^{II} -[šú] [...]
16'	A _{iii} 21'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma uš ² -[tan-na-aḥ ² ...] / [ka ²] GE ₆ [la] [i-šal-lal ² ...] / A ina NAG [...] / IGI.MEŠ-šú [...] / [šá-né ²]-[e ⁴⁸ ...] / [ana ²] [ina ²] [ŠU ...] / [...] / šá [...] / ina [GÚ]-[šú GAR ...] (gap of unknown length)
17'	A _{iv} 1'ff. DIŠ GIG-ma KA-šú BAD.BAD-te ŠU ^{II} -šú GÌR ^{II} -šú / i-[par-ru]-ra ŠU ^d mu-un-<ni>-ši ^d ALAD / šá-né-e (blank) ^d a-ni ₇ / ana ina ŠU ^d mu-un-ni-ši KAR-[šú] / PA ² pú-ḥat-ti (blank) SI DÀRA.[MAŠ] / ^d an-ki-nu-te DIŠ-niš SÚD / šum-ma NITA 9-šú šum-ma [MUNUS] 7-šú / ŠEŠ.MEŠ-su-ma (blank) TI
18'	A _{iv} 9'ff. DIŠ GIG-ma KÚM ŠUB.ŠUB-su ² -ma ú-ta-šal u / [ÚH ²] ⁴⁹ [NU TUK] [ŠU] ^d za-qí-qí ^d ALAD / šá-né-e DINGIR [x] ⁵⁰ ana ina ŠU ^d za-qí-qí KAR-šú / x x x ⁵¹ na KA A.AB.BA ^d MAŠ NITA u MUNUS ⁵² / [ina] [GÚ]-šú GAR u ^{giš} GEŠTIN.KA ₅ .A ŠEŠ.MEŠ-su-ma TI
19'	A _{iv} 14'ff. DIŠ MIN-ma IR la-ba-ši ma-at-ta ₅ TUK.TUK-ši / u hur-ba-šu ŠUB.ŠUB-su ŠU ^d aš-ti / ^d ALAD šá-né-e ^d é-a ana ina ŠU ^d aš-ti [KAR]-šú / Ì.UDU a-a-ar-DINGIR da-

⁴⁰ Stadhouders (2011), p. 43 proposes the reading *i-šag-g[u-ma ...]* which seems to be ruled out by the new Ms. D.

⁴¹ Maybe [u] or a similar sign with a *Winkelhaken* at the end.

⁴² Stadhouders (2011), p. 43 restores [... ^d]ALAD], but the traces look more like [GU₇], which again refers most likely to the intake of food within the symptom description/protasis as in previous entries. The following signs should then be read accordingly ŠU DINGIR [...] and mark the end of the symptom prescription.

⁴³ Maybe NUMUN ^{giš}x [...] or NUMUN² LU[H² ...]. The signs KAR ŠÚ at the beginning of the line have been interpreted in CAD K, 213 as *kar-šú* “leek”, but the position as well as the parallels suggest of course (*a-na*) KAR-šú “in order to save him (from ...)”.

⁴⁴ The beginning of the sign looks like GÍŠ or a sign beginning accordingly with two small horizontal wedges and a vertical wedge afterwards. The reading ^d[ALAD] [šá-né-e ...] cannot be ruled out.

⁴⁵ The traces might belong to a sign comparable to E, SI or GUR.

⁴⁶ Stadhouders (2011), p. 44 reads *ina* G[U GADA È-ak ...] but [BURU₄?([ŠIR].[x])^{mušen?}] seems possible as well.

⁴⁷ Or ŠE.SA.[A ...] “roasted barley”(laptu)?

⁴⁸ The reading [NINDA] [u] [KAŠ] is likewise possible.

⁴⁹ The copied traces look like [UD] [TI]. For the restoration as [ÚH] see Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 following a suggestion of M. J. Geller. Cf. also the similar form of the damaged [ÚH]-^dID in §19' (A iv' 19').

⁵⁰ Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 proposes to restore either ^dUTU or ^dEN.LÍL (as proposed in CAD Z, p. 60 sub 3c as well as Scurlock/Andersen (2005), p. 522), although the restoration of ^dEN.LÍL is, due to lack of space, rather unlikely.

⁵¹ The traces resemble roughly the signs [bi/SAḤAR] [i/LÚ²] [te²] na.

⁵² This ingredient has been left out in Stadhouders (2011), p. 45.

[lil-la šá ŠÀ^{na4}PEŠ₄ / tur-[ár]^{gis}SINIG ESIR.ĤAD.A PIŠ₁₀-^dĪD / [ÚĤ]-^dĪD MUN *eme-sal-lim* ina GÚ-šú GAR / u^uam-*ha-ra* ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su-ma TI

20' A_{iv}' 21'ff. DIŠ MIN-*ma* Ī.GIŠ ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-[(su)]-[ma] ina SU-šú NU TAG₄'(EN) / [EGIR²-šú²] Ī.GIŠ *ú-šar-rah* IR² NU TUK-*ma* TAG₄-[šú²]⁵³ / [(^dALAD) šá]-[nēl-e] [DINGIR].MAĤ / [x x (x x)] Ī.UDU² [ANŠE].KUR.RA⁵⁴ Ī.UDU / [...] [lu²] MIN² [LUĤ/ú²] x ti⁵⁵ / [...] TI / [...] TI⁵⁶

21' A_{iv}' 28' [...] II-šú

(gap of unknown length)

Translation

§1' [...] into the middle of [his] ear[s ... and the evil?] (being) above him will be torn out.

2'If a man on the street while walking falls *head-on* (lit. on his face), his eyes have opened wide, he has no ...(?),⁵⁷ (and) he cannot shift his hands and feet by himself: this man, an evil has seized him; like Antašubba-epilepsy it repeatedly pours upon him. 'Dung-of-Šeriš' (viz. ox dung) (and) salicornia you dry and pound (and together) with powder of *iš pišri* you mix it into milk of an unclean woman who bore a male child. You recite an incantation into it (and) anoint him repeatedly (with it). You put on his neck (beads of) iron (and) *h*.-frit⁵⁸ and the evil upon him will be removed.

3'If his facial features alter continually, his eyes flicker, he caresses his lips (and) his chin and he cannot stop blood from running from his nose: this man, an evil has seized him. You pound *ankinūtu*-plant (and) *ašqulālu*-plant, you mix it with blood of a pigeon (and) anoint him repeatedly (with it) so he will recover.

4'[If a man] is affected [on his neck] and the upper side of his eyes hurt him, he disgorges⁵⁹ repeatedly pus (var.) blood from his mouth, his hands and feet are hanging down (and) he cannot shift his hands or feet: this man, an evil has seized him. In order to save him: you dry and pound *kibrītu*-sulphur and the penis of a tortoise, you mix it with blood of magnetite,⁶⁰ (and) you sprinkle/rub(?) all of his flesh (with it, then) you take 'head-of-a-black-raven'⁶¹ and wrap it in hide (with/and) tendons of a dormouse. You put it on his neck and he will recover.

5'If a man, like Antašubba-epilepsy it repeatedly pours upon him [...].

(gap)

6'[...] in order to save him [from ...: ...] the heart(?) of [...] of a horse, ... of *baltu*-thorn plant, [...] (of) a burrowduck, [...] you anoint him repeatedly (with it) and he will recover.

7'[If ...] (is/are) full of .../red(?) ... and ... [...] in order to save him from the hand of the *Aḥḥazu*-demon(?): [...] he will recover.

⁵³ The reading of the last sign is not entirely certain. The partly restored sign -[šú] would be conspicuous since it is not used for pronouns in this text, which uses consistently -šú. Cf. the comment to this line below.

⁵⁴ [...] [ŠURUN] [ANŠE].KUR.RA is possible as well. This passage needs further collation.

⁵⁵ The restoration ŠU¹¹²-šú² [LUĤ²-ma²] TI in Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 is uncertain without a proper parallel.

⁵⁶ Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 proposes to restore [DIŠ KI.MIN ...] for each of the last two lines of this entry.

⁵⁷ According to the uncertain restoration of M. Stol (see above) the passage might be translated as "he has no saliva". The other proposed restoration according to the *Sakikkū* parallel suggests the translation "he is not able to return them (viz. the eyes)".

⁵⁸ Differently interpreted in Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 as "put (a bead of) smelted iron around his neck".

⁵⁹ The translation "is falling from his mouth/nose" is likewise possible.

⁶⁰ For the interpretation of this liquid see Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 fn. 192.

⁶¹ This may be a *Deckname* for *šašumtu*-plant. See the commentary for this line below.

⁸If *ditto* (viz. he is sick?) his way of speaking changes [(time and again?) ...] he expresses repeatedly [the wish?] of his belly/heart (viz. what he is hungry for)⁶² (and/but) he eats bread (and) [drinks] water(?) [... hand] of the aggressive, a demon – deputy of the god of his city god. In order to save him from the hand of the aggressive: you [...] a singing frog who [(lives) amidst pebbles ...], *saḥlû*-plant, *nīnû*-mint (and) lapis lazuli(?) [... you wra]p(?) [in ...] (and) put it on his neck. (With) *šeli(li)bīnu*-plant(?)⁶³ and [...] you anoint him repeatedly and he will recover.

⁹[If ...] he repeatedly wishes for [...] (but) he cannot keep bread and beer down, [he drinks?] much water, [...] he holds/is full of(?) [...]: hand of the tenacious, a demon – deputy of [... in order to] save him [from the hand of] the tenacious: (with) fat of a black dog [...] you anoint him repeatedly and he will recover(?).

¹⁰If *ditto* (viz. he is sick?) and, until someone wakes him, he does not get up, his belly can[not keep/wishes for?]⁶⁴ bread and beer [... hand of] the strong, a demon – deputy of Nergal. In order to save him from the hand of the strong: [... of] a crow you put on his neck. (With) *sikillu*-plant (and) tamarisk in oil you [anoint him repeatedly and he will recover?].

¹¹If *ditto* (viz. he is sick?) and he struggles, the wall he [...] with his hands (and) feet, [...], he does not sleep day and/or night: hand of the furious(?), a demon – deputy [of ... in order to save him] from the hand of the furious(?): [...].

¹²If *ditto* (var.: he is sick)⁶⁵ and [his] face [...], his mouth is seiz[ed(?) so that] he is not able to speak, [...] he has wished [for ...] (but) he [(cannot?)] eat (it?): hand of [...], a demon – deputy of [...]. In order to save him from the hand [of ...: you ...], *huluhḫu*-frit, [...] these drugs [...] you put on his neck [(with) ...] in oil (of?) [...] you anoint [him repeatedly and he will recover?]

¹³If he is si[ck and ...]⁶⁶

(gap)

¹⁴[...] in/with(?) [...].

¹⁵If *ditto* (he is sick?) and [...] ... [...] hand of ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] -stone(?) [...] ... [...] and [...] hair of his feet(?) [...].

¹⁶If *ditto* (he is sick?) and he str[uggles? ...] the whole night [he does] not [sleep ...] water while(?) drinking [...] deputy of [...] in order to [save him] from [the hand of ...: ...] which/bread(?) [... you put] on his neck [...].

(gap)

¹⁷If he is sick and he opens his mouth time and again, his hands and feet become powerless: hand of the enfeebling, a demon – deputy of An. In order to save [him] from the hand of the enfeebling: you pound together the hair/the flank(?) of a female lamb, horn of a deer (and) *ankinūtu*-plant. If (the patient is) male nine times, if (the patient is) female seven times (it is that) you repeatedly anoint him (or her with it) and he will recover.

¹⁸If he is sick and fever befalls him time and again and (following) he is paralysed and has repeatedly no *salī[va?]*: hand of a *zaqīqu*-phantom, a demon – deputy of [...]. In order to save him from the hand of a *zaqīqu*-phantom: you put ..., coralline limestone

⁶² Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 suggests the restoration of “his belly constantly craves for [bread and beer?]”. However, the belly as subject would be unusual since in most cases the patient is the subject of the verb *erēšu* in medical as well as diagnostic contexts; cf. CAD E, p. 285 sub 2a.

⁶³ Or maybe “fox-plant”? This passage has been differently interpreted in Stadhouders (2011), p. 41 fn. 180 and p. 46 as “using *kikkirānu* for frankincense”. See also the comment on this line below.

⁶⁴ The reading of the traces in Ms. A are uncertain and might belong either to la “not”, maybe on connection with the often related verb *maḥāru* (cf. for example §9), or it is to be interpreted as URU₄ for *erēšu* “to wish” as done in Stadhouders (2011), p. 42 and 47.

⁶⁵ Var. D: “(If) a man is sick and ...”.

⁶⁶ Var. D: “(If) a man is sick and ...”.

(and) male and female *nikiptu*-euphorbia(?) on his neck and (with) fox vine you anoint him repeatedly and he will recover.

19' If ditto (he is sick) and he has much *labāšu* (caused?)-sweat and chills befall him time and again: hand of the obdurate,⁶⁷ a demon – deputy of Ea. In order to save him from the hand of the obdurate: you dry fat of a chameleon(?) (lit. flower of god) (and) a singing frog who (lives) amidst pebbles. (With) tamarisk, bitumen, *kibrītu*-sulphur, *ru'tītu*-sulphur (and) 'fine-tongue-salt' you put (it) on his neck and (with pounded?) *amḥara*-plant (mixed into oil?) you anoint him repeatedly and he will recover.

20' If ditto (he is sick) and, (after) repeatedly anointing [him(self?)], it (viz. the affliction) does not leave his body, (but) afterwards (when) he uses oil in great quantities(?) (lit. makes sumptuous),⁶⁸ he has no sweat and it (viz. the affliction) leaves him: [a demon – dep]uty of *Bēlet-ilī*. [...] horse fat(?),⁶⁹ [...] fat, [...] ... [...] ... [...] ...⁷⁰

21' [If ditto? ...] both of his [...]

(gap)

Commentary

§§1', 2' Against the interpretation “the Evil affecting his head” for 𒄩UL UGU-šú in Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 speaks that the described symptoms do not directly affect the head of the patient. The wording is rather reminiscent of formulations with *elīšu* in connection with bad influences like sin, the anger of a deity or unfulfilled vows, which are said to be hovering or hanging above the patient until resolved⁷¹ – in this case, until they will be torn out. For the the reading of the logogram 𒄩UL as *lemnu* “evil” and not the *Gallû*-demon see the commentary on §4' below.

2' Cf. the varying parallel in *Sakikkû* 27:16-17.⁷² The restoration of 𒄩UL in Stadhouders, JMC 18 (2011), p. 39 is uncertain. Due to the parallel of the *Diagnostic Handbook* an emendation to 𒄩tur-ra¹ NU ZU¹ “he cannot (lit. knows not to) turn (the eyes) back” is still possible, even though the copied signs resemble sincerely NU TUK.

The use of powder of *iš pišri* “wood-of-releasing” is not substantiated otherwise. Note the emendation to KI¹ GA¹ / 𒄩^{munus} ZÚG-ti (...) in Stadhouders (2011), p. 40.

2', 5' For the translation used here see Stol (1993), p. 77. Stadhouders (2011), pp. 39f. and 46 interprets the sign GIM differently as *binūtu*(DÍM) “the creation (of Antašubba)”. However, the respective entry makes clear that the symptomatology is similar to Antašubba-epilepsy but not to be confused with it. Therefore, the last passage of the diagnostic section gives most likely a prognostic indication regarding the frequency of the seizures as described within the symptom section. See the similar argumentation in Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 43.

⁶⁷ For an alternative interpretation of AŠ-DI as a variant to AŠ-DU instead of (w)ašṭi, which might be connected to *šuruppû* “frost; cold fit”, see the commentary below.

⁶⁸ Another possible interpretation might be *šurruḥu* derived from *šarāḥu* II, usually interpreted as “to drool, dribble”. In this case, the verb might describe the circumstance that the oil dribbles away without being absorbed into the body.

⁶⁹ If the reading in Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 as [𒄩].UDU¹ is correct, the second 𒄩.UDU should belong to another ingredient, subsequently listed at the beginning of the next line. However, H. Stadhouders connects the second 𒄩.UDU with ANŠE.KUR.RA although 𒄩.UDU is usually given as first element in a genitive construction.

⁷⁰ The interpretation in Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 and p. 48 as two KI.MIN-sections, each ending with TI “he will recover”, is highly uncertain and needs further proof by parallels.

⁷¹ Cf. for example *Sakikkû* 6:19 (ŠÚD 𒄩XX UGU-šú GÁL-ú) or BAM 205 obv. 20'f. (DIB-ti 𒄩AMAR.[UTU] / u 𒄩iš-tár UGU-šú GÁL-ši). Especially with *bašû* the use of *elīšu*(UGU-šú) can be found elsewhere. As pointed out in Stadhouders (2011), p. 40 fn. 175, its use together with *nasāḥu*(ZI) is rather unusual, but this does not necessarily mean that UGU is to be seen as a noun.

⁷² DÍŠ *amēlu ina alākišu ana pānīšu imaqqut/imqutma īnāšu ippalkāma tur-ra lā i-da-a qātīšu šēpīšu ramānšu lā unāš amēlu šū lemnu*(𒄩UL) *šabissu kīma antašubba uštarrīšu*. See HeeBel (2000), pp. 298 and 301 for transliteration and translation.

3' Cf. the varying parallel *Sakikkû* 27:14-15.⁷³ It is uncertain if the here side by side mentioned plant names *ankinûtu* (a loan from Sum. AN.KI.NU.TE “Comes near neither heaven nor earth”) as well as *ašqulālu* (LAL, rarely Ú(.)AN.KI.NU.SÁ(DI) Sum. “Reaching neither heaven nor earth”) originally might have described the same or just a very similar kind of epiphytic plant, creeper or hanging plant. See the short discussion in CAD A/2, p. 124.

4' Cf. the var. parallel *Sakikkû* 10:18.⁷⁴ See also the uncertain fragment K. 17363 (2.3. b) ll. 3'ff. below) which shows a similar structure and vocabulary but whose previous entry uses the formulaic KAR-šú “to save him (from ...)” (ibid. l. 2') usually used within the second part of CTN 4, 72 (and dupl.), viz. column ii onwards. The identification of this fragment with a Nineveh-parallel is therefore uncertain.

It has been proposed by several scholars that the logogram HUL be interpreted here as well as within the Diagnostic Handbook as another spelling of the *gallû*-demon (usually written GAL₅.LÁ).⁷⁵ However, the parallel to this paragraph within the unpublished Late Babylonian magico-therapeutic tablet BM 40183+ obv. B 8'ff., which is concerned with therapies against demons, notes explicitly *lem-nu* instead of the logogram HUL.⁷⁶ Another hint on this reading has already been mentioned in Stol (1993), p. 77,⁷⁷ who noticed that the subsequent section of AO 7660+ iii 7-8,⁷⁸ which is a parallel to CTN 4, 72, §5' as well as *Sakikkû* 27:18 (both having HUL), describes likewise treatments for the eradication and prophylaxis of a literal “evil” (again syllabically *lem-nu*), followed by an entry against the “evil *Alû*-demon”.⁷⁹ Thus, the interpretation of the disease-causing agent HUL as *lemnu* (“evil”-demon) seems to be preferable to the *gallû*-demon.⁸⁰

The ingredient ‘head-of-a-black-raven’ might be a *Deckname* for the otherwise common pharmaceutically used *šašumtu*, which is supposed to be either a plant or kind of

⁷³ DIŠ *amēlu simat pānīšu ittanakkir ināšu ittanaprārā šaptīšu suqassu ulappat dāma ina appīšu illaka lā parsū amēlu šū lemnu*(HUL) *šabissu*. See Heeßel (2000), pp. 298 and 301 for transliteration and translation.

⁷⁴ DIŠ *ina kišādīšu maḥiṣma elāt inīšu ikkalāšu dāma ina pīšu ittanaddā qātāšu u šēpāšu ešlā amēlu šū lemnu*(HUL) *šabissu*. See Scurlock (2014), pp. 74 and 78 l. 21 for transliteration and translation.

⁷⁵ Cf. Scurlock (1995/1996), p. 252b fn. 24 as well as more cautious Heeßel (2000), p. 304.

⁷⁶ Obv. B 8'ff.: DIŠ NA *lem-nu* ina GÜ-šú SĠG-*līš*-[*ma*?] [IGI]^{II} : (or [*e*]-*lat*?) *pa-ni-šú* [GU₇.MEŠ]-šú MÚD ina KA-šú ŠUB.ŠUB-a ŠU^{II}-šú GĪR^{II}-šú *eš-la* NA BI *lem-nu* DAB-*līš* [*ana*?] [KAR]-šú [PIŠ₁₀]-*līd* [BAL].GĪ^{ku6} na⁴KUR-nu DAB.BA DIŠ-ni^š HĪ.HĪ / *ka-la* [UZU.MEŠ]-šú ŠĒŠ-aš SAG [BURU₄^{mušen}?] GE₆ ina KUŠ. Note likewise the highly unusual position of *lem-nu* at the beginning of the symptom description following DIŠ NA, which is not found in older parallels and that therefore might be seen as a later addition. The variants within the therapeutic prescriptions underscore the interpretation of the partly unusual formulations (UZU.MEŠ-šú DÜ^I.A.BI-šú-nu TAG.TAG) and uncertain forms (SAG^{I?} UGU^{mušen}) in CTN 4, 72. Note the abbreviated pattern, which omits the obligatory TI at the end of the entry, mentioning instead the formulaic *ina maški*(KUŠ) “in hide”, resembling the wording of *mēlu*-enumerations in collections like BAM 311.

⁷⁷ Cf. also Stadhouders (2011), p. 40 fn. 175

⁷⁸ See for the text Labat (1950) and Nougayrol (1979), pp. 64f. Heeßel (2000), p. 304 argued that this passage (AO 7660+ iii 12) is not conclusive since it only follows the mentioned parallel to CTN 4, 72, §5' and *Sakikkû* 27:18. However, the new parallel to CTN 4, 72, §4' and *Sakikkû* 10:18 BM 40183+ obv. B 8'ff. (see above) underscores the reading of HUL as *lemnu* “evil”.

⁷⁹ Note that the same order from HUL to A.LÁ HUL is followed in *Sakikkû* tablet 27.

⁸⁰ Nevertheless, one should likewise consider the traditional demonic agents mentioned for example within the canonical *Utukkū lemnūtu*-series (see Geller (2016)) in comparison with the ones mentioned within the contextually closer prognostic-diagnostic series *Sakikkū*. It is striking that, apart from the general term *utukku*(UDUG, see Geller (2011)), the only missing demonic agent within *Sakikkū* would be the *gallû*-demon – a demon which is repeatedly mentioned alongside ghosts, *alû*-demons and *rābišu*-demons within *Utukkū lemnūtu*. The same agents might be seen as the topical focus of *Sakikkū* tablet 27 with the exception of the agent in question, named HUL, which is, on the other hand, equated in lexical texts, next to the traditional *lemnu* “evil”, with *gallû*. Cf. CAD G, pp. 18f. lex. section. However, as long as the only syllabic attestations suggest the reading *lemnu*, the absence of *gallû*-demons outside the magical texts proper remains a conundrum.

manna.⁸¹ See the respective passage of aliases within the plant list *Uruanna* treated in Rumor (2017), p. 19 l. 103. The curious component “blood of magnetite”⁸² (*dām šadāni šābiti*) has been interpreted in Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 fn. 192 as “the reddish fluid which is secreted by iron ore when it has been brought into contact with water”. But note also *Uruanna* ll. 60 and 60a, where the mineral is said to be another alias for either *ṭābat emesalli(m)* ‘fine-tongue-salt’ or *šīpu*-orpiment(?).⁸³

5’ Cf. the possible parallel in *Sakikkū* 27:18.⁸⁴ The continuation of this entry is similarly suggested by the therapeutic parallel AO 7660+:7’ff.,⁸⁵ which offers additional magico-therapeutic prescriptions: DIŠ NA GEN₇ AN.TA.ŠUB.BA *ir-te-né-ḫi-šú* ^{ina}1 [...] / *ra-man-šu la ú-na-áš* NA BI ^{ḫul}1 [DAB-su ...] / *ana* KAR-šú SÍG UGU.DUL.BI GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.^{lu}1[LU ...] / DIŠ MIN ^{šakir} ^{hé-pi} TÚG[?] ^{lu}TUR [...] / DIŠ MIN SÍG UGU.DUL.BI ^lLAL [...]. See for the use of “hair of a monkey” likewise Ms. D (i l. 7’) below, which might suggest an analogous ailment treated there.

8’ According to Stadhouders (2011), p. 41 (see also fn. 180) *li-bi-na-tú/ta*₅ might be a variant of the rare term *labanātu/lubunītu* “frankincense” assuming that the following instruction refers to the use of *kikkirānu*-juniper as frankincense, viz. a fumigation. However, the new Ms. C seems to indicate again the application of an ointment before the prognosticated recovery of the patient, and it is uncertain whether there has been enough space for a proceeding instruction concerning a fumigation within the broken passage. The interpretation of *li-bi-na-tú* (Ms. B) or *li-bi-tú*[?] (or *li-bi-na*¹-{*tú*[?]}) (Ms. C) as variant of *labanātu* is therefore not to be taken as certain. Equally, the use of the determinative ^u instead of ŠIM together with ŠE.LI (= *kikkirānu*) is suspicious and might suggest another reading in combination with the following *li-bi-na-tú*. Another possibility is that a variant or dittography ^u*še-li*-<<*li*>>-*bi-na* or a gloss ^u*še-li*^{li}-*bi-na* “fox-plant(?)” is assumed. Compare for instance CRANIUM I (BAM 480) iii 5b, cf. Scurlock (2014), p. 314 (DIŠ KI.MIN *qí-lip še-el-li-bi-nu*) as well as the possible Late Babylonian unpublished parallel BM 40763+ obv. 3’ ([... *qí*]-*lip*[?] ^u*še-li-li-bi-nu* (blank) [...]).⁸⁶ CAD Š/2, 247 lists this form as a variant of *šallapānu* (continuously used with the determinative ^u), supposedly a kind of grass.⁸⁷ Although the mentioning of *qilpu* “bark, peel; shell” in CRANIUM I might suggest otherwise for this particular plant, the signs *qí-lip*(KI-KAL) might likewise be read as Akkadian *sassatu* “grass”. For now, it remains unclear what kind of plant ^u*še-li-li-bi-nu/na* is. However, taking all these into account, the respective passage does not refer to frankincense and a fumigation as previously suggested, but to a plant (^u) *šellibīnu* or a variant *šelilibīnu* which may or may not be connected to *šallap/bānu*.

⁸¹ See CAD S, 116 as well as for the identification as a kind of *manna* secreted by cicada Campbell Thompson (1949), pp. 268f., 275 and 277.

⁸² Stadhouders, JMC 18 (2011), p. 46 translates differently “hematite”. Cf. Schuster Brandis (2008), 424 where both are mentioned to be possible candidates, although the only identified actual object with identificatory inscription, a weighing stone fashioned like a duck, is made of magnetite.

⁸³ Rumor (2017), p. 11.

⁸⁴ [DIŠ *amēlu*] ¹*kīma*(GEN₇)¹ *antašubbī irteneḫḫīšu qātīšu u šēpīšu ramānšu lā unāš amēlu šū lemnu*(ḫul) *šabissu*. See Heeßel (2000), pp. 298 and 301 for transliteration and translation. Although the copy of AO 6680 shows [DIŠ] ¹NA¹ (...) a collation of the tablet revealed that traces and spatial management speak for the reading [DIŠ NA] ¹GEN₇ (...).

⁸⁵ See again Labat (1950) and Nougayrol (1979), p. 65.

⁸⁶ See likewise the possible Old or Middle Babylonian unpublished text BM 29406 (l. 1: *še-li-li-bi-nu*, followed by *ma-al-ta-ka-al ša ša-di-i* in l. 3. Another varying first millennium attestation might be NECK 5:11 (Ms. A = K. 2418+ (AMT 28/7 + 76/5 + 77/1 + 77/2 + 77/5 + 78/1 + 79/1 + 79/4 + 82/2 + 84/3 + BAM 523) i 18: ^u*še-li-li-ba*-*ina*[?] [...]).

⁸⁷ According to AHw III, 1148. In contrast, CAD Š/2, 247 gives the rather general indication “a plant”.

Instead of *il ālišu* “the god of his city” in CTN 4, 72 and duplicates the *Vademecum*-like plant list CT 14, 38, K. 14081:2’ designates *nadru*⁸⁸ as a deputy of Meslamta’ea, which is often associated with Nergal.⁸⁹

9’ The demonic agent ŠU ^d*mut-tak-li* is only known from the text under discussion but might, according to Stadhouders (2011), p. 46 fn. 193, be connected with either the verbs *akālu* “to eat, devour” (see CAD M/2, p. 304, note the morphological problems accompanying it), *takālu* “to trust” (note the inappropriate context) or more likely the Ntn participle of *kalû* “to hold back”.⁹⁰ The last option is preferred here in particular.

11’ Although the new Middle Babylonian Ms. D (Bo. 6226) from Ḫattuša represents quite likely a duplicate to this as well as the following paragraph, the spelling of the diagnosed divine or demonic agent differs considerably from the later sources. While Ms. B as well as *Šammu šikinšu*, text II (BAM 379 i 1-ii 46’) §30⁹¹ note ŠU ^d*šam-ri* “hand of a furious/flaring up(?)”, Ms. D has ŠU ^dNIN-RI.

There are several possible interpretations of the signs’ reading, but none are completely satisfying. At first, considering the first millennium attestations noting the signs Ú RI, one might assume that NIN be interpreted as a corrupt form of GAL₄.LA (= *ūru* “nakedness; private parts”) + phonetic complement *-ri*, which would change the reading of the first millennium witnesses as well into *qāt (il) ūri* “hand of (the deity of) nakedness/pubic area(?)”.⁹² However, the sign NIN is in both instances clearly distinguished from GAL₄(MUNUS)-LA, just as a respective reading would make little sense – especially in the light of the surrounding nomenclature of demonic agents.⁹³ Secondly, we might assume the logogram ÉGI/ÈGIR with phonetic complement RE for Akkadian *rubātu* “princess” would make even less sense. In consideration of the forms known from the first millennium sources that indicate an adjectival form of *šamāru* “to rage, be furious” (also said of weather phenomena), one might take into account the meaning of Sum. RI as Akk. *zāqu* “to blow, breeze, storm”, which would suggest an underlying meaning like “hand of the storming/furious lord/lady” or something similar. Nevertheless, the identification of the diagnostic agent in the Middle Babylonian witness and its correspondence to the later ^d*šamru* remains difficult.

In *Šammu šikinšu* text II,⁹⁴ the same demonic agent is mentioned in the same paragraph as the medically used plant *šumuttu* (^uSUMUN.DAR, ^uSU.AN.DAR(.RA), also qualified as Ú.BÚR(.BÚR) “plant (of) releasing”),⁹⁵ which should be possibly restored within the break accordingly – here maybe as ingredient for an ointment as it is often found within

⁸⁸ Here: Ú *na-ad-ri* MIN(^dALAD) MIN(*šá-né-e*) ^dMES.LAM.TA.È.[A].

⁸⁹ If the interpretation in CAD N/1, p. 65 of ŠU.ZI.GA instead of the expected ŠU.ZI.GA for *nadru* within the *Šumma ālu* witness CT 39, 49 rev. 33 should be correct, one might likewise note this and the following entry concerning the crying of a feline inside the house of a man, which is diagnosed by an “aggressive/raging god” (ŠU DINGIR ŠU.ZI.GA) and “the hand of the god of his city” (ŠU DINGIR URU-šú) in *ibid.* rev. 34 as a possible relation between these deities. However, the passage might likewise be read ŠU DINGIR-šú ZI.GA (...) after which a connection between *nadru* and the city god of the client in divinatory contexts remains uncertain.

⁹⁰ Concerning the later variant, which follows a suggestion of M. J. Geller, Stadhouders, JMC 18 (2011), pp. 46f. fn. 193 refers to the use of the verb *kalû* (Ntn) within a description of the behaviour of a demon in Schramm (2001), pp. 23, 43, 67 to I, 49/50 (*šá ina ba-bi-šú* (var. É) *it-ta-nak-lu-ú*) as lingering behind the gate (of the house).

⁹¹ See Stadhouders (2011), p. 23. Differing to Ms. B *Šammu šikinšu*, text II §30 notes ŠU *šam-ri* without DINGIR-sign. Cf. also *ibid.* p. 23 fn. 102.

⁹² Cf. the likewise suspicious spelling TAM-ri (= *u₄-ri²*) in Old Babylonian physiognomic context in Böck (2000), 303f., which, considering the surrounding body parts, refers most likely to the pubic area as well.

⁹³ See also 3.b. below.

⁹⁴ See Stadhouders (2011), p. 23 §30.

⁹⁵ The plant is said to be of red colour and has been tentatively interpreted as root-beet in CAD Š/3, pp. 301f.

this text as the last form of treatment. Considering the small extent of the entry, a simple treatment with perhaps just one or two ingredients is to be expected.

12' Cf. the partly similar symptomatology in *Sakikkû* 40:15⁹⁶ after which this passage might be restored.

16' Cf. the comparable fragmentary symptom in Ms. E l. 7' (x *la i-šal-lal* lú⁹¹ [...]). Assuming this entry as well as the previous passages to be possible parallels to §§14'-16', the width of the lines of Ms. E within the respective column must be much broader than in Ms. A col. iii. However, due to the fragmentary nature of Ms. E, the position of these lines is still uncertain.

17' Cf. the similar beginning of the symptom description in the incipit of *Sakikkû* tablet 30⁹⁷ according to the catalogue of Esagil-kîn-apli⁹⁸ as well as the catchline given in Ms. A of *Sakikkû* tablet 29.⁹⁹ It is uncertain if this entry represents indeed a parallel to the first entry of *Sakikkû* tablet 30 since the catalogue as well as the catchline within the previous *Sakikkû* tablet gives only the first symptom, viz. the repeated opening of the mouth of the patient. Cf. the short discussion on this line as well as a possible background of this text within the *Diagnostic Handbook* in 3.2.

According to Kinnier Wilson (1957), pp. 41-42, PA might be here, due to its other reading SĠG, a scribal error for SĠG “hair; wool”. As stated in Stadhouders (2011), p. 44 fn. 186, *šārtu* “hair” is rather unusual as being the object of *s/zâku* “to pound”, and, following H. Stadhouders, one might likewise consider a derivation of *šahāṭu* II “to tear away, off, down” such as *šiḫtu* “hide”.¹⁰⁰ The reading of PA as *kappu* “wing, quill, plumage; arm, hand” is also possible, which then would refer to the “flank” of a female lamb (*puḫattu*).¹⁰¹

18' It is uncertain if the here mentioned demonic agent *zaqīqu* refers to the dream god *ziqīqil/zaqīqu*¹⁰² of the same name, but the surrounding descriptive names of the diagnosed agents suggest the rather general meaning “phantom, ghost”, derived from *zâqu* “to blow, drift, waft”.¹⁰³ Another hint on the identification of a wind-like phantom (and not the god *per se*) might be given in *Šammu šikinšu* text I, § 8,¹⁰⁴ mentioning the plant *karān-šēlebi* (“GEŠTIN.KA₅.A) “fox vine” as effective for ointments against *kuṣṣu*(EN.TE.NA) “cold, chill” as well as LÍL.LÁ-*e*, most likely referring to *lilû*-wind demons due to the phonetic complement.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, LÍL.(LÁ) is in the same way known to be another

⁹⁶ DIŠ *šerru* MU 1 MU 2 MU 3 MU 4 *šuppušma tebâ u uzuzza lā ile''e akla akāla (lā) ile''e pīšu šubbutma dabāba lā ile''e riḫūt šulpa'e a ul ušteššer/iššir* “If an infant of 1, 2, 3 or 4 years (age) clasps itself time and again and he is not able to rise and stand upright, it is (likewise not) able to eat (solid) food, his mouth is seized so that he is not able to speak: (it is) the spawn of Šulpa'e; he will not get well.”

⁹⁷ DIŠ *maruṣma pīšu iptenette* “If he is sick and constantly opens his mouth”.

⁹⁸ See for this observation also Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 45. For the respective indication within the text catalogue of Esagil-kîn-apli for the series *Sakikkû* see Schmidtchen (2018), p. 315 l. 36 and the comment on this line on p. 323.

⁹⁹ Cf. Heeßel (2000), p. 323.

¹⁰⁰ See CAD Š/2, p. 417 *šiḫtu* B. Note that the term seems to be not attested within texts concerning medical or magical treatments.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the usages in CAD K, pp. 185ff.

¹⁰² Cf. Oppenheim (1956), pp. 233ff.

¹⁰³ See CAD Z, pp. 58ff. Cf. also Oppenheim (1956), pp. 234f.

¹⁰⁴ Stadhouders (2011), p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Stadhouders (2011), p. 7 as well as Stadhouders (2012), p. 2 interprets both terms differently as belonging together as “*lilû*-induced coldness”, but both terms might likewise be considered as separate diagnostic items. Other diagnostic indications concerning the effectiveness of plants within some mss. of *Šammu šikinšu* or *Vademecum*-like texts like *Šammu šikinšu* text I, §20 (concerning *imḫur-ešrā*-plant: *ana šī-ni-<it> lēl-[mi A.RÁ] / [šā]-ni₇* ^d[AMAR.UTU] SIG “it is good for/against ‘changing-of-mi[nd’-disease (and) a demon/effective force (as/of the) dep]uty of Marduk”) or BAM 379 ii 56' (again concerning *imḫur-līm*-plant: *Ú šī-ni-it tē-me* ^d[ALAD *šā-né*]-[*el* ^d*gu-la* SIG₅ “plant (for/against) ‘change-of-mind’ (and) [a spirit, (in the role of a) depu]ty of Gula”) might likewise refer to different ailments or divine originators, which might not necessarily be connected directly with each other but represent different diagnostic entities.

logographic spelling for *za/iqīqu*, especially in its meaning of a wind-like demonic or ghostly entity.¹⁰⁶ Note that the same plant is in use in our paragraph as the effective substance for the ointment as well.¹⁰⁷

19' Against the uncertain reading as ^dSAG in Kinnier Wilson (1957), 41, the diagnosed disease causing agent has been interpreted in Stol (1993), p. 6 fn. 19 as ^d*Aš-di*, which might, according to M. Stol, be connected to the lexical equation *AŠ.DU* = *di'u* “tertian fever, malaria(?)” or *šuruppû* “chills (due to fever)”. Stadhouders (2011), p. 45 as well as p. 47 is certainly right interpreting the diagnosis in accordance with the epithet-like names surrounding it such as the “hand of the stubborn deity”, assuming the epithet to be derived from (w)*ašātu* “to be stiff, difficult”.

20' Considering the space of the break in Ms. A as suggested by the copy, a restoration of [ŠU DINGIR x (x) ^dALAD šá]-[né-el in accordance with the common pattern used within the previous entries seems to be out of question. The break leaves space for approximately two to three signs maximum. Assuming the last one or two signs should be restored according to the preserved traces [ni-e] as [x (x) šá]-[né-el], there is little other option than to restore ^dALAD at the beginning of the line as done in Stadhouders (2011), p. 45. It remains unclear if the transitional pattern *ana ina qāt x eṭērišu* has been used within the break of the beginning of the following line, although the spacial distribution probably argue against it. Thus, this line seems to indicate a deviation from the pattern used within the previous entries ongoing from the second column. M. J. Geller suggested (in private communication) another possible interpretation of A iv' 22' as x NU [TUK] ŠU¹ *kab-lu/ti²* “hand of the heavy” (instead of TAG₄-[šul]) in accordance with the usual epithet-like names used within the transitional pattern. Although a tempting emendation, a problem would be the missing divine determinative that is otherwise used elsewhere in Ms. A.

2.1.b. Unplaced Passages from Mss. C and D

a) Ms. D column i' (before or more likely after §1'-5')

D_i 1'^{ff}. [...] x¹⁰⁸ x (x) / [...] (blank/ruling?) / [...] *i/ta²*]-[ša]-ak-ka-ak / [...] [DU₁₁²].DU₁₁.GA (blank) / [...] [nigin/hád²]¹⁰⁹ a šú (blank) / [...] *ta-kāš-ša*-[ab]-šī¹¹⁰ / [...] [ta²] [sa/ir²] šu¹¹¹ SÍG UGU.[DUL¹(KU²)]BI / [...] (blank) GAR-an (blank) / [...] ŠÉŠ].ŠÉŠ-su-ma TI-ut

D_i 10'^{ff}. [...] (blank) *i'im¹²*-ta-na-aš-šī¹¹² / [...] *ú*]-[ta²]-aš-ša-al (blank) / [...] x a-na ŠU DINGIR-šī-šú KAR-šú / [...] [SÍG] UR.GI₇ GE₆ NITA² ina GÚ-šú GAR-an / [...] x ŠÉŠ].[ŠÉŠ]-[su-ma TI(-ut)]

¹⁰⁶ See CAD Z, pp. 58f. sub 1a 1' and 3'.

¹⁰⁷ Next to its effect against *kuššu* as well as *lilû*-wind demons/ghosts and ghosts in general (cf. AMT 76/1:18) the drug was also used against *šibiṭ šāri* “blowing of wind”, see BAM 1 ii 11, and thus seems to had a certain connection to ailments associated with cold and wind. But note that the plant was generally thought of as effective against a number of ailments like a sick belly, stomach, bladder and scorpion stings. Cf. the attestations in CAD K, pp. 201f.

¹⁰⁸ The traces might belong to ŠÉŠ. If so, the following line might actually represent space for a ruling and D i 3' has to be the first line of a new entry. The line numbering should then be changed accordingly into two separate entries (D_i 1' and D_i 2'^{ff}).

¹⁰⁹ The photos of Ms. D (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>) suggest [...] x DIŠ A-šú against the copy in KUB 4, 56 which shows the end of a sign like TA. Note likewise the possible emendation to [KAR]-šū.

¹¹⁰ The reading of the traces follows CAD K, p. 257.

¹¹¹ Maybe x SA-šu “(with) its sinews (you bind? hair of a monkey ...)”.

¹¹² The tablet shows clearly A'. However, the sign might be interpreted contextually appropriately as the similar sign IM.

D_{i15'} [...] x [x x x x (x)]

^{i1'}ff.[...] ... [...] you/he(?) string(s) [...] speak(s) repeatedly(?) [...] his/its(?) ... [...] you pare (from?) it (fem.) off, [...] ... hair of a monkey, [...] you put [on his neck? ...] you anoint him [repeatedly] and he will recover.

^{i10'}ff.[If ...] **he forgets repeatedly [...] he is paralysed [...] in order to save him from the hand of his god** [...] hair of a black dog you put on his neck, [...] you anoint [him] repeatedly [and he will recover?].

^{i15'}(too damaged for a translation)

b) Ms. C reverse (before or after §14'-16')

C_{1'}ff. [...] x [...] / [...] [ŠU²¹ IDINGIR²¹113 [...] / [...] x GEŠTIN².IḪÁD.DA²¹¹⁴ [x x x x (x x)] x / [...] (ina) [I+GIŠ²¹ KÚ² ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-[su]-[ma] TI²-u²]

(?)

C_{5'}ff. [DIŠ ...] [(x) NINDA¹ [NU¹ [GU⁷ A [NU¹ [NAG²¹(-x)-ma²¹ [(x)] x ka² lu/si²¹115 / [...] x x [dALAD²¹ [šá²]-[né-e²] DINGIR²¹ x x x (x x) [x (x)] x x [KAR-šú²¹ / [...] x x x x ŠÉŠ²¹ x [x]-[su-ma²¹ TI¹²-u²]

(?)

C_{8'}ff. [DIŠ ...] [u/šú²¹ x x (x)-[šú²¹ [it-ta²¹]-[x x (x)] x x (x) tab² ba²¹¹⁶ / [...] [ḪUL²¹117 KAR-šú² šu/ku² si/nigin² a² x (x) x [x] x x ḫa (x) {x} / [... ^uaI]-[lu²¹]-ḫa-ra¹¹⁸ ŠÉŠ.MEŠ²¹]-[su-ma TI]-[u²]

C_{11'} [...] x [ÚḪ²¹ ŠUB²¹ x [...]

^{1'}ff.[...] ... [...] **hand of(?)** [...] raisin(?)/alum(?) [...] ... [...] (with) pure oil(?) you anoint him repeatedly [and] he will recover.

^{5'}ff.[If ...] **he does not eat bread, he does not drink water and¹¹⁹ ... [... hand of] ... a demon/effective force (as/of the) deputy of(?) ... [... in order to] save him from [...]** you anoint him [repeatedly] and he will recover.

^{8'}ff.[If ...] **... he repeatedly(?) ... [...]** ... [... in order to] **save him from (an) evil (...)** ... [...] (with) *alluḫaru*-dye you anoint [him] repeatedly [and] he will [recover?].

^{11'}[If ...] **he disgorges spittle(?) [...]**

¹¹³ The reading *[da-an]* or similar is likewise possible.

¹¹⁴ The presumed DA-sign is uncertain since the respective traces seem to be heavily squeezed. The passage may likewise be read [...] x GEŠTIN [ÚḪ²¹] x [...] or [...] x NITA¹ [na⁴ga-bi²¹] [...].

¹¹⁵ Maybe [GÜ].GÜ-[si²¹] or x ka-[lu].

¹¹⁶ Again, the signs are heavily squeezed. A reading like [li²¹]-[i/ú²-ba²] is possible, but uncertain due to the damaged surface.

¹¹⁷ [...] x [tab¹ [ba¹] might be likewise a possible reading, maybe referring to the traces at the end of the previous line. However, a respective restoration to ^dMAŠ.TAB.BA seems, due to the traces before the presumed tab ba, highly uncertain. If this diagnosis is indeed to be restored, one should furthermore note the striking diagnoses concerning the twin-deity *māšu*(^dMAŠ.TAB.BA) as the one who takes the patient from the major deities Ištar or Šamaš as a delivered item or a legal consignment (*puquddū*) attested within *Sakikkū* 3:74; 13:30; 14:227', 228', 229', see Schmidtchen (2021), p. 140 and *Sakikkū* 15:92', see Heeßel (2000), p. 155.

¹¹⁸ The use of *alluḫaru* instead of the later common form *annuḫaru* might suggest an early date for the composition of this prescription. Cf. CAD A/1, 360.

¹¹⁹ Cf. the similar symptoms in STT 95:70 (wrath of Ištar).

2.2. Not Assigned Fragments from Nineveh (Mss. E and F)

a) Ms. E (K. 5812)

E ₁ ff.	[...] ¹ ra ² [...] / [...] x ^{gis} PA ¹²⁰ [...] / [...] x <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú [GAR- <i>an</i> ...]
E ₄ ff.	[...] <i>iq/it-ta</i> ²]-[<i>na</i> ²]- <i>a-a-al</i> ² [...] / [...] ^{1d} ALAD šá-né-[<i>e</i> DINGIR ...] / [...] ÚH- ^d ID x [...]
E ₇ ff.	[...] x <i>la i-šal-lal</i> ^{1u} [...] / [...] ^{1d} ALAD šá-né-[<i>e</i> DINGIR ...] / [...] x x (x) [...]

1'ff.[...] ... [...] staff/twig(?) of ... [...] you put] on his neck [...].

4'ff.[If ...] he keeps constantly silent/lying down(?) [...] a demon/effective force (as/of the) deputy of [DN ...] *ru* ¹tītu-sulphur [...].

7'ff.[If ...] ... he does not sleep [...] a demon/effective force (as/of the) deputy of [DN ...] ... [...].

b) Ms. F (K. 18227)

F ₁ ff.	x [...] / ŠU ¹ DINGIR ¹ x [...] / ŠÀ BURU ₅ . ¹ HABRUD ² . ¹ [DA ^{mušen} ...] / <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú GAR-[<i>an</i>] [...]
F ₅ f.	DIŠ KI.MIN UZU. ¹ MEŠ ²]-[šú ...] / ^{1d} ALAD ¹ ¹ šá ²]-[<i>né-e</i> ...]

1'ff.[...] hand of [...] the heart of a rock-partridge(?) [...] you put on his neck [...].

5'f.If *ditto* [his] flesh [...] a demon/effective force (as/of the) depu[ty of DN ...].

2.3. Uncertain Fragments from Nineveh

a) K. 15987

1'ff.	[...] x ¹ ru/ú ² x [...] / [...] x x te šu ² x [...] / [...] x TÉŠ.BI <i>ina</i> GÚ- ¹ šú ² [...] ^(?)
4'ff.	[...] <i>iš-ša</i> ²]-[<i>nun</i> ²]- <i>du ina</i> ¹ it ²]-[...] / [...] ^{1na4} ZA.GÌN kur ² [...] / [...] x <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú [...]
7'f.	[...] x- <i>ba</i> - ¹ aš ² [...] / [...] x [...]

1'ff.[...] ... [...] ... [...] you put] together on his neck [...].

4'ff.[... (his face?) is constantly tu]rning around (lit. he has vertigo), *ina/during* ... [...] lapis lazuli [...] you put] on his neck [...].

7'f.(too damaged for a translation)

b) K. 16767

1'	[...] ¹ hal ² ¹ ina/NU ¹ [...]
2'ff.	[DIŠ ... IGI.MEŠ ²]-[šú ²] NIGIN.MEŠ- <i>du</i> GEŠTU.ME(Š) ² -šú ¹²¹ [...] / [...] ¹ SAG ² .DU- <i>su</i> DAB.MEŠ- <i>su</i> [...] / [...] x ¹ SUH ² UŠ ¹ ^{gis} KIŠ ¹ I ₁₆ ù ^{na4} ZA ² [...] / [... <i>ina</i>] ¹ GÚ ¹ -šú GAR- <i>an-ma</i> x [...]
6'	[...] ¹ kiš/ ¹ lil ² [...]

¹²⁰ ^{gis}PA might for PA ^{gis}[...] “twig of [...]”? This peculiar spelling (viz. ^{gis}PA <plant name> instead of PA ^{gis}<plant name>) is attested for a number of other medical texts and cannot be excluded here as well.

¹²¹ Or *pe-me-šú* “his thighs (or legs)”? The reading of either ME or MEŠ is uncertain since the sign is slightly worn.

1'f.(too damaged for a translation)

2'ff.[If ...] his [face?] is constantly turning around (viz. has vertigo), his ears(?) [...] his head is constantly seized for him [...] *ašāgu*-acacia and [...] -stone, [...] you put [on] his neck and [...].

6'f.(too damaged for a translation)

c) K. 17363

1'f. [...] x x (x) [...] / [x] x x (x) ¹KAR-šú ¹an² [...]

3'ff.¹²² [DÍŠ NA²] ¹ina¹ GÚ-šú ¹ma¹-¹hi-iš-¹ma¹ [...] / [x x] ¹ina KA-šú¹ [(x)] x [...] /
[x (x)] x x (x) [...] / [x (x)] x x [...]

1'f.[...] in order to save him [from ...].

3'ff.[If a man?] is affected on his neck and [...] in his mouth ... [...] ... [...].

e) K. 19841

1'f. [...] x x x (x) [...] / [...] (-)an¹/d¹BAD tu x [...]

3'f. [DÍŠ ... x].¹ME²-šú ¹it- [...] / [...] šá-né-e [...]

5' [...] x [...]

1'f.(too damaged for a translation)

3'f.[If ...] are constantly(?) [...] deputy of [...]

5'f.(too damaged for a translation)

3. Structure, Terminology, and Connections to Other Medical Texts

Before discussing a possible position of CTN 4, 72 and duplicates within the Mesopotamian medical literature, we need to take a brief look on some structural and terminological features as well as their connections to other text groups.

3.1. Structure, Terminology and General Features

3.1.1. The Sections

On the basis of structural and terminological differences, the text can be divided in at least two parts or sections, labeled here provisorily as section I (§§1'-5') and section II (§§6'-21'). Whereas the first section is concerned with several therapeutic paragraphs against the single diagnosis of *lemnu* “the evil (demon)”,¹²³ section II lists a larger number of paragraphs that deal with a multitude of demonic agents and respective therapeutic measurements against them. In contrast to section I,¹²⁴ section II consistently uses the transitional pattern *ana ina qāt eṭērišu*(KAR-šú) “in order to save him from the hand of x”. The peculiar language of the preceding diagnoses (*qāt* x *šēd(u)* *šanē* y “hand of x, demon, deputy of y) in section II is in the same way remarkable. Both patterns will be discussed later in more detail (see 3.1.3.).

The uneven distribution of certain diagnoses and the use of the specific transitional pattern are easily recognizable in the following table:

¹²² Cf. the similar course in §4'.

¹²³ See also the discussion on the translation of *ḪUL* within the commentary to §4'.

¹²⁴ The only exception is §4', which uses the abbreviated form *ana eṭēri*(KAR)-šú “in order to save him”.

§/ll.	1. diagnosis 1 (disease-causing agent)	2. diagnosis 2 (function, divine principal)	3. transitional pattern
section I			
2'	<i>amēlu šū lemnū šabissu</i>	-	-
3'	<i>amēlu šū lemnū šabissu</i>	-	-
4'	<i>amēlu šū lemnū šabissu</i>	-	<i>ana eṭērišu</i>
5'	<i>[amēlu šū lemnū šabissu]¹²⁵</i>	-	<i>[ana eṭērišu]²</i>
gap			
Ms. D¹ 10'ff. (supposedly after §1'-5', maybe already section II)			
10'ff.	<i>[qāt ilišu]²</i>	-	<i>ana (ina) qāt ilišu eṭērišu</i>
gap			
section II			
6'	<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>	<i>[ana ina² ...] eṭērišu²</i>
7'	<i>[qāt aḥḥazi]²</i>	-	<i>ana ina qāt aḥḥazi² eṭērišu</i>
8'	<i>[qāt] (ili) nadri</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē il ālišu</i>	<i>ana ina qāt (ili) nadri eṭērišu</i>
9'	<i>qāt (ili) muttakli/i²</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē^{dN} [IN/GU ...]</i>	<i>[ana ina qāt (ili)] muttakli/i² eṭērišu</i>
10'	<i>[qāt (ili)] gašri</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē Nergal</i>	<i>ana ina qāt (ili) gašri [eṭērišu]</i>
11'	<i>qāt (ili) šamri</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē [...]</i>	<i>ana (ina) qāt (ili) šamri² [eṭērišu]</i>
12'	<i>qāt (ili) [...]</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē [...]</i>	<i>ana ina qāt (ili) [...] eṭērišu</i>
gap			
Ms. C_{rev} 5'ff. and C_{rev} 8'ff. (supposedly before or after §§14'-16')			
5'ff.	<i>[...]</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē [...]</i>	<i>[ana ina ...] eṭērišu</i>
8'ff.	<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>	<i>[ana ina ...] lemnū/tab ba² eṭērišu</i>
gap			
15'	<i>qāt (ili) [...]</i>	<i>[šēd(u) šanē²]^{dx} [...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>
16'	<i>[...]</i>	<i>[šēd(u)] šanē [...]</i>	<i>ana² ina² [qāt ...]</i>
gap			
17'	<i>qāt (ili) munniši</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē Ani</i>	<i>ana ina qāt (ili) munniši eṭērišu</i>
18'	<i>qāt zaqīqi</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē^d [...]</i>	<i>ana ina qāt zaqīqi eṭērišu</i>
19'	<i>qāt (ili) ašṭi/AŠ.DI²</i>	<i>šēd(u) šanē Ea</i>	<i>ana ina qāt (ili) ašṭi/AŠ.DI²</i>
20'	<i>-[qāt šēdi]²</i>	<i>[(...)] šanē Bēlet-ilī</i>	<i>[(...)]²</i>

A feature, shared by both sections, is the circumstance that every paragraph represents a separate symptomatic as well as diagnostic entity, even though only paragraphs in section II seem to be introduced by KI.MIN or MIN “ditto”. Here, the *ditto*-marker refers to the underlying state of being sick as suggested by Ms. D in §12', which reads LÚ GIG-*ma* “If he is sick and ...” instead of DIŠ MIN-*ma* “If *ditto* and ...”.¹²⁶ Therefore, the abbreviated phrase is to be seen as a precondition, followed by certain symptoms that are significant for the identification of the underlying disease-causing agent. This stands in contrast to the usual practice in first millennium therapeutic texts of marking subsequent therapeutic recipes via *ditto*-markers as belonging to the same symptomatic and/or diagnostic entity, but not as symptomatic precondition. A similar pattern can be observed for example in *Sakikkû* 31 that likewise begins with a topicalising statement, continued by additional symptoms.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ See for the possible restoration the comment on line in §5'.

¹²⁶ See also the traces in Ms. D §13'.

¹²⁷ Viz. “If day-/sunlight (or heat) has burnt him up and ...” (DIŠ *šētu iḥmissuma*). Cf. Heeßel (2000), pp. 342/345. As in CTN 4, 72, each following entry starts likewise with a *ditto*-marker, indicating the first diagnostic statement to be valid for the all following entries. The subsequently listed symptoms lead to different prognostic assertions for each entry, which once again shows the individual character of every symptom description and the following treatment. A similar situation could be, inferred from the similar introductory pattern, present in the case of *Sakikkû* 32.

3.1.2. The Symptom Descriptions

Although no specific symptomatic main focus of the text is apparent, the symptoms of the preserved passages seem to follow a certain course. The main signs mentioned can be divided into at least three groups of common symptoms:

1. powerlessness, various symptoms on the eyes, flowing or disgorging of body fluids (here: blood) (section I)
2. food consumption and problems therewith, insomnia, powerlessness or paralysis(?) (section II)
3. fever, sweating, powerlessness or paralysis(?) (section II).

It is reasonably sure that the ailments described within the several paragraphs do not belong to specific diseases. Instead, the symptom descriptions list different unhealthy or abnormal phenomena, which share certain aspects and connections among each other as well as with other well known disease patterns. Some of them are also very common within the symptom collections of the Anti-Witchcraft Corpus.¹²⁸ Thus, the symptoms might have been explicated so as not to be confused with similar signs assigned to other, more common diagnoses.¹²⁹ For example, the symptoms connected with the *lemnu*-demon in section I are partially similar to the symptoms of Antašubba-epilepsy.¹³⁰ The additional phrase *kīma Antašubbē irtenehḫīšu* “like Antašubba-epilepsy it repeatedly pours upon him” in §§2’ and 5’ seems to be symptomatic for this exclusionary diagnostic approach. A similar excluding significance or function of certain elements of the symptom description can be expected for section II, whose symptoms cover a wider range of phenomena as well as therewith connected demonic agents – most of them are not mentioned within the magico-medical therapeutic corpus.

In this respect, the structure in combination with its symptoms and diagnoses is comparable to *Sakikkū* tablet 22 and 27, both concerned with partly quite unusual combinations of symptoms that are mostly associated with demons and ghosts as well as witchcraft and (broken) oaths, but seldom with the punishment by a major deity or a particular disease itself.

3.1.3. The Diagnoses and the Transitional Patterns

The notational patterns used in section I are rather conventional in using the introducing transitional phrase *amēlu šū*(NA BI) “this man”, leading to the diagnosis of the disease-causing agent *lemnu*(HUL) “evil (demon)” which has seized the patient (*šabissu/išbassu*(DAB-su)). Only the structure in §4’ has been extended with the transitional pattern *ana eṭērišu*(KAR-šū) “in order to save him” – a pattern, which is often used in its short form within magico-therapeutic texts such as the “Ištar and Dumuzi”-main ritual B and

¹²⁸ See generally Abusch/Schwemer, *Corpus of Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Vol. I-II* (Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1–2).

¹²⁹ See for several possible modern interpretations of the signs Kinnier Wilson (1957), pp. 43f. Whereas Kinnier Wilson assigns the first section (especially §§2’ and/or until 5’) as being concerned with ‘tonic epilepsy’, the third group (especially §19’) might refer to malaria. However, note that the emic diagnoses distinguish these signs clearly from the ones which have been thought of as symptomatic proper for more common nosological entities like Antašubba-epilepsy, *di’u*-Malaria or similar diseases.

¹³⁰ Noticable symptomatic patterns are especially falling and paralysis, weakness of the limbs as well as symptoms that affect the eyes. Though, some of the symptoms seem to imply that the described phenomena as well as the course of events are not to be connected directly with epilepsy but with the actions of the specific agent *lemnu*. Note that the special feature of Antašubba-epilepsy, viz. the flowing or disgorging of saliva (see Stol (1993), p. 8), is never mentioned here and that it seems to be replaced by the flow and disgorging of blood. However, there is a number of symptoms described in our text as well as within the *Diagnostic Handbook* in connection with the *Lemnu*-demon, which seem to resemble the more literary descriptions of the actions and traits of the *Gallū*-demon within the incantation series *Utukkū lemnūtu*, see Geller, BAM 8 (2016). Cf. for instance *Utukkū lemnūtu* 3:33 (binding of the patient’s body), 5:127-138 (swooping down on the patient, consuming flesh and blood), 6:5-7 (no faculties of hearing and *impregnating* of the patient, Akk. *reḫū*, which is often used with Antašubba-epilepsy), 79 (sleeplessness), 89 (deafness and clouding of the patients eyes).

other treatments against ghosts,¹³¹ the anger of certain deities¹³² as well as against witchcraft.¹³³

The terminology in section II is, on a formal level, much more homogenous, and, in contrast to section I, which is concentrated on the diagnosis of the *lemnu*-demon, the particular diagnoses differ with each entry. In most cases, the diagnostic structure is tripartite: (1.) the diagnosis of a disease-causing agent (viz. demonic or maybe minor deities), (2.) the explicit designation of the agent as a spirit or demon (*šēdu*) or maybe taken idiomatically as “effective force” in role of the deputy (*šanū*) of a major deity,¹³⁴ and (3.) the demarcation of the transition between diagnosis and the following therapy via the formula “in order to save him from the hand of x” (*ana ina qāt x eṭērišu*).

The extended tripartite transitional pattern is known in contiguous passages mainly from *Sakikkū* tablet 28¹³⁵ and can certainly be expected likewise in tablet 30,¹³⁶ although the preserved parts of this tablet suggest likewise an abbreviated format.¹³⁷ Within other therapeutic texts, it is just sparsely in use as can be seen within the following table.

a. therapeutic contexts			
§/ll.	1. diagnosis 1 (disease-causing agent)	2. diagnosis 2 (function, divine principal)	3. transitional pattern
STT 95 (therapies against the wrath(<i>kimiltu</i>) of several gods)			
i 13'ff	ŠU ^d ALAD	šá'-né ^d AMAR.UTU	ina ŠU ^d ALAD eṭēri(KAR)-šú
BAM 202/BAM 311 rev 51'-55'/BM 40183+ rev 25-27			
rev 5'ff.	ŠU ^{ll} bé-en-ni/ŠU be-en-nu	^d ALAD šá'-né-e ^d XXX	ana bulluṭi(TI)-šú
b. diagnostic contexts			
<i>Sakikkū</i> 28 (partly abbreviated pattern)			
<i>Sakikkū</i> 30			
2'	[...]	[...]/-(?)	[ana ina ...] bu KAR-šú
3'	ŠU ^d KAMAD.ME	-	ana ina ŠU [Lamašti(^d KAMAD.ME) eṭērišu [?]]

Concerning the course of the symptomatic focus areas in CTN 4, 72 and duplicates section II as described below (3.1.2.), I would like to draw attention to the last preserved diagnosis of

¹³¹ See Farber (1977), p. 227 (LÚ BI a-na pa-ṭa-ri-im-ma i-na ŠU (Var. a: ŠU^{ll}) / ZI.KU₅.RU.DA KAR-šú KI DINGIR u LÚ sul-lu-mi-šú), in which the pattern is connected with the concern to save the patient from the disease causing agent “cutting-off-of life”-magic/witchcraft. Cf. further the already mentioned attestation within CRANIUM 2 (BAM 9 Vs. 1/BAM 482) 67' = A iii 40 ([ana] KAR-šú, concerning the grip of a ghost), see Attia/Buisson (2003), p. 8, LKA 88 l. 9 and duplicates as well as the parallels to these entries treated in Scurlock (2006), no. 92 and no. 115.

¹³² Cf. next to STT 95 also AMT 15/5:6 (ana šib-sat^dINNIN GUR-šú ana KAR-šú).

¹³³ Cf. AMT 44/4:4 ([a-na] {ŠU} ZI.KU₅.RU.DA KAR-šú), BAM 438 obv. 15 (ZI-šú KAR). See for both texts Abusch/Schwemer (2011), text 7.2. and 10.1., BAM 461 iii 14' (ana KAR-šú). Cf. also the fragment BAM 203:6' ([... ana[?] ŠU ZI].^dKU₅.RU.DA KAR-šú), similar to AMT 44/4.

¹³⁴ This formulation is likewise attested within the *Diagnostic Handbook* (*Sakikkū*) and its parallels within the second tablet of the NME section CRANIUM. Here, the role as deputy is mainly occupied by a ghost, whose principal is the goddess Ištar (*Sakikkū* 4:11, 30, 31) and once the wisdom god Ea (*Sakikkū* 22:59, see Heeßel (2000), p. 256). The term is also mentioned once in combination with the moon god Šin without naming a particular demon, god or ghost (*Sakikkū* 4:56). Note that in *Sakikkū* 15:23' (see Heeßel (2000), p. 151) the epilepsy-demon *bennu* is identified as a deputy of the moon god (DIŠ KI.MIN(ūm ištēn maruṣ)-ma qātāšu u [šēpāšu ...] uḥarras qāt benni šanē šin imāt).

¹³⁵ Cf. Heeßel (2000), pp. 307-317.

¹³⁶ Cf. Heeßel (2000), pp. 339f. For the new witness B (BM 40285) see Schmidtchen (2021), pp. 637-639.

¹³⁷ The origin might lie in the fact that the preserved passage of the last entry (*Sakikkū* 30:3') refers to the demonic agent Lamaštu, which, as in the case of the Aḫḫazu-jaundice-demon in CTN 4, 72 and duplicates (see §7'), has been acknowledged as a demonic entity acting on its own, and which might have had no need for another divine principal.

Sakikkû 30 concerning the demoness Lamaštu, who is highly associated with fever – the main topic of the last preserved paragraphs of section II.

Kinnier Wilson noted that the diagnostic pattern “in order to save him from the hand of x” suggests a kind of possession of the patient by the respective demon (Akk. *šēdu*) rather than the affliction by a disease.¹³⁸ Since the word “possession” is seen as an uncommon concept in Mesopotamia, it certainly has to be dismissed in favour of more general terms like “affliction”, “attack” or even “occupation” by a demon or a ghost. In assyro-babylonian traditional beliefs these agents have usually been thought of as disease originating forces attacking the patient from outside the body.¹³⁹

The idiosyncratic and nearly literary nomenclature of the disease-causing agents – mostly adjectives and participles¹⁴⁰ – is often found within literary contexts in descriptions of behavioural traits of gods, god weapons, animals or comparisons therewith, and allows not for a precise determination of the demons’ identity.

In some cases there might be a tentative connection between the epithet-like names of the demonic spirits with their divine principal. Note for instance the diagnosis *qāt gašri šēdu šanē Nergal* “hand of the strong/mighty, demon – deputy of (the underworld and war god) Nergal”. The epithet *gašru* is known in attributive function for a number of deities and similar entities like *Ištar*, *Ninurta*, *Marduk* or the embodied evil *mimma lemnu*.¹⁴¹ Note especially the use of the adjective in connection with the fire and plague god Erra in personal names¹⁴² – a god which has been partly syncretised with Nergal, most likely due to their shared place of worship in Kutha. Another symptomatic use of the adjective might be seen in the phrase *a-na be-lí ga-áš-ri*,¹⁴³ referring to Lugal-irra, who is usually mentioned together with the likewise minor deity Meslamta’ea. Both are particularly associated with Nergal as guardians of the netherworld.¹⁴⁴

However, the determination of the identity of demons or minor deities accounted as deputies of a main deity cannot be traced back further for most of the epithets since the majority of them are used in a number of references to several divine or demonic entities.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 42. He uses the term “depossessing” in reference to the aim of the conjurer to expell the demon from the patient.

¹³⁹ See especially Stol (1993), pp. 52f.

¹⁴⁰ Stadhouders (2011), pp. 46-48 (as well as the CAD) assumes most of these terms to be adjectives in attributive function and translates “hand of a ... deity”. Even though Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 42 does not translate the diagnoses of the passages treated by him, within a later passage (ibid. p. 43) he notes *qāt ili munniši* next to *qāt ʿzaqīqi*, and thus expecting an attributive function as well. However, there are some hints that might suggest otherwise, i.e. a substantival use leading to translations like “hand of a strong/tenacious/enfeebling etc.”. Cf. for instance the excerpted diagnoses of these or similar passages within the descriptive pharmaceutical list *Šammu šikinšu*. While the diagnoses of the major deities’ deputies keep their determinatives (e.g. *Šammu šikinšu*, Text I, §17’ A.RÁ *šá-ni* ʿXXX or ibid. §23’ [A].[RÁ] *šá-ni* ʿIŠKUR, see Stadhouders (2011), pp. 9f.), the introducing diagnoses of the demons presumed names are stripped of any DINGIR-sign (e.g. *Šammu šikinšu*, Text I, §23’ *ana ez-zi* ... SIG “good *against* (lit. for) an angry” or *Šammu šikinšu*, Text II, §30’ (D) *ana* ʿ{(x)}² *šam-ri* ... [S]IG₅ “good *against* (lit. for) {the hand of} (?) a furious”, see ibid. pp. 10 and 23) and might therefore suggest the use as a noun without the need of reading out potential determinatives. The case is similar within the *Vademecum* fragment CT 14, 38 (K. 14081) ll. 2’-4’, which are most likely excerpted from *Šammu šikinšu* or a similar list.

¹⁴¹ Cf. generally CAD G, pp. 56ff.

¹⁴² See CAD G, p. 57 sub a.

¹⁴³ Lugal-e 382, cf. Van Dijk (1983), p. 99 as well as the English translation in Jacobsen (1987), p. 254. Note likewise the equation of Sum. *ir₉(GĪR)* with Akk. *gašru*, see Lambert (1987/1990), p. 143 §1.

¹⁴⁴ See again Lambert (1987/1990), p. 143 §1.

¹⁴⁵ For *naḍru* “aggressive” see CAD N/1, p. 65, which refers to entities like *bašmu*-monster, a god-weapon raging like Erra or like a lion, *ušumgallū*-demon, as well as the god Nergal. The adjective *šamru* “furious” is often attested in connection with demons and gods like Girra, Adad and again Lugalgirra and Nergal. See CAD Š/1, 331f. Note especially the references to *ūmu*-demons attributed as *šamru* and *ezzu*. Cf. for the use of *munnišu* “weakening, enfeebling”, especially the attestations in connection again with *ūmu*-demons, CAD M/2,

The character of the agents remains rather faint in contrast to the subsequent identification of their superiors. Hence, the diagnostic value seems to lie even more in the naming of the higher deity, which took the role of the principal or client, and whose identity might have been crucial for accompanying treatments.¹⁴⁶ This might possibly also be indicated by §20' ([^dALAD) šá]-[né]-e [DINGIR].MAḪ) of our text as well as some scattered corroborations within other therapeutic texts that diagnose the role of a demonic agent as a deputy of a certain deity but not necessarily the deputy's name.¹⁴⁷

Nevertheless, note that, next to similar formulations concerning the deputy of main deities, the pharmaceutical plant list *Šammu šikinšu*¹⁴⁸ seem to give more than one diagnostic object as well as indications on the use of the respective plant, such as “plant (good) against ailment x (or for) therapeutic aim y”.¹⁴⁹ These indications are most likely to be connected with the following second diagnoses of a divine deputy as shown by certain diagnostic connections such as in *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, § 17'a as well as *Sakikkû* 15:23' between the epilepsy-demon *Bennu* in the role as deputy of the moon god Šin. The function of the designation as *šēdu* “demon/genius” in combination with *šanē* x “deputy of x” seems therefore not to be taken literally but idiomatic as indicated by the translation of this phrase in Stadhouders (2012) as “Deputy Power of x”.¹⁵⁰ A power or authority, which, next to demons and minor deities, could also be applied to diseases as well as certain phenomena, whose accomplishment was sought by therapeutic measures. The phrase should therefore describe an effective force that refers to a certain area of competence or responsibility of the specifically named main deity, which might work in both ways – for as well as against the patient, viz. the same way as a *šēdu* is generally meant to be either a benevolent or malevolent spirit/genius.

Next to deputies of major deities CTN 4, 72 and duplicates diagnoses similarly independently acting agents like the *lemnu*-demon (§§2'-5'), the *Aḥḥazu*-jaundice-demon (§7') and maybe the personal god of the patient (D i 10'ff.). This is suggested by the absence of the formulaic description *šēdu šanē* x in the respective paragraphs. The symptoms associated with them are well documented within the *Diagnostic Handbook* and partly from therapeutic texts.¹⁵¹ Even though the symptoms of the *Aḥḥazu*-jaundice-demon within the new witness C

p. 206. For the possible translation and attestations of *muttaklīli* “tenacious(?)” and the still uncertain **AŠ-DI/ašpi** “obdurate, stubborn(?)” see the comments on §9' and §19'.

¹⁴⁶ This seems likewise the case with the similar phrase *ḥaṭṭi* x “wand (of office) of (main deity) x” and similar expression, which can be mainly found within the *Diagnostic Handbook* as well (see *Sakikkû* 6:28; 7:50(?); 13:23; 17:38-39; 18:31; 19/20:47', 52(?); 40:43, 44).

¹⁴⁷ See for example STT 95:13ff. (ŠU ^dALAD šá'-né ^dAMAR.UTU *ina* ŠU ^dALAD [KAR-šú] “hand of a demon/spirit, deputy of Marduk; in order to save him from the hand of a demon/spirit: (...”), cf. Scurlock (2014), p. 652. Note likewise the diagnosis given in *Sakikkû* 4:56 (*šá-né-e* ^dXXX “deputy of Šin”).

¹⁴⁸ For the terminological connections between *Šammu šikinšu* and the *Therapeutic Vademecum* see 3.2.2.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §17', 20', BAM 379 ii 55', 56', 57', iii 2, 6, 11; see the table in 3.2.2.

¹⁵⁰ Though, the syntactic relation between ^dALAD/A.RÁ and *šanē* x is not totally clear. Assuming a genitive construction, the phrase would be normalised as *šēd šanē* x “effective force of/as the deputy of x”. But this interpretation seems to be in opposition with the diagnosis STT 95:13ff. (ŠU ^dALAD šá'-né ^dAMAR.UTU) that ascribes an unspecific *šēdu* as the first diagnosis. However, the diagnosis in STT 95:13ff. might likewise be seen as either a scribal mistake, omitting the respective name of the agent (e.g. ŠU <...> ^dALAD šá'-né ^dAMAR.UTU), or it uses the term *šēdu* differently, in which case it would be meant to be taken rather literally. But an appositional relation (viz. “effective force/spirit, a deputy of x”) is possible as well.

¹⁵¹ For the *lemnu*-demon see *Sakikkû* 3:91; 10:18; 27:14-15, 17, 18, 19, whereby some of them are parallels to section I of CTN 4, 72 (see the comments on §§2', 3', 4' and 5'). The demon *Aḥḥazu* is likewise mentioned several times within the *Diagnostic Handbook*, especially in its logographic form ^dKAMAD(DIM₍₁₀₎).ME.LAGAB. See *Sakikkû* 3:52 (like the grasp of a ghost), 68 (like the grasp of a ghost), 79; 16:33, 34, 35 (maybe to *šibit Lamašti*), 45'; 40:46 (var. Ms. B: *qāt Lamašti*). Note that the attestations in *Sakikkû* refer mostly to symptoms concerning signs of recurring fever, discolorations as well as falling, memory problems and spinning (see for the last three symptoms especially *Sakikkû* 3:79), which might partly resemble symptoms of epilepsy or similar ailments associated with different disease causing agents. Therefore, the diagnosis of *Aḥḥazu* seems to combine symptomatic key foci of section I and II, which fits well with the position

(§7') are mainly broken, the mentioning of the demon in this position of the text seems to be not by chance. Note that the associated variety of *aḥḥazu*-jaundice is also to be found within the third tablet of the STOMACH-section of the medical-therapeutic NME from Nineveh.¹⁵² Here, the diagnosis is listed within the context of bile-associated ailments as well as related problems of digestion and food consumption. Especially the latter symptomatic topics are strikingly similar to the second symptomatic focus of our text (see 3.1.2.), which is followed by §7' onwards at least until §12' or even 16'.

Only the diagnosis of the “hand of his god” within the Middle Babylonian witness D i 10'ff. (ŠU DINGIR-*li-šú*, see 2.1.b. above) remains partially odd in comparison with the nomenclature of the demonic agents within the later witnesses of our text. As it is getting clear from the respective entries within the *Diagnostic Handbook*, the diagnosis of the disease causing agent “hand of his god” has a wide range of symptoms and might also have been dependent on the patient itself.¹⁵³ In contrast, the similar diagnostic entity ŠU.DINGIR.RA (Akk. *šudingirrakku*) “hand-of-god-disease”¹⁵⁴ seems to appear as an independent disease-like designation, whose symptomatic range might have been much closer.¹⁵⁵ However, the circumstance that the Middle Babylonian witness shows a partly syllabic spelling makes the identification with ŠU.DINGIR.RA instead *qāt ilišu* unlikely.

3.1.4. The Therapies

The remedies carried out in CTN 4, 72 and duplicates show a traditional set of therapeutic techniques, viz. mostly preparations of amulet bags/poultices¹⁵⁶ (or direct applications of

of the entry between section I and the next attested paragraphs of section II in CTN 4, 72. For therapeutic attestations see the following footnote.

¹⁵² See Cadelli (2000), pp. 222f.

¹⁵³ The *Diagnostic Handbook* preserves at least 36 diagnoses of this disease causing agent. Cf. *Sakikkū* 1:13, 24, 36 (see George (1991), pp. 142-145); 4:32, 37, 50, 51, 54, 58; 5:122'; 6:27, 37; 9:45; 10:3, 64 (var. *qāt il ālišu*); 12:1, 102'; 13:10, 96; 14:107 (var. *qāt nīš ilišu*), 167', 185', 186'; 15:7', 25', 45', 89'; 18:37'; 19/20:18', 45'a, 48', 53'; 23:11, 16'; 28:19; 33:116b(?). For the attestations within tablets 3-14 see Schmidtchen (2021), pp. 246-622, for tablets 15-33 see Heeßel (2000), pp. 147-374. See further the attestations of the similar diagnosis *qāt ili* “hand of a god” (*Sakikkū* 3:53(?) (erg.), 78; 4:38b, 44, 45, 57; 11:17; 40:19, 20, 37 (var. to *qāt bēlet ilī*, Ms. A)), whose symptomatology seems to include mostly symptoms of aching limbs and of the digestive tract like inflammations of the innards as well as therewith connected problems of digestion, fever and discoloration of body parts (maybe connected with gall). A connection between the “hand of his god” is, next to the therapeutic entry *Sakikkū* 28:19 (change from *bēl-ūri* to *riḥūt-Šulpa'ea*-epilepsy due to the influence of *qāt ilišu*), attested in *Sakikkū* 15:25' (DIŠ KI.MIN(*ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-ma U.MEŠ-šú 'ú¹-[x x x x] 'i/ú/ut¹-te-né-et-te : ZI.ZI-bi *miqit šamē*(ŠUB AN-e) TAG-su *qāt ilišu*(ŠU DINGIR-šú) GAM).

¹⁵⁴ See especially Heeßel (2000), pp. 49-52 for the distinction between both diagnostic entities.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. for instance the late commentary BRM 4, 32, which gives some briefly outlined symptomatology for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (l. 1) and ^dLUGAL.ÜR.RA-epilepsy (l. 2) as well as ŠU.DINGIR.RA (l. 2) and the similar name patterns ŠU.INNIN.NA (ll. 2-3) and ŠU.GIDIM.MA (ll. 3-4); see Frazer (2017). Here ŠU.DINGIR.RA is described as “he (i.e., the sick man) curses the gods, speaks blasphemy, (and) hits whatever he sees”, translation: Frazer (2017). Unfortunately, unlike the other symptomatology in this commentary, this instance seems to describe rather an aetiology than a symptomatology. If it is indeed to be taken as a symptomatology, the mentioned signs would refer to a psychological condition of the patient. Note also the symptomatology ascribed to the following ŠU.INNIN.NA “hand-of-goddess-condition/disease” in BRM 4, 32 ll. 2-3 (ŠU.^dINNIN.NA : *ḥu-uṣ-ši* GAZ ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši ù INIM.MEŠ-šú *im-ta-na-aš-ši* “ŠU.INNIN.NA (is when the patient) has pain due to ‘breaking-of-the-heart-condition’ and he keeps forgetting his words”, translation: E. Schmidtchen; for the interpretation of the difficult term *ḥuṣṣa ḥip libbi* as a symptom or kind of melancholy see Couto Ferreira (2010), pp. 30-32 as well as Stol (1993), pp. 28f.), which is at least similar to some degree in comparison to the broken symptomatology in D i' 10'ff. ([...] (blank) *im*¹²-*ta-na-aš-ši* / [...] -[*ta*¹-*aš-ša-al* (blank) / [...]).

¹⁵⁶ It is still uncertain if the interpretation as poultice/amulet bag (*mēlu*) is to be preferred over the interpretation as a string or attachment (*takšīru*), due to the frequent use of herbal drugs. Although the *takšīru* is more often in use with stones and minerals, it is also attested with plants, wherefore it cannot be ruled out as a possible interpretation. In favour for the poultices might speak the frequent application on the neck of the patient, whereas

materia magica on the neck of the patient)¹⁵⁷ and ointments. As in the case of diagnoses and symptoms (see 3.1.2.–3.), there is a considerable difference between the therapeutic passages of section I and II. While section I shows rather heterogeneous therapeutic prescriptions¹⁵⁸ with varying terminologies and interchanges of the position of certain therapeutic steps, the prescriptive patterns in section II are quite homogenous. In most cases they follow the fixed structure of (1.) preparing an amulet bag/poultice followed by (2.) an ointment, which might lead to the recovery of the patient.¹⁵⁹

Within other therapeutic texts, such combinations of poultices/amulet bags and ointments are rather rarely found within the same entry.¹⁶⁰ The only accumulation of the use of both techniques so far known seems to be CTN 4, 72 and duplicates, as well as at least four preserved entries in *Sakikkû* 29.¹⁶¹

According to Kinnier Wilson, especially the phrase *ana ina qāt x eṭērišu* “in order to save him from the hand of x” within the transitional pattern (section II) indicates that the herbal and mineral components used to prepare the remedies might not have gone beyond the role of *Kultmittel*.¹⁶² This might be true in particular for *materia magica* used for *mēlu*-amulet bags since this therapeutic technique is mostly connected with prophylactic treatments of divine, demonic or magically induced ailments. In contrast, ointments are generally in use elsewhere within the medical corpus for the medical as well as magico-therapeutic treatment of different diseases and disease-causing agents. In this respect, the term *Kultmittel* might go beyond the understanding of the ancient recipient or practitioner since in traditional Assyro-Babylonian Medicine no clear distinction has been made between *etic* terms such as “medical” and “magical” in connection with therapeutic measures. They have been seen rather as different, sometimes overlapping approaches, which were more or less associated either with the traditional lore of the ritual expert (*āšipu*) or the pharmacologist/physician (*asû*) that share the common goal of healing the patient.¹⁶³ In CTN 4, 72 and duplicates, strong cues for the connection to the lore of the ritual expert (*āšipūtu*) are certainly the many

the strings of amulet stones could have been attached on the neck as well as other body parts. Cf. Schuster-Brandis (2008), pp. 67f.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. the short comment on this in 1. Only one entry (§4') shows the usual terminology referring to the preparation of a poultice/amulet bag, but the following indications within the other paragraphs might have been abbreviated.

¹⁵⁸ Note in this regard the use of *lapātu* D (TAG.TAG) “to rub; sprinkle(?)” instead of *pašāšu* (ŠĒŠ) “to anoint” in §4', the instruction to speak an incantation in §2' as well as the reversed order of the therapeutic steps (ointment – poultice or string) in §§2' and 4' and the striking difference concerning the application (or incantation to be spoken) into the middle of the ear instead of the neck in §1'. Likewise differing from the usual formula is the use of the ending pattern *ḪUL UGU-šû ZI-aḥ* “the evil (being) above him will be torn out” in §§1' and 2' instead of *iballuṭ(TI-uṭ)* “he will recover”, which attested, as far as preserved, in all paragraphs or entries of section II.

¹⁵⁹ Or more explicit: (1.) <1-6 components (prepared and) put on the neck> + (2.) <1-3 components (prepared) to anoint the patient> = recovery of the patient. Amulet bags in combination with ointments are attested in §§7'(?), 8', 10', 12', 15'(?), 16', 18' and 19'. However, besides the relatively frequent application of amulet bags, all of the preserved paragraphs of section I and II seem to indicate a treatment by ointments. Some paragraphs even list these as the only treatment (§§3', 7'(?), 9', 17' and maybe 20').

¹⁶⁰ See for example CRANIUM 2:33 (pain at the temples, the possible context might be a **ghost** induced affliction, see Attia/Buisson (2003), p. 5 l. 65), NECK 6:66' (seeing **dead people** within dreams, Ms. A = K. 2175+ iv l. 22, cf. the parallel SpTU 4, 134:12). Cf. also the rare attestations within the Anti-Witchcraft Corpus, e.g. in Abusch/Schwemer (2011), text 10.4. l. 21 (collective symptoms, similar diagnosis as in EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN 7:13' but without diagnosed (breaking of an) oath).

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Sakikkû* 29:13-14, 44'-48', 52'-54', 67'-69'. The general use of ointments and poultices is also known from *Sakikkû* 28 (poultices only) and 31 (poultices and ointments together with potions).

¹⁶² See Kinnier Wilson (1957), p. 42.

¹⁶³ For the different corpora associated with the profession of *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* within the first millennium, their specialized field of expertise as well as the partly overlapping or their therapeutic approaches see Steinert (2018a), 178-187.

diagnostic references to demonic or divine causers of ailments as well as the already mentioned transitional pattern, which indicates that the patient has to be saved or withdrawn from the harmful influence – be it self-induced (e.g. by breaking an oath or similar misdeeds that might provoke the wrath of the gods) or externally caused (e.g. by independently operating ghosts, demons or witchcraft).

3.2. Direct Connections to Other Medical Texts

Up to now, we could see that our text has a lot in common with certain therapeutic oriented areas of the prognostic-diagnostic tradition (e.g. *Sakikkû* chapter 4-5), especially in terms of terminology and the underlying concept of disease-causing agents. Connections to medical therapeutic texts proper are rare and mostly reduced to topically related magico-therapeutic texts that share the focus on diagnoses of certain disease-causing agents, such as prescriptions against demons, witchcraft or ghosts. Within the next text section, I will summarise parallels and presumed quotes from CTN 4, 72 and duplicates that have not or just slightly been touched upon until yet.

3.2.1 Section I (§§1'-5'): Parallels to *Sakikkû* and Some Magico-Therapeutic Texts

Parallels for section I are mainly to be found within *Sakikkû* tablet 10:18 (§4') and 27:14-15, 16-17, 18 (§§2', 3', 5'),¹⁶⁴ which likewise use the logogram HUL for noting the diagnosis of the *lemnu*-demon. Note that the therapeutic prescriptions of section I are omitted within the parallels of the *Diagnostic Handbook*¹⁶⁵ although the short transitional formulation NA BI “(concerning) this man”, which can be found in all entries of the *lemnu*-demon within the *Diagnostic Handbook*, might indicate an originally therapeutic background.

Additionally, the two late magico-therapeutic text collections AO 7660+ iii 7-8 (= §5'/*Sakikkû* 27:18) and BM 40183+ obv. B 8'ff. (= §4'/*Sakikkû* 10:18)¹⁶⁶ preserve one more parallel each with accompanying therapies, this time partly showing the syllabic spelling *lem-nu* that clarifies the reading of the name of the underlying demonic agent.

3.2.2. Section II (§§6'-21'): Excerpts within *Šammu šikinšu* and related lists¹⁶⁷

In contrast to section I, no parallels of section II are known from therapeutic contexts. However, a certain number of excerpts of CTN 4, 72 and duplicates or references on confirmed diagnostic agents and the additional diagnostic pattern attributing to them the role as a deputy of a higher deity can be found within the pharmaceutical plant list *Šammu šikinšu* as well as within some fragments of texts in the style of the *Therapeutic Vademecum*.¹⁶⁸

Within these lists we find mentionings of *šamru* “the furious”,¹⁶⁹ *nadru* “the aggressive”,¹⁷⁰ *munnišu* “the enfeebling”,¹⁷¹ and maybe also the *zaqīqu*-wind-phantom,¹⁷² even if in a possibly disguised form. Interestingly, the striking diagnostic pattern *šēdu šānē* GN “demon/genius, deputy of GN” is used as well in connection with other rather medical

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the commentary on §§2'-5'.

¹⁶⁵ Since the therapeutic prescription of §5' has not been preserved, it remains uncertain, if it was identic with one of the preserved therapies in AO 7660+ iii 9-11. The therapeutic prescription in BM 40183+ obv. B 9'f. shows nearly the same therapy with some variations and abbreviations. Cf. the commentary on §4'.

¹⁶⁶ For the wording of both parallels see the commentaries to §§4' and 5'.

¹⁶⁷ Due to its length and amount of further marginal information, the overviews table of the instances that either bear excerpts from CTN 4, 72 and duplicates or similar diagnostic patterns has been appended as Appendix I.

¹⁶⁸ See the short introduction on the Mss. of *Šammu šikinšu* and their connections to the so called *Therapeutic Vademecum* as well as the botanical list *Uruanna* (or *Irianna*) in Stadhouders (2011), pp. 3f.

¹⁶⁹ CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §11' and *Šammu šikinšu*, text II §30'.

¹⁷⁰ CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §8' and CT 14, 38, K. 14081:2' (plant broken).

¹⁷¹ CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §17' and *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §4 as well as CT 14, 38, K. 14081:3' (plant broken).

¹⁷² CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §18' and *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §8. Cf. also the comment to CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §18' above.

diagnoses like *maškadu*-disease,¹⁷³ *sāmānu*-disease¹⁷⁴ or other pathological conditions like *šinīt tēmi*¹⁷⁵ “alteration of mind”.

Besides the aforementioned excerpts from CTN 4, 72, there are some frequently mentioned demonic agents within the pharmaceutical lists, which might likewise have been excerpted from broken passages of our text or forerunners. Supporting this contention is the comparable use of the epithet-like names in combination with the transitional pattern as it is known for the demonic agents *ezzu* “the angry, a demon – deputy of Adad”,¹⁷⁶ and *gaššu* “the cruel, a demon – deputy of Marduk and Kusu”.¹⁷⁷ Thus, it is not unlikely to expect these agents within the gaps of our text.

Although other forms of the drugs’ application are known from *Šammu šikinšu* and the related lists,¹⁷⁸ the drugs mentioned in said lists that are known to be effective against the demonic agents of CTN 4, 72 and duplicates, are, as far as the texts are preserved, similarly said to be administered more or less invariably as ointments. This is also suggested by the correlation of the paragraphs concerning *ankinūtu*-plant and a *munnišu*-demon as well as “fox vine” (*karān šēlebi*) and wind demons (*zaqīqu/lilū*). If these correlations between our text and the pharmaceutical lists are held to be true, the plant connected with the demonic agent *nadru* might be the curious ^ú*še-li-li-bi-lna*¹⁷⁹, and against *gašru* we might expect either *sikillu* “squill(?)”¹⁷⁹ and/or “tamarisk” (*bīnu*).¹⁸⁰ In turn, according to *Šammu šikinšu*¹⁸¹ the plant to be restored against the *šamru*-demon in CTN 4, 72 and duplicates (§11’) has to be *šumuttu*.

Surprisingly, the prescriptions which are supposed to refer to the preparation of poultices or amulet bags and respective diagnoses are not to be found within the known *mēlu*-collections, although the ailments treated by them are often connected with diagnoses partly associated with the demonic agents in our text – like the wrath (*kimiltu*) of certain deities or Antašubba-epilepsy.¹⁸² The reason for this might be that the prescriptions and the accompanying symptomatology as well as their diagnoses could represent second millennium material, which has not been transmitted further outside the particular context of CTN 4, 72 and duplicates. This might be underscored by the fact that auxiliary pharmaceutical lists like *Šammu šikinšu*¹⁸³ and the *Therapeutic Vademecum*¹⁸⁴ are most likely

¹⁷³ *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §17’b.

¹⁷⁴ BAM 379 iii 11.

¹⁷⁵ *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §20’; BAM 379 ii 56’.

¹⁷⁶ *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §23’ as well as most likely BAM 379 ii 55’.

¹⁷⁷ BAM 379 iv 4 and CT 14, 38:4’f.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. for example the prescription of the application of a poultice on the neck of the patient in *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §2 and 3 (against Lamaštu) or *Šammu šikinšu*, text II §18’ (against a ghost) or in the *Vademecum*-like list BAM 379 iii 42f. (against the bite of a spider).

¹⁷⁹ This plant is otherwise known to be efficacious for purification (*tēliltu*, see *Šammu šikinšu*, text I §19’ and *ibid.* text II §24’) and releasing from witchcraft.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. CTN 4, 72 + dupl. §10’. A respective paragraph for the tamarisk is so far not attested within any fragment of *Šammu šikinšu*.

¹⁸¹ *Šammu šikinšu*, text II §30’.

¹⁸² See mainly the collections BAM 311-312 (demons and ghosts), BAM 313-316 (*kimiltu* and similar collections), BAM 320(?), BAM 326 i’(?) (both partly referring to witchcraft and *kimiltu*), BAM 398 (poultices, ointments, bandages, Middle Babylonian, against *šimmatu*-paralysis, *rimūtu*-reddening of the skin and maybe *mišittu*-stroke), BAM 434 v and 435 v’ (against evil machinations and *bēl dabābi* “opponent (or competitor)”), BAM 447 (*kimiltu*), BAM 459 (uncertain), BAM 470 (against ghosts), BAM 476 (against Antašubba and other demons like *lilū*-wind demons), BAM 477 (uncertain), BAM 478 (partly against Antašubba, maybe similar BAM 476), BAM 544 (mostly broken).

¹⁸³ This is suggested by the Middle Assyrian Ms. VAT 11601 (*Šammu šikinšu*). See Stadhouders (2011), p. 34 as well as KADP 35. Note likewise the reference to *Šammu šikinšu* within the *Exorcist’s Manual* (KAR 44 and duplicates), which, if taken seriously, is to be connected with the Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli that was active in the 11th century B.C. Line 26 of the manual, see Geller (2018), p. 300, lists a number of auxiliary lists that might have had certain relevance for therapeutic measurements of the ritual expert (*āšipu*), like the explanatory lists of stones and plants (*Abnu šikinšu*, *Šammu šikinšu*), tablets on stones and plants as well as

scholarly products of the late second millennium as well. Hence, it is no coincidence that none of the material has been found elsewhere except for some excerpted material within auxiliary texts like *Šammu šikinšu* and associated lists.

3.3. Summary

3.3.1. The Possible Placement of CTN 4, 72 and Duplicates within the Medical Corpus

In summary we can say that the text, represented by CTN 4, 72 and duplicates, might have existed in one form or another since Middle Babylonian time, and that its content has been handed down until Late Babylonian time. This is indicated at first by witness D from Ḫattuša and the late witness B from Uruk, and second by the fact that it seems to have exerted influence primarily on the auxiliary pharmaceutical lists of the type *Šammu šikinšu*, which itself might have originated during the Middle Babylonian time.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, parallels and terminological as well as structural similarities can be shown within certain sections of the *Diagnostic Handbook*, which is also believed to have been compiled at the end of the second millennium. The similar text format of the different fragments in terms of structure and terminology points to a specific context such as a particular text body like a collection. In addition, the apparent absence of this material within first millennium medical texts proper¹⁸⁶ suggests a more specific context of such a collection within a broader text body, e.g. a series or compendium, apart from the medical therapeutic corpus.

Simply put, the material of CTN 4, 72 and duplicates may belong to a collection or series that originates somewhere in Middle Babylonian time and which is only indirectly connected with the medical therapeutic corpus of the first millennium – maybe via excerpted information within auxiliary lists like *Šammu šikinšu*. And since in later times its content may have been considered part of a separated or specific tradition or even as anachronistic, it is rarely referred to within the first millennium medical therapeutic corpus.

Comparable cases of information drawn out of otherwise separated therapeutic text traditions in therapeutic and diagnostic contexts can be observed in repercussions of texts like BAM 66 or the presumed forerunner to STT 89. For example, the material known from the

amulet strings (*takšīru*), a characteristic technique associated therewith, and lastly pendants – e.g. *mēlu*-amulet bags, here referred to as *ma-la-la/li*. For a short discussion on this uncertain term cf. Butler (1998), p. 163. See generally Geller (2018) and especially concerning the possible date of its composition Frahm (2018), 29-33.

¹⁸⁴ In KADP 1, v-vi, Köcher assumes a roughly similar dating of the *Therapeutical Vademecum*, which likewise bears traces of our text or secondarily transmitted information thereof via *Šammu šikinšu*.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 3.2.2.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. for instance Steinert (2018b), pp. 203-291 as well as the mentioned literature on first millennium medical therapeutic series and compendia in 1. above. Even though a localisation of our text material within one of the topically related subsections of the therapeutic *buḫtu*-compendia of the first millennium such as the *Nineveh Medical Encyclopedia* (NME) or similar compendia, which are known from several recensions (e.g. *pīrsu* as well as *nišḫu*-recensions from Neo as well as Late Babylonian time), is not unimaginable, its positioning therein seems rather unlikely on the basis of the known text material and attestations. Topically related subseries within the second section of the NME, at least as represented by the *Assur Medical Catalogue* (AMC), would be especially DIVINE ANGER (including the already mentioned texts on *kimilti* DN “wrath (of a god)” like STT 95) and MENTAL ILLNESS (the partly preserved incipits mention texts concerning melancholy or depression and Antašubba-epilepsy, the topically ordered previews given underneath list for example demonic agents like *Alû*-demons as well as Lamaštu). See for these sections *ibid.* p. 216. However, parallels and texts associated with the incipits of these sections, as mentioned within AMC II. 84-88 and 91-98, show no particular connection to the content of CTN 4, 72 except for those mentioned in the table in 3.1.3. Cf. also the shortly discussed parallels as well as associated texts *ibid.* pp. 253-263. In section I of the AMC, the just partly preserved subseries EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN (Steinert (2018b), p. 212) might have possibly contained similar material. What is known so far is that the respective tablets treat ailments induced by witchcraft (tablet 1?, 7, 8), breaking of oaths (tablet 3 or 4?, 7) and probably ghosts and demons as well as a secondary topic (see for these as main topic the subseries NECK, see *ibid.* p. 210).

Middle Babylonian text BAM 66 is likely to have functioned as forerunner for *Sakikkû* 31 as well as, due to its relatedness to topics like fever and digestion, as forerunner for the last passages of the 4th tablet of the therapeutic subseries STOMACH of the *Nineveh Medical Encyclopedia* (NME).¹⁸⁷ A similar forerunner must have existed for STT 89 from Sultantepe, a relic of the so called *Older Diagnostic Handbook*.¹⁸⁸ This is at least suggested by excerpts of material from STT 89 obv. ll. 1-101 with accompanying treatments (that are not attested in STT 89) within the therapeutic subseries EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN tablet 7¹⁸⁹ – once more, most likely because of the topical relation, in this case certain forms of witchcraft.

Within the course of the paper, a considerable number of indications have been shown, which suggest that CTN 4, 72 and duplicates might not have been directly connected with the medical therapeutic texts proper of the first millennium. Especially the *Diagnostic Handbook* and the ritualistic-medical interest of its chapters 4 and 5 appeared as a recurring point of comparison that shares a number of formal features as well as contexts with CTN 4, 72 and duplicates. The most striking of these features are, on formal grounds, the use of the diagnostic formula “hand of x”, the specific transitional pattern and the fact that each entry or paragraph is presented as a symptomatic and diagnostic separate entity. In terms of thematic relations, one might note further the special focus on divine and demonic agents in the role of the ailment’s causer on behalf of a higher deity. Secondary evidence might be seen in the concentration of certain therapeutic techniques, namely poultices or amulet bags together with ointments within the same entries.

The greatest difficulty concerning a possible identification of our text with *Sakikkû* tablet 30 is certainly the structure of the main witness CTN 4, 72 from Nimrud. While the incipit of *Sakikkû* 30, at least as preserved within the text catalogue of Esagil-kīn-apli,¹⁹⁰ resembles the first entry in column iv’ (or according to Kinnier Wilson column vi’), the first column of CTN 4, 72 seems to address almost exclusively complaints related with diagnoses of *lemnu*-demons that are partly parallels to *Sakikkû* 27, but extended with accompanying treatments. Here, we may note that Ms. A is the only witness, which preserves the respective passage (section I) connected with this diagnosis. All other fragments show paragraphs following the formal pattern as determined for section II. On the other hand, since the incipit of *Sakikkû* 30 within the catalogue of Esagil-kīn-apli shows only the first symptom, an identification of §17’ with said incipit is still uncertain. Additionally, a number of other paragraphs within the previous broken passages might have likewise noted the respective symptom.

3.3.2. Preliminary Conclusion

In accordance with the points mentioned above, I would like to suggest the following interpretation: CTN 4, 72 (Ms. A only) may be regarded as another relic of the *Older Diagnostic Handbook* as it is known from the already mentioned text STT 89 – a text that

¹⁸⁷ See Johnson (2014), pp. 27f.

¹⁸⁸ For a short discussion on the *Older Diagnostic Handbook* see Stol (1991/1992), pp. 42-44. For the text of STT 89 ll. 1-102 see Abusch/Schwemer (2011), pp. 434-443. STT 89 ll. 103-214 is treated in Stol (1993), pp. 91-98. The material shown in STT 89 obv. 1-101/102 (rubric) was most likely also part of the not yet attested 35th tablet of the standard recension of the *Diagnostic Handbook*, even if there is no complete certainty. Cf. the discussion in Schmidtchen (2021), pp. 44-45.

¹⁸⁹ Ms. A (BAM 449, see Abusch/Schwemer (2011), text 10.3. Ms. A₁) iii 13’ff. and iii 24’ff. of EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN 7 parallels STT 89 i 18-22 and 23-27, continued by the possible Ms. D (KMI 76a + AMT 44/4, see Abusch/Schwemer (2011), text 10.1.) iv’ 1ff. and 15ff., which parallels STT 89 i 34-37 and 38-42. Note that the ascription of Ms. D to EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN tablet 7 is not fully certain and not suggested by Abusch and Schwemer.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the comment on §17’. Catalogue as well as the catchline in *Sakikkû* 29 note DIŠ GIG-ma KA-šú BAD.BAD-te “If he is (or has been) sick and opens his mouth time and again ...”.

most likely incorporated material for *Sakikkû* 35 (against witchcraft) as well as material akin to *Sakikkû* 26 (against epilepsy, with accompanying treatments). In the case of CTN 4, 72, section I may similarly represent a forerunner version of entries from *Sakikkû* 27, which are again extended with therapeutic prescriptions. Section II might then be considered as an older version of the later *Sakikkû* tablet 30¹⁹¹ – maybe varying in respect to the course of some passages so that §17' could have indeed functioned as the first entry within the standard recension. The presentation of both tablets' material may have been dependent on the thematic relatedness since *Sakikkû* 27 and presumably *Sakikkû* 30 have been concerned likewise with diagnoses of demonic and ghostlike disease causing agents. Since the specific interest of the textual representation changed within the serialisation of the *Diagnostic Handbook* and some sections have been stripped off their therapeutic content, the material of *Sakikkû* chapter 4 has been probably rearranged according to diagnostic interest (tablets 26-27) and diagnostic-therapeutic interest (tablet 28-30).¹⁹²

Until more fragments of this text are found, the interpretation proposed here is of course preliminary.

¹⁹¹ Therefore, it is quite possible that the fragments from Neo-Assyrian Nineveh as well as the one Neo- or Late Babylonian time might belong to the standard or “canonical” recension of the *Diagnostic Handbook*.

¹⁹² Cf. Heeßel (2000), pp. 278-340 and pp. 342-374 as well as the overview in Schmidtchen (2021), pp. 175-181.

Appendix 1: Excerpts and Similar Diagnostic Patterns within *Šammu šikinšu* and the Therapeutical Vademecum

§/ll.	plant	element 1 (diagnosis and/or therapeutic aim) ¹⁹³	element 2: diagnosis (function, divine principal)	translation
<i>Šammu šikinšu</i> , text I (STT 93) ¹⁹⁴				
4	<i>ankinūtu</i>	[<i>ana (qāt) munniši</i>] ¹⁹⁵	[A.RÁ/ALAD ² šá-ni ₇] ^d a-ni ₇ SIG ¹⁹⁶	“good [against/for (the hand of) the enfeebling, a demon – deputy] of An”
8	<i>karā[n-šēlibi]</i> ¹⁹⁷	<i>ana</i> EN.TE.NA LÍL.LÁ-e	^d ALAD / [šá-ni ₇ ...] [SIG]	“good against cold (of/and) the <i>lilû</i> -wind-ghost, a demon – [deputy of ...]”
10	<i>balu</i>	<i>ana</i> ŠU ² x x ¹⁹⁸	A.RÁ šá-ni ₇ ^d [MES ²] [SIG]	“good against the ‘hand(?) of ...’, a demon – deputy of Marduk”
17'a	[šaki]rū ²	<i>ana be-ni</i>	A.RÁ šá-ni ₇ ^d XXX SIG	“good against <i>bennu</i> -epilepsy-demon, a demon – deputy of Šin”
17'b	<i>šakirū</i>	<i>ana maškadi</i> ² (SA.GIG)	A.RÁ šá-ni ₇ ^d BAD SIG	“good against <i>maškadu</i> -disease, a demon – deputy of Enlil/Marduk(?)” ¹⁹⁹
20'	<i>im[hur-eš]rā</i> ²	<i>ana ši-ni</i> -<it> [tél- <i>[mi]</i>]	[A.RÁ] / [šá-ni ₇] ^d [AMAR.UTU ² /GU.LA ²⁰⁰] SIG	“good against ‘change-of-mind’-disease, [a demon –] deputy of Marduk/Gula(?)”
23'	<i>imhur-līm</i>	<i>ana ez-zi</i>	[A].[RÁ] [šá-ni ₇] ^d ISKUR SIG	“good against the angry, a dem[on] – deputy of Adad”

¹⁹³ Diagnostic agents (and therewith connected transitional patterns), which are known from CTN 4, 72, are marked as **bold**. Similar indications are underlined.

¹⁹⁴ See Stadhouders (2011), pp. 6-15.

¹⁹⁵ Maybe *qāt munniši*, cf. CTN 4, 72 and duplicates §17' (with *ankinūtu* as the only ingredient).

¹⁹⁶ The unpublished parallel of this line BM 38366 obv. 10' shows the interesting variant ^dALAD šá ^da-ni₇ “demon/effective force of An”, which is most likely to be seen as a misunderstood rendering of the usual formulation šá-<né(-e)>.

¹⁹⁷ The reading is confirmed by the new text BM 38366 obv. 16' (GEŠTIN.KA₅.¹A¹ [MU].NÉ).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. for the sign traces the comment in Stadhouders (2011), p. 7 fn. 18. According to Stadhouders, after a collation from the photo of STT 93 the second sign might be read [Aḫ]. However, the interpretation of ŠU as LA and the subsequent restoration of the diagnosis as [LA.RA.Aḫ] (*pušqu* “narrowness; straits”), although possible, is uncertain and needs further proof, e.g. by parallels.

¹⁹⁹ ^dBAD might refer either to the god Enlil/*Ellil* or to the god Marduk (as logogram for *bēl* “the lord”). Despite the notation of ^dMES in §10, the interpretation of ^dBAD as Marduk in §17'b is not to be excluded since it might have been likewise excerpted from a different original, which would explain the use of different logograms for the same deity. In addition, for the usage of different originals speaks as well the use of the different logograms ^dALAD and A.RÁ, which stand both for *šēdu* “demon; spirit”.

²⁰⁰ In the light of the much clearer identification of the divine principal for *šinūt tēmi* in connection with the plant *imhur-ešrā* in BAM 379 ii 56' with ^dgu-la one might consider here a partly emendation to ^dgu-la¹.

43'	ḥar-še-ru ²⁰¹	<i>ana ŠU ra-ʾi-[biʾ]</i> ²⁰²	[A.RÁ šá-ni ₇] ^d a-ni ₇ SIG	“good against the hand of the tremor-demon(?), [a demon – deputy] of An”
45'	šammi ḥimiṭ- šeṭi ²⁰³	[ana x (x)]	[A.RÁʾ] ¹ šá-ni ₇ ^d XXX [SIG]	“good [against ..., a demon –] deputy of Šin”
Šammu šikinšu, text II (BAM 379 i 1-ii 46')				
30'	šumuttu	<i>ana</i> [ŠU] šam-ri ²⁰⁴	[A.RÁ šá-né-e/ni ₇ ʾ] ... [SIG ₅]	“good against the ‘hand of a furious’ [a demon – deputy of ...]”
Misc. BAM 379 ii-iv (Vademecum-like pharmaceutical list)²⁰⁵				
ii 51'	Ú [taʾ] ¹ [meʾ] [...] ²⁰⁶	[...]	[^d ALADʾ šá-né-e] [^d XXX SIG ₅]	“[plant] good (against) [..., a demon – deputy] of Šin”
52'	Ú x [liʾ]	[Ú] [...]	[^d ALADʾ šá-né-e] ^d UTU SIG ₅	“plant good (against) [..., a demon – deputy] of Šamaš”
55'	Ú imḥur-līm	Ú [ezʾ-zī] ²⁰⁷	[^d ALAD šá-né]-[e] ^d ISKUR SIG ₅	“plant good (against) the angry/‘fall-of-mi[nd]’(?), a demon – deputy] of Adad”
56'	Ú imḥur-[ešrā]	Ú ši-ni-it tē-me	[^d ALAD šá-né]-[e] ^d GU.LA ²⁰⁸ SIG ₅	“plant good (against) ‘change-of-mind’-disease, [a demon] – deputy of Gula”

²⁰¹ This plant is otherwise unknown. However, there may be an error for spellings of drugs like *šar-še-ru* (a red clay of paste, which is also mentioned within the botanical list *Uruanna*, see CAD Š, p. 124 lex. section) or *mur-še-ru* (“myrrh”). Note that *murru* is mentioned in *Šammu šikinšu*, text III, §§4-5 with its usual logogram ^{šim}ŠEŠ – both times in the role as effective drug against a diseased anus, see Stadhouders (2011), p. 25.

²⁰² Stadhouders (2011), p. 14 restores *ra-ʾi-[bi]* “tremor”, see CAD R, pp. 80f. This disease or demonic embodiment of a symptom is likewise attested within *Sakikkū* 17:59 (sleeping and biting of the lips, diagnosis: ‘hand of *raʾibu*’) as well as *Sakikkū* 31:43'-45' (whether heavy or recurring trembling) and 40:112 (again as a recurring symptom, without ‘hand of x’-phraseology, but in connection to the moon god Šin). Note that the symptom prescription in 17:59 does not offer any hint on a connection between symptoms and diagnosis, viz. no signs of shaking or trembling are mentioned.

²⁰³ There are several plants which are designated as “plant against burning due to daylight/heat” (*šammi ḥimiṭ šeṭi*). The first is the tree or bush-like plant *šadānu*, see CAD Š, pp. 55f. sub 2, which is also said to be effective against inflammations. The second plant would be the rarely attested *laḥagu*, see CAD L, p. 38. Cf. also the mentioning of *šuqḏānu* (lit. the almond-like plant) within the *Vademecum* fragment BAM 423 i 7' (Ú *šuq-da-nu* Ú TAB UD.DA SÚD [...]).

²⁰⁴ Cf. maybe also the varying entry within the unpublished Ms. BM 38366 rev. 4'-5' ([...] [GURUN]-šú BABBAR u ŠEŠ [...] / [...] MU].NÉ *ana* ŠU [šam]-[riʾ] ...). These fragments should belong to a version of *Šammu šikinšu*, text I.

²⁰⁵ See Stadhouders (2011), appendix 1, pp. 35ff.

²⁰⁶ Stadhouders (2011), p. 35 fn. 136 proposes to interpret the traces as [EMEʾ].[UR.GI₇]. Likewise possible seems the restoration Ú [ŠAKIR] [Ú *be(-en)-ni* ^dALAD šá-né-e] [^dXXX according to *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §17'a.

²⁰⁷ Or [miʾ-qitʾ] [tē-meʾ]? Cf. the alternative restoration of *miqit* [šamē] “‘fall-from-heavens’-epilepsy”, suggested in Stadhouders (2011), p. 35 fn. 149, would be highly unusual due to the following connection to the storm and weather god Adad. But note *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §23', where the same plant is said to be effective against *ezzu* “angry, furious”, which is likewise designated as “effective force (as/of the) deputy of Adad”. Therefore, an emendation to Ú [ezʾ-zī] cannot be ruled out, which would also better fit the left space within the following broken passage to restored to [^dALAD šá-né]-[e].

²⁰⁸ In *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §20' the same plant with the same diagnostic entity has been connected with Marduk instead of Gula.

57'	Ú [tar]muš ²	Ú kimilti(DIB-ti)	^d ALAD šá-né-e [^d MES.LAM].TAI.È.A 209 SIG ₅	“plant good (against divine) wrath, a demon – deputy of [Meslam]a- 'ea”
iii 1	Ú [...]	[...]	[^d ALAD šá-né-e ^d]NIN].URTA SIG ₅	“plant good [(against) ..., a demon – deputy of Ni]nurma”
2	Ú e x x	Ú hi [ri ²]/hi-[ip ²] [ŠÀ ²]210 [...]	[^d ALAD šá-né-e] [^d 2][U].GUR ²] SIG ₅	“plant good (against) ... [... a demon – deputy of Nerg]al(?)”
6	Ú atā'išu ²¹¹	Ú ra-mi u šu-ḫi	^d ALAD šá-né-e ^d a-ni ₇ SIG ₅	“plant good (for) loving and laughing, a demon – deputy of An”
11	Ú nikiptu	Ú [(x) UR ²].ME.ME (= <i>sāmānu</i> ²)	^d ALAD šá-né-e ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI SIG ₅	“plant good (against) <i>sāmānu</i> (?)-disease, a demon – deputy of Asalluḫi (viz. Marduk?)”
13	Ú [x (x)]	[x x (x)]	^d ALAD šá-né-e ^d GU.LA SIG ₅	“plant good (against/for) [...], a demon – deputy of Gula”
26f.	Ú zēr ḫaluppi ²¹²	[x (x)] x x ²¹³ [x x (x)]	[^d ALAD] / šá-né-e ^d ASAL.LÚ.HI SIG ₅	“[plant?] good (against) [...], a demon – deputy of Asalluḫi (viz. Marduk?)”
34'f.	Ú kazallu (...) [...]	Ú IGI.GÁL-lu ²¹⁴	šá-né-e ^d a-ni ₇ [SIG ₅ ²]	“plant [good] (for) wisdom(?), deputy of An” ²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Stadhouders (2011), pp. 35f. fn. 150 restores [^dŠUL.PA].È.A, but the copy shows traces of a sign similar to TA (and obviously not PA) in front of -È.A. Equally, the argument of H. Stadhouders that the space might not fit the signs ^dMES.LAM.TA- ... in contrast to ^dŠUL.PA- ... is uncertain since the copy seems to shorten the passage within the broken area considerably. Compare for example the previous line, where certainly ^d[ALAD šá-né]-[e] is to be restored but the copy shows only space for one or two signs in maximum.

²¹⁰ Stadhouders (2011), p. 36 restores Ú hi-[ip²] [ŠÀ²] [...]. [^d][U].GUR²]. However, the restoration of the ailment is far from certain since the sign after the clear HI resembles more [RI] than [IB] [ŠÀ²]. The last traces, which should represent the divine causer or principal of a respective demon or disease, are hardly legible at all within the copy. Without parallel it remains little more than a possible option. If it is considered to be correct, the partly restored divine principal Nergal(^d[U].GUR²) would be noteworthy because (*hūš/ḫuṣṣa*) *ḫīp libbi* seems to be connected within therapeutic texts, besides being a regular symptom of witchcraft, more often with Marduk (cf. BAM 232 i 14 and 22 (although the overall context is again witchcraft, see for example BAM 438 obv 1-16); BAM 370:3'f.) as well as once with Nuska (cf. BAM 372 i 1f.) and the personal god of the patient (STT 95:145), whereas the *Diagnostic Handbook* associates the continually occurrence of this symptom with the goddess Ištar (see *Sakikkū* 14:135'). It might therefore be seen as a general symptomatic ailment of divine anger, provoked either by the patient's own actions or the malign magical machinations of a warlock or a witch.

²¹¹ The plant is also said to be effective for the belly or heart (Ú ŠÀ) as well as most likely against restlessness at night (Ú *muttallik mūši*), see CAD M/2, p. 480 lex. section (*Uruanna* II:20ff.).

²¹² The copy shows rather ^{giš}HA.Ú.ÚB in line 25 as well as line 26, which must be a mistake for ^{giš}HA.LU.ÚB, maybe caused by the similar course of the lines in ibid. iii 22-23 (Ú PA ^{giš}Ú.SUG₅(ku) ... / Ú PA ^{giš}HA.LU.ÚB ...).

²¹³ The traces look like [GÚ-su] (*kišāssu* “his neck”?). It is likely, that this paragraph might have contained more than one abbreviated application instruction.

²¹⁴ The correct interpretation is still uncertain. Cf. the short notes in Stadhouders (2011), p. 36 fn. 154. For the interpretation as a therapeutic aim “wisdom” or similar cf. the use of the term together with similar circumstances or situations within a rubric concerning the use of amulet stone strings in Schuster-Brandis (2008), pp. 320f. (BM 33331 obv. 11ff. “19 stones to protect and keep healthy the ‘position’ of the palace”; that wisdom (IGI.GÁL), the establishing of a house, profit and success are present, that dignity ...”, the text continues until l. 18 with similar desired or feared circumstances and phenomena for which the respective stone string could be effective).

²¹⁵ Similar to BAM 379 iii 26'f. the indentation of ibid. l. 25' suggests that the line belongs likewise to the previous entry on the *kazallu*-plant. Due to the spatial management, the usual diagnostic formulation might have been abbreviated.

iv 4	<i>arantum</i>	<i>ana gas-si</i>	^d ALAD <i>šá-né-e</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>u</i> ^d KU.SU ²¹⁶ SIG ₅	“good against the cruel, a demon – deputy of Marduk and Kusu”
CT 14, 38, K. 14081 (<i>Vademecum</i>-like pharmaceutical list or commentary thereof) ll. 1'-5'²¹⁷				
1'	[...]	[Ú] x x [e?] [e?] [ru] [di]	[MIN] ²¹⁸ [MIN] [d]x [...]	“pl[ant] (against) ...(?), <i>ditto ditto</i> of [...]”
2'	[...]	Ú <i>na-ad-ri</i>	MIN MIN ^d MES.LAM.TA.È.[A (...)]	“plant (against) the aggressive, <i>ditto ditto</i> of Meslamta'ea”
3'	[<i>ankinūtu</i> ?] ²¹⁹	Ú <i>mu-un-ni-ši</i>	^d ALAD <i>šá-né-e</i> ^d a-[ni?] [(...)]	“plant (against) the enfeebling, demon – deputy of An”
4'f.	[<i>arantu</i> ?] ²²⁰	Ú <i>gas-si</i>	MIN MIN [(...)] / ^d AMAR.UTU <i>u</i> KU.SU ₁₃	„plant (against) the cruel, <i>ditto ditto</i> of Marduk and Kusu “

²¹⁶ The correct interpretation of this diagnostic item is uncertain. Stadhouders (2011), 36 fn. 155 opts for an interpretation as *kūbu* “(stillborn) fetus”, assuming, in reference to CT 14, 38:4'f. (4' Ú *gas-si* MIN MIN / 5' ^dAMAR.UTU *u kū-bu*, but note the possible reading KÜ.SU₁₃), the spelling in BAM 379 as a mistake for ^dkū-bu instead of ^dKÜ.SÜ. However, the deified or demonised stillborn fetus *kūbu* is usually not associated or connected with the god Marduk. See for instance the admittedly rather old and partly outdated paper Römer (1973), in which none of the listed instances and occurrences of *kūbu* mentions any connection to Marduk. On the other hand, the goddess or god Kusu (usually written ^dKÜ.SÜ, but sometimes also ^dKÜ.SU₁₃(bu)) is considered to be a deity connected to the role of the *šangamahhu* “chief purification priest (or conjurer)”, and which is thus also connected to Marduk in his role as incantation expert of the gods. See for the role and connections of Kusu Simmons (2018). For different spellings of the god's name cf. also George/Taniguchi (2010), pp. 103f. inc. 17 (^dKÜ.SÜ) and ibid. p. 129 inc. 24 (regularly ^dKÜ.SU₁₃).

²¹⁷ Within the following entries the not preserved plant(s) is or are furthermore ascribed as effective against several ailments like chills and fear or trembling (l. 6' [Ú] A.GÜB.BA *u šur-up-pe-e* [(...)] / l. 7' [Ú] *šu-ru-up-pe-e* [(...)] / l. 8' [Ú] [*gi-lit-ti*] [(...)] / l. 9' [Ú] [*gi*]-[*lit-ti*] [(...)] / l. 10' [Ú] [*gi-lit*]-[*ti*] as well as once maybe for the preparation of holy water (l. 6' [Ú] A.GÜB.BA *u šur-up-pe-e* [(...)]). For possible plants associated with *gilittu* cf. again BAM 379 iii 3 (unclear), 8 (*atā'isu*), 12 (*nikiptu*), 15 (unclear), which are respectively to be put, maybe by means of a poultice, on the neck of the patient.

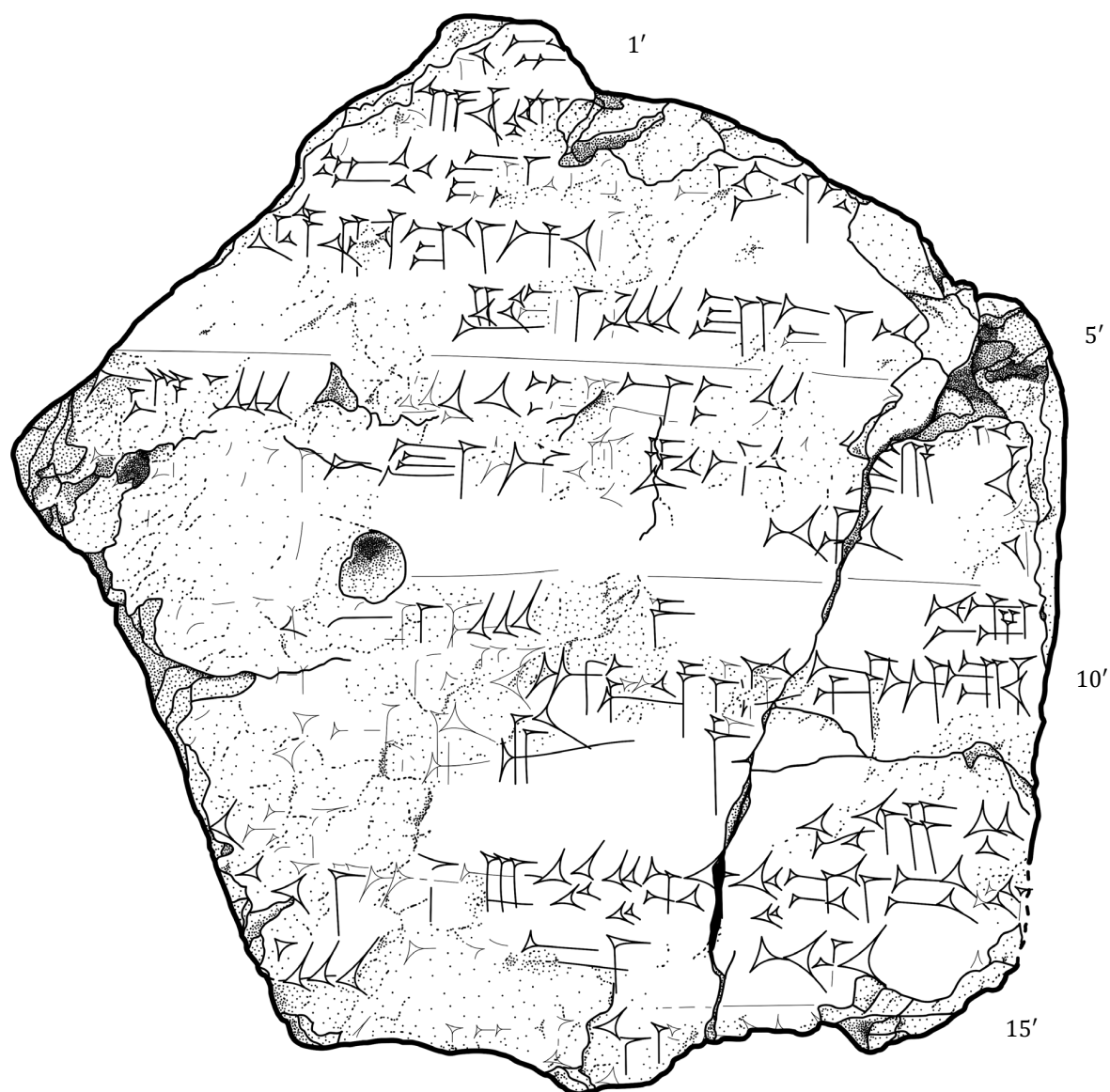
²¹⁸ The repetition signs MIN MIN stand here obviously for *šēdu šanē*, underlining the separation of both diagnostic items, which are therefore most likely not to be interpreted as genitive construction.

²¹⁹ Restore maybe the plant *ankinūtu*, cf. CTN 4, 72 and duplicates §17' as well as *Šammu šikinšu*, text I, §4 (see table 3).

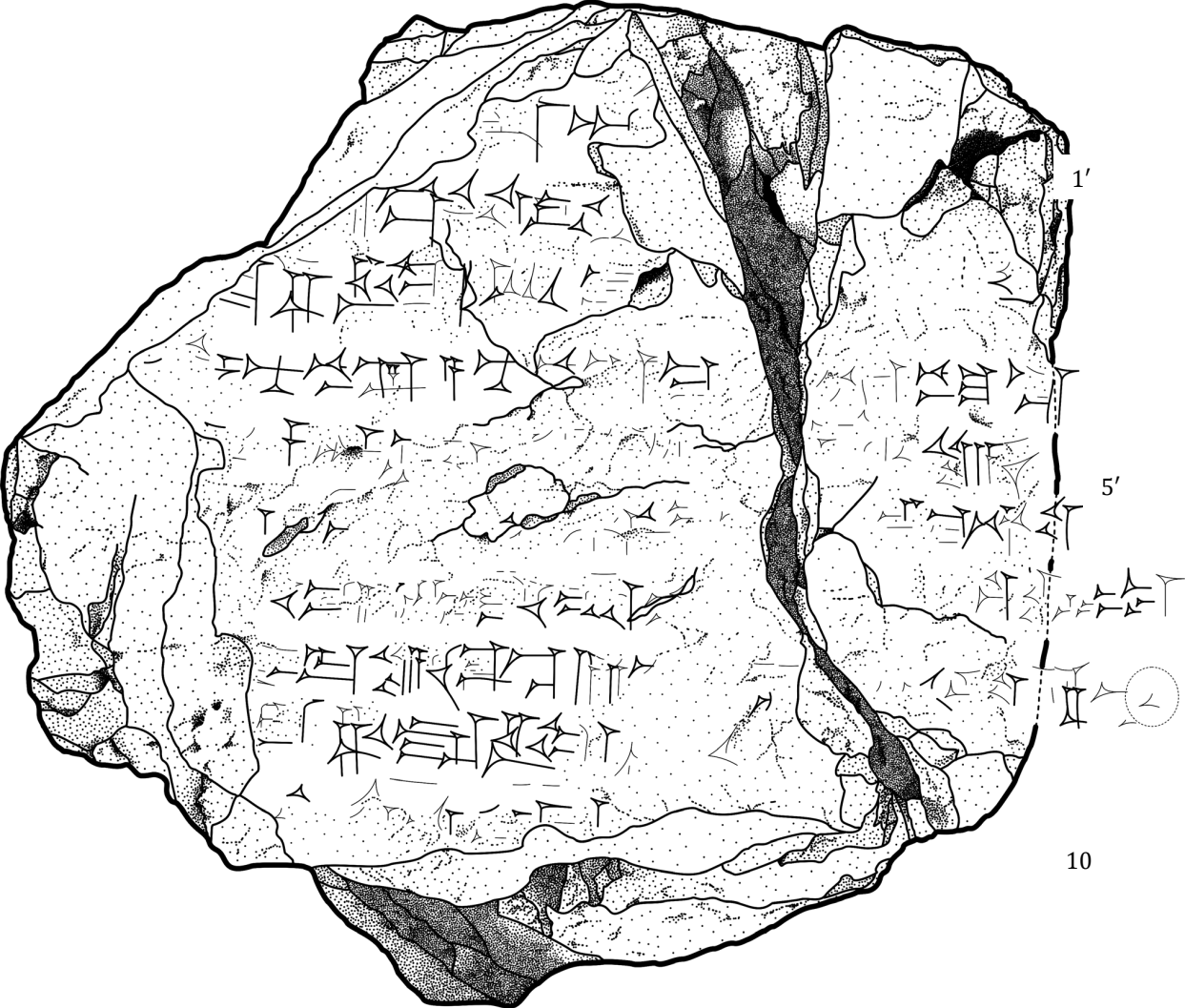
²²⁰ According to BAM 379 iv 4 we should expect the plant *arantu* (see also table 3).

Appendix 2: BM 46427

BM 46427 obverse
(4,7x4,8x2,7cm)



BM 46427 reverse



Abbreviations

The bibliographical abbreviations used within this paper are given in accordance with the list of abbreviations of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderorientalischen Archäologie*, Vol. 10ff.

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