1 The Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC)

1.1 Introduction to the Assur Medical Catalogue

The Assur Medical Catalogue has been known to scholars of Mesopotamian medicine for several decades and is often referred to in the literature.¹ Copies of the four AMC fragments in the Yale Babylonian Collection were published by Gary Beckman and Benjamin Foster (1988) as hand copies only. The Chicago fragment A 7821, which was discovered and identified by Irving Finkel in 1978, remained unedited. In 2014, JoAnn Scurlock included a transliteration and translation of the first part of the catalogue in her *Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine*, which does however not include the Chicago fragment.

The following *editio princeps* offers the first reconstruction of the tablet including all five tablet fragments known to date. The importance of AMC for the reconstruction of Mesopotamian medical therapeutic compendia in the 1st millennium BCE cannot be overemphasised, although understanding its exact relation to the known source texts also poses many difficulties. The AMC tablet comes from Assur and dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, but its exact findspot and date (8th or 7th century BCE) remain unknown. The tablet colophon, which provides crucial clues for contextualising the document, is unfortunately fragmentary as well. However, it preserves the profession of the scribe who copied the tablet, *asû şehru* "young physician", and the professional title of his father, "*šangû*-priest of Baba (= Gula) who (dwells) in the midst of Assur (Baltil)". A few details such as the occurrence of the scribal remark *hepi* "broken (original)" point out that the catalogue was not an *ad hoc* tablet inventory of a collection of medical texts, but that it was copied from an older original. Thus, although the date of the AMC tablet itself is debatable (it may be earlier or contemporary with the medical texts compiled in Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh), it can be assumed that the catalogue itself was drawn up for the first time before the 7th century BCE.

What does AMC represent? AMC forms a structured list outlining a corpus of (primarily) medical therapeutic texts ($bult\bar{u}$ "remedies", complemented by incantations/rituals). From a technical angle, AMC documents and commemorates the creation of a serialised text corpus divided into two named compendia (AMC PART 1 and 2), each of which consists of a sequence of textual sub-units. This process, which is often designated as "serialisation" in Assyriology, is expressed through the statement that the textual units (sadtru "sections") listed in the catalogue "have received an edition", literally "a (new) weave" (SUR.GIBIL/zara sabtu). Each part of the catalogue is summarised in a rubric, which contains the phrase sadtru sadtu SUR.GIBIL sabtu. Thus, AMC informs us that the medical corpus was shaped into a serialised textual ensemble, without telling us exactly when, where and by whom this compilation was carried out.

As is well known, the phrase SUR.GIBIL/ $zar\hat{a}$ $\hat{s}ab\bar{a}tu$ "to receive an edition" is also attested in two other catalogues, the Exorcist's Manual and the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic omen series ($Sakikk\hat{u}(SA.GIG)$) and $Alamdimm\hat{u}$), attributing editorial activities to the famous Babylonian scholar Esagil- $k\bar{n}$ -apli. Furthermore, the sectional structure of AMC which describes a sequence of textual units ("sections" and "tablets"), bears strong similarities to the $Sakikk\hat{u}$ and $Alamdimm\hat{u}$ catalogue, which likewise documents a text corpus or "compilation" (riksu) collected in two parts (or "series", i.e. $Sakikk\hat{u}$ and $Alamdimm\hat{u}$), each of which is organised in a sectional structure. These parallels and correspondences show that the therapeutic corpus underwent similar redaction processes during the first half of the 1st millennium BCE as attested for the diagnostic and physiognomic series and for other compendia pertaining to the corpus of the $\bar{a}sipu$ "exorcist; ritual specialist".

A point agreed upon in the different discussions of AMC assembled in this volume is that the textual contents and the colophon of AMC indicate that the registered texts can be regarded as the corpus of $as\hat{u}tu$ "the physician's lore/craft". Seen in this light, AMC forms a counterpart for comparison with the Exorcist's Manual and the $Sakikk\hat{u}$ and $Alamdimm\hat{u}$ catalogue, which list texts and series belonging to the corpus of $\bar{a}\check{s}ip\bar{u}tu$ "the lore of the ritual specialist".

¹ For discussions and transliterations of specific sections of AMC see e.g. Geller 2005a: 247; Heeßel 2008: 169-171; 2010c: 34; Böck 2008: 296-299; Johnson 2014: 44-46. For a detailed publication history and bibliography see Panayotov's contribution in this volume. The four Yale fragments were acquired by one purchase prior to 1920, together with a group of Assyrian texts apparently from Assur (Beckman and Foster 1988: 1); A 7821 was purchased in Baghdad by Henri Frankfort in January 1930 (reference courtesy to R.D. Biggs).

 $[{]f 2}$ See the editions and discussions of these texts elsewhere in this volume.

The main aim of this edition has been to reconstruct the AMC tablet by positioning all five fragments in relation to each other, and to identify as many textual sources as possible within the medical corpus that are directly linked or otherwise related to the serialised corpus listed in AMC. The closest evidence for AMC are tablets that preserve a matching incipit and/or catchline (designated as "series tablets"). In the majority of cases however, medical texts provide looser links to AMC. Thus, some tablets include entries or contents that match or correspond with AMC entries, but their incipits/catchlines are not identical. Tablets with parallel entries to textual units or contents registered in AMC can present varying formats: a) shorter extracts/excerpts, b) *Sammeltafeln* combining therapies on various topics drawn from various sections of the corpus (including collections of incantations), c) tablets assembling similar material as found in AMC, but organised in a diverging "series" (or compilation).

The reconstruction of the AMC tablet presented here relies on the organisation of the catalogue itself. AMC is organised in two parts (PART 1 and 2)³ divided into sections, which are visually set apart by rulings and correspond to divisions of textual material. That is, each section in PART 1 and 2 corresponds to a "section" (*sadīru*) of the therapeutic corpus. A "section" of the corpus is usually divided into several "tablets" (DUB/*tuppu*) of medical content, although the sections are of varying length and may occasionally consist of only one "tablet" (the largest "section" attested in AMC comprises eight tablets). For every "section" of the corpus, the catalogue gives a list of the titles (i.e. opening words, incipits) of all "tablets" belonging to the "section". Apart from one exception, the catalogue inserts a ruled-off summary rubric after every group of tablet incipits. The summary rubric typically states the total of tablets listed in the section, which is named in most cases according to the title of the section's first tablet. The section's name is usually followed by the preposition EN/*adi* "including; together with; up to" and a number of keywords or phrases, which mostly seem to indicate topics and contents included in the respective section.

The five AMC fragments do not offer a single direct join, which has posed difficulties for the reconstruction of the tablet. Two of the fragments (B and D) preserve sections from the upper/lower half of the tablet's left side (including the left tablet edge), while the other three fragments (A, C and E) preserve together a large part of the tablet's right side (including the right edge). In his unpublished transliteration of the AMC fragments, Franz Köcher had discovered that fragments A and B on the one hand, and fragments D and E on the other can be aligned, each pair presenting the beginning and end of several overlapping lines from the upper and lower half of the tablet respectively. However, Köcher was undecided about the position of fragment C (preserving the middle section of the tablet) in relation to fragments A/B and D/E, respectively. As a next step, M. Geller, A. Attia and G. Buisson succeeded in identifying overlapping lines between fragments B and C. The present reconstruction goes another step further and suggests to close the remaining gap between fragments C and D and to align these two fragments as well, thus allowing us to position all tablet fragments (see the copy, Plate 1-2). According to the current reconstruction, AMC forms an oblong one-column tablet with 66 lines of text on the obverse and 63 lines on the reverse (including the colophon).

The sectional structure of the tablet divided by rulings has considerably helped in determining the position of the AMC fragments, but the reconstruction proposed here is also based on contextual clues and on the evidence provided by catchlines and colophons of medical tablets from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh (designated here as the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*) that follow the serial organisation of AMC PART 1. Based on the preserved catalogue incipits and contents of identified source texts, it has been possible to assign a descriptive label to each catalogue section, which provides a heading signalling the contents and overall topic of each section of the listed text corpus (see the AMC Structure Chart, Fig. 1 in Steinert *infra*, pp. 199-200). According to our reconstruction, AMC PART 1 consists of twelve sections (I-XII, CRANIUM-HAMSTRING) organised according to the principle "from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)" (*ištu*

³ Both AMC PART 1 and 2 are followed by a summary rubric, giving the sub-total of all tablets in each part, followed by the title of the respective compendium.

⁴ The last two sections of AMC are not named according to the first tablet, but are designated with a descriptive title (see Il. 120 and 122).

⁵ For Köcher's work on the catalogue and written exchanges with M. Geller on the subject, see also Panayotov's contribution in this volume.

⁶ In his transliteration, Köcher entertained the possibility that fragment B from Chicago (A 7821) may not belong to the same tablet as the four fragments from Yale, but to a duplicating catalogue manuscript. However, a comparison of the handwriting of fragment B with that of the other pieces confirmed that they must all belong to the same tablet.

⁷ Only the width of the AMC tablet cannot be determined exactly, but the gap between fragments A-B-C and C-D-E has been estimated on the basis of individual lines which could be restored completely.

muhhi adi supri).8 Thus, each section of AMC PART 1 is concerned with a group of ailments associated with an area or part of the human body (e.g. EYES, EARS, NECK, BRONCHIA etc.). AMC PART 2 consists of 11 sections (XIII-XXIII SKIN-VETERINARY) that are organised thematically: every section focuses on a specific group of illnesses or treatments not tied to a body part (including sections concerned with skin diseases, gynaecology and obstetrics, the treatment of wounds, injuries and veterinary care).

The reconstruction of AMC PART 1 relies in part on the evidence from medical texts belonging to the Nineveh Medical Compendium, which reflect the AMC serial organisation to a very large extent, with only little discrepancy. Thus, several Nineveh (two-column) tablets with quite uniform format preserve matching incipits, catchlines and section titles for a substantial part of the sections and incipits in AMC PART 1. The texts of the Nineveh Medical Compendium corresponding to AMC PART 1 confirm that PART 1 forms a compendium of medical material, organised in sections with an established sequence and referred to by a descriptive title, "remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)". AMC PART 1 can thus be regarded as a delimited "text series". The catchlines of the Nineveh Medical Compendium tablets provide a sequence between individual tablets and consecutive sections of this "series". However, due to the fragmentary state of the AMC tablet, we do not have firm proof yet that AMC PART 1 was known under an overarching series title in the Neo-Assyrian period. It could be assumed that AMC PART 1 as a whole was referred to by the first tablet of the first section (šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl "If a man's skull contains heat"), because a series with this name is attested in texts from Uruk, which date to the Late Babylonian period (ca. 200-300 years later than the Nineveh texts) and show some textual overlaps with the Nineveh therapeutic texts pertaining to AMC PART 1.10 However, the Late Babylonian series šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl included material that is found in AMC PART 2 and thus seems to have been a compilation of the whole therapeutic corpus. Moreover, the Late Babylonian series from Uruk was not organised in the same way as AMC and the Nineveh sources. AMC and the Nineveh Medical Compendium are structured in "sections" (sadīru) and divided into a number of individual tablets, which are counted according to their position within the section. In contrast, the Late Babylonian therapeutic series existed in at least two varying recensions, divided into text units designated either as tuppu ("tablets") or pirsu ("divisions"), which were counted in a continuous sequence.

The closure of the gap between AMC fragments C and D/E and the alignment proposed here relies partially on the Nineveh sequence of therapeutic sections corresponding to AMC PART 1, although AMC and Nineveh Medical Compendium present a slightly differing sectional arrangement in this part of the series. The last preserved section on the obverse of fragment C (= AMC ll. 36-37) offers fragmentary bits of the tablet incipits of a section dubbed EPIGASTRIUM whose existence and position (following the section STOMACH = AMC II. 29-35) is confirmed by Nineveh texts. The next anchor point to link AMC and the Nineveh Medical Compendium is provided by a Nineveh colophon suggesting that the section EPIGASTRIUM was followed by the section KIDNEY, which corresponds to AMC ll. 45-47 starting with ll. 8' and 4' of fragments D and E respectively. 11 Lines 1'-2' of fragment D belong to a summary rubric (l. 1' begins with NÍGIN "total (of ... tablets)"), followed after a ruling by another section of incipits (ll. 3'-5') and a summary rubric (ll. 6'-7'). Since these seven lines at the beginning of D do not match up with any of the ruled text sections at the end of fragment C, ll. 3'-7' of D should be interpreted as another catalogue section between EPIGASTRIUM and KIDNEY, dubbed here ABDOMEN. The logical step in connecting fragments C and D is to suggest that the summary rubric in D ll. 1'-2' belongs to the incipits of the section EPIGASTRIUM on fragment C (= AMC ll. 36-37). This reconstruction confronts us with a slightly diverging division of therapeutic material in the Nineveh Medical Compendium (two sections EPIGASTRIUM-KIDNEY) and AMC (three sections EPIGASTRIUM-ABDOMEN-KIDNEY). However, as discussed in the commentary to AMC below, there are clues that may explain this discrepancy, which seem to indicate that textual material registered in the AMC section ABDOMEN may have been integrated into the section EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh, the latter of which seems to

⁸ This structural principle is explicitly stated in the summary rubric to AMC PART 1 (= line 58), in the form of a descriptive title for PART 1 (see below). This way of organisation is not unique to medical series in AMC PART 1, but can be found in other compendia dealing with the body and medical matters, e.g. in parts of the Diagnostic Handbook and the physiognomic omen series Alamdimmû, in lists of body parts (e.g. Ugumu), in incantations and amulet compendia (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008).

⁹ This descriptive title is encountered in AMC 1. 58 and in the tablet colophons of the Nineveh Medical Compendium. See further the AMC commentary to ll. 1, 6, 58 as well as the contributions of Panayotov and Steinert in this volume.

¹⁰ The fact that the compendium in AMC PART 2 is named after the first tablet of the first section (SKIN) can be regarded as an internal hint that AMC PART 1 may also have been designated in this way (i.e. šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl). However, in the colophons of the Nineveh Medical Compendium this title is not applied to the whole series, but is only used as a name for the first section of the compendium. 11 Cf. the copy of AMC (Pl. 1, 3-4) and the commentary for details.

have consisted of more tablets than the corresponding AMC section (eight tablets at Nineveh vs. four in AMC). Combining the available information of AMC and the catchlines/colophons of the Nineveh tablets, it can be concluded that the compendium of remedies from head to toes comprised fifty tablets at Nineveh (see Panayotov in this volume), while the number of constituent tablets in AMC PART 1 must have been slightly higher (we can estimate 54+ tablets).

These discrepancies provide subtle but valuable hints that AMC PART 1 and the textual sources of the *Nineveh* Medical Compendium are witness to slightly differing recensions of the same therapeutic series. To complicate the matter, the preserved medical texts from Assur offer only a very few tablets with incipits or catchlines corresponding to AMC PART 1 and the parallel Nineveh medical texts. Thus, it is still not possible to say whether AMC PART 1 reflects a local, variant recension of the therapeutic series contemporary with the Nineveh texts, or whether it documents a slightly earlier stage of the series encountered in the Nineveh Medical Compendium. It is worth noting that there are a considerable number of Neo-Assyrian texts from Assur that contain parallels to AMC PART 1 and 2 (they often form partial duplicates of the Nineveh texts), without adhering to the recension of the AMC series. The majority of them was found in the library of a famous family of conjurers associated with the Aššur temple (Assur library N4). Among them are several excerpt tablets, some of which belong to variant extract series. It is significant that the colophons of these tablets often mention originals (clay or wax tablets) from Babylonia and from the Gula temple at Assur as their sources.

While our best evidence for the series in AMC PART 1 is the texts of the Nineveh Medical Compendium, the situation for AMC PART 2 is strikingly different. Although one can find plenty of textual parallels for the material listed in AMC PART 2 among the Nineveh medical texts, not a single Nineveh text could yet definitely be identified as a "series tablet" of AMC PART 2 through a matching incipit, catchline or section title. It is thus possible that AMC PART 2 was not known at Ashurbanipal's library in the exact form outlined in AMC, but was a compendium of medical material used and assembled outside Nineveh. Several close parallels for tablets in AMC PART 2 could be detected among texts from Babylonia, while the number of parallels from Nimrud and Sultantepe for AMC PART 1 and 2 is somewhat lower. 12

At the same time, it has become evident that the compilation of medical texts in AMC is not identical with other, similar redactions of medical "series" attested so far in 1st millennium BCE texts from Babylonia. Thus, the AMC series and the Nineveh Medical Compendium are not "canonical" in the sense that the same text compilations or "series" were transmitted in identical form throughout Assyria and Babylonia, but that partially diverging and overlapping text material was assembled and transmitted in various collections and "series" (recensions) of locally available material, which took shape between the Neo-Babylonian/Assyrian and Late Babylonian period. The corpus of medical therapeutic texts (prescriptions; incantations/rituals) remained fluid to some extent, as can be inferred from the varying formats and contents of 1st millennium BCE medical tablets. To determine the exact relationship between different serialised compendia from Babylonia and Assyria will be one of the major challenges for future research on medical cuneiform texts.

Since the recension of the therapeutic texts witnessed in AMC and in the Nineveh Medical Compendium is not attested at other places, the AMC recension of therapeutic material was presumably not transmitted beyond the Neo-Assyrian period, at least not in identical form. The serialised compendia from Uruk and elsewhere in Babylonia suggest a multiplicity of corpus building and text edition projects. As indicated by colophons, material belonging to different serialised compendia also circulated between scholars from different cities.

Beside the existence of multiple serialised compendia of medical texts, extract tablets written for practical application (ana şabāt epēši nasha) add to the diversity of the textual sources, because in such cases the healing specialists copied their own selections of remedies from a compendium or from several sources available to them, depending on their current needs and interests. School texts from Late Babylonian archives further imply that new or orally transmitted prescriptions kept being committed to a written form. One may ask whether this degree of textual diversity within the medical corpus has anything to do with differences between asûtu and other technical disciplines (e.g. in contrast to the discipline of \bar{a} sip \bar{u} tu, which developed a large text corpus with numerous serialised and more or less "standardised" compendia).¹³ Alternatively, it could be speculated whether this fluidity is tied to the nature of medical prescriptions, which may get modified more easily, as they are put to use in medical practice than e.g. religious rituals, which may tend more often to become fixed or frozen over time.

¹² See Steinert infra Table 1 for a selective list of sources/parallels. It has to be borne in mind that our search for source texts is not exhaustive or complete in any way.

¹³ See e.g. 1st millennium "standard" series such as Udug-hul (Geller 2016: 5-21) or Lamaštu (Farber 2014: esp. 17-24).

In conclusion, since AMC is the only known catalogue of a serialised compilation of virtually the whole corpus of medical therapeutic texts from the 1st millennium BCE, it is of central importance for the reconstruction of textual sources from this era. Although the AMC tablet is fragmentary and several details and incipits are lost, the present edition considerably adds to our understanding of the medical corpus in the Neo-Assyrian period. Thus, AMC provides us with a clear anchor point that helps us to identify different groups of medical texts and to assign their contents to specific sections of the medical corpus in comparison with the AMC compendia. It will now be easier to identify manuscripts of tablets that are witnesses for the recension of therapeutic series listed in AMC in a more systematic way. At the same time, it will be possible to trace variant medical series and compendia that diverge from AMC, and to reconstruct the history of different tablet manuscripts and their compilation processes. AMC as a catalogue of the corpus (very likely) pertaining to the discipline of asûtu can also be used as a source of evidence to look at the corpora of the healing disciplines asûtu and āšipūtu from new angles. Thus, if AMC and the Exorcist's Manual are systematically taken into account, it will be possible to undertake corpus-driven analyses of different medical manuscripts and to link them with the (inter)disciplinary interests and specialisations of tablet owners/users. 4 By comparing the contents of medical manuscripts with AMC and associated series tablets, it will be easier to analyse texts sections of differing origin on a tablet, or to gather clues regarding the motivation for varying combinations and configurations of material in manuscripts of remedy collections that provide only partial duplicates to identified series tablets following AMC.

As a segue to the AMC edition, the reader may appreciate a brief summary of the contents for the catalogue sections, as far as these can be deduced from the catalogue incipits and summary rubrics as well as from identified source texts. The twelve sections of AMC PART 1 concerned with different areas of the body a capite ad calcem can be summarised as follows:

- The first section CRANIUM¹⁵ (5 tablets) is concerned with treatments for illnesses concerning the head or more precisely, the cranium/skull. The prominent topics indicated in the incipits are fever (in the head), headaches (including headaches attributed to ghosts) and skin conditions encountered on the head.
- The second and third section EYES¹⁶ (4 tablets) and EARS (1 tablet) focus on treatments for conditions of the eyes (e.g. diminished eyesight, sty, jaundice in the eyes, night-blindness) and ears (e.g. roaring/ringing ears, ear infec-
- The fourth section NECK (6 tablets) has been named following the keyword "neck tendon" (SA.G $\acute{U} = lab\hat{a}nu$), which occurs in the incipit of NECK Tablet 1, forming the title of the whole section. However, the attested sources for this section are concerned mainly with illness symptoms that are primarily attributed to ghosts and sorcery, e.g. with pain, paralysis, palsy and stroke affecting different parts of the body, and with ghost visions. This section contains incantations that were also integrated into the incantation series Muššu'u "embrocation; massage", which can be attributed to the corpus of the "conjurer/exorcist" (Böck 2007).17
- The fifth section NOSEBLEED (1 tablet?) solely deals with stopping nosebleed, while the sixth section TEETH (2 tablets) focuses on ailments of the mouth, nose and teeth.
- The seventh section BRONCHIA (6 tablets) is concerned with respiratory ailments associated primarily with the chest and lungs.
- The next three sections (STOMACH (VIII), EPIGASTRIUM (IXa), ABDOMEN (IXb)) have been tentatively assigned titles according to the principle "from head to toe"; all three sections seem to treat internal illnesses. The eighth section STOMACH (5 tablets) is concerned with conditions of the digestive system (libbu "belly") such as abdominal pain, indigestion, bloating, different kinds of fever, and jaundice. Because of the textual evidence from Nineveh (discussed in more detail in the commentary below), the following two sections are regarded here not as entirely separate textual units (but rather as one unit with an appendix), numbered IXa and IXb accordingly.

¹⁴ E.g. the medical tablets found in the Assur library N4 offer important evidence for the interdisciplinary interests of healing professionals. Thus, their collection contained not only tablets of texts that are listed in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 //), but also several excerpt tablets with medical prescriptions that are related to the AMC series.

¹⁵ This section is sometimes called UGU by Assyriologists, named after the central body part UGU = muhhu "top of the head; skull", which is mentioned in the incipit of Tablet 1 of the section (see AMC l. 2).

¹⁶ This section is also referred to as IGI by Assyriologists, stemming from the central body part IGI = *īnu* "eye".

¹⁷ See further the sections CRANIUM and HAMSTRING for incantations known also from Muššu'u. Another incantation genre attested both in AMC and the āšipūtu corpus are Hulbazizi spells, see the commentary to AMC line 83.

- The section EPIGASTRIUM (4 tablets) likewise deals with internal conditions located in the belly or epigastrium, including related conditions attributed to disease agents such as the "curse" (NAM.ÉRIM). The following "appendix" ABDOMEN (x+8 tablets?) continues with treatments that seem to be connected with the digestive system and are attributed to ghosts or sorcery. If the summary rubric of ABDOMEN is interpreted correctly, this section included eight tablets of incantations and therapies used against sorcery-induced conditions.
- The next two sections KIDNEY (3 tablets) and ANUS (5 tablets) concentrate on renal and rectal diseases respectively.
- The last, twelfth section HAMSTRING (4 tablets) contains treatments for conditions of the hips and lower extremities, including joints and muscles, and for skin diseases occurring in this body region.

AMC PART II consists of eleven sections, to which we have assigned numbers in consecutive sequence with AMC PART I, which can be classified as follows:

- The thirteenth section SKIN (no total of tablets preserved) apparently unites therapies for various skin diseases, while the following fourteenth section HAZARDS includes therapies for injuries occurring during work, in battle or caused by animals, including treatments for snake/dog bite and scorpion sting.
- The fifteenth section EVIL POWERS (1 tablet) seems to contain heterogeneous material, such as incantations/ rituals and remedies for specific complaints (of both physical and psychological nature) that all seem to have been attributed to "supernatural" agents, such as evil demons and sorcery. The section mentions incantation genres that are also encountered in the corpus of the conjurer.
- The focus of the sixteenth section DIVINE ANGER (4 tablets) are therapies (including incantations/rituals) to calm the wrath of various deities (including the patient's personal deities), which are regarded as causal agents of particular physical/psychological complaints and streaks of misfortune. The section also refers to therapies/incantations against sorcery, since it was often regarded as ultimate cause for divine wrath.
- The topic of the next section ORACLES (2 tablets) is unusual and unexpected in a catalogue of medical therapeutic texts. This section seems to be concerned with ritual or divinatory procedures to procure an oracle (for patients/clients) through different methods (drawing on the behaviour of animals, celestial phenomena (stars) and on oracular utterings produced by humans or other beings).
- The eighteenth section MENTAL ILLNESS (3 tablets) seems to be primarily concerned with psychological problems, mental and psychiatric conditions, such as depression/anxiety, fear, epilepsy or seizures. These health problems were predominantly attributed to "supernatural" agents and thus the section also registers therapies against evil demons (*alû* and Lamaštu).
- The next two sections POTENCY and SEX deal with problems involved in heterosexual relationships. POTENCY (no total of tablets preserved) focuses on therapies or rituals to induce sexual desire in men.¹⁸ The section SEX (1 tablet?) continues with similar topics: incantations/procedures to arouse sexual desire in men and women, to calm down a husband's anger, and treatments for conditions caused by the *lilû* or *ardat lilî*-demon (the ghosts of unmarried boys/girls).
- The main theme of the twenty-first section PREGNANCY (3 tablets) concerns protecting families from losing their offspring, born or unborn. The tablets of this section feature rituals against infant death through illness and divine/evil powers, protective measures to save pregnant women from miscarriage caused by sorcery, continuing with other complaints of pregnant and parturient women, such as bleeding or delayed delivery (also attributed to sorcery).
- The twenty-second section BIRTH (8 tablets) registers incantations and treatments for women during delivery or suffering from hard labour. The section incipits further specify remedies for parturient women and for different gynaecological conditions (e.g. related to vaginal discharges and bleeding).
- The last section VETERINARY (1 tablet) deals with treatments for horses and cattle, especially with epidemics.

¹⁸ Both sections contained material that is closely related to the texts often referred to as ŠÀ.ZI.GA (lit. "arousal") texts, a title that is also listed in the Exorcist's Manual (see *infra*).

1.2 AMC Text Edition

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Tablet fragments (for the copy see Plate 1-6):

- A = YBC 7123 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9a)
- B = A 7821
- **C** = YBC 7146 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9b)
- **D** = YBC 7126 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9c)
- **E** = YBC 7139 (Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 9d)

Measurements:

- $A = 4.2 \times 5 \text{ cm}$ (Beckman/Foster 1988: 3) x 1.48 cm at the edge / 2.27 cm max. interior thickness
- $B = 3.9 \times 6.1 \text{ cm} \times 1.5 \text{ cm}$ at the edge / 2.5 cm interior thickness
- $C = 6.9 \times 8.3 \text{ cm}$ (corrected figure) $\times 2.07 \text{ cm}$ at the edge / 2.71 cm max. interior thickness
- $D = 2.9 \times 6 \text{ cm}$ (Beckman/Foster 1988: 3) x 1.66 cm at the edge / 2.42 cm max. interior thickness
- $E = 6.2 \times 9.7 \text{ cm}$ (corrected figure) $\times 1.07-1.62 \text{ cm}$ at the edge / 2.63 cm max. interior thickness

Reconstructed dimensions of the tablet: ca. 10.5 x 23.5 cm

PART I

Obv.

[DUB SAG.MEŠ?] MU. 'NE' 1) A1 [(Tablet of the incipits of[?] ...], (all) their names.

I CRANIUM

- [DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal: DIŠ NA SAG.KI.DAB]. BA' TUK.TUK-ši [If a man's skull contains heat (fever). If a man] constantly has 'seizing [of the temples'].
- 3) A3 [DIŠ SAG.KI.DAB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ina SU NA il-ta-za-a]z-ma NU D[U] [If 'seizing of the temples' due to ghost affliction (lit. 'Hand of a ghost') constantly persists [in a man's body] and cannot be loosened.
- 4) A4 [DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su GIG.MEŠ mat-qu-ti TAB UD.D]A 'DIRI' [If a man's head] is full [of 'sweet' lesions and burning] of *ṣētu*-fever.
- [DIŠ NA MURUB, SAG.DU-šú GÍR.GÍR-su UGU-šú x x x x] x-te 「ŠÉŠ [If the middle of his head constantly stings him,] you rub [his skull with ...].

6) B1'(+)A6 [NÍGIN 5] DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N[A UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal EN ku-r]a-ri kib-ši [Total of five] tablets of (the section) 'If a man's [skull contains heat (fever)'. Including (prescriptions) for the case that he is full of kurāru-boils, kibšu-skin complaint (lit. fungus),

ˈgiʾ-iṣ-ṣa-te gu-[riš-tu DIRI x x x x (x)] ˈaˀ-šu-u DAB-ˈsuˀ gissatu (shedding of skin), guraštu-[lesion ... (and remedies for the case that)] ašû-disease afflicts him.

II EYES

DIŠ NA IGI"-šú 'GIG: D[IŠ NA IGI"-šú mur-din-n]i 'DIRI' 8) B3'(+)A8 If a man's eyes are sick. [If a man's eyes] are full of [(a)murdin]nu ('bramble').

DIŠ NA IGI^{II}-šú LÙ.LÙ [: DIŠ NA[?] x x x x] 「x x x-šú^{?!¬}「DIRI¬ 9) B4'(+)A9

If a man's eyes are constantly troubled. [If a man's] ... are full of [...].

NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA IGI"-šú G[IG EN (...) š $um_{a}^{?}$ -m]a? 10) B5'(+)A10

「IGI.SIG, SIG, u sin- lu-ur-ma-a

Total of four tablets (of the section) 'If a man's eves are si[ck.' Including (prescriptions) for the case] that (he has) jaundice or night-blindness.

III EARS

DIŠ NA GEŠTU 15-šú [(...)] GÙ.GÙ-si 11) B6'(+)A11 If a man's right ear [(...)] rings (lit. screams) constantly.

1 DUB GÉŠTU ZAG-[šú GÙ.GÙ-si EN DIŠ NA GEŠTU¹]¹-šú² TA[G.MEŠ-šú²] 12) B7'(+)A12

One tablet (of the section 'If a man's) right ear [rings constantly'. Including (prescriptions) for the case that man's [ears] are constantly affected [(lit. keep touching him).]

IV NECK

13) B8' DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú [GU,-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA]

If a man's neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction].

14) B9' DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-s[u-ma lu ina DÙ-ti A.ZU-ti lu ina

DÙ-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti il-ta-za-az-ma NU DU.?

If ghost affliction affects a man [(and) it lingers on and cannot be removed by the actions of the physician or the exorcist].

15) B10' DIŠ šum_a-ma HUL.GIG ana L[Ú*? NU TE-e : ÉN id-di dé-a]

One (tablet): For hate magic [not to approach] a man. [Incantation: Ea recited (the spell)].

DIŠ NA mi-šit-tu pa-ni [ma-šid-ma: DIŠ NA ina MÁŠ.GI_z-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ IGI.IGI-mar] If a man [shows signs of] facial paralysis (stroke). [If a man constantly sees dead persons in his dream.]

NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SA.G[Ú-šú GU-šú ŠU GIDIM.MA? 17) B12'(+)C1'

EN ...] $x ti_{\mu} - p[i^{?}x x (x)]$

Total of six tablets (of the section) 'If a man's neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction'. Including (prescriptions for) ...] poultices [...],

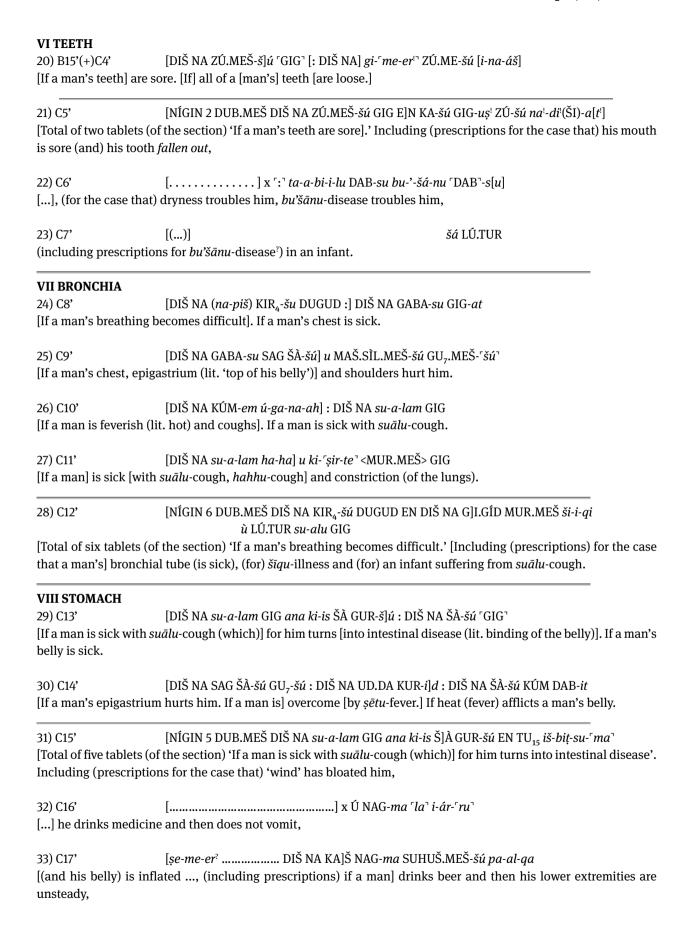
18) B13'(+)C2' NÍG.LÁ di-ik-še lu šá [ZAG lu šá GÙB ana p]a-šá- $r[i_{\mu}$ -ma[?]]

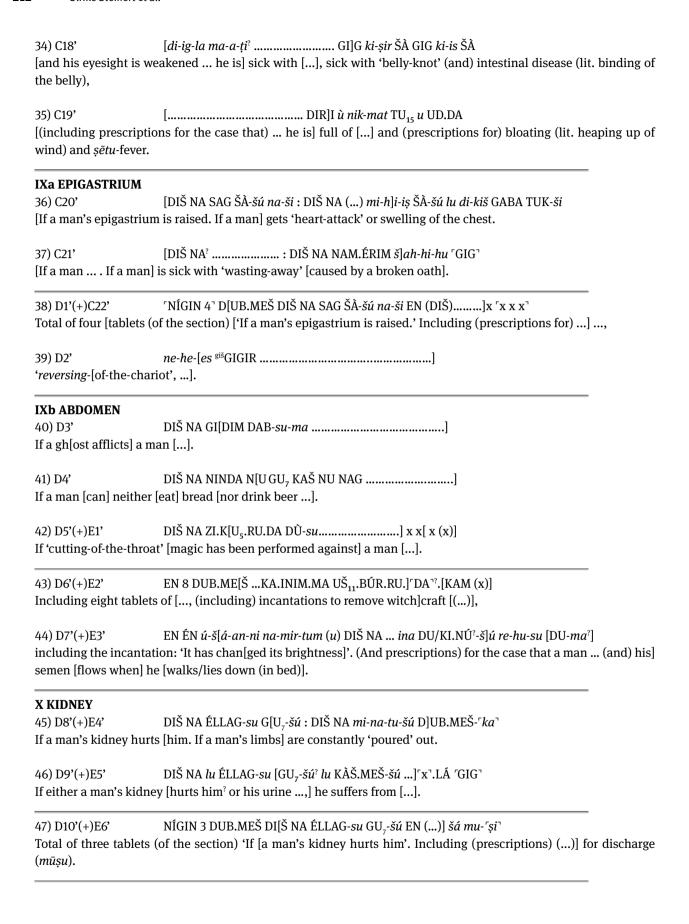
bandage(s) [for] relieving a swelling, whether on the [right or on the left side.]

V NOSEBLEED

19) B14'(+)C3' 'DIŠ NA MÚD' ina' KIR, -šú [DU-ku ana MÚ]D' KIR, TAR-[si]

If blood [flows from] a man's nose, [in order to] stop the nosebleed.





ΧI	AN	US

48) D11'(+)E7'

DIŠ NA ina la si-[ma-ni-šú MURUB, MEŠ-šú GU, MEŠ-šú (...):

D]Iй NA KÚM UD.DA EN.TE.NA TU₁₅ u ša-^rra APIN¹ NU ÍL

If a man [has pain in his hips] prematurely. If a man cannot 'raise the seeder-plough' (due to) fever (lit. heat), sētu-fever, chill, flatulence, and 'wind'.

DIŠ NA li-[kiš DÚR GIG (ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú ...): DIŠ NA KI.N]Ú-ma šit-ta-šú UGU-šú DÙG.GA 49) D12'(+)E8' If a man [suffers] from likšu [of the anus (and his innards ...). If a man lies] down and has a good sleep (but gets up at night).

50) D13'(+)E9'

DIŠ NA DÚR.[GIG] GIG-ma

If a man suffers from rectal [disease].

51) D14'(+)E10'

NÍGIN 5 DU[B.MEŠ DIŠ NA ina la si-ma-ni-š]ú MURUB, MEŠ-šú GU, MEŠ-šú šá

DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM

Total of five tablets (of the section) 'If a man has pain in his hips prematurely'. (With incantations of the genre) 'It is rectal disease'.

52) D15'(+)E11'

EN DIŠ N[A.....] x erasure u UD.DA erasure DIRI-ú

Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man'[s ...] are full of ... and <code>setu-fever</code>.

XII HAMSTRING

53) D16'(+)E12'

「DIŠ NA」 S[A.GAL GIG? (...): DIŠ NA SA] ÚR.MEŠ-šú 1-niš GU, MEŠ-šú:

DIŠ NA 'bur!'-ka-šú mun-ga DIRI

If a man [suffers from sagallu-hamstring problems? (...). If] all the muscles of a [man's] thigh constantly hurt him. If a man's knees are paralysed (lit. full of paralysis).

54) E13'

[DIŠ NA GÌRI-šú bu-bu-u]h?-ta DIRI!? ÍL

[If a man's foot] is full? of 'boil(s)? and swollen.

55) E14'

[NÍGIN 4º DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIGº (EN) ...] 'šá' MURUB

EN maš-ka₁₅-<dù> SA.GAL šá-aš(over erased ŠÁ)-šá-ṭa

[Total of four[?] tablets (of the section) 'If a man suffers from sagallu-hamstring problems.' Including ...] of the hip(s), including (treatments for) maškadu-disease, hamstring problems (and) šaššatu-disease of the joints,

[....... DIŠ NA GÌRI^{II}-šú[?] ki-is]-sa-tu, GÌRI^{II}-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI-ú[!]

[(prescriptions for the case) ... that a man's feet] (are full of) 'gnawing sickness', (or if) his feet are full of lesions,

[.....]x-ma 「IGI¬ GIG-šú BABBAR ŠUB a-si-da ŠU.SI u UMBIN

[...] and the surface of his lesion is dotted white (as well as treatments for) the heels, toes and nails.

58) E17' [NÍGIN XX DUB.MEŠ (...) bul-ți² T]A UGU EN șu-up-ri sa-di-ru šá SUR.GIBIL șab-tu [Total of 54+ tablets (...) with treatments²] from the top (of the head) to the toenails. Sections which have been edited.

PART II

XIII SKIN	
59) E18'	[DIŠ GIG]x-ta-šú um-mu-rat
[If a lesion] h	is [] is swollen.
60) E19'	[DIŠ NA [?]] x ˈkib-šú ʾ MIN bu-bu-uh-ta ʿUZU ^{?! ¬} bu [?] -ul ^{?!} -ta na-ši
[If a man?] ki	bšu-skin complaint (lit. fungus), ditto, boils (and) he bears 'flesh-of-shame'.
61) E20'	[DIŠ NA [?]] 「IZI¬ sa-ma-nu gìr ^{II} -giš-šum sàg-ba-nu DAB-su
[If a man [?]] bu	ırning (lit. 'fire'), <i>sāmānu</i> -disease, <i>girgiššu</i> -red dots, <i>sagbānu</i> -sore afflict him.
62) E21'	[NÍGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIGta-šú um-mu-rat EN ku-ra-r]i² ri-šut UZU i-šá-tú ˈbuʾ-bu-uḫ-tú
	ets (of the section) 'If a lesion] his [] is <i>swollen</i> .' Including (prescriptions for) $kur\bar{a}]ru$ -pustules, esh, burning (lit. fire), boils,
63) E22'	[DIŠ N]A ˈriʾ-ip-hi ʿUGU.DAʾ.LÚ-e um-me-di
[(prescription	ns) for the case that a m]an (is if full of) <i>riphu</i> -swellings, <i>ugudilû</i> -fleck, <i>ummedu</i> -boil,
64) E23'	[DIŠ NA ṣ] <i>er-ši pa-nu-šú</i> DIRI-ú
[(prescription	ns) for the case that a man's] face is full of <i>ṣeršu</i> -boils,
65) E24'	[ana ha-l]é-e / pi-in-d]e-e ZI-hi
[(treatments)	to] get rid of $hal\hat{u}$ -black moles / $pend\hat{u}$ -red moles,
66) E25'	[DIŠ NA [?]]x 「GIG [?] UD.「DA」 GIG-ma
[(prescription	ns for the case that a man)] is sick with a 'lesion' of $\$\bar{e}tu$ -fever,
Rev.	
67) Er1'	[
[(prescription	ns) for the case that] (when) [his lesion] has healed, the surface of his lesion is dotted white,
68) Er2'	[ÉN [?]] ki-iṣ-ra il-te-qe
[(Including) the	e incantation: '] he has taken the knot'.
69) Er3'	[] ˈù sim-mu ˈma-'a-du ˈ
[] and (the inc	cantation): 'The wounds are many'.
XIV HAZARDS	
70) Er4'	[DIŠ NA ina EDIN U]R.MAH DAB.DAB-[s]u
[If a man (walk	s) in the steppe (and) a] lion seizes him.

	[1 DUB DIŠ NA ina EDIN UR.MAH DAB.DAB-su E]N ⁷ DIŠ 'NA' lu ina GÍR lu ina a-r[ik-ti] ection) 'If a man (walks) in the steppe (and) a lion seizes him']. Including (prescriptions) for the ounded whether by a dagger or by a spear,
72) Er6' [or by], (including	[$lu\ ina\$] x SÌG- su : DIŠ NA ana IGI g^{is} MÁ [ŠUB $^{?}$ x x] g prescriptions) for the case that a man [$falls^{?}$] in front of a boat,
73) Er7' [for] the case that	[
74) Er8' [<i>b]ennu</i> -epilepsy,	[be]-en-nu ŠUB r[i-mu-tú²] miqtu-stroke, ri[mûtu-paralysis],
75) Er9' [(prescriptions for th	[] DAB.DAB- $s[u]$ ne case that)] constantly seizes him,
76) Er10' [(prescriptions for th	[N]A! 「MUŠ i š- $\check{s}uk$ - $\check{s}[u]$ ne case that) a] man – a snake has bitten him,
77) Er11' [(including) drugs	[ú.HI.A ša a]-pí-is-lat Ú.HI.A ša BÚR ša ni-šik ʿMUЬ s for a]pislat-disease, drugs for relieving snakebite,
78) Dr1'(+)Er12' [dogbite] or [(for]	[UR.GI ₇] $\lceil lu^{i\gamma} \rceil$ [zi - q] it GÍR.TAB SÌG- i ș \lceil URUDU \rceil .GAG.UD.TAG.GA scorpion sting (and) for wounds (caused) by an arrow.
XV EVIL POWERS 79) Dr2'(+)Er13' Incantation: 'Star ['ÉN' 'UL'/MUL ₄ [] il-su-ka .] they call you'.
80) Dr3'(+)Er14' One tablet (of the s eyebrow twitches all	ection) 'Incantation: [Star they call you].' Including (prescriptions for the case that) his
	DIŠ NA hu - $u[p$ - pat IGI ^{II?} GIG? DIŠ N]A $^rkib^{?}$ - ra IGI GIG u pi - rit - tu NU IGI an's [eye] socket [is sick?, (prescriptions) for the case that a] man's eye rim? is sore, and (remote experience fright,
82) Dr5'(+)Er16' (treatments) for the paralysis' (lit. 'seizir	DIŠ NA MAŠ.SÌL [?] $l[u^? GU_7.MEŠ-šú (EN) KA^?].DAB.BÉ.DA.KÁM case that a man's shoulder or [hurt him, (including incantations of the genre)] 'It is [oral] ng of the mouth'),$
83) Dr6'(+)Er17' the incantation: 'Ch that evil' – (original	'ÉN' EN.TE.NA x[A.BA.ME.EN.M]EŠ' EN HUL.BA.ZI.ZI <i>he-pî</i> ill [' (and the incantation) 'Who are you?'], including (incantations of the genre) 'Get rid of text) broken.

98) Cr2'

XVI DIVINE ANGER ana DIB dA-nim B[ÚR?: DIŠ NA gi-na]-a šu-dur 84) Dr7'(+)Er18' In order to relieve the divine wrath of Anu. [If a man is] constantly in fear. rÉN DINGIR.MU rul ri-[di: DIŠ NA DINGIR-šú u dl]5-šú <i/ana SAG-šú GUB-zu 85) Dr8'(+)Er19' Incantation: 'My god, I do not know!' [For a man's god and] goddess to be present at his side. 86) Dr9'(+)Er20' NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ ana DIB d[A-nim BÚR EN? UŠ₁₁/NAM.ÉRIM.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM Total of four tablets (of the section) 'In order to relieve the wrath [of Anu'. Including (incantations of the genre) 'to remove [a curse/witchcraft'], ù KA.INIM.MA DIŠ N[A ÁŠ HUL š]á 'NU' MU-ri u ú-pi-ši 87) Dr10'(+)Er21' and incantations for the case that a man [... an evil curse] not to be uttered and evil sorcery 88) Dr11'(+)Er22' 'HUL' erasure NIGIN-šú EN [......K]A.DAB.BÉ.DA surround him, including [... (and incantations of the genre] oral paralysis (lit. seizing of the mouth). XVII ORACLES 89) Dr12'(+)Er23' e-nu-ma a-na I.:GAR [...:tur-r]i-im ţa-me-e When [you ...] for an oracle [...] of a twisted co[rd (for a protective necklace?)]. NÍGIN 2 DUB.MEŠ e-nu-m[a ana I_s.GAR EN ...] X EŠ.BAR GU_a.MEŠ EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ 90) Dr13'(+)Er24' Total of two tablets (of the section) 'When [you ... for an oracle' Including ...] oxen omens (and) star omens. **XVIII MENTAL ILLNESS** DIŠ NA hu-ruṣ -ṣa GA[Z ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši]-rú? MU.NE 91) Dr14'(+)Er25' If a man [constantly feels] *tenseness* (and) ['heart]break', [...] is its name. 92) Dr15'(+)Er26' a-na AN.TA.ŠU[B.BA ZI-hi: ana Z]I-hi In order to [eradicate] antašubbû-epilepsy. [In order to] eradicate [...]. 93) Dr16'(+)Er27' NÍGIN 3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N[A hu-us-sa GAZ ŠÀ TUK.TUK-ši ...-ú MU.N]E Total of three tablets (of the section) 'If a man [constantly feels tenseness (and) 'heartbreak', ... is] its [name].' EN DIŠ NA UZU.ME[Š-šú] x 94) Dr17'(+)Er28' Including (prescriptions) for the case that a man's limbs [...], [DIŠ N]A 'ina KI'.N[Ú-šú HULUH.HULUH-ut / GÙ.GÙ-si'] 95) Dr18' [for the case that a man is always frightened/screams] when [he lies] down [...], 96) Dr19' [DIŠ N]A ʿAʾ.L[Á HUL DAB-su] [for the case that a] man [is seized] by the [evil] *alû*-demon, [...], [.....] x [......] 97) Cr1' [...],

[.... (and treatments)] to get rid of (the baby-snatching demon) Lamaštu, [...].

[.....] $\lceil ana \operatorname{dDIM}_{\mathsf{q}} \rceil . M[E] \operatorname{Z}[I-hi^? \times \times \times]$

XIX POTENCY

[DIŠ NA ana MUNUS BAR-ti ŠÀ-šú ÍL-šú-ma² ana MUNU]S-šú ŠÀ-šú NU ÍL-šú: DIŠ NA x[.......] 99) Cr3' [If a man has desire for another woman (lit. his 'heart' rises for him), (but)] he does not have desire for his (own) woman. If a man [...].

100) Cr4' [.......] x SAG MUŠEN DIŠ ʿÚ¬ ʿŠÀ¬.ZI.G[A] ʿana¬ [GÚ-š]ú GAR [...] ... the head of a bird. (Instructions) to place a drug for potency around his [neck].

101) Cr5' [NÍGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA ana MUNUS BAR-ti ŠÀ-šú Í]L-ſšú¬-ma ana MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú N[U ÍL]-šú

Total of x tablets (of the section) 'If a man has desire for another woman (lit, his 'heart' rises for him), (but) he does not have desire for his (own) woman'.

[EN? ana NI]TA ZI-tú š[ur-ši]- 'i' 102) Cr6' [Including (prescriptions) ...] to enable a man to get aroused.

XX SEX

[ÉN li-lik TU₁₅ l]a i-na-áš-šá-a giš KIRI, MEŠ 103) Cr7' [Incantation: 'Let the wind blow], the gardens shall not quake.'

[1 DUB? ÉN lil-lik T]U₁₅ la i-na-áš-šá-a gišKIRI₆.MEŠ 104) Cr8'

[One tablet (of the section) 'Incantation: Let the wi]nd [blow], the gardens shall not quake.'

105) Cr9' [EN x x x] EN ša ana NA pa-šá-a-ri [Including ...], including (prescriptions) to release a man's (sexuality)',

106) Cr10' [KA.INIM.MA ŠÀ.ZI.G]A ù MUNUS.GIN.NA.KÁM ŠÀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM [incantations for arousing sexual desire] and (incantations) to make a woman come (and for) arousing a woman's desire,

[(...) ana ŠU ardat li-li]-ʿi¬ʾ la-ʾ-ba erasure TAR-si 107) Cr11'

[(...) in order] to get rid of [the 'Hand' of ardat li]lî-succubus (causing) la'bu-disease,

[....... DIŠ MUNUS NI]TA-šá né-kel-'mu'-ši EN SA'(Ú).MEŠ ZI.MEŠ šá 'GÌRI''''.MEŠ [... (rituals) for the case that a woman]'s husband is angry with her, including (plants for) pulsating veins of the feet.

XXI PREGNANCY/OFFSPRING

109) Cr13' [(...) DIŠ NA ana dNI]N.KAR.RA.AK pa-qid: DIŠ NA mi-ih-ra im-hur-ma DUMU.MEŠ-šú ana ŠU-šú È.MEŠ

[(...) If a man] is entrusted to the goddess [Ni]nkarrak. If a man experiences misfortune and his sons are lost for him (i.e. have died).

[ana MUNUS.PEŠ, UŠ₁₁,ZU NU T]E[?]-ši-ma ana šà ŠÀ-šà NU[!](DIŠ) 'ŠUB'-e 110) Cr14' [For witchcraft not to] approach [a pregnant woman] and to prevent her from having a miscarriage (lit. not to abort her fetus).

"NÍGIN?" [3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ N]A a-na dNIN.KAR. RA.AK pa-qid" 111) Br1'(+)Cr15' Total of [three tablets (of the section) 'If a] man is entrusted to the goddess Ninkarrak.'

 $\lceil \check{s}a^{?} \rceil \times \times \times [... \text{ EN DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ}_{a}] \lceil A \rceil.\text{MEŠ-}\check{s}\acute{a} \text{ DU-}ku : \text{DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ}_{a} \text{MÚD.MEŠ-}\check{s}\acute{a} \text{ DU-}ku$ 112) Br2'(+)Cr16' Of ... [..., including (prescriptions) for the case that a pregnant woman's] water (amniotic fluid) flows, for the case that a pregnant woman's blood flows,

DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, i-'sa-ap'-[pid']x: DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, kun-nu-'kàt: 113) Br3'(+)Cr17' DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, kul-lu-mat

for the case that a pregnant woman mourns [...], for the case that a pregnant woman is sealed up (i.e. cannot deliver), for the case that a pregnant woman is *bewitched* (lit. was shown something),

114) Br4'(+)Cr18' DIŠ MUNUS Ù.TU-ma kul^2 - $l[u^2$ -mat ... (:) ...(ana) h]a-ris-te f sa f kul-lu-tuf gufuf: ù MUNUS.PEŠ .KÉ[Š.DA.KÁM (x x)]

for the case that a woman gives birth and is bewitched, [... (treatments)] for releasing a woman in confinement who has been bewitched and (spells) to bind a pregnant woman (...).

XXII BIRTH

DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, ina a-la-d[i-šá šu-up-šu-qat a-n]a šu-up-šu-h[i] 115) Br5'(+)Cr19' If a pregnant woman [is suffering severely during her] delivery, [in] order to calm (her) down.

116) Br6'(+)Cr20' ÉN i-na A na-ʿaʾ-[ki-im ib-b]a-ni GÌR¹.PAD.D[U] Incantation: 'From the fluids of intercourse the bone was created.'

DIŠ MUNUS ina Ù.TU uš-[tap-šiq: DIŠ MUNUS Ù.T]U-\(ma\) ni-ip-š\(a\) ina kir-ri-\(s\) [\(a\) x-x-(x)] 117) Br7'(+)Cr21' If a woman suffers [severely] during delivery. If a woman delivers] and then a smell [...] in her throat.

118) Br8'(+)Cr22' DIŠ MUNUS.Ù.TU Ù.T[U-ma ... : DIŠ? MUN]US? $\dot{s}\dot{a}$ -gu- $\dot{s}\dot{a}$? $p[e-lu-\dot{u}^2]$ If a fertile woman delivers [and If a] woman's menstrual discharge [is bright-r]ed?.

DIŠ MUNUS GIN, ri-hu-ut GÌŠ T[A' GAL, LA-šá DU-ku': ... Š]À MU[NUS' ...] 119) Br9'(+)Cr23' If a semen-like discharge [flows] from a woman's [vagina]. [... the] belly of a woman [...].

NÍGIN 8 DUB.MEŠ ša MUNU[S.PEŠ, ù MUNUS.Ù.TU?] 120) Br10'(+)Ar1' Total of eight tablets (of the section) concerning [pregnant] women [and women in childbirth[?]].

XXIII VETERINARY

šúm-mu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ina tar-[ba-si ... T]UR? BAD-a-nu G[ÁL.MEŠ] 121) Br11'(+)Ar2' If the horses in the stable [... are] reduced (and) there [is] an epidemic.

1 DUB $\check{s}a^{!}$ ANŠE.KUR.RA.[MEŠ u] $\check{s}a$ GU,.M[EŠ] 122) Br12'(+)Ar3' One tablet (of the section) concerning horses and cattle.

123) Br13'(+)Ar4' "NÍGIN X+38" DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG [...]-ta-šú um-mu-r[a-(at)] Total of n+38 tablets (belonging to) 'If a lesion [...] his [...] is swollen'.

124) Br14'(+)Ar5' [sa-di-ru] 'šá' [SUR.GIBIL] sab-tu [Sections] which have been edited.

[NÍGIN X X D]UB.MEŠ [sa-di-ru šá S]UR.GIBIL şab-tu 125) Br15'(+)Ar6' [(Grand) total of 92+] tablets. [Sections] which have been edited.

126) Ar7' [kīma labīrīšu² ša-tir-ma] BA.AN.È [Written according to an older original and?] collated. 127) Ar8' [Tablet of ...] ..., the young physician, [DUMU m.....lúSAN]GA? dBa-rba, šá rqé reb BAL.TILki [son of ..., the] šangû-priest of Baba, from the midst of the city Assur. 129) Ar10' [tākil-ki ul ibâš?] dGu-la O (healing) goddess Gula, [the one who trusts in you will not come to shame!]

1.3 Commentary²⁰

U. Steinert

1) A reconstruction of the fragmentary AMC opening line depends on the interpretation of the status of AMC as a whole and cannot be ascertained at this point. The end of the line, MU.NE "(all) their names", can be compared with the opening line in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and dupl.) and in the catalogue of the diagnostic and physiognomic series Sakikkû (SA.GIG) and Alamdimmû, which likewise end with MU.NE and give a descriptive title for the following text. The opening line of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 1 //, see *infra*) states that it forms "the tablet of titles ('incipits') of the corpus of the exorcist's lore, which have been established for learning and reading, all their names" (DUB SAG. MEŠ (var. KA DUB SAG.MEŠ) ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá ana NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU_o.ÀM kun-nu PAP MU.NE). Since the AMC lists primarily medical therapeutic texts (remedies) closely associated with the $as\hat{u}$ "physician" (and was copied by an asû), it could be speculated that the AMC opening line referred to the incipits or titles of all tablets belonging to the corpus of asûtu (for the meaning "corpus" of iškāru in connection with professional titles such as āšipūtu, kalûtu etc. see Gabbay 2014: 195 n. 14-15, 233). Furthermore, the catalogue of compositions of the lamentation priest's corpus uses a similar expression in its summary rubric (K. 2529+ rev. 30: DUB SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR NAM.GALA šá ina ŠU^{II} šu-su-u "the tablet of incipits (of compositions) of the lamentation priest's corpus, which were available"), while its opening line may be phrased differently (see Gabbay 2015: 15 A 1, pl. 29, restored by Gabbay as [ÉR].MEŠ [ù ÉR.ŠEM.MA.MEŠ M]U.NE "[wailing (songs)] [and Eršemma compositions], (all) their names").

On the other hand, one could also compare the opening line of the Sakikkû catalogue (CTN 4, 71, see Finkel 1988: 146, obv. A 1 and Schmidtchen *infra*, p. 313), which states somewhat differently: [SAG DUB.MEŠ u Š]U.NÍGIN MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.N[E] "[(These are) the tablet incipits and] the sum total of the entries ('lines') of Sakikkû, (all) their names". This opening line refers to PART 1 of the catalogue (ll. 2-49) devoted to the diagnostic series, which is summed up in the same way in line 50 (ŠU.NÍGIN 40 DUB.MEŠ 3000+[(?)] MU.MEŠ šá SA.GIG ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ "total of 40 tablets (and) 3000+ entries of $Sakikk\hat{u}$; brought to its end"). The catalogue then continues with a list of the sections and incipits belonging to the physiognomic series Alamdimmû. The AMC has a similar bipartite structure, and the summary line of PART 1 of the catalogue (line 58) refers to a descriptive title bultī ištu muhhi adi supri "remedies from the top of the head to the toenail(s)". In line with the $Sakikk\hat{u}$ catalogue, this "title" could theoretically have stood in the gap of AMC line 1. Note that the series name SA.GIG.(MEŠ)(Sakikkû) is encountered on (Babylonian) tablets of the diagnostic series together with the series name stemming from the incipit of the first tablet ("When the exorcist goes to the sick man's house", see e.g. Heeßel 2000: 344 colophon Ms. A). However, the situation for tablets of therapeutic texts pertaining to AMC PART 1 is different, because bulțī ištu muhhi adi șupri "remedies from the top of the head to the toe-

²⁰ Work on the commentary was initiated by S. V. Panayotov in the form of footnotes on the AMC edition, taken mostly during group readings. From 2014 onwards, Steinert took on sole responsibility for the commentary, largely rewriting and considerably expanding the first draft of notes. The commentary includes comments of participants of the BabMed workshop 2014 (marked as personal communication).

nail(s)" is not encountered as a technical title beside tablet names (incipit), but only as a descriptive title in colophons from Ashurbanipal's library (Hunger 1968, No. 329 Asb. q).²¹

2) The main witness for CRANIUM Tablet 1 is BAM 480 (= K. 2354+); its incipit is also found (with minor differences) in BAM 3 i 1 (an Assur tablet with extracts from CRANIUM): DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal SA ZI SAG.KI TUK-ma (var. SA 'SAG. KI¬-šú ZI) IGI¬-šú i-ṣappar(BÀR) "If a man's skull contains heat (fever), he gets a throbbing sensation in (his) temporal vessels (var. his temporal vessels throb) and his eyes flutter" (Stol 1993: 94; Worthington 2005: 7, 15; Worthington 2006: 19; Worthington 2007; Scurlock 2014a: 307; cf. Panayotov 2016a: 59-60; Panayotov 2016b). See also the colophon of BAM 480 iv 51', which can be restored as [DUB 1].KAM DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal "[First tablet of (the section)] 'If a man's skull contains heat'". The title of the first tablet of AMC's first section is thus identical with the title of the therapeutic series as known from Late Babylonian tablet colophons, mostly from Uruk (e.g. SpTU 1, 44, 46, 48, 59; see also BM 42272 from Babylon (Scurlock 2014a: texts 2.6.2 and 2.14.1; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.10 Ms. j; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 58 text 7.11 Ms. n; Bácskay 2015; Bácskay 2018: 47-66 passim).

The fragment BAM 4 (probably from Nineveh as well) belonged to another copy of CRANIUM 1, preserving a fragmentary catchline and section title (iv 2'f.). Other sources that contain sections matching CRANIUM 1 are: BAM 481 (K. 10212+, Neo-Babylonian ductus, fragment of a tablet on illnesses of the head), CTN 4, 123 (fragment from Nimrud), AMT 5/3 (fragment of a two-column tablet), cf. further Worthington 2005: 7. H. Stadhouders (personal communication) further reports a Neo- or Late Babylonian two-column tablet in a private collection, whose first lines run parallel to BAM 480 (including the incipit of CRANIUM 1 in col. i 1), but which otherwise contains material differing from the Nineveh text. Note also that the Middle Assyrian tablet BAM 12 (from the "library of Tiglath-pileser I" at Assur) already offers passages that are identical to CRANIUM 1 (Köcher 1963a: xiv; Worthington 2005: 7ff.).

A manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 2 is found in BAM 482 (= K. 2574+) i 1, offering the incipit [DIŠ NA SAG.K]I.DAB.BA TUK.TUK-(ši) "[If a man] continually has 'seizing of the [temples]", and the rubric (iv 51') DUB 2.KAM [DIŠ N]A UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal "Second tablet of '[If a ma]n's skull contains heat". The incipit of CRANIUM 2 is also preserved in BAM 480 iv 50' (= CRANIUM 1, catchline). A second witness for CRANIUM 2 is AMT 15/2(+)19/1+20/1, and the fragment K. 19766 probably forms a third Nineveh copy of this tablet (see Attia and Buisson 2003 for edition and sources; Worthington et al. 2003: 18; Borger et al. 2007: 47). The Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 11 (with 18 remedies for SAG.KI.DAB.BA, from the "house" of Rabâ-ša-Marduk) starts with an almost identical incipit and duplicates several recipes of CRANIUM 2 (Attia and Buisson 2003 and Heeßel 2009: 21ff.). For the incipits of CRANIUM 1 and 2 cf. also the Assur excerpt tablet in Jastrow 1913; Scurlock 2003: 16f. obv. 1 and rev. 4 (recipe not identical). Prescriptions from CRANIUM 2 are also found in BAM 9 and Jastrow 1913: rev. 29-30; Scurlock 2003: 16f. (Assur excerpts of CRANIUM 1-3). A parallel passage to CRANIUM 2 is also encountered in the Neo-Babylonian "Sammeltafel" IM 132670 from Sippar, which contains other passages running parallel to the Assur excerpt tablets of the CRANIUM section, AO 11447 and BAM 3 (Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 221ff., 236f. §§ 1, 3-7).

3) For the incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 3 see BAM 482 (= K. 2574+) iv 51' (= CRANIUM 2, catchline). Two manuscripts of CRANIUM 3 are assembled in AMT 102/1-AMT 105/1 (constituted of K. 2566(= CT 23, 49)+K. 10475+K. 14692 (= AMT 102/1-103/1) and K. 4023 (= AMT 104/1-105/1)). AMT 102/1 i 1 (K. 2566+, CDLI P365746) offers the matching incipit \dot{s} \dot{s}

²¹ As a further alternative, Nils Heeßel (personal communication) tentatively suggested to restore *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* as series title in the gap of AMC lines 1 and 58, because the therapeutic series was designated by this title in Late Babylonian Uruk. Yet, it seems clear from the fact that PART 2 of the AMC has its own title as well as from the colophons of therapeutic tablets found at Ashurbanipal's library (which follow the section arrangement of AMC PART 1) that *šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl* was not yet in use as a title for the therapeutic corpus as a whole in the Neo-Assyrian period (see further Steinert *infra* and commentary to line 58).

fragments BAM 483-484, BAM 486, BAM 488-489 and BAM 493 may belong to manuscripts of CRANIUM 3 (cf. Köcher 1980a: xxvii-xxix; Panayotov (in this volume)). K. Simkó has identified further Nineveh fragments and is preparing an edition of CRANIUM 3. The incipit and first passage of CRANIUM 3 is also found in BAM 483 ii 5'-6' (possibly representing a compilation of prescriptions against ghost-induced ailments with overlaps to CRANIUM 3) and in excerpt tablets from Assur: BAM 9: 42 (an excerpt of CRANIUM 1-3, designated as "first nishu" in the colophon, which includes the first section of CRANIUM 3) and Jastrow 1913, collated by Scurlock 2003: 16-17 rev. 29-30 (Assur excerpt of CRANIUM 1-3, which includes the first sections of CRANIUM 1-3). For ŠU.GIDIM.MA cf. the discussion in Heeßel 2007a; for material related to the magico-medical compendium Muššu'u in CRANIUM Tablet 3 (shared context SAG.KI.DAB.BA) cf. Böck 2007: 43ff.

4) The incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 4 matching the AMC is found in the catchline of AMT 105/1 iv 26' (CDLI no. P395359, = CRANIUM Tablet 3). A manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 4 is identified in CT 23, 50, which preserves the top left-hand corner of a two-column tablet, including the fragmentary incipit: [DIŠ NA SAG,DU-su GIG,ME]Š 'mat-qu'-ti TAB UD,DA "DIRI" x[...] "[If a man's head] is full of 'sweet' [lesion]s and burning of sētu-fever". The fragment contains the first twenty lines of column i and deals with simmu-lesions on the head, while the reverse preserves a matching catchline to CRANIUM 5 and a colophon identifying CT 23, 50 as DUB 4.KÁM "fourth tablet" of CRANIUM (rev. 5'-6', see Thompson 1937a: 36-38). Furthermore, BAM 494 (K. 6224+) could represent a manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5. The assembled tablet fragments of Köcher's copy offer a small section from the middle of col. i and longer parts of col. ii and iii, but unfortunately no incipit or catchline/colophon. One remedy for "sweet lesions" on the head in BAM 494 i 30'-31' duplicates two lines at the beginning of CT 23, 50 obv. 5-6 (CRANIUM 4; see Köcher 1980a: xxix; Scurlock 2014a: 297). Since CT 23, 50 and BAM 494 do not overlap physically, but deal with the same topic (skin conditions on the head), they could theoretically represent two slightly varying manuscripts of CRANIUM 4. The incipit in AMC line 4 likewise indicates that lesions on the head formed the main topic of CRANIUM 4. But it is not excluded that BAM 494 continues with similar topics encountered in CRANIUM 4 and forms CRANIUM Tablet 5, as Bácskay and Simkó argue in their edition of BAM 494. Bácskay and Simkó (2017) note especially the fragments BAM 34 (probably from Nineveh), AMT 25/8, AMT 16/4 and BAM 495 (K. 15216) as duplicates to BAM 494 (see their edition for other texts with parallel passages); add BAM 500 (Köcher 1980a: xxxii). AMT 6/1 and BAM 511 could constitute further fragments of BAM 494 without physical join (Köcher 1980a: xxix-xxx; 1980b: xi). For links of BAM 494 to the AMC section SKIN cf. below.

B. Böck (2014a: 22f.) suggests the reading sim, for GIG, when it stands for simmu "lesion" and refers to Old Babylonian literary texts in Sumerian.²² This reading is not adopted for the logographic context within 1st millennium BCE medical texts, because here the writing GIG.MA is unattested, and the scribes always use GIG alone. For the simmu matqu "sweet lesion(s)" see also Fincke 2011: 169ff. with BM 41282+41294. M. Stol (personal communication) pointed out the comparable Latin disease term dulcedo.

5) CT 23, 50 rev. 5 (= CRANIUM Tablet 4) offers the matching catchline: DIŠ NA MURUB₄ SAG.DU-šú GÍR.GÍR-su UGU-šú $K[I^2...\check{S}\acute{E}\check{S}]$ "If the middle of his head constantly stings him, [you rub] his skull wi[th ...]", but no manuscript of CRANIUM Tablet 5 has been identified until now with certainty (cf. BAM 494 discussed above in the commentary to AMC line 4, which may represent CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5).

6-7) The keywords and phrases following *adi*(EN) in AMC l. 6-7 very likely refer to text sections included in the tablets of CRANIUM, cited in abbreviated fashion. All the preserved keywords refer to skin ailments that affect the area of the head. For a discussion of the skin conditions mentioned here, see Böck 2003; Wasserman 1996-97; Wasserman 2007; Heeßel 2008; Fincke 2011; see also below commentary to ll. 56 and 60 (kibšu and giṣṣatu/kissatu).

This usage of EN = adi "up to; including" encountered in the summary sections of AMC, to indicate text sections (sometimes stemming from a different tradition or source) that are included on tablets of the section, is also attested in the Sakikkû catalogue (Finkel 1988: 147: A 40 // B 7' and Schmidtchen infra). There, the content of Tablet 33 of the

²² See e.g. TCL 16, 60 obv. 5 (Letter Prayer of Nannamansum to Ninisina; see ETCSL text 3.3.21): sim_x(GIG)-sim_x(GIG)-ma ki ku₁₀-ku₁₀-ga-ba šà-bi lú nu-zu "the severe wound whose hidden cause (lit. dark place) no man knows"; Hymn to Ninisina A 21: sim_-sim_-ma (see ETCSL text 4.22.1); A Dog for Nintinuga (Ali 1964: 144ff.: 6; ETCSL text 5.7.2): sim, ma. Note further CT 4, 3: 7 // Sm. 28+: 10 (MSL 9: 106, bilingual list of diseases): gig-gig-ma: si-im-mi.

diagnostic series is registered as DIŠ 'GIG' GAR-šú EN 'sa'-ma-nu ŠU dME.ME "If the characteristic of the lesion" including "sāmānu (is) 'Hand of Gula'". The citation following *adi* stems from the beginning of the second part of Tablet 33, which is of differing make-up from the preceding text and consists of a list of disease names equated with the "hands" of different deities (cf. for the two sections in manuscripts of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33, Heeßel 2000: 352ff.; Böck 2014a: 51-54).

In a similar way, *adi* is used in library records from Nineveh registering the arrival of tablets (often from Babylonia) for the royal library. Here, subtotals of tablets on a common subject or related to a specific series are given. For example one library record mentions "37 tablets of the series *Alamdimmû* together with (*adi*) extraneous (tablets and the sub-series) *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû*" (SAA 7, 52: 10-12). See also Lambert 1976: 314 K. 14067: 11-12, listing the canonical series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the extraneous series (of EAE) "including its ṣâtu-commentary (*Enūma Anu denlil iškār ahûti adi* ṣâtīšu), followed by the series "Šumma iqqur īpuš, including extraneous (omens) (*adi ahûti*), ṣâtu-commentaries and *mukallimtu*-commentaries" (Il. 13-15).

A parallel to AMC lines 6-7 is found in AO 11447: 30 // (Geller 2007: 9), which contains the line: DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su kib-šá gi-iṣ-ṣa-tú gu-riš-tú DIRI "If a man's head is full of kibšu, giṣṣatu (and) gurištu". This Assur tablet AO 11447, designated in the colophon as "first excerpt tablet" (nishu), contains prescriptions for skin lesions on the head and for the ears (Geller 2007: 14: 82). The catchline of AO 11447 is not identical with that of AMC EYES 1, but refers to eye diseases (see Geller 2007: 14: 81). Duplicates to the cited passage are BAM 33 obv. 1-7 (an Assur excerpt tablet on skin ailments of the head, see also Fincke 2011: 174f.), AMT 6/1: 9'-11' and BM 41282(+)41294 ii 8'-11' (cf. Fincke 2011: 190ff.). For guraštu cf. also BAM 494 iii 1 (= AMT 17/1 ii 1): DIŠ NA gu-raš-tu DIRI "If a man is full of guraštu".

Entries similar to the end of AMC line 7, beginning DIŠ NA a- $\hat{s}u$ - \hat{u} DAB-su (or DAB-it) "If a man is seized by $a\hat{s}\hat{u}$ -disease", are encountered e.g. in the CRANIUM excerpt BAM 3 i 37 from Assur (Worthington 2006: 20, cf. also BAM 3 i 35, 40), duplicated in the Nineveh fragments BAM 495 (K. 15216) ii 7', BAM 494 ii 29, BAM 497 ii 14, see also BAM 500 (K. 10624+) i 1', 4'. The Assur excerpt AO 11447: 56 likewise contains an entry giving the diagnosis $a\hat{s}\hat{u}$ MU.NI " $a\hat{s}\hat{u}$ is its name" (Geller 2007: 11).

8) All of the first preserved recipes for the eyes in column i of BAM 510 (K. 2573+), BAM 513 (K. 2570+) and BAM 514 (= K. 2970+) identified as duplicating copies of EYES Tablet 1, start with the phrase DIŠ NA IGI^{II}-*šú* GIG-(*ma*) "If a man's eyes are sick …". But none of the tablets preserves an incipit. In BAM 510 (K. 2573+) iv 48, one can reconstruct: DU[B 1.KÁM] DI[Š NA IGI^{II}-*šú* GIG …] "[First] tablet of 'If [man's eyes are sick …]". Parallel passages for EYES Tablets 1-3 are also found in the Sippar *Sammeltafel* IM 132670 col. ii (Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003: 223, 226ff., 237f. §§ 13-18) and in BM 54641+ (Fincke 2009). STT 279 is an excerpt with passages duplicating EYES Tablet 1 (ll. 17-54; courtesy H. Stadhouders). For Tablets 1-3 of the subseries EYES see now Attia 2015: esp. 3, 5-6, 37, 71 for the manuscripts, additional joins and parallels; cf. Panayotov 2016a.

The only identified manuscript of EYES 2 is BAM 515 i 1 (K. 1845+), with the matching incipit DIŠ NA IGI $^{\text{II}}$ -s \acute{u} murdin-ni DIRI "If a man's eyes are full of murdinnu", see Attia 2015: 22, 37 and Köcher 1980b: xi-xii for further parallels. The incipit of EYES Tablet 2 is also preserved as catchline in BAM 510 iv 47 (K. 2573+, = EYES 1). For discussion of (a)murdinnu "bramble" (granulations in the eye?), see Attia 2015: 53-54.

9) The incipit of EYES Tablet 3 is cited as catchline in BAM 515 iv 45' (K. 1845+, = EYES 2). There is only one identified manuscript of EYES 3, BAM 516 i 1 (K. 2533+), with the incipit DIŠ NA IGI.MEŠ-šú (var. IGI $^{\text{II}}$ -šú) LÙ.LÙ-(ha) "If a man's eyes are constantly troubled", see Attia 2015: 52, 71, with the parallels BM 54641+ rev. 9 (Neo-Babylonian, Fincke 2009: 88, 101) and SpTU 2, 50: 24 (Late Babylonian).

The reconstruction of the second AMC entry with the incipit of EYES Tablet 4 remains uncertain (compare e.g. BAM 510 (K. 2573+) i 37'; BAM 514 (K. 2970+) i 38', both in EYES Tablet 1), since no manuscripts of EYES Tablet 4 have been identified to date. Cf. further Fincke (2000) for diagnostic entries with the verb *malû*(DIRI) "to be full (of)" in reference to eye conditions. For 1st millennium BCE Babylonian sources of eye disease texts see further Fincke 2009, cf. especially BAM 382 (Babylon), BAM 410 (Uruk), BM 132097. Tablets from Assur with parallels to the EYES section are e.g. BAM 15, BAM 18-20, BAM 22-23. Note BAM 520-522 for further Nineveh fragments on eye diseases, whose position in or relation

²³ As mentioned above, BAM 494 most likely belongs to CRANIUM (and may represent Tablet 4 or 5). BAM 495, a fragment of a two-column tablet, is a duplicate to BAM 494. BAM 497 and BAM 500 likewise form fragments of two-column tablets from Nineveh with remedies for diseases of the head, duplicating passages in BAM 494.

to the section EYES is not clear. S. Panayotov (infra) suggests that BAM 520 (K. 9503+) may be a manuscript of EYES Tablet 4 (see also Attia 2015: 4). Note that this tablet shares parallel passages with BAM 516 (EYES Tablet 3), see Attia 2015: 71f., 79.

10) This line of the catalogue confirms that the section EYES consisted, at least at Assur, of four, not three tablets, as was suggested on the basis of the preserved evidence from Nineveh (Fincke 2000: 7; cf. Attia 2015: 3). It remains to be confirmed whether the section EYES at Nineveh also comprised four tablets.

The two keywords enumerated at the end of AMC line 10, IGI.SIG, SIG, = amurriqānu "jaundice" and sinlurmâ "night-blindness" (Stol 1986a: 295-299), are encountered in prescriptions of EYES tablets. See e.g. BAM 515 (K. 1845+) ii 43, 44: [DIŠ N]A IGI^{II}-šú IGI.SIG₇.SIG₇ DIRI "If a man's eyes are full of jaundice" (= EYES Tablet 2). Entries concerning sinlurmâ are found e.g. in BAM 516 ii (K. 2533+) 30-32 (= EYES Tablet 3). The keywords amurrigānu and sinlurmâ in the adi-section of AMC l. 10 thus indicate topics dealt with in the section EYES, seemingly enumerated in the order in which they appear in constituent tablets. Note that the topic jaundice (amurriqānu) also appears in STOMACH Tablet 3, where the yellow eye colour is mentioned as well, see e.g. BAM 578 (K. 61+) iii 4-5 (amurriqānu rising to the eyes), BAM 578 (K. 61+) iv 5, 6 and 17: DIŠ NA IGI^{II}-šú a-mur-ri-qa-nu DIRI "If a man's eyes are full of jaundice" (cf. below and Cadelli 2000: 201, 204-205).

- 11) The preserved signs in this line of AMC are broadly spaced out on the tablet, so it is likely that nothing was written in the gap. BAM 503 (K. 2422(+)3215(+)6662) includes treatments for "roaring" ears and has been identified as a manuscript of the section EARS, but no incipit or colophon is preserved (cf. Köcher 1980a: xxxiii). For an edition of the tablet and parallel texts, see Scurlock 2006: 724-725 passim; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.3 and p. 718 with a list of partially duplicating sources; cf. Labat 1957: 109; Geller 2009. Note as a similar entry to the AMC incipit of EARS, e.g. BAM 503 iii 79': [DIŠ NA GEŠTU]-šú GÙ.GÙ-si "[If a man's ear] rings continually". A diagnostic entry matching AMC line 11 is also found in the one-column tablet BAM 506 (K. 2472+) obv. 8" (a partial duplicate to BAM 503), which is paralleled in the Assur texts BAM 155 ii 5' (VAT 13779, a Sammeltafel on diverse ailments) and in AO 6774 iii 11' (Labat 1957: 109ff., Geller 2009: 31): DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-šú GÙ.GÙ-si me-si-ru DAB-su "If a man's right ear rings all the time, he will experience hard times". AO 6774 presents a collection of treatments for the ears on a three-column tablet, with a few parallels in BAM 503. This diagnostic entry occurs also in Sakikkû Tablet 8, which is concerned with the ears (Scurlock 2014a, 64: 10a). The Assur extract tablet AO 11447 ("first nishu"), possibly stemming from the same context as AO 6774, contains remedies for illnesses of the head and for the ears.²⁴ The last prescription on this tablet (rev. 79) likewise features a similar entry to AMC line 11, which is duplicated in the Assur extract BAM 3 iv 25 (which contains mainly remedies from CRANIUM, but closes with prescriptions for the ears): DIŠ NA GEŠTU"-šú iš-tan-na-sa-a (var. GÙ.DÉ.MEŠ) "If a man's ears ring continually", see Worthington 2006: 25. Compare further CT 51, 199 obv. i 10', 17' // (a Neo-Assyrian fragment of a two-column tablet with recipes and incantations from Nineveh, partial duplicate to BAM 503, see Scurlock 2006: 732 and no. 134, 139b): KA.INIM.MA (DIŠ NA) GEŠTU^{II}-šú i-šag-gu-ma "Recitation (for the case that a man)'s ears roar". Note in addition CTN 4, 113, a fragment of a Neo-Assyrian two-column tablet from Nimrud with prescriptions for ailments of the ears and chest and parallel lines in BAM 503. The Neo-Babylonian *Sammeltafel* IM 132670 from Sippar also features prescriptions for the ears with parallels in BAM 503 etc. (see Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 225f., 237 §§ 8-12).
- 12) It is noteworthy that the summary rubric repeats the section title of EARS in abbreviated form varying from the spelling of the incipit in line 11. The usual sign NÍGIN "total" is also omitted. For the fragmentary citation following adi, compare Geller 2009: 33 (AO 6774: v 19'-20' (a three-column Assur tablet including treatments for ear diseases) // AMT 105/1: 7-8 (= CRANIUM Tablet 3)): DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-šú TAG-su IM DIRI-at u MÚ.MEŠ "If a man's right ear hurts him, is full of clay (or: "wind"?) and continually inflamed".
- 13) No manuscript of NECK Tablet 1 has been identified to date. The incipit of NECK 1 is attested in the colophon of BAM 473 (K. 2448+, = NECK Tablet 3) iv 16' as section title (DUB 3.KAM DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šu [GU₂-šu] 「ŠU¬.GIDIM.MA) and in AMT 97/4: 18', a fragment of a one(?)-column tablet probably containing an extract (nishu) of the section NECK, which

²⁴ For AO 11447 see Geller 2007; for AO 6774 see Geller 2009. Cf. also Geller 2007: 4 for a possible connection of these two texts with a "school" of asû-physicians at Assur.

preserves the complete entry DIŠ NA SA.GÚ- $\tilde{s}u$ GU₇- $\tilde{s}u$ ŠU.GIDIM.MA "If a man's neck tendons hurt him due to ghost affliction (lit. 'Hand of a ghost')", allowing the restoration of the AMC incipit of NECK Tablet 1. For the symptom see also Sakikkû Tablet 4: 15 (Scurlock 2014a: 29, 35-36) and BAM 323: 90 // (Scurlock 2014a: 696 text 3.16.9, an Assur tablet with rituals for ghost-induced illnesses). The connection between neck pain ("being hit on the neck") and and a ghost-attack is also drawn in Sakikkû Tablet 10: 19-20 (Scurlock 2014a: 74).

14) Two tablet fragments from Nineveh preserve an incipit corresponding to AMC line 14: AMT 94/6 (fragment): 1-2 (Scurlock 2006: no. 347) and AMT 97/6: 1. The latter text is identified as NECK Tablet 2 through the fragmentary colophon on the reverse (reading DUB 2.KAM DIŠ NA [SA.GÚ- $\dot{s}u$ GU $_{7}$ - $\dot{s}u$]) and through a matching catchline to NECK Tablet 3 (rev. 4'-5'). The entry in question is further duplicated in the fragment AMT 81/7: 11-12 and in the Assur tablets BAM 221 ii 8'f. and BAM 155 i 9'-10' (Scurlock 2006: no. 307: 1-2), which together yield the following reconstruction of the incipit: DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA DAB-su-ma lu ina DÙ-ti A.ZU-ti lu ina (var. u) MAŠ.MAŠ-u-ti [il-t]a-zi-iz-ma (var. il-ta-za-az-ma) NU DU. ana [TI]-šú "If the 'Hand of a ghost' seizes a man and it lingers on and cannot be loosened by either the actions of the craft of the $as\hat{u}$ or by the craft of the $\bar{a}sipu$ – to [cure] him". BAM 221 comprises a collection of recipes for ghost-induced illnesses, while BAM 155 is a Sammeltafel on various ailments. The diagnostic entry is further encountered on two tablets from Assur, BAM 52 (a nishu tablet with diverse recipes): 1-2 // BAM 225 (recipes against ghost-induced illnesses) rev. 3'-5' (Scurlock 2006: no. 319a: 1-2), reading: [DIŠ NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA] DAB-su-ma lu ina ne'-pil-ti [a]-'su'-t[i l]u ina ne-pil-ti MAŠ.MAŠ-ti [i]l-ta-za-az-ma NU DU, ana TI-šú "If the 'Hand of a ghost' seizes a man and it lingers on and cannot be loosened by either the actions of the craft of the $as\hat{u}$ or by the craft of the $\bar{a}sipu$ – to cure him".

15) For a discussion of the interpretation of DIŠ as *šumma*, generally introducing conditional clauses of omen protases, see Finke (2007: 131-139), who regards the occasional appearance of DIŠ $\check{s}um_a$ -ma as a combination of two different ways to spell the conjunction $\check{s}umma$ (with the syllabic rendering $\check{s}um_a$ -ma going back to older source texts). Nils Heeßel (2000: 315) however notes that in manuscripts of Sakikkû Tablet 27 and 28 (written on one tablet), the combination of DIŠ šum,-ma marks the beginning of the second section of the text. DIŠ in this instance could mean "one" or "first" (entry of a new tablet).

The incipit of NECK Tablet 3 is only preserved fragmentarily in the known sources. AMT 97/6 rev. 4' (= NECK Tablet 2) preserves the catchline: BE HUL.GIG [...] "If hate-magic [...]". The incipit of the identified Nineveh manuscript of NECK 3 (BAM 473 i 1) also breaks off at this point (BE HUL.GIG [...], for identification see the colophon iv 16'). Köcher (1980a: xxii) further regards BAM 474 as a fragment of NECK 3, since it duplicates a passage in BAM 473. Furthermore, BAM 209 is a one-column tablet from Assur that contains part of the text of the Nineveh recension of NECK Tablet 3 (Köcher 1964: xii n. 10), whose incipit differs slightly from the AMC entry, reading: BE HUL.GIG ana NA NU T[E ...] "For hate-magic not to app[roach] a man [...]". However, according to the colophon of BAM 209 rev. 18', the text represents DUB 3.KAM DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú [GU₇-šú ŠU.GIDIM.MA] "Third tablet of 'If a man's neck tendons [hurt him due to ghost affliction']". For these and related texts see further Schwemer 2007a: 63 no. 136; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6. BAM 209 runs parallel to passages from BAM 473 columns i and iv, and adds three recipes for ghost-induced ailments after a blank line (rev. 19'-26'). An alternative restoration for the AMC incipit of NECK 3 is ana 'É' [NA NU TE-e], but it seems to be unattested so far in the sources.

The incipit of NECK Tablet 4 is found in the catchline of BAM 473 iv 15' (= NECK Tablet 3): ÉN id-di dé-a ˈru-tu dé-a [...] "Incantation. 'Ea cast (the spell), the spittle of Ea [...]". One witness of NECK Tablet 4, the small fragment BAM 475 (K. 3198) i 1, preserves the fragmentary incipit: $id - di \stackrel{dr}{e}$ [a ...]. The incantation was used in different medical contexts (Böck 2007: 46-47) and formed part of the magico-medical compendium Muššu'u (Böck 2007: 167 IVh for an edition of the sources). It is also known from the exorcistic series SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ (Tablet VII, see Böck 2007: 24, 31ff.). In BM 42272 obv. 22, the incantation incipit is cited within a treatment against the "curse" (NAM.ÉRIM, Scurlock 2014a: text 2.14.1; Bácskay 2015: 5, 11f.).²⁵ Cf. Böck 2007: 48ff., 79ff. for the medical usage contexts of Muššu'u material, focusing on symptoms of paralysis, ailments of the muscles/extremities and ghost-induced complaints also prominent in the section NECK.

²⁵ BM 42272 is a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet identified in the colophon as the "the 30th pirsu of šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl", which contains six prescriptions against witchcraft and curse (obv. 1-31) and fever (obv. 32-rev. 85), see Bácskay 2015 for a complete edition. For texts on fever see now also Bácskay 2018.

16) One manuscript of NECK Tablet 5 is identified in AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+BAM 523+ (cf. CDLI no. P394418), containing the matching incipit: [DIŠ NA] *mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma ta-lam-ma-šú i-šam-ma-am-šú* KIN *mi-šit-ti* (GIG) "If a man is struck with stroke of the face and his torso goes numb, (he suffers from) the effect of the stroke". Cf. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007 for an edition of selected passages and discussion of the tablet. The incipit of NECK Tablet 5 is identical with the incipit of Sakikkû Tablet 27 (see STT 91: 87 (catchline) and AO 6680 (incipit); Heeßel 2000: 286, 297, 303; Scurlock 2014a: 206). NECK Tablet 5 is concerned with stroke (mišittu) affecting different areas of the body and with concomitant symptoms such as speech problems ("seizure/paralysis of the mouth", KA.DAB.BÉ.DA), "paralysis" (*šimmatu*) and "flaccidity" (*rimûtu*). Parallels to AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+BAM 523+ are found e.g. in the following texts:

Nineveh: AMT 23/2 (fragment), BAM 533 (K. 2262+, one-column tablet with prescriptions for illnesses of the mouth, partially parallel to NECK and TEETH), BAM 534 (K. 3484, fragment of a multi-column tablet with spells and remedies for illnesses of the mouth); Assur: BAM 28 obv. (incantations), BAM 132-136 and BAM 138 (prescriptions for mišittu); Uruk; SpTU 1, 46 (10th pirsu of the Late Babylonian therapeutic series); Kiš: OECT 11, No. 72-74.

Earlier precursors to passages of NECK 5 are found e.g. in the Old or Middle Babylonian text BAM 398 from Nippur (see Langdon 1914: 67-75; Böck 2010a: 96-98). For texts on *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* cf. also below commentary to AMC line

No manuscript of NECK Tablet 6 has been identified to date, but an incipit matching AMC NECK 6 is preserved in BAM 523+AMT 77/1-79/1(= K. 2418+)+ iv 51 (= NECK Tablet 5, catchline), reading: DIŠ NA ina MÁŠ. GI_c -šú [ÚŠ.MEŠ] IGI. IGI-mar "If a man constantly sees [dead persons] in his dream". The same entry is also found in CT 23, 15-22+ (K. 2175+) iv 13, a collection for ghost-induced ailments (Scurlock 2006: 231 no. 25: 1; cf. CDLI P365739): [DIŠ NA *in*]a MÁŠ.GI₆-šú Ú[Š.MEŠ I]GI.MEŠ. The Late Babylonian fragment SpTU 4, 134: 7 (remedies for ghost visions) also contains this formula with a similar prescription (Scurlock 2006: no. 30). For ghost visions in dreams, see further Butler 1998: 59-61.

18) The entry of AMC line 18 within the adi-section of the section NECK partially matches the incipit of AMT 96/1: 1ff.: DIŚ na-aṣ-mat-ti di-ik-ši lu-u ʿšá ZAGʾ [lu-u šá GÙB (...)] "If (you want) a bandage for a swelling either on the right [or left side ...]". AMT 96/1 forms the upper part of a one-column tablet, whose colophon is unfortunately almost completely damaged. The tablet could represent material belonging to NECK (excerpt?). Another recipe on this Nineveh tablet (ll. 14-16) is for dikšu caused by a ghost. The initial lines of AMT 96/1: 1ff. are also found in the Assur texts BAM 3 iv 35ff. (the last recipe in an excerpt of the CRANIUM section) and BAM 217: 5ff. (a small collection of remedies for dikšu, see l. 23): DIŠ na-aṣ-mad di-ik-ši lu šá 15/ZAG lu šá 150/GÙB "If (you want) a bandage for a swelling either on the right side or the left side". Further duplicates for this passage are BAM 564 (K. 5172+) iii 6'-10' and BM 42298: 4-5.26 The suggested restoration ana pašārī-ma "to relieve" at the end of AMC l. 18 remains uncertain, as it is not attested in any of the sources.²⁷ Thus, BAM 3 iv 35 shows an erased sign after 150 ("left") and continues immediately with recipes, and judging from the traces at the beginning of BAM 217: 6, this text likewise contained no verb after the sign GÙB "left (side)" (Worthington 2006: 25). Another related Nineveh fragment concerning treatments for dikšu is AMT 97/5, see esp. ll. 5' and 6'. For dikšu "swelling" cf. AHw 169b, 151b.

Mention should further be made of AMT 46/1 and 47/3 (K. 3612+), a two-column tablet with incantations for sick neck (KA.INIM.MA GÚ.GIG.GA.KE_a) and prescriptions for amulet bracelets. Since neither an incipit nor a colophon is preserved, it is unclear whether this tablet belongs to NECK. The occurrence of the rubric GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ in the Exorcist's Manual (line 9) may indicate that AMT 46/1 and 47/3 represents a collection of such spells and belongs to the context of āšipūtu rather than to the Nineveh Therapeutic Compendium (cf. Geller infra). Cf. also K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+, which contains incantations for "sick neck" parallel to AMT 47/3 (rev. iii-iv) and a section of the amulet compendium kunuk halti (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 373).

²⁶ BAM 564 is a fragmentary two-column tablet otherwise preserving treatments for respiratory illness; BM 42298 is a Late Babylonian exercise tablet with remedies for internal ailments. For an edition of BAM 3 with duplicates, see Worthington 2006: esp. 26; for BM 42298, see also Finkel 2000: 181.

²⁷ A slightly differing reading [ana] pa-šá-r[i] for AMC line 18 was proposed by Scurlock 2014a: 298 fragment 9B obv. 2'. The spelling ana pa-šá-rì-ma deciphered in the present AMC edition is occasionally found elsewhere in the medical texts, see e.g. AMT 96/3+(AMT 6/10+AMT 96/9+): 13, see Farber 1977: 56: 13 and Pl. 1; CDLI P394506.

19) The lack of a summary section for NOSEBLEED is unique in the catalogue. The compiler of the catalogue may have decided that it was unnecessary to append a summary section, because the contents of the section were already clarified by the title in AMC line 19. In other words, a summary for NOSEBLEED was possibly omitted because this section is restricted to one particular topic and does not include remedies for other purposes, which needed to be listed through additional keywords. However, even in this case, one would have expected a total of tablets as in all other catalogue sections. Is it possible that this section was not yet brought to a definitive shape?

Tablets with treatments and incantations for nosebleed are rare; some of them were also used for gynaecological bleeding.²⁸ Thus, the incantation mimmû ilū ibnū amēlūtu bears the rubric KA.INIM.MA MÚD KIR "šú šur-du-ma DU-ku "Recitation (for the case that) blood is dripping and flowing from his nose" in BAM 386 i'7' (Babylon) and SpTU 4, No. 129 i 28' (collections of amulet stones, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 325 text 11), while the Assur compendium on bleeding during pregnancy BAM 237 ii 7', defines the purpose of the spell as KA.INIM.MA MUN[US ša na-ah-šá-a-te GIG-at] "Recitation for a wom[an who suffers from *nahšātu* (haemorrhage)]" (Collins 1999: 177ff.). See also BM 40152 iii 17, a Neo-Babylonian gynaecological compendium, which notes that a treatment can be used "to stop nosebleed and the blood of a woman" (ana MÚD KIR, u MÚD MUNUS TAR-si).

A few fragments from Nineveh with prescriptions for nosebleed are known in BAM 524-526 and BAM 529-530, none of which provides a complete incipit. However, the colophon of BAM 530 (K. 6198): 2' preserves the fragmentary section BAM 524 is a fragment of a two-column tablet, it could likewise represent a manuscript of a NOSEBLEED series tablet (note ibid. ii' 4', prognosis within an incantation: MÚD KIR₄ TAR-su "the nosebleed will be stopped"). Nosebleed is also a topic in collections of amulets for various purposes, see e.g. K. 4782: 8': 8 NA4.MEŠ MÚD ina KIR4-šú DU-ku "eight stones (for the case that) blood flows from his nose"; see also BAM 386 il 7', 9' and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 109-110 passim. Note further SpTU 1, 45, a fragment with recipes involving the nose (nostrils), whose position within the therapeutic corpus remains to be established.29

20) The title of TEETH is cited in BAM 543 iv 60' (colophon), which designates the tablet as [DUB 2.K]AM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG 'AL'.TIL "[Second tablet] of 'If a man's teeth are sore'. Finished". The catchline of this tablet (iv 59) cites the incipit of the first tablet of the section on respiratory ailments (BRONCHIA) corresponding to the AMC sequence (see below lines 24-28). A manuscript of TEETH Tablet 1 is identified in BAM 538 (K. 2439+), preserving the matching incipit (i 1): DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG "If a man's teeth are sore". The tablet is also identified in the colophon (iv 50') as [DUB] 1.KAM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG (Thompson 1926: 57-60). BAM 541 and 542 are possibly fragments of BAM 538 (cf. Köcher 1980b: xviii-xix, referring to further duplicating passages in the texts AMT 23/6, AMT 24/2, AMT 25/2, CT 17, 50).

A Nineveh manuscript of TEETH Tablet 2 is BAM 543 (K. 2419+), offering the corresponding incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA gi-mer ZÚ.MEŠ-šú] 'i'-na-áš u ri-šu-t[u, TUK-ši] "[If all of a man's teeth] become loose and [he gets] risûtu" (restored from the older parallel in the Assur text BAM 159 v 10-11, cf. Thompson 1926: 60ff.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2,5.8; Parys 2014: 22, 34 §59; CAD R 382 sub a). BAM 538 iv 50' (= TEETH 1) also offers the matching catchline DIŚ NA gi-mir ZÚ.MEŚ-šú i-na-áš "If all of a man's teeth become loose". Cf. further the similar entry in STT 279: 1 (parallel to BAM 543 i 17 and CTN 4, 130: 3', Köcher 1980b: xx): DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú nu-uš-sá-ma MÚD i-hi-la ana TI-šú "If a man's teeth are loose and exude blood - in order to heal him (...)". STT 279 is an excerpt tablet with extracts from TEETH 2 and EYES 1.

Further textual parallels to TEETH Tablet 2 are found in the Assur texts BAM 28-29 (both one-column tablets), AMT 54/3, BAM 533, 536 and 537 (Nineveh texts concerned e.g. with bu'šānu), in CTN 4, 140 (from Nimrud), as well as in SpTU 1, 44 (= 9th pirsu of the therapeutic series šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl at Late Babylonian Uruk, Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6) and SpTU 1, 46 (= 10th pirsu of šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl). SpTU 1, 44 begins with the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 1 (cf. below line 24), but most of the prescriptions on the tablet deal with bu'šānu, a topic included in the AMC section TEETH. The incipit of SpTU 1, 46 corresponds with the catchline of SpTU 1, 44 (dealing with a condition

²⁸ It is noteworthy that the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 18 //) contains the entry MÚD.KIR_a.KU_g.DA "to stop the blood (flowing from) the nose", following entries of incantations concerned with "sick eyes", "sick tooth", bu'šānu-disease, "sick belly", "sick lung(s)" and "incantations for all illnesses". There, MÚD.KIR_a.KU₅.DA is listed beside the rubrics BURU₈.KU₅.RU.DA ("to stop vomiting") and ŠÀ.SUR.KU₅.RU.DA "to stop diarrhoea" (see Geller infra).

²⁹ The tablet was written by the prolific Uruk scribe and exorcist Anu-ikşur (5th century BCE) of the Šangû-Ninurta clan whose tablet collection included not only incantations, medical and omen texts, but also several medical commentaries (Clancier 2009: 52, 54-61, 81-83, 400-406).

of the tongue // BAM 543 i 49), but not with an incipit in AMC. It is further striking that the prescriptions in SpTU 1, 46 concerned with facial palsy (*mišittu*) have parallels to NECK, showing that the Uruk therapeutic series had a somewhat different organisation and sequence of contents compared with the AMC. Furthermore, the Sammeltafel IM 132670 col. ii-iii from Sippar contains a section with parallels to TEETH Tablet 2 (BAM 543, see Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 227, 231, 238 esp. §§ 21, 26, 27). Note as further parallel AMT 37/4: 7' (fragment): DIŠ NA ši-in-n[a-šú ...] "If a man's tee[th ...]". Other Assur fragments dealing with diseases of the mouth and teeth possibly related to TEETH are BAM 26-27, cf. also BAM 30 (against gnashing teeth). For further sources see Stol 2017: 184-185 §§ 3-4.

Since the treatments for the disease bu'sānu are known to have formed part of the section TEETH (Tablet 2), texts dealing with this subject could have a potential connection, see e.g. AMT 54/3 (K. 8716, in Neo-Babylonian ductus, rubric ii 8': KA.INIM.MA bu'šānu DAB-su; the fragment possibly forms part of BAM 536, cf. Köcher 1980b: xvii and the commentary on AMC line 22 below). Some symptomologies affecting the mouth, such as speech problems due to stroke or seizures (mišittu), are dealt with in NECK rather than TEETH, see e.g. BAM 523+K.2418(=AMT 77/1-79/1)+ (= NECK 5; cf. CDLI P394418 and below). However, tablets such as BAM 533 (K. 2262+) combine prescriptions for bu'šānu, mišittu and KA.DAB.BÉ.DA ("mouth seizure"), drawing on texts belonging to TEETH and NECK (see Köcher 1980b: xvi-xvii, cf. also the Nineveh fragments BAM 534-535 concerned with KA.DAB.BÉ.DA and other seizures).³⁰

- 21) Literal textual parallels for the key phrases in AMC l. 21 are so far unknown from the medical corpus. However, the Late Babylonian disease taxonomy text SpTU 1, 43: 8 mentions murus qaqqadi u pî "head and mouth disease(s)", which are grouped with other illnesses that are supposed to originate in the "mouth of the stomach" (cf. Geller 2014: 3; Steinert 2016a: 231). For the end of line 21 see also Scurlock 2014a: 298, fragment 9B obv. 5'. The emendation of the verb at the end of the line to $na^i - di^i(SI) - a[t^i]$ follows a suggestion by M. Stol, based on the parallel passage in STT 279: 12: MIN (= DIŠ NA ZÚ-šú) na-da-at "Ditto (If a man's tooth) falls out" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 421; cf. CAD Š/3 50; Stol 2017: 184 § 1.2).
- 22) Tābīlu can refer to dryness of cough, see BAM 549 iv 4 (DT 178+ = BRONCHIA Tablet 5): DIŠ NA ta-bi-lam ú-sa-al ul ŠUB-a el-la-t[u ...] "If a man suffers from a dry cough, (but) does not expectorate (phlegm), [his] saliva [...]" (dupl. AMT 81/1+ iii 22' and BAM 551 iii 6'; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.70; cf. CAD T 25 s.v. tābīlam sub b). A prescription for tābīlu probably occurs also in BAM 543 iv 22 (= TEETH 2): [DIŠ NA KA-šú (...)? t]a-bi-i-lu ṣa-ab-tú "If a man's mouth? (and ...)] are seized by dryness" (cf. SpTU 1, 44: 44f.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6). This points to the inclusion of the topics mentioned here in the tablets of TEETH. Similarly, several recipes in BAM 543 (= TEETH 2) are for treating bu'šānu, see e.g. ii 24 // SpTU 1, 44: 16 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.5.6): [DIŠ NA ... K]A²-sú KÚM il-la-tu-sú DU-ku bu-'-šá-na DAB-su "[If a man ... his mo]uth? is feverish, his saliva flows, bu'šānu has seized him" (see further BAM 543 ii 11, 19, 46', 50', 59', iii 53', iv 3). For other tablets with recipes concerning bu'šānu see e.g. BAM 533-534, BAM 536-537, SpTU 1, 44: 16-83, see Scurlock 2014a: 719 text 2.5.6 for further parallels). For the illness bu'šānu cf. also Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 40-42, 413-414; Kinnier Wilson and Finkel 2007: 16-22.
- 23) Possibly no text is missing in the gap at the beginning of the line. However, the phrase $\dot{s}\dot{a}$ LÚ.TUR does not seem to be a continuation of the last phrase in line 22, bu'šānu DAB-su. Thus, one could ask whether šá LÚ.TUR forms a scribal comment on the preceding phrase, rather than a complete citation or rubric from a source text. It is conspicuous that there are few preserved texts concerned with paediatrics among known therapeutic texts. Current studies have concentrated entirely on Sakikkû Tablet 40 (see Volk 1999: 10-30; Cadelli 1997: 11-33). Interestingly, the only title of a genre specifically for infants in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and dupl.) are the rituals for pacifying a baby (LÚ.TUR.HUN. GÁ), enumerated beside rituals for pregnant women, for women in childbirth and against the baby-snatching Lamaštu (KAR 44: 15 //, see Geller *infra*; for the baby rituals, see Farber 1989a). The dearth of medical-therapeutic texts restricted to infants as well as the fact that AMC contains no separate section devoted to paediatrics may indicate that in the ther-

³⁰ Note also hemerological provisions concerned with preventing teeth loss (Livingstone 2013: 140: 41; 184: 38 etc.).

³¹ BAM 533 (K. 2622+) is a one-column tablet combining treatments for KA.DAB.BÉ.DA "seizing of the mouth" (parallel to NECK Tablet 5) and for bu'sānu (with duplicating passages in BAM 543 = TEETH Tablet 2). The fragment BAM 534 (K. 3484) belongs to a multi-column tablet preserving therapies for diseases of the mouth (including KA.DAB.BÉ.DA). BAM 536 (K. 6572) and BAM 537 (K. 11513), feature spells and prescriptions for bu'šānu (both are written in a Neo-Babylonian ductus). For the texts see Köcher 1980b: xvi-xviii.

apeutic corpus reflected in AMC, treatments for conditions that occured in children and adults (e.g. bu'šānu and suālu) were not collected in separate sections (sadīru), but were integrated within the same section covering the respective topic. It could thus be that šá LÚ.TUR in AMC line 23 notifies the reader that recipes for infants suffering from bu'šānu are also to be found in TEETH. A similar line LÚ.TUR suālu GIG "an infant suffering from cough" indicating material within the section BRONCHIA is found in AMC line 28 (cf. below).

Bu'šānu as an infants' disease is known from Sakikkû 40: 96-101, 114 (Scurlock 2014a: 267f.; cf. Sakikkû 33: 88-91; Cadelli 1997: 34; Volk 1999: 27f.; Böck 2014a: 62ff.), but among the few medical tablets with treatments for infants none deals with this ailment. The small Babylonian tablet BM 62376 contains a single recipe introduced by DIŠ LÚ.TUR GÚ.MUR-su haniq "If a child's pharynx is constricted" (see Scurlock 2014a: 627f. text 2.13.4), which is possibly related to the section on respiratory illnesses (BRONCHIA). A small Neo- or Late Babylonian collection with remedies for a boy suffering from diseases of the lower abdomen (especially rectal ailments) is preserved on the extract tablet MS 4575 from the Schøyen Collection (George 2016: 167f. No. 74). Another therapeutic tablet concerning infants designated as "2nd nishu of remedies", K. 3628+K. 4009+Sm. 1315(+ K. 19939, join Eric Schmidtchen) is also unrelated to the section TEETH: it presents remedies for a child seized by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, bēl ūri, "Hand of Ištar", lilû and alû (Farber 1989a: 28, 67 § 15a, 126-129 § 45-46; Stol 1993: 89; Scurlock 2014a: 621ff. text 2.13.1). Interspersed recipes for children among remedies for adult patients are also occasionally attested, see e.g. BAM 409: 17' (against the skin disease sāmānu, Köcher 1995: 203f.) and K. 4957+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9, Ms. I iv 26', referring to an illness of the rectum). A medicinal plant specified for treating a sick infant is singled out in BAM 379 ii 54' (drug compendium, Stadhouders 2011: 35). For AMC sections mentioning infants' illnesses see further AMC lines 74, 92, 97 and 109.

24) Beside DIŠ NA *na-piš* KIR_a-šú DUGUD "If a man has difficulty breathing through the nose", some texts use the abbreviated section title DIŠ NA KIR₄-šú DUGUD (see Köcher 1980b: xx-xxi, e.g. BAM 543 iv 59' (= TEETH Tablet 2, catchline), BAM 547 (K. 7854+) iv 14' (tup-pi 1.KAM DIŠ NA KIR₄-su DUGUD), and BAM 548 iv 13' (DUB 5.KAM.MA DIŠ NA KI[R_a -su DUGUD) ...]). The longer formulation na-piš KIR, -šú DUGUD is encountered e.g. in BAM 566 i 6' (rubric): [... DIŠ NA] na-piš KIR, -šú DUGUD (fragment of a two-column tablet, excerpt of BRONCHIA(?), cf. Köcher 1980b: xxvi). See also the incipit of the Uruk extract tablet SpTU 1, No. 44: 1: DIŠ NA na-piš KIR_a-šú DUGUD (the tablet is identified as the "9th pirsu of šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl").

BAM 547 (K. 7854+) preserves no incipit, but has been identified as a manuscript of BRONCHIA Tablet 1 through its catchline (iv 13') matching the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 2: DIŠ NA GABA-su G[IG-m]a NINDA u A ina GABA-šú GUB. MEŠ-zu ha-ah-ha TUK.MEŠ "If a man's chest is sick, so that food and water get stuck in his chest (and) he continually has a wet cough" (Thompson 1934: 1f.; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.74).32

A fragmentary exemplar of BRONCHIA Tablet 2 has been identified in AMT 48/4, which does not preserve an incipit, but a fragmentary catchline matching the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 3 (iv 13'; Thompson 1934: 2f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 243f.). Cf. also the fragmentary tablet BAM 560 (K. 2531+) belonging to a two-column tablet with fragmentary colophon, which contains several prescriptions starting with DIŚ NA GABA-su "If a man's chest (...)" (ii 6', 8') and DIŚ NA GABA-su u MAŠ.SÌL.[MEŠ-šú ...] "If a man's chest and shoulders [...]" (iii 16'), similar to the incipits of BRONCHIA 2 and 3. Cf. also commentary to AMC line 25.

25) For the restoration of the AMC incipit of BRONCHIA 3 see already Johnson 2014: 12. AMT 48/4 (K. 2614, = BRON-CHIA Tablet 2), preserving the fragmentary catchline of BRONCHIA Tablet 3. A manuscript of BRONCHIA tablet 3 is identified in AMT 49/4, offering the matching incipit (i 1): DIŠ NA GABA-su SAG ŠÀ-šú MAŠ.SÌL^{II}-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú x[...] (Thompson 1934: 3f.). BAM 39 presents an Assur fragment of an "older" Neo-Assyrian tablet with parallels to AMT 49/4 (Köcher 1963a: xvii with n. 14; Labat 1954: 216f.; Stol 2004: 72; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.6). A few tablets on topics related to BRONCHIA contain entries that are similar to the incipit of BRONCHIA 3. AMT 50/3: 11, an excerpt tablet(?), whose incipit differs from BRONCHIA Tablet 3, contains a passage starting: DIŠ NA GABA-su MAŠ.SÌL.MEŠ-šú GU₇. MEŠ-šú *ip-te-né-ru* NA BI UŠ₁₁ DAB-šú [...] "If a man's chest (and) shoulders hurt him all the time (and) he keeps vomiting, sorcery has seized that man" (see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.84; the incipit begins DIŠ NA KI.MIN su-a-lam BABBAR ŠUB.MEŠ-a "If a man ditto, continually produces white suālu-phlegm"). BAM 564 (K. 5172+) ii 14', a fragmen-

³² This symptom description indicates a deficient understanding of internal anatomy and blurred differentiation between the digestive and respiratory system.

tary two-column tablet, probably belongs to BRONCHIA and offers the following line: [DIŠ NA] GABA-su SAG ŠÀ-šú he has repeated fits of coughing" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.67). Note also the fragmentary line in AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 7'f.: [...] DIŠ NA GABA-su u MAŠ.SÌL.MEŠ-šú GU_{7} . MEŠ' x [...] / [... na-p]iš KIR $_{a}$ -šú DUGUD x[...] "If a man's chest and shoulders hurt (him) continually [...], he has difficulty breathing through the nose [...]" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 8.75; CDLI P396674). Cf. further BAM 560 (K. 2531+) ii 6', 8', iii 16' (cited above, commentary to AMC line 24). The position of these texts within BRONCHIA remains to be ascertained.

26) AMT 49/4 rev. 10' (= BRONCHIA 3) preserves the catchline for BRONCHIA Tablet 4: DIŠ NA KÚM-em ú-ga-na-[ah] "If a man is feverish (and) coughs" (rev. 11' reads: DUB 3.KAM [...]), allowing a restoration of the lost AMC incipit. AMT 49/1(+)AMT 51/5 presents a small fragment of BRONCHIA Tablet 4, preserving part of a colophon with catchline to BRONCHIA 5 (Thompson 1934: 4f.). Another fragment of BRONCHIA 4 with partial incipit is AMT 45/4; Thompson (1934: 4) further notes AMT 48/5 and AMT 49/2 as additional fragments; add possibly BAM 527 (Köcher 1980b: xv).

Several witnesses to BRONCHIA Tablet 5 have been identified. BAM 548 (K. 3516+) preserves the incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA su-a-l|am GIG ana ša-ha-ti "[If a man] suffers from [suā]lu-cough, in order to remove it (...)", and is identified in iv 13' as DUB 5.KÁM.MA DIŠ NA KI[R_{α} -šú DUGUD], see Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.2). A second manuscript of BRONCHIA 5 is AMT 80/1+81/1 (K. 2414+9969, CDLI P 394414), with partially preserved incipit in i 1 and catchline/section title in rev. iv 3'f. (Thompson 1934: 5ff.). BAM 552 (AMT 24/4+) is another witness of BRONCHIA 5 (iii 3': DIŠ NA su-alu GIG-ma [...]), preserving a fragmentary catchline to BRONCHIA Tablet 6 in col. iv 16'. F. Köcher (1980b: xxiif., xxvi) further identified the following Nineveh fragments of two-column tablets as parts BRONCHIA 5: BAM 549 (= AMT 80/2+AMT 80/7 and 81/3) containing remedies for cough (suālu) and dry (tābīlam) cough (iv 4), BAM 550 (with remedies for suālu and an entry beginning with the same words as the incipit of BRONCHIA Tablet 6, in col. iv 8: DIŠ NA su-alu ha-ha [...]), BAM 551 (iii 6' on tābīlam), and possibly also BAM 567 (col. ii is concerned with suālu).

27) The interpolation ki-sir-te < MUR.MEŠ > GIG is based on the catchline to BRONCHIA Tablet 6, preserved in BAM 548 iv 14' (= BRONCHIA 5): DIŠ NA su-a-lam ha-ha u ki-şir-tú M[UR.MEŠ GIG ...] "If a man [suffers] from suālu-cough, wet cough and constriction of the lu[ngs]" (Scurlock 2014a: 467). The Neo-Babylonian recipe collection IM 132670 from Sippar offers a similar entry (cf. Köcher 1980b: xxiii n. 46; Johnson 2014: 12 n. 3, with Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 232, 239 §38 col. iv 24f.): DIŠ NA lu MUR.MEŠ lu ki-ṣir-ti MUR.MEŠ lu su-alu GIG "If a man suffers from (diseased) lungs, constriction of the lungs or from suālu-cough". The passage on respiratory illnesses in IM 132670 (§§ 33-38) has duplicates in several other texts such as BM 78963 ("2nd nishu" of remedies, from Sippar), BAM 42, BAM 44 (for further duplicates see Scurlock 2014a: 724).

No manuscripts of BRONCHIA Tablet 6 are known which preserve an incipit, but the fragment BAM 554 (K. 2357A + K. 13397) probably represents part of BRONCHIA Tablet 6 because of the similar topic (see Köcher 1980b: xxiii, BAM 554 i 3': DIŚ NA ki-ṣir-tú [MUR,MEŚ ...]). BAM 555-556 form further fragments of this tablet. Note also AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 10' (see CDLI P396647) mentioning kişirte hašê "constriction of the lungs". "Older" Neo-Assyrian tablets from Assur with parallels to BAM 554-556 are BAM 42 and BAM 44 (one-column tablets from Assur, Köcher 1963a: xviif.); cf. further BAM 558, BAM 564, BAM 566, BAM 571-572, AMT 21/4, AMT 55/3+ (Nineveh fragments which cannot be positioned within BRONCHIA yet) and the Assur texts BAM 37 (Middle Assyrian tablet from the library of Tiglath-pileser I), BAM 40-41, BAM 43, BAM 45 and BAM 47, most of which contain duplicating or parallel sections to Nineveh tablets on lung ailments.

28) The preserved signs of the right half of the summary line seem to belong to the adi-section, most likely enumerating short key phrases from sections of BRONCHIA tablets. The first key phrase "(diseased) windpipe" (embūb hašê, GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ (GIG) occurs several times in BAM 566 (AMT 26/3+ AMT 55/5 + AMT 69/10), e.g. i 14', 16': [...] NA BI GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ GIG "[...] this man suffers from (an obstruction of) the windpipe"; also ii 3', 5', 6': DIŠ NA GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ GIG-ma x[...] "If a man suffers from (an obstruction of) the windpipe, [...]". This text contains material connected to the section BRONCHIA (see Köcher 1980b: xxvi, see BAM 566 i 6' citing the section title (rubric)), but its position within the section is not yet ascertained (it may also be an excerpt from BRONCHIA). The recipe collection ("2nd nishu") BM 78963: 40 presents another close parallel, with a prescription DIŠ NA em-bu-bu ha-še-e GIG ú-gan-na-ah KI ru-ti-šú MÚD ŠUB-a "If a man's windpipe is sore so that he has repeated fits of coughing and produces blood with his spittle" (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3). Cf. further the fragment AMT 2/7: 8': [... ha-ah-ha] ul ŠUB-a GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ ú-na-qar-šú [...] "[...] he does not produce [phlegm?], (his) windpipe tears him up [...]" (cf. CAD N/2 332 sub 4). The diseased windpipe is also mentioned as diagnosis in a recipe of AMT 40/4 + AMT 57/5 rev. 31' (see Geller 2005a: Ms. No. 30 Ms. dd), but this tablet focuses on rectal disease and does not belong to the present context. Similarly, obstruction of the windpipe is also mentioned as a symptom of sētu-fever (BAM 145: 13f., restoration following the variant BAM 146 rev. 36'f.; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.6.5; see now Bácskay 2018: 181-186: [ina ṣa-la]-li-šú (...) GI.GÍD MUR.MEŠ-šú (var. ha-še-šú) [it]-ti-ʿnilʿ-is-kìr "(his) windpipe is constantly obstructed [when he li]es down"), cf. below commentary to STOMACH.

The next keyword in the adi-section of AMC line 28 is the illness term šīqu, for which CAD Š/3 101 suggests the meaning "an eczema" (based on Sakikkû Tablet 13: 92; Scurlock 2014a: 106). However, in the Late Babylonian disease-taxonomy text SpTU 1, 43: 21, šīqu is listed among the diseases originating from the lungs, beside bu'šānu, "wind" and the illness şinnah tīri (Geller 2014: 4; Steinert 2016a: 231). Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 42, 688 n. 84) identify šīqu with coloured sputum, whereas M. Stol (personal communication) suggests to translate šīqu with "cough". Both interpretations stem from the medical contexts, in which the word *šīqu* occurs: lung illness and different types of cough. Since Sakikkû 13: 92 speaks of šīgu present inside the belly (ina ŠÀ-šú ši-gu), it may refer to a substance similar to mucus or phlegm rather than to general "cough" (see also Sakikkû 13: 89, Scurlock 2014a: 106, where šīqu is produced by the lips (NUMDUM.MEŠ-šú ši-qá ŠUB-a)). Note the recipe collection ("2nd nishu") BM 78963: 50, 52, 55 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3), which includes remedies DIŠ NA ší-qá DAB-su "if a man is seized by šīqu" and DIŠ NA ši-i-qu lu-hu-'u GIG "if a man suffers from dirty šīqu". A list of diseases (MSL 9: 96: 197) contains the following equations: [x]-zé-gig = ši-i-qu, which B. Böck (2007: 238 to l. 10) connects with me-zé = issu "jaw, cheek-bone".

It is noteworthy that the last key phrase enumerated in AMC line 28, ù LÚ.TUR su-alu GIG "and (treatments for) an infant suffering from cough", indicates that treatments for cough (suālu) in children were included in the section BRONCHIA, and not collected separately. None of the preserved textual witnesses of BRONCHIA or related texts contain such passages, and no therapeutic tablets focussing on *suālu* in children are attested to this date. Note however that the topic is addressed in Sakikkû Tablet 40: 39 (Scurlock 2014a: 259, including an appended prescription; for discussion cf. Volk 1999: 24f.; Cadelli 1997: 31).

29) The broader thematic focus of STOMACH, which in the Assyriological literature is commonly called somewhat misleadingly Suālu "cough", are intestinal or digestive illnesses. This section of the therapeutic corpus is in fact concerned with libbu (ŚÀ) "belly" (i.e. the abdomen with the intestines), not with the stomach in particular. The title STOMACH was chosen to indicate the anatomical connection to the digestive tract and the organisational principle "from head to (toe)nail(s)" displayed by AMC PART 1. The catalogue sections following STOMACH, i.e. EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN, are also concerned with ailments affecting the digestive system (cf. below), but their contents (as far as can be seen from the catalogue incipits) do not seem to be ordered in any apparent anatomical order. It is possible that these three sections included treatments focussing on specific internal organs (e.g. liver, spleen).

A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 1 has been identified in BAM 574 (K. 191+), which contains the incipit (i 1) and and section title (iv 52) matching the AMC: DIŚ NA su-a-lam GIG ana ki-is ŚÀ GUR "If a man is sick with suālu-cough (which) turns into intestinal disease" (Cadelli 2000: 68, 89). The fragment BAM 577 belongs to column ii of this tablet (cf. Köcher 1980b: xxviii-xxix; CDLI P393782; Johnson, infra). BAM 575 iv 55 (= STOMACH 2) also cites the section title in the colophon (cf. Johnson 2014: 12 with n. 4 for discussion). The colophon of BAM 579 (= STOMACH 5) reads GUR-šu at the end of the section title, while other manuscripts containing this line omit the pronominal suffix. Further Nineveh sources with parallels for STOMACH 1 are found e.g. in BAM 573, BAM 576 (fragments of two-column tablets). Assur tablets (excerpts) containing parallels or duplicating passages to STOMACH 1 (and other tablets of the section) are BAM 48-52. See further Cadelli 2000.

The incipit of STOMACH Tablet 2 is preserved in BAM 574 iv 51 (= STOMACH 1, catchline): DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú GIG (GA ÁB KÙ.GA Ì.NUN.NA U₄ 2.KAM NAG) "If a man's belly is sick, (he shall drink milk of a pure cow (with) ghee for two days)". A witness of STOMACH Tablet 2 is presented by BAM 575 (K. 71B+), with matching incipit in col. i 1 (Cadelli 2000: 124). For Assur fragments/excerpt tablets containing parallel passages to STOMACH 2 see e.g. BAM 49, BAM 52, and BAM 54-59.33

³³ For these texts cf. Köcher 1963: xviii-xix; Cadelli 2000: 124ff. passim. BAM 52 is designated as the "6th extract (nishu) copied from a wooden writing board from Babylonia (Akkad)". For BAM 55 and BAM 59 see also Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.5 and 2.14.2.

30) The catchline of BAM 575 iv 54 (= STOMACH 2) contains the incipit for STOMACH Tablet 3 corresponding to AMC: DIŠ NA SAG,ŠÀ-šú GU_{τ} -šú ina ge-ši-šú ZÉ im-ta-na-' NA BI ger-bé-na GIG "If a man's epigastrium hurts him, (and) when he belches he keeps producing bile, this man is sick internally" (Cadelli 2000: 147). A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 3 is preserved in BAM 578 (K. 61+) featuring the incipit in col. i 1 (Cadelli 2000: 187). Extracts with duplicating recipes to STOMACH 3 can be found in the Assur excerpts/fragments BAM 52, BAM 60, BAM 62, BAM 64 and BAM 72 (see Cadelli 2000: 187ff.). For further parallels see the Assur texts BAM 92 (an "older" multi-column tablet with prescriptions for internal ailments) and the Sammeltafel BAM 159 (cf. Parys 2014).

The incipit of STOMACH Tablet 4 is preserved in the catchline of BAM 578 iv 47 (= STOMACH 3): DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-id ZI SAG.KI GIG ina lam DUGUD-šú ana TI.BI "If a man is overcome by sētu-fever, he suffers from pulsating of the temple(s), in order to cure him before it becomes severe for him" (cf. Scurlock 2014a: 518). Identified witnesses of STOMACH tablet 4 are AMT 14/7: 1 (incipit) // AMT 44/6 + 45/1 i 1 (see Cadelli 2000: 207; Johnson 2014: 29). The fragments K. 2386+ (AMT 78/3+45/6+48/3+48/1+23/5) probably also belong to col. i of STOMACH 4 (Johnson 2014: 14ff., 27f.). BAM 66, a Middle Assyrian tablet from the library of Tiglath-pileser I contains duplicating sections to STOMACH 4 (from rev. 4' onward), as does the Assur text BAM 174 (an excerpt tablet with passages from STOMACH (see Johnson 2014: 29ff., 34f.). BAM 66 also shares parallel entries with Sakikkû Tablet 31 (see Heeßel 2000: 342, 348f.; Scurlock 2014a: 225-230; Johnson 2014: 35f.).

A manuscript of STOMACH Tablet 5 is BAM 579 (K. 5834+), with the matching incipit (i 1) DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú KÚM DAB "If heat (fever) afflicts a man's belly" (Cadelli 2000: 252). Parallel recipes to STOMACH 5 can be found in the following Assur texts (mostly excerpt tablets): BAM 50, BAM 52, BAM 54, BAM 67-70 (Köcher 1963a: xviiif., xx; see further Cadelli 2000: 252, 257, 263, 265 for parallels). For texts related to STOMACH dealing with fever (e.g. *şētu*) see now Bácskay 2018.

31) Most of the phrases following adi(EN) in AMC lines 31-35 are attested in STOMACH tablets and thus present short citations indicating contents of the STOMACH section. The first key phrase in the *adi*-section is very similar to the incipit of Sakikkû Tablet 32 (so far only attested as catchline of Sakikkû Tablet 31 and in the Sakikkû catalogue, see Heeßel 2000: 344: 57'; Finkel 1988: 147 A 38f. and Schmidtchen infra), reading DIŠ TU₁₅ iš-biṭ-su-ma "If wind has blasted him". Within the therapeutic corpus, the closest parallel to this AMC entry about "wind blasting" (bloating of the intestines) is found in the Assur text BAM 146 (rev. 56': [DIŠ NA] TU₁₅ iš-biţ-su-ma ma-gal e-e[m ...] "[If] wind has blasted (against) [a man], and he is very hot [...]"). BAM 146 is a one-column (excerpt?) tablet also containing treatments for fever (ummu/KÚM and \$\ointilde{\text{s}}\text{tu/UD.DA}\$), which are topics indicated by the AMC incipits of STOMACH Tablets 4 and 5 (see now B\u00e1cskay 2018: 181-186). However, the topic "wind" in the belly (libbu) is also dealt with in STOMACH 2 (BAM 575 iii 25, 27, 28, 30) and in Assur texts related to the section STOMACH (e.g. BAM 50 rev. 7-10; BAM 52 rev. 77).

Unrelated to the entry in AMC line 31 or to the STOMACH section are texts concerned with skin ailments that treat the condition "wind blasting" (šibiţ šāri), see e.g. BAM 580 iii 15'ff., 20'ff. (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.10.5). Women after delivery can suffer from this condition as well (here probably bloating is meant), see e.g. the gynaecological text BAM 240: 20 (Scurlock 2014a: 610), cf. Cadelli 2000: 396 n. 112, 345 n. 274.

- 32) This entry seems to be a citation from STOMACH Tablet 2, since BAM 575 iii 42 contains a prescription beginning DIŚ NA Ú NAG-ma la i-ár-rù șe-me-er "if a man drinks medicine, but does not vomit (and) is bloated". Scurlock (2014a: 299) reconstructs [(DIŠ N)]A' at the beginning of AMC line 32, but possibly the catalogue entry is abbreviated. The first fragmentary sign in this line could thus belong to a preceding key phrase lost in the gap.
- 33) The restored entry is also preserved in BAM 575 iii 49 (STOMACH Tablet 2), which reads: DIŠ NA KAŠ SAG NAG-ma SUHUŠ, MEŠ-šú pa-al-qa di-ig-la ma-a-ti ana TI-šú "If a man drinks first quality beer and then his lower extremities are unsteady and his sight is reduced – in order to cure him (...)" (cf. Cadelli 2000: 140, Scurlock 2014a: 636). It is uncertain whether the two key phrases at the end of AMC lines 32 and 33 were continued in the following line, but it is likely that the they were cited in abbreviated form compared with the source texts.
- 34) The topic kisir libbi "belly knot", characterised mainly by the inability to keep down and digest food, is dealt with in BAM 575 iv 37 // (= STOMACH Tablet 2): DIŠ NA ki-sir ŠÀ GIG NINDA u KAŠ 'ŠÀ-šú' la IGI-šú ina KA-šú GUR.GUR TÙN-šú i-sah-hal-šú ana TI-[šú] "If a man suffers from 'knot of the belly', so that his belly does not accept bread and beer, but he keeps regurgitating it through his mouth, (and) his stomach (?) gives him a piercing pain – in order to cure him (...)";

ibid. iv 43: [DIŠ N]A ki-ṣir ŠÀ-bi GIG-ma NINDA u KAŠ ŠÀ-šu NU IGI-šu ina KA-šu GUR.GUR ip-te-ne-ru ana TI-šu "If a man suffers from 'knot of the belly', so that his belly does not accept bread and beer, but he keeps regurgitating it through his mouth (and) vomits all the time – in order to cure him (...)" (see Cadelli 2000: 145f., also BAM 575 iv 11: ki-sir-te ŠÀ GIG). The last key phrase in AMC line 34, the ailment $k\bar{i}s$ libbi "bond of the belly", is the main topic of STOMACH Tablet 1 (see BAM 574 i 1, 4, 11, 21, 26, ii 28, 33, 43, Cadelli 2000: 68ff.). The listing of key phrases in the adi-section thus does not seem to correspond exactly to the sequence of topics within the STOMACH section.

35) The lost beginning of this line could have listed key phrases concerned with different forms of jaundice, which are prominent topics in STOMACH Tablet 3 (see especially BAM 578 iii 25, iv 6, 17, 28, Cadelli 2000: 202ff.: [DIŠ NA (IGI^{II}-šú) IGI.SIG₇.SIG₇/amurriqānu / ahhāza DIRI).

For the related ailments <code>nikimti/nikmāt</code> šāri and ṣētu, see Wee 2012: 216f.; cf. also below AMC line 48. Both conditions occur together in the following duplicating texts: BAM 168: 1-3 (an Assur excerpt tablet on internal ailments duplicating STOMACH material) // BAM 88: 17'-19' (short Assur excerpt on internal ailments) // BAM 471 (= AMT 94/2) ii 3'-4' (collection on ghost-induced illnesses) // BAM 52: 66-67 (excerpt tablet with STOMACH material) and AMT 52/4: 2'-3', cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 6.45; Scurlock 2006: no. 191a; Geller 2005a: No. 34: 1-2 for these texts. The passage in question reads: DIŠ NA ŠÂ.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MÚ <code>ir-ru-šú</code> GIN-sú GIN-sú MAR.GAL <code>ma-gal</code> GÙ.GÙ-(ú) NA BI <code>ni-kim-ti</code> TU₁₅ <code>u</code> UD.DA GIG KIN-sú SUMUN-<code>ma</code> ŠU.GIDIM.MA "If a man's bowels are bloated, his entrails make a lot of noise like an <code>išqippu-bird</code>, that man suffers from bloating due to wind and from <code>ṣētu-fever</code>; this condition is of long duration (and) due to 'Hand of a ghost'." Another close match to the formulation in AMC line 35 is found in the Late Babylonian Uruk text BAM 403 (= LKU 61) rev. 7' (catchline) // BAM 52: 72: [DIŠ NA ... <code>n]ik-mat</code> TU₁₅ <code>u</code> UD.DA DIRI-ú <code>u</code> ditto(ILIMMU) "[If a man's ...] are full of bloating due to wind and <code>ṣētu-fever</code>, and ditto". Note that BAM 403 is designated in rev. 7'-8' as the 19th <code>nishu</code> of the series <code>šumma amēlu mu[hhašu umma ukâl]</code> (according to originals from the house of Dabibi). Since BAM 52 presents the closest thematic match to the cited formulation in AMC l. 35, the last key phrase in AMC line 35 could possibly refer to material within STOMACH Tablet 5 (e.g. in the lost parts of BAM 579 column ii), because of the similar topics <code>šibiṭ šāri</code> and <code>himiṭ ṣēti</code> found in BAM 579 ii 54' and iii 18. Cf. Bácskay 2018 for the texts related to <code>ṣētu</code>.

36) The restoration of the AMC incipit for EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 1 follows BAM 579 (K. 5834) iv 44 (= STOMACH Tablet 5), which preserves the catchline for EPIGASTRIUM 1: DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú na-ši MURUB₄.MEŠ-šú mi-na-tu-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú "If a man's epigastrium is raised (and) his hips and limbs hurt him". A witness of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 1 is identified in AMT 43/6, which presents the matching incipit (i 1): [DIŠ NA SA]G ŠÀ-šú na-ši MURUB₄.MEŠ-šú mi-na-tu-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú NA BI [...] (Thompson 1929: 58). The AMC incipit and section title of EPIGASTRIUM in line 36 and 38 has been restored on the basis of these two Nineveh texts. It is thus suggested here that the sequence of therapeutic texts contained in AMC ll. 36-44 (sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN) corresponded at least partially to the therapeutic series of the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (cf. below).

The incipit of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 2 could not yet be identified in the textual sources. The preserved text in AMC line 36 is not without philological problems. Thus, J. Scurlock (2014a: 299: 20') reads [DIŠ NA *ki*]-*is* ŠÀ *ù di-ki*š GABA TUK-*ši* "If a person has *kīs libbi* and stabbing pain in the breast". However, collations confirm that there are traces of a sign in front of *-is*, which do not fit the reading *ki-is*, but the traces of this sign look more like a HI. Thus, the reading *mi-h*]*i-iṣ* ŠÀ lit. "stroke of the inside" or "heart-attack" is suggested here. The following signs seem to be rather ŠÀ-*śú lu di-ki*š GABA, but for the sake of consistency the reading ŠÀ *ù¹ di-ki*š GABA may be preferable. The symptom *diki*š *irti* "swelling of the chest" occurs e.g. in AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9: 2' (CDLI P396647): [DIŠ NA ... SA]G ¬ŠÀ¬-*šú* KÚM TUK.TUK *di-ki*š GABA GIG x[...] "[If a man ...] his [epi]gastrium is always feverish, he suffers from swelling of the chest [...]", but the entry is not identical to AMC line 36 (cf. above AMC ll. 25, 27). The fragments AMT 6/7: 4 (featuring a rubric [KA. INIM.]MA *di-ki*š [...] "[Recita]tion for swelling of the [...]") and AMT 97/5: 5f. (Scurlock 2006: no. 183, dealing with *dikšu* caused by a ghost) could possibly be related; cf. further BAM 216: 16', 28' (but the latter two texts do not refer to the chest). For *dikšu* cf. also AMC line 18.

The symptom *mihiş libbi* "heart-attack" (*mihşu* means "stroke, blow" (of a weapon) or "attack" (of demons)) does not seem to be attested so far in any other medical text, which renders the reconstruction for AMC l. 36 suggested here provisional. Note yet AMT 58/5: 9 (Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B4), which one is tempted to restore according to AMC: DIŠ NA *kis* ŠÀ-šú SÌG-[*iş* ŠÀ-šú *lu di-kiš* GABA TUK-ši]. M. Geller suggests that the fragment AMT 58/5 belongs to the tablet K. 2405+ (AMT 31/1+ = Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B), which is concerned with urinary problems such as constriction of the

bladder and very likely belongs to a different section of the therapeutic corpus (KIDNEY). The restoration for AMC l. 36 thus remains to be ascertained with further textual evidence.

37) The incipit of EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 3 remains unknown due to lacking textual sources. Because of the context (intestinal ailments), the reading of the incipit for EPIGASTRIUM Tablet 4 proposed here is preferable to [... NA,] šah-hi-hu GIG "[...] he suffers from a dissolving [stone]" (as suggested by Böck 2008: 298f.). Interestingly, the incipit of the Assur text BAM 156: 1ff. (a one-column tablet with a collection of recipes against diverse ailments, such as the "curse" (ll. 1-24), followed by sections with parallels to STOMACH 5 and CRANIUM 1) corresponds to the AMC incipit of EPIGASTRIUM 4 (see Panayotov 2014: 43), reading: [DIŠ N]A NAM.ÉRIM šah-[hi]-hu GIG mim-mu-u i-lem-mu / ˈina ˈ ŠÀ-šú la i-na-ah ˈ bal ˈtam-ma ana DÚR-šú ú-tab-bak / NINDA NU GU, NA BI GÍD-ma UG, ana maš-taq-ti-šú u bul-lu-tí-šú "If a man suffers from a wasting curse so that anything he eats does not rest easy in this belly, and he pours it out raw into his anus, (and) he cannot eat food, this man will be ill for a long time and then die; for his cutting-off and to cure him" (cf. CAD M/1 393; Scurlock 2014a: text 1.3.3; cf. however the variant of the last phrase in Geller 2005a: No. 50 Ms. AC (AMT 22/2 //: 10 ana maštaktīšu bullutu "to cure his 'water clock'" (i.e. organism?); Steinert 2016a: 209f.). In contrast, entries concerning NA_a šahhihu "dissolving stone" (e.g. of the bladder) are found in Geller 2005a: No. 13 (AMT 39/6) and No. 14 (AMT 89/4+53/8). The former fragment very likely belongs to the section KIDNEY (see below AMC lines 45ff.), since AMT 39/6: 6' features the rubric [DUB X.KAM] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su G[U₇-su].

38-44) The reconstruction of Scurlock 2014a: 302 obv. 1' for AMC line 38 is not plausible, because the same incipit already occurs in Fragment 9b (see Scurlock 2014a: 299 obv. 20', cf. AMC line 36 in the present edition). The reconstruction of the catalogue suggested here indicates that the section EPIGASTRIUM consisted of four tablets, followed by another section ABDOMEN intervening before KIDNEY. The alignment of fragments C and D in the present reconstruction is supported by the sectional structure of the catalogue and by indirect evidence from textual sources. Concerning the sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN, Abusch and Schwemer (2011: 126ff., text 7.5 with pl. 23) have published two fragments from Nineveh, K. 3661 and AMT 44/7 (K. 13390), which do not join directly, but which may belong to the same tablet. If this interpretation is correct, the two Nineveh fragments would indicate that the section EPIGASTRIUM was organised in a conflicting way compared with the sectional arrangement of the AMC. The two pieces preserve a fragmentary colophon (K. 3661 rev. iv 17'f. and AMT 44/7 rev. iv 1'f.), which presents the catchline for the section KIDNEY and then identifies the tablet as the 8th tablet of EPIGASTRIUM. The passage reads: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU₇-šu lu ŠU DINGIR [...lu ŠU ...] DAB-su / DUB 8.KÁM [DIŠ NA S]AG ŠÀ-šú na-ši "It a man's kidney hurts him, or 'Hand of the god' [... or 'Hand of ...'] has seized him'. Eighth tablet of ['If a man]'s epigastrium is raised'". This would mean that at Nineveh EPIGASTRIUM contained eight instead of four tablets and that KIDNEY followed directly (indicated by the catchline identical with AMC incipit of KIDNEY 1, cf. below AMC ll. 45ff.).

The sectional division of the AMC suggests however a diverging organisation where EPIGASTRIUM was followed by another section of incipits dubbed ABDOMEN (ll. 40-42), which deals with ghost-induced ailments (l. 40), intestinal problems and witchcraft (ll. 41 and 42). Surprisingly, in AMC l. 43, the section ABDOMEN is not summed up by NÍGIN x DUB.MEŠ "a total of n tablets", but instead the line begins with EN 8 DUB.MEŠ "including 8 tablets of ...". Since this conflicts with the regularity of NIGIN-summaries following a section with incipits, it is possible that the initial EN in l. 43 is a scribal mistake and to be emended to NÍGIN, which would give a total of eight tablets for ABDOMEN. This may also be suggested by AMC line 44, which likewise starts with EN followed by two key phrases designating additional material included in this section. On the other hand, it is unlikely that a number of eight incipits would have fitted into only three lines on the tablet (lines 40-42). In the case of the AMC section BIRTH consisting of eight tablets, the incipits take up five lines (ll. 115-119). How then can we explain the discrepancy between what seem to be two sections EPIGAS-TRIUM and ABDOMEN in the AMC (4+(x)+8) tablets) and only one section EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh, consisting of eight constituent tablets? Here it is worth noting that the Nineveh text K. 3661(+) with the "eighth tablet" of the section EPI-GASTRIUM edited by Abusch and Schwemer preserves the end of an anti-witchcraft ritual, which is otherwise known from UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA-collections. This text material could correspond to the mention of UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA incantations in the adi-section of ABDOMEN in AMC l. 43 (cf. below), and would also fit the witchcraft references found in AMC l. 42. The number of eight tablets for EPIGASTRIUM at Nineveh may have resulted from a (selective) fusion of texts that are listed as separate sections EPIGASTRIUM and ABDOMEN in the AMC (see also below commentary to line 43). More

evidence is necessary to confirm these conclusions, but it could be speculated that the ABDOMEN section contained therapeutic material for treating internal illnesses that were attributed to forces such as witchcraft or ghosts.

39) The puzzling expression nehēs narkabti, lit. "reversing of the chariot", is encountered a number of times in ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts, where it is enumerated beside other natural causes of diminished libido (such as old age and himit sēti-fever, see e.g. AMT 88/3: 1'-3'; Biggs 1967: 52; cf. below commentary AMC line 102). M. Stol (2016: 148f.) translates the expression "reversing of the warchariot" and has suggested to understand it as a metaphorical expression for a 'slackening erection' (personal communication). Alternatively, it could simply refer to the negative effects of riding in a chariot (thus Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 23f. "repercussion of the chariot"). The form nehēs is understood here as an infinitive (the verb nahāsu/nehēsu means "to go back, to return; to retreat; to recede", see CDA2 131f.; cf. CAD N/1 128ff.; CAD N/2 218f.; AHw 713, 775a). The verb is used e.g. with reference to retreat in battle, returning from a trip or in connection with receding water in rivers etc. The fact that the expression *nehēs narkabti* is only encountered in medical texts could imply that *nehēs narkabti* had rather a technical or figurative and not a literal meaning. The expression occurs mostly in connection with intestinal problems, see the Assur extract tablets BAM 49: 1'-6' // BAM 50: 1-7 (otherwise containing recipes from the section STOMACH): DIŠ NA ... u TU₁₅ ina ŠÀ-šú i-ʿle-eb-buʾ né-he-es gišGIGIR NU ÍL NA BI dNAM.ÉRIM DAB-su "If a man ..., and wind groans in his belly, he cannot bear the 'reversing of the chariot', then the Curse has seized that man" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 2.38). Note further the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 397: 3 from Nippur, containing the diagnosis resuming symptoms affecting mainly the intestines: LÚ BI ne-he-es GIGIR GIG "this man suffers from the 'reversing of the chariot'". The Nineveh text AMT 69/3 + 26/5: 14'f. (now joined to BAM 559, see Köcher 1980b: xxiv, photo: CDLI P396454) contains a fragmentary entry: [DIŠ N]A MURUB₄ u ÚR GIG mun-ga ʿTUKUʾ [...] / [ù²] né-he-es gišGIGIR a-ni-ih ana TI-š[ú] "If a man's hips and thigh are sick, he has stiffness [...], [and?] he is tired from 'reversing of the chariot' - in order to cure him (...)" (cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 11.14). This text concerned with treatments for the hips probably belongs to a different section of the therapeutic corpus (cf. AMC section HAMSTRING). Cf. also below commentary to AMC line 48 for another metaphorical expression that may refer to an erectile dysfunction.

40) The context of the present AMC incipit suggests that it referred to ghost-inflicted intestinal disorders. Texts concerned with this topic have been assembled by Scurlock 2006: 14f. and No. 186-200, cf. also No. 304-314. Among those text passages offering possible parallels for the first AMC incipit of the section ABDOMEN, one can cite BAM 221 ii 2'-4' // BAM 155 i 4'-6' // AMT 81/7: 5-7 (Scurlock 2006: no. 193: 1-2, restored): DIŠ NA GIDIM DAB-*su-ma i-ha-rù* NINDA.MEŠ *u* KAŠ.MEŠ *ul i-mah-har* "If a ghost afflicts a man so that he vomits (and) can keep down neither bread nor beer". A similar passage is presented by BAM 165+219 i' 16'-19' (Scurlock 2006: no. 196; Maul and Strauss 2011: no. 52): [DIŠ NA GIDIM D]AB-*su-ma* ŠÀ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú "[If a ghost affl]icts [a man] so that his belly hurts him continually"; cf. also BAM 161 iii 19'-25' // BAM 165+219 i' 1'-8' (Scurlock 2006: no. 194: 1). From the cited Assur texts, BAM 161 is an early Neo-Assyrian collection (four-column tablet) of recipes against various illnesses such as renal/kidney problems and complaints caused by ghosts, witchcraft or the "curse", while BAM 165+219 forms a Middle Assyrian collection of remedies against ghost-induced illnesses on a multi-column tablet. Further texts treating similar topics, but yielding no exactly matching diagnostic entries are BAM 471 (a two-column Nineveh collection), BAM 385 (Middle Babylonian ductus) and AMT 76/1 (a one-column tablet).

41) There are currently no textual parallels for the fragmentary incipit in AMC line 41, but the restoration is suggested by the context. A similar passage occurs in BAM 316 iv 3-6 (a late Middle Assyrian or early Neo-Assyrian collection of amulets and potions against various ailments) // STT 95+295: 70-73 // KAR 92 rev. 4'-8' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 260 sub 7. Summary of Ms. E), within a symptom description: DIŠ NA ... NINDA NU GU₇ KAŠ NU NAG "If a man (constantly shouts 'My belly, my belly!', but his belly does not hurt him), he does not eat food, he does not drink beer" (the diagnosis being the "wrath of Ištar"). However, in most textual examples for symptom descriptions starting with a reference to eating and drinking, the phrase is not negated. They can thus be disregarded for reconstruction of AMC line 41, see e.g. Geller 2005a: No. 22 (AMT 43/1+, = ANUS 1) iv 3: DIŠ NA NINDA GU₇-"ma" i-par-ru KAŠ NAG-ma [...] "If a man eats bread and then has to vomit, he drinks beer and [...]" (diagnosis DÚR.GIG). See further AMT 42/2: 1: [DIŠ NA NINDA GU₇ K]AŠ NAG-ma ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MEŠ-hu NA BI DÚR GIG "[If a man eats bread (and)] drinks [be]er, and then his intestine are always bloated, that man suffers from rectal disease". Note also that several diagnostic sections in STOMACH Tablet 4

start with the phrase DIŠ NA NINDA GU, KAŠ NAG-ma followed by symptoms such as bloating and pain, see K. 2386+ (= AMT 78/3+48/1+48/3+23/5+45/6) i 12', 22', 28', 31', and AMT 44/6+45/1 ii 1 (Johnson 2014: 16ff., 31 Ms. B).

42) For texts treating the special type of sorcery designated as zikurudû (lit. "cutting-(of)-the-throat"), see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 399ff. texts 10.1-10.5. One text presenting a matching incipit to AMC line 42 is BAM 449 (K. 6172+ i 1), beginning: DIŠ NA ZI.KU_c.RU.DA *e-pu-u*[*s-su-m*]*a*) "If 'cutting-of-the-throat' has been performed against a man". BAM 449 is a two-column tablet from Ashurbanipal's library (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 10 and 408 text 10.3 ms A₁) and may represent a good candidate for a textual witness referred to in the incipit in AMC l. 42. Further manuscripts belonging to this text group of rituals and prescriptions against *zikurudû*, yielding similar entries, are BAM 458 i 8' (K. 3278, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 409 text 10.3 ms. A₂: 20'), BAM 455(+)467(+)454 (K. 9523+, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 10.3-10.4 ms B₁ to B₂, a three-column tablet); BAM 464 (K. 2572) i 8' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 423 text 10.5, fragment of a two-column tablet). Note further BAM 461, a collection of treatments for zikurudû on a two-column tablet from Nineveh (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6 (Ms. C) and 10.8 (Ms. F), as well as the zikurudû-texts collected in Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 10.8-10.13. For the topic see also Schwemer 2007a: 14-16, 99-104, 154-156, 222-226, 237; Steinert 2012a: 277-282.

43) As pointed out in the commentary to AMC ll. 38-44, the beginning of the summary section for ABDOMEN with EN instead of NÍGIN is an exception within AMC, and it may or may not be a scribal mistake. One argument could speak for EN as intended here, namely that it is unlikely that eight different tablet incipits could fit into the three lines of AMC 40-42. If the sign EN is taken for granted, it could indicate that the texts of the ABDOMEN section were not regarded as a proper section (sadīru), but as an addendum to the section EPIGASTRIUM. This would also solve the contradiction that according to a Nineveh colophon, EPIGASTRIUM is immediately followed by KIDNEY.

The restoration of KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM in AMC line 43 is suggested by the contents related to witchcraft in other parts of this section (lines 42 and 44), although the restoration NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM is likewise possible. As Abusch and Schwemer discuss in their first volume of CMAwR (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.2-7.4), a few one-column tablets from Nineveh bear colophons with attributions to a serialised collection of UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA material that is referred to in the first part of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 12 //). But the fact that the fragments K. 3661 and AMT 44/7 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126-128 text 7.5) identified as part of the last tablet of EPIGASTRIUM preserve a ritual that is also known from texts of UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA collections (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.8) shows that such material was also included in medical therapeutic texts. These hints may confirm that the section ABDOMEN in the AMC is to be regarded as an addendum to EPIGASTRIUM, not as a section in itself. For medical collections with prescriptions for UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA, see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.10, which is composed of several witnesses. The main texts BAM 434 (Ms. A), BAM 435 (Ms. M) and BAM 436 (Ms. N) are Nineveh library tablets with three columns per side, which according to Köcher (1980a: xii) represent the medical components of the UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA corpus, but may belong to the present context of the AMC. Noteworthy are also smaller collections from Assur such as BAM 193 (Ms. O), a two-column tablet, BAM 90 (Ms. D) and BAM 190 (Ms. F), both one-column tablets. Cf. further for UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA texts Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 7.11-7.26.

44) The fact that the incantation ušanni namirtu aggu libbaki linūh "It has changed (its) brightness(?), may your angry heart calm down!" occurs in the context of witchcraft therapies, and the similar thematic focus of the section ABDOMEN already indicated by AMC line 42, makes the reconstruction of the beginning of AMC line 44 suggested here likely. The texts containing this incantation to Gula (Lyra) have been assembled in Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, 2: 22-29): the spell occurs in the Babylonian amulet compendia SpTU 2, 22+ SpTU 3, 85 ii 34-41 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 247-64), BM 56148+ i 39-46 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 276-318 and pl. 9-27; Reiner 1995: 129), BM 38666+ i 12'-20' (Schuster-Brandis 2008: pl. 38 photo) and in the Nineveh text AMT 92/1 i 1'-2' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4,2 Ms. F, pl. 3), the latter of which may assemble material against witchcraft (UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA, cf. also Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 7.11, 1-2 Ms. E). The incantation is spoken over a leather pouch/amulet to counter the sorcery performed by an enemy.

The reconstruction of the second citation in AMC line 44 is provisional. The entry probably refers to involuntary seminal emission (or to an abnormal genital discharge), which is mentioned as a symptom in several contexts. The Nineveh fragment AMT 61/1: 5', 9' with recipes for genital discharge yields a similar entry, duplicated in the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 iv 6' (Geller 2005a: No. 2a Ms. B,: 5', 9'): [DI]Š NA (i-na-aṭ-ma) ina DU-šú re-hu-su DU-ma NU ZU "If a man (suffers from discharge and) has seminal emissions when he is walking without being aware of it". The fragment AMT 61/1 possibly belongs to the section KIDNEY, however. Cf. further BAM 111: 16 // (= Geller 2005a: No. 3 Ms. C) and BAM 112: 17, 34' (= Geller 2005a: No. 4 Ms. D), both referring to seminal emission during urination.

Seminal discharge is also a key topic in a number of texts with rituals and prescriptions to counter the impurity associated with it, which refer both to witchcraft and divine anger as causes of the illness. For such therapeutic texts, see especially BAM 205: 2f.' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5,1: 2'f. Ms. A); BAM 205: 19'ff. // STT 95+295 i 16ff. // STT 280 ii 1ff. // (Scurlock 2014a: text 3.15.2); STT 280 i 22-24 // LKA 144 rev. 23-25 // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 103ff. text 2.5,3: 1-3), referring to constant seminal emissons); see also BAM 319 and duplicates (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 247ff. text 8.29). For this text group see also Farber 1977: 226-260. J. Scurlock (2014a: 304f.) uses STT 95+295: 16-18 // for restoring the last entry in AMC line 44. STT 95+ is a two-column tablet that focuses on illness caused by divine anger and may rather be related to the AMC section DIVINE ANGER (see below AMC II. 84-89). The passage in question reads: DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NÚ-šú HULUH.HULUH-ut ŠÀ-šú e-šu-u ina KI.NÚ-šú re-hu-su DU-ak "If a man is continuously frightened when he lies down, his mind (lit. heart) is confused, (and) his semen flows when he lies down" (diagnosis: wrath of Marduk and Ištar; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 652). Among the tablets duplicating this passage is BAM 205: 19'-21' (concerned with sexual impurity), the Nineveh fragment K. 8907 (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text A.2, with remedies for the wrath of deities and witchcraft) and the ŠÀ.ZI.GA tablet STT 280 ii 1-3 (Biggs 1967: 67, see also STT 280 ii 25-27). Cf. also below AMC II. 95 for an alternative position of the cited entry and related prescriptions.

45) For the AMC sections concerned with the kidneys and anus cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48. The section title of KIDNEY is cited in the colophon of AMT 82/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. I) ii 44': DUB 3.[KÁM] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su [GU $_7$ -su] (this text is possibly an excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3, since the text continues after the rubric, cf. below line 46). Cf. also the rubric in fragment Rm. 2, 375: 6' (Geller 2005a: No. 13 Ms. N): [DUB X.KÁM 7] DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su [GU $_7$ -su], but also in this case the text continues after the rubric. Note that the catchline in the Nineveh text K. 3661 rev. iv 17' (+) AMT 44/7 rev. iv 1' (belonging to EPIGASTRIUM, "Tablet 8") cites a longer section title of KIDNEY: DIŠ NA ÉLLAG-su GU $_7$ -su lu ŠU DINGIR [...lu ŠU ...] DAB-su / DUB 8.KÁM [DIŠ NA S]AG ŠÀ-su na-su "If a man's kidney hurts him, or 'Hand of the god' [... or 'Hand of ...'] has seized him. Eighth tablet of ['If a man]'s epigastirum is raised'" (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 126ff., pl. 23 and above commentary to AMC ll. 38-44).

There are currently no certainly identified manuscripts of KIDNEY Tablets 1 and 2. J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) identifies the fragment AMT 66/11 (Geller 2005a: No. 16 Ms. Q) belonging to a two-column tablet as a manuscript of KIDNEY 1, but this suggestion remains unproven. A prescription in the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 i 23'f. (CBS 19801; Geller 2005a: No. 1 Ms. A) starts similarly to the incipit of KIDNEY 1: DIŠ NA "zu £LLAG-su GU_7 -šu GU_7 -šu G

The restoration of the AMC incipit for KIDNEY Tablet 2 is not entirely certain, but J. Scurlock has suggested identifying the two-column tablet AMT 31/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 2 Ms. B) as a manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 2, which contains the fragmentary incipit (i 1) partially matching the end of AMC line 45: [DIŠ NA] *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB Á^{II}-*šú kim-ṣa-a-šú ù bir-ka-šú* [GU₇.MEŠ *ana* TI-*šú*?] "If a man's limbs are 'poured out' (and) his arms, legs and knees [hurt him, to cure him?]". The present edition suggests that the AMC contained only the first part of the incipit. The restoration of the AMC incipit of KIDNEY Tablet 2 in Scurlock 2014a: 302 obv. 8'+4'; also Geller 2005a: No. 48: [DIŠ NA *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB Á^{II}-*šú* (*kim-ṣa-a-šú ù bir-ka-šú*) MÚ.M]Ú.MEŠ-*h*[*u*²] was not confirmed by collation (there is not enough room for the whole line). An alternative reconstruction could be proposed from the Middle Babylonian kidney text BAM 396 iv 3 (Geller 2005a: No. 1): DIŠ NA *ina* GÌŠ-*śú* MÚD *ú-tab-ba-ka*(*m*) GIN₇ MUNUS (var. DAM) gišTUKUL *ma-hi-iṣ* "If a man pours out blood from his penis, like a woman he is 'hit by the weapon'". This passage is also found in the Assur texts BAM 112 ii 17 (Geller 2005a: No. 4 Ms. D) and BAM 182 obv. 6' // BAM 159 i 9 (Geller 2005a: No. 31: 6'), but never occurs as a tablet incipit.

46) A manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 3 has been identified in AMT 58/3+62/1+K. 2960 i 1f. (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. J), which yields a fragmentary incipit corresponding to AMC: DIŠ NA *lu* [ÉLLAG-su [...] / *lu* KÀŠ.[MEŠ-šú ...]. This tablet also preserves in col. iv 31'f. the fragmentary catchline for ANUS tablet 1 and a fragmentary rubric identifying the tablet as

DUB 3.KAM [...] "third tablet". Note that the duplicate cited for AMT 58/3+62/1+K. 2960 i 1f. in Geller 2005a is not Ms K (VAT 9024 = KAR 73), but the present catalogue, i.e. Ms VV. AMT 82/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. I) probably forms an excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3 (see above commentary to AMC line 45).

The reconstruction of J. Scurlock for the end of the incipit of KIDNEY 3 in AMC l. 46 (Scurlock 2014a: 302, fragment 9C+D obv. 9'+5': DIŠ NA lu ÉLLAG-su [GU_z-šú lu KÀŠ.MEŠ-šú DAB.DAB ÉLLAG].ME 'GIG' "If either a man's kidney [hurts him or he continually retains his urine], he has sick [kidney]s") was not substantiated by collation. Note concerning a possible reading of the disease term at the end of the line, that Sumerian lá is sometimes equated with Akkadian hanāqu "to strangle; to constrict" (cf. hiniqtu "constriction, stricture (of the bladder)"; CAD H 77 lex. section for other lexical equations).

For further sources of texts on renal ailments, see the Assur texts BAM 111 (a two-column tablet, Geller 2005a: No. 3), BAM 112 (a Middle Assyrian recipe collection for renal diseases; Geller 2005a; No. 4), BAM 113 (Geller 2005a; No. 17, probably part of BAM 112), BAM 114-116 (mostly excerpt tablets, Geller 2005a: Nos. 5-7), BAM 117-118 (Geller 2005a: Nos. 56-57). For additional sources from Nineveh see Geller 2005a: Nos. 11-16.

47) For the reading šá mu-si "(treatments) for discharge" at the end of this line cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48; Böck 2008: 345; Buisson 2006: 187. This phrase indicates a topic included in the section KIDNEY. A number of text sources feature the diagnostic formulation DIŠ NA mu-ṣa GIG "If a man suffers from discharge" (e.g. the Assur texts BAM 117: 1 (Geller 2005a: No. 56); BAM 116: 1 (Geller 2005a: No. 7) // BAM 161 v 3 (cf. Geller 2005a: No. 8: 7); cf. AMT 82/1+ ii 39' (= excerpt of KIDNEY Tablet 3 (?), Geller 2005a: No. 9)) or the diagnosis NA BI mu-şa GIG "that man suffers from discharge" (e.g. the Middle Assyrian collection BAM 112 i 3', 13'-16', 19' // (Geller 2005a: No. 3: 17'; No. 4: 3', 19'; No. 5: 1-4; No. 8: 4-5, 19); BAM 396 i 24' (Geller 2005a: No. 1 Ms. A). Note also the formulation "(so and so many) drugs for discharge" (Ú.MEŠ mu-și in BAM 116 obv. 7f. // BAM 431 iv 46 (drug compendium) // (Geller 2005a: No. 7; Steinert 2015: 137f.); AMT 82/1+ ii 38' // BAM 432 iv' 41 (Geller 2005a: No. 9).

48) A manuscript of ANUS Tablet 1 has been identified in AMT 43/1(+) (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. W i 1), preserving a matching incipit that allows the reconstruction of AMC l. 48: DIŠ NA ina la si-ma-ni-šú 'MURUB_a'.(MEŠ)-'šú' GU₇. MEŠ-šú kim-sa-a-š[ú i-za-q]ata-'šú' bur-ka-šú i-ka-sa-sa-šú NA BI ina mes-he-ru-ti-'šú' [DÚR G]IG ana TI-šú "If a man's hips hurt him at an inappropriate time (i.e. prematurely), his legs cause him a stinging pain, his knees gnaw at him with pain, that man suffers from rectal (disease) in his youth – in order to cure him (...)". The catalogue probably cites only the first part of the incipit. The entry is duplicated in the Assur texts BAM 168 rev. 70f. (Geller 2005a: No. 34 Ms. HH, an excerpt tablet of Kişir-Nabû with remedies for internal illnesses), BAM 95: 16f. (Geller 2005a: No. 21 Ms. V, a copy of an older text, by Nabû-bēssunu, with remedies for rectal illnesses) and BAM 108: 15f. (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. AG, excerpt tablet with remedies for internal illnesses). The section title of ANUS also occurs in the colophon fragment AMT 43/2: 11' (Geller 2005a: No. 22 Ms. J iv 20'): [DUB 2.KÁM] DIŠ NA ina la si-ma-ni-šú MUR[UB_a.MEŠ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú (...)]), cf. below AMC l. 49. The incipit of ANUS 1 is further preserved as catchline in a Nineveh manuscript of KIDNEY Tablet 3, AMT 58/3+62/1+K.2960+ (Geller 2005a: No. 9 Ms. J iv 31': DIŠ NA *ina la si-ma-ni-šú* MURUB₄.[MEŠ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú]).

No exactly matching passage confirming the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 2 has so far been identified in the therapeutic texts. A fragment of a witness of ANUS Tablet 2 from Nineveh is AMT 43/2 (K. 7925), which preserves no incipit, but a fragmentary catchline corresponding to the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 3. The indirect join of AMT 43/1(+) and AMT 43/2 suggested by Geller (2005a: No. 22, pl. 18) should thus be rejected, because AMT 43/1(+) contains ANUS Tablet 1. The reconstruction of Scurlock (2014a: 302: 11'+7') is not followed here (cf. below AMC l. 49). It is striking that several symptoms indicated by the incipit of ANUS 2, fever (ummu, sētu) and "wind", are also central topics of the section STOMACH (cf. above). A brief comment on the illness terms enumerated in the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 may be useful at this point, since it presents unusual elements.

The fever-related condition EN.TE.NA (kuṣṣu) "chill; ague" occurs in the fragment AMT 64/3: 6, which contains a "potion for ague" (mašąīta ša EN.TE.NA). See also BAM 571 ii 16' (mašąīta ša EN.TE.NA); AMT 51/6: 3 (a remedy ša EN.TE. NA ša dīhu "for the chill of di'u-fever"); BAM 42: 56 // AMT 55/3: 8' (annû ša EN.TE.NA); BAM 66 rev. 10 (treatments for fever, including one for ague and "frost" (hurbāšu) causing stinging pain). None of these texts can definitely be linked with the present AMC section. Some textual examples have to be connected with the primary meaning of *kuṣṣu* "cold; winter", e.g. references to sikkatu/šiggatu ša EN.TE.NA (a seasonal illness, either a skin condition or "stiffness"), cf. CAD S 251 sub 6b for attestations, see e.g. AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4 iv 20' (= HAMSTRING Tablet 2, see CDLI P394437) // BAM 124 iii 8 // BAM 131 rev. 3' (poultice); Scurlock 2014a: 454 text 2.7.8. Occasionally special remedies are recommended to treat lung conditions occurring during winter (see e.g. BAM 44: 22-32' // BM 78963: 25-31 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.8.3).

In connection with the symptom or illness cause "wind" (flatulence or intestinal gas) mentioned in the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 beside terms for fever (ummu, sētu, kussu), one should mention the condition nikimtu/nikmātu ša DÚR.GIG "bloating due to rectal illness", attested e.g. in the Sammeltafel BAM 159 ii 49-50, iii 10-11 (cf. also ii 20-22; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.9.6, 2.9.3; Parys 2014). Bloating (nikimtu) and sētu-fever are encountered together as a diagnosis in the context of internal and rectal diseases (cf. above AMC l. 35), see e.g. the Assur excerpt tablet BAM 88: 19'f. (Geller 2005a: No. 27 Ms. BB), duplicated in the excerpt BAM 168: 2 and in the nishu-tablet BAM 52: 67 (Geller 2005a: No. 34: 1ff., Mss. HH and AP): NA BI ni-kim-ti u UD.DA GIG KIN-šú SUMUN-ma ŠU.GIDIM.MA "That man suffers from bloating and ṣētu-fever, his condition is of long duration, it is due to 'Hand of a ghost'" (further duplicates: BAM 471 ii 3'-4' and AMT 52/4: 2-4, see Scurlock 2006: No. 191a, 186a). The recipe collection BAM 159 vi 24ff. also contains a passage with the diagnosis NA BI *ni-kim-ti* TU, *u* UD.DA GIG "that man suffers from bloating due to 'wind' and from *ṣētu*-fever", duplicated in BM 29254: 1ff. // BAM 86: 3'ff. // BAM 85: 2'ff. (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.9.5; Parys 2014). Retaining "wind" in the anus due to rectal disease is also discussed in AMT 47/1+AMT 58/1+53/1+AMT 56/5+ ii 1-2, 8 (= ANUS Tablet 4, Geller 2005a: No. 24 Ms. Y). "Wind" in the intestines connected to bloating is otherwise a topic encountered in STOMACH, see e.g. BAM 578 iii 4-5 (= STOMACH 3, Cadelli 2000: 201): NA BI TU, DÙ.A.BI GIG "this man is sick from all (kinds of) winds"; BAM 575 iii 30-32 // BAM 55: 1ff. // wind rumbling in a man's belly (= STOMACH 2, Cadelli 2000: 138).

The expression APIN NU L "he cannot lift/raise the seeder-plough" at the end of the AMC incipit of ANUS 2 seems to be metaphorical (see already Geller 2005a: no. 48, Scurlock 2014a: 302 translating it as "lack of performance"). The seeder plough could be a metaphor for the penis (cf. Livingstone 1991: 6 no. 2). There are comparable expressions with NU ÍL and a different object, in which the meaning of the verb *našû* "to lift, to raise" may be different, e.g. *ne-he-es* gišGIGIR NU ÍL "he cannot bear the 'reversing of the chariot'" (BAM 49: 1'-6' // BAM 50: 1-7).³⁴ A similar phrase with *na*sû occurs in BAM 482 iv 48' // AMT 19/1+20/1 iv 31' (= CRANIUM 2 = Sakikkû Tablet 4: 11, Attia and Buisson 2003: 11): ma-gal BURU₈ KI.NÚ *la i-na-aš-ši* "he vomits a lot and cannot stand the bed" (i.e. lying down); see also BAM 438 obv. 12: *ik-ka-šú* LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ KI.NÚ NU ÍL-"ši?" "he is often irritable, he cannot stand the bed" (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 118 text 7.2.A).35

49) A fragment of a manuscript of ANUS Tablet 3 is AMT 40/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 23 Ms. X, pl. 19-20), preserving the fragmentary catchline to ANUS Tablet 4, but no incipit. AMT 43/2: 11' (cf. Geller 2005a: No. 22) contains part of a colophon with the partial catchline of ANUS 3 matching AMC: [DIŠ NA l]i-kiš DÚR GIG ŠÀ.MEŠ-[šú ...] (the tablet number preceding the section title of ANUS in AMT 43/2: 12' is unfortunately broken away). Thus, AMT 43/2 should be identified as a fragment of ANUS Tablet 2, and does not form part of AMT 43/1 (as suggested in Geller 2005a). Note further BM 103386 rev. 44 (courtesy Nils Heeßel), a one-column tablet from Assur with treatments for rectal diseases, which preserves a catchline with a variant of the catchline to ANUS Tablet 3 in AMT 43/2: DIŠ NA *li-kiš*? DÚR.GIG GIG ŠÀ.MEŠ-*šú* MÚ.MEŠ-hu it-<te>-né-bi-tu NA BI [...] "If a man suffers from a ... of rectal disease, his bowels are continually bloated and distended: that man [...]". BM 103386 focuses on anal sores (lamsatu), and contains a section parallel to the fragmentary two-column tablet AMT 101/3 (+) K. 13738 i 8, 12 (Geller 2005a: No. 38, see CDLI P397604), which is concerned with the surgical removal of these sores. It would thus also be possible to restore the AMC incipit according to BM 103386. However, the colophon of BM 103386 identifies the tablet in a conflicting way as the 19th (or 29th?) tablet of a series DIŠ NA UD.DA SÁ.SÁ x[...] "If a man is struggling with şētu-fever [...]", which is hitherto unknown, but reminds one of the incipit of STOMACH Tablet 4 (DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-id; cf. above AMC l. 30). Unfortunately, BM 103386 does not preserve an incipit. Thus, we may be presented with an alternative serial organisation or with an alternative collection of therapeutic texts at Assur conflicting with the tradition witnessed in AMC and the *Nineveh Medical Compendium*. Possibly, the series DIŠ NA UD.DA SÁ.SÁ focussed on fever or internal ailments more generally (for the phrase cf. Johnson 2014: 23-26). More evidence is needed for a better understanding of the textual history of this "fever" series and its relation to text material serialised in AMC. Cf. also Bácskay 2018 for texts on fever.

³⁴ See the commentary to line AMC line 39 above.

³⁵ A. Attia (2015: 84) raises the possibility that this expression may refer to the patient's unwillingness to follow the doctor's order of staying in bed.

A further difficulty for a proper understanding of the incipit of ANUS 3 is posed by the fact that a word *likšu* is not listed in the dictionaries. There is a root LKŠ in Palestinian Aramaic meaning "to burn", which may indicate that likšu is a loanword.36 Note a verb of the same root LKŠ in Sakikkû Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 44ff.): DIŠ NA ina la-ku-ti-šú la-kiš-ma "If a man ... when he was (still) a suckling child" (cf. Heeßel 2000: 361).³⁷

The incipit of ANUS Tablet 4 is attested as fragmentary catchline in AMT 40/5 iv 29' (= ANUS 3, Geller 2005a: No. 23 text X). An identified manuscript of ANUS Tablet 4 is AMT 47/1+ (Geller 2005a: No. 24 Ms. Y, pl. 21-23), presenting the matching incipit (i 1): DIŠ NA KI.NÚ-ma šit-ta-šu UGU-šú DÙG.GA ZI-ma i-ka-šu-uš GU[R-ma ...] "If a man lies down and has a good sleep, but then gets up and feels faint, [and] returns [(to sleep) ...]". The AMC cites the incipit in abbreviated form. B. Böck (2008: 333, 339) suggests that AMT 43/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 33 Ms. GG) is another exemplar of ANUS Tablet 4, since it duplicates passages of AMT 47/1+.

50) The AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 5 matches AMT 58/2 i 1// (Geller 2005a: No. 25 Ms. Z), which is currently the only witness for this tablet. Duplicating text passages are encountered in the Assur texts on internal/rectal ailments BAM 96 iii 15'-16' and BAM 88: 13'-14', which together yield the complete entry: DIŠ NA DÚR.GIG GIG-ma di-ik-šá TUK NINDA u A ŠÀ-šú la i-m[a-har] ÚH ina DÚR-šú ú-ta[b]-ba-ka "If a man suffers from rectal disease and gets a swelling, his belly does not accept food and water, (and) he pours out mucus from his anus" (see also Geller 2005a: No. 26 Ms. AA and No. 27 Ms. BB). AMT 47/1+ iv 13' (= ANUS 4, Geller 2005a: No. 24) also features the matching catchline to ANUS 5.

For further textual sources for the section ANUS (rectal disease texts), see Geller 2005a, especially the Assur texts BAM 95 (Geller 2005a: No. 21), BAM 96 and 102 (Geller 2005a: No. 26 AA and AA₂), BAM 98 (Geller 2005a: No. 41), BAM 99 (Geller 2005a: No. 35, "7th nishu according to an original of the Gula temple (Esabad) of Assur"), BAM 101 (Geller 2005a: No. 42), BAM 104 (Geller 2005a: No. 28), BAM 105, BAM 108 (Geller 2005a: No. 22 and 34 Ms. AG). Note further AMT 44/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 29), AMT 43/5 (Geller 2005a: No. 33), AMT 101/3 (Geller 2005a: No. 38), AMT 58/9+81/9 (Neo-Babylonian script, Geller 2005a: No. 44) and STT 100+100A (Geller 2005a: No. 43). Several additional texts edited in Geller 2005a collect material from different sections of the therapeutic corpus (e.g. treatments for internal, renal, rectal diseases), see e.g. BAM 182 (Geller 2005a: No. 31), AMT 40/4+57/7 (Geller 2005a: No. 30), AMT 56/1 (Geller 2005a: No. 32), BAM 168 (= partial duplicate to STOMACH 5; cf. Geller 2005a: No. 34).

51) The phrase šá DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM following the section title of ANUS in AMC line 51 does not form part of the title, as can be seen from the incipit of the Nineveh manuscript ANUS 1 (AMT 43/1+ i 1 = Geller 2005a: No. 22; cf. above line 48) and from the duplicating Assur texts. The phrase in AMC l. 51 should thus rather be understood as a citation or technical expression that indicates one of the main topics of the section. The expression DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM could be understood as a rubric referring to incantations for rectal disease (this rubric is attested e.g. in BAM 102: 2 (Geller 2005a: No. 26a): KA.INIM.MA DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM). However, the phrase DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM is also encountered (beside the more usual collocation DÚR.GIG GIG) as a diagnosis in rectal disease texts, e.g. in ANUS Tablet 1 (AMT 43/1(+) iii 14' // BAM 99: 43 = Geller 2005a: No. 22 Mss. W and II; see also BAM 99: 20 //, BAM 100: rev. 3', Geller 2005a: No. 35-36 Mss. II and JJ), here as a negative diagnosis: DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM NU TUK ter-di-it ir-ri GIG "(when you have checked him that) he does not have a rectal disease, then he suffers from an 'overflow' of the intestines". See further BAM 96 (Geller 2005a: No. 26) ii 9: DIŚ NA DÚR.GIG.GA.KAM GIG "If a man suffers from rectal disease" (recipe follows). Note that BAM 96 (no incipit or colophon preserved) is a Neo-Assyrian two-column tablet from Assur containing a collection of remedies for rectal illnesses, which seems to present only limited overlap with Nineveh series tablets; BAM 99 is designated as the 7th nishu copied from an original in the Gula temple of Assur.

52) For a differing reading of this line cf. Geller 2005a: No. 48: 15'. The scribe could have meant to write UD.DA DIRI-ú, but inscribed UD.DA TAB.BA and then had to correct himself; he also erased several signs preceding this phrase. The plural ending of DIRI- \dot{u} indicates a textual citation with a plural subject (which could mean that an enumeration of body parts may have stood in the lost portion of AMC line 52). The similar expression UD.DA DIRI "he is full of ṣētu-fever" occurs in different contexts, e.g. in texts concerned with illnesses of the head (see above CRANIUM Tablet 4), but

³⁶ See the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (http://cal1.cn.huc.edu) with further references.

³⁷ Scurlock (2014a: 233) reads la-bis,-ma "he is clad with it" (i.e. a skin disease), but this reading does not solve the problem of the occurrence of the noun likšu in the context of rectal diseases.

the topic \bar{setu} -fever is encountered in texts on digestive disorders dealt with in the section STOMACH (especially Tablets 4 and 5, cf. above AMC II. 30 and 35), see e.g. BAM 52: 72: nik-mat TU₁₅ u UD.DA DIRI.ME "(his intestines) are full of bloating due to wind and \bar{setu} -fever"; BAM 579 i 30, 41, ii 54 // (= STOMACH 5; Cadelli 2000: 254ff.); Johnson 2014. Within the section ANUS, the topic \bar{setu} -fever is included in the AMC incipit of ANUS Tablet 2, and the present citation may refer to material from this tablet; cf. above AMC I. 48. Note further that the Assur text BM 103386 dealing with anal sores belongs to a series entitled "If a man is struggling with \bar{setu} -fever", cf. above commentary to AMC line 49.

53) The restoration of the fragmentary AMC incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 1 is not certain, since no manuscript with a complete incipit or colophon has been identified up to date. Notably, a one-column tablet from Nineveh (AMT 29/2+91/1) with remedies for paralysis (*šimmatu*), bears a catchline identical with the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 2, and could thus represent part of HAMSTRING Tablet 1 (excerpt?). Note further that AMT 37/5+92/4+92/9, a fragmentary two-column tablet, forms a parallel to this passage, and could potentially be a manuscript of HAMSTRING 1. The present restoration of the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 1 is based on the fact that the *sagallu*-disease plays an important part in some texts concerned with the lower extremities (cf. Scurlock 2014a: 303: 16'+12'). J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) proposes BAM 81 as a witness for HAMSTRING 1, since this fragmentary tablet contains recipes against the *maškadu*-disease, which is mentioned as a keyword in the *adi*-section for the section HAMSTRING in AMC line 55. However, BAM 81 is an excerpt tablet extracted by the Assur exorcist Kiṣir-Aššur for preparing a therapy and not a series tablet, although it probably contains material belonging to the context of this AMC section.

For the suggested restoration of the incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 1, one should also mention BAM 130, a fragmentary one-column extract tablet from Assur, which on its obverse contains remedies for *sagallu* and preserves the incipit DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG "If a man suffers from *sagallu*-disease (recipe follows). Furthermore, a passage in AMT 42/6: 2, a small Nineveh fragment of the upper left corner of a tablet, starts similarly: DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG x[...] "If a man suffers from *sagallu* [...]". However, this fragment represents part of HAMSTRING Tablet 2, since its incipit is virtually identical with the AMC and reads: DIŠ NA SA **uzu*ÚR-šú* 1-niš* G[U₇.MEŠ-šú* ...] "If all the muscles of man's thigh constantly h[urt him]"; the AMC writes ÚR.MEŠ-šú "his thighs" instead. The complete incipit is preserved in the catchline of AMT 29/2+91/1 rev. 14 (= excerpt(?) of HAMSTRING 1): [DIŠ NA SA.(MEŠ) **uz"]**u*UR-šú* 1-niš* GU₇.MEŠ-šú* ZI-a u DU.MEŠ-ka "la i'-[le-'i] SA.[GAL MU.NI] "[If all the muscles of a man's th]igh constantly hurt him, (and) he can neither stand up nor walk, it is called *sagallu*-disease". This diagnostic entry is also found in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 98 (Heeßel 2000: 357, 372; Schurlock 2014a: 234; also in *Sakikkû* 14: 172'). Another exemplar of HAMSTRING 2 is AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4, which preserves a fragmentary colophon with the catchline of HAMSTRING Tablet 3 (see below) and the lower part of col. iv of a two-column tablet, containing remedies (bandages) for *sikkatu/šiggatu* (a specific type of lesion or stiffness; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 727 n. 9; AHw 1231a; CAD S 251). Since *sagallu* seems to be the main topic of HAMSTRING 2, the reading of the AMC incipit of HAMSTRING 1 suggested here remains provisional.

For HAMSTRING Tablet 2 compare also CT 23, 1-4: 1 (K. 2432+ and K. 2473+K. 2551, see CDLI P365732 and P365734), fragments of a one-column excerpt tablet with material related to the section HAMSTRING, focusing on the illness *sagallu*), which likewise offers the complete incipit: DIŠ SA.MEŠ "" (I-niš GU₇.MEŠ-šú ZI-a u DU.MEŠ-ka la i-le-'i SA.GAL MU.NI' (see above). Parallels for the remedies in CT 23, 1-4 can be found in BAM 124 col. iii (for which cf. below). An entry similar to the incipit of HAMSTRING 2 is further preserved in BAM 130: 19-21: DIŠ NA SA ÚR-šú ka-la-šu-ma tab-ku ZI-a a-tál-lu-ka la i-le-'i sa-gal-lum DAB-s[u] "If all the muscles of a man's thigh are 'poured out', so that he can neither stand up nor walk: *sagallu* has seized h[im]". The two-column Nineveh tablet CT 23, 5-14 (K. 2453+) focusses on incantations and rituals to treat the *sagallu*-disease, partially duplicated in the Assur texts BAM 124, and BAM 128-129 (cf. Köcher 1963b: xi; Ebeling 1921: 138-144; Böck 2010b: 104-106). Furthermore, some of the incantations against *sagallu* and other ailments of the lower extremities were integrated into the series *Muššu'u* (see Böck 2007: 56-63, 80-84 *passim*, especially *Muššu'u* VIII).

Up to now, no tablets have been identified as manuscripts of HAMSTRING Tablets 3 and 4 with certainty. As a manuscript representing material belonging to HAMSTRING Tablet 3 or 4, J. Scurlock (2014a: 305) suggests BAM 32 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.4), because this (unfinished) extract tablet deals with *simmu*-lesions and features entries corresponding to keywords in AMC II. 56–57 (the *adi*-section of HAMSTRING, cf. commentary to AMC line 54 and below). It is also noteworthy that the incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 3 appears as a catchline in BAM 131 rev. 9', an excerpt tablet with prescriptions against *šaššaţu* (an illness associated with stiffness of the lower extremities) from the archive of Kiṣir-Aššur, copied from a wooden tablet in the possession of the Gula temple at Assur, which reads: [DIŠ NA *b*]*ur-ka-šú mun-ga* DIRI

EGIR-šú iš-ša[d-dad²] "[If a man's k]nees are full of paralysis, (and) his back becomes [stretched out]". Similarly, AMT 32/5+AMT 43/3+AMT 51/4 iv 25'-26', CDLI P394437), a manuscript of HAMSTRING Tablet 2, partially preserves this catchline: DIŠ NA bur-ka-šú [...] / DUB 2.KÁM [...] "If a man's knees [...]". Second tablet of [...]."). Compare similar entries in BAM 559+AMT 69/3+AMT 26/5: 14' (cf. Köcher 1963b: xxiv and CDLI P396454): DIŠ NA MURUB, u ÚR GIG mun-ga TU[KU ...] "If a man is sick in the hip and thigh (and) he has paralysis". Note further AMT 61/2 ii 2': DIŠ NA MURUB, u uzuÚ[R ...] (this fragment is probably not part of AMT 101/3, as suggested by Campbell Thompson (cf. CDLI P397604), since the latter text contains material related to rectal diseases (see Geller 2005a: No. 38).

In the context of HAMSTRING Tablet 3, mention could also be made of texts dealing with paralysis (*šimmatu*) and similar conditions affecting the lower extremities, some of which may belong to the present section or to NECK Tablet 5, which also deals with paralysis (*šimmatu*) and stroke (*mišittu*) affecting different body parts (cf. Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 77ff.): AMT 70/7 (*šimmatu*), AMT 52/2 (*šimmatu* u rimûtu), AMT 52/6 (*šimmatu* of the hips), AMT 68/1 (stiffness of the feet), AMT 69/9 (šimmatu of the heel), BAM 122 (a one column extract tablet of Kisir-Aššur, with remedies for paralysis immobilising the legs and feet; Scurlock 2014a: 566-570). For *šimmatu*-spells in medical contexts and in Muššu'u see further Böck 2007: 49-51, 52, 54-56 passim sub Muššu'u VIIIa, VIIIc-f, VIIIr; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 121-124 and Text 17.

54) The AMC incipit of HAMSTRING Tablet 4 cannot be restored with the help of other textual sources yet. M. Geller (2005a: No. 48: 17') reads instead: [...] x SU (erasure) ÍL; whereas Scurlock (2014a: 303: 13'), suggests reading laaa ÍL. The sign before IL is apparently corrupt; it could be an abbreviated DIRI. The fragmentarily preserved word before DIRI(!) could possibly be restored bubu'tu "boil; pustule", which may suggest a restoration [DIŠ NA GÌRI-šú bu-bu-u]h-ta DIRI ÍL "If a man's foot is covered with boil(s) (and) swollen" (cf. CAD N/2, 85-86 sub 3'). However, no exactly matching line is known from the texts.³⁸ The text K. 67+ (AMT 73/1-75/1+15/3+18/5+32/2+100/3) could possibly be a manuscript of HAM-STRING Tablet 4, since this two-column tablet features similar topics as enumerated in the adi-section of HAMSTRING in AMC ll. 56-57, dealing mainly with the "sickness of the kabbartu" (a part of the foot, probably the ankle), with sores appearing on the feet and with conditions of the heel and toes/toenails. Unfortunately, the incipit of K. 67+ is very damaged, and it cannot be established whether it is identical with that of AMC HAMSTRING 4; the text neither preserves a catchline nor a colophon. Sections in K. 67+ i 48-ii 59 are duplicated in the two-column tablet BAM 124 from the Assur library N4 (col. i 1-32 and ii 26-50), suggesting that this Assur text formed a source for the extended compilation AMT 73/1-75/1+ (see Scurlock 2014a: texts 2.7.7-2.7.8; Eypper 2016 for an edition and discussion). However, the incipit of BAM 124 does not correspond to that of HAMSTRING Tablet 4 either, reading instead [DIŠ NA GIG ka-bar-tim GIG-ma ši-kin UZU].MEŠ-šú BABBAR GI6 ŠUB "[If man suffers from the sickness of the kabbartu, and the appearance of] his flesh is dotted with white (and) black spots" (Scurlock 2014a: 444; Eyper 2016: 18). Neither does the catchline of BAM 124 correspond to AMC, citing the incipit of the incantation [ÉN kiš-pu ze]-ru-tu, it-ta-şu-ú ana ki-di "[Spell: 'Sorcery and hate]-magic have gone out to the outside" (iv 34), which is also partially preserved in BAM 128 iv 33'ff. (Scurlock 2014a: 457; for the incantation see Köcher 1966: 16 and 19: 13; Böck 2007: 51f., 80, 279ff. = Muššu'u VIII/b, used against paralysis (šimmatu)). BAM 124 col. iii and iv further contain passages on sikkatu/šiggatu and an incantation against sagallu (known also from Muššu'u VIII), duplicated in other texts from Assur and Nineveh (see Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8 and 723; cf. Böck 2007: 58, 290-293; Böck 2010b: 101-102, 104-106; Böck 2014a: 80-82). BAM 124 thus presents a collection of material closely related to the section HAMSTRING; probably the tablet forms a compilation of texts contained on different tablets of HAMSTRING, as registered in AMC. Compare further the Assur text BAM 128 (two-column tablet and partial duplicate of BAM 124).

For treatments of the feet, note in addition the fragments AMT 69/2 (concerning sick feet); AMT 69/7 (mentioning feet that feel hot); AMT 70/3 (prescriptions for the sole of the feet), BAM 121 (concerned with sick feet; excerpt of Kişir-Aššur), some of which could belong to the context of HAMSTRING 4. Some of the texts related to HAMSTRING and concerned with illnesses of the lower extremities, muscles and joints are translated in Böck 2010b: 99-106. It is further worth noting that conditions of the lower extremities, muscles and joints are likewise listed as a cluster in the second part of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 rev. 2 //), in a section enumerating collections of remedies for various conditions (see Geller *infra*, p. 309 line 32 and Steinert *infra*, pp. 185-187 for discussion).

³⁸ Compare the occurrence of bubu'tu in AMT 74/1 iii 13: "(If a lesion appears on a man's foot and) it itches like a boil" (kīma BU.BU.UL-te iharras).

Note further BAM 559+AMT 69/3+AMT 26/5: 14' and AMT 61/2 ii 2' cited above in the commentary to AMC l. 53, and AMT 52/6+K.13425: 6' and 11' (CDLI P397929), prescribing amulet stones for the hips and remedies for paralysis of the hips ($šimmat MURUB_4$).

The illness maškadu(SA.GIG), which is mentioned as the next keyword in AMC line 55, is a condition befalling domestic animals and humans and identified by Wasserman (2012) with brucellosis, a zoonotic, contagious disease caused by bacteria and responsible e.g. for pain in the joints and muscles. It is treated e.g. in AMT 69/9: 2'-3' (restored from Sakikkû 33: 99, see Heeßel 2000: 357; Scurlock 2014a: 234): [DIŠ uzulÚR-šú TA giš-ši-šú EN ki-şal-li-šú GU_7 -šú ZI-bi u DU-ak maš-ka-d[ù MU.NI] "[If] his thigh hurts him from his hip socket to his ankles, but he can get up and walk, it [is called] maškadu-(disease)." See also the variant Sakikkû 33: 100 (see further Heeßel 2000: 373): [DIŠ TA] "zuKUN-šú EN ŠU.SI.MEŠ GÌRI^{II}-šú SA.MEŠ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú *maš-ka-d*[ù MU.NI] "[If from] his pelvis to his toes his muscles continually hurt him, it [is called] maškadu-(disease)". Further therapeutic texts dealing with maškadu are found in the fragment AMT 52/8 (see l. 6' and 10'), and in several texts from Assur, such as the short excerpt BAM 81 (written by the exorcist Kişir-Aššur) and the Sammeltafel BAM 158, which contains in col. ii and iii recipes to treat maškadu (ii 14), sick hips (iii 9'-26') and feet (iii 27'). A similar multi-topic collection is the one-column tablet BAM 182, which preserves sections on renal problems, maškadu (obv. 7'-30') and rectal disease (rev.), see Geller 2005a: No. 31 Ms. EE). Note further the amulet collection BAM 354 iii 10 (stones for maškadu, see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 129 "Kette 108"). The condition is mentioned beside sagallu and other conditions of the lower extremities (e.g. AMT 22/2 obv. 9 //, see Geller 2005a: No. 50), often in lists of diseases incorporated in incantations (see e.g. BAM 338: 26 // (cf. MSL 9, 105-106; Böck 2007: 154-157 (Muššu'u IVa); Wasserman 2007: 42, 48, 55 and Wasserman 2012: 426-436). Spells against maškadu are found in BAM 182 obv. 14'-16' (maškadu ištu şerret šamāmē urtedi), a short version of the spell Šû šumšu maškadu kinûssu also found in texts related to HAMSTRING (where it is recited against sagallu), e.g. in BAM 124 iv 10-27, BAM 127 obv. 9-13, BAM 128 iv 1'-24', for further short versions see also CT 23, 5-14 iii 37-40 and CT 23, 1-4 rev. 15-18 (Böck 2007: 57-58, 290-293, integrated into Muššu'u VIII/l; Böck 2010b: 105-106; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8). A second incantation against maškadu found in BAM 182 obv. 18'-20' (arahhi ramanī arahhi zumrī) is applied to treat sagallu in CT 23, 5-14 iii 26-28 (Böck 2010b: 105).

Therapies for the $\check{s}a\check{s}\check{s}a\check{t}u$ -disease(SA.DUGUD), mentioned as the last keyword in AMC line 55, are found in BAM 131, which contains the incipit [DIŠ NA $\check{s}a$ - \acute{a}] \check{s} - $\check{s}a$ - $\check{t}a$ GIG "[If a] man suffers from $\check{s}a\check{s}\check{s}a\check{t}u$ ". The two-column tablet BAM 129 (written by Kiṣir-Aššur) contains mainly incantations and rituals for sagallu, but also remedies for $\check{s}a\check{s}\check{s}a\check{t}u$ in col. iv, see especially iv 3': [DIŠ NA GÚ- su^{2} M]URUB $_{4}^{II}$ - $\check{s}\check{u}$ $\check{a}\check{s}$ - $\check{t}a$ $\check{s}\check{a}$ - $\check{t}a$ MU.NI "[If a man's neck² (and)] hips are stiff, it is called $\check{s}a\check{s}\check{s}a\check{t}u$ " (with parallel sections in AMT 31/2 rev.); the entry is found in a slightly varying form in $Sakikk\hat{u}$ 33: 95 (Heeßel 2000: 357). Prescriptions for $\check{s}a\check{s}\check{s}a\check{t}u$ are also included in the recipe collection BAM 171 (obv. 14-26). For references from enumerations of diseases see CAD Š/2 175.

56) The skin condition k/giṣṣatu was already mentioned in the adi-section of CRANIUM (see above commentary to AMC l. 7; Fincke 2011: 176-181). It occurs in the context of illnesses of the feet in AMT 69/5: 1: DIŠ NA GÌRI^{II}-šú ki-iṣ-ṣa-tú DIRI "If a man's feet are full of kiṣṣatu". This example suggests that the catalogue keyword may have to be understood as referring to the skin disease rather than to kissatu "gnawing pain". In medical incantations containing enumerations of disease names, kissatu/kiṣṣatu occurs beside diseases of the lower extremities and skin conditions, see e.g. BAM 338: 27 // STT 138: 24' etc.; cf. Köcher 1971: xii; integrated into kissatu, Böck 2007: 156: 29): ki kisatu kissatu kissa

further K. 6250 rev. 5' // STT 136 iii 32, 42 etc. (Böck 2007, 287-289: 137, 147 (Muššu'u VIIIk); CT 23, 3 (K. 2473) obv. 9, 12 (sagallu incantation); K. 6057+ iii 3' (Böck 2014a: 113, a Gula incantation on a tablet dealing with skin diseases (simmu)). For further references see CAD K 429 sub a); for kissatu in connection with sētu-fever cf. Stol 2007a: 38.

The last key phrase in AMC l. 56 occurs in a similar symptom description in AMT 73/1-75/1+, which deals with sores that appear on the lower extremities in col. ii 60- iv 10, see especially col. ii 60: DIŠ NA GÌRI^{II}-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI "If a man's feet are full of lesions", followed by ii 61: DIŠ NA GÌRI"-šú GIG.MEŠ DIRI GIG šu-nu-ti a-da-na TUK-u u, -um GIG. MEŠ DIRI- \acute{u} ... "If a man's feet are full of lesions (and) these lesions have a fixed duration – when he becomes full of (those) lesions (ritual follows)"; cf. AMT 75 iii 13: DIŠ GIG ina GÌRI NA È-ma GIN, BU.BU.UL-te iharras "If a lesion breaks out on a man's foot and itches like a boil" (diagnosis sagbānu), see Eyper 2016: 32-35, 38.

57) The closest parallel to the first key phrase in AMC l. 57 occurs in BAM 32: 16, 18 (an unfinished extract dealing with skin lesions): GIG-šú ib-lu-uṭ-ma IGI GIG-ʿšúʾ GE₆ ŠUBʿ-ú / ... (recipe) / IGI GIG BABBAR (text not continued) "(If) his sore heals up and then the surface of his sore is dotted with black spot(s) (If) the surface of the sore (is dotted) with white spot(s)". Although BAM 32 does not mention the feet, it may possibly belong to the context of HAMSTRING, and AMC l. 57 may have to be restored according to BAM 32: 16. Note however that the same phrase reoccurs word for word in AMC l. 67 (in the *adi*-section of LESION, cf. below), which could signal that similar or identical recipes were integrated into both sections. Related diagnostic entries are also found in K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1) + AMT 15/3+ i 43 and 48 // BAM 124 i 1 (Eypper 2016: 16, 18): DIŠ NA GIG ka-bar-tì GIG ši-kin UZU.MEŠ-šú BABBAR GI₆ ŠUB-(u) "If a man suffers from the sickness of the kabartu (and) the appearance of his flesh is dotted with white (and) black spots". Since K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1)+ focuses on the sickness of the *kabartu* in col. i-ii, followed by treatments for lesions on the lower extremities, it is quite likely that murus kabarti was also mentioned as key phrase in the lost first half of AMC l. 57.

It is further noteworthy that after a double ruling following col. iv line 10, K. 67 (= AMT 73/1-75/1)+ closes with treatments for the heel, soles, toes and (toe)nails (the text breaks off shortly before the colophon). Since these topics correspond to the last keywords listed at the end of the adi-section in AMC line 57, it is highly probable that K. 67+ represents a manuscript of HAMSTRING 4. See especially AMT 73/1-75/1+ iv 17: DIŠ NA a-si-da-šú pur-ru-ur "If a man's heel is cracked"; iv 19: DIŠ NA a-si-da-šú lu-ut-ta-a "If a man's heels are split"; also iv 23 (heels constantly ill). Note also the Neo-Assyrian fragment of a recipe collection (for ghost-induced illnesses) published by Scheil 1917: 88 i 3'-4'; Scurlock 2006: No. 185: [DIŠ] NA GIDIM DAB-su MUD-su šá-gi-ig [SA] MUD-su u SA.SAL-šú šu-up-š[u]-hi "If a man is seized by a ghost (and) his heel is stiff, in order to relax [the muscles] of his heel and his Achilles tendon". For the toes/fingers and toenails, see AMT 73/1-75/1+AMT 100/3+ iv 26, 34 (fingers/toes), 36, 39 and 43: DIŠ NA UMBIN-šú lu na-da-at l[u ...] "If a man's nail either falls off o[r ...]".

Prescriptions for the toes/fingers and (toe)nails are otherwise rare, but the diagnostic series contains one tablet concerned with the hands and fingers (Sakikkû Tablet 11), while Sakikkû Tablet 14 contains entries about the toes and toenails (Scurlock 2014a: 82-82, 135-136: 242'-251'); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 71, 177, 250ff., 352f., 366, 554 and passim.

58) Cf. above the discussion to lines AMC 1 and 6. The phrase bulțī ištu muhhi adi şupri "remedies from the top of the head to the toenails" also occurs in the colophon inscribed on tablets from Ashurbanipal's library representing tablets of the Nineveh Medical Compendium following the serial order of AMC PART 1, see Hunger 1968: No. 329: 4 (Type q). This Ashurbanipal colophon refers to the texts inscribed on the respective tablets as bulțī ištu muhhi adi șupri liqtī ahûti tāhīzu nakla azugallūt Ninurta (u) Gula mala bašmu "'remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)', (and) external collections, the sophisticated lore, the grand medical art of Ninurta and Gula, as much as has been invented". 40 Note that the tablets bearing this colophon are always identified by their incipit and numbered according to their position within the sadīru "section", by citing the title of the sadīru. However, the title šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl is never used in the rubrics or colophons of the Nineveh tablets, as a designation for a "series" comprising AMC PART 1 or the whole therapeutic corpus (AMC PART 1 and 2). The phrase bulțī ištu muhhi adi șupri in the Ashurbanipal colophon is thus to be understood as a direct reference to AMC PART 1 and therefore forms the best candidate for a title or name for AMC PART 1. For the given reason it does not seem entirely justified to restore a title *šumma amēlu muhhašu* umma ukâl before bultī ištu muhhi adi supri in AMC l. 58, even though one has to note in comparison that AMC PART 2 is indeed referred to in its summary line by the first incipit of the first section SKIN (see AMC lines 59 and 123). One could

⁴⁰ See further the contributions of Panayotov (for a list of colophons) and Steinert in this volume.

thus expect the same naming pattern in the summary of PART 1. However, it is uncertain at this point whether there is enough space in the gap of AMC line 58 for the supposed title DIŠ NA UGU- $\dot{s}\acute{u}$ KÚM \acute{u} -kal. 41

59) The restoration DIŠ GIG "If a skin sore (simmu) …" at the beginning of this line is suggested by the summary line AMC l. 123, which repeats the incipit of LESION tablet 1 as the title of AMC PART 2 (there the verb is spelled um-mu-ra-[(at)]. The form ummurat in ll. 59 and 123 can be connected with $em\bar{e}ru$, which is a variant of $sem\bar{e}ru$ "to be distended, swollen" (cf. CAD sem equales 126; CAD sem equales 148). This interpretation is supported by the equations sem equales in a commentary (Civil 1974: 338) and (sem equales) and (sem equales) and (sem equales) and sem equales 135, in reference to the face and eyes (sem equales). Heeßel (2000: 361 and 408) suggests translating the verb with "gerötet sein", following AHw 214a sem equales 1.

No exactly matching tablet incipit for restoring AMC LESION Tablet 1 is known to date, but *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 43 features a fragmentary diagnostic entry in the context of skin diseases (Heeßel 2000: 355), which may be partially identical to the first incipit of the section LESION in the AMC: [DIŠ x]-*ta*²-*šu um-mu-ra*-[(x x x)]-*ta lad*²-*rdin*²-*nu* [... MU].NI "[If] his [...] is distended, ... it is called *ladinnu*" (here the verb may also be a fem. plur., referring to a dual subject). Furthermore, the incipit of AMC l. 59 is probably also encountered in a one-column tablet with treatments for skin sores (*simmu*) from Nimrud (CTN 4, 116 rev. 34'), where it seems to be cited as the series title in the colophon (not identical with the incipit of the tablet), yielding the likewise fragmentary line: [DUB X.KAM² DIŠ GIG]x-at KU-rta²-šu um-mu-ra-at¹ (Text: -ta) la-din-nu MU.NI. A disease name lad(d)innu is otherwise unattested, cf. CAD L 36 s.v. ladinnu (an aromatic). Possibly KU-ta in CTN 4, 116 should be read \$i_x-ta\$ "eruption; growth; abscess" (based on the value of zì for KU), since a restoration [m]a-at-qú-ta-šu "his sweetness" seems unsatisfactory. For \$itu\$ see CT 44, 36: 1 (a Middle or Neo-Babylonian extract tablet): DIŠ LÚ \$i-i-ta\$ GIG "If a man suffers from a \$itu-abscess" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 221; Böck 2010c: 85); cf. also \$simmu matqu\$ (Fincke 2011: 169-172 and AMC CRANIUM Tablet 4). CTN 4, 116 can thus regarded as a witness for the section LESION, although it may present an extract tablet. Its obverse contains prescriptions, its reverse an incantation and a short ritual duplicated in BAM 580 col. ii' 1'-32 from Nineveh, the latter of which thus could present a second witness for LESION, although presenting a longer collection of text material.

With regard to the first incipit of LESION, it is further noteworthy that many of the diagnostic entries in the first part of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 start with DIŠ GIG GAR-*śú* ... MU.NI "If the appearance of the lesion (looks like ..., ...) is its name", and that this section of the diagnostic series shares many close parallels with therapeutic texts (Heeßel 2000: 365ff.). In therapeutic texts concerned with skin ailments we find a similar recurring phrase introducing diagnostic passages, "if a lesion breaks out on a man's body". For instance, BAM 580 (AMT 27/6+44/1+84/4(+)52/3), a three-column tablet, which very likely collects material of LESION, features entries in col. iii 29', 31' beginning DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È ... "If a lesion breaks out on a man's body"; see also BAM 583 i' 3'; AMT 84/6 ii 5', 8' (fragment of a two(?)-column tablet). The fragment AMT 52/3: 12', probably belonging to BAM 580, contains the phrase: DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA È GIN₇ *um-[me-di* ...] "If a sore breaks out on a man's body and it is like *ummedu*", which recurs in a similar way in YBC 7143: 11' (from Assur, Beckman and Foster 1988: No. 18): DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA 'È GIN₇ *um-me-di* a-[šu-ú MU.NI]. Note the partially parallel entries in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 1-3: DIŠ GIG GAR-šú GIN₇ *um-me-di* (...) *a-šu-ú* MU.NI "If the appearance of the lesion is like *ummedu* it is called *ašû*-disease".

Further 1st millennium tablets and fragments concerned with skin ailments are BAM 32, BAM 35 (excerpts from Assur), BAM 409 (from Uruk, see Köcher 1995), BAM 417 (a Neo-Assyrian one-column tablet, provenience unknown), BAM 581-583 (Nineveh fragments) BAM 584 (K. 6653+, a fragmentary two-column tablet); BM 108872+ (a one-column tablet from Assur, see Heeßel 2008); BM 41282(+) (a Neo- or Late Babylonian two(?)-column tablet, see Fincke 2011: 187-202). The two-column Nineveh tablet BAM 494 (K. 6224+), which focuses on skin ailments on the head, could belong either to CRANIUM or LESION, cf. Köcher 1980a: xxix and commentary above. For tablets combining remedies from the section CRANIUM with recipes for skin ailments, note also AO 11447 (Geller 2007), Fincke 2011: 201-202. Note that many of the skin conditions mentioned in AMC are already attested in Old Babylonian medical texts, see e.g. Wasserman 2007: 54-55; George 2016: II.L.2 No. 73).

⁴¹ For the expression SUR.GIBIL *şabātu* see below commentary to AMC lines 123-125 and the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert in this volume.

60-61) Since we are not informed about the number of tablets belonging to the section LESION (the total of tablets in AMC line 62 is lost), it is impossible to say how many tablet incipits are contained in AMC ll. 60-61. The preserved text in these two lines evokes the impression of an enumeration of abbreviated diagnostic entries rather than clear incipits. It is thus possible that the section LESION consisted only of one instead of an estimated minimum of three tablets.

The word kibšu occurs in the context of skin diseases on the head, see e.g. the excerpt tablet AO 11447 obv. 30, 33 (Geller 2007: 5, 9-10): DIŠ NA SAG.DU-su kib-šá gi-is-sa-tú gu-riš-tú DIRI "If a man's head is full of kibšu, gissatu and gurištu", which is duplicated in a slightly varying passage in BAM 33 obv. 1-2 (Labat 1959: 6, 8, 10-11; Geller 2007: 5, 9 texts A and E): [DIŠ NA SA]G.DU-su lu peš-ta (read: PEŠ.GIG!?) lu gi-iṣ-ṣa-ta₌ [lu kib-š]á lu-u gu-[r]iš-ta DIRI); see further BM 41282 (+) 41294 ii 5' (dealing solely with *kibšu* on the head) and 8' (Fincke 2011: 175, 190). It is uncertain whether the entry in AMC l. 60 also referred to kibšu appearing on the head; the phrase ... kib-šú MIN "(If ...) kibšu ditto" in the catalogue most likely stands for kib-šú DIRI (or GIG) "he is full of/sick with kibšu". For further references see Fincke 2011: 173-175.

For bubu'tu/bubuhtu "inflammation, boil, pustule" (also written with varying logographic spellings, U/Ù/U, BU. BU.UL, \hat{U}/U_a .BÚ.BÚ.UL or BU.BU.UL), cf. the discussion in Fincke 2011: 166-167 ("Blase; Bläschen" filled with a fluid), Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 222-224. The reading of the end of AMC line 60 is not entirely certain. An emendation to UZU BU¹.<BU>.UL¹-ta na-ši "(his) flesh exhibits (or: is swollen up with) bubu'tu" could be suggested by similar spellings: e.g. AMT 74/1 iii 13 kīma BU.BU.UL-te (If the sore on a man's foot itches) "like a bubu'tu-boil"; KADP, p. 8 ad No. 32 i 26 (BU.BU.UL- tu_a). However, it seems unlikely that *bubu'tu* in AMC l. 60 was mentioned twice in immediate sequence, although in two different spellings. Furthermore, the verb $nas\hat{u}$ is somewhat unusual in the context of pustules, since normally the verbs malû or nadû are used (see CAD B 300f. for references). Sometimes, našû can mean "to bear" (a brand or other feature on the skin) referring to animals (CAD N/2 86b sub f). Another word for a skin disease parallel to the syllabic bu-bu-uh-ta is probably expected before na-ši. An expression "flesh of shame" (šīr būšti/būlti) for a skin disease is not otherwise attested, but offers a meaningful expression (referring to the shamefulness associated with skin diseases). In this case, the spelling *bu-ul-ta* has to be erroneous (UZU *bu-ul-ti/te* is expected).

61) In Middle Babylonian medical letters, *išātu* lit. "fire", occurs in the context of skin diseases rather than fever, possibly designating an abscess or inflammation (Stol 2007a: 2; Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 177). However, in 1st millennium sources, we also find a skin disease pēm/ntu(DĒ) "(glowing) charcoal", see AO 11447 rev. 15, var. BAM 264 ii 23' (Labat 1959: 12-13; Geller 2007: 11, 63: 'DIŠ KI.MIN SA₅' GU_7 -šú u 'ka--šú-<math>nu DAB' GIG BI DÈ MU.NI ana ZI-šú "If ditto (a lesion breaks out on a man's body and) it is red, it hurts him and all of them flow(?), that lesion is called 'charcoal' (*pēmtu*) – to remove it (...)". An identical entry with a syllabic spelling of the disease term is found in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 27 // CT 51, 148: 7'; Heeßel 2000: 354, 27). On the other hand, the Assur text BM 108872+ rev. 13 (Heeßel 2008: 167) suggests the reading IZI/išātu "fire; inflammation" (rather than KÚM(ummu) "fever") in an entry describing a skin condition occurring in the face: DIŠ NA IZI pa-ni TUK-ši "If a man has an inflammation of the face". Note that išātu in a syllabic spelling also occurs in AMC l. 62, in the adi-section of the section LESION, although it is possible that two different conditions are indicated. 42 Some of the skin diseases enumerated in AMC l. 61 occur in a sequence in lists of ailments within incantations, see e.g. BAM 338: 25-26 // (Böck 2007: 155: 27-28 Muššu'u IV/a): [IZI/išātu] girgišša sāmā[nu] / [a]šû maškādu sagallu sagbā[nu]; cf. also Wasserman 2007: 47-55.

For sāmānu, a term connected to sāmu "red", known as an illness whose symptoms probably refer to a condition caused by an infection of the soft tissue, characterised by skin sores and fever, see Kinnier Wilson 1994: 111-114; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 62-64; Beck 2015. Note Sakikkû Tablet 33: 23-25 (Heeßel 2000: 354), where it is described as a red, hot, swollen and flowing skin sore. The text BAM 494 i 35', 38' is concerned with sāmānu appearing on the head, which is characterised by itchiness. In BAM 409 obv. 11'-12', 16' (from Uruk, see Köcher 1995: 205-206, 14'-15, 20) sāmānu is mentioned beside skin spots of differing colour. However, since sāmānu is also known as a pest affecting animals and barley, it has been interpreted as an "ergot-like blight" with poisonous effect on animals and humans eating the infected grain (CAD S 112 discussion).⁴³ For the sāmānu-incantations see Finkel 1998; cf. further Wasserman 2007: 54 for Old Babylonian attestations.

⁴² For syllabic išātu in enumerations of skin diseases, cf. further CAD I/J 233; CAD S 251 (sikkatu A sub 6).

⁴³ B. Landsberger (1951: 113-114) suggested that in a few texts (e.g. incantations), sāmānu has to be understood as a noxious, blood-sucking insect.

The disease *girgiššu* "strawberry" is described as a skin sore that is hot but does not contain fluid, see *Sakikkû* Tablet 33: 13, 110 (Heeßel 2000: 353, 358); cf. the Old or Middle Babylonian recipe collection BAM 393 obv. 14: 6,40 *a-wilum gi-ir-gi-ša-am ma-li* "If a man is full of *girgiššum*" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 10.143 with n. 151).⁴⁴

Treatments for the illness $sagb\bar{a}nu$ can be found in texts concerned with sores on the lower extremities (belonging to HAMSTRING), see e.g. AMT 74/1 iii 13 (Eypper 2016: 38): DIŠ GIG ina GÌRI NA È-ma GIN $_7$ BU.BU.UL-te i-har-ra-as sagba-ba-nu MU.NE "If a sore breaks out on a man's foot and it itches like bubu'tu, it is called sagbanu". For this condition cf. also CAD S 22; $Sakikk\hat{u}$ 33: 64 (Heeßel 2000: 356); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 222-224.

62) Possibly the word *kurāru*(PEŠ.GIG) "carbuncle" has to be restored before the break, but the first fragmentary sign could also be EN introducing the *adi*-section and followed by keywords and phrases. It is noteworthy that the summary section of the section LESION is with eight lines quite long. For the skin condition *kurāru*(PEŠ.GIG, related to *guri/aštu*), cf. CAD K 556b; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 233-234; Wasserman 1996-97 and Wasserman 2007; for an overview of the 1st millennium texts dealing with *kurāru* see Böck 2003: 161-184. Several remedies for *kurāru* appearing on the head are found in BAM 494 (K. 6224+) iii 20'-iv 6, partially duplicated and complemented through recipes in BAM 3 i 44-49, BAM 34: 3'-10', BAM 152 i 14'-23', BAM 156 obv. 25-rev. 40, AO 11447 obv. 42-44 (Labat 1959: 10-11; Geller 2007: 10), STT 99 obv. 1'-7'; BAM 497 ii' 12' and AMT 1/3: 7' (see Böck 2003 for an edition of these sources); cf. also BAM 33: 9 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.1). These texts are either collections with treatments for the head (related to the section CRANIUM) or collections of diverse remedies.

The expression risult siri "itchiness of the flesh" does not seem to occur anywhere else, but the condition risult u is well known. CAD R 381-382 derives risult u from rasult u from rasult u "to become red" and translate the word with "redness" resulting from scratching the skin. The former etymology is preferred here, because of the logogram SA.UMBIN.AK.AK ("to scratch the skin with the nails"), and because risult u appears in lexical groups with ekket u and harasult u denoting itchiness (e.g. AMT 26/1: 6, 17 = BAM 543 iv 25 and 36; Farber 1990: 316ff.). Both phenomena may be intrinsically connected. For risult u see e.g. Sakikku u 33: 12, (Heeßel 2000: 353-354; Scurlock 2014a: 231), where the illness is described as "hot like a burn". However, in Sakikku u 33: 16 and 21, risult u is mentioned as a symptom of other skin conditions, see also BAM 409: 19'-20' (Köcher 1995: 206: 22'-23'): DIS ... UZU.MEŠ-sult u u u u u is u u u u u u is u u u u u is u

63) All the facial skin conditions preserved in AMC ll. 63-65 are also treated in BM 108872+, a one-column tablet from Assur (Heeßel 2008: 163-171). For (*riphī*) *ugudillê* "(swollen) *ugudillû*-spots", see BM 108872+: 27-31, which is duplicated in BAM 35 i 25'-28' (a two-column tablet from Assur): DIŠ NA *rip-hi* UGU.DÉ'.LÚ IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú "If a man's face is full of swollen *ugudillû*-spots". These spots can have different colours, see BM 108872+ obv. 11, 12, 14 // BAM 35 i 11', 12', 14': DIŠ NA UGU.DÉ'.LÚ BABBAR/GI₆.MEŠ IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú "If a man's face is full of white/black *ugudillû*-spots". The entries just cited are also included in the physiognomic omen series (*Alamdimmû* VIII, Böck 2000: 109: 13-16, spelled UGU.DIL-e), but the apodoses differ. Cf. for discussion Heeßel 2008: 170 *ad* ll. 12-13; CAD R 365a; CAD U/W 39b.

For ummedu, an abscess or boil, see CAD U/W, 119; Stol 1998: 351; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 229-230. In $Sakikk\hat{u}$ Tablet 33, ummedu serves as a point of comparison to define other skin conditions, see e.g. l. 1-2 (Heeßel 2000: 353): [DIŠ GIG] GAR- $\dot{s}u$ GIN $_{7}$ um-me-di (...) a- $\dot{s}u$ -u MU.N[I] "If the appearance of the lesion is like an ummedu-boil (...), it is called $a\ddot{s}u$ "; see also ll. 9 and 16 (the patient is full of ummedu-boils). In therapeutic texts, these boils can occur on the body or the face, see e.g. AMT 52/3: 12' (probably belonging to BAM 580, see similar entries in col. iii of the latter tablet): DIŠ GIG $\dot{s}u$ MA È GIN $_{7}$ um[sum] $\dot{s}u$ Ma is a lesion appears on a man's body (and) it (looks) like um[sum] $\dot{s}u$

⁴⁴ For attestations of this condition in 2nd millennium BCE texts, see Wasserman 2007: 54; Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993: 104 B 1' (for an Old Babylonian medical text from Meturan with remedies for diverse skin ailments). A Hurrian incantation against *girgiššu* duplicated by a Mari text is published by Krebernik 2001: 157-159.

Andersen 2005: 10.117); cf. BM 108872+ rev. 1 (Heeßel 2008: 167): [DIŠ NA] um-me-di IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú "If a man's face is full of *ummedu*-boils". Note also AMT 31/7 ii 8' (fragment): GIN, *um-me-di ú-maš-šá-ra* "like *ummedu* it drips (with a fluid?)" (in the context of treating bubu'tu). Ummedu-boils are also mentioned in Alamdimmû VIII (Böck 2000: 108: 7).

- 64) This entry is also attested in the Assur texts BAM 35 i 7' // BM 108872+ obv. 8: DIŠ NA ser-ši IGI.MEŠ-šú DIRI-ú "If a man's face is full of seršu-boils" (Heeßel 2008: 165, 169; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 236).
- 65) The end of AMC line 65 can be restored with the help of BAM 35 i 4' // BM 108872+ obv. 5 (Heeßel 2008: 165): DIŠ NA ha-le-e IGI.MEŠ-'šú DIRI'-[ú] "If a man's face is full of halû" (black moles). These spots are also encountered in physiognomic omens (Alamdimmû VIII, Böck 2000: 108, 8). An alternative restoration of AMC line 65 proposed by Nils Heeßel (2008: 171) follows BM 108872+ rev. 3: [... ana pi-in-d]e-e ZI-hi "to remove pindû-lesions" (red granular lesions or moles, cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 231-232; CAD P 323ff. s.v. pendû). Note in this connection the tablet Šumma pindû within the physiognomic omen series (Böck 2000: 29 and 194-203).

For AMC lines 62-65, G. Buisson (personal communication) suggested the following hypothetical reconstruction, drawing on entries in BM 108872+:

- 62) [NIGIN X DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG ina SU NA È (...) E]N ri-šut UZU i-šá-tu bu-bu-uh-tú
- 63) [ru-tib-tú ha-ra-su DIŠ N]A ri-ip-hi UGU.DA.LÚ-e um-me-di
- ⁶⁴⁾ [pi-in-de-e te-er-ke e-rim-mi ş]er-ši pa-nu-šú DIRI-ú
- 65) [ana i-ša-tú te-er-ke e-ri-mi pi-in-de-e ḥa-l]é-e ZI-hi
- 62) [A total of ... tablets (belonging to) 'If a lesion breaks out on a man's body ... inclu]ding (prescriptions) for itchiness of the flesh, išātu ('fire'), bubuhtu, 63] [ruṭibtu ('dampness'), harāsu, for the case that a man]'s face is full of swollen ugudillû-spots, ummedu-boils, ⁶⁴ [pindû-moles, terku-spots, erimmu-lesions, s]eršu-boils, ⁶⁵ [(including treatments) to] remove išātu ('fire'), terku-spots, erimmu-lesions, pindû-moles (and) ha]lû-moles.
- 66) The sequence [...] 'GIG' UD.DA GIG "[...] he suffers from a simmu-lesion (or: an illness?) of ṣētu-fever" occurs as part of a diagnostic passage in BAM 503 iii 64' (= section EARS) among treatments for the ears, but the context of this passage remains unclear (cf. Stol 2007a: 36-37; Scurlock 2014a: 376). The conditions şētu/himiṭ ṣēti (lit. ("burning) of sun-heat") are mainly associated with fever and intestinal trouble, but can sometimes be associated with skin lesions (simmu), see e.g. the incipit of CRANIUM Tablet 4 (= AMC l. 4), describing a man's head being full of "sweet lesions" and himit sēti (e.g. AMT 105/1 iv 26 (catchline), cf. Stol 2007a: 36). Note BAM 575 i 21 // BAM 52: 63-64 (= STOMACH 2), which speaks of the patient's belly being full of lesions as a symptom of *şētu*-fever (cf. Cadelli 2000: 125). Interestingly, skin complaints such as *bubu'tu*-pustules and itchiness are also discussed in the context of *himit ṣēti*-fever in a section of Sakikkû Tablet 31 (BAM 416: 28'-32', see Heeßel 2000: 343).
- 67) Because of a lack of Akkadian verbal roots containing t and s/s/z as second and third root consonant, the text in AMC line 67 probably has to be emended to [...GIG- $\dot{s}\acute{u}$] TI- $ma^{!}$ (GIŠ) IGI GIG- $\dot{s}\acute{u}$ BABBAR ŠUB-di. An almost identical phrase is found in the excerpt BAM 32: 16': GIG-šú ib-lu-uṭ-ma IGI GIG-š[ú G]E, ŠUB'-ú (recipe follows) "(If) his lesion has healed, but the surface of his lesion is dotted black". The next entry in BAM 32: 18' begins with a phrase corresponding to the entry in AMC line 67 (IGI GIG BABBAR "the surface of the lesion is white"), but the rest of the tablet was left blank and the text not continued. The recipes in BAM 32 address the treatment of simmu-lesions (cf. BAM 32: 13' sikkatu), and this tablet could very well be related to the section LESION. The same passage from BAM 32: 16'-18' is further found in CTN 4, 116: 16-18 from Nimrud, a one-column tablet with treatments and an incantation for simmu-lesions, which seems to cite the section title of LESION (AMC 1. 59) in its colophon and can therefore be regarded as a witness for the section (probably an extract). It should be noted that the same phrase cited in AMC l. 67 also occurs in the adi-section of the section HAMSTRING in AMC l. 57 (cf. above), and it is therefore possible that identical or similar recipes were included in both sections of the therapeutic corpus (i.e. parts of HAMSTRING are concerned in particular with skin lesions on the feet). For tablets with treatments for simmu lesions not related to HAMSTRING, see further BAM 580 (AMT 27/6+44/1+84/4(+) AMT 52/3), as well as BAM 581-584; AMT 16/5 (fragment, possibly part of BAM 584); AMT 77/6 (possibly part of BAM 580;

see Köcher 1980b: xxxif.); AMT 84/6; cf. BAM 494 (K. 6224+, possibly part of CRANIUM Tablet 4 or 5); Rm. 376 obv. 18 (Lambert 1965: 285, a Middle Assyrian tablet of incantations; context uncertain). Cf. further CAD S 276-277.

- 68) AMC lines 68-69 seem to cite the titles of spells used with treatments against skin diseases. The fragmentary entry in AMC line 68 probably belongs to an incantation incipit ("[...] he/she took the knot/strength"), but a matching incipit is unknown. The topic of the spell may be witchcraft-related.
- 69) The fragmentary \hat{u} "and" in line 69 indicates that AMC ll. 68-69 contained an enumeration of incantation incipits included in the section LESION. The incantation $simm\bar{u}$ $m\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ "the lesions are many" cited here is known from texts dealing with simmu lesions and skin complaints. It forms the incipit of the two-column Nineveh tablet K. 6057+ (i 1-25), which contains incantations against simmu (Böck 2014a: 109-110). The complete incipit reads ÉN si-im-mu ma-'a-du su-mi-su-nu ul i-di "The skin lesions are (so) many, I do not (even) know their names". For two others spells in K. 6057+ col. ii 29-41 (where the same phrase occurs in ii 33) and iii 1'-10', see also Böck 2014a: 110-113. The phrase is already encountered in a spell in a Middle Babylonian incantation collection from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968: 30-40 RS 17.155 // RS. 15.152 l. 16), part of which is identical with the spell in Mussu'u V/d (Böck 2007: 191-196 ms. U). Another incantation dealing with simmu incorporating the same formulation is contained in the Nineveh tablet BAM 580 ii 2'-28' and in CTN 4, 116 rev. 1'-30' from Nimrud (edited in Geller 2000b: 336-339; cf. Stol 1991-92: 63). Both texts preserve prescriptions and incantations for skin conditions.
- 70) The AMC section dubbed HAZARD forms a relatively small section of the therapeutic corpus comprising one tablet, whose incipit is not attested yet in the medical texts known to date. No tablet has yet been identified as a witness of this part of the therapeutic corpus. The section seems to have included several topics indicated in the long summary section (AMC ll. 71-78), covering the treatment of injuries from war wounds, work accidents and hazards such as snake and dog bites or scorpion stings. It is possible that this section included basic surgical instructions (e.g., for treating bone fractures, cf. George 2016: II.F.2, spell for healing fractured bones; BAM 124 iii 57 // BAM 125: 28; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8 within prescriptions for the feet). For the reconstruction of the incipit note a Middle Assyrian administrative document recording deliveries of animals to court employees (as food or for cult offerings), which mentions the eunuch Samu as the recipient of an ox on the occasion kî UR.MAH uşabbitušu "when a lion had seized him" (Weidner 1935-36: 18 and 40, no. 89: 11; CAD N/2 193-194). The phrase (sabātu D-stem) could then imply that the person was seriously injured, but survived a lion attack. Notably, the Middle Babylonian tablet inventory BM 103690 i 17 seems to include a virtually identical incipit as AMC l. 70: DIŠ N[A U]R[?].MAH [(ina EDIN)] DAB.DAB-su (see Finkel's contribution in this volume), and the text material compiled in the section HAZARD could thus go back to the 2nd millennium BCE. Of interest in this context is further a catalogue of Namburbi rituals (K. 2389+), which mentions an incantation to protect houses from the attacks of lions, wolves and robbers (Maul 1994: 197, 7), and a tablet of Namburbi rituals against evil portended by wild animals of the steppe, including the evil portended by lions (80-7-19, 98+: 12ff., Caplice 1967: 18).
- 71-72) In the light of *patru* "dagger" and *ariktu* "spear" mentioned at the latter half of AMC l. 71, other weapons may have been enumerated in the gap at the beginning of l. 72, ending in SÌG-su (*imhassu* "has wounded him"). Possibly a word for "arrow" (*šiltāhu*, *mulmullu*) was included in the enumeration (cf. below AMC l. 78). Occasionally, lists of disease terms mention wounds stemming from animal bites/stings, thorns or reeds, see e.g. MSL 9, 78: 103, 108 (OB): sì-hi-il-ti/me-hi-iṣ gi³DÁLLA "the prick of a thorn" (beside "reed" and "wood"), cf. the 1st millennium recension MSL 9, 97: 219-221 for similar phrases. BAM 409 obv. 12', a tablet from Uruk with treatments for skin conditions, mentions *mihiṣ ṣillîm*(giš DÁLLA) "the prick of a thorn" beside other skin diseases (Köcher 1995: 205, 15'). Therapeutic texts treating wounds from weapons are not attested up to now, but an oracle question to the sun god (*tamītu*) includes *nikis patri*(GÍR) "the cut of a dagger" among all possible hazards that can happen to a man (Lambert 2007: 112 No. 50 rev. iii 2).
- 72-73) The restoration at the end of AMC l. 72 is uncertain, but the entry probably concerned an injury involving the "front of a ship/boat" (IGI gis MÁ, e.g. falling onto the deck?). A similar enumeration of diverse injuries and hazards such as falling from a roof, a ladder, from a chariot or riding animals is included in an oracle query ($tam\bar{t}u$, see Lambert 2007: 36-39 No. 1 ND 5492: 280-285 and duplicates). Falling from a chariot or a horse (the subject being the king or a nobleman) is also the topic of omens in $Summa \bar{a}lu$ Tablet 43 (e.g. CT 40, 36: 17-18, 30, 32, 35 and passim).

74) The grouping of bennu (epilepsy), miqtu ("fallen", a variant of miqit šamê "fallen from heaven-(disease)", i.e. epilepsy) and rimûtu (numbness; flaccidity) in the section HAZARD is somewhat unexpected, since the topic epilepsy (AN. TA.ŠUB.BA) is also included in another section in AMC PART 2 dubbed MENTAL ILLNESS (cf. below ll. 91-98). Maybe the similarities to other topics involving falling led to the grouping. In medical texts, *rimûtu* is usually found together with *šimmatu* "paralysis" (CAD R 363; for medical texts on *šimmatu* cf. CAD Š/3 7-8; Böck 2007; 47, 49-56; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 67-99, esp. 74-84). For instance, the Middle Babylonian text BAM 398 from Nippur unites treatments and a spell for rimûtu, šimmatu and mišittu (stroke), see Limet 1986: 83-87; Böck 2007: 50 and passim. Note that the topic mišittu (stroke) is dealt with in particular in NECK Tablet 5 (cf. above l. 16), which includes prescriptions treating numbness or flaccidity (rimûtu), see BAM 523+AMT 77/1-79/1+82/2+ iii 9-10 (CDLI no. P394418); cf. also BAM 138 ii 1-15 (mišittu and rimûtu); K. 2542+ (BE 31, 60+), esp. iv 6-8 for šimmatu and rimûtu (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 192f., 373ff. Text 17 Ms. A, this Neo-Babylonian text from Nippur belonging to the series kunuk halti contains an amulet collection and incantations for *šimmatu* and similar problems). Further treatments for *rimûtu* are attested in the fragments AMT 52/5: 14'ff. (*šimmatu/rimûtu*) and AMT 5/6: 6' (Thompson 1930a: 10f.). Note also BAM 194 iv 5-14 (a stone compendium with an amulet for *šimmatu* and *rimûtu*, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 389).

In the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 32-33 //), rimûtu occurs in a group with conditions of the lower extremities, muscles and bones, followed by epilepsy (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA) and illnesses caused by demons and gods. Interestingly, in some drug compendia, materia medica for epilepsy (bennu) are listed in the vicinity of plants for snake and dog bite, similar to the arrangement in AMC: CT 14, 23 (K. 9283): 17-18 // STT 92 obv. 17-18 lists two plants for bennu following those for snake/dog bite and scorpion sting (ll. 1-15).

For bennu and miqtu as popular terms for epileptic fits and their close association see Stol 1993: 5-7, 9-12; note in addition that migtu can occasionally refer to a skin condition (Stol 1993: 11-12). The term bennu occurs mostly in connection with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and illnesses attributed to "supernatural" agents, see e.g. BAM 202 rev. 7' (an excerpt tablet of Ki[sir-Aššur], whose obverse is concerned with DIMMA.KÚR.RA "changing of the mind") // BAM 311: 52' (a collection of protective *mêlu*-bags) // BM 40183+ rev. 26' (a Late Babylonian tablet with treatments against mental illnesses and demonic attacks), where epilepsy-like fits are identified as "Hand of Bennu, deputy of Sîn" (cf. Stol 1993: 6; Dunham 1985: 253; Chalendar 2013: 11 passim and below AMC l. 95). Apotropaic rituals against bennu, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, Lugalurra ("Lord of the roof") etc. are further attested in STT 57+263, partially duplicating STT 58 and LKU 32, which present collections of prescriptions/rituals against epilepsy in adults and children (cf. Farber 1989a: 27, esp. STT 57+ obv. 11-13 // STT 286 ii 9-13). Note also BAM 468: 8-9, where bennu is found in an enumeration in a prescription against any illness. Bennu is likewise listed beside AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ghost, "Hand of the god/goddess", the "curse", mukīl-rēš-lemutti demon, "Lord of the roof" and evil $al\hat{u}$ in AMT 96/3+ // KAR 42: 1ff. (Farber 1977: 56 and Taf. 1), containing a multi-purpose ritual to Ištar. LKU 32, a Late Babylonian tablet with therapies (leather bags, amulets, ointments and fumigants) for children, preserves a prayer to Sîn and prescriptions against epilepsy (bennu, obv. 1-11, Farber 1989a: §§ 42-43, with duplicates STT 57+ and 58), a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation recited for children (obv. 12-17 //, Farber 1989a: 102ff, §34; Farber 2014: 271f. "SKS") and other spells and treatments to protect the child from any evil (rev. 7 mimma lemnu), which are also known from a Nineveh compendium for infants (LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ, see Farber 1989a: § 11A, § 16 and § 19).

76-77) Only a few recipes for snakebite are currently attested. Remedies featuring the citation in AMC l. 76 are encountered for instance in the one-column tablet BAM 42 from Assur (ll. 63-68, esp. 63-65 beginning DIŠ NA MUŠ 'iš'-šuk-šú "If a man – a snake has bitten him"), with parallels in AMT 92/7: 6'-8' (a fragment of a one-column tablet, cf. Thompson 1930b: 131) and in an excerpt tablet from Assur (Scheil 1918: 76 obv. 1'-13'), which also preserves remedies for scorpion sting (obv. 14'-25') and remedies for horses (on the reverse). In BAM 42, the recipes for snake bite form the last section on the tablet, which otherwise contains mostly special potions used for respiratory illnesses. Furthermore, a Neo-Assyrian stone list from Assur (BAM 343: 14) enumerates stones according to different applications, including a "stone to c[alm down] (or: cure) snake bite" (NA, ni-šik MUŠ pu-[uš-šu-hi?] / bu[lluṭi]).

Similar to AMC II. 77-78, snake bite is regularly grouped with dog bite and scorpion sting in lists of diseases, see e.g. MSL 9, 78: 97-99, ziqit GİR.TAB, nišik MUŠ, nišik UR.GI₂. They also occur side by side in enumerations of diseases in incantations, e.g. K. 6335: 21 // BAM 338: 28 etc.: nišik UR.GI₂ MUŠ GÍR.TAB nammašti (Böck 2007: 156: 30 Muššu'u IV/a); cf. also the list in an oracle query (Lambert 2007: 38 no. 1: 283-285).

The reference to plants for "relieving a snake bite" in AMC l. 77 may be reminiscent of entries in practical drug compendia, see e.g. KADP No. 2 ii 13-14 (= Uruanna I 403a-b); KADP No. 1 v 10, 26, 31, 62-63 (Middle Assyrian drug com-

pendium); CT 14, 23 (K. 9283); 5-11 // STT 92 obv. 5-11 (with herbs for ZÚ.(KUD) MUŠ, listed with those for dog bite (CT 14, 23: 1-3; KADP No. 1 v 1, 4, 9; STT 92 i 11) and scorpion sting (CT 14, 23 (K. 9283): 14-16: Ú GAZ GÍR.TAB); KADP No. 1 v 13; see also KADP No. 6 v 14' (= Uruanna, mentioning a Ú šá-mi GÍR.TAB "scorpion plant"). For citations see CAD N/2 281-282; CAD Z 165.

There is also a continuous tradition of incantations against snakes, dogs (and scorpions) from the 3rd millennium BCE onward, which were often transmitted together with short prescriptions, see Cunningham 1997: texts 10, 27, 43, 63, 66-67, 169, 179, 186, 211, 213-216, 257-261, 323a, 363, 365, 395, 416, 421-426 (incantations against snakes; some also associated with snake charming); texts 183, 325, 329, 337, 343, 348, 355, 358, 364; 375, 441 (dogs); Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994: 382-385 (dog); Finkel 1999: 214-223 (dogs), 223-234, 239-241 (snakes); Hallo 1999: 277-278 (dog); Wu 2001: 34 (dog); Cavigneaux 2003: 61-62 (snake); Wasserman 2007: 48, 53; George 2016: II.D.2-3, II.D.7, II.D.14 (snake), II.D.6 (dog). In the Exorcist's Manual (l. 19), the rubrics ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA "to cure a snake bite" and GÍR.TAB TI.LA "to cure a scorpion (sting)" are grouped with SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA "to cure sāmānu-disease", in a sequence of healing rituals and incantations for medical problems.

The condition apislat encountered in AMC line 77 may be related to the term apisalû, which possibly describes a bodily deformity (Leichty 1965: 327; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 462 n. 51 for a different reading of the lemma). The word also occurs in BAM 124 iii 40, a two-column Assur tablet dealing with diseases of the lower extremities (with material belonging to the section HAMSTRING). The text offers a recipe with 11^2 [Ú].HI.A šá a-pí-is-lat ina DÈ tu-šá-ha-an "eleven drugs for apislat-disease; you heat (them) over coals". Parallels to this recipe are found in the extract AO 11447: 20-21 from Assur and in the Neo-Babylonian recipe collection IM 132670 obv. 20-23 from Sippar, in the context of treatments (bandages) for conditions of the head (Geller 2007: 8-9; Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 223, 225, 237 §6; Heeßel 2010a: 154-156; Scurlock 2014a: text 2.7.8). Another partial parallel to this recipe is encountered in an excerpt of Kisir-Aššur (BAM 177: 1-7), listing PAP 18 *a-pi-is-lat lat-ku* 'x x " "a total of eighteen tested (drugs) for *apislat*". However, D. Goltz (1974: 328) interprets apislat in BAM 177 as a special type of medication, not as a disease term (see also von Soden 1972: 348). The word occurs further in the drug inventory KADP No. 36 vi 21-22 (Limet 1986: 83), in a section registering different drug preparations (potions, lotions, ointments, suppositories, bandages) including ZÍD.DA.MEŠ ap-is-lat "flours/powders (for/and) apislat".

78) Few prescriptions for scorpion sting have been preserved among medical texts, see e.g. a Neo-Assyrian excerpt (32nd nishu) from Assur, which includes remedies for snake bite (Scheil 1918: 76: obv. 14'-24', see l. 14': [DIŠ N]A 'GÍR'.TAB TAG-su "If a scorpion attacks a man"). Note further AMT 29/2 + 91/1, an excerpt tablet with treatments for paralysis, which also includes a prescription for paralysis (simmatu) caused by a scorpion sting (rev. 4: DIŠ NA simmat GÍR.TAB GIG; cf. Thompson 1930b: 128). In incantations, šimmatu is compared with a scorpion/snake bite (see BAM 338 rev. 7'-8 // K. 8939 ii 8'-9' etc., Böck 2007: 272 Muššu'u VIII/a). Among the medical texts from the 2nd millennium, BAM 393, an Old or Middle Babylonian medical collection from Nippur includes a remedy for scorpion sting (obv. 19-20) and dog bite (rev. 5-8); another Old Babylonian tablet contains a treatment for scorpion sting as the sole text (George 2016: 164-165 No. 72), while a contemporary medical collection with remedies (mainly) for skin diseases includes a treatment for dog bite (George 2016: No. 73 §6 l. 7). It is noteworthy that Old Babylonian scorpion incantations are often combined with therapeutic instructions similar to those found in collections of medical prescriptions.

For scorpion spells from the 3rd millennium to the 1st millennium BCE, see Nougayrol 1972: 141-143 (Old Babylonian incantation with treatment); Cunningham 1997: texts 66, 217-236, 357, 360, 369, 374, 400, 415, 417, 427; Cavigneaux 1994: 155-157; Cavigneaux 1995: 75-99; Cavigneaux 1999: 265-266; Finkel 1999: 234-239; Wasserman 2007: 53; Wasserman 2008: 11-12; George 2009: 156 No. 19; George 2010; George 2016: II.D.1, II.D.4-5, II.D.8-12. Incantations for this purpose from the 1st millennium are not as numerous (see Finkel 1999: Texts 13-14 for two Late Babylonian examples). It is noteworthy that Tablet 31 of Šumma ālu contains not only omens concerning someone being stung by a scorpion, but also entries with therapeutic instructions, an incantation "for soothing the scorpion sting" (KA.INIM.MA ziqit zuqaqīpi puššuhi, recited over the scorpion sting) and a short ritual (Freedman 2006: 154-159, ll. 73'-88' and Text E = Rm. 2, 149 rev. 1'-18' = CT 38, 38: 55-72). Incantations and rituals against scorpions, snakes and dogs are combined on the Neo-Assyrian tablet KAR 181 from the Assur library N4 (see obv. 6, 7, 13, rev. 4). For Namburbi rituals against the evil portents caused by encounters with snakes, dogs and scorpions, cf. also Maul 1994: texts VIII.2, VIII.4, VIII.8.

The phrase mihis šiltāhi/mulmulli "arrow wound" at the end of AMC l. 78 as well as medical prescriptions to treat them seem to be otherwise unattested in the medical texts, cf. CAD Š/2 451.

79) The incipit of this section tentatively dubbed EVIL POWERS is the incipit of an unknown Akkadian incantation addressed to a masculine subject (ending in ilsûka "... they have called you"). At the beginning of the incipit one probably has to read MUL, "star", followed by the name of a celestial body, unfortunately broken. A similar address is made to Marduk during the performance of the New Year's ritual, in negated form: [bēl Bābili] lā iqbûnikka u Ṣarpānītu lā ilsûka "did they not call you, [Lord of Babylon], and did they not call you, Şarpānītu?" (K. 9876+19534 rev. 23', 26'-27', 30'; Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 229). Incantation-prayers to heavenly bodies are attested e.g. within the corpus of anti-witchcraft rituals. Two prayers addressed to Orion begin with mulSIPA.ZI.AN.NA, but their incipits are likewise fragmentary (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 9.8 ll. 1-26, 27-40). Another composition addressed to Ninurta as Sirius (mulKAK,SI,SÁ) is found in the context of anti-witchcraft rituals (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.8), but does not yield an identical incipit either. Cf. further Mayer 1976: 429-432 for incantation-prayers to astral bodies. The content of this AMC section consisting of one tablet is thus hard to define, but certain keywords and phrases in the summary section point to its apotropaic character and to connections with illnesses attributed to witchcraft and demonic attacks (see below commentary to AMC ll. 81-83).

80) It is noteworthy that the first cited key phrases in the *adi*-section of EVIL POWERS in AMC l. 80-81 focus on symptoms of the eyes. The reason for and significance of these cited phrases within this section of the therapeutic corpus are not apparent. The only exact parallel for the first entry of the adi-section comes from a tablet fragment with physiognomic omens, belonging to the series Šumma Ea liballitka (CT 51, 147: 17, Reiner 1982: 285): DIŠ SIG, IGI-šú ištanahhit (GU_a, GU_a) *i-had-* r $d\hat{u}^{\gamma}$ "If his eyebrow twitches all the time, he will be happy". The verb $\dot{s}ah\bar{a}tu$ "to move irregularly or spasmodically; to twich" is found in constructions with other body parts in the diagnostic series, e.g. Sakikkû 1: 37-38 (George 1991: 144, said of the eyes); Sakikkû 10: 30-31 (Scurlock 2014a: 75, said of the breath); TLB 2, 21: 12' (an Old Babylonian diagnostic text, Heeßel 2000: 97-98, said of the belly/heart). No examples for the form il-te-né-hi-iţ (Gtn-stem of $\check{s}ah\bar{a}tu$) are cited in CAD $\check{S}/1$ 91-92, cf. von Soden 1991: 489a. The change $|\check{s}t|$ to |tt| is attested for the Middle Assyrian, Middle Babylonian and Late Babylonian period (von Soden 1995: § 30g). There are a few Middle Assyrian examples for the infix -tan- undergoing vowel assimilation (cf. forms of niāku: it-ti-ni-ik-ku, KAV 1, II 68; it-ti-ni-ku-ú-uš, KAV 1, II 84 and it-ti-ni-ku-ka, KAV 1, II 86). The form iltenehhit may thus be Middle Assyrian or Babylonian.

81) The restoration at the beginning of this line remains uncertain due to a lack of suitable textual parallels. The expression hupti/ huppāt īnī "cavity/cavities of the eyes" is only attested rarely in medical or related texts; cf. AMT 94/8: 2 and 3, a fragment of physiognomic omens (= TBP 20; Böck 2000: 306): DIŠ (MUNUS) hu-up-ti IGI"-šú i-šá-[...] "If the cavity of (a woman's) eyes ...". AMT 102/1 i 19 // BAM 216: 47' (= CRANIUM 3) mentions hu-up/hup-pat IGI^{II}-šú within the therapeutic instruction (Stol 1986b: 357b). The phrase huppat īni is explained in the commentary to the series Qutāru BRM 4, 32: 4 as *šuplu* IGI! "depth/hole of the eye"; Scurlock 2014a: 341).

Similarly, no parallel for the key phrase DIŠ NA 'kib'-ra IGI GIG (kib-ri expected) "if a man is sick at the rim of the eye" could be identified in the therapeutic texts, although entries mentioning the rim of the eyes can be found in the diagnostic series: e.g. Sakikkû 9: 69 (described as red); Sakikkû 5: 121'; Sakikkû 14: 253'-254'; Sakikkû 22: 19-20 (inflamed/swollen; often associated with the "Hand of a curse" (mamītu) in the diagnosis; see Heeßel 2000; Scurlock 2014a).

The third key phrase in AMC line 81, pirittu NU IGI "he will not experience fright", can be matched with a few examples of incantations and prescriptions for this problem (see CAD P 402-403; pirittu is lexically equated with šuttu "dream" and seems to refer to the experience of nightmares). A matching incantation rubric is found in a small Late Babylonian tablet with an incantation and short ritual (Jursa 1997: 137, 174, No. 58: 11, classified as KA.INIM.MA pi-rit-tú N[U IGI[?]] "Recitation that he will not [experience] fright". Parallels to this spell and text genre are found in BM 78955 (an unprovenienced Neo-Assyrian one-column tablet with incantations/rituals against pirittu), in Sm. 1343 (without rubric, CDLI P240372) and in K. 2993, a Neo-Babylonian tablet with incantations and rituals against nightmares, see rev. 9' (rubric KA.INIM,MA pi-rit-ti 'NU' IGI) and rev. 16' (KA.[INIM],MA DIŠ NA ana É DINGIR te-bi-ma ina GI₆ pi-rit-t[i IGI'] "Recitation for the case that a man is up (to go) to the temple but [has experienced] fright in the night"; CDLI P238229, all texts courtesy to H. Stadhouders). Some of these incantations are addressed to Ištar as sender of nightmares.

Among collections of amulet charms are examples worn "in order to prevent fright (in the night), fear and the *mukīl* rēš lemutti-demon from approaching a man" (UET 7, 121 ii 6 //, Schuster-Brandis 2008, 348: 17-20; also SpTU 4, 129 iv 22, v 9, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 328f., 354, 357). In some texts, pirittu is associated with divine retribution and sorcery, see e.g.

BAM 317 rev. 24-26 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49 text 1.5, 3, Ms. C): *šumma amēlu ... huṣṣa hīpi [libbi] pirittum irtanašši* "If a man's (face constantly twists, his limbs are 'poured out'), he continuously experiences tenseness, '[heart]break' and fright" (diagnosis: "Hand of mankind"). *Pirittu* is also found in enumerations of emotional disturbances, demons and various evils, see e.g. KAR 80 rev. 9 // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.4 ms. A; anti-witchcraft incantation); KAR 282, 1. Fragment (+) 2. Fragment (+) KAR 37: 14', parallel LKA 128: 12 etc. (amulets with Namburbi-spell, cf. Maul und Strauss 2011: text No. 22; Maul 1994: 185-189); KAR 234: 21' // (incantation against ghost apparitions, Butler 1998: 69; Scurlock 2006: no. 15), including the phrase: *lū pirittu ša ina mūši ugdanalla[tanni*] "(whether it is terror, an evil *rābiṣu*-demon etc.) or a fright that always frightens [me] at night".

82) While the reconstruction of the beginning of AMC line 82 remains a bit problematic (MAŠ.SÌL^(II)-šú is expected), shoulder pain is mentioned in connection with witchcraft-related afflictions fitting the context, see e.g. STT 102: 1-6 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 229 text 7.10, 3 Ms. P (DIŠ NA DAL.BA.<NA> MAŠ.SÌL^{II}-šú TAG.GA-su "If the space between his shoulders hurts a man"). Compare also AMT 31/1+: 3-5 (Geller 2005a: No. 2: 3: [DIŠ] NA MAŠ.SÌL^{II}-šú GU₇.MEŠ-šú "if a man's shoulders constantly hurt him" (this text probably belongs to KIDNEY; the diagnosis is *hiniqti elabuhhi* "constriction of the bladder").

For the restoration at the end of AMC line 82 compare below line 88, where the rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA seems to occur a second time, within the *adi*-section of DIVINE ANGER. For texts concerned with KA.DAB.BÉ.DA (*kadabbedû*) "seizing of the mouth", a type of sorcerous magic, and treatments for the problems resulting from it, see e.g. K. 2418+ (AMT 78/1+) // rev. iii 41-42 (= NECK 5, see Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 72-74, 75; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.14: 1 Ms. A): DIŠ NA KA-šú KA.DAB.BÉ.DA TUK-[ši ...] "If a man's mouth is affected by 'seizing of the mouth'"; also rev. iii 27'-29' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.14: 19-21) and rev. iii. 31' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.6 Ms F: 8). See further BAM 473 // 209 // 461 // 463 // KUB 37, 57 (+²) 58 (= NECK 3); BAM 161 ii 1'-10' (potion against various forms of witchcraft including *kadabbedû*; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 1.8 Ms. B "Col. IV"); BAM 190 (KAL 2, 49) rev. 13ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 227 text 7.10.3: 39-42 Ms F; prescription in a collection on witchcraft); SpTU 2, 22 + SpTU 3, 85 (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, sub 2-3 Ms. A ii 14, iv 11, Late Babylonian amulet collection); BM 36330 rev. 4-6 (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 10.18, sub 1; amulet collection); cf. further Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 8.27, 8.28, 8.33. Single prescriptions for KA.DAB.BÉ.DA are encountered in SpTU 1, 58 (Late Babylonian, from Uruk); CBS 14161 (Neo-/Late Babylonian, Leichty 1988: 261ff.); AO 17622 (Neo-/Late Babylonian, Labat 1960: 171; for these see now Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 10.15-10.17). Compare also KA.DAB.BÉ.DA in *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (STT 89 ii 37-42, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 437 text 12.1: 96-101).

The peculiar spelling KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KAM in AMC l. 82 (vs. KA.DAB.BÉ.DA in line 88) could imply that incantations for this purpose are meant, but so far no incantation with this rubric is known. The spellings KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KAM/KE₄ are encountered within anti-witchcraft incantations, in lists of sorcery types (e.g. BAM 214 rev. iv 11'; PBS 1/2, 121 obv. 5', Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 403 text 10.2). For discussions of KA.DAB.BÉ.DA see also Reiner 1995: 104ff.; Schwemer 2007a: 15ff., 63 n. 136; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 72-74 (in the context of paralysis and stroke).

83) All the rubrics cited in this line seem to stand for apotropaic incantations and rituals. The first entry, ÉN EN.TE. NA "incantation (for) chill" could be an incantation incipit or a rubric (designating a genre), neither is attested so far in the textual sources. For *kuṣṣu* (EN.TE.NA) "chill; ague" as a disease term encountered in medical prescriptions, in connection with fever cf. CAD K 596a sub 3, e.g. BAM 66 rev. 10 (Stol 2007a: 31; Johnson 2014: 30). The primary meaning of *kuṣṣu*(EN.TE.NA) is "cold weather; winter", and in some medical contexts, the word is used to classify treatments for specific conditions that occur in the winter (e.g. respiratory ailments and *sikkatu*, cf. above commentary to AMC l. 48 for references).

The restoration at the end of AMC line 83 follows the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 7 //), where the compilation of Hulbazizi incantations is listed after the entries UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ and A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ (see Geller *infra*). While the series UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ is well known (Geller 2016), A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ is not attested otherwise as the name of a compilation (neither has its incipit given as a gloss in KAR 44 been identified), although Sumerian incantations with the incipit a-ba-me-en are known from different contexts (see Geller *infra*).

For compilations of apotropaic HUL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations and their use on protective amulets and in medical texts, see Ebeling 1953: 357ff.; Finkel 1976: 72-73, 74-77, 245-83; Heeßel 2002: 112f. Incantations from this collection were integrated into medical therapeutic texts in several differing contexts, but they were predominantly applied in treatments

for ghost-induced illnesses, headache (SAG.KI.DAB.BA), "sick neck" (GÚ.GIG.GA) and paralysis (šimmatu). Because of the multiple usage contexts, it remains unknown which specific Hulbazizi incantations are referred to in AMC l. 83.

For convenience, note especially the following HUL.BA.ZI.ZI compositions integrated into medical texts:

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 17 (Sîn šar agî "Sin, lord of the crown") is used against "sick neck" in the first part of K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+ obv. i 1-5 (parallel: (K. 3612 = AMT 47/3 rev. iii 2'-6'), a tablet also containing a section of the amulet compendium kunuk halti, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 373 Text 17). Two more Hulbazizi spells (Finkel 1976: Spell No. 42 níg-nam-hul-dím-ma, and No. 43 da-rá-nun-na) are included in these manuscripts for the same purpose, see K. 2542+(AMT 29/4)+BE 31, 60+ obv. ii 1-2, 6-7 // AMT 47/3 rev. iv 17-19, 23-25.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 20 (ka-kib ka-kib lugal ka-na-kib), which was also part of the compendium Muššu'u (Böck 2007: Muššu'u IV/j), is used in ghost rituals (AMT 97/1 obv. 4-7 // BAM 471 iii 23'-25'; BAM 221 rev. iii 22'-24' // BAM 385 rev. iv 17-19; Scurlock 2006: No. 178a), in a text with treatments for paralysis (AMT 88/1+BE 31, 58 obv. 9' //), and in an anti-witchcraft text (STT 275 i 19'-27', Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 20 text 3.4 Ms. B; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 51). The spell is also encountered in BAM 475 i 4'-5', which belongs to NECK (Tablet 4); cf. Böck 2007: 47-49 for the therapeutic passages.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 25 (attā mannu mimma lemnu ša ana panīya tēšera) is partially preserved in BAM 508 (AMT 38/2+K. 3261) i 31'-32', a collection of incantations and short prescriptions for different medical purposes, including afflictions of the head, the ears and internal problems (ŠÅ.GIG.GA, ŠÅ.SI.SÁ), but its exact purpose there remains unknown (see Johnson infra for discussion). Finkel 1976: Spell 65 (nīš gašri rašābi šūpî Šulpaea) is encountered in a similar collection, CT 51, 199 (BM 122631) rev. iii 10-12. Column i of this tablet shares sections with BAM 508 col. iv (see Köcher 1980a: xxxvif. for parallels).

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 30 (āhuz pagrī šipat balāṭi) is used in K. 3442 (BAM 484) obv. 1ff. and K. 8211 i 1'ff., possibly for headache (SAG.KI.DAB.BA); cf. Köcher 1980a: xxvii; Finkel 1976: 252-255.

Finkel 1976: Spell No. 57 (šu-zi hul-ĝál) was applied in different settings (cf. above): against headache, in manuscripts of CRANIUM Tablet 3: AMT 102/1: i 7ff. (incipit cited in l. 5) and parallel passages in BAM 483 ii 14'-16' (collection of ghost rituals, see Scurlock 2006: No. 114a), see also Scurlock 2006: No. 113. The spell was also applied in BAM 221 iii 13' // BAM 411 iii 16' // BAM 385 iv 2 (Scurlock 2006: No. 110) and Jastrow 1913: rev. 38'-41' (= CRANIUM excerpt) // BAM 216 rev. 46' (Scurlock 2006: No. 114b). Furthermore, the incantation is attested in KAR 255 i 5'ff., probably in connection with a treatment for the ears, and in KAR 88/3 ii 13'ff. (Ebeling 1953: 413). Spell No. 57 was also employed in a witchcraft-related context, in BAM 326 ii 2'-6' (incipit cited in ii 5', Ebeling 1949a: 202-203; cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.7 ms. C). A Late Babylonian tablet combining mainly protective treatments (amulets) against different demons and evils with HUL.BA.ZI.ZI spells is SpTU 3, 83 (cf. Finkel 1976: Spells No. 45, 50, 58, 59).

84) The incipit of the first tablet of the present catalogue section dubbed DIVINE ANGER possibly represents a compilation of rituals and remedies for loosening divine wrath, starting with the head of the pantheon Anu. A number of partially duplicating texts are known that are concerned with calming down the anger (kimiltu) of various deities toward a person. For instance, BAM 315, a two-column tablet from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 73 (555)), contains prescriptions for divine wrath and features an entry (in col. i 43) matching the AMC incipit of DIVINE ANGER Tablet 1: [ana DI]B-ti <<A>>da-nim B[ÚR] "[to] loosen the [wra]th of Anu" (cf. further passages in col. ii 2, 6, 26, 30, 33 beginning with ana DIB dNN BÚR). However, the first section of the tablet (col. i 1-27) focuses on mêlu-bags for the "curse" (NAM. ÉRIM), followed by *mêlu*-bags for fever, and only from col. i 43 onward, the topic is *kimiltu*, although the remaining textual material very likely belongs to the present AMC section. BAM 316, a late Middle Assyrian three-column tablet from Assur partially duplicating BAM 315, unites a larger collection of prescriptions mostly to calm the anger of the personal deities, with different sections separated by double rulings. It offers parallel phrases to BAM 315 (see col. ii 26, iii 9, iv 4, vi 6': DIŠ NA / NA BI DIB-ti DINGIR u dīs tár UGU-šú GÁL-ši), but it also features sections on "heartbreak" related to AMC l. 91 (the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1, cf. below). Furthermore, BAM 314, another Middle Assyrian fragment of a two-column tablet from Assur, contains parallel passages (e.g. l. 8': [ana kimilti] du.GUR BÚR), see further KAL 4, 35 (Maul and Strauss 2011: 79ff.). The two-column tablet STT 95+295 presents another text with material belonging to the context of the AMC section DIVINE ANGER. This text likewise deals with the wrath of various deities, but starts with the anger of Marduk instead of Anu, and its incipit differs from the AMC incipit, although presenting parallel phrases and passages duplicating the cited Assur texts (STT 95+295: 5, 8, 17, 24, 30, 43, 63, 86, Scurlock 2014a:

650-663, with duplicates). For parallels in tablets from Nineveh (excerpts), see AMT 40/2+K. 9085 rev. (CDLI P396519) and K. 8907 obv. 8'ff. (CDLI P238826). These texts recommend mostly medicine bags (*mêlu*) worn as amulets, but also ointments, incantations and offerings.

Remedies for divine wrath are also found in other contexts. Such prescriptions were collected in amulet compendia (e.g. STT 271 ii 8; BM 56148+ ii 42-iii 11, vi 25-33, 2, 22+ SpTU 3, 85 col. i-iv, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: texts 6 and 9). But they also occur in ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts and in texts focussing on witchcraft, because of overlapping symptomologies (e.g. Biggs 1967: 67 STT 280 ii 2, 26; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.2: 12-20 (LKA 157 and 154), text 7.7 (KAR 92 etc.); Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 (KAR 92) and the texts discussed above in the commentary on AMC l. 44). Treatments to calm divine anger are further encountered in collections of prescriptions for various ailments (e.g. the Assur text BAM 318 with rituals for divine wrath in col. iii 3-iv 24; Schwemer 2013: 181-200). Two other partially duplicating Assur tablets, BAM 321 and BAM 322, contain treatments to reconcile (*sullumu*) different deities with a person, and may be related to the present AMC section. Note further K. 2832+6680 i 16 (Oshima 2011: 328-329, 345 *passim*; CDLI P394707), a tablet listing incipits, mainly of prayers to Marduk and Šamaš for use in different rituals, adding the glossing rubric KA.INIM.MA *ki-mil-tú ¬ana¬ [pašāri]* "recitation to [loosen] the wrath" to the incantation incipit in i 15 (cf. also i 6, 8 and 10).

Notably, the second entry of AMC line 84 (DIVINE ANGER Tablet 2) is found as the beginning of a prescription in texts just cited for DIVINE ANGER 1: in STT 95+295 iii 130-137 // BM 64174: 1-7, with variants BAM 315 iii 1-8, BAM 316 ii 5'-14' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 3.5-3.7), SpTU 2, 22+ i 21-28 // (cf. i 44, ii 25; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 251; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.4, sub 1: 1-10; cf. Scurlock 2014a: 657): DIŠ NA *gi-na-a šu-dur ur-ra u* GI₆ *ina-(an)-ziq* "If a man is always frightened, he is upset day and night". A similar entry in BAM 316 v 4 occurs also at the beginning of the Assur excerpt tablet KAR 74: 1: DIŠ NA *gi-na-a* <*a>-dir ur-ra u mu-šá i-na-rziq*, but KAR 74 continues differently, with two prayers to Šamaš and Sîn (Mayer 1976: "Šamaš 73" and "Sîn 11"). Amulet compendia also recommend stones for fear and anxiety (*šumma amēlu ginâ adir*), see e.g. AMT 7/1 iii 1'-12' // BAM 372 ii 15-17 // BAM 373 ii 1-5 // BAM 400 ii 10' // BM 56148+iii 40-41 // SpTU 2, 22+ ii 1-12 etc. (Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 88).

85) Tablet 3 of DIVINE ANGER is indicated in the AMC through the incipit of an incantation, which matches the beginning of two different compositions, both known from collections of texts featuring the rubric KA.INIM.MA DINGIR. ŠÅ.DAB.BA GUR.RU.DA.KAM, which consist of incantations/prayers to calm down the angry personal god. The first incantation is ilī ul īdi šeretka našāku "My god, I do not know (my sin), I am bearing your punishment", the second ilī ul īdi šeretka dannat "My god, I do not know (my sin), your punishment is heavy", the latter of which was also integrated into the Bīt rimki ritual. A number of tablets featuring either one of these two incantations among other recitations for calming the personal god have been identified by W. G. Lambert 1974: 267-322, esp. 274-276: 23-39, 286: 6-19. Note especially the texts LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 (Ms. K, fig. 3), LKA 26 (Ms. L, Late Middle Assyrian), Sm. 925 (Ms. i, fig. 3) for ilī ul īdi šeretka dannat and K. 7641 (Ms. F, fig. 11) and KAR 39+45+VAT 9147 (Ms. J, fig. 10, 2-col.) for ilī ul īdi šeretka našāku. LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 also contains a ritual section beside the recitations (rev. iv). The Assur tablet KAR 90 preserves the text of the ritual that was performed in connection with these compositions, which are cited together with seven more incantation incipits in rev. 3-4 (see discussion Lambert 1974: 269-270). Notably, KAR 90: 1 bears the introductory line enūma nēpešī ilī ul īdi te[ppušu] "When you per[form] the ritual of 'My god, I do not know'", showing that *ilī ul īdi* was used as the name of a specific ceremony. Reference to this ritual by citing the incipit ÉN DINGIR.MU *ul* ZU is also made in LKA 91, the Ritual Tablet of Šurpu (I rev. ii 18'), according to which ilī ul īdi was performed following Śurpu (Reiner 1958: 12; a different order is postulated in KAR 90 rev. 20). The *ilī ul īdi* incantations were also used in a group with incantations from the apotropaic and purificatory rituals Maqlû, Šurpu and Bīt rimki, according to the Ritual Tablet of the latter work (Lambert 1974: 268; Læssøe 1955: 26-27, BBR No. 26 v 78-81; SpTU 2, 12 iii 44b). Furthermore, an Assur catalogue/inventory with incipits from the āšipūtu corpus, VAT 13723+ obv. i 3' groups [ÉN DINGIR.M]U ul i-di together with the incipits of Šurpu (Geller 2000a: 227-228). However, the ilī ul īdi incantations are to my knowledge not attested so far in medical contexts (e.g. embedded or cited in medical prescriptions).

A tablet bearing an incipit identical with the second entry of AMC l. 85 (DIVINE ANGER 4) has not been identified. The phrase "for a man's god and goddess to stand at his head" can sometimes be found within remedies or rituals for loosening the anger of the personal deities, see e.g. the amulet compendium SpTU 2, 22+3, 85 iv 5 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 254), introducing a prescription: *ana* NA DINGIR-šú *u* d15-šú *ina* SA[G]-ršú GUB-*zi-ma* MÁŠ.GI₆ SIG₅-tú *na-ṭa-lu* "for a man's god and goddess to stand at his head and to (see) a good dream". It is noteworthy that this Uruk tablet for

protective bracelets focuses on topics that match the contents and sequence of the AMC section DIVINE WRATH. The tablet starts with stones for dimness of the eyes and seeing flashes of light (i 1-20; compare above AMC section EVIL POWERS), then turns to fright and (other symptoms indicating) divine wrath (i 21-ii 12), followed by a section diagnosing "Hand of mankind" and "wrath of Marduk" (ii 13-ii 28), amulets to overcome one's enemies (ii 29-iii 37), stones for (turning away) the anger of the personal deities (iii 38-iv 3), for the presence of protective deities (iv 4-6), closed by a section with amulets for diverse purposes. In the extract tablet BAM 446 (K. 2562): 8, the phrase "for a man's god and goddess to stand at his head" occurs within the purpose statement of a ritual against divine anger, slander and witchcraft (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.8).45

86) It is noteworthy that in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 obv. 12f. //), the rubrics UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR. RU.DA are listed together following UŠ₁.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ "evil sorcery" and ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ "evil curses" (see Geller infra). Thus, in AMC line 86, the inclusion of NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA rituals in a section concerned with appearing the anger of the gods provides a good fit, but a reading [UŠ₁₁.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM is not excluded entirely. For this reason, textual material for both text groups is briefly reviewed.

The "curse" caused by a broken oath (NAM.ÉRIM/mamītu) was the central topic of the incantation series Zl.SUR. RA.MEŠ, also designated sag-ba sag-ba "Curse! Curse!" after its incipit (Schramm 2008 and KAR 44 obv. 8 //; for the inclusion of incantations from this series in therapeutic rituals, see Schramm 2008: 8f.). Medical treatments and rituals concerned with removing the "curse" (NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA) are also known from numerous sources. In the diagnostic series, NAM.ÉRIM/mamītu occurs as a cause of illness, e.g. in Sakikkû Tablet 1: 3 (George 1991: 142), Sakikkû 22: 16-32 (Heeßel 2000: 253f.; Scurlock 2014a: 186f.) and in Sakikkû Tablet 28: 7 (Heeßel 2000: 308; Scurlock 2014a: 211). The section in Sakikkû Tablet 22 is preceded by entries diagnosing illness due to witchcraft and the "hands" of various deities, whereas Sakikkû Tablet 28 deals with epilepsy (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA) "turning" into other illnesses (e.g. the "curse"). The diagnosis is also encountered in other sections of the therapeutic corpus, e.g. in K. 67(= AMT 73/1-75/1)+AMT 15/3+ i 43, ii 46 // BAM 124 ii 34 (= HAMSTRING, Eypper 2016: 16, 28); BAM 584 ii' 26' (= SKIN), in prescriptions for rectal illness (STT 97 ii 6; cf. Geller 2005a: No. 34: 33ff.), or digestive disorders (BAM 168: 18f. // BAM 579 ii 54'f. (= STOMACH 5), Geller 2005a: No. 34: 18f.). Recipes for illness due to the "curse" can also be found in the Sammeltafel BAM 161 iii 7 and 10 (plants for the curse), cf. further BAM 174 rev. 28 (a one-column tablet containing a section on the "curse", combined with sections duplicating passages in STOMACH); see also BAM 67: 9 (potion, beside recipes from STOMACH).

Befitting the present context in the AMC, the "curse" (NAM.ÉRIM) often occurs in enumerations of illness agents, such as ghosts, demons, or the "Hand of the god/goddess", see e.g. the beginning of the multi-purpose healing ritual addressed to Ištar, AMT 96/3+(AMT 6/10+AMT 96/9+, Farber 1977: Taf. 1; CDLI P394506) // KAR 42 (+) LKA 74: 1ff. (Farber 1977: 56 Ms. A and c). The tablet fragment AMT 94/1: 1 (Scurlock 2006: no. 231: 1) contains a ritual/incantation for a man seized by a ghost or a curse. In the multi-purpose ritual AMT 96/7: 1// KAR 26: 1ff. //, the "Hand of the curse" is mentioned beside divine wrath, epilepsy and witchcraft (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 216 text 8.27: 1ff.).

It is notable that AMC may refer to incantations with the rubric KA.INIM.MA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM/KÁM/KE,, which are attested, e.g. in CTN 4, 107, a tablet with bilingual incantations from Nimrud used against illness (Knudsen 1959: 55: 26, 43 // Knudsen 1965: 161; 26). Note further the Assur fragments LKA 151: 22' // LKA 152 rev. 12'; BM 42317 (817-1, 77) rev. 7' (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 14, the latter fragment features both NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA and UŠ₁₁.BÚR. RU.DA rubrics). Incantations with this rubric were also integrated into Šurpu (Reiner 1958: 35 Tablet V 172) and into the so-called *lipšur* litanies (Reiner 1956: 130, 138: 121a).

D. Schwemer (2007a: 66, n. 151) has noted that there is an overlap between UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR. RU.DA textual material (see also Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 48, 62f. passim). For instance, incantations against witchcraft were sometimes applied for removing the "curse", as in K. 885+ rev. 1 // LKU 27 rev. 10' (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 94: 16 text 7.22 mss. A and c), where the incantation attī mannu kaššāptu ša tubta"ênni is followed in K. 885+ by the rubric KA.INIM.MA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM instead of UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM in the Uruk exemplar. A manuscript of Tablet 63 of the canonical UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA series from Nineveh (BAM 438 rev. 7'f. //) includes a rubric classifying a spell as usable for multiple purposes including sorcery, the "curse" and evil demons (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 119: 35'f. text 7.2 ms. A). Similarly, the incantation anāku nubattu ahāt Marduk could be used to counter sorcery

⁴⁵ The tablet was written by an exorcist from Assur and exhibits the handwriting of texts from Neo-Assyrian Assur, although it was found at Nineveh.

or for removing the "curse", according to the rubrics of some manuscripts (see 81-7-25, 205 rev. 2, K. 1289 rev. 12 and the 30th pirsu of the Late Babylonian therapeutic series šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl (BM 42272: 10-18); Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 54 text 7.11 mss. A, h, n; Bácskay 2015: 5, 11), while other sources apply this spell against kidney disease (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 7.11 mss. J, K, L, M from Nineveh; cf. further Stol 1992: 251ff.). Some tablets with anti-witchcraft rituals feature rubrics explaining that the texts could be recited to remove curse or sorcery; e.g. SpTU 2, 25 rev. 18; K. 3360+ obv. 6' // K. 3379(+) rev. 9' // PBS 10/2, 18 rev. 41' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 282: 116 text 8.3, mss. C, E₁, f). Some incantation and ritual texts focusing on the removal of sorcery include sections dealing with the "curse", e.g. VAT 10786 (= KAL 4, 30) obv. 3'-6'. Similar overlaps can also be encountered in therapeutic texts and drugs manuals, where groups of materia medica can be summarised as remedies for UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR, see BAM 434 iii 2' // BAM 59 rev. 5 // BM 42272 obv. 7 // BAM 161 obv. v 6'-7' (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 217: 61''' text group 7.10 Mss. A, G, j, K; Bácskay 2015: 5); BAM 191 rev. 4 // BAM 192 rev. 4 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 229 text 7.10 sub 4 Mss. Q, R); see further BAM 197 rev. 22 (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 56ff. text 1.7), an excerpt tablet with prescriptions for different purposes, including one ana pišerti kišpī u mamīti "for dispelling sorcery and curse"). Note also compendia for amulet bracelets, such as STT 275 obv. i 16', 20' // (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 101f. Kette 50 and 51; cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 20 text 3.4 ms. B), where two amulets are marked as beneficial for both sorcery and the curse.

The heterogeneous text group with the label UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA.(KAM) has been discussed by Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 9, 11, 13f. who also edited several of these texts (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.1-7.10; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: texts 7.11-7.26). An extensive UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA series of incantations and rituals is known from a few Nineveh one-column tablets compiled for Ashurbanipal's library (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: texts 7.2-7.4), but such a series is also known in a different form from the library N4 at Assur (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.6.2 KAL 2, 14). However, UŠ11.BÚR.RU.DA incantations and rituals were also integrated into the therapeutic series (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.5 K. 3661(+) and above commentary to AMC lines 38-44, EPIGASTRIUM/ABDOMEN). T. Abusch and D. Schwemer (2011 and 2016) divide the material into groups of tablets with Sumerian incantations (e.g. text 7.1), tablets in which UŠ,...BÚR.RU.DA incantations are recited with remedies against witchcraft (e.g. text group 7.8), tablets in which incantations are used in rituals employing magic figurines (e.g. text 7.6.2-7.6.3), and tablets with prescriptions featuring the label "drugs for UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA", including practical handbooks of materia medica (e.g. text group 7.10). It remains to be investigated whether the possible mention of UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA in AMC (see also above line 43) refers to incantations/rituals with possible links to the \bar{a} sip \bar{u} tu text corpus or to medical prescriptions for this purpose. Texts from the therapeutic series featuring $U\tilde{S}_{11}$. BúR.RU.DA rituals or medical treatments (e.g. K. 3661(+) and BM 42272), leave open both possibilities (cf. also commentary to AMC ll. 87-88).

87) This line of the AMC cannot be restored with certainty from textual sources. D. Schwemer (personal communication) suggested the following restoration for lines 87-88 of the catalogue:

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<sup>87)</sup> šumma(DIŠ) am[ēlu(N[A) arratu lemuttu(?) š]á lā(NU) zakāri(MU-ri) u ú-pi-ši
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"If a man is surrounded [by an evil curse(?) that must not be uttered and by evil sorcerous machinations."

An alternative reading for the summary section of DIVINE ANGER was proposed by G. Buisson (personal communication):

- 86) NÍGIN 4 DUB.MEŠ ana DIB d[A-nim BÚR EN KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚ]R.RU.DA.KÁM
- ⁸⁷⁾ ù KA.INIM.MA DIŠ N[A HUL šá šu-m]a NU MU-ri u ú-pi-ši
- 88) HUL NIGIN-šú EN [(...) ZI.KU;.RU.DA K]A.DAB.BÉ.DA

"Total of four tablets (belonging to) 'In order to [counteract] the wrath of [Anu'. Including recitations for removing sor]cery, and recitations for the case that [the evil of an utter]ing not to be uttered and evil sorcerous machinations surround him. Including [(...) treatments against 'cutting of the throat'-magic and] 'seizing of the mouth'-magic".

⁸⁸⁾ lemnūti(HUL) sahrū(NIGIN)-šú

88) The scribe probably erased a MEŠ after the sign HUL at the beginning of AMC line 88.46 Note the parallel phrase in two Nineveh therapeutic compendia focusing on sorcery, BAM 434 v 8f. // BAM 435 v 11'f. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 221f. text 7.10 ll. 181'''-186'''): DIŠ NA ú-pi-šu HUL.MEŠ NIGIN-šu / a-na ú-pi-ši HUL.MEŠ ana NA NU TE-e "If evil machinations surround a man, so that the evil machinations do not approach the man". For $up\bar{i}su$ associated with ZI.KU_{ϵ}. RU.DA-magic see also BAM 449 i 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 408 text 10.3). The keywords upīšu and KA.DAB. BÉ.DA signal that the texts referred to in AMC ll. 87-88 are concerned with the topic witchcraft and formed part of the section DIVINE ANGER. The link between the topics divine anger and sorcery in the corpus can be connected with the widespread belief that sorcery causes the personal deities of the victim to depart in anger (see e.g. Abusch 1999; Abusch 2002: 27ff.; Schwemer 2007a: 149ff. for discussion). The rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA is probably mentioned as well in the summary section of EVIL POWERS (AMC l. 82), which would mean that treatments or incantations for this purpose were integrated into two different sections of the therapeutic corpus (cf. above).

89) The incipit of Tablet 1 of the section dubbed ORACLES starts with the word enūma, which is typical for the incipits of the ritual tablets of longer ceremonies, usually introduced with the sentence enūma nēpešī ša ... teppušu "when you perform the ritual of ..." (see e.g. Reiner 1958: 11 Šurpu Tablet 1: 1 e-nu-ma né-pe-še šá šur-pu t[e-p]u-šú; Abusch 2016: 207 Maqlû Ritual Tablet: 1 (restored from the catalogue VAT 13723+ i 13', see Geller 2000a: 227ff.), also in ii 16' (Mīs pî), iii 10', iv 2 (Lamaštu); Farber 2014: 18ff., 129 Lam. III (3. pirsu) 1.47 The similarity in phrasing could thus suggest that AMC line 89 referred to ritual procedures in connection with obtaining an egerrû (oracular decision). The proposed reconstruction "when [you ask] for an oracle") remains provisional, since a matching tablet incipit has not been identified.

The word egerrû (from Sum. i_s/inim-gar "utterance") has different shades of meaning. It can refer to a person's reputation that results from the things other people say about him/her, and a number of rituals describe the patient's reputation being made bad (lemnu or lemēnu) by other people as an aspect of the treated problem. Second, egerrû can refer to an omen type ("oracular utterance", "kledon"), in which predominantly acoustic perceptions (human utterances, noises of animals and objects) are understood as a sign sent by a deity and are interpreted as an omen.⁴⁸

That egerrû is used in AMC line 89 in the meaning "oracle" or "oracular uttering" is further indicated by AMC line 90, which enumerates other oracular techniques (everyday omens based on the behaviour of oxen and on the stars). A similar section in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 25 //) lists egerrû among a partially identical list of oracle forms (see below commentary AMC line 90; Geller infra, p. 307 and Steinert infra, p. 184). In some texts, egerrû is mentioned in conjunction with the curse of god and people (e.g. Reiner 1958: 34 Šurpu V-VI 154f.; AMT 102/1: 8, in the incantation šu-si hul-ĝál) and with ominous dreams (Butler 1998: 155f., see for further discussion CAD E 43ff.; Oppenheim 1954-56: 49ff.; Butler 1998: 151-58). In Šumma ālu Tablet 95 ll. 1-33 (CT 39, 41), the egerrû is produced by various domestic animals or birds (Butler 1998: 152f.; Koch 2015: 254). Mention of an egerrû omen is also made in BM 53683 rev. 1' (a small fragment of Sakikkû Tablet 2) offering the fragmentary omen entry 'I5'.GAR i-pu-ul-šú "an egerrû has answered him", followed by the catchline to Tablet 3 (cf. Heeßel 2001-02: 37 n. 31, 46, 49). This phrase is also found in egerrû omens in Šumma ālu Tablet 95. See also STT 95+295: 58 (Scurlock 2014a: 654), where a favorable *egerrû* signals the calming of divine anger.

The fragmentary incipit of ORACLES Tablet 2 is also uncertain due to lacking text parallels, but one may possibly restore [... tur-r]i-im ta-me-e "[...] of a twisted cord" or [ana ... tur-r]i-im ta-me-e "[in order to ...] thread a cord" at the end of AMC line 89. The role of a twisted string in the context of oracles is not immediately apparent. Strings are primarily known from instructions for protective amulet necklaces, and in the present context they may refer to amulets that were worn so that the evil portended by negative omens would not "come close" to a person (see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 155ff. for an overview).49

90) A close parallel for the oracles obtained from oxen and stars, listed here as part of the adi-section of ORACLES, is found in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 25 //, see Geller infra, pp. 299, 307-308), which similarly enumerates EŠ.BAR

⁴⁶ The word *upīšu* "sorcerous machinations" occurs both in singular and plural, see CAD U/W 179f.

⁴⁷ See also KAR 90: 1, mentioned above in the commentary to AMC line 85; CAD N/2 169a.

⁴⁸ An egerrû could be obtained spontaneously or invoked through a ritual, as in LKA 93, a fragmentary tablet written by Kişir-Nabû, which could be relevant to the present AMC section. In obv. 8f. of this text, the speaker asks for a favourable $egerr\hat{u}$ uttered by someone who is addressed in the plural, while rev. 7' speaks of letting an egerrû go out (I_s.GAR tušeṣṣi, cf. CAD E 44b sub 3a; Reiner 1965: 251).

⁴⁹ For turru "string; band" as a term for protective necklaces cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 60f.; CAD T 164f.

MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU_a.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ I_c.GAR NA_a ZÍD NA.RI DINGIR DÙ.A.BI "all omen (decisions obtained) from the stars, from birds, from cattle and herd animals, from egerrû-omens, (from) stones, flour, incense (or from) a god". Both catalogues thus could refer to a collection of texts concerned with everyday divinatory techniques used by both healing disciplines (asûtu and āšipūtu), possibly in connection with making diagnoses or prognoses for their patients.

Only a few texts dealing with the oracle techniques encountered in AMC and the Exorcist's Manual are known to date. One tablet from Sultantepe (STT 73; Reiner 1960; Reiner 1995: 71-74; Hurowitz 2012) contains descriptions of a method to determine whether one would attain a wish, which includes dreams, observations of shooting stars and of the behavior of an ox. Despite the lack of textual sources for this corpus, the Exorcists's Manual and AMC show that such texts were known at Assur (and elsewhere). Notably, LKA 137 written by Kişir-Aššur and found in the Assur library N4 contains an invocation to Šamaš (with the rubric [K]A.INIMA.MA EŠ.BAR na4GIŠ.NU₁₁.GAL na4KUR-nu DAB "recitation for an oracle (using) alabaster and magnetite"), ritual instructions and a diagram for an oracular technique of throwing (white/black) stone dice onto marked fields drawn on the ground (Finkel 1995; Hunger 1968: No. 205; Pedersén 1986: 72 (529)). 50 The grouping of texts concerned with egerrûs and other divination forms implies that egerrû was thought of as intrinsically linked with the realm of omens and that the corpora of the healing specialists included procedures to obtain oracles for patients or to avert negative signs already encountered.

91) The present AMC section dubbed MENTAL ILLNESS consists of three tablets according to the summary line 93. The three incipits are registered in two lines (AMC 91-92), but since the middle portion of the tablet is lost, it is not entirely certain whether line 91 already contained the first two incipits, or whether line 92 listed the incipits of Tablets 2 and 3 of the section. The present edition tentatively opts for the latter possibility, regarding AMC line 91 as the incipit of Tablet 1.

Similar entries that could be compared with the end of AMC line 91 and give the name of the disease ("NN is its name"), are encountered in Sakikkû Tablet 33 (Heeßel 2000: 353ff., esp. lines 1-5 and 56). It is unlikely however that the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS was particularly concerned with the skin ailments described in Sakikkû Tablet 33, and thus the restoration of the AMC line remains to be ascertained.

The beginning of the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1 in AMC line 91 matches the incipit of two tablets with prescriptions and rituals against "depression" (hūs hīpi libbi lit. "tenseness (and) heartbreak"; cf. Stol 1993: 30-31 "melancholy") attributed primarily to witchcraft, but the end of AMC 91 does not correspond to the available sources. Thus, KAR 92, an extract tablet⁵¹ from the Assur library N4, contains rituals for illnesses affecting the *libbu* "heart/inside", attributed to the anger or the "Hand of Ištar" (Ebeling 1919: 33-39; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.7 Ms. B obv. 1-29; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 Ms. E rev. 4'-32'; for "depression" associated with the "Hand of Ištar" see also Sakikkû Tablet 13: 154, Scurlock 2014a: 108; Stol 1993: 30). The beginning KAR 92 obv. reads DIŠ NA hu-uş GAZ lìb-bi TUK. TUK-ši 'nu'-ul-la-t[im] / ŠÀ-šú i-ta-mu "If a man constantly feels tenseness (and) 'heartbreak' (and) his heart ponders foolishness" (see also rev. 1-3). However, the catchline of KAR 92 rev. 34' does not correspond with AMC, but gives the incipit of an incantation-prayer to Ištar (šaqūtu Ištar bānât tenīšēti), which is used in two multi-purpose healing rituals addressed to Ištar (and Dumuzi) preserved in sources from Nineveh, Assur and Babylonia (Mayer 1976: 391; Farber 1977: 127ff.: 94-112, 185ff.: 19-31 texts A, II.A and II.B).

The Nineveh tablet BAM 444(+BAM 443) duplicates KAR 92 and offers a catchline (rev. 16) identical with the incipit of BAM 445, which is likewise from Nineveh and continues with the topic "depression" (see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 150ff. text 7.7 Mss. A, E). Thus, the first two sections in BAM 445: (l. 1 and 10) likewise start with the phrase [DIŠ NA] hu-uṣ-ṣú/ṣa GAZ ŚÀ TUK.TUK-ši, once more matching AMC line 91. All three texts are one-column tablets and thus seem to represent textual material belonging to MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 1.

The condition hūṣ hīpi libbi further occurs in BAM 317, a one-column tablet from the Assur library N4, which again deals with ailments of the libbu (including pain, emotional upset), mostly caused by divine anger (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 49 text 1.5 Ms. C for an overview and partial edition). BAM 317 shares duplicating passages with BAM 316 (iii 8'ff., 13'ff., 23'ff.), STT 95+295 (iv 145ff.) and BAM 445 (obv. 10ff.). The condition hūṣ hīpi libbi is dealt with in BAM 317 obv. 7'ff., 16', rev. 10-23 (see esp. rev. 10: DIŚ NA hu-uṣ-ṣa GAZ lib-bi TUK.TUK-ši). The compendium BAM 316 from Assur (dating to the late Middle Assyrian or early Neo-Assyrian period), which focuses on leather pouches for different

⁵⁰ For the other divination forms mentioned in the Exorcist's Manual see also Steinert infra, p. 184.

⁵¹ Designated in rev. 35 as "[x]th nishu", excerpted for application.

purposes including witchcraft and divine anger, likewise features a section on "depression" (col. iii 8'-iv 2, see Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.6 for partial edition and overview; for duplicates see Köcher 1964: xxvi). Note especially BAM 316 iii 23'ff.: DIŠ NA hu-us-sa GAZ lìb-bi u nissata(ZARAH) TUK.MEŠ-ši "If man man constantly suffers from the tenseness, 'heartbreak' and grief". For hīp libbi in the context of illness due to divine anger cf. also BAM 315 iii 8', 13', 17', 23').

Of interest in the present context is moreover the excerpt tablet BAM 311, written by Kisir-Aššur, which contains a section summarised in obv. 22' as 15 leather pouches for hūs hīpi libbi (cf. also below for further parallels of this text with the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS). Note also the recipe collection BAM 159 iii 29 // BAM 316 iv 2 // BM 98763 rev. 84 (Scurlock 2014a: 475) listing 3 Ú hu-sa (var. -us) GAZ ŠÀ-bi TUK.MEŠ-ši "three plants (when someone) constantly feels tenseness (and/of) 'heartbreak'". Fumigants and salves for hīp libbi are included in the fragment BAM 388 i' 6, 7, 11 collecting materia medica for different purposes. Note also fumigations for this purpose in TCL 6, 34 iii 5', 6', 10' (series Outāru Tablet 1, Geller 2010: 173ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 339ff.), see also Sm. 460 (Stadhouders 2016), with parallels to Qutāru (BM 45393+).

For the meaning of the word huṣṣu/hūṣu in the phrase hūṣ hūpi libbi compare the medical commentary GCCI 2, 406: 10, where this word is equated with $\check{s}am\hat{u}$ "to roast" and $kab\bar{a}bu$ "to burn", thus interpreting it as a burning pain/ sensation (see Geller 2010: 151; Wee 2012: 625). The word hūsu/hussu could be an Aramaic loanword, since no Akkadian verbal root HŪŞ is attested and since the word is never written logoraphically (cf. AHw 361a). In Mandaic, the verb hūṣ means "to press (tightly) together, to weld together; to bind up" (Drower 1963: 137a), which could correspond with feelings of tenseness, narrowness, pressure or oppression expressed in the Akkadian term hūs hīpi libbi.⁵²

The spelling $h\bar{u}sh\bar{v}pi$ libbi possibly implies a genitive construction, but $hussa\,h\bar{v}p(i)$ libbi indicates two independent nominal entities; the phrase $h\bar{p}(i)$ libbi is also encountered alone. The hendiays expression $hu\bar{s}$, a $h\bar{p}(i)$ libbi "tenseness" (and) heartbreak" could be understood in a concrete (physical) or metaphorical (psychological) way.⁵³ It is noteworthy that huṣṣa/hūṣ hīp(i) libbi is found both beside physical and mental/psychological symptoms (especially fear and anxiety, see above commentary on AMC l. 81). What the texts refer to in this expression might thus include experiences of both physical and emotional discomfort. Note also SpTU 1, 43: 1-5, where hīp libbi is listed with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and bennu (seizure- or epilepsy-related ailments) as well as with "Hand of the god/goddess (Ištar)", forming a group of illnesses thought to originate in the "heart" (libbu) vs. other groups of diseases coming from the lungs, the stomach and the kidneys (Geller 2014: 3ff.). All the ailments in SpTU 1, 43: 1-5 are characterized by a combination of bodily and psychological symptoms, indicating that the organ libbu was understood here as the physiological seat of consciousness, mind and emotions (Steinert 2012a; Steinert 2016a: 231ff., Steinert 2017a). The logic of this text further shows that the Mesopotamian healers saw no contradiction in combining physiological and religious etiologies either. The title MENTAL ILLNESS for the present AMC section is thus not intended to imply a dichotomy between body and mind in Mesopotamian medicine and its classification of diseases, but indicates conditions that we tend to associate today with the mind or the brain.⁵⁴ Texts such as SpTU 1, 43 indicate that the Babylonian healers perceived the conditions grouped in the AMC 91-92 as similar and connected them with the *libbu* "heart" (or inside of the body) as the center of the human person (cf. also Al-Rashid 2014b; Buisson 2016a: 18ff. and Steinert 2017a for discussion and different perspectives).

92) As pointed out above, AMC line 92 could contain one or two tablet incipits. In the former case, the incipit contained a longer enumeration and AN.TA.SUB.BA ... ZI-hi "to remove epilepsy, ...". But it may also be that the beginning of AMC line 92 contains the incipit of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 2, which merely reads ana AN.TA.ŠUB.BA nasāhi, followed by the incipit of Tablet 3, similarly ending in the infinitive *nasāhu*. The Akkadian reading(s) of AN.TA.ŠUB.BA are not entirely certain. Beside lexically attested equivalents miqit šamê and miqtu, also a loanword antašubbû is possible (cf. Stol

⁵² Cf. also the Comprehensive Aramaic Dictionary (http://cal1.cn.huc.edu), sub ḤWŞ. However, M. Al-Rashid (2014a) connects the noun with an Akkadian verb *huṣṣum* going back to a hypothetical root *H'Ṣ, but this verb is only attested once in an Old Babylonian letter (cf. Boyd 1983). The assumed meaning "to anger, harrass, irritiate, trouble" is based on the context and a few Semitic parallels. A connection of this verb with hūṣu in hūṣ hīpi libbi remains questionable.

⁵³ Cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 167f., 710 n. 14, interpreting huṣṣa hīp(i) libbi as the crushing pain in the chest associated with angina or myocardial infarction.

⁵⁴ The binary description of the Diagnostic Handbook as "the compendium on illness (rikis mursi) and the compendium on depression (rikis kūri)" in the Sakikkû catalogue BM 41237+: 26' (see Schmidtchen infra, p. 318 line 65 Ms. B) could suggest a division into corporal and mental conditions. However, Babylonian medicine does not use a descriptive category "illnesses of the mind", even though the "mind, reason" (tēmu) is described as the central affected faculty in texts concerned with loss of reason, amnesia, and insanity.

1993: 7ff.). In the diagnostic series, entries related to epilepsy are concentrated in Tablets 26-30 (Heeßel 2000; Stol 1993: 55ff.). Stol (1993: 23ff.) has discussed, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA is recurringly grouped both in diagnostic and therapeutic texts with illness entities attributed to supernatural agents (demons, the "Hand of the god/goddess", or the "Hand of a ghost"). That these illness entities could share similar symptomologies is indicated e.g. by *Sakikkû* Tablet 28: 1-20 (Heeßel 2000: 307ff.), which discusses cases, where "Lord of the roof", "Hand of a ghost" or "Hand of the goddess" turn into AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (or vice versa). A corresponding clustering of illness entities is also apparent in the AMC section MENTAL ILLNESS and in the related textual sources.

The phrase *ana* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ZI-*hi* "to remove epilepsy" is currently not attested as a tablet incipit, but it is used to introduce a recipe e.g. in the short extract tablet BAM 166: 11ff. from Assur, duplicating STT 286 ii 2f., the latter of which is a fragmentary two-column remedy collection, possibly focusing on epilepsy-related conditions (cf. Stol 1993: 104). Cf. also the Nineveh fragment BAM 478 rev. 7', with a remedy [*ana* (...)] AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ZI-*hi*.

Among the therapeutic texts thematically closely related to the present AMC section is BAM 311, an Assur excerpt tablet written by the exorcist Kiṣir-Aššur, which contains a collection of prescriptions for leather bags against "depression" (obv. 1'-22'), "Lord of the roof" (obv. 23'-29'), "Hand of the goddess" (obv. 30'-40'), "anything evil" (obv. 41'-46'), the evil alû-demon (obv. 47'-50'), bennu-epilepsy (rev. 51'ff.), AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (rev. 59'-76') and for several of the evils dealt with before (rev. 77'ff.), cf. Köcher 1964: xxiii-xxiv; Stol 1993: 102ff.; Böck 2010a: 94. Therapies for epilepsy are included in CTN 4, 115 (ND 5488/1 obv. 11'ff., ND 5488/2 obv. 6ff., 11'; Stol 1993: 105; Geller 2000b: 334ff.), but the tablet begins with a remedy for illness due to the "Hand of the goddess" and the lilû-demon, presenting a variant to STT 57+263 obv. 1-10 (Heeßel 2002: 71ff., describing the manufacture of a Pazuzu head made from dust to be worn as an amulet). Another Nimrud fragment CTN 4, 159 rev. 7ff. (Stol 1993: 105f.; Böck 2010a: 92) offers remedies for AN.TA. ŠUB.BA and bennu, with partial parallels in STT 57+263 and STT 286. A multi-purpose remedy (amulet) for AN.TA.ŠUB. BA and related illness entities is also found in BM 62397: 1-3 (a Late Babylonian one-recipe tablet), which begins with the phrase miqtu ŠU.GIDIM.MA AN.TA.ŠUB.BA KA.DAB.BÉ. "DA" bennu ZI-hi "(in order to) remove miqtu, the 'Hand of a ghost', epilepsy, 'seizing of the mouth'-(magic) (and) bennu".

Materia medica and therapeutic prescriptions for epilepsy have been discussed by M. Stol (1993: 102-113), ordered by type (mainly leather bags/amulets, salves, fumigations). In addition to the texts just cited, related prescriptions occur e.g. in BAM 159 (a *Sammeltafel* on various illness), which groups two remedies (potions) for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (iii 25-27) and *hūṣa hīp libbi* (iii 28-29), see Parys 2014. A single treatment (salve) for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA is found in the Neo-Babylonian tablet AO 17613 (Labat 1960: 173f.). The fragment BAM 476 (K. 8080) contains prescriptions for leather bags (rev. 11 attributes remedies for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA to the sage Lú-Nanna from Ur, cf. Stol 1993: 102). Note further that *Sakikkû* Tablet 28 also includes a section, in which diagnostic entries are combined with prescriptions for leather bags (Stol 1993: 81-85 ll. 37-55; Heeßel 2000: 307ff.: 1-19; cf. also *Sakikkû* Tablets 29-31). For the collections of amulet stones used against AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and similar illnesses see Stol 1993: 109f.; Schuster-Brandis 2008.

Enumerations of illness entities in sequence with AN.TA.ŠUB.BA are encountered in the introductory sections to several incantations and ritual ceremonies used for various illnesses including epilepsy, divine wrath or witchcraft. For such multi-purpose rituals see e.g. K. 2550+AMT 96/3+ // KAR 42(+)LKA 74 (Farber 1977: 56ff.: 1ff.), where the illnesses are attributed to divine anger. BAM 323: 39ff. (Scurlock 2006: no. 218, from Assur) presents a multi-purpose ritual including epilepsy, embedded into therapies for ghost-induced illnesses. The early Neo-Assyrian tablet KAR 26 (= KAL 2, 21; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Ms. A; duplicated in four manuscripts from Nineveh likewise inscribed on one-column tablets (Mss. B-E), in two fragments of *Sammeltafeln* from Nimrud (Mss. F-G) and in a Late Babylonian fragment (Ms. h)) contains an incantation-prayer to Marduk and a ritual, introduced by an extended purpose clause (obv. 1ff., cf. also obv. 38, 54 rev. 7): [DIŠ NA] AN.TA.ŠUB.BA LUGAL.ÙR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU.NAM.ÉRIM ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU (var. ŠU.dINANNA) UGU-šu GÁL-ši "[If a man] is inflicted by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, 'Lord of the roof', 'Hand of the god', 'Hand of a curse', 'Hand of mankind' (var. 'Hand of the goddess')". A similar purpose list is found in the introduction of KAR 66: 1f. from the Assur library N4: [DIŠ NA] *kayāna*(TUR.DIŠ-*nu*) AN.TA.ŠUB SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU. "GIDIM" [ŠU]. dINANNA UGU-šú GÁL-ši "[If a man] is constantly afflicted by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, 'Supporter of evil'-demon, 'Hand of a ghost', 'Hand of the goddess'" (Ebeling 1918: 45ff.; Mayer 1976: 417 "Šamaš 51"; Pedersén 1986: 62 (122); Stol 1993: 99ff., followed by a ritual, in which a figurine of the illness is married off to a piglet (Schwemer 1998: 60-62), and by a fragmentary prayer

⁵⁵ See further $Sakikk\hat{u}$ 10: 1-3 // $Sakikk\hat{u}$ 9: 80 (= catchline, Scurlock 2014a: 74) and the diagnostic texts CTN 4, 72 i 26 (Kinnier Wilson 1957: 40-49) and STT 89: 136-162 (Stol 1993: 94f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 12.1).

to Šamaš). Figurine or substitute rituals to remove epilepsy are also found in the fragment SpTU 2, 48 (Stol 1993: 101, followed by medical remedies for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and Lugalamašpae), and in KBo 9, 50: 18-33 (Schwemer 1998: 80f., 129 Ms. D obv. 18'ff., against bennu).

Note further the grouping of illnesses in TCL 6, 34 i 1ff. (series Qutāru Tablet 1; Stol 1993: 106f.; Geller 2010: 173ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 339f.): [DIŠ AN.T]A.ŠUB.BA dLUGAL.ÙR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU.dINANNA.NA [UGU L]Ú GÁL-ši ana ZI-hi "[If a ma]n is afflicted by [epi]lepsy, 'Lord of the roof', 'Hand of the god', 'Hand of the goddess' – in order to remove it". Compare also CT 14, 16 (BM 93094) rev. 5ff., a short list of drug names summarized as ana AN.TA.ŠUB.BA DUMU.MUNUS ^dA-nim ^dLUGAL.ÙR.RA ^dDÌM.ME ^dDIM.MÈ gab-bi LÍL.UD.TAR.EN.NA GURUŠ LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA u KI.SIKIL <LÍL>.LÁ.EN.NA ("for epilepsy, the daughter of Anu, 'Lord of the roof', Lamaštu, all Lamaštu-(type demons), the ...-demon, the lad of the wind-demon, the maiden of the wind-demon"), joining epilepsy with a group of demons.

Relevant to the discussion of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablet 2 are also tablets with therapies for infants suffering from epilepsy and related illnesses, which may possibly have a connection with the present AMC section. For instance, K. 3628+4009+Sm. 1315+K. 19939 is designated in its colophon (rev. 21ff.) as the 2nd excerpt (nishu) with remedies (bulti) for a child seized by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, "Lord of the roof", Ištar, $lil\hat{u}$ and the evil $al\hat{u}$ (applying mainly ointments, fumigation, potions, and incantations).⁵⁶ More clearly associated with the AMC corpus and possibly with the present section is the Late Babylonian fragment SpTU 1, 48 written by the exorcist Šamaš-iddin, identified as the 45th (or '55th') and final tablet (tuppu) of the series Šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl in its colophon (rev. 7'). The obverse preserves a Sumerian incantation and ritual (amulet) for calming down a frightened infant duplicated in a Nineveh compendium for babies (Farber 1989a: 21f. and §13), while the reverse preserves a few lines with fragmentary treatments for "Lord of the roof" and AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (rev. 2') and for witchcraft (rev. 3' ana BÚR UŠ₁₁.ZU). Noteworthy is also LKU 32 from Uruk, a tablet with healing rituals for infants (Farber 1989a: 21), which begins with a ritual passage for a child suffering from epilepsy (// STT 57+263: 31-53 and STT 58 rev.(!) 2-22, Farber 1989a: §§ 42-43), followed by a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation and ritual, and passages duplicating a Nineveh compendium for calming infants (LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ, Farber 1989a: §§ 11A, 15, 16, 19). The remaining sections in the duplicating Sultantepe tablet STT 57+263 obv. 1-30 contains remedies (five leather bags) for epilepsy-related conditions in adults (cf. Heeßel 2002; 71ff, for STT 57+263 obv. 1-10, with parallel CTN 4, 115: 1-10; Böck 2010a: 92-93), while the passages in STT 57+ rev. 57ff. // STT 58 obv.(!) preserve a prayer to Sîn with ritual (Mayer 1976: 495ff. "Sîn 3" Mss. D, E).57

94) The restoration of the first key phrase in the adi-section of MENTAL ILLNESS remains uncertain. It is suggested that the key phrases in AMC ll. 94ff. are citations from the beginnings of text sections contained in MENTAL ILLNESS tablets. Unfortunately, parallels from thematically connected texts, in which a passage starts in an identical way, could not be identified. For similar formulations in symptom descriptions see e.g. AMT 69/1: 10'f. (context unclear; cf. Thompson 1937b: 274f.): DIŠ NA UZU.MEŠ-š \acute{u} x[...] / u L \grave{U} .MEŠ-š $[\acute{u}$...] "if a man's limbs [...] and are constantly troubled to him". Notably, descriptions of seizure- or epilepsy-like symptoms involving the patient's body or limbs often concern paralysis or pain. Thus, in the introductory section of KAR 26 (KAL 2, 21) (// Rm. 2171 // AMT 96/7; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Mss. A), a text thematically fitting the context of MENTAL ILLNESS, we find the phrase ka-la UZU.MEŠ-šú šim-ma-tú TUK.TUK-ú "his entire body has paralysis" (l. 8). Interestingly, most textual examples featuring comparable symptoms belong to the anti-witchcraft corpus, see e.g. KUB 37/3 left col. 3'f. (Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 3.2): [šumma amēlu ...] IGI.MEŠ-šú iş-şa-nu-du UZU.MEŠ-<šú> ši-im-ma-ta [ú-ka-al-lu] "[if a man ...] his face seems to spin, <his> body [contains] paralysis"; see similar entries in BAM 214 obv. 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.1 Ms. A); BAM 231: 1ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.7 Ms. A₁). Note AMT 54/3 rev. iii 5' (Scurlock 2006: No. 222), where comparable symptoms are attributed to a family ghost: [DIŠ NA ... IGI.ME]Š-šú NIGIN.MEŠ UZU-šú ú-zaq-qat-uš "[if a man's ... face] continually seems to spin, his flesh stings him". Cf. further the diagnostic text STT 89 iv 1, mentioning the patient's limbs in an epilepsy-related context (diagnosis "Spawn of Šulpaea"): [DIŠ DAB DA]B-su-ma UZU.MEŠ-šú x-x-x-šú ri-mu-tú TUK-ši "[if seizure sei]zes him, and his limbs ... him, he has paralysis" (cf. Stol 1993: 95: 167; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 438).

⁵⁶ Stol 1993: 89, 131f.; Farber 1989a: 126ff. §§ 45-46; Scurlock 2014a: 621ff.; the last fragment was joined by E. Schmidtchen.

⁵⁷ For epilepsy-related conditions in infants see also Cadelli 1997: 23-25; Volk 1999: 16-18. For infants' illnesses in the therapeutic corpus cf. also above AMC line 23, and AMC line 74 for epilepsy-related ailments (bennu, miqtu) in HAZARDS.

95) There are different possible restorations for the partially preserved key phrase at the beginning of AMC line 95. The reconstruction chosen here stems from BAM 311, a text featuring the incipits of MENTAL ILLNESS Tablets 1 and 2 as well as key phrases from the adi-section, namely as the beginnings of text sections (obv. 22', rev. 59', cf. 77'). BAM 311 yields two matching entries for restoring AMC l. 95. The first possible restoration is found in the duplicating texts BAM 311 rev. 51'f. // BAM 202 rev. 5f. // BM 40183+ rev. 25': DIŠ N[A] ina 'KI'.NÚ-šú HULUH.HULUH-ut GIN, GÙ ÙZ GÙ-si 'i'-[ram-mu-um] / i-par-ru-ud ma-g[al] GÙ.GÙ-si (var. DU₁₁.DU₁₁-ub) ŠU be-en-nu 'dALAD' [šá-né-e d30] ana TI-šú "If a man is constantly frightened when he lies down (in his bed), shouts like the bleating of a goat, roars, is apprehensive, shouts a lot all the time (var. talks all the time), 'Hand of Bennu', the demon, deputy of Sîn – in order to cure him" (Stol 1993: 6; Chalendar 2013: 11, 37ff.; cf. STT 95+295: 16 and 35, where "quivering" (or being frightened, galātu) in bed is among the symptoms associated with the wrath of Marduk/Sîn). The second entry with an identical beginning is found in BAM 311 rev. 87': DIŠ [N]A [ina] K[I.NÚ]-šú ZÚ.MEŠ-šú 'ZÚ.GUZ'\(\text: KAxGU\) - 'as\(\text\) "if [a m]an 'gnashes\(\text\) his teeth [in] his sleep (lit. when he lies down)".58 The catchline of BAM 30 rev. 54' offers another option for restoring AMC l. 95, reading: DIŠ NA ina KI.NÚ-šú GÙ.GÙ-si is-se-né-eh "If a man always cries out and laughs in his sleep". The appearance of gnashing teeth in the context of epilepsy makes it possible that texts such as BAM 30 belong to the context of AMC MENTAL ILLNESS. For the sequence "anything evil" – gnashing teeth – "evil $al\hat{u}$ overwhelming him" – "if a man (is frightened) when he lies down" - AN.TA.ŠUB.BA - bennu, see also BAM 364 i 1ff.; BAM 356 col. i-ii; BAM 372 col. iii; BAM 376 ii 7'-iii 3, and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 120f. Kette 89-92 passim for amulet bracelets protecting from fright during the night (šumma amēlu ina KI.NÚ-šú igdanallut/iptanallah).⁵⁹

96) BAM 311: 47' offers a literal parallel for the AMC entry (DIŠ NA A.LÁ HUL DAB-su) in a remedy collection focussing on a group of illnesses including epilepsy (and other, e.g. psychiatric conditions). This line is also encountered in the Late Babylonian tablet BM 40183+ obv. 16',60 which contains treatments and protective amulets against mental disturbances and different demons (similar to SpTU 3, 83, a partial duplicate to BAM 311, BAM 202 and STT 286, see Chalendar 2013: 4ff. for discussion). As pointed out above (commentary to AMC ll. 91-93), the evil $al\hat{u}$ -demon is included in enumerations of illness entities, in texts with prescriptions or rituals for these ailments, but in these texts one regularly encounters the phrase *šumma amēlu alû lemnu usahhipšu* "If the evil *alû* overwhelms a man", presenting a second possible reconstruction for AMC line 96. See for instance KAR 26: 3 (KAL 2, 21; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.27 Ms. A), where the phrase A.LÁ HUL ŠÚ-šú "the evil alû overwhelms him" is found in a group headed by AN.TA.ŠUB.BA. K. 2550+AMT 96/3+: 4 // KAR 42: 5 (Farber 1977: 56) lists A.LÁ HUL ŠÚ.ŠÚ-šú and DIMMA.KÚR.RA (mental disturbance) together with "Hand of a ghost", bennu, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, SAG.HUL.HA.ZA, "Lord of the roof", "Hand of the god/goddess", "Hand of a curse", "Hand of mankind"). In the same vein, the second section of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 33f. //) highlights cures (bultī) for an almost identical cluster of illnesses, as part of the conjurer's curriculum: AN.TA.ŠUB.BA "Lord of the roof", "Hand of the god/goddess", "Hand of a ghost", followed by A.LÁ HUL, LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA, SAG.HUL.HA.ZA, "Hand of a curse", "Hand of mankind" (cf. Geller's edition in this volume). AMC ll. 96ff. may have contained a comparable enumeration of demonic illness agents (wind demons etc.), since line 98 mentions treatments against conditions attributed to the baby-snatching demon Lamaštu.

In amulet stone/necklace collections, one encounters a more or less consistent grouping of the evil $al\hat{u}$ with miqtu (epilepsy) or AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, twisting the face, gnashing of teeth, $mimma\ lemnu$ ("anything evil"), bennu and benu ("chill"), benu and benu ("chill"), benu and benu ("anything evil"), benu and benu ("chill"), benu and benu and benu ("chill"), benu and $benu} and <math>benu$ and benu an

⁵⁸ A duplicating entry is found in a one-column Assur tablet with therapies for gnashing teeth, BAM 30 rev. 47'f. (cf. Heeßel 2010a: 57ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 673 text 3.16.2): (// BAM 157 obv. 6'ff.), with a partially syllabic rendering: DIŠ NA *ina i-tu-li-šú* ZÚ.MEŠ-šú *i-kàṣ-ṣa-aṣ*.

⁵⁹ Note further STT 238, a unique text with two therapies against bed-wetting, attributed to the "hand of Ninmah", whose incipit reads: DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NÚ-*šú* KÀŠ *iš-tin*!(SIG) "If a man has urinated in his sleep".

⁶⁰ See Finkel 2008: 337: fig. 304 and the dababase of the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) for photos of the tablet.

explaining that it is used to remove AN.TA.ŠUB.BA and the evil alû (ana alû lemnu u AN.TA.ŠUB.BA nasāhi, cf. Parpola 1983a: No. 172; Geller 2016: 288 Tablet 8: 1ff. with n. 1, 295 n. 27-40). Note also that in the diagnostic series, entries concerned with "Hand of the evil alû" are found in Sakikkû Tablet 27: 20-23 in the context of stroke, epilepsy and related demonic agents (cf. Stol 1993: 57ff.; Heeßel 2000: 297ff.; Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 86ff.).

98) Among the texts dealing with the baby-snatching demon Lamaštu is not only the 1st millennium standard series of incantations and rituals listed in the Exorcist's Manual, but also several non-canonical incantations and rituals embedded in different contexts (such as women's healthcare texts and therapies for babies, see Farber 1989a; Farber 2014; Steinert 2016b). In the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 15 //) as well as in rubrics and tablet colophons, the Lamaštu incantations are usually referred to as ÉN dDlM.ME.MES or KA.INIM.MA dDlM.ME.KAM/KE, (Farber 2014: 17ff., 25). A tablet inventory from the Assur library N4 (VAT 13723+ col. iv 1f.; Geller 2000a; 230f.; Pedersén 1986; 66 (291)) lists the incipit of tablet 1/2 and 3 of the canonical series: ÉN ddim-<me> dumu an-na [...] / e-nu-ma né-pe-ši šá dDi[M.ME teppušu]; cf. also col. iv 26 referring in addition to KA.INIM.MA DÌM.ME.KAM NU.GIG "recitations for Lamaštu, the qadištu" (non-canonical incantations?).

From the corpus of medical prescriptions, little material concerned with Lamaštu is known. Note BM 33399, a fragment with remedies (amulets, ointments, rituals) [ana DI]M,1,ME ZI-hi "[to] eradicate Lamaštu" (i 6', ii 3, Farber 2014: 277f.), reminiscent of the phrasing in AMC line 98. The stone inventory BAM 356 i 1-8, 9-15 from the Assur library N4, registers stones for AN.TA.ŠUB.BA beside those used against Lamaštu (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 200f.; Pedersén 1986: 64 (208)). A second text from this archive, BAM 183, contains short recipes, including drugs for a fumigation against Lamaštu (ll. 16-19), and a short stone inventory that lists totals of stones for different purposes (ll. 23ff.): against Lamaštu, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, "anything evil", the evil alû, bennu and similar evils (Pedersén 1986: 59 (7); Farber 1989a: 67, 75, 124, 126f.; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 484 passim). See further Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 142-145 and Farber 2014 for amulets in Lamaštu texts.

Lamaštu incantations/rituals were also embedded in texts that belong to other sections of the therapeutic corpus (see below AMC section PREGNANCY; Steinert 2016b), Although Lamaštu attacks primarily infants and pregnant women, there are also entries in the diagnostic series relating to adults in general. The illness symptoms attributed to Lamaštu are mostly fever, associated with thirst, changes of body temperature from hot to cold, trembling, dizziness, and confusional states, which could explain the inclusion of treatments against Lamaštu in the present context of AMC (cf. Sakikkû 3: 45-46; Sakikkû 13: 69-70; Sakikkû 16: 14-15; Sakikkû 40: 51-54, 58; Heeßel 2000; Scurlock 2014a). 61

99) Enough is preserved of AMC ll. 99-100 to show that this part of the therapeutic corpus dubbed POTENCY is connected to the texts known by the rubric ŠÀ.ZI.GA "arousal" (lit. "lifting up of the heart/inside") concerned with arousing sexual desire. In his edition of the text sources, R. Biggs (1967) showed that there is no evidence that there existed a standard edition of the ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts (incantations, rituals, prescriptions) in the 1st millennium BCE that is comparable with series such as *Maqlû* or *Šurpu*, consisting in an established sequence of tablets. However, a two-column tablet with a collection of ŠÀ.ZI.GA prescriptions is known from Boghazköy (KUB 4, 48), which preserves the subscript DUB 1.KAM DIŠ LÚ ŠÀ, ZI.GA, showing that in the Middle Babylonian period, the scribes at Hattuša used a "serial" arrangement for the texts related to the topic.⁶² The Boghazkhöy ŠÀ.ZI.GA fragments already show strong similarities with the 1st millennium sources, which come mostly from Ashurbanipal's library (for the sources, see Biggs 1967: 86) and from Assur (especially KAR 70, 236, 243, BAM 272, LKA 95-103, most of them stemming from the library N4), with some additional material known from Sultantepe (STT 280, a two-column tablet) and from Babylonia (BM 46911 (Babylon), SpTU 1, 9 and 10 (Uruk)). Among these texts are two-column tablets with longer collections (LKA 97, LKA 99d, STT 280, K. 9451+Sm. 961+K. 11676+Sm 818(+), K. 10002) and one-column tablets, including shorter excerpts. Among the texts from Assur, two tablets (LKA 96, LKA 100) were written by the exorcist Kişir-Nabû, one is a copy of a Babylonian original

⁶¹ For drugs used against Lamaštu see also BAM 379 ii 7'f. // (Stadhouders 2011: 22 § 25' Šammu šikinšu); CAD L 67; CAD T 491b. In the context of AMC line 98 and 99ff. note further the stone inventory K. 10883; 3' (probably part of K. 3937+, cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008; text 3; Böck 2014b; 176f.), listing a number of stones against Lamaštu followed by stones for ŠÀ.ZI.GA (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 127 as well as 128-129 for amulet necklaces to arouse desire).

⁶² See Biggs 1967: 56 lower edge line 5; for a photo see http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de. Note that since the incipit of KUB 4, 48 begins in an identical way as the "series title" in the subscript (DIŠ LÚ ŠÀ.ZI.GA ina iBÁRA.ZAG TIL "If a man's sexual desire comes to an end in the month Nisannu"), the tablet number should rather be read as the first than the second.

(KAR 70), another one was written by a young apprentice (KAR 236); cf. for the scribe of LKA 102 also Capraro 1998: 216 (Aššur-šakin-šumi 2). Biggs (2002: 71) reports a few additional ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts especially from Sippar and Babylon that have been identified in recent years. Note further BM 42510 in Finkel 2000: 160f. with discussion in Biggs 2003-05: 604f.

There is no text incipit currently known that is identical with AMC l. 99, POTENCY Tablet 1. The line has been reconstructed following AMC l. 101, which repeats the incipit as section title. However, the AMC incipit is attested in an inversed variant, from the Nineveh two-column collection of ŠÂ.ZI.GA incantations and prescriptions, K. 9451+Sm. 961+K. 11676+Sm. 818 rev. 6' (Biggs 1967: 5 n. 30, 49f. and pl. 1; for photo see CDLI P398122), where the line presents the section title (followed by an Ashurbanipal colophon similar to Hunger 1968: No. 318), suggesting the restoration: [DUB X.KAM (...) DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS]-šú ŠÀ-šú ÍL-šú-ma *ana* MUNUS BAR-ti ŠÀ-šú N[U ÍL-šú] "[Xth tablet of (...) 'If a man] has desire [for] his [woman], but he has no [desire] for another woman'". K. 9451+ could thus potentially present a fragment of a series tablet belonging to POTENCY, although using a variant incipit. A third variant of the incipit is probably found in STT 280 i 1 (Biggs 1967: 66), which is unfortunately also fragmentary: [DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú DU-ma *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú N]U ÍL-ma "[If a man goes to his woman (to have intercourse), but he does] not get aroused [for his woman]". The restoration of STT 280 i 1 follows the Nineveh fragment AMT 66/1: 1f. (Biggs 1967: 52), where only the beginning of the tablet incipit is preserved: DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú DU-ma *a-n*[a MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú NU ÍL-ma] / *ana* MUNUS BAR-ti DU-ma *a-n*[a MUNUS BAR-ti ŠÀ-šú ÎL]. STT 280 thus seems to represent a variant collection of material related to POTENCY. Note also AMT 65/7: 2'f. (Biggs 1967: 51): DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú iṭ-hi-ma [(...)] / *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú NU ÍL "If a man approaches his woman, but [(...)] he does not get aroused for his woman" (the fragment may belong to K. 9451+).

Tablet 34 of the diagnostic series also begins with the inversed incipit of POTENCY Tablet 1, which can be restored from the fragmentary catchline of a Late Babylonian manuscript of *Sakikkû* Tablet 33 (SpTU 4, 152: 124) and from the *Sakikkû* catalogue (see Schmidtchen *infra*, p. 316; CTN 4, 71: 41 // BM 41237+ obv. 7'): [DIŠ NA *ana* MUNUS-šú ŠÀ-šú ĬL-šú-ma ana MUNUS BAR]-ti ŠÀ-šú NU ÎL-šú MUNUS BI ŠÀ-[šú ...] "[If a man has sexual desire for his woman, but] has no sexual desire [for another woman], that woman [has ... his?] heart". The variations of the tablet incipits of therapeutic ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts at Nineveh, Sultantepe and in AMC POTENCY 1 thus seem to underscore the view that locally differing recensions of partially overlapping texts were used and assembled at different cities. For the contrast between sexual attraction toward one's own woman (wife) and another (or strange) woman in this text group, compare also KAR 236: 18 // (var.) STT 280 ii 62 (Biggs 1967: 27 No. 11); SpTU 1, 9: 17': [DIŠ N]A ÎL ŠÀ-šú KAR-ma (var. DAB-ma) ana MUNUS-šú u ana MUNUS BAR-ti ŠÀ-šú NU ÎL-šú "If a man's sexual desire is taken away (var. seized) so that he has neither sexual desire for his woman nor for another woman".

In the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 14f. //), the entry ŠÀ.ZI.GA is followed by genres/texts concerned with women and babies (MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA, MUNUS LA.RA.AH, ^dDIM₁₁.ME.KAM and LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ), which corresponds to the sequence of AMC sections following POTENCY, which likewise deal with matters of fertility, offspring, birth and women's illnesses (cf. AMC ll. 103-120). For calendrical and astrological timings in the performance of ŠÀ.ZI.GA rituals, see STT 300: 2; BRM 4, 20: 45; (Casaburi 2002-05; Scurlock 2005-06; Geller 2014: 31: 38, 47).

The fragmentary AMC incipit of POTENCY Tablet 2 cannot be restored yet with the help of textual sources.

100) It remains uncertain whether AMC line 100 contained one or two tablet incipits, which leaves open the possibility that the section POTENCY at Assur consisted of three or four tablets. The current reading of AMC line 100 may suggest that the sequence DIŠ $\dot{}$ $\dot{}$

The first preserved signs in this line, SAG and MUŠEN, have been interpreted here as a reference to the head of a bird applied as *materia medica*. Birds form a recurring source for remedies in the ŠÀ.ZI.GA therapeutic texts, but the head of the animal is only rarely involved. In the Boghazköy collection KUB 4, 48 iii 24, the skull of a partridge (UGU NAM.HABRUD.DA^{mušen}) is used in an ointment to promote sexual desire (Biggs 1967: 55); the same text contains a second prescription (i 12-16 // KUB 37, 80: 5'ff.; Biggs 1967: 54, 60), which procures the blood of a partridge for a potion by cutting off the bird's head (NAM.HABRUD.DA SAG.DU-su KUD-is), but the phrasing of these sources differs from the AMC entry.

The suggested tablet incipit DIŠ $\dot{}$ \dot

mentioned in a fragmentary context in a prescription in the Boghazköy tablet KUB 4, 48 iv 13 (Biggs 1967: 56). Moreover, a passage in STT 280 prescribing plants for a leather bag (i 30-33) concludes the drug list with [Ú ŠÀ.Z]I.GA ina [KUŠ i] na GÚ-šú GAR-an] "[(and) the "[drug/plant for des]ire you place around his neck in a [leather (bag)]" (Biggs 1967: 66). In a similar passage in STT 280 ii 29-32, the ingredients are summed up as 10 Ú¹.MEŠ ŠÀ.ZI¹.GA¹ ... [ina GÚ-šú] GAR-an "ten drugs for sexual desire … you place [around his neck]". For this phrasing see also LKA 95 rev. 3: 7 Ú.MEŠ ŠÀ.ZI.GA ina KAŠ NAG "(these) seven plants for desire he drinks in beer" (Biggs 1967: 62). Plants worn in a leather bag are also prescribed in KAR 70: 34f. (Biggs 1967: 53). For another fragmentary ritual involving plant(s) for ŠÀ.ZI.GA cf. also STT 280 ii 48-49 (Biggs 1967: 47 No. 29). Specific plants designated as Ú ŠÀ.ZI.GA are moreover found in the Neo-Babylonian drug compendia BAM 380 rev. 42ff. and BAM 381 iii 37, in the entry [6EME.UR.GL]: Ú ŠÀ.ZI.GA: ina KAŠ NAG 6[Dog's tongue plant] (is) a plant for arousal: to be drunk in beer". Compare further Schuster-Brandis 2008: 136f. for stones and amulets to promote sexual desire.

101) Reduced libido also occurs as part of symptoms that are attributed to witchcraft. Such examples can be found both within ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts and in medical texts dealing with sexual impurity, but are also embedded in anti-witchraft rituals, see e.g. SpTU 1, 9: 19'-21'; STT 280 i 8ff., 22ff.; BAM 205: 7'-10' // 81-7-27, 73 obv. 9'-13' (Biggs 1967: 68f.), LKA 102: 18-24; cf. also the spells in AMT 88/3: 11-17 (Biggs 1967: 20f. No. 4) and SpTU 1, 10: 11'-17'. For an extensive overview of the sources see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29. Note also KAR 70: 1-10 (Biggs 1967: 46f. No. 27; Scurlock 2014a: text 3.16.8), with a spell and procedure to test whether a man's diminished libido was caused by "Hand of Ištar" or by sorcery (l. 5 KA.INIM.MA maš-tak-ti [Š]À.ZI.GA). Furthermore, diminished libido is also mentioned as a symptom in texts dealing with renal diseases (cf. Geller 2005a, e.g. BAM 112 i 17'ff., 34'ff.).

102) The phrase ana NITA ZI-tú šur-ši-i "to let a man get sexually aroused" found here as a key phrase in the adi-section of POTENCY, is attested as an introduction to remedies in texts dealing with ŠÀ.ZI.GA, e.g. in K. 2499(+) rev. 7 (Biggs 1967: 9f., 65, pl. 2, the fragment probably forms part of the series tablet K. 9451+), followed in rev. 10 by a recipe ana MUNUS ZI-tú [šur-ši-i] "to let a woman [get aroused]". More often, however, one encounters the expression ana ŠÀ.ZI. GA TUK-e "to get sexual desire". For instance, the catalogue of ŠÀ.ZI.GA incantation incipits from Assur, LKA 94 (Biggs 1967: 12f.), lists three related incipts (of text sections or tablets): [ana Š\hat{A}].ZI.GA TUK-e (i 22), ana Š\hat{A}.\(\text{LL}\) TUK-e (ii 21), ana NA ŠÀ.ZI.GA TUK-e (ii 23). This phrase is also encountered as an introduction to prescriptions in LKA 99d ii 6, 8, 11. It can also be appended to an extensive clause of symptoms, e.g. in AMT 88/3: 1'-3' (Biggs 1967: 52): [DIŠ NA] lu-u ina 'ŠU'. GI.MEŠ lu-ú ina gišGIDRU lu-u ina hi-miţ UD.DA [lu]-ú ina ne-he-es gišGIGIR a-na MUNUS a-la-ka mu-uţ-tú a-na ŠÀ.ZI.GA šur-ši-šu-ma ana MUNUS DU-šu "If a man, either because of old age, or because of 'the staff/scepter' (i.e. the blow from a weapon?), or because of the burning of sētu-fever or due to the 'reversing of the chariot' (nehēs narkabti), has diminished desire for a woman – to let him get aroused and to let him go to a woman".

103) This line presents the title of the AMC section SEX, which consists of one tablet and is concerned, as far as the preserved text suggests, with matters of heterosexual relations. The broad spacing of the signs in AMC line 103 suggests that only four to five signs are missing at the beginning. The title which is repeated in the following line consists of an incantation incipit resembling four spells with variant incipits attested in the ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts. A catalogue of the incipits of ŠÀ.ZI.GA incantations from Assur (LKA 94; Biggs 1967: 12ff.), lists two of the spells: ÉN GIN TU₁₅ li-nu-<uš> KIRI₆ "Incantation: Let the wind blow, let the garden quake!" (i 4) and ÉN lil-lik T[U₁₅ K]UR.MEŠ li-nu-šú "Incantation: Let the wind blow, let the mountains quake!" (ii 13). The first of these compositions is known from LKA 101 rev. (!) 12-19 // LKA 95 rev. 6-11 // STT 280 iv 37-41 (Biggs 1967: 35 no. 15: 12ff.: ÉN lil-lik TU₁₅ li-nu-uš giš KIRI₆); the second from KAR 70 rev. 10-24 // KAR 236 obv. 1-17 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 1-14 (Biggs 1967: 32ff. No. 14). A third composition with the incipit [ÉN *l*]*il-lik* TU₁₅ a-a i-nu-u[š KIRI₆] "[Incantation. Let] the wind blow, the garden shall not quake!" is found in the Nineveh fragment (in Babylonian script) K. 8698: 6'ff. (Biggs 1967: 37 No. 17, pl. 3). A fourth spell, only fragmentarily preserved in AMT 65/7: 6'ff. (Biggs 1967: 36 No. 16), features an incipit that could, as is suggested here, be identical with the incipit of the AMC section SEX, preserving only the beginning of the line: ÉN lil-lik TU₁, la [i-na-áš-šá-a gišKIRI₆.MEŠ] "Incantation. Let the wind blow, [the gardens] shall not [quake]!".⁶⁴ Since AMT 65/7 probably forms part of a two-column tablet with ŠÀ.ZI.

GA texts, it may be that textual material, which was divided into the two sections POTENCY and SEX in the AMC, was also collected together in a single tablet compendium at Nineveh.

105) Alternatively, read *en-ša* "they (fem.) are weak" before *ana* NA *pa-šá-a-ri* in AMC line 105. The verb *pašāru* "to release" (from illness, evil) is found in purpose statements in the introductory sections of therapeutic texts, see e.g. AMT 96/3+: 13 // KAR 42: 13: *ana pa-šá-rì-ma* "to release (his illness)" (Farber 1977: 56: 13, in an unrelated context). In the present line, *pašāru* could have an erotic or sexual nuance. Thus, in tablets with ŠÀ.ZI.GA incantations and prescriptions, *pašāru* in the Š-stem is found e.g. in a recipe for a potion in LKA 102 rev. 17 (Biggs 1967, 64) applied *ana* NITA *u* MUNUS *šup-šu-rì-ma* "to release the man and the woman", ending in ŠÀ-*šú-nu ip-[pa-aš-ša-ru*] "their heart will be re[leased]". Another potion for this purpose ([*ana*] ŠÀ NITA *ù* MUNUS *šu-up-šu-ri* "[to] release the heart of man and woman") is contained in the Nineveh fragment AMT 62/3: 11 (Biggs 1967: 51). The expression may be synonymous with *libba našû* "to get aroused", but the need to release the patients may also have its cause in bewitchment. 65 Note the parallel phrase NITA *u* MUNUS ŠÀ-*šú-nu* ÍL-*šú-nu-ti ul i-nu-[uh-hu*] "the man and the woman will get aroused and will not calm [down]" in SpTU 1, 9: 14' // LKA 97 ii 13f. // K. 2499(+) rev. 3f. (Biggs 1967: 40, with a following reversing NAM. BÚR.BI-ritual to calm down the desire). Cf. further CAD P 237ff., 243a.

106) The restoration [KA.INIM.MA ŠÀ.ZI.G]A at the beginning of the line is suggested by the other preserved rubrics in AMC line 106, which very likely refer to specific incantations and associated rituals. The rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠÀ.ZI.GA is attested several times in the corpus, e.g. LKA 95 rev. 18; STT 280 ii 18, 58; iii 32; iv 20; LKA 102 obv. 13; LKA 99c: 10; SpTU 1, 10: 17'; KAR 236 obv. 14 // KAR 70 rev. 22 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 11, 29; K. 9415+: 5' // K. 10002 ii 5'; Sm. 818+: 3'; cf. also the catalogue LKA 94 rev. iii 9, with the subscript summarizing the catalogue as ÉN TU₆.MEŠ [ŠÀ.Z]I.GA (Biggs 1967: 14).

The female version of the rubric ŠÀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM in AMC line 106 shows that the term ŠÀ.ZI.GA does not refer to male sexual performance (erection) in the limited sense, but more broadly to arousing sexual desire in men and women. The translation better fitting the Sumerian expression šà-zi-ga "raising/lifting the heart" is thus "arousal (of desire)" rather than "potency". Texts with the label ŠÀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM are so far unattested in the preserved material. Yet, a passage in a ŠÀ.ZI.GA text indicates that treatments with this purpose were also employed for women. A section in K. 2499(+) rev. 10 (Biggs 1967: 9f., 65) preserves the introduction *ana* MUNUS "ZI-tú" [šur-ši-i] ("to let a woman get aroused") preceded by a prescription *ana* NITA ZI-tú šur-ši-i in rev. 7. The phrase *tibûta rašû* may better be understood as "sexual excitement" (see CAD T 393a). Note also that some remedies in ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts refer to the joint treatment of both the male and female partner (see e.g. LKA 102 obv. 15-17 (Biggs 1967: 23 No. 6); LKA 101 rev.(!) 9-11 (Biggs 1967: 18 No. 2); KAR 236: 15-17 // KAR 243 obv.(!) 12-14; var. KAR 70 rev. 22-24 (Biggs 1967: 33ff. No. 14)) or to their joint arousal (e.g. SpTU 1, No. 9: 14' //: NITA u MUNUS ŠÀ-šu-nu ÍL-šu-nu-ti-ma, see also commentary to AMC line 105). The keyword ŠÀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM indicates moreover, as noted above, that both AMC sections POTENCY and SEX contained material commonly referred to as the ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts.

The genre MUNUS.GIN.NA.KÁM "for a woman to come (to you for sex)" is known from texts that prescribe calendaric and astronomical timings for various rituals and healing endeavors, BRM 4, 20: 8, 54, BRM 4, 19 rev. 31 and STT 300: 20-21 (Geller 2014: 27ff., 47ff.; CAD A/1 s.v. alāku 4c-7'; CAD S 290a). The commentary section in BRM 4, 20: 54 equates Sumerian MUNUS GIN.NA with sinništu ana alāku "for a woman to come". Two tablets from the Assur library N4, KAR 61 and 69 (Biggs 1967: 74ff.; Petersén 1986: 60f. (70) and (85)), which contain incantations and rituals with the concluding statement "(that woman) will come to you", very likely belong to the genre or to texts associated with the AMC sections POTENCY/SEX. In KAR 69, all sections end in GIN.NA "she will come (to you)" or [MUNUS BI] ... GIN. GIN. "NA" "[that woman] ... will keep on coming (to you)" (obv. 5, 19, rev. 1, 9, 21), consisting of spells combined with figurine rituals or simple actions of love magic. KAR 61 is of more diverse content, although likewise consisting of spells and rituals classifiable as love magic. The first ritual (obv. 8-10) ends in the formulation MUNUS BI GIN-ku ÁG-ši "that woman will come (to you), you can make love to her", although the spell recited with it is classified in a rubric (obv. 7) as "Recitation for the case that a woman glances at a man's penis" (KA.INIM.MA DIŠ MUNUS IGI ana GÌŠ NA ina-ši). The second ritual (obv. 11-21) was performed "in the case that this woman (still) does not come" (BE-ma MUNUS BI NU GIN-ku), with the same goal (obv. 11, 21). The rest of the tablet preserves a ritual "to make a woman talk" (ana MUNUS šu-ud-bu-bi) and further spells, two of which are designated as incantations "for loveplay" (rev. 26: 2 KA.INIM.MA ÉN

ša şu-hi). For the broader context of these related rubrics concerned with love magic, cf. BRM 4, 20: 5-7, 17, 60-63 and parallels, Biggs 1967: 5; Schwemer 2007a: 159 with n. 8; Geller 2002a; Geller 2005b; Scurlock 2005-06.

107) If the reconstruction suggested for AMC line 107 is correct, the catalogue registers therapies for la'bu-disease caused by ardat lilî "the maiden of the wind-(demon)". It is sometimes difficult to differentiate clearly the disease term la'bu from the related noun li'bu, which designates a type of severe fever (both words are derived from la'ābu "to infect").66 M. Stol (2007a: 11ff.) distinguishes between a) la'bu/li'bu as a skin disease, b) la'bu "odious matter" or a secretion/body fluid⁶⁷, and c) *li'bu* as a fever, occurring together with other fever terms (*ummu*, *ṣētu/himiṭ ṣēti* etc.; usually not spelled la'bu). Both li'bu and la'bu were regarded as infectious illnesses (Stol 2007a: 14f.), and occasionally associated with epidemics (mūtānu).

A literal textual parallel for the AMC key phrase [ana ŠU ardat li-li]-'i' la-'-ba TAR-si is not attested elsewhere in therapeutic texts. The use of the verb parāsu "to cut off; to separate" in the AMC key phrase is a bit unusual. Parāsu is used in the medical texts either with regard to body fluids that need to be stopped or with regard to evil that has to be blocked from infringing on people, as in the ritual "to block the entry of the enemy in a man's house" (šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli ana parāsu, Wiggermann 1992: 1ff.; cf. KAR 44: 20 //; CAD P 169a sub 2'). But parāsu is also occasionally encountered in the meaning "to halt/stop" an illness, e.g. fever (BAM 174 rev. 31: ana ummi u șerha parāsi "in order to stop the fever and burning heat"). In parallel formulations with li'bu as disease name or with other terms for fever, the verb *nasāhu* is always used instead.

Therapies for *li'bu*-fever involving similar formulations as in AMC 107 are found for instance in the KUB 29, 58+59 + KUB 37, 84 (// KUB 29, 60) from Boghazköy (Meier 1939: 200ff.; Bácskay 2018: 164-176), a three-column tablet with the incipit *a-na și-bit li-'-[bi* KUR]-*i na-sa-hi-im* "to remove the grip of the *li'[bu-*disease of the mountain]" (i 1).⁶⁸ The "li'bu-fever of the mountain" is obviously a variant of the illness *șibit šadî* "seizure of the mountain" enumerated beside li'bu.69 KUB 29, 58+59+ KUB 37, 84 contains a ceremony involving a figurine ritual and incantations (e.g. to Šamaš), followed by shorter therapies (v 15ff.) for a man who is seized by li'bu (and) sibit šadî, and to whom high fever (umma sarha li'ba danna) returns on the third day after the first attack (i.e. a form of an intermittent fever; see also Scurlock and Andersen: 2005: 29ff. with 3.11, 482f.). This pattern resembles the description of sibit šadî in Sakikkû Tablet 16: 25-27 and 28 (Heeßel 2000: 174f.; Scurlock 2014a: 152). Otherwise, the word *li'bu* is encountered beside other words for fever such as ummu (cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 29ff.), e.g. in the excerpt tablets BAM 147: 1, 5 12 // BAM 148: 1, 5, 12 (Scurlock 2014a: text 2.6.1; Bácskay 2018: 146-158), where prescriptions start with the statement DIŠ NA KÚM dan-nu DAB-su "If severe fever seizes a man" and end in (ummu dannu) li'bu ša iṣbatušu innassah "(the severe fever and) the li'bu-fever that has afflicted him will be removed". See also Sakikkû Tablet 40: 51 (Scurlock 2014a: 260): DIŠ LÚ.TUR um-ma li-'-ba ú-kal u ik-ta-na-aṣ-ṣa "If fever and li'bu grips an infant and he is always cold" (attributed to Lamaštu).

The reason for including treatments of a condition associated with ardat lili in the present AMC section (SEX) may be found in the character of ardat lilî as the demonic ghost of deceased unmarried girls who preys on humans in search of a marital partner. In the medical texts, afflictions caused by the ardat-lilî-demon are often associated with epileptic fits (miqtu, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA), confusional states and altered mentation (for an overview see Scurlock 2014b: 101ff.; cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 95f., 272ff., 338f., 434ff., passim). In this context, Sakikkû Tablet 26 contains several entries attributing symptoms to the "Hand of ardat lili" or to one of the "wind" demons (lilî, lilītu), and a few entries such as ll. 22'-25' give as diagnosis "Hand of the lilû-demon of la'bu-disease" (ŠU LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA la-'-bi, Heeßel 2000: 280; Scurlock 2014a: 197). Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 4.29) translate the phrase as "infectious hand of lilû", interpreting la'bu as an adjective or apposition and connect the illness with symptoms of secondary syphilis. Among the symptoms of this condition described in Sakikkû 26: 22'ff. are attacks of the illness "flowing over" (rehû) the patient, accompanied by numbness, "forgetting oneself", flushed face, cold fingers/toes, but fever per se is not among the

⁶⁶ Cf. CAD L 6f., 34f., 181f.; AHw 521, 526b, 551b.

⁶⁷ Implied by the fact that one can be "full" of it (e.g. AMT 55/2: 4f.) and by its equation with "spittle" or "dirty matter" (lu'tu, see STT 403: 44-46; Stol 2007a: 11 with n. 24)

⁶⁸ Cf. the varying subscript in col. v 14 // KUB 29, 60 rev. 4': š[um-ma li-'-bi ṣi-bi]t KUR-i na-sà-hi-im "i[f (you want] to eradicate li'bu-fever and 'seizure of the mountain'".

⁶⁹ For li'bi šadî as diagnosis see also K. 2581 obv. 21 // AMT 53/7+K. 6732: 1 (Scurlock 2014a: 676 text 3.16.3, Stol 2007a: 12ff.; Bácskay 2018:

⁷⁰ Cf. CAD L 34 lex. and sub 2, with reference to the lexical equation KI.TAG.GA = la'bu "affected (spot)" (5R 16 i 37 // Rm. 2, 585).

symptoms here. In Sakikkû 26: 64'-68', however, two entries differentiate the diagnosis "Hand of lilû" and "Hand of the lilû-demon of la'bu-disease" (ŠU LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA la-'-bi/ba, Heeßel 2000: 284; Scurlock 2014a: 198f.). Both cases describe illness attacks accompanied by fever (umma li'ba), cold hands and feet and the patient crying out "My inside, my inside!". In the case of the "Hand of *lilû*", the patient does not answer, when he is spoken to by the specialist; in the case of "Hand of lilû-demon of la'bu-disease", he sees the agent that afflicts him, talks to him and "his self changes constantly" (NÍ-*šú ut-ta-na-kar*). Moreover, in *Sakikkû* Tablet 4: 20-21, the symptoms (the patient's temples, epigastrium and neck are constantly seized, he has a moderate temperature without sweating and his pubic hair falls out) are attributed to the "Hand of ardat lilî of la'bu-disease" (ŠU KI.SIKIL.LÁ.EN.NA la-'-bi, Scurlock 2014a: 21, 35; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 4.26). In the light of these parallels, AMC line 107 may be restored reading either ana qāt lilî or qāt ardat lilî etc. It seems also that the "Hand of lilû/ardat lilî of la'bu-disease" was not primarily a febrile condition, and that la'bu in this context has to be differentiated from li'bu-fever. The commentary to Sakikkû Tablet 4 (SpTU 1, 30 obv. 6'-8') explains ŠU.LÍL.[L]Á EN.NA [*la-*]'-*bi* as "what the *lilû*-demon has left behind" (*šá li-lu-ú i-zi-ʿbu*ʾ-uš), but then connects the word *la'bu* with *li'bu* and *zi'pu*, the latter of which probably refers to a skin rash.⁷¹

The expression $q\bar{a}t$ $lil\hat{i}/ardat$ $lil\hat{i}$ $la^{2}ba$ in the AMC may thus be interpreted as an apposition, i.e. "Hand of $lil\hat{u}/ardat$ lilî (causing) la'bu-disease", or as a genitive construction (following the spellings la-'-bi in Sakikkû and elsewhere), "Hand of lilû/ardat lilî of (i.e. associated with) la'bu-disease".

108) The first phrase in this line apparently refers to rituals for calming a husband's anger toward his wife. All comparable rituals known from textual sources use a variant phraseology in their rubrics. A small collection of rituals to regain a husband's favour is preserved in STT 257, containing a figurine ritual, in which the anger of the husband is attributed to the machinations of a sorceress (obv. 1'-rev. 1, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.14, pl. 107f.). The reverse of the tablet preserves an incantation to Ištar (rev. 2-9) with ritual (rev. 11-16) and the first lines of another Ištar incantation (rev. 17-19) (Farber 2010: 73-78; Scurlock 2014b: 109 No. 20). A duplicate to STT 257 rev. 11-19 is found in a fragmentary two-column tablet from Assur ("Tisserant 17" i 1'-16'; Scheil 1921: 23 no. 17; Farber 2010: 75ff.) which continues with further therapies and Ištar prayers for the same purpose (ii 16'ff., iii 11'ff.), including another parallel passage (iv 11'-16') in STT 257 l.e. 1f. (Farber 2010: 78-84; Scurlock 2014b: 109). The rubric appended to the invocation to Ištar in STT 257 rev. 10 reads [K]A.INIM.MA MUNUS šá 'DAM'-sà UGU-šá šab-su "recitation for a woman whose husband is angry with her" (Farber 2010: 74f.). The Assur text offers the same rubric in ii 9' appended to a Sumerian spell (ii 7'-9': KA.INIM. MA MUNUS DAM-sà UGU-šá sa-bu-us); the following ritual (ii 10'-14') promises that the woman "will be loved" (irrâma). "Tisserant 17" iii 6' preserves another incantation rubric KA.INIM.MA kám-la tur-ra "recitation to bring back the angry one" (Farber 2010: 80 n. 23). While the incantation rubrics in STT 257 and "Tisserant 17" use the verb šabāsu "to turn away in anger", the entry in AMC line 108 seems to be a citation from the introduction to a therapy and uses the verb nekelmû (lit. "to look angrily") instead. A third fragment related to the present context of pacifiying an angry husband is STT 249 (cf. Farber 2010: 81f.). Although they do not present identical formulations, STT 257 and "Tisserant 17" can be regarded as related text sources for the present AMC key phrase. It is unknown whether the Assur manuscript presents a manuscript of the AMC section SEX that contained texts for different purposes as listed in AMC ll. 104-108, or whether this it was restricted to rituals for re-establishing marital harmony. With regard to the texts registered in the adi-section of SEX, it is possible that these texts were also collected on multiple tablets rather than assembled together in a larger compendium.

Concerning the last key phrase of AMC line 108, the emendation to SA'.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ šá ʿGÌRII¬.MEŠ "pulsating veins of the feet" instead of the reading Ú.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ "uprooted plants" is suggested by the similar shape of the sign GÌRI in AMC line 116. A parallel phrase ana SA.MEŠ ZI.MEŠ šá ŠU" u GÌRI" pu-uš-šu-hi "in order to calm down the pulsating veins of the hands and feet" occurs in AMT 98/3+AMT 39/3: 13 (CDLI no. P396344) as introduction to a recipe, but the context of the remedies on this fragment remains unclear. Why remedies for a symptom of the feet seemingly unrelated to the overall topic sexuality are listed here as part of the AMC section SEX, remains mysterious, but it may have to do with the keyword ZI.MEŠ "rising up" (cf. tibûtu for sexual excitement in ŠÀ.ZI.GA texts).

⁷¹ Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 10.66; cf. also BAM 240: 59'f. describing a woman suffering from fever, li'bu and dark spots on her body after giving birth.

109) Although the title PREGNANCY has been chosen for this AMC section, the first preserved incipit and the relevant text sources indicate that this section of the therapeutic corpus was not concerned exclusively with pregnant women, but that its overall focus had to do with getting offspring and with protecting families from the death of children, born or unborn.

Although the tentative positioning of the fragments in the present reconstruction of the AMC tablet (see copy Pl. 2, 6), allows for more text at the beginning of AMC l. 109, there are indications that the entry DIŠ NA ana dNI]N.KAR. RA.AK 'pa'-qid indeed presents the title of the whole section and incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 1. Thus, the subscript of the Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 42327+ rev. 40-41 preceding the colophon (Farber 1989a: 26 and pl. 14-15; cf. Farber 2014: 36) can now be restored according to the section title cited in AMC ll. 109 and 111: 40) DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, [...-a]h ú-šam-su 41) DIŠ NA [ana dNIN.KAR.RA.AK] pa-qid-m[a]. These two lines are appended to instructions for apotropaic rituals to prevent miscarriage due to witchcraft inscribed on the tablet, including the non-canonical Lamaštu incantation ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat (Farber 2014: 268ff. "RA"; Steinert 2016b), also known from related texts and applied to protect women from miscarriage (TCL 6, 49 and SpTU 3, 84). Since the incipit of BM 42327+ is identical with the incipit cited in AMC l. 110, this text from Babylonia has to be an extract of material corresponding to PREGNANCY Tablet 3. BM 42327+ rev. 40 presents an unidentified catchline (cf. below commentary on AMC line 113), while rev. 41 has to be understood as the overarching title of the section (PREGNANCY). Concerning the Late Babylonian sources TCL 6, 49 and SpTU 3, 84, the former is a collection of rituals and incantations focussing on amulet charms to protect pregnant women from miscarriage caused by different agents. SpTU 3, 84 written by the exorcist Šamaš-iddin, combines rituals against miscarriage and ceremonies for households to protect them from losing their offspring through death or illness caused by Lamaštu, Gula, witchcraft or a curse, which show connections to PREGNANCY Tablets 2 and 3 (see below).

The negative nuance of paqādu "to entrust to (someone)" in the incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 1 is mostly encountered in anti-witchcraft texts that explain the patient's illness as due to sorcerous practices, through which he was "entrusted" to the world of the dead. For instance, the Nineveh fragment 81-7-27, 73: 3' (Biggs 1967: 68f., pl. 2), possibly related to the section POTENCY, deals with witchcraft-induced illness and loss of libido and introduces a remedy with [DIŠ KI.MI]N ana GIDIM pa-qid "[If dit]to, he has been entrusted to a ghost". Similarly, BAM 232 obv. 20'-22' // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 321: 21-22 text 8.6 Ms. C), an anti-witchcraft ritual addressed to Marduk uses a similar expression by saying that figurines of the patient have been buried in a grave and "have been handed over to a persecuting ghost" (ana etemmi ridâti paqdū; cf. also Stol 1999: 66). Further anti-witchcraft rituals that speak of the patient having been entrusted to the netherworld are BAM 214 obv. 8f., also 10ff. (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.1 Ms. A) NU.MEŠ-šú DÙ.MEŠ-ma ina KI.GUL.MEŠ ana dereš-ki-gal [pa-a]q-du "figurines have been made of him and have been handed over to Ereškigal in dilapidated places"; SpTU 2, 19 obv. 1ff. // (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 8.3: Ms. A): NU.MEŠ-šú ana gul-gul-lì LÚ-ti paq-d[u] "figurines of him have been entrusted to a human skull". Note further LKA 89 rev. iv 4' (= catchline, Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 201 text 8.25 Ms. B: DIŠ NA NU.MEŠ-šu ana ADDA paq-du "if figurines representing a man have been handed over to a corpse". A diagnosis in Sakikkû Tablet 16: 10 (Heeßel 2000: 172; Scurlock 2014a: 151) is connected with a negative prognosis: ana gallê mūti paqid imât "he has been entrusted to the gallû-demon of death, he will die".

Having been entrusted to Ninkarrak was possibly associated especially with the death or illness of one's children. The reason for this attribution to a manifestation of Gula, is not entirely clear (but there could be a connection to the role of the healing goddess as a midwife). The association of the goddess with offspring is also underscored by the fact that the "Hand of Gula" is a prominent causing agent behind infants' diseases in Sakikkû Tablet 40 (Böck 2014a: 62-68).

The second entry in AMC line 109 (PREGNANCY Tablet 2) has parallels in SpTU 3, 84 (Farber 2014: 36; Farber 1989b: 224ff.). This compilation contains six sections separated by double rulings. The text begins with a ritual against miscarriage caused by Lamaštu (obv. 1-16, Farber 2014: 276f. Ms. "SpTU"). The next section in obv. 17-23 begins [DIŠ] NA mi-ih-ri ma-hi-ir DUMU.MEŚ-šú UG₇-tu₆ "If a man is struck by the misfortune that his sons/children have died", presenting a variant formulation to the AMC incipit. The following ruled-off section (obv. 24-36) is a protective ritual for an infant who has survived an illness crisis ([DIŠ LÚ.TUR[?]] *mi-hi-ir-šú* i-te-ti-iq-šú). The tablet continues with a ritual (obv. 37-rev. 55) for the case that [DIŠ NA] DUMU.MEŠ-šú UG, tu, lu GIG.ME-šú ma-'-du "[If a man]'s children keep dying or are often ill" and he suffers from financial losses (the problem is attributed to the "curse"). The last sections on SpTU 3, 84 rev. 56ff. are partially duplicated in sections on BM 42327+ //, TCL 6, 49 and LKA 9. Thus, SpTU 3, 84 rev. 56-78 contains protective remedies for pregnant women and two incantations (Lamaštu/baby incantation), beginning with an entry

identical with the incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3.72 The final ceremony in SpTU 3, 84 rev. 79-97 is introduced with the sentence: [DIŠ NA lu ina Š]U dGu-la lu ina ŠU dDÌM.ME lu ina ŠU GABA.RI lu ina ŠU NAM.ÉRIM [...]x DUMU.MEŠ UG-tu. lu GIG.MEŠ-šú ma-'-du DUMU.MEŠ-šú <ana> e-te-ri "[If a man]'s children die [through the 'Ha]nd of Gula', the 'Hand of Lamaštu', through the 'Hand of adversity', or through the 'Hand of a curse', [...], or (if) they are often ill: in order to save his children". Thus, SpTU 3, 84 may have been assembled from different sections (or sources) of a text compilation connected to the AMC section PREGNANCY, although its incipit and catchline do not correspond to AMC incipits.

The metaphoric expression *ana/ina qāti šūṣû* "to lose" in AMC l. 109 (CAD A/2 371a) is apparently synonymous with ana šīmti alāku "to go to one's fate" or mâtu "to die" in SpTU 3, 84. The phrase mihra mahāru is further enountered in BAM 234: 1, in the introduction to a ritual to counter grave misfortune attributed to the wrath of the personal deities: DIŠ NA mi-ih-ru ma-hi-ir-ma ki-i im-hu-ru-šu ul i'-[di] "If a man has experienced misfortune and does not know why this happened to him". Other motifs shared by BAM 234: 1ff. with the texts related to PREGNANCY are the experience of financial losses and the death of the people and animals in the patient's household, without special mention to his children (for the text see Kinnier Wilson and Ritter 1980: 23-40; Stol 1993: 29; Abusch 1999: 85f.; Buisson 2016a; Buisson 2016b).

110) Since in textual attestations of this incipit the verbal forms are negated ("for witchcraft not to approach a pregnant woman and for her not to have a miscarriage"), an emendation of the end of AMC line 110 to ana ŠÀ-sá NU! ŠUB-e is justified. The incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3 is encountered in several texts with therapies to protect pregnant women from miscarriage caused by witchcraft (see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 13 Group 5 for texts to protect women or infants from sorcery). The Neo- or Late Babylonian extract tablet BM 42327+ (from Sippar or Babylon) starts with the matching incipit 'ana' MUNUS.PEŠ, UŠ, ZU NU TE-ma šá [ŠÀ]-šá NU ŠUB-[e]. The tablet can thus be identified as an excerpt of textual material belonging to PREGNANCY Tablet 3; it contains three treatments (ointment, amulet charm, ritual) and two incantations (see above commentary to AMC line 109).

BM 42327+ is duplicated by passages in TCL 6, 49 rev. 13ff., SpTU 3, 84: 56ff., LKA 9 rev. iii 7'ff. and BM 51246+ obv. 1ff. (Farber 1989a: 110ff. §§ 39-40). The Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet BM 51246+ (probably from Sippar) is designated in its subscript as the "34th nishu-tablet with remedies for a [...] woman(?)" (rev. 19': tup-pi 34 nis-hu bul-tu MU[NUS[?] ...]). Its first lines run parallel to BM 42327+: 1-4, 7 including the incipit ana MUNUS.PEŠ, UŠ, ZU NU TE-ma ša ŠÀ-šá NU [ŠUB-e] "for witchcraft not to approach a pregnant woman so that she does not abort her foetus" (for both see Farber 1989a: 26f., 110ff. §39A-40). However, BM 521246+ continues with remedies and rituals for women, concerned with various topics that can be connected with the AMC sections PREGNANCY and BIRTH (cf. below; Steinert forthcoming a for a complete edition). The Uruk compilation SpTU 3, 84 focussing on rituals related to PREGNANCY also contains the entry matching the AMC incipit of PREGNANCY Tablet 3 in l. 56: ana MUNUS.PEŠ, UŠ, ZU NU TE-ma ša ŠÀ-šá NU na!-de-e. LKA 9 forms a two(?)-column Sammeltafel with text sections that in some way deal with stones, including a stone list, an extract from the mythological text Lugal-e, protective rituals/incantations and amulet charms for women and babies (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 167ff. Kette 206, 346ff.; Farber 1989a: 22f., 78ff. § 21, 110ff. § 39). The section on rev. iii duplicates passages in the aforementioned manuscripts and also contains the AMC incipit in rev. iii 7f. (ana MUNUS e-ri-ti kiš-pu NU TE-e ša ŠA-šá la ŠUB-e). Another text from Assur, KAL 2, 41 obv. i' 10ff. (Schwemer 2007b: 100ff.), a fragment of a two- or three-column tablet with amulet charms for pregnant women, contains a variant entry: [DIŠ MUNUS.PE]Š ep-ši ep-šu-ši-ma / [ša Š]À-šá ŠUB.ŠUB-e / [ana š]a ŠÀ-šá NU ŠUB-e "If sorcery has been performed against a [pregn]ant women and consequently she repeatedly had miscarriages, so that she will not have a(nother) miscarriage"3. Another ritual text related to the topic and present text group is SpTU 5, 248, which contains ritual procedures for a woman who had repeated miscarriages (sinništu lā mušēširtu, see Scurlock 2002; Scurlock 2014b: 122ff.; Couto-Ferreira 2014). In the light of the evidence discussed, the emendation of the end of AMC line 110 to NU! ŠUB-e seems inescapable. The very rare recipes to induce miscarriage (e.g. BAM 246) are irrelevant to the present context and argument, because they do not portray the pregnant woman as a victim of sorcery.

112) The adi-section of PREGNANCY in AMC ll. 112-114 cites mainly diagnostic entries from therapeutic texts, for many of which parallel attestations from the corpus of women's health care texts can be identified. Such parallels are found

⁷² See Farber 2014: 268ff. "RA"; Farber 1989a: 112ff. §§39-40, pl. 14f.; Scurlock 2014a: 587ff. and commentary to AMC line 110.

⁷³ Contra Schwemer who restores [ana ša Š]À-šá ŠUB.ŠUB-e in line 11, understanding the verb as the infinitive of Gtn nadû, it is suggested that the spelling ŠUB.ŠUB-e is a mistake for ŠUB.ŠUB-a (itaddâ or ittanaddâ).

on tablets of different scope and format, from excerpts to longer collections. The first fragmentary key phrase in AMC line 112 concerning the loss of amniotic fluid in a pregnant woman matches diagnostic entries in two Babylonian tablets concerned with women's health. The Late Babylonian gynaecological handbook BM 42313+ presents a collection of treatments for women.⁷⁴ A remedy inscribed on BM 42313+ rev. 16 is introduced with the matching phrase: DIŠ MUNUS. PEŠ, A.MEŠ-<šú>DU-ku "If a woman's (amniotic) fluid flows". The second text, the excerpt tablet BM 51246+, presents two recipes beginning in slightly varying form. Rev. 13' offers the entry 'DIŠ PEŠ, 'A.A'-šá DU-ku \dot{u} ' 'x' ŠUB'-a "If a pregnant (woman's) (amniotic) fluid flows and she drops/discharges ... ", whereas rev. 15' reads DIŠ PEŠ, A-šá DU-ku ˈšà¬ ŠÀ-šá a-n[a] $[la^{?}]$ [na]- $de^{?}$ -e "if a pregnant (woman's) fluid flows, so that she does 'not miscarry' her foetus".

Regarding the last key phrase in AMC line 112, several prescriptions in the corpus of women's health care texts are known that are introduced by the expression "to stop a woman's blood", but only a few examples speak explicitly of a pregnant woman's blood. None of the sources currently known provide an exact counterpart to the AMC key phrase DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ₄ MÚD.MEŠ-šá DU-ku "If a pregnant woman's blood flows". The gynaecological compendium BM 42313+ contains one prescription in rev. 12ff. beginning with: DIŠ MUNUS šá 3 ITI MÚD-šú DU-ak ana šà ŠÀ-ŠÀ-[šú NU ŠUB] "If a woman who is three months (pregnant) has a haemorrhage, so that she does not miscarry her fetus". 75 A second entry in BM 42313+ rev. 20f. is phrased in a slightly different way: DIŠ MUNUS. "PEŠ," MÚD.MEŠ U,.1.KAM DU-ku U,.1.KAM NU [DU-ku²] "If a pregnant woman has a haemorrhage on one day, (but) no haemorrhage on the next day". Another Neo-Babylonian tablet with an extract of recipes to stop female bleeding (FLP 1306: 1) offers a fragmentary incipit likewise related to the AMC key phrase: "MUNUS.PEŠ," šá MÚD 'i"-[ta-nam-ma-ru'] "(for) a pregnant woman who [keeps discovering[?]] blood" (for the cited texts see Steinert forthcoming a). Moreover, the Late Babylonian tablet SpTU 4, 153: 7f. containing a collection of prescriptions for female bleeding and for speeding up birth offers another parallel, with a remarkable recommendation appended to a remedy:

ana tak-ṣa-a-tú šá MUNUS.PEŠ $_{\scriptscriptstyle \Delta}$ E-ú MUNUS šá $^{\scriptscriptstyle !}$ Ù.TU-ma MÚD.MEŠ la ip-par-ra-su SUM-s[u] / šá MUNUS.PEŠ, šá 3 4 ITI.MEŠ-šú u MÚD i-ta-nam-ma-ru SUM-su

"For cooling a pregnant woman, as they said: You prescribe (it) for a woman (lit. "give it to her") who? has given birth and (whose) blood does not stop. You can (also) prescribe (it) for a pregnant woman who is in her third or fourth month and keeps discovering blood."⁷⁶

It is possible that other texts dealing with female haemorrhage, which do not explicitly speak of the patient being pregnant, were also applied for pregnant women suffering from bleeding and collected with texts belonging to PREGNANCY (at least at Assur). However, some texts concerned with gynaecological haemorrhage seem to have been included in the section BIRTH (e.g. BAM 235-236), cf. below commentary to AMC line 118.

113) There are no textual parallels currently known that could be used to restore or clarify the first two entries in this line. A restoration DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ₄ i-sa-ap-[pid-(ma) la i-na-a]h² "If a pregnant woman mou[rns, and cannot calm do]wn" may be tentatively suggested. The key phrase would indicate therapies dealing with extreme emotional upset during pregnancy, which could trigger miscarriage or illness. Compare the fragmentary catchline of BM 42327+ rev. 40: DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ_a [...-a]h \acute{u} - $\acute{s}am$ - $\acute{s}u$ "If a pregnant woman [...], they shall grant (to her what she desires?)", which may be potentially related to the present AMC entry.

The key phrase DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, kun-nu-kàt "If a pregnant woman is sealed off" is currently unknown in the gynaecological text corpus, but it may allude to a woman who is past her expected delivery date or otherwise delayed in giving birth (cf. Lambert 1969: 31: 48, where it is the unborn baby who is "sealed" (kanka)). Such delays may have been understood as caused by sorcery (e.g. through symbolic actions of "sealing", which were thought to have the same effect on the victim, thereby hindering the birth of the baby). The last entry in AMC line 113, consisting in a parallel formulation with a verb in the D-stem stative, DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ₄ kul-lu-mat "If a pregnant woman has been shown

⁷⁴ E.g. for fertility and conception (including a fertility test), bleeding, miscarriage; Finkel 2000: 171ff. Text 17, with the duplicate (student's tablet) BM 42333+; Finkel and Seymour 20092: 200 Fig. 189-190; Steinert forthcoming a.

⁷⁵ For ša liblibbīša, a variant of ša libbīša "her foetus" cf. CAD L 179f.; AHw 550a sub B.3c.

⁷⁶ For takṣâtu see CAD T 87, and Steinert 2012b: 79f. for discussion.

(something)", also describes a sorcery-induced problem affecting pregnant or parturient women (cf. Stol 2000: 157). This latter phrase is similar to LKA 9 rev. iii 2'f., see the commentary to the next line.

114) The last key phrase in AMC line 113 and the two following citations enumerated in AMC line 114 are concerned with the word *kullumu* "to show something to someone". The expressions listed here refer to specific things observed by a woman in her environment during the dangerous periods of pregnancy, birth and postpartum, which were understood as evil signs of sorcerous machinations that could lead to miscarriage or illness. The section concerned with amulet charms for women in LKA 9 rev. iii 2'f. contains a remedy for a leather bag, which is destined for this very purpose, being "a leather bag to release a pregnant woman or a woman in confinement to whom (something evil) has been shown" (*me-e-lu šá* MUNUS.PEŠ₄ *u* ^{munus}*ha-riš-t[i] šá kul-lu-ma-tu*₄ *pa-šá-ri*, cf. Reiner 1959-60: 150b; Farber 1989a: 23; Stol 2000: 156 n. 56; the text posits that when the woman wears the charm "(if) they show her (something), it will not come near to her"). It is noteworthy that this text from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 63 (167)) is presently the only attestation for the phrases in AMC lines 113-114 (which may be a coincidence). The listing of multiple entries devoted to this special type of bewitchment implies that there existed longer collections of such remedies for women at Assur (and possibly elsewhere).

The rubric MUNUS.PEŠ, KÉŠ.DA at the end of line 114 is connected to the previous entries by u "and", while at the same time the scribe separated the last key word with a division marker. The Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 15 //) mentions the rubric MUNUS.PEŠ..KÉŠ.DA "to bind a pregnant woman" (with appended gloss MUNUS la al-du "a woman not giving birth") in conjunction with the rubrics dDlM.ME.KAM and LU.TUR.HUN.GA designating spells (and rituals) that protect women and babies from evil and demonic attacks. The rubric KA.INIM.MA MUNUS.KÉŠ.D[A].KAM "recitation to bind a woman" marking Sumerian incantations to stop bleeding during pregnancy is so far only attested on tablets from the Old Babylonian period (CBS 1509 i 20, iii 25; Finkel 1980: 38-39, 42-43 text C; the Old Babylonian texts also feature the variant rubrics KA.INIM.MA IDIM.(KA).KÉŠ.DA.KAM "recitation to bind the source (at the mouth)", cf. Finkel 1980; Rudik 2011: 332ff.). In the corpus of first millennium medical texts, collections of therapies for the same purpose are attested (e.g. the two-column Assur tablet BAM 237, Scurlock 2014a: 571ff.), containing ceremonies and recipes against nahšātu (i.e. bleeding during pregnancy) and other vaginal discharges. The relation of BAM 237 with the AMC section PREGNANCY remains unclear, however, due to the lack of an incipit or matching catchline. A popular therapy in the 1st millennium texts consists in amulet charms for pregnant women, designated as taksīrū/kusārū ša erīti "amulet strings/ knots for a pregnant woman"77, which were included in special handbooks collecting amulets charms for different purposes.⁷⁸ But such charms, usually combined with incantations, can also be found on tablets with links to PREGNANCY, such as TCL 6, 49 (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 162ff.; cf. Farber 2014: 35f.), LKA 9 etc. Compare also STT 241, an extract with amulets/spell to protect from a premature delivery (NA, MEŠ/ KA.INIM.MA ša MUNUS NU.SI.SÁ.KÁM), Schuster-Brandis 2008: 149f.; cf. above commentary to AMC line 110 sinništu lā mušēširtu).

The occurence of the rubric MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA.KÁM in the AMC very likely indicates the transmission and continued use of an incantation genre known from the Old Babylonian period, although the rubric itself is yet unattested in the 1st millennium texts. Note the Sumerian incantation munus ka-kéš "woman with a bound mouth" in TCL 6, 49: 15 // KAL 2, 41 obv. i 14ff. (Thureau-Dangin 1921; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 7.8.1 and ibid. Summary 12), which likewise uses the motif of "binding", and is recited over the knots of an amulet protecting from miscarriage caused by sorcery.

115) Since most of the incipits in this AMC section are concerned with women in delivery, BIRTH has been chosen as the title for this section of the therapeutic corpus, although there are hints that the last tablets of the section included material that was devoted to gynaecological ailments not directly related to delivery or a postpartum context (cf. below lines 118-119).

All the source texts featuring an entry that matches the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 1 are only incompletely preserved. Two fragments from Nineveh contain this line. AMT 66/4 is a fragment of a two- or multi-column tablet, preserving a few treatments (including amulet charms) for women to ease delivery (rev. i', with parallels in the Assur tablet BAM 248

⁷⁷ See e.g. the inventory BAM 363 rev. 13' listing 130 stones for "knottings for a pregnant woman" ($ku\bar{s}ar\bar{t}$ $\bar{s}a$ MUNUS.PEŠ₄; also in K. 4727+: 21' // KAL 2, 41 rev. v 5').

⁷⁸ E.g. the series *kunuk halti*, see especially the texts K. 4727+ // BAM 346 // STT 278 // K. 9071 // BM 47770+47904 // KAL 2, 41; cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 146ff., 192ff.; Steinert forthcoming a.

etc.). A section in AMT 66/4 i' 3'ff. starts with DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ, i-na a-l[a-di-šá šup-šu-qat ...] "If a woman [has difficulty in her] deli[very ...]". The second column of AMT 66/4 contains fragmentary lists of amulet ingredients summarised as the 6th and 7th turru "string/bracelet", 79 followed by three two-line sections (rev. ii' 5'-10') with colophon-like content. S. Parpola (1983b: 21 with note to 1.1) interpreted rev. ii' 7 as [pir-su reš-tu]-'ú' NA, KIŠIB hal-ti "[first pirsu] of (the series) kunuk halti", however, the following NU SAR "has not been written down/copied (on the tablet)" argues against this reconstruction, cf. the expression ZI.MEŠ-ha "excerpted" in the next line (ii' 8'). AMT 66/4 rev. ii' 6 mentions a copy from Assyria ([... GA]BA.RI KUR AN.SÁRki). It is thus likely that AMT 66/4 belongs to the women's corpus rather than to the series kunuk halti; it probably contains material related to the AMC section BIRTH, assembled from different sources. The mention of kunuk halti in rev. ii' 7' could refer to the series known under the same name, possibly because the kunuk halti-compendium contained similar or identical amulet charms as the therapeutic texts for women in labour (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 192ff. with n. 480; Böck 2014b: 176).

The second text that features a line similar to the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 1 is K. 11956+14200, a small landscape-format excerpt tablet with two short rituals, one of which is duplicated in the Assur birth compendium BAM 248. The incipit of K. 11956+ can be restored: [DIŠ MUNUS Ù.T]U-ma šup-š[u-qat ...] "[If a woman gives] birth, but suffers from hard labour, [...]" (for an edition of these texts see Steinert forthcoming a). Since it is quite certain that AMC ll. 115 contains only one incipit (for BIRTH Tablet 1), the Nineveh source texts could be restored according to the AMC.

The two-column tablet BAM 248 from the Assur library N4 (Pedersén 1986: 63 (146)) certainly belongs to the context of the AMC section BIRTH, presenting a compendium with incantations, rituals and therapies for women in labour. Unfortunately, BAM 248 does not preserve an incipit, and its catchline does not correspond to the AMC (for the text cf. Veldhuis 1989; Veldhuis 1991; Stol 2000: 64ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 594ff.). BAM 248 i 36 features a damaged line that can be partially restored [...] sup-su-qat a-la-da "[...] she has difficulty in (her) labour", following the Nineveh duplicate K. 8210(+) i 9'. J. Scurlock supplements [KA.INIM.MA MUNUS] at the beginning of this line, regarding it as an incantation rubric. However, the ruling copied by F. Köcher following BAM 248 i 36 is doubtful, since no trace of it is now visible on the tablet. 80 BAM 248 i 36 could thus also form the first line of the incantation continued in i 37ff. The same phrase $\dot{s}up-\dot{s}u-gat$ a-la-da occurs within another incantation in BAM 248 iii 41.81 It is noteworthy that the AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 may be very similar to that of BIRTH 1, using a form the verb pašāqu "to be narrow", cf. below commentary to AMC line 118.

116) The birth incantation cited here as the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 2 is so far only attested in Old Babylonian sources. Presently, four varying "versions" of the spell are known, three of which preserve the incipit. YOS 11, 86 obv. 1ff. forms the longest version beginning i-na me-e 'na'-a-ki-im / ib-ba-ni e-ṣé-em-tum "From the fluids of intercourse, the 'bone' was created" (van Dijk 1973: 502ff.; Veldhuis 1999: 38ff.). The tablet is inscribed with a second text on the reverse (a Sumerian Lamaštu incantation). The second source is the unpublished school(?) tablet BM 115745, containing a mathematical table on the obverse, and the birth incantation on its reverse, beginning [ina m]e-e na-ki^{*}(DI)-im / 'ib'-ba-ni e-se-em-tum "[From the flu]ids of intercourse, the bone was created". MS 3067 from the Schøyen Collection presents a similar combination of spells as YOS 11, 86. The birth incantation in obv. 1ff.: 'i'-[na me]-'e' na-ki-im ib-[ba-ni (e-şe-em-tum)] "From the [flu]ids of intercourse [(the bone)] was cre[ated]" is followed by two more spells, one of which is against Lamaštu (George 2016: 47, 89, 140f. No. 28a, Pl. LXXVII). The fourth source MS 3387, a fragment of a multi-column incantation compendium, preserves a few fragmentary lines of the spell in a similar version as found in MS 3067 (George 2016: 46f., 138, 142, No. 26a, pl. LXXII).82 All four sources append a rubric to this spell: KA.INIM.MA MUNUS Ù.TU.DA.KAM "recitation for a woman in labour" in YOS 11, 86 rev. 28 and MS 3387 obv. i' 13', whereas in BM 115745 the composition is classified as *šipat aruhtim* "spell for a 'hastened' woman", using a variant term for the woman in travail. The rubric in MS 3067 obv. 19 may be read KA.INIM.MA [a-li-it]-tum or [a-ru-uh]-tum. The AMC incipit, which slightly

⁷⁹ Schuster-Brandis 2008: 60, 192 n. 480, contra Böck 2014b: 176. For amulet text collections that divide groups of amulet bracelets into numbered sections designated as turru see also BAM 368, 370, 372-373, 375-377; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Texts 4 and 9.

⁸⁰ Cf. the rubrics KA.INIM.MA ÉN mu-šap-ši-i[q-tu] in KUB 4, 13: 3' (Veldhuis 1991: 12f., 65) and MU-Ú mu-ša-ap-ši-iq-tum in E 47.190 rev. 6'

⁸¹ Cf. also the spell in BAM 248 iv 6ff. beginning ÉN šup-šuq-ta re-mi k[a-ni-i]k-tam "Spell: The woman in difficult labour, she with the sealed womb" (with Stol 2000: 70; cf. CAD Š/III 327a; CAD R 263b; CAD Š/I 16b). For a discussion of the terms for hard labour, pusqu (Sum. LA.RA. AH) and muš(t)apšiqtu (MUNUS LA.RA.AH) "woman in hard labour", as well as for Mesopotamian texts relating to birth see also Stol 2000; Couto-Ferreira 2014.

⁸² For these texts see also Wasserman forthcoming; Steinert 2017b and Steinert forthcoming a.

differs from the Old Babylonian sources, by using the logograms A and GIR.PAD.DU instead of purely syllabic spellings, shows that this birth incantation was also transmitted to the 1st millennium tradition, although sources for it remain to be discovered.

117) The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 is found in BAM 248 iv 13 and AMT 67/1(+) iv 6, which form duplicating manuscripts of a compendium for childbirth on two-column tablets, presenting the line beginning DIŠ MUNUS ina Ù.TU uš-tap-šiq "If a woman has difficulty (lit. is made too narrow) during (her) delivery" (Scurlock 2014a: 599). It is noteworthy that in both texts, the entry forms the beginning of the last section on the tablets that is concerned with delivery (BAM 248 iv 13-38 // AMT 67/1(+) iv 6-31), with prescriptions (potions, ointments, special foodstuffs) and a short ritual for the same purpose. Both tablets conclude with three short protective recipes for the baby (BAM 248 iv 39-43 // AMT 67/1(+) iv 32 //, cf. Farber 1989a: 124ff. § 44-45). The text section introduced by DIŠ MUNUS ina Ù.TU uš-tap-šig shows some peculiar features and therapeutic strategies compared with the preceding paragraphs (cf. Couto-Ferreira 2014: 298ff., 306ff., 311ff.), which indicates that BAM 248 and AMT 67/1 present a compilation of material of diverse origins. Both sources seem to diverge from the organisation of textual material outlined in AMC (the catchline preserved in BAM 248 does not correspond to AMC). It is possible that BAM 248 and AMT 67/1(+) include texts that belong to BIRTH Tablets 1-3.

The incipit of BIRTH Tablet 3 is also encountered in other sources, in varying spellings. The Assur fragment BAM 249 likewise formed part of a two-column tablet. It contains prescriptions for women in difficult labour in col. i', duplicating a few lines of BAM 248 iv 13-16 //), from col. i' 8' onward, headed by the entry [DIŠ MUNUS] 'Û.TU' uš'-tap-šiq'-šú "[If (concerning) a woman], (her) delivery is difficult for her" (see also i' 11'). It is unclear whether BAM 249 formed a collection of solely gynaecological material, since a section in col. ii' 11'ff. seems to concern apotropaic rituals to undo the evil foreshadowed by a man's dream. Another medical text from Nineveh in Neo-Babylonian script, AMT 65/2 + K. 11752 obv. 12', probably features the fragmentary entry DIŠ MUNUS Ù.TU-ma u[š-tap-šiq] "If a woman has [difficulty] giving birth", but the preserved passages are not only concerned with with therapies for women, but include remedies applied to the baby (cf. Farber 1989a: 28, 130). In addition, the still unpublished Neo-Babylonian gynaecological compendium BM 38624+ on a two-column tablet (probably from Babylon) represents a collection of recipes for women ranging from fertility, to bleeding and problems during and after delivery. In obv. ii 25ff., it offers a section with remedies DIS MUNUS a-lad uš-tap-šig "if a woman has difficulty giving birth". For similar tablets see also STT 98 and STT 284.83

The second entry in AMC line 117 with the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 4 is so far only attested in the Neo-Babylonian extract tablet BM 51246+ obv. 18, in a likewise damaged line: [DIŠ MUNUS Ù.T]U-ma ni-ip-šú 'šá' ina kir'-r[i'-šá ...] "If a woman gives birth, and subsequently a stench, which [...] in/from her throat [...]" (cf. Steinert forthcoming a). The AMC incipit diverges by spelling ni-ip- $s\acute{a}$ ina kir-ri- $s[\acute{a}$...], and the relative pronoun $s\acute{a}$ in BM 51246+ may thus be superfluous. For nipšu cf. CAD N/2 248 "smell; stench"; AHw 702a. The word is also attested as a disease term in the Assur fragment BAM 268 iii 3', containing a recipe introduced by DIŠ NA ni-ip-še GIG [...] "If a man suffers from nipšu", which can be compared with the Nineveh fragment AMT 77/6: 4' (also l. 8'), offering the entry: [DIŠ NA ... GI]G MIN ni-ip-še DIRI.DIRIm[a...] "[if a man] suffers [from ...], ditto, he is constantly full of $nip\check{s}u$ ". The word here seems to refer to a type of skin lesion, since the attached recipe instructs to sprinkle a remedy onto the sore (BAM 268 iii 5': ina IGI GIG ta-sa-raq), while the following recipe in iii 6' speaks of sikkatu-lesions (GAG.MEŠ) on the patient's body. Furthermore, a commentary on disease terms explains the phrase DIŠ NA KA.È GIG "If a man suffers from KA.È"84 with ni-ip-šú šá sim-me "nipšu (stench?), said of simmu-lesions" (cited in CAD N/2 248b sub 2, see K. 8599+: 4' (CDLI P397694) // KADP No. 22 i 4). The equation of KA.È with nipšu is of interest in the light of the present AMC incipit, because both seem to point to the mouth/throat as the locus of the disease.

Another occurrence of nipšu is found in BAM 575 iii 30f. (= STOMACH Tablet 2) // BAM 55: 1f. // BAM 56 rev. 8'f. // BAM 57 obv. 1'f. (cf. Cadelli 2000: 138; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 3.99; Scurlock 2014a: 483f. text 2.8.5 Bácskay 2018: 76ff.). Among the symptoms described here are "wind" rumbling in the belly, fever, stinging pain in the shoulders and chest, numbness and UZU^{II} (var. UZU.MEŠ)-šú áš^I-ţu u ni-ip-še DIRI "his body is stiff and full of nipšu". J. Scurlock

⁸³ The discussed texts will be edited in Steinert forthcoming a. Note further the remedy on three duplicating Late Babylonian school tablets (BM 42507 rev. 15ff. //, Finkel 2000: 157ff., Fig. 9-11) described as a-na MUNUS šá tu-lu-di ta-kul-lu-ú ik-kal-lu-ši SIG geod for a woman for whom giving birth and birth pangs (takulû) are held back(?)". Drug compendia also included plants/drugs destined for a woman in hard labour (Ú MUNUS LA.RA.AH), see BAM 380 rev. 31ff. // BAM 381 iii 25ff., BAM 379 iii 9; Stol 2000: 54f.; Couto-Ferreira 2014.

⁸⁴ An unknown illness with uncertain reading, lit. "coming out of the mouth"? One could also consider reading KA HÁD.DU "dry mouth".

(2014a: 484) translates *nipšu* as "stink" (which is produced by an anaerobic lung abscess), but the phrase could also refer to a symptom visible on the skin and accompanied by a bad smell. The meaning of *nipšu* as "smell" is confirmed by passages such as SpTU 5, 272: 21, 26, 29, where the word is used to describe the odour of plants (e.g. as "sweet, pleasant"), see also CAD N/2 248b sub 2.

To complicate things further, there is another cognate disease term *nipištu*, which likewise designates a skin condition in Sakikkû Tablet 33: 16-17 (Heeßel 2000: 354; Scurlock 2014a: 231). It remains to be elucidated whether nipšu in the incipit of BIRTH Tablet 4 is related to a skin disease, or whether it merely describes a symptom of a specific, unrelated female health problem occurring in the postpartum period. Note in addition an Old Babylonian Akkadian incantation (YOS 11, 9: 1-8, Farber 1985: 61 no. 9; van Dijk 1985: 22 no. 9; SEAL text 5.1.5.7) with the rubric KA.INIM.MA ni-ip-šum SU NAM.x[x.K]A, combined with a spell against the *sāmānu*-disease/demon; its exact purpose remains unclear as well.

118) A matching incipit or entry for BIRTH Tablet 5 beginning with DIŠ ālittu(MUNUS.Ù.TU) ūlid(Ù.TU)-ma "If a fertile woman gives birth" is to my knowledge not attested so far within the gynaecological texts. Only Sakikkû Tablet 36, which makes prognoses concerning the outcome of an expected pregnancy, uses the term *ālittu*(TU), see Stol 2000: 193ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 245ff. The AMC incipit implies that this tablet was concerned with postpartum conditions. One tablet from the Assur library N4 focussing on this aspect of female ailments is BAM 240 (Pedersén 1986: 61 (94); Scurlock 2014a: 608ff.). Although the first lines of BAM 240 contain recipes for pregnant women, the long section from obv. 17'-rev. 68' deals with postpartum conditions, and several of these remedies start with the phrase DIŠ MUNUS Ù.TU-ma (ll. 17', 25', 26', 29', 39'). Thus, although BAM 240 is apparently not a series tablet organised according to AMC, it may include material related to BIRTH Tablet 5. Other texts with therapies for postpartum complications that preserve entries beginning DIŠ MUNUS Ù.TU-ma are found e.g. in BM 38624+ (with duplicating sections in BAM 240), BAM 408 ii 4'ff., SpTU 4, 153 obv. 1-18. See also Lambert 1969: 29ff. obv. 1-rev. 31 (Fales 1989: 195ff. No. 62), a Middle Assyrian tablet from Assur, complemented by two birth incantations on rev. 33-62 (both sections are divided by a scribal annotation implying that they were extracted from different sources).85

The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 6 may have to be restored in accordance with the Assur text BAM 235 (with duplicating sections in BAM 236), which contains recipes to stop gynaecological bleeding. The first and third prescription (obv. 1ff. and 7ff.) begins with two slightly varying entries: [DIŠ MUNUS?] x šu/ršár-gu-šá pe-lu-ti DU-ku "[If a woman?] ... her menstrual discharge flows with a bright-red color".86 The adjective form indicates that šagû is a plural noun (spelled wrongly as $\check{s}ug\hat{u}$ in BAM 235 obv. 1?) and perhaps the same word as $sag\hat{u}$, which in gynaecological texts from Babylonia is used as a term for the menstrual period.⁸⁷ Thus, in the commentary SpTU 1, 39: 6' (on Sakikkû Tablet 36: 100ff.), sagû is explained as dam ardati "the blood of a (young) woman". This meaning is likewise indicated by texts which contain recipes to provoke a woman's menstrual flow, see e.g. BM 38624+ obv. ii 28': ana MUNUS sa-gu-šá ana kul-lu-mu "to make a woman's sagû appear"; also BM 54587 + BM 73802+ rev.(?) 9': [ana MUNUS sa-gu-u-šá ana] kul-lu-mu. All relevant texts and attestations will be discussed in Steinert forthcoming a.

119) The restoration of the fragmentary incipit of BIRTH Tablet 7 at the beginning of the line is not entirely certain, since exactly matching textual parallels are lacking, but the current interpretation is suggested by the context and by similar references to female "semen" (rihûtu, i.e. vaginal discharges looking similar to male semen) in other medical texts (cf. CAD R 342a sub 1a). See e.g. BAM 205: 40'-42', var. 81-2-4, 466: 3' (photo: CDLI P452364; Biggs 1967: 68a (i 24); Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 89f. 4.3): lu NITA lu MUNUS su-u'-us (var. su-u'-su) re-hu-su-nu [m]a-a'-da''(UŠ) DU-ak ina K[ÀŠ]. MEŠ-šu-nu [B]IR.[BIR ...] "(If) either a man's or a woman's seminal fluids flow copiously (and) they "spill" it when they urinate [...]".88 LKA 144 also presents a ritual ceremony and prescriptions for witchcraft-induced sexual impurity due to

⁸⁵ All relevant texts will be discussed in Steinert forthcoming a. For postpartum conditions in Mesopotamian gynaecological texts see also Steinert 2013.

⁸⁶ For a differing reading cf. Scurlock 2014a: 586.

⁸⁷ See CAD S 27a s.v. *sagû* B; Steinert 2012b: 72 n. 33; Steinert 2013: 5ff.

⁸⁸ For discussion see Stol 2000: 8 and Reynolds 2010: 301f. note on l. 22', who suggests that su'su/suhsu is a synonym of rihûtu (contra CAD S 249 s.v. suhsu, translating "bed"; cf. further George 2013: 119: 28, 121, 235: 40, 245 for suhsu in the meaning "crotch; pubic region"). The word is also used beside rihûtu for a morbid genital discharge in STT 280 i 24 (// LKA 144 rev. 25 // BM 68033 rev. 10, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 104 text 2.5 sub 3; Biggs 1967: 66; Farber 1977: 234), in a collection of ŠÀ.ZI.GA material that includes remedies for witchcraft-induced ailments related to sexual matters.

gential discharge (Farber 1977: 227ff.; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5 Ms. G; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: text 8.29 Ms. D, with parallels). In this example, abnormal male discharge (continuous flow of "semen") is described as "like (that of) a woman (his) genital discharge is impure" (GIN, MUNUS su-'u-su l[a e-l]il (var. e-el).89 The incipit of BIRTH Tablet 7 seems to suggest that the AMC section BIRTH also included gynaecological material dealing with female conditions not directly concerned with birth or pregnancy, e.g. illnesses that we would regard today as sexually transmitted diseases.

The AMC incipit of BIRTH Tablet 8 is unfortunately almost completely lost and remains uncertain. The fragmentary signs could also be read ŠÀ $GA[L_a.LA-š\acute{a}...]$ "inside her va[gina]".

120) It should be kept in mind that the "eight tablets" summed up here refer only to the section BIRTH and do not include the preceding section PREGNANCY, which itself consists of three tablets and has its own summary section. Since most of the preserved incipits in BIRTH refer to women during or after delivery and MUNUS.PEŠ, is not mentioned at all, the restoration combining "for pregnant women and women in childbirth" in this line is not quite certain. There is potentially room for more text in the gap after the restored MUNU[S.PEŠ, ù MUNUS.Ù.TU²]. It is striking that the summary line does not repeat the incipit of BIRTH 1, as is usually the case throughout the catalogue, but is formulated as a descriptive phrase introduced with δa ("a total of eight tablets concerning ..."), to summarize the topic of the whole section. The same phenomenon is found in the summary line of the section VETERINARY (AMC line 122). It is further noteworthy that neither the summary of BIRTH nor that of VETERINARY includes a list of adi-phrases.

121-122) The syllabic spelling šúm-mu at the beginning of line 121 may point to an earlier tradition. The use of this variant of the conjunction *šumma* is already occasionally attested in 2nd millennium texts (e.g. from Ugarit), but spellings such as šúm-ma/mu are mostly found in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts (see CAD Š/3 275ff.; Ebeling 1949b: 407: 15', 408: 7', 413: 32, 38, 416: 27, 417: 1, 5; Jacob 2003: 480ff. (Middle Assyrian perfume recipes); cf. also DIŠ šúm-ma in Middle Assyrian omen texts, Heeßel 2012: 31, 292 No. 100).

The incipit of the single-tablet AMC section VETERINARY dealing with diseases of domestic animals (according to the summary line 122 with horses and cattle) cannot be completely restored due to lacking text sources. The present reading is based on the context and partially follows similar omen entries about epidemics among animals (cf. CAD M/2 296 s.v. mūtānu and CAD S 121 s.v. sehēru). The catalogue confirms that the asû (just like his colleague, the āšipu) treated both humans and animals, at least the larger, particularly valuable domestic animals. The Laws of Hammurapi even point to veterinary specialists in the Old Babylonian period, which are called " $as\hat{u}$ of cattle or donkey(s)" (A.ZU GU₄ ù lu ANŠE, see Stol 2011: 380).

This AMC section probably included medical remedies for various animal diseases, and not only for epidemics. However, only a few veterinary prescriptions have been preserved in the textual record (cf. Huber 2005: 24-30; Stol 2011: 363-402; Maul 2013: 16-37, especially on the medical and anti-epidemic care of horses). Among early texts related to the topic is an Old Babylonian incantation in Akkadian to treat bloat in cattle or sheep (KA.INIM.MA GU4 UDU.NÍTA *emrum*), which is accompanied by a prescription (*kikkittum*) for a salt-water "flush therapy" (George 2016: 36ff., 133f. No. 8d, Pl. XXVIII). The text is embedded in a collection with Sumerian and Akkadian spells for different illnesses, which may have belonged to a "magician's archive" (cf. George 2016: 29f.). Similarly, two recipes for colics in horses (kīs libbi ša ANŠE.KUR.RA) are interspersed between remedies for human patients in BAM 159 v 33-47, a Neo-Assyrian multi-purpose medical compendium found in the Assur libary N4 (Maul 2013: 18; Cohen 1983: 1-12; Stol 2011: 388-399; Parys 2014: 23). A variant of one of these remedies (potion/enema) was also included in BAM 579 iv 1-11 (= STOMACH 5), as a potion for "internal" illness (see Cadelli 2000: 265ff.; Scurlock 2014a: 498f. text 2.9.4).

A Neo-Assyrian excerpt tablet from Assur (Scheil 1918: 75-80, designated as 32nd nishu, Hunger 1968: 70 No. 200) contains recipes to treat animal bites on the obverse, and two fragmentary remedies on the reverse, which are similar to the treatments for horse colic in BAM 159 (read in rev. 8: [a]-na ANŠE'.KUR.RA ša qíd-hi DAB-su SIG₅-iq "it is good for a horse that is seized by qidhu(?)"; cf. Stol 2011: 401; CAD Q 251). Note further the fragment of the two-column Assur tablet BAM 309 i' 4, which mentions "[...] of the horse" in an unclear context (Stol 2011: 402). From outside central Mes-

⁸⁹ For a further discussion of female "semen" in Mesopotamian gynaecology, see Steinert 2017b. Regarding the connection between genital discharge and sorcery note also BAM 237 iv 29, where the discharge is designated as "fluid; water" (mû; Scurlock 2014a: 577; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 36; for the terminology cf. also Steinert 2013): DIŠ MUNUS Ú.HI.A ze-ru-te šu-ku-ul A.MEŠ ina ŠÀ GAL_a.LA-šá ma-gal DU-ku "If a woman has been given 'drugs of hatred' to eat (and) much fluid flows from her vagina".

opotamia, a few texts with treatments for horses have also been preserved in the Ugaritic language, dating to the 13th century BCE (Pardee 1985: 73-75; Loretz 2011: 179ff.). Drugs for the treatment of animal diseases also occur in handbooks of materia medica, see e.g. CT 14, 41 (Rm. 362): 1-5, a fragment with a section on plants for horse colic ([Ú ki-i]s ŠÀ šá ANŠE.KUR.R[A], Stol 2011: 393). The series Šammu šikinšu (STT 93 obv. 35'-37' // KADP No. 33 rev. 2'-4', Stadhouders 2011: 8 Text I § 15', 26f. Text III § 11; Stol 2011: 400) describes a plant lost in the lacuna, which is good for the same illness, including a short instruction similar to BAM 159 v 36.

Comparing these texts with attestations for rituals or incantations with a corresponding purpose in the corpus of the \bar{a} sipu, a catalogue of incantation incipits from the Assur library N4 has to be mentioned (VAT 13723+ iv 7; Geller 2000a: 230f.), which cites the entry 'ÉN anše'-k[ur-ra] sikil-e-dè "Incantation: In order to purify the horse(s)", which seems to designate the incipit of a spell, but may have to be regarded as a descriptive rubric. Thus, in the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44: 24 //) we find a very similar entry used as a rubric for a collection of rituals/incantations "to purify the stall(s) of cattle, flocks and horse(s)" (TÙR ÁB.GU₄.HI.A U₈.UDU.HI.A ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DÈ (cf. Geller *infra*, p. 299).

Textual evidence for a ceremony "to purify the horse pen", which may have been part of a larger text group referred to in the Exorcist's Manual, is found in the Middle Assyrian tablet KAR 91 from Assur (written by the royal exorcist Rībātu), duplicated in the 1st millennium fragments Sm. 1708 (4R² pl. 18 No. 2), CTN 4, 101 and VAT 11019 (Maul 2013). The Middle Assyrian manuscript indeed features the rubric KA.INIM.MA [É].TÙR ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DA.KÁM (KAR 91 obv. 25', rev. 9).

Among the Nineveh texts from Ashurbanipal's library are also examples of prophylactic and purificatory ceremonies to prevent epidemics among the horses and troops of the Assyrian army, which are designated by the specialists as a NAM.BÚR.BI "loosening ritual" and may possibly have been part of the NAM.BÚR.BI series at Nineveh (82-3-23, 1: 1f.; Caplice 1970: 118ff., Pl. III-IV; Maul 1994: 220: a-na di-'-hu šib-ti NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ a-na AN[ŠE.KUR.RA] u ÉRIN.HI.A LUGAL NU TE-e e-nu-ma NAM.BÚR.BI [te-ep-p]u-šú "So that di'u-disease, epidemic and plague do not come near to the king's horses and troops: when you perform the 'loosening ritual'"). For the disease terms, cf. also Wiggermann 1992: 95; Stol 2007a: 15ff. A related Babylonian tablet from the 1st millennium with a ritual/incantations against epidemic (NAM. ÚŠ.MEŠ/*mūtānū*), written by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, is BM 38126 (unpublished; courtesy I. L. Finkel and C. B. F. Walker). The tradition of the protective and apotropaic rituals for animals, especially the Sumerian incantations, very likely go back to the Old Babylonian period (Maul 2013: 20f.). Typical components of the ceremonies consist in the application of ointments to animals and pens, sprinkling of holy water, amulet charms and the use of a ritual substitute (goat).

A few other Sumerian and Akkadian incantations from the Old Babylonian period for animal diseases are preserved. YOS 11, 7 (van Dijk 1985: 21; Cunningham 1997: text 378; Foster 2005: 183; SEAL text 5.1.18.1) features a single Akkadian incantation for sheep affected by sikkatu-disease (rubric: ka-inim-ma udu gag-šub-ba, pox?). The Sumerian spell found in VAS 17, 32 (rev. 44-65) may likewise be directed against a disease of herd animals (van Dijk 1971: 11 no. 32; Cunningham 1997: text 256). YOS 11, 69 rev. 9'-15' is an Akkadian spell against the maškadu-disease, which has affected milk cows (van Dijk 1985: 45; Cunningham 1997: 112 text 401; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 10f.; SEAL text 5.1.15.3; Wasserman 2012; the tablet also includes spells against rodents and enemies). Cf. also YOS 11, 14 (Foster 2005: 182; SEAL text 5.1.15.2) and A. 663: 8-15 (Collins 1999: 234f.; SEAL text 5.1.15.1) for other maškadu-spells mentioning animals as transmitters of the disease (cf. Wasserman 2012). An Old Babylonian bilingual composition (De Genouillac 1925: pl. XX C 1; Lambert 1991: 415-419; Geller 2002b; Foster 2005: 198; SEAL text 5.1.10) about a sick bleating goat can be regarded as a parody of a Sumerian incantation.

123-125) AMC lines 123-124 are parallel to line 58 (summary for PART 1), giving the total of tablets registered in PART 2 of the catalogue. The following ruled-off line 125 provides the grand total of tablets registered in both parts of the AMC. The spacing between the partially visible signs NIGIN and the number 38 at the beginning of line 123 allows for a higher total, although the preserved subtotals of the sections in AMC PART 2 suggest that AMC PART 1 consisted of a considerably higher number of tablets. At least three sections in PART 2 are formed by only one tablet. Line 123 repeats the incipit of the first section of AMC PART 2 (= SKIN Tablet 1), with slightly varying spelling, which thus functions as a series title for the latter part of the therapeutic corpus. For discussion of the incipit see commentary to AMC line 59.

The phrase sadīrū ša SUR.GIBIL sabtū has been restored in AMC lines 124 and 125 according to line 58, speaking of "sections" that "have been edited". The phrase is understood here as an expression describing the redaction processes that have led to the text corpus outlined in the catalogue, consisting in the creation a textual order (series) and corpus structure. Contents of the corpus were grouped in sections, based on a thematic order, and a fixed sequence of these

sections was established. The term $sad\bar{t}ru$ (also "line; row, sequence", from $sad\bar{t}ru$ "to do regularly; to do little by little; to set in a row") often stands for a ruled-off section on a tablet (CAD S 18 sub 2b), but in catalogues such as AMC and the $Sakikk\hat{u}$ catalogue (CTN 4, 71 //), paired with the phrase SUR.GIBIL $sab\bar{t}u$, $sad\bar{t}ru$ refers to longer text sections of a larger composition, which can consist of multiple tablets arranged in a sequence, and which are thematically coherent. In the $Sakikk\hat{u}$ catalogue, the phrase $sad\bar{t}r\bar{u}$ (sa) SUR.GIBIL $sabt\bar{u}$ is likewise found as an editorial note in the ruled-off summaries following the incipits of two sections of the series (Ms. A 19, 31, see Schmidtchen $sad\bar{t}ru$ see also the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert $sad\bar{t}ru$ see also the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert $sad\bar{t}ru$ see also the contributions of Geller, Schmidtchen and Steinert $sad\bar{t}ru$ see a

The phrase SUR.GIBIL(= za-ra-a) sabātu has been understood as an idiomatic phrase and translated attributing meanings ranging between "to undertake a revised edition/new text", "to produce an (authorized) edition", but also "to undergo serialisation", "to create a text series" (cf. CAD Z 70; Kinnier Wilson 1956: 138; Lieberman 1990: 333 n. 182; Stol 2007b: 241f.; Heeßel 2000: 106; Heeßel 2010b: 142f.; Heeßel 2011: 194; Lambert 2005: xvii and xix n. 10; Frahm 2011: 328; Wee 2015: 251ff.). It has been recognized that the expression applies a textile metaphor of weaving or threading to describe processes of "textualisation" (see especially Stol 2007b: 241f.; Frahm 2011: 328; Wee 2015: 253f.). The equation $SUR.GIBIL = zar\hat{u}$ is not attested in lexical lists, but suggested from the usage of either SUR.GIBIL or $zar\hat{u}$ with $sab\bar{u}$ in identical contexts. The word zarû is probably derived from a Sumerian loanword /zara/, which is equated with tamû "to spin" (MSL 14, 250: 82; CAD Z 70; CAD T 45; cf. also Sumerian sur, meaning "to spin; to weave"). Alternatively, zarû may have to be connected with zâru "to twist" (to thread a rope); others prefer the reading sa-ra-a and have suggested Semitic cognates (cf. Wee 2015: 254; for zarâ see also Geller and Steinert in this volume). Most discussions of SUR.GIBIL/ zarâ şabātu refer to the Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial note in the Sakikkû catalogue, which describes that before his revision of the diagnostic texts leading to a serial arrangement following the principle "from the top of the head to the toe(s)", these texts were never edited (*ša ultu ulla* SUR.GIBIL *lā sabtū*) and they were "like tangled threads" (GIN, GU.MEŠ GIL. MEŠ), i.e. with no clear order or arrangement (Ms. A 51ff. // B 18'ff.), see Schmidtchen infra, pp. 316-317). Thus, Esagilkīn-apli's editorial activities are described as a "(new) weaving together" (SUR.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-ma), through which a consistent "compilation" (riksu, "a bundle bound together by a structure") was created (Ms. A 62, 65f. // B 24', 26'; cf. Wee 2015: 253f.). That the phrase SUR.GIBIL sabātu represents a process of "canonisation", whereby "a standard version" of a text or composition is produced (Finkel 1988: 150), is a matter of debate and remains a critical issue in the light of the textual evidence regarding the development of text series in the late 2nd and 1st millennium BCE concomitant with varying local traditions (cf. the contributions of Geller, Rochberg, Schmidtchen and Steinert in this volume).

126-129) The first line of the AMC colophon has been freely restored. That the scribe was copying an older *Vorlage* is implied by the annotation *he-pí* "broken" in line 83. The colophon was apparently written when the tablet was already quite dry, and especially the signs in line 127 appear shallow and faint. It has thus not been possible to identify the fragmentary name of the scribe. The first halfway visible sign in this line may be UŠ, which would form the last element in the scribe's name, followed by LÚ and what looks like an erased sign (another LÚ?), followed by A.ZU TUR "young physician". However, Böck (2015: 31 n. 68) sees an erased MAŠ.MAŠ instead. This would mean that the scribe had inscribed his own professional title wrongly by mistake. The interpretation of a corrected dittography is preferred here.

Line 128 contained the name of the scribe's father, now lost, but his professional title, $\check{s}ang\hat{u}$ -priest of the goddess Baba (Gula) at Assur, can be read with confidence. A few descendents of $\check{s}ang\hat{u}$ -priests of Baba are known from the Neo-Assyrian period. Other texts written by an $as\hat{u}$ from Assur are likewise known, but none of them can be identified with the scribe of the AMC (see e.g. BAM 1, Hunger 1968: No. 234). Note KAL 2, 9, an early Neo-Assyrian tablet with an anti-witchcraft text, written by [...]-Gula, an apprentice and young physician ('\(^{\text{I\u03c4}}\)\(^{\text{I\u03c4}}\)\(^{\text{A}}\)A.ZU'\(^{\text{A}}a-g[a-a\tilde{s}-gu-u]\), who was a descendent of diviners employed as $\check{s}ang\hat{u}$ of the Baba temple (Schwemer 2007b: 36f. rev. 16'ff.). A $\check{s}ang\hat{u}$ of

Baba known by name is Gula-zēra-ibni, who is identified as the father of the scribe Baba-aha-iddina in the colophons of two manuscripts of the Erra Epic from Assur (Menzel 1981: 201f. Nr. 28 with n. 2793; Hunger 1968: no. 238; Weszeli 1999: 430b). Cf. also BAM 148 rev. 29'ff. (Hunger 1968: No. 222; Bácskay 2018: 152, 154).

For šangû-priests of Baba in colophons of the Middle Assyrian period, cf. KAL 1, no. 6, written by a descendent of a šangû-priest of Baba (Heeßel 2007b: 28 rev. vi 2'ff.). Note also among the medical texts BAM 36 (a Middle Assyrian fragment of a "series" on the lungs) with a fragmentary colophon mentioning a $\check{s}ang\hat{u}([\tilde{h}]^{r}\dot{E}^{r}.MA\check{S}) \,^{d}Ba-ba_{6}\,\check{s}\check{a}\,^{uru}BAL$. TIL[ki] (Hunger 1968: No. 242).

The formula in AMC line 129 has been restored following corresponding pious phrases in 1st millennium BCE colophons (see e.g. Hunger 1968: No. 246: 10). The choice of Gula in the formula corresponds with the profession of the scribe (asû). For the use of similar formulae in the colophons of medical texts, see e.g. BAM 148 rev. 33' (Hunger 1968: No. 222 and passim).

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1.4 Textual Sources to the Therapeutic Series in AMC

- (S) = Series tablet (*Nineveh Medical Compendium* and other related series)
- (F) = Fragment
- (E) = Excerpt/extract tablet (including extract series)
- (P) = Parallel (for a cited AMC incipit or for passages of a series tablet)
- (C) = Collection ("Sammeltafel")

This table lists only a selection of sources; for further material see the commentary to AMC.

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
PART 1					
CRANIUM 1	BAM 480 (S) BAM 4 (F) BAM 481 (P) AMT 5/3 (F)	BAM 3 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E) BAM 12 (P) (Middle Assyrian)	CTN 4, 123 (F/P)		Tablet in private collection (S?/P) (court. H. Stadhoud ers)
CRANIUM 2	BAM 482 (S) AMT 15/2(+) 19/1+20/1 (S) K. 19766 (S?)	BAM 3 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E) BAM 9 (E)			BAM 11 (P) (Middle Babylonian) IM 132670 (C/P)
CRANIUM 3	AMT 102/1-105/1+ CT 23, 49 (S) K. 7642 (S) K. 7834 (S) K. 8090 (S) BAM 485 (S)	BAM 9 (E) Jastrow 1913 (E)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
CRANIUM 4	CT 23, 50 (S) BAM 494? (S?/P)	BAM 3 (E)			
CRANIUM 5	BAM 494?		,		
adi-section		BAM 33 (E)			
		AO 11447 (E)			
EYES 1	BAM 510 (S)	BAM 18 (E)		STT 279 (E)	IM 132670 (P)
	BAM 513 (S)	BAM 19 (F)			BM 54641+ (P)
	BAM 514 (S)	BAM 20 (E)			
EYES 2	BAM 515 (S)	BAM 15 (F)			IM 132670 (P)
		BAM 20 (E)			BM 54641+ (P)
		BAM 22 (E)			
		BAM 23 (E)			
EYES 3	BAM 516				IM 132670 (P)
					BM 54641+ (P)
					SpTU 2, 50 (P)
EYES 4	?				
EARS 1	BAM 503 (S?)	AO 11447 (E/P)	CTN 4, 113	(P) STT 281 (P)	IM 132670 (P)
	BAM 506 (E)	AO 6774 (P)			
	BAM 507 (F)	BAM 3 (E/P)			
	BAM 508 (C)	BAM 155 (C)			
	CT 51, 199 (C)				
NECK 1	AMT 97/4 (E)				
NECK 2	AMT 97/6 (S)	BAM 52 (E)			
	AMT 94/6 (F)	BAM 155 (C)			
	AMT 81/7 (F)	BAM 221 (C)			
		BAM 225 (F)			
NECK 3	BAM 473 (S)	BAM 209 (S) (//			
	BAM 474 (S)	BAM 473 i/iv)			
NECK 4	BAM 475 (S)	(BAM 338)		(STT 137-139)	
		= Muššu'u IV (P)		= Muššu'u IV (P)	
NECK 5	AMT 77/1-	BAM 28 (P)			SpTU 1, 46 (S)
	AMT 79/1 +BAM 523 (S)	BAM 132-136			OECT 11, No. 72-74
	AMT 23/2 (P)	BAM 138 (P)			(P)
	BAM 533 (P)				DAM 200 (D)
	BAM 534 (P)				BAM 398 (P) (Middle Babylonian)
NECK 6	?				
NOSEBLEED	BAM 530 (S?)				
	BAM 524 (S?)				
	BAM 525 (F)				
	BAM 526 (F)				
	BAM 529 (F)				
TEETH 1	BAM 538 (S)	Cf. BAM 26 (F)			
	BAM 541-542 (F)	BAM 27 (F)			
TEETH 2	BAM 543 (S)	BAM 159 (C)	CTN 4, 140	(P) STT 279 (E)	SpTU 1, 44 (S/P)
	AMT 54/3 (P)	BAM 28 (P)	-		IM 132670 (P)
		BAM 29 (P)			• •

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
BRONCHIA 1	BAM 547 (S)	Cf. BAM 36 (MA fragment of a "lung series") BAM 37 (MA) BAM 40-41 (F) BAM 43-44 (F/E?) BAM 45 (F) BAM 47 (F)			SpTU 1, 44 (S/P)
BRONCHIA 2	AMT 48/4 (S)				
BRONCHIA 3	AMT 49/4+ (S)	BAM 39 (F)			
BRONCHIA 4	AMT 49/1(+) AMT 51/5 (S) AMT 45/4 (S)				
BRONCHIA 5	BAM 548 (S) BAM 549 (S) BAM 550 (S) BAM 551 (S) BAM 552 (S) AMT 80/1+81/1 (S) BAM 567 (F)				
BRONCHIA 6	BAM 554-556 (S?) AMT 51/2+AMT 52/9? (F)	BAM 42 (E? / P) BAM 44 (E? / P)			IM 132670 (P) BM 78963 (E)
STOMACH 1	BAM 574+577 (S) BAM 573(S?) BAM 576 (S?)	BAM 48-50 (F/E) BAM 52 (E)		STT 252 (E)	
STOMACH 2	BAM 575 (S)	BAM 49 (E/P) BAM 51-52 (E/P) BAM 54 (E/P) BAM 55-59 (E/P)			
STOMACH 3	BAM 578 (S)	BAM 52 (E) BAM 60 (F) BAM 62 (F) BAM 64 (F) BAM 72 (F) BAM 92 (S/C?)			
STOMACH 4	AMT 14/7 (S/F) AMT 44/6+45/1 (S/F) AMT 78/3+45/6+ 48/3+48/1+23/5 (S?)	BAM 66 (MA) BAM 174 (E)			
STOMACH 5	BAM 579 (S)	BAM 50 (E) BAM 52 (E) BAM 54 (E) BAM 67-70 (E/F)			
EPIGASTRIUM 1	AMT 43/6 (S)				
EPIGASTRIUM 2	?				
EPIGASTRIUM 3	?			-	
EPIGASTRIUM 4	?	BAM 156 (E/C)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
ABDOMEN	Cf. BAM 449 (P) Cf. K. 3661 (+) AMT 44/7 (= EPIGASTRIU 8 at Nineveh)	м			
KIDNEY 1	AMT 66/11? (F)	Cf. BAM 111 (C) BAM 112 (MA, C) BAM 113 (F) BAM 114-118 (E)			Cf. BAM 396 (Middle Babylonia
KIDNEY 2	AMT 31/1+ (S?)				
KIDNEY 3	AMT 58/3+ 62/1+K. 2960 (S) AMT 82/1+ (E?)				
ANUS 1	AMT 43/1(+) (S)	Cf. BAM 95 (E) BAM 96 (C) BAM 99 (E) BAM 101 (E) BAM 102 (E) BAM 104 (E) BAM 108 (E) BM 103386 (S?)		Cf. STT 100+100A	
ANUS 2	AMT 43/2 (S)				
ANUS 3	AMT 40/5 (S)				
ANUS 4	AMT 47/1+ (S) AMT 43/5 (S?)				
ANUS 5	AMT 58/2 (S)				
HAMSTRING 1	AMT 29/2+91/1 (E?) AMT 37/5+92/4+ 92/9 (P/S?)	Cf. BAM 81 (E) Cf. BAM 130 (E)			
HAMSTRING 2	AMT 42/6 (S) AMT 32/5+43/3+ 51/4 (S) CT 23, 1-4 (E?) Cf. CT 23, 5-14 (?)	BAM 124 (P) BAM 131 (E?) Cf. BAM 128-129			
HAMSTRING 3	?				
HAMSTRING 4	AMT 73/1-75/1+15/3+ 18/5+32/2+ 100/3 (S?)	BAM 124 (P)			
PART 2					
SKIN	BAM 580 (S?) AMT 52/3 (?) BAM 581-583 (F) BAM 584 (S?)	BAM 32 (E) BAM 35 (E) BM 108872+ (?)	CTN 4, 116 (?)		BM 41282+ (Babylon) BAM 409 (Uruk)
HAZARDS	AMT 92/7? (F/E)	BAM 42 (E?) Scheil 1918: 76 (E)			

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
EVIL POWERS	K. 2993 (P) Sm. 1343 (P)				Jursa 1997: No. 58 (P) SpTU 1, 58 (P) CBS 14161 AO 17622 (P)
D. ANGER 1	AMT 40/2+ K. 9085 (P) K. 8907 (P)	BAM 315 (P) BAM 316 (P) BAM 314 (P) KAL 4, 35 (P)		STT 95+295 (P)	
D. ANGER 2	?	BAM 316 (P) KAR 74 (E/P)		STT 95+295 (P)	BM 64174 (P)
D. ANGER 3	Sm. 925 (P) K. 7641 (P)	LKA 26 (P) LKA 27+KAR 244+VAT 11486 (P) KAR 39+45+VAT 9147 (P)			
D. ANGER 4	BAM 446 (E/P)				SpTU 2, 22+ (P)
ORACLES 1-2		LKA 93 (P) LKA 137 (P)		STT 73 (P)	
MENTAL I. 1	BAM 444 (+BAM 443) (P) BAM 445 (P)	KAR 92 (E/P) BAM 317 (P) BAM 316 (P) BAM 315 (P) BAM 311 (E/P)			
MENTAL I. 2	K. 3628+4009+ Sm. 1315+ K.19939 (P)	BAM 311 (P)	CTN 4, 115 (P) CTN 4, 159 (P)	STT 57+263 (P) STT 58 (P) STT 286 (P)	BM 62397 (P) AO 17613 (P) SpTU 1, 48 (S) LKU 32 (P)
MENTAL I. 3	?				
POTENCY	K. 9451+ Sm. 961+K. 11676+ Sm. 818 (P) AMT 66/1 (P) AMT 65/7 (P) K. 2499+ (P)	KAR 70 (P)		STT 280 (P)	SpTU 1, 9 (P) SpTU 1, 10(?)
SEX	AMT 65/7 (P) Cf. K. 8698 AMT 62/3 (P)	Cf. LKA 95 LKA 101 LKA 102 KAR 61 (P) KAR 69 (P) Tisserant 17 (P)	_	Cf. STT 280 (P) STT 257 (P) STT 249 (P)	
PREGNANCY 1	?				Cf. BM 42327+ (E/P)
PREGNANCY 2	?				SpTU 3, 84 (P)
PREGNANCY 3	?	LKA 9 (P) KAL 2, 41 (P) Cf. BAM 237 (?)		Cf. STT 241	BM 42327+ (E/P) BM 51246+ (E/P) SpTU 3, 84 (P) TCL 6, 49 (P)

SECTION	Nineveh	Assur	Nimrud	Sultantepe	Babylonia
BIRTH 1	AMT 66/4 (P) K. 11956+ 14200 (E/P) AMT 67/1 (P) (+) K. 8210 (+) K. 3485+10443 (+) K. 18482	BAM 248 (P)			
BIRTH 2	?				YOS 11, 86 (P) BM 115745 (P) MS 3067 (P) MS 3387 (P) (Old Babylonian)
BIRTH 3	AMT 67/1 (P) (+) K. 8210 (+) K. 3485+ 10443 (+) K. 18482 AMT 65/2+ K. 11752 (P)	BAM 248 (P) BAM 249 (P)		Cf. STT 98 STT 284	BM 38624+ (P)
BIRTH 4	?				BM 51246+ (P)
BIRTH 5	?	Cf. BAM 240 (P) Coll. Ligabue (Lamber 1969)	rt		Cf. BM 38624+ (P) BAM 408 (?) SpTU 4, 153
BIRTH 6	?	BAM 235-236 (P)			Cf. BM 38624+ (P) BM 54587+ 73802 (P)
BIRTH 7	?				
BIRTH 8	?				
VET	?	Cf. BAM 159 (C/P) Scheil 1918: 76 (E/P)			