
Part II: **Therapeutic Texts**

II.1 Selected Texts from the Second Millennium BCE

The four texts presented in this chapter have been selected as examples representing therapies for women's health matters from the second millennium BCE and as precursors to the healing traditions that are much more amply attested in the corpus of the first millennium BCE medical cuneiform texts edited in this book. Two of the texts (II.1.1–II.1.2) date to the Old Babylonian period, the other two to the second half of the second millennium BCE. Of the former sources, text II.1.1 (BM 97093) has not been edited before. The two Old Babylonian tablets are witness to the flourishing tradition of Sumerian and Akkadian birth incantations known from that period and from earlier centuries (see e.g. Cunningham 1997, 40–43, 69–75, 96–97, 131–159; Rudik 2011, 318–331 FM 56–58; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 1–14).²²⁴ Texts II.1.3 and II.1.4 – the former written in a Middle Babylonian, the latter in a Middle Assyrian script – may both stem from Assur. Middle Babylonian scholarly texts including magico-medical tablets were imported to Assur following Tukulti-Ninurta's I conquest of Babylon (late 13th century BCE) and have been attributed to the so-called library of Tiglath-pileser I (Library M2), which incorporated texts that can be dated between the 13th and the 11th centuries BCE.²²⁵

Texts II.1.3 and II.1.4 display some general features that resemble first millennium BCE women's healthcare texts. Thus, they contain a mixture of incantations and medical prescriptions; they also contain several passages that duplicate or form close parallels to sources from the first millennium BCE. The medical prescriptions preserved in these two texts deal with a range of female conditions typical for texts from later periods (from fertility to delivery and other specific complaints). Moreover, while text II.1.4 can be described as an excerpt, text II.1.3 may present a compendium concerned exclusively with women's health inscribed on a two-column collective tablet (which is also the format of tablets of the later, serialized *Nineveh Medical Compendium* (also known as *Nineveh Medical Encyclopedia*) from the 7th century BCE (Panayotov 2018; Steinert et al. 2018). Thus, text II.1.3 is the oldest example of such a specialised gynaecological compendium attested from Mesopotamia known at present, reflecting processes of development and formation in ancient Mesopotamian medical literature that took place in the centuries of the Late Bronze Age.

II.1.1 BM 97093: An Old Babylonian Tablet with Birth Incantations

This Old Babylonian tablet contains two hitherto unknown birth incantations. The first of them is a Sumerian composition that shares similar passages with several other Old Babylonian birth incantations that begin with the phrase *munus ù-tu-da-a-ni* “the woman giving birth” and focus on the metaphor of the woman in delivery as a fully laden boat floating on water on its way to the quay (of successful birth). The incantation has the well-known format that includes the dialogue between the gods Enki and Asalluḫi (Falkenstein 1931b, 44–67; Rudik 2011, 46–63; George 2016, 2–4). A version of the spell with the incipit *munus ù-tu-da-a-ni* (with an interlinear Akkadian translation) was transmitted to the first millennium BCE and included in the so-called Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium (see text D.1.1). The Sumerian incantation in BM 97093 is classified with the rubric *šipat mušapšiqtim* “spell for a woman who has difficulty in delivery”, followed by an Akkadian prescription that is reminiscent of the intervention recommended by Enki within the spell (in the dialogue with his son). The prescription also recurs in its essence in the Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium (see Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10; Steinert 2017a, 336–339; *infra* text D.1.1 for discussion). The remedy is rather symbolic: a hollow reed is filled with oil over which the spell was recited and then broken above the woman's belly or umbilical area, thus releasing the oil. This performative action supposedly symbolised an easy and successful delivery of the baby released through the woman's narrow birth canal.

The Sumerian incantation in BM 97093 displays many unorthographic phonetic spellings that at times are difficult to understand. The use of such non-standard (syllabic) writings has been described as a feature of Old Babylonian Sumerian texts from the Northern Babylonian tradition.²²⁶ Parallels from other contemporary tablets containing variations of the spell *munus ù-tu-da-a-ni* are at times helpful to elucidate the phonetic spellings in BM 97093 (see the notes below).

²²⁴ A second incantation genre already attested in the third and second millennium BCE are spells to stop bleeding (during pregnancy or delivery), see Krebernink 1984, No. 37; Finkel 1980; Scurlock 1991; Rudik 2011, 332–336 FM 59.

²²⁵ Weidner 1952–1953, *AfO* 16, 197–215; Pedersén 1985, 31–42 Library M2; Zomer 2018, 39.

²²⁶ As seen, for example, in the incantations from Tell Haddad published by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993, 2002; Cavigneaux 1995a, 1995b; see also George 2016 for Old Babylonian incantations in the Schøyen Collection and Viano 2016.

From the Akkadian incantation on the reverse of BM 97093 unfortunately only the first lines are preserved. At the beginning of this composition the baby in the womb is addressed as “fish roe of the sea” and as a “creature of the flood”. This conceptualisation of the foetus *in utero* as a marine creature is also encountered in other Old Babylonian birth incantations (Wasserman and Zomer 2022, 51, 92 No. 14: 26, on the term *dādu*, an aquatic animal with a shell). The appended colophon provides a date formula giving the year when the tablet was written as year 35 of the Babylonian king Ammiditana (ca. 1649 BCE).

List of Manuscripts

Siglum	Museum Number	Copy	Collation	Format; Ductus	Provenience
a	BM 97093 (1902-10-11, 147)	Pl. 4–5	Coll.	Single-column tablet in portrait format; 18th cent. BCE ²²⁷	Unknown

Overview

- i Sumerian birth incantation 1–27
a obv. 1–rev. 2
Akkadian prescription 28–30
a rev. 3–5
- ii Akkadian birth incantation 31–39'
a rev. 6–19
- iii Colophon 40'–44'
a rev. 20–u.e. 3

Previous Edition and Discussion

CDLI P527479 (without photo or transliteration)

British Museum Collection (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1902-1011-147)

Transliteration

- 1 a obv. 1 [munus du-da]-an-ni²²⁸ mi-ki a mi-ni'(IR)-ri
- 2 a obv. 2 [kù^dinann]a-ke₄ du-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri
- 3 a obv. 3 [munus d]u-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri
- 4 a obv. 4 [^dnin-hur]-saĝ-ĝá-ke₄ du-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri
- 5 a obv. 5 [m]á-gur₈ <gu>-ki gu-ki a-mi-íb-si
- 6 a obv. 6 [m]á še-em-ma-ak-ke₄ še-em-ma a-am-mi-íb-si
- 7 a obv. 7 [m]á^{ĝis}eren-na-ke₄^{ĝis}eren-na a-am-mi-íb-si
- 8 a obv. 8 [má]^{na4}za-gìn-na za-gìn-na a-am-mi-íb-si
- 9 a obv. 9 [xⁿ]^{a4?}ku²-ug nu-uz-zu za-gi-in nu-uz-zu
- 10 a obv. 10 [x x x x]x-dab-ba ag-ga-ab ú-ra gi-ba-a im-me-gi-bi

²²⁷ Measurements: ca. 4.5 x 7.5 x 1.5 cm.

²²⁸ The scribe uses several forms of the sign NI, writing it either without a vertical wedge, or with one/two verticals (see e.g. lines 1–4).

- 11 a obv. 11 [^dasal-lú-ḫi] igi-ni im-ma-an-zi a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra
- 12 a obv. 12 [x x x x x] é ba-ši-in-ku₄ gù mu-un-na-de-e
- 13 a obv. 13 [^den-ki . . . ^d]asal-lú-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
- 14 a obv. 14 [dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na-àm] nu-me-e-zu a-na-àm a-ra-ab-daḫ-ḫe-e
- 15 a obv. 15 [^dasal-lú-ḫi a]-na-àm nu-me-e-zu a-na-àm a-ra-ab-daḫ-ḫe-e
- 16 a obv. 16 [nig̃ i-zu-a]-ḡu₁₀ ù ze-e in-ga-ra-e-zu
- 17 a obv. 17 [x x ḡen-n]a² ^dasal-lú-ḫi
- 18 a obv. 18 [x x x x]x-bí-zu in-nu-zu
- 19 a obv. 19 x x [x x g]i sú-gu ba-an-du ap-pa-ar gi du-g[a]
- 20 a obv. 20 i 'nu-ub-da-a' i-nun nu-ub-da-a [x x]
- 21 a obv. 21 gal₄-la si-pa-ad-da ri-a si²-in²-da¹-x[x x]
- 22 a obv. 22 tu-ku-u[b]-[b]i ni-in-ta tu-ku-¹ub¹-b[i]
- 23 a obv. 23 tu-k[u]-[ub]-[b]i mu-nu-ús x[.]
- 24 a lo. e. 1 tu-ku-ub-bi saḡ-lú-ti-la igi l[ú² x x x x]
- 25 a lo. e. 2 [mu-u]š²-gin₇ ḫu-us-ḫu-us-ta ù-me-e-¹ta²-¹dirig²
- 26 a rev. 1 [x]-eš-ta lú pa-na-gin₇ si-sá-¹e¹-[dè]
- 27 a rev. 2 [t]u₆¹[(K)A] é-n-[é-nu-ru]
- 28 a rev. 3 šī-pa-at mu-ša-ap-ši-iq-tim Ì.GIŠ la-x[x x x x]
- 29 a rev. 4 a-na ki-iš-ri ša GI ta-ša-ap-pa-ak-m[a e-li a-bu-un-na-ti-ša]
- 30 a rev. 5 ta-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ma mu-ša-ap-ši-iq-tum ¹i¹-[ša-al-la-am²]
-
- 31 a rev. 6 ni-iš-šu-la-at t[a-ma-a-tim (. . .)]
- 32 a rev. 7 bi-ni-it e-de-e-em bi-ni-it e-s[u-ur-ra-ak-ki-im]
- 33 a rev. 8 li-i[š-ša-l]i-la-am ki-ma MUŠ ka-r[a-ni-im²]
- 34 a rev. 9 li-l[i-id² x x x x] x a-na MUNUS ša x[x x x x]
- 35 a rev. 10 ka [.] x mu-¹ša¹-a[p-ši-iq-tum² . . .]
- 36 a rev. 11 x [.] ù x [.]
- 37 a rev. 12 [.] x [.]x
- Five lines lost*
- 38' a rev. 18 [.] x
- 39' a rev. 19 [.]x x-im

Colophon:

40'	a rev. 20	[iti] 'u ₄ ¹ 15.kam
41'	a u. e. 1	'mu ¹ a[m-mi]-di-ta-na <<DI>>
42'	a u. e. 2	bàd-am-mi-di-ta-na ^{ki}
43'	a u. e. 3	gú 'íd ¹ -me-en-líl-lá-ke ₄ bí-in-dù-a

Bound Transcription and Translation¹[munus du-da]-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni¹(IR)-ri²[kù^dinann]a-ke₄ du-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri³[munus d]u-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri⁴[^dnin-hur]-saĝ-ĝá-ke₄ du-da-an-ni mi-ki a mi-ni-ri⁵[m]á-gur₈ <gu>-ki gu-ki a-mi-íb-si⁶[m]á še-em-ma-ak-ke₄ še-em-ma a-am-mi-íb-si⁷[m]á^{ĝiš}eren-na-ke₄^{ĝiš}eren-na a-am-mi-íb-si⁸[má]^{na4}za-gìn-na za-gìn-na a-am-mi-íb-si⁹[(x) ⁿ]a⁴²ku²-ug nu-uz-zu za-gi-in nu-uz-zu¹⁰[x x x x]x-dab-ba ag-ga-ab ú-ra gi-ba-a im-me-gi-bi¹¹[^dasal-lú-ĥi] igi-ni im-ma-an-zi a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra¹²[x x x x x] é ba-ši-in-ku₄ gù mu-un-na-de-e¹³[^den-ki² (. .) ^d]asal-lú-ĥi mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄¹⁴[dumu-ĝu₁₀ a-na-àm] nu-me-e-zu a-na-àm a-ra-ab-daĥ-
ĥe-e¹⁵[^dasal-lú-ĥi a]na-àm nu-me-e-zu a-na-àm a-ra-ab-daĥ-
ĥe-e¹⁶[níĝ i-zu-a]-ĝu₁₀ ù ze-e in-ga-ra-e-zu¹⁷[x x ĝen-n]a² ^dasal-lú-ĥi¹⁸[x x x x]x-bí-zu in-nu-zu¹⁹x x [x x g]lì sú-gu ba-an-du ap-pa-ar gi du-g[a]²⁰i 'nu-ub-da-a¹ i-nun nu-ub-da-a [x x]²¹gal₄-la si-pa-ad-da ri-a si-in¹²-da-x [x x]²²tu-ku-u[b]-[b]i ni-in-ta tu-ku-'ub¹-b[i]²³tu-ku-[ub]-[b]i mu-nu-ús x[.]²⁴tu-ku-ub-bi saĝ-lú-ti-la igi l[ú²-]²⁵[mu-u]š²-gin₇ ĥu-us-ĥu-us-ta ù-me-e-'ta²¹-'dirig²¹²⁶[x]-eš-ta lú pa-na-gin₇ si-sá-'e¹-[dè]²⁷[t]u₆¹[(K)A] én-[é-nu-ru]¹ “[The woman giv]ing [birth] steers the boat (through) the water,² [holy Inan]na giving birth steers the boat (through) the water.³ [The woman] giving birth steers the boat (through) the water,⁴ [Ninĥur]saĝa giving birth steers the boat (through) the water.⁵ On a barge (carrying) carnelian(?) she has loaded carnelian.⁶ On a boat (carrying) aromatics she has loaded aromatics.⁷ On a boat (carrying) cedar (wood) she has loaded cedar.⁸ On a boat (carrying) lapis lazuli she has loaded lapis lazuli.⁹ (Yet) she does not know (whether it is) carnelian, (yet) does not know (whether it is) lapis lazuli.¹⁰ [. . .] . . . its (i.e. the baby's) skull(?) being stuck, lying cross-wise in the *loins*, it causes her to have difficulty (delivering the baby).¹¹ [Asalluĥi] saw her (there). To Enki, his father,¹² [. . .] he entered the house, telling him (the matter).¹³ [Enki (. . .)] answered his son Asalluĥi:¹⁴ “[My son, what is there that] you do not know? What further can I add for you?¹⁵ [Asalluĥi, what is there] that you do not know? What further can I add for you?¹⁶ [What] I [know], you also know,¹⁷ [. . . co]me, (my son) Asalluĥi,¹⁸ [. . .] . . . ,¹⁹ [. . . take] a little reed from the marsh, the marsh of the sweet reed,²⁰ . . . oil, . . . ghee [. . .],²¹ poured on the vulva of the hoopoe-bird(?), . . . [. . .]!²² If (the baby) is male, if [.].²³ If (the baby) is female, [.].²⁴ If it is a *stillborn child*(?), [. . .] the face of a human being(?) –²⁵ when (the baby) has slid from (between) the *thighs* like a [sn]ake(?),²⁶ [. . .] . . . the human being *shall* be straight(?) like a bow (string?)!”²⁷ Formula of an [Enuru]-incantation.

²⁸ *šipat mušapšiqtim šamnam . . . [.]*
²⁹ *ana kišri ša qanīm tašappak-m[a eli abunnatīša]*
³⁰ *taḥaššaš-ma mušapšiqtim i[šallam]*

²⁸ Incantation for a woman who has difficulty during delivery. ²⁹ You pour ²⁸ . . . oil [.] ²⁹ into a reed node. Then ³⁰ you break it ²⁹ [above her navel] ³⁰ and the woman who has difficulty in delivery will [be alright].

³¹ *niššulāt t[āmātim (. .)]*
³² *binīt edēm binīt es[urakkim]*
³³ *li[ššal]ilam kīma šerri kar[ānim]*
³⁴ *lil[id(?)] ana sinništīm ša . . . [. .]*
³⁵ *. . . [.] muš[apšiqtim(?) . .]*
^{36–37} *only traces preserved*
Five lines lost
^{38–39} *only traces preserved*

³¹ “Fish roe of the [(. .)] s[ea],
³² creature of the flood, creature of sub[terranean waters]!
³³ May it glide out like a vi[ne] snake!
³⁴ May she give [birth(?), *may it* . . .] for the woman who . . . [. .],
³⁵ . . . [.], the [woman] having [difficulty in delivery(?) . .]
^{36–37} *too fragmentary for translation*
Five lines lost
^{38–39} *only traces preserved*

Colophon:

⁴⁰ [iti . . .] ‘u₄ 15.kam ⁴¹ ‘mu¹ a[m]-m[i]-di-ta-na <<KI>> ⁴² ⁴⁰ (Written on) the fifteenth day of [month . . .] ⁴¹ (in) the year (in which) Ammiditana ⁴³ built ⁴² Dūr-Ammiditana ⁴³ on the banks of the Me-Enlil-canal.

Notes

Lines 1–4: The phrase du-da-an-ni stands for (ù)-tu-da-ni, as parallels from similar Old Babylonian birth incantations confirm:

AUAM 73.3094: 2–10 (Cohen 1976, *RA* 70, 135–139; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10):

[**munus du-d[a]-a-ni** ma-gi₄ a mi-ni-ri: [. .] *ina a-ta-al-lu-ki-ša ki-ma e-le-pi i-te-i-il*

“The woman giving birth steers the boat through the water (Sum.); [the woman], in walking about, was *wobbling like a boat* (Akk.).”

E 47.190: 1–3 (G. Farber 1984, *JNES* 43, 313ff.):

munus du-da-an-ni má-ak-ki am-ni-ir-r[i] / kù ^dinanna-ki má-ak-ki am-ni-ir-r[i] / ^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-a-ak-ki má-ak-ki am-i-ni-ir-ri

“The woman giving birth steers the boat through the water. Pure Inanna giving birth steers the boat through the water. Ninḥursaḡa giving birth steers the boat through the water.”

YOS 11, No. 85 obv. 4’–5’ (van Dijk 1975, 66; reconstructed from obv. 13’–15’):

⁴ [x x **munus ù-tud**]-‘a’-^[ni] má-gi₄ a bí-ir-ri] ⁵ an-[úr-ra⁷ munus ù-tu]d-a-ni ^{giš}r má-gi¹ ‘a’ [bí-ir-ri]

⁴ “[. . The woman giving] birth [*steers* the boat through the water]. ⁵ [(From) the hor]izon [the woman giving] birth [*steers*] the boat through the water.”

Notably, the Akkadian translation of AUAM 73.3094 interpreted the verb form du-da-a-ni as *atalluku* (Gtn-stem of *alāku*) “to walk about”.

The phrase mi-ki a mi-ni-ri can be compared with similar spellings, showing that má “boat” has become mi in BM 97093. The element -ki in mi-ki interchanges with (-ak)-ki (má-ak-ki) and -gi/gi₄ in the parallel texts. Van Dijk (1975, *OrNS* 44, 67 n. 41) understands ^{giš}má-gi₄ as “bateau destiné à transporter du roseau”; G. Farber (1984, *JNES* 43, 314) translates the corresponding má-ak-ki in E 47.190 as “Gi-boat”. The Akkadian translation in AUAM 73.3094, however, apparently understood the element -gi₄ as equative, rendered as *kīma* in the Akkadian interlinear translation (Cohen 1976, *RA* 70, 140 note on lines 2–9).

The incantation E 47.190: 1–3 is parallel to BM 97093: 1–4, equating the woman in labour with the goddesses Inanna and Ninḥursaḡa. BM 97093: 2 and 4 confirms that in the spellings ^dinanna-ki and ^dnin-ḥur-sag-a-ak-ki in E.47.190: 2–3 –ki stands for –ke₄.

As BM 97093 and AUAM 73.3094 show, am-ni-ir-ri and am-i-ni-ir-ri stand for a mi-ni-ri (see also G. Farber 1984, 315 note on lines 1–3; Cohen 1976, 140). The phrase má—ri means “to direct, steer a boat” (Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 851). In text II.1.1 and the similar incantations reviewed here (see also text D.1.1 lines 1ff.), the boat is the pregnant woman’s body; her “steering” of the boat signifies her agency in the process of labour (see Steinert 2017, 323–324).

Line 5: The sequence má-gur₈-ki could theoretically be interpreted as a deficient spelling of má-gur₈-gin₇ “like a barge”.²²⁹ However, the following word gu-ki is assumed to stand for gug “carnelian” (with directive case marker -e), because of the parallel [n]a^{4?}ku²-ug “carnelian” in line 9. Since the following lines 6–8 are formulated in a parallel manner, má-gur₈-ki in line 5 should probably be emended to má-gur₈ <gu>-ki “on a barge of carnelian”. The verbal form is parallel to lines 6–8 (a-<am>-mi-ib-si). For si “to fill, to become full” with directive case, see Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 897.

Lines 5–8: These lines equate the baby in the uterus with the precious cargo loaded onto a ship: in this incantation, these items are carnelian, lapis lazuli, aromatics and cedar. Variations of this passage are found in the following Old Babylonian incantations: YOS 11, No. 85 obv. 6’–7’, l. e. (van Dijk 1975, 66); E 47.190: 4–6 (G. Farber 1984, 313ff.); AUAM 73.3094 obv. 18–19 (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 136; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10); UM 29-15-367: 14 (van Dijk 1975, 53ff.); VS 17, No. 33: 13 (van Dijk 1975, 62–63).

Carnelian and lapis lazuli (red stone and blue stone) function as objects signaling the gender of the baby, see Bergmann 2008, 43–44 for discussion. The phrases in line 9 expressing the mother’s lack of knowledge whether she is expecting a girl or a boy also occur in the parallel birth incantations (e.g. YOS 11, No. 85: 9; van Dijk 1975, 66; AUAM 73.3094 obv. 20–21 (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 136; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10).

Line 10: The interpretation of this line is tentative. One expects here a brief description of the difficulties experienced by the woman in labour, e.g. about the baby being stuck in the birth canal. In this line of thought, the sequence ag-ga-ab may have to be read as aga-bi “its rear, back”, or perhaps better as ugu-bi “its head/skull”, referring to the baby (for /agu/ or /aga/ as variants of ugu “skull”, cf. Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 1102 s.v. ugu₆; ePSD2 s.v. ugu). The following ú-ra gi-ba-a may be a phonetic spelling for ú-ra gib-a “being blocked (lying crosswise) in the lap/loins (i.e. the birth canal)”. The verb gib “to lie across; to block” is presumably also indicated in the form im-me-gi-bi in line 10. Sumerian gib corresponds to Akkadian *parāku* “to lie crosswise” (Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 407–408), the latter of which is also found in Akkadian birth incantations. In these passages, *parāku* usually has the foetus as its subject, not the woman in labour, e.g. BAM 248 obv. i 57 // (text D.1.1 line 43): [LÚ.TUR] a-a ip-par-rik li-ša-a “[the ch]ild shall not lie athwart, may it come out!”; Sm. 157 + 1134 obv. 7 (text D.1.6): ‘GENNA’ šá ŠÀ-šá la i-pár-ri-ku i[ná² ŠÀ.TÙR-šá] “(so that) the child of her womb will not get stuck (lit. lie crosswise) i[n her womb(?)].”

Lines 13–16: For the classical format of the dialogue between Enki and Asalluḫi in Sumerian incantations, its many variations and (often corrupt) orthographies in Old Babylonian incantations, see Falkenstein 1931b, 44–67; Rudik 2011, 46–63; George 2016, CUSAS 32, 2–4. The Enki-Asalluḫi-dialogue is found, for example, the following birth incantations: UM 29-15-367: 16–36 // (van Dijk 1975, *OrNS* 44, 55; Cunningham 1997, 70–71); VS 17, 33: 14–15 (van Dijk 1975, *OrNS* 44, 63); YOS 11, No. 85: 11–20 (van Dijk 1975, *OrNS* 44, 66); E 47.190 obv. 8–10 (G. Farber 1984, 314); AUAM 73.3094: 24–41 (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 136–138; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10); JRL Box 24 E6+24: 5’–9’ (Wilcke 1973, *Afo* 24, 13–14).

Lines 19–21: In line 19, ap-pa-ar stands for ambar “marsh” (Akk. *appāru*). The “small reed from the marsh” is also encountered with a similar ritual procedure to promote labour in other birth incantations. In better understandable parallels of contemporary spells, a fatty substance is filled into the reed, which is then broken above the woman’s navel or umbilical area. In BM 97093, the marsh is called the “marsh of the sweet reed” (gi du-ga for gi du₁₀-ga) (see also BAM 248 quoted below); in other instances, it is called the “marsh of Eridu” (alluding to the god Enki):

AUAM 73.3094 rev. 42–53 (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 135–139; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10):

gi sú-ug bàn-da eri₄-du₁₀-ga šu [ù-me-ti] / qá-na-a ša sú-ug-bàn-da ša eri₄-du₁₀-ga i-na [le-qí-i]
ia-ab kù-ga ga-ra ab-ši-il-la-ma šà-ba [ù-me-ni-dub] / ša-ma-an li-it-tim el-le-tim li-iš-da-am [ina libbi²] šu-pu-uk
saḥar sila-lam₄-bi e-pé-er su-qí er-bé-e[t]

...

²²⁹ Notably, the element -ki-im in the parallel sentence in E 47.190 obv. 4–5 (i.e. in má ši-im-má-ki-im and má i-ri-na-ki-im is interpreted as the equative case marker -gin₇ (G. Farber 1984, 314–315 “as on a boat carrying perfume/cedar wood”). The Akkadian translation in the parallel passage in AUAM 73.3094: 12–19 likewise rendered the corresponding phrases ma-še-ma-ta and ma-e-re-na-ta as *kīma eleppi* “like a boat” (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 136, 140; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10).

[. . .] x ḥé-en-[x]-ge₄ / [e-li a-bu-un-na-ti]-ša ḥe-pé-e-ma
 “When [taking] a (Sum.) little reed from the marsh (Akk. a reed from the little marsh) of Eridu,
 pour into it the milk fat of a pure cow and the cream of a mother cow,
 (mix with) dust from a crossroads,
 . . .
 break it [above her navel]!”²³⁰

A similar procedure is described in the Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium BAM 248 obv. i 52–53 // (text D.1.1 lines 38–39). For a Neo-Babylonian fragment from Nippur (N. 1568) with a bilingual incantation passage that corresponds to the procedure in BAM 248 obv. i 52–53 // and may represent part of the poorly preserved incantation in BAM 248 obv. i 1–35 //, see Jiménez 2019, *NABU* 2019/3, 140–141 No. 77; *infra* text D.1.1 (ms. e). The commentary 11N-T3: 9–12 (text G.1) quotes a corresponding passage in the Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium (not preserved in BAM 248 //) that refers to breaking a reed filled with oil above the woman’s belly. The ritual actions alluded to in lines 19–21 of BM 97093 and in the quoted textual parallels can also be gleaned from the Akkadian ritual instruction in lines 29–30 (see below).

Other birth incantations from Ur III and Old Babylonian times present variations of the procedure, making use of fat, cream (or similar fatty substances)²³¹ as *materia medica* which are applied to the woman’s body to promote labour (see UM 29-15-367: 37–41 // (van Dijk 1975, *OrNS* 44, 56–57, 60–61; Cunningham 1997, 70)²³²; JRL Box 24 E6+24: 10’–13’ (Wilcke 1973, *AfO* 24, 13–14).

The form nu-ub-da-a in line 20 is difficult (the prefix nu- suggests a negated form), but from the context da-a may stand for dé-a “to pour out” (Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 240–241).

Line 21: Interpretation of this line is again difficult. The interpretation of si-pa-ad-da as “hoopoe-bird” (sipad) is not entirely certain (one would expect the classifier mušen to follow). The whole expression gal₄-la si-pa-ad-da ri-a “poured over the vulva of a sipad-(bird)” is somewhat unexpected. Alternatively, si-pa-ad-da may stand for zi-pà-da “(of) the truly chosen one(?)”.

Lines 22–24: Similar passages referring to the sex of the newborn are found in other birth incantations. Usually, these passages refer to symbolic actions relating to gender-specific objects or attributes that express the determination of the baby’s gender (especially a spindle/dress pin for girls and weapons for boys, see SF 54 vii 1–4 // TSŠ 170 v 7–vi 4 (Krebern timer 1984, no. 6A–B; Rudik 2011, 321–326 (FSB 57)); AUAM 73.1425 iv 6–12 (Sigrist 1980, 157–158; Rudik 2011, 327–332 (FB 58)); UM 29-15-367: 46–47 // (van Dijk 1975, 57, 61; Cunningham 1997, 70–71); YOS 11, No. 85: 27’–28’ (van Dijk 1975, 67); AUAM 73.3094 rev. 54–57 (Cohen 1976, *RA* 70, 138; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10 For discussion, see also *infra* text D.1.1 (note on line 12) and text G.1 (line 14).

Line 24: A comparable passage referring to the possibility of a stillborn child (following a healthy boy or girl) is encountered in the Old Assyrian birth incantation Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 9: 17–18): šu-ma : sà-ak-pu-um : sà-ki-ip / i-li-šu : li-šé-lá-ma “if it is a stillbirth (*sakpum*, from *sakāpu* “to lie down/still”(?)) – rejected by his god – may they (the Daughters of the Womb) let it come up”. The sequence saḡ-lú-ti-la in BM 97093 may be an aberrant or erroneous spelling for the Sumerian term saḡ-iti-nu-til-la, which corresponds to Akkadian *kūbu* “premature birth, stillborn child”, see CAD K, 487 lex. section. The following igi l[ú . . .] is perhaps to be read as “[who has] the face of a human being(?)”. The sign traces do not support the restoration igi d[utu . . .] “[who has never seen] the [sun]light” (cf. SpTU 3, No. 67 rev. iii 1–2, 9–12).

Line 25: The form ḥu-us-ḥu-us is interpreted as reduplicated ḥáš/ḥaš₄ “thigh”, signaling a plural, i.e. “(from) the (two) thighs”, cf. Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 522 (a non-standard spelling ḥu(s) is attested in an Old Babylonian Sumerian proverb, SP 28.27). For the verb diri(g) “to drift (said of clouds), to float, glide along/down”, see ePSD2; Attinger 2021, 258–259. It is

²³⁰ See also YOS 11, No. 85: 22’–24’ (van Dijk 1975, 67–68 with n. 39).

²³¹ For these products, see further Stol 1993–1997b, “Milch(produkte). A. In Mesopotamien,” *RIA* 8, esp. §§ 2, 7–8.

²³² The parallel VS 17, 33: 16–18 (van Dijk 1975, 63–64) reads: [i] ḥb-kū-ga^{ra} ḡára-ḥb-^fšilam^l-ma ḡ-me-ni-dib / [dag-ag]run-na-ka im-mi-gub-ba šu um-me-te^{ti} / [nam-šu]b-eridu^{ki}-ga murgu^{mu-ur-gu} sa-sa-al ti-ti munus^{mu-nu-ús}-bi ḡ-me-ni-dib . . . “When you have taken the fat of a pure cow (and) the cream of a mother-cow, when you have taken what has been placed in(?) the (sleeping) chamber of the agrun, when you have *applied* (it with) the incantation of Eridu to the back, the thighs and flanks of that woman . . .”.

equated with Akkadian *alāku* “to go” and *neqelpû* “to go downstream”; the verb is presumably used here in reminiscence of the boat theme in the first lines of the incantation.

Line 26: Interpretation of this line is difficult. For ^(giš)pana (PAN) “bow”, spelled pa-na, see Attinger 2021, *Glossaire*, 835 n. 2538. The simile in this line is perhaps to be understood as “to be straight (si-sá) like a bow (string)”. The verb si-sá “to be/make straight” corresponds to Akkadian *ešēru*, which has the meaning “to deliver easily” or “to come out quickly, be born easily” in Akkadian birth incantations. Could the line possibly refer to a preferred vertical (head-down) posture of the fetus in the birth canal that allows an easy birth?

Line 27: One expects the rubric *tu₆ én-é-nu-ru* “formula of an Enuru-incantation” here, but the traces of the first sign look more like [K]A than KAxLI. Perhaps this is a simple mistake for *tu₆*.

Lines 28–30: The Akkadian rubric *šipat mušapšiqtim* “incantation for a woman who has difficulty in (her) delivery” is attested in another Old Babylonian tablet with a version of the spell *munus ù-tu-da-a-ni*, in E 47.190 rev. 6' (G. Farber 1984, 314): MU-Ú (presumably standing for *mu₇* = *šiptum* “incantation”) *mu-ša-ap-ši-iq-tum*. The more usual rubric following birth incantations in Old Babylonian texts is *ka-inim-ma munus ù-tu-(da-kam)* “incantation for a woman in labour” (see Wasserman and Zomer 2022, Nos. 6, 8, 10, 12–14, corresponding to *ka-inim-ma [ālit]tum* in No. 7). In later texts, the rubric *šipat mušapšiqtim* is replaced by logographic KA.INIM.MA ^{munus}LA.RA.AḪ.KAM/KĀM (see text D.1.1 line 37 for discussion). For attestations and discussion, see the Middle Assyrian birth incantation *Iraq* 31, 31: 33–50 having the rubric *šiptu ša multapšiqte*, as well as KUB 4, 13: 13': KA.INIM.MA ÉN *mušapš[iqt]* (see text D.1.1 line 161 ms. b).

The reconstruction of the prescription follows the parallel incantation passage in AUAM 73.3094: 42–53 (Cohen 1976, RA 70, 138; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10) and in BAM 248 obv. i 52–53 (text D.1.1 lines 38–39). See also Steinert 2017a, 336–339 for discussion.

Another Old Babylonian text (VS 17, 33: 28–30; van Dijk 1975, 63–64) appends an Akkadian instruction to the text of a related Sumerian birth incantation. That prescription focuses on anointing the woman's body with oil and ghee (Scurlock 1991, 144–145; Stol 2000a, 63, 124): *ki-ki-ta-ša* Ġ.GIŠ ù Ġ.NUN / *tu-ba-al-la-al-ma i-na* 'KUŠ/SU' *bu-di-im ba-am-ti-ša / ki-la-ti-in ta-pa-aš-ša-aš-ma it-ta-aš-ša-a* “The procedure for it: you mix oil and ghee and apply it to the skin/flesh of the shoulder(s) (and) both her flanks, and it (the baby) will come out.” In BM 97093 as well as VS 17, 33, the appended prescription draws directly on the instruction within the incantation given by Enki to his son Asalluḫi in their dialogue. An even more concise variation of the prescription follows another version of the spell *munus ù-tu-da-a-ni* in E 47.190 (G. Farber 1984, 314 rev. 7', lower edge and left edge): *ki-ik-ki-ti-um* ^{giš}GI ù Ġ.NUN / *sa-am-tum ù uq-ni-um / [. . m]u² mu i-na-ad-di-ki²-im¹* “The procedure: reed and ghee, carnelian and lapis lazuli. [. .] . . . he/she will pour out/cast for you(?) (fem.).”²³³

For the verb *ḥašāšu* “to cut; to break (reeds)” in BM 97093 line 30, see also George 1992, 276; CAD H, 130–131; CAD G, 153a (additions to CAD H). For the ritual procedure of breaking a reed filled with an oily substance above the belly of the woman giving birth, see note on lines 19–21 above.

Line 31: For *nimšulu* (*niššulu*), pl. *niššulātu* “(fish) roe/spawn(?)”, see CAD N/2, 235; AHw 790, 796. The word was previously only attested in lexical lists, where it is equated with *binitu* or *bināti* referring to fish eggs/spawn (cf. Landsberger 1962, MSL 8/2, 105).

Line 32: For *edū* “high water, flood” (from Sumerian a-dé-a “flooding”), see CAD E, 35–36; AHw 187b. The form *esurrakku* is a variant of *asurrakku* “depths; subterranean waters”, see CAD A/2, 349–350; AHw 77a (a loan from Sumerian a-su(r)-ra “water from the depths”). For the use of the synonymous term *anzanunzū* in another Old Babylonian birth incantations, see text II.1.2 below (BM 115745 rev. 7).

Line 33: The prompt to the baby to glide out of the womb like a snake is a common passus in birth incantations (see also BAM 248 and dupl. (D.1.1 lines 35, 46, 171, 194)). The “wine/grapevine snake” (*šerri karānim*) is also mentioned, in a compa-

²³³ Note also the brief note KÍD.KÍD.BI Ġ.GIŠ “the procedure for it: oil” in CUSAS 32, No. 29b: 30, following an Akkadian birth incantation (George 2016, pl. LXXVIII–LXXIX; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, 77) and the prescription following an Elamite incantation for a woman in labour (CUSAS 32, No. 21b: 28'–29'; George 2016, 142–143): “You cast (the spell) on oil and massage her(!) belly (with it) seven times straight down, and massage her(!) shoulders seven times straight down” (*ana* Ġ.GIŠ *ta-na-ad-di-ma 7-šu mi-š[a-r]a-am pa-ap-pa-al-li-ib-bi-šu ta-pa-aš-ša-aš / 7-šu mi-š[a-r]a-am bu-di-šu ta-pa-aš-ša-aš*).

table context, in the Old Assyrian birth incantations Kt 90/k 178: 18–20 (Michel 2004; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 9): *k[i]-i / ṣa-ru-ú : ki-ra-nim : li-i[m-q]ú-tám / qá-qá-ar-šu* “may (the baby) fall down to the ground like a vine snake”. See also Kt 94/k 429: 21–22, Barjamovic 2015, 58, 75–77; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 11.

Lines 40'–43': For the year formula, see <https://cdli-gh.github.io/year-names/HTML/T12K9.htm> (after MCS 2, 51).

II.1.2 BM 115745: An Old Babylonian Tablet with an Incantation for Easy Delivery

BM 115745 was purchased by the British Museum from the Paris dealer Élias Géjou in 1923. It was kindly brought to my attention by J. Taylor and I. L. Finkel. The large signs as well as the numerous mistakes and erasures point to a scribal exercise. The middle section of the reverse shows signs of re-use: one can observe sign multiple traces suggesting that the scribed had erased several lines of text and written over them.²³⁴ Indicative of a school context is also the table with numbers arranged in four fields on the tablet's obverse, most likely presenting an arithmetical exercise. Remarkably, the obverse of the tablet is oriented at a 90° angle to the reverse. According to Christine Proust (personal communication), the layout of the table evokes an intermediate-level mathematical exercise of the Old Babylonian period, resembling exercises found at Nippur and Ur. Similar arithmetical exercises arranged in a table layout containing multiplications or squaring exercises with numbers have been published, e.g. by Friberg 2007, 13–15, 18–19, 466 (MS 2729, MS 2728, MS 3944, MS 2831).

There are other examples of Old and Middle Babylonian school tablets containing two different text types on the obverse and reverse, e.g. an incantation combined with a different kind of text (e.g. an extract from a lexical list).²³⁵ Veldhuis (2000, *JCS* 52, 67) and Bartelmus (2018, 66–77) further report about a comparable format in Kassite period exercise tablets that are pillow-shaped and whose obverse and reverse are inscribed in different directions (i.e. one side is inscribed in a landscape orientation parallel to the longer side of the tablet (usually with a literary passage); the other side is inscribed in portrait orientation, usually with a lexical text). These features partially resemble BM 115745. Bartelmus (2018, 70 nn. 23–24) mentions that a few late Old Babylonian pillow-shaped school tablets with the same layout features have recently come to light which stem from sites in northern Babylonia (Sippar, Babylon). BM 115745 may thus come from the same background in terms of provenience and date.

The reverse of BM 115745 is inscribed with a version of the birth incantation *ina mē nâkim ibbani eṣemtum* “In the fluid of intercourse the bone was created”, known in slightly different versions from three other Old Babylonian sources (YOS 11, No. 86, CUSAS 32, No. 26a and CUSAS 32, No. 28a; see Wasserman and Zomer 2022, Nos. 6, 7, 14; Veldhuis 1999, 39–41).

The parallel sources YOS 11, No. 86 and CUSAS 32, No. 26a identify the spell with the rubric *ka-inim-ma munus ù-tu-da-kam* “incantation for a woman in labour”, while in BM 115745, the incantation is followed by the rubric *šipat aruḫtim* “incantation for a ‘hastened’ woman” (i.e. a woman in labour). The word *aruḫtum* is also known from the rubric *ka-inim-ma a-ru-ūḫ-tum* in VS 17, 33: 28 (van Dijk 1975, *OrNS* 44, 63, 65), where the latter is appended to a Sumerian birth incantation. Therefore, the fragmentary rubric in CUSAS 32, No. 28a may be restored either as *ka-inim-ma [a-lit]-tum* “incantation for a woman giving birth” or *ka-inim-ma [a-ru-ūḫ]-tum* “incantation for a ‘hastened’ woman”.

The birth incantation must have been transmitted to the first millennium BCE, although no sources for this composition have been preserved or identified from that period. However, the so-called Assur Medical Catalogue quotes the incipit of the incantation as title of a chapter tablet of a medical treatise concerned with childbirth and women's diseases (Steinert et al. 2018, 218, 273–274, line 116 BIRTH).

²³⁴ As already observed by the Online Database of the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1923-0113-26).

²³⁵ E.g. OECT 5, 55, an OB lenticular tablet with four lines of an Lamaštu incantation on one side and traces of numerals on the other (CDLI P345836; Michalowski 1978, *JNES* 37, 345). *Emar* 737 contains a section of the lexical list *ur₅-ra = ḫubullu* and an incantation against gastrointestinal disease, separated by a colophon (Arnaud 1985, *Emar* 6/1, 105–109; Arnaud 1987, *Emar* 6/4, No. 737; Rutz 2013, 179–180; Zomer 2018, 12).

²³⁶ Measurements: ca. 5.0 x 7.6 x 2.0 cm.

List of Manuscripts

Siglum	Museum Number	Copy	Collation	Format; Ductus	Provenience
a	BM 115745 (= 1923-1-13, 26)	Pl. 6	Coll.	Single-column tablet; Old Babylonian period (ca. 18th/17th cent. BCE) ²³⁶	Unknown

Previous Edition and Discussion

SEAL No. 7054 (transliteration; translation of the reverse)

Wasserman and Zomer 2022, 68–70 No. 4 (edition of the reverse)

Transliteration

Obv.

Numbers arranged in a table:

[x'] 2'5'30 25'	8'
25'	x'
1' 23 20	

Remainder of the obv. uninscribed

- 1 a rev. 1 [ina m]e-e na-ki'(DI)-im
- 2 a rev. 2 'ib¹-ba-ni e-še-em-tum
- 3 a rev. 3 ši-ru-ú še₂₀-er-ḥa-'nu¹-ú
- 4 a rev. 4 ib-nu li-li-da-am
- 5 a rev. 5 i-na me-e a-a-ba ša-am-'ru¹-tim
- 6 a rev. 6 ša-ru-uḥ-tim
- 7 a rev. 7 i-na me-e *an*-za-'nu¹-zi ru-qú-tim
- 8 a rev. 8 a-ša-ar še₂₀-er-ru¹-um
- 9 a rev. 9 ku-us-sà i-da-šu
- 10 a rev. 10 ka-at-ma i-na-šu la i-da-ga-la 'ḥa¹-ra¹-na-am
- 11 a rev. 11 i-mu-ur-šu-*ma* é-a ^da-sa-lu-ḥa
- 12 a rev. 12 ip-te-šu pa-da-na-<am> uš-ta-sí-iq-šu tù-dam
- 13 a rev. 13 a-na mi-ša-ri-im ^dUTU li-iš-ku-<un>-ka
- 14 a rev. 14 tu en-ni-in-nu-ra
- 15 a l. e. 1 ši-pa-at a-ru-uḥ-tim

Bound Transcription and Translation (of the Reverse)

¹ [ina mē] nâkim ² ibbani ešemtum	¹ [From the flu]ids of intercourse ² the bone was created.
³ šīrū šer'ānū ⁴ ibnū lillidam	³ Flesh (and) <i>muscles</i> ⁴ have created the child.
⁵ ina mē ayabba šamrūtīm ⁶ šaruḫtim	⁵⁻⁶ In the fierce, magnificent waters of the ocean,
⁷ ina mē anzanuzī rūqūtīm	⁷ in the distant waters of the subterranean ocean,
⁸ ašar šerrum ⁹ kussā idāšu	⁸⁻⁹ where the baby's arms are bound,
¹⁰ katmā ināšu lā idaggalā ḥarrānam	¹⁰ his eyes are covered, not seeing the road –
¹¹ imuršu-ma Ea Asalluḫi	¹¹ Ea saw him (there). Then Asalluḫi
¹² iptēšu padānam uštassiḫšu tūdam	¹² opened the path for him, prepared the way for him (saying):
¹³ ana mišarim Šamaš liškunka	¹³ 'May Šamaš set you to freedom!'
¹⁴ tu-en-ni-in-nu-ra	¹⁴ Formula of an Enuru-incantation.
¹⁵ šipat aruḫtim	¹⁵ An incantation for a woman <i>in labour</i> (lit. the hastened one).

Notes

Obverse

I owe valuable suggestions for reading the numerals to Christine Proust (personal communication), who observes: “If it is a school exercise, we can expect to find regular numbers, and to observe that the different numbers are produced by multiplying or dividing some of the others.” However, the connection between the numbers in the present table based on multiplication or division is not entirely transparent, except that $8 \times 25 \times 25 = 1.23.20$ (5,000) (information courtesy of C. Proust).

Reverse

Line 1: The spelling *na-DI-im* is apparently a mistake for *nâkim* “intercourse”. Other errors made by the scribe are found in lines 11 and 15 (see the notes below).

Lines 3–4: In contrast to BM 115745, the processes of foetus formation are described in a passive fashion in a similar passage in YOS 11, No. 86: 3–4: *i-na ši-i-ir [še₂₀]-er-ḥa-nim / ib-ba-ni [li-il-li-du-um* “from the *substance* of the *blood vessels/muscles* the baby was created”. In BM 115745, *šīru* “flesh” and *šer'ānu* “muscle, sinew, blood vessel” (here used in the plural) are the active agents in creating the baby. The meaning of *šer'ānu* is ambiguous here. Usually the term is translated with “sinews” or “muscles”, but “blood vessels” may be a better rendering, given the idea found in other ancient traditions that the foetus is nourished by its mother's menstrual blood.

Line 6: The form *šaruḫtim* is a mistake for the correct masculine plural form *šarḫūtīm* “splendid, magnificent” (CAD Š/2, 61ff.). However, the form may be used consciously as a word play on *ša aruḫtim* “of the woman in delivery” (cf. the incantation rubric *šipat aruḫtim* in line 15).

Line 7: The word *anzanu(n)zū* “subterranean water; deep water” is rather rare and poetic and has not been attested in Old Babylonian texts before, only in texts from later periods, see CAD A/2, 152–153. The parallel sources use more common terms (YOS 11, No. 86: 7 (Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 14): *ina mē tiāmtīm rūqūtīm*; CUSAS 32, 28a: 2 (Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 7): *ina 'mē apsīm' rūqūt[im]*).

Line 8: Wasserman and Zomer (2022, 69) note the pun between *šīrum* “flesh” and *šerrum* “baby” in BM 115745, whereas YOS 11, No. 86: 8 uses *šeḥrum* “little one” instead.

Line 10: Wasserman and Zomer (2022, 68) propose emending the text to *lā idaggalā 'nu²¹-ra¹-<<am>>-am* “they (the baby's eyes) are unable to see the light” instead of *'ḥa¹-ra¹-na-am* “the road”, because the *nūram dagālum* “to see the light” seems to them the more pertinent image and expression in the this context. However, the two last signs NA and AM are quite clearly visible, although written so closely together that they overlap slightly. A similar image of the baby not finding the way out of the womb is also used in the parallel incantation CUSAS 32, 28a: 7: *mu-ša-a-am i-še₂₀-¹e¹-[am]* “he is looking for

a way out”. Looking for or not seeing the way fits the resolution of the situation in line 12, where Asalluḫi “opens the path (*padānum*), makes the road (*tūdum*) ready” for the baby.

Line 11: In all parallel texts, Asalluḫi is the sole helping agent, e.g. CUSAS 32, 28a: 8–9: *i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^d*asal-lú-[hī]* / *ip-te-šum- tū-da-am*. In YOS 11, No. 86: 11 we find *i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^d*asal-lú-[hī]* *ma-ri* ^d*en-ki* “Asalluḫi, son of Enki, saw him (there)”. In BM 115745, however, Ea and Asalluḫi (the latter name is spelled syllabically as ^d*a-sa-lu-ḫa*) act together in facilitating the birth process. The syntax in line 11 is somewhat unusual (using a chiasitic construction); one would expect *Ea imuršu-ma Asalluḫi iptēšum*.

Line 12: Wasserman and Zomer (2022, 68) read *pa-da-na-ʿam*¹; but there does not seem enough space for *-am* before the following *uš*. I therefore restore *pa-da-na-<am>*. The scribe also omitted one sign in line 13.

For the Št-stem of *nasāqu* “to select”, having the meaning “to make ready, to prepare; to bring/keep in order” (*šutas-suqu*), cf. CAD N/2, 22–23; AHW 753. The verb occurs in a similar passage in the OB Gilg. Yale Tablet vi 259–261 (George 2003, 204–206): *li-ip-te-kum pa-da-nam pe-ḫi-tam / ḫarrānam*(KASKAL) *li-iš-ta-sí-iq a-na ki-ib-sí-ka / ša-di-a li-iš-ta-sí-iq a-na šēpi*(GIR)-*ka* “May he (Šamaš) open for you the paths that are shut, may he make ready the road for your footsteps! May he make ready the mountain for your feet!” The Štn-stem forms (*lu*)-*uš-ta-(as)-sí-iq* are attested in other Old Babylonian texts, see e.g. Kutscher and Wilcke 1978, ZA 68, 115: 49; Kienast 1978, *Kisurra*, Vol. 2, 159–160 No. 178: 30: *eq-lam lu-uš-ta-ʿsí-iq* “(one shall give me the workers and then) I shall put the field in order”.

Line 13: The expression *ana mīšarim Šamaš lišku<n>ka* is not found in the parallel sources of the spell. The use of the phrase *ana mīšarim šakānu* “to render/establish justice (for someone)”, usually referring to the sun god’s role as a divine judge, is unexpected in this context and probably motivated by the link of *mīšaru* to the verb *ešēru* (“to be straight”) and its use in connection with easy delivery (especially in the Š-stem). However, the role of Šamaš as a helper during birth (releasing the baby from the dark prison of the womb and showing him the light) is well known from other birth incantations and prayers, in Old Babylonian and later texts; see, for example, CUSAS 32, 29b: 26 (Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 8), Polonsky 2006; *infra* text D.1.1 BAM 248 obv. ii 23; texts G.1 (11N-T3 lines 37ff.) and G.2 (UET 6/3, 897 rev. 3’–4’’).

Line 15: Wasserman and Zomer (2022, 70) regard the word *aruḫtum* (the feminine form of *arḫum* “quick”) as a word play on, or a conflation of, several almost homonymous terms: *arītum* “pregnant (woman)”, *arḫum* “quick” and *arḫum* “cow”, (*w*)*arḫum* “month” and the *Araḫtum*-canal. For discussion see also Steinert 2017b, 224–225, with Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004, 397, 399; Barjamovic 2015, 74; Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 9).

II.1.3 BAM 241 (+) VAT 9543 and BAM 242: Fragments of a Middle Babylonian Tablet from Assur on Women’s Health

These two fragments must have belonged to a tablet that contained a larger collection of medical remedies for women, which are otherwise rarely attested from the Middle Babylonian period. The fragment BAM 241 from Assur with prescriptions for women was published as copy by F. Köcher in BAM III (xviii and pl. 44–45). He noted that it belonged to a two-column tablet in Middle Babylonian script, and that based on its external features, it probably belonged to tablets imported from Babylonia that were integrated into the so-called library of Tiglath-pileser I.²³⁷

At the Vorderasiatisches Museum, VAT 10575 (BAM 241, ms. a₁) is now kept in a box together with VAT 9543 (ms. a₂). Both fragments probably belong to one tablet, although they do not join directly. VAT 9543 appears to be written by the same hand as ms. a₁, and both fragments have firing holes. It offers a fragment of the middle portion from the right side of a large two-column tablet, preserving part of a Sumerian incantation in column ii of the obverse, and fragmentary prescriptions in column iii on the reverse. Small pieces have fallen off from the middle of the tablet’s reverse (which seem to have been glued to the tablet at some point). The original position of two of these flakes on the tablet could be tentatively determined (No. 2 contains the signs SUḪUŠ / [. .]x ḪAR).

VAT 10575 (ms. a₁) is a fragment from the bottom of the tablet, preserving some lines of col. ii and the beginning of col. iii. These contain medical prescriptions, which are continued on the reverse of ms. a₂. The remedies concern promoting

²³⁷ For this library, see Weidner 1952–1953, *Afo* 16, 197–215; Pedersén 1985, 31–42 Library M2; Zomer 2018, 39.

female fertility, the condition NI.NE and *tattikāt ūriša* “dribblings from her vulva”, perhaps referring to uncontrolled discharge of urine (or some other discharge from the vagina). Two of the prescriptions for NI.NE-disease are duplicated in texts from the first millennium BCE: BAM 237(+) (text C.1.4), a Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur with therapies for *naḥšātu* (bleeding during pregnancy) and other female conditions, and BM 42313+ (text A.2.2). This continuity underlines once more that first millennium BCE healing traditions concerned with women's health, like other cuneiform medical texts, go back to the second millennium BCE.

The fragmentary Sumerian spell in col. ii of ms. a₂ reflects the features of (post)-Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations using difficult-to-understand, unorthographic or phonetic spellings, showing numerous alterations from standard orthography in the use of syllabic spellings.²³⁸ Interestingly, the composition shares a number of similarities with the beginning of the first incantation of the first millennium BCE series SAG.GIG.(GA.MEŠ) “Headache” (I/a), which was incorporated in the therapeutic series *Muššu'u* “Massage; Rubbing” and has the title *saḡ-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-è* “Headache has come out from the Ekur” (Linton 1970, 45–60; Böck 2007, 24, 93–111). A little fragment of a Middle Babylonian forerunner to SAG.GIG I/a is known from Emar (*Emar* 732; Zomer 2018, 208–209, 264–265). The preserved lines of the spell in VAT 10575 (BAM 241) (+) VAT 9543 evoke images of sickness as a demonic attack, including a longer litany of disease agents. It is possible that the incantation accompanied one of the treatments for fertility on the tablet.

Another Middle Babylonian medical fragment that F. Köcher (1964, xxviii) proposed could belong to the same tablet as BAM 241 is BAM 242. The script of this small Middle Babylonian fragment looks very similar to that of BAM 241. The fragment is added as an appendix below.

List of Manuscripts

Siglum	Museum Number	Copy	Collation	Format; Ductus	Provenience
a ₁ (+)	VAT 10575	BAM 241	Coll.	Fragment of a two-column tablet; Middle Babylonian script; ca. 12 th /11 th cent. BCE	Assur
a ₂	VAT 9543	Pl. 7–8	Coll.	Fragment of a two-column tablet; Middle Babylonian script; ca. 12 th /11 th cent. BCE	Assur
B	VAT 8577 + 13655 + 13671 + 13706 + 13707 + 13708 + 13828 + 14177 + 14185	BAM 237	Coll.	Two-column tablet; Neo-Assyrian script; 8th/7th cent. BCE	Assur, N4 library
c	BM 42313 + 42427 + 42585 + o.N.(81-7-1,353) + 43174 + 43215 + 43274 + 43279 + 43281 + 43439 + 43483 + 43595 + 43766 + 43803	Pl. 14–15	Coll.	Single-column tablet in portrait format; Late Babylonian script; ca. 6th/5th cent. BCE	Sippar

Overview

i'	Fragmentary prescription	...]1'–[. . .]
	a ₁ obv. i 1'	
ii'	Fragmentary prescription	...]2"–3"
	a ₂ obv. ii 1'–2'	
iii'	Sumerian incantation	4"–26"[. . .]
	a ₂ obv. ii 3'–26'	
iv'	Fragmentary prescription to promote female fertility	...]27'''–30'''
	a ₁ obv. ii 1'–4'	
v'	Fragmentary prescription against NI.NE-disease	31'''–34'''
	a ₁ obv. ii 5'–8' // B rev. iv 9–10	
vi'	Prescription against NI.NE-disease	35'''–36'''
	a ₁ obv. ii 9'–10' // c rev. 4	

²³⁸ See e.g. Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993, 2002; Cavigneaux 1995a, 1995b; George 2016; Viano 2014, 2016.

vii'	Prescription against NI.NE-disease	37'''
	a ₁ obv. ii 11'	
viii'	Prescription against “dribblings from the vagina”	38'''–40'''
	a ₁ obv. ii 12'–14'	
ix'	Fragmentary prescription	41'''–42'''
	a ₁ rev. iii 1–2	
x'	Prescription to promote fertility after menopause	43'''–46'''
	a ₁ rev. iii 3–6	
xi'	Prescription to promote female fertility	47'''–53'''[. . .
	a ₁ rev. iii 7–13	
xii'	Fragmentary prescription	. . .]54'''–64'''
	a ₂ rev. iii 1'–11'	
xiii'	Fragmentary prescription	65'''–69'''[. . .
	a ₂ rev. iii 12'–16'	

Previous Edition and Discussion

Kirsch 1996, *Die Behandlung von Frauenkrankheiten*, 108ff. (edition of BAM 241)

Böck 2010a, *TUAT NF* 5, 114 (translation of BAM 241 iii 3–13)

Böck 2013, 31 n. 13, 35 with n. 31 (BAM 241 iii 3'–6' and 7'–11')

Minen 2018, 180 (translation of BAM 241 iii 7'–11')

CDLI P285327 (photo of VAT 9543 and VAT 10575)

Infra text C.1.4 (edition of BAM 237), text A.2.2 (edition of BM 42313+)

Transliteration

Beginning of ms. a₁ obv. i lost

1' a₁ obv. i 1' [.]x KI.MIN KI.MIN

Bottom of ms. a₁ obv. i

Beginning of ms. a₂ obv. i lost

2''	a ₂ obv. ii 1'	[x x x x]x x[.]
3''	a ₂ obv. ii 2'	[x x x x]x-ma [.]
4''	a ₂ obv. ii 3'	[ÉN x x kur-ta ²] nam-ta-è 'min ² 1 [x] x[.]
5''	a ₂ obv. ii 4'	[x x x g]ig-ga-ta min a-ri-a-[ta ² min x x x]
6''	a ₂ obv. ii 5'	[x x x x] min kur-ra gu-ĝar-ra ¹ ? min k[i ² x x]
7''	a ₂ obv. ii 6'	[x x x x] ħul-gig min é bar-gin ² ? 'min ² 1
8''	a ₂ obv. ii 7'	[x x x x]x min nam-tar gig-ga-a-ta min
9''	a ₂ obv. ii 8'	[na-ál]ĝ ² -tag šu-re-dè min lugal-maš-pa-è-a min
10''	a ₂ obv. ii 9'	[x saĝ ĝiš ra-r]a ² -e-dè min udug ħul-ĝál
11''	a ₂ obv. ii 10'	[x x udug ħar ²]-ra-an-na min gidim saĝ ĝiš ra-ra <šu> nu-gu
12''	a ₂ obv. ii 11'	[x x x lú]-líl-lá zu-zu min gurus-líl-lá ki-sikil-
13''	a ₂ obv. ii 12'	[líl-lá ² x]x min an-ta-šub-ba min <i>erasure?</i>

14''	a ₂ obv. ii 13'	[ka-muš]-f ¹ -gu ₇ uš-šú-uš-ru min
15''	a ₂ obv. ii 14'	[a-lá h _{ul} [?]] šu nu-tuku nu gi du-du ki-f ^{a?} ¹ -ga
16''	a ₂ obv. ii 15'	[tu-ra [?]] ġi ₆ -ù-na tu-ra nu-du ₁₀ -ga an-f ^{ki} -f ^{kam} [?] -m[a [?]]
17''	a ₂ obv. ii 16'	[x-]x du ₁₀ [?] ^d kamad-me ^d kamad-duru ₅ ^d f ^{kamad} ¹ -[LAGAB [?]]
18''	a ₂ obv. ii 17'	[x]-bi-šè kur-ra-a ù nu-ga ù nu-d[u ₁₀ -du ₁₀ -da]
19''	a ₂ obv. ii 18'	[sa]ġ-bi ú-la-a alan(GÀR.GÀR)-bi ú-la-a [x x x]
20''	a ₂ obv. ii 19'	[sa]ġ gig-bi uš-šú-uš-ru-a igi-bi [x x x (x)]
21''	a ₂ obv. ii 20'	ù ku-uk-ku ra-a á-šu-<bi>> ġiri-bi [x x (x)]
22''	a ₂ obv. ii 21'	sa-ad-nim kur-ra a-zu-<bi-šè>>-ġiri-b[i ^d lugal- [?]]
23''	a ₂ obv. ii 22'	nam-me-en-na e-ne saġ-gig dad[ag-ge-ta]
24''	a ₂ obv. ii 23'	saġ-gig dadag-ge-ta sa ki f ^{gurum} [?] ¹ x[x x x]
25''	a ₂ obv. ii 24'	f ^{sa} [?] ¹ -umbin-f ^a -ni [?] ¹ f ^{nam} [?] ¹ -x[.]
26''	a ₂ obv. ii 25'	[x x]x sùr [?] -ri-r[i [?]]

Ms. a₂ obv. ii breaks; gap of unknown length

27'''	a ₁ obv. ii 1'	[x x x x x UR.BA]R.RA [?] [x x]
28'''	a ₁ obv. ii 2'	[x x x x x ina ^{si} ġHÉ.ME.<DA> ta-[lam-mi [?]]
29'''	a ₁ obv. ii 3'	[x x x x x ana [?]] f ^U ₄ ¹ .11.KAM 7-šú ÍL-m[a x x]
30'''	a ₁ obv. ii 4'	[x x x x x] ir-ri [(x x)]
31'''	a ₁ obv. ii 5'	[(DIŠ) MUNUS NI.NE GI]G 1 ŠILA di-iq-mé-[en]
	B rev. iv 9	DIŠ MUNUS NI.NE GIG 1 ŠILA DÈ
32'''	a ₁ obv. ii 6'	[^{giš} šar-ba]-ti 1 ŠILA di-iq-m[é-en]
	B rev. iv 9 ^{cont.}	^{giš} ÁSAL 1 ŠILA DÈ
33'''	a ₁ obv. ii 7'	[^u am-ḫa-r]a [?] 14 KA.KÉŠ šá TÚG [takaššar]
	B rev. iv 9 ^{cont.} -10	^u am-ḫa-ra ĤI.f ^{HI} ¹ / 14 KEŠDA.MEŠ šá TÚG KÉŠ
34'''	a ₁ obv. ii 8'	[1.TA.À]M [?] ina šà-su-ri-šá GAR-an-m[a TI-u [?]]
	B rev. iv 10	1.TA.ÀM ana ŠÀ.TÙR-šá GAR-an
35'''	a ₁ obv. ii 9'	KI.MIN mur-ra ta-ḫaš-šal ina ì t[a-bal-lal [?]]
	b rev. 4	DIŠ KI.MIN ^{sim} ŠEŠ ina ì SÚD
36'''	a ₁ obv. ii 10'	ina up-pí ina šà-su-ri-šá i-ta-b[a-ak (x x)]
	b rev. 4 ^{cont.}	ina MUD ZABAR ana múš-tin-ni-šú DUB-[ak [?]]
37'''	a ₁ obv. ii 11'	KI.MIN ^u ĤAB ina KAŠ GEŠTIN ta-ma-ḫa-[aš NAG [?]]

38'''	a ₁ obv. ii 12'	MUNUS <i>ta-ti-ka-at ú-ri-ša</i> GIG [x x x]
39'''	a ₁ obv. ii 13'	ŠIM.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI <i>ina</i> T[ÚG <i>takaššar</i> (x x)]
40'''	a ₁ obv. ii 14'	<i>ina šà-su-ri</i> -[šá GAR- <i>an-ma</i> x x x x]

(Bottom of Ms. a₁ obv. ii)

41'''	a ₁ rev. iii 1	MUNUS 'Ú ¹ .[TU ²]
42'''	a ₁ rev. iii 2	NAG x[.]
43'''	a ₁ rev. iii 3	MUNUS <i>a-la-da</i> KUD-sà-[<i>at</i> x x x x x]
44'''	a ₁ rev. iii 4	<i>ta-sà-ak</i> <i>ina</i> KA[š x x x x x]
45'''	a ₁ rev. iii 5	<i>ana</i> IGI ^{mul} MAR.GÍD.DA <i>t</i> [<i>uš-bat</i> ² x x x x x]
46'''	a ₁ rev. iii 6	' <i>ana</i> ¹ TÚG.MEŠ-šá DU- <i>ku</i> NAG- <i>ma</i> [x x x x x]
47'''	a ₁ rev. iii 7	[MUNUS N]U <i>a-li-da-at ana ur-re</i> - ¹ <i>e</i> ¹ [x x x x x]
48'''	a ₁ rev. iii 8	[^ú <i>k</i>] <i>a-am-kà-ta</i> ^ú <i>im-ḥur-aš-ra</i> [x x x x]
49'''	a ₁ rev. iii 9	[<i>ta-sà-ak</i> ²] <i>ina</i> A <i>ta-la-áš ta-ta-x</i> -[x x x]
50'''	a ₁ rev. iii 10	[x x t] <i>a-ḥaš-šal lu-ub-ki te-pu-u</i> [š x x]
51'''	a ₁ rev. iii 11	[x x x x x] x ŠUB <i>ina še-e-ri</i> [x x x]
52'''	a ₁ rev. iii 12	[x x x x x x] ' <i>ana</i> ² ¹ U ₄ .16.KAM MUNUS NU [x x]
53'''	a ₁ rev. iii 13	[x x x x x x <i>ir</i>]- <i>ri</i> [x x x]

Ms. a₁ rev. iii breaks; gap of unknown length

54'''	a ₂ rev. iii 1'	[.] x [.]
55'''	a ₂ rev. iii 2'	[.]x x.ḪI.A <i>ana</i> x[x x x]
56'''	a ₂ rev. iii 3'	[. <i>ina</i>] Ì ' ¹ GAZ ² ¹ x x [x x (x)]
57'''	a ₂ rev. iii 4'	[.]x x [x x] NITA [x]
58'''	a ₂ rev. iii 5'	[x x x x x x] še ² x[x x x x] ' ¹ AL ² ¹ .[Ú]S.SA ² [x]
59'''	a ₂ rev. iii 6'	[x x x]x x [GA]R ² - <i>an</i> KÉŠ- <i>r</i> [<i>a</i> ²] x x [<i>in</i>] <i>a</i> A KÚM [x x]
60'''	a ₂ rev. iii 7'	[x]x KU ² x x BU[RU ₅ .Ḫ]ABRUD ² mu[^{šen} ?] <i>it-t</i> [<i>a</i> ² -x]- <i>aš-ma</i> [x]
61'''	a ₂ rev. iii 8'	'x ga x x ¹ du [x] ^{giš} GADA ^{sar} ? ¹ ^ú ḪU[R].SAG ^ú KUR.KUR.R[A]
62'''	a ₂ rev. iii 9'	^ú <i>im</i> - ¹ <i>ḥur</i> - ¹ <i>lim</i> ^ú ¹ [x x x] ^ú IN.NU.ÚŠ [(x)]
63'''	a ₂ rev. iii 10'	^ú KUR.' ¹ RA ² ¹ ^ú x[x x] ^ú ¹ NU.LUḪ.ḪA MUN ¹ <i>ta-s</i> [<i>ak</i> ₆ ²]
64'''	a ₂ rev. iii 11'	[(x) TÉ]Š.BI <i>te-ṭe</i> ₄ - <i>en</i> [x x x]-šú ² <i>ta-ká</i> ² - <i>pár-ma</i> TI- <i>uṭ</i>
65'''	a ₂ rev. iii 12'	[x]x x ŠID ² - <i>ti</i> x[x x x]x- <i>ma-tu</i> ₄ NUMUN ŠE.LÚ
66'''	a ₂ rev. iii 13'	[x]x ^ú SUR.SUR SAR [x x x] ^ú ¹ KUR.KUR.RA
67'''	a ₂ rev. iii 14'	[x]x ^{giš} ŠU.Ú[R.MÌN x x ^{giš}]MA.NU ^ú ḪI.A <i>an</i> -[<i>nu-ti</i>]

68''' a₂ rev. iii 15' [.]x i ħu-x-[x x x]

69''' a₂ rev. iii 16' [.]x 'ħu²¹ si²[x x x x]

Ms. a₂ rev. iii breaks; remainder lost

Bound Transcription and Translation

Beginning of ms. a₁ obv. i lost

1' [.] KI.MIN KI.MIN

1' [.] ditto, ditto.

Bottom of ms. a₁ obv. i

Beginning of ms. a₂ obv. i lost

2''–3'' *traces*

2''–3'' *too fragmentary for translation*

4'' [ÉN² x x kur-ta²] nam-ta-è 'min²¹ [x] x[.]

4'' [Incantation(?). “[. . .] has come out [from the mountain(?)], ditto(?) (i.e., it has come out), . . .[.],

5'' [x x x g]ig-ga-ta min a-ri-a-[ta² min² x x]

5'' *from the troublesome* [. . .] ditto (i.e. it has come out), [from(?)] the wasteland(?) [ditto(?). . .],

6'' [x x x x] min kur-ra gu-ġar-ra²¹ min k[i² x x]

6'' [.] ditto (i.e. it has come out), (from) a breach(?) in the mountains ditto (i.e., it has come out), . . .[. . .]

7'' [x x x x] ħul-gig min é bar-gin⁷ 'min²¹

7'' [. . .] the hated one ditto (i.e., has come out), like a foster child ditto(?),

8'' [x x x x]x min nam-tar gig-ga-a-ta min

8'' [.] ditto. Together with the troublesome Namtar (Fate)-demon ditto (i.e., it has come out),

9'' [na-á]ġ²-tag šu-re-dè min lugal-maš-pa-è-a min

9'' [s]in(?) (and) crime ditto (i.e., have come out), Lugal-amaš-pa'e ditto (i.e., has come out),

10'' [x saġ ġiš ra-r]a-e-dè min udug ħul-ġál

10'' [the . . . who commit]s murder ditto, the evil Uduġ-demon,

11'' [x x udug ħar²]-ra-an-na min gidim saġ ġiš ra-ra <šu> nu-gu

11'' [. . ., the Uduġ-demon(?)] of the [ro]ad(?) ditto, the murderous, *irresistible* ghost,

12'' [x x x lú]-líl-lá zu-zu min ġuruš-líl-lá ki-sikil-

12'' [. . .], the well-known(?) wind-demon (*lilû*) ditto, the young man wind-demon (*eṭel lilû*), the maiden [wind]-demon (*lilitu*),

13'' [líl-lá² x]x min an-ta-šub-ba min

13'' [. . .] ditto, Antašubba-epilepsy ditto,

14'' [ka-muš]-'i¹-gu⁷ uš-šú-uš-ru min

14'' ‘Eaten [by the worm’]-demon (and) debility ditto (i.e., have come out).

15'' [a-lá ħul²] šu nu-tuku nu ġi du-du ki-'a²¹-ga

15'' [The evil Alû-demon(?)] who has no hands, *who loves to walk around at night*(?),

16'' [tu-ra²] ġi₆-ù-na tu-ra nu-du₁₀-ga an-'ki¹-'kam²¹-m[a²]

16'' [the sickness] of the early morning, it is the unpleasant sickness of heaven and earth(?).

17'' [x]x 'du₁₀²¹ ^dkamad-me ^dkamad-duru₅ ^d'kamad¹-[LAGAB²]

17'' [. . .] . . ., Kamadme (Lamaštu), Kamadduru-demon (*labāšu*), Kamad-[LAGAB]-demon (*aḥḥāzu*),

18'' [x-(x)]-bi-šè kur-ra-a ù nu-ga ù nu-d[u₁₀-du₁₀-da]

18'' *who enters through the* [. . .], who does not allow one to sleep, who does not let the sleep be good –

¹⁹" [sa]ĝ-bi ú-la-a alan-bi ú-la-a [x x x]

²⁰" [sa]ĝ gig-bi uš-šú-uš-ru-a igi-bi [x x x (x)]

²¹" ù ku-uk-ku ra-a á-šu-<<bi>>-ĝiri-bi [x x (x)]

²²" sa-ad-nim kur-ra a-zu-<<bi-šè>>- ĝiri-bi [i^dlugal-]

²³" nam-me-en-na e-ne saĝ-gig dad[ag-ge-ta]

²⁴" saĝ-gig dadag-ge-ta sa ki 'gurun²¹ x[x x x]

²⁵" <uzu>- 'sa²¹-umbin-'a-ni²¹ 'nam²¹-x[.]

²⁶" [x x]x sùr² ri-r[i²]

Ms. a₂ obv. ii breaks; gap of unknown length

²⁷" [. bar]bari . . . [. . .] ²⁸" [. ina] tabarri ta[lam-
mi] ²⁹" [. ana] išteššer ūmī sebišu inašši-m[a . . .] ³⁰"
[.] irri

³¹" [šumma sinništu NI.NE marš]at išten qa diqmēn ³²" [šar-
ba]ti ištēn qa diqm[ēn] ³³" [amḥar]a(?) 14 kišrī ša lubāri
[takaššar] ³⁴" [ištē]nā ina šassūrīša tašakkan-m[a ibal-
lu(?)]

³⁵" KI.MIN murra taḥaššal ina šamni t[aballa] (var. murra
ina šamni tasāk) ³⁶" ina uppi ina šassūrīša itabb[ak (. .)]
(var. ina uppi siparri ana muštinnišu tatabbak)

³⁷" KI.MIN būsāna ina šikari karāni tamaḥḥa[š ištatti(?)]

³⁸" sinništu tattikāt ūrīša maršat [. .] ³⁹" riqqē kalāma ina
lub[āri takaššar (. .)] ⁴⁰" ina šassūrī[ša tašakkan-ma . . .
. . .]

⁴¹" sinništu ū[lid(?)] ⁴²" ištatti [.]

⁴³" sinništu alāda parsat[.] ⁴⁴" tasāk ina šika[ri]
⁴⁵" ana pān Ereqqi t[ušbāt] ⁴⁶" ana lubārēša illakū
ištattī-ma [.]

¹⁹" its [head] is the Alû-demon(?), its body (shape) is the
Alû-demon(?) [. .].

²⁰" Its terrible head is debility, its face [is . . .],

²¹" who pours out sleep (on the victim). Its limbs are [. .]

²²"–²³" sadnim-disease of the mountains. Its limbs(!) are those
of [Lugal]namenna(?).

²³" To purify (the patient suffering from) the head disease,

²⁴" to purify (from) the head-disease, [to . . .] the sick, twist-
ed(?) muscles,

²⁵" his/her (the patient's) sinews . . . [.],

²⁶" [. .] . . . release [.]

²⁷" [.] wolf's [. .], ²⁸" [. . .] you [wrap?] into red wool,
[. .], ²⁹" [. . over(?)] eleven days(?) she shall apply (it) seven
times, [. .]. ³⁰" [. .] (Then) she will get pregnant.

³¹" [(If) a woman suff]ers [from NI.NE-disease]: (ms. B adds:
you mix) one litre ashes of ³²" [šarbat]u-poplar (and) one litre
ashes of ³³" [amḥar]a-[plant(?)]. [You tie (this into)] fourteen
knots of cloth. ³⁴" You insert [one (piece of cloth) at a] time
into her womb (i.e. her vagina), and [she will get well(?)].

³⁵" Alternatively (lit. another (prescription)): you crush
murru-plant, m[ix(?)] (it) with oil (var: you pound murru-
plant in oil). ³⁶" She shall po[ur] (it) into her womb with a
tube, [(. .)] (var. you pour it into her urethra with a bronze
tube).

³⁷" Alternatively, you st[ir] būsānu-plant into beer (and) wine,
[she drinks it(?)].

³⁸" (If) a woman is sick with dribbling from her vulva [. .
. .] ³⁹" [you tie] all (kinds of) aromatic plants into a (piece of)
clo[th (. .)], ⁴⁰" [you insert (it)] into [her] womb (viz. vagina).
[Then].

⁴¹" (If) a woman giv[es birth(?)] ⁴²" she drinks (it), . . . [. .
. .].

⁴³" (If) a woman has stopped to bear: [.] ⁴⁴" you pound,
[you . . (it)] with be[er]. ⁴⁵" You let [(it) stand outside
overnight] before the Wagon star (Ursa Major). [. . (when)
. .] ⁴⁶" flow onto her cloth (i.e. her menstrual bandage?), she
shall drink (it). Then [.].

⁴⁷ [sinništu] lā ālīdat ana urrê [.] ⁴⁸ [k]amkadu im-
hur-ešrā [. . .] ⁴⁹ [tasāk(?)] ina mē talāš . . . [. . .] ⁵⁰ [. . .]
taḥšašal lubki teppuš [. . .] ⁵¹ [.] . . . tanaddi(?) ina šēri
[. . .] ⁵² [.] ana seššer ūmī sinništu lā [. . .] ⁵³ [.]
ir]ri [. . .]

Ms. a₁ rev. iii breaks; gap of unknown length

⁵⁴–⁵⁵ traces ⁵⁶ [.] ina šamni taḥšašal(?) . . . [.] ⁵⁷ traces
⁵⁸ [.] šiqqu(?) ⁵⁹ [.] taša[kkan(?) kišra(?)]
[. . .] ina mē baḥrūti [. . .] ⁶⁰ [.] . . . iṣṣūr hurri(?) . . . [. . .]
⁶¹ [.] . . . kitū azupīru atā'īšu ⁶² imhur-lim [. . .] maš-
takal ⁶³ nīnū . . . [. . .] nuḥurtu ṭābtu tas[āk] ⁶⁴ [. . . išt]ēniš
teṭēn [. . .] -šu takappar-ma iballuṭ

⁴⁷ [(If) a woman] is infertile, to make (her) get pregnant:
[.] ⁴⁹ [you pound(?)] ⁴⁸ [k]amkadu-[plant], 'heals twen-
ty'-plant, [.]. ⁴⁹ You knead (it) with water, you [.],
⁵⁰ you pound [. . .]. You prepare a lubricant [.], ⁵¹ [. . .
. . .] you add (to it?). In the morning [.] ⁵² [.]. For
sixteen days the woman shall not(?) [remove it(?)]. ⁵³ [.
she will get] pregnant [. . .].

⁵⁴–⁵⁵ too fragmentary for translation ⁵⁶ [.] you crush(?)
[in] oil, . . . [. . .] ⁵⁷ traces ⁵⁸ [.] fish sauce(?), ⁵⁹ [.
you] put(?). A knot/node(?) [. . .] with hot water [. . .]. ⁶⁰ [. . .
. . .] (with) [. . .] of a hurru-bird(?) she/it shall [. . .] and [. . .]. ⁶³
You cr[ush] ⁶¹ [.] flax, azupīru-plant, atā'īšu-plant, ⁶² [. . .
. . .], 'heals thousand'-plant, [. . .]-plant, maštakal-soapwort, ⁶³
[.] atā'īšu-plant, [. . .]-plant, nuḥurtu-plant (and) salt. ⁶⁴
[. . .] you grind together, you wipe her [. . .] (with it). Then she
will get well.

⁶⁵ [.] . . . [. . .] zēr kisibirri ⁶⁶ [.] . . . pizzer arqu(?)
[. . .] atā'īšu ⁶⁷ [. . .] šur[mēnu . . .] e'ru šammī an[nūti]
⁶⁸–⁶⁹ traces

⁶⁵ [.] . . . [. . .] . . . coriander seed, ⁶⁶ [.] . . . cobweb,
garden green(s)(?), [. . .], atā'īšu-plant, ⁶⁷ [. . .] šur[mēnu-cy-
press, . . .], e'ru-wood – these plants ⁶⁸–⁶⁹ only traces pre-
served

Ms. a₂ rev. iii breaks; remainder lost

Notes

Lines 2"–3": The double ruling following lines 2"–3" indicates the end of a (thematic) section and the beginning of a new topic.

Lines 4"–26": The first lines of this spell contain several phrases that seem to be reminiscent of the incantation saḡ-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-è "Head disease has come out from the Ekur", which forms the beginning of the canonical series SAG.GIG. (GA.MEŠ) "Head disease" and *Muššu'u* (see Böck 2007: 24, 93ff. *Muššu'u* I; Linton 1970, 45). Note that the forerunner to SAG.GIG I/a from Emar (*Emar* 732; Arnaud 1987, 341 no. 732; Viano 2016, 321; Zomer 2018, 264) begins in a slightly different way: saḡ-gig kur-ta [. . .] "Headache [has come out] from the mountains (i.e. Netherworld)". Perhaps the latter variant also formed the begin of the present spell. See for the same motif of diseases coming out from the Netherworld or mountain (also referred to as Ekur, the house/temple of Enlil), the following lines from the incantation saḡ-gig gú-sa-àm "Head disease is (like) neck muscle-disease" in SAG.GIG.(GA.MEŠ) Tablet III and *Muššu'u* III (Böck 2007, 133ff. *Muššu'u* III/a 3–7; Linton 1970, 64): "Head disease has come out from the Ekur (saḡ-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-e₁₁: *dī-ḥu iš-tu é-kur it-ta-ša-a*), it has come out from the house of Enlil (é ^den-līl-lá-ta nam-ta-è/e₁₁-[dè]: *iš-tu É ^den-līl it-ta-ša-a*). It has come down from the midst of the mountains to the land (kur-ra kur šà-ta nam-ta-e₁₁-dè : *iš-tu qé-reb KUR-i ana KUR ur-da*). It has come down from the horizon of the mountains to the land (gilim hur-saḡ-ḡá-ta kur-ta nam-ta-e₁₁-dè : *iš-tu kip-pat KUR-i ana KUR ur-da*). It came down from the pasture lands, not to return (anymore)" (a-gār nu-gi₄-gi₄-a-ta kur-ta nam-ta-e₁₁-dè : *iš-tu ú-ga-ri ana la ta-a-ri ur-da*).

Line 5": For a-ri-a "desert, wasteland" as a place inhabited by demons or diseases to which they are banned in exorcistic rituals, see e.g. Udug-hul Tablet 8: 29, 48, 50 (Geller 2016, 296, 300–301). This reading is probably to be preferred over a-ri-a "offspring of . . ." (describing the origin of the demon).

Line 6": The spelling gu-ḡar-ra¹ is interpreted as gú-ḡiri "breach" (suggestion courtesy of M. Geller). Alternatively, gu-ḡar may stand for gú-ḡar "entirety".

Line 7": The sequence é bar is understood as a bar-ra "adopted child" (Akk. *liqûtu*).

Line 8": In nam-tar gig-ga-a-ta, the suffix -ta is interpreted as an alternative spelling for -da (comitative).

Line 9": If the restoration [na-ál]g²-tag šu-re-dè at the beginning of the line is correct, it could be interpreted as a cryptographic spelling for nam-tag šu-re-da (= šer₇-da), corresponding to Akkadian *arnu šertu* "sin (and) crime".

The spelling lugal-maš-pa-è-a appears to be abbreviated for ^dLugal-amaš-pa-è, a sickness and netherworld deity/demon, often mentioned beside Namtar and Lugalurra and associated with epilepsy (see Stol 1993, 20, 110 n. 119 for similar spellings also dropping the divine epithet). It has been proposed that the name may have to be read Lugal-ùtul-pa-è "the king shepherd shining forth", but in the light of the present spelling, the pronunciation must in fact have been amaš, i.e. "sheepfold" (see Krebernik 1987–1990b, "Lugal-AMÁŠ-pa'e", *RIA* 7, 111).

Line 10": The restoration is tentative, for similar passages, see e.g. Udug-ḫul Tablet 16: 4, 21 (Geller 2016, 502, 505).

Line 11": For the udug-demon of the highway (udug ḫar-ra-an-na), see also Udug-ḫul Tablet 5: 146 (Geller 2016, 206). The proposed emendation <šu> nu-gu is tentative; the text seems to be corrupt. Possibly, <šu> nu-gu is an error for šu nu-kur₉ (šu ku₄-ku₄) "whom one cannot withstand; whom no one can approach". Other possible interpretations may be šu nu-gur "who does not wipe the hand (clean)" or šu nu-ḡar-ra "one who does not spare; merciless" (Akk. *lā gāmilu*).

Line 12": The spelling zu-zu is understood as "well-known; recognised"; alternatively, it may perhaps be interpreted as šú-šú "to overwhelm" (šuš).

Line 14": The entity ka-muš-ì-gu₇ corresponds to Akkadian *pāšittu* lit. "the extinguisher", a female demon associated with Lamaštu, in medical texts also known as a disease linked to bile. The Sumerian name ka-muš-ì-gu₇ is translated as "Wurm-fraß" (Köcher 1978, 36 note 59) or as "the one who feeds (the victim) to the worms", see Wiggermann 2003–2005, *RIA* 10, 363–364; *Muššu'u* Tablet 1: 3 (Böck 2007, 94).

The spelling uš-šú-uš-ru stands for u₄-šú-uš-ru = Akk. *lu'tu* "debility, decay", often associated with *mungu/mangu* "paralysis, stiffness", see e.g. Jaques 2015, *Mon dieu*, 95 ad 67: 11; cf. AHw 565 (associating *lu'tu* with "dirt" and skin disease, because of its derivation from *lu"û* "to defile"); CAD L, 255–256 translates "softness, debility, decay".

Line 15": The phonetic spelling nu gi du-du should presumably be interpreted as lú gi₆-a du-du "who walks around at night", usually equated with *ḫā'ītu* "night watchman", also an epithet of gods and demons (CAD H, 32a). Perhaps ki-a-ga at the end of the line should be understood as ki-áḡ-ḡá "who loves". The epithet befits the description of the evil *Alû*-demon in Udug-ḫul, see e.g. Geller 2016, 288–289 Udug-ḫul Tablet 3: 5–9, 12: "whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who has no mouth (ka nu-tuku-a), whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who has no limbs (me-dím nu-tuku-a), whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who cannot hear (ḡiš nu-tuku-a), whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who has no face igi-kir₄ nu-tuku-a), whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who is not visible (even) by daylight, . . . , whether you are the evil *Alû*-demon who is a god stalking at night" (diḡir gi₆-a du-du). For the *Alû*-demon as a demon attacking victims at night, see also Stol 1993, 41–42.

Line 16": See also Böck 2007, 94 *Muššu'u* Beschwörung I line 5: [tu-r]a gi₆-u₄-na e-ne-bi-da-ke₄ "it is the illness of the early morning". The entity tu-ra gi₆-u₄-na is equated with *murūš kašâti* in ASKT 11, p. 84–85 line 56 (zi-pà-incantations, see Borger 1969, *FS von Soden*, 5). See also the forerunner to SAG.GIG I/a *Emar* 732: 3 (Zomer 2018, 264; Viano 2016, 321): tu-ra nu-du₁₀-ga "an illness-not-improving".

Line 17": For the reading of the Sumerian name of Lamaštu, ^dDÌM.ME, as Kamad-me, see George 2018. Lamaštu (^dDÌM.ME) forms a group of demonic, sickness-bringing entities together with ^dDÌM.(ME).A, now read Kamad-duru₅ (*Labāšu*) and ^dDÌM.ME.LAGAB/ḪAB (= *Aḫḫāzu*).

Line 18": The restoration at the beginning of the line is uncertain, but I suppose that kur-ra-a belongs together, perhaps representing a phonetic spelling for ku₄-r / kur₉ "to enter" (i.e. "one who enters . . ."). Compare, for example the phrase ab ku₄ "to slip in through the window (said of demons)" (usually construed with the locative, not the terminative).

The phrase ù nu-ga could be interpreted as an abbreviated spelling of ù nu-ḡar-ra "impropriety". However, in terms of the context, a better interpretation is to assume an unusual spelling of ù nu-ku/ku₄ "it doesn't allow one to sleep". See for a parallel bilingual line, Böck 2007, 94 *Muššu'u* I Beschwörung I line 4: [ù] nu-ku-ku ù nu-du₁₀-du₁₀-da : [u]l ú-šá-aš-lal šit-ta ul uš-ta-a-bi "the one who does not allow (one) to sleep, who doesn't let the sleep be good (Akk.: it does not let one sleep, it did not let the sleep be good)".

Line 19": Compare the similar sentence in Böck 2007, 94 *Muššu'u* I Beschwörung I line 6: [saĝ]-bi u₁₈-lu alan-bi ūru-àm : *qaqqassu alû lānšu abūbumma* "his head is (like that of) the *Alû*-demon, his body is the deluge". Thus, the spelling ú-la-a in line 19" would stand for a-lá-àm "it is the *Alû*-demon" (for a similar alteration of *a* > *u* in Sumerian texts from the western periphery (Emar, Ugarit, Hattuša) in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, see Viano 2016, 211). It is not impossible, although unlikely, that ú-la-a here stands instead for the Ulāya river (Greek Eulaios). In Mesopotamian sources this river is mentioned as a holy river and a deity associated with purification and creating healing plants; it was also seen as a crossing point for demons and an entrance to the Netherworld; as a deified river Ulāya had an apotropaic function and was also a guardian of gates, see Frame 2014–2016, "Ulai, Ulaja," *RLA* 14, 302–303; Krebern timer, 2014–2016, "Ulai, Ulaja" *RLA* 14, 303; Perdibon 2019, 130–131; Meinhold 2009, 105–106.

Line 20": The spelling uš-šú-uš-ru is a phonetic variant of u₄-šú-uš-ru, which corresponds to Akkadian *lu'tu* "decay". The term often occurs in Uduĝ-hul incantations (see e.g. Geller 2016, Uduĝ-hul Tablet 3: 142).

Line 21": The spelling ù ku-uk-ku is understood as ù ku-ku "sleep". The form ra-a is interpreted as ri-a, from ri "to cast, throw down; to pour out".

Line 22": Sumerian sa-ad-nim is equated with several different Akkadian disease terms. Note sa-ad-nim = *bennu* "epilepsy" and *šaššaṭu* (MSL 9, 94: 83–84). A passage from a bilingual anti-witchcraft incantation offers a parallel (Abusch and Schwemer 2016, CMAwR 2, 115: 11): lú-ùlu-bi á-šu-ĝiri-ni sa-ad-nim im-šub : i-¹na¹ ma-na-ni-¹šu¹ [š]a-¹áš¹-š[a-tam id-dī] "she (the witch) cast sadnim-disease (Akk. *šaššaṭu*-disease) on that man's limbs (Akk. on his *muscles*)".²³⁹ On *šaššaṭu*-disease (associated with jerking, spasms and rigidity), see e.g. Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 66–68 (interpreted as tetanus).

In the present text, sa-ad-nim is said to come from the mountain(s). Only few specific diseases are credited with this place of origin, especially the 'mountain fever' (*līb(i) šadī*), also known as "seizure of the mountain" (*šibit šadī*), see e.g. Stadhouders 2018a, *RA* 112, 159–160 with further references. The association of this febrile condition with the "mountain(s)" may stem from its potential lethal outcome and from its occasional epidemic outbreaks. See further the "migraine of the mountain" (saĝ-ki-dab-ba ħur-saĝ-ĝá) in SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ Tablet VI Incantation 1 (CT 17, 23: 1 Linton 1970, 110).

The phrase a-zu-<<bi-šē>> is tentatively interpreted as a corrupt writing for á-šu-ĝiri-bi "limbs", already found in the previous line, where the scribe likewise wrote a superfluous sign (á-šu-<<bi>>-ĝiri-bi).

Line 23": I owe the identification of nam-me-en-na at the beginning of the line with the name ^dLugal-nam-en-na to a suggestion by Marten Stol, although the present text presents an unusual spelling ((Lugal)-nam-me-en-na). Lugal-nam-en-na (also Nam-en-na, Lugal-me(a)) is one of the lesser deities linked to epilepsy (*bennu*), beside Lugal-amašpa'ea, Šulpa'ea and the 'Lord of the roof' (Lugal-urra), see Stol 1993, 20–21; Lambert 1987–1990, *RLA* 7, 149; Geller 2016, 100 Uduĝ-hul 3: 52 (with n. 52); CT 17, 4: 2 // (Linton 1970, 132) ^dlugal-nam-en-na (= *bennu*) beside dugud-da (= *miqtu*) and other demonic entities. It is uncertain, whether the name was indeed written out in full by the scribe of BAM 241(+), carrying over from line 22" to 23", or whether it was abbreviated (Nam-me-en-na). However, the same phenomenon can be observed in line 12"–13" where the name ki-sikil-líl-lá is similarly split up between the end of line 12" and the beginning of line 13" (see above).

The spelling dadag-ge-ta in lines 23"–24" should presumably be understood as dadag + -èd + -a "to purify".

Line 24": For gurum (GAM) "to bend" (Akk. *kanānu* "to twist, contort") in connection with sa "muscle, sinew", see e.g. [sa ši-in]-gurum-ma : še[r'¹ānī uka]nnan "it (head disease) twists the sinews" (CT 17, 25: 23 //; Böck 2007, 96 *Muššu'u* I Beschwörung 1 line 14; MSL 9, 23–24). The element KI in sa ki gurum is interpreted here as a phonetic spelling of ĝig (*ge*₁₇-ga) "sick" (see e.g. Cavigneaux 1999, 258: 17 (Tell Haddad)).

²³⁹ Furthermore, sa-ad-nim (in first millennium BCE texts also saĝ-nim-(nim) and sa-niĝin) corresponds to Akkadian *rapādu*, a disease term associated with mental derangement (*šinit tēmi*) (CAD R, 147; AHW 954). Especially when referring to a disease of sheep, *rapādu* has been interpreted as "staggers" (listeriosis), cf. CAD R, 147 sub 1. There appears to be a partial overlap with the condition of *šidānu* "vertigo", which also corresponds to sa-ad-nim or saĝ-niĝin / sa-(ad)-niĝin (see AHW 1100a; Sjöberg 1973, *JCS* 25, 141 ad line 166, variant saĝ-nim-nim). The homonymous plant *rapādu* induces this state (i.e. a psychoactive plant); in a Late Babylonian anti-witchcraft incantation it is said to grow in the steppe and be of a purple colour, see Abusch and Schwemer 2016, CMAwR 2, 100, 103–104 text 7.24; Stol 2017, *BiOr* 74, 371–372; 2022, *BiOr* 79, 326–327.

Line 25'': Sumerian *uzu-sa-umbin* corresponds to Akkadian *manānu* “sinews, nerves”, in Böck 2007, 96 *Muššu'u I* Beschwörung I line 16: [uzu-sa-um]bin an-lum-[mu]: [*man*]āni ukannan “it twists (all) the sinews”. Cf. AHw 602a; CAD M/1, 208.

Lines 27'''–30''': In women's healthcare texts, the verb *našû* (ÍL) “to wear, to apply” regularly denotes the insertion of a tampon into the vagina, which is filled with medicinal ingredients and kept in place for a certain amount of time (CAD N/2, 100a; Reiner 1982, ZA 72, 131 with UET 7, No. 123 obv. 1–7 and dupl. (text B.2.2)). See e.g., a similar prescription to promote fertility in BAM 408 obv.² i' 1': MUNUS BI ÍL-*ma* . . . *irri* “the woman applies it, . . . (Then) she will get pregnant” (see *infra* text A.2.9, section B and *passim* for further discussion).

For the reconstruction [*ana*] U₄.11.KAM “for/over a period of eleven days”, see also line 52''' below (ms. a₂ rev. iii 12): *ana* U₄.16.KAM “for sixteen days (the woman shall not [remove (the tampon)])”.

Lines 31'''–34''': These lines have been restored according to the parallel prescription in BAM 237 rev. iv 9–10 (ms. B). Ms. a₁ seems to be slightly abbreviated, dropping the verb *tuballal*(HI.HI) “you mix”, which is found in ms. B rev. iv 9. The rest of the recipe appears to be identical.

Because of the conspicuously high amount of two litres of ashes that are filled into the pieces (“knots”) of cloth, only one piece of cloth can have been inserted into the woman's vagina at a time (which must be indicated by the expression 1.TA.ĀM “one by one; separately”) in line 34'''. Therefore, the treatment was presumably spread out over a period of fourteen days. For the use of ashes in Mesopotamian medical texts, see further CAD T, 111b s.v. *ṭikmennu*. For discussion of the condition NI.NE treated with this remedy, see the edition of the parallel in BAM 237(+) and the text BM 42313+ (texts C.1.4 and A.2.2).

Lines 35'''–36''': The parallel in the Late Babylonian ms. b varies slightly from ms. a₁. Instead of the phrase DIŠ KI.MIN “alternatively” (perhaps to be read *ana šanī*) in ms. b, ms. a₁ only has KI.MIN, which presumably should be read *šanū* “another (prescription)”. Secondly, in ms. b the medicine is introduced into the woman's urethra rather than her vagina, as the Middle Babylonian precursor recommends. The younger text explicitly prescribes the use of a bronze tube. It is interesting that the verbal form at the end of line 36''' in ms. a₁ is in the third rather than the second person, meaning that the patient applied the medicine herself, not the healer. Compare also BAM 237 rev. iv 12 (text C.1.4) using a similar procedure for the same condition (NI.NE), but here “white drug” is the simple and not *murru*-plant: Ú BABBAR *ta-sāk ina Ī.GIŠ HI.HI ina MUD ZABAR ina muš-tin-ni-ša DUB-ak* “You pound ‘white drug’, mix it with oil (and) pour (it) into her urethra with a bronze tube.” For the use of a tube to apply a remedy, see also BAM 240: 46 (text D.2.1): *ina MUD A.BĀR ana pag-ri-ša i-nap-paḥ-ma* “she blows (the medication) into her body with a lead tube” (prescription against (intestinal) fever after delivery).

For the *murru*-plant (an aromatic), which is unlikely to be identified with myrrh, see Farber 1993–1997, “Myrrhe B. Philologisch”, *RIA* 8, 536–537; Jursa 2009, *FS Sima*, 163; Kinnier Wilson 2011, *JMC* 17, 4–5 (proposing *murru* is a type of juniper); BAM 1 i ii 12 ^{sim}ŠEŠ šá KUR “*murru*-plant of the mountain(s)” (i.e. a wild-growing variety?), Attia and Buisson 2012, *JMC* 19, 28. Stol (1980–1983, “Leder(industrie)”, *RIA* 6, 533 § 16) suggests *murru* (“bitter plant”) may be aloe. This plant is often prescribed in women's healthcare texts, see e.g. BM 47578: 11 (text C.2.2, to induce bleeding), *Iraq* 31, 31: 5 (text II.1.4, to induce the lochia); K. 8893: 5' (text C.1.6, to stop haemorrhage), BM 54587 + 73802: 4' (text C.2.3, to stop bleeding); BM 38624+ : 86''' (text A.2.1); BM 42313+: 24, 26, 30, 78 (bleeding, fertility; text A.2.2); BM 47491: 21 (text A.2.6); BM 48557: 8' (text A.2.10).

Line 37''': For *maḥāṣu* in the meaning “to stir (usually a powdered substance) into a liquid”, see CAD M/1, 78–70 sub 3e. See also BAM 237 obv. ii 34' (text C.1.4 line 92'); K. 263+10934 rev. 12 (text C.1.5 line 35) and BM 40152 rev. iii 11 (text C.1.8 line 26').

Lines 38'''–40''': The form *tattikātu* is a fem. pl. of *tattik(tu)*, derived from the verb *natāku* “to drip” (CAD T, 299b). The expression *tattikāt ūrīša marṣat* “she is sick with dribbling from her vulva” may not refer to a discharge from the vagina, but perhaps to urination (i.e. incontinence). Similar phrases found in texts dealing with male renal diseases explicitly speak of urine, however: see, e.g., BAM 396 i 10: *šumma amēlu tattikam ša šināti maruṣ* “if a man suffers from dribbling of urine”; KAR 73: 2–3: [*šumma amēlu*] . . . *lu mūṣu lu ḥiniqtu lu šuburra marša lu tattikāte ša šināte irtanašši* “[If a man] (suffers) from *mūṣu*-discharge, from stricture (or) from rectal disease, or (if) he regularly has dribbling of urine” (see Geller 2005a, texts No. 1 and No. 10; CAD M/2, s.v. *mūṣu* mng. 1a).

Lines 41'''–42''': Instead of (*šumma*) *sinništu ūl[id]* “(If) a woman giv[es birth]”, it is likewise possible to read ^{munus}Ū.[TU] = *alittu* “(If) a fertile woman”. In this case, the fragmentary prescription may have had a similar purpose as the following

sections (promoting fertility). A similar introductory formula as in line 43''' is also not excluded (e.g., MUNUS Û.TU KUD-sà-at "(If) a woman has stopped to bear").

Lines 43'''–46''': A different prescription for the same purpose (fertility after menopause), literally expressed with the phrase "(if) a woman stopped (lit. is cut off) to bear", is preserved in another fragment found at Assur, dating to the Neo-Assyrian period (BAM 243: 5': DIŠ MUNUS *a-la-da* 'KUD¹-at; see text B.1.2). For discussion and further references, see CAD P, 167 sub 1b; Reiner 1982, ZA 72, 129, 131 n. 24; Volk 2004, 74 n. 17). Note the slightly varying formulation MUNUS šà Û.TU *pa-ar-sà-at* in MDP 57, 11 vi 21 (Labat 1974, *Textes littéraires de Suse*, 246) and the logographic spelling šá MUD AL.KUD in AMT 20/1 obv. i(!) 30. These expressions may designate a woman who did not get pregnant for a long time or a menopausal woman. The verb *parāsu* "to be cut off" is also used in expressions referring to the stopping of the menses ("a woman whose blood is cut off"). Note also the cognate term (*sinništu*) *parištu* (logographic spelling MUNUS KUD-tu₄), which refers to a post-menopausal woman (see CAD P, 187; see also BAM 237 obv. i 22 (text C.1.4). See also BM 47491: 25–26 (text A.2.6) for discussion.

Line 45''': The constellation Ursa Major (*Erequetu* "Wagon star") is addressed or receives an offering in other treatments or rituals for women, see SpTU 3, No. 84 line 89 (text C.3.4); BM 48030 (text C.3.8). The constellation is designated as "mother of all the gods" in KAL 4, No. 53 rev. 10 (Maul and Strauß 2011, 105–106). The "Wagon Star" is otherwise associated with Ninlil in MUL.APIN (Tablet I i 15), but mostly with Venus (i.e. the goddess Ištar) and with Antu (Reiner 1995, 57–58, 139).

Line 46''': The passage is difficult. The verb *alāku* (DU-ku) is often encountered in expressions referring to the haemorrhage or menstrual bleeding, usually in combination with the phrase "her blood" (MÚD.(MEŠ)-šá) or her "menses" (*sagūša*). However, the logographic spelling KU.MEŠ-šá in the present text does not yield a term for blood, unless the text is corrupt. I have opted for reading TÚG.MEŠ-šá "her cloth" (*lubāru*). If understood correctly, TÚG.MEŠ-šá could refer to a menstrual bandage (usually in this context, we find the spelling TÚG.ĦIA instead of TÚG.MEŠ); a reference to the woman's blood is expected in the gap in the preceding line 45'''. This would mean that the patient took the medicament for fertility when she had her period.

Lines 47'''–53''': See also Reiner 1982, ZA 72, 128; Volk 2004, 74 n. 17. I interpret [úk]a-am-kà-ta in line 48''' as a variant spelling for the *kamkadu*-plant (cf. CAD K, 123–124).

For *lubku* "wet poultice, lubricant" in line 50''', which is also encountered with *napšaltu* "salve", see CAD L, 232. In line 52'', Böck (2013, 31 n. 13) restores ^{munus}NU.[Û.TU] "the in[fertile] woman . . ." (*lā ālittu*). The alternative reading suggested here leaves open the possibility that the lubricant (perhaps not a poultice, but a tampon?) was applied for sixteen days and then removed.

Lines 54'''–64''': Several readings in these lines are highly provisional due to the poor state of preservation of Ms. a₂. ÛKUR.(-) KUR.RA in lines 61''' and 66''' is a variant spelling for ÛKUR.KUR (for the plant *atā'īšu*), see CAD A/2, 481 sub f. This spelling is also attested in a Middle Babylonian collection of anti-witchcraft rituals from Hattuša (Abusch and Schwemer 2011, CMAwR 1, 29 text 1.1, 1: 22' (the duplicate writes *a-ta-i-ši*).

The reading *ta-ká²-pār-ma* "you rub" in line 64''' is tentative, since the use of KÁ as a syllabic sign is otherwise rare (cf. Borger 2004, MZL 298). If the proposed reading is correct, one expects a body part as an object of *takappār* in the gap preceding the verb.

Lines 65'''–69''': The logogram ÛSUR.SUR (also written ZÚ.SUR) found in line 66''' corresponds to *pizzir* (*pi/enzir*) "cobweb", see CAD P, 452 lex. section.

II.1.3.1 BAM 242: A Middle Babylonian Fragment from Assur

The script of this small Middle Babylonian fragment looks very similar to BAM 241 (see above), and Franz Köcher (BAM III, p. xviii) proposed that both fragments belonged to the same tablet, although this remains uncertain, since the fragments do not join. The preserved traces of the ten lines of text on BAM 242 give no definite clue that the prescriptions were concerned with treating women, although the ingredients and treatment (bandaging) may be compared with prescriptions against infertility in BAM 244 (see text B.1.1 and notes below).

List of Manuscripts

Siglum	Museum Number	Copy	Collation	Format; Ductus	Provenience
a	VAT 14389	BAM 242	Coll.	Fragment; Middle Babylonian period; ca. 12th/11th cent. BCE	Assur

Overview

- i' Fragmentary prescription (bandage) . . .]1'–3'
a obv.² 1'–3'
- ii' Fragmentary prescription 4'–10'[. . .
a obv.² 4'–10'

Previous Edition and Discussion

Köcher 1964, xxviii, pl. 45

CDLI P285328 (transliteration; photo)

BabMed Corpora (https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/BAM-3/BAM-3_-242)

Transliteration

Beginning of ms. a lost

1'	a obv. ² 1'	[.] x [.]
2'	a obv. ² 2'	[.]-su te- <i>te</i> ₄ -e[n]
3'	a obv. ² 3'	[. t]a-ša- ¹ na ¹ -mi-id-m[a]
4'	a obv. ² 4'	[.] 1 SÌLA ZÌ.DA [.]
5'	a obv. ² 5'	[. 1 SÌLA] ZÌ.DA ^ú ĦAR.[ĦAR]
6'	a obv. ² 6'	[. 1 SÌ]LA ZÌ.DA ^ú GADA x[.]
7'	a obv. ² 7'	[. 1 SÌL]A ZÌ.DA ka-[mu-nu ²]
8'	a obv. ² 8'	[. 1 SÌL]A ZÌ.DA ^ú [.]
9'	a obv. ² 9'	[. 1 SÌLA ²] KU PA x[.]
10'	a obv. ² 10'	[. 1 SÌLA ²] 'KU' GAM.M[A]

Ms. a breaks; remainder lost

Bound Transcription and Translation

Beginning lost

¹ traces ² [.] . . . *teṭēn* [.] ³ [. t]aššanam-
mid-m[a . . .]

¹ traces ² [.] you grind, [. . .], ³ [. . .] you bandage (her)
repeatedly, and [. . .].

^{4'} [.] *ištēn qa qēm* [.] ^{5'} [. . . *ištēn qa*] *qēm ḥašî*
[.] ^{6'} [. *ištēn*] *qa qēm kitê* [.] ^{7'} [. . . *ištēn*]
qa qēm k[amûni(?)] ^{8'} [. *ištēn q*] *a qēm* [.]
^{9'} [. *ištēn qa*] *sîkti* . . . [.] ^{10'} [. . . *ištēn qa*] *sîkti*
sumla[lê]

Ms. a breaks; remainder lost

^{4'} [.], one litre flour of [. . .], ^{5'} [. . . one litre] powder of
ḥašû-plant, [. . .], ^{6'} [. . . one litr]e powder of flax, [. . .], ^{7'} [. . .
one litr]e powder of c[umin(?), . . .], ^{8'} [. . . one litr]e powder
of [. . .]-plant, [. . .], ^{9'} [. . . one litre] powder of . . . [. . .], ^{10'} [. . .
one litre] powder of *šumlalû*-plant, [.].

Notes

Line 3': The fragmentary verb is interpreted as a Gtn-stem durative form of *šamādu* (*taššanammidma*). Cf. also the Middle Babylonian medical text BAM 398 rev. 46' from Nippur (Scurlock 2014a, 564): *ta-aš-ša-na-mid-su* “you bandage him repeatedly (with it)”.

Lines 4'–10': The use of flours or powdered plant materials points to the preparation of a bandage. Cf. BAM 244: 21–30 (text B.1.1) for a similar prescription of a bandage using more than 20 different powders or flours (Zl.(DA) or KU). For discussion of the Akkadian readings of these logograms, see *infra* notes to text B.1.1.

II.1.4 A Middle Assyrian Tablet with Birth Incantations and Prescriptions for Problems after Delivery

Like the preceding text II.1.3, this Middle Assyrian tablet from the Giancarlo Ligabue Collection (Venice) may have originated from Assur, perhaps from the so-called library of Tiglath-pileser I (as suggested by Fales (1989, 195)).²⁴⁰ The text, which can be described as an excerpt compiled from at least two different sources, begins with four sections with prescriptions for women after delivery suffering from symptoms of intestinal blockage and retention of the lochia (postpartum blood/fluids). The treatments applied to counter these symptoms, especially fumigations, baths, bandages, share similarities with other medical cuneiform texts within and beyond the women's healthcare texts (see the notes below for discussion), but also with therapies for women in the Hippocratic gynaecological treatises (Steinert 2014a; 2014b). The present text describes a sequence of treatments (fumigations, tampon, ointment) that continued for two days, after which recovery was expected. For the case that the patient's state had not improved by then, the text provides a second sequence of treatments (bath, ointment, bandage) that had to be applied. The specific therapies used to induce the lochia attest to an underlying idea of applying heat to provoke the flow of blood/fluids locked in the body, making this remarkable text one of the earliest examples within the Mesopotamian women's healthcare texts in which pathological body states are conceptualized and manipulated in terms of the properties hot/cold (see the *Introduction* and the notes below for further discussion).

The remedies are followed by a scribal note and by two Akkadian birth incantations used to speed up difficult labour. The second of these incantations is a version of the incantation “A Cow of Sîn” (see BAM 248 (text D.1.1), the Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium, with all parallels). Moreover, the first of both incantations, which describes the suffering of the woman in difficult childbirth with highly poetic imagery, also finds almost verbatim parallels in several lines of another birth incantation in BAM 248, suggesting processes of transmission and re-working of older forerunners in first millennium BCE texts. The text of ms. A contains several scribal mistakes and textual corruptions, perhaps being witness to an unexperienced scribe.

²⁴⁰ For this library, see Weidner 1952–1953, *AfO* 16, 197–215; Pedersén 1985, 31–42 Library M2; Zomer 2018, 39. Another Middle Assyrian medical-therapeutic text attributed to this library is BAM 208 (CDLI P281819) = Abusch and Schwemer 2011, CMAwR 1, text 2.4 (against witchcraft-induced ailments).

²⁴¹ Photos of the tablet were published by Fales 1989, 195.

List of Manuscripts

Siglum	Museum Number	Copy	Collation	Format; Ductus	Provenience
A	Ligabue –	<i>Iraq</i> 31, Pl. V–VI	Photo coll. ²⁴¹	Single-column tablet in portrait format; Middle Assyrian script; ca. 12th/11th cent. BCE	Assur(?)

Overview

i	Prescription for a postpartum woman suffering from retention of the lochia (fumigation, tampon) A obv. 1–13	1–13
ii	Prescription for a postpartum woman suffering from retention of the lochia (fumigation, ointment) A obv. 14–18	14–18
iii	Prescription for a postpartum woman suffering from retention of the lochia (bath, ointment) A obv. 19–26	19–26
iv	Prescription for a postpartum woman suffering from retention of the lochia (bandage) A rev. 1–5	27–31
v	Scribal note A rev. 6	32
vi	Akkadian incantation for a woman in difficult labour: <i>multapšiqtu šapšuqat alāda</i> A rev. 6–24	33–50
vii	Akkadian incantation for a woman in difficult labour: <i>Gī-Sin amtu ša Sin alāda šapšuqat</i> A rev. 25–l.e. 4	51–62

Previous Edition and Discussion

Lambert 1969, *Iraq* 31, 28–39 (edition)

Albertz 1978, 52 with 230 (notes)

Finkel 1980, *AfO* 27, 45

Röllig 1985, *OrNS* 54, 260–273 (lines 51–62)

Fales 1989, 195–196 No. 62 (photo, translation)

Scurlock 1991, 146–148, 150–151, 173–174, 177–178 with notes 95–96, 107, 109, 114, 116–118, 141, 144–149, 153–155 (discussion)

Stol 2000a, 130 (with notes)

Foster 2005, 1006 (translation of lines 33–50)

Scurlock 2005, 311 (lines 1–3)

Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 282 12.122 (lines 1–3)

Attinger 2008, 21–22 (lines 1–3, 33–49)

Scurlock 2014a, 605–608 (edition)

Scurlock 2014b, 113–114 (translation of lines 1–31)

Marquéz Rowe 2015, *AuOr* 33, 51–62

Zomer 2018, 254–256 (lines 33–50), 363

SEAL Texts No. 7231 and 7232 (lines 33–50, 51–62)

CDLI P282478

Transliteration

- 1 A obv. 1 MUNUS Û.TU-*ma em-rat šit-t[u]-š[a' x (x)]*
- 2 A obv. 2 ŠÀ.MEŠ-ša *es-lu* A.MEŠ-ša *u* MÚD.M[*EŠ-ša ina ŠÀ-bi-ša'*]
- 3 A obv. 3 GUR.MEŠ-*ru ana šup-šu-ri-ša* ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR ^{ršim}LI¹
- 4 A obv. 4 ^úKUR.KUR ^{šim}GAM.ME GI DU₁₀.GA ^{šim}BAL
- 5 A obv. 5 ^{šim}ŠEŠ ^{šim}ḪAB ILLU *a-bu-ka-ta*
- 6 A obv. 6 ILLU ^{šim}BULUḪ SUḪUŠ ^úKUR.KUR 11 Ú.ḪI.A
- 7 A obv. 7 *an-nu-ti* TÉŠ.BI *tu-sa-maḫ* DÈ ^{giš}KIŠI₁₆
- 8 A obv. 8 *ana* ^{dug}KÍR¹ *te-si-ip* Ú.<ḪI.A> *ša-šu-nu ana ŠÀ ŠUB-di*
- 9 A obv. 9 MUNUS *ša-ši ina* UGU *tu-še-šab ina* TÚG.ḪI.A *tu-ŠIR-ši*
- 10 A obv. 10 ^{giš}si-ḫa ^{giš}ar-ga-na ^úba-ri-ra-ta
- 11 A obv. 11 ZÀ.ḪI.LI^{sar} DIDA *ina* Ì ÁB¹(AMAR) KÙ.GA
- 12 A obv. 12 ḪI.ḪI *ina* ^{sig}ÀKA¹(ÍL) NIGIN-*ma ana* ŠÀ GAL₄.LA-ša GAR.GAR-*ma*
- 13 A obv. 13 *ur-ra u* GI₆ *an-na-a DÙ.MEŠ-uš-ma* DU₁₀-*ba* IGI-*mar*
-
- 14 A obv. 14 *ina* 2 *u₄-me* 'x x x' *tu-šab-šal* E₁₁-*la-ma*
- 15 A obv. 15 MUNUS *ina* UGU [t]*u-še-ša-ab ina* TÚG.ḪI.A *tu-ŠIR-ši*
- 16 A obv. 16 KAŠ *ana* UGU 'qut-PA^{?1} *ri* *tu-sa-làḫ* 'qú-ut^{?1}-*ru*
- 17 A obv. 17 *ana* KA.MEŠ-šá *u na-ḫi-ri-ša e-ru-ub*
- 18 A obv. 18 Ì DU₁₀.GA ŠÉŠ.MEŠ *še-ḫa* NU IGI-*mar-ma* TI
-
- 19 A obv. 19 *šum₄-ma* DU₁₀-*ba* NU IGI-*mur* ^{urudu}ŠEN.TUR A.MEŠ *u* KAŠ DIRI
- 20 A obv. 20 ^{šim}EREN.NA ^{šim}ŠUR.MÌN.NA ^{šim}dáp-ra-na
- 21 A obv. 21 ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR ^{šim}LI ^{šim}GAM.ME ^úKUR.KUR
- 22 A obv. 22 ^úsi-ḫa ^úar-ga-na ^úba-ri-ra-ta
- 23 A obv. 23 GAZI^{sar} NUMUN *šu-ši* 11 Ú.ḪI.A *an-nu-ti*
- 24 A obv. 24 TÉŠ.BI *ana* ŠÀ ŠUB-di *tu-šab-šal ta-šá-ḫal*
- 25 A obv. 25 *ina* ŠÀ RA-si E₁₁-*ma* Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ *ana* É
- 26 A obv. 26 *pag-ri tu-še-rab-ši* *še-ḫa* NU IGI DU₈-*ma*
-
- 27 A rev. 1 'ŠEŠ¹.MEŠ ŠIM.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI-*šu-nu* ^{giš}ba¹(SU)-*ri-ra-[t]a*
- 28 A rev. 2 KI DIDA BIL ḪI.ḪI *ana* ^{dug}BÁN *te-si-ip*
- 29 A rev. 3 *ina* ^{im}<ŠU>.RIN.NA *te¹-se-kér* E₁₁-*ma ina* TÚG.ḪI.A

- 30 A rev. 4 *te-ṭe₄-ri^{uz₁}em-ši-e-ša^{uz₁}šu-ḥe-e-ša*
- 31 A rev. 5 *u^{uz₁}ra-pal-te-ša LÁL-id-ma TI*
-
- 32 A rev. 6 *tup-pu ši-it up¹(ŠA)-pu-ša-ta la ga-am-rat*
-
- 33 A rev. 7 *^{munus}LA.<RA>.AḤ-tu šap-šu-qa-at Û.TU.MEŠ-da*
- 34 A rev. 8 *Û.TU.MEŠ šap-šu-qa-at še-er-ra ku-na-at*
- 35 A rev. 9 *še-er-ra ku-na-at ana qa-tu-ú ZI-te ŠU.RA ^{giš}SAG.KUL*
- 36 A rev. 10 *sa-ni-iq KÁ ana ti-nu-qí ka¹(la)-lu-ú pi-it ARḤUŠ-mu*
- 37 A rev. 11 *ba-ni-tu u-bu-ḥa-at SAḤAR¹(BA).MEŠ mu-ú-te*
- 38 A rev. 12 *ki-i ^{giš}GIGIR u-bu-ḥa-at SAḤAR¹(BA).MEŠ ta-ḥa-zi*
- 39 A rev. 13 *ki-i ^{giš}APIN u-bu-ḥa-at SAḤAR¹(BA).MEŠ GIŠ.ÛR¹(TIR).MEŠ*
- 40 A rev. 14 *ki-i UR.SAG mu-ut-taḥ-iṣ ina MÚD.MEŠ-šá ṣa-la-at*
- 41 A rev. 15 *ú-ṭa-a IGI.MEŠ-šá ul ta-da-gal ka-at-ma šap-ta-šá*
- 42 A rev. 16 *ul ta-pa-te ši-mat mu-te u ši-ma-ta ṣa-pa-a IGI.MEŠ-šá*
- 43 A rev. 17 *ú-ia KA-ša ik-ta-na-at-tam ul ŠE.GA-a*
- 44 A rev. 18 *GEŠTU.MEŠ-šá ul sa-qa-at ^{uz₁}GABA-sa sà-pu-ḥu ku-lu-lu-ša*
- 45 A rev. 19 *pu-ṣu-ni ul pa-ṣu-na-at bul-ta ul ti-šu*
- 46 A rev. 20 *GUB-za-<<ma>>-am-ma DUG₄.GA.MEŠ-si re-ma-nu-ú ^dAMAR.UTU*
- 47 A rev. 21 *an-nu-ú te-šu-ú la-a-ma-ku-ma ku-ul-da-a-ni*
- 48 A rev. 22 *še-li kak-ka ṣa-ti bu-nu-ut DINGIR.MEŠ*
- 49 A rev. 23 *bu-nu-ut LÚ.U₁₈.LU lu-ú-ṣa-ma li-mur IZI.GAR*
- 50 A rev. 24 *ÉN¹(IGI) É.NU.RU ši-ip-tu ṣa mu-ul-tap-ši-iq-te*
-
- 51 A rev. 25 *gi-se-en <<^d30>> GÉME šá ^d30 a-la-da šap-šu-qa-at še-er-ra*
- 52 A rev. 26 *ku-na-at še-er-ra ku-na-at ana qa-tu-ú ZI-te ŠU.RA si-ku-rum*
- 53 A rev. 27 *sa-ni-iq KÁ-bu ana ti¹(nu)-nu¹(ti)-qí la-ku¹(lu)-ú IGI.DU₈-ši-ma ^d30*
- 54 A rev. 28 *i-ra'-ši ana nu-ru-ub Ú.MEŠ ir-ta-na-'i ina sa-ḥi m[aš-q]i²*
- 55 A u. e. 1 *NAG.MEŠ-[ši A].MEŠ ana UGU GU₄.ÁB il-ti-ki-iṭ bu-ru*
- 56 A u. e. 2 *ek-du U₄.MEŠ-ša ana mu-le-e ITI.MEŠ-ša ana [ga-ma-ri]*
- 57 A u. e. 3 *ta-aḥ-ti-me-iš ta-ḥa-al bu-ur-tu ina i[k-ki-li-ša²]*
- 58 A u. e. 4 *ina GÛ.MEŠ ḥi-li-ša ^d30 na-an-na-ar AN-e [x x x (x)]*
- 59 A l. e. 1 *2 ši-na DUMU.MUNUS ^da-nim TA AN-e ú-ri-da-a-ni 1-te na-ša-at A.MEŠ [h]i-i-li ṣa-ni-tu*
- 60 A l. e. 2 *na-ša-at Ì pu-ú-ri A.MEŠ ḥi-li <> il-pu-ut SAG.KI.MEŠ-sa Ì pu-ú-ri <<x>> ú-<šap>-pi-<ḥa>*
- 61 A l. e. 3 *DÙ.A.BI SU.MEŠ-ša GIN₇-ma gi-i-^d30 GÉME ša ^d30 e-eš-ri-ši Û.TU-du lu-Û.TU-id*
- 62 A l. e. 4 *ar-da-a-tu ^{munus}LA.RA.AḤ.MEŠ ÉN¹(IGI) É.NU.RU*

Bound Transcription and Translation

¹ sinništu ūlid-ma emrat šittūš[a . . .] ² qerbūša eslū mūša u dām[ūša ina libbī-ša] ³ turrū ana šupšurīša kukru burāšu ⁴ atā'īšu šumlalū qanū ṭābu ballukku ⁵ murru ṭūru ḥīl abukkati ⁶ ḥīl baluḥḥi šuruš atā'īši išteššeret šammī ⁷ annūti ištēniš tusammaḥ pēmti ašāgi ⁸ ana kirri tessip šammī šāšunu ana libbi tanaddi ⁹ sinništa šāši ina muḥḥi tušeššab ina lubāri tussarši(?) ¹⁰ siḥa argāna barīrāta ¹¹ sahlē billata ina šaman litti(!) elleti ¹² tuballal ina itqī talammī-ma ana libbi ūrīša taštanakkan-ma ¹³ urra u mūša annā tētenepuš-ma ṭūba immar

¹ (If) a woman gives birth and subsequently she is distended, her excrement(?) [. . .], ² her intestines are constipated, her fluids and [her] blood are blocked [in her belly(?)], ³ to make her release (it): *kukru*-aromatic, juniper, ⁴ *atā'īšu*-plant, *šumlalū*-aromatic, “sweet reed”, *ballukku*-aromatic, ⁵ *murru*-aromatic, *ṭūru*-aromatic, *abukkati*-resin, ⁶ resin of *baluḥḥu*-aromatic, root of *atā'īšu*-plant – these eleven drugs ⁷ you mix together. You gather charcoals of *ašāgu*-thorn ⁸ into a *kirru*-vessel, you throw these drugs into it, ⁹ you have that woman sit down above it, you *wrap* her with cloth. ¹⁰ You mix *siḥu*-wood, *argānu*-conifer, *barīrātu*-plant, ¹¹ *saḥlū*-cress, (and) *billatu*-substance with fat from a pure cow(!). ¹² You wrap (this mixture) in a wad of wool and insert it repeatedly into her vagina. ¹³ You continue doing this for (one) day and (one) night, then she will experience improvement.

¹⁴ ina šanī ūme . . . tušabšal tušellā-ma ¹⁵ sinništa ina muḥḥi tušeššab ina lubāri tussarši(?) ¹⁶ šikara ina muḥḥi qutārī(?) tusallaḥ qutru ¹⁷ ana piša u naḥīrīša errub ¹⁸ šamna ṭāba taptanaššaš šēḥa lā immar-ma iballuṭ

¹⁴ On the second day, you boil . . . (When) you have taken it out (of the fire), ¹⁵ you let the woman sit down over it, you *wrap* her with cloth. ¹⁶ You sprinkle beer on the fumigants(?); the smoke ¹⁷ should enter her mouth and nostrils. ¹⁸ You rub (her) repeatedly with fragrant oil. She should not catch a draft(?), then she will recover.

¹⁹ šumma ṭūba lā imur tangussa mē u šikara tumalla ²⁰ erēna šurmēna daprāna ²¹ kukra burāša šumlalū atā'īša ²² siḥa argāna barīrāta ²³ kasā zēr šūši išteššeret šammī annūti ²⁴ ištēniš ana libbi tanaddi tušabšal tašahḥal ²⁵ ina libbi tarahḥassi illi-ma šamna tapaššaš ana bīt ²⁶ pagri tušer-rabši šēḥa lā immar ippaššar-ma

¹⁹ If she does not experience improvement, you fill a *tangus*-vessel with water and beer. ²⁰ Cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper, ²¹ *kukru*-aromatic, *burāšu*-juniper, *šumlalū*-aromatic, *atā'īšu*-plant, ²² *siḥu*-plant, *argānu*-conifer, *barīrātu*-plant, ²³ *kasū*-plant, seed of *šūšu*-liquorice – these eleven drugs ²⁴ you pour together into (the vessel). You boil (and) strain (it), ²⁵ you wash her with it. (When) she comes out (from the bath), you rub (her) with oil. You take her into ²⁶ (her) *own room*(?). She should not catch a draft(?), then she will find relief.

²⁷ annūti riqqī kalīšunu barīrāta ²⁸ itti billati qalīti tuballal ana sūti tessip ²⁹ ina tinūri tesekker tušellā-ma ina lubāri ³⁰ teṭerri emšēša šuḥḥēša ³¹ u rapaltēša tašammid-ma iballuṭ

²⁷ Then you mix all the afore mentioned aromatics (and) *barīrātu*-wood ²⁸ with roasted *billatu*-substance (instant beer mixture), you collect (it) into a *sūtu*-vessel. ²⁹ You heat (lit. enclose it) in an oven. (Then) you take it out and *spread* (the mixture) on pieces of cloth. ³⁰ You bandage her lower abdomen, her buttocks, ³¹ and her thighs (with it). Then she will recover.

³² tuppu šit uppušat(!) lā gamrat

³² This tablet is executed (properly/ready for use?), but not finished.

³³ *multapšiqtu šapšuqat alāda*

³⁴ *alāda šapšuqat šerra kunnat*

³⁵ *šerra kunnat ana qatû napište maḥiṣ sikkûru*

³⁶ *saniq bâbu ana tēnūqi kalû(!) pīt rēmi*

³⁷ *bānītu ubbuḥat eprī mûte*

³⁸ *kī narkabti ubbuḥat eprī tāhāzi*

³⁹ *kī epinni ubbuḥat eprī šukkuki(?)*

⁴⁰ *kī qarrādi muttaḥḥiṣi ina dāmēša šal'at*

⁴¹ *uṭṭâ ināša ul tadaggal katmā šaptāša*

⁴² *ul tapatte šimat mûte u šimmata šāpâ ināša*

⁴³ *ūya pīša iktanattam ul šemâ*

⁴⁴ *uznāša ul sāqat irassa sappuḥū kulūlūša*

⁴⁵ *pušunnī ul paššunat būta ul tišu*

⁴⁶ *izizam-ma išanassi(?) rēmānū Marduk*

⁴⁷ *annū tēšū lamāku kuldanni*

⁴⁸ *šēli kakka šāti bunūt ilāni*

⁴⁹ *bunūt a'īli lūšâ-ma līmur nūra*

⁵⁰ *ÉN É.NU.RU šiptu ša multapšiqte*

³³ “The woman in hard labour has great difficulty giving birth,

³⁴ She has great difficulty giving birth, she is stuck with the baby.

³⁵ She is stuck with the baby to the point of ending (her) life. The door bolt is locked,

³⁶ the door is *closed* (lit. fastened) against the suckling infant. The opening of the womb is blocked(!).

³⁷ The (delivering) mother is covered with the dust of death.

³⁸ Like a chariot, she is covered with the dust of battle,

³⁹ like a plough, she is covered with the dust of harrowing(?),

⁴⁰ like a fighting warrior, she lies in her blood.

⁴¹ Her eyes are darkened, she cannot see; her lips are closed (lit. covered),

⁴² she cannot open (them). Her eyes are *clouded* with the signs of death and with paralysis.

⁴³ The woe of her mouth keeps covering (her),

⁴⁴ her ears cannot hear. Her breast is not restrained, her headbands are loosened.

⁴⁵ She is not covered with a veil, (but) she feels no shame.

⁴⁶ Stand by, oh merciful Marduk, *while she keeps calling out*:

⁴⁷ ‘Here is confusion, I am surrounded, reach for me!’

⁴⁸ Bring forth that sealed one, a creation of the gods,

⁴⁹ a creation of humankind! Let it come out and see the light!”

⁵⁰ Enuru-incantation. A spell for a woman having difficulty in delivery.

⁵¹ *Gī-Sîn amtu ša Sîn alāda šapšuqat šerra*

⁵² *kunnat šerra kunnat ana qatû napište maḥiṣ sikkûru*

⁵³ *saniq bâbu ana tēnūqi lakê īmuršī-ma Sîn*

⁵⁴ *irā'šī ina nurub šammē irtana''i ina saḥḥi m[ašq]ī*

⁵⁵ *iltanaqqī[šī] mē ana muḥḥi litti iltikiṭ būru*

⁵⁶ *ekdu ūmēša ana mullê arḥēša ana [gamārī]*

⁵⁷ *taḥṭimiš taḥâl būrtu ina i[kkilli]ša*

⁵⁸ *ina rigmī ḥīlīša Sîn nannār šamē [. .]*

⁵⁹ *šittā šina mārāt Anim ultu šamē ūridāni ištēte našât mē ḥīlī šanītu*

⁶⁰ *našât šaman pūri mē ḥīlī ilput pūssa šaman pūri ušap-piḥa(!)*

⁶¹ *kala zumriša kīma Gī-Sîn amtu ša Sîn ešriši tūlidu lūlid*

⁶² *ardatu multapšiqtu ÉN É.NU.RU*

⁵¹ Gī-Sîn, the maidservant of Sîn, has difficulty in (her) delivery. The child

⁵² is stuck, the child is stuck, to bring (her) life to an end. The bolt is lowered,

⁵³ the door is *closed* (lit. fastened) for the suckling infant. Sîn saw her and

⁵⁴ fell in love with her. Among the lushest grasses he always pastured her, at a meadow with a water[place]

⁵⁵ he always gave her water to drink. The wild bull mounted the cow.

⁵⁶ When her days came to an end, her months were finished,

⁵⁷ the cow bent down (and) was taken with labour pains. At [her crying],

⁵⁸ at her screaming in labour, Sîn, the luminary of heaven, [heard her screaming].

⁵⁹ Two are daughters of Anu. They descended from heaven. One carried water of labour, the second

⁶⁰ carried oil-from-the-jar. One smeared her forehead with water of labour, with oil-from-the-jar (the other) sprinkled(!)

⁶¹ her whole body. Just as Gī-Sîn, the maidservant of Sîn, gave birth normally, may

⁶² (also) this young woman in difficult labour ⁶¹ give birth!” ⁶² Enuru-incantation.

Notes

Lines 1–3: Scurlock and Andersen (2005, 282 with 12.122) interpret the symptom description as “uterine atony”. For discussion, see also Scurlock 2005, 311. The scribe omitted the expected *šumma* “if” at the beginning of line 1.

Line 1: The reading *šit-t[u]-š[a]* in line 1 tentatively follows Scurlock 2014a, 605. Note, however, that the word *šittu* “excrement” is rare (CAD Š/3, 142 s.v. *šittu* C). Note also Geller 2005a, No. 29: 6', 8'; No. 30: 14'.

Lines 2–3: The restoration of line 2 follows Scurlock (2014a, 607; 2014b, 113) who translates: “her waters and [her] blood have gone back [inside her]”. I suggest analysing the verb GUR.MEŠ-*ru* in line 3 as *turrū*, i.e. as a D-stem 3rd person masc. plur. stative form. This is in accordance with the other verbal forms referring to symptoms in lines 1–2 (which are also statives), and also in accordance with all other instances of “blocked fluids”, see the *Introduction* of this volume, with BM 38624+ obv. i 24'–25', 30'–31', ii 19'ff.; K.8678+ rev. 3' (written A.MEŠ GUR-*át* or *tur-rat*, see texts A.2.1 and A.1.4). A variant phrase referring to “blocked fluids” (*mê turrēti/turrūti*) is encountered in BAM 240: 67' (text D.2.1). For the meaning of the verb *tāru* “to return; to make turn back” (D-stem) in the sense of “to be blocked, closed (from the inside)” in connection with doors or gates, see CAD T, 273b sub 11d; CAD S, 143 sub 11; Steinert 2013, *JMC* 22, 7–8. The “fluids” (*mû*) are understood here as the discharges emitted by woman during and after delivery rather than amniotic fluid (to which *mû* can also refer in some contexts).

The passage *emrat . . . ana šupšuriša* is translated in CAD P, 243 s.v. *pašāru* sub 12a as “(if a woman giving birth) has colic . . . to effect her release (from pain)”. The verb *emēru* may refer to distention or bloating (of the intestines, following AHw 214, s.v. *emēru* II “aufgetrieben sein/werden”) or to a state associated with pain (as proposed in CAD E, 148 “to have intestinal trouble (colic or the like)”; see also Schmidtchen 2021, 549–550; Scurlock 1991, *Incognita* 2, 177 note 141. The verb *pašāru* occurs again at the end of line 26, in the prognosis DU₈-*ma* (= *ippaššar*?) “she will find relief / release”. The phrase *ana šupšuriša* “to cause her release” in line 3 presumably refers to the aim of inducing the expulsion of the postpartum fluids here (in other healing texts it can also refer more generally to undoing of witchcraft or release from sickness). See also Scurlock 1991, 178 note 154 (for the similar use of du₈ in reference to releasing the amniotic fluids in delivery).

Lines 7–9: A similar procedure for a fumigation is described in a Neo-Assyrian text on rectal diseases from Assur (BM 103386 rev. 9–12; Heeßel 2018, 322, 328, 335):

8 *šammē*(Ú.Ī.A) *annûte*(ŠEŠ) *ištēniš*(DIŠ-niš) *tasâk*(SÚD) <<*ina*>> *pēnti*(DÈ) *ašāgi*(KIŠ₁₆) *ina kirri*(^{du}gKÍR) *tašakkan*(GAR-an) ¹¹ *šammē*(Ú.Ī.A) *ša-šu-nu ana pâni*(IGI) *tanaddi*(ŠUB) *amēla*(NA) *šu-a-tu ina muḥḥi*(UGU) *tušeššebšu*(TUŠ-šú) *tuqattaršu*(SAR-šú) *adi pit²-ri-šú* ¹² *i-lab-bi-ku u zu'ta*(IR) *inaddû*(ŠUB-û) *illak*(DU-ak) *ina šâri*(TU₁₅) *zunni*(IM.A.BI) *u šeti*(UD.DA) *tu-ser-šú-ma iballuṭ*(TI)

“(List of ingredients) – these eight plants you pound together, you place coals from *ašāgu*-thorn in a *kirru*-vessel. ¹¹ These plants you put onto it. You have that man sit above sit, you fumigate him, until his . . . ¹² *become soaking (wet)* and he exudes sweat. (When) it (the sweat) flows, you should shield(?) him from wind, rain and heat of the sun. Then he will recover.”

Incidentally, the fumigation recipes in ms. A lines 3–9 and BM 103386 rev. 9–12 share three ingredients (*kukru*, *atā'īšu* and resin of *baluḥḥu*-aromatic). Interestingly, BM 103386 obv. 16'–18' (Heeßel 2018, 319, 325) mentions a barber's stool (*litti gallābi*), on which the patient had to sit during the fumigation; also found in BAM 104: 62 and dupl. (Geller 2005a, No. 28), referring to a stool (^{gi}šŠÚ.A). In our ms. A, a stool is not mentioned, but perhaps this instruction was simply omitted. This stool presumably had a hole in the middle of the seat. Hippocratic texts for women's diseases describe a comparable apparatus and practice of fumigation from below.²⁴²

Line 8: Scurlock 2014a, 607 and 2014b, 113 translates ^{du}gKÍR (= *kirru*) as “(an overturned) pottery drum”, presumably because KÍR can also be read ÛB = *uppu* “drum”. The sign KÍR (LIBIŠ) is written in a defective form (it should consist of the signs ÁBxŠĀ, but the scribe wrote ÁBxSA). However, the *kirru*-vessel is attested in other prescriptions for fumigation (see previous note); it refers to a (storage) vessel of ovoid or *pithos* shape made clay, metal or stone; it is also a container for beer of a standardized size, see CAD K, 408–410 s.v. *kirru* A; SAD Vol. 3, 85 *kirru* I; Gaspa 2014, *Contentitori*, 123–125,

²⁴² See e.g. *Diseases of Women* II, 5 (Potter 2018, 277): “Use a stool with an opening (sc. in its seat) and clothe the woman (var. set the woman upon it) by wrapping her in garments such that no air will be admitted.” Similarly, *Diseases of Women* II, 94 (Potter 2018, 435). Hippocratic recipes, for fumigations/fomentations sometimes required digging a hole in the ground, in which a fire was lit for burning the fumigants; or the latter were filled into a vessel sealed with a lid in which a tube was fixed (which was then inserted in the woman's orifice). See Steinert 2014a; 2014b for discussion.

Fig. 16. In ritual texts, it served as a recipient for libated liquids. For the verb *esēpu* “to gather/collect” substances, such as coals, liquids, see CAD E, s.v. *esēpu* sub 1b-3’.

Line 9: The phrase *ina TÚG.ĦIA tu-ŠIR-ši* is also found in line 15 in a parallel procedure for a fumigation. For the spelling TÚG.ĦIA (= *lubarū* “a piece of cloth, rag”) in medical texts, see CAD L, 230 sub 3a. The verbal form has been interpreted in different ways. CAD Š/2, 336a s.v. *šēru* B transliterates *tu-šer-ši* and books the present passage under a verb *šēru* B, as the only attestations for a verb *šēru* “to wrap, to envelop” (this reading is followed by Scurlock 2014a, 605). AHw 1219b assumes that the verb belonged to *šēru* A “to rise early” (D-stem). Lambert (1969, 29–30, 37), transliterated *tu-ŠER-ši* and tentatively translated “you rub her down(?) with a woollen cloth”. He commented that the sign ŠIR can have the phonetic value *šir*₄ in Late Babylonian texts and suggested a relation with the verb *sēru/sāru*, which occurs in medical texts in the meaning “to rub (the body with medication)” (G- and D-stem; AHw 1038; CAD S, 227–229 s.v. *sēru*). Other examples of D-stem forms of *sēru* (from first millennium BCE texts) are spelled *tu-sa-’a-ar*, however, see CAD S, 229 sub 3.

Heeßel (2018, 335) commented on a few medical passages, in which the verb *tu-ser(SUD)-šú-ma* occurs in a comparable context, in a prescription for a fumigation, as ms. A. He proposed that *tu-ser(SUD)-šú-ma* may have to be analysed as a D-stem form of *esēru* “to enclose, to imprison”. In the passages, he suggests *tu-ser(SUD)-šú-ma* rather has the meaning “to shield”, in an instruction to protect the patient from “wind, rain and the heat of the sun”, see BM 103386 rev. 12 (Heeßel 2018, 322 *ina šāri(TU₁₅) zunni(IM.A.BI) u šēti(UD.DA) tu-ser-šú-ma* TI; also BAM 549 i 6’ (*ina zunni(IM.A.BI) u šēti(UD.DA) tu-s[er-šú-ma* TI]). In light of the similar context, it is likely that the expression *ina TÚG.ĦIA tu-ŠIR-ši* in ms. A is the same verb (reading *tu-sir₄-ši*). Since however a durative form *tussaršu/-ši* would be expected, the signs SUD and ŠIR may have had a phonetic value /sar/ in these instances (cf. Borger 2004, MZL, No. 115, 584; AHw 249b; CAD E, 335b sub 4). De Ridder (2018, 55–56 § 84) discusses similar spellings in Middle Assyrian texts, where a CvC-sign with a fixed phonetic value containing /u/ or /i/ as the vowel are used to indicate an /a/, e.g. *i-DIN* for *iddan*, *e-MUR* for *emmar* and *ik-ta-šir* for *iktašar*.

Line 11: The sign after Ì looks like AMAR (which corresponds to *būru* “calf”), cf. Scurlock 2014a, 605). The context requires an emendation to ÁB’ KÜ.GA “pure cow” (the signs AMAR and ÁB are very similar). The ingredient “fat from a pure cow”, referring to cream or butter, is found in many other texts, see CAD Š/1, 329 sub n. See also the bilingual Old Babylonian birth incantation AUAM 73.3094 rev. 6’–7’ (Wasserman and Zomer 2022, No. 10 lines 44–45); Farber 1977, 59: 52, also *ibid.*, 61: 62, 66.

Line 13: CAD T, 117 sub b interprets the verb DÜ.MEŠ-uš-*ma* as a G-stem instead of a Gtn-stem of *epēšu*, translating: “do this (*teppušma*) day and night and you will see (*tammar*) good results”.

Lines 14–16: The word E₁₁-*la-ma* in line 14 is interpreted differently in Scurlock (2014a, 607; 2014b, 114), translating “After she comes out (of the bath)”. However, bathing/washing the patient has not been part of the treatment instructions up to this point. Only in the following prescription in line 25, the verb *elû* is found following the verb *raḥāšu* “to wash/bath”: RA-si E₁₁-*ma* “you wash her (with a lotion); (when she comes out (of the bath), . . .)”. Thus, I understand the phrase E₁₁-*la-ma* in line 14 differently, as part of the preparation procedure (*tušellâ-ma* “you take (it) out (of the oven/fire)”), see also Lambert 1969, *Iraq* 31, 29–30. An unidentified substance was first boiled in an oven, then taken out and beer was sprinkled on the hot contents to produce vapours which were led to the woman’s body openings. The patient sat down over the vessel containing the hot substance and her head and body was covered with cloth not to let the fumes or vapour escape. This treatment is very similar to other Babylonian as well as Hippocratic gynaecological recipes for fumigation from below (Steinert 2014a; 2014b).

The reading of the damaged term for a *materia medica* in line 14 is uncertain. I interpret the term before *tu-sa-lāḥ* “you sprinkle” in line 16 as *’qut-PA^{71r}* for *qutārī* “fumigants” (following the restoration [*qutā*]*rī* in CAD Š/2, 336 s.v. *šēru* B; for the pseudo-logographic spelling *qut-PA* = *qut-āru*, see Reiner 1959–1960, 150b); Scurlock (2014a, 605) reads *’qī¹-rī* “hot bitumen” instead (as proposed in CAD S, 87b s.v. *salāḥu* sub 5b [*q*]*ī(?)*-*rī*). At the end of line 16, I propose to restore *’qū-ut¹-ru* “smoke”. Scurlock (2014a, 605) emends to *’qut¹-ru*, following CAD Q, 326b s.v. *qutru* sub 1c.

Line 17: The plural KA.MEŠ-šá in *ana KA.MEŠ-šá u na-ḥi-ri-ša e-ru-ub* “(the smoke) should enter her mouth (lit. mouths) and nostrils” could indicate that not only the mouth is meant here, but “body openings” (specifically those of the lower body). However, in line 60, one also finds a logographic writing with a plural SAG.KI.MEŠ-*sa*, although the pronominal suffix indicates a singular noun (*pūssa* “her forehead”). Therefore, the fumigation in the prescription may have been administered via mouth and nostrils rather than the patient’s genitals, either to treat the gastro-intestinal complaints

mentioned before, or because ancient healers assumed an internal connection between the mouth and the uterus (for this notion, see e.g. Steinert 2021a, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 33, 48; Pommerening 2023).

Lines 18 and 26: The expression *še-ḥa NU IGI-(mar-ma)* is interpreted here in the sense of “she should not catch a draft”, following CAD Š/2, s.v. *šeḥu* sub 1. For a different interpretation of *šeḥu* “wind” as “flatulence”, see Fales 1989, 196; also Scurlock (1991, 151), translating “she will not experience gas but will release (it)”. Scurlock (2014a, 607; 2014b, 114) translates more freely: “If she does not experience delirium” (i.e. from the treatment?), presumably because *šeḥu* “wind” can also refer to a spirit possessing a person (cf. CAD Š/2, s.v. *šeḥu* sub 2b).

The recommendation given in lines 18 and 26 reminds us of similar instructions in other medical texts to protect the patient from wind and other adverse weather influences following specific treatments, for example, in the case of treatments during which the patient was exposed to heat and sweating was induced.²⁴³ For example, in a prescription for a fumigation against rectal disease discussed earlier (BM 103386 rev. 12; Heeßel 2018, 322) we find the instruction: *ina šāri(TU₁₅) zunni(?), IM.A.BI u šēti(UD.DA) tu-ser-šú-ma TI* “(When the sweat flows,) you should shield(?) him from wind, rain(?) and the heat of the sun; then he will recover”. See also BAM 549 obv. i 6’ (in a prescription for some respiratory disease): *ina šāri(TU₁₅) zunni(?), IM.A.BI u šēti(UD.DA) tu-s[er-šú-ma TI]*. The reading of the logogram IM.A.BI in these passages as *zunnu* “rain” is not certain; it follows a suggestion by Thompson 1934, *RA* 31, 7 fn. 3. The logogram for *zunnu* is usually IM.ŠĒG(=A.AN). An alternative solution for IM.A.BI may be to read it syllabically (or pseudo-logographically) as *šar₅(IM)-a-bi*, for *šarbu* (also *sar(a)bu*) “cold/rainy season”, cf. CAD Š/2, 60 s.v. *šarbu*.

Lines 19–26: This prescription for the bath/wash shares similarities with BAM 240: 58’, a recipe for a wash to treat retention of the lochia and postpartum fever (see text D.2.1 with lines 39’–40’ for the symptom description). The latter recipe is shorter and uses fewer ingredients, but several of them are identical.

For *tūba amāru* “to experience improvement” (lines 13 and 19), see also CAD T, 117a, s.v. *tūbu* sub b. At the end of a remedy: e.g. BAM 566 i 15: DU₁₀.GA *immar*(IGI-mar) “he will improve”. As introduction to a remedy: e.g. BAM 558 iv 15: *šumma tūba(DU₁₀) lā(NU) imur*(IGI.DU₈) “if (his condition) has not improved”; Arnaud 1992, *SMEA* 30, 226: 10’: [*šum*]-*ma tū-ú-ba i-ta-mar* (medical text from Emar).

For the *tangussu*-vessel (line 19), denoting a metal pot or kettle often used in medical procedures to boil or decoct ingredients, see Gaspa 2014, *Contentitori*, 95. The text BAM 240: 28 associates the use of a *tangussu*-vessel with the physician (*asû*), see text D.2.1.

Lines 25–26: The expression *bīt pagri* is interpreted in CAD P, 14b s.v. *pagru* sub 3a-1’ as “burial chamber”, (lit. “house of the corpse”), following Lambert 1969, *Iraq* 31, 30 “mausoleum”. Scurlock (2014a, 607; 2014b, 114) proposes that *bīt pagri* means “slaughterhouse”. Both interpretations seem implausible. I follow a different and much more straightforward idea (courtesy of M. Geller) and regard *bīt pagri(ša)* as a term meaning “(her) own room/house” (with omitted possessive pronominal suffix -*ša*), meaning that the patient returns to her quarters after coming out of the bath. The word *pagru* “body; self” is often used as an equivalent for *ramānu* “self” in idiomatic expressions. In the present passage, *pagru* exceptionally appears to replace *ramānu*, which is common in genitive expressions where it is used instead of the possessive suffix or pronoun (CAD R, 120–122 sub c-1’).

Lines 27–29: For similar prescriptions (bandages) for postpartum complaints, compare e.g. BAM 240: 62’–63’ (text D.2.1); BAM 408 ii 4’–10’ (text A.2.9). For *šuhḥu* “buttock(s)”, see CAD Š/3, 206 sub mng. 1. Since no other liquid is mentioned in these lines, the term *billatu*, which designates a dry substance used to make a kind of instant beer, presumably refers to the finished *billatu*-beer here (i.e. *billatu* mixed with water), cf. Stol 1971, *BiOr* 28, 161b; 1994, 165.

Line 32: The emendation *up¹-pu-ša-ta* was proposed by Fales 1989, 196; cf. CAD E, 232b *uppušu* “to copy a tablet”; “to execute properly” (CDA², 75); Hunger 1968, 3–4. Scurlock (2014a, 606–607) reads *ša-bu-ša-ta* “(that tablet) is collected”, from *šabāšu* “to collect, to gather” (cf. CAD Š/1, 6–8 s.v. *šabāšu*). The latter verb is so far unattested with reference to collecting texts. The scribal note in this line may indicate that the preceding text has been copied in full (from a given original?), but that the text to be assembled on the tablet is not yet completed. Presumably the scribe used at least two different sources for

²⁴³ For the same precaution taken by the Hippocratic physicians in connection with the fomentation of a female patient, see Potter 2018, 319 (*Diseases of Women* II Chapter 24): “You should carry out the fomentation during good weather and in a protected location where no cooling will take place, and cover the patient all around with cloths.”

assembling ms. A. The verb *gamāru* “to come to an end; to finish” is also unusual here; in similar statements in colophons *qatû* “to finish” ((AL).TIL) is used, see Hunger 1968, 2; Wee 2019a, 318.

Lines 33–50: This incantation has a close parallel to a birth incantation in the Neo-Assyrian Birth Compendium (BAM 248 obv. ii 1–iii 5 = text D.1.1 lines 56–130). The latter composition is much longer than its Middle Assyrian precursor, but several lines seem to have been taken over almost verbatim, see *infra*, text D.1.1 especially lines 77–84, 99–101, 109–111, which are parallel to lines 37–49 here.

Line 33: In accordance with the rubric *šiptu ša multapšiqte* “incantation for a woman in difficult labour” in line 50, the logogram ^{munus}LA.<RA>.AḤ is understood here as *multapšiqtu*, cf. also CAD M/2, s.v. *mušapšiqtu* and *muštapšiqtu*.

Lines 34–35: CAD Q 178b s.v. *qatû* sub 2a interprets the feminine stative *ku-na-at* as *kunnât* “she is too (tenderly) attached (to the child)”, as a D-stem of *kanû* “to care (for)”; I assume a D-stem of *kānu* “to fix, to make firm”, see also CAD Š/2, 320 s.v. *šerru* sub d-2'. Some translations assume *šerru* in *še-er-ra ku-na-at* is the subject of the feminine stative *kunnat* (“the baby is stuck”), cf. Foster 2005, 1006; Scurlock 2014a, 608, 618 n. 59; Zomer (2018, 254): “she is attached to the baby”.

Line 35: Lambert (1969, *Iraq* 31, 31) and Zomer (2018, 254–255) interpret ŠU.RA in lines 35 and 52 as a logogram for *maḥiṣ* “(the bolt) is secure”, which is followed here. CAD S, 140a, 258b s.v. *sikkūru* instead assumes a scribal error for *aš-ru* (or *ašra*, a stative of (*w*)*ašāru*); this interpretation is inspired by an Old Babylonian prayer to the Gods of the Night (von Soden 1936, ZA 43, 306: 2: *wašrū* (var. *áš-ru*) *sikkūrū* “the bolts have been lowered” (replaced in the first millennium BCE version by *nadû šigarū ḥargullū*, see Mayer 1976, 533 K. 10659: 5); CAD A/2, 422b *ašāru* D.

Line 36: The emendation of this line follows Stol 2000a, 130 n. 127; Albertz 1978, 230 n. 256; differently CAD T, 344a s.v. *tēnūqu* sub 3 emending the sign sequence *ana ti-nu-qí la-lu-ú* to *ana* NU TI-qí (for *lā leqê*) *la-ku-ú* “(the door is made fast), not to receive(?) the child”. Almost the same sequence is found again in line 53, which seems to repeat lines 35–36 almost verbatim. In the latter passage, however, the scribe wrote NU TI-qí *la-lu-ú* (for which see the note below). Veldhuis (1991, 12, 32, 64) accepts the reading *ana ti-nu-qí la-lu-ú* “for the suckling babe” in line 53, taking *lalû* “kid” (i.e. the young of a goat) as a term referring to a human baby (otherwise uncommon). Still another reading is proposed by Fales (1989, 196), reading (*ti-nu-qí*) *la-lu-ú* as a sandhi-spelling standing for *lā elû* “per non fare uscire il lattante”. It is difficult to decide which emendation is to be preferred. I have opted to emend both passages in syntactically different ways. In line 36, I suggest emending *la-lu-ú* to *ka-lu-ú*, interpreting this as an irregular stative form of *kalû* “to detain; to keep in confinement; to prevent, hinder (progress); to block”, with *pīt rēmi* “opening of the womb” as the subject. This emendation regards line 36 as parallel to the structure of lines 34–35, both of which consist of two phrases with statives. For discussion of the passage (lines 35–36), see also Durand 2012, in *Studies Fales*, 260–261 n. 25.

For the stative of *sanāqu* “to reach (a destination), to check, control”, in *saniq bābu* “the door is closed (lit. fastened)”, with a rare, special meaning “to be fastened” (in reference to doors or gates), see CAD S, 140 sub 5b; Mayer 2022, *OrNS* 91, 346 s.v. *tēniqu* (translating “kontrolliert (d.h. festgemacht/verschlossen) ist die Tür für den Säugling”).

Line 39: Different emendations have been proposed for the phrase SAḤAR¹.MEŠ ^{giš}TIR.MEŠ, “dust of the woods”, which does not yield very good sense. The emendation SAḤAR¹.MEŠ ^{giš}NIR¹.MEŠ “the dust of the yoke(s)” (rather than “the dust of the woods”) was proposed by Stol 2000a, 130 n. 127. For ^{giš}NIR = *nīru*, cf. also *giš-nir-ra* = *iš nīri* in Hh. Tablet V 308 (MSL 6, 32). Foster (*NABU* 2019/2, no. 47) suggests emending to SAḤAR¹(BA).MEŠ <<^{giš}>>ÛR¹(TIR).MEŠ “(she is covered) with the dust of constant chafing on the ground, (like a plow)”. Sumerian *ur* “to drag; to wipe clean; to beat; to sweep away” and *giš ur* “to harrow” correspond to *šakāku* “to harrow” in Akkadian, see CAD Š/1, 113–114 s.v. *šakāku* lex. section. Foster suggests that the MEŠ in ÛR.MEŠ indicates a tan-stem in the Akkadian correspondence. However, since the meaning “to harrow” is only attested for the G- and D-stem of *šakāku*, a D-stem infinitive is assumed here.

Line 41: I follow AHW 1555b and Zomer (2018, 254–255) in reading *ú-ta-a* from *etû* (D-stem) “to become dark”, rather than *šam-ta-a*, interpreted as an adjective *šumtû/šamtû* derived from *maṭû* “to be(come) little” (CAD Š/3, 284a s.v. **šumtû* “diminished”); Lambert 1969, 31; Scurlock (2014a, 606) translates “her eyes are diminished/weakened”.

Line 42: The form *ša-pa-a* in this line (stative third person fem. pl.) is booked under the verb *šapû* which means “to be dense, thick” (usually said of clouds, light, flames, smoke, voices) in CAD Š/1, 489b s.v. *šapû* A sub 1e and in AHW 1177a *šapû* B “dick, dicht, laut sein/werden” sub 5; see also Zomer 2018, 255), together with three attestations from the *Diagnostic Handbook* Tablet 9 (Schmidtchen 2021, 409–410, 41415–416, 420), where this verb describes a symptom of the face

(perhaps in the meaning “to be swollen; to swell”). However, since IGI.MEŠ-ša “her eyes” is the subject of *ša-pa-a*, Mayer (2016, *OrNS* 85, 189) assumes a derivation from *apû* B “to become dim, clouded” (said of the eyes) in the Š-stem here (*šāpā* would be an Assyrian form instead of Babylonian *šūpā*, cf. CAD A/2, 204b; AHW 62b s.v. *apû* III).

The phrase *ši-mat mu-te u ši-ma-ta* is booked under the noun *šimtu* “paint; mark(ing)” in CAD Š/3, 11a s.v. *šimtu* sub 2b-3’, translating: “her eyes are clouded(?) with the mark of death and marks(?)”. Zomer (2018, 254–255) understands the word *ši-ma-ta* as a genitive form *šimāte* of *šimtu* “(bad) fate” (emending *ši-ma-te*¹), here denoting (premature) death as a bad fate (cf. CAD Š/3, 16–17 s.v. *šimtu* sub mng. 2b and 3), forming a pair with the preceding noun *mūtu* “death”. See also Scurlock 2014a, 608 and 618 n. 60, who believes that the word *šimāte* signals the potential death of both mother and baby. My rendering follows Mayer (2016, *OrNS* 85, 189) who interprets *ši-ma-ta* as *šimmatu* “paralysis”, translating the passage “vom Mal des Todes und von Lähmung sind ihre Augen verdüstert/verschleiert(?)”.

Line 43: For reading *ik-ta-na-at-tam* instead of *ig-ta-na-lut*, see Albertz 1978, 230, n. 260; Stol 2000a, 130. AHW 982b reads the sign KA in *ú-ia* KA-ša as *rigmu* “cry” instead of *pû* “mouth”.

Line 44: CAD S, 169b derives the form *sa-qa-at* from *sāqu* “to be(come) narrow, tight” translating “her breast (or: pectoral) is not restrained”; also Zomer 2018, 255 (with an Assyrian form *Pās* instead of Babylonian *Pis*). The phrase *ul sāqat irassa* “her breast is not restrained” stands in parallelism to *sappuḫū kulūlūša* “her headbands are loosened” (CAD K, 528b sub 1c; CAD S, 154a sub 5a).

Line 45: Stol (2016b, *BiOr* 73, 422, in his review of Steinert 2012a, *Aspekte*) thinks that *būltu* “shame” in the present passage is used synonymously to *bāštu* “dignity”, arguing that the translation “she has no dignity” fits the context of the present passage better (thus also Zomer 2018, 255). However, in my view, the word *būštu* “shame” in the sentence “she wears no veil, she feels no shame (anymore)” marks the reversal of normative, expected behaviour (wearing a veil as a sign of modesty, decency = “shame”), see Steinert 2012a, 462–463; similarly Foster 2005, 1006; also Scurlock 2014a, 608: “she is not covered with a cloak, (yet) she is not ashamed”.

Line 46: This line invokes Marduk to act on behalf of the woman in labour. The address has a parallel in BAM 248 obv. ii 44: *ina kittabrīšu iziza Marduk* “Stand by her side, oh Marduk”. The verb DUG₄.GA.MEŠ-si in line 46 could be interpreted as an Gtn-stem imperative of *šasû* (i.e., “Stand by and speak/keep calling out (*šitassi*), merciful Marduk!”), see Stol 2000a, 130; Foster 2005, 1006. Scurlock (2014a, 607–608) erroneously reads DUG₄.GA.MEŠ-si “say something to her”. Zomer (2018, 254–256) emends to DUG₄.GA.MEŠ-ia!² “(listen to) my utterance”, proposing the verb *šime* has been omitted by mistake by the scribe. Zomer (2018, 256) quotes the parallel sentence in KAR 66: 23: *i-zi-za-am-ma ši-mi qa-ba-a-a* “Stand by and listen to my utterance!”

However, it may not be a coincidence that the verb *šasû* “to shout, to cry, to scream” is often found with reference to women in labour. This suggests the patient as the subject of *šasû* here. For instance, a goddess (presumably the mother goddess) is said to “scream like a woman in childbirth” (*išassi kīma ālitti*) in *Gilgamesh Epic* XI 117 (George 2003, 710–711, 886). Furthermore, *šasû* is used in the sense of “to invoke, to appeal to (a deity)”, see CAD Š/2, 156–157 s.v. *šasû* sub 4b. The following line 47 may then be the speech of the patient rather than the baby.

Lines 46–47: This line has a parallel in BAM 248 obv. ii 46: *an-nu-ú me-ḫu-ú la-¹ma-ku¹ kul-dan-ni* “This is a storm (that) I am surrounded (with) – reach for me!”. This exclamation is generally interpreted as speech uttered by the baby from inside the womb, while the preceding line would represent the midwife’s/healer’s voice, see Lambert 1969, 36; Finkel 1980, *Afo* 27, 45; Foster 2005, 1006 note 2; Zomer 2018, 256; Scurlock 2014a, 618 n. 62. However, the speech could equally be interpreted as the woman’s voice (see BAM 248 (text D.1.1) note on line 101 for comments and the preceding note on line 46).

Line 48: *Šēli* is the Assyrian form of the Š-stem imperative singular of *elû*.

Lines 51–62: The birth incantation is a variant version of the spell “A Cow of Sîn” attested in multiple differing versions from the second and first millennium BCE (see Röllig 1985 and Veldhuis 1991 for in-depth studies of the different versions as well as BAM 248 (text D.1.1) for the synoptic edition of the incantation incorporating the other parallels). The Middle Assyrian version preserved in ms. A differs from the other known versions of the spell in the beginning (lines 51–53) which does not introduce the main character of the narrative as a cow beloved by Sîn, but rather frames the following narrative ambiguously as being concerned with “Gī-Sîn, the maidservant of Sîn” who has difficulty in delivery, which could refer to a woman rather than a cow (see also Veldhuis 1991, 32). In lines 53ff., the text then turns to the story of the cow who is

cared for by the moon god acting as her shepherd. This version of the spell also omits the cow's impregnation by the bull but immediately turns to her suffering in labour. The intervention of the protective spirits (here called “the daughters of Anu”) sent down from heaven to help the cow deliver is likewise abbreviated compared with the other versions of “A Cow of Sîn”. The direct comparison of “Gī-Sîn, the maidservant of Sîn” with any woman in hard labour heightens the ambiguity of the main protagonist of the spell apparent already in the first lines.

Line 53: For the emendation of this line, see Stol 2000a, 130 n. 127 and the note on line 36 above, which also features this line almost in a verbatim manner. The passage is emended differently in CAD T, 344 s.v. *tēnīqu* sub 3, as *lā(NU) TI-qí la-ku-ú* “not to receive(?) the child”. Veldhuis (1991, 12, 32, 64) accepts the reading *ana ti-nu-qí la-lu-ú* “for the suckling babe” in line 53, taking *lalû* “kid” (i.e. the young of a goat) as a term referring to a human baby. It is possible that the sequence *ana NU ti qí* is meant to stand for *ana lā etēqi/šūtuqi (lakû)* “not to let the infant pass”, since the verb *leqû* “to take” assumed in the reading *ana lā(NU) leqê(TI-qí) lakû* “not to receive(?) the child” is unexpected.

Line 54: For discussion, see also text D.1.1 line 137.

Lines 59–61: Line 59 introduces two protective spirits sent from heaven to help the cow to deliver her calf. Differing from the other versions of “A Cow of Sîn” (see BAM 248 (text D.1.1) and parallels), our ms. A does not refer to them as *lamas-su*-spirits but introduces them as 2 *ši-na DUMU.MUNUS* ^d*a-nim* “two are they, the daughters of Anu, (they descended from heaven)”. For a parallel passage, see e.g. *Maqlû* III 31–33 (Abusch 2016, 306): *šittā šina mārāt Ani ša šamē . . . ultu šamē urradāni* “Two are they, the heavenly Daughters of Anu, . . . , they descend to me from heaven”.

The different manuscripts of “A Cow of Sîn” present several textual variations for the lines describing the actions of the divine helpers assisting the cow, which have been re-analysed by Marquéz Rowe 2015, *AuOr* 33, 51–62. As one crucial divergence of ms. A lines 59–60, this text speaks of *mê hīlī* “water of (easy) labour” and *šaman pūri* “oil-from-the-jar” as the birth-promoting substances administered to the cow by the daughters of Anu. In the other manuscripts of “A Cow of Sîn”, we find *me-e ha-li/hal-li*, which is now (following Marquéz Rowe 2015, 58–59) understood as “water-from-the bowl” (*hallu*), see *infra*, BAM 248 (notes on lines 150–152).

Line 60: Veldhuis (1991, 12–13) accepts the verb *lilput* and translates “he must touch (her forehead)”. An emendation to *ilput* “she touched” (= smeared), already proposed by Lambert (1969, 31), is preferred here. The emendation *ú-<šap>-pi-<ha>* in line 60 (a D-stem form of *šapāhu* “to sprinkle”) follows Marquéz Rowe 2015, 54, which is in line with the other parallel manuscripts. Arnaud (2007, 76 note on line 8) proposed a differing emendation, reading *uk^l-tana-par₅* (from *kapāru* Dtn-stem “to wipe (clean)”). The plural logographic spellings SAG.KI.MEŠ-*sa* and ^{munus}LA.RA.AḪ.MEŠ in lines 60–61 are misleading, since they in fact stand for singular nouns, as the phonetic complement *-sa* and the singular verbal form *lūlid* “may she give birth” in line 61 indicate. See also line 17 for the same phenomenon (in KA.MEŠ-*šá*).