Notes

§I IGI1

NC (BAM 514) According to Köcher 1980b: X note 11, AMT 20/2 does not belong to K 2570+ or to K 2970+, but the fragment has now been joined to Sm 1897, part of K 2970+, see Geller 1984: 293.

- **3f.'** For a possible reconstruction of the two lines one might compare a similar prescription from the second tablet of the series, IGI 2: 156-7'.
- 6' The translation of $lip\hat{u}(\tilde{l}.UDU)$ 'fat' as a 'marrow' will be used when $lip\hat{u}$ refers to eṣemtu 'bone.' Additionally, the processing of the drug and its application might be guessed from IGI 1: 43'.

The identification of $lul\hat{u}$ (KÙ.GAN) as 'antimony' is uncertain. There are several other minerals as candidates for antimony, see Wasserman 2015: 610, and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 424.

For the interpretation of ARGAB^{mušen} as 'bat' see Civil 1984. The drug U₅.ARGAB^{mušen} is a common ingredient in eye therapy. Scurlock 2014: 336 note 104 rejects the translation 'bat guano' for *rikibtu* (CAD R 344f.) in favour of 'musk,' which might explain the unclear *rikibti ayyāli*, a problem recognized by Civil 1984: 7. However, occasionally in medical texts words for excrement are used instead of U₅, in combination with ARGAB^{mušen} (ŠE₁₀ in BAM 3 iv 4 [Civil 1984: 7] and ŠURUN in BAM 66 19). If these words are actual variants of U₅ designating excrement, then 'bat guano' still comes closest to a translation of U₅.ARGAB^{mušen}. The evidence cited above and the fact that the name does not appear in Irianna (especially Tablet 3) argues against *rikibti arkabi* being a 'Deckname' (Steinert 2015: 134 note 102). For a discussion of 'Deckname' see Rumor 2015: § 4.4ff. For drugs including *rikibtu*, see Chalendar 2018.

For the restoration, cf. IGI 2: 50'.

- 7' For a tentative reconstruction of the break, compare IGI 2: 115'. The reed straw $takkussu(^{gi}SAG.KUD)$ is a medical instrument for drug application, blown into the eyes. Alternatively, the medical practitioner used a bronze tube, uppi siparri (MUD ZABAR). It is possible that $^{gi}SAG.KUD$ could be also rendered as sakkuttu, see CAD S 80.
- **8'** A braid of wool is often used as a bandage for the head; compare for instance the same spelling from UGU 1, Ms. NI ii 8: *kun-ša*₂₅ ^{sig}GA.RÍG.AG.A KEŠDA, see below.

The reading KÉŠ is a more appropriate reading in a Sumerian context, but KEŠDA is a valid reading as a logogram.

For SILA4 instead of KISAL, see comments to IGI 1: 29' below.

NC i 8' is damaged but compare it to NI i 22: *ana* SAG.DU-šú DUB-*ak*, and NI ii 9: [x SÌL]A Ì.GIŠ *ana* SAG.DU-šú DUB.

- 9' Sahlû is a garden plant, according to Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 472 (with literature). Its identification is usually considered to be 'cress,' based on a similar term in other Semitic languages (e.g. Aramaic tḥly'), see Löw 1924/26, Flora 1, 506f..
- 10' Kneading medical ingredients in the sap of a kasû-plant is a common technique, mentioned quite often in the first and second columns of UGU 1, see Ms. NI below. For the literature and discussion on the kasû-plant, see Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 236 note i 2 and see Eypper 2019 arguing for kasû as tamarind.

The reading of the word 'grain' in Akkadian could be $\check{s}e'u(m)$ or $\hat{u}(m)$, see Weeden 2009.

- 11' The stone *ašhar* is common in eye prescriptions, often crushed with other ingredients and mixed in fat, ghee and etc., in order to create a salve for daubing the eyes. It has been suggested (but not proven) that the mineral might be antimony, a product used in the production of kohl for the eyes, see Wasserman 2015: 609f. Furthermore, *tuškû* is a mineral used in the glass production, as well as in therapeutic texts, see CAD T 496.
- 12' We suggest that KUŠ.EDIN is an abbreviation for KUŠ.ÙMMU(A.EDIN.LAL) = nādu meaning 'waterskin' for transporting and keeping water, as pictured in Persepolis reliefs. In medical contexts, it probably refers to waterproof leather (after Scurlock 2014: 480ff.). This kind of leather bandage could possibly keep ointments moist and fixed in place. Another possibility is to read *ina* KUŠ EDIN as *ina mašak serrēmi*, see Schwemer 2007: 111.

The term *šuhtu* could also refer to 'rust,' either of any residue of the copper worker or as 'rust' of the *tangussu*-kettle in l. 14 and elsewhere.

15' The formulation 1- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ 2- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ 3- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ appears also in IGI 2: 3, 143'. This formulation appears also in a very fragmentary Middle Assyrian manuscript from Assur.

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BAM 13: 4' [.......1-šú 2-šú] 3-šú [IGI.ΜΕŠ-šú .......]

BAM 17: 5' [... HE.H]E<sup>?</sup> UDU GABA 1-šú 2-šú <sup>°</sup>3-šú <sup>°</sup>1GI. ΓΜΕ(Š) <sup>°</sup>-šú Κ[IMIN]

BAM 17: 6' [..... H]E.HE UDU GABA 1-šú 2-šú 3-šú IGI. ΓΜΕ(Š) <sup>°</sup>-šú Κ[IMIN]
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Three fragments, VAT 11488 (BAM 13 = CDLI P285116) (+) VAT 10363 (BAM 17 = CDLI P285119) (+) VAT 16464 (BAM 25 = CDLI P285127), probably belong to the same multicolumned tablet (not noted by F. Köcher). The shape of the signs suggests early Neo-Assyrian or even Middle Assyrian dating. This formulation (1- $\check{s}\acute{u}$

- 2-šú 3-šú) was a specific instruction for repeatedly applying medication to the eyes. It differs from other formulations, such as *ina ūme šalāšīšu līša tukaṣṣa*, 'You cool off (the head) with dough three times a day,' IGI 1: 24; 2 118,' or similar IGI 2: 144' etc.
- **16'** For a possible reconstruction GI[G-ma u ha-an-ṭa ...], compare the previous prescription, IGI 1: 14'. Ms. NC i 16' only has D[IŠ' on Thompson's copy, (AMT 20/2), which cannot now be seen on the fragment.
- 17' The ruling on manuscript NC i 17' is reconstructed, and cannot be seen on the tablet itself.
- **18'** One might restore the line according to IGI 2: 148'.
- 19' The reading giša[r-ga-nu on Ms. NB i 4' is courtesy of Annie Attia. Note that the plant triad sīhu, argānu, and barīrātu, from UGU 2, BAM 482 ii 63' (Ms. NX), was used to cure inflamed and teary eyes caused by the hand of a ghost, 'deputy of Ištar,' see BAM 482 ii 11'. Furthermore, the triad appears in Irianna (Kinnier Wilson 2005a: 47), in anti-witchcraft texts (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 1.1: 31'; 7-10: 195'), and elsewhere, BAM 156: 17. The fixed sequence of the plant trio suggests that there is nothing to be reconstructed between argānu and barīrātu (see also Geller 2005: 5).
- 20' Spoons of different materials were used to apply cosmetics like kohl to the eyes, see Stol 2016b: 48f. For a kohl application, consult Wasserman 2015: 608ff. Different instruments which might have been used for medical or cosmetics purposes of the eyes are discussed in Sternitzke 2012. See also the tools from the queens' tombs at Kalhu, Hussein et al. 2016: 99 (IM 115425f.) plate 82, 155 (IM 126290), 163 (MM 2134), plate 179b, and Dalley and Postgate 1984: no. 151. Note that the reading of DÍLIM A.BÁR as *itqūr abāri* is uncertain and the interpretation of Parys 2014: 80, and Attia 2015: 100, regarding DÍLIM A.BÁR as itqurtu should not be excluded. A syllabic spelling, it-qur-ti 'spoon' appears once in IGI, but in a broken context, see IGI 3: 109'. Furthermore, Attia 2015: 100 et passim understands DÍLIM A.BAR as a salve, based on Stol 1989a: 166. This is certainly the case with DÍLIM A.BÁR in IGI 3: 94ff., 'also IGI 3: 105,' where it designates a salve made in a lead spoon. However, we interpret other instances of DÍLIM A.BÁR as a medical or cosmetic instrument, i.e. 'lead spoon,' with which the medical practitioner prepared the salve and/or applied kohl to the eyes, see also Scurlock 2014: 361. Pappi 2008: 572f. follows CAD and understands itquru as coming from DİLIM A.BÁR, but without supporting evidence. For the use of lead in medical contexts, see the note of Arkhipov 2009.

The sign MAR on Ms. NC i 20' seems to be on line 20,' pace BAM 514, where it is on line 21'. In other words, we count one line less than Köcher. It might be that

the prescription is written over two cuneiform lines, or that the numbering is erroneous, see also Attia 2015: 8: § 11.

21' There is a certain pattern in the symptomology. First it is said that the eyes are 'sick', and then it is specified exactly in which way, e.g. 'closed' (lit. 'covered'). The pattern can be seen also in the previous prescriptions IGI 1: 14f.': GIG-ma u ha-an-ṭa, and furthermore in manuscripts: ND i 22: DIRI-ma u DU-ak; and NF ii' 9', la-zi-iz-ma u ma-gal i-li-hi-ip. For a description of double-clause symptoms, also in Hippocratic texts, see Geller 2001/02: 64ff.

The aromatic plant *kikkirânu* is associated with seeds of *burāšu* 'juniper' in Irianna, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471.

- **22'** We prefer reading "ÚKUŠ.LAGAB instead of "KUŠ₈.LAGAB because of the gloss *ak-šu* in KADP 4 39, see Geller 2015: 35 note 11, 41.
- **23ff.'** The same treatment is to be found in IGI 2: 117ff.', which raises the question why this common prescription was edited in two different tablets of the same Series. There are some small differences, like the exclusion of obvious phrases, e.g. Ms. ND ii 47 omits IGI.MIN-šú but adds more applications at the end of the prescription. Cf. the notes below on IGI 2: 117ff.'.

The sign - \check{s}] $\check{u}^{?}$ on Ms. NC i 23' is suggested by the copy of BAM 514 i 24'. The dividing line on Ms. NC i 25' is reconstructed.

Geller's collations of Ms. AB (BAM 159) are recorded in Parys 2014: 19f. It is worth noting that the Assur parallel (AB iv 6f.) is labelled as a *bulţu latku* 'tested remedy' (see Steinert 2015), but not in the Nineveh IGI Series. This may be because a *bulţu latku* in the Assur parallel (Ms. AB) implies testing for a practical application and hence not necessarily applicable in a Nineveh library context. In addition, there are signs to be seen on the line before Köcher's copy on col. iv 1', suggesting that the prescription starts from iv 3', see plate 43.

24' Read tu-kàs-sa and not tu-kas-sa, as in Parys 2014: 19.

Against the copy in BAM 20 14', NÍG in Ms. AA 13f.' has the parameters a3, and not the usual a4 (for the parameters see Gottestein and Panayotov 2014).

25' Note that the rest of manuscript ND ii 47 deviates, see also IGI 2: 119'.

Ms. AA 15' has Ì.NUN¹ against the copy of Köcher (BAM 20: 15'), which led to a confusion in Parys 2014: 19 note 79: 'Lu d'après la copie de Köcher : *šaman pūri*, huile de pot? mais ì.sur n'est pas exclu ni même ì šur.mìn.' Also at the end of AA 17' [(...) *bul-ṭ*]u¹ lat-k[u] is not clear on Köcher's copy, BAM 20: 17,' and see the note to ll. 23ff.' above.

26' This prescription suggests a degree of empirical experience, since chopping onion causes tearing which counteracts dryness in the eyes. Drinking onion in beer

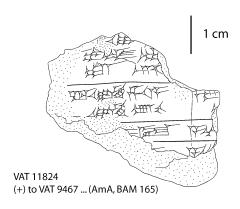
might cause tearing, but chopping onion certainly will; the active substance is a gas (propanethiol S-oxide) produced by the damaged onion which gets into the eyes. Note that the verb, *uhašša* 'he (the patient) should chop' is deliberately spelled syllabically in order to avoid confusion about who is doing what. Cf. the prescription in IGI 1: 15'.

- **27'** The expression *lām patān* 'before eating' is distinct from *balu patān*, 'on an empty stomach.'
- 28' The exotic, amphibian drug 'bile of yellow-green <code>muṣa''irānu-frog'</code> appears in a therapeutic commentary SpTU 1/49: 2 = Scurlock 2014: 346ff., and additional literature at http://ccp.yale.edu/P348470. Outside Mesopotamia, bile from amphibians, among many other sorts of bile, is used in traditional Chinese medicine. For instance, dog's bile was used as eye drops for itchy and dry eyes, see Wang and Carey 2014: esp. 9959, and table 2. Interestingly, a treatment with frog's bile was used to counteract eye dryness in IGI 1: 26,' perhaps because of its moist properties. For references concerning the use of diverse frogs in medical texts, see Bácskay 2018b.

It remains unclear how to distinguish between the logograms ^{uzu}ZÍ and ZÍ, but ^{uzu}ZÍ might specifically indicate the 'gall bladder,' while ZÍ can refer either to bile or the bladder.

- 29' Note that the difference between GAZI and KISAL is only one vertical wedge. GAZI might not be a mistake for KISAL, but it could be a logogram for Akk. *kāsu*, 'a cup' used as a measurement and written logographically as GÚ.ZI. In other words, GAZI might be an alternative logographic orthography for GÚ.ZI. In the Babylonian Talmud Gittin 68b, Aramaic *ksy* for 'cups' designates a measurement. The logograms GAZI and KISAL also appear in places where the sign GÍN ('shekel') is found in duplicates and parallels. This has been seen by the CAD editors, who suggest that KISAL is a variant for GÍN (CAD Š/3: 99), which was rejected by Borger 2010: p. 330. However, GAZI can also be read as SILA4 as a phonetic variant of SÌLA. Therefore, we might understand KISAL as SILA4, and all of these values are renderings of SÌLA, which is a standard measure.
- **30f.'** This fragmentary incantation seems to be used for activating *materia medica*, in a '*Kultmittelbeschwörung*.' It is uncertain how to read the signs on Ms. NA i 25' (BAM 510); one might consider *a-šar zēru ú-k[al-lu...]*. Cf. also the incantation in IGI 1: 65ff.,' which shows certain similarities to our line, and the generous spacing of the signs there possibly suggests no signs between *e* and *li*; thus, we tentatively reconstruct *e-li* as the correct reading.
- **32'** Note that on Ms. AC (BAM 19), the sign form of BA in MAŠ.TAB.BA has parameters [a1b1c2], see Gottstein and Panayotov 2014: category 4. This sign form might suggest an early Neo-Assyrian or even Middle Assyrian dating.

For the spelling "NUMUN on Ms. AmA ii 12' (BAM 165) see the discussion in Geller 2011: 340f. The layout of Ms. AmA does not fit the spacing of the inscribed text.



(copy S.V. Panayotov)

We suggest that the tablet was manufactured, ruled, and formatted as a template for a different text genre, since the vertical middle dividing ruling of col. ii is completely redundant, as is the ruling after line ii 12'. An additional piece (VAT 11824, see the copy to the left) placed in the Museum's box in which Ms. AmA is found, certainly belongs to the same tablet, and might have been col. i' or ii' (not mentioned in Maul und Strauß 2011: no. 52). Note that this fragment

also has a redundant ruling. It remains unclear, however, if the tablet originally had two or three columns per side. The remaining text suggests an incantation, but it remains unclear if it was also against the sick eye (ig]i² gig-ga in l. 5'). A tentative transliteration of VAT 11824 reads: $^{1}[...] \times ^{1}[...] \times ^{1}[...] \times ^{2}[...] \times ^{1}[...]

Ms. AA (BAM 20) is almost completely eroded. Against the copy in BAM 20: 1', there is hardly any space for more signs after "KUR.R[A in Ms. AA 1', although "KUR.KUR might have been written over the edge.

The reconstructed *atā'išu*-plant (^úKUR.KUR) was identified with 'white hellebore,' Thompson 1949: 151ff., see also Stadhouders 2012: 16 note 97, and Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 468, but any evidence for a convincing identification is lacking.

The plant *burāšu* is one of the most common drugs in Mesopotamian medicine, and probably belongs to a variety of junipers, see Stol 1979a: 16. According to Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 469, *burāšu* is 'probably a Phoenican juniper.' However, a precise botanical identification is uncertain since the term *burāšu* 'juniper' can possibly refer to different conifers of similar appearance, see in detail Besnier, Boutrolle, Chanut and Hawley 2015: esp. 120f.

For the identification of the reconstructed $n\bar{n}n\hat{u}$ as a mint variety, see the argumentation of Kinnier Wilson 2005a: 50f. Furthermore, note that the name nana for mint or spearmint is still widespread in the Orient and around the African coast.

33' The reading BIL- $lu_4 u \ \hat{l}$ in Ms. AA: 5' (according to Köcher's copy BAM 20) has been corrected to 'BÍL- $lu_4 ina \ \hat{l}$ '.[UDU].

The *kammu*-tanning was used as a leather tanning agent, see Thompson 1949: 168-171; Scurlock 2008: 173f., and analysed as 'fungus' in CAD and Fincke 2011: 173. Postgate and Collon 1999: 8 elucidate this further: 'while on the subject of *kammu* it seems worth raising the possibility that these metal items used for fixing things to wood or perhaps leather were dome-headed nails or tacks and were called *kammu* because of their mushroom shape.' This comment might be based on how the authors imagine modern champignons, but there is little specific evidence to associate *kammu* with fungus. However, the word *kammu* has possible Aramaic cognates for 'truffle,' but only in Palestinian Aramaic, see DJBA: 262. 'Truffle' in Akkadian (*kam'atu*, *ka'u*, see Stol 2014) might be also cognate, if the identification is correct.

For *ribku* see line 78' below.

Al-Rawi copied the number '6' in Ms. sA (*IRAQ* 65, fig. 2), but the photo in *IRAQ* 65, p. 222, fig. 1, shows that '8' is also possible, which fits with the recipe instructions.

The syllabic spelling of *tuštabbal* in Ms. NA i 28' with the meaning 'to stir/mix ingredients' raises a general question whether to read HE.HE as *tuštabbal* or *taballal*.

- 34' Köcher's copy of BAM 19' shows KID BABBAR, which now has been corrected to Ú.BABBAR, thanks to the photo of EHE 330 provided kindly by M. Guichard.
- 36' NA i 31' and NC i 37' show an Old Babylonian spelling *šum*₄-*ma*. This might suggest that these two manuscripts were copied from the same *Vorlage*.
 - The LB parallel, Ms. xA 8 is very eroded, and we cannot follow Fincke's reconstruction, see Fincke 2009: 86.
- 37' Sheep's dung and milk of *musukkatu* are *Dreckapotheke* substances. Animal dung is quite widespread in folk medicinal practices, see Hatfield 2004: 146f. The milk of the *musukkatu* refers to the milk of a woman after childbirth, see Stol 2016b: 439f. On the etymology of *musukku* see Feder 2016: 112ff. The milk of a woman in maternity was a powerful drug, presumably because lactation was associated with fertility and new life. Mother's milk was used not only in Mesopotamia, but also in Ancient Egyptian, Coptic and Greco-Roman medicine, see Ritner 2000:

116. For a healing substance: 'milk of one who bore a male' in Ancient Egyptian see Pommerening 2015. In Dioscorides' *de materia medica* breast milk was used as a solvent for plants, and the salve was also applied to the eyes, see Osbaldeston and Wood 2000: 30. In the Babylonian Talmud breast milk from a nursing mother has been thought to come directly from the blood, which explains why a nursing mother does not menstruate, see Rosner 1995: 119.

On Ms. NC i 37,' one might also read GAZI^{sar} *tur-ár ki-b[a-tu* ...], based on comparision with Ms. NX ii 7 (BAM 482): GAZI^{sar} *tur-ár qēm kibti/kibāti* (ZÌ GIG), which is from the second tablet of the Nineveh UGU Treatise and has a similar healing context, see Attia and Buisson 2003: 67: 71.

As with the previous line, the LB parallel Ms. xA 9f. is very eroded, and we cannot follow Fincke's reconstruction, see Fincke 2009: 86.

38' There are two interesting details to be noted: instructions are to be carried out in the morning, and the root of the *rapādu*-plant is to be cut with a bronze knife. The plant for *rapādu*-disease is not common in eye disease contexts. From the LB period, we know of an incantation in an anti-withcraft context, recited over the *rapādu*-plant in order to activate its magical and medicinal properties, see Abusch, Schwemer, Luukko, and van Buylaere 2016: 100ff. This text has some noticeable similarities to Lady Drower's Mandaic 'A Phylactery for Rue' (Drower 1946).

Note that Fincke 2009: 86 reads mu]- $\lceil kil \rceil$ instead of $[ina \, \check{s}e-r]\hat{\imath}$. As with the previous lines, the LB parallel, Ms. xA 10f., is very eroded, and we cannot follow Fincke's reconstruction.

39' The context suggests that after 'the root of the *rapādu*-disease plant' (l. 38') was cut, it was wrapped (NIGIN-*mi*) in a cord of red and white wool. See similar cases in AMT 4/6: 5': *ina* ^{sig}HÉ.MED.DA NIGIN-*mi* SAG.KI-*su tara-kás* (Scurlock 2006: no. 57). Ms. NB i 24' omits NU.NU between SÍG BABBAR and NIGIN-*mi*.

Concerning Ms. NC i 39f.,' compare the different readings in Fincke 2009: 86 note 22. Furthermore, Ms. xA 11f.' is almost completely eroded away.

40' The expression IGI.MIN-*šú* MÚD *šu-un-nu-'a* is also known from the Diagnostic Handbook, Tablet 22: 34-35 (Scurlock 2014: 187), see also MSL 9: 99.

The *egemgīru*-plant is attested in Aramaic as *gargira* and may be 'rocket,' DJBA 298, see also Kwasman 2015: 361, although the word may be etymologically related to the common term 'ginger.'

A reading *lēru* for SAHAR.KÙ.GI is suggested from Irianna III 523-533.

For the term *dišpu* (LÀL) 'honey' vs. 'date syrup,' see Stol 1994: 156f.

41' Ms. AE 3f. (BAM 18) has the sign Ù in place of the more common KIMIN or MIN, see Köcher 1963a: xv; Borger 2010: 409b; further Stol 2016a: 121b.

Note the learned spelling me_5 -sal-li for eme-sal-li, a type of salt. The sign $me_5(A)$ 'water' suggests that the substance is a fluid, compare also $me_5(A)$ -SILIM in IGI 2: 195'; IM 202652 i 19. Also BAM 548: 12 has MUN $me_5(A)$ -sal-lim. Accordingly, the 'fumigation' commentary BRM 4/32: 13 (see also the note below to IGI 1: 46') has an interesting entry: MUN eme-sal-li MUN $š\acute{a}$ lib-bi ID, 'emesallu is a salt amidst the river' (Geller 2010: 169, and https:// ccp.yale.edu/P296515), suggesting that a saline solution is meant. Emesallu is one of the common ingredients in eye therapy, perhaps because it resembles the salty chemistry of human tears. Furthermore, a saline solution, acting as an antiseptic, is an ingredient of modern eye drops and eyes washes.

Ms. AB iv 25 has 'IGI.MIN- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ ' according to collations of BAM 159 (see Parys 2014). Furthermore, Parys 2014: 21 § 51 reconstructs 1/2 [GÍN] instead of 1/2 [KISAL]. Note that the Assur text Ms. AE 3f. (BAM 18) has the measurement SILA₄ instead of GÍN. See the note to 1. 29' above.

42' On the bases of our text and collations, one might reconstruct BAM 13 (+): 3' as follows [... ta-b]i-la ana Š[À¹ IGI. MEŠ-šú MAR-ru ...]. For BAM 13 see above to IGI 1: 15.'

- **43'** Compare also IGI 2: 53, '70,' 145'. The spelling in the broken part of NC i 44' might be also *l*[*a-a-am* ...], as in IGI 1: 27'. Note that the expression, *la patān* usually refers to consuming *materia medica* on an empty stomach, but in many cases in the IGI-treatise, the patient has to be fasting before receiving external eye treatments.
- **45'** Geller 2009: 5 equates ŠIM.BI.SIG₇.SIG₇ with the *ashar* stone, but see the commentary to 1. 42' above.
- **46'** Thompson 1949: 125f. bases the identification of *tarmuš* as 'lupins' on Semitic cognates, see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 473, but the identification with lupin is not secure. For Babylonian Aramaic, see DJBA 1235. The plant occurs often in combination with *imhur-līm* and *imhur-ešrā*, and in connection with fumigation prescriptions.

The tentative restoration *nikipta* [*zikara u sinniš*] is suggested by the fact that we have enough place for it (different in Geller 2009: 5), and that the plant *nikiptu* is often mentioned with male and female varieties, see CAD N/2 222). The *nikiptu*-plant is widespread in Mesopotamian medicine, and its importance and power is expressed through esoteric writings such as ^{§im.d}MAŠ or ^{giš.§im.d}NIN.URTA 'aromatic plant of the (warrior) god Ninurta,' in Parpola 1993: no. 323: 16; Finkel and Reade 2002: 39ff.; Searight, Reade and Finkel 2008: 35. Oil from *nikiptu* was a precious substance and was introduced from Babylonia into Egypt (Hoch 1994: 194f., nos. 260-261). Varieties of *nikiptu*-plant were used for fumigation and their appearance was commented upon in an ancient commentary on fumigation texts, see BRM 4/32: 11: 'Male *nikiptu*-plant is like tamarisk bark, firm and red, while female *nikiptu*-plant is (also) like tamarisk bark, but thin and yellow-green,' after Geller 2010a: 172; also Scurlock 2014: 340ff., photos and additional literature on https://ccp.yale.edu/P296515. See also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471, without conclusive evidence.

On Ms. NC i 47,' Köcher copied $-t\hat{u}$ instead of the clear $-tu_4$ in ni-kip- tu_4 , which suggest that he copied the broken places with the help of his transliterations.

47' Schuster-Brandis 2008: 404f. identifies *aban tasniqti* as '(schwarzer) Kieselschiefer (?),' assuming that the name might refer to a touchstone used for testing gold. Compare the similar prescription in IGI 3: 39'. However, recently Kleber (2016b) has shown that the stone was not called *aban tasniqti* but rather *aban tašrīti*.

Human spittle is a powerful magical substance, which could be 'cast' like a spell and was associated with sorcery, see Stol 1991/92: 47; Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 3f. The Babylonian Talmud (bPes. 111a) refers to being protected from 'spilled' (i.e. bewitched) water by spitting into it or treating it with dust.

Schuster-Brandis 2008: 444f., suggests that $\check{simbizid\hat{u}}$ (the reading is speculative) is possibly the substance from which guhlu was produced and tentatively identifies $\check{simbizid\hat{u}}$ with 'Galenit/Bleiglanz (PbS) oder Weichmanganerz/Pyrolusit (MnO₂) (?),' see also Schuster-Brandis 2012: 178 with earlier literature. Stol 1989a: 165f. accepts the identification of guhlu, with kohl in Arabic but suggests that it was of lead origin and not made of antimony. See also Cadelli 2001 and Wasserman 2015: 610.

- **48'** The drug MÚD $\check{s}a$ ŠÅ ŠAH 'blood from a pig's 'heart/insides' seems to be unattested, but the usage of pig parts in magic and medicine is well-known, cf. Rumor 2015: 3.3.8; Irianna III 49ff.; or Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 112: 2: 4; Text 10.3: 1-10; George 2016: 118; 166f. (Old Babylonian).
- **50'** For the reconstruction, see IGI 1: 42'. The spelling t]a-zar-ri is unusual since one would rather expect tazarru (as in IGI 1: 42'), since $zar\hat{u}$ is a /u/-class verb, and a

 2^{nd} person feminine form seems unsuitable in our context. We know, however, that the 3^{rd} person singular durative of $zar\hat{u}$ can colour the final /u/to/i/, as in *izar-ri im-ta*, cf. AHw 1516 (see Farber 2014: 84: 126, 155f., reading *iṣarri imta* 'she spatters venom'). For $zar\hat{u}$ in a metaphorical context see Cohen and Llop 2017: 109.

- **51'** For the drug *šammi ašî*, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 472. There is a group of plants in the Vademecum designated as *šammi ašî* 'drug against the *ašû*-disease' (BAM 1 i 62ff. Attia and Buisson 2012: 27f., 37f., Scurlock 2014: 277). For the *ašû*-disease, see the note to IGI 1: 178'.
- 52' Often in Mesopotamian medicine, certain drugs were dissolved differently depending on the seasons summer or winter, see for instance Ms. AD 30 (BAM 22, Assur), or Ms. uA: 11 (SpTU 50, Uruk). There is empirical experience behind such practices, since certain liquids were more suitable as a solvent in cold or warm weather. Generally, it seems common to use the sap of the *kasû*-plant during the summer as a solvent or flush, as in Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003: 225, § 7: 29; Geller 2007b: 8: 13; BM 30918 r.35; maybe also in the restored text by Scurlock 2014: 456: 59; George 2016: no. 74: 9f. Also note that A GAZI^{sar} is *mê kasî*, and not *mê kaşûti* 'cold water,' as Stadhouders postulates in George 2016: 168.

For washing drugs see Goltz 1974: 27. Note also l. 20,' in which ingredients are pounded in the 'sun-heat' ($s\bar{e}tu$), which may be a parallel idea.

55' We have rendered KIMIN as *ašar šanîmma*, following Köcher's suggestion (1971: xxxii, BAM 417), modified without further argumentation by Böck 2003: 170 etc., as *ašar šanîm*. In this respect, Kinnier Wilson 2011: 12 advocates *ana ašri šanimma* for DIŠ KIMIN as 'alternatively' or 'additionally', which we follow, with the slight modification to *ana ašri šanîmma* (reference courtesy A. Attia, see also Note des éditeurs in *JMC* 31). Furthermore, the phrase *ašar*(KI) *šanîmma*(MIN) 'here again' for 'ditto' has a forerunner in HS 1883 (BAM 393, see Geller 2006) where each prescription is introduced by *àš-šár* 'where', *pace* the reading 400 for *šumma* by Fincke 2007: 138 fn. 54, and 6,40 for *šumma* by Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 65ff. CAD G 87, s.v. *girgiššu* b) corrects *àš-šár* for *šumma* without explanation. See also the comments to ASC 207 and HS 1883 in the introduction to 2nd Millennium BCE therapeutic prescriptions.

The crucial text mentioned by Köcher is the Nineveh tablet, K 10547 (CDLI P398747), which might be part of a two-colum tablet since it is rather thick, measuring ca. $6.2 \times 5 \times 3.4$ cm.

Obverse?

1'	Ú [?] 「MAH¬ x []
2'	šum-ma ina x []
3'	LÀL Ì.GIŠ Ì.NUN.N[A]

4'	ZÌ EŠA KAŠ GEŠTIN ina pa-an MU[L]	
5'	mu-uh-ra DINGIR HUL ʿAʾ.[LÁ HUL]	
6'	dMAŠ.TAB.BA dx []	
7'	a-šar šá-nim-ma tab-ʿbaʾ- []	
8'	it-ti-ku-nu mim-ma le[m²-nu²]	
9'	LUGAL iš-šak-nu DINGIR H[UL?]	
10'	UDUG lem-nu GAL5.LÁ H[UL?]	
11'	GIDIM lem-nu šá it-[-ti²-ku²-nu²]	
12'	a-šar šá-nim-ma P[A?]	
13'	「an¬-na-a DUG4.GA []	
14'	1úMAŠ.MAŠ ana É T[U (.RA) illak?]	
15'	[gi]šrŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR¬g[išŠINIG?]	

For most of the reverse see Ambos 2013: 48-50. Note that there is no dividing line after rev. 9', in contrast to the other manuscripts, see Ambos 2013: 49.

- **56'** The restoration of Ms. NB ii 8' [... Ú.BABBAR *ta-b*]*i-lam* is based on IGI 1: 42'.
- 57' Plants mixed in coarse flour (*ina isqūqi*) might be imbibed or the mixture could be used for bandages, see UGU 2, Ms. NX ii 64' (BAM 482).

The rendering 'dog's tongue plant,' for the partly restored *lišān kalbi*, is a literal translation of the ancient name. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471 suggest the identification with *cynoglossum* 'hound's tongue,' which is likely to be anachronistic.

The restoration at the end of Ms. NB ii 9' is uncertain, instead of N[A]G there might be two signs.

- 58' In Ms. NC ii 6' one might think of reconstructing Ú.BABBAR simGIG, based on Ms. (bB) 3, see IGI 2: 25.
- **60'** Compare also IGI 1: 58' and IGI 2: 21.
- **61'** Differently in Fincke 2000: 150, 166. Compare also CAD Š/2 439. 'if a man's eyes have a deposit(?) of blood.' The spacing on the copy BAM 22 r.27' (Ms. AD) is wide and there is nothing after 'IGI'-*al*, while the signs Ú.BABBAR are broadenly written to fill the space. The lines on Ms. xA 16f.' (Fincke 2009: 87, 89) are almost completely eroded.
- **62'** The reconstructed drug *kukru* is an aromatic plant often used in fumigation, originating (according to incantations) in the mountains, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471; Stol 1979: 16ff. LB syllabic spellings suggest normalization as *kukru* instead of *kukuru*, see Jursa 2009: 162.

63' For this line, compare also IGI 2: 24. The line on Ms. xA 18' is almost completely eroded (Fincke 2009).

Concerning *šum*₄-*ma* AMA[?].MEŠ, compare also AMT 76/2: 3; AMT 98/3: 5.

ZA.NA = *passu* has a possible Aramaic equivalent in *pys* 'small stone,' see DJBA 901b. See further Attia 2015: 39 note 147, and the reference in Irianna III 250 to ZA.NA as *mūnu* 'larva,' i.e. something small. The word *passu* probably refers to the size of a pebble as a gaming piece. We prefer to translate *passu* 'gaming piece' as a 'small disc,' see Finkel 2007: especially 21, 31.

The variants in Mss. AD (BAM 22) and xA (CM 37) may represent the difference in climate between Assur in the north and Sippar or Borsippa in the south.

64' Köcher's copy of Ms. NC, BAM 514 ii 12' reads ^r1/2[?] GÍN GIŠ DI^{?¬} instead of the collated ^r1/2[?] GÍN Ú^{?¬}. Furthermore, the sign Ú instead of Köcher's DI is strongly suggested by the fact that white plant and bat guano often occur together: see IGI I: 34', 41', 44', 71'; IGI 2: 8, 23, [92', restore Ú.BABBAR], 122', 140': IGI III 49'. Also, § IV 12'; § IV.6 (AMT 18/4) 2' and 6'-7'. § V.1 (BAM 480) 23 [restore Ú.BABBAR]; ibid 68.

The line presumably suggests that this recipe could have been used for twenty days. Compare also IGI 1: 85'. However, this notation could also be hemerological, i.e. 'this is the drug of day twenty' used in a certain month. Babylonian Aramaic formulations are sometimes clearer as in the Babylonian Talmud Shab. 140a: 'Go bring 3 shekels of *hyltt*' over 3 days.'

- 65' The following incantation is difficult to understand, despite some thematic similarities with the incantation from IGI 1: 30'. We consider *kīri balāti* 'kiln of life' to be a metaphor for the womb, which probably indicates that the incantation was borrowed from another context. The incantation suggests that the fetus is too large and cannot be delivered, in which case the physician is advised to withhold treatment. The translation 'I hold back (treatment) completely' reflects the idea that the situation is hopeless. Similar advice can be found in the Hippocratic Corpus, see Nutton 2004: 92f. and Golder 2007: 183f., and for a similar case in Babylonia, see Geller 2010a: 41.
- 67' The expression *ina itti* in omens suggests the time of observation: *šumma ina itti eqli qiššû ša magal rabû innamer* 'if an abnormally large melon is found in the field at the normal time,' see CT 39/5: 59. This and similar entries concerning plants can be found in *Šumma ālu* 55: 71f.,' 82f.' (Freedman 2017: 102). The statement that the practitioner holds back treatment in hopeless or terminal cases is well documented in all systems of ancient medicine.
- **68'** The technical term *ka'inimma* (KA.INIM.MA) 'invocation' was read in Sumerian in the first millennium BCE, as can be seen in the syllabic writing in Finkel 1999:

230, cf. also Maul 2009: 80. On the other hand, Farber 2014: 319 argues that in the OB period KA.INIM.MA was possibly realized as *šiptum* 'incantation', which however may not reflect the first millennium reading of the phrase.

69' The copy BAM 514 ii 12' (Ms. NC) shows X GÌN.NA, instead of the collated ZA.GÌN.NA.

For the logogram ${}^{\circ}$ HA or ${}^{\circ}$ KU₆, there are two readings ($ur\hat{a}nu$ and simru). Nevertheless, in combination with SUHUŠ one should read $ur\hat{a}nu$, according to Irianna I 327: SUHUŠ ${}^{\circ}u_5$ -ra-ni. Note the expression from Irianna I 330: ${}^{\circ}pa$ -ri-e: ${}^{\circ}$ HA sa KUR-i. Ms. NC ii 17' (BAM 514) might read SAHAR?.URUDU?, but the second sign is too broken to be certain.

The word $dudubi(D\mathring{\mathbf{D}}\mathring{\mathbf{L}}.D\mathring{\mathbf{D}}.BI)$ actually refers to a medical application within therapeutic texts, rather than 'its ritual,' which belongs to a completely different environment (for discussion of the reading see Maul 2009: 69ff., especially 76). Supporting evidence for the meaning 'medical application' can be found in an unpublished Old Babylonian medical incantation in a private collection, which includes a section beginning with KlD.KlD.BI (var. of $D\mathring{\mathbf{D}}.D\mathring{\mathbf{L}}.D)$) and a final statement GU_7 -ma i- $n\acute{e}$ -es' 'he shall eat it and get better' (ASC 31: 7, rev. 7). It is clear from the context that we are not dealing with a ritual but a supplementary medical treatment. See below to IGI 1: 78'. Also note the use and omission of $D\mathring{\mathbf{D}}.D\mathring{\mathbf{D}}.D$ and $D\mathring{\mathbf{L}}.D$ in BAM 503 versus BAM 506, and BAM 508, reference A. Attia.

70' The term $aga\check{s}g\hat{u}$ is considered to be an academic title that might refer to both the $as\hat{u}$ and the $\bar{a}\check{s}ipu/ma\check{s}ma\check{s}u$, see Geller 2010: 132, and Oshima 2014: 214. Occasionally, we are informed that the $aga\check{s}g\hat{u}$ wrote medical tablets (Geller 2007b: 14, 18). Additional references to $as\hat{u}$ have been collected by Mayer 2016: 189f.

The phrase $huhahi\ l\bar{a}\ bam\hat{a}\ huhahi\ l\bar{a}\ bam\hat{a}\ could$ be a magical spell extracted from syllabaries, with which the novice learned to write cuneiform, and this would include the $aga\check{s}g\hat{u}$ as a possible novice physician. The memorable sequence hu-ha-hi is widespread in lexical lists, see http://oracc.museum.up-enn.edu/dcclt. On the other hand, $la\ ba\ ma$ might also reflect graphic values of similar sign shapes or a close phonetic relationship between labials. Syllables had magical significance and other syllables are used as short spells on amulets with apotropaic power (Wiggermann 2000: 220 note 14, and Salvini 2008: 83f.).

73' Compare with IGI 1: 155,' and see also Collins 1999: 222ff. Although this line is likely to be Sumerian, there may be an underlying Akkadian interpretation. One could alternatively speculate and read *til*₇-*pa*-*na* as a pun on *tilpānu* 'bow,' which could be a metaphor for the shape of the ear. In addition, the phrase *a*-*ga*-*pa*-*na* might be a pun of *agappi īni* for *kappi īni* 'eyelid.'

The phrase ú-hu-ur¹-sag might stand for ú-hur-sag-sar and *azupīru* or *azupīrānu*; ú-hu-ur-sag-gi-na might also stand for a 'real mountain plant' with gi-na interpreted as 'firm, real.' On the other hand, the signs 'gi-na' in ú-hu-ur-sag-gi-na might be syllabic for gin₇, thus meaning 'like the mountain-plant,' which might be a pun on *azupīrānu*, 'the *azupīru*-like plant.'

74' Instead of *kuš-ri-in*, one might consider another possible reading: *su-ri-in su-ri-in-ni*, referring to a plant *surinnu* known from Irianna II 90f.

The noun \check{sa} -hi might be treated here as $\check{sa}hh\hat{u}$, the garment worn by penitents which appears in IGI 3: 76,' with the idea being that Gula surrounds the patient's $\check{sa}hh\hat{u}$ -gown worn by patients.

An alternative possibility is to treat *ša-hi* as 'my pig,' corresponding to a bilingual incantation where a piglet is used as a magical substitute, see Schramm 2008: 36: 65ff.; for a connection with the Babylonian Talmud see Geller 1991: 108.

75' For the healing goddess Gula, see Böck 2014, add the critical reviews of Zomer 2015 and Geller 2015.

For the sinew/tendon, see Attia 2000.

- **76'** It remains unclear how to render TU₆.ÉN.É.NU.RU. For the sake of convenience it is listed in the glossary under *tê šipti*. The signs might be understood only as graphical markers, which were realized in Sumerian and/or in Akkadian, depending on the reader.
- **78'** Köcher 1995: 212a suggested 'gummi arabicum' as an identification for *hīl abukkati*.

The word $kidkidb\hat{u}(K\dot{l}D.K\dot{l}D.BI)$ 'its ritual' has the meaning of a medical application in the therapeutic corpus. See above to IGI 1: 69'.

For *rabāku* meaning 'to decoct,' see Scurlock 2017: 286, and differently Böck 2014: 104; 2009: 116 'to moisten.' There are Semitic cognates equivalent to Akkadian *ribku*, e.g, *rbykh* 'pulp,' produced by mixing fine flour and hot water (Jastrow, *Dictionary* 1442). This would suggest that *rabāku* involves heating up the substances. Attia 2015: 100 provides several translations, 'délayer, touiller, malaxer,' but the present edition will use 'make an infusion' for *rabāku* and 'infusion' for *ribku*.

79' The fragmentary lines of Ms. NB ii 31,' 32' seem to employ rulings (see pl. 9), which are unnecessary, and were not copied by Köcher in BAM 513, Tafel 12. It could be, however, that those visible rulings are only for scribal orientation purposes, but the fragmentary state of preservation leaves us guessing.

Concerning ^{šim}BULUH.HI.A = *baluhhu*, Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 469 suggest an identification with *ferula gummosa* and it's resin as galbanum, but here in the

IGI treatise, it is a metaphorical designation of a symptom, like the word *murdinnu*, also used in eye disease contexts, see the note to IGI 2: 1. The designation ^{Sim}BULUH.HI.A is likely to be a sticky or liquid discharge or secretion from the eye that resembles the colour of the *baluhhu*, and appears together with blood, see Panayotov 2017: 218, 238.

80' We consider the spelling *di-gal*₉(KAL) to be a variant of *digalu* 'vision.' For the common expression *diglu kabit*, see AHw 169a and CAD K 15. Note a similar expression *digla ukabbirma* 'I worsened (lit. thickened) (my) eyesight,' postulated by the scholar, *Nabû-zukup-kēnu*, to describe his eyesight due to cuneiform script, see Geller 2010a: 135.

^dLAMA IGI.MIN- $\dot{s}\dot{u}$ 'pupil of his eyes' is written with a divine determinative. ^dLAMA 'tutelary goddess' in this expression refers to someone looking into the pupil of another person's eye and seeing his own reflection, see Panayotov 2017: 219. Note that the word 'pupil' comes from Latin *pupila* 'doll,' which represents a similar idea, see also IGI 2: 121'.

81' Leaving drugs under stars was a symbolic action for presumably enhancing a drug's potency, according to Reiner 1995: 48. On the other hand, to stay overnight was essential for the drug extraction, or 'maceration,' see Böck 2009: 112ff.

The *hu-li-ia-am* vessel was probably a funnel in the shape of a conical helmet, which is what the term *huliam* designates. Could this have Indoeuropean cognates (cf. German *Helm*)?

- **82'** For a discussion of *zibû* as *Nigella sativa* 'black cumin,' see Heiss et al. 2012/13: 151f. Note also Radner 2014: 574-578, who discusses the grinding tools used for black cumin.
- **83'** Annie Attia suggests transliterating *ša ta-áṣ-hu-tu*, which would be suitable to line 81' above.
- 84' After na4ŠU.MÌN, both Mss. NA ii 21' and NC ii 32' read ŠID-*nu*, which makes little sense, which is why we prefer to emend the reading slightly to SILA₁₁-*aš*.
 - For *šumēnu*(na4ŠU.MÌN) see the discussion in CAD Š/III 272b.
- **86'** The aromatic *murru* might possibly to be identified with *Balsamodendron* or *Commiphora*, see Middeke-Conlin 2014: § 3.2.2, but this remains highly uncertain.
- **87'** The reading *šanîš* for MIN is uncertain. For *šanîš* in commentaries, see Gabbay 2016: 74ff.. Cf. *šá-niš* in BAM 16 r.6. The sign MIN seems to designate an alternative to the prescription in l. 79. See also IGI 2: 140'.

The practice of blowing medication into the eyes might have continued in the Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 69a, where medication was blown into the eyes of a dog, or alternatively into a patient's gullet.

88' The plant $um\hat{u}$ might be identified with Ammi, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 473.

The dividing line after NC ii 36' is not on Köcher's copy BAM 514, pl. 20.

89' The combinations of igi bar, igi bar-bar, igi huš igi huš-huš look as if borrowed from lexical lists (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt). Lexical material has magical significance in incantations and on amulet spells, see notes to IGI 1: 70' and 125'. Compare the similar spell in AMT 46/1 ii 8': én igi du₈-du₈ min hul du₈-du₈ igi bar-ra du₈-du₈.

Note that in Ms. UA 5' (AuOrS 23/27) one might reconstruct the text differently: [igi.bar.ra huš.huš] as Arnaud 2007: 98'.

- **90'** It is worth noting that all three duplicate manuscripts use the same orthographic conventions, lit. igi bar ná-a, 'the open eye sleeps.' See IGI 1: 99' and 111'. The term da-a might stand for dé-a; for dé = $tab\bar{a}ku$, $\check{s}ap\bar{a}ku$ see Udughul, in Geller 2007a: 266, and MSL 9: 179. Furthermore, the term da-a could also simply mean 'at the side.'
- **91'** For the restoration, compare Geller 1984: 296, and IGI 1: 176, 187. The phrase $d\bar{a}ma\ \check{s}en\hat{a}$ has been thoroughly discussed by Fincke 2000: 168f., see also AHw 1162b $\check{s}an\bar{a}'u$. For *pursītu* see the discussion of IGI 1: 187'.

For comparable metaphor in diagnostic omens, see Heeßel 2000: 355: 33.

92' Similar metaphorical expressions can be found in medical incantations anchored in the *Suālu* series from Nineveh, BAM 574 ii 21ff. (Cadelli 2000: 77, 97f.; Collins 1999: 166ff.). Unlike Farber 1998: 65 note 31, A.MEŠ *ša a-gal-pe-e* is analogous to *me-e hi-ri-ti a-la-pa-a*, 'algae-covered ditch water,' BAM 574 ii 22. See furthermore Köcher 1980b, p. x fn. 14, citing Irianna No. 44 II 7: A.MEŠ *a-ga-la-pe-e*: *a-ga-me*, 'the algae(-filled) waters = a lagoon (*agammu*); see also Herrero 1975: 43 and Kinnier Wilson 2005b: 7-8. In the context of eye illnesses, the image of algae (*agalapû*) in lagoon-water is metaphoric for the blurry appearance of the eye. The words *a*(*g*)*alapû* and *alapû* are phonetic variants, noted as such in the dictionaries (see AHw 1542a). See also the commentary to IGI 1: 187f.'

Karpat ṭābāti is a vessel for preserving vinegar, according to Civil 1996: 150: 326. As a part of the household discussed in *Šumma ālu* omens, see Sallaberger 1996: 89. The attestation in IGI shows that the term *karpat ṭābāti* was not only limited to lexical tradition or omens, adding to Sallaberger 1996: 53 note 237.

93' dGìR should be read Šakkan, compare also AMT 52/1: 10 (edited in TuL No. 6), specifying this god living in the steppe. dGìR has been identified as Nergal in Geller 2010a: 93 and Attia 2015: 15, § 55. Neverthless, Šakkan is more appropriate in this context, especially with animals and landscape metaphors. Šakkan is

perceived as an entity which resides in the nostrils and prevents breathing freely, similar to the symptoms of a severe allergy, which can also cause blurring of vision through excess tears.

The 'seat' (Akkadian $kuss\hat{u}$) defines a place in the human body, where disease is to be located. In a Mandaic incantation (see Drower 1946, cited above), a demon sits on the eyes as well as other body organs, which is a metaphor for the settling of an illness affecting that organ, see Müller-Kessler 1999: 346f. (courtesy T. Kwasman). For more examples with 'seat' as disease location with teeth and lungs, see CAD B 251, and the discussion in Geller 2010a: 93, 110-11; 124, 189. See more in Collins 1999: 90, 91, 102. There are also parallels with Hippocratic medicine where 'seat' (Greek keimena) designates a disease location, see Geller 2001/02: 62.

Note the different spellings of *ina berīšina* vs. *ina berūšina*. Possibly the scribe shows his expertise in this way, or just renders the signs alphabetically, i.e. noting only the crucial consonants.

- 94' The expression *ina libbi annīte* 'in the middle of this' refers to the *pitiqtu* 'mudwall' (see the previous line), which presumably connotes the nose. A connection between nose and eyes is established also in the Diagnostic Handbook Tablet 6: 19ff., see Scurlock 2014: 54. Imagery such as a mud-wall probably goes back to mythological prototypes. For example, the landscape of Enūma eliš is the face of Tiamat, from whose eyes (sources), rivers flow like tears, see Lambert 2013: 100ff.
 - On Ms. NC ii 42' (BAM 514), Köcher copied TU rather then LA.
- **95'** For the interpretation of *qīštaki* as 'your fee,' see Geller 2010a: 93. Concerning the rendering of TI.LA-*ma* and TI-*ma* as *bulliṭīma*, note the syllabic spelling in AMT 93/3 11 (edited in TuL No. 32), in a medical incantation with the rubric KA.INIM.MA *šum-ma* LÚ Á GÙB-*šú i-šam-ma-am-šú*, 'Invocation: If a man is paralysed on his left arm.' Phrases requiring Gula's help against fees are known since the second millennium BCE, see Arnaud 2007: no. 16, p 60: 6ff.' [dgu-la be-let bala-ti / [bu]-ul-li-ti-ma NÍG.BA *mu-uh-ri* 'O Gula, mistress of life/health, keep (me) healthy and receive your fee.'
- 97' Note that colours carry symbolic meaning: white wool is for the healthy eye, and red wool for the sick eye, see also IGI 1: 109'.
- **99'** Farber 1998: 66 restores [igi.bar.gig.a igi].bar.da.a. Our restoration igi bar ná-a is based on IGI 1: 90' and 111'. Note that MUD in Mss. NA ii 36' and NB iii 3 is syllabic for MÚD, providing that 'blood' was realized as MÚD, rather than ÚŠ, see also Farber 1998: 66 note 34.

The orthography *ap/bâtu* appears with contradictory evidence in ll. 111 and 123, etc., but the evidence for *apâtu* appears to be dominant and more consistent, with *abâtu* being less common.

100' Compare IGI 1: 134'. The broken sign in the beginning of NB iii 4 might be NA or BA. One might read NINNU(50) NA NINNU(50) as an unorthodox writing of NENNI A NENNI. In addition, NA 50 might stand for *amēl Enlil/Marduk/Asalluhi*. One difficulty with this interpretation is the lack of a divine determinative, although a divine name written only with numbers without a divine determinative is not uncommon (e.g. 30 for Sîn). Nevertheless, 'the man of Enlil' could be a metaphor for Ninurta or Dāmu, gods frequently occurring as a pair with Gula.

The phrase sa-niq $q\acute{a}$ -bu- \acute{u} $s\acute{a}$ d gu-la is reminiscent of a personal name construction, see CAD S 139, e).

101' For a parallel passage see IGI 1: 120'. The phrase *šittama šinama ahhātu* might be a pun, meaning 'the two eyes are shores' (see *ahu* II 'side, shore of the sea') with a 'mountain' (i.e. the nose) in-between, a metaphor for the human face as a land-scape. One possibility is to imagine the range of mountains between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.

On Ms. NB (BAM 513) iii 5, Pl. 10, the fragment Th 98942 does not align neatly with K 13398 because other fragments of this tablet were not properly glued before Th 98942 was discovered. There is no doubt, however, about the alignment of ll. 5ff., see also the copy in Farber 1998: 68.

- 102' The answer to the question' *manna lušpur*' 'Whom shall I send?' is likely to be either the patient or Gula herself; for the phrase see Farber 1990. Everything mentioned in this passage is happening on a cosmic level, until it finally filters down to the patient. The ultimate aim of this incantation is the cleansing of the patient's eyes. The notorious daughter of Anu is the evil demon Lamaštu (cf. Wiggermann 2000; Farber 2014), not mentioned in this context. Ironically, beside Lamaštu, there is a group of Anu's daughters who are quite helpful in incantations, cf. Farber 1989, and Collins 1999: 325. This may reflect the idea that even evil demons could be enlisted in the struggle against other kinds of evil such as witchcraft; see Schwemer 2018.
- **103'** All verbal forms in lines 103ff.' are feminine plural referring to the 'daughters of Anu,' mentioned in the previous line. On a graphical level there is a pun between ^{na4}NÍR (= ZA.GÍN) and ^{na4}ZA.GÎN; see also IGI 1: 122'. For Akk. *uqnû*(^{na4}ZA.GÎN) see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 453, 460. According to Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 473, the term is not restricted to lapis lazuli proper, but can refer to other blue stones as well.

- The *hulālu* stone can be identified as agate, thanks to an inscription on a pearl of agate, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 436, 459.
- **104'** We assume that *tâmtu rapaštu* refers more likely to broad lakes, as in the marshes or possibly Lake Van. However, 'sea' and 'lake' could be also metaphors for ritual baths.
- **105'** The form *likeṣṣâ* (3. pl. f. precative D stem) may be of Babylonian origin, see von Soden 1995: § 105n, see also line 123' below.
- **107'** In Ms. AX ii' 10' (KAL 7/12), we suggest reading E[N² ...] for *bēltu* and corresponding to the phrase *bēlet šipte* from the Nineveh parallels (Mss. NA-NC). Meinhold 2017: 42: r.Kol. 10' reads differently: *i*[*qbûnimma* ...], but based on incantations from other contexts.
 - For the healing fee paid to the goddess of Gula, see notes to IGI 1: 95 above.
- **109'** Note the symbolic meaning of colours: red connotes a sick appearance and white a healthy one, see IGI 1: 97'.
 - The copy BAM 513 iii 8' does not show the broken *ša* after *an-nu-ú*, but the beginning of *ša* is visible on Ms. NB iii 12, pl. 10.
- **111'** For similar introductory lines, see IGI 1: 89ff., 98ff., 119ff. Note that these three incantations start with the same phrases, which renders the incipits unfit for organizational purposes within catalogues.
- **112'** For *pursītu*, see the commentary of IGI 1: 187'.
- 113' For taltallû ša gišimmari see Landsberger 1957: 19.
- 114' Collations reveal a correct reading *ari* instead of *zārî* in CAD T 104, 385, 435.
- 115' Winds here are portrayed as natural causes of eye disease, without any distinction between harmful and beneficial winds.
- 117' 7 *u* 7 is a variation of 7 a.rá 2. àm/min.na.meš, see CAD S 203. It simply means 14 but in rituals it seems that the ancients wanted to keep the symbolic number 7. Occasionally, 14 is written instead of 7 and 7, see IGI 1: 69'.
- 118' The variants between the Nineveh manuscripts and the Assur parallel text, AX i' 15' (KAL 7/12), might suggest that the logogram TI.LA could be realized as *ina*'eš.
 - The medical procedure is based on the idea that 'red' denotes diseased while 'white' denotes healthy. See Geller 2005 (BAM 7): 7, referring to a standard apothecary practice of prescribing red liquids against fevers and green liquids against stomach disorders, based on the perception of these colours as either aggressive (red) or soothing (green).

- **120f.'** Compare the passage with IGI 1: 101'. For *mārat Ani* and *manna lušpur* see notes to IGI 1: 102'.
- 121' The metaphor of eyes as sisters separated by a mountain appears in ll. 101' and 126,' but this entry adds the phrase that the one sister cannot go to the side (lit. cheek) of its sibling, suggesting the hope that a single diseased eye cannot carry the pathology to the other eye.
- **122'** This incantation has a close variant in IGI 1: 103,' but the vessels are different and we have a *tallu*-flask instead of *kannu*-jar. The stone *zagindurû* is a variation of lapis lazuli, see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 455, 460. The logogram DURU₅ means 'moist' and refers to the shiny appearance of the stone.
 - The costly stone vessels are intended to convey pure water to the diseased eyes, which may have been based upon unwritten but commonly accepted notions of stone vessels being less susceptible to transferable impurities than ceramic vessels. This topic was popular in the Babylonian Talmud, see Miller 2003.
- **123'** The line has an Old Babylonian forerunner, see Goetze 1955: 9, text A: 19-20, and text B: 17-18, also in Collins 1999: 279-286. The form *li-be-la-a* suggests a Babylonian origin, see von Soden 1995, § 105n, see also line 105' above.
 - The writing *li-is-sa-pa-ni-im-ma* indicates the Gtn or Gt-stem, see AHw 1000a, but CAD S 10 eliminates the double /s/ by deleting the <-is> syllable.
- **125'** The phrases igi sùh and igi sùh-sùh seem to be borrowed from lexical lists. Such repetitive expressions have specific magical significance in incantations, see the note to IGI 1: 70'. See also igi sùh = *i-nu e-ši-tum*, igi sùh-sùh = *i-na-an e-ši-a* in Civil 1986: 25: 27f., further http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt. Ms. NC iii 28' has partly preserved i[gi ba]r?, but igi is not in the copy of BAM 514 iii 28'. The joining of K 14879 to Ms. NC is courtesy of E. Jiménez.
- **127'** The translation 'brow' for *kiṣirtu* is uncertain and could simply mean that a 'knot' (as a biform of *kiṣru*) is 'knotted,' as a metaphor for a furrowed or wrinkled brow.
- **128'** The copy BAM 513 iii 28' has missed the broken /na/ in IM-*ši-n*[*a-ma*], see pl. 11, Ms. NB iii 32.
 - On Ms. NC iii 31,' there is nothing in the break (ca. 1,5 cm wide) between IM- $\dot{s}i$ -na-ma on K 2456 + and ^{r}a -a'-a on K 14879, except for two round 'firing' holes.
- 130' The phrase *at-ta pu-ţur* 'you indeed release' refers to a god, whose name is broken. In AMT 74 ii 27, 29 and 31 (foot disease), the divinity is Šamaš, associated with the same phrase (*at-ta pu-ţur Šamaš*). Here, however, we suggest restoring 'dAMAR'.[UTU ...] for Marduk, which is indirectly supported by the fact that *pu-ţur lem-nu* is the oft-cited incipit of an incantation to Marduk included in Udughul

- Tablet 2, see Geller 2016: 60. The restoration *şu-lu-um pa-ni* was proposed by Geller 1984: 295, and substantiated by collations of Ms. NB iii 34 (BAM 513). The expressions *šār pāni ikil pāni ṣulum pāni* are all metaphors for emotions, lit. 'headwind,' 'dark of face,' and 'black of face.'
- 131' Concerning the copy of Ms. NC iii 34,' note that BAM 514 is misleading, since the fragment K 2979 starts here.
- 132' The opening line of the incantation might tentatively be reconstructed from a parallel incantation (IGI 1: 89' etc.), but not the second line (IGI 1: 133').
- **134'** The restoration of the word *sa-niq* is according to IGI 1: 100'.
- 135' It is uncertain whether ŠU.BI.GIN₇.NAM is to be read *kīma annî*, or just *šubiginnam*, since there is no decisive evidence for either reading.
- **136'** Compare similar formulations in IGI 1: 91'. This fragmentary incantation again reinforces the idea of the dangers posed by dust and dirt in the eye, coming from both urban or agricultural environments.
- **138'** The copy (BAM 514) of Ms. NC iii 41' is misleading (not MIN but SAHAR).
- **141'** One might read ^úHAR.HAR, but the Ú is too uncertain.
- **142'** The begining of AMT 8/3 appears on Ms. NB iii 47a'.
- **143f.'** For the tentative restorations, see IGI 1: 117' and 154'.
- **145'** An alternative reading, not to be excluded, is *mi*]*m-ma lem-nu* (courtesy Annie Attia).
- 147' The meaning of ta-ma-ad-ra-áš is unclear. Attia 2015: 18 fn. 81 reads *arratu*(ÁŠ) *ta-ma-ad-ra*. Furthermore, it might again be a pun with syllables (see, for instance, notes to IGI 1: 70'), but ta-ma-ad-ra-áš does not seem to be borrowed from any lexical list. Another explanation would be that ta-ma-ad-ra-áš is a foreign word with magical significance, e.g. Elamite or Hurrian, like hu-tu-ul in IGI 1: 182'. The expression ta-ma-ad-ra has no equivalent form in Akkadian but might be a play on the verb *madāru*, see IGI 2: 196,' but only if one accepts a defective present tense (*tamaddarāšu* < *tamadrāš*), 'you spoil it.'
- 149' The beginning of K 13465 [AMT 18/1] is found on Ms. NA. The restoration is based on IGI 1: 135,' and similar.
- **150'** Cf. Collins 1999: 224.
- **151f.'** Compare Collins 1999: 166: 26 and CAD G 110a (*gišûtu* 'belch'). Furthermore, see Geller 2007a: 172: 153f. It is not often to find an Akkadian translation of the Marduk-Ea formula. The pattern of this incantation probably follows Šurpu V-VI: 30-32; VII 45ff., which is bilingual. Collins 1999: 224 restores [*īmurma Asalluhi ana*]

- *Ea abišu išass*[si] / [$\check{s}a$ $an\bar{a}ku$ id] \hat{u} atta $t\bar{l}di$ $t[\bar{e}$ $\check{s}ipti]$, and the tablet has enough space to accommodate the additional phrase.
- **154'** There are clear traces on Ms. NC of *ina-eš* rather than TI-*uţ*, unlike in BAM 514 iv 1. For 7 u 7 see the note to IGI 1: 117'.
- **155'** The phrase gi bàn-da-zu 'your tiny reed' might refer to the reed-straw instrument *takkussu*(^{gi}SAG.KUD), used to introduce medication into the eyes. See also IGI 1: 73' and 183'.
- 157' We consider the word pa-la as a phonetic reading of t^{tig} pàla 'royal robe,' which might be a metaphor for bandages, or refer to the reddish surface of the diseased eye.
- **160'** See Landsberger 1967: 14b: ŠÀ (= *libbi*) *elleti gišimmari ina pīka teheppi ina qātika tepettil* «you beat (rip) (into fibres) the offshoot (leaves) of a clean date palm with your mouth (= teeth) and twist it (to thread) with your hand».
- 161' Ms. HA has BAD in front of GURUŠ, which is difficult to interpret.
- **163'** There are thematic parallels with the so-called *merhu* incantation, see for further details IGI 1: 194ff.'
- **164'** For wind as a metaphor for a natural cause of eye disease, see Collins 1999: 94 note 39, see also the note to IGI 1: 115'.
- **166f.'** Ms. NB (BAM 513) has a different text format than Mss. NA and NC, combining two Sumerian phrases per line with interlinear Akkadian.
 - Note that Ms. NB iv 17 has i-da- $\check{s}\check{u}$ da- ral -h[a] 'his sides/arms are troubled,' which differs significantly from i-na- $\check{s}\check{u}$ da-al-ha 'his eyes are troubled' in Mss. NA iv 10 and NC iv 15.
 - The Sumerian-Akkadian equations (lú-bi igi-bi lù-lù-a : *šá* LÚ *šu-a-tú i-na-šú da-al-ha*) seem borrowed from lexical lists, compare Civil 1986: 25: 27f.
- 168' The Sumerian literally means: $lú-u_{18}-lu-bi$ ní-te-a-ni-šè ér gig ì-šéš-šéš 'that man weeps bitter tears for himself.'
- **169'** The text here resembles the oft-repeated Marduk-Ea dialogue known from incantations, in which a god, in this case Nammu, notices the problem and receives an Apsû incantation, presumably from Ea. This may be an abbreviated version of this magical motif.
- **170'** The sign LI in *le-qé-ma* on Ms. HA 43 looks Middle Assyrian, similar to signs from Tell Chuēra or Šēḫ Ḥamad, see Gottstein and Panayotov 2014: category 7, parameters a2c5.

- The sign gá in gaz-gá is not clear, but see mùnu-gaz-gá, mùnu-al-gaz-gá for *Schrotmalz* in Stol 1989b: 324, see further Brunke 2011: 41.
- 173' The line suggests metaphors for washing the eye and removing foreign objects.
- 174' Ms. HA has im igi lú-geš sù-sù instead of [im ig]i lú-ka sù-sù. One might interpret a sandhi spelling here between geš and sù, and the value /ge/ as a syllabic variant for ka.
- 175' Ms. HA includes ritual prescriptions for the preceding incantations, in contrast to the Nineveh manuscripts. This might suggest that this Sultantepe manuscript (HA) had a more practical function than did the Nineveh library tablets.
- 176' For the word *pursindu*, see the commentary on IGI 1: 187' below.
- 177' It remains questionable whether *ana* IGI is to be normalised as *ana pāni* or *ana mahri*, although both phrases have the same meaning.
 - The reference to the mother / creator goddess Mami takes the eye complaint back to creation, with the eyes complaining about the imperfect nature of their formation.
- 178' The *ašû*-disease is associated with the head and the eyes, as explained in Fincke 2000: 100f. Scurlock 2014: 274 unconvincinly connects *ašû*-disease with pox. Attia and Buisson 2012: 37f. consider *ašû* to be a dermatological disease affecting the head; see Hausperger 2000: 442ff. There is a special plant *šammi ašî* used to counteract *ašû*-disease, see the note to IGI 1: 51'.
- **182'** The phrase še lá refers to 'winnowed grain', see CAD Z 70, and http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus. If so, then it denotes harm similar to the *merhu* metaphor, a kernel which enters the eye during harvest time, since small particles in the air can cause eye problems. Accordingly, the *merhu* incantation follows this one.

The expression igi lal refers to a 'diminished' eye (vision), since LAL can stand for $mat\hat{u}$, occurring with eyes, see CAD M 433a, IGI 2: 196,' and IGI 3: 51'. Furthermore, hu-tu-ul has been interpreted as a Hurrian verb 'to glorify,' see Attia 2015: 21 note 101, and Haas and Thiel 1978: 12f. fn. 22 (reference courtesy M. Stol), compare also to IGI 1: 147'. In addition, hu-tu-ul was equated in lexical lists with $hat\hat{u}$ ša mursi 'to strike, (said) of disease' (CAD H 151, MSL 17: 166 (tablet 7), p. 211 l. 15), i.e. afflicted.

Entries from lexical lists are used in these incantations with specific magical significance, as in the case of IGI 1: 70,' 89 etc., see notes above.

183' The phrase *ša-at-ti pa-na* is a pun on *pān šatti* 'beginning of the year,' i.e. spring.

- **184'** Ms. NC (BAM 514) iv 36ff. on pl. 18 is almost entirely eroded, since the copy, see Geller 1984.
- **185'** M. Stol suggests translating *birki immeri* as a 'testicle of a sheep,' see CAD K 74b.
- **187f.'** For the restorations see Collins 1999: 216 and Geller 1984: 296. We assume sufficient space in the break for $a[t-ti-na\ i-na\ pu]r^-rsi-mi-it^-$. Landsberger 1958: 58 reconstructed only ÉN $\overline{\imath}[n\overline{u}]$ *pursimît*. The *pursītu* 'bowl' is a loanword from Sumerian ^{dug}BUR.ZI, see Sallaberger 1996: 98, 116. The word is metaphoric for an 'eye blood vessel,' having the meaning 'veins/arteries' in the Old Babylonian period, see Ziegler 2005: 4f.; see also Fincke 2000: 20, 226-228. The crucial metaphorical connection is that the *pursītu*-vessel and the eye both contain liquids, and perhaps their physical shape was not dissimilar (as in English 'blood vessel'). In addition, *šaharru* (var. *šuharru*) 'porous' refers to a clay container, and the meaning was extended to eyes, suffused with blood and tears.

The word *taš-ša-ni* might also mean 'to be blurred' (courtesy Annie Attia), see also CAD Š/3 366.

The words $h\bar{a}m\bar{u}$ 'chaff' and $alap\hat{u}$ 'algae' (next line) are equated with each other in an Irianna commentary (CAD A/1 336, lexical section of $alap\hat{u}$). See also the notes to IGI 1: 92'.

For a spelling ha-an-d[a-as-pi-r]a, see Landsberger 1958: 58 and CAD Š/3 266. However, since there does not seem to be sufficient space on the tablet, another possible reading would be ha-an-d[a-bi- $l]u^2$, also written $^{na4}PEŠ_4$. PEŠ $_4$. According to Röllig 1993: 451a, handabillu is a kind of shell, but this could refer to pebbles, because of the determinative NA $_4$.

For the interpretation of *šuršurru* as a small fruit, see von Soden 1971: 69: 176, but we understand *šuršurru* as a small fibre from plants that may enter the eye and cause inflammation.

189' The word *tubkinnu* (in plural fem.) is used together with *huṣābu* 'twig' in *Maqlû* II 186, Abusch 2016: 73.

The Babylonian Talmud (bAZ 28a) has a wound prescription containing Dilmun dates ($'sn' = Akk. asn\hat{u}$) and nyqr' mqylqlt, 'twigs from the refuse heap.' Nyqr' is a loan from Akkadian niqru, 'salvaged wood.'

190f.' For literature concerning the healing goddess Gula, see IGI 1: 75' above.

Note that Asalluhi and Marduk are occasionally not identified with each other, see Geller 1985: 15. This question has been raised again in a new study by Johandi 2019.

- **192'** For the phrase *iddīma anāku ašši* 'she casts (it) and I (the healer) carry (it) out,' see a discussion in Lambert 2008: 93ff. The two verbs here are preterite in form but present in meaning.
- 194' This historiola incantation has Old Babylonian forerunners, see Lambert 2013: 399f., which although different shares the same idea of the gods creating the *merhu*-kernel. For a discussion of *historiola*, see Frankfurter 2001. Stol 1989a: 165 is critical of the translation 'ergot' for *merhu*. The *merhu*, although divine in origin, represents a natural cause of illness, see Geller 2007c: 292.

The Old Babylonian forerunner in *JNES* 14: 15 translates the passage as follows: 'The earth - it is being said - the earth gave birth to mud, mud gave birth to the stalk, the stalk gave birth to the head-of-grain, the head-of-grain gave birth to the *merhu*. In the square field - 7 bur-measures (of surface) - of the god Enlil, (while) the Moon-god was reaping (and) the Sun-god was harvesting, the *merhu* entered into - it is being said - the eye of the lad' (see Panayotov 2017: 212f.).

The word $alall\hat{u}$ is a variant of the Middle Assyrian $elall\hat{u}$ 'a pipe,' and for the latter see Bagg 2000: 262, 365. The word is not to be confused with the $al\bar{a}lu$ 'song,' see Rendu Loisel 2016: 103ff. Geller 2010a: 94 interprets $alall\hat{u}$ as 'water-carrier,' needed to bring water down to earth for creating vegetation. Since the theme is agriculture, the translation 'shaduf' might be more reasonable than 'pipe.' Compare also the 'water of the shaduf' (a a-lal-la) in IGI 1: 150,' to be understood in the same way in $Maql\hat{u}$, contra Abusch 2016: 217, 101'. Furthermore, a-la-lu ur-da might be a pun on alal-urud, PSD A III 159. See Maul 2013: 31b, ad 25:38 (reference courtesy M. Stol).

- **195'** Lambert 2013: 399 reads $\check{s}e\text{-}er\text{-}'u_5$. On the other hand, Borger 2010: 277 states that the reading \dot{u}_5 for HU is unnecessary.
- **200ff.** The name of the Nineveh treatise is given by Köcher in *BAM* vol. 6 ix as $\check{s}umma(DI\check{S})$ $am\bar{e}lu(NA)$ $\bar{i}n\bar{a}\check{s}u(IGI.MIN-\check{s}\acute{u})$ $mar;\bar{a}(GIG)$ 'If a man's eyes are sick,' an incipit not known from Nineveh proper. We are informed about the name only from the Assur Medical Catalogue l. 8 (Steinert, Panayotov, Geller, Schmidtchen, and Johnson 2018: 210: DIŠ NA IGI.MIN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ 'GIG'). We assume that Köcher took the name of the IGI Treatise from the Assur Medical Catalogue, on which he had been working (Panayotov 2018a: 89) but never explained this in the introduction to later BAM volumes.

§ II IGI 2

ND (BAM 515), K 15765 and K 15769 are small pieces joined to the colophon, but not yet on the copy, BAM 515. According to Köcher, BAM vol. 6: xii, the numerous joins on BAM 515 go back to Geers. Borger 1991: 41, however, states that J.V. Kinnier-Wilson is responsible for piecing together the fragments of BAM 515. Whoever made these joins did impressive work.

Photos of **uB** (NBC 4211) were kindly provided by Enrique Jiménez.

For *murdinnu* 'bramble' as a disease metaphor, see Panayotov 2017: 238ff. *Murdinnu* has an afterlife in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic cognates, also designating a kind of 'bramble' (Kwasman 2015: 361). In the title (incipit) of Tablet Two of IGI, the plural is used, 'If a man's eyes are full of *murdinnu*-brambles,' probably indicating many bramble-like shapes in the human eye. Annie Attia suggests that *murdinnu* might indicate granules (2015: 53-55). The associated incantation (én íd-da-ta gistir gal-gal-la-ta) characterises *murdinnu*-bramble and *murdinnu*-disease as a stinging sensation, i.e. as if the eye was stung by a thorny *murdinnu*-'bramble'; see the notes on Ms. NF (BAM 520), l. 35' below.

The restoration NU DUH is uncertain, but suggested by IGI 2: 6 (also partly reconstructed), see also Attia 2015: 37.

- The restoration [*ka-la*] 'UD-*me* is suggested from IGI 2: 5. The restoration at the end of the line is uncertain, but for similar cases see IGI 1: 72'; 2: 78'; 3: 30'.
 - According to Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 472, the aromatic plant, *suādu* might be identified with 'chufa' (yellow nutsedge), but not based on secure evidence.
- **3** For the formulation 1- $\dot{s}u$ 2- $\dot{s}u$ 3- $\dot{s}u$, compare also IGI 1: 15'. Before the signs SAG KAL one might expect NA₄ (Attia 2015: 37) but collations cannot substantiate this restoration. In addition, the end of the sign before SAG could be TU, thus restoring t]u- $\dot{s}aq$ -qal₄, but this form does not seem to be attested.
 - Fat from the knuckles of different mammals is known in other (non-medical) contexts (literature in Mayer 2016: 227). Compare also the LB tablet BM 40737: 6' (Ms. xB in IGI 3): Ì.UDU 'kur'-sin-na-a-tú UDU.NÍTA 'fat of the knuckles of a male sheep.'
 - After MAŠ.DÀ, Köcher saw IGI.M[IN x] x on BAM 515 i 3, but now not visible. The final two signs on the line could possibly be read u]b-bab, i.e. 'the fat from a gazelle's ankle cleanses the eyes.'
- 4 Attestations of *irru* as a salve are rare, but see Attia 2015: 37: 'ensuite tu piles dans une crème au plomb.' See especially the connection of *irru* with *egû* 'kohl' in HH XI 303; MSL 7: 139, and the commentary to IGI 1: 20'. Note that the spelling *ir-ri* (l. 4) vs. *er-ri* (l. 2) above must refer to different words.

The plant $h\bar{u}ratu(g^{i\bar{s}}HAB)$, possibly a type of sumac, was used to produce red dye (literature in Borger 2010: 420 (no. 755), and Abrahami 2014: 295).

5 giš MAŠ.HUŠ with the gloss u giš ŠINIG suggests editorial redacting which added an alternative plant for this prescription, possibly coming from a different manuscript. Thus, a medical practitioner might have used giš MAŠ.HUŠ or giš ŠINIG, depending on the availability of either drug. It was common in ancient medicine to substitute a drug if one was unavailable or unaffordable.

The phrase k]a-la UD-me 3- $\dot{s}\acute{u}$ KEŠDA \acute{u} -kal-ma ZI is differently understood in Parpola 1983: 249 note 11: 'you put it on three times a day, he keeps it on and gets up.'

- 7 The drug mixture refers to the whole passage, from IGI 2: 1 onwards.
- 8 Instead of IM.G[Ú.EN.NA] one might reconstruct IM.G[Ú.GAR.RIN.NA].
- 9 For the restoration *mur-d*[*in-ni* DIRI] compare IGI 2: 1. Note the deliberate syllabic spelling of *šum-ma*, which eliminates the confusion which DIŠ might otherwise have caused.

The word $t\bar{t}pu$ 'compress' might also have another meaning, 'drops,' based on a common Semitic root, as in Aramaic (Jastrow, *Dictionary* 533; DJBA 503). This interpretation makes more sense in eye disease therapy. The examples of $t\bar{t}pu$ in CAD T 112f. might belong to two different roots.

10 The restoration *ți-*[*pu šá* IGI.MIN] is suggested not only from parallel texts but also from the same manuscript, IGI 2: 57 (Ms. ND).

Note that the trio \check{s} ammu peṣû, aban gabî and $t\bar{a}$ bat emesalli is quite common in eye prescriptions.

- 11 The restoration [ti-pu šá IGI.MIN] in ND i 11 is based on the preceeding line, but [LAL šá IGI.MIN] is also not to be excluded, as suggested by the parallel Ms. AA 8.
- **12ff.** We suggest that *giddagiddû* is a scholastic writing from *gīdu* 'sinews,' which might mean 'a long string,' on the model of im.gíd.a for (*im*)*giṭṭu* 'oblong tablet.' This interpretation is supported by the fact that *giddagiddû* is preceded by *murdinnu*, a visible symptom on the eye (see notes to IGI 2: 1). *Giddagiddû* is also mentioned in AMT 12/11: 4' (Sm 1156), now joined to UGU 1 (not in the copy, BAM 480 (UGU 1) K 2354+, see CDLI no. P365742). For lexical attestations of *giddagiddû*, see Veldhuis 2014: 165, and especially Attia 2015: 55f. *Giddagiddû* appears in the Emar text, Ms. EA (see manuscripts of IGI 1), and is attested in SEAL 5.3.8.1.

For a reference to 'short-sightedness,' see Köcher, Oppenheim, and Güterbock 1957-58: 65, line 14, note 15.

The copy of BAM 515 does not properly reproduce the sign KÁ. The scribe missed one wedge from the sign (in comparison with line 15). KÁ! has the parameters a3b3 (l. 12) and not the usual a3b4 (l. 15), see Gottstein and Panayotov 2014.

KIMIN in line 13 and 15 might well refer to the instruction: 'he goes to a strange house and calls at the door.' This is reminiscent of a snake namburbi, which has the ritual instruction of a man entering another house and having a sex with a strange woman, see Maul 1994: 285f. Our tentative suggestion for understanding this passage is that the patient acts according to the logic of namburbi-rituals, so that the man enters into a strange house and calls out at the door like the owner of the house (reconstructing $b\bar{e}l\ b\bar{t}ti$), thereby assuming a new identity, which gives him the right to demand the removal of the $giddagidd\hat{u}$ -disease. Another namburbi-type ritual occurs below in IGI 3: 76.

- For *lipištu* as 'sang gâté' see the discussion in Durand 2006: 65-71, and Attia 2015: 56, but there is no obvious evidence for *lipištu* meaning 'spoiled blood' in medical texts. We translate 'fleshy substance,' since the ideogram UZU.NU means 'fleshy form;' see more attestations in Mayer 2016: 234. Note that in l. 19 below, the symptom *šīru āliku* 'loose tissue' appears in a parallel position, suggesting that *lipištu* resembles some kind of fleshy tissue.
- 17 The gap cannot accommodate the restoration DIŠ NA [*ina* UGU I]GI.MIN, proposed by Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 193, 9.49.
- **19f.** Compare to IGI 2: 22, but we are not sure if the restoration there can also apply to 1. 19.

The plant GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA can alternatively be rendered as *buṣinnu*, *kūru* or *kurṣiptu*, see Abusch, Schwemer, Luukko, and van Buylaere 2016: 510, Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 469, and discussions in CAD K 572a and AHw 143a, 512a, 515b. For the restoration NUMUN GIŠ.GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA (the seed of this plant), see IGI 2: 196', 206'. Another possibility would be PA GIŠ.GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA (using the leaf of this same plant), based on IGI 3: 71,' also attested as a medication for the eyes in AMT 74 ii 18 and BAM 124 ii 45. (For *artu*(PA) as foliage, leaves, see Landsberger 1967: 16-17.) We suggest that GIŠ.GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA means 'date reed,' i.e. the small branches holding the dates, and the translation *buṣinnu* "wick", might support this idea. Other Akkadian correspondences to GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA, *kūru* 'the short one' or *kurṣiptu* 'butterfly', are descriptive metaphors for the plant botany. Mayer 2016: 227 suggests that *kurṣiptu* is the insect 'horse fly.' See also the note to 159' below.

- The spacing on the tablet might allow for an additional sign before ^{šim}GIG.
- On Ms. ND (BAM 515) i 24, Köcher copied HE.HE ʿDÙʾ, but collations reveal rather HE.HE Z[A, which fits the parallels. For the reading ZA.NA compare also IGI 1: 63'.

- The term *erēnu* 'cedar' can correspond to several species of conifer, see Hansman 1976: 27-30.
- On Ms. ND (BAM 515), ŠIM after DIRI in DIRI [§][imS]ES is not in Köcher's copy of BAM 515, but the beginning of ŠIM is visible on the tablet.
- In Ms. bB, the scribe left out the second vertical of HU in U₅, see also the copy, BAM 382: 3.
- This line references a type of eye pathology which has the appearance of parasitic $q\bar{u}q\bar{a}nu$ -worms, see Panayotov 2017: 239. The 'vulva of a pig' is a descriptive name for a drug, like $biṣṣ\bar{u}r$ $at\bar{a}ni$ 'vulva of a donkey' in stone lists (for the latter see also Radner 2016: 119f.). According to Irianna III and commentaries, the mumbojumbo word $guru\bar{s}gara\bar{s}$ as 'vulva' is an alternative name for pig's sperm: Irianna III 603f. $rih\hat{u}tu$ $guru\bar{s}u$ - $gura\bar{s}u$ $\bar{s}a$ $\bar{s}ah\hat{i}$: ri-hu- $t\hat{u}$ $\bar{s}a$ $\bar{s}ah\hat{i}$, see photos in http://ccp.yale.edu/P461289.
- **28** The restoration is according to IGI 2: 103'.
- **50'** The restoration is according to IGI 2: 53'. [GÌR.PAD]. DU LÚGUD'. DA might designate the 'cannon' bone.
- **54f.'** Ms. AD (BAM 22) offers a thematic parallel to this line:
 - (AD) 1-3' $^{\text{IGI.MIN-}}\dot{\text{Su}}^{\text{i}}\dot{\text{ip-pa-a}}$ ana $^{\text{III.}}\dot{\text{Su}}^{\text{Sim}}$ LI $^{\text{gis}}\dot{\text{GUR.GUR}}$ sah-lé-e DÙ.A.B[I ...] ŠÀ $^{\text{Sim}}$ LI $^{\text{1-niš}}\dot{\text{SUD}}$ ina Ì.EREN u x [x x (x) HE.H]E MAR
- 54' The verb *eţû* in the Gtn, *i-te-né-ṭa-a* 'they (the eyes) become constantly dim,' is a synonym of *ekēlu* in the Gtn, see Schramm 2001: 50, 70, l. 88.
 - For *šipir*(KIN)-*šú* 'its effect (i.e. of the disease),' see also BAM 52: 67: NA.BI *ni-kim-tú* IM UD.DA GIG KIN-*šú i-la-bir-ma* 'that man suffers from flatulence and fever, and the effect on him will be longlasting'; similarly in BAM 168: 2: NA.BI *ni-kim-ti* IM *u* UD.DA GIG KIN-*šú* SUMUN-*ma*.
- 56' The restoration follows TDP 34:17, 144 iv 52; STT 89: 203; CT 23/44 r.5. For similar cases and treatments, see also Ms. NK (BAM 518: 6ff.), discussed in Attia 2015: 59.
- **57'** The restoration follows IGI 2: 10.
- 58f.' For the passage, see also Parys 2014: § 54. Note that different manuscripts show the same symptomology but the drugs and applications differ. For instance, Ms. ND recommends burying the medical ingredients under the threshold for seven days, omitted in the other parallels. In other words, there are many ways to heal the same condition. For a possible restoration of line 59' see IGI 2: 28, 103'. Ms. AB has significantly deteriorated since Köcher's copy of BAM 159 iv, compared with plate 43.

61' We suggest that the verbal form in IGI.MIN-*šú a*[*r-pa* ...] is from *erēpu*, 'to become dusky.' For the restoration of the second half of the line, compare IGI 1: 14,' 16'. However, an alternative restoration IGI.MIN-*šú a*[*r-ma* ...] seems possible according to the catchline of BAM 3: DIŠ NA 'IGI.MIN-*šú*' GISSU *ár-ma* 'If a man's eyes are covered with a film.'

Note also Ms. NW (BAM 439) 6' [...] x ina Ì u 'SAHAR'.URUDU [...].

- **62'** For a discussion of *kibšu* 'fungus,' and the passage in question, see Fincke 2011: 173ff. Ms. NI replaces the 'old potsherd' (*haṣba labīra*) by a 'potsherd of perfumed oil' (*haṣab igulī*), a more cumbersome variant.
- **63'** For the restoration of the line, see IGI 2: 68'.

Karān šēlebi 'fox-vine/grape' is etymologically related to the Arabic *inab-ath-thalab* 'fox grape,' exported from Iran to India under the Farsi name *sag-anjar* 'dog's grapes' (Hooper and Field 1937: 172). The term also appears in Aramaic '*inby ta'ala'* 'fox grape,' recorded in the Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 70a. The same figurative language can be found in the Bulgarian *cherno-kucheshko-grozde* 'black dog's grapes' (Vodenicharov and Petrov 2001: 231). These later names designate black nightshade or its fruits (*Solanum nigrum L.*, references above), but we cannot retrospectively conclude the same about Akkadian *karān šēlebi*, nor identify it with black nightshade.

65' Compare to IGI 2: 98,' and to CAD T 78.

Mss. sA and AD have virtually the same prescription as ND, but sA and AD were used for different eye conditions, as in IGI 2: 98' below. The final verb in ND is uncertain but might have a cognate Semitic root B'R (*Mandaic Dictionary* p. 51), or B^cR (DJBA 228), both meaning 'to burn.' This might suggest an Akkadian *bahāru* in G stem 'to be hot.' This term (*bâru*) appears in a recipe for spleen disease, BAM 77: 24-25:

[g]a-bid GU4 HÁD.A SÚD ina KAŠ ¹⁶KÚRUN.NA [tara-bak b]a-a-a-ri ik-ta-na-su-us 'Your dry out and pound ox liver and [decoct] it into tavern-beer and he should chew it while hot.'

- 67' NINDA *ši-ib-ri* is in the construct state, and NINDA replaces the otherwise expected ZÌ, see CAD Š/II 382. Note also that the following line includes different types of flour. However, neither *akla šibra* nor NINDA *ši-ip-ri* can be ruled out.
- **68'** The *diqāru* was a large pot, used for cooking, see the texts and images in Gaspa 2007: 150ff. This sequence of ordinary powders or flours occurs frequently in ritual instructions for incantations.
- **70'** There seems to be no place for the determinative NA₄ before AN.ZAH.GE₆. For $kutp\hat{u}(^{na4}AN.ZAH.GE_6)$, see the notes in Schuster-Brandis 2008: 398f. This entry is the first in a series of animal parts used as *materia medica*. The list includes:

sheep bone marrow (70'), turtle bladder (71'), (missing, 72'), lizard head (74'), sheep rib (75'), cow brain (77'), male pigeon brain (77'), and raven egg (79'). This kind of list of *materia medica* from animal parts is also found in recipes in the third section of the Syriac Book of Medicines.

71' For NÁ-al, there two possibilities: tuštāl, Š stem < i/utūlu 'to lie down' (AHw 1564), and tušnâl, Š stem < nâlu 'to lie down' (AHw 784), both having the same meaning. Note that in BAM 14: 6, the scribe wrote [ina MU]N DÀRA-MAŠ.DÀ'-al instead of [ina MU]N NÁ-al, confusing the homophonous nālu(DÀRA.MAŠ.DÀ) 'deer' and nâlu(NÁ) 'to lie down.' See Köcher 1963a: xiv, who reads this bit differently as [ina MU]N DÀRA-al.

Pickling substances in salt certainly helped preservation and drying out of the drugs. For instance, both eyes of a carp could be pickled in salt as a part of a ritual for establishing the safety of a newly built well, see Moren Freedman 1998: 259: 49.

In Ms. AF read BAR gišNU.ÚR.MA instead of PA gišNU.ÚR.MA in BAM 23: 9'.

- 72' The reconstruction of Z[Í is uncertain but the traces resemble the sign in the previous line. A knife might be used to extract the gall bladder, then to pound it directly over a bronze knife.
- **73'** With ŠU.SI-*ka* 'your finger,' the finger of the medical practitioner is meant. A similar application is known from Hattuša, see Fincke 2010: 12.
- 74' This prescription is far from clear. ZABAR might be an abbreviation of GÍR.ZABAR, see IGI 2: 72' and 79' According to IGI 2: 79', the knife was smeared with the ointment. That does not explain the problem with ŠU LÚ, which is why we exclude it, in order to get a reasonable translation. Another possibility is that ŠU.LÚ.ZABAR is a variant of NÍG.ŠU.ZABAR = *mušālu*, as suggested by the next line.
- **75'** For GAG.TI TI, see CAD S 247, but the repetition TI TI might indicate the ribcage (*sikkat ṣēli*) rather than a single rib.

The term *mušālu*, otherwise unattested in medical texts, refers to a physician's instrument comparable to the lead spoon, see IGI 1: 20.

The adverb *kayyamānu* 'constantly' suggests that the procedure was done over a three-day period.

- **76'** The scribe added one more vertical wedge at the end of DUL.
- 77' The word *muhhu* (UGU) can mean both 'cranium' and 'brain'. The latter meaning fits this particular context, since one is unlikely to crush a cow's cranium. For other occasions of *muhhu* (UGU) as a 'brain,' see Westenholz–Sigrist 2006: 2ff.

- For *rīmtu* as 'wild cow' we follow the dictionaries, but there is no real evidence to support it. *Rīmtu* might also have meant water buffalo or a specific kind of domesticated cow.
- **78'** Reconstruction after IGI 2: 75'. The logogram SAG.UŠ might be rendered *kayyānam*, since it is written syllabically in IGI 2: 82'.
- **79'** For '[you pound] a raven's egg,' see the restoration in CAD P 320b. Raven's egg also appears in a recipe in the Syriac Book of Medicines as b^c ' d^cwrb ,' Budge 1913: 559:1.
- **82'** Reconstruction after IGI 2: 74f.'
- **84'** For imKAL.GUG and their pastes, see the discussion in Stol 1998: 347f.
- **86'** The presumption of two prescriptions is deduced from the tablet's format.
- 87' The reconstruction NUMUN is not certain, but see IGI 1: 40'.
 - The /e/ in $\acute{u}r$ - $n\acute{e}$ - $e^{?}$ does not seem to have the usual graphic parameters a3b2, but a2b2 (for the parameters see Gottestein and Panayotov 2014).
- **90'** The scribe may have copied this line from earlier texts, judging by the spelling *qut-ram*(ÁG). Compare also IGI 2: 135'. It is noteworthy that one fumigates the eyes with lamp smoke.
- **91'** For washing the patient's eyes see Goltz 1974: 91.
- 93 Note also Ms. NW (BAM 439) 6' [...] x ina Ì u 'SAHAR'.URUDU [...].
- The beginning of the fragmentary line before *ina* "ruduŠE]N?.TUR is broken away, but the tiny cuneiform fragment was found in a plastic bag in the British Museum, dated 10 June 2005.
 - For the restoration Ú.BABBAR see notes to IGI 1: 64'.
- **97'** For the reconstruction of the beginning of the line, see IGI 2: 4. The verb $ka\hat{s}\hat{u}$ 'to cover over' fits the context, but the preterite is strange. Another option we opt for is $ka\hat{s}\hat{u}$ 'to increase, yield profit'. We follow Attia 2015: 44, who translates 'tu piles [...] (jusqu'à obtention) [d'une crème? au] plomb.'
- 98' The phrase *īnī kiṣâti* means 'skinned eyes' referring to the irritated area around the eyes. The dictionaries themselves are contradictory as to whether this condition refers to the *kiṣṣatu* 'skin disease' or to the adjective *kīṣu* 'flayed.' Attia 2015: 44 choses *kiṣṣatu*, but we prefer *kiṣâti* because of *ki-ṣa-a-ti* in Mss. AD and Sa. Note the wordplay between *īnī kiṣâti* and *sahlê kiṣâti*, indicating a sympathetic procedure more indicative of magic.
 - Note the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic noun GRD,' which can indicate grating / scraping of *materia medica* e.g. Dilmun dates (DJBA 299).

Compare the prescription with IGI 2: 65'.

DIŠ in Ms. AD simply means 'entry,' referring to a prescription.

99' URUDU SUMUN is a special ingredient. According to Irianna, it was an old piece of copper, sometimes buried under the soil for a certain period of time, see Irianna III 476b: *ep-ri* URUDU, SAHAR.URUDU Ì.GU₇.E: URUDU.SUMUN šá qaq-qa-ru GU₇-šú 'copper dust: old copper which the soil has eroded.' See also Irianna III 514: ZÌ.URUDU Ì.GU₇.E URUDU.SUMUN šá qaq-qa-ru GU₇-šú.

It is noteworthy how often rust or patina of metal substances feature in IGI as *materia medica*, which may bear some similarity to the predominance of collyrium or lead ingredients in Roman eye treatments.

- **101'** The gloss provides a completely different ingredient, perhaps taken from another Vorlage.
- **103'** The reconstruction is according to IGI 2: 28, 59'.
- **105ff.'** This prescription does not refer to human eyes, since in therapeutic texts human eyes are designated with $\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}su$ 'his eyes' and not with $\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}sunu$ 'their eyes.' The passage has ritual implications that Thompson compared with practices from the Syriac Book of Medicines, see Attia 2015: 45 fn. 179 (Thompson 1924 to be corrected to 1926), Budge 1913: 662; Gottheil 1899: 202.

sb prwg' dsnwnyt' w^cqwr ^cynwhy w'swr bh 't' wšbwq lh bwnh tlt' ywmyn w'tyn 'mh whzyn lh d'ytwhy smy' w'zl' wmytyn hd mn ^cqr' wsym' ^cl ^cynwhy wmtpthn

'Take the chick of a swallow and pull out its eyes and bind a sign on it and leave it for three days. When its mother comes and sees it that it is blind, she goes and brings a certain root and places it on its eyes and they open.'

This close correspondence between IGI and the Syriac Book of Medicines is a significant example of *Wissenstransfer*.

- **108'** The logographic orthography is not consistent (GIG.GIR and GIR.GIG). Many examples of *kurāru*-pustles appear in Böck 2003 and Wasserman 2007, see especially 59-60.
- **109'** The tentative reconstruction [tu^2 - gal^2 - lab^2] is based on the phraseology of BAM 156 rev. 1; BAM 494 iii 24' (presumably also BAM 494 iii 55'), see Böck 2003: 170, 172, 176.

We suggest that ${}^{\circ}BAL$ (l. 109) is a variant of ${}^{\circ}BAL$ and refers to the *ballukku*-aromatic. In addition, Irianna III 359(308) equates ${}^{\circ}BAL$ with the $b\bar{\imath}nu$ -tamarisk:

356 (305)	MÚD GUD MU AŠ AŠ AŠ	Ú bi-nu
357 (306)	Ú dam-qa-tum	Ú MIN
358 (307)	UZU UR.BAR.RA	Ú MIN

359 (308) Ú BAL Ú MIN 360 Ú NU.LUH Ú MIN

An alternative possibility for ŠE₁₀ *up-pu-te* would be *ku-up-pu-te* 'pill-formed' (seeds), but not as Böck 2003: 180: 37, Γ U^\.[x (x)] Γ x^\-*ki-ki ku-ub-bu-te*.

110' We interpret Ù.TU as a verbal form *ūlidu*. For another interpretation as *alittu* see Böck 2003: 180: 38.

According to Köcher apud Böck 2003: 181, the entire line 110' refers to a Deckname, but this is not based on Irianna.

111' Pace ṣ*a-bi-tam* in Böck 2003: 180: 39, the grammar requires a subordinative *la* ṣ*a-bi-tú*, also suggested by the proceeding verb *la na-ʿaš-ku*ʾ.

The restoration [ÉLLAG] of line 111' is uncertain, but there is a similar phrase attested in 2nd and 1st millennium BCE therapeutic, anti-witchcraft prescriptions. BAM 393 obv. 1-3 (2nd mill.): *kalīt kalūmim ša adīni šammam lā ihruṭam* 'the kidney of a lamb that has not eaten grass,' see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 66, see also AMT 85/1: 7 (1st mill.): *kalīt kalūmi ṣehri ša adīna šammu lā ilemmu* 'the kidney of a young lamb that has not yet eaten grass,' see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 93: 104'''-105'''. According to Stol 1993b: 107, it might be that *kalītu* means "rennet" in the context of a young suckling kid. The expression *ina nemsēte taqallu* refers to a big cooking vessel, where one could roast hooves, kidneys, grains and plants. Since *nemsētu* was normally used for washing (< *mesû*), we translate it as 'tub.'

112' For a discussion of the *baltu*-plant see Attia 2015: 105.

The qualification *ša ṭābti* 'salted' for drugs is known elsewhere in therapeutic texts, see CAD Ţ 13f.

For ⁴GÚR.UŠ = *šarmadu*, see Böck 2003: 181 and Attia 2015: 110.

- 113' The first three drugs are misread in Böck 2003: 180: 41. ⁶KUR₄.GI.RIN.NA is a syllabic variant to ⁶KUR.GI.RIN.NA, see Attia 2015: 110, and add Irianna II 227; III 103. Böck 2003: 181: 41 assumes only one plant after *egemgīra*, but collation allows the restoration of [GI.DÙ]G.GA.
- **114'** Read presumably UD.15.KÁM LAL.M[EŠ[?]], see Attia 2015: 45, differently in Böck 2003: 181: 42.
- **115'** For *amurriqānu* 'jaundice,' see Kämmerer 2000, but lacking references to sick eyes.
- 116' It is interesting to note that in l. 115' and 116' the diagnosis is repeated, where one might expect KIMIN 'ditto.' However, note that the scribe used different sign forms for SIG₇, with l. 116' showing a more Middle Assyrian form than the Late Assyrian form in l. 115,' see Panayotov 2015: fig. 7, compare also IGI 1: 42' (Mss.

NB i 28'; NC i 43'), IGI 1: 45' (Mss. NB i 31'; NC i 46'), and IGI 2: 116' (Ms. ND ii 44). These features might indicate that the scribe was copying from *Vorlagen* belonging to different periods.

117f.' The logogram SAG (rather than SAG.DU) in Ms. ND ii 45 (line 117') might be a Middle Assyrian spelling, see Deller 1985: 337ff.

Compare IGI 1: 23ff.' See also Worthington 2006: 33 i.18-19. In Ms. ND ii 46 (line 118') one would like to read $[ma-li]^{-r}i^{-r}$ (see Attia 2015: 45) but the sign looks more like MI, and one would expect $mal\bar{a}$ because of the dual IGI.MIN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ (on the model of IGI 1: 99'; IGI 2: 19) The unclear word cannot be in construct with SAG.DU-su because of the lack of a genitive.

- **119'** For *ú-za-ku-ú* see also AMT 91/5: 3': EN *ú-zak-ki-u* NAG.MEŠ 'you keep watering it (donkey milk), until it becomes clear' (see CDLI no. P394243).
- **121'** For $\delta[r-ma]t$, see Fincke 2000: 231 notes 1715 and 1717. For $\delta(s)$ is a membrane, see Attia 2015: 14 fn. 51, especially 66, which does not only appear in human eyes, but was also observed in animal birth anomalies ((izbu)), see Leichty 1970: x 26' (equally uncertain).
- 122' The translation of $err\hat{u}$ as 'colocynth' is uncertain (as with other plants). Ethnological data show that the colocynth was used medicinally in Iraq, see Townsend and Guest 1980: 191. On the other hand, Stol 1985: 85 proposed an identification as 'wild melon.'
 - *Sahlânu* is a variation of the plant *sahlû* or part of it, with the *-ānu* suffix giving a meaning of '*sahlu*-like,' which is a common formulation in plant names, e.g. *amurriqānu*, *šizbānu*, etc.
- **123'** The number of drugs, 11^(sic), must be mistaken since there is not enough space for eleven drugs in the previous line.
- **124'** For this reconstruction, compare IGI 2: 121,' 126,' which might repeat the symptoms, as in ll. 115' and 116'.

The white spot, or fleck, $p\bar{u}$, appears in an OB Love incantation, 'i'-ir-ti ra-qá-'at' i-na-a pu-ṣa-'tum ma'-li-IḤ 'My chest is undeveloped (lit.: empty), my eyes are full of flecks!,' see SEAL Project 10.1.1.

For *Lamassat īnīšu* the anthropomorphic goddess of the eye, see IGI 1: 80'.

126' Compare IGI 2: 121,' 124'. The expression *digalšu kabit* appears in the LB text, BM 35512 rev. 19': DIŠ GIG *ina* KUŠ LÚ È-*ma* ¬*pa*²-*ni*²¬-šú u IGI.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MEŠ *di-ig-la k[a-bit ...*] 'If a lesion appears on someone's skin, and his face and eyes are inflamed (and) vision is heavy.' BM 35512 is designated as the 34th *nishu* from a Babylon recension of the compendium *Šumma amēlu muhhašu umma ukâl*, copied from a manuscript of the Dabibi house, see Bácskay 2015: 2 fn. 13.

128' The line is too fragmentary and nothing seems to fit, but we expect drugs, since the next line has SÚD MAR.

Attia 2015: 46 fn. 187 connects IM.DU. One might also think of $tu\check{s}$ -ba[t] but we are uncertain about a star name.

- **130'** The common translation 'mandrake' is uncertain, see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471.
- **135'** Because of the broken context, it is unclear what *šittu* means in this line. See also IGI 2: 90'.
- **137'** For Ms. AF, compare also IGI 1: 121'. The different prescriptions of manuscript AF follow the same sequence as the Nineveh Ms. ND. Could it be that Mss. AF and ND have the same *Vorlage*?

The precise reading of NU.LUH is uncertain. According to Irianna III 360, it might correspond to the *bīnu* plant (a kind of tamarisk, see Panayotov 2018b: 207f.):

356 (305)	MÚD GUD MU AŠ AŠ AŠ	Ú bi-nu
357 (306)	Ú dam-qa-tum	Ú MIN
358 (307)	UZU UR.BAR.RA	Ú MIN
359 (308)	Ú BAL	Ú MIN
360	Ú NU.LUH	Ú MIN

According to Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471, NU.LUH might be the *tīyatu*-plant. Borger 2010: 270 considers the reading for NU.LUH to be unknown. One additional troubling factor is the lack of an Ú determinative, in either manuscript, before NU.LUH. ILLU NU.LUH could potentially, mean 'unwashed resin,' and it could also be a wordplay with ILLU ^{Sim}BULUH, which immediately follows. Nevertheless, we suggest that NU.LUH is shorthand for the *nuhurtu*-plant.

- 138' Thompson 1926: 55, CAD N/2 11f) interprets the time period as 18 months, modified by Böck 2004: no. 42 (without citing the earlier references); see more recently Attia 2015: 47 fn. 193.
- **139'** For 15 ŠE ŠIKA see also IGI 2: 141'.
- **140'** Compare also with IGI 1: 42' and IGI 2: 4. For *šanîš*(MIN) see Glossary.
- 141' One might also restore the line according to the parallel Ms. AF, but 15 ŠE Š[IKA is suggested by the same manuscript, ND ii 67, IGI 2: 139'.
- **142'** Both manuscripts have ${}^{\hat{u}}$ *im-hur-lim* syllabically written. The name means 'it resists a thousand (ailments).' It occurs often in combination with *imhur-ešrā* and *tarmuš* in medical recipes as well as in fumigation.
- **143'** For the formulation 1-šú 2-šú 3-šú, compare also IGI 1: 15'.

- 145' It is worth noting the close parallel from Hattuša (Ms. BoA). We do not agree with the reconstruction in Fincke 2010, since her proposed restoration 'ÚR.TÁ[L.TÁL 'UD NAGA.SI] has been unconvincingly adapted from our line (ND iii 11'), with the order of the drugs out of sequence. It is methodologically unsound to reconstruct a Hattuša text based on a much later Nineveh Ms.
- **148'** Attia 2015: 48 also restores this line according to IGI 2: 110'. One might alternatively consider restoring GA munus Ú.ZÚG šá NITA Ù.TU ... in § IV.5. Ms. NR (BAM 522) and NRa (K 19831): 5'.
- **149'** Due to the fragmentary state of the line, it is unclear what is meant. The expression \check{saru} (w)a \hat{su} is known from medical texts, see CAD Š/2 137-38, and wind is a natural cause of eye disease.
- **151'** The verb *tašaqqal* could also mean 'to weigh out drugs.'
- 153' The broken sign in the beginning looks more like ŠÅ than Ú, but this might be due to damage. However, *libbāni-aṣi* might be a variant for *libbi-iṣṣi*, a descriptive name for a part of the date palm, see Landsberger 1967: 1, 3: 351. For the reading 'bāni-aṣi see Thompson 1926: 34 and Attia 2015: 110. Note that ubānu occurs as a plant name connected to colocynths in Irianna, I 246: ubānu, UKUŠ.TUR sar = ú-ba-nu, cf. Irianna III 164, Irianna I 503. In this case UKUŠ.TUR might suggest that aṣi is a form of wīṣu 'small,' and ubāni-aṣi 'small finger-like (plant),' could designate something like a cornichon.
- **154'** For the choice of reading HÁD.DU or È, see the discussion in Attia 2015: 48. We assume *tubbal* refers to condensing (lit. drying out) the saps of the plants mentioned on the previous line, see also IGI 2: 157'. The word *šihiltu* seems to be a hapax in CAD Š/2 415a, but it derives from *šahālu* 'to sift, filter, cognate with Aramaic *šhl'* meaning 'strainer' or 'filter,' see DJBA 1127.
- **156'** For the restoration A].MEŠ-šú-nu, see IGI 2: 153'.
- **159'** For $katm\bar{a}$ 'closed' as a description of the eyes of a birth anomaly, see Leichty 1970: v: 38, x: 27'.

As mentioned above (note to IGI 2 19f.), the descriptive name 'field butterfly' (*kurṣipti eqli*) is an alternative name of a plant associated with GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA in Irianna II:

381 (351)	Ú GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA	Ú kur-șib-ta A.SA
382 (352)	Ú NUMUN GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA	Ú MIN
383 (353)	GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA	Ú kur-sib-ta-nu

See also Attia 2015: 110. In addition, Mayer 2016: 227 suggests that *kurṣipti eqli* is 'Brennessel.'

- The reading ^{na4}BAR.DÙ.E is not unproblematic (see *PSD* B 117; and *MSL* 17: 154: 112 where BAR is read as MAŠ), but a reading *bardû* cannot be entirely ruled out.
- **160'** For *šadâna ṣābita* see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 424f.; 'regarded as a stone of truth;' see also Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 472.
- **166f.'** For the broken prescription compare IGI 2: 105'.
- **171f.'** These broken two lines contained an incantation or a ritual prescription. A rendering of the signs as *i-mid* 'he leans on' is too interpretative for the broken context. As for the broken signs *x-hap-pi* one might compare *ú-hap-pa* 'he smashes' in AMT 105: 15 (third tablet of the Nineveh UGU series).
- **174'** For the line see also IGI 2: 28, 58'.
- **185'** Reconstruction [... *ina* IGI-*š*]ú GIG after Fincke 2000: 70 fn. 542, but collations do not confirm *š*ú before GIG. See also Attia 2015: 50 fn. 212.
- **194'** The restored translation '[You apply]' is tentative, see also IGI 2: 78,' 89,' 115,' 145,' 148'.
- **195'** Compare the esoteric writing *me*₅-SILIM with *me*₅-sal-lim in BAM 18: 4 and the note to IGI 1: 41' above.
- 196' Fincke 2000: 123 discusses the verb *madāru*. In the *Mandaic Dictionary* 258, the root *mdr* means 'rotten,' and the same word in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, DJBA 642, is used for rotten eggs. This might be an analogy with conjunctivitis, which produces unpleasant odours due to eye discharge. In omens, *madāru* can describe the gall bladder (CAD M/1 11). Alternatively, one might consider the reading *īnšu maţi* 'his eyesight is weak,' see IGI 3: 51' and Geller 2007b: 14 fn. 77.
- **199'** Compare IGI 1: 22,' IGI 2: 9,' as well as the catchline of BAM 3 iv 46: DIŠ NA 「IGI.MIN-šú¬ GISSU ár-ma 'If a man's eyes are covered with a film.' The obscure word 「šam-ha¬ can also be read ¬úHA¬, referring to urânu-plant, but a verbal form is expected.
- **200'** Nothing is visible on the tablet now, but see Fincke 2000: 204 fn. 1530.
- **201'** For the restoration $\S[e-e-li]$, see Fincke 2000: 297.
- **202'** The sign MA in GISS[U-*ma* is not visible on the tablet now, but see Fincke 2000: 204 fn. 1530.
- **204f.'** The two lines illustrate the use of two special kinds of milk. The first one is qualified as ZALAG.GA 'shiny/good quality,' and the second one is common in eye prescriptions, milk from a woman in maternity (see commentary to IGI 1: 37'). The lines do not distinguish between good quality or impure milk (of a woman in maternity), but stresses the usefulness of both substances. The restoration SÚD' in line. 205' follows IGI 2: 77'.

- **206'** The restoration *si-ik-t*[*i* ŠE.SA.A HE.HE follows IGI 2: 146'. For the problematic reading of the plant of GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA see the note above to IGI 2: 19f.'
- **208'** After the sign MAR and before the sign DIŠ one would expect a gloss, as in IGI 2: 70'; IGI 3: 37ff.'
- **209'** The restoration 'si'-[ri-ih-ta₅ DIRI is uncertain and follows Fincke 2000: 204 fn. 1531.
- **215'** For the catchline to tablet 3, see notes to IGI 3: 1.

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- **218'** The verb *ēhuzzu* shows a doubling of the final consonant due to the subordinate lengthening of the stress, see von Soden 1995 (GAG): § 83d.
- **220'** This colophon with the phrase *bultī ištu muhhi adi ṣupri liqtī ahûti* 'medical prescriptions from head to the (toe)-nail, non-canonical materials' is typical for serialized medical tablets, see Panayotov 2018a: 108f.
- **222'** For the phrase *ana tāmarti šitassīya* see Geller 2010: 135-137.

§ III IGI 3

Tablet 3 appears to introduce a new theme — attributing causation of eye disease to the 'hand of the ghost,' although one cannot rule out the possibility that this theme may have appeared earlier in gaps in Tablet 2 which are not preserved.

- Compare to IGI 3: 32,' 43'. The spellings IGI.MEŠ- $\check{s}\check{u}$ (NE i 1; Ua r.8.) vs. the more common IGI.MIN- $\check{s}\check{u}$ (NC iv 36; ND iv 45'; xA r.9) have the same meaning. A restoration, l.NUN in Ms. NE i 1 is possible (so Attia 2015: 71), but we cannot be certain, since it is based on Late Babylonian texts parallels, but not duplicate texts.
- 2 The usage of *burṣu* is similar to *birṣu* in AMT 85/2, similar to Akkadian *burku* and *birku* both meaning 'knee.' The latter is thematically comparable to (NF), BAM 520. Note that *barāṣu* and *barāqu* have similar meanings, 'to lighten, shine,' which might reflect the same phonetic change of /ṣ/ and /q/, as in Aramaic (with 'rṣ' and 'rq' both meaning 'earth').
- 3 Annakku designates a tin-bead, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 468.
- 4 *Mūṣu* is a natural stone as well as a stone discharged from the urinary passage, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 471; Geller 2005: 1 and passim. It could also be used in *materia medica*, see Geller 2015: 42, 44 (KADP 4: 57).
 - For erû zikaru 'male copper (bead),' see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 452.
- 6 According to Scurlock 2008a: 174, the phrase *kám-ma ina* UGU URUDU reflects the colouring of metal. The reading x lul in Scurlock 2006: no. 122 should be corrected to [*ta-š*]*a-pah*, as confirmed by Ms. NF i' 11'. Note that seeds in this recipe are treated as stones.
- **7f.** The reconstruction [DIŠ KIMIN] NUMUN ... follows Scurlock 2006: no. 121. For line 8, Scurlock has [simL]I, but there is space on the tablet to restore [NUMUN simL]I, also suggested from line 7.
- **9f.** Ms. AH (BAM 209) preserves two eye prescriptions at the end of the reverse of the tablet, although these belong to another series. They are added after the catchline DUB 3.KÁM DIŠ NA SA.GÚ-šú [GU₇-šú ŠU.GIDIM.MA] 'Third tablet (of the treatise) 'If a man's neck tendons [hurt him: Hand-of-the-Ghost],' which parallels Nineveh BAM 473, 474, see Panayotov 2018a: 97f. A blank line intentionally separated the catchline on Ms. AH (BAM 209) from the additional eye prescriptions.

For these lines, see also Scurlock 2006: Texts 126 and 128, and a different interpretation by Attia 2015: 72, which we follow. There seems to be an association between 'lighting' (hence eyes) and a 'ghost,' see references in Scurlock 2014: 65, 174 (with modification): if his ears wiggle like the ears of a young goat, 'hand' of ghost (Diagnostik Handbook 8: 16); [if his body] gets hot and then cold, his attack(s) are numerous, his confusion state(s) are close together, he gets no rest

days and night (and) his cry is like the cry of a goat, ['hand' of] a strange [ghost] has seized him in the wasteland (Diagnostik Handbook 18: 3f.).

The Gtn-stem of *šakānu* (concerning body parts) is well attested in the Diagnostik Handbook 10: 18; 16: 2f., 43.

11f. Ms. AH r.23'–25' (BAM 209) designates this fragmentary prescription as a salve $(t\bar{e}q\bar{t}tu)$ for 'ghost' afflictions, but it is not certain if these lines were duplicated in Nineveh.

Attia (2015: 72 fn 252) interprets DÙ A.BÁR as a lead salve. It is also equated in Irianna with ú.dílim.a.bár, Irianna II 367ff., údílim.a.bár, údù.a.bár, úku.a.bár, úmir-gi-ra-nu, úšà.ki.li: úas-har (var. na4áš-har) ú ši-šá-hu: úmin ina Šubari = KADP 11 iii 7-12, var. CT 37/28 i 1ff., cf. Irianna II 341.

- The lonely ÍD sign might have belonged to sulphurs (PI \check{S}_{10} -dÍD or ÚH-dÍD), often employed in salves and fumigation.
- **24f.'** Alternatively, one might consider *ki-sa* SÁ.S[Á and *a-da-pa-tu*⁴ *in-i* as possible readings. For the interpretation of *a-da-pa-tu*⁴ as *voile frangé* and other possibilities, see Attia 2015: 73 fn. 254.
- **26'** Compare this rubric to the incantations in IGI 1: 91,' 99,' 111f.,' 123,' 176'; Ms. NK (BAM 518) 9'.
- **28'** The first trace of the star name seems to be AŠ, suggesting either DILI.BAT (Venus) or GÍR.TAB (Scorpio).
- **30'** The restoration is based on IGI 3: 54'. Compare also Ms. NI (BAM 480) ii 6, and IGI 2: 4.
- **31'** Attia 2015: 73 fn. 256 understands *tu-šam-har* as «tu traites, tu opères de la même manière» (following CAD). The verb *hapāpu* probably means to rinse with drugs rather than water, since the Semitic root *hpp* means 'to shampoo the hair' or 'to rub', see DJBA 477f..
- **32'** For a possible reconstruction of the end of the line, see the compound prescriptions for an amulet bag for *birrat* $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$, 'flashing of the eyes,' Attia 2015: 73 fn. 257; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 250 (= SpTU 22+ 1-14) and *Kette* 60: $m\bar{u}$, ZÁLAG $s\hat{u}$ AN.ZAH AN.ZAH.BABBAR AN.ZAH.GE₆ KÙ.GAN SUHUŠ $g^{i\bar{s}}$ NAM.TAR NÍTA. See also SpTU 22+ 12-14, Fincke 1998: 30 (courtesy Annie Attia).
- **33'** Note that SUHUŠ gišNAM.TAR NÍTA (*Kette* 60) is similar in PA gišNAM.TAR NÍTA, in our line. Since leaves of the plants *taramuš imhu-līm imhur-ešrā* immediately follow in *Kette* 60 (Schuster-Brandis 2008: 250), these may have originally appeared in our line.

- **34'** The star of Gula, as goddess of healing, may be meant, see also IGI 1: 81'. The line distinguishes between minerals (NA₄.MEŠ) and plant-based drugs (Ú.HI.A), which is not often the case in prescriptions. The reference to minerals may refer specifically to *Kette* 60, as suggested in the preceding notes.
- **35'** The explanatory translation 'in a leather bag' is taken from Schuster-Brandis 2008: 250 and *Kette* 60. The verb $pa\check{s}\bar{a}\check{s}u$ suggests a more aggressive treatment than $eq\hat{u}$, reflecting the difference in substances being used.
- **36'** The expression ITI.1.KÁM refers to the first month, *Nisannu*, see § 5.4, AMT 5/3 i 11,' Ms. NZ, in the edition. The expression D[Ù-*ma*] 'i'-šal-'lim' is similar to DÍM-*ma* AL.SILIM at the end of each clause on STT 300, see Geller 2014: chapter III.
- 37' The plant *bulālu* seems to be a foreign word for either *irrû* or *ankinute*, see Irianna I 268, 560: ⁶*bu-la-lu*: ⁶*an-ki-nu-te* / ⁶*ir-ru ina šú-ba-ri* (CT 37/32 iv 31). According to this, *ankinute* is a descriptive name *irrû*, corresponding to the Subarian *bulālu*. Del Olmo Lete (2007: 217) treats *bulālu* as a Semitic word designating plants and stones, but we cannot find any justification for this. In addition, the personal name *Bulālu* is likely to be a plant name (like Rose, Lily, and Violet), see references in Panayotov 2018b: 196 note 13. A similar phrase appears in BM 40183+ rev. 7 and 12, and SpTU 3, No. 83 rev. 27 (courtesy M. Stol and I. Finkel).
- 38' The mountain lapis lazuli was a precious stone, often mentioned among objects sent as a gift to kings during the Amarna period, cf. for instance EA 11 r.24; EA 15: 13; EA 16: 11; EA 22 i 49 and 56; EA 25 ii 21ff. EA 27: 22. We prefer a literal translation 'mountain lapis lazuli' instead of the more interpretive 'genuine lapis lazuli' in CAD.
- **39'** For the *muššaru*-stone see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 433.
- **40'** We suggest that *şurri şalmi* 'black flint' might be 'obsidian,' but Schuster-Brandis 2008: 457 thinks that the stone might be *Bergkristall*.
- 41' It is difficult to know if the *mirgu*-plant or *mirqu*-powder is meant. Since there is no determinative, and it appears to be in the status constructus, we have opted for powder.
- **42'** 「MUŠEN.HABRUD?" is uncertain. IGI 3: 40 suggests, however, that the pill (or fat) comes from a bird. Another possible reading could be BURU₅.HABRUD, or BURU₅ ID for *erib nāri* 'river locust.' See the list in Landsberger 1934: 39ff.
- **49'** For UD.DA TAB.BA as *ṣēta hamiṭ* 'sun-fever', attested in Old Babylonian medicine, see BAM 393, Geller 2006: 7.
- **50'** Note that the prescription is very similar to IGI 1: 41'.
- 51' The spelling ma-a-ti might represent linguistic interference from Aramaic (m^ct).

52' Köcher (BAM 516 ii 9') saw traces of Ú in [Ú].BABBAR, now lost. The gloss ŠIM.HAB introduced together with a *Glossenkeil* for ÚKUŠ.LAGAB represents a variant reading taken from another manuscript.

The *tūru*-plant as 'opopanax' has been discussed by Stol 1979a: 71ff.

53' Köcher copied a clear *ina* LÀL.KUR in BAM 516 ii 10', but *ina* was already marked as damaged by Thompson in AMT 17/4: 10. Collation gives the correct reading as DIŠ.

The tentative restoration $Z[A^?.NA^?te^?-p]u-u\check{s}$ is based on similar expressions, as in IGI 1: 63' (reconstructed from parallels); IGI 2: 24'.

For the $us\hat{u}$ -plant see in detail Stol 1979a: 34ff. ⁶ESI appears in contexts with daubing, see BAM 7 no. 26 iii 12 (BAM 96); BAM 7 no. 28: 99 (BAM 104); BAM 7 no. 35: 11 (BAM 99). ⁶ESI may be the logogram for the $as\hat{u}$ -plant, since $us\hat{u}$ appears as a variant for the $as\hat{u}$ -disease, TDP 184 r.1 (CAD A/II 476). Note also that NUMUN ⁶ESI is equated with the $as\hat{u}$ -plant in BAM 1 i 63 (Scurlock 2014: 277). Therefore, one might postulate that the terms $as\hat{u}$ and the $us\hat{u}$ are allomorphs for the same plant.

- **60'** For the reconstruction of the line, compare with IGI 2: 5. Annie Attia remarks that SAG-k]a \hat{u} -kal is also possible.
- **62'** The surface of the tablet is very rubbed but the reading adopted here (<code>rdIŠKUR rahi-iṣ</code>) is well attested and fits the signs. The gloss shows, however, that the scribe was editing different versions of the same prescription.
 - Instead of 'diškur *ra-hi-iṣ*', Köcher read diškur *ša* HAR. Gilles Buisson has collected references to diškur *ša* HAR in secondary literature, see Schwemer 2001: 686 fn. 5626; Feliu 2003: 242, but these are likely to be based on Köcher's misreading of the gloss.
- **66'** Note the Old Babylonian orthography ^d*Iš*₈-*tár* compared to ^d15 of line 63' above. This difference again suggests editorial work from heterogeneous sources from various periods.
- **68ff.'** The reading DIŠ NA *ši-[li ...]* is suggested by l. 70,' rather then reading DIŠ NA IGI.[MIN-*šú ...*]. For *šīlu*, see the discussion in Attia 2015: 83ff. The expression *šīlu šaddu* appears to borrowed from extispicy contexts, see Biggs 1974: 354.
- 71' The verb *sekēru* is discussed in Kleber 2016a, referring to gold production.
- **73f.'** The eye-disease *Sîn-lurmâ* is treated in detail in Stol 1986. The passage finds close parallels in KUB 37/4: 'If a man's eyes [...] at night and [*day* ...] he does not see [...] it's name is ..., see Abusch, Schwemer, Luukko, and van Buylaere 2016: 9f. with the discussion of previous literature and reconstructions. The authors also mention the close similarities of KUB 37/4 with KUB 37/2 and KUB 4/55 (Mss. BoB

and BoC in the present edition). Note that ^d30-*lu-ur-ma-a* is an esoteric writing with the possible meaning, 'Sîn has indeed become slack towards me.'

In the Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 69a, night and day blindness is described with the Akkadian loanword ŠBRYRY, a Š-form of *barāru*, see AHw 1547. For discussions of the passage see also Geller 1991: 107. The Aramaic text reads as follows: b.Git. 69a:

lšbryry dlyly' nyty šwdr' brq' wnysr ḥd' krc' mynyh wḥd' krc' mklb' wnytrpw ynwqy ḥsp' 'btryh wlymrw lyh 'š' (var. 's') klb' 'ks' trngl' wlygby šb 'wmṣy mšbch bty wlytbynhw nyhlh bṣynwr' ddš' wnyklynhw bqlqwly dmt' btr hky lpšwṭ šwdr' brq' wnymrw hky šbryry dplwny br plwnyt' šqynh lplwny br plwnyt' wlyhrw lklb' bbbyt' dcynyh

'For night blindness, let one take rope of animal hair, let him tie (it) to one leg from him (the patient) and one leg of a dog, and infants beat potsherds behind him, and they say to it, "be off, dog, depart, cock!" and they collect 7 pieces (of meat) from 7 houses and let it be given to him on the door pivot and he (the patient) should eat it at the town garbage dump. After this, (one needs) to remove the animal rope and say this, 'O Sabriri-blindness of So-and-so, remove it from So-and-so, and one should snort at the dog in the pupil of its eye.'

lšbryry dmm' lyty šb^ch swmqy mgww' dḥywt' wnyṭwynhw 'ḥsp' d'wmn' wlytyb 'yhw mgw'y w'ynyš 'ḥryn' m'br'y wnym' lyh ^cwyr' hb ly d'ykwl wnym' lyh h'yk ptyḥ' sb 'ykwl wbtr d'kyl lytbryh lḥsp' d'y l' hdry ^cylwyh

For day blindness, let one take seven red (pieces) from the insides of an animal and let him roast them over the potsherd of an 'expert' (*ummānu*) and let this one sit inside and another man outside, and let the blind one say, 'give me that I should eat (them) and the sighted [lit. open(-eyed)] should say to him, 'take, eat'. After it is eaten, let one smash the potsherd, so that it should not return to him.

- 75' The anatomical part *makūtu* is not only found with the liver, but also associated with the belly *makūt libbi*, see Böck 2000: 54, 162f.: 181. The meaning of *gabīdu* for 'liver' is open to further analyses, see Militarev and Kogan 2000: 127, and Jeyes 1989: 184. The expression *makūt gabidi* also occurs in the spleen-disease recipe BAM 77 (see the note to IGI 2: 65' above).
- 77' I.e. the cloth is positioned between the man and the sun.
- **79f.'** For the passage see also Attia 2015: 77. The verb *muhra* indicates that the bread has to be received. However, note that *muhra* might also refer to to a request, see line IGI 3: 85'.

For *namra īni* as 'clear of eye,' and *balṣa īni* as 'dim of eye' see Stol 1986: 297. The expressions *namra īni and balṣa īni* are negative terms associated elsewhere with

criminals, see Malku I 87f. (Hrůša 2010: 37); see also Mayer 2005: 160. These low-life protagonists in the Akkadian text reflect the character of the corresponding Aramaic recipe, in which the subject is addressed insultingly as a 'dog' or 'cock' and has to consume the donated food on a garbage heap.

Note that the SAG.HUL.HA.ZA-demon can cause *īnāšu bulluṣā* 'staring / dim eyes' as described in *Šumma ālu*, see Fincke 2000: fn. 653.

- 81' The beginning of the line has been reconstructed after IGI 3: 75'.
- **82'** The writing ¹⁶TUR.MEŠ may also be the adjective *șehru* 'small.' Based on the occurrence of ¹⁶TU.RA and MAŠ.MAŠ from ll. 79'-80,' we might propose a restoration [*ina* ZAG-*ka ana* IGI MAŠ.M]AŠ ¹⁶TUR.MEŠ *tu-pa-har-ma*, 'you assemble children [at your right side in front of the] *mašmašu*.' One clue may be in Ms. Bo9: 30' [...] x ZAG-*ka a-na* IGI-*šu tu-*⁻*up*^{?¬}-x-[x]. It is uncertain how to restore the rest of *tu-* "*up*^{?¬}-x-[x], but this may be a form of *pahāru*.
- **83'** In the beginning of this line, there is sufficient room to restore *muhra balṣā īni* or *muhra namrā īni*, based on ll. 79,' 80'.
- **87f.'** ŠU.SI *ha-še-e* is not found in CAD U/W 5, but in CAD H 144b. The restoration of '7[?]' is tentative, but the number 7 does occur in the Aramaic version, see IGI 3: 73f.' For similar Aramaic terms see Geller 1991: 105.
 - Note that 7 pieces of meat are eaten at the door in the Talmud version. Furthermore, one might think of restoring *askuppu* 'threshold' or *ṣerru* 'door-pivot' in the break before […] ^{giš}IG, parallel to *bṣynwr' ddš'* in the Aramaic text, see IGI 3: 73f.' and Geller 1991: 106.
- **89'** The broken [...] x PA might stand for [... s]a-pa, the sappu 'bowl.' For kersu as a variant to hersu, see Stol 1986: 297 fn. 19.
- 93' It may not be entirely coincidental that the reverse of the tablet (col. iv) begins with a series of recipes ascribed to the 'hand' of the physician (asû), consisting of similar-looking recipes for an ointment (tēqītu), infusion (ribku), and a softening salve (napšaltu lubku), containing both plant and minerals. This may have been a separate collection of recipes from a new source other than those on the obverse of the tablet.
 - DÍLIM A.BÁR refers to a 'lead spoon'-salve, and not to the actual medical instrument, See the discussion above, IGI 1: 20'.
- 94' The reading ES[IR ...] is courtesy of Annie Attia. According to Stol 2010: 48, 60, ESIR = $itt\hat{u}$ 'bitumen' can indicate both liquid and dry substances. In medicine, however, dry bitumen (kupru see IGI 3: 106' below) was usually preferred. Because a salve has been made, it is plausible to suggest that liquid bitumen was

- used in this case, which can be added to references in Stol 2010: 60 fn. 155 and 156.
- **96'** For the label that a cure was tested by the hand of the *ummânu*-expert, see Geller 2010a: 193.
- **105'** Note that the scribe used two different logographic writings for *abāru*, A.GAR₅ and A.BÁR.
- **106'** See the note on IGI 3: 94' above.
- **109'** The sign following *it-qur-ti* might be IR, the beginning of *irru*, another word for a salve, see IGI 2: 4.

§ IV.1 NF (BAM 520)

NF (BAM 520) Köcher (BAM VI: xiv fn. 21) suggested that K 9503+ (Ms. NF, BAM 520) might belong to K 2448+(BAM 473), and to K 11723 (AMT 14/2), the latter being an indirect join. Concerning K 2448+(BAM 473), Köcher's suggestion is not possible, since the rulings between columns on Ms. NF (BAM 520) were made by a twisted thread, while the rulings between columns on K 2448+(BAM 473) were incised with a stylus or another sharp instrument. Note that Ms. NN (K 6329) and Ms. NO (K 8211+K 4609a (+) BM 98589+ ...) seem to be duplicates.

- 1' Presumably not to be read as TI = *iballut* since it is not the end of the prescription. Köcher copied NI before TI, but it is too uncertain, according to collations.
- **4'** An orthography *te-qì* is not expected for the first millennium BCE, but it makes good sense; the spelling *te-qì* might be a relic of the Old Babylonian period, see MSL 4: 45–127. Another example of Old Babylonian orthography might be the syllabic writing *ka-a-a-man-nam-ma*, see Ms. NF i' 12'.
- 9' The translation 'carnelian' covers only one of the stones named $s\bar{a}mtu$ (^{na4}GUG), see the discussion in Schuster-Brandis 2008: 413f.
- 10' Ms. (NE) i 4f. shows space for more stones, but they can not be reconstructed according to NF i' 10,' since these texts are not actual duplicates.
- **11'** For *ta-ša-pah* 'you drip' see MSL 9: 85 sub 117d.
- **13'** For seeing light-flashes, see also Ms. NT (K 2557: 4': DIŠ NA *ina* IGI.MEŠ-*šú bir-ṣi* I[GI.IGI-*mar* ...] 'If a man [constantly sees] light-flashes in his eyes [*and* ...]'). The tentative reconstruction is based on Fincke 2000: 241 fn. 1792, with small differences.
 - The parallel Ms. uC i 18f. suggests that IGI-ru represents a Gtn-form (*i-ta-nam-ma-ru*), although one might have expected IGI.IGI-ru.

- 14' The restoration [anāku ša Ištar u Nanāya²] is tentative and based on the parallel, Ms. uC i 19f. This type of phraseology probably originates in Sumerian incantations, such as Udug-hul 3: 124, in which the exorcist claims himself to be the 'man of Namma, the man of Nanše,' see BAM 8 (Geller 2016): 114; see also ibid. 274 (UH 7: 115-120), in which the exorcist claims to belong to Ea, his consort Damkina, Enlil, Lugalurra, and Marduk. It is not clear in the present passage whether the patient or practitioner makes this declaration.
- **15'** For the expression *ana* GÙB-*ka* GUB-*zu*, compare Scurlock 2006: 264. Normally one would read *ina pēmti*(NE) 'over charcoal' (Farber 2014: 207), but in the present context *išātu*(IZI) 'over a fire' fits better. Annie Attia suggests KI.MA]H 'tomb' instead of *ana* ZA]G².
- **17f.'** The restoration of the lost herbal ingredients is based on the common occurrence of the plant trio *bīnu*, *maštakal*, and *libbi gišimmari*, see Panayotov 2018b: 203ff.
- **19'** The restoration follows Maul 1994: 462.
- **20'** The restoration follows Caplice 1967: 297.
- 21' The restoration follows parallels in Maul 1994: 462.
- **26'** A useful discussion of the demon *mukīl rēš lemutti* 'supporter-of-evil' can be found in Farber 1974. The restoration is based on Ms. NF 25'.
- **27'** For similar ritual actions on the roof with the same expression (*l*[*u* NI]TA *lu* MU-NUS *ina* 'ÙR' *tu-še-li-ma*), see the pub ritual (Panayotov 2013: 291: 9).
- 29' The spreading of the small heaps of flour might suggest that the healer wanted to check for footprints of demons entering the window. This procedure is known from the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 6a), which instructs someone to sprinkle fine ash around his bed, and in the morning he will see footprints of demons looking like the feet of a cock.
- **30'** A reading NU *i-bit-tu-šu*, 'They shall not spend the night,' could make equally good sense here, but a transitive use of the verb *biātu* 'spend the night' is unexpected.
- 31' Köcher in BAM 520 ii 7' seems to have seen DU after the LU, but collations reject this reading.
- 33' In Köcher 1980: xiv, Ms. NL iv 2' and BAM 39 2' are listed as parallels (mit abweichendem Rezept). Scurlock's usage of BAM 520 to reconstruct BAM 39 is not methodologically sound (2014: 485, 725), since these texts represent different contexts without matching wording.

For *lahābu* as 'to whimper' see Farber 2014: 247f., a commentary to Lamaštu II 165. The spelling *i-li-hi-ib* might also originate from *la'ābu* with an intransitive meaning, 'to be infected.'

- **34'** For 'maltster-water' see Stol 1989b: 328. In Ms. (XA) ii' 11f.', all the signs after gisŠE.Ù.SUH₅ are uncertain and have not been translated. Another possible segmentation would be TUK-*a* SAR.MUNU₆ instead of TUK A SAR.MUNU₆, (courtesy Annie Attia).
- 35' The gap at the end of the line (Ms. NF ii' 11') might have contained the expression, gišKIŠI₁₆ ša e-li pi-ti-iq-ti È 'acacia that sprouts over the wall' (CAD A/2 409a; CAD P 437a, b). Note the variants 10' KISAL gišKIŠI₁₆ (in Ms. NF ii 11') compared to *ina* Î.GIŠ gišKIŠI₁₆ (in Ms. XA ii' 12f.'). It is obvious that the scribes understood the signs differently.
- 36' Scurlock 2017: 286 states that the incantation én ur-sag dasal-lú-hi 'found a home in *Utukkû lemnūtu* 10' (for the Udug-hul material see Geller 2007b: 8: 19 and Geller 2016: 325, incipit of Tablet 10). This statement is not quite accurate since both incantations start with the same incipit but gradually differ afterwards, which is often the case with medical incantations (see for instance: IGI 1: 89ff; IGI 1: 98ff; IGI 1: 110ff; IGI 1: 119ff and etc.). The incantation in question (on NF ii 12ff' and parallels) is not a standardized incantation but a medical incantation, with a broad spectrum of variants suggesting oral transmission. The incantation in Ms. AJ (BAM 216): 12'-15' was used with fumigants against ghost afflictions, causing eye trouble. Note also that K 11969 might be related, since it reads in l. 6': én ursa[g ...], see Kocher BAM V, xxxvi.

We do not follow the translation of Zomer 2018.

- **38'** Köcher's copy of Ms. NM (BAM 508) has l[il instead of k[i in this line.
- **40'** Ms. AI: 14 reads nam-ma-kal, which might be a late syllabic writing for nam-ágál. Based on the parallels, this is an epithet for the god Nabû. Furthermore, dumu-sag dag-ke4 is an allusion to the common phrase dumu-sag en-ki-ke4 from UH 2: 9-10 (Geller 2016).
 - In Mss. NO and AI, the sign /tal/ is a phonetic variant of /tar/. An alternative translation of the passage would be: 'O my son, the fate has been decided, can the man not see?'
- **42'** Note that the incantation **ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi igi-bi hé-pà** can be combined with another, **én íd-da-ta** (Thompson 1937b: 32), or used separately:
 - a) the incantation **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** following **én íd-da-ta**: Ms. **NM** (BAM 489+; Nineveh); Ms. NN (K 6329); Ms. NO (K 8211+(+); Nineveh). In Ms. AI (LKA 145; Assur), **én íd-da-ta** precedes **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** without a dividing line,

indicating that the Assur scribe considered the whole text to be an incantation. See plate 44.

- b) **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** used alone: Ms. NF (possibly IGI 4, BAM 520; Nineveh), **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** stands alone, but afterwards the tablet is broken, with the possibility that **én íd-da-ta** followed it; Ms. XA (BM 123362, Nineveh or Assur?), **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** stands alone, but the beginnings of cols. i' and iv' are lost, where **én íd-da-ta** might have been present.
- c) **én íd-da-ta** used alone: BAM 386 iii 7ff.' (Late Babylonian, see Farber 1982: 596, **én íd-da-ta** stands alone, but the tablet afterwards is broken, thus used in combination with **én ur-sag** ^d**asal-lú-hi** cannot be excluded. The reference in Köcher 1971 (BAM IV): xxvii, that BAM 386 iii 7'-21' parallels K 2566+ (UGU 3) iii: 25'-32,' is partly misleading. K 2566+ is a parallel to Ms. NG (K 4023+), where the passage in question is preserved; SpTU 4/129 vi 30ff.' (Late Babylonian, Uruk); Ms. NG iii 17' (K 04023+, UGU 3; Nineveh); Ms. NGa iii' 1' (K 14698 presumably duplicates UGU 3 from Nineveh, but it is too fragmentary to judge); Ms. NH iii 6' (BAM 486 may duplicate UGU 3 from Nineveh, but it is also too fragmentary to judge).
- 1 Incantation: from the river, from the great forests!

The (forest-)habitat of the 'stag horn' is exalted (and) distant, it removes (AI the thorns of) the *murdinnu*-bramble!

3 The acacia thorn causes pain – snakes causing swelling.

(var. AI, SpTU) It hurts like an acacia thorn – the snakes cause swelling.

```
AI3
                    gír gin<sub>7</sub> ì-gu<sub>7</sub>-e muš-muš šu mú-mú-e-dè
                    ^{\text{rgiš}}ki^{\text{si}}_{16}^{\text{l}}-^{\text{rgu}}_{7}-^{\text{re}} mu^{\text{rgi}}[mu^{\text{si}}] / ^{\text{su}} mú-mú-e-dè \rightarrow
NG iii 18f.'
NH iii' 7f.'
                    [.....] / [\check{s}u \, m\acute{u}-m]\acute{u}-[e-d\grave{e}
                    giškiši₁6ì-gu<sub>7</sub>-「e¬ / muš-「muš¬ ki mú-mú-e-dè →
NM i' 30f.'
                                     [.....d]è?
NO ii' 1'
SpTU 4/129 vi 33' rgišgír' ì-gu7-e!(copyKAL) muš-muš šu mú-mú-e-dè
       The pure 'arrow' (-drug, Akk. mulmullu) of the pure eastern mountains can heal
4
        the breast for the patient,
AI4
                    mul-mul kur kur-ra sikil-la: gaba ì-til-la tu-ra-šè
                    mul-mul 'kur kur'-r[a sik]il'-e gaba 'i'-ti-la 'tu-ra'-[...]
NG iii 19'
NH iii' 8'
                    [mul]-mu[] .....]
                    mul-mul kur kur-ra sikil-l[a] / gaba ì-ti-<sup>r</sup>la tu-ra-šè →
NM i' 31f.'
                    [.....] r[a ....]
NN ii' 1'
NO ii' 2f.'
                    [...] 'mul<sup>?</sup> [......l]a / 'gaba' ti-la 'tu'-[ra]-šè
                   mul-m[ul ......] / gaba ì-ti-[.....]
BAM 386 iii 12f.'
SpTU 4/129 vi 34f.'mul-mul kur kur-ra 'sikil'-la / gaba ì-ti-la kur-r[a x] x
5
       One refers to the rescued one as 'blameless' (lit. absolved of guilt)!
       (var. AI, SpTU) One does not know (how to) absolve the guilt of the patient!
                    du<sub>8</sub> nam-tag-ga lúrtu -ra nu-un-zu-a
AI 5
NG iii 20'
                    du<sub>8</sub> nam-tag-ga lú-kar-ra mu-un-「sa₄-a¬ →
                    du<sub>8</sub> nam-tag-ga lú-kar-ra 'mu-un-sa<sub>4</sub>'-[a]
NM i' 32'
                    [.....l]^{\acute{u}}kar^{1}-ra^{mu}-u[n-....]
NN ii' 2'
                    du<sub>8</sub> nam-tag-ga lú-ʿkarʾ-ra ʿmu-un-sa<sub>4</sub>ʾ-a
NO ii' 4'
BAM 386 iii 14'
                    du<sub>8</sub> nam-ta[g ......]
SpTU 4/129 vi 36' du8 nam-tag-ga lú-kár-ra mu-un-sa4-a
       Found on the threshold, the 'arrow' (-drug) is garden grown (i.e. cultivated) /
6
       (var. AI) is a (wild)-growing thorn (i.e. not cultivated).
AI6
                    zag-gar gag-ti gír bùlug-gá
                    zag-du<sub>8</sub> gar gišrx'-ti rgiš?' k[iri<sub>6</sub>?...]
NG iii 20'
                    ... x x x ...
NGa iii' 1'
NM i' 33f.'
                    zag-du<sub>8</sub> gar 「gag ti<sup>¬ giš</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> bùlug-g[á] →
NN ii' 3'
                    [......] x 'gar gag'-ti giškiri6 bùl[ug ...]
                    zag-du<sub>8</sub> giš? gar? OVER ERASURES gag-ti giškiri<sub>6</sub> bùlug-g[á]
NO ii' 5'
BAM 386 iii 15'
                    zag-du<sub>8</sub> gar [.....]
```

7		il demon come to an end. May the evil Ala-demon come to an end. May	
	the evil ghost come to an end.		
AI 7		udug-hul hé-til a-lá hul hé-til gidim hul hé-til	
NG iii	21'	udug-hul hé-til a-lá hul hé-til ˈgidim h[ul h]é-til →	
NGa ii	i' 2'	[hé-t]il a-lá hul hé-til g[idim²]	
NM i'	33f.'	udu[g-hul] h[é] / gidim 'hul hé-til' \rightarrow	
NN ii'	4'	[hu]l hé-til a-lá hul min gidim h[ul]	
NO ii'	6'	udug-hul hé-til a-lá hul min gidim hul mi[n]	
BAM 3	386 iii 16f.'	udug-hu[l] / gidim hu[l]	
SpTU	4/129 vi 38'	udug-hul hé-til a-lá hul min gidim hul min	
8	May the or	ril Galla-demon come to an end. May the evil god come to an end and	
0		iskim-demon come to an end.	
AI 2	the evil Ma	gal ₅ -lá hul hé-til dingir hul maškim hul hé-til	
NG iii	21f '	gal₅-lá ˈhul hé-til ˈ / dingir hul hé-til maškim hul hé-til →	
NG ii		[h]ul hé-til máškim hul hé-til →	
NM i'		ˈgal₅¹-l[á]	
NN ii'		[hu]l min dingir hul min maškim hu[l]	
NO ii'		gal ₅ -lá hul min dingir hul min maškim hul min	
	, 386 iii 17f.'	[] / maškim hul m[in]	
_		gal ₅ -lá hul min dingir hul min maškim hul min	
Spro	4/129 VI 39	gals-la mui mini dingii mui mini maskimi mui mini	
9	May the Ka	amadme-demon come to an end. May the Kamadme-demon come to an	
	end. May t	he Kamad-me-lagab-demon come to an end.	
AI 9		dkamad-me hé-til dkamad-me-a hé-til dkamad-me-lagab hé-til	
NG iii	22f.'	dr kamad-me $^{¬}$ hé-til d kamad-me-a hé-til / d kamad $_{10}$ -me-lagab hé-til $→$	
NGa ii	i' 4'	[dka]mad _x -me-lagab hé-til →	
NM i'	35'	dkam[ad-me]	
NN ii'	6'	[ka]mad _x -me hé-til ^d kamad _x -me-a hé-til ^d kamad _x -me-lagab hé-til	
NO ii'	8'	dkamad _x -me hé-til dkamad _x -me-a hé-til dkamad _x -me-lagab hé-til	
BAM 3	386 iii 19'	dkamad _x -me []	
SpTU	4/129 vi 40'	dkamad _x -me min dkamad _x -me-a [min d]kamad _x -me-lagab min	
10	May you h	e adjured in heaven, may you be adjured on earth. Incantation spell.	
NG iii		zi-an- ⁻ na hé-pà zi-ki ⁻ -a hé-pà tu ₆ -én	
NGa ii		zi-an-na hé-p[à]	

NM i'	' 36'	zi-an-na h[é]	
NN ii	7,	[a]n-na hé-pà zi-ki-a hé-pà	
NO ii	' 9'	zi-an-na hé-pà zi-ki-a hé-pà	
	386 iii 20' J 4/129 vi 41'	zi-an-na hé-p[à] ʿziʾ-an-na hé-pà zi-ki-a hé tu ₆ -én	
11	Invocation	n for 'headache.'	
NG ii	i 24'	ka-inim-ma ˈsag-kiʾ-dab-ba-ke₄	
NGa	IGa iii' 5' [ka-i]nim-ma []		
NZa 1	rev. 1'	[s]ag-ki-da[b]	
SpTU	J 4/129 vi 42'	ka-inim-ma sag-ki-dab-ba-kam	
12	Its ritual: you spin together red (and) white wool. You thread on <i>stag's horn</i> (and) date stone.		
12	12 DÙ.DÙ.BI šīpāti sāmāti šīpāti peşâti ištēniš taṭammi qaran ayyali aban suluppi tašakkak		
NG ii	NG iii 25' DÙ.DÙ.BI SÍG SA5 SÍG BABBAR 1-niš NU.NU 'SI' DÀRA'.MAŠ' NA4 ZÚ.LUM.MA È		
NGa	NGa iii' 5' [SÍ]G SA5 SÍG BAB[BAR		
NZa rev. 2'		[DÀ]RA.MAŠ NA4 ʿZÚʾ.L[UM.MA É]	
13	You tie seven and seven knots. Whenever you make a knot you shall recite the incantation (above). You bind it on his both temples, then he should recover.		
13	13 sebet u sebet kişrī takaşşar ēma taktaşru šipta tamannu ina nakkaptīšu tarak- kasma iballut		
NG iii 26' 7 KA.KEŠDA KEŠDA <i>e-ma</i> KEŠDA ÉN ŠID <i>-nu ina</i> 'S <i>A</i>		7 KA.KEŠDA KEŠDA e-ma KEŠDA ÉN ŠID-nu ina 'SAG.KI'.[MIN-š]ú tara-kás-ma AL.TI	
NC - ::: / /		1414-K45-1114 AL.11	
	;;;; <i>c</i> ;		
	iii' 6' rev. 3'	[7 KA.KEŠD]A [?] KE[ŠDA	

Notes to lines: **2)** For the term *murdinnu* 'bramble' see notes to IGI 2: 1. **3)** šu mú is a compound verb (Karahashi 2000: 163) and non-finite here (lit. for causing swelling). **4)** The writing mul-mul might refer to a plant ^úmul-mul as well, see Irianna. **9)** According to Borger 2010: dìm is dim₉, but note that George 2018 reads dìm as kamad. For convenience we render dim₁₀ as kamad_x.

For the sake of convenience,	we provide a	translite ration	of col.	iii'	of Ms.	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{A}$	(BM
123362), see plates 47-48	3.						

XA iii' 1 XA iii' 2 XA iii' 3	[] x ^ú IGI-lim ^ú HAR.HAR ^ú aš-ka-a-d[ù] [] x NUMUN ^{giš} ŠINIG NUMUN ^{giš} MA.NU [] [K]A [?] 7 ^ú TÁL.TÁL-nu [?] ina SAG.KI-šú KEŠ[DA]
XA iii' 4 XA iii' 5 XAiii' 6	[^{šim} GÚ]R.GÚR ^{šim} LI ÚH- ^d ÍD ʿKA.A.ABʾ.B[A] [i] ^m KAL.ʿGUGʾ 1-niš ta-sàk ina ^{urudu} ʿŠENʾ.T[UR] [É]N² ʿ7-šúʾ ana UGU ŠID-nu LAL.LA[L-ma ina-e]š
XA iii' 7 XA iii' 8 XAiii' 9 XA iii' 10	[] x ^{-na4} KA.GINA.DAB.BA ^{na4} - AN.ZAH - ^{-na4} AN.ZAH.BABBAR - [
XA iii' 11 XA iii' 12 XA iii' 13	[
XA iii' 14 XA iii' 15	[ⁿ] ^{a4} mu-ṣa ni-kip-tú KA tam-ʿtì ʾ [Š]À [?] ʿIGI.MIN ʾ-šú ŠÉŠ-ʿma TI ʾ
XA iii' 16	[] x HE.HE EŠ.MEŠ-su-ma ʿTIʾ
XA iii' 17 XA iii' 18	[

§ IV.2 Ms. NK (BAM 518)

- **3f.'** The use of human bone as *materia medicia* (an example of Dreckapotheke) occurs in K 3628+ (Scurlock 2014: 6 22), but also in the Syriac Book of Medicines as *grm' dbrnš'* (Budge 1913: 582: 3). See also BRM 4/32: 20 (cf. Geller 2010a: 169) for the use of a human skull and human flesh. It is unusual, however, to use the skull as a bowl for recipe ingredients. On the other hand, later Aramaic incantations in exceptional cases used human skulls in place of magic bowls, which reflects on Akk. *kallu* 'bowl' as a medium for writing incantations in ink, rather than as a receptacle for magical or medical ingredients; for these Aramaic skull inscriptions, see Levene 2006.
- **6'** The phrase, IM TI.MEŠ // šāra leqâ literary means 'his eyes took (in) wind,' which is interpreted as 'swollen' here. Attia 2015: 59 translates 'ils sont pris par du vent.'
- 7' There is insufficient space to restore [ina^2 KAŠ 2], on Köcher's copy, BAM 159 (Ms. AB), see also Parys 2014: 20 fn. 80.

Köcher 1980b: xiii fn. 19 transcribes $q\bar{e}m$ kasî qalûti for ZÌ GAZI^{sar} BÍL.MEŠ (in BAM 159 = Ms. AB iv 9f.'), but an alternative might be $q\bar{e}m$ kasî taqallu, as suggested by BÍ|L-lu on Ms. NK 7'.

- **8'** There appears to be nothing in the break before Ú.BABBAR, see IGI 2, ND i 10, and Attia 2015: 38.
- **9'** As in line 7,' the wind is a natural cause of suffering, bringing dryness and eye irritation with foreign particles.
- **10ff.'** Compare IGI 2: 68. There is not enough space in Köcher's copy, BAM 159 (Ms. AB) i 13f.' for ZÍ ^ú[ŠE.NÚ/DÙ].A, compare also l. 7'. In the break of line 12 one might reconstruct *qēm kas*î, based on BAM 159 (Ms. AB) i 13f.,' and slightly differently ([ZÌ ^{šim}MAN.DU (GAZI^{sar}) 1]-*niš*) in Parys 2014: 20. In addition, signs in the middle part of Ms. AB iv 15f' (copy BAM 159 iv 15') have been completely lost since Köcher's copy, compare BAM 159 iv with plate 43.

Many of the powders (or flours) mentioned in this text can also be found in a Late Babylonian tablet in the British Museum (BM 66942), which consists of a list of similar ingredients used for external application for an unspecified ailment. Overlap between BAM 518 and BM 66942 includes various powders, such as Zl GAZI^{sar} BÍL.MEŠ, Zl ŠE.SA.A, Zl GÚ.GAL and Zl GÚ.TUR. Of interest, however, is the practical notation at the end of the late tablet: *a-na ka-ṣa-ri šum-ma ti-[bu]-tú ina* KAŠ *šum-ma* DAGAL.MEŠ *ina* A GAZI^{sar} SILA₁₁-aš LÁ-ma TI-uṭ, 'in order to make a concentrate, if (powders / flours) rise, you knead it in beer, if broad (i.e. flat, like pita-bread) - in tamarind-juice. You bandage it on and it gets better.'

§ IV.3 Ms. NP (BAM 517)

8' The sign RI might be the end of *tazarri*, see IGI 1: 50'.

§ IV.4 Ms. NQ (BAM 521)

- 4' The signs might represent either '\(\frac{a}{2}\)TÁL.T[ÁL ...], the *urânu*-plant, or [... *ta-ṭa*]*p-pi* x [...] 'you apply,' see BAM 158 iii 26.
- 5' An alternative to *dimta*(ÉR) *ittanaddâ*(ŠUB-å) would be *dimta*(ÉR) *nadâ*(ŠUB-a), see Fincke 2000: 136, and ibid. p. 97 fn. 746. The context of 'constantly giving off tears' is well known also from the UGU Treatise, Tablet 1, BAM 480 (Ms. NI), see Worthington 2005: 7: 3. See also BAM 518: 9, Ms. NK above.
- **8'** The reconstruction after Ms. NA i 30' is hypothetical. See also BAM 19: 13' and BAM 16: 3,' courtesy Annie Attia.

- 9' For similar ingredients and healing context, see UGU 2, BAM 482 (Ms. NX ii 65'). For *šikari rēštû* vs. *šikaru* see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 36a, but *šikari rūšti* might be better reading, based on *šaman rūšti* (Ì.(GIŠ).SAG).
- 10' This prescription appears to occupy more lines on the three-columned Assur tablet (BAM 159, Ms. AB) than on fragmentary Nineveh fragments, e.g. Ms. NQ (BAM 521). In the Assur manuscript, this prescription was known as a 'tested eye salve of Hammurapi,' Ms. AB (BAM 159) iv 22: *te-qit* IGI.MIN.MEŠ *šá* "Ha-am-mu-ra-pí lat-ku, which is similar to BAM 382 (Parys 2014: 10f., 20, 57). See also the note to § IV.6. Ms. NS (AMT 18/4) 2'. The expression *natāla muṭṭu* 'reduced vision' should be compared to *digil īnīšu maṭi* (IGI 3: 51').

§ IV.5 Ms. NR (BAM 522) and NRa (K 19831)

- **3'** For parallels see also BAM 22 r.25 and Fincke 2009: 86: 15' (Ms. xA CM 37, IGI 1, § I.3).
- 5' The signs DÙ-*uš* on Köcher's copy BAM 522 should rather be read as munus Ú.ZÚG 'šá NITA' 'Ù'[.TU ...], cf. K 8080: 10 (join to K 3612, AMT 46).
- 8' The copy in BAM 522 shows *te-s*[*ek-ker*] but a better reading is *te-p*[*i*, see also IGI 2: 65 and compare CAD E 247f.

§ IV.6 Ms. NS (AMT 18/4)

- **2'** BAM 382: 9ff. has a shorter prescription excluding the clause with the sun-god, employing the same ingredients as *te-qit* "*Ha-am-mu-ra-pi* 'eye salve of Hammurapi,' reminiscent of Ms. AB (BAM 159) iv 22, see the notes on Ms. § IV.4. NQ (BAM 521) 10,' above.
- 4' The measuring of drugs in front of the divine judge Šamaš advocates precision in choosing the correct amount.
- 5' See also Ms. NB (BAM 513) ii 5' [...... ta-bi-l]am ta-ṭe-ep-pi. The statement in CAD T 25b that AMT 18/4: 5 duplicates BAM 159 iv 21 and BAM 513 ii 5 (Ms. NB) is partly misleading, the passages are different, but all ending with the expression tābīla teṭeppi 'you apply (it) in a dry state.'

§ IV.7 Ms. NT (AMT 85/2)

- 2' The precise meaning of *mi-na-at* UZU is unclear ('parts of flesh'), but see BAM 231 i 12
- 3' References to the months Abu (5) and Tebet (10) have symbolic value: 5th month vs. 10th month. Exorcist almanacs explain that certain months and days were particularly important for healing measures. For instance, for the month Abu (5), the magico-medical monthly guide STT 300 prescribes therapy against witchcraft, *Anfallskrankheiten* and ghosts. For the month of Tebet (10), social rituals are prescribed, but also anti-witchcraft measures, as well as protective rites against *Lilû* and *Lilith* demons (Geller 2014: 47ff.). For a parallel see BM 55281: 13-18 (ghosts).
- **4'** See also AMT 87/3 ii' 6': DIŠ NA *bir-ṣa* IGI.IG[I-*mar* ...]. For IGI.IGI-*mar* see in detail Fincke 2000: fns. 1608, 1786. See also Kette 56 in Schuster-Brandis 2008: 74 *et passim*.
- 5' The reading *mu-u*[s in Scurlock 2006: No. 129 and Scurlock 2008b: 197 should be modified to *mu-ú*[*r-tap-pi-du*, see CAD M/2 228, AHw 325 under *harbūtu*, and further Stol 1993: 73 fn. 63.
- **6'** For possible reconstructions of the plant description, see Scurlock 2006: Nos. 104, 264, 265.
- 9' KU.KU \rightarrow *uttatu* 'grain' is regularly used to indicate a small measure of drugs, see the discussion in Borger 2010: No. 808 and add CAD U/W 356, s. v. *uttatu*.

§ IV.8 Ms. NU (AMT 14/3)

AMT 14/3 possibly belongs to AMT 14/2 (K 11723, CDLI no. P399417, see Thompson 1926: 47-48), but the shape and size of signs seem similar to K 2611, Ms. NX (UGU 2) below. Further parallels to AMT 14/3 are cited at the BabMed website: http://www.geschkult.fuberlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/AMT/AMTX14-3/index.html.

- **5'** Compare the treatment to IGI 3: 35'.
- 8' Note the spelling A gišŠINIG (l. 6') vs. A.MEŠ gišŠINIG (l. 8'), both standing for *mê bīni* 'tamarisk sap.'
- **10'** For a parallel, see BAM 183: 4, pointed out by Thompson 1926: 47, but not the reference in Köcher 1963b: xx, that BAM 183: 4–5 parallels IGI 2: (BAM 515) iv 31.
- 12' The dividing line is superfluous, but it seems that the scribe insisted on visually separating the long diagnostic part (ll. 11'-12') from the therapy (ll. 13'-16').

- 16' The phrase ^dEa li-ni-ih-ka 'may Ea appease you' occurs within the incantation ezzētunu šamrātunu dannātunu gaṣṣātunu 'raging, furious, strong, cruel' in Maqlû V: 136 (Abusch 2016: 146: 136; see also Muššu'u, Böck 2007: 295: 178; Wiggermann 1992: 33), although not as part of the incipit. However, the phrase appears in a bilingual incipit in a medical context: K 8447+ (CDLI P397634): 1f. én bir-b[i] ^{d+}en-ki hé-en-hun-gá / ka-li-tu4 ^dé-a li-ni-ih-ki 'Incantation: O (hurting) kidney, may Ea soothe you!' For the reverse of K 8447+ see Abusch, Schwemer, Luukko, and van Buylaere 2016: text 7.11, Ms. J.
- 17' The broken-off lines must contain the incantation mentioned in 16'.

§ IV.9 Ms. NV (AMT 18/3)

- **1ff.'** Despite the impression given by the copy in AMT 18/3, the beginning of the tablet is lost. We render "HA as *urânu* and not *šimru*, since the plant *urânu* was employed against skin diseases (KADP V 35-39, see Scurlock 2017: 280), matching the *kiṣṣatu*-skin disease mentioned in line 1'.
- 3' There may have not been a direct borrowing between Greek $v\alpha\phi\theta\alpha$ and Akkadian naptu, although this is the usual assumption. According to Greek lexicons the term is borrowed from Persian naft. But there is an alternative Persian homonym naft 'bitumen' which is morphologically closer to Akkadian naptu, with both Akkadian and Persian terms being unrelated to the Greek; see the online Steingass, Persian Dictionary (1895), 1414, 1416 (http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/steingass/).
- 5' The sign before UD.14.KÁM might be GAR.
- 7' It is not clear what ŠU.GIDIM.MA *šá-ni* ^dIš₈-tár means. The expression *šani* often appears in the explanatory drug-list *Šammu šikinšu*. The comment in Stadhouders 2011: 4, that '*Šammu šikinšu* shows a tendency to digress on the disease's cause by attributing it to a deity's avatar of ill will through the phrase *Šēdu šanê* DN,' does not actually explain the meaning or function of *šanû*, often translated as 'deputy.'

§ IV.10 Ms. NW (BAM 439)

- 4' The interpretation of this line is tentative, but the theme is comparable to IGI 1: 91'. Instead of *lā paris* (NU KUD-*is*) 'not stopped,' one might also consider ...-*nu tanakkis* (KUD-*is*) 'you shall incise ...'
- 6' For the common ingredients I and SAHAR.URUDU see also IGI 2: 61f.', 93'.

§ IV.11 Ms. NZb (AMT 17/2)

- **1ff.'** Borger 1975: 280 connects the first lines (ll. 1'-5') to K 2402 + 17'-23' (Finkel 1998: 93ff.). Although some phrases are similar, any real connection seems excluded.
- 5' Following ^ú*kur-ka-nu-u* (lit. 'a duck-like plant'), we read *tál-p*[*ap*, 'you wrap up,' since a reading BABBAR.DILI seems unlikely because of the lack of a NA₄ determinative.
- 6' The verb $ab\bar{a}ku$ B references body parts like the liver, see CAD A/1 8.
- 7' Note the clear Assyrian vocal harmony in e-mur- $s\acute{u}$ -ma. The broken divine name (d ...) might have been $I\dot{s}tar$ (d 15).
- 8' Instead of *naq me-e* one might think of *nakmû* 'roasting implement,' since the passage shares similarities with K 6057 + (CDLI no. P396340) ii 22f. [a]- a' iṭ-hi-ka nak-mu- \hat{u}^2 [...] / [a]- a iṭ hi-ka mas-da-ra [...] 'The cautery may not approach you, ... the 'knife may not approach you'; see Böck 2014: 19 fn. 66. For the *masdara* 'knife,' see Stol 2007b: 238.
- **12'** Thompson in AMT 17/2 copied *na-ás-puh lu*, but the reading cannot be confirmed by remaining traces of the signs.

§ V.1 UGU 1 (BAM 480)

- BÀR is used for BAR, with Stol 1993a: 94 and Scurlock 2014: 335, different in Worthington 2005: 7: 1. Note especially the commentary SpTU 1/47: 8f.: IGI-šú i-ṣa-par: BAR: ṣa-pa-ru / BAR: za-a-ru 'his eye winks: BAR (means) 'to wink,' (but) BAR (also means): to twist.' Compare also K 2418+ iv 11: īnšu iṣappar in Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 2007: 81 (CDLI P394418), which is the fifth tablet from the Nineveh treatise dealing with neck complaints and related matter, see Panayotov 2018a: 98.
- **2** For the term *murdinnu* 'bramble' see notes to IGI 2: 1.
- 7 Compare to IGI 2: 55'.
- The hypothetical translation is based on parallels in Worthington 2005: 16. For the passage, see also the Assur counterpart BAM 3 i 15ff.
 - CAD U/W 249 renders *urṣu* as 'pestle' (against AHw), which is unlikely to be correct in the light of this passage, where the mouth or opening likely refers to the bowl.
- 11 For *lā šulputū* as 'sprinkled', compare AMT 50/3 r.(?) 5, see CAD Ţ 5.

- 12 The reconstructed line is based on BAM 3 ii 15ff. NAG-šú might be also read tašaqqīšu 'you have him drink (it),' instead of išattīšu. Nevertheless, both have the same result.
- For the expression *ina bīti ša tarāna išû* 'in a room, which has a canopy,' see line 73 on Ms. NI below. In another case, the patient is advised to sit in a reed hut, see BAM 323: 95 (Scurlock 2006: 306).
- Against BAR in Scurlock 2014: 308: 25 and Worthington 2005: 8: 25, the collated reading is PA. See also line 30 below, where PA is used.
- 26 The dividing line is uncertain, since the surface is too broken.
- **30** Compare BAM 12: 11.
- For GUR-*ma* HÁD.A, see SpTU 1/44: 9 and 11 (GUR-*ma* HÁD.DU/A). Note that there is a possibility that GUR-*ma* can be normalized as *ta-šá-ni-ma*, since this syllabic spelling is well attested in medical texts, see CAD Š/1 388b. Note that in a late bilingual gur₁₀-gur₁₀ corresponds to *šanû* (Geller 2016: 90: 3), which could have been based on an awareness of GUR as a logogram for *šanû*.
- Note that ^úHAB might be also read *hûratu* (normally ^{giš}HAB), since the determinatives GIŠ and Ú might be interchangeable. See ^{giš}HAB, for instance, in BAM 515 (Ms. ND) i 4.
- **34** [GAR]- an seems to be what Köcher wanted to read on BAM 488, but it is not now legible on the tablet.
- The restoration is according to BAM 480 i 31, as proposed by Scurlock 2014: 308: 42,' p. 335 fn. 89. See also IGI 2: 56'.
- 44 For the hypothetical reconstruction, compare IGI 2: 147'.
- 46 Against the copy BAM 480 i 46, read GA instead of LUH.
- It is noteworthy that the end of the line is duplicated in Nimrud (Ms. KA 8', see the Mss. to IGI 2): [... L]ÀL.KUR-i šu-hat KUG.GI 「MAR' te-qí.
- For the *marišmalû*-plant see Stadhouders 2018.
- **56** See also IGI 2: 134, 147'.
- The plant *supālu* is written with the logogram ^úZA.BA.LAM. For another writing, ^úNIGIN^{sar}, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011: text 2.5, 1.: 12,' and Stol 2016: 121, No. 804.
- Contrary to Kocher's copy BAM 480 i 58' and the reading KURUN in Worthington 2005: 9: 58' and Scurlock 2014: 309: 58', read KAŠ Š[EG₆.G]Á and compare line 49 above.

- This tentative restoration is based on UGU 2 (BAM 482), Ms. NX iii 6.
- An alternative reading might be tu-pa-sa, a D-stem durative with ventive from pa'asu.
- **67** Compare to IGI 2: 71', 157'.
- There is insufficient space at the beginning of the line for the sign EME, as in Scurlock 2014: 310 or Worthington 2005: 9; the first fragmentary sign begins with a vertical wedge suitable for Σ_{10} .
- 71 For a similar treatment with a lead spoon-salve, see IGI 3: 54'.
- Against the provocative reading in Worthington 2005: 9, and Scurlock 2014: 310 (SUD ⁶SÍG.GA.RÍG.GA^{sar}), the sign is clearly KUN and not SUD, as in the copy of BAM 480 ii 8, thus rendering *kun-ša*₂₅ ^{sig}GA.RÍG.AG.A KEŠDA.
- 73 The line calls for sitting in a dark room, which could be beneficial for a patient's eyes if sensitive to light. Compare the expression to line 22 from above. A. Attia suggests that 'people with migraine feel better when they lie down in the dark! Maybe the canopy is only to protect from the sun, or the sky or the stars?'
- 74 Note that Worthington 2005: 9: 74', and Scurlock 2014: 310: 10 read IN.DAR. We prefer IN.GÙN, see Panayotov 2016a: 63 fn. 9. In addition, Bácskay 2018a: 64 note 74 suggests IN.DAR instead of IN.DAR.<RA> for an adjectival form of *pa'āṣu* 'to crush'.
- 79 The restoration *ina* GA ^rSILA₁₁[?]-*aš*[?] [SAR-*ab* KI]MIN follows the phraseology of ll. 80-82 and was proposed by Scurlock 2014: 311: 15.
- Scurlock 2014: 311: 16 reads ${}^{\acute{u}}U_5$ [.ARGAB^{mušen}...] instead of ${}^{\acute{u}}u_5$ -r[a-na. Her reading can be excluded since U_5 .ARGAB^{mušen} is not a plant and does not require a \acute{U} determinative.
- **82ff.** For a connection between *samānu*-disease and eye complaints, see igi-gig á-zág : *mu-ru-uṣ i-ni a-sak-ku sa-ma-nu* 'disease of the eye, Asakku, and Samāna,' (Udughul tablet 6 in Geller 2016: 230: 57).

The prescription in Ms. NI ii 19-20 is fragmentary but may be tentatively reconstructed from a parallel Assur text, see BAM 3 i 20-21. Another parallel text is Ms. NZ (AMT 5/3) i 8'-9'.

What follows next is fragmentary: [DIŠ NA U]GU-šú UD.DA.TAB-m[a IGI.M]IN²- $\lceil \check{s}\check{u} \rceil$? $\lceil i$ - $bar \rceil$? $\neg i$ -ru- $ra \grave{u}$ MÚD DIRI- $\lceil a \rceil$. The second part of the incipit is reminiscent of the catchline of AO 11447, but in reverse order: DIŠ NA IGI.MIN- $\check{s}\check{u}$ MÚD DIRI LÁ-maui-bar-ru-ru (Geller 2007b: 14).

§ V.2 UGU 2 (BAM 482)

- 1 The formulation *dimta ukâl* '(the eye) contains tears' suggests an excess of tears as an abnormal physical state.
 - Note that in ii 20 ii 27 all prescriptions start with *sahlê* and similar substances, but with a new ingredient added in each case. This may be evidence for some kind of experimental process, looking for active ingredients or an active combination of ingredients.
- **2** For the restoration B[A.BA.ZA M]UNU₆ see also lines ii 25, 27 below.
- The difference between AL.ŠEG₆.GÁ and ŠEG₆.GÁ is not clear, but could be 'boiled' versus 'boiling.'
- **7f.** See the Assur UGU 1 counterpart, BAM 3 iii 28-30, in Worthington 2006.
- **9f.** This recipe has the same symptomology and ingredients but a slightly different application if compared to BAM 3 iii 31-33, see Worthington 2006.
- 11' Fincke 2000: 140 fn. 1069 and 1070 recognized the similarity between Ms. NX (BAM 482 ii 62') and the Diagnostic Handbook. ŠU.GIDIM.MA šá-ni dIš-tár ('hand of the ghost, deputy of Ištar'). This reflects another affliction similar to $q\bar{a}t(\text{ŠU})$ Ištar in IGI 3: 63'. See also notes to § IV.9. Ms. NV (AMT 18/3): 7' above.
- 12' The syllabic spellings of the plants in this line show clearly that the accusative can be expressed by *u* instead of *a*-ending, as expected in texts of this period.
- **18'** There is a partly erased U sign after SAG.KI-šú.
- 19' Presumably the line refers to an unspecified temple (left or right), since the previous lines dealt separately with the left and the right temples.
- **20'** Normally one excepts SÚD after *ina* Ì giš EREN, and not before it.

§ V.3 Ms. NY (BAM 494 II 53-57 AND AMT 25/8)

The fragment contains medical incantations and therapeutic prescriptions presumably against 'blurred' eyes. The small fragment (AMT 25/8) duplicates BAM 494, see Bácskay and Simkó 2017: Ms. M.

- **1ff.'** For this and the next line see IGI 1: 165-167.
- 3' The reading a-šá-a might also refer to the as \hat{u} -disease, see Bácskay and Simkó 2017: 11, Ms. $H_{\text{obv. 10}}$.

- 4' For the reading Ú aš-lì, see Bácskay and Simkó 2017: 14; the reading Ú aš-ši in Ms M. is possible but doubtful, since normal spelling of the 'ašû-disease-plant' is Ú a-ši-i.
 - Furthermore, MAŠ.TAB.BA might be an alternative spelling for the $as\hat{u}$ -disease, as proposed by Köcher, see Bácskay and Simkó 2017: notes to ii 30.
- 5f.' The incantation remains obscure, see also see Bácskay and Simkó 2017: 14.

§ V.4 Ms. NZ (AMT 5/3)

- 3' The reading N]U is clear from collations, although different on the copy AMT 5/3. Compare UGU 3 (K 2566 = AMT 102) 2: *ina* IGI *și-in-di* ù ÉN NU KUD-*as* '(if the ... disease) does not cease despite bandage(s) and (an) incantation,' Scurlock 2006: no. 133.
- 4' See also BAM 480 ii 12, Ms. NI, courtesy Annie Attia.
- 7' Compare to Ms. NI (BAM 480) ii 12f.
- **10'** Compare to Ms. NI (BAM 480) ii 19f.
- 11' Occasionally therapeutic texts pay special attention to specific months; some examples are collected by Stol 1991/92: 58 fn. 102.
- 21' The shape of the signs Ì.GIŠ looks more Babylonian than Assyrian.
- **22'** Note that the sign MUNU₆ normally has the parameters a1b1c7. However, the sign here has an additional *Winkelhaken* over the GAD sign, having the parameters a1b1c8. For the parameter system, see Gottstein and Panayotov 2014.

§ V.5 Ms. NZa (AMT 13/5 + 14/5)

Prescriptions for head ailments caused by the 'hand of a ghost.' This fragment might be a part of the Nineveh treatise UGU 3, see K 07642 (AMT 102ff.) or K 11578 (BAM 485).

- **9'** The spelling *e-zu-uš* is problematic, as is the alternative *e-zu-úz*.
- **10'** For the precise plucking method *ina nasāhīšu Šamaš lā īmaru* 'the plant has not seen the sun when it was torn out' see also CT 14/23: 7, and BAM 1 i 7 (Scurlock 2014: 398ff., and 273ff.).

The suggestion \hat{u} - $\hat{s}a$ -a[m- $mad^?]$ is tentative, since we would expect a second person verbal form.

§ VI Diagnostic Medical Omens Concerned With Sick Eyes (Diagnostic Handbook, *Sakikkû* Chapter 5)

The restoration of the title follows the incipit of the commentary SpTU I, No. 31, as well as the catchline on Tablet 4.

- 55' It is tempting to restore *nāhiru* 'nostril' (on the right side) which cannot take in air (lit. 'wind'), since the connection between lungs and respiration is not clearly mentioned in texts and may not have been clearly recognised. See also l. 56'.
- **56'** The verb *šagāmu* 'to roar' might mean 'to ring' in this context, referring to an abnormal sound in the ears.
- **89'** The symptom *balşu* 'staring' occurs in IGI 3, in a medical namburbi-type ritual.
- **104f.'** Assyriologists understand that circling eyes is idiomatic for vertigo. However, A. Attia points that 'what is idiomatic is the fact that everything is rolling around the patient, his eyes don't move!'. For instance, A. Attia refers to https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2696792/.