

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

# UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA  
313/761-4700 800/521-0600



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NATURAL ILLNESS IN BABYLONIAN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

VOLUME ONE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY  
TIMOTHY JOSEPH COLLINS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 1999

UMI Number: 9934038

---

UMI Microform 9934038  
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized  
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

---

**UMI**  
300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Volume One

LIST OF TABLES .....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vi
 Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. THE DEFINITION OF THE CORPUS .....	13
I. The Criteria for Babylonian Medical Incantations .....	13
I.A. Illness .....	13
I.B. Not Attributed to Any Cause.....	14
I.C. Written in Babylonian.....	15
II. The Corpus of Babylonian Medical Incantations.....	16
3. THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS .....	20
I. Medical Incantations as Folklore? .....	20
I.A. Style .....	20
I.B. Structure .....	22
I.C. Medical Incantations in the Old Babylonian Period .....	28
I.D. Medical Incantations in the First Millennium .....	30
II. Medical Incantations as Reflective of Only Obsolete Conceptions? .....	33
III. Medical Incantations as <i>asûtu</i> ?.....	35
IV. Conclusion .....	38
4. THE USE OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS AS A SOURCE .....	39
I. The Content of Incantations.....	40
I.A. Incantations That Manipulate Relations .....	40
I.A.1. The Manipulation of Analogical Relations .....	40
I.A.2. The Manipulation of Causal Relations .....	42
Excursus: Rituals That Manipulate Relations .....	46
I.B. Incantations That Do Not Manipulate Relations.....	47
II. The Content of Incantations as a Means to Efficacy .....	51
II.A. Content as a Means to Psychological Efficacy.....	51
II.B. Content as a Means to Theurgical Efficacy .....	54
II.C. Content as a Means to Magical Efficacy .....	57
III. The Content of Incantations as Incidental to Efficacy .....	59
IV. Conclusion .....	62
5. THE CAUSALITY OF ILLNESS IN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS .....	64
I. Figures of Illness In Medical Incantations .....	64
II. The Analysis of Figures of Illness .....	68
II.A. A General Model of Figures of Illness .....	68
Excursus: Modern Analogues of Babylonian Figures of Illness .....	73
II.B. An Interpretation of Specific Figures of Illness .....	75
II.B.1. <i>kis libbi</i> Illness .....	77

II.B.1.a. Flatulence .....	78
II.B.1.b. General Symptoms of <i>kis libbi</i> Illness .....	83
II.B.2. Bleeding .....	88
II.B.3. <i>bu'sānu</i> Illness .....	90
II.B.4. Eyes .....	91
II.B.4.a. Sick Eyes .....	91
II.B.4.b. Sty .....	95
II.B.5. "Fire" .....	95
II.B.6. <i>martu</i> Illness .....	96
II.B.7. <i>maškadu</i> Illness .....	99
II.B.8. <i>su'ālu</i> Illness .....	102
II.B.9. Teeth .....	102
II.B.10. <i>urbatu</i> Illness .....	104
II.B.11. "Various Illnesses" .....	106
III. Conclusion .....	108
Excursus: A Possible Objection .....	109
6. NATURAL ILLNESS IN BABYLONIA: A HYPOTHESIS .....	111
I. Statement of the Hypothesis .....	111
II. Evaluation of the Hypothesis .....	115
III. An Application of the Hypothesis .....	118
IV. Conclusion .....	121

## Volume Two

TEXT EDITIONS OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS .....	123
Belly .....	124
Bleeding .....	177
<i>bu'sānu</i> .....	185
Eyes .....	200
<i>martu</i> .....	230
<i>maškadu</i> .....	233
<i>su'ālu</i> .....	260
Teeth .....	262
<i>urbatu</i> .....	277
Various Illnesses .....	279
Appendix	
A. ELEMENTAL ANALYSES OF SELECTED INCANTATIONS .....	305
B. ETIOLOGICAL STORIES IN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS .....	329
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	337

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	
1. Elemental Analysis of Selected Belly Incantations .....	306
2. Elemental Analysis of <i>bu'sānu</i> and <i>su'ālu</i> Incantations .....	309
3. Elemental Analysis of Selected Eye Incantations .....	312
4. Elemental Analysis of <i>maškadu</i> Incantations .....	316
5. Elemental Analysis of Various Illnesses Incantations .....	322
6. Elemental Analysis of <i>uzzu</i> Incantations .....	327

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This study uses the abbreviations given in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CAD), Vol. 17, S/III (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1992), with the additions and changes listed below. The transcriptions and translations offered in this study are often adapted, without remark, from the scholarly edition cited.

AOATS	Alter Orient und Alter Testament, Sonderreihe
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> (Japan)
Borger AV	tikip santakki mala bašmu...: <i>Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994</i>
De Meyer AV	<i>Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le proche-orient ancien: Offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer</i>
Hallo AV	<i>The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo</i>
Hirsch AV	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , 86
Lamaštu	Walter Farber, "Lamaštu: An Edition of the 'Canonical' Lamaštu Series and Related Akkadian Texts from the First and Second Millennium B.C.," unpublished manuscript, 1995
Moran AV	<i>Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran</i>
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my teachers at the University of Chicago, especially the members of my dissertation committee Robert D. Biggs and Martha Roth, and my advisor Walter Farber, who first introduced me to Assyriology and has led me through it for many years since.

I would also like to thank my sister, Susan E. Collins (who aided in library research) and my fellow graduate students in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, especially Fumi Karahashi, Dan Nevez, and Simrit Dhesi, for their practical help and general support during the writing of the dissertation.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support which a University of Chicago Century Fellowship provided for my first four years of graduate study, and which an A. Leo and Elizabeth Oppenheim Scholarship provided for one and a half years of dissertation research.

Last, I would like to thank my parents, John and Susan Collins, without whose love and encouragement I never would have finished; this work is dedicated to them with my love and gratitude.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Understanding how the Babylonians accounted for the incidence of illness is crucial for understanding both their medical practices and their worldview. Yet because they have not left behind any texts articulating a theory of how and why illness occurs, their conceptions of illness causality must be reconstructed from references to particular cases of illness in literary, scholarly, or functional texts. Although some of these texts attribute illness to a suprahuman being or a natural force, others do not attribute it to any cause. Nevertheless, scholars have generally assumed that the Babylonians thought every illness had a definite cause—usually a suprahuman being—even if none is indicated. Through an analysis of how Babylonian "medical incantations" represent illness, however, this study argues that the Babylonians did not assume every illness had a definite cause. Medical incantations are similar to other kinds of Babylonian incantations, but differ significantly in one respect: where other incantations identify a problem's cause literally, medical incantations represent an illness's cause with a figure of speech (i.e., a metaphor or personification). These figures of speech merely imply a cause for the illness, by means of an analogy with its symptoms or name; they do not represent any conception of what caused the illness that could be restated in literal terms. I argue that by failing to identify an illness's cause where one would expect them to, medical incantations imply that the illness had no definite cause. I suggest that a Babylonian assumed an illness had a suprahuman cause only if it seemed abnormal; if

an illness seemed normal, he might assume it just happened, "naturally," without having any explicit conception of how or why it did so.

The Babylonians clearly thought that both suprahuman beings and natural forces could cause illness.<sup>1</sup> Evidence for suprahuman beings is especially abundant: medical prescriptions, diagnostic omens, and incantations attribute illnesses to gods, ghosts, evil spirits, and sorcerers;<sup>2</sup> literary texts and curse formulae show gods inflicting illness out of anger or caprice; and even some names for illness suggest a suprahuman cause, for example, *ukulti ili* (epidemic, literally "devouring of the god") and *šugidimmakku* (a kind of illness, etymologically "hand of a ghost"). Evidence for natural forces is sparser, but some texts do attribute an illness to heat or wind, and illness names such as *himiṭ ṣēti* (literally "heat of the weather") and *šibiṭ šāri* (literally "blast of wind") also suggest such a conception.<sup>3</sup>

Yet many Babylonian texts mention an illness without indicating any cause for it. Medical prescriptions often merely refer to a person as "becoming ill with" an illness; for example:

*Šumma amīlu su'āla imraṣ*

If a man has become ill with *su'ālu*

(Köcher BAM 549 i 10')

*Šumma amīlu maškada imraṣ*

If a man has become ill with *maškadu*

(Köcher BAM 182 obv. 11')

---

<sup>1</sup>Medical anthropology conventionally distinguishes "disease" from "illness" on the grounds that disease is a biological disorder, while illness is the culturally-constructed experience of a biological disorder.

<sup>2</sup>The Babylonians considered sorcerers humans, but humans who possessed powers that we would consider suprahuman.

<sup>3</sup>For examples in medical prescriptions, see P. Herrero, *La thérapeutique mésopotamienne*, ed. M. Sigris (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1984), 38; for an example in a letter, see J.-M. Durand, "Maladies et médecins," in *Archives épistolaires de Mari*, I/1 (Archives royales de Mari, 26), ed. J.-M. Durand (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988), 563, no. 261:13.

They also often portray an illness afflicting a person on its own; for example:

*šumma amīlu ummu dannu iṣbassu*

If a strong fever has seized a man

(Köcher BAM 147 obv. 1)

*šumma amīlu maškadu iṣbassu*

If *maškadu* has seized a man

(Köcher BAM 158 ii 14)

Some scholars have taken references to an illness "seizing" a person literally, as evidence that illnesses were actual beings.<sup>4</sup> Yet in the same contexts medical prescriptions also portray body parts afflicting a person; for example:

*šumma amīlu nakkaptāšu ṣabtāšuma...*

If a man's temples have seized him...

(Köcher BAM 482 ii 24)

*šumma amīlu qaqqassu iṣṣanabbassu*

If a man's head constantly seizes him

(AMT 86,1 ii 3)

Since the Babylonians certainly did not view body parts as actual beings, they presumably did not view illnesses as such either; medical prescriptions merely personify both body parts and illnesses in order to express how illness occurs.

Diagnostic omens also often mention an illness without diagnosing a cause for it; for example:

---

<sup>4</sup>For example, D. Goltz, *Studien zur altorientalischen und griechischen Heilkunde: Therapie—Arzneibereitung—Rezeptstruktur*, Sudhoffs Archiv, 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974), 8, understands the Babylonian conception of illness as the "Effekt, den der Dämon durch seine zerstörerische Anwesenheit bewirkt, in den dadurch entstandenen Veränderungen des normalen Zustandes und äussert sich in den Symptomen. Der Symptomkomplex, resultierend aus der Einwirkung des Dämons, ist die Krankheit"; see also p. 5. Likewise, K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, 22 (Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum, 1985), 68, sees the use of verbs such as *ṣabātu*, "to seize," and *maḥāṣu*, "to beat," to describe the action of illness as evidence "that diseases were understood by analogy with injuries received in battle, fights or accidentally at the hands of a fellow human being, the blows being administered this time by supernatural agents."



*šumma pānūšu iššanundū u suqassu paṭrat ina murši šuāti imāt*  
 If (the sick man) has vertigo and his chin is slack, he will die from that illness  
 (Labat TDP 76:56)

Although medical prescriptions and diagnostic omens are the most prominent examples of texts that do not indicate an illness's cause, some letters also do not do so.<sup>5</sup>

This raises a problem: what should one assume about an illness that a text does not explicitly attribute to any cause? Should one assume that the illness had no "cause"?<sup>6</sup> Or should one assume that every illness had a definite cause, even one for which none is indicated?

Because so much explicit evidence has been adduced that external agents could cause illness—and none that an illness could occur on its own—scholars have generally assumed that every illness had a definite cause, but that it might not be indicated if it was unknown or deemed irrelevant. A few scholars have suggested that the cause of an illness not attributed to any cause was a natural force. E.K. Ritter, for example, classifies some illnesses as "natural" because of diagnoses made for them (although she places "natural" in quotation marks),<sup>7</sup> and J. Black and A. Green suggest that "[i]n some cases a distinction seems to have been made between such divine or demonically

---

<sup>5</sup>E.g., J.-M. Durand, ARMT 26/1, p. 567, no. 266 and p. 573, no. 275.

<sup>6</sup>In this study, I use "cause" to mean an agent (e.g., a being, force, or quality) that is *explicitly* conceived of as transforming a person from well to ill, and thus whose action accounts for how and why an illness afflicted a particular person; this usage does not include instruments through which an agent may work, or factors that may be relevant to the illness's incidence but are not in themselves sufficient to account for it.

<sup>7</sup>E.K. Ritter, "Magical-expert (=āšipu) and Physician (=asū): Notes on Two Complementary Professions in Babylonian Medicine," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), ed. H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 305ff.; note, however, that some of the illnesses that Ritter classifies as "natural" have suprahuman causes (e.g., the evil spirit *ardat lilī* and sorcery).

originating illness and more 'naturally' occurring conditions (although the causes were not known)."<sup>8</sup>

But because our sources only rarely attribute an illness to a natural force, most scholars have assumed that the cause of most every illness was a suprahuman being, especially a god. Although D. Goltz observes that "[i]n den medizinischen Texten wechseln die Beschreibungen von Krankheitsbildern ohne Kommentar über Ursache oder andere Verknüpfungen ständig mit solchen Darstellungen, die als Ursache die Hand eines Gottes oder das Eingreifen eines Dämons nennen," she concludes from this that "[e]s besteht kein Zweifel, dass das Phänomen 'Krankheit'...metaphysisch interpretiert wurde....Der Mensch erfährt die Krankheit an sich nicht so sehr als ontische Gegebenheit denn vielmehr als eine theurgische Demonstration....Krankheit in oder an einem Menschen ist das auffälligste Zeichen dafür, dass er der Gnade seines Gottes verlustig ging."<sup>9</sup> K. van der Toorn states that the Babylonians thought every illness had a cause, whether a suprahuman being or a natural force;<sup>10</sup> further, even when a text explicitly attributes an illness to a natural force, that was not its ultimate cause, but rather "part of a larger concatenation of 'supernatural' cause and effect" within which the natural force merely retained "a certain independence": a "'natural' illness [i.e., an illness whose cause can be perceived by the senses] ultimately has a 'supernatural' cause, a *causa remota* looming behind the *causae proximae*."<sup>11</sup> And H.

---

<sup>8</sup>J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 67; Black and Green's parenthetical comment implies that the Babylonians thought every illness had a definite cause, but they did not always know what it was.

<sup>9</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 264-5; see also 6-7.

<sup>10</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 69.

<sup>11</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 70. van der Toorn defines "natural" illness on p. 69; his use of the term "natural" differs from my own, which I discuss below.

Avalos remarks that "it is quite probable that the mention of only physical symptoms does not exclude the assumption of a supernatural agent..."; he states that "[i]n Mesopotamia illness was often, if not normally, viewed as ultimately rooted in the will of the gods" and finds evidence for "a belief that most illnesses were divine instruments or messages of which punishment was one, though not the only, sub-category or motive."<sup>12</sup>

The assumption that an illness had a suprahuman cause even when none is indicated seems to find support in the fact that while most medical prescriptions do not attribute illness to any cause, many diagnostic omens attribute it to a suprahuman being. Since medical prescriptions have been associated with the *asû* (the physician) and diagnostic omens with the *āšipu* (the exorcist), it has generally been assumed that the *asû* and the *āšipu* had a different understanding of, or interest in, how an illness was caused. Thus Ritter postulates that the *āšipu* "views disease as a particular expression of the wider beliefs that he holds, namely, that a chain of events, initiated under the influence of 'supernatural' powers or forces, proceeds on a predetermined course to an outcome that can be predicted by the skillful reading of signs," while "[t]he *asû*, without reference to a more general system of notions, views disease as the complex of presenting symptoms and findings."<sup>13</sup> Goltz states that while the *āšipu*'s therapy was directed against the evil powers that cause an illness, the *asû*'s "ist allein auf die Schäden gerichtet... [it] wird repräsentiert von den Rezeptsammlungen [i.e., medical prescription texts]... [and] bestand in der Verordnung und Anwendung von

---

<sup>12</sup>H. Avalos, *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 54 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995), 153, 129, and 134.

<sup>13</sup>Ritter, *Studies Landsberger*, 301-2; similarly, Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 12.

Medikamenten, die gegen derartige Erscheinungen für wirksam gehalten wurden."<sup>14</sup> According to van der Toorn, the *asû* "specialized in the 'empirical' treatment, using herbs and bandages and occasionally the scalpel, while the [*āšipu*] sought to exorcise the primary causes of the disorder."<sup>15</sup> Avalos states that while "both the *āšipu* and the *asû* work within a conceptual framework that clearly supposes and assigns supernatural causes,"<sup>16</sup> they primarily treat illness on different levels: "[t]he *āšipu* is the healing consultant who primarily labors to identify the sender of an illness, provide a prognosis, and effect a reconciliation with, or expulsion of, the sender.... The *asû* is the healing consultant who primarily labors to collect, prepare and apply directly the *materia medica* intended to magically expel discomfort...."<sup>17</sup> Likewise, M. Stol views the *āšipu* as a diagnostician looking for suprahuman causes and the *asû* as a herbalist whose treatments do not depend on knowing the illness's cause.<sup>18</sup> These interpretations imply that most medical prescriptions say nothing about an illness's cause only because it was irrelevant to the *asû*'s treatment—not because the illness lacked a suprahuman cause.

Yet some medical prescription texts do attribute illness to a suprahuman being; for example, in the first tablet of the medical prescription series *šumma amīlu muḥḥašu umma ukāl* an illness is attributed to a person's god and goddess.<sup>19</sup> Further, as

---

<sup>14</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 10.

<sup>15</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 69.

<sup>16</sup>Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 157.

<sup>17</sup>Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 166-7 and also 231 (but cf. 156); see also Herrero, *Thérapeutique mésopotamienne*, 38.

<sup>18</sup>M. Stol, "Diagnosis and Therapy in Babylonian Medicine," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "ex oriente lux"* 32 (1991-1992): 58-62.

<sup>19</sup>Köcher BAM 480 iii 48: *šumma amīlu s̄arat lētīšu magal išaḥḥuḥ amīlu šū ilšu išt̄aršu ittīšu zenū* "if the hair of a man's cheeks is falling out greatly, that man's god and goddess are angry with him." Another example is Köcher BAM 503, which

mentioned above some diagnostic omens do not attribute an illness to any cause. Thus insofar as medical prescriptions and diagnostic omens reflect the practices and concerns of the *asû* and the *āšīpu*, respectively, they show that occasionally the *asû* explicitly attributed an illness to a suprahuman being, and sometimes the *āšīpu* did not. Although the putative difference between the *āšīpu* and *asû* in regard to illness causality might explain why diagnostic omens are more likely than medical prescriptions to attribute an illness to a suprahuman being, it would not explain why both diagnostic omens and medical prescriptions sometimes attribute illness to a suprahuman being, but sometimes do not.

A simple explanation for why texts do not always identify an illness's cause is that not every illness was thought to have a cause. Scholars have been reluctant or unwilling to accept this explanation, however, because no explicit evidence has ever been adduced for it. Although our sources often say nothing about an illness's cause, they never explicitly say that the illness had no cause; an illness (or similar phenomenon) is generally either attributed to a suprahuman being, or else nothing at all is said about how it came to occur. Scholars reconstructing the Babylonian worldview from the available explicit evidence thus inevitably stress the role of suprahuman beings in the Babylonians' understanding of how and why phenomena occur. For example, according to J. Bottéro:<sup>20</sup>

...a suffered accident, a sudden disgrace or illness, or an unexpected catastrophe...in the theocentric view of [the Mesopotamians] could derive only from the decisions and the will of the gods....

---

includes prescriptions that attribute an illness at least in part to a ghost (i 17'). For a discussion of how the *asû* sometimes attributed an illness to a suprahuman being, see Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 153ff., and cf. also Herrero, *Thérapeutique mésopotamienne*, 38.

<sup>20</sup>J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*, trans. Z. Bahrani and M. van de Mieroop (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 228.

According to S. Maul:<sup>21</sup>

Die Götter wurden als die Herren der Schöpfung angesehen. Sie schufen und lenkten alle Dinge. Jegliches Geschehen war letzten Endes auf ihren Willen zurückzuführen, dem nicht nur die Menschen, sondern alle Wesen und auch die unbelebte Materie unterworfen waren. Denn die Vorstellung, dass es einen Zufall gebe, ist dem babylonischen Denken gänzlich fremd.

And further:<sup>22</sup>

Der Zufall als eine "blinde" schicksals- und geschichtsbildende Kraft hatte in dem geschlossenen System babylonischen Denkens, das alles Werden und Wirken auf die zielgerichtete Absicht eines Gottes zurückführte, keinen Platz.

The Babylonians' worldview, in turn, is cited as a reason why they must have thought every illness had a suprahuman cause. For example, while Goltz first concedes that the Babylonians might not necessarily have interpreted an especially minor illness as coming directly from the gods,<sup>23</sup> she nevertheless maintains that:<sup>24</sup>

Wie alle anderen Gegebenheiten des Lebens kann Krankheit in Babylonien nur aus der Religion begriffen werden. Nur von diesem Gesichtspunkt her wird deutlich, welchen Sinn sie für den Menschen hatte. Fragt man nach ihrer Bedeutung, ist die Antwort nur im irrationalen Bereich zu finden. Wir haben betont, dass man auch dort nicht eine sogenannte "natürliche" Ursache annehmen darf, wo ein krankhafter

---

<sup>21</sup>S.M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale* (Namburbi), Baghdader Forschungen, 18 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 3.

<sup>22</sup>Maul, *Namburbi*, 225.

<sup>23</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 9: "Einschränkend muss bemerkt werden, dass, wie auch bei den Primitiven, nicht für jedwede Krankheitserscheinung Vergehen, Strafe oder Dämonen verantwortlich gemacht worden sind. War die Krankheit leicht, vermeinte man ihren Grund zu kennen, so lohnte es sich nicht, den gesamten Beschwörungsapparat des Tempels in Bewegung zu setzen." Goltz does not suggest that the illnesses with "so-called natural causes" include those illnesses not attributed to any cause in medical prescriptions; on p. 11 she states: "Der Satz der Serie 'wenn ein Mensch an "Husten" erkrankt ist' sagt über die Ursache des Hustens nichts aus, und es kann daraus nicht gefolgert werden, dass man in Babylonien irgendeine 'natürliche' Ursache im modernen Sinne des Wortes angenommen habe. 'Natürliche Ursachen' gab es für den Babylonier nicht, deshalb sucht er auch nicht nach ihnen. Die transzendente Welt des Übernatürlichen war für ihn Wirklichkeit. Unsere Begriffe von den natürlichen Ursachen verbieten sich von selbst, will man die babylonische Medizin im Rahmen der Kultur betrachten, die sie hervorgebracht hat."

<sup>24</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 263.

Zustand lediglich geschildert wurde und nicht um seine Ursache befragt zu sein schien. Oft wird gegen diese Annahme eingewendet, "ein verstauchter Zeh bedürfe keiner metaphysischen Interpretation". Auf den ersten Blick ist das wohl richtig. Wird jedoch vom Betroffenen eine Frage dieser Art formuliert: "Warum musste gerade *mir* das geschehen?"—so nähert man sich bereits einem Bereich, in dem eine rationale Begründung oder Antwort nicht mehr bedingungslos gegeben werden kann. Und je grössere Folgen (auch sozialer Art, Arbeitsunfähigkeit usw.) sich aus dem "verstauchten Zeh" ergeben, um so mehr gewinnt diese Art der Befragung eines so banalen Phänomens an Relevanz.

Likewise, van der Toorn concedes that "[o]ne may, probably correctly, surmise that minor ailments were not credited with the same religious significance as the long-suffered illnesses," and that an illness "was by no means automatically considered a sign of divine reproof. Nature was an objective reality, invested with powers that could have a detrimental effect on human health....Only the extraordinary was directly reduced to the 'supernatural.'" Yet van der Toorn nevertheless maintains that: "[t]he world-view of the Mesopotamian scholars...did not leave room for a purposeless fate...the texts do not allow us to speak of chance as the 'cause' of these incidents....on account of the world-view of causality illness could not be interpreted as a purely fortuitous event."<sup>25</sup> Yet because the Babylonians' worldview is reconstructed in part from their conceptions of illness causality—and so is one degree further removed from the ancient sources—it seems best to establish their conceptions of illness causality independently of their putative worldview.

The fact of the matter is, if the Babylonians thought an illness occurred without any cause "naturally," our sources might never have reason to say so explicitly. The category of the "natural" in the sense of occurring without any definite cause is not on the same level as the category of the "supernatural": a supernatural phenomenon is "marked," in that it is caused by a suprahuman being; a natural phenomenon is

---

<sup>25</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 72.

"unmarked," in that it is *not* caused by a suprahuman being.<sup>26</sup> A phenomenon is natural only by default of not being supernatural. Our sources would explicitly classify a phenomenon only as supernatural, by attributing it to a suprahuman being; they would classify a phenomenon as natural only implicitly, by *not* attributing it to a suprahuman being. It is possible our sources do not explicitly state that an illness could occur without any cause precisely because it was an *implicit* cultural assumption, so basic to Babylonian thought that our sources take it as a given.<sup>27</sup>

Through an analysis of the figures of speech with which Babylonian medical incantations represent illness, this study adduces circumstantial evidence that the Babylonians did think an illness could occur without any cause. The body of the study consists of the following chapters:

- Chapter Two first defines the corpus of Babylonian medical incantations, then briefly describes its contents.
- Chapter Three locates medical incantations within the larger Babylonian tradition in order to establish their validity as a source for Babylonian culture.
- Chapter Four examines the content of both medical incantations and similar Babylonian incantations, in order to show that the incantations indicate a problem's cause in specific contexts.
- Chapter Five shows that in the contexts that other incantations identify a problem's literal cause, medical incantations represent an illness's cause with a figure of

---

<sup>26</sup>By "natural" illness I mean an illness so normal and ordinary that it was not assumed to have either cause or significance. I do not mean an illness that occurred according to definable and uniform processes of "nature," or an illness caused by an external force which we would refer to as "natural" (e.g., heat or wind); my use of the term "natural" also differs from that of van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 69, who defines natural illness as an illness whose cause can be perceived by the senses.

<sup>27</sup>Of course, the Babylonians were linguistically capable of saying that an illness occurred without any cause; cf. CAD s.v. *ramanu*, where certain phenomena (e.g., the collapse of a wall) are said to occur *ina ramanišu*, "on its own."



speech; an analysis of these figures of speech shows that they imply a cause for the illness, but represent no substantive conception of what that cause is. I suggest that medical incantations express an illness's cause in this way because the illness had no definite cause that could be identified literally.

- Chapter Six suggests that a Babylonian assumed an illness had a suprahuman cause only if it seemed abnormal to him; he often took it for granted that an illness he considered normal occurred "naturally," without considering how or why it did so.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE DEFINITION OF THE CORPUS

In order to determine whether the Babylonians thought an illness could occur without any definite cause, this study examines Babylonian medical incantations, which I define as incantations that: 1) treat an illness; 2) do not explicitly attribute the illness to any cause; and 3) are written in Babylonian. This chapter explains why incantations that do not meet these three criteria—including those against problems other than illness, those against illnesses caused by a suprahuman being, and those written in Sumerian—are not examined. It then briefly describes Babylonian medical incantations as a group, and explains why they will be examined independently of their geographical, temporal, textual, or ritual context.

#### I. The Criteria for Babylonian Medical Incantations

##### I.A. Illness

This study is limited to conceptions of illness causality. Yet because our sources never express an understanding of what constitutes "illness" in the abstract, it is unclear how strictly the Babylonians would have separated illness (as we commonly understand it) from other physical problems. If they understood illness more broadly than we do, it might make sense to examine both incantations against illness *and* those against other physical problems. Although incantations against animal bites or stings would still be excluded from the corpus on the grounds that those problems are attributed to a cause (i.e., the animal), one could make a case for including childbirth incantations, because they do not attribute a difficult childbirth to any cause.

Nevertheless, childbirth incantations are excluded on the grounds that a difficult childbirth can only affect a woman giving birth, while an illness may occur in many different contexts; this *prima facie* difference suggests that at least initially the causality of a difficult childbirth and that of illness should be investigated separately.

### I.B. Not Attributed to Any Cause

This study does not consider the many incantations that attribute illness to a suprahuman being.<sup>1</sup> Such incantations are usually easy to recognize, because most focus on the illness's suprahuman cause; for example, most incantations to treat an illness caused by a ghost or a sorcerer focus on the ghost or sorcerer, respectively. Other incantations imply that an illness had a suprahuman cause even if they do not name it; for example, although an incantation whose rubric apparently reads *ša amurriqānim*, "for jaundice," does not name jaundice's cause, its use of feminine verbal forms shows that it addresses not jaundice itself (the word for which is masculine in Akkadian), but an unnamed agent that causes jaundice (presumably a female evil spirit or witch);<sup>2</sup> likewise, an incantation describes an unnamed agent with features such as roots (*šuršu*), trunk (*kisittu*), seed (*per'u*), face (*pānū*), and semen (*nīlu*) causing *sagallu* illness.<sup>3</sup> Other incantations "anthropomorphize" an illness, by which I mean they portray the illness as a suprahuman being that causes itself.<sup>4</sup> Although these

---

<sup>1</sup>As far as I know, no Babylonian incantation attributes an illness to a non-suprahuman agent; even incantations that mention *sibiṭ sārī* and *ḫimiṭ šēti* (e.g., CT 51 142:12)—illnesses whose names suggest that they were caused by wind and heat, respectively—associate those illnesses with suprahuman beings.

<sup>2</sup>YOS 11 14 rev. 7-11.

<sup>3</sup>CT 23 5-14 iii 18-9.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., some incantations against *šimmatu*, "paralysis," including Arnaud Emar 6 735, STT 136 i 1ff., and those edited by W. von Soden, "Duplikate aus Ninive," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33 (1974): 341-4. Although other incantations (e.g., Köcher BAM 141:7'-12' and 398 rev. 4'-22') do not clearly anthropomorphize *šimmatu*, I nevertheless leave them aside as well. For the anthropomorphization of

incantations superficially resemble some medical incantations that personify illness (in that both portray an illness's cause as a being with the same name as the illness), medical incantations merely represent illness as a being figuratively; incantations that anthropomorphize an illness portray the illness as an actual evil spirit that has a physical form, enters houses, destroys inanimate objects, and even causes symptoms other than its own. Because an anthropomorphized illness has an existence beyond its symptoms, it is by definition an external cause of those symptoms.

One may object that excluding incantations against suprahumanly caused illnesses ensures the conclusion that illnesses were thought to have no suprahuman cause. Yet it is already clear from medical prescriptions, diagnostic omens, prayers, myths, and epics that the Babylonians thought suprahuman beings could cause illness, and incantations that attribute illness to a suprahuman being merely confirm this point. What is unclear, and what is thus the object of this study, is whether an illness could occur without the Babylonians attributing it to any cause; to answer this question, one must examine those incantations that do not explicitly attribute illness to any cause.

### I.C. Written in Babylonian

This study reconstructs the conceptions of illness causality that underlie medical incantations written in Babylonian; it is not concerned with the conceptions underlying Sumerian medical incantations.<sup>5</sup> Views on illness causality are culturally specific; at

---

certain illnesses and other salient phenomena, see J. Bottéro, "Magie, A: In Mesopotamien," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 (1987-1990): 204ff.

<sup>5</sup>Akkadian consists of two principal dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian. Since no medical incantations written in Assyrian have yet been published, for convenience I refer to Akkadian medical incantations more specifically as Babylonian medical incantations. When referring to texts, I use the term "Babylonian" to refer to texts written in that language; when referring to culture and people, I use "Babylonian" to refer to the culture that can be reconstructed from Babylonian texts and the people belonging to that culture, respectively. I use designations of historical periods (i.e., Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, etc.) in the conventional sense.

some point (however far back in prehistory) Sumerian and Babylonian cultures were presumably distinct, and thus presumably had distinct views on illness causality. Although the many similarities between Sumerian and Babylonian texts attest to the deep influence that the two cultures had on one another, they do not necessarily mean that Sumerian and Babylonian texts ever came to reflect the same cultural conceptions. If Sumerian medical incantations retain conceptions never adopted into Babylonian culture, examining Sumerian and Babylonian medical incantations together would confuse the data. Therefore, although this study does use Sumerian medical incantations to elucidate specific motifs found in their Babylonian counterparts, it uses only Babylonian medical incantations to reconstruct the Babylonians' conceptions of illness causality.

It is important to note that the corpus of medical incantations is ad hoc, in that it has been defined in order to answer a specific question; the Babylonians themselves probably would not have recognized medical incantations as a distinct corpus, separate from other incantations. Thus when addressing how medical incantations were composed and transmitted (in Chapter Three) or what they say (in Chapter Four)—questions for which it does not make sense to examine medical incantations alone—this study also considers other Babylonian incantations that are similar in regard to how they were composed and transmitted or what they say, respectively.

## II. The Corpus of Babylonian Medical Incantations

There are over one-hundred published Babylonian medical incantations; they treat *kis libbi* illness or flatulence, nasal or vaginal bleeding, *bu'sānu* illness, sick eyes, a sty, "fire" (*išātu*, i.e., fever), *martu* illness, *maškadu* illness, *su'ālu* illness, toothache,

*urbatu* illness, and "various illnesses."<sup>6</sup> Medical incantations survive from Babylonia from the Old Babylonian, Neo-Babylonian, and Late Babylonian periods, from Assyria from the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods, and from the peripheral sites of Ḫattuša, Emar, and Ugarit from the Middle Babylonian/Middle Assyrian period. Their chronological distribution is as follows:

Old Babylonian period:	18 incantations <sup>7</sup>
Middle Babylonian/Middle Assyrian period:	5 incantations <sup>8</sup>
Neo- and Late Babylonian/Neo-Assyrian period:	79 incantations <sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Incantations against fire have been edited by W.G. Lambert, "Fire Incantations," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970): 39-45; see also D. Arnaud, "L'incantation ourgaritaine contre le 'Feu': RS.17.155 2 § 8," *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995): 137-9. I do not include new editions. Incantations against "various illnesses" are of the kind first treated by A. Goetze, "An Incantation against Diseases," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 9 (1955): 8-18. What illness a medical incantation was composed to treat must be determined from its content, because some were apparently used to treat an illness different from (but similar to) the one that they were composed for; for example, incantations whose content suggests they were composed to treat *maškadu* or *martu* are sometimes designated as incantations for treating *sagallu* or *pāšittu* illness, respectively (*maškadu* 4, exemplar B, and 9, and *martu* 1-2). Chapter Four argues that medical incantations were thought to be efficacious regardless of their content, and it is presumably for this reason that they were sometimes secondarily used to treat other illnesses.

<sup>7</sup>Belly 1, 6, 8, 11-2, 18, and 24; Eyes 15; *maškadu* 1-2; Teeth 4-6; Various Illnesses 1-5.

<sup>8</sup>Belly 20 (Emar); Eyes 1 (Ugarit); J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 17 rev. 20'-7' (fire; Ugarit); *maškadu* 11 (Nineveh; from Neo-Assyrian context, but Middle Assyrian on internal grounds) and 12 (Ḫattuša); D. Arnaud, *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995): 137-9, reports that another fire incantation has been discovered from Ugarit, parallel to the first.

<sup>9</sup>The 79 incantations are from 164 exemplars (indicated in parentheses): Belly 2-5, 7, 9 (x6), 10, 13 (x4), 14-7, 19 (x2), 21 (x3), 22-3, 25-6, 27 (x5), 28, 29 (x2), 30-1, 32 (x2), and 33-4; Bleeding 1 (x3), 2 (x2), and 3-4; *bu'sānu* 1 (x7), 2 (x4), 3 (x6), and 4-5; Eyes 2 (x3), 3 (x3), 4 (x3), 5 (x3), 6 (x2), 7 (x3), 8 (x2), 9 (x3), 10, 11 (x4), 12 (x3), 13 (x2), and 14 (x2); W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40-1:5-18 (x7), 41:19-36 (x8), 41-2:37-42, 42:1, 42:2-3, 42:4-8, 42:9-19 (x3), 42-3:20-33 (x4), and LKU 59 obv. 8-9 (fire incantations); *martu* 1-2; *maškadu* 3, 4 (x2), 5-7, 8 (x4), 9-10, and 13; *su'ālu* 1 (x3); Teeth 1 (x4), 2 (x2), 3, and 7-8; *urbatu* 1; Various Illnesses 6-7, 8 (x2), and 9 (x2).

This generally accords with the chronological distribution of other Babylonian literary texts: some are found from the Old Babylonian period, more from the Neo- and Late Babylonian/Neo-Assyrian period, and few from the intervening Middle Babylonian/Middle Assyrian period (and those mostly from peripheral sites). Since few literary texts of any kind survive from the Old Assyrian period or from Babylonia in the Middle Babylonian period, medical incantations' absence from those periods is probably not significant.<sup>10</sup> Although medical incantations come from over a wide area and a long period of time, this study examines them without regard to their geographical or temporal origin; in the course of the study it will become clear that medical incantations from different places and times generally treat the same illnesses, use many of the same motifs, have the same structure, and, most importantly, reflect the same conceptions of illness causality.

Most Old Babylonian medical incantations appear on a tablet alone or with one or two other incantations, without any accompanying ritual; exceptionally, one appears within a medical prescription text, where it was apparently to be used with a medical prescription.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that in the Old Babylonian period medical incantations were intended to be used with prescriptions.<sup>12</sup> By the first millennium, at least, medical incantations were often used with prescriptions; a typical example is a *bu'sānu* incantation, which was to be used as follows:

---

<sup>10</sup>K. Veenhof, "An Old Assyrian Incantation against a Black Dog (kt a/k 611)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (Festschrift Hans Hirsch) (1996): 428 and 431, mentions that several more Old Assyrian incantations from Kaneš have recently been identified, including one that may have been against *kis libbi* (judging from the citations *libbummi libbum* and *libbum litūr ana išrišu*).

<sup>11</sup>Teeth 6.

<sup>12</sup>One Old Babylonian medical prescription text published by A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, "New Sumerian Literary Texts from Tell Haddad (Ancient Meturan): A First Survey," *Iraq* 55 (1993): 104-5, prescribes casting incantations over medical preparations, but does not cite the incantations.

*gabâ ninâ tasâk ina dišpi tuballal šipta sebišu ana libbi tamannu pâsu taktanappar  
ina' 'eš*

You grind *gabû* plant and *ninû* plant, mix them in honey, and recite the incantation over (the mixture) seven times; you wipe his mouth (with it) repeatedly, and he will recover

(Hunger Uruk 44:76)

Less commonly, first millennium medical incantations also survive as part of magical rituals, as extracts from longer texts, and as school exercises. Whatever medical incantations' textual or ritual context, however, they always remain discrete; they do not appear integral to the larger text and have little or no clear relation to the accompanying ritual. For this reason, I examine medical incantations without regard to their ritual or textual context, except in the few cases where it in some way elucidates their content.



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

Although medical incantations survive in large numbers and from every historical period that has yielded a significant number of Babylonian literary texts, they have seldom been used as a source for the Babylonians' conceptions of illness causality. In part, this may be because medical incantations have at times been characterized as: 1) folkloric; 2) reflective of an earlier time; or 3) belonging to the lore of the physician (*asûtu*) rather than that of the exorcist (*āšipûtu*). Such characterizations seem to imply that medical incantations reflect the conceptions of only a particular social class, time, or profession, respectively, and not those of mainstream Babylonian culture. This chapter, however, argues that although medical incantations do likely derive from folklore, and perhaps from folklore of the Old Babylonian period, there is no evidence that the conceptions they reflect were limited either to the "folk" or to the Old Babylonian period, or that they belonged specifically to the lore of the physician. In the absence of evidence that medical incantations reflect a cultural tradition different from that of other Babylonian texts, one must presume they reflect the same tradition, and thus that they are a valid source for the conceptions of illness causality of mainstream Babylonian culture.

#### I. Medical Incantations as Folklore?

##### I.A. Style

Several scholars have suggested that medical incantations came out of a "folk"—that is, presumably, an oral—tradition on the grounds of their style. According

to B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, for example, they are among the "[q]uite a few incantations still clearly recognizable as having their origins in the simple spells of folk poetry....,"<sup>1</sup> and according to A.L. Oppenheim, "[t]he incantations in medical texts...quite frequently exhibit folklore traits...."<sup>2</sup> E. Reiner notes that some medical incantations (among other incantations) "are characterized by repetition or concatenation, devices that also characterize folk poetry of other cultures" and that they "give us a glimpse of the style of songs that may have been current in the oral literature."<sup>3</sup>

Yet it has been shown that many texts known to have been composed and transmitted in writing exhibit stylistic features once thought distinctive of texts composed and transmitted orally, and so whether a text was originally oral or written cannot be determined from internal features alone.<sup>4</sup> While the exigencies of composing and transmitting a text orally may cause it to have a certain style (e.g., one that makes it easier to compose or recall), there is no reason why one composed and transmitted in writing could not have this same style, especially if whoever composed it was used to

---

<sup>1</sup>B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, "An Old Babylonian Charm against *Merḫu*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 14; in addition to medical incantations they also consider certain incantations from *Maqlû*, *Lamaštu*, and elsewhere as folk spells.

<sup>2</sup>A.L. Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (1962): 103.

<sup>3</sup>E. Reiner, "First-millennium Babylonian Literature," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. 3/2, ed. John Boardman, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 313; Reiner glosses "folk poetry" as "poetry in no way dependent on the official cult or the royal court for inspiration, model, or tone." See also E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria*, Michigan Studies in the Humanities, 5 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1985), 94ff.; W. Farber, "Magic at the Cradle: Babylonian and Assyrian Lullabies," *Anthropos* 85 (1990): 139ff.; and N. Veldhuis, "The Fly, the Worm, and the Chain: Old Babylonian Chain Incantations," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1993): 41ff.

<sup>4</sup>See R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 126-33.

working within an oral tradition. Thus if medical incantations' style is what one finds elsewhere among texts from oral traditions, it would at most be evidence that the magicians who composed medical incantations were versed in the techniques of oral composition; it would not be proof that medical incantations themselves had been composed or transmitted orally.

### I.B. Structure

The structure of medical incantations also conforms to what one would expect of incantations composed by magicians versed in oral composition. Medical incantations are among the many Babylonian incantations that have a composite structure, in the sense that they consist of a string of discrete and often demonstrably conventional elements that have a similar form or express a similar idea. This composite structure becomes clear through a contrast of similar incantations that isolates their constituent elements, such as I provide in Appendix A for medical incantations for Belly, *bu'sānu* and *su'ālu*, Eyes, *maškadu*, and Various Illnesses, as well as incantations against anger (*uzzu*).<sup>5</sup>

Several scholars have commented on this composite structure as it is found in particular groups of incantations, and have variously suggested why the incantations would have such a structure. W.G. Lambert notes that incantations against "fire," most of which survive from the first millennium, include "parallels to phrases and even whole couplets [that] occur in other types of incantations..." and suggests that in fire

---

<sup>5</sup>For an analysis of the composite structure of incantations to quiet a crying baby (upon which my own analysis is modeled), see W. Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!: Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*, Mesopotamian Civilizations, 2 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 148ff. Although the elements of medical incantations that have no close parallels cannot be fully isolated, they do often include elements known from other incantations. I believe the discovery of further parallels would enable one to demonstrate that every medical incantation had a composite structure.

incantations "[t]raditional literary phrases and motifs have been drawn upon and used in new combinations to build up the wholes." Lambert infers from this composite structure that fire incantations were compiled "from existing literary fragments and motifs....Behind the compilers was a large corpus of Sumerian and Babylonian incantations and related literature. From it they selected, combined and composed new texts."<sup>6</sup>

W. Farber also finds a composite structure in incantations to quiet a crying baby, although he sees a difference between the two incantations from the Old Babylonian period and the many more from the first millennium. According to Farber, the incantations from both periods "draw from a well-defined fund of themes, motifs, and even fixed phrases which a scribe or author had only to rearrange and, if necessary, stylistically adapt....," and the Old Babylonian ones "already belong to th[e] same tradition [as the later examples] and contain several motifs which were still in use more than a thousand years later." Yet Farber maintains that the Old Babylonian incantations are more coherent stylistically because while "[h]orizontal parallels...are amply present in the later texts...", "hardly one of the later texts even comes close to the uniformity and consistency which the older [incantations] show both in form and in the use of parallels and cross-connections to link vertically the individual syntactical and semantical segments." From this Farber concludes that in the first millennium the incantations "were no longer composed as coherent units..." but rather through "a technique of assembling prefabricated stereotypes, or 'boiler plates', to generate a new specimen of text. The vertical connection between several such 'boiler plates' seems to be of little importance to the author, while horizontally the stylistic elements of parallelism and variation within those stereotypes remain clearly visible." Although

---

<sup>6</sup>W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 45 and 39.

Farber assumes that the two Old Babylonian incantations were composed within an oral tradition, he is not certain whether those from the first millennium "can and should be explained exclusively on the level of texts already written down, or whether we should rather see this as an indication that a separate oral tradition existed well into the first millennium."<sup>7</sup>

Farber finds further evidence for his interpretation that incantations to quiet a crying baby (and, by extension, other kinds of incantations) were composed differently in the Old Babylonian period than they were later through an examination of a specific element found in many Babylonian incantations, the "*mannam-lušpur* motif."

According to Farber, "in Old Babylonian times in particular we see a number of quite different versions of the *mannam-lušpur* motif," while in later periods "clear preference [is given] to just one version of the motif, the one referring to the 'daughters of Anu', and...largely fixed phrases [are used] in describing their tools and activities." Farber sees this as evidence that the Old Babylonian incantations were composed by a process that "uses a pool of readily available motifs, and adapts them in various degrees for the desired purpose," and that although in later periods this process did not die out, "its emphasis shifted more and more away from the free creativity, which knew hardly any

---

<sup>7</sup>W. Farber, *Anthropos* 85 (1990): 143. Cf. also Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, 148: The corpus of incantations to quiet a crying baby provide insight on "die Techniken, die dem jeweiligen Autor bzw. Beschwörer zur Verfügung standen, um in manchmal durchaus abwechslungsreicher Variation ein begrenztes Material immer neu umzuformulieren und dabei nicht nur der gelegentlich veränderten Situation, sondern vor allem wohl auch seinem persönlichen Geschmack Rechnung zu tragen. Es scheint mir dabei kaum anzugehen, diesen Vorgang der Variation hier ausschliesslich auf der Ebene geschriebener 'Literatur' erklären zu wollen; die immer wiederkehrende Verwendung einzelner Begriffe, Vergleiche und Formulierungen, bis hin zu ganzen Zeilen(paaren), drängt unmittelbar den Eindruck auf, dass hier wohl noch bis tief ins 1. Jahrtausend eine mündliche Nebenüberlieferung existierte." There is of course a third possibility, namely, that the incantations derive from oral forerunners from the second millennium that were recorded and were transmitted in writing into the first millennium; W. Farber, "*mannam lušpur ana Enkidu*: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990): 304, considers this a possibility for incantations against various illnesses, but unlikely for other kinds.

restrictions in adapting existing motifs, to a technique using... 'boiler plates' (German: 'Versatzstücke') or fixed or standardized lines or groups of lines which could no longer be as freely altered as before. The 'boiler plates' were still exchangeable, however, and also could be expanded by the inclusion of other formulaic elements. The almost unlimited possibilities of a reservoir of ideas and themes were thus gradually reduced to a more restricted pool of standard phrases," which here Farber would see as a sign of "the increasing predominance of 'writtenness' over orality."<sup>8</sup>

Yet a broader examination of incantations' composite structure and constituent elements does not support Farber's view that those from the Old Babylonian period had greater stylistic coherence than those from the first millennium, or that the elements out of which first millennium incantations were composed were fixed "boiler plates." Although claims of stylistic coherence are necessarily somewhat subjective, some Old Babylonian incantations do not seem to be stylistically (or even logically) coherent, while some first millennium incantations do seem to be; indeed, a number of Old Babylonian and first millennium incantations are nearly identical in structure.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, although elements do seem to differ more among incantations from the Old Babylonian period than among those from the first millennium, many elements also appear in different forms within first millennium incantations.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the general

---

<sup>8</sup>Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 302-3.

<sup>9</sup>For a analysis showing the stylistic coherence of the first millennium incantation Belly 14, see Reiner, *Poetry*, 94-100; for a stylistic analysis of a group of childbirth incantations (mostly from the first millennium), see N. Veldhuis, *A Cow of Sîn*, Library of Oriental Texts, 2 (Groningen: Styx, 1991). For the question of whether Old Babylonian incantations are more coherent than their first millennium parallels, compare Eyes 14-5, Belly 10-4, Various Illnesses 1-9, and *passim*.

<sup>10</sup>E.g., *bu'sānu* elements D-G and Eyes elements G-I. The variation of the *mannam lušpur* element within the first millennium is somewhat understated in Farber's analysis because he limits it to examples that use *šapāru*, "to send"; other non-standard first millennium examples include: Bleeding 2:3-5; von Weiher Uruk 23:11ff. and 25:6ff.; Biggs, *Šaziga*, 18, ll. 3ff. (and cf. also p. 20, ll. 24f.); Köcher BAM 248 i 46; and KAR 181 obv. 28. (An additional OB variant is Belly 8:18.) It is not altogether

impression left by a contrast between the structure of Old Babylonian and first millennium incantations is one of continuity, in that they consist of many of the same elements, which often have a similar form and appear in a similar sequence.

Since the composite structure of Old Babylonian and first millennium incantations appears to be the same, it is unlikely that it derives from scribes combining extracts from written sources. One would not expect written extracts to differ from incantation to incantation to the extent that the elements of both Old Babylonian and first millennium incantations do. Moreover, since many elements are known only from incantations of a particular group, all of which have a composite structure, it is unclear what written sources a Babylonian scribe could have extracted the elements from; this is especially true for the Old Babylonian period, since Babylonian incantations do not seem to have been recorded in any numbers before that time.<sup>11</sup>

I would suggest that both the Old Babylonian and later incantations have a composite structure because they were composed by magicians versed in oral composition. Within an oral tradition it is usually impossible to transmit a text verbatim from memory over a long period of time and a wide area, and so a person reciting a text will often draw not only on his memory of the text as it was transmitted to him, but also on his knowledge of other texts of the same genre and on his own creativity. As a result of this process, texts composed within an oral tradition often exhibit a composite structure, in that they consist of conventional elements that have been put together to

---

clear why elements would vary more among Old Babylonian incantations than among those from the first millennium, but the greater variability need not reflect a different mode of composition. If, for example, incantations that were part of the written tradition of the first millennium derive from a particular time and place (or even a particular person), it might explain why they would vary less than Old Babylonian incantations, which may come from over a wider area and a longer period of time.

<sup>11</sup>One may also ask why a magician would have composed a new incantation out of parts of other incantations against the same problem, rather than simply using the incantations he already had.

form a new whole; for example, conventional phrases and motifs are put together to form sentences and passages, and conventional scenes are put together to form a narrative.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, B. Kerewsky-Halpern and J.M. Foley have shown that incantations transmitted orally in recent times in the former Yugoslavia have a composite structure remarkably similar to the one found in Babylonian incantations.<sup>13</sup> Thus although medical incantations' composite structure is certainly not proof that they had been composed or transmitted orally, since a composite structure is often a characteristic of texts—including incantations—from other oral traditions, medical incantations' own composite structure may plausibly be taken as evidence that the magicians who composed them were versed in oral composition.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>See Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, 58-72.

<sup>13</sup>By comparing eight versions of an incantation (or "charm") recited by a single informant over the course of several days, Kerewsky-Halpern and Foley, "The Power of the Word: Healing Charms as an Oral Genre," *Journal of American Folklore* 91 (1978): 909, found that "[a]ll versions of the charm reveal a composite structure of a series of internally coherent and externally related units..." which they call "frames," but which seem to correspond to what I call the "elements" of Babylonian incantations; according to Foley, *The Singer of Tales in Performance*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University, 1995), 125, such "frames vary in their modes of internal cohesion and stability over a series of performances, [and] also vary one from the next in their localization within the charm and their attachment, if any, to other frames." Although these frames were relatively constant, there was some variation even among the different versions provided by the single informant over a short period of time. Foley, 112, compares the charm's frames to the constituent elements of other texts from an oral tradition: the frames "act not unlike themes or typical scenes in narrative genres; that is, they are integral clusters with semi-independent lives of their own, units that are structured at least by idea-pattern and often by acoustic or phraseological networks as well."

<sup>14</sup>It is also worth noting that Babylonian incantations that do not seem to have a composite structure (including many incantations from the incantation series *Šurpu* and *Maqlû*, *Marduk's Address to the Demons*, and many incantations against ghosts) are not attested until after the Old Babylonian period—perhaps because they do *not* derive from an oral tradition.



### I.C. Medical Incantations in the Old Babylonian Period

The circumstances under which medical incantations first appear in the Old Babylonian period further suggest that medical incantations were transmitted orally at that time. Medical incantations survive from the Old Babylonian period in relatively large numbers: eighteen incantations written on seventeen tablets.<sup>15</sup> Although the provenance of only three of these tablets is known, they come from the widely separated sites of Sippar, Neribtum (modern Ischali), and Mari, and J. van Dijk has suggested that many of the others come from within the kingdom of Larsa.<sup>16</sup> The relatively large number and wide geographical distribution of medical incantations from the Old Babylonian period show that they were already used throughout Babylonia at that time. Yet no medical incantations—and few Babylonian incantations of any kind—survive from before that time.<sup>17</sup> Although this may be due to chance, it seems more likely that medical incantations (and other Babylonian incantations as well) simply were

---

<sup>15</sup>Belly 1, 6, 8, 11-2, 18, and 24; Eyes 15; *maskadu* 1-2; Teeth 4-6; Various Illnesses 1-5; of these, Belly 8 and 24 appear on the same tablet.

<sup>16</sup>Belly 8 and 24 (and probably 6) come from Sippar, Eyes 15 comes from Neribtum, and Various Illnesses 4 comes from Mari. J.J.A. van Dijk, *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte*, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 17 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), pp. 7-8, and *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*, Yale Oriental Series: Babylonian Texts, 11 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 2-3, suggests that many of the Old Babylonian incantations published in YOS 11, VAS 17, and TIM 9 come from the same site (and perhaps even the same archive), most likely within the kingdom of Larsa.

<sup>17</sup>Admittedly, medical incantations can only be dated to the Old Babylonian period on internal grounds, and so it is possible that the range of time from which medical incantations conventionally identified as "Old Babylonian" come does not coincide with the Old Babylonian historical period. For Babylonian incantations from the Old Babylonian and earlier periods, see W. Farber, "Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1981): 51-72 and "Early Akkadian Incantations: Addenda et Subtrahenda," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1984): 69-71, and G. Cunningham, "Deliver Me From Evil": *Mesopotamian Incantations, 2500-1500 B.C.*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior, 17 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1997), 98-159.

not recorded in any numbers until the Old Babylonian period. If medical incantations were not part of an established written tradition before the Old Babylonian period, one would have to infer either that they spread throughout Babylonia through a written tradition *within* that period or, as seems more likely, that they record current folklore, which had spread throughout Babylonia through oral transmission.

The fact that medical incantations and other Babylonian incantations from the Old Babylonian period sometimes appear in different versions, but never appear in duplicates from different sites, also suggests that they record a contemporary oral tradition. Within an oral tradition, even a short text such as an incantation is unlikely to be transmitted for long in exactly the same form. It is thus often characteristic of an orally transmitted text that it exists in many different versions, and does not exist in exactly the same version at different times or places.<sup>18</sup> Since most Old Babylonian medical incantations are attested only once, they cannot be shown to have existed in different versions; but the few that do appear more than once only appear in different versions,<sup>19</sup> and no Old Babylonian incantation of any kind appears in exactly the same form at different sites.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, first millennium medical incantations (most of

---

<sup>18</sup>The multiformity of an orally transmitted text is perhaps best exemplified in modern times by folk songs, which often exist in a myriad of similar versions; see Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, 143ff.

<sup>19</sup>A medical incantation against various illnesses survives in five versions (Various Illnesses 1-5) and a medical incantation against *kis libbi* illness survives in two (Belly 11-2). An incantation against anger (*uzzu*) appears in six versions; see R.M. Whiting, "An Old Babylonian Incantation from Tell Asmar," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 179-187, C. Wilcke, "Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 202-5, ll. 78-98, and the elemental analysis of *uzzu* incantations in Appendix A.

<sup>20</sup>Old Babylonian incantations that appear in duplicates are: TIM 9 65 and 66 (apparently from *Saduppum*); and YOS 11 15:1ff. and 29:23ff. (whose provenance is unknown, but is likely to be the same). Of course, the very fact that medical incantations survive from the Old Babylonian period suggests that they were also transmitted in writing at that time, and so it would not be surprising if someday duplicates of a Babylonian incantation were found from different sites.

which had clearly been transmitted in writing) often appear in duplicates from different times and places. I would suggest that Old Babylonian medical incantations record texts from the contemporary oral tradition, within which every medical incantation existed in many different versions, and generally did not exist in the same form at different times or places; although only a few medical incantations are attested in more than one version, this is because only a few of the versions circulating in the oral tradition were ever recorded, and even fewer have survived.<sup>21</sup>

#### I.D. Medical Incantations in the First Millennium

Since first millennium medical incantations often appear in duplicates from different times and places, in long, thematically organized texts that are unlikely to have been transmitted orally, or on tablets whose colophons state that the text had been copied from a written source, there is little doubt that they were part of an established written tradition. Yet their consistency with Old Babylonian medical incantations in style, structure, and content suggests that they preserve the form of forerunners that were part of an oral tradition continuous with (if not the same as) the one Old Babylonian medical incantations record.<sup>22</sup>

For first millennium medical incantations to preserve the form of oral forerunners, they would have had to have been transmitted very faithfully within the written tradition. Although some scholars have assumed that they were not,<sup>23</sup> the

---

<sup>21</sup>Although I argue that Old Babylonian medical incantations record a contemporary oral tradition, this is not to say they are necessarily direct records of an oral performance.

<sup>22</sup>By "forerunner," I mean an earlier version of a text that led directly (although often through intermediary versions) to the present text; by "parallel," I mean two texts that are similar, without implying any direct connection between them (although they may have a common source).

<sup>23</sup>E.g., B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, *JNES* 14 (1955): 14, maintain that "[a]ccepted into, and worked over within, the learned school tradition, these simple little

existence of duplicate first millennium medical incantations from different times and places shows that at that time, at least, medical incantations were often, if not typically, transmitted verbatim. Although there is no direct evidence for the fidelity of medical incantations within the written tradition of the second millennium, presumably they were transmitted faithfully at that time as well. Chapter Four argues that medical incantations were thought to be efficacious because the gods had established them in an intrinsically efficacious form; if scribes shared this conception, they would have had good reason to transmit medical incantations verbatim, and no reason to change them.

Yet although first millennium and Old Babylonian medical incantations seem to derive from a continuous oral tradition, they probably were not part of a continuous *written* tradition. Even if the oral forerunners from which first millennium medical incantations derive were recorded and transmitted in writing already from the Old Babylonian period, the Old Babylonian medical incantations that happen to survive need not have been these forerunners. As W. Farber remarks:<sup>24</sup>

As far as I can tell, there are no indications that an individual text stemming from [the] old oral tradition and written down in Old Babylonian times ever became part of a corpus that was handed down in written form through schools or scholarly libraries.... We should therefore view such an Old Babylonian incantation, not as an interdependent link of an unbroken chain of tradition, but rather as a momentary, and in each case individual result of poetic creativity, which drew its source material directly from the pool of themes, motifs, and poetic forms of the oral tradition.

---

spells [including medical incantations] tended to lose...some of their original fresh earthy pregnancy," and cf. also W. Farber, *JNES* 49 (1990): 300.

<sup>24</sup>W. Farber, "'Forerunners' and 'Standard Versions': A Few Thoughts About Terminology," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. Cohen, D. Snell, and D. Weisberg (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1993), 97; I disagree, however, with his further remark that "[i]t is quite improbable that such an 'ephemeral' tablet then actually ended up in a library and was handed down through generations, or that it even accidentally resurfaced later, so that it could be used as a 'forerunner' version by later scribes when they compiled their standardized corpora of incantations and rituals."

Thus there is no reason to assume that differences between parallel Old Babylonian and first millennium medical incantations were diachronic differences that arose within the course of written transmission. It is more likely that differences between parallel medical incantations (whether from different periods or from the same period) arose during oral transmission, and that parallel incantations derive from different versions that a single incantation had within the oral tradition.

But while I would thus agree that medical incantations from both the Old Babylonian and later periods are "folkloric" in the sense that they derive from an oral tradition, there is no reason to assume that they had any of the modern negative connotations of folklore (e.g., backwardness or superstition) or reflected the beliefs of only people from the lower social classes. The very fact that medical incantations have come down to us shows that at least some literate people thought they were worth writing down, presumably because they thought them efficacious. Indeed, to the extent that a dichotomy between elite and folk cultures even existed in Babylonia, our only direct evidence for the use of medical incantations (i.e., the tablets that record them) shows that they were used by the literate elite; it is only a reasonable inference that the "folk" also used them. Moreover, many other texts from which Babylonian culture is reconstructed (e.g., some myths and epics, omens, and medical prescriptions) may also be "folkloric" in the sense of deriving from an oral tradition.<sup>25</sup> Medical incantations' apparent origin in an oral tradition thus does not warrant disqualifying them as a source for Babylonian culture.

---

<sup>25</sup>E.g., A.L. Oppenheim, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (1962): 103, states: "I see in the medical texts of the traditional corpus basically an attempt of the Old Babylonian scribes to render in writing the oral tradition of current medical lore."

## II. Medical Incantations as Reflective of Only Obsolete Conceptions?

It seems reasonable to assume that as long as a medical incantation was transmitted orally it remained fluid, changing to reflect changing cultural conceptions; thus Old Babylonian medical incantations, which apparently record a contemporary oral tradition, presumably reflect Old Babylonian cultural conceptions. Once a medical incantation came to be transmitted in writing, however, it might have become fixed; thus first millennium medical incantations, most of which were clearly part of an established written tradition, may *not* reflect first millennium conceptions: if Babylonian conceptions had changed while the written forerunners to first millennium medical incantations were being transmitted in a fixed form, first millennium medical incantations would preserve the earlier, obsolete conceptions. Perhaps for this reason, K. van der Toorn has maintained that medical incantations reflect an illness causality that "has been supplanted in importance."<sup>26</sup>

Yet the earliest period from which forerunners to first millennium medical incantations could likely have been transmitted in writing is the Old Babylonian period, and there is little evidence that the Babylonians' conceptions of illness causality changed between then and the first millennium. Generally speaking, the texts for treating illness that survive from the two periods are of the same kinds (i.e., medical incantations, incantations against suprahuman beings, diagnostic omens, and medical prescriptions), and attribute illness to the same causes (i.e., suprahuman beings such as

---

<sup>26</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 71: "In discussing the Mesopotamian views of illness one must be sensitive to the distinction between the synchronistic and the diachronistic level. Besides the theological interpretation of disease one comes across mythological aetiologies. Thus toothache is 'explained' by the tale of the worm that asked Ea to cause it to dwell among the gums in order to suck the blood of the teeth. Such ancient mythologies have only survived in fragments, represented by a few Old Babylonian non-canonical incantations and some smaller pieces, secondarily incorporated into the body of therapeutic texts. They reflect a point of view that has been supplanted in importance by the synchronistic approach, in which it matters above all to discover the actual causes of the various ailments [i.e., suprahuman beings]."

gods, ghosts, evil spirits, and sorcerers, or natural forces such as heat or wind), or else to no cause at all.

Admittedly, the kinds of texts for treating illness are distributed differently in the two periods; in the Old Babylonian period, medical incantations and Lamaštu incantations are much more common relative to medical prescriptions, diagnostic omens, and incantations against angry gods, ghosts, and sorcerers than they are in the first millennium; this is because while both medical incantations and Lamaštu incantations become more numerous in the first millennium, they do not increase at as great a rate as the other texts do. And because medical incantations do not attribute an illness to a suprahuman being, while diagnostic omens and incantations against suprahuman beings usually or always do, this change in textual distribution means that first millennium texts are more likely to attribute illness to a suprahuman being than Old Babylonian texts are.

Yet there are several reasons why this should not be taken as evidence that conceptions of illness causality changed. First, one cannot assume that the texts that survive from a particular period are a random sample of the texts used or produced (whether composed, recorded, or copied) in that period. Second, the change in distribution is not one from texts that do not attribute illness to a suprahuman being to texts that do, since Lamaštu incantations are already common in the Old Babylonian period and medical prescriptions become common only later. Last, the change in textual distribution would signify a change in the "importance" (however defined) of different causes of illness only if the sole criterion for choosing what texts to record was the importance of the cause a text attributes an illness to, and this seems unlikely. Indeed, since scribes from different periods recorded texts in different contexts, they may well

also have followed different criteria in choosing what texts to record.<sup>27</sup> In the absence of clear evidence that Babylonians' conceptions of illness causality changed after the Old Babylonian period, there is no reason to assume that the conceptions underlying first millennium medical incantations had become obsolete.

### III. Medical Incantations as *asûtu*?

Because medical incantations often mention Gula and Damu (the gods of healing, and hence *asûtu*) and often appear in medical prescription texts (so-called "*asûtu* texts"), E. Ritter has suggested that they belong specifically to *asûtu* (the lore of the physician), in contrast to other kinds of incantations, which belong to *āšipûtu* (the lore of the exorcist): "[t]he incantations reflecting the classical series, such as those of Falkenstein's 'Marduk-Ea-Typ'...are clearly *āšipûtu*; those invoking Gula, her consort Damu, occasionally Ninurta and Nin-garim...must be ascribed to *asûtu*."<sup>28</sup> Likewise, M. Stol agrees that "the physician (*asû*) had his own incantations," and that "those incantations have a special literary style and a simpler 'theology' which distinguished them from those of the exorcist, the *āšipu*."<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>Old Babylonian scribes apparently recorded texts from the contemporary oral tradition; since there would be little reason to record texts already accessible to everyone, they may have chosen to record only the more esoteric aspects of the oral tradition. Thus medical incantations and Lamaštu incantations may survive in greater numbers from the Old Babylonian period because they were less generally known (and not more "important") than medical prescriptions and diagnostic omens. In contrast, most first millennium texts for treating illness clearly survive as part of a written tradition maintained under the auspices of the "great institutions," such as the palace and temple; thus the contents of this written tradition may have been determined by a group of people who did not represent the general population (e.g., an elite), and who had any number of different aims in recording texts (e.g., comprehensiveness).

<sup>28</sup>Ritter, *Studies Landsberger*, 309.

<sup>29</sup>M. Stol, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 407.



But while the *asû* presumably did sometimes use medical incantations,<sup>30</sup> there is no evidence that they were distinctively *asûtu*, in the sense of reflecting *only* the practices or conceptions of the *asû* (as opposed to, e.g., those of the *āšipû*). It is true that medical incantations do often mention Gula and Damu, and one refers to Gula specifically in her capacity as "mistress of *asûtu*":

*šip[at l]ā paṭāri? šipat Asalluḫi Marduk  
šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti u Gula bēlet asūti  
iddīma anāku ašši*

The incanta[tion that cann]ot be loosened? is the incantation of Asalluḫi, Marduk, It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations, and of Gula, mistress of *asûtu*,  
She cast it and I took it up!

(Eyes 8:6-8)<sup>31</sup>

Yet medical incantations also often mention Ea, Asalluḫi/Marduk, and Ningirima—the gods of magic and hence of *āšipûtu*—and two refer to Asalluḫi/Marduk specifically in his capacity as *āšip ilī* "āšipû of the gods" and *bēl āšipûti* "lord of *āšipûtu*."<sup>32</sup> I therefore suggest that medical incantations mention Gula and Damu not because Gula and Damu are the gods of *asûtu* and medical incantations belong to *asûtu*, but rather because Gula and Damu are the gods of healing and medical incantations' purpose is to heal.

Indeed, the Babylonians themselves apparently considered medical incantations to be *āšipûtu*, since the "Exorcist's Manual," a text that purports to list the titles of works belonging to *āšipûtu*, includes a number of items that correspond to medical

<sup>30</sup>Direct evidence for this is lacking, however; Eyes 1:13 (from MB Ugarit) seems to refer to the person treating the patient simply as *ṛmār ummiāni* "the specialist."

<sup>31</sup>Yet even here *asûtu* more likely means the "craft of healing" (as opposed to the "craft of magic") than the "lore of the *asû*" (as opposed to the "lore of the *āšipû*"); in similar context *bu'sānu* 1:13 replaces *asûtu* with *balātu* "health."

<sup>32</sup>Belly 9:9 (only exemplars A and C; B and E differ, and seem more typical) and Belly 14:6.

incantations.<sup>33</sup> The items *igi-gig-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>* (obv. 16), *zū-gig-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>* (obv. 16), and *šà-gig-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>* (obv. 17) are identical to the rubrics of some medical incantations to treat the eyes, teeth, and belly, respectively.<sup>34</sup> *úš-kir<sub>4</sub>-kud-da* (obv. 18) presumably refers to (or at least includes) medical incantations to stop bleeding (although none that survive happen to bear this exact rubric). *kir<sub>4</sub>-ḥab-dab-ba* (obv. 16) presumably refers to incantations against *bu'sānu* illness, the Sumerian (and Sumerogram) for which is *kir<sub>4</sub>-ḥab*; although no *bu'sānu* incantation bears this rubric, several bear an Akkadian rubric that is similar (*ka-inim-ma bu'sānu iṣbassu*).<sup>35</sup> It is possible that incantations against various illnesses correspond either to the item *tu-ra-kilib-ba* (obv. 9) or the item *tu<sub>6</sub>-tu<sub>6</sub> gig dū-a-bi* (obv. 17).<sup>36</sup> Further, the item *šipir šimmati rimūti u sagalli* "treatment for *šimmatu*, *rimūtu*, and *sagallu* illnesses" (KAR 44 rev. 9 // von Weier Uruk 231:33, under the heading *rēšū iṣkar āšipūti ša Esagil-kin-apli* "titles of the works of *āšipūtu* of Esagil-kin-apli") may subsume incantations against *maškadu* illness, some of which bear the rubric *ka-inim-ma sa-gal-la-kam*.<sup>37</sup> If the identifications proposed here are all correct, the Exorcist's Manual would classify every sizable group of medical incantations as *āšipūtu*.

---

<sup>33</sup>KAR 44 and von Weier Uruk 231; the heading reads: *rēšū iṣkar āšipūti ša ana iḫzi u tāmarti kunnu naḫari MU-ár* "the titles of the works of *āšipūtu*, which have been set down for instruction and reference, ..."; see J. Bottéro, *Mythes et rites de Babylone*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 328 (Geneva: Slatkine, Paris: Champion, 1985), 65-112.

<sup>34</sup>I.e., Eyes 2-4, and passim; Teeth 1 and 2; and Belly 9 (exemplars A and C) and 27 (exemplar A).

<sup>35</sup>E.g., *bu'sānu* 1 (exemplars D and f) and 3 (exemplars D, e, and f).

<sup>36</sup>There are also incantations against "every illness," to which one of these items (probably the latter) presumably refers.

<sup>37</sup>E.g., *maškadu* 4 (exemplar B) and 9.

#### IV. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there is no reason to separate medical incantations from other Babylonian texts on the grounds that medical incantations are folkloric, reflective of only obsolete conceptions, or part of *asûtu*. Lacking clear evidence that medical incantations reflect a cultural tradition separate from that of other Babylonian texts, one must heuristically assume that they all reflect the *same* cultural tradition. One must make this assumption not necessarily because it is likely to be correct—indeed, Babylonians from different times, places, classes, and so forth no doubt had somewhat different cultural conceptions, and it would not be surprising if our sources reflected some of these differences—but rather in order to preserve the impetus to synthesize the often apparently disparate data that our sources provide. If one does not place the burden of proof on claims that a particular text (or kind of text) reflects a separate cultural tradition, then *any* difference among Babylonian texts could be explained away by asserting ad hoc that it is a cultural difference. It seems better to presume that our sources reflect a unitary culture, synthesize our data insofar as it is possible to do so, and mark any differences that remain as problems requiring further study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE USE OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS AS A SOURCE

Before using medical incantations as a source for Babylonian conceptions of illness causality, one must first address when they provide information on an illness's cause, and why they do so; this, in turn, entails a broader discussion of what medical incantations say, and why they were composed to say it. The Babylonians used several kinds of incantations, including Sumerian incantations, gibberish incantations, and Babylonian incantations that resemble prayers (in that they simply appeal to a god to remedy a problem). Most medical incantations, however, are of the kind that either 1) express a problem's remedy by manipulating an analogical or causal relation or 2) consist of parts of incantations that do so. Although scholars have generally assumed that an incantation was composed to say what would make it efficacious, that assumption is difficult to reconcile with what incantations actually say. This chapter argues that a magician believed an incantation would be efficacious not because of what it said, but rather because it came to him from the gods. As a result of this belief, the magician composed an incantation without any conscious design; subconsciously, however, he often expressed the problem's remedy by manipulating an analogical or causal relation, or else he secondarily combined parts of existing incantations. When composing an incantation in this manner, the magician often spontaneously provided information on the problem's cause.

## I. The Content of Incantations

### I.A. Incantations That Manipulate Relations

Many incantations (including many medical incantations) verbally manipulate an analogical or causal relation involving a problem in order to express its remedy. These incantations typically first establish the relation by describing an analogue or cause to the problem, then manipulate the relation by indicating a change in the analogue or cause. The magician apparently assumed (at least for the purposes of the incantation) that the analogical or causal relation was perduring, and thus that by changing the problem's analogue or cause he could change—specifically, he could remedy—the problem itself.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.A.1. The Manipulation of Analogical Relations

An incantation that manipulates an analogical relation typically describes the problem as it was in the (often clearly mythical) past, then describes how someone noticed the problem and offered a remedy for it; for example, a childbirth incantation describes how Šin noticed his cow having a difficult childbirth, and what his servants told him to do to help her:

.....  
*iltēt arḫu ša Šin Geme-Šin šumša*  
*ana ikkiliša ana rigim ḫāliša*  
*Nannaru Šin išteṃi rigimša*

---

<sup>1</sup>Although for the sake of clarity I discuss how incantations manipulate an analogical relation and a causal relation separately, it should be clear from the examples that some incantations manipulate both kinds of relations simultaneously. Interpretations of the manipulation of relations in incantations and rituals from other cultures include J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged ed. (London: Macmillan, 1922; reprint, Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1996), 13-54; S.J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man* n.s. 3 (1968): 175-208, and "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies*, ed. R. Horton and R. Finnegan (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 199-229; W. Nöth, "Semiotics of the Old English Charm," *Semiotica* 19 (1977): 59-83; and K.J. Holyoak and P. Thagard, *Mental Leaps: Analogy in Creative Thought* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995), 230-4.

*mannumma Narundi mannumma Naḥundi  
arḥummi bēli šupšūqat alāda  
bēli mē banduddika ana muḥḥiṣa idima  
ša arḥi Egi-Sīna lippētū pānūša  
lišā kīma ṣerri kīma nirāḥi liššalila  
kīma māqit dūri lēssu ana kutallišu ay iddi*

.....  
There was a particular cow of Sīn, Geme-Sīn was her name;  
At her shout, at the cry of her labor,  
Nannaru-Sīn heard her cry, (and said):

"Who is it, Narundi? Who is it, Naḥundi?" —

"A cow, my lord, she is having difficulty giving birth;

"My lord, throw water from your bucket on her,

"So that the cow Egi-Sīna may become happy,

"(The calf) may come out like a snake, slither out like a little snake,

"(And) like one who has fallen off a wall, not turn its cheek to its rear!"

(Köcher BAM 248 iii 37-45)

Another incantation tells how the demon Lamaštu once attracted the attention of Arūru  
and Anu, who ordered her to be removed:

*mārat Anu ša šamē anā[ku]  
sutāku naggiššāku namurrāku  
bita errub bita ušši  
bilāni mārikina lušēniq  
ana pi mārātikina tulā luštakkan  
išmēma Anu ibakki  
ša Arūru Bēlet-ilī illakā dimāša  
ammīni ša nibnū nuḥallaq  
u ša nušabšū ubbal šāru  
liqēšima ana tām̄ti...ša šadī  
itti bīni aḥi ū kušāri ēdi rukussima*

.....  
*mārat Anu kīma qutri  
ana š[am]ē? liššima lā inaḥḥiṣ*

"I am the daughter of Anu of heaven,

"I am a Sutean, I am..., I am terrifying.

"I enter the house and leave the house (saying)

"Bring me your sons—I want to suckle them!

"I want to place my breast in your daughters' mouths" —

When Anu heard this he wept,

The tears of Arūru, Mistress of the Gods, flowed:

"Why should we destroy what we ourselves have created?

"Why should the wind carry away what we have brought into existence?

"Take her (Lamaštu) to the sea, the...of the mountain

"And bind her to a free-standing tamarisk or a lone reed stalk,

.....

"So that the daughter of Anu, like smoke,  
"Will go up to he[av]en and never return!"

(Lamaštu II 136-50)

By means of stories such as these, a magician improvised an analogical relation between a problem as it is in the present and the same problem as it was in the past, then manipulated the relation by describing the past problem's remedy. The magician apparently assumed that the analogical relation was perduring (in the sense that the two similar problems would remain similar), and thus that describing the problem's remedy in the past would trigger its remedy in the present.<sup>2</sup> This can be represented schematically as:

present-day problem = past problem (analogical relation)  
[problem remedied] << problem remedied (analogical transfer of remedy)

#### I.A.2. The Manipulation of Causal Relations

An incantation that manipulates a causal relation typically describes the problem's cause, then describes how that cause is to be counteracted. For example, an incantation describes a ghost, then expresses the wish that Ea and Asalluḫi will calm it:

*ezzēta šamrāta nadrāta gaššāta gapšāta  
dannāta pašqāta lemnēta ayyābāta  
ša lā Ea mannu unāḫka  
ša lā Asalluḫi mannu ušapšāḫka  
Ea linīḫka Asalluḫi lišapšīḫka*

You are angry, you are fuming, you are terrifying, you are raging, you are mighty  
You are strong, you are difficult, you are evil, you are hostile—  
If not Ea, who can quiet you?  
If not Asalluḫi, who can pacify you?  
May Ea quiet you! May Asalluḫi pacify you!

(Scurlock diss., 248-50:8-13)

An incantation to quiet a crying baby urges the baby to be still:

---

<sup>2</sup>In our own view, of course, the principle that changing a problem's analogue will cause the problem to change is fallacious; the analogical relations that incantations manipulate are not perduring, and changing the problem's analogue simply ends the analogue's analogical relation with the problem.

*āšib ekleti lā āmir nūr Šamsi  
tattašamma tātamar nūr Šam[si]  
[lū] nēhēta kīma mē agammī  
lū šallāta [ki]ma armē ša šabiti  
adi inappaḥu šamšu pāširka*

Dweller in darkness, one who never saw the light of the sun—  
Having (now) come out (from the womb) and seen the light of the su[n],  
[Ma]y you be still like the water of a marsh,  
May you sleep [li]ke the kid of a gazelle,  
Until the sun, the one that will release you (from this incantation), rises!  
(Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, § 40:10-3)

An incantation against rabies calls for the rabid dog's death:

*uggur šēpi[n] aruḥ lasāmam  
bubūtam mād itniš akalam  
ina askuppatim irtanabbis  
ēma iššuk[u m]jerānam izib  
usuḥ šark[a]m ša pāniš[u] u pulḥitam ša šaptišu  
kalbum lim[ūtma] awilum libl[uṭ...]*

(The dog) is twisted in fee[t], swift at running,  
Great in hunger, poor in food,  
It is always lying down on the threshold,  
Whenever it bites, it leaves behind a puppy—  
Remove the pus of hi[s] (the patient's) face and the... of his lips!  
May the dog di[e so that] the man may li[ve...]!

(OECT 11 4:1-13)

A magician sometimes manipulated a causal relation even when he could not identify the problem's exact cause; for example, an incantation against witchcraft calls for demons to pursue an unknown witch:

*attimannu kaššaptu ša tubtana' 'inni ana lemutti taštene' 'inni ana lā tābtī  
tassanaḥḥurinni  
ālki ul idi bitki ul idi šumki ul idi šubatki ul idi  
šēdū liba' 'ūki utukkū lište' 'ūki eṭemmū lissaḥrūki  
.....*

Whoever you are, witch, who keeps seeking me out, searching for me with evil  
intent, turning toward me for no good,  
I do not know your city, I do not know your house, I do not know your name, I do  
not know your dwelling—  
May *šēdu* demons seek you out, may *utukku* demons search for you, may ghosts  
turn toward you!

(Maqlu II 206-12)



A magician sometimes expressed his uncertainty about a problem's cause by listing a number of possibilities; for example, an incantation lists various kinds of ghosts before describing how the one responsible should be held back:

*atta mītu ša ittiya ittanammarū  
lū abu lū ummu lū aḥu lū aḥatu  
lū kimtu lū nišutu lū salātu  
lū eṭemmu qebru lū eṭemmu lā qebru  
lū ša ina šeret ilī lū ina šeret šarri imū[tu]  
lū eṭemmu ša nāq mē lā iṣū  
baltu liklāka ašāgu liklāka zisurrū liklāka*  
.....

You, dead person who is always meeting with me,  
Whether father, mother, brother, or sister,  
Whether kith, kin, or relation,  
Whether a buried person's ghost or an unburied person's ghost,  
Whether one who die[d] by the punishment of a god or by the punishment of a  
king,  
Or a ghost who has no one to libate water for him—  
May the *baltu* thornbush hold you back, may the *ašāgu* thornbush hold you back,  
may the magic circle of flour hold you back!

..... (Scurlock diss., 160-1 i 15'-8')

Certain incantations that manipulate a causal relation (notably medical incantations, but also childbirth incantations and incantations against anger) do not describe the problem's cause literally; rather, they represent it with a figure of speech (i.e., a metaphor or personification), which they then extend in order to express the problem's remedy. For example, an incantation represents anger's cause as a personification of anger's manifestations, then commands the personification to sit down so that the person can pass over it:

*[u]zzum illaka rīmāni  
[iš]tanaḥḥiṭam kalbāni  
kīma nēšim ēzi alākam  
kīma barbarim mali libbātīm  
tašbam kīma askuppatim lubāka*  
.....

Anger comes like a wild bull,  
It jumps back and forth like a dog,  
Like a lion, it is fierce in coming,

Like a wolf, it is full of ferocity—  
 Sit down for me, (so that) I may cross over you like a doorsill

..... (TIM 9 72:1-9)<sup>3</sup>

A medical incantation represents the cause of *kis libbi* (an illness affecting the belly) as a personification of *kis libbi*'s symptoms, then urges the personification to leave people alone:

*dān libbu qarrād libbu*  
*ša libbi arraqā ināšu pursit dāmi našima*  
*irrū sāḥirūtu ullulū ina aḥišu*  
*ē tallik libbu ē tatūra libbu*  
*ana eṭli damqi ana ardati damiqti*  
*uššir eṭlamma bita lipuš*  
*uššir ardatam[m]a qinna liqnun*

.....  
 Strong is Belly, a hero is Belly,  
 Belly's eyes are yellow, it carries bowl(s) of blood,  
 Convoluted intestines hang from its side—  
 You should not go, Belly, you should not return, Belly,  
 To the good young man, to the good young woman!  
 Release the young man (so that) he may build a house!  
 Release the young woman (so that) she may make a household!

..... (Belly 19:1-7)

Chapter Five argues that medical incantations represent an illness's cause with a figure of speech because the illnesses they treat had no definite cause; in order to express the illness's remedy by manipulating a causal relation, the magician first had to improvise a cause for the illness by means of a figure of speech—just as a magician expressing a problem's remedy by manipulating an analogical relation first had to improvise an analogue for the problem by means of an invented analogical story. Whether the causal relation involving a problem is real or improvised, the magician apparently assumed that

---

<sup>3</sup>Edited by R.M. Whiting, ZA 75 (1985): 180ff.

it was perduring, and thus that removing the problem's cause would remove the problem itself.<sup>4</sup> This can be represented schematically as:

cause	»	problem	(causal relation)
cause	»	problem	(removal of cause)
		problem	(removal of problem)

### Excursus: Rituals That Manipulate Relations

Babylonian magical rituals also often manipulate an analogical or causal relation in order to express a problem's remedy. For example, a ritual against witchcraft (which the following incantation verbalizes) first establishes an analogical relation between evil spirits afflicting a person and figurines resembling the evil spirits, then destroys the figurines:

*anašši dipāra šalmānišunu aqallu*  
*ša utukki šēdi rābiši eṭemmi*  
*lamašti labāši aḥḥāzi*  
*līlī līlīti ardat līlī*  
*u mimma lemnu mušabbīt amīlūti*  
*ḥūlā zūbā u itattukā*  
*quturkunu litelli šamē*  
*la' mīkunu liballī šamšu*  
*līprus ḥayyātakunu mār Ea āšipu*

---

<sup>4</sup>Although incantations that manipulate a causal relation may seem more logically sound than those that manipulate an analogical relation—since they often ostensibly command the cause of a problem to leave, which is a possible way of affecting the external world through words (as incantations purport to do)—this greater logical soundness is only apparent. At least to our own understanding, some of the causal relations that Babylonian incantations manipulate are not perduring (e.g., the causal relation between a dog and rabies); thus the principle by which the incantations express their problem's remedy (i.e., removing a problem's cause will remove the problem) is fallacious, even if in most cases it would happen to be effective. Moreover, there is reason to believe that incantations that ostensibly address their problem's cause do so only in apostrophe (i.e., without intending to communicate anything to it). Many incantations address subjects incapable of understanding them, either because they lack the faculty of understanding (e.g., animals, infants, personifications of emotions or illnesses, and objects) or because they were not present to hear the incantation (e.g., witches and persons that love incantations seek to charm). Since many incantations could not communicate with the subjects they address, even incantations that address subjects capable of understanding them (e.g., ghosts and evil spirits) presumably were not intended to communicate anything to them.

I am lifting the torch and setting fire to the figurines,  
 Which represent the *utukku* demon, the *sēdu* demon, the *rābiṣu* demon, the ghost,  
 The *lamaštu* demon, the *labāṣu* demon, the *aḥḥāzu* demon,  
 The *lilū* demon, the *lilitu* demon, the *ardat lilī* demon,  
 And anything evil that seizes mankind—  
 Dissolve, flow away, drip away drop by drop!  
 May your smoke go up to heaven!  
 May the sun extinguish your embers!  
 May the son of Ea, the *āšipu*, cut off your "watcher!"

(Maqlu I 135-43)

The magician apparently assumed that both the analogical relation between the evil spirits and the figurines, and the causal relation between the evil spirits and the problem, were perduring, and thus that destroying the figurines would destroy the evil spirits, and destroying the evil spirits would remove the problem. This can be represented schematically as:

<u>evil spirits</u>	=	<u>figurines</u>	(analogical relation)
[ <del>evil spirits</del> ]	<	<del>figurines</del>	(analogical transfer of destruction)

and further:

evil spirits	»	problem	(causal relation)
<del>evil spirits</del>	»	problem	(removal of cause)
		<del>problem</del>	(removal of problem)

Magical rituals also sometimes manipulate a contiguous relation; the magician apparently assumed that two things that were in contact remain in contact, and thus that by affecting the one he could affect the other.<sup>5</sup> Incantations do not manipulate contiguous relations, however, presumably because as a spatial relationship contiguity is less suited to verbal manipulation.

### I.B. Incantations That Do Not Manipulate Relations

Other incantations do not express a problem's remedy by manipulating a relation, but nevertheless seem to consist of parts of incantations that do so. Some

---

<sup>5</sup>The manipulation of contiguous relations underlies, e.g., a sorcerer's use of a person's hair, spittle, and so forth as a means of harming him.

incantations describe the problem's cause as if to establish an analogical or causal relation, but then say nothing at all about the problem's remedy; for example, an incantation against rabies merely describes the dog that caused the rabies:

*[ar]uḥ birkīn dān lasāmam  
[pag]il kabbartīn mali ir[tam]  
[š]elli dūrim muzzazušu askuppatum narbašušu  
ina pišu naši nilšu ašar iššuku mārašu izib*

[It is sw]ift-legged, strong in running,  
[Powe]rful of foot, full-che[sted];  
[The s]hade of the wall is its station, the threshold is its lair;  
It carries its semen in its mouth, wherever it bit, it left a son

(VAS 17 8:1-6)

A medical incantation merely represents the cause of *kis libbi* as a personification of its symptoms:

*libbumma libbu  
libbu dān libbu qarrād  
kima nēši mali puluḥ[ta]  
kima barbari lakāda uššur*

It is Belly, Belly,  
Belly is strong, Belly is a hero,  
Like a lion it is filled with fearsomene[ss],  
Like a wolf it ranges freely

(Belly 16:59-60)

Some incantations describe the problem as it was in the past as if to establish an analogical relation, but then drop the analogical relation and express the problem's remedy in the present; for example, an incantation against nasal or vaginal bleeding describes how the gods once noticed a man and woman bleeding, but then appeals to a god in the present:

*mimmū ilū ibnū amilūti  
[Bēlet-i]lī dāmšina ibni  
[īmu]ršinātima Ea ibakki  
[ana lēt]i Mami illakā dimāša  
[...i]lsūni? ili kalama  
[...] Istar Bēlet-ilī Samaš u Gula  
[...ša] eḫli ina appišu u ša ardati ina ūriša  
ittanattuk]ū [u itt]anallakū dāmūšu dimāšu  
ittanattuk u ittanallak*

.....  
*atta ilu ša... amilūti*  
*elima ana šamē šūrida kunuk Anu*  
*ša zikari rukus qaqqassu*  
*ša sinniṣti eli lā dumuq ūriša idā šipassa*  
*mimma ša illaku damiqtaša liqbi*

All the gods made mankind,  
 (But) [Bēlet-i]li made their blood;  
 Ea [sa]w them (mankind) and began to cry,  
 Tears came [to] Mami's c[heeks],  
 [...they ca]lled? all of the gods,  
 [...], Iṣtar, Bēlet-ilī, Šamaš, and Gula, (saying):  
 "[...] the young man[']s from his nose, and the young woman's from her vagina,  
 "Their blood continually drips and flows, their tears  
 "Continually drip and flow"—

.....  
 You, god who...of mankind,  
 Go up to heaven and bring down the seal of Anu!  
 Bind the man's head!  
 Put a sealing upon the disorder of the woman's vagina!  
 May he put in a good word for her, whatever is appropriate!

(Bleeding 1:1-17)

The content of other incantations is more difficult to characterize; a medical incantation against sick eyes, for example, begins with several lines of quasi-Sumerian gibberish, then represents the cause of the eye illness figuratively, and then drops the causal relation and simply indicates that the daughters of Anu should remedy the illness:

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*  
*igi-ḫul igi-ḫul-ḫul igi-bar-ra ḫul-ḫu[l]*  
*šitta šina mārāt Anu*  
*ina bērušina pitiqtu patqa[t]*  
*ul illak aḫatu ana lēt aḫatiša*  
*manna lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē*  
*liššāni kannišina ḫulāla karpātīšina zagindurā ebba*  
*liššāpānimma libillā inī abāti inī ašāti u dalḫāti*

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*  
*igi-ḫul igi-ḫul-ḫul igi-bar-ra ḫul-ḫu[l]*  
 They are two, they are daughters of Anu;  
 Between them a wall has been mad[e], (and so)  
 Sister cannot go to sister—  
 Whom shall I send to the daughters of Anu of heaven,  
 (So that) they may take up their vessels of *ḫulālu* stone and their pots of shining  
 greenish lapis lazuli,

Draw (water) repeatedly and (thereby) extinguish (the illness affecting) the clouded eyes, the blurred and confused eyes?

(Eyes 4:1-8)

An incantation's meaning cannot have been generated randomly; if the incantation's meaning was generated when it was composed, it must have been composed according to some principle. Yet it is impossible to infer a finite set of principles by which all these incantations could have been composed. I therefore suggest that the incantations' meaning was *not* generated when they were composed. Chapter Three has already shown that many incantations (including both those that manipulate a relation and those that do not) consist of a string of conventional elements; these elements often describe a problem's cause, the problem as it occurred in the past, the problem's remedy, and so forth. Most such elements were presumably first generated when a magician expressed the problem's remedy by manipulating a relation, since that context best accounts for their meaning.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, however, magicians apparently took elements out of their original context and combined them to form new incantations.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes elements were combined in such a way that the new incantation also expressed a problem's remedy by manipulating a relation; other times, however, elements were combined more or less haphazardly, so that the new

---

<sup>6</sup>Other elements (e.g., those that consist of gibberish words or appeal to the gods) were presumably generated in a different context.

<sup>7</sup>The incantations are unlikely to have come to consist of parts of other incantations because of corruption within the written tradition; although such corruption might garble words or phrases, it would be unlikely to drop entire parts, or conflate parts of different incantations. Further, incantations consist of standard elements already in the Old Babylonian period, before incantations had long been transmitted in writing. As discussed in Chapter Three, composing an incantation out of parts of others is exactly what one would expect of a magician working within an oral tradition.

incantation merely described the problem's cause, analogue, or remedy, and so forth—without expressing the problem's remedy by manipulating a relation.<sup>8</sup>

## II. The Content of Incantations as a Means to Efficacy

Why would a magician have composed an incantation to express a problem's remedy by manipulating an analogical or causal relation, or out of parts of such incantations? Without necessarily analyzing the content of incantations as is done here, both Assyriologists and scholars studying similar incantations from other cultures have generally assumed that a magician composed an incantation to say what he thought would make it efficacious; in other words, they have assumed that an incantation's content was intended to be the means by which it achieved its purpose. Scholarly discussions of incantations can be divided into three groups, depending on whether they assume an incantation's content was intended to make the incantation efficacious psychologically (i.e., by affecting a person's mind), theurgically (i.e., by persuading a god to intervene), or magically (i.e., by directly affecting the external world). I first offer a critique of such discussions, then suggest that one can more plausibly account for the content of incantations if one assumes it was *not* intended to make the incantations efficacious.

### II.A. Content as a Means to Psychological Efficacy

It is generally accepted that incantations do sometimes "work," in the sense that reciting one will actually result in a problem's remedy; for example, reciting an incantation over an ill person will often cure him of his illness. Since an incantation

---

<sup>8</sup>There are also borderline cases; many incantations manipulate a relation, but also include extraneous elements (e.g., Belly 19), or manipulate a relation without first establishing it (e.g., Belly 1, Lamaštu II 1-26, and C. Wilcke, ZA 75 (1985): 200-1, ll. 38-40).



presumably does not work magically, it must work psychologically: reciting the incantation induces a positive change in the patient's mind, which somehow leads to his problem's remedy. Furthermore, scholars studying incantations from other cultures have often pointed out that some incantations follow principles similar to those underlying certain modern methods of inducing a psychological change. C. Lévi-Strauss, for example, has compared the Kuna Indians' use of an incantation that manipulates a causal relation to psychoanalysis: "the shamanistic cure [of which the incantation is a part] lies on the borderline between our contemporary physical medicine and such psychological therapies as psychoanalysis.... [It] seems to be the exact counterpart to the psychoanalytic cure, but with an inversion of all the elements. Both cures aim at inducing an experience, and both succeed by recreating a myth which the patient has to live or relive."<sup>9</sup> Likewise, W. Nöth has shown that an Old English charm that manipulates an analogical relation follows the same principle of suggestion that some modern advertisements use to persuade a consumer to buy a product.<sup>10</sup> More generally, some forms of alternative healing and popular psychology claim that merely describing a problem and then imagining how it could be remedied (as many incantations do) is an effective remedy.<sup>11</sup> Since incantations can have a psychological effect on a patient and sometimes apparently follow psychological principles, it may seem reasonable to assume that a magician intentionally composed an incantation according to psychological principles, so that it would induce a psychological effect.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Effectiveness of Symbols," chap. in *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 198-9.

<sup>10</sup>W. Nöth, *Semiotica* 19 (1977): 75-6.

<sup>11</sup>J. Achterberg, *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985), 105ff.

<sup>12</sup>E.g., according to S.J. Tambiah, *Man* n.s. 3 (1968): 202, "it is possible to argue that all ritual [including incantations], whatever the idiom, is addressed to the

Yet one cannot assume that any incantation has a psychological effect on a patient *because of its content*. The incantation could remedy the patient's problem by means of the "placebo effect," whose cause is precisely not the treatment's content, but rather the patient's belief that the treatment will work; a patient who believes in an incantation's efficacy may experience a placebo effect whether the incantation's content follows modern psychological principles or is complete gibberish.

Moreover, even if a Babylonian incantation's content did have a psychological effect on a patient, there would be several reasons to doubt that a magician intended for it to do so. First, taken at face value our sources suggest that the Babylonians thought incantations changed the external world, not just a person's perception of it. Second, an incantation's content can have a psychological effect only if the patient understands the incantation;<sup>13</sup> yet the ethnographic record shows that in many cases a patient does not understand it—either because its language is obscure, the magician recites it inaudibly, or the patient lacks the faculty of understanding—and this was probably true among the Babylonians as well.<sup>14</sup> Last, if magicians intentionally composed incantations

---

human participants and uses a technique which attempts to re-structure and integrate the minds and emotions of the actors." According to W. Nöth, *Semiotica* 19 (1977): 74, "[i]n its deep structure every [Old English] charm is evidently directed towards a human addressee, the patient.... This message for the patient has a psychotherapeutic function." According to P. Michalowski, "The Early Mesopotamian Incantation Tradition," in *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (Quaderni di Semitistica, 18), ed. P. Fronzaroli (Florence: Dipartimento di Linguistica, Università di Firenze, 1992), 308: "The very structure of [Sumerian and Akkadian] incantation texts may have been functionally determined, and therefore the poetics of these texts may have to be studied in the context of possible psychosomatic effects."

<sup>13</sup>Although a person could in a sense find an incantation "meaningful" without understanding it, he would not find its *content* meaningful. On the other hand, if one argues that an incantation's content was meant to be psychologically efficacious without having any specific meaning, why would so many incantations' content be meaningful in similar ways?

<sup>14</sup>See J.L. McCreery, "Potential and Effective Meaning in Therapeutic Ritual," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 3 (1979): 53-72. According to D.S. Gardner, "Performativity in Ritual: The Mianmin Case," *Man* n.s. 18 (1983): 352, Mianmin initiation rituals "are thought to be effective regardless of their capacity to produce

according to psychological principles, one would expect them to do so consistently; yet the Babylonians (like many other peoples) used incantations that do not seem to follow any psychological principle, or even make any sense. Thus while an incantation might sometimes have induced a psychological effect, the desire for this effect is unlikely to have been the factor that determined the incantation's content.

## II.B. Content as a Means to Theurgical Efficacy

As mentioned above, some Babylonian incantations resemble prayers, in that they simply appeal to a god to remedy the problem; for example, an incantation against a ghost appeals to Girra:

*Girra gašrāta nandurāta*  
 [tuštēšer] ili u malki tadān dīna ša ḥabli u ḥabilti  
 [ina dīniya] izizzamma kīma Šamaš qurādi dīni di[n] purussāya purus  
 [eṭemma lemna] ina zumriya usuḥma dalīli ilūtika rabīti ludlul

Girra, you are mighty, you are furious,  
 [You make] gods and *malku* demons [go aright], you judge the case of the wronged  
 man and woman—  
 Stand by me [in my case] and, like the hero Šamaš, [jud]ge my case! Make the  
 decision about me!  
 Remove [the evil ghost] from my body so that I may praise your great divinity!  
 (Scurlock diss., 256 and 259:27-30)

---

anything that might be called a cognitive change in the initiands. For although some rituals do contain expository sequences, it is not necessary for initiands to comprehend their propositional content"; see also S.J. Tambiah, *Man* n.s. (1968): 179; J. Sherzer, *Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 133-4; and S. Howell, "Formal Speech Acts as One Discourse," *Man* n.s. 21 (1986): 96-7. P. Michalowski, "Orality and Literacy and Early Mesopotamian Literature," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. M.E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 245, suggests that only a Mesopotamian who had been "trained in literacy" would have been able to understand Standard Babylonian, the literary dialect in which Babylonian incantations from the first millennium are written. The Babylonians also used incantations to treat infants or livestock, who could not have understood any incantation (e.g., Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, passim (infants), and Various Illnesses 5 and CT 4 8a (livestock)).

A potency incantation appeals to Adad:

*Adad gugal šamē mār Anu pāris purussē ša kiššat niši lamassi māti  
ina qibītika širti ša lā uttakkaru u annika kīnim ša lā innennū  
annanna mār annanna ana annannīti mārat annannīti li-e-gu-ug limḥaṣ lirkab u  
lišērib*

Adad, canal inspector of heaven, son of Anu, who makes the decisions concerning  
all people, the protective spirit of the land,  
At your exalted command that cannot be changed and your firm affirmation that  
cannot be altered,  
May So-and-so, son of So-and-so, become excited?, approach, mount, and  
penetrate So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so!

(Biggs, *Šaziga*, 42:6-12)

Moreover, even some incantations that do not resemble prayers—including some that  
express a problem's remedy by manipulating a relation, or consist of parts of  
incantations that do so—still appeal to a god in passing; for example, a medical  
incantation against *bu'sānu* illness includes an appeal to Gula:

*Gula bulliṭīma qīšatki liqē*  
Gula, heal (the patient) and take your gift!

(*bu'sānu* 1:14)

A medical incantation against a sty includes an appeal to Šamaš and Sīn:

*Šamaš u Sīn išizzānimma mir'u līlā*  
Stand by me, Šamaš and Sīn, so that the kernel of grain (i.e., the sty) may come up  
(out of the eye)!

(Eyes 14:11)

Because many incantations appeal to a god for help, some scholars have  
assumed that an incantation's content was intended to make it efficacious theurgically  
(i.e., by persuading a god to intervene). For example, while J. Bottéro admits that the  
content of many incantations and rituals "n'avaient de sens que si elles aboutissaient,  
*par elles-mêmes*, à supprimer le mal contre lequel on luttait," he nevertheless maintains  
that "dans notre littérature presque entière, c'est, de toute évidence, sur l'entremise des  
*dieux seuls* que l'on comptait pour obtenir ce résultat."<sup>15</sup> And according to N.

<sup>15</sup>J. Bottéro, RLA 7 (1987-1990): 209.

Veldhuis, "an incantation is...meant...to convince some deity of the need to provide help....The effectivity of an incantation is related to its persuasive power."<sup>16</sup>

Incantations that simply appeal to a god for help were presumably intended to be theurgically efficacious; but what about other incantations, which appeal to a god only in passing or not at all? If these incantations also were intended to persuade a god, one would have to infer that "magic does not use the same arguments as the debater and it differs in its rhetorical tactics."<sup>17</sup> Since the rhetorical tactics magic putatively uses can only be inferred from what incantations say, one could assert that anything an incantation says was—according to the rhetoric of magic—persuasive to a god.<sup>18</sup> Yet in order to account for everything incantations say, the gods would have had to find many things persuasive—including manipulating a relation, describing a problem, its cause, how it occurred in the past, how it should be remedied, and even speaking

---

<sup>16</sup>N. Veldhuis, OLP 24 (1993): 60; cf. Veldhuis, *Cow of Sin*, 58: "An incantation is intended to influence a god, a demon, an illness."

<sup>17</sup>Veldhuis, *Cow of Sin*, 58. Bottéro maintains that although in historical times the Babylonians thought that magic worked by persuading a god to help, at a much earlier time (the end of the fourth millennium or the beginning of the third millennium) they had thought that magic worked automatically, without the gods' involvement. Bottéro posits that the Babylonians continued to use the old forms of magic even with their new theurgical conception of how magic worked: "le rituel de la Théurgie élaboré d'abord dans un régime où il devait être agissant par soi-même: un régime de Magie. Le passage de celle-ci à celle-là n'a donc fait, essentiellement, que transposer les rites de la première dans le contexte de la seconde, ce qui, tout en les conservant, leur conférait un tout autre sens" (J. Bottéro, RLA 7 [1987-90]: 209). Bottéro's position seems to be that although Babylonian magicians intended for their incantations to be efficacious by persuading a god to help, they did not always compose them to say things that would be persuasive to a god.

<sup>18</sup>Thus according to N. Veldhuis, OLP 24 (1993): 60, certain Old Babylonian incantations (against the "Heart Grass," "Worm," and "Sty," respectively) structure information about their problem in the form of a chain because their persuasive power "is to be found in the description of the problem, expressed in the form of a chain. The compelling logic of catenation itself presents the irresistible advance of Heart Grass throughout the cosmos, or the ultimate origin of Worm and Sty in divine creation. The alleged coherence of the world is presented as a threat, so that no deity can remain uninvolved."

gibberish. Further, since incantations resembling prayers seek to persuade gods according to conventional principles of rhetoric (i.e., by directly appealing to them for help), one would have to explain why only some incantations use special rhetorical tactics.

In fact, incantations have been said to follow a special rhetoric only because what many incantations say is incompatible with the assumption that they were intended to persuade a god to intervene. Yet Babylonian texts often portray gods themselves using incantations; since it is unlikely that a god used an incantation to persuade another god to help him, or that gods were portrayed using incantations in a way at odds with the Babylonians' own understanding of how incantations were efficacious, the Babylonians themselves apparently thought an incantation could be efficacious without securing a god's intervention. I therefore suggest that some incantations make little or no attempt to persuade a god to intervene because they were not intended to be theurgically efficacious.<sup>19</sup>

### II.C. Content as a Means to Magical Efficacy

Assyriologists have often assumed that a magician intended an incantation's content to make it magically efficacious. J. Bottéro, for example, states that incantations and magical rituals manipulate analogical relations because "...l'on imaginait les choses beaucoup plus solidaires entre elles que nous l'estimons, liées par une sorte d'affinité...Le même lien foncier pouvait faire une identité de toute ressemblance: en brûlant une effigie, c'est son modèle que l'on réduisait du coup au néant."<sup>20</sup> E. von

---

<sup>19</sup>I leave aside the question of why some medical incantations do appeal to a god in passing; for the present it is enough to point out that most such appeals appear at the end of first millennium incantations, and may be later accretions. Note also that incantations resembling prayers do not become common until the first millennium.

<sup>20</sup>J. Bottéro, RLA 7 (1987-90): 206-7.

Weiber suggests that many Sumerian and Babylonian incantations describe the "evil" afflicting a person because the Sumerians and Babylonians believed that describing the evil enabled an incantation to overcome it: "Dieses Übel muss zunächst—das darf wohl als Grundprinzip der Beschwörungen gelten—'beschrieben' werden, d.h. es muss gesagt werden, 'was' das Übel ist" so that "das Wesen...des Übels zu erfassen...Die Beschwörung ist ja auf das Ziel ausgerichtet, von einem Übel zu befreien. Um dieses zu erreichen, muss man erst dessen Wesen kennen...Wenn man also den Namen der Krankheit weiss, kann man dagegen die magische Kraft der Beschwörung zur Anwendug bringen."<sup>21</sup> And E. Reiner suggests that one incantation identifies an "evil" by its "true name" because in Babylonian magic "only the invocation of the 'true' name can affect the evil."<sup>22</sup>

It is unclear how a magician thought an incantation's content was to make it magically efficacious. To say that he thought the incantation's content alone made it efficacious is implausible, since it implies that he believed he could change the external world simply by expressing the wish to do so.<sup>23</sup> In fact, the claim seems to be merely that the magician thought an incantation's content made it magically efficacious either in combination with other factors or when said within the context of an incantation. Yet this begs the question. If the magician did not think the incantation's content made it efficacious on its own account, why would he think its content contributed to its efficacy in combination with other factors? Or, if he thought the incantation's content

---

<sup>21</sup>von Weiber Uruk 2, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup>E. Reiner, "Nocturnal Talk," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 37), ed. T. Abusch, et al. (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), 424 n. 18; but cf. comment to *maškadu* 3:17.

<sup>23</sup>For a critique of theories that posit a "magical attitude to words" as the underpinning of an incantation's efficacy, see S.J. Tambiah, *Man* n.s. 3 (1968): 186-8.

was efficacious because of the incantation's status qua incantation, why would he compose the incantation to manipulate a relation, describe the cause of the problem, and so forth, instead of baldly stating what he wanted to happen? The claim that the Babylonians believed that what incantations say could change the external world (whether alone or in combination with other factors) is a strong one, and one should require correspondingly strong evidence for it. Yet there is none; various counterintuitive beliefs have been imputed to the Babylonians solely in order to reconcile what incantations say with the scholarly assumption that an incantation's content was intended to directly affect the external world.

### III. The Content of Incantations as Incidental to Efficacy

Incantations themselves raise the possibility that a magician thought an incantation would be efficacious regardless of what he composed it to say, *solely* because it came to him from the gods. In many incantations, the magician states explicitly that the incantation had a divine origin;<sup>24</sup> for example, an incantation against toothache concludes:

*šiptum ul yattum šipat Damu u Gula*  
*Damu [i]ddīma anāku elqe*

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 Damu [c]ast (it) and I took (it)

(Teeth 4:8)<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>For the idea that the Babylonians thought that lore, including magical lore, came from the gods, see W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 16 (1962): 72-3 and J. Paul, "Mesopotamian Ritual Texts and the Concept of the Sacred in Mesopotamia," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1992, 172ff.

<sup>25</sup>For the *šiptu ul yattu* formula see W.G. Lambert, JCS 16 (1962): 72-3, and Paul, "Ritual Texts," 197ff.; although Lambert believes that incantations come from the gods, he does not think that the *šiptu ul yattu* formula is meant to indicate divine authorship, at least in part because that would mean that an incantation could have several different authors. I do not believe that multiple authorship of incantations



An incantation to quiet a crying baby concludes:

*šiptu ul ya[tt]ju [ši]pat Ea u Asalluḫi  
 šipat Damu u Gula  
 šipat Ningirima bēlet [šipti]  
 sunu iqbūnimma anāku ušanni*

The incantation is not m[in]e, it is [the in]cantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,  
 It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of [incantations];  
 They told (it) to me and I repeated (it)

(Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, § 32:12-5)

An incantation to treat a sick belly is:

*ša Marduk ina mātim ušabšū*  
 One which Marduk caused to exist in the land

(Belly 6:4-5)

An incantation against "every illness" begins:

*luddikum šiptam ṭāridat kala murš[i] ša Enlilbanda iškunu*  
 I will cast for you an incantation that drives out every illnes[s], which Enlilbanda  
 has provided

(CT 42 32:1-2)<sup>26</sup>

Magicians also apparently referred to an incantation's divine origin more obliquely, by using the enclitic particle *-mi* to mark the incantation as a direct quotation.<sup>27</sup> In light of the many explicit statements that incantations come from the gods, the magician's use of the *-mi* particle presumably reflects his belief that the words of the incantation are not his own, but the gods', which in composing the incantation he has repeated verbatim.<sup>28</sup>

---

would have been a problem for the Babylonians, however, and in my opinion the *šiptu ul yattu* formula is certainly meant to indicate that the incantation comes from the gods.

<sup>26</sup>Edited by W. von Soden, Review of CT 42, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18 (1961): 71-3; see also A.R. George, "Ea in Hiding," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1995/68.

<sup>27</sup>E.g., Eyes 15:1, 9, and 14; *urbatu* 1:67; and Belly 2:56.

<sup>28</sup>B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, *JNES* 14 (1955): 21, identified *-mi* as the particle indicating direct speech, but interpreted its significance differently; their rather vague translation, "they tell," has been widely adopted. Within the written tradition of the first millennium, the original significance of *-mi* in incantations may have been lost; see W. Farber, "*qanu'ummi qanu'um*," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1996/80. A text that identifies the authors of many literary works may have indicated

A magician's belief that his incantation came from the gods makes it unnecessary to assume that he thought the incantation's content would make it efficacious; he may have thought it would be efficacious solely because the gods had established it in an intrinsically efficacious form.<sup>29</sup>

If a magician thought an incantation would be efficacious solely because it came from the gods, what would he compose it to say? Since he thought the incantation would be efficacious regardless of its content, he had no reason to compose it to say anything in particular. Indeed, since any contribution a human magician made to a divinely composed incantation presumably could only detract from its efficacy, the magician had good reason *not* to compose it to say anything in particular. The magician may well have viewed himself as merely a conduit for the putatively divinely composed text, and for that reason composed it "off the top of his head," without any conscious design. On the other hand, the magician may have subconsciously expressed whatever he did compose the incantation to say in a special style, in order to mark it as divinely inspired speech.<sup>30</sup>

---

the divine origin of incantations explicitly, by attributing *āšipūtu* (the lore of the exorcist, which included medical incantations) to Ea, but the text is broken and *āšipūtu* is almost wholly restored; see W.G. Lambert, JCS 16 (1962): p. 64, l. i 1-4.

<sup>29</sup>The Babylonians would not have been alone in thinking that their incantations or rituals were efficacious regardless of their content. According to D.S. Gardner, *Man* n.s. 18 (1983): 354, the Mianmins' belief in the efficacy of their initiation rituals derives from "the[ir] belief that the initiators act through and on behalf of the ancestors." According to S. Howell, *Man* n.s. 21 (1986): 94, the Chewong believe that their spells' "power does not depend upon their being understood but in their being uttered correctly. Thus, possession of knowledge—as represented in spells—is demonstrated by knowing what to say regardless of understanding. Chewong spells are an example of words as objects, or as actors, not as meaning makers." Although for our purposes it is enough to say that an incantation was thought to be efficacious because it came from the gods, this is probably a rationalization of Babylonian culture; the belief in an incantation's efficacy may ultimately rest on the tautology that incantations are efficacious because they are magic.

<sup>30</sup>For the form of ritual language in general, see J.W. Du Bois, "Self-Evidence and Ritual Speech," in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, ed. W. Chafe and J. Nichols (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1986), 313-36, and W. Keane,

A magician composing an incantation without any conscious design still had to say something, and I would suggest that subconsciously he said certain things rather than others. On the one hand, the magician sometimes subconsciously expressed what he wanted the incantation to achieve—namely, the remedy of the problem.<sup>31</sup> In order to mark the incantation as divine speech, however, he did not express the problem's remedy baldly; rather, he expressed it in poetic language, with more or less elaborate descriptions of the problem and its remedy, and by manipulating a relation involving the problem. On the other hand, the magician also sometimes subconsciously strung together parts of other incantations he had heard, so that his incantation would "sound like" what he thought a divinely composed incantation should sound like. Although the resulting incantation did not always coherently express the problem's remedy, that would not have detracted from its efficacy—indeed, the incantation's incoherence might have further marked it as divinely composed, intrinsically efficacious speech.

#### IV. Conclusion

Although the interpretation that a magician composed an incantation subconsciously cannot be proven, it plausibly accounts for what incantations say, without either needlessly multiplying the principles by which they were composed or imputing to the Babylonians any otherwise unattested, counterintuitive beliefs. A

---

"Religious Language," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 47-71. Neo-Assyrian prophecies (which also purport to be divine speech) are also marked by a special style; according to S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies*, State Archives of Assyria, 9 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997), lxvii, although the prophecies "were written down from oral performance and apparently not subjected to any substantial editing," "the diction of the oracles [is at] a surprisingly high stylistic level," in that "the oracles are half prose, half poetry, characterized by rhythmically structured passages and the use of rich religious imagery, mythological allusions, metaphors and similes."

<sup>31</sup>E.M. Ahern, "The Problem of Efficacy: Strong and Weak Illocutionary Acts," *Man* n.s. 14 (1979): 1-17, discusses the continuity between wishes and magical acts.

magician composing an incantation subconsciously would have no reason to misrepresent the problem's cause; indeed, he would provide information on it only spontaneously. Thus if the interpretation given here is correct, the information an incantation provides on a problem's cause can be assumed to accurately reflect the magician's own conception of it. And even if the interpretation is not correct, the preceding discussion still does not offer any reason to assume the magician misrepresented the problem's cause.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CAUSALITY OF ILLNESS IN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

As shown in the previous chapter, there are certain contexts in which Babylonian incantations indicate a problem's cause. Although incantations against most problems identify a problem's literal cause (i.e., a suprahuman being, human, or animal), medical incantations represent an illness's cause with a figure of speech (i.e., a metaphor or personification). An analysis of these figures shows that they represent an illness's cause only indirectly, by identifying its symptoms or name with something else so as to imply a cause by analogy; as a result, they do not represent any conception of what caused the illness that could be restated in literal terms. Thus where other incantations express a substantive conception of a problem's cause, medical incantations do not. This omission is significant; by failing to identify an illness's cause where one can reasonably expect them to, medical incantations imply that the illness had no definite cause.

#### I. Figures of Illness In Medical Incantations

A salient feature of medical incantations is that most represent an illness figuratively, by which I mean as something that in some way resembles the illness but which comes from a different domain of experience. For example, vaginal bleeding is represented as a river flowing off course:

*[n]ār sām̄ti dām̄ša atap sām̄ti?  
[ta]mmerta? sām̄ta mû ubbalû*

Her blood is a carnelian [r]iver, a carnelian? canal,  
The water is carrying away the carnelian [me]adow?—

(Bleeding 2:1-2)

Toothache is represented as a worm gnawing on a person's tooth: (a worm entered a person's mouth and)

*iššuk šira ihp[i?] ešemta*  
It bit the flesh, it bro[ke?] the bone

(Teeth 2:4)

A sty is represented as a kernel of grain getting into a person's eye: (when the gods were harvesting grain)

*ana in eṭli mir'u iterub*  
A kernel got into the eye of a young man

(Eyes 14:10)

*urbatu* (an illness whose symptoms apparently included retaining water and swelling) is represented as a river swelling with red water:

*u[rb]atu urbatu*  
*urbatu sām̄tu itbām̄ma urpata sām̄ta iktum*  
*zunnu sām̄mu itbī[m]a erṣeta sām̄ta irḫu*  
*milu sām̄mu itbīma nāra sām̄ta imla*

*u[rb]atu, urbatu,*  
The red *urbatu* rose up and covered the red cloud,  
The red rain rose up [a]nd poured down on the red earth,  
The red flood rose up and swelled the red river

(*urbatu* 1:65-6)

When these incantations are examined together, it becomes clear that they should not be taken literally, as asserting that bleeding is a river flowing off course, a toothache is a worm gnawing on a person's tooth, a sty is a kernel getting into a person's eye, or *urbatu* is a red river swelling; rather, they must be taken figuratively, as asserting merely that the illnesses are in some way comparable to those things.

The first step in understanding why medical incantations represent illness with a figure of speech is to determine what the figures were meant to represent—the illness as a whole, or only its symptoms or its cause? The difficulty is that most figures represent

the illness's symptoms and cause together; for example, the river flowing off course represents bleeding's symptom as the river, and its cause as the river's propensity to break through a dike; the worm represents toothache's symptom as the sensation caused by the worm's gnawing, and its cause as the worm itself; the kernel of grain represents the sty's symptoms as the kernel's appearance and sensation in the eye, and its cause as the kernel's propensity to fly through the air and get into a person's eye; the red river swelling represents *urbatu*'s symptoms of retaining water and swelling as the swollen red river, and its cause as the cloud that releases the red rain and swells the river.

Yet context makes it clear that the figures were specifically meant to represent an illness's cause. As shown in Chapter Four, many incantations express a problem's remedy by manipulating a causal or an analogical relation involving the problem; in establishing the causal and sometimes the analogical relation, these incantations identify the problem's cause. Medical incantations likewise often express an illness's remedy by manipulating a causal or an analogical relation involving the illness; in establishing the causal and sometimes the analogical relation, however, medical incantations represent the illness with a figure of speech. For example, a medical incantation that manipulates a causal relation first represents *bu'sānu* figuratively as a being, then commands it to leave:

*bu'sānu dān šibissu  
kima n[ēš]i napšāra iṣbat  
kima barbari iṣṣabat nurza  
iṣbat nu[rub appi] iṣṣabat lišāna  
ina imbūb ḥašē ittadi kussiṣu  
ṣi bu'sānu ul šibitka  
.....*

*Bu'sānu*, strong is its grasp,  
It seized the uvula like a [i]o]n,  
It seized the *nurzu* like a wolf,  
It seized the moi[st part of the nose], it seized the tongue,  
It set up its chair in the windpipe—

Go out, *Bu'sānu*! He (the patient) is not yours to seize!

.....

(*bu'sānu* 1:1-6)

A medical incantation that manipulates an analogical relation first represents *martu* as a yellow she-goat, then tells how a shepherd once drove it away:

*enzu arqat aruq māruša*  
*aruq rē'īša aruq nāqissa*  
*ina ēki arqi šammī arqūti ikkal*  
*ina atappi aruqti mē arqūti išatti*  
*issukši ḥaṭṭa ul utirra pānīša*  
*issukši kirbāna ul ušaqqā rēšīša*  
*issukši pillū? ḥašā u ṭabta*  
*martu kīma imbari ana šahāḥi itbi*

The she-goat is yellow, its offspring is yellow,  
 Its shepherd is yellow, its herdsman is yellow,  
 In the yellow plot of land it is eating yellow grass,  
 From the yellow canal it is drinking yellow water—  
 He (the shepherd) threw a staff at it, but it did not turn its face,  
 He threw a clod of dirt at it, but it did not raise its head,  
 He threw *pillū*? plant, *ḥašū* plant, and salt at it,  
 And *martu* rose up like fog to become nothing

(*martu* 2:45-8)<sup>1</sup>

Medical incantations may also represent an illness with a figure of speech outside of any coherent context, just as other incantations may identify a problem's cause outside of any coherent context; Chapter Four has argued that such incantations were composed by combining elements from other incantations more or less haphazardly. Since other incantations identify a problem's cause in the same contexts that figures of illness appear, the figures were presumably meant to represent the illness's cause, and represent its symptoms only incidentally.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A magician could also establish an analogical relation between a past and present illness by describing the past illness's symptoms; e.g., Belly 25 and 27.

<sup>2</sup>This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that some figures of illness do not represent an illness's symptoms figuratively; for example, the figure representing toothache as a worm gnawing on the tooth represents toothache's cause figuratively (as a worm), but not its symptom (because the pain caused by the worm's gnawing and the pain caused by toothache are within the same domain of experience).



## II. The Analysis of Figures of Illness

Why do medical incantations represent an illness's cause figuratively where other incantations indicate a problem's cause literally? An analysis of the figures themselves suggests that the illnesses treated by medical incantations had no literal cause to indicate. Although the figures imply a cause for illness, they represent no substantive conception of what the illness's cause is. To demonstrate this, I first present a general model of how figures of illness represent an illness's cause, then use the model to interpret the various figures in medical incantations.<sup>3</sup>

### II.A. A General Model of Figures of Illness

The basis for every figure of illness is an identification. In order to represent an illness's cause, a figure identifies the illness's symptoms with something else that is in some respect similar to them, but which is more concrete or familiar (the *analogue* of the identification). An illness's symptoms may be identified with an analogue on the grounds of a similar appearance (e.g., the appearance of a river that has broken through a dike with the appearance of bleeding, or the appearance of a sty with the appearance of a kernel of grain) or on the grounds of a similar sensation (e.g., the sensation of a sty with the sensation caused by a kernel of grain in the eye).<sup>4</sup> Several times an illness is also identified with an analogue on the grounds of a similar name; this suggests that an illness's cause was represented not by identifying its symptoms *as such* with an analogue, but rather by identifying any aspect of the illness which is perceptible, which

---

<sup>3</sup>The two parts of this analysis are obviously interdependent, in that the first part depends on the second to make it credible, and the second depends on the first to make it understandable.

<sup>4</sup>Although there is no reason why an illness's symptoms could not also be identified with an analogue on the grounds of a similar smell, taste, or sound, in practice they are not, presumably because an illness's symptoms are usually seen or felt, not smelled, tasted, or heard.

in most cases happened to be its symptoms. Although for the sake of clarity this model focuses on how figures represent an illness's cause through its symptoms, it would also apply to figures that represent an illness's cause through its other aspects.

By identifying an illness's symptoms with an analogue, a figure implies a cause for the illness. Analogical reasoning suggests that because the illness's symptoms and the analogue are similar in one respect (e.g., appearance or sensation), they are also similar in other respects (i.e., cause). Most figures identify an illness's symptoms with an analogue that is potentially dynamic, in the sense that it either has the potential to change its position or condition, or is the effect or characteristic of something that has such a potential. By identifying an illness's symptoms with a dynamic analogue, the figure implies that the symptoms are also dynamic, and represents the illness's cause as this dynamic quality. For example, a figure that identifies an illness's symptoms with a kernel of grain or with a river that has broken through a dike represents the illness's cause as the kernel's propensity to be carried through the air or the dike's propensity to break, respectively. A symptom's identification with an analogue on the grounds of their similar appearance or sensation and the subsequent analogical transfer of cause from the analogue to the symptoms can be represented schematically as:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \underline{\text{symptom of the illness}} & = & \underline{\text{analogue}} \\ \text{[cause of the illness]} & \ll & \text{dynamic quality of the analogue} \end{array}$$

A figure that identifies an illness's symptoms with a dynamic analogue thus suggests that the illness is caused by a change that occurs because the symptoms have an inherent potential to change or are the characteristic or effect of something capable of causing a change.

In many figures, the dynamic analogue with which an illness's symptoms are identified is the characteristic or effect of a being. For example, the pain of toothache is identified with the pain caused by a worm gnawing on a tooth; the symptoms of *kis*

*libbi* are identified with the characteristics and effects of a being that has the form of a belly and has bloodshot eyes (because *kis libbi* affects the belly and includes the symptom of bloodshot eyes); and the symptoms of *maškadu* are identified with the characteristics and effects of a venomous being that seizes various muscles and is difficult to detect (apparently because the symptoms of *maškadu* feel like the effects of venom, affect the muscles, and are invisible).<sup>5</sup> A being's characteristics and effects are dynamic analogues because a being possesses mobility and volition, and so is preeminently capable of causing a change. Figures that identify an illness's symptoms with a being's characteristics or effects imply that the illness's symptoms are similarly dynamic (in that they are the characteristics or effects of something capable of causing a change), and that this is illness's cause. This can be represented schematically as:

<u>symptom of the illness</u>	=	<u>characteristic or effect of the being</u>
[cause of the illness]	«	change-causing ability of the being

Because figures that represent an illness as a being sometimes represent it as something imaginary (e.g., the *maškadu* being), they may seem more contrived than figures that represent an illness as something that exists in nature (e.g., a kernel of grain or a swollen river). In fact, however, all of the figures—whether they represent the illness as a thing or as a being—are equally contrived, since they are made on the grounds of a similarity that is wholly fortuitous.

Although most figures identify an illness's symptoms with a dynamic analogue, the symptoms of a few illnesses are identified with non-dynamic analogues. The symptom of flatulence is sometimes identified with fish trapped within a stagnant swamp or gas built up within a closed fermenting vat, and the symptoms of *urbatu* (an

---

<sup>5</sup>In figures representing an illness as a being, a symptom's appearance is generally identified with the being's appearance, a symptom's sensation with the sensation caused by the being.

illness that includes the symptom of retaining water) are once identified with a locked door. Because a swamp, a closed fermenting vat, and a locked door are not dynamic analogues, these figures represent the illness's cause not as a change, but as a lack of change. The cause of flatulence and *urbatu* is presumably represented in this way because both illnesses are characterized by the prolonged retention within the body of something normally found there (flatus and water, respectively). Whereas the cause of most illnesses is most easily viewed as a change (i.e., the addition of the illness's symptoms to the body), the cause of illnesses that retain something may equally well be viewed as a lack of change (i.e., flatus or water not coming out of the body as it should). By identifying an illness's symptoms with a non-dynamic analogue, the figures imply that the symptoms are also not dynamic, and that this is the illness's cause.<sup>6</sup>

An important implication of how figures of illness represent an illness's cause is that they imply a cause without representing any substantive conception of what that cause is. Whether a figure represents an illness's cause as a change or as a lack of change, it does so only indirectly, through the illness's symptoms, as:

<u>symptoms</u>	=	<u>analogue</u>
[cause]	«	dynamic/non-dynamic aspect of the analogue

A figure of illness *never* represents an illness's cause directly, as:

*cause	=	analogue
--------	---	----------

Thus the dynamic or non-dynamic aspect of the symptoms' analogue can be said to be similar to an illness's cause only by way of the symptoms. For example, a figure that identifies a sty's symptoms with the appearance and sensation of a kernel in a person's eye represents the sty's cause as the kernel's propensity to fly through the air and get

---

<sup>6</sup>Similarly, the manifestation of a difficult childbirth (i.e., a baby retained in his mother's womb) is often identified with a non-dynamic analogue (e.g., a boat moored in a harbor), in order to represent the cause of a difficult childbirth as a lack of change.

into someone's eye. But a sty is not a kernel of grain, and the sty's cause cannot be said to be like a kernel's propensity to get into a person's eye in any way other than the similar appearance and sensation of a sty's symptoms and a kernel of grain.

That figures of illness do not represent a substantive conception of an illness's cause can also be seen from the fact that figures represent the cause of flatulence in apparently contradictory ways. Different figures identify the symptom of flatulence with four different analogues: a being's appearance, a silted-up river, gas built up in a closed fermenting vat, and fish blocked up in a stagnant swamp. A being's appearance and a silted-up river are dynamic analogues; gas built up in a closed fermenting vat and fish blocked up in a swamp are not. Thus the first two figures represent the cause of flatulence as a change, the last two as a lack of change.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the first figure portrays flatulence as coming from outside the body, the other three portray it as developing from within. These figures represent the cause of flatulence differently because they represent no substantive conception of it; they represent a—not *the*—cause of flatulence.

The figures of illness found in medical incantations are in effect "conceptual metaphors," in the sense that they represent an illness as something else that is more concrete or familiar in order to provide a conceptual model for understanding it.<sup>8</sup> The figures extrapolate from what is known about the illness (i.e., its symptoms or name) to what is obscure (i.e., its cause) by establishing an analogical relation between its symptoms or name and an analogue on the grounds of a fortuitous similarity. It does not matter that the analogical reasoning by which the illness's cause is represented is

---

<sup>7</sup>A medical incantation against *urbatu* includes two figures that identify *urbatu*'s symptoms with a dynamic and a non-dynamic analogue, respectively, and so represents *urbatu*'s cause both as a change and as a lack of change.

<sup>8</sup>For conceptual metaphors, see G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

fallacious, because the figures are meant merely to express a cause for the illness, not discover its cause by means of logic.

Excursus: Modern Analogues of Babylonian Figures of Illness

Conceptual metaphors are in fact common both in ancient texts and in modern language and thought. To illustrate how medical incantations use figures of illness to represent an illness's cause, it may be helpful to discuss some analogous figures of speech that many Americans (among others) use to represent winter and anger. Although these American figures differ from Babylonian figures of illness both in the phenomena they represent and how they are used, they are similar in that they are conceptual metaphors in which a phenomenon's manifestations are identified with something else on the grounds of a similar appearance or sensation so as to imply a cause for the phenomenon.

Many Americans represent winter as Old Man Winter, a gruff, white-haired old man with icicles in his beard, in order to express an understanding of why autumn changes to winter and why the weather within winter varies.<sup>9</sup> In effect, Americans identify winter's manifestations with a person's appearance and effects in order to represent winter's cause as a person's capability of causing a change. Winter is represented specifically as an old man because its manifestations are similar to several characteristics of a stereotypical old man: both winter and old men are associated with the colors white and gray (winter's snow, ice, and stratus clouds and an old man's hair), reduced vitality (the dormancy of nature in winter and the effects of age on an old man), and perhaps a certain dourness (winter weather and an old man's temperament).

---

<sup>9</sup>Newspaper articles using the figure of Old Man Winter to express changes in the seasons or the weather include: *Chattanooga Free Press*, 29 June 1997, Lifestyle section, p. 16; *Durham Herald-Sun*, 20 March 1994 (Raleigh edition), front section, p. 35; *The Kansas City Star*, 25 January 1998 (Metropolitan Edition), p. A16; and *The Indianapolis Star*, 20 March 1996 (City, Final Edition), p. C06.

Although the figure of Old Man Winter does represent winter's manifestations, that is clearly not its usual purpose; Americans primarily use Old Man Winter to represent how or why winter happens—in other words, winter's cause. Although most Americans realize that the change of seasons and the variability of weather have scientific explanations, they may find them removed from their own experience. Representing winter figuratively as a person, however, makes it easy to understand and express how and why winter changes: like a person, winter comes and goes and may be capricious or angry.<sup>10</sup>

Americans often speak of an angry person as if he were a container filled with boiling water, for example, in figurative expressions such as "she flipped her lid," "he let off some steam," and "she is boiling mad." The grounds for identifying anger's manifestations with water boiling in a container include an agitated state (the water and the angry person), turning the color red (the container and the angry person's face), volatility (the boiling water and the angry person's actions), and danger to others (one should avoid contact with both boiling water and an angry person).<sup>11</sup> Although Americans primarily use these expressions to describe anger's manifestations, the expressions derive from an underlying conceptual metaphor ("anger is water boiling in a container") that can be used to understand the entire phenomenon of anger, including its cause. The similarity in the appearance and effects of an angry person and water

---

<sup>10</sup>Some Americans also personify the other seasons—spring, for example, is sometimes represented as a smiling, rosy-cheeked young woman with flowers in her hair—but the other seasons' personifications less common and less elaborate than Old Man Winter, perhaps because those seasons' weather is considered less severe than winter's.

<sup>11</sup>For a detailed analysis of different conceptual metaphors for anger in American English, see G. Lakoff and Z. Kövecses, "The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English," in *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*, ed. D. Holland and N. Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 195-221.

boiling in a container implies that the cause of anger is like the cause of boiling water (i.e., a heat source).

The figures of winter as an old man and anger as boiling water are similar to the figures of illness found in medical incantations in several ways. First, they represent figuratively a phenomenon whose cause is obscure. Second, they represent the phenomenon's cause only indirectly, through its manifestations (i.e., symptoms). Last, they do not represent any substantive conception of the phenomenon's cause: Americans do not believe that winter is a being possessing volition and mobility or that heat causes anger, nor do they even believe that the cause of winter is *like* a being's capability of causing a change, or that the cause of anger is *like* heat; the figures imply a cause for the phenomena without expressing any substantive conception of what that cause is.

## II.B. An Interpretation of Specific Figures of Illness

To support the preceding model, I now examine the specific figures with which an illness's cause is represented in medical incantations. For each figure, I suggest the grounds for identifying the illness's symptoms with the analogue, and show how by means of the identification the figure implies a cause for the illness. Since understanding the grounds for a figure usually requires some knowledge of the illness's symptoms, all of the figures for a given illness are examined together, proceeding in alphabetical order.<sup>12</sup>

Alongside figures that were meant to represent an illness's cause, I also analyze conceptual metaphors (usually in the form of similes) which from context were meant merely to describe an illness's symptoms, but which incidentally represent its cause as

---

<sup>12</sup>I.e.: Belly (including *kis libbi* and flatulence), Bleeding, *bu'sānu*, Eyes (including Sick Eyes and Sty), "Fire," *martu*, *maškadu*, *su'ālu*, Teeth, *urbatu*, and "Various Illnesses."



well. A magician could establish an analogical relation between a present-day illness and the same illness as it occurred in the past not only by describing how the past illness was caused, but also by describing how someone once suffered from its symptoms. As a result, some incantations against bleeding and flatulence describe those illnesses' symptoms with similes, most of which derive from conceptual metaphors that incidentally represent the illness's cause as well. For example, a medical incantation describes a person bleeding as:

*kīm[a] tammerti ša lā kullû kālûša*  
 Lik[e] a water-logged meadow whose dike is not holding back (the water)  
 (Bleeding 1:10)

Although context suggests that this simile was meant to describe the past symptom of bleeding (in order to establish an analogical relation with the present-day bleeding), the simile derives from a conceptual metaphor that is capable of representing the entire phenomenon of bleeding, and so incidentally represents bleeding's cause as well (i.e., as a dike's propensity to break). This is similar to how Americans who describe anger's manifestations as like water boiling in a container also incidentally represent anger's cause, since that metaphor provides a conceptual model for understanding the entire phenomenon of anger. Although these figures of speech were not meant to represent the illness's cause, they are similar to the figures that were, and for that reason I include them in the analysis. I do indicate, however, when a figure was only intended to describe the illness's symptoms.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>When a figure appears outside the context of manipulating a relation (because the incantation secondarily combines elements of other incantations), the figure's original purpose is a matter of interpretation, but is usually clear.

### II.B.1. *kis libbi* Illness

The name *kis libbi*, "bond of the belly," suggests that the Babylonians viewed this illness as a person's belly "binding" (*kasû*) him.<sup>14</sup> Fuller information on *kis libbi* emerges from an incantation that describes the symptoms of a person suffering from *kis libbi* as:

[...] *napšāru zīr karšu tīrānū kuṣṣurū* [...]
 [...]...*ikleta kī mē ḥīriti alapā nadū ināšu*  
*š[ār ṣ]ēri edīp nāda ittanaqqīšu*  
*ṣēra malā ināšu it[an]abbalā šapātūšu*  
*ittanappaṣ kīma nūnī ittanakbir kīma ṣerri*

[...] uvula, the stomach is twisted, the folds of the intestines are constricted [...]
 [...]...darkness, as water of a ditch is covered with algae, (so too) are his eyes,  
 He has been blown into by the wi[nd of the ste]ppe, he constantly pours out (water  
 from) a waterskin as a libation for it,  
 His eyes fill the steppe, his lips ar[e always] dry,  
 He is always flopping around like fish, he is always swollen like a snake  
 (Belly 25:21-4)<sup>15</sup>

According to this incantation, *kis libbi* consists of flatulence, dry lips, discolored eyes, and other symptoms whose nature is less clear; in expressing *kis libbi*'s remedy, however, the incantation focuses on the symptom of flatulence (i.e., the retention of flatus within the belly); Ea advises the ill person,

*gišamma buluṭ eṭlu*  
 "Belch and get well, young man!"

and the incantation concludes with:

<sup>14</sup>Some prescriptions make this explicit; for example, Köcher BAM 574 ii 10 begins: *šumma amīlu libbašu kasīšu* "If a man's belly is binding him,..." Since one of *kis libbi*'s symptoms is flatulence, *libbu* here must be translated "insides" or "belly," rather than "heart."

<sup>15</sup>Belly 27:1-2 describes *kis libbi*'s symptoms more obscurely, as they once affected the herd god Šakkan: *Šakkan ina ṣēri libbašu kasūšuma / eprī mūti* (variant: PA PA TA) *malā rittāšu* "Šakkan's belly binds him in the steppe, / His hands are filled with the dust of death (variant unclear)."

*šumma šāru ina šuburri lūši šumma gišātu ina napšāti lišēši*  
 If it is flatus, may it go out through the anus, if it is a belch, may he cause it to go  
 out through the throat!

(Belly 25:26-7)

Since the incantation equates remedying *kis libbi* with removing flatus, flatulence was presumably *kis libbi*'s paramount symptom. I first examine figures that represent *kis libbi*'s cause through flatulence alone, then those that represent it through its other symptoms as well.

### II.B.1.a. Flatulence

In Akkadian the usual word for "flatus" is *šāru*, which more generally means "wind." The semantic range of the word *šāru* lends itself to (or indeed derives from) understanding flatus as a wind that has blown into a person. For example, the incantation cited above tells that the man suffering from *kis libbi*

*š[ār š]ēri edip*  
 Has been blown into by the wi[nd of the st]eppe

(Belly 25:23)

In *Enūma eliš*, Tiamat becomes flatulent when Marduk throws a wind down her throat:

*ušparrirma bēlu saparrašu ušalmiši*  
*imḥulla šābit arkati pānušša umtaššir*  
*iptēma pāša Tiamat ana la'ātiša*  
*imḥulla uštēriba ana lā katām šaptiša*  
*ezzūtu šārū karšaša izānūma*  
*innesil libbašama pāša ušpalki*

The lord (Marduk) spread open his net and entrapped her (Tiamat).  
 He released against her Evil Wind, which seizes the rear.  
 Tiamat opened her mouth so that she could swallow (it)  
 And so caused Evil Wind to enter (her mouth), with the result that she could not  
 close her lips.  
 Fierce winds filled her stomach,  
 Her belly became constipated, her mouth she opened wide

(En. el. IV 95-100)

On the grounds of the similar appearance of flatus and wind, some medical incantations represent flatulence as a being that takes the form of a wind (which I capitalize, as "Wind," to distinguish it from a normal wind):

*šārummi šāru  
šāru išāt ili atta  
šāru ša birit zē u šināti atta  
tūšamma itti ili aḥḥika nadiat kussika*

Wind, Wind,  
Wind, you are the fire of the gods,  
Wind, you are the one who is between excrement and urine—  
(After) you have come out, your chair will be set up with the gods, your brothers!  
(Belly 2:56-7)

*ši šārum māri ili  
ši šārum nuḥuṣ niši*

Go out, Wind, son of the gods!  
Go out, Wind, abundance of the people!  
(Belly 1:2-3)

*šāru ellu ša ina šadi ašbu mannu ublakk[a]*  
Pure Wind that dwells on the mountain, who brought yo[u] here?  
(Belly 3:43)

Because *šāru* dwells on a mountain and is kin to the gods, here it presumably means "wind" rather than "flatus." By identifying flatus with the appearance of a being that has the form of a wind, the incantations represent the cause of flatulence as a being's capability of causing a change.

Other incantations infer from the belly's retention of flatus that the belly is "closed," and view this closure—rather than the presence of flatus per se—as the problem. One incantation apparently identifies the closed passages through which flatus exits the belly with silted-up watercourses; this can be inferred from the incantation's remedy, which calls on "canal inspector(s)" inside the flatulent person's body to open up the watercourses:

*minā malū libbūka  
[minā mal]ū libbūka  
[...] libbūka  
manna lušpur ana gugalli ina libbika  
liššā marrāti ša kaspi gidimmēti ša ḥurāši  
lipattā nārāti lipattā atappāti*

*lipparšidūni lūšūni zūšu*  
*ašamšūtu ša libbišu lišamma Šamaš limur*

What are your insides full of?  
 [What] are your insides f[ull of]?  
 [...] your insides?—  
 Whom shall I send to the canal inspector inside you,  
 (So that) they (fem.) may take up spades of silver (and) shovels of gold,  
 Open the rivers, (and) open the canals?  
 May his excrement escape and come out,  
 May the whirlwind inside him come out and see the sun!

(Belly 9:1-8)

One way that a watercourse is dynamic is in its propensity to silt up. By identifying the passages leading out from the belly with watercourses, the incantation represents the cause of flatulence as a similar propensity of the belly to close up.<sup>16</sup>

Although a closed belly can be viewed as due to a normally open belly closing, it can also be viewed as due to a normally closed belly not opening. When viewed in this way, the flatulent belly is identified not with a dynamic analogue that has a propensity to close, but rather with a non-dynamic analogue that is closed. Several medical incantations identify the flatulent belly (or chest<sup>17</sup>) with a fermenting vat:

*libbu namzītu*  
*billassu šāru!*

The belly is a fermenting vat,  
 Its fermenting mixture is flatus

(Belly 5:54)

*namzīssu 'artu[m]*  
*billassu šārum*

His fermenting vat is the ches[t],  
 His fermenting mixture is flatus

(Belly 6:1-2)

---

<sup>16</sup>The same metaphor may underlie the rubric to Belly 8: tu-e-en-ne-nu-ri ù *madādīm*, "incantation...(to treat) a blocking up (of the belly)" (see comment there).

<sup>17</sup>The alternation here between *libbu* ("belly") and *irtu* ("chest") shows that here *libbu* refers not to a specific internal organ, but rather to the person's "insides." *libbu* and *irtu* refer to the same thing, viewed from the inside and the outside, respectively.

[...] *sā[b]itu*  
[*n*]amzitu ertu

[...] is a female br[e]wer,  
[A fe]rmenting vat is the chest

(Belly 7:41-2)

Grounds for identifying the human body and a fermenting vat are that both have an opening at the top, through which things go in, and an opening at the bottom, through which things come out;<sup>18</sup> specific grounds for identifying a *flatulent* body and a fermenting vat are perhaps that when they are "closed" pressure builds up inside them (from flatus and the gas released by the fermenting mash, respectively).<sup>19</sup>

An incantation describes a person's flatulent belly as like an inflated bag:

*esil l[ibbi? amil]i? napihma kīma luppi*

The b[el]ly? of the ma[n]? is constipated, it is inflated like a leather bag

(Belly 28:51)

Grounds for comparing a flatulent belly to an inflated bag are that both are closed and contain a gas under pressure, as well as the consonance of *libbu*, "belly," and *luppu* "leather bag."

An incantation identifies a belly retaining flatus with a swamp holding in fish:<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>The fermenting vat (*namzitu*) is also used as a figure of speech for the human body in incantations against bleeding, see below.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. the bilingual Sumerian medical incantation CT 4 8a:7-8: (The sick belly) *gakkul-gin<sub>7</sub> x x dul<sup>1</sup>-la : kīma kakkul[i...] katim* "like a fermenting vessel [...] is covered" (although *gakkul* is here glossed as *kakkullu*, elsewhere *namzitu* is also given as its equivalent). Although the Babylonian incantations do not explicitly state that the fermenting vat is covered, Sumerian sources suggest that "being closed" was a salient feature of fermenting vats; see M. Civil, "A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song," in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, ed. R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964), 84.

<sup>20</sup>Whereas this medical incantation represents the retention of flatus as fish blocked up in a swamp, CT 41 13:10 (an omen from *šumma ālu*) perhaps (if the restorations made by CAD, s.v. *esēlu*, are correct) spoke of fish blocked up in a swamp as flatus retained in a belly, through its use of the verb *esēlu*, "to be constipated": [*šumma ina appāri nūnū*] *itենensilū* "[if fish] are blocked up [in a swamp]."

*apum ša Sîn qanûm ša Makkana*  
*Sîn bêli usuḥ zibinka*

.....  
*ina pi Nazi abarakkatim ša Ningal lišiamma*  
*nūnum ša appārim lišiam*

The canebrake of Sîn is (made up of) the reed of Makkan—  
 My lord Sîn, pull up your reed fence!

.....  
 At the command of Nazi, the female steward of Ningal, may it come out,  
 So that the fish of the swamp may come out!

(Belly 8:16-27)

The flatulent belly and the swamp are both "closed" in the sense that their contents (the flatus and the water and fish, respectively) cannot come out.<sup>21</sup> Both are also apparently closed because of a *kīsu*: the belly is closed by *kīsu*, "bond, fetter" (i.e., the *kīsu* of *kīs libbi*), the swamp by *qanûm ša Makkana*, "the reed of Makkan," which according to a lexical text is an epithet for a type of reed called *kīsu*.<sup>22</sup>

By identifying a flatulent belly with non-dynamic analogues such as a fermenting vat or a swamp, medical incantations represent the cause of flatulence as a lack of change—specifically, a normally closed belly's failure to open and release flatus.

---

<sup>21</sup>The bilingual Sumerian incantation CT 4 8a:5-6 describes flatus within a belly as still like water in a well: a-pú-gin, a-ge<sub>6</sub>-a <x> nu-tuku // *kīma mē būrti agia ul išu* "(The sick belly, which) like the water of a well has no current (inside it)." That the Babylonians considered swamp- and well-water quintessentially still can be seen from incantations to quiet a crying baby, which urge the baby: *[lū] nēḥēta kīma mē agammi* "may you be still like the water of a swamp!" and *lū nēḥēta kīma mē būrti nēḥūti* "may you be still like the still water of a well!"; Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, § 40:11-2 and § 3:49, and see also p. 156.

<sup>22</sup>*gi-zi = kīsu = qan Makkana* (followed by *gi-zi-ḫi-a = šippatu = qan Makkana*) Hg. 27-8, in MSL 7, 68. *kīsu* (Sum. *gi-zi*) is a reed in a certain stage of growth, and not a specific species of reed; see M. Civil, "Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration," in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (American Oriental Series, 67), ed. F. Rochberg-Halton (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1987), 44-5, and H. Waetzoldt, "'Rohr' und dessen Verwendungsweisen anhand der neusumerischen Texte aus Umma," *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 6 (1992): 129f. Waetzoldt also discusses the "reed of Magan" on p. 135.

### II.B.1.b. General Symptoms of *kīs libbi* Illness

Some medical incantations represent *kīs libbi* as the "belly plant" (*šammi libbi* or *šammu ša libbi*) seizing a person's belly; for example:

*šammu ša libbi ina šadī ašīma*  
*assuḥsuma iṣṣabat libbī*

The plant for the belly was growing on the mountain,  
I picked it, and it seized my belly

(Belly 13:1-2)

*Šamaš šammam ištu s[adīm] ušēbira[m]ma*  
*libbi Šamaš mušēbirišu iṣbat*

.....  
*libbi eḫlim ina šulim iṣbat*  
*libbi ardatim ina mēlultim iṣbat*

Šamaš brought the plant over from the m[ountain],  
[And] it seized the belly of Šamaš, the one who brought it over,

.....  
It seized the belly of the young man on the path,  
It seized the belly of the young woman in the game

(Belly 11:1-9)

Incantations portray *šammi libbi* not only as the illness's cause, but also sometimes as its remedy; Sin once apparently picks *šammi libbi* in order to treat Šamaš's sick belly:

*libbi Šamaš ina šadī [...] maruṣma*  
*šammi libbi ina Makkan ašīma Sin [issuḥsu]*

The belly of Šamaš was sick on the [...] mountain;  
The plant for the belly was growing in Makkan, so Sin [picked it]

(Belly 10:23)<sup>23</sup>

Two incantations refer to using *šammi libbi* as a remedy for the patient's illness:

*Šamaš šam[mu annū šamma]ka sātīšu libluṭ*  
Šamaš, [this] pla[nt is] your [plant], may the one who drinks (the potion made from) it get well!

(Belly 13:11)

---

<sup>23</sup>E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85/4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 39-40, suggests that *šammi libbi* is usually said to grow on a mountain because the Babylonians thought that plants grown at higher altitudes made more efficacious drugs.



*Šamaš šammu annū šammaka sātīšu libluṭ  
sātīšu lišir sātīšu muršašu limtaššir sātīšu lišlim  
sātīšu ēma ušammar likšud*

Šamaš, this plant is your plant, may the one who drinks (the potion made from) it  
get well,  
May the one who drinks it become all right, may the illness of the one who drinks it  
leave, may the one who drinks it become healthy,  
May the one who drinks it accomplish whatever he attempts!

(Belly 14:11-3)<sup>24</sup>

*šammi libbi* is not the proper name of a plant; it is merely an epithet that means a  
"plant of the belly" or a "plant for the belly." As such, it may refer to any one of the  
many plants used to treat the belly. I suggest, however, that in these incantations *šammi  
libbi* is (or at least was originally) used as an epithet for *kasū*, a plant sometimes  
prescribed to treat *kīs libbi* (including once in conjunction with a *šammi libbi*  
incantation).<sup>25</sup> Grounds for identifying *kīs libbi* with *kasū* would be the homonymy of  
*kīs libbi*'s main symptom—*kasū* "binding"—with *kasū*, the plant.<sup>26</sup> By identifying *kīs  
libbi*'s symptom with the *kasū* plant, the figure would represent *kīs libbi*'s cause as the  
plant's propensity to affect—specifically, to bind—the belly of a person it comes into  
contact with. That a plant's putative effect could be derived from its name is illustrated  
by the following incantation against sorcery:

*ēpištī u muštēpištī  
kīma nini linūšū (or linnūšī?) kišpūša  
kīma azupīri lišappirūši kišpūša  
kīma sahlī lišhulūši kišpūša*

<sup>24</sup>Cf. also Belly 15:15; a similar appeal is also found in non-medical  
incantations (e.g., AMT 74 ii 26 and KBo 9 44 rev. ii 6), referring to a different plant.

<sup>25</sup>Köcher BAM 574 iii 32; the prescriptions for the other *šammi libbi*  
incantations are either poorly preserved or not recorded. Köcher BAM 159 v 34  
apparently includes *kasū* as one of eight plants to treat *kīs libbi* in horses (although *kasū*  
is partially broken).

<sup>26</sup>This would be similar to how Belly 8 identifies *kīs libbi* with the *kīsu* reed,  
while referring to it only by means of the epithet *qanūm ša Makkana* "reed of Makkan."  
Note that *šammi libbi* is once said to grow in Makkan (Belly 10:23), perhaps because  
of Makkan's association with the *kīsu* reed.

*kīma samīdī? lisammūšī kišpūša*  
*kīma kasī liksūšī kišpūša*  
*kīma ḥašūti liḥaššūšī kišpūša*  
*kīma kitmi liktumūšī kišpūša*  
*kīma irri lirurūšī kišpūša*  
*kīma nuḥurti littahḥirā šaptāša*

My sorceress and my witch—

Like the *ninū* plant, may her sorcery shake (*nāšu*) (or *enū*, "change" her?)!

Like the *azupīru* plant, may her sorcery pare (*šuppuru*) her!

Like the *saḥlū* plant, may her sorcery prick (*saḥālu*) her!

Like the *samīdū?* plant, may her sorcery harass (*summū*) her!

Like the *kasū* plant, may her sorcery bind (*kasū*) her!

Like the *ḥašū* plant, may her sorcery chop (*ḥašū*) her!

Like the *kitmu* plant, may her sorcery cover (*katāmu*) her!

Like the *irru* plant, may her sorcery curse (*arāru*) her!

Like the *nuḥurtu* plant, may her lips...(*nuḥḥuru*)!

(Maqlu V 29-38)

*kīs libbi* is sometimes represented as Belly, a personification of *kīs libbi*'s symptoms (which I capitalize, as Belly, to distinguish it from a normal belly). Belly presumably has the form of a normal belly, since

*irru sāḥirūtu ullulū ina aḥišu*  
 Convoluted intestines hang from its side

(Belly 19:3)

But unlike a normal belly, Belly has the discolored eyes of a person suffering from *kīs libbi*:

*ša libbi arraḡā ināšu pursit dāmi našīma*  
 Belly's eyes are yellow, it carries bowl(s) of blood

(Belly 19:2)

*ša libbi danni arra[ḡā! ināšu]*  
*pursit dāmi ina[ššī]*

Strong Belly's [eyes] are yell[ow],  
 It ca[rries] bowl(s) of blood

(Belly 20:2-3)

*ša libbi zīrā ināšu pursit dāmi*  
 Belly's eyes are twisted, they are (each) a bowl of blood

(Belly 22:34)

Belly eats and breaks bellies:

*libbu libbu ēkiam tallak*  
*libbi eṭli ana' akāliya*  
*libbi ardati ana ḥepiya*

"Belly, Belly, where are you going?" —  
 "To eat the belly of the young man for myself,  
 "To break the belly of the young girl for myself"

(Belly 21:1-3)

Belly gores:

*ittakkip kima a[lp]im*  
 (Belly?) kept goring like an [o]x

(Belly 24:33)

The pain caused by Belly's eating, breaking, and goring is presumably identical to the pain caused by flatulence.<sup>27</sup>

Other characteristics of Belly are more difficult to identify with *kis libbi's* symptoms; Belly has no "window" through which one can lean:

*[in]a qabliti ul iṣu apātamma ul uṣârṣu mamma*  
 [I]n the middle (Belly) does not have windows, no one leans through it  
 (Belly 17:25)

*ana aptiṣu mamma ul [uṣâr]*  
 No one [leans] through its (Belly's) window  
 (Belly 18:4)

Belly can run:

*kīma barbari lakāda uṣṣur*  
 Like a wolf, (Belly) ranges freely  
 (Belly 16:60)

*libbu lasim*  
 Belly is swift  
 (Belly 22:34)<sup>28</sup>

Belly is dark and luminous:

---

<sup>27</sup>CT 17 21 ii 115-6 also refers to the "goring" of *kis libbi*: *sag-gig libiṣ- <gig>-ga-gin<sub>7</sub> in-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-dè : muruṣ qaqqadi kīma kis libbi ittakkip* "The headache kept goring like *kis libbi*." Note also that Belly 10:25 describes the *ṣammi libbi* plant (another figure for *kis libbi*) goring: (*ṣammi libbi's* roots of filled the ground) *qarnāṣu ṣamē nakpā* "Its horns gored the heavens."

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Belly 8:20-3 for another possible reference to Belly's running ability.

*ekil libbu kīma mušiti mali namriri*  
Dark is Belly like the night, it is filled with luminosity

(Belly 17:24)

*e[k]il libbum ki[ma mušitim]*  
*namriri mali kīma ū[mim]*

D[a]rk is Belly li[ke the night],  
It is filled with luminosity like the d[ay]

(Belly 18:2-3)<sup>29</sup>

Belly is powerful and fearsome:

*libbu dān libbu qarrād*  
*kīma nēši mali puluh[ta]*

Belly is strong, Belly is a hero,  
Like a lion it is filled with fearsomene[ss]

(Belly 16:59)<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps Belly is thought to have no window because no wind (i.e., *šāru*, also flatus) can pass through it; Belly's running ability may refer to the suddenness with which *kīs libbi* strikes a person, or perhaps its endurance in afflicting a person for a long time; Belly may be described as dark because the belly is "closed," and hence dark, or because *kīs libbi* is in some way obscure (e.g., in regard to its course).<sup>31</sup> In any case, the figure of Belly identifies *kīs libbi*'s symptoms with a being's appearance, effects, and characteristics in order to represent *kīs libbi*'s cause as a being's capability of causing a change.

---

<sup>29</sup>Cf. also Belly 25:22, which mentions *ikletu* "darkness" in broken context when describing *kīs libbi*'s symptoms.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Belly 19:1, 20:1, and 22:34.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. CT 4 8a:3-4: a-īd-da-gin, al-gin un-nu-zu : *kīma mē nārim ēma illaku ul [īdī]* "(the sick belly which) like the water of a river, does not know where it is going." According to M. Civil, *Studies Oppenheim*, 84, another figure of speech for a flatulent belly, the fermenting vat, was used in Sumerian as "a literary image of mystery and secrecy."

## II.B.2. Bleeding

Several medical incantations describe the symptom of nasal or vaginal bleeding as a liquid leaking from a poorly sealed container; a person's body "leaks" blood

*kīma namzīti ša purussaša lā parsu*  
*kīma nādi ša lā dunnunu riksa lā taklu šir'āna*

Like a fermenting vat whose stopper is not stopping (the outflow),  
 Like a waterskin whose knot is not strong, whose drawstring is untrustworthy  
 (Bleeding 1:11-2)<sup>32</sup>

Likewise, a bleeding person who is represented as a fermenting vat is bleeding because

*ša namzīti maqit purussa*  
 The stopper of the fermenting vat has fallen out  
 (Bezold Cat. Supp. 500 ii 6 and 12)<sup>33</sup>

Incantations also describe bleeding's symptom as water flowing through a dike; a bleeding person's body is

*kīm[a] tammerti ša lā kullū kālūša*  
 Lik[e] a water-logged meadow whose dike is not holding back (the water)  
 (Bleeding 1:10)

A bleeding person is represented as a watercourse, and

*batqat nāru šurdāt atappu*  
*ina mīli gapši ibbašši bitqu*

The river is running off course, the canal is flowing over,  
 Because of a powerful flood, a breach has developed (in the dike)  
 (Bezold Cat. Supp. 500 ii 4-5 and 10-1)<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup>The incantation extends the metaphor in expressing the bleeding's remedy (ll. 14-6): *elīma ana šamē šūrida kunuk Anu...ša sinništi eli lā dumuq ūriša idā šipassa* "Go up to heaven (O god) and bring down the seal of Anu!...Put a sealing upon the disorder of the woman's vagina!"

<sup>33</sup>A photo of the tablet appears on plate IV. The metaphor is also taken up in the remedy (ll. 17 and 22). The stopper of a fermenting vat was apparently liable to fall out or leak because it stopped up an opening at the vat's bottom. For *nīg.dūr.būr* and *gakkul* (the Sumerian equivalents to *namzitu*), see M. Civil, *Studies Oppenheim*, 82ff. The human body is also represented as a fermenting vat in Belly incantations, see above.

<sup>34</sup>The metaphor is also taken up in the remedy (ll. 19-21).

Context suggests that these figures of speech were only intended to describe bleeding's symptom. The one figure with which a medical incantation clearly represents bleeding's cause is similar, however, in that it represents bleeding as a watercourse carrying away a meadow:

*[n]ār sāmti dāmša atap sāmti?  
[ta]mmerta sāmta mû ubbalū*

Her blood is a carnelian [r]iver, a carnelian<sup>?</sup> canal,  
The water is carrying away the carnelian [me]adow<sup>?</sup>

(Bleeding 2:1-2)

The incantation extends the figure in expressing how the bleeding is to be remedied:

*mannu liqbi ana rēmēnī Marduk  
[t]ammerta<sup>?</sup> sāmta liskirū  
ugār uqnī [nā]ru lā ubbal*

Who will speak to merciful Marduk,  
(So that the breach in) the carnelian [m]eadow may be dammed up,  
(And) [the ri]ver may not carry away the lapis-lazuli field?

(Bleeding 2:3-5)

Although the different figures of bleeding were intended to represent only bleeding's symptom or its cause, respectively, they are conceptual metaphors that incidentally represent both. The figures identify bleeding's symptom with a liquid leaking from a container or a river flowing through a dike on the grounds of a similar appearance: liquids coming out from where they should be to where they should not be. Both containers and dikes are inherently dynamic analogues, in the sense that they have a propensity to change from being sound and holding a liquid to being broken and leaking a liquid. By identifying a bleeding person with these dynamic analogues, the figures represent bleeding's cause as a similar propensity of the human body to "spring a leak."

### II.B.3. *bu'sānu* Illness

The name of *bu'sānu* apparently derives from *ba'āšu*, "to smell bad," and presumably refers to one of its symptoms. Although attempts have been made to identify *bu'sānu* with various modern diseases (including leprosy and diphtheria),<sup>35</sup> its sole figure can be interpreted without identifying it exactly. Four incantations represent *bu'sānu* as a personification of its symptoms (which I capitalize, as *Bu'sānu*, to distinguish it from the illness itself):

*bu'sānu dān šibissu*  
*kīma n[ēš]i napšāra iṣbat*  
*kīma barbari iṣṣabat nurza*  
*iṣbat nu[rub appi] iṣṣabat lišāna*  
*ina imbūb ḥašē ittadi kussiṣu*

*Bu'sānu*, strong is its grasp,  
 It seized the uvula like a [l]ion,  
 It seized the *nurzu* like a wolf,  
 It seized the moi[st part of the nose], it seized the tongue,  
 It set up its chair in the windpipe

(*bu'sānu* 1:1-5)

*dān ša bu'sāni šibissu*  
*kīma nēši qaqqada iṣbat*  
*[k]īma barbari iṣṣabat lu'ḥa*  
*iṣbat appa iṣṣabat lišāna*  
*ina birīt šinni ittadi kussiṣu*

Strong is the grasp of *Bu'sānu*,  
 It seized the head like a lion,  
 It seized the gullet [l]ike a wolf,  
 It seized the nose, it seized the tongue,  
 It set up its chair among the teeth

(*bu'sānu* 2:1-5)

*bu'sānu amir kīma nēši*  
*ana lā ša nēši ša bu'sāni dān šibissu*  
*kīma barbari iṣṣabat pā*  
*kīma mindīnaš iṣṣabat laḥē*  
*ina nurzī narbāti ittadi kussiṣu*

<sup>35</sup>See F. Köcher, "Spätbabylonische medizinische Texte aus Uruk," in *Medizinische Diagnostik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift für Heinz Goerke zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. C. Habrich, et al. (Munich: Werner Fritsch, 1978), 20-2.

*Bu'sānu* is seen as a lion is (i.e., with fear?),  
 (But) the grasp of *Bu'sānu* is stronger than that of a lion;  
 It seized the mouth like a wolf,  
 It seized the chin like a tiger,  
 It set up its chair in the soft *nurzus*

(*bu'sānu* 3:1-5)

*ša bu'sāni dān šibissu*  
*kīma nēši napšāti iṣṣa[bat]*  
*kīma barbari iṣṣabat lu'a*  
*iṣbat appa nurub app[i ḥ]ašē*  
*ina birit šinni nadāt kussišu*

The grasp of *Bu'sānu* is strong,  
 It seiz[ed] the throat like a lion,  
 It seized the gullet like a wolf,  
 It seized the nose, the moist part of the nos[e, (and) the l]ung,  
 Its chair has been set up among the teeth

(*bu'sānu* 4:53'-5')

The body parts that *Bu'sānu* strikes are presumably those that *bu'sānu* affects; since *Bu'sānu*'s appearance is never described, perhaps *bu'sānu* had no visible symptoms. Nevertheless, it is clear the figure identifies *bu'sānu*'s symptoms with a being's characteristics and effects in order to represent *bu'sānu*'s cause as a being's capability of causing a change.

#### II.B.4. Eyes

Medical incantations against eye illnesses can be divided into two groups: those that treat a wide variety of symptoms affecting the eyes (including irritation, blurriness, redness, and teariness) and those that treat a sty.

##### II.B.4.a. Sick Eyes

Medical incantations to treat eye illness typically begin by describing its symptoms; for example:

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*  
*igi-ḥuṣ igi-ḥuṣ-ḥuṣ igi-bar-ra ḥuṣ-ḥuṣ*  
*[igi]-bar ná-a igi-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a*  
*inā abātu inā aš[ātu inā pursīt] dāmi šuharratu*  
*inā kīma niksi immeri dāma šen'ā*



*kīma mē ša agalpē alapā nadā*  
*kīma karpāt ṭābāti nadā šilla*

(three lines of quasi-Sumerian gibberish describing the sick eyes)  
 Clouded eyes, blu[rred] eyes, [the eyes are (each) a] porous? [bowl of] blood;  
 The eyes are suffused with blood like a cut of sheep-flesh,  
 Covered with algae (i.e., yellowish-green?) like the water of a swamp?,  
 Covered with shadow like a pot of vinegar

(Eyes 2:1-7)<sup>36</sup>

Other incantations add that the eyes are *dalḥātu* "confused" and *šamūta malā* "filled with rain" (i.e., teary).<sup>37</sup> The two sick eyes are often identified with two sisters separated by a barrier:

*šittama šinam[a a]ḥātu*  
*ina būrušina parik šadū*

(The eyes) are two, they are [s]isters,  
 Between them a mountain blocks the way

(Eyes 5:6-7)

*šitta inā aḥātu šinama*  
*ina būrušina šadū pari[k]*  
*elēnušina kiširtu kašrat*  
*šaplānušina pitiqtu pat[qa]*

The eyes are two, they are sisters,  
 Between them a mountain bloc[ks] the way,  
 Above them a ridge has been made,  
 Below them a wall has been ma[de]

(Eyes 3:3-6)

*šitta šina mārāt Anu*  
*ina būrušina pitiqtu patqa[t]*  
*ul illak aḥatu ana lēt aḥatiša*

They are two, they are daughters of Anu,  
 Between them a wall has been mad[e], (and so)  
 Sister cannot go to sister

(Eyes 4:3-5)

*ina būrišina pitiqtu patqat*  
*irub Nergal? ina būrušina ittadi kussišu*  
*ašsum annītu ina libbi annīti lā napāši*

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Eyes 1:1-9, 3:1-2, 4:1-2, 5:1-4, 6:1-2, 7:1-4, 8:1, 9:1, and 10:39'.

<sup>37</sup>Eyes 1:2 and 5:4, respectively.

Between them (the eyes) a wall has been made;  
Nergal entered between them and set up his chair,  
So that the one could not relax with? the other

(Eyes 2:8-10)<sup>38</sup>

Grounds for identifying sick eyes separated by the nose with two sisters separated by a mountain or wall are that both the eyes and the sisters resemble one another and are separated by a barrier. Moreover, if the two sisters are crying because they are sad about their separation—which is not stated explicitly, but is a plausible inference—further grounds would be that the eyes and sisters are both teary and red—the eyes from the illness, the sisters from crying. The two sisters separated from one another would then be a dynamic analogue because their separation makes them cry. By identifying sick eyes with crying sisters, the figure would represent the cause of sick eyes as two sisters' propensity to start crying when separated from one another.

Sick eyes are also personified as eyes that allow various kinds of foreign matter to hurt them (which I call "Eyes" to distinguish from normal eyes):

*ammīn tabbā ammīn taššā*  
*ammēni ikkalkināši bāṣu ša nāri taltallū ša gišimmari*  
*ša titti niqqaša ša ari tibinšu*

Why do you become clouded? Why do you become blurred?  
Why do the sand of the river, the pollen of the palm,  
The fig's dust, (and) the palm frond's straw hurt you?

(Eyes 7:5-7)

*ammīni taššāni hāma ḥand[ašpir]a šuršurra alapā ša nāri*  
*ina sūqāti kirbāna ina tubk[inn]āti ḥuṣāba ammīni taššāni*

Why did you carry the chaff, the th[or]n, the *šuršurru* fruit, (and) the algae of the river?  
Why did you carry the clod of dirt in the streets, the potsherd in the garb[age dum]ps?

(Eyes 8:2-3)

The incantations threaten the Eyes to get better:

<sup>38</sup>I cannot account for Nergal's appearance here.

*alsikināši alkāni*  
*ul alsikināši ul tallakāni*  
*lām itbākināši sūtu istānu sadū amurru*

I called you, come!  
 Did I not call you? Will you not come?  
 Before the south wind, north wind, east wind, (and) west wind rise up against you?  
 (Eyes 7:8-10)<sup>39</sup>

*zunnāni kīma kakkabi mitaqqutāni kīma nabli*  
*lām iksudūkināši šurrū naglabū ša Gula*

Rain down like a star! Keep falling down like a flame!  
 Before the obsidian scalpels of Gula reach you!  
 (Eyes 8:4-5)

Although the two incantations clearly recognize various allergens as factors in the illness's incidence, they identify the Eyes themselves as its cause.<sup>40</sup> By identifying the symptoms of eye illness with the irritation that two persons cause themselves, the figure represents the cause of eye illness as a person's capability of hurting himself.

---

<sup>39</sup>In Köcher BAM 510 iv 5-21 and duplicates (a bilingual Sumerian medical incantation), the irritation of sick eyes is identified with the irritation caused by wind blowing in the eyes, in order to represent the cause of the sick eyes as a wind: an-ta sud-da-ta im-ri-a igi-lú-ka gig-ga ba-an-gar igi-gig-ga gig-ga ba-an-gar // *istū šamē rūqūti šāru izīqamma ina inī amīli simma istakan* "from the distant heavens a wind blew down and put an illness in the eyes of a man." This figure is also implicit in Eyes 1:3, which describes sick eyes as *mārāt šāri* "daughters of wind"; the use of genealogical metaphors to express causality is discussed by M. Turner, *Death is the Mother of Beauty: Mind, Metaphor, Criticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 139ff.

<sup>40</sup>By "factor" I mean something that provides a condition for an illness's incidence, but is not a sufficient explanation for it; for example, the presence of an allergen may be necessary to make eyes watery, but one must still explain why the allergen makes one person's eyes watery, but not another's.

### II.B.4.b. Sty

The Akkadian word for "sty," *merḫu*, apparently more generally means a "kernel of grain."<sup>41</sup> Incantations against a sty extend this conventional Akkadian figure of speech by representing the sty as a kernel getting into a person's eye:

*inami eqel Enlil mithārim*  
*70 iki eqlam Sîn iṣṣidi Šamaš ušapḫar*  
*anami in eṭli iterub merḫum*

In the square field of Enlil,  
 Sîn harvests a 70 *ikū* field, and has Šamaš gather (it),  
 (When) a kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man

(Eyes 15:9-16)

*Šamaš iṣṣid Sîn upaḫḫar*  
*Šamaš ina eṣēdišu Sîn ina puḫ[ḫurišu]*  
*ana in eṭli mir'u iterub*

Šamaš harvests, Sîn gathers,  
 While Šamaš harvests, while Sîn gathe[rs],  
 A kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man

(Eyes 14:8-10)

A kernel is a dynamic analogue because it has a propensity to be carried through the air and get into a person's eye when grain is being harvested and gathered. By identifying a sty's symptoms with a kernel on the grounds of their similar appearance and their similar sensation in the eye (i.e., irritation and the sensation of a foreign object), the figure represents the sty's cause as a kernel's propensity to get into a person's eye.

### II.B.5. "Fire"

Medical incantations represent fever (and perhaps other bodily conditions that feel like heat) as "Fire," a being that presumably has the form of a fire:

*iṣātumma iṣātu*  
*[i]ṣāt meḫi iṣāt qabli*

---

<sup>41</sup>M. Stol, "Old Babylonian Ophthalmology," in *Reflets des deux fleuves: Volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet* (Akkadica, Supplementum 6), ed. M. Lebeau and P. Talon (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 165, suggests that *merḫu* refers to trachoma.

*[iṣā]t mūti iṣāt sibṭi iṣātu kāsisu*  
*[u]l qutraki inneṣṣen ul iṣātaki iṣṣaḥḥun*

Fire! Fire!

[F]ire of storm! Fire of battle!

[Fir]e of death! Fire of plague! Consuming Fire!

Your smoke is [n]ot smelled, your fire does not get warm!

(W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40, ii 5-8)

Like fever, Fire consumes a person's body:

*iṣātumma iṣātu*

.....

*[āk]ilat širi kāsisa[t eṣ]emti*

*mu[ba]tṭiqat šir'ānī*

*ammaki takkalī širi [ammaki] takassasī eṣemt[a]*

*a[mmaki t]abattaqī šir'ānī*

Fire! Fire!

.....

[The c]onsumer of flesh, the gnawe[r of bo]ne,

The cu[tt]er of mu[scl]es—

Why do you consume flesh, [why] do you gnaw bon[e],

W[hy do yo]u cut muscles?

(W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 42, iii 9-14)

By identifying fever's symptoms with the sensation and effects of a being, the figure represents fever's cause as a being's capability of causing a change.

## II.B.6. *martu* Illness

*martu* illness literally means "liver" or "bile" illness. Since an increase of bile pigments in the blood causes jaundice, and since *martu* sometimes appears alongside two illnesses that were apparently forms of jaundice (*amurriqānu* and *aḥḥāzu*),<sup>42</sup> presumably *martu* was also a form of jaundice.<sup>43</sup> The two figures with which medical

<sup>42</sup>E.g., Köcher BAM 52:96 and 188:1-2; Köcher BAM 578 iii 7 identifies *amurriqānu* as: *summa amilu zumurṣu aruq pānūṣu arqū siḥḥat širi irtanašši amurriqānu šumṣu* "if a man's body is yellow, his face is yellow, and his flesh is wasting away, the name of his illness is *amurriqānu*."

<sup>43</sup>It should be noted, however, that several medical prescriptions (i.e., Köcher BAM 578 i 27-30, i 38, i 46-7, and i 50) explicitly identify as *martu* illness certain groups of symptoms that do not correspond to those of jaundice.

incantations represent *martu* are consistent with this interpretation, since they suggest that *martu*'s symptoms included yellowing of the skin and eyes.<sup>44</sup> The first figure represents *martu* as a yellow she-goat:

*enzu arqat aruq māruša*  
*aruq rē'īša aruq nāqissa*  
*ina ēki arqi šammī arqūti ikkal*  
*ina atappi aruqti mē arqūti išatti*

The she-goat is yellow, its offspring is yellow,  
 Its shepherd is yellow, its herdsman is yellow,  
 In the yellow plot of land it is eating yellow grass,  
 From the yellow canal it is drinking yellow water

(*martu* 2:45-6)

By identifying the yellow skin and eyes of a person suffering from *martu* with the yellow fleece of the she-goat, the figure represents *martu*'s cause as the she-goat's capability of causing a change. Why *martu* is represented specifically as a goat is unclear, but it is presumably a *she*-goat because *martu* is grammatically feminine in Akkadian.<sup>45</sup>

The second figure represents *martu* as like a yellow *igirū* bird (perhaps a heron):

*martu kima igiri arqi ittanallak alak[ta?]*  
*ittanazzaz ina gišalli ša dūri*  
*idaggal ākilū akli idaggal šātū kurunni*  
*kī takkalā akla kī tašattā kurunna*  
*amaqqutakkunūšimma tugaššā kī alpi*

<sup>44</sup>Although the content of the two incantations in which the figures appear makes it clear that the incantations were meant to treat *martu* illness, their rubric reads: ka-i[nim-ma] ṛša<sup>21</sup> pāšitti [...] "incantation(s) for pāšittu illness [...]" (Köcher BAM 578 ii 50). pāšittu illness is mentioned alongside *martu* in other contexts (including *martu* 1:1), and presumably incantations composed to treat *martu* were secondarily used to treat pāšittu, an illness in some way associated with it.

<sup>45</sup>A Sumerian medical incantation studied by P. Michalowski, "Carminative Magic: Towards an Understanding of Sumerian Poetics," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1981): 1-18 also represents zé (the equivalent of *martu*) as a she-goat, presumably because the incantation was composed within an Akkadian cultural or linguistic environment (although perhaps also because of the consonance of zé and ùz "she-goat"). Michalowski, p. 8, suggests that zé illness is represented as a goat because one of its symptoms was restlessness, and goats were considered quintessentially restless animals.

*Martu* keeps walking the pat[h?] like a yellow *igirū*,  
 It keeps standing on the reed fence (on top) of the wall,  
 It looks at those eating bread, it looks at those drinking beer, (and says):  
 "When you eat bread, when you drink beer,  
 "I will fall upon you and you will have to belch like an ox!"

(*martu* 1:40-4)<sup>46</sup>

By identifying the yellowness of a person suffering from *martu* with the yellowness of the *igirū*, the figure represents *martu*'s cause as the *igirū*'s capability of swooping down on a person.<sup>47</sup> But why represent *martu* specifically as like an *igirū*? According to a text that identifies and interprets different birdcalls, the *igirū*'s call was:

*quddud appašu lētāšu dakkā*  
 "Its nose is bent down, its cheeks are hollow"

(STT 341:4)

with the variant:

*qaddā lētāšu quddudū pānū[šu]*  
 "Its cheeks are fallen, [its] face is collapsed"

(KAR 125 obv. 17 and rev. 11)<sup>48</sup>

I would suggest that the *igirū*'s purported call reflected its appearance, and that it looked emaciated and dejected.<sup>49</sup> Two symptoms of jaundice are lassitude and a lack of appetite; thus *martu* may be represented as like an *igirū* on the grounds of the similar listless, emaciated appearance of a person suffering from *martu* and of an *igirū*.

---

<sup>46</sup>The use of a simile, rather than a metaphor, to represent *martu* is further confirmation that figures of illness are in fact figurative.

<sup>47</sup>The incantation also suggests that eating and drinking were factors in *martu*'s incidence—although obviously not everyone who ate bread and drank beer were afflicted with *martu*.

<sup>48</sup>See W.G. Lambert, "The Sultantepe Tablets, IX: The Birdcall Text," *Anatolian Studies* 20 (1970): 111-7.

<sup>49</sup>The roots \**wrq* and \**qdd* also appear together in descriptions of hungry and dejected people in Lambert-Millard Atra-hasis II iv 15-6: *arqūtu amru pān[ūšin] / qaddiš illakā i[na sūqi]* "[Their] faces appeared yellow / They walked bent over [in the street]."

### II.B.7. *maškadu* Illness

Medical incantations personify *maškadu* illness as *Maškadu*, a being that seizes a person's muscles or tendons (Akk. *šir'ānū*):

*išbat gišša kišša kišalla*  
*qabla rapašta u šašalla gubguba puḥur šir'ānī*  
*šabit ša annanna mār annanna puḥur kalīšunu sagallī*

(*Maškadu*) seized the hip, shin, ankle,  
 The loins, back, and achilles' tendon, the *gubguba*, all of the muscles,  
 It has seized every single one of the *sagallu* muscles of So-and-so, son of So-and-so

(*maškadu* 8:26-8)<sup>50</sup>

*Maškadu*'s effects are apparently like those of a venomous animal:

*mišil imti ša šerri ilqe*  
*mišil imti ša zuqaqīpi ilqe*

It took half of the venom of the snake,  
 It took half of the venom of a scorpion

(*maškadu* 8:19-20)<sup>51</sup>

*uttur imta atar šibis[su?]*  
 It has been augmented with venom, it is excessive in [its] grip?

(*maškadu* 6:6)

*uttur imta atar miḥir[...]*  
 It has been augmented with venom, it is excessive in...

(*maškadu* 5:15')<sup>52</sup>

Although the venom of snakes and scorpions may have many effects (e.g., swelling, nausea, and irritation), to the Babylonians its quintessential effect was paralysis

(*šimmatu*).<sup>53</sup> That this was also *Maškadu*'s effect is suggested by one incantation's

<sup>50</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 4:4-5, 5:16', 6:11-3, 9:6'-9', 10:8'-9', 11:3ff., 12:4'-5', and 13:29'.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 5:14'-5', 6:5; 7:8, 10:6', 11:2, 12:2'-3', and 13:27'.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 11:3.

<sup>53</sup>E.g., a medical prescription reads: *šumma amīlu šimmat zuqaqīpi maruṣ* "if a man is ill with the paralysis of a scorpion" (AMT 91, 1 r. 4); an incantation against *šimmatu* (STT 136 i 4) refers to: *šimmat š[erri]i šimmat zuqaqīpi* "paralysis of a snake, paralysis of a scorpion."



juxtaposition of *Maškadu* and paralysis: (*Maškadu* descended from the stars of heaven and)

*išbat ša eṭli šimmatu kal pagrišu*

Paralysis seized the young man's entire body

(*maškadu* 4:3)

Paralysis is invisible, and is not so much a sensation as a lack of sensation; *Maškadu* is thus described as difficult to detect and delineate:

*kīma šārti qatan lā idū ina šīri*

It is thin like a hair, it is not recognized in the flesh

(*maškadu* 8:24)<sup>54</sup>

*ul iṣā pāna ū bāba*

It has neither front nor doorway (i.e., it is amorphous)

(*maškadu* 8:25)<sup>55</sup>

Since medical incantations typically represent an illness through its symptoms' appearance or sensation, they may have had trouble representing an illness whose main symptom had neither appearance nor sensation. Perhaps for this reason, medical incantations resort to paradox and self-contradiction when describing *Maškadu*:

*pā lā šakin šakin šinnī*

*šinnī lā šakin šabit šir'ānī*

*ubānāti lā šakin šabit kappalta*

It does not have a mouth, (but) it does have teeth,  
It does not have teeth, (but) it has seized the muscles,  
It does not have fingers, (but) it has seized the groin

(*maškadu* 8:21-3)<sup>56</sup>

The incantations also contradict themselves when identifying *Maškadu*:

*[m]aškadu[m mašk]adum ul maškadum šu'ūm*

It is [M]aškadu, it is [Mašk]adu, it is not *Maškadu*, it is *Su'u*

(*maškadu* 1:1)

<sup>54</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 6:10, 9:4', and 11:4.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 9:5'.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 5:16', 6:7-9, 9:1'-3', 10:7', and 13:28'. The incantations may also be playing on the difference between literal and figurative language: literally, the illness does not have teeth and so forth, but figuratively it does.

*šū šumšu maškadu kīnussu*  
Its name is Šū, it is really *Maškadu*

(*maškadu* 4:1)

*šu'ū šumšu maškadu kīnussu*  
*ul maškadu kīnussu šu'ū šumšu*

Its name is Šu'ū, it is really *Maškadu*,  
It is not really *Maškadu*, its name is Šu'ū

(*maškadu* 7:1-4)<sup>57</sup>

Although it is not clear why, *Maškadu* is associated with livestock:

*[k]ibsi alpi narbā[ss]u? kibsi immeri manzā[ss]u*  
[The t]rack of the ox is it[s s]pot?, the track of the sheep is it[s s]tation

(*maškadu* 3:19)

*ina sulīm? narbāšušu ina manzāz immeri m[anz]āzušu*  
*našāk barbarim inaššak šahāt kalbim elam[i] išahhīt*  
*erēb būlim irru[b w]ašē būlim ušši*

Its spot is on the path?, its st[ati]on is at the station of the sheep,  
It bites with the bite of the wolf, it leaps up with the leap of the Elami[te] dog,  
It enter[s] with the entry of the herd, it exits with the [e]xit of the herd

(*maškadu* 1:2-4)

*ina šitpim manzāzušu ina kibis alpim mayyālšu*  
*erēb būlim irrub wašē būlim išši*

Its station is in the hole, its resting place is on the track of the ox,  
It enters with the entry of the herd, it exits with the exit of the herd

(*maškadu* 2:10-2)

By identifying *maškadu*'s symptoms with a being's effects and characteristics, medical incantations represent *maškadu*'s cause as a being's capability of causing a change.

---

<sup>57</sup>Cf. *maškadu* 2:8, 3:17, 6:3, 8:15-6, 10:4', 11:1, and 13:25'; for *kīnussu*, see comment to *maškadu* 3:17.

### II.B.8. *su'ālu* Illness

P.B. Adamson has identified *su'ālu* as a "cough with expectoration."<sup>58</sup> The sole figure of *su'ālu* represents it as a being ("*Su'ālu*"): <sup>59</sup>

*su'ālu su'ālu su'ālu dān šib[issu]*  
*ina birit ḥašē ittadi kussišu*

*Su'ālu, Su'ālu, Su'ālu, strong is [its] gras[p],*  
It set up its chair between the lungs

(*su'ālu* 1:1-2)

Although *su'ālu*'s exact symptoms are unknown, it presumably affected the lungs; the figure identifies its symptoms with a being's characteristics and effects in order to represent its cause as a being's capability of causing a change.

### II.B.9. Teeth

Medical incantations portray toothache as a "worm" (*tūltu*) gnawing on a person's tooth.<sup>60</sup> Although people from other cultures (including Medieval and Renaissance Europeans) have believed that worms actually (i.e., literally) caused toothache, I believe that to the Babylonians the gnawing worm was merely a conceptual metaphor for toothache, akin to the many other figures of illness in medical incantations. In the figure, the pain of toothache is identified with the pain caused by a worm's gnawing:

---

<sup>58</sup>P.B. Adamson, "Anatomical and Pathological Terms in Akkadian, Part II," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1979, 4.

<sup>59</sup>The incantation against *su'ālu* is very similar to those against *bu'sānu*, and one of the three exemplars of the *su'ālu* incantation appears on the same tablet as a *bu'sānu* incantation (Köcher BAM 553).

<sup>60</sup>Prescriptions also connect toothache with a worm; e.g., Köcher BAM 393 obv. 8: *šumma awilum šinnašu tūltum* "if a man's tooth is worm(-infested)," and cf. also YOS 11 29:22. Although *tūltu* is conventionally translated "worm," it could equally well mean "maggot" or the like.

*iššuk šira iḥp[i?] ešemta*  
(The worm) bit the flesh, it bro[ke?] the bone

(Teeth 2:4)

Other symptoms are identified with other effects of the worm:

*eli šinni ittabak umma*  
*eli qaqqadi ittabak m[urša]*

(The worm) poured fever upon the tooth,  
It poured s[ickness] upon the head

(Teeth 3:4)

*ana šinni ittadi sili'ta ana qaqqa[di itta]di umma*  
(The worm) threw illness on the teeth, it [thr]ew fever on the hea[d]

(Teeth 2:5)<sup>61</sup>

By identifying toothache's symptoms with a worm's effects, the figure represents toothache's cause as the worm's capability of causing a change.<sup>62</sup>

But why represent toothache's cause specifically as a worm? One reason may be that a worm (or whatever *tūltu* is) is small enough to fit into a tooth. Another reason is suggested by an etiological story found in one of the incantations; the story reads:

*illik tūltu ana pān Šamaš ibakki*  
*ana pān Ea illakā dimāša*  
*minā taddana ana akāliya*  
*minā taddana ana munzuqīya*  
*attannakki titta bašilta armanā ḥašḥūra*  
*anāku ammīna annā titta bašilta u armanā ḥašḥūra*  
*šuqqānnima ina birit šinni u lašḥi šūšibanni*  
*ša šinnimma lunzuqa dāmīšu*  
*u ša lašḥimma luksus kusāsēšu*

<sup>61</sup>Several Old Babylonian incantations also portray the worm harming a person in ways more difficult to connect to symptoms: *tūltum...tušallimī...* "worm...you made black..." (Teeth 5:1-4); and [...] *dāmī šeḥrim ubelliam inīšu* "[...] the blood of the infant, (the worm) put out? his eyes" (Teeth 4:5).

<sup>62</sup>Teeth 4:4 may identify other symptoms with the worm's appearance: *lullumtam lubbušat dāmī 'aprat* "(the worm) is dressed in a *lullumtu* cloak, it wears blood as a headdress." The blood that the worm wears perhaps represents bleeding gums; the *lullumtu* cloak worn by the worm presumably refers to the *lulumtu* plant used to treat toothache: *Ū lulumtu : Ū ZU.GIG.GA.KAM : ana muḥḥi šinni šakāni* "lulumtu plant : a plant for a sick tooth : to be placed upon the tooth"; CT 14 23 (K 259):4. *lullumtu* (whether the cloak or the plant) may be associated with the worm (*tūltu*) on the grounds of their consonance.

The worm went crying to Šamaš,  
 Its tears coming before Ea, (and said):  
 "What will you give me to eat?  
 "What will you give me to suck?" —  
 "I have (already) given you a ripe fig (and) an *armanû* apple" —  
 "I? Why (have you given me) this, a ripe fig and an *armanû* apple?  
 "Raise me up and seat me between a tooth and a jaw!  
 "I will suck the blood of the tooth,  
 "And I will gnaw on little bits of the jaw!"

(Teeth 1:7-15)

The story's juxtaposition of a tooth and a piece of fruit as alternative foods for the worm suggests that further grounds for representing toothache's cause as a worm is the similar appearance of an aching tooth and a worm-filled piece of fruit: a tooth (specifically a molar or premolar) is roughly similar in shape to a piece of fruit, and a tooth may ache while appearing to be sound in the same way that an apparently good piece of fruit may have a worm gnawing away at it from inside.

#### II.B.10. *urbatu* Illness

There is only one medical incantation against *urbatu*.<sup>63</sup> The incantation appears within a series of medical prescriptions to treat a person whose head<sup>64</sup> is holding (*kullu*) water, and its rubric reads,

ka-ini[m-ma mû] lā ikkallû  
 incanta[tion so that water] will not be held back

(Köcher BAM 480 iv 1)

---

<sup>63</sup>Another incantation (AO 17656, published by J. Nougayrol, "Textes et documents figurés," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 41 (1947): 31 (// Köcher BAM 534 + 535 + 573)) also mentions *urbatu* (var. MAR.GAL), but is not discussed here because it seems to portray *urbatu* as an evil spirit.

<sup>64</sup>Specifically the top of the head (*muḫḫu*), Köcher BAM 480 iii 57; the head (*qaqqadu*), iv 5; and the fore part of the head (*abbuttu*), iv 6.

The incantation represents *urbatu* with two separate figures, from which one can infer *urbatu* included the symptoms of retaining water, swelling, and reddening of the face.<sup>65</sup>

The first figure represents *urbatu* as a red river swollen with water:

*u[r̄b]atu urbatu*  
*urbatu s̄amtu itb̄amma urpata s̄amta iktum*  
*zunnu s̄amu itbi[m]a er̄seta s̄amta ir̄ḫu*  
*mīlu s̄amu itb̄ima n̄ara s̄amta imla*

*u[r̄b]atu, urbatu,*  
 'The red *urbatu* rose up and covered the red cloud,  
 The red rain rose up [a]nd poured down on the red earth,  
 The red flood rose up and swelled the red river

(*urbatu* 1:65-6)

The figure apparently identifies the red, swollen face of a person suffering from *urbatu* with a red, swollen river on the grounds of their similar appearance.<sup>66</sup> A swollen river is a dynamic analogue because it is the effect of a heavy rainfall, and ultimately of a cloud's propensity to release rain. *urbatu* is also identified with a cloud, Akkadian *urpata*, on the grounds of their near-homonymy. By identifying *urbatu*'s symptoms and name with a swollen river and a cloud, respectively, the figure doubly represents *urbatu*'s cause as a cloud's propensity to release rain.<sup>67</sup>

The second figure represents *urbatu* as a locked red door:

*daltumma s̄amat sikk̄urummi s̄am*  
*b̄ab̄ṣunu edla? mannumma ṣa ipett̄akkunūṣi*

<sup>65</sup>But cf. Köcher BAM 159 ii 20-2: *ṣumma amīlu qerbūṣu ittanappahū ṣāru ina libbiṣu uṣtar'ab libbaṣu iṣṣanabbassuma rit-ta-ṣū ina libbiṣu e-ta-nab-bal amīlu ṣū urbata maruṣ* "If a man's insides are continually bloated, wind quakes inside his belly, his belly is continually seizing him, and he is always *putting his hand on his belly*—that man is sick with *urbatu*." As is always the case when a prescription identifies particular symptoms with an illness, it is unclear whether the symptoms are typical of the illness, or are explicitly identified precisely because they are not typical.

<sup>66</sup>A person's body is also identified with a river bed in Bleeding 2.

<sup>67</sup>The incantation extends the figure in expressing *urbatu*'s remedy as cutting off the water that is swelling the river (ll. 66-7): *ikkāru s̄amu [mar]ra s̄ama tupṣikka s̄ama liṣṣima mē s̄amūti liskir* "May the red farmer take up the red [spa]de and the red hod and may he dam up the red water!"

The door is red, the bolt is red—  
Who is the one who will open their locked door for you?

(*urbatu* 1:67-8)

The figure identifies the swollen face of a person suffering from *urbatu* with the locked door on the grounds of their similar redness and on the grounds that both prevent something from exiting somewhere: *urbatu* prevents water from exiting the head and a locked door prevents a person from exiting a room or building.<sup>68</sup> A locked red door is not a dynamic analogue, since it neither has a propensity to change, nor is it the effect or characteristic of something that does; by identifying *urbatu*'s symptoms with a locked door, the figure thus represents *urbatu*'s cause as a lack of change.<sup>69</sup>

#### II.B.11. "Various Illnesses"

While most medical incantations focus on a particular illness, incantations against "various illnesses" typically describe how a number of different illnesses descended from heaven to afflict infants and livestock; for example:

*sikkatum išātum*  
*ašū ziqtum miqtum*  
*[š]anādu sāmānum*  
*[g]ergiššu simmu matqu*  
*[ekket]um rišūtum*  
*[nī]ṭum šēnum šitum*  
*[š]agbānu šapīnum*  
*[šur]uppūm lemnum*  
*[ep]eqēnu u [būš]ānum*  
*ištu šerret šamē urdūni*

<sup>68</sup>The antecedent to the second-person plural masculine dative suffix of *ipettākkunūši* is thus presumably *mū*, "water."

<sup>69</sup>Childbirth incantations also represent the cause of a baby being "retained" in the mother's womb as a locked door; e.g., W.G. Lambert, "A Middle Assyrian Medical Text," *Iraq* 31 (1969): pl. 6, ll. 35-6: *šu-ra sikkūru saniq bābu* "the bolt is..., the door has been made fast." Conversely, the remedy of a difficult childbirth is represented as opening a locked door; e.g., Köcher BAM 248 ii 50: *edlu lippeti bābša* "may her locked door be opened!" (cf. also l. 65). The manifestation of a difficult childbirth is a baby's inability to exit his mother's womb; by identifying the baby's inability to leave his mother's womb with an inability to exit through a locked door, the figures represent the cause of a difficult childbirth as a locked door's propensity to remain closed.

*uḥtammiṭū immeri kalūmi*  
*uḥtammiṭū ṣeḥḥerūtīm ṣa būd tāritim*

(various illnesses)

Descended [f]rom the lead-rope of heaven,  
 They made the sheep (and) lambs feverish,  
 They made the infants of the nursemaid's shoulder feverish

(Various Illnesses 2:1-13)

*sikkatum iṣātum*  
*miqtum ṣanādum*  
*ašū u sāmānum*  
*ina zuqqurān ṣamē urdamma*  
*imqut sikkatum innapiḥ iṣātu[m]*  
*tākul immera kalūmam u ṣuḥāram ibbūd t[ā]ritim?*  
*quttur būlum lakāta? wuṣṣ[ur]*

(various illnesses)

Descended from out of the top part of heaven,  
*sikkatu* illness fell and "fir[e]" illness was kindled;  
 You (O illness) consumed the sheep, lamb, and infant on the shoulder of the  
 n[u]rsemaid?!  
 The herd is gloomy, it is ranging fr[ee]

(Various Illnesses 4:10' -4')

*[sikkatu] miqtu ṣanādu sāmānu ašū*  
*[...] ašū muttaprištu ekketu ri[ṣūtu ṣinn]aḥteru*  
*ištu ṣerret ṣamē urdū[ni]*  
*[ūta]bbitū immera ka[lūma]*  
*[ū]tabbitū ṣerra ina būd tāri[ti]*  
*[x]-li il-tab-šu ina rēš [appi]*

(various illnesses)

Descended from the lead-rope of heaven;  
 They [des]troyed the sheep (and) the la[mb],  
 They [de]stroyed the infant on the shoulder of the nursema[id],  
 On the tip of [the nose]...[...]

(Various Illnesses 6:24' -9')

Why do these incantations list various illnesses, rather than indicate just one? It is significant that the incantations specifically portray the illnesses afflicting infants and livestock. Such illnesses may have been difficult to diagnose with any certainty because neither infants nor livestock could communicate an illness's symptoms. Chapter Four has shown that a magician sometimes overcame his uncertainty about a problem's cause by listing a number of possibilities. I suggest that in these incantations



the magician listed various illnesses in order to express that his incantation could treat *any* illness afflicting an infant or livestock animal. The cause of the undetermined illness is represented as a being's capability of causing a change by identifying rather nondescript symptoms (e.g., heat, restlessness) with a being's effects.

### III. Conclusion

Thus where other incantations identify a problem's cause literally, medical incantations employ a figure of speech that in effect enables them to avoid identifying the cause of an illness. Yet if the illness were thought to have a definite cause, why would medical incantations fail to identify it? The answer is unlikely to be that the illness's cause was unknown. The Babylonians were certainly capable of identifying the general class of an illness's cause (e.g., a sorcerer or ghost) from its symptoms or through divination. And even if a magician did not know the illness's exact cause (e.g., the sorcerer's identity or the particular kind of ghost), he still would not have had to represent it figuratively; as shown above, he could simply admit his ignorance or list a number of possibilities.<sup>70</sup> I believe it is far more likely that medical incantations fail to express a substantive conception of what caused an illness because the illnesses they treated had no definite cause; rather, the illnesses were thought to just happen, "naturally," without there being any explicit conception of how or why they did so.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup>See Chap. 4, I.A.2. "The Manipulation of Causal Relations" and above, II.B.11. "Various Illnesses."

<sup>71</sup>Although seldom stressed by anthropologists, the notion that an illness could occur without any definite cause is attested in other cultures; e.g., cf. G. Lewis, *Knowledge of Illness in a Sepik Society: A Study of the Gnau, New Guinea*, London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, 52 (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1975), 197: "The Gnau say of some illnesses that they just come: *neyigeg gipi'i*—he is sick nothingly, *nag diyi*—he died by no purpose or intent. Some maladies come and go, like colds, which usually need no explanation, although particular individuals may offer one for them. Of others, for example as happened in the influenza epidemic, people say 'everyone has it' it has a normal course and because so many have it they do not seek to provide an explanation of why

Chapter Six suggests how this notion of "natural" illness may have fit within the Babylonians' broader understanding of illness causality.

### Excursus: A Possible Objection

Several scholars have posited that the Babylonians distinguished between the "immediate" and "ultimate" causes of illness. For example, K. van der Toorn maintains that even an illness caused by a natural force ultimately had a suprahuman cause: "[a]lthough the distinction between natural and supernatural diseases can be useful to some extent," and although "the causes of 'natural' diseases retain a certain independence and can only secondarily be considered as part of a larger concatenation of "supernatural" cause and effect," "a consequent opposition must be rejected. A 'natural' illness ultimately has a 'supernatural' cause, a *causa remota* looming behind the *causae proximae*."<sup>72</sup> Likewise, M. Stol maintains that every illness was thought to have two causes: the immediate cause, which was "the instrument or technique," apparently the symptoms of the illness or, in some cases, a natural force, and the ultimate (or "efficient") cause, which was "the supernatural or natural being on whom the ultimate responsibility rests."<sup>73</sup> Thus a possible objection to the conclusion of this chapter is that even if the illness had no immediate cause, it still may have had a suprahuman cause *ultimately*. Yet this seems unlikely; if every illness was the

---

particular people have it." Cf. also S. Frankel, *The Huli Response to Illness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 176: "In most cases [Huli] patients...become aware of bodily disorder and refer to it in descriptive terms only. If asked why the illness has occurred, they will answer '*bamu*,' 'for no reason.' The lack of more elaborate explanation does not necessarily reflect a lack of concern. Many of these complaints are trivial, but others...are not, and are regarded as serious by the Huli."

<sup>72</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 70; by "natural" illness he means one whose cause can be perceived by the senses.

<sup>73</sup>M. Stol, JEOL 32 (1991-1992): 61-2. See also the flow chart of Babylonian health care in Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 231.

"instrument or technique" of a suprahuman being, one would expect incantations to attribute every illness to a suprahuman being, or else none. In fact, however, only some incantations portray an illness as a suprahuman being's "instrument or technique"; others, (i.e., medical incantations) do not. If the illnesses treated by medical incantations were also thought to be instruments of a suprahuman being, why then are they not also portrayed as such?<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup>Admittedly, there are a few passages in medical incantations that could be adduced as evidence for an ultimate suprahuman cause. Eyes 2 describes Nergal setting up his chair between the sick eyes "so that the one could not relax with<sup>2</sup> the other"; Belly 26 apparently refers to Ea as the "lord" of "my belly" (perhaps Belly, the personification of *kis libbi*); and Belly 3 (and perhaps also Belly 4) asks Wind rhetorically, "who brought you here?" In addition, some etiological stories involve a god in an illness's creation; for an interpretation of these stories, see Appendix B.

## CHAPTER SIX

### NATURAL ILLNESS IN BABYLONIA: A HYPOTHESIS

Although this study has argued that the Babylonians thought an illness could occur without any cause, "naturally," there is no doubt that they also thought an illness could be caused by a suprahuman being, "supernaturally." Why would a particular illness have been classified as natural or supernatural? It has sometimes been suggested that a Babylonian classified an illness as supernatural when it struck him as abnormal. Although our sources provide no direct evidence for this suggestion, I believe it makes a plausible hypothesis. This hypothesis would explain why the same illness is sometimes classified differently in different texts, and it would also show how the circumstantial evidence for natural illness, and the abundant explicit evidence for supernatural illness, may be reconciled.

#### I. Statement of the Hypothesis

Since most scholars have not accepted that the Babylonians thought an illness could occur "naturally" (at least as I use the term), they have had no reason to address why a Babylonian would have classified one illness as natural but another as supernatural. A few have, however, accepted that a Babylonian associated some illnesses with the gods more closely than others, and have essentially suggested that he did so when he found an illness salient, whether because he perceived it as rare, serious, protracted, bizarre, or in some other way deviating from what he considered normal. Thus Goltz, while rejecting the possibility that the Babylonians had a

conception of "'natürliche' Ursache im modernen Sinne des Wortes,"<sup>1</sup> does admit that they may not have thought especially minor illnesses came from the gods, and states that for any culture classifying an illness

sind vor allem zwei Aspekte massgebend. Die Schwere einer Krankheit, ihre Dauer und letztlich ihre Unheilbarkeit lassen im Leidenden das Gefühl eines besonderen ausserordentlichen Schicksals entstehen, für das meist eine irrationale Erklärung gesucht wird. Andererseits ist es die Auffälligkeit einer Krankheitserscheinung (Epilepsie, Schlaganfall), die den Menschen nach übernatürlichen Ursachen forschen lässt. Der Ansatzpunkt für die Suche nach einer nicht-natürlichen Ursache ist relativ und bedingt durch den Grad der Einbezogenheit und Immanenz des Religiösen im Gedankengut einer Kultur.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, van der Toorn states that "[o]ne may, probably correctly, surmise" that the Babylonians did not credit "minor ailments... with the same religious significance as the long-suffered illnesses" and that "[o]nly the extraordinary was directly reduced to the 'supernatural.'" Among the illnesses that the Babylonians thought came directly from the gods van der Toorn includes illnesses affecting the skin, notably "leprosy," because "[a]mong the afflictions that filled the ancients with spontaneous disgust, skin diseases seem to outstrip all others," and the "visible and obvious departures from the normal [that skin diseases represent] singled one out from the common lot and designated one as the object of divine wrath."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 11; on p. 9 Goltz states: "Einschränkend muss bemerkt werden, dass, wie auch bei den Primitiven, nicht für jedwede Krankheitserscheinung Vergehen, Strafe oder Dämonen verantwortlich gemacht worden sind. War die Krankheit leicht, vermeinte man ihren Grund zu kennen, so lohnte es sich nicht, den gesamten Beschwörungsapparat des Tempels in Bewegung zu setzen. Je schwerer die Krankheit war, um so mehr wurde ihre Unerklärbarkeit empfunden und um so eher nahm der Gedankengang über ihre Entstehung zwangsläufig den oben skizzierten Verlauf. Auch heute wird für eine leichte Erkältung eine sogenannte natürliche Ursache angenommen und nicht sofort der 'Wille Gottes' bemüht. Lautet die Diagnose jedoch z.B. auf 'Krebs', so ist der Patient oft schnell bereit, eine individuelle Schicksalsfügung durch Gott anzunehmen."

<sup>2</sup>Goltz, *Heilkunde*, 9, n. 39; Goltz seems to believe that the Babylonians classified all but the most minor illnesses as supernatural.

<sup>3</sup>van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 72-3; van der Toorn places leprosy in quotation marks because he uses the modern disease as a gloss for a roughly equivalent ancient illness. He suggests other examples of directly supernatural illnesses on pp.

Going somewhat further than these scholars, I hypothesize that a Babylonian classified an illness as supernatural only when he perceived it to be abnormal.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis can be broken down into three postulates:

- 1) A Babylonian regarded some illnesses as normal, others as abnormal;
- 2) Only when he regarded an illness as abnormal did he find it salient;
- 3) Only when he found an illness salient did he assume that it had been caused by a suprahuman being, and thus that it signified a suprahuman being's will.

Conversely, when a Babylonian regarded an illness as normal, he did not find it salient, and did not assume that it had suprahuman cause or significance; rather, he assumed that the illness just happened, naturally, often without having any definite idea of how or why it did so. This hypothesis can be represented schematically as:

normal	»	unsalient	»	no suprahuman cause/significance	=	natural
abnormal	»	salient	»	suprahuman cause/significance	=	supernatural

To say that the Babylonians regarded some illnesses as "abnormal" or "supernatural" does not require that they had an *explicit* conception of either "normality" or "nature"; as P. Boyer remarks in a slightly different context:<sup>5</sup>

Representing [supernatural] events or states as special, non-ordinary, counterintuitive, and consequently attention demanding does not require an explicit, accessible "conception of nature." It requires only intuitive expectations about the behavior of physical objects in space, the biological processes that lead to death and decay, and so on.... Against the background of these principles, of which only a small subset is accessible to the subject's consciousness, certain events stand out as intuitively *unnatural*, to use a handy term.... Intuitive principles should not be confused with whatever explicit representations people entertain about what "nature" is or what is "natural" or, more generally, what account can

---

76ff. For skin illnesses as especially divine illnesses, see also M. Stol, JEOL 32 (1991-1992): 63ff.

<sup>4</sup>I understand "normality" as an arbitrary, culturally specific baseline demarcating what does not elicit explanation or interpretation; an "abnormal" phenomenon is one that is perceived to deviate from that baseline.

<sup>5</sup>P. Boyer, *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas: A Cognitive Theory of Religion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 35.

be given of observed regularities in the environment. In many societies, there is simply no such explicit conception."<sup>6</sup>

Thus even if the Babylonians had no explicit conception of how an illness not caused by a suprahuman being occurred, they still may have thought intuitively that some illnesses did so occur.

This hypothesis is admittedly a simplification, not least because it does not consider the role of non-suprahuman agents (e.g., natural forces or biological processes) in the Babylonians' explanation of illness causality.<sup>7</sup> Whether explanations involving such agents derive from systematic and explicit conceptions of how nature and the human body "worked" (for which there is scant evidence), or whether they are more or less ad hoc, is difficult to judge, and will require further research. But it may well turn out that the significant distinction made in classifying an illness was not whether the illness had a suprahuman cause or no definite cause (as hypothesized here),

---

<sup>6</sup>Cf. G.E.R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience: Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 49-51: "an assumption of the regularity of natural phenomena is *implicit* in much of human behaviour," even if, as he claims, "[t]he idea of nature as implying a universal nexus of cause and effect comes to be made *explicit* [only] in the course of the development of Presocratic philosophy".... "[T]he idea that every physical phenomenon has a natural cause [i.e., a non-suprahuman agent] is neither stated—nor, it would appear, assumed—as a universal rule before philosophy." Cf. also Lewis, *Knowledge of Illness*, 199: "The Gnau do not have a word which corresponds to 'normal' as part of a concept of 'normality'; although clearly considerations of commonness or triviality, of what can be expected or understood as a direct visible sequence of dependent events, lie behind their statements that things 'just happen'...or happen without intention or some cause willing or contriving their occurrence."

<sup>7</sup>For "biological" processes, cf. SAA 10 302 (in which an infant's fever is attributed to teething) and Hunger Uruk 43 (in which groups of illness are linked to different parts of the body); the latter text is discussed by F. Köcher, *Festschrift für Heinz Goerke*, 22ff.

but rather whether it had a suprahuman cause or did *not* have suprahuman cause (i.e., it had either no definite cause or a non-suprahuman cause).<sup>8</sup>

## II. Evaluation of the Hypothesis

Our sources do not provide the information needed to prove or disprove the hypothesis directly. Although many texts incidentally indicate that an illness has been classified as supernatural (by attributing it to a suprahuman being), few offer any justification for its classification; and those that do offer justification merely indicate a particular feature of the illness, without indicating the general principle that made that feature relevant.<sup>9</sup> Babylonian texts never state that an illness was classified as supernatural because it is abnormal, or articulate any other principle according to which illness was classified.

In the absence of direct evidence for the hypothesis, one could theoretically judge its plausibility by how well it accounts for the classification of illnesses in Babylonian texts. If a Babylonian invariably and exclusively classified an illness as supernatural when he considered it abnormal, it would follow that the illnesses that he

---

<sup>8</sup>According to Frankel, *Huli Response*, 176, the Huli make just such a distinction: although patients usually refer to illness in descriptive terms and say that it occurred "*bamu*," "for no reason," "[i]n other cases, in addition to offering a descriptive diagnosis, they may express an opinion about how such illnesses come about. These are general statements, and do not specify what caused the illness in the particular instance under discussion. When asked why the illness occurred, the answers in such cases would include 'old age,' 'because it is the time for head colds,' 'worms,' 'blood,' [and so forth]. When asked why the illness affected them and not someone else, the answer would again be '*bamu*,' 'for no reason,' or '*manda nabido*,' 'I don't know.'" Frankel concludes that "[i]t is perhaps misleading to gloss *bamu* as 'for no reason.' The distinction between those illnesses which occur *bamu* and those which do not [e.g., those attributed to spirit attack and pollution] is more between illnesses which are given no socially or spiritually significant explanation, and those that are given such explanations."

<sup>9</sup>E.g., M. Stol, *Or 54* (1997): 408, cites references that suggest an illness was classified as supernatural when it was protracted, but the references do not state why protraction would lead one to assume an illness had a suprahuman cause.



classified as supernatural and those that he considered abnormal would be the same. Since it is unlikely that the same illnesses would be supernatural and abnormal fortuitously, or that an illness was considered abnormal only after it was classified as supernatural, showing that the same illnesses were classified as supernatural and considered abnormal would provide strong circumstantial evidence that the hypothesis is correct. Yet to demonstrate a coincidence between supernatural and abnormal illnesses one would first have to establish what illnesses the Babylonians considered abnormal; because our sources never clearly state that an illness (or any other phenomenon) is "abnormal," and because it cannot be assumed that the Babylonians and we ourselves would have considered the same illnesses abnormal, this is impossible to do.<sup>10</sup>

The lack of evidence for the hypothesis does not imply that it is wrong, however, because our sources probably would not provide such evidence even if it is right. Most Babylonian texts that mention illness are interested in treating it, not in classifying it per se. Although how an illness has been classified was presumably relevant to its treatment, why it had been so classified may not have been; thus most texts may not justify an illness's classification simply because doing so was irrelevant to their purpose. Moreover, even if the hypothesis is correct, a text would never have reason to state that an illness was classified as supernatural when it was abnormal; as a known constant in every illness's classification, this general principle would have been presumed obvious and thus not made explicit.<sup>11</sup> A text would at most have reason to

---

<sup>10</sup>For what it is worth, illnesses treated by medical incantations (e.g., flatulence, toothache, and a sty) by and large seem *to me* normal and unsalient, especially relative to many of the illnesses other incantations attribute to a suprahuman being (which often seem more serious, include more varied symptoms, and affect not only a person's body, but also his mind, emotions, and social relations).

<sup>11</sup>In any case, the principle presumably would have been largely intuitive.

indicate the unknown variable in the illness's classification—namely, the specific feature that made the illness seem abnormal. Thus while our sources do not provide the information needed to prove the hypothesis, that is neither here nor there; one would not expect such information in any case.<sup>12</sup>

Further, the hypothesis merely suggests that the Babylonians classified illness as they apparently classified other phenomena. Scholars have remarked that in Babylonian divination a distinction is made between normal and abnormal phenomena, and suprahuman cause and significance is attributed only to the latter. According to A.L. Oppenheim, "the normally functioning cosmos is not the manifestation of supreme intelligence or the achievement of an omniscient divine will or also the expression of creative power—on the contrary, only that which is deviant, extraordinary, or outside the norm is meaningful because it is carrying a message to the observer."<sup>13</sup> Likewise, I. Starr notes that in Babylonian extispicy "[i]t was the absence of any [fortuitous marks] or any other part of the liver, their dislocation from their normal position, or any other abnormality observed on them by the haruspex which made them ominous, and

---

<sup>12</sup>Pertinent to the hypothesis, however, is a group of three Neo-Assyrian letters sent from scholars to the king. In two of the letters (SAA 8 1 and SAA 10 236), a scholar tells the king he should not worry about an illness because it is *murūš šatti*, literally "an illness of the year." S. Parpola translates *murūš šatti* as a "seasonal" illness, presumably because in a third letter (SAA 10 241) one of the same scholars apparently warns the king that an unseasonal illness is something to worry about. Taken together, the letters seem to corroborate the hypothesis in that a seasonal (and thus normal) illness is not attributed to any cause and is not regarded as significant, while an unseasonal (and thus abnormal) illness is for that reason attributed to the gods.

<sup>13</sup>A.L. Oppenheim, "Perspectives on Mesopotamian Divination," in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines*, XIVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966), 36.

predictions were derived from their abnormalities."<sup>14</sup> Since the principle that suprahuman cause and significance is to be inferred from abnormality is already attested among the Babylonians, the hypothesis that illness was also classified by that principle seems plausible; its major claim is merely that the Babylonians did not invariably consider illness abnormal.

### III. An Application of the Hypothesis

The hypothesis may be used to resolve a long-standing crux of Babylonian medicine: namely, why do different texts sometimes classify the same illness differently? To take one example, medical incantations and prescriptions do not attribute *bu'sānu* illness to any cause, but a diagnostic omen attributes it to a suprahuman being:

*šumma lā'ū irrūšu ebtū u zumuršu aruq bu'sānu iṣbassu qāt Gula*

If an infant's insides are cramped and his body is yellow, it is *bu'sānu*, the "hand of Gula"

(TDP 228:96)<sup>15</sup>

As discussed in Chapter One, scholars have associated medical incantations and prescriptions with the *asū*, and diagnostic omens with the *āšīpu*; to account for discrepancies between the texts, they have posited that the *asū* and *āšīpu* differed in their understanding of, or interest in, whether or not an illness had a suprahuman cause. Yet this interpretation is unconvincing, since prescriptions occasionally do attribute an illness to a suprahuman being, and diagnostic omens sometimes do not; and Chapter

---

<sup>14</sup>I. Starr, *Queries to the Sun god: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, State Archives of Assyria, 4 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990), xxxix. K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 80, has already made the connection between illness classification and divination, by referring to "directly supernatural" illnesses as "ominous" illnesses.

<sup>15</sup>Although there has been some debate as to the meaning of *qāt* DN (e.g., van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, 78ff., Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 130ff., and M. Stol, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 407), I believe it must indicate the cause of the illness.

Three has shown that medical incantations were considered *āšipūtu*. Thus prescriptions (insofar as they reflect the practices of the *asū*) show that occasionally the *asū* explicitly attributed illness to a suprahuman being, and diagnostic omens and medical incantations show that sometimes the *āšipu* did not. While it may be true that the *asū* usually treated illnesses that he did not attribute to any cause, and the *āšipu* more often treated illnesses that he attributed to a suprahuman being, one cannot conclude that whether an illness was attributed to a suprahuman being depended on whether an *asū* or an *āšipu* treated it—perhaps the *asū* and *āšipu* tended to treat different kinds of illness.

If the hypothesis is correct, whether an illness was attributed to a suprahuman being would have depended in part on the circumstances surrounding it. A Babylonian presumably could consider an illness abnormal on the grounds of any one of the three variables in his classification of it: 1) its symptoms; 2) the context in which it occurs; or 3) the perspective from which he views it. Thus the hypothesis predicts that an illness's classification was fluid—not only could two illnesses be classified differently because they had different symptoms, but a single illness could be classified differently when it occurred in different contexts, and a single case of illness could be classified differently when viewed from different perspectives. Under certain circumstances, *any* illness might be considered abnormal, and so classified as supernatural.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Ethnography suggests that circumstances could affect an illness's classification in various ways; for example, cf. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 301, speaking of the Lunda of Africa: "[s]ome sicknesses are so common that the element of the untoward which makes people immediately suspect sorcery or witchcraft is lacking. Nevertheless, if these become exceptionally severe or protracted, suspicion grows." According to Lewis, *Knowledge of Illness*, 154, among the Gnaou "[i]f a person of no concern to one's interlocuter is ill, the sick person may be said by him to be 'just sick'...or, even if he has died after an illness, he may be said 'just to have died'...he died for no reason, by no cause or purpose." Frankel, *Huli Response*, 177-80, states that "[t]he likelihood of [the Huli] being satisfied with naturalistic explanations relates to a number of features of the illness, and of the patient suffering from it." In addition to the illness's severity, rarity within the patient's age group, and protraction, other factors that may affect an illness's interpretation include the ill person's social situation: "an intercurrent illness that might otherwise have been disregarded may take on great

This raises the possibility that texts classify the same illness differently because they classify it under different premises. Whereas incantations and prescriptions were meant to treat illness, diagnostic omens were meant to interpret it (by determining its prognosis, diagnosis, or significance). Thus incantations and prescriptions were presumably used for every kind of illness, but diagnostic omens only for those illnesses whose interpretation was uncertain.<sup>17</sup> Insofar as normal illnesses were assumed to have neither cause nor significance, and convention or experience could be relied on to predict their course and outcome, they would have required no interpretation. In contrast, insofar as abnormal illnesses were assumed to have both suprahuman cause and significance, and perhaps to follow an abnormal course, they *would* have required interpretation. If only abnormal illnesses needed to be interpreted, the very act of consulting diagnostic omens would presuppose that an illness seemed abnormal, and so a diagnostic omen might classify an illness on that premise.

To return to the example of *bu'sānu*, I suggest that medical incantations and prescriptions classify it in the abstract, devoid of context and from the perspective of a typical and disinterested member of Babylonian culture; they do not attribute *bu'sānu* to

---

significance where the patient has an outstanding grievance"; or his attitude toward religion: although "[a]ny illness can be given a religious dimension...the specific form of the illness is not usually relevant...the key issue here is the particular attitude of the patient...In general, we find that people's interpretations of illness are consistent with their preceding commitment to particular religious views."

<sup>17</sup>Cf. E. Gillies, "Causal Criteria in African Classifications of Disease," in *Social Anthropology and Medicine* (A.S.A. Monograph 13), ed. J.B. Loudon (London and New York: Academic Press, 1976), 364-5 and 379: Among the Ogori of Nigeria "not all illnesses are seen as calling for divination, any more than all deaths are. For a number of diseases, traditional Ogori have strictly naturalistic...explanations [including sunstroke, sexual intercourse, or polluted water]...None of these diseases are thought to require divination, any more than are such merely trivial everyday complaints as indigestion, constipation, diarrhoea or the effects of too much guinea-corn beer." "[S]ince in most societies consulting a diviner is expensive and carrying out his recommendations may be troublesome as well, [there is] usually a preliminary, rough-and-ready classification of diseases into those that are, and those that are not, worth consulting a diviner about."

any cause because in the abstract *bu'sānu* was considered normal, and so thought to occur naturally. Yet *bu'sānu* might seem abnormal when it occurred in certain contexts or when it was viewed from certain perspectives. In order to interpret an abnormal case of *bu'sānu*, the Babylonians consulted diagnostic omens (or used other forms of divination).<sup>18</sup> Since diagnostic omens would not be consulted for a normal case of *bu'sānu*, the diagnostic omen that attributes *bu'sānu* to "the hand of Gula" presupposes an *abnormal* case of *bu'sānu*; the omen indicates not that Gula causes *bu'sānu*, but rather that if such a case of *bu'sānu* seems abnormal, then Gula must have caused it.

#### IV. Conclusion

Although the hypothesis presented in this chapter is necessarily speculative, it does illustrate how the categories of natural and supernatural illness may have coexisted, and even complemented one another, within a single classificatory system. Thus the many texts that attribute illness to a suprahuman being do not necessarily contradict the conclusion drawn from medical incantations, that some illnesses had no definite cause. Rather, the evidence for natural illness suggests that perhaps the Babylonians' response to illness was more complex than has generally been appreciated—that for every illness alternative interpretations were possible, and the choice of interpretation depended not only on the illness's symptoms, but also the circumstances in which it occurred and the perspective from which it was viewed. Clearly, further research remains to be done, both to address issues not addressed here

---

<sup>18</sup>Cf. G. Maskarinec, *The Rulings of the Night: An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 29: in traditional Nepal "[a]s afflicted persons and their families exhaust simple methods and household cures without success, straightforward natural explanations [i.e., attributions to non-suprahuman agents] become less applicable to the situation. Extended causalities become necessary, along with the services of a professional capable of diagnosing and treating them."

(e.g., the role of non-suprahuman agents in causing illness, the transformation of one illness into another, and the spread of illness through contagion), and to test the hypothesis against the many references to illness in our sources (especially letters). But I believe that by making a case for natural illness, this study provides an important new perspective from which to investigate the Babylonians' response to illness.





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NATURAL ILLNESS IN BABYLONIAN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED

TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

TIMOTHY JOSEPH COLLINS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 1999

## TEXT EDITIONS OF MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

The following editions of published Babylonian medical incantations are ordered alphabetically by the body part or illness they treat (i.e.: Belly, Bleeding, *bu'sānu*, Eyes, *martu*, *maškadu*, *su'ālu*, Teeth, *urbatu*, and Various Illnesses); within each group, incantations are ordered more or less thematically. For each incantation, a heading indicates its place of publication, provenance, and basic bibliography (older treatments are not cited systematically). When an incantation survives in duplicates, exemplars written in Babylonian script are identified lower-case letters, those in Assyrian script by upper-case letters. For transliterations, line numbering follows the tablet on which the incantation appears; for transcriptions, line division follows the sense of the text, and thus is somewhat subjective. Transcriptions are in fact more properly normalizations, and are not intended to represent the actual phonetic rendering of the text in a given period. I use them only to express my own understanding of the grammar of the text, and they should be considered as much an interpretation as the translation. In order to make it easier to see the basis for the transcriptions, I place them at the head of scored transliterations.

## Belly

## Belly 1

OECT 11 3 (AB 214)

OB, provenance unknown

T. Fish, *Iraq 6* (1939): 184 (edition); O.R. Gurney, OECT 11, pp. 21-2 (edition);

Foster, *Anthology*, 123 (translation).

- 1      ši-i ša-a-ru-um ši-i ša-a-ru-um  
 2      ši-i ša-a-ru-um ma-ri ʾi<sup>l</sup>-li  
 3      ši-i ša-a-ru-um nu-ḥu-uš ni-ši  
 4      i-na qá-qá-di-im ši-i ša-a-ru-um  
 5      i-na i-nim ši-i ša-a-ru-um  
 6      i-na pi-i-im ši-i ša-a-ru-um  
 7      i-na uz-nim ši-i ša-ʾa-ru<sup>l</sup>-um  
 8      i-na šu-bu-ur-ri-im ʾši<sup>l</sup>-i ša-ʾa-ru<sup>l</sup>-um  
 9      ʾli<sup>l</sup>-ip-ša-a[ḥ a]-ʾwi<sup>l</sup>-lum  
 10     ʾli x<sup>l</sup> [ ] ʾx<sup>l</sup> ni ʾx x x<sup>l</sup>

rubric:

- 11     ʾka<sup>l</sup>-[inim-ma] ʾša<sup>ʔ</sup>-[a]-ʾru<sup>l</sup>-um

*ši šārum ši šārum*

*ši šārum māri ili*

*ši šārum nuḥuš niši*

*ina qaqqadim ši šārum*

*ina inim ši šārum*

*ina pīm ši šārum*

*ina uznim ši šārum*

*ina šuburrim ši šārum*

*lípša[h a]wilum*

[.....]

Go out, Wind! Go out, Wind!

Go out, Wind, son of the gods!

Go out, Wind, abundance of the people!

Go out from the head, Wind!

Go out from the eye, Wind!

Go out from the mouth, Wind!

Go out from the ear, Wind!

Go out from the anus, Wind!

May the [m]an get relie[f]!

[.....]

(inc[antation] (for) flatus)

## Belly 2

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 56-7

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 10-1 (edition); E.K. Ritter, *Studies Landsberger*, 312 (translation); W.

Farber, TUAT II/2, 272 (translation); Foster, *Anthology*, 843 (translation).

56    ÈN ša-ru-um-mi šá-ru šá-ru IZI DINGIR.MEŠ at-tú ša-ru ša bi-rit ze-e

57    u ši-na-a-ti at-tú tu-ši-a-ma it-ti DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ka ʾna<sup>1</sup>-di-a-at

GIŠ.GU.ZA-ka ÈN

*šārummi šāru*

*šāru išāt ilī atta*

*šāru ša birit zē u šināti atta*

*tūšiamma itti ilī aḥḥika nadiat kussika*

Wind, Wind,

Wind, you are the fire of the gods,

Wind, you are the one who is between excrement and urine—

(After) you have come out, your chair will be set up with the gods, your brothers!

57: *na-dī-a-at* could also be the second-person singular stative *nadiāt* "you have set up."

### Belly 3

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 43-5

NA, Nineveh

43    EN IM e1-lu šá ina KUR-i áš-bu man-nu ub-lak-k[a    -d]a šá a-me-lu-  
ti

44    šá UZU-šú la a-ka-lim šá-niš KUS<sup>?</sup>-šá la [x<sup>1</sup> [    -i]n<sup>?</sup> IM ana šu-  
bur-ri

45    ki-ma še-er ka-ra-nim ta-aZ-la-[    ] TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

*šāru ellu ša ina šadī ašbu mannu ublakk[a]*

*[x-x-d]a ša amilūti ša širšu lā akāli šaniš mašakša<sup>?</sup> lā [...]*

*[...] šāru ana šuburri kīma šēr karāni taZla[...]*

Pure Wind that dwells on the mountain, who brought yo[u] here?

[...] of mankind, whose flesh is not to be eaten (variant: whose skin<sup>?</sup> is not to be [...])

[...] Wind,...through the anus like a "wine snake!" [...]

43-4.: Cf. Lamaštu I 187-8: *ištanatvi dāmī nešpūti ša amilūti šira ša lā akālī ešemta ša lā karāši* "She keeps drinking 'blown' human blood, (keeps eating) flesh which is not to be eaten, (keeps gnawing) bone which is not to be gnawed"; and W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 41, l. 24: *šir am[ilūtimma lā] takkalī šir'ān amilūtimma lā takassasī* "Do [not] eat hu[man] flesh, do not consume human sinews!"

44: The antecedent of both the masculine possessive pronoun *-šu* on *širu* and the feminine possessive pronoun *-ša* on *mašku*<sup>?</sup> is presumably the feminine *amilūtu*.

44-5: The *šāru* in l. 44 is presumably the personified "pure Wind" mentioned in l. 43 (rather than mere flatus), which is to leave the body through the anus like a snake.

#### Belly 4

CT 51 202 (BM 123385) iii 1-4

NA, Nineveh

[...]

- 1 ul DAB-k[a...]
- 2 man-nu ub-lak-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 3 ta-aš-bat ir n[a<sup>?</sup>...]
- 4 ĒN šī-pat a-šá-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]

rubric:

- 5 3 ka-inim-[...]

[...]

*ul šibitk[a...]*

*mannu ublakka [...]*

*tašbat... [...]*

... [...]

[...]

He is not you[rs] to seize [...]

Who brought you here? [...]

You seized [...]

... [...]

This incantation's identification as a Belly incantation is tentative.

### Belly 5

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 54

NA, Nineveh

54 EN ŠÀ nam-zi-tum bi-la-as-su IM<sup>!</sup> TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

*libbu namzitu*

*billassu šāru*

The belly is a fermenting vat,

Its fermenting mixture is flatus

54: I emend Uḫ to IM.

## Belly 6

PBS 7 87 (CBS 1690) rev.

OB, probably Sippar

W. Farber, JNES 43 (1984): 70 (collations).

- 1      ʿnam<sup>1</sup>-zi-is-sú ḪA-ar-tu[m]
- 2      bi-il-la-as-sú ša-rum
- 3      ši-ip-tum an-ni-tum
- 4      ʿša<sup>1</sup> dAMAR.UTU i-na ma-tim
- 5      ʿú<sup>1</sup>-ša-ab-šu-ʿú<sup>1</sup>
- 6      [x Š]A<sup>?</sup>-bi-šu ù SA[G<sup>?</sup>.DU-šu]
- 7      [x] ʿi-na<sup>?</sup> ar-ka-a[t ]
- 8      [la-m]a<sup>?</sup> na-ag-la<sup>?</sup>-[bu]
- [.....]

*namzissu 'artu[m]*

*billassu šārum*

*šiptum annitum ša Marduk ina mātīm ušabšū*

*[x li]bbišu u qa[qqadišu]*

*[x i]na arka[t...]*

*[lām]a nagla[bū<sup>?</sup>]*

*[.....]*

His fermenting vat is the ches[t],

His fermenting mixture is flatus—

This incantation, which Marduk caused to exist in the land,

[Is for?] his [he]art and [his] h[ead]!



[Go out throug]h the rea[r...]!

[Befor]e the scalpe[ls]

[.....]

1-2: If the incantation began on the obverse, the antecedent to the third-person singular masculine suffixes may have been mentioned there. Note 'artum for irtum; according to Farber, the traces after -tu[m] on the copy are merely scratches.

6-7: The restorations are very tentative; cf. Belly 21:9-10, exemplar C: *ša DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA lib-bi u SAG.DU la<sup>?</sup> ma<sup>?</sup>-ḫar GIM<sup>?</sup> IM a-na šu-[bu]r GIM šer-ri GEŠTIN a-na EGIR li<sup>?</sup>-ša<sup>?</sup>-fa<sup>?</sup> ʾ*"The one who says, 'my belly and my head,' cannot be withstood?! May it (Belly) come out<sup>?</sup> like flatus through the anus, like a 'wine snake' through the rear!"; cf. also Belly 31:21'.

8: This line may begin the *lāma šurrū naglabū* element, for which cf. Eyes 8:5 and *maškadu* 1:5.

### Belly 7

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 41-2

NA, Nineveh

41 [ÉN ( )] ʾx<sup>1</sup> si ʾx x x an x<sup>1</sup> sa-[b]i-tum

42 [n]am-zi-tum ér-tum ina a-mat ʾAMAR.UTU ina qí-ʾbit<sup>1</sup> [ʾU]TU LÜ lib-  
luṭ TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN

[.....]

[...] sa[b]itu

[n]amzitu ertu

ina amāt Marduk ina qibit [Š]amaš amīlu libluṭ

[.....]

[...] is a female br[e]wer,

[A fe]rmenting vat is the chest—

At the word of Marduk, at the command of [Š]amaš, may the man get well!

42: The scribe glossed the IGI of *ér* (A.IGI) as : ME (or PI?), perhaps because he did not understand the incantation's meaning or was unfamiliar with the syllabic value *ér*.

### Belly 8

A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, De Meyer AV 83, text A (IM 95317) 16-27

OB, Sippar

A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, De Meyer AV 82ff. (edition), and A. Cavigneaux, ASJ 18 (1996): 37-8 (corrections); N. Wasserman, NABU 1995/71 (comments).

- 16 GIŠ.GI ša <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU<sup>1</sup> GI ša má-kan-na  
 17 <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU be-<sup>l</sup>li<sup>1</sup> ú-su-uḫ zi-bi-in-ka  
 18 <sup>l</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>-an<sup>l</sup>-nu-um li-ri-<sup>l</sup>id<sup>l</sup> a-na ŠA.KUŠ<sup>2</sup>.E  
 19 ŠU.ḪA i-ba-ar KU<sub>6</sub>  
 20-1 am-me-nim a-di-i-[n]a <sup>l</sup>e<sup>2</sup> zi im GİR<sup>2</sup> im-ḫa-aš  
 22 al-su-um-ma ak-šú-<da>-am-ma  
 23 il-su-ma-am-ma ú-ul ik-šú-da-ni  
 24 na-zi a-ba-ra-k[a-a]t <sup>d</sup>nin-gal  
 25 i-na pí-i na-zi <sup>l</sup>a-ba<sup>l</sup>-ra-ka-tim  
 26 ša <sup>d</sup>nin-gal li-ší-a-am-ma  
 27 KU<sub>6</sub> ša ap-pa-ri-im li-ší-a-am

rubric:

28 tu-e-en-ne-nu-ri ù ma-da-di-im

*apum ša Sîn qanûm ša Makkana*

*Sîn bēlī usuh zibinka*

*mannum lirid ana šakušim?*

*bā'irum ibār nūnam*

*ammēnim adi[n]a...imḥaš*

*alsumma akšu<d>amma*

*ilsumamma ul ikšudanni*

*Nazi abarakk[a]t Ningal*

*ina pī Nazi abarakkatim ša Ningal lišiamma*

*nūnum ša appārim lišiam*

The canebrake of Sîn is (made up of) the reed of Makkan—

My lord Sîn, pull up your reed fence!

Who will go down to the šakušû official?, (saying)

"A fisherman fished for fish;

"Why until now has he (the fisherman?) struck...?"?

I ran and ma<d>e it,

It ran to me but did not make it to me;

Nazi is the female steward of Ningal;

At the command of Nazi, the female steward of Ningal, may it come out,

So that the fish of the swamp may come out!

(incantation...(to treat) the blocking up (of the belly))

- 16: The ZU of EN.ZU is written SU. Hg. 27-8, in MSL 7, p. 68 identifies both *kīsu* and *šippatu* as *qan Makkani* "the reed of Makkan."
- 17: *zibnu* is a "reed mat or fence"; see Cavigneaux, ASJ 18 (1996): 37-8. I take *zibnu* as referring to the canebrake of Sîn mentioned in l. 16, which keeps the fish in the swamp.
- 18: Cavigneaux and al-Rawi read *a-na ŠA ABZU<sub>x</sub> (DĒ)-e* (for the reading of DĒ as *apsû*, see Cavigneaux, ASJ 9 [1987]: 46-7). Yet one would expect *apsim* (with mimation), and this line seems to be a variant of the *mannam lušpur* formula, which so far as I know is always directed toward a being. I tentatively read ŠA.KUŠ.E, for Sum. *ša-kuš-ù*, an official title that etymologically corresponds to Akkadian *muniḫ libbi*, "the one who eases the *libbu* ("heart," but also "belly")," an epithet appropriate to this context.
- 19: Assuming that l. 18 is a variant of the *mannam lušpur* formula, l. 19 (and following?) may be the message that is to be sent. Wasserman suggests that the *bā'iru* may be Sîn.
- 20-1: *adīna* is tentative (in Old Babylonian one would expect *adīni*). Although the basic sense of *maḥāṣu* is "to beat," it has a wide range of specialized meanings, including "to weave" and "to cut," both of which could refer to reeds. The middle of the line is obscure. One possibility is *[l]a-si-im GĪR* "one swift of foot"; Belly 16:60 and 22:34 refer to the personified Belly's running ability, and Belly may be the implicit subject of the verbs in ll. 23 and 26.
- 25-6: Or perhaps, "From the mouth of Nazi, the female steward of Ningal, may it (the command) come out."
- 28: The *ù* is unexpected, and perhaps should be emended to *ši-pa<sup>l</sup>-at<sup>l</sup>* (cf. l. 31 on the same tablet: *ši-pa-at UR.GĪ<sub>7</sub>.RA* "incantation against a dog"; and ll. 40-1: *ši-pa-at ša.mu* "incantation: my belly"). For *madādu* in the sense of the "blocking

up(?)" of watercourses, see CAD s.v. *madādu* A, mng. 2, and cf. the similar image of the passages from the belly "silting up" in Belly 9.

### Belly 9

A: AMT 45,5 (K 5416, A) obv. 1'-9'

B: Köcher BAM 509 (Sm 1802) i' 1'-9'

C: Köcher BAM 508 (K 239+) ii 1'-10'

D: Köcher BAM 577 (K 11266) 1'-5'

E: STT 252 (S.U. 52/69) 16-20

F: Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) ii 46-8

A-D, F: NA, Nineveh; E: NA, Huzirina

E. Reiner, JNES 26 (1967): 192 (transliteration of E); W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990):

319-20 (edition of A-D).

1		<i>minā</i>		<i>malū</i>		<i>libbūka</i>
C1'	[					]- <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>1</sup>
E16	ÉN	mi-na-a	<<la>>	mal-lu-u	<<ina>>	lib-bu-ka »
F46	ÉN	m[i <sup>2</sup> -n]a <sup>2</sup> - <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>		ma-lu-ú		lib-bu <sup>1</sup> -[ ] »

2		<i>[minā</i>		<i>mal]ū</i>		<i>libbūka</i>
C2'	[					.ME]Š-ka
E	[KI.MIN?					] »
F	[mi-na-a			ma-lu]- <sup>1</sup> ú <sup>1</sup>		lib-b[u- ]

3		<i>[...]</i>				<i>libbūka</i>
A1'	[			mu <sup>1</sup> zu <sup>1</sup> [		]
B1'	[			] <sup>1</sup> x x x <sup>1</sup> [		]
C3'	[					] <sup>1</sup> ŠÀ <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ-ka
E	[			ma] <sup>1</sup> ú <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> lu-u <sup>1</sup> 17		lib- <sup>1</sup> bu-ka <sup>1</sup> »
F47	ú <sup>1</sup>	<sup>1</sup> x x x x <sup>1</sup>	[			] »

4	<i>manna</i>	<i>lušpur</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>gugalli</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>libbika</i>
A2'	[ ]-nu	lu-uš-pur	ṛana	x x x	x <sup>1</sup>	
B2'	[ ]		a-na	GÜ.GAL	[ ]	
C4'	[ ]		ṛana	GÜ.GAL	ina <sup>1</sup>	lib-bi-ka
D1'	[ ]	-pu]r	ṛana	x <sup>1</sup> [ ]	ṛina	lib-bi <sup>1</sup> -k[a]
E	man-nu	liš-ṛpur <sup>2</sup> -ru	a-na	GÜ.GAL	[ ]	
F	[ ]					»

5	<i>liššā</i>	<i>marrāti</i>		<i>ša</i>	<i>kaspi</i>
A3'	liš-šā-a	GIŠ.MAR.MEŠ		šá	KÜ.BABBAR
B3'	[ ]			[ ]	KÜ.BABBAR
C5'	ṛliš <sup>1</sup> -šā-a	GIŠ.MAR.MEŠ		šá	KÜ.BABBAR
D2'	[ ]			[ ]	
E	[ ]	GI]Š.ṛMAR <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ <sup>18</sup>		ša	KÜ.BABBAR
F48	traces				

		<i>gidimmēti</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>ḫurāši</i>
A		gi-dim-me-ti	šá	KÜ.GI
B		gi-dim-me-e-ti	[ ]	[ ]
C	u	ki-din-ni-e	šá	KÜ.GI
D		[ ]	[ ]	[ ] »
E		šà-di-me-ṛni <sup>1</sup>	šá	KÜ.ṛGI <sup>1</sup> »

6	<i>lipattā</i>	<i>nārāti</i>	<i>lipattā</i>	<i>atappāti</i>
A4'	[l]i-pat-ta-a	ID.MEŠ	li-pat-ta-a	a-tap-pa-a-ti
B4'	[ ]	ID.MEŠ	li-pat-ta-a	ṛa <sup>1</sup> [ ]
C6'	li-pat-ta-a	ID.MEŠ	li-pat-ta-a	a-tap-pa-ti
D	[l]i-pat-ta-a	ID.ME[S] <sup>3</sup>	[ ]	[ ] »
E	lip-pa-at <sup>2</sup> -t[a <sup>2</sup> - ]ṛx <sup>1</sup>		KI.MIN <sup>19</sup>	a-tap-pa-a-nu »

7	<i>lipparšidūni</i>	<i>lūšūni</i>	<i>zūšu</i>
A5'	[l]i-par-ši <sup>1</sup> -du-ú-ni	lu-šu-ú-ni	zu-šú
B5'	[l]i-ṛpar <sup>1</sup> -ši-du-ni	lu-šu-ú-ni	zu-ṛú <sup>1</sup> -[ ]
C7'	li-par-ši-du-ni	lu-šu-ú-ni	zu-ú-šu
D	[ ]-d]u-ma	li-šu-ni	zu-ú-šú
E	ṛlu <sup>2</sup> -ši i ṛlum <sup>2</sup> mu	u-a lib-bi	[ (?) ] DINGIR-šú

8	<i>ašamšūtu</i>	<i>ša libbišu</i>	<i>lišâmma</i>	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>limur</i>
A6'	a-šam-šu-tum	šá lib-bi-šu <sup>7</sup>	[ -a]m-ma	ṫUTU	li-mur »
B6'	[ -ša]m-šu-tum	šá lib-bi-šú	li-ša-am-ma	ṫUTU	li-ṛmur <sup>1</sup>
C8'	a-[š]am-šu-tu	ṛšá lib <sup>1</sup> -[ ]-ṛšú <sup>1</sup>	li-ša-am-ma	ṫUTU	li-mur
D4'	[ ]				l]i-mur »
E20				ṫUTU	li-mur-šu »

9	<i>šiptu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>yuttun</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Asalluḫi</i>	<i>āšip</i>	<i>ilī</i>
A	EN	ul	iu-tu-un 8'	[	as]al-lú-ḫi	ME <sup>1</sup> .ME	DINGIR.ME
B7'	[	u]l	iu-ut-tu-un	EN	asal-lú-ḫi	u ḡgu-la 8'	[ ]x <sup>1</sup>
C9'	EN <sup>1</sup>	ul	iu-tu-un	EN	as]al-lú-ḫi	MAŠ.MAŠ	DINGIR.MEŠ
D	EN	ul	iu-tu-un 5'	[			]
E	EN	[u]l	iu-tan <sup>an</sup> -ni	KI	MIN		

	<i>iddima</i>	<i>anāku</i>	<i>ašši</i>
A	SUB-ma	ana-ku	áš-ši
B	id-di-ma	a-na-ku	áš-ši
C	SUB-ma	ana-ku	áš-ši
D	[		] »

10	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bullitima</i>	<i>qīštaki</i>	<i>liqī</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A9'	[	.L]A-ma	NIG.BA-ki	TI-i	TU <sub>6</sub> .EN
B9'	[ -l]a	TI.LA-ma	NIG.BA-ki	li-qé-e	TU <sub>6</sub> .EN
C10'	ḡgu-la	TI.LA-ma	NIG <sup>1</sup> .BA-ki	TI-i	EN
D	ḡgu-la	TI.LA	qiš-tú	TI-e	EN

rubrics:

A10' [ -in]im-ma šà-gig-ga-kám  
 C11' 3 ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga-kám

What are your insides full of?

[What] are your insides full of?

[...] your insides?—

Whom shall I send to the canal inspector inside you,

(So that) they (fem.) may take up spades of silver (and) shovels of gold,

Open the rivers, (and) open the canals?

May his excrement escape and come out,

May the whirlwind inside him come out and see the sun!

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Asalluḫi, exorcist of the gods, he cast

it and I took it (up);

Gula, heal and take your gift!

(incantation for a sick belly)

- 1-3: It is unclear why *libbu* is plural here.
- 2 E: There is very little space in the break, but since l. 2 apparently repeats l. 1, E may have KI.MIN in the break (as it does in ll. 6 and 9). It is also possible, however, that the signs at the end of E 16 represents l. 2, in which case E would have omitted l. 3.
- 5-6: The implicit referent of the feminine plural verbs *liššâ* and *lipattâ* are presumably the daughters of Anu (rather than the masculine singular *gugallu* of l. 4).
- 5 C: *kidinnê* (mng. uncert.) instead *gidimmêti*; E: *šà-di-me-<sup>l</sup>ni<sup>l</sup>* instead of *gidimmêti*, perhaps to be emended to *ù<sup>l</sup> ki<sup>l</sup>-din<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>ni<sup>l</sup>*.
- 7 A: I emend *pi* to *šî*; B 5' is apparently an indented line; E is apparently corrupt.
- 7-8: Note the Assyrian form *lūšûni* in l. 7 alongside the Babylonian form *lišâmma* in l. 8, and that the patient is referred to in the third person, rather than the second person as in ll. 1-4.
- 8: A 6' is apparently an indented line, although l. 8 does not belong with l. 7 grammatically.
- 9 A: I emend *an* to ME; E: KI.MIN apparently refers to ll. 14-5 of the tablet: *šipat Ea u Asalluḫi šipat Damu u Gula šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti šunu iqbûnimma anāku <sup>l</sup>ašši<sup>l</sup>*"It is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi, the incantation of Damu and Gula, the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations; they said it and I took it up."

### Belly 10

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 23-31

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 8-11 (edition); N. Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990): 37-9 and 43 (transcription, translation).



- 23 EN ŠA 𐎠UTU ina KUR-i [ ] GIG-ma : »  
 Ū ŠA ina má-kan<sup>ki</sup> a-ši-ma 𐎠30 [is-suḫ-šu]
- 24 šá 𐎠UTU im-me-ru p[a]-𐎠nu<sup>l</sup>-[š]ú »  
 𐎠UTU šam-ma TA KUR-i ú-še-ri-dam-[ma]
- 25 iš-kun-ma ina 𐎠qaq<sup>l</sup>-qa-ri »  
 šur-šu-šu qaq-qa-ra DIRI SI.MEŠ-šú AN-e nak-pa
- 26 iš-bat ŠA 𐎠UTU 𐎠le<sup>?</sup><sup>l</sup>-qí-šu »  
 iš-bat ŠA 𐎠30 ina DUNGU.MEŠ »  
 iš-bat ŠA GUD ina tar-ba-ši
- 27 iš-bat ŠA UDU.NIT[A i]na su-pu-ri »  
 iš-bat ŠA ANŠE ina su-gúl-li
- 28 iš-bat ŠA UR.𐎠GI<sup>7</sup><sup>l</sup> ina ši-ga-ri »  
 iš-bat ŠA ŠAḫ ina er-re-ti
- 29 iš-bat ŠA GURUŠ ina me-lul-ti »  
 iš-bat ŠA KISIKIL ina ur-ši-šá
- 30 iš-bat ŠA NENNI A NENNI »  
 tu-𐎠mu<sup>l</sup>-re-e tu-ga-re-e
- 31 a-na e-re-ši-šu-ma SU-šú i-di : »  
 e-ma iš-ku-nu i-di TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

*libbi Šamaš ina šadī [...] maruṣma*

*šammi libbi ina Makkan ašīma Sīn [issuḫšu]*

*ša Šamaš immerū p[ā]nū[š]u*

*Šamaš šamma ištu šadī ušēridam[ma]*

*iškunma ina qaqqari*

*šuršūšu qaqqara malū qarnāšu šamē nakpā*

*išbat libbi Šamaš lēqīšu*  
*išbat libbi Sîn ina erpēti*  
*išbat libbi alpi ina tarbaši*  
*išbat libbi immer[ī i]na supūri*  
*išbat libbi imēri ina sugulli*  
*išbat libbi kalbi ina šigari*  
*išbat libbi šaḫi ina erreti*  
*išbat libbi eṭli ina mēlulti*  
*išbat libbi ardati ina uršiša*  
*išbat libbi annanna mār annanna*  
*tumurē tugarē*  
*ana erēšišuma zumuršu idi*  
*ēma iškunu idi*

The belly of Šamaš was sick on the [...] mountain;  
 The plant for the belly was growing in Makkan, so Sîn [picked it];  
 Šamaš's f[a]ce brightened;  
 Šamaš brought the plant down from the mountain,  
 He planted it in the ground,  
 And its roots filled the earth, its horns gored the heavens;  
 It seized the belly of Šamaš, the one who took it,  
 It seized the belly of Sîn in the clouds,  
 It seized the belly of the ox in the pen,  
 It seized the belly of the shee[p i]n the fold,  
 It seized the belly of the ass in the herd,  
 It seized the belly of the dog at the bolt (of the door),

It seized the belly of the pig in the sty,

It seized the belly of the young man in the game,

It seized the belly of the young woman in her room,

It seized the belly of So-and-so, son of So-and-so—

*tumuré tugaré*

At his request, abandon his body!

Wherever he planted (you), abandon!

28: *šigaru* is part of a door's lock, but is also sometimes used as a metonym for the entire door. The door of the house (usually the threshold, *askuppātu*) is the characteristic place for a dog.

31: Veldhuis reads *i-di* as *i-šallim*. I understand this line as a command to *šammi libbi* to abandon Šamaš's (or perhaps the patient's) body.

### Belly 11

YOS 11 11 (YBC 9897) obv. 1-17

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 62 (collations) and JNES 49 (1990): 308-9 (edition); N.

Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990): 27ff. and 42 (edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 135 (translation).

1      𒍪UTU ša-am-ma-am iš-tu 𒄩[UR.SAG]

2      ù-ši-bi-ra-am-[ma]

3      ŠA 𒍪UTU mu-ši-bi-ri-šú

4      iš-ba-at

5      ŠA 𒍪NANNA i-na ša-me-e iš-ba-at

6      ŠA GUD i-na sú-pu-ri-im iš-ba-at

- 7 ŠA UDU i-na ta-ar-ba-ši-i[m] iṣ-ṛba<sup>l</sup>-at  
 8 ŠA GURUŠ i-na šu-li-i-im iṣ-ba-[a]t  
 9 ŠA KI.SIKIL i-na me-lu-ul-ti-im iṣ-ṛba<sup>l</sup>-at  
 10 ma-an-na-am lu-uš-pu-ur  
 11 a-na wa-ši-ib ap-sí-i-im  
 12 ṛra<sup>l</sup>-bi-i-im  
 13 𐎢UTU ša-am-ma-am ṛiṣ<sup>l</sup>-tu 𐎶UR.SAG  
 14 ú-ši-bi-ra-am-ma  
 15 ŠA 𐎢UTU [m]u-ši-bi-ri-i-šu ṛiṣ<sup>l</sup>-[ba-at]  
 16 ŠA 𐎢NA[NNA] i-na ṛša<sup>l</sup>-m[e-e iṣ-ba-at]  
 17 [Š]A G[UD...]  
 [.....]

*Šamaš šammam ištu š[adīm] ušēbiram[ma]*

*libbi Šamaš mušēbirišu iṣbat*

*libbi Šin ina šamē iṣbat*

*libbi alpim ina supūrim iṣbat*

*libbi immerim ina tarbaši[m] iṣbat*

*libbi eṭlim ina šulim iṣbat*

*libbi ardatim ina mēlultim iṣbat*

*mannam lušpur ana wāšib apsīm rabīm*

*Šamaš šammam ištu šadīm ušēbiramma*

*libbi Šamaš [m]ušēbirišu iṣ[bat]*

*libbi S[in] ina šam[ē iṣbat]*

*[li]bbi al[pim...]*

*[.....]*

Šamaš brought the plant over from the m[ountain],  
 [And] it seized the belly of Šamaš, the one who brought it over,  
 It seized the belly of Sin in heaven,  
 It seized the belly of the ox in the fold,  
 It seized the belly of the sheep in the pen,  
 It seized the belly of the young man on the path,  
 It seized the belly of the young woman in the game—  
 Whom shall I send to the one who dwells in the great Apsû (with the message):  
 "Šamaš brought a plant over from the mountain,  
 "And it seized] the belly of Šamaš, [the o]ne who brought it over,  
 "[It seized] the belly of S[în] in heav[en],  
 "[It seized the belly] of the o[x ...],  
 [.....]

1 and 13: The logogram 𒄩UR.SAG for *šadû* is normally restricted to peripheral regions.

17ff.: The break in the text can be restored in part from 6ff. The tablet's reverse is probably not part of the incantation; rev. 1' -3' reads: [...]'x' [...] / [...] 'x' am [...]' / [...] 'ú' 1-ša-ap-pí-i[?].

### Belly 12

YOS 11 12 (YBC 4625) obv. 1-17

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 62 (collations); N. Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990): 28ff. and 42-3 (edition).

- 1 [ĒN ša-am-mu š]a li-ib-bi ʿi<sup>l</sup>-[na KUR a-ši-ma ʰUTU is-s]ú-ḥa-am  
 2 [li-ib-bi] ʿʰUTU<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup>-sí<sup>l</sup>-[ḥi-šu iṣ-ša-ba-at]  
 3 ʿre<sup>l</sup>-[ḤA] ʿʰEN.ZU iṣ-ša-[ba-at]  
 4 li-ib-bi al-pí i-na sú-pu-ri ʿiṣ<sup>l</sup>-ṣ[a-ba-at]  
 5 li-ib-bi im-me-ri i-na ta-ar-b[a-ši] iṣ-ša-ba-at  
 6 li-ib-bi an-na-an-na DUMU an-na-an-na ša iš-ʿšú<sup>l</sup> an-na-an-na  
 7 iš-ta-ar-šu [an-na-a]n-ni-tum iṣ-ša-ba-at  
 8 u<sub>4</sub>-ta-mi-ka er-še-tam ù ḥa-am-mi-e  
 9 ʿli-ib-bi ʰUTU na-sí-ḥi-ka lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar  
 10 r[e-ḤA ʰEN.Z]U lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar  
 11 [li-ib-bi al-p]í? ʿi-na sú-pu<sup>l</sup>-ri lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar  
 12 [li-ib-bi im-me-ri] i-na ta-ar-ba-ši lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar  
 13 [li-ib-bi an-na-an-na] ʿDUMU<sup>l</sup> an-na-an-na ša iš-šu an-na-an-na  
 14 [iš-ta-ar-šu an-na-an-ni]-tum lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar  
 15 [ ] ʿšú<sup>l</sup> [ ] da su ra en-ne-nu-ri  
 16 [ t]a<sup>2</sup>-ap-pa-li-su-ma su ʿne<sup>l</sup> i-ʿta<sup>l</sup>-ar  
 17 [ ] ʿú<sup>l</sup>-ul i-d[i ]

*[šammu š]a libbi i[na šadī ašīma Šamaš iss]uḥam*

*[libbi] Šamaš<sup>l</sup> nāsi[ḥišu<sup>l</sup> iṣṣabat]*

*rē[ʿa] Šin iṣṣa[bat]*

*libbi alpi ina supūri iṣṣ[abat]*

*libbi immeri ina tarb[aši] iṣṣabat*

*libbi annanna māri annanna ša iššu annanna iṣṣaršu [anna]nnītu iṣṣabat*

*utammika erṣeta u ḥammē*

*libbi Šamaš nāsiḥika lū tuwaššar*

*rē[’a Sī]n lū tuwaššar*

*[libbi alp]i ina supūri lū tuwaššar*

*[libbi immeri] ina tarbaši lū tuwaššar*

*[libbi annanna] māri annanna ša iššu annanna [ištāršu annanni]tu lū tuwaššar*

*[...]...en-ne-nu-ri*

*[...].....*

*[...] ul īd[i...]*

[The plant fo]r the belly [was growing] o[n the mountain, so Šamaš pic]ked (it);

[It seized the belly of] Šamaš, the one who pick[ed it],

[It se]ized herds[man] Sīn,

[It seiz]ed the belly of the ox in the fold,

It seized the belly of the sheep in the pe[n],

It seized the belly of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose  
goddess is [So-a]nd-so—

I have made you swear by the earth and the pools?:

You shall release the belly of Šamaš, the one who picked you!

You shall release herds[man Sī]n!

You shall release [the belly of the o]x in the fold!

You shall release [the belly of the sheep] in the pen!

You shall release [the belly of of So-and-so,] son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-  
so, [whose goddess is So-and]-so!

*[...]...en-ne-nu-ri*

*[...].....*

*[...] I/he do not kn[ow...]*

2: My reading is against the copy, but is something like what one would expect.

3 and 10: As Veldhuis remarks, one would expect *libbi* to be the first word in ll. 3 and 10.

6 and 13: Note *iššu* for *ilšu*.

8-15: For a similarly phrased oath, cf. *maškadu* 2:13-4: *utammika Anum u Antum ašar tašbatu lū tuwaššar tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri* "I have made you swear by Anu and Antu: You shall release wherever you have seized! *tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri*.

### Belly 13

A: Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 34-9

B: Köcher BAM 576 (Sm 1709) ii' 2' -12'

C: J. Nougayrol, RA 73 (1979): 69 (AO 7765 ) 21' -7'

D: AMT 30,6 (K 2510) rev. 15' -6'

A, B, and D: NA, Nineveh; C: ?

1		<i>šammu</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>šadi</i>	<i>ašima</i>	
A34	ṚEN	šam-mu <sup>1</sup>	[	]-bi	ina	KUR-i	a-ši-ma	»
B2'	ṚEN <sup>1</sup>	šam-mu	šá	lib-bi	ina	K[UR-	]	
C21'	[						]	»
D15'	[						]	»

2		<i>assuḫsuma</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>libbi</i>			
A		as-suḫ-šú-ma	iš-ša-bat	lib-bi			
B3'		as-suḫ-šu-ma	i[š-	]			
C		[-su]ḫ-šú-ma	iš-ša <sup>1</sup> -bat	lib-bi			
D		Ṛas <sup>1</sup> -suḫ-šu-[		]			

3		<i>ana</i>	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>aqbīma</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>Šamaš</i>	
A35	[			a]q-bi-ma	iš-ša-bat	ŠA	ṚUTU	
B4'	ana	ṚUTU	DUG <sub>4</sub> .GA-ma	i[š-			]	
C22'	[						]	»
D16'	[						]	»



4 *ana šamē u eršeti aqbīma iššabat libbi šamē u eršeti*  
A36 [ -b]i-ma iš-ša-bat [ A]N u KI  
B5' *ana AN-e u KI-tim DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA-m[a* ]  
C [ K]I DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA-ma iš-ša-bat lib-bi AN u KI  
D [ ]「x」[ ]

5 *ana umāmi aqbīma iššabat libbi umāmi*  
A37 [ ]-ša-bat SA ú-ma-me »  
B6' *ana ú-ma-mi DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA-[* ]  
C23' [ -m]e? DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA-ma iš-ša-bat lib-bi ú-ma-me

6 *ana Ea bēl a[psī aqbīma umma]*  
A a-n[a ]「x」  
B7' *ana é-a EN a[p-* ]  
C24' [ ] »

7 *libbi lippašir libbi Šamaš lippašir*  
A38 [ -b]i dUTU lip-pa-šir »  
B8' lib-bi lip-pa-šir li[b- ]  
C [ li]b-bi dUTU lip-pa-šir

8 *kīma libbi Šamaš ippaššaru*  
A ki-m[a ]-「ru」  
B9' GIM lib-bi dUTU ip-pa-šá-ru  
C25' [ ]

A39 *libbi šamē u eršeti lippašir*  
[ -š]ir »  
B li[b- ]  
C [ ] »

9 *kīma libbi šamē u eršeti [ippaššaru li]bbi umāmi lippašir*  
A ki-ma lib-bi AN u KI [ -š]i「r」?  
B10' GIM lib-bi AN-e u 「KI-tim」 [ ]  
C [ li]b-「bi」 ú-ma-me lip-pa-šir

10 *libbu ša annanna mār annanna [lippašir]*  
B11' ŠA šá NENNI 「A NENNI」 [ ]  
C26' [ ] »

11 *Šamaš šam[mu annû šamma]ka šātišu libluṭ*  
B12' d「UTU šam」-「[ ]  
C [ ]-ka NAG-šú lib-luṭ

12 [.....]  
 C27' [ ] ʾúʾ kī KIMIN KIMIN

rubric:

C28' [ka-inim-ma ša DIŠ NA li]b-bu i-re-du-šu

The plant for the belly was growing on the mountain,

I picked it, and it seized my belly;

I spoke to Šamaš, and it seized the belly of Šamaš,

I spoke to heaven and earth, and it seized the bellies of heaven and earth,

I spoke to the animal, and it seized the belly of the animal,

[I spoke] to Ea, the lord of the A[psū, saying]:

"May my belly be released! May the belly of Šamaš be released!

"When the belly of Šamaš is released, [may] the b[ellies of heaven and earth be  
 releas]ed!

"When the bellies of heaven and earth [are released], may [the b]elly of the animal be  
 released!

"[May] the belly of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, [be released]!"

Šamaš, [this] pla[nt is] your [plant], may the one who drinks (the potion made from) it  
 get well!

[...].

(([incantation for if B]elly pursues [a man]))

This incantation closely parallels Belly 14.

2 C: I emend *íá* to *ša*; D: The copy shows an unexpected line between 15' and 16'.

5 C: The break at the beginning of C 23' has enough room for an extra line.

7: In parallel to Belly 14:6-7, one might expect l. 7 to have *kīma libbī ippaššaru*, but  
 this is excluded by B.

9: The traces at the end of A 39 should perhaps be read [T]U<sub>6</sub>-[ÉN].

10-2: These lines (omitted in A) are probably a later accretion, since the belly of *annanna mār annanna* was not seized at the beginning of the incantation, and since the first-person narrator is presumably already the patient.

### Belly 14

STT 252 (S.U. 52/69) 1-15

NA, Huzirina

E. Reiner, JNES 26 (1967): 191-2 (transliteration) and Reiner, *Poetry*, 94ff.

(transcription, translation, analysis); N. Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990): 44  
(comments).

- 1 EN [šam<sup>2</sup>]-me [i]b-bi ina KUR-i a]-[š<sup>1</sup>]-[m]a [a]s-suḥ-šu-ma iṣ-ša-bat  
lib-bi
- 2 a-na <sup>d</sup>UTU [a<sup>1</sup>]-aq-bi-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi <sup>d</sup>šá-maš
- 3 a-na Ū.GU.A a-aq-[b]i-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi ú-ma-me
- 4 a-na KUR-i u ḫar<sup>1</sup>-[ri<sup>1</sup>] a-aq-bi-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi Ū.GU.A
- 5 a-na EDIN u ba<sup>ma</sup>[ma]t a-aq-bi-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi EDIN u ba-mat
- 6 a-na <sup>d</sup>asa-[lú-ḫi<sup>1</sup>] EN-[ia<sup>1</sup>] EN a-ši-pu-tú a-aq-bi-ma um-ma lib-bi
- 7 lip-pa-šir GIM lib-bi <<NI>> ip-pa-šir lib-bi <sup>d</sup>UTU líp-pa-šir
- 8 GIM lib-bi <sup>d</sup>UTU ip-pa-šir lib-bi ú-ma-mu líp-pa<sup>1</sup>-šir
- 9 GIM lib-bi ú-ma-me ip-pa-šir-ma lib-bi EDIN u ba-mat líp-pa-šir-ma
- 10 GIM lib-bi EDIN u ba-mat ip-pa-šir-ma lib-bi KUR-e u ḫar<sup>1</sup>-ri
- 11 lip-pa-šir <sup>d</sup>UTU šam-me ŠEŠ-a šam-ma<sup>2</sup>-ka [NAG<sup>1</sup>]-šú lib-luṭ
- 12 NAG-šú li-šir [NAG<sup>1</sup>]-šú [GIG<sup>1</sup>]-šú lim-taš-šir NAG-šú liš-lim
- 13 [NAG<sup>1</sup>]-šú e-ma ú-ša-mar KUR-di ÉN ul ia-tan<sup>an</sup>-n[i]

14 EN 𒀭-a u 𒀭asal-lú-ḫi EN 𒀭da-mu u 𒀭ME.ME

15 EN 𒀭nin-girima EN EN 𒀭su-nu iq-bu-u<sup>1</sup>-nim-ma ana-<sup>1</sup>ku aš-ši<sup>1</sup>

*šammi l[ibbi ina šadī a]šī[m]a*

*[a]ssuḫsuma iṣṣabat libbi*

*ana Šamaš aqbīma iṣṣabat libbi Šamaš*

*ana... aq[b]īma iṣṣabat libbi umāmi*

*ana šadī u ḫarri aqbīma iṣṣabat libbi...*

*ana šēri u bamāti aqbīma iṣṣabat libbi šēri u bamāti*

*ana Asalluḫi bēliya bēl āšipūti aqbīma umma libbi lippašir*

*kīma libbi ippašir libbi Šamaš lippašir*

*kīma libbi Šamaš ippašir libbi umāmi lippašir*

*kīma libbi umāmi ippaširma libbi šēri u bamāti lippaširma*

*kīma libbi šēri u bamāti ippaširma libbi šadī u ḫarri lippašir*

*Šamaš šammu annū šammaka šātīšu libluṭ*

*šātīšu lišir šātīšu muršašu limtaššir šātīšu lišlim*

*šātīšu ēma ušammar likšud*

*šiptu ul yattann[i]?*

*šipat Ea u Asalluḫi*

*šipat Damu u Gula*

*šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti*

*šunu iqbūnimma anāku ašši*

The plant of the b[elly was] growing [on the mountain],

I picked it and it seized my belly,

I spoke to Šamaš and it seized the belly of Šamaš,

I spoke to...and it seized the belly of the animal,

I spoke to the mountain and the ditch and it seized the belly of...,

I spoke to the steppe and the open country and it seized the bellies of the steppe and the  
open country,

I spoke to Asalluḫi, my lord, lord of exorcism, saying: "May my belly be released!

"When my belly has been released, may the belly of Šamaš be released!

"When the belly of Šamaš has been released, may the belly of the animal be released!

"When the belly of the animal has also been released, may the bellies of the steppe and  
open country also be released!

"When the bellies of the steppe and open country have also been released, may the  
bellies of the mountain and the ditch be released!"

Šamaš, this plant is your plant, may the one who drinks (the potion made from) it get  
well!

May the one who drinks it become all right, may the illness of the one who drinks it  
leave, may the one who drinks it become healthy,

May the one who drinks it accomplish whatever he attempts!

The incantation is not mine,

It is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,

It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations,

They told (it) to me and I took it up

1: The incantation's first few signs are unclear, but there is little doubt as to their  
meaning.

4 and 10: I emend *uḫ* to *ḫar*, following Reiner.

7ff.: The writing *ip-pa-šir* suggests the preterite *ippašir*, but the parallel Belly 13 has the present *ippaššaru*, and perhaps that is meant here as well. This incantation does not mark subjunctive verbs where expected (i.e., in *kīma...ippašru* (or *ippaššaru*?) and *ēma ušammaru* in l. 13).

8: I emend *ip* to *pa*.

15: I emend *nu* to *u*.

### Belly 15

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 4-15

NA, Nineveh

- 4 EN [...]  
 5 u[l...]  
 6 k[i?...]  
 7 [...]  
 8 [...]  
 9 [...]  
 10 [...]  
 11 ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 12 a-ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 13 lib-b[i...]  
 14 ŠA NENNI [...]  
 15 NAG-u [...]  
 rubric:  
 16 ka-ini[m-...]

No translation is warranted.

## Belly 16

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 59-60

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 12-3 (edition); W. Farber, TUAT II/2, 272 (translation).

59    ÉN lib-bu-ma lib-bu lib-bu da-an lib-bu qar-rad GIM UR.MAḪ ma-  
           ʿli<sup>1</sup> pu-luḫ-[tú]  
 60    ki-ma UR.BAR.RA la-ka-da uš-šur ÉN ul ia-at-tú É[N] ḏgu-la

*libbumma libbu*

*libbu dān libbu qarrād*

*kīma nēšī malī puluḫ[ta]*

*kīma barbari lakāda uššur*

*šiptu ul yattu šip[at] Gula*

It is Belly, Belly,

Belly is strong, Belly is a hero,

Like a lion it is filled with fearsomene[ss],

Like a wolf it ranges freely—

The incantation is not mine, it is the incant[ation] of Gula

60: The exact meaning of *lakād/ta uššur* is uncertain; cf. similar phrases in two Old

Babylonian incantations against anger: C. Wilcke, ZA 75 (1985): 202-3, l. 89:

*k[īma barbarim lak]ātam ʿú<sup>1</sup>-ša-[ar]* "w[ie ein Wolf r]ennt sie frei [dahin]; and

UET 6/2 399:6-7 (edited by R.M. Whiting, ZA 75 [1985]: 181): *kīma barbarim*

*lakāta mādmī* "like a wolf, it is abundant in running," and cf. also Various

Illnesses 4:14'.

## Belly 17

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iv 24-31

NA, Nineveh

24 ʽĒN<sup>1</sup> lib-bu lib-bu e-ki-il lib-bu GIM mu-ši-tim ma-li nam-ri-ri  
 25 [i-n]a qab-li-ti ul i-šu a-pa-tú-ma ul ú-šar-šu ma-am-ma  
 26 [ir]-ru su-ḥu-ru zi-ir kar-šum ù ši-i ri-qí-tu bu-up-pa-ni-šá saḥ-pat  
 27 [l]i-it-ru-uš kar-šú ri-qí-tú lit-ru-uš  
 28 [ki-m]a šá-a-ri a-na šu-bur-ri ki-ma gi-šu-te a-na ZI.MEŠ  
 29 [i-n]a zu-'-ti ú-pa-ṭi u di-ma-ti ka-la SU-šú na-šal-li-la-ni  
 30 [Ē]N ul iu-ut-tu ĒN 𐎶-a u 𐎶asal-lú-ḥi ĒN 𐎶da-mu u 𐎶gu-la  
 31 [ĒN] 𐎶nin-girima<sup>1</sup> EN EN TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN

*libbu libbu ekil libbu kīma mušīti mali namrīri**[in]a qablīti ul išu apātīmma ul ušāršu mamma**[ir]rū suḥḥurū zīr karšu u šī riqītu buppāniša saḥpat**[l]itruš karšu riqītu litruš**[kim]a šāri ana šuburri kīma gišūti ana napšāti**[in]a zu'ti upāṭi u dimāti kala zumrišu našallilāni**[š]iptu ul yuttu šipāt Ea u Asalluḥi**šipāt Damu u Gula**[šipāt] Ningirima bēlet šipti*

Belly, Belly, dark is Belly like the night, it is filled with luminosity,

[I]n the middle it does not have windows, no one leans through it;

[The inte]stines are convoluted, the stomach is twisted, and the *riqītu* itself lies face

down—



[M]ay the stomach extend, may the *riqitu* extend!

[L]ik[e] wind through the anus, like a belch through the throat,

Slither out through his entire body [i]n sweat, gunk, and tears!

[The in]cantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu and of Gula,

[It is the incantation] of Ningirima, mistress of incantations

29: There is no obvious subject for the plural *našallilāni*.

31: Ningirima is written <sup>df</sup>nin-A.ḪA.KUD.DA<sup>l</sup> (instead of the usual .DU).

### Belly 18

VAS 17 9 (VAT 2681)

OB, provenance unknown

- 1     ʿx<sup>l</sup> [                     ]  
2     ʿe<sup>l</sup>-[k]i-il li-ib-bu-um ʿki-i<sup>l</sup>-[ma mu-ši-tim]  
3     nam-ri-ri ma-li ki-i-ma ʿu<sub>4</sub><sup>l</sup>-[mi-im]  
4     a-na a-ap-ti-šu ma-am-ma ú-ul [ú-ša-ar]  
5     ʿša<sup>l</sup> ak na at ʿku<sup>2l</sup> dan nu šu te bu ʿx<sup>l</sup> [     ]  
6     ʿit<sup>l</sup>-te<sub>4</sub>-ḫa li-ib-bu-um  
7     [k]i-i-ma ša-ri-im<sup>l</sup> i-ba-aš-ši ʿe<sup>?</sup> š<sup>l</sup>

rubric:

- 8     [t]u<sub>6</sub>-ʿen<sup>l</sup>-ni-in-nu-ra-a[m<sup>?</sup>]

[...]

*e[k]il libbum ki[ma mušitim]*

*namriri mali kīma ū[mim]*

*ana aptišu mamma ul [ušār]*

.....

*iṭteḥâ libbum*

*[k]īma šārim...*

[...]

D[a]rk is Belly li[ke the night],

It is filled with luminosity like the d[ay],

No one [leans] through its window

.....

Belly approached,

[L]ike flatus...

7: I emend *bu* to *im*. The line presumably expressed that Belly should go out the anus like flatus; cf. Belly 17:28-9, 19:11, and passim.

### Belly 19

A: Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iv 17-22

B: Köcher BAM 535 (K 6511) obv. 1'-4' + Köcher BAM 573 (K 8792) i' 1'-7'

A-B: NA, Nineveh

1		<i>dān</i>	<i>libbu</i>	<i>qarrād</i>	<i>libbu</i>	
A17	ĒN	da-an	lib-bu	qar-rad	lib-bu	»

2	<i>ša</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>arraqā</i>	<i>ināšu</i>	<i>pursit</i>	<i>dāmi</i>	<i>našima</i>
A	šá	lib-bi	ar-ra-qa	IGI <sup>II</sup> -šú	pur-si-it	ÚŠ	na-ši-ma

3	<i>irrū</i>	<i>sāḥirūtu</i>	<i>ullulū</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>aḥišu</i>	
A18	ir-ru	sa-ḥi-ru-ti	ul-lu-lu	ina	a-ḥi-šú	»
B1'	[	]-ru-ti	ul <sup>?</sup> l-[		]	»

4	<i>ē tallik libbu ē tatūra libbu</i>					
A	e ta-LAK lib-bu e ta-tu-ra MIN					
B	[ ]					
5	<i>ana eṭli damqi ana ardati damiqti</i>					
A19	ana GURUŠ dam-qí ana KI.SIKIL da-me-eq-tum »					
B2'	[ ] KI.SIKIL da-me- <sup>1</sup> eq-tum <sup>1</sup> »					
6	<i>uššir eṭlamma bīa lipuš</i>					
A	uš-šir <sup>1</sup> GURUŠ-ma É li-pu-uš					
B	<sup>1</sup> uš-šir <sup>1</sup> GURUŠ-ma <sup>1</sup> [ ]					
7	<i>uššir ardatam[m]a qinna liqnun</i>					
A20	uš-šir KI.SIKIL(-m[a]) qin-na liq-nun »					
B3'	[ ] -m[a] <sup>2</sup> qin-na liq-nun »					
8	<i>irru suḥḥurū zīr karšu</i>					
A	ir-ru suḥ <sub>4</sub> -ḥu-ru zi-ir kar-šum					
B	ir-ru [s]uḥ <sub>4</sub> -ḥu-ru zi-ir kar-šum					
9	<i>u ši riqitu buppāniša saḥpat</i>					
A21	ù ši-i ri-qí-tú bu-up-pa-ni-šá saḥ-pat »					
B4'	<sup>1</sup> ù [ r]i-qí-tú bu- <sup>1</sup> up <sup>1</sup> -pa-ni-šá saḥ-pat					
10	<i>lišlim karšu irru lištēširūma riqitu litruš</i>					
A	liš-lim kar-šum ir-ri liš <sup>1</sup> -te-ši-ru-ma <sup>22</sup> ri-qí-tum lit-ru-uš »					
B5'	liš <sup>1</sup> -lim <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -[š]u)m ir-ru liš <sup>1</sup> -te-še-ru-ma <sup>6</sup> ri-qí-tú [ ]-ru-uš »					
11	<i>kīma šāri ina šuburri</i>					
A	GIM IM ina šu-bur- <sup>1</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>					
B	GIM [I]M ina šu-bur-ri					
		<i>kīma gišūti ina napišti lišā šiptu</i>				
A	<sup>1</sup> GIM <sup>1</sup> gi-šu-ti ina na-piš-ti li-ša-a ÉN					
B7'	GIM gi-š[u- ] ina ZI-ti [I]i-ša-a ÉN					

Strong is Belly, a hero is Belly,

Belly's eyes are yellow, it carries bowl(s) of blood,

Convolutcd intestines hang from its side—

You should not go, Belly, you should not return, Belly,

To the good young man, to the good young woman!

Release the young man (so that) he may build a house!

Release the young woman (so that) she may make a household!

The intestines are convoluted, the stomach is twisted,

And the *riqītu* itself is lying face down—

May the stomach become better, may the intestines be straightened out, may the *riqītu*  
extend!

May it (Belly) go out like flatus through the anus, like a belch through the throat!

2: *pursit dāmi* refers to Belly's bloodshot eyes; cf. Eye 1:4 and passim in Eye  
incantations.

3-4: Cf. Thompson Gilg. VI 164: *irrišu lū ālula ina aḫiki* "I (Enkidu) would hang his  
(the Bull of Heaven's) intestines from your (Ištar's) side." *ina aḫišu* may be in  
a "Janus construction" with *irru sāḫirūtu ullulū* and *ē tallik libbu*: "the  
convoluted intestines hang at his side, Belly, do not go at his side!"

6: I emend *šar* to *šir*.

7 A: After KI.SIKIL there appears to be a partially erased *ma*, which one would expect  
from the parallel *eṭlamma* in l. 6.

10 A and B: I emend *šú* to *liš*; B: I emend DIŠ to *liš*. *irru lištēširūma* is a double  
entendre; it could also be translated as "may there be a bowel movement."

## Belly 20

Arnaud Emar 6 737 (Msk 731030) obverse, lower left column and edge

MB, Emar

Arnaud Emar 6/1, p. 109 (copy) and 6/4, pp. 345-6 (edition); W. Farber, JNES 49

(1990): 310 (partial edition); W.R. Mayer, *Orientalia* n.s. 63 (1994): 116

(comment).

- 1 lib-bu-ú dá-an lib-bu ᵑqar-raᵑad
- 2 ša lib-bi dan-nim GÍD.D[A e-nu-šu]
- 3 pur-si<sub>17</sub>-ᵑitᵑ da-mi i-na-a[š-ši]
- 4 ša-am-ka-an i-na še-r[i]
- 5 lib-bu-šu i-ka<sub>4</sub>-sí-[š]u
- 6 iš-ši e-na-šu ᵑú-ulᵑ u[m-ma-šu]
- 7 ú-ul a-ḫa-ta-ᵑšuᵑ ma-an-nu
- 8 li-iš-pur a-na DUMU.S[AL].ᵑMEŠ ᵑᵑ[a-num]
- 9 ša ka-an-[n]u-šu-nu ᵑKÚ?.GÍ?ᵑ
- 10 ša ka-ar-pa-tu-šu-nu [KÚ.BABBAR]
- 11 li-ši-a-ni líl?-ša-ba-ni me-e a-ba ta?-ma?-ti
- 12 šum-ma ša-ru a-na šu-bur-ri šum-ma da-mu aᵑ-ᵑna?ᵑ aš š[i]
- 13 ši-ip-tu ú-ul i-ia-tù ši-pa-at ᵑda-mu
- 14 u ᵑgu-la dam ti pa an ti ᵑxᵑ sal a ni tar a e

rubric:

- 15 tu-e-ne-nu-ra

*libbu dān libbu qarrād*

*ša libbi dāni arra[qā' ināšu]*

*pursit dāmi ina[šši]*

*Šamkan ina šēr[i] libbašu ikassī[š]u*

*išši inīšu*

*ul u[mmašu] ul aḫatašu*

*manna lušpur<sup>1</sup> ana mārā[t Anu]*

*ša kan[n]ūšunu ḫurāšu?*

*ša karpātūšunu [kaspu]*

*liššiāni lisābāni<sup>2</sup> mē ayabba tāmati*

*šumma šāru ana šuburri*

*šumma dāmu ana...*

*šiptu ul yattu šipat Damu u Gula*

.....

Belly is strong, Belly is a hero,

Strong Belly's [eyes] are yell[ow],

It ca[rries] bowl(s) of blood;

Šakkan's belly binds [hi]m in the stepp[e],

He raised his eyes,

(But) it was not [his] mo[ther], it was not his sister—

Whom shall I<sup>1</sup> send to the daughte[rs of Anu],

Whose vessels are gold?,

Whose pots are [silver],

(So that) they may take (their vessels and pots) and draw water from the ocean and the  
sea?

If it is flatus, through the anus,

If it is blood, through... (may it come out!)

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 .....

2: Note the writing GID.DA, *arrakā*, "long," for *arraqā*, "yellow."

4-7: Mayer notes the parallel to Belly 27. For the writing of Šakkan's name as

Šamkan, cf. the Old Babylonian incantation published by F. Thureau-Dangin,

RA 36 (1939): 10, l. 9: *kīma būlu elī šamkāni ḥabrat* (perhaps punning on

*bēlu—šamkānu* "lord"—"servant" and *būlu—Šakkan* "herd"—"herd-god."

8: I emend *lišpur* to the expected *lušpur*, but it is possible that Šakkan is the subject.

11: Farber suggests that *lil<sup>2</sup>-ša-ba-ni* is for *lisābāni*.

### Belly 21

A: Köcher BAM 509 (Sm 1802) i' 10'-4'

B: Köcher BAM 577 (K 11266) 6'-10'

C: STT 252 (S.U. 52/69) 21-6

A-B: NA, Nineveh; C: NA, Huzirina

E. Reiner, JNES 26 (1967): 192 (transliteration of C); N. Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990):

39-40, 44 (transcription and translation of C).

1		<i>libbu</i>	<i>libbu</i>	<i>ēkiam</i>	<i>tallak</i>
A10'	[		]- <sup>1</sup> bu <sup>1</sup>	e-ki-a-am	tal-lak
B6'	[				] »
C21	ĒN	lib- <sup>1</sup> bu <sup>1</sup>	lib-bu	e-ka-a	ta- <sup>1</sup> lak »

2		<i>libbi</i>	<i>eṭli</i>	<i>ana<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>akāliya</i>
A11'	[				-i]a »
B	[				G]U <sub>7</sub> -ia »
C		lib-bi	GURUŠ	<<aš>>	ina
					ṚGU <sub>7</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ka

- 3 *libbi ardati ana hepiya*  
 A *lib-bi KI.SIKIL a-na GAZ-ia*  
 B *lib-bi KI.SIKIL ana GAZ-ia*  
 C22 *lib-[ ] ʿKIʿ.SIKIL a-na ha-pi-ʿkaʿ »*
- 4 *libbi eṭli lā takkal*  
 A12' [ ] »  
 B7' [ ] »  
 C *lib-bi GURUŠ la ta-ʿkalʿ*
- 5 *libbi ardati lā teheppi*  
 A [ -b]i KI.SIKIL NU GA[Z]  
 B [ ] »  
 C23 *lib-bi KI.SIKIL la ta-ḥa-[p]i »*
- 6 *akul libbi alpi ina tarbaši*  
 A13' [ ] »  
 B [( )] *lib-bi GUD ina ú-re-e li-kul*  
 C *a-ʿkulʿ ŠA GUD a-na tar-ba-šu*
- 7 *libbi immeri inaʿ supūri*  
 A [ ]-ʿbiʿ UDU.NITA [ ] »  
 B8' [ ] »  
 C24 <<x>> *lib-bi UDU.NITA a-na su-pu-ru*
- 8 *libbi šaḥi ina asurrē*  
 A14' [ ] »  
 B [l]ib-bi ŠAḤ ina a-sur-re-ʿeʿ<sup>1</sup>  
 C25 *lib-bi ŠAḤ a-na a-ʿsur-<re>-eʿ »*
- 9 *ša iqabbū libbi u qaqqadi lāʿ maḥārʿ*  
 A [ .G]A ʿlibʿ-[ ] »  
 B9' [ pa]pʿ-sukkal u dgu-[la] <sup>10'</sup> [ ] ʿxʿ »  
 C *ša DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA lib-bi u SAG.DU <sup>26</sup> laʿ maʿ-ḥar »*
- 10 *kīma šāri ana šuburri kīma šerri karāni*  
 B ʿki-ma šáʿ-ruʿ<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 C GIMʿ IM a-na šu-[bu]r GIM šer-ri GEŠTINʿ
- ana arkati lišāʿ*  
 B [ ]  
 C a-na EGIR liʿ-šaʿ-ʿaʿ<sup>1</sup>



"Belly, Belly, where are you going?"—

"To eat the the belly of the young man for myself,

"To break the belly of the young girl for myself"—

"Do not eat the belly of the young man,

"Do not break the belly of the young girl!

"Eat the belly of the ox in the pen,

"The belly of the sheep in the fold,

"The belly of the pig in the *asurrû*";

The one who says, "my belly and my head," cannot be withstood?!

May it (Belly) come out? like flatus through the anus, like a "wine snake" through the rear!

2 C: Veldhuis takes the AŠ sign after *eṭlu* as a logogram for *ēdu*, but it is probably just a stray wedge, since *ēdu* does not follow *eṭlu* in l. 4 or *ardatu* in ll. 3 and 5, and since the text also has extra wedges at the beginning of l. 24.

2-3: Following A and B; C continues the question begun in l. 1.

6: Following C; B has the precative *likul* "may (Belly) eat," rather than the imperative.

8: *asurrû*, "lower course of a wall," is not the usual place for a pig (one would expect *erretu*, "pigsty," as in Belly 10:28). *asurrû* appears as the abode of a snake in W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40, l. 11: *šī kīma šēri ina asurriki* "go out from your *asurrû* like a snake."

9: Following C; Veldhuis translates "thus the heart and the head were speaking."

Possible parallels to this phrase are Belly 6:6 and 31:21'.



- 34: Since *zīru* is usually said of internal organs, one might also read *ša libbi zīri ināšu pursit dāmi* "Twisted Belly's eyes are (each) a bowl of blood."
- 36: The traces of SAḪAR.ḪI.A in the middle of the line call to mind the *Šakkan ina šēri* element exemplified by Belly 27; note that this element appears in somewhat similar context in Belly 20. There may be a line division after l. 36.

### Belly 23

Craig ABRT 2 11 (K 4609) obv.! ii' 32' -rev.! iii' 2'

NA, Nineveh

32' [...] a-i-[šá?...]

33' [...] -[bi<sup>1</sup> lib-[bi...]

34' lib-bi [...]

35' [...] [be<sup>1</sup> [...]

1' [ ] [x x<sup>1</sup> lid [x<sup>1</sup> [ ]

2' šir-a-ni li-[ka<sup>1</sup>-šir-ma<sup>1</sup> ši-ba lid-di TU<sub>6</sub>.[ĒN]

rubric:

3' ka-inim-ma šà-si-sá-ke<sub>4</sub>

No translation is offered. For the obverse, cf. Belly 22:35; for the reverse, cf. *Bleeding* 3:5'-6'. The obverse and reverse may be parts of different incantations.

### Belly 24

A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, De Meyer AV 83, text A (IM 95317) 32-9

OB, Sippar

A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, De Meyer AV 82ff. (edition).

- 32      šī-ri ki-ma pa-at-ri-im  
 33      i-ta-ak-ki-ip ki-ma G[UD?]-im  
 34      [k]i-ma al-ma-at-ti-im  
 35      qú-tu-ru pa-nu-šu  
 36      ki-ma a-gi-im ú-ḥa-sí-ir ki-ib-ra-tim  
 37      i-pu-ḥa-an-ni <ki>-ma ku x (x) ri  
 38      bi-ni ig-ri-iš ki-ki-la-bi  
 39      ku-nu-ša-am

rubric:

40-1    šī-pa-at šà-mu

*šīri kīma patrim*

*ittakkip kīma a[lp]im*

*[k]īma almattim qutturū pānūšu*

*kīma agīm uḥassir kibrātīm*

*ippuḥanni <ki>ma...*

*bini igriš kikilabi*

*kunušam*

My flesh is like a knife;

(Belly) kept goring like an [o]x,

[L]ike a widow's, its face is gloomy

Like a flood, it broke over the banks

It inflated me <li>ke...

*bini igriš kikilabi*

*kunušam*

(incantation of "my belly")

32: The copy shows traces of signs below the last half of l. 33.

37: Cavigneaux and al-Rawi read *ippuḫanni ku-ku<sup>l</sup>-id<sup>2</sup>-ri* (*kukkudru*) and translate "il m'a gonflé l'intestin (?)."

40-1: Perhaps to be emended to *šipat lib-bi<sup>l</sup>-im<sup>l</sup>* or *šà-kam<sup>l</sup>*.

### Belly 25

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) ii 21-7

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 6-7 (edition).

21 [ ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> nap-šá-ru zi-ir kar-ši ŠA.NIGIN ku-uš-šu-ṛru x x x<sup>1</sup> [ ]

22 ṛx<sup>1</sup> [ ] ṛx qa<sup>21</sup> ik-le-ta ki-i me-e ḫi-ri-ti a-la-pa-a na-du-ú IGI.MEŠ-šú

23 ṛša<sup>l</sup>-[ar E]DIN e-di-ip na-di i-ta-naq-qí-šu EDIN ma-la-a IGI.MEŠ-šú

24 e-t[a-n]a-ba-la ša-pa-tu-šú i-ta-na-ṛpa-aš ki-ma KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ it-ta-nak-bir ki-  
ma MUŠ

25 e-m[ur-m]a ḏgu-la na-di-na-at ba-la-ṛti NAM.LÛ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU ina É ḏasal-lú-ḫi  
ú-bil eṛ-lu

26 ḏ[I]DIM<sup>?</sup> re-mi-nu-u ip-pa-lis-su-ma gi-ša-ma TI-uṛ eṛ-lu

27 šúm-ma IM ina DÜR lu-ši šúm-ma gi-ša-tu ina nap-šá-ti li-še-ši

TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

rubric:

28 k[a-ini]m-ma ana ki-is ŠA ŠID-nu

[...] napšāru zīr karšu tīrānū kuṣṣurū [...]

[...]...iklela kī mē ḫiriti alapā nadū ināšu

š[ār ṣ]ēri edīp nāda ittanaqqīšu

šēra malā ināšu it[an]abbalā šapātūšu

*ittanappaṣ kīma nūnī ittanakbir kīma ṣerri*  
*im[ur]m]a Gula nādīnat balāṭ amilūti ana<sup>1</sup> bit Asalluḫi ubil eṭla*  
*Ea<sup>2</sup> rēmēnū ippalissuma gišamma buluṭ eṭlu*  
*šumma šāru ina šuburri lūši šumma gišātu ina napšāti lišēši*

[...] uvula, the stomach is twisted, the folds of the intestines are constricted [...]

[...]...darkness, as water of a ditch is covered with algae, (so too) are his eyes,

He has been blown into by the wi[nd of the ste]ppe, he constantly pours out (water  
 from) a waterskin as a libation for it,

His eyes fill the steppe, his lips ar[e always] dry,

He is always flopping around like fish, he is always swollen like a snake—

Gula, the one who provides human health, sa[w] the young man and brought him to<sup>1</sup>  
 the temple of Asalluḫi,

(Where) merciful Ea<sup>2</sup> looked upon him (and said): "Belch and get well, young man!"

If it is flatus, may it go out through the anus, if it is a belch, may he cause it to go out  
 through the throat!

(incantation (that) you recite for *kis libbi* illness)

22: Cf. Eyes 2:5-6: *inā...kīma mē ša agalpê alapâ nadâ* "Eyes...are covered with algae  
 like the water of a swamp<sup>2</sup>." Since the dual verb *malâ* is used for *inā* "eyes"  
 (written IGI.MEŠ) in l. 23, the writing *na-du-ú* should be taken seriously; since  
 the IGI.MEŠ in l. 22 is unlikely to be *pānū* "face," *nadû* presumably goes with  
 what precedes, despite the difficult syntax.

23: The object of *naqû* is usually the liquid being libated, rather than the container  
 holding the liquid, but cf. F. Köcher, ZA 50 (1952): 194, l. 23': *2 laḫannâte ša*  
*karāni šarru ana qaqqiri inaqqi* "The king pours a libation of 2 *laḫannu* vessels  
 of wine onto the ground." *š[ār šē]ri edip* presumably refers to the illness's

symptom of retaining flatus (*šāru*), but *šāru* is also sometimes used metaphorically, for "a spirit." Apparently, the conceit here is that flatus is a spirit that must be appeased; the appeasement takes the form of a libation of water because one of *kis libbi*'s other symptoms is dry lips (l. 24).

27: Note the use of the G-stem for when flatus comes out through the anus, and the Š-stem for when it comes out through the mouth. In parallel to *šāru*, *gišātu* is presumably flatus as it is expelled in a belch, rather than the belch per se.

### Belly 26

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iv 13-5

NA, Nineveh

13 [ ] ʾbaʾ inʾ e-mur-šú-ma ʿasaʾ-lú-ḥi iḥ-ba-a A.MEŠ ABZU  
 14 [il-qé DU]G.GAN ina qá-ti-šu is-ḥur lib-bi ana ʿé-a be-lí-šu  
 15 ʾÉN ulʾ iu-tu-un ÉN ʿDIŠ u ʿasaʾ-lú-ḥi ÉN ʿgu-la GAŠAN ÉN  
 TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN

[...]...

*imuršuma Asalluḥi iḥbâ mê apsi*

*[ilqe ka]nna ina qâtîšu*

*iḥur libbi ana Ea bēlîšu*

*šiptu ul yuttun šipat Ea u Asalluḥi*

*šipat Gula bēlet šipti*

[...]...

Asalluḥi saw him and drew water from the Apsû,

[He took the p]ot in his hand, (and)

My belly turned back to Ea, its lord;

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Gula, mistress of incantations

15: *bēlet šipti* is usually an epithet of Ningirima, not Gula.

### Belly 27

A: AMT 52,1 (K 2537) 10-4

B: Craig ABRT 2 11 (K 4609) obv.<sup>1</sup> ii' 27'-31'

C: AMT 30,6 (K 2510) rev. 4-6

D: AMT 45,5 (K 5416, A) obv. 11'-5'

E: J. Nougayrol, RA 73 (1979): 69 (AO 7765) rev. 17'-9'

A-D: NA, Nineveh; E: ?

1		<i>Šakkan</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>šēri</i>	<i>libbašu</i>	<i>kasūšuma</i>
A10	EN	<sup>d</sup> GIR	ina	EDIN	lib-ba-šú	ka-su-šu-m[a]
B27'	[				l]ib-ba-šú	ka-si-šu-ma
C4	[					ka-su-šú-ma »
D11'	[			EDI]N	lib-ba-šu	ka-si-šu-ma
E17'	[					] »

2		<i>epri</i>	<i>mūti</i>	<i>malā</i>	<i>rittāšu</i>
A11	SAḪAR.MEŠ		mu-ti	ma-la-a	rit-ta-šu
B28'	[			m]a-la-a	rit-ta-a-šu <sup>1</sup>
C	SAḪAR		pa-pa-ta	ma-l[a-	]rta <sup>1</sup> [ ]
D12'	[			-l]a-a	rit-ta-a-šu
E	[		p]a-pa-ta	ma-la-a	rit-ta-šú

3		<i>[u]l ummu</i>	<i>pētāt</i>	<i>pānišu</i>
A12	[u]l	um-mu	pe-ta-at	pa-ni-šu
B29'	[		-t]a-at	pa-ni-šú [( )]
C5	[		-a]t	pa-ni-šú »
D13'	[	-m]a-šú »		
E18'	[			] »



4	<i>ul aḥatu mušeqqât rēšišu</i>
A13	[ -ḥ]a-tú mu-še-qa-at re-ši-šú
B30'	[ -q]a-a-at re-ši-šú <sup>1</sup>
C	ul a-ḥa-tu mu-š[e- ]
D	ul NIN-su
E	[ ]-ḥa-tu mu-še <sup>2</sup> -qa <sup>2</sup> -at re-ši-šú

5	<i>[Nin]gišzida? nāši patri tē šipti</i>
A14	[ ]-ḡiš <sup>2</sup> -zi <sup>1</sup> -ḡa <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -ši GIR EN
B31'	[ ]-ri TU <sub>6</sub> -[ ]
C6	[ -d]a na-ši pat <sup>1</sup> -r[i ]
E19'	[ -š]i pat-ri TU <sub>6</sub> .EN

rubric:

A15: [ka-inim]-ma šà-gig-ga-kám

Šakkan's belly binds him in the steppe,

His hands are filled with the dust of death—

It is [n]ot (his) mother, the one who cheers him up (lit. "opens his face"),

It is not (his) sister, the one who supports him (lit. "raises his head"),

[It is Nin]gišzida?, the one who holds the sword

1-4: Cf. Belly 20:4-7: *Šamkan ina šēr[i] libbašu ikassī[š]u išši inīšu ul u[mmašu] ul aḥatašu* "Šakkan's belly binds [hi]m in the stepp[e], he raised his eyes, (but) it was not [his] mo[ther], it was not his sister"; perhaps cf. STT 252:27 (catchline to a tablet containing three Belly incantations): EN <sup>d</sup>[GIR ina EDIN i]k-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup> l[i]b]-ba-šú <<pa>> ul AD-šú ul AMA-šú iṣ-ša-bat <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-šú; and perhaps also Belly 22:36.

2 B: I emend *na* to *šu*; C and E: *pa-pa-ta* (meaning unclear) for *mūti*.

3-4: D has *[ul umm]ašu ul aḥassu* "it is not his mother, it is not his sister."

5 A: I emend *gi* to *zi* and *aš ud* to *na*; C: I emend XV to *pat*; D 14'-5' varies from the other exemplars (and perhaps begins a new incantation?): *[arahḫi? rama]ni? ubahḫi zumri / [...]* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] (cf. CAD s.v. *baḫū*). This presumably

refers to the divine intercessor who remedies Šakkan's sick belly; note that in Belly 20 the *Šakkan ina šēri* element is followed by the *manna lušpur* element.

### Belly 28

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 51-2

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 10-1.

51    ĒN e-<sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup> l[ib<sup>2</sup>-bi L]Ū<sup>2</sup> na-pi-iḫ-ma ki-ma lu-up-pi

52    ka-na-š[u- ] <sup>1</sup>x šá<sup>1</sup> [ -k]a-šú šu-ú GIŠ.MA.NU E-ma TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN

*esil l[ibbi<sup>2</sup> amil<sup>2</sup>]i<sup>2</sup> napiḫma kima luppi*

*kanaš[ū...] šū ēru sukukma*

The bel[ly<sup>2</sup> of the ma<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> is constipated, it is inflated like a leather bag—

"String together *kanašū* plan[t, ...], *šū* stone, and *ēru* wood (to make an amulet) and (he will get well)"

51: -<sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup> is slightly against the copy; in the break, one could also restore *l[ib-bu-um-  
m]i*.

52: Neither *kanašū* nor (if one reads *ka-na-š[u]-<sup>1</sup>ut-tu<sup>1</sup>*) *kanašuttu* is attested as a component of an amulet.

### Belly 29

A: AMT 52,1 (K 2537) 1-6

B: Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 65-iv 1

A-B: NA, Nineveh

Picchioni Adapa 91-2 (A:2-4).

1		<i>ana</i>	<i>Libūr-zāninu</i>	<i>qib[īma]</i>					
A1	ĒN	a-na	li-bur-za-ni- <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>1</sup>	[ ]					
B65	ĒN	a-na	li-bur-za-ni-nu	qí-b[í-	] »				
2		<i>umma</i>	<i>Adapa</i>	<i>apkallumma</i>					
A2	um-ma	a-da-pa	ABGAL-ma	[( )]					
B	[	-d]a-pa	ʿABGAL <sup>1</sup> -m[a]						
3		<i>ganna</i>	<i>atta</i>	<i>u anāku</i>	<i>kullat</i>	<i>māti</i>	<i>nītiqamma</i>		
A3	gan-na				kul-lat	KUR	[ ]		
B66	ʿgan <sup>?</sup> -na <sup>?</sup>	at <sup>1</sup> tú	u a-na-ku	kul-lat	KUR	ni-ti-qam- <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup>	] »		
4		<i>mē</i>	<i>būrti</i>	<i>ḫālīlūti</i>	[...]				
A4	A	PŪ	ḫa-lī-lu-ti	[ ]					
B	A	PŪ	ʿḫa <sup>1</sup> -[	] »					
5		<ana> <sup>?</sup>	<i>annanna</i>	<i>mār</i>	<i>annanna</i>	<i>niddīma</i>	[...]		
A5	<ana>	NENNI	A	NENNI	SUB-ma	[ ]			
B1	[					] »			
6		<i>qāti</i>	<i>marši</i>	<i>šabat</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ea</i>	<i>idišumma</i>	<i>amīlu libluṭ</i>	[ <i>tē šipti</i> ]
A6	qá-ti	mar-ši	ša-bat	ĒN	é-a	SUB-š[u-			] »
B	[q]á-ti	mar-ši	ša-bat	ĒN	é-a	SUB-šú-ma	LŪ	lib-luṭ	[ ] »

rubric:

A7 ka-inim-ma ŠA-šú [...]

To Libūr-zāninu, spe[ak!]

Thus (says) Adapa the sage:

Come, you and I, let us pass through the entire land,

[Draw?] *ḫālīlu* water from a well,

(And) throw (it) <on><sup>?</sup> So-and-so, son of So-and-so, so that [he may get well]!

Take the hand of the sick man (and) cast on him the incantation of Ea, so that the man  
will get better!

(incantation for (if a man's) belly [...])

3: Or perhaps read *kullat šadī*? Cf. Belly 30:5: [...] *ina aḫi būrti ša šadī*.

4-5: The verbs in these lines may be cohortatives (as in l. 3), or imperatives (as in l. 6).

6: The end of the line could also be read *šīpat Ea šubšūma amīlu libluḫ* "(this is) an incantation that Ea caused to exist so that a man would get well!" (cf. Belly 6:3-5: *šīptum annitum ša Marduk ina mātīm ušabšū* "this incantation which Marduk caused to exist in the land..." ) or *šīpta Ea šubšīma* "Ea, cause an incantation to exist!"

### Belly 30

Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iv 4-8

NA, Nineveh

4 [ ] ᵀx<sup>1</sup>-tim a-na li-bur-na-din iš-pur-an-ni  
 5 [ ] ina a-ḫi PU šá KUR-i  
 6 [ ] ul nu-uš-ba-am-ma  
 7 [ NENN]I A NENNI ra-ši DINGIR ana maḫ-ri-ka  
 8 [ ] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> mi al kul TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN

[...]...*ana Libūr-nādin išpuranni*

[...] *ina aḫi būrti ša šadī*

[...] *ul nušbamma*

[...] *annann]a mār annanna rāši ili ana maḫrika*

[...]...

[...]...he sent me to Libūr-nādin,

[...] at the side of the mountain well,

[...] we did not sit down,

[...So-and-s]o, son of So-and-so, who has "acquired a god," to you  
 [...]....

### Belly 31

STT 176 (S.U. 51/4) + 185 (S.U. 51/195) 14'-22'

NA, Ḫuzirina

M. Civil, JNES 26 (1967): 208 (comments); N. Veldhuis, OLP 21 (1990): 40  
 (comments).

- 14' a-na ʾa-lu-ʾlu qí-bi-ma um-[m]a ʾa-da<sup>l</sup>-pa ap-kal-um-ma  
 15' um-ma a-ʾna<sup>l</sup> ʾa-lu-ʾul-ma<sup>l</sup> [ a]t-ʾtu-u<sup>l</sup>-šú at-tu-u-ka  
 16' i-na sa-ḫi iš-di KUR lib-bi ʾma<sup>?</sup> at<sup>?</sup>-tu-u  
 17' i-ʾna kur si be<sup>l</sup> kur ʾḫi ḫi<sup>l</sup> mi-na-ʾtu<sup>l</sup>-u-na  
 18' [ s]u<sup>?</sup>-ḫul-lu lib-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA  
 19' [ ] ʾx<sup>l</sup>-šú su-ḫul ŠA ʾGUD<sup>l</sup> ina tar<sup>l</sup>-ba-ši  
 20' [ ] ʾx x lib-bi<sup>l</sup> [ ] NA<sub>4</sub>.NIMxBI su-ʾḫul<sup>l</sup> ŠA ANŠE.EDIN bi-nu-  
 ut ʾEDIN<sup>l</sup>  
 21' [s]u-ḫul lib-ʾbi<sup>l</sup> [Š]Aḫ ina ʾa<sup>l</sup>-[sur-re-e] ʾx x x<sup>l</sup> [ DU]G<sub>4</sub>.ʾGA<sup>l</sup> u<sub>8</sub>-u-a  
 lib-bi u SAG.DU.MU ʾbu<sup>?</sup> [ ]  
 22' ni iš ka su (x) bi ʾx<sup>l</sup> [ ]

No translation is offered.

14': I emend *iš* to *da*.

18'-21': Cf. Belly 21:6-9.

19': I emend *ḫal* to *tar*.

## Belly 32

A: G. Beckman and B.R. Foster, *Sachs Mem. Vol. p. 18, no. 15 (YBC 7134) 2'-5'*

B: Köcher BAM 574 (K 191+) iii 61-3

A: NA, Assur?; B: NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 12-3 (edition); W. Farber, *TUAT II/2, 272 (translation)*.

1		<i>anandī</i>	<i>šipta</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mārat</i>	<i>Ea</i>
A2'	ĒN	a-nam-di	ĒN	a-n[a		] »
B61	ĒN	a-nam-di	ĒN	ana	DUMU.SAL	𐎶-a »

2		<i>anandī</i>	<i>šipta</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mārat</i>	<i>Anu</i>
A3'	[		EN	a-na	DUMU.SAL	𐎶a-num »
B	a-nam-di	EN	ana	DUMU.SAL	𐎶a-num	

3		<i>anandī</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mārat</i>	<i>ili</i>
A	a-nam <sup>L</sup> -[di	a <sup>L</sup> [			]
B62	a-nam-di	ana	DUMU.SAL	DINGIR	»

4	<i>aššum</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>aššum</i>	<i>mini</i>
A4'	aš-šum	mi-ni-i	aš-šum	mi-<ni>-i »
B	aš-šum	mi-ni-i	aš-šum	mi-ni-i

5	<i>aššum</i>	<i>kabatti</i>	<i>aššum</i>	<i>libbi</i>
A		ka-bat-t[i?]	[a]š-šum	li-ib-bi »
B	aš-šum	ka-bat-ti	aš-šum	li-ib-bi

6	<i>aššum</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>aššum</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>marši</i>
A	aš-šum	li-ib-bi	[		]
B63	aš-šum	li-ib-bi	aš-šum	li-ib-bi	m[ar]-[š]i <sup>1</sup> TU <sub>6</sub> .EN

"I cast an incantation to the daughter of Ea,

"I cast an incantation to the daughter of Anu,

"I cast an incantation to the daughter of a god"—

"Concerning what? Concerning what?"—

"Concerning the liver, concerning the belly,

"Concerning the belly, concerning the sick belly"

1-3: Or perhaps, "I cast an incantation for/against (the daughter)."

### Belly 33

KAR 79 (VAT 10081)

NA, Assur

1' <sup>d</sup>nin-gir[ima...]

2' NUMUN BABBAR.ḪI.SAR ina 'x x' [...]

3' EN ul iu-ut-t[u...]

4' EN <sup>d</sup>nin-giri[ma...]

5' <sup>d</sup>gu-la TIL.LA [...]

rubric:

6' [k]a-inim-ma šà-si-s[á-kam]

No translation is warranted.

### Belly 34

AMT 45,5 (K 5416, A) rev. 1'

NA, Nineveh

1' [...É]N? <sup>d</sup>nin-girima EN ÉN TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN

rubric:

2' ka-inim-ma šà-si-sá-ke<sub>4</sub>

## Bleeding

## Bleeding 1

a: von Weiher Uruk 129 (W 23279) vi 11'-27'

b: Köcher BAM 386 (VAT 16446) iv 1'-6'

C: Köcher BAM 237 (VAT 8577+) ii 1'-6'

a: LB, Uruk; b: NB, Babylon; C: NA, Assur

von Weiher Uruk 4, pp. 32-40 (edition of a).

1	<i>mimmû</i>	<i>ilû</i>	<i>ibnû</i>	<i>amilûti</i>	
a11'	[E]N mim-mu-ú	DINGIR.MEŠ	DÛ-ú	a-me-lu-tu	
2	[ <i>Bēlet-i</i> ]lī	<i>dāmšina</i>	<i>ibni</i>		
a12'	[DINGIR.M]AḪ	UŠ-ši-na	ib-ni		
3	[ <i>i</i> mu]ršinātima	<i>Ea</i>	<i>ibakki</i>		
a13'	[i-mu]r-ši-na-ti-ma	ᵀIDIM	i-bak-ki		
4	[ <i>ana lēt</i> ]i	<i>Mami</i>	<i>illakā</i>	<i>dīmāša</i>	
a14'	[ana le-t]i	ᵀma-mi	il-la-ku	di-ma-šá	
5	[... <i>i</i> ]lsūni?	<i>ilī</i>	<i>kalama</i>		
a15'	[ i]l <sup>2</sup> -su-ni	DINGIR.MEŠ	ka-la-ma		
6	[...]	<i>Ištar</i>	<i>Bēlet-ilī</i>	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>u Gula</i>
a16'	[ ] <sup>1</sup> [x] <sup>1</sup>	ᵀXV	DINGIR.MAḪ	ᵀUTU	u ᵀgu-la
7	[... <i>ša</i> ] <i>eṭli</i>	<i>ina appišu</i>	<i>u ša ardati</i>	<i>ina ūriša</i>	
a17'	[ ] GURUŠ	ina ap-pi-šú	u šá KI.SIKIL	ina GAL <sub>4</sub> .LA-šá	
8	<i>itta[nattuk]ū</i>	[ <i>u itt</i> ]anallakū	<i>dāmūšu</i>	<i>dīmāšu</i>	
a18'	[ -t]a-[ -k]u	[ D]U.DU-ku	UŠ.MEŠ-šú	di-ma-šú	
C1'	it- <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> [ ]				



- 9 *ittanattuk* u *ittanallak*  
 a19' [ ]-ta-na-tuk u DU.DU-ak  
 C2' it-ta-na-<sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-t[uk ]
- 10 *kim[a]* *tammerti* *ša* *lā* *kullū* *kāfūša*  
 a20' GI[M] <sup>1</sup>ta-mir-ti<sup>1</sup> šá la kul-lu-u ka-lu-ú-šá  
 C omits
- 11 *kima* *namziti* *ša* *purussaša* *lā* *parsu*  
 a21' <sup>1</sup>GIM<sup>1</sup> DUG.NIG.DÜR.BÜR šá <sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-ru-<sup>1</sup>sa-šá<sup>1</sup> la pár-súm  
 C omits
- 12 *kima* *nādi* *ša* *lā* *dunnunu* *riksa* *lā* *taklu* *šir'āna*  
 a22' [G]IM na-a-a-du šá la <sup>1</sup>dun<sup>1</sup>-nu-nu KEŠDA la tak-lu SA  
 b1' [ ] <sup>1</sup>SA<sup>1</sup>  
 C omits
- 13 *atta* *ilu* *ša* ..... *amilūti*  
 a23' [a]t-ta<sup>1</sup> DINGIR šá ta-KU-lu sa-'-KUR NAM.LÜ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 b2' [ ] .LÜ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 C3' at-ta DINGIR š[a ]
- 14 *elima* *ana* *šamē* *šūrida* *kunuk* *Anu*  
 a24' <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li-ma ana AN-e šu-ri-da NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>a-nu  
 b3' [ ] .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>a-num  
 C4' e-li-ma a-[ ]
- 15 *ša* *zikari* *rukus* *qaqqassu*  
 a25' ša NITA ru-ku-us <sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.DU-su  
 b4' [ ] SAG.DU-su  
 C5' ša GURUŠ ru-ku-us SAG.<sup>1</sup>DU<sup>1</sup>-[ ] »
- 16 *ša* *sinništi* *eli* *lā* *dumuq* *ūriša* *idā* *šipassa*  
 a26' ša SAL UGU NU du-muq GAL<sub>4</sub>.LA-šá ŠUB-a šī-pat-su  
 b5' [ ] <sup>1</sup>GAL<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.LA-šá ŠUB-a šī-pat-su  
 C [ ]

17	<i>mimma</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>illaku</i>	<i>damiqtaša</i>	<i>liqbi</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
a27'	ṛmim <sup>l</sup> -ma	ša <sup>l</sup>	DU-ku	da-mi-iq-ta-ša	liq-bi	te ĒN
b6'	[			]-iq-ta-ša	liq-bi	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN.Ē.NU.RU
C6'	mim-mu	ma-la	il-la-]			]

rubrics:

a28'	ka-inim	ÛŠ	ina	KIR <sub>4</sub> -šú	šur-du-ma	GIN-ku?
b7'	[		]	KIR <sub>4</sub> -šú	šur-du-ma	GIN-ku
C7'	ka-inim-ma	SA[L	ša	na-aḥ-ša-a-te	GIG-at]	

All the gods made mankind,

(But) [Bēlet-i]lī made their blood;

Ea [sa]w them (mankind) and began to cry,

Tears came [to] Mami's c[heeks],

[...they ca]lled? all of the gods,

[...], Ištar, Bēlet-ilī, Šamaš, and Gula, (saying):

"[...] the young man[']s] from his nose, and the young woman's from her vagina,

"Their blood continually drips and flows, their tears

"Continually drip and flow,

"Lik[e] a water-logged meadow whose dike is not holding back (the water),

"Like a fermenting vat whose stopper is not stopping (the outflow),

"Like a waterskin whose knot is not strong, whose drawstring is untrustworthy" —

You, god who...of mankind,

Go up to heaven and bring down the seal of Anu!

Bind the man's head!

Put a sealing upon the disorder of the woman's vagina!

May he put in a good word for her, whatever is appropriate!

(a-b: incantation (for) blood that is flowing and coming out from his (the patient's)

nose; C: incantation for a woma[n who has *naḥšātu* illness])

5: von Weiher reads the beginning of the line as *[ut<sup>?</sup>-ta<sup>?</sup>-a]ḥ<sup>?</sup>-ḥi<sup>?</sup>-su-ni (naḥāsu Dt)* and translates "[wurden bedr]ückt."

7-9: I can think of no plausible restoration for the beginning of l. 7, and this makes the understanding of these difficult lines tentative. *dāmūšu* in l. 8 must be the subject of the plural verbs *itta[nattuk]ū* and *[itt]anallakū* that immediately precede it, and its possessive suffix presumably refers to both *[ša] eḥli ina appišu* and *ša ardati ina ūriša*. The dual *dimāšu* in l. 8 is presumably the subject of the singular verbs in l. 9 (but cf. *il-la-ku dimāša* in l. 4), and its possessive suffix also presumably refers both to *[ša] eḥli* and *ša ardati* (although obviously not *ina appišu* or *ina ūriša*). *dimāša* may be written at the end of l. 8 (rather than the beginning of l. 9) because 8-9 were intended to be a single chiastic unit, pivoting on the consonant *damūšu/dimāšu*: *ittanattukū u ittanallakū dāmūšu dimāšu ittanattuk u ittanallak*

10-2: These lines, omitted in C, may be indented in a.

10: For *tammertu*, see M. Stol, *Bull. on Sum. Agriculture* 4 (1988): 177ff., and W. van Soldt, *ibid.*, 107ff., and cf. *Bleeding* 2:2 and 4.

11: AHW s.v. *b/purussu*; cf. *Bezold Cat. Supp.* 500 (BM 98589) ii 6 and 12: *ša namziti maqit purussa* "the fermenting vat's stopper has fallen out," and M. Geller, *Sjöberg AV* 196:36: *arhuš kaš dug-níg-ṛdūr<sup>1</sup>-būr-gin<sub>7</sub>, ṛḥé<sup>1</sup>-bi-iz-bi-iz-e* "may (the witch's) womb drip like beer from a fermenting vat."

12: Cf. Lambert *BWL* 180-1, obv. 9: *[iša]ḥḥuḥ [d]imtašu kīma mē nādi* "his tears drip like water of a waterskin."

13 a: I emend *uš* to *ta*.

16: Or: "cast its incantation"; for other examples of word play between *šipassu* "sealing" and *šipassu* "his/its incantation," cf. K. Deller, SAAB 1/2 (1987): 69-71 and W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 321.

17 a: I emend *ta* to *ša*.

### Bleeding 2

A: Köcher BAM 235 (VAT 13724) 10-3

B: Köcher BAM 236 (A 203) rev. 1'-5'

A-B: NA, Assur (both come from the "House of the Exorcist").

1		<i>[n]ār</i>	<i>sāmti</i>	<i>dāmša</i>	<i>atap</i>	<i>sāmti?</i>
A10	[EN I]D		NA <sub>4</sub> .GUG	UŠ-ša	a-tap	NA <sub>4</sub> .G[UG? ( )]
B1'	[		.G]UG	UŠ-「ša?」	a-「tap	NA <sub>4</sub> .GUG?」

2		<i>[ta]mmerta?</i>	<i>sāmta</i>	<i>mû</i>	<i>ubbalû</i>
A11	[ ]-mir-ti		NA <sub>4</sub> .GUG	A.MEŠ	[ ]
B2'	[x x]			「A」.MEŠ	ub-ba-lu »

3		<i>mannu</i>	<i>liqbi</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>rēmēnī</i>	<i>Marduk</i>
A12	[ ]-nu	liq-bi		ana	re-mi-ni-i	ᵈAM[AR. ] »
B	man-nu	liq-b[i]	3'	[	r]e-mi-ni-i	ᵈAMAR.UTU

4		<i>[t]ammerta</i>	<i>sāmta</i>	<i>liskirû</i>
A13	[t]a?-mir-ti		NA <sub>4</sub> .GUG	l[i?-
B4'	[x (x)		N]A <sub>4</sub> .GUG	li-is-ki-ru »

5		<i>ugār</i>	<i>uqni</i>	<i>[nā]ru</i>	<i>lā ubbal</i>
A omits?					
B	A.GĀR?	NA <sub>4</sub> .ZA.GIN	5'	[na]-rum	la ub-bal

rubrics:

A14	[k]a-inim-ma	UŠ	SAL	[ ]
B6'	[ ]-inim-ma	UŠ	SAL	KUD-si

Her blood is a carnelian [r]iver, a carnelian<sup>2</sup> canal,  
 The water is carrying away the carnelian [me]adow?<sup>2</sup>—  
 Who will speak to merciful Marduk,  
 (So that the breach in) the carnelian [m]eadow may be dammed up,  
 (And) [the ri]ver may not carry away the lapis-lazuli field?  
 ([in]cantation (for) stopping a woman's blood)

1: I read the end of the line *atap sām̄ti*, but it is also possible to read *a-<sup>1</sup>tap NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>*.

ZA.[GĪN] in A and A.<sup>1</sup>GĀR NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GĪN x<sup>1</sup> in B (for *ugār uq̄nī*, in parallel to l. 5).

1 and 3: There is more space in the break at the end of A 10 and 12 than is needed for the restorations.

2 and 4: I read *[ta]mmerti* because it parallels a similar phrase describing a bleeding person in Bleeding 1:10 (*kim[a] tammerti ša lā kullū kālūša* "lik[e] a waterlogged meadow whose dike is not holding back (the water)"), and it better parallels *ugāru* in l. 5. There is not enough space in the break in B for the restorations in either line. One could also read *[na]mirti sām̄ti*, "bright carnelian" (and indeed, the trace on A 13 may favor this), but this makes less sense.

5: It is unclear what *ugār uq̄nī* refers to.

### Bleeding 3

Köcher BAM 524 (K 8142) ii' 1'-6'

NA, Nineveh

1'     ki-i la iṣ-li-mu ṽsu bat ti<sup>1</sup> [             ]

2'     il-lik GĪR ina IGI-šú ù a[n             ]

- 3' a-na 𐎠-a 𐎶𐎶 [ ]  
 4' ÚŠ KIR<sub>4</sub> TAR su bat ti 𐎶[u? ]  
 5' ina qí-bit 𐎠gu-la [ ] 𐎶𐎶 [ ]  
 6' SA-ka lik-ka-šir-ma 𐎶šī-ḫa 𐎶tú lid-d[i]

[...]

*ki lā iṣlimu...[...]*

*illik patru ina pānišu u [...]*

*ana Ea [...]*

*dām appi...[...]*

*ina qibit Gula [...]*

*šir'ānka likkaširma šihhata lidd[i]*

[...]

When it did not become dark...[...]

The sword went before him and [...]

To Ea [...]

The blood of the nose...[...]

At the command of Gula, [...]

May the blood vessel be bound up, and may it thro[w] off flaking!

1': Or: *lā iṣlimu* "he did not become friendly."

6': 𐎶šī-ḫa 𐎶tú parallels *šī-ba* in Belly 23:1'-2': [...] 𐎶x x<sup>1</sup> lid 𐎶x<sup>1</sup> [...] / *šir-a-ni li-𐎶ka 𐎶-*

*šir-ma<sup>1</sup> šī-ba lid-di* TU<sub>6</sub>.[ÉN], which bears the rubric *ka-inim-ma šà-si-sá-ke<sub>4</sub>*

"incantation for having a bowel movement." *šibu/šipu* occurs elsewhere with

*nadû*; since it is said of old bread, a garment, and an abscess, it apparently has the

general meaning of "a discolored film" (e.g., including mold, mildew, and pus

or perhaps a scab). I would hazard that a misunderstanding of this phrase with *šipu* written *šī-pa* led a scribe to read the word as *šī-ḫat*, perhaps thinking of *šuḫtu*, "verdigris, patina, or rust," which also occurs with the verb *nadû* and, like *šību*, refers to a discolored substance.

#### Bleeding 4

Köcher BAM 525 (K 2490) obv. 3'

NA, Nineveh

3' EN šur-du-ma GIN-ku in[a KIR<sub>4</sub>-šu UŠ.MEŠ]

*šurdûma illakû in[a appišu dāmû]*

[Blood] is running over and flowing fro[m his nose]

The restorations are tentative; cf. the rubric of Bleeding 1, exemplars a and b: *ka-inim-ma dāmû ina appišu šurdûma illakû*. Since Bleeding 4 is followed by the same ritual as Bleeding 3, perhaps it is the incipit to that incantation.

Another likely incantation against bleeding is Bezold Cat. Supp. 500 (BM 98589) ii 4-25 (photo on pl. IV); no edition is offered because I cannot read the complete text from the photo.

**bu'sānu****bu'sānu 1**

A: Köcher BAM 533 (K 2262+) 36-47

b: Köcher BAM 536 (K 6572) 6'-9'

c: Köcher BAM 537 (K 11513) rev. 1'-8'

D: Köcher BAM 543 (K 2419+) iii 43'-52'

e: AMT 54,3 (K 8716) i' 1'-6'

f: Hunger Uruk 44 (W 22315) 55-61

G: Köcher BAM 553 (K 11348) rev. 1'-6'

A-e, G: NA, Nineveh; f: LB, Uruk

Hunger Uruk pp. 52-5 (edition of f).

1		<i>bu'sānu</i>	<i>dān</i>	<i>šibissu</i>
A36	[		]-an	ši-bit-su
b6'	[	]-šá-nu	da-an	DAB-s[u]
c1'	[	]-šá-nu <sup>1</sup>	d[a-	]
D43'	ÉN	bu-'-šá-nu	da-an	DAB-[ ] »
f55	ÉN	bu-'-šá-nu	da-an	DAB-su »

2	<i>kīma</i>	<i>n[ēš]i</i>	<i>napšāra</i>	<i>išbat</i>
A37	[		]-šá-ru	iš-bat
b7'	[	.MA]Ḫ	nap-šá-ra	iš-b[at]
c	[			]
D	[k]i-ḫma <sup>1</sup>	[		]
f	GIM	U[R.		]

3	<i>kīma</i>	<i>barbari</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>nurza</i>
A38	[		-š]a-bat	nu-ur-zu
b8'	[	.BA]R.RA	iš-bat	nu-u[r- ]
c2'	[ ]	UR.BAR.RA	iš-ša-ḫbat <sup>1</sup>	n[u- ] »
D44'	ki-ma	UR.BAR.RA	iš-bat	nu-[ -z]i »
f56	GIM	UR.BAR.RA	iš-ša-bat	nu-ur-za »



4	<i>išbat</i>	<i>nu[rub</i>	<i>appi]</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>lišāna</i>
A39	[		]	<i>iš-ša-bat</i>	EME
b9'	[			<i>i]š-ša-<sup>l</sup>bat<sup>l</sup></i>	[
c	[				]
D	<i>iš-bat</i>	<i>nu-]</i>			]
f	<i>iš-b[at</i>				]

5	<i>ina</i>	<i>imbūb</i>	<i>ḥašē</i>	<i>ittadi</i>	<i>kussišu</i>
A40	[		]	<i>ṛit<sup>l</sup>ta-ṛdi<sup>l</sup></i>	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú
c3'	[	<i>i]m-bu-ub</i>	<i>ḥa-še-e</i>	<i>i[t-</i>	]
D45'	<i>i-na</i>	GI. <sup>l</sup> GI <sup>D</sup>	MUR <sup>l</sup> .M[ <i>EŠ</i> ]	<i>it-ta-di</i>	G[ <i>IŠ.G</i> ]U.[ ]-ṛšú <sup>l</sup>
e1'	[				.Z]A-šú
f57	<i>ina</i>	G[ <i>I</i> ].GI <sup>D</sup>	<i>ṛMUR<sup>l</sup>.MEŠ</i>	<i>it-ta-di</i>	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú »

6	<i>šī</i>	<i>bu'sānu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>šibitka</i>
A41	[	<i>-n]u</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>ši-bit-ka</i>
c4'	<i>ši-i</i>	<i>bu-'-šá-nu</i>	<i>ul</i>	[ ] »
D omits				
e2'	[			]
f	<i>š[i-</i>			]

7	<i>kīma</i>	<i>mitu</i>	<i>šuddū</i>	<i>alakta</i>
A42	<i>k[i-</i>	]	<i>šu-du-ú</i>	<i>a-lak-tú</i>
c	[			]
D46'	GIM	US	<i>šu-du-u</i>	<i>a-lak-[ ]</i> »
e	[			<i>-l]ak-ti</i>
f58	GIM	US	<i>šu-ud-ṛdu<sup>l</sup>-ú</i>	<i>a-lak-ti</i> »
G1'	<i>k[i-</i>			]

8	<i>u</i>	<i>nīd libbi</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>īniqu</i>	<i>tulē</i>	<i>ummišu</i>
A43	<i>ṛū<sup>l</sup></i>	[	<i>la</i>	<i>i-ni-qu</i>	<i>ši-zib</i>	AMA-šú
c5'	<i>u</i>	<i>ḏkū-bu</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>i-ni-q[u</i>	]	
D	<i>u</i>	<i>ni-id lib-bi</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>iš-ba-tú</i>	UBUR	AM[A]-ṛšú <sup>l</sup>
e3'	[				UBU]R	AMA-šú
f	<i>ù</i>	<i>ni-id ṛlib<sup>l</sup>-[</i>				]
G2'	<i>ṛū<sup>l</sup></i>	[				]

9	<i>atta</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>tassaḥra</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>šibtika</i>
A44	<i>at-[</i>		<i>-a]s-saḥ-ra</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>šib-ti-ka</i>
c6'	<i>at-ta</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ta-as-saḥ-r[a</i>	]	
D47'	<i>ṛat<sup>l</sup>[t]a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ta-tur</i>	<i>a-na</i>	<i>ši-ib-ti-ka</i>
e4'	[				]-ka
f59	<i>at-ta</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ṛta-tur<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>šib-ti-ka</i> »
G3'	<i>at-[</i>				]

10	<i>šiptu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>yuttun</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Asalluḫi</i>
A45	ÉN	u[l	]	ÉN	ḏe-a	u	ḏasal-lú-ḫi
c7'	ÉN	ul	iu-ú-tu-un	ÉN	[		]
D48'	[É]N	ul	iu-ut-tu-un	[É]N	ḏe-a	u	ḏasal-lú-ḫi
e5'	[						asa]l-lú-ḫi
f	ÉN	<ul>	iu-ṛut <sup>1</sup> -t[u <sup>2</sup> -				]
G4'	ÉN	u[l					]

11	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Damu</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Gula</i>
A omits?				
c8'	[É]N	ṛḏa-mu	u	ḏgu <sup>1</sup> -l[a] »
D49'	ÉN	ḏda-mu	u	ḏgu-la
e omits?				
f60	ÉN	ḏda-mu	u	ḏgu-la »
G omits?				

12	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ningirima</i>	<i>bēlet</i>	<i>šipti</i>
A46	ÉN	ḏ[ -girim]a »		
c	[			]
D50'	ÉN	ḏnin-girima	be-let	ÉN
e6'	[	-gir]ima		]
f	ṛÉN	ḏnin <sup>2</sup> -l[		]
G5'	ÉN	ḏ[		]

13	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bēlet</i>	<i>balāti</i>
A	ÉN	ḏgu-la	be-let	TI.LA
D51'	ÉN	ḏgu-la	[b]e-let	TI.LA
f61	ÉN	ḏgu-la	be-let	TI.LA »
G	[			]

14	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bullitima</i>	<i>qīšatki</i>	<i>liqé</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A47	ḏgu-l[a	]	qī-šat-ki	li-qé-e	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
D52'	ḏgu-la	TI-ṭi-ma	NIG.[ -k]i	TI-e	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
f	ḏg[u-				]
G6'	ḏgu-l[a				]

rubrics:

D53'	ka-inim-ma	[(?)]	bu-'-šá-nu	DAB-ṛsu <sup>1</sup>
f62	ka-inim-ma		bu-'-šá-nu	DAB-su
G7'	[k]a-inim-m[a			]

*Bu'sānu*, strong is its grasp.

It seized the uvula like a l[io]n.

It seized the *nurzu* like a wolf,  
 It seized the moi[st part of the nose], it seized the tongue,  
 It set up its chair in the windpipe—  
 Go out, *Bu'sānu*! He (the patient) is not yours to seize!  
 As the dead man has had to abandon the way (of the living),  
 And the still-born child did not suck the breast of his mother,  
 (So too) you should not return to the one you have seized!  
 The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,  
 It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations,  
 It is the incantation of Gula, mistress of health!  
 Gula, heal (the patient) and take your gift!  
 (incantation for (if) *bu'sānu* illness seizes (a man))

4: One could restore *nu[rza]* instead of *nu[rub appi]*, although *nurzu* already appears in 1. 3.

6 and 9: In medical incantations *šibtu* can refer not only to the act of seizing, but also to that which is seized (e.g., *bu'sānu* 2:6 and 9, and Various Illnesses 2:30); see W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): p. 40, n. to section II, 13.

*bu'sānu 2*

A: Köcher BAM 533 (K 2262+) 50-6

B: Köcher BAM 29 (VAT 13824+) 6'-14'

C: Köcher BAM 543 (K 2419+) iii 58'-62'

d: Hunger Uruk 44 (W 22315) 65-7

A and C: NA, Nineveh; B: NA, Assur; d: LB, Uruk

Hunger Uruk pp. 52-5 (edition of d).

1		<i>dān</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>bu'sāni</i>	<i>šibissu</i>
A50	[ ]	「da <sup>l</sup> -an		[	-s]u 「:1 »
B6'	[			]-「a <sup>?</sup> l-nu	DAB-su
C58'	É[N			]-'-šá-nu	「šil-[ ] »
d65	ÉN	da-an	šá	bu-'-šá-nu	DAB-su »

2	<i>kima</i>	<i>nēši</i>	<i>qaqqada</i>	<i>išbat</i>
A	GIM	U[R.		]
B7'	[		SAG.DU	iš-bat
C	[			]
d	GIM	UR.MAḪ	SAG.DU	i[š- ] »

3	<i>[k]ima</i>	<i>barbari</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>lu'ḫa</i>
A51	[G]IM	UR.BAR.RA	[	]
B8'	[		iš-ša-bat	lu-'-「ḫa <sup>l</sup>
C59'	[		]-bat	lu-'-[- ] »
d	[			]

4	<i>išbat</i>	<i>appa</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>lišāna</i>
A	[	]	「iš <sup>l</sup> -š[a-	]
B9'	[	-p]a	iš-ša-bat	li-šá-a-nu
C	[			]-「nu <sup>l</sup>
d66	iš-bat	KIR <sub>4</sub>	iš-bat	EME »

5	<i>ina</i>	<i>birīt</i>	<i>šinni</i>	<i>ittadi</i>	<i>kussišu</i>
A52	[ ]	bi-rit	ZU.[ ]	i[t-	]
B10'	[	-ri]t <sup>l</sup>	ZU.MEŠ	it-ta-di	GIŠ.GU.ZA-「šú <<x x>> <sup>l</sup>
C60'	[		Z]U.[		]
d	ina	「bi <sup>l</sup> -[r]it	ZU.MEŠ	it-ta-di	GI[Š. ] »

6	<i>[ṣ]i</i>	<i>bu'sānu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>ṣibitka</i>		
A53	[ṣ]i-i	KIR <sub>4</sub> .ḪAB	[			
B11'	[	]-ṣá-a-nu	ul	ṣi-bit-ṣka		
C	[			-bi]t-k[a		
d	[					
7	<i>kima</i>	<i>mār</i>	<i>nadīti</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>ibūru</i>	
A54	[GI]M	DUMU	SAL.na-di-t[e			
B12'	[		LUKUR	la	i-bu-ṣru	
C61'	[		ṣLUKUR?	[		»
d67	GIM	DUMU	LUKUR	la	i-bu-ṣra	»
8	<i>u</i>	<i>nīd libbi</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>iṣbatu</i>	<i>tulē</i>	<i>ummišu</i>
A55	ṣu	ni-id lib-bi	la	i-ni-qu	UBUR	AMA-ṣú
B13'	[	-b]i	la	iṣ-bat	UBUR	AMA-ṣú
C	[					AM]A-ṣú
d	ṣGIM	ni-id lib-ṣbi	la	iṣ-bat	U[BUR	] »
9	<i>[at]ta</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>tassaḥra</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ṣibtika</i>	<i>tē ṣipti</i>
A56	[ ]-ta	e	ta-sa-aḥ-ra	a-na	ṣib-ti-ka	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN
B14'	[		]-ṣsa-aḥ?-ra	a-na	ṣib-ti-ka	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN
C62'	[				]-ṣti-ka	
d	[					]

rubrics:

B15'	[ka-inim-ma	DIS	N]A	bu-'-ṣá-a-nu	DAB-su
C62'	[				] DAB-su
d68	ka-inim-ma			bu-'-ṣá-nu	DAB-su

Strong is the grasp of *Bu'sānu*,

It seized the head like a lion,

It seized the gullet [l]ike a wolf,

It seized the nose, it seized the tongue,

It set up its chair among the teeth—

[G]o out, *Bu'sānu*, he is not yours to seize!

As the son of the *nadītu* priestess did not stay healthy,

And the still-born child did not seize the breast of his mother,

(So too) [y]ou should not return to the one you have seized!

(incantation for (if) *bu'sānu* illness seizes [a m]an)

1 B: The reading  $\Gamma a^1$  is against the copy, but B consistently writes *bu-'-šá-a-nu* (e.g., ll. 11' and 15')

5 B: The trace of the first sign looks more like *[in]a*, which is not impossible; the traces at the end of the line are unclear.

### *bu'sānu* 3

A: Köcher BAM 533 (K 2262+) 76-89

B: Köcher BAM 28+ (EHE 333; obv. 1-7 and rev. 1'-13' recopied in Durand Catalogue EPHE no. 333, pl. 120) rev. 3'-11'

C: Köcher BAM 29 (VAT 13824+) 18'-32'

D: Köcher BAM 543 (K 2419+) iii 65'-iv 2

e: AMT 54,3 (K 8716) ii' 1'-7'

f: Hunger Uruk 44 (W 22315) 69-74

A, D, and e: NA, Nineveh; B and C: NA, Assur; f: LB, Uruk

Hunger Uruk pp. 53-5 (edition of f); W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 313-6 (edition).

1		<i>bu'sānu</i>	<i>amir</i>	<i>kīma</i>	<i>nēši</i>
A76	EN	KIR <sub>4</sub> .ḪA[B]	a-mir	GIM	UR.MAḪ
B3'	[	K]IR <sub>4</sub> .ḪAB	a-mir	GIM	ḪUR <sup>1</sup> .[ ] »
C18'	[	]-'-šá-a-nu	a-mir	GIM	UR.GĪ <sub>7</sub>
D65'	ḪEN <sup>1</sup>	[	Ḫa <sup>1</sup> -mir	GIM	UR.MAḪ »
f69	EN	bu-''-šá-nu	a-mir	GIM	UR.MAḪ »

2	<i>ana</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>nēši</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>bu'sāni</i>	<i>dān</i>	<i>šibissu</i>
A77	i[na]	la		U[R].MAḪ	šá	KIR <sub>4</sub> .ḪAB	KALAG <sup>an</sup>	ši-bit-su
B	[							]
C19'	[			U]R.MAḪ	Ḫá <sup>1</sup>	bu-''-šá-a-nu	da-an	DAB-su
D	ina	la		UR.MAḪ	[	]-Ḫ <sup>1</sup> -šá-ni	da-an	ši-bit-su
f	ana	la	šá	UR.ḪMAḪ <sup>1</sup>	šá	bu-Ḫ <sup>1</sup> -Ḫ-		]

3	<i>kīma</i>	<i>barbari</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>pā</i>			
A78	[ ]	.MAḪ	iš-ša-bat	pa-a			
B4'	[ ]	UR.BAR.RA	i-ša-bat	pa-a »			
C20'	[ ]	.B]AR.RA	iš-ša-bat	pa-a			
D66'	ki-m[a		-š]a-bat	pa-a »			
f70			nap-šá-ri	iš-bat »			
4	<i>kīma</i>	<i>mindīnaš</i>	<i>iššabat</i>	<i>laḫē</i>			
A79	[ ]	mī]n-di-na-áš	iš-ša-bat	la-ḫe-e			
B	GIM	「min <sup>1</sup> [					
C21'	[ ]	-d]i-na	iš-š[a]-bat	la-ḫe-e-šú			
D	ki-ma	mīn-dī-i-n[a-á]š	iš-ša-bat	la-ḫe-e			
f	ki-i	mīn-dī-ni	iš-ša-bat	la-ḫe-e »			
5	<i>ina</i>	<i>nurzi</i>	<i>narbāti</i>	<i>itadi</i>	<i>kussišu</i>		
A80	[ ]	-ú]r-zi	nar-ba-ti	it-ta-dí	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú		
B5'	[ ]	「x <sup>1</sup> ur-zi	nar-ba-ti	it-ta-dí	GIŠ.G[U. ] »		
C22'	[ ]	-u]r-zi	nar-[b]a-ti	it-ta-dí	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú		
D67'	ina	nu-[ ]-zi	nar-ba-ti	it-ta-dí	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú		
f	ina <sup>2</sup>	[ -u]r <sup>2</sup> -za	nar-[ ]				
6	<i>manna</i>	<i>lušpur</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mārāt</i>	<i>Anu</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>šamē</i>
A81	[ ]	lu-uš-pur	ana	DUMU.SAL	ᵀa-num	šá	AN-e
B	[ ]						
C23'	[ -n]a	lu-uš-pur	a-na	DUMU.SAL.MEŠ	ᵀa-num	šá	AN-e »
D68'	man-na	l[u-u]š-pur	a-na	DUMU.SAL	ᵀa-num	šá	AN-「e <sup>1</sup>
f71	「mi <sup>1</sup>	lu-uš-pur	ana	DUMU.SAL.ME	ᵀa-nu	šá	AN-e »
7	<i>liššānimma</i>	<i>tallišina</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>šarpi</i>			
A82	[ -n]im-ma	tal-li-ši-na	šá	「šar-pi <sup>1</sup>			
B6'	[ -n]im-ma	「tál-li <sup>1</sup> -ši-na	šá	KÚ.BABBAR »			
C	liš-šá-nim-ma	tal-li-ši-na	šá	KÚ.BABBAR			
D69'	liš-šá-nim-ma	tal-li-ši-na	šá	šar-pi »			
f	liš-šá-nim-ma	tal-li-ši-「na <sup>1</sup>	[ ]				
8	<i>u</i>	<i>kandurišina</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>ḫurāsi</i>			
A83	[ ka]n-du-ri-ši-na		šá	KÚ.「GI <sup>1</sup>			
B	kan-d[u-						
C24'	[ ka]n-du-ra-ni-ši-na		šá	KÚ.GI			
D	u kan-du-ri-ši-na		šá	K[U. ]			
f	[ ]						

9	<i>liḥbānimma</i>	<i>mê</i>	<i>Ulaya</i>	<i>tāmti</i>	<i>rapašti</i>
A84	[ ]'-nim-ma	A.MEŠ	ID.ú-la-a	ta-ma-ti	ra-pa-áš-te
B7'	[ ]-ba-nim-ma	A.MEŠ	ID.ú-l[a-		]
C25'	[ -b]a-nim-ma	A.MEŠ	ID.ú-la-a-a	tam-tim	DAGAL-tim
D70'	li-iḥ-ba-nim-ma	A.MEŠ	ID.ú-la-a-a	ta-ma-te	ra-pa-áš-t[e]
e1'	[		]ú-l[a-		]
f72	liḥ-ba-nim	A.MEŠ	a-ab-ba	tam-tim	DAGAL-tim »

10	<i>ašar</i>	<i>urruštu</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>imsū</i>	<i>qātiša</i>
A85	[ ]	ur-ru-uš-tú	lā	im-su-ú	ŠU <sup>II</sup> -šá
B8'	[ -š]ar	ur-ru-uš-tú	lā	LUḪ-ú	Š[U <sup>II</sup> - ] »
C26'	[ -ša]r	ur-ru-uš-tum	lā	im-su-ú	ŠU <sup>II</sup> -šá
D71'	a-šar	ur-[r]u-uš-tú	lā	im-su-ú	ŠU <sup>II</sup> -šá
e2'	[	-t]um	lā	im-s[u-	]
f	a-šar	ur-ru-uš-ti	[		]

11	<i>musukkatu</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>imsū</i>	<i>lubāriša</i>	
A86	[ ]-ka-tú	lā	im-su-ú	lu <sup>1</sup> -ba-ri-šá	
B	[			]	
C27'	[ -k]a-tum	lā	im-su-ú	TÜG.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú	
D72'	mu-suk-ka-[t]u	lā	im-su-ú	lu-ba-ri-šá	
e3'	[	]a	im-su-u	lu-b[a-	]
f73	u-suk-ka-tum	lā	im-su-u	lu-ba-re-e-šú »	

12	<i>iššūr</i>	<i>ḥurri</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>unassisu</i>	<i>kappišu</i>
A87	[ ]	ḥur-ri	lā	ú-na-as-si-su	kap-pi-šu
B9'	[i]š-šur	ḥur-ri?	lā	ú-[	]
C28'	[	]ri	lā	ú-na-as-si-su	kap-pi-šú
D73'	iš-šu-<ur>	ḥu[r-r]i	lā	ú-na-as-si-su	kap-pi-šú
e4'	[	-r]i	lā	ú-na-as-si-su	[ ]
f	iš-šur	ḥur-ri	<la id- <sup>1</sup> lu-'>	lā	ú <sup>1</sup> -[ ]

13	<i>lā</i>	<i>idli'u</i>	<i>kalbu</i>	<i>šalmu</i>
A88	[	i]d-li-'-ú	UR.GI <sub>7</sub>	GE <sub>6</sub> »
B10'	[ ]	id-li-'	<sup>1</sup> UR <sup>1</sup> .GI <sub>7</sub>	GE <sub>6</sub> »
C29'	[	-l]i-'	UR.GI <sub>7</sub>	GE <sub>6</sub>
D1	lā	id-li-'	[	G]E <sub>6</sub> »
e5'	[ ]	id-li-'	UR.GI <sub>7</sub>	G[E <sub>6</sub> ]
f74	lā	id-lu-'	UR.GI <sub>7</sub>	GE <sub>6</sub> »



14	<i>liddā</i>		<i>ana</i>	<i>pišuma</i>
A	<<NU>> li[d-	]-ra <sup>1</sup>	<i>ana</i>	pi-šu
B	[	]		
C30'	[	]-ra <sup>1</sup>	šá	pi-i-šú-ma
D	SUB-a			pi-šu-ma »
e6'	[ŠU]B-a		<i>ana</i>	KA-šu-ma »
f	lid-da-a		<i>ana</i>	pi-šú-ma »

15	<i>linnasiḫ</i>		<i>ummu</i>	<i>sikkatu</i>
A89	[	-i]ḫ	um <sup>1</sup> [-	]
B11'	[	]-in-na-siḫ	um-mu-šú	KA-[
C31'	[	-s]i-iḫ	um-mu-šú	KA-šú <sup>32'</sup> [
D	ra <sup>1</sup> [-	]	um-mu	sik-ka-tu
e	ZI-iḫ		um-m[u	]
f	ZI-iḫ	šá KA-šú	um-mu	sik-ka-tum

		<i>labātu</i>	<i>bu'sānu</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A	[		-n]u	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
B	[			]
C	[l]a-ba-tu		bu-'-šá-a-nu	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
D	[	]-tu	bu-'-šá-nu	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
e7'	la-ba-tu			TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN <sup>1</sup>
f	la-ba-ra <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup>	u	bu-'-šá-nu	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN

rubrics:

C33'	[ka-inim-ma	DIS N]A	bu-'-šá-a-nu	DAB-su
D3	ka-inim-ma	[	b]u-'-šá-nu	DAB-su
e8'	ka-inim-ma		bu-'-šá-nu	DAB-su
f75	ka-inim-ma		bu-'-šá-nu	DAB-su ana bu-lu-tu šá bu-'-šá-nu
	DŪ.A.BI	SID-nu		

*Bu'sānu* is seen as a lion is (i.e., with fear?),

(But) the grasp of *Bu'sānu* is stronger than that of a lion;

It seized the mouth like a wolf,

It seized the chin like a tiger,

It set up its chair in the soft *nurzus*—

Whom shall I send to the daughters of Anu of heaven,

(So that) they may take up their vases of silver

And their pots of gold,

Draw water of the Ulaya river (and) the broad sea—  
 Where no impure woman has washed her hands,  
 No unclean woman has washed her clothes,  
 No partridge has shaken its wings,  
 (And) no black dog has...—  
 And throw (the water) into his (the patient's) mouth,  
 So that the fever, pock, *labātu*, (or) *bu'sānu* will be uprooted!  
 (incantation for (if) *bu'sānu* illness seizes a [m]an)

2 A: I understand *ana lā* as equivalent to *alla*, "beyond." Farber takes *ina lā* in A and D, and translates "not quite like that of a lion, the *bu'sānu*-disease's grip is strong."

11 A: I emend *ib* to *lu*.

14 C: *šá* perhaps should be emended to *-a ana*.

15: B and C: *-šú KA-šú* is presumably corrupt for *sik-ka-tú*; e 7' is an indented line; f adds *ša pišu* "(the illness) of his mouth." Cf. *su'ālu* 1:4-5: *ša kiširti guḥḥi ū su'āli Gula bēlet balāṭi lippula šuršišu* (var. *šuršika*) "Of the lump, hack, or *su'ālu*, may Gula, mistress of health, destroy its (var. your) roots!"

rubric: f adds *ana bulluṭi ša bu'sāni kalīš tamannu* "you recite (this incantation) in order to heal *bu'sānu* completely."

#### *bu'sānu* 4

Köcher BAM 538 (K 2439+) ii 52'-62'

NA, Nineveh

52'    ĒN 𐎠a-nu-ma 𐎠a-nu »  
       𐎠a-nu pu-ḥur AN-e »

- 𐎠a-nu pu-ḫur KI-ti »  
 KI-tum ib-ta-ni t[ul-tú]  
 53' KI-tum ib-ta-ni bu-'-šá-nu »  
 šá bu-'-šá-ni KALAG<sup>an</sup> DAB-su »  
 GIM UR.MAḪ nap-šá-tú i-<sup>l</sup>ša<sup>l</sup>-[bat]  
 54' ki-ma UR.BAR.RA <sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-ša-bat lu-'-a  
 55' iṣ-bat ap-pu nu-ru-ub ap-p[i ( ) U]ZU.MUR »  
 ina bi-rit ZU.MEŠ na-da-at GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 56' sak-la im-ti-ši a-<sup>l</sup>lak<sup>2</sup><sup>l</sup>-[ta-šú] »  
 [up]-<sup>l</sup>pu-tú<sup>l</sup> im-ti-ši re-bit URU-šú  
 57' me-tum la i-sa-ḫa-<sup>l</sup>ra iš<sup>2</sup><sup>l</sup>-[tu KI-tim] »  
 [<sup>d</sup>kù-bu la e]-<sup>l</sup>ni-qu<sup>l</sup> UBUR šá AMA-šú  
 58' bu-ša-a-nu a-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup> [GUR-ma a-na ṣib]-<sup>l</sup>ti<sup>l</sup>-šú  
 59' E.GAL <sup>l</sup>si<sup>2</sup> a<sup>l</sup> [ ]  
 60' ki-ma mu-<sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> [ ]  
 61' EN ul [ ]  
 62' <sup>l</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>l [ ]

*Anumma Anu*

*Anu puḫur šamē*

*Anu puḫur erṣeti*

*erṣetu ibtani t[ūlta]*

*erṣetu ibtani bu' šāna*

*ša bu' šāni dān ṣibissu*

*kīma nēši napšāti iṣša[bat]*

*kīma barbari išṣabat lu'a*  
*iṣbat appa nurub app[i ḥ]ašē*  
*ina birit šinni nadāt kussiṣu*  
*saklu imtiṣi al[aktaṣu?]*  
*[up]putu imtiṣi rebit āliṣu*  
*mitu la issaḥra? i[ṣtu erṣeti]*  
*[kūbu lā i]niqu tulē ṣa ummiṣu*  
*būšānu ay [itūrma ana ṣib]tiṣu*  
*ekallu? [...]*  
*kīma [...]*  
*ṣiptu ul [yuttu...]*  
*ṣipat [...]*

It was Anu, Anu,  
 Anu (made) all of heaven,  
 Anu (made) all of earth,  
 The earth made the w[orm],  
 The earth made *Bu'sānu*;  
 The grasp of *Bu'sānu* is strong,  
 It seiz[ed] the throat like a lion,  
 It seized the gullet like a wolf,  
 It seized the nose, the moist part of the nos[e, (and) the l]ung,  
 Its chair has been set up among the teeth—  
 The fool forgot [his] w[ay?],  
 [The bl]ind man forgot the square of his city,  
 The dead man did not return f[rom the netherworld],

[The still-born child did not s]uckle at the breast of his mother,  
 (So too) *Bu'sānu* should n[ot return to the one ] it [has se]ized!

The palace? [...]

Like [...]

The incantation is not [mine,...],

It is the incantation of [...]

56': The reading <sup>-l</sup>*lak* is against the text, but would be similar to CT 23 5-14 iii 15:

*kīma ulālu lā imuru kibissu.*

56'-8': Cf. KAR 181 rev. 10-4 // KAR 330 3' ff. (an incantation against *sāmānu*

illness, edited by I. Finkel, Borger AV 94-6): *kīma mītu imšû balātu /*

LÜ.IGI.NU.TUKU *imšû rebīt ālišu / kūbu lā iniqu šizib ummišu / [izbu l]ā*

*imuru nišišu / [sāmānu ay] itūrma šibissu ay išbat* "As the dead man forgot life,

/ The blind man forgot the square of his city, / The stillborn child did not suck

the milk of his mother, / [The still-born child did n]ot see his family, / May

[*sāmānu* illness] not return, may it not seize its prey!" Note that our text has

[*up*]-<sup>l</sup>*pu-tú* where the parallel has IGI.NU.TUKU (see W. Farber, ZA 75

[1985]: 230). More distant parallels to this passage include the incantation

against *sagallu* illness CT 23, 5-14 iii 15-6: *kīma erpetu ina šamê lā i-bur-ru /*

*kīma ulālu lā imuru kibissu / kīma mītu lā itiqu bāb balāṭi / kīma kūbu lā iniqu*

*šizib ummišu* "As the cloud did not remain stable in the sky, / As the fool did

not see his path, / As the dead man did not pass through the gate of life, / As the

stillborn fetus did not suck the milk of his mother," and also Lamaštu II 147-8:

*kīma mītu lā išû balāṭa u kūbu lā iniqu šizib ummišu* "As the dead man does not

have life, and the still-born child did not suck the milk of his mother."

*bu'sānu 5*

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 294, no. 7 (K 18601) 3'-6' (in transliteration only)

NA, Nineveh

3' [...a]n? ši-bit-「x」

4' [...]a u li-šá-[a-n]u

5' [...]a-di [x] x

6' [ ]「x」[ ]「x」

This fragment joins with Köcher BAM 543 (K 2290).

## Eyes

## Eyes 1

*Ugaritica* 5 19 (RS 20.06)

MB, Ugarit

J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5, pp. 64-5 (edition); W. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar*, passim (comments); J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, passim (comments); Foster, *Anthology*, 837 (translation).

- 1 ʿĒN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-nu-rum IGI.MEŠ<sup>e-nu</sup> [a-pa-tu]
- 2 ʿIGI.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> a-Za-tu IGI.MEŠ dal-ḥa-ʿtu<sup>1</sup>
- 3 IGI.MEŠ DUMU.SAL ša-ri
- 4 IGI<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ pur-si-it ʿUŠ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>
- 5 šu-ḥar-ri-tum
- 6 tu-ul-ta-lu-na zi ʿen<sup>1</sup> [ .M]EŠ
- 7 ù IZI taš-ʿx<sup>1</sup>-ba
- 8 ki-ma<sup>1</sup> MI taš-ta-ta<sup>?</sup>
- 9 ki-ma a-la-pi
- 10 ši-pát ú-li-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-ti
- 11 ši-pát da-mi ù ni-ka-ri[k]
- 12 ni-ka-rik bu-li-ʿṭi<sup>1</sup>-ma
- 13 ʿDUMU<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup> UM.MI.A.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> NIG.BA li-ím-ḥur
- 14 ʿe<sup>1</sup>-li-iš a-ia e-li-ma
- 15 ʿšap<sup>1</sup>-li-iš lu-ši

*ēnā [apātu] ēnā ašātu ēnā dalḥātu*

*ēnā mārāt šāri*

*ēnā pursīt dāmi šuḥarritu*

*...u išāta*

*...kīma? šilla?*

*...kīma alapī*

*šipat uliyatti šipat Damu u Nikkarrak*

*Nikkarrak bulliṭīma mār ummiāni qīšta limḥur*

*eliš aya elīma šapliš lūši*

[Clouded] eyes, blurred eyes, confused eyes,

The eyes are daughters of the wind,

The eyes are (each) a porous? bowl of blood

You (eyes) caused...and fire to...,

You...like? a shadow?,

You...like algae—

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Damu and Ninkarrak!

Ninkarrak, heal so that the specialist may receive a gift!

It should not go up above! May it go out below!

1: I take *e-nu* as a gloss of IGI.MEŠ; although from the feminine plural adjectives one would expect the dual *inā*, medical incantations that write "eyes" syllabically invariably spell it *i-nu* in the nominative (e.g., Eyes 3:3 and 9:1).

4: Following Nougayrol, I emend PI to IGI.

4-5: Nougayrol, van Soldt, 442, and Huehnergard, 148, take *šu-ḥar-ri-tum* as a plural adjective *šuḥarrētu*, modifying the dual *ēnā*. Yet it is more likely that *šu-ḥar-ri-tum* is a singular adjective modifying *pursitu*, since *šaḥarru/šuḥarru* often modifies *pursitu* (see CAD s.v. *šaḥarru*, reading BUR.ZI as *pursitu*), and since it is easier syntactically. Although the expected feminine singular is *šaḥarratu*,



note the plural *šu-ḥar-ri-a-tum* in Eyes 9:1. For *pursit dāmi*, cf. Belly 20:2-3 (MB, Emar): *ša libbi danni arra[qā<sup>1</sup> ināšu] pur-si<sub>17</sub>-it<sup>1</sup> da-mi i-na-a[s-si]* "Strong Belly's [eyes] are yell[ow], it ca[rries] bowl(s) of blood," and Belly 19:2: *ša libbi arraqā ināšu pur-si-it dāmi našima* "Belly's eyes are yellow, it carries bowl(s) of blood." In first millennium Eye incantations, *pursit dāmi suḥarratu* was sometimes clearly no longer understood. Although *pursitu* does appear (*pur-sit* in 7:4), it is also garbled as *pur-si-mi<sup>2</sup>-it* (Eyes 8:1) and *pur-si-in-di* (Eyes 9:1). The originally singular \**suḥarratu* is at least sometimes clearly a plural (i.e., *šu-ḥar-ri-a-tum*, Eyes 9:1) modifying the dual *inā* rather than the singular *pursitu*; it is once replaced with *šu-te-eš-li-pa-a-tu* (Eyes 7:4).

6: van Soldt, 442, translates "have caused a rain of blood to go up (?)," and remarks, "although the verb is purely Akkadian in this case, the form can only be Ugaritic," although "one would expect *tultālāna*." Huehnergard, 161 n. 190, suggests reading the end of the line *zi-in<sub>4</sub>-[ni].MES*, "rain," and that the beginning of the line is a scribal error, perhaps for *tultaznina/ā*, "you have rained down."

7-9: Nougayrol reads *lik-pū<sup>2</sup>-ba* in l. 7. and *lik-ta-li* in l. 8; van Soldt, 272 and 383, reads *liq-q[a]l-BA* (for *liqqalpā*) and *liq-ta-li. alapū* in l. 9 calls to mind Eyes 2:5-7: *inā kīma niksi immeri dāma šen'a kīma mē ša agalpē alapā nadā kīma karpat ṭābāti nadā šilla* "The eyes are suffused with blood like a cut of sheep-flesh, covered with algae like the water of a swamp<sup>2</sup>, covered with shadow like a pot of vinegar." If this is a valid parallel, ll. 7-9 would still describe the illness, rather than its remedy. I understand MI as a shortened logographic writing of *šillu* (GIŠ.MI).

8: Following Nougayrol, I emend *šu* to *ma*.

10: van Soldt, 405, reads -u<sup>2</sup>- instead of ʿa<sup>1</sup>. One would expect the beginning of the line to read *šiptu ul yattu* (but see comment to *maškadu* 12:7').

12-3: The usual form of this element in the first millennium is *Gula bulliṣīma qīštaki liqī* "Gula, heal and take your gift!"

14-5: For other examples of this phrase, cf. comment to *maškadu* 6:16.

## Eyes 2

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) ii 26'-32'

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + W. Farber, Borger AV 68 (BM 98942) ii 41'-7'

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) ii 37'-43'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 295 (collation of C ii 42'); W. Farber, Borger AV 65

(transliteration of B).

1		igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar	
A26'	EN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar	»
B41'	[			]-ʿbar <sup>1</sup> -ra	bar-bar	»
C37'	[			-r]a	bar-bar	»

2		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš
A		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥ[uš- ]
B		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥ[uš- ]
C		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ʿḥuš <sup>1</sup>

3		[igi]-bar	ná-a	igi-bar	da-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a
A27'	[	]-ʿbar	ná <sup>1</sup> -a	igi-bar	ʿda-a	igi-bar <sup>1</sup>	ḥul-a »
B42'	[				d]a-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a »
C38'	[				]-ʿa <sup>1</sup>	igi-bar	ḥul-a »

4		<i>inā</i>	<i>abātu</i>	<i>inā</i>	<i>aš[ātu</i>		<i>inā</i>	<i>pursīt]</i>	<i>dāmi</i>	<i>šuharratu</i>
A		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-[ ]	28'	[			-ḥa]r-ra-tú »
B		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-š[a-	43'	[			]-ḥar-ra-te »
C		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-š[a-	39'	[		ʿUS?	šū <sup>2</sup> -ḥar <sup>2</sup> ]-[ ] »

5	<i>inā</i>	<i>kīma</i>	<i>niksi</i>	<i>immeri</i>	<i>dāma</i>	<i>šen'ā</i>
A	IGI <sup>II</sup>	GIM	nik-si	UDU.NITA	ŪŠ	[ ]
B	IGI <sup>II</sup>	GIM	nik-si	UDU.NITA	[Ū]Š	še-en- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>
C	IGI <sup>II</sup>	GIM	nik-si	UDU.NITA	Ū[Š	]
6	<i>kīma</i>	<i>mē</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>agalpē</i>	<i>alapā</i>	<i>nadā</i>
A29'	[				a-la-pa-a	ŠUB-a »
B44'	[				]-pa-a	ŠUB-a »
C40'	GIM	A.MEŠ	ša	a-gal-pe-e	a-l[a-	]
7	<i>kīma</i>	<i>karpat</i>	<i>tābāti</i>	<i>nadā</i>	<i>šilla</i>	
A	ki-ma	DUG	A.GESTIN.NA	ŠUB-a	[ ]	
B	ki-ma	DUG	A.GESTIN.NA	ŠUB-a	šil-la	
C	[ ]	<sup>1</sup> DUG <sup>1</sup>	A. <sup>1</sup> GESTIN.NA <sup>1</sup>	[	]	
8	<i>ina</i>	<i>bērišina</i>	<i>pitiqtu</i>	<i>patqat</i>		
A30'	[				]	
B45'	[		-i]q-tum	pat-qat	»	
C41'	ina	be-ri-ši-na	pi-ti-iq-tum	pat-q[at]	»	
9	<i>irub</i>	<i>Nergal</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>bērušina</i>	<i>ittadi</i>	<i>kussišu</i>
A	[K]U <sub>4</sub> -ub	<sup>d</sup> GIR	ina	be-ru-ši-na	it-ta-[	]
B	KU <sub>4</sub> -ub	<sup>d</sup> GIR	ina	be-ru-ši-na	it-ta-di	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú
C	[					]
10	<i>aššum</i>	<i>annitu</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>libbi anniti</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>napāši</i>
A31'	[					]
B46'	[				la	na-pa-še »
C42'	<sup>1</sup> aš-šúm <sup>1</sup>	an-ni-tu	ina	ŠA an-ni-te	la	na-pa-še »
11	<i>šiptu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>yattun</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ea</i>	<i>u</i>
A	<sup>1</sup> ÉN <sup>1</sup>	ul	ia-at-tú-un	ÉN	<sup>d</sup> é-a	u
B	ÉN	ul	<sup>1</sup> ia-at-tu <sub>4</sub> <sup>?</sup> -un	ÉN	<sup>d</sup> é-a	u
C	E[N <sup>?</sup>					]
12	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Damu</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Gula</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ningirima</i>
A32'	[					]
B47'	[			-]a	ÉN	<sup>d</sup> nin-girima
C43'	ÉN	<sup>d</sup> da-mu	u	<sup>d</sup> gu-la	ÉN	<sup>d</sup> nin-girima

13	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bulliṭima</i>	<i>qištaki</i>	<i>liqī</i>	<i>tē sipti</i>
A	ᵈgu-la	TI.LA-ma	NIG.BA-k[i		]
B	ᵈgu-la	TI-ma	NIG.BA-ki	TI	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN
C	[				]

rubrics:

A33'	[	]	igi-gig-ga-[	]
B48'	[	]	igi-gig-ga-a-kám	
C44'	ka-inim-ma	[		]

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*

*igi-ḥuṣ igi-ḥuṣ-ḥuṣ igi-bar-ra ḥuṣ-ḥuṣ*

*[igi]-bar ná-a igi-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a*

Clouded eyes, blu[rred] eyes, [the eyes are (each) a] porous? [bowl of] blood;

The eyes are suffused with blood like a cut of sheep-flesh,

Covered with algae like the water of a swamp?

Covered with shadow like a pot of vinegar;

Between them a wall has been made;

Nergal entered between them and set up his chair,

So that the one could not relax with? the other;

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula, it is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of

incantations;

Gula, heal and take your gift!

(incantation for sick eyes)

6: For *agalpū*, see Köcher BAM VI, p. x, n. 14.

9: ᵈGIR could also be read Šakkan.

10: *ina libbi* normally means "within" or "among."

## Eyes 3

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iii 24-8

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + BM 98942 iii 29-34 ("25'-30'")

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 28'-33'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger, JNES 17 (1958): 57-8 (transcription, translation); M. Geller, ZA 74

(1984): 295 (collation of C iii 33'-4').

1		igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar
A24	[				]
B29	ËN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-[b]ar »
C28'	ËN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar »
2		igi-sùḫ	igi-sùḫ-sùḫ	igi-bar-ra	sùḫ-s[ùḫ]
A	[	-s]ùḫ	igi-sùḫ-sùḫ	igi-b[ar-	]
B		igi-sùḫ	igi-sùḫ-sùḫ	igi-bar-ra	sùḫ-s[ùḫ]
C		igi-sùḫ	igi-sùḫ- <sup>1</sup> sùḫ <sup>1</sup>	[	]
3		<i>šitta</i>	<i>inā</i>	<i>aḫātu</i>	<i>šinama</i>
A25	[				]
B30		ši-it-ta	i-nu	a-ḫa-tu	ši-[ ]-ma »
C29'		ši-it-ta	i-nu	a-ḫa-tu	ši-na-ma »
4		<i>ina</i>	<i>bērušina</i>	<i>šadû</i>	<i>pari[k]</i>
A	[	in]a	be-ru-ši-na	KUR- <sup>1</sup> ú <sup>1</sup>	[ ]
B		ina	be-ru-ši-na	KUR-ú	pa-ri[k]
C		ina	be-ru-[		]
5		<i>elēnušina</i>	<i>kiširtu</i>	<i>kašrat</i>	
A26	[				]
B31		UGU-nu-ši-na	ki-šir-tu	kàš-rat	»
C30'		UGU-nu-ši-na	ki-šir-[t]u	kàš-rat	»
6		<i>šaplānušina</i>	<i>pitiqtu</i>	<i>pat[qat]</i>	
A		<sup>1</sup> KI <sup>1</sup> .TA-nu-ši-na	pi-ti[q-		]
B		KI.TA-nu-ši-na	pi-tiq-tú	pat-[	]
C		<sup>1</sup> KI <sup>1</sup> .[			]

7	<i>ayyû</i>	<i>sāršinama</i>	<i>ayyû</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>sārši[nama]</i>
A27	[		]- <sup>ra</sup>	NU	IM-[ ]
B32	a-a-ú	IM-ši-na-a-ma	a-a-ú	NU	IM-ši-[ ]
C31'	a-a-ú	IM-ši-na-ma	[ ]- <sup>ra</sup>		]

8	<i>ayyû</i>	<i>sār</i>	<i>tibišina</i>	<i>ayyû</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>sār</i>	<i>tib[išina]</i>
A28	[				]- <sup>ra</sup>	IM <sup>1</sup>	[ ]
B33	a-a-ú	IM	ti-bi-ši-na	a-a-ú	la-a	IM	ti-b[i-
C32'	a-a-ú	IM	ti-bi-ši-na	[			]

9	<i>sār</i>	<i>pāni</i>	<i>ikil</i>	<i>pāni</i>	<i>şulu[m pāni</i>	]
B34	<sup>ra</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> -ar	pa-ni	i-kil	pa-ni	şu-lu-u[m ] <sup>ra</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [ ] <sup>ra</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [	]
C33'	<sup>ra</sup> sa-ar	pa-ni	i <sup>1</sup> -kil	pa-ni	ş[u-	]

rubrics:

B35	[	-m]a	igi-gig-ga-a-k[ám]
C34'	<sup>ra</sup> ka-inim-ma	igi <sup>1</sup> -[	]

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*

*igi-sùḥ igi-sùḥ-sùḥ igi-bar-ra sùḥ-s[ùḥ]*

The eyes are two, they are sisters,

Between them a mountain bloc[ks] the way,

Above them a ridge has been made,

Below them a wall has been ma[de];

Which is their wind? Which is not th[eir] wind?

Which is the wind of their rising? Which is not the wind of [their] rising?

The wind of the face, the darkness of the face, the blacknes[s of the face...]

(incantation for sick eyes)

## Eyes 4

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iii 17-21

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + BM 98942 iii 22-7 ("18'-23'")

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 22'-6'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, JNES 14 (1955): 16 (partial edition); W. Farber,

JNES 49 (1990): 313 (partial edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 838 (translation).

1		igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar
A17	ËN	ig[i- ]	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar- <sup>1</sup> bar <sup>1</sup> »
B22	ËN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-r[a	] »
C22'	<sup>1</sup> ËN <sup>1</sup>	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar »

2	igi-ḫul	igi-ḫul-ḫul	igi-bar-ra	ḫul-ḫu[l]
A	[	]- <sup>1</sup> ḫul <sup>?</sup> -ḫul	igi <sup>1</sup> -[	]
B	[ ]-ḫul	igi-ḫul-ḫul	igi-bar-ra	ḫul-ḫu[l]
C	igi-ḫul	igi-ḫul-ḫul	igi-bar-ra	ḫul-ḫ[ul]

3	<i>šitta</i>	<i>šina</i>	<i>mārāt</i>	<i>Anu</i>
A18	ši-[ -t]a	ši-na	DUMU.SAL	ḏ[ ] »
B23	ši-it-ta	ši-na	DUMU.SAL	<sup>1</sup> ḏ[ ] »
C23'	[ ]-ta	ši-na	DUMU.SAL	ḏa-ni »

4	<i>ina</i>	<i>bērušina</i>	<i>pitiqtu</i>	<i>patqa[t]</i>
A	[	b]e-ru-ši-na	pi-[	]
B	[in]a	be-ru-ši-na	pi-tiq-tum	pat-qa[t]
C	ina	be-ru-ši-na	pi-tiq-tum	pat-[ ]

5	<i>ul</i>	<i>illak</i>	<i>aḫatu</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>lēt</i>	<i>aḫatiša</i>
A19	u[l	]	<sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [	]	]	] »
B24	ul	il-lak	a-ḫa-tu	a-n[a	]	a-ḫa-ti-ša <sup>1</sup> »
C24'	ul	i[l-la]k	a-ḫa-tú	ana	le-et	a-ḫa-ti-ša <sup>1</sup> »

6	<i>manna</i>	<i>lušpur</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mārāt</i>	<i>Anu</i>	<i>ša šamē</i>
A	man-na	lu-uš-pur	ana	[	]	]
B	man-na	lu-uš-pur	a-na	DUMU.SAL	ḏa-num	ša AN- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup>
C	man-na	lu-uš-pur	ana	DUMU.SAL	ḏa-num	ša AN-[ ]

7	<i>liššāni</i>	<i>kannišina</i>	<i>ḫulāla</i>
A20	[		]
B25	liš-šá-ni	kan-ni-ši-na	NA <sub>4</sub> .N[IR]
C25'	liš-šá-a- <sup>l</sup> ni <sup>l</sup>	[ ]-ši-na	NA <sub>4</sub> .NIR

		<i>karpātišina</i>	<i>zagindurā</i>	<i>ebba</i>
A		[D]UG.MEŠ-ši-na	NA <sub>4</sub> .[	]
B		DUG.MEŠ-ši-na	NA <sub>4</sub> .ZA.GIN.DURU <sub>5</sub>	eb-bu
C		DUG.MEŠ-ši-na	NA <sub>4</sub> .ZA.GIN.DURU <sub>5</sub>	eb-b[u]

8	<i>liššāpānimma</i>	<i>libillā</i>	<i>inī</i>	<i>abāti</i>
A21	[			-b]a-tú
B26	li-is-sa-pa-ni-im-ma	li-bi-la-a	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-ti
C26'	li-is-sa- <sup>l</sup> pa <sup>l</sup> -ni-im-ma	li-bi-la-a	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-tú

		<i>inī</i>	<i>ašāti</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>dalḫāti</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-šá-ti	ù	[	]
B27		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-šá-ti	ù	dal-ḫa-a-ti	TU <sub>6</sub> .EN
C		IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-šá-ti	ù	dal-ḫa-a-ti	T[U <sub>6</sub> . ]

rubrics:

A22	[	igi-gig-[	]
B28	ka-inim-ma	igi-gig-g[a]-a-kám	
C27'	ka-inim-ma	igi-gig-ga-kám	

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*

*igi-ḫul igi-ḫul-ḫul igi-bar-ra ḫul-ḫu[l]*

They are two, they are daughters of Anu;

Between them a wall has been mad[e], (and so)

Sister cannot go to sister—

Whom shall I send to the daughters of Anu of heaven,

(So that) they may take up their vessels of *ḫulālu* stone and their pots of shining

greenish lapis lazuli,

Draw (water) repeatedly, and (thereby) extinguish (the illness afflicting) the clouded

eyes, the blurred and confused eyes?

(incantation for sick eyes)



5: Literally "to the cheek of her sister," an idiom that is especially appropriate in this context.

### Eyes 5

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) ii 35'-iii 5

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + W. Farber, Borger AV 68 (BM 98942) iii 2-10

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 10'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 312-3 (edition), and Borger AV 66 (transliteration of B).

1		[igi-bar	igi-b]ar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar	
A35'	[					] »
B2	[		-b]ar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar	»

2	igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš
A	[	]-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	[
B	igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-<ḥuš>	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš

3	[igi-bar	ná-a	igi]-bar	da-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a
A36'	[					] »
B3	[		]-bar	da-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a »

4	<i>inā</i>	<i>apātu</i>	<i>inā</i>	<i>ašātu</i>	<i>inā</i>	<i>šamūta</i>	<i>malā</i>
A	[	-p]a-tú	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-šá-tú	IGI <sup>II</sup>	ša-mu[t	]
B	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ba-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ša-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	ša-mut	DIRI-a

5	[.....]	.....	<i>saniq</i>	<i>qabû</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>Gula</i>
A37'	[			-b]u-ú	šá	ḡgu- <sup>l</sup> la <sup>l</sup>
B4	[	n]a 50 na 50	sa-niq	qá-bu-ú	šá	ḡgu-la

6	<i>šittama</i>	<i>šinam[a</i>	<i>a]ḥātu</i>
A38'	[		] »
B5	ṽ2-ma	ši-na <sup>l</sup> -m[a	]-ḥa-a-tum »

- 7 *ina būrušina parik šadū*  
 A [ p]a-rik KUR-ú  
 B ina bi-ru-si-na pa-rik KUR-ú »
- 8 *manna lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē*  
 A39' [ -nu]m šá AN-e  
 B man-na lu-uš-pur ana DUMU.SAL ᵀa-num šá AN-e
- 9 *liššāni tallišina ḫulāla*  
 A1 liš-šā-a-ni tal-li-[š]i-na NA<sub>4</sub>.NIR  
 B6 liš-šā-ni tal-l[i-š]i-na NA<sub>4</sub>.NIR
- karpātišina uqna ebba*  
 A DUG.MEŠ-ši-na NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GIN eb-bu »  
 B DUG.MEŠ-ši-na NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GIN eb-bu »
- 10 *lišāpāni mē ayabba tām̄ti rapašti*  
 A li-sa-pa-a-ni A.MEŠ a-ab-ba<sup>2</sup> tam-tim DAGAL-te »  
 B li-sa-pa-ni A.MEŠ a-ab-ba ta-ma-ti DAGAL-ti
- 11 *ša ḫarišt[u] lā ūridu ana libbi*  
 A ša ḫa-riš-tu la ū-ri-du ana lib-bi  
 B7 ša ḫa-riš-t[um] l[a ū-ri-du a-na lib-bi
- musukkatu lā imsū qātīša*  
 A mu-suk-ka-tú la LUḫ-u qa-ti-šá  
 B mu-suk-ka-tu la LUḫ?-u qa?-te-šá
- 12 *lišlānimma likiṣṣā umma širiḫta ša libbi inīšu*  
 A3 liš-la-ni-im-ma li-ki-iṣ-ša-a IZI ši-ri-iḫ-tú šá ŠA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú  
 B8 liš<sup>l</sup>-la-ni-im-m[a] li-ki-iṣ-ša-a IZI ši-ri-iḫ-tu šá ŠA IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú
- 13 *šiptu ul yattun šipat Ea u Asalluḫi*  
 A4 ÉN ul ia-at-tu-un ÉN ᵀ40 u ᵀasal-lú-ḫi »  
 B9 ÉN ul ia-a[t?- É]N ᵀ40 u ᵀasal-lú-ḫi »
- 14 *šipat Damu u Gula*  
 A ÉN ᵀda-mu u ᵀgu-la  
 B ᵀÉN ᵀ<sup>l</sup>da-mu u ᵀgu-la

15	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ningirima</i>	<i>bēlet</i>	<i>šipti</i>
A5	ĒN	<sup>d</sup> nin-girima	be-let	šip-te »
B10	ĒN	<sup>d</sup> nin-gi[rima		]rte <sup>1</sup> »
C10'	[ ]	r <sup>d</sup> nin-girima	be-let	šip-te <sup>1</sup> »

16	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bullitima</i>	<i>qištaki</i>	<i>liqi</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A	<sup>d</sup> gu-la	TI.LA-ma	NIG.BA-ki	TI-i	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN
B	r <sup>d</sup> gu-la	TI LA-[	]-r <sup>ki</sup>	TI-i <sup>1</sup>	TU <sub>6</sub> .ĒN
C	r <sup>d</sup> gu <sup>1</sup> -[				]

rubrics:

A6	ka-inim-ma	igi-gig-ga-a-kám
B10	ka-inim-ma	[ ]
C11'	ka-inim-ma	[ ]

*[igi-bar igi-b]ar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*

*igi-ḥuš igi-ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar-ra ḥuš-ḥuš*

*[igi-bar ná-a igi]-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a*

Clouded eyes, blurred eyes, the eyes are filled with rain;

[...]...the utterance of Gula is reliable;

They are two, they are [s]isters,

Between them a mountain blocks the way—

Whom shall I send to the daughters of Anu of heaven,

(So that) they may take up their flasks of *ḥulālu* stone, their pots of shining lapis lazuli,

Draw the water of the ocean, the broad sea—

Into which n[o u]nclean woman has descended, and with which no tabooed woman has  
washed her hands—

Sprinkle (the water) and so cool the heat (and) inflammation inside his eyes?

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,

It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations;

Gula, heal and take your gift!

(incantation for sick eyes)

4: Farber reads the end of the line *ša* MÜD (*dāma*) *malā* "(eyes) which are filled with blood."

12 B: I emend *lim* to *liš*.

### Eyes 6

A: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + BM 98942 iii 36 ("32'")

B: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 35'-7' ("39'-41'")

A-B: NA, Nineveh

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 295 (collations of A iii 36 ["32'"] and B iii 35'-6' ["39'-40'"]).

1		igi-bar-bar	[...]	igi-bar	ḥuš-ḥuš
A36	[	ig]i- <sup>l</sup> bar <sup>l</sup> -bar	[		]
B35'	[ <sup>l</sup> EN	igi-bar-bar <sup>l</sup>	[	]	igi-bar ḥuš-ḥuš

2	[		igi-bar-ra	nu-gi-na
B36'	[		igi-bar-ra	nu-gi-na

3	[	<i>saniq</i>	<i>q]abû</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>Anu</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
B37'	[		q]á-bu-u	šá	ḏa-num	TU <sub>6</sub> .EN

rubric:

B38' [ka-inim-ma<sup>l</sup> [...]

*igi-bar-bar* [...] *igi-bar ḥuš-ḥuš*

[...] *igi-bar-ra nu-gi-na*

[...the ut]terance of Anu [is reliable]

## Eyes 7

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iii 8-13

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) + BM 98942 iii 13-8 ("9'-14'")

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 13'-8'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger, JNES 17 (1958): 57 (transcription and translation); M. Geller, ZA 74

(1984): 295 (collation of B iii 15); Foster, *Anthology*, 838 (translation).

1		igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar
A8	EN	igi-bar	igi-[	]-ra	bar <sup>l</sup> -bar »
B13	EN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	i[gi-	]
C13'	EN	igi-bar	igi-bar-bar	igi-bar-ra	bar-bar »

2		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš
A		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-ḥuš	igi-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš
B		[			]
C		igi-ḥuš	igi-ḥuš-[	ig]i-bar-ra	ḥuš-ḥuš

3		igi-bar	ná-a	igi-bar	da-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a
A9		igi-bar	n[á-	]	igi-bar	ḥul-a	»
B14		igi-bar	ná-a	igi-ba[r	]		»
C14'		igi-bar	ná-a	igi-bar	da-a	igi-bar	ḥul-a »

4		<i>inā</i>	<i>apātu</i>	<i>inā</i>	<i>ašātu</i>
A	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-pa-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ša-tu	»
B		[		]	»
C	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-pa-tu	IGI <sup>II</sup>	a-ša-tu	»

		<i>inā</i>	<i>pursit</i>	<i>dāmi</i>	<i>sutešlipātu</i>
A10	IGI <sup>II</sup>	IGI <sup>II</sup>	pur-[		-p]a-a-tu »
B15	I[GI]	I[GI]	pur-sít	UŠ <sup>1</sup>	[
C15'	IGI <sup>II</sup>	IGI <sup>II</sup>	pur-sít	UŠ	su-te-eš-li-pa-a-tu »

5		<i>ammin</i>	<i>tabbā</i>	<i>ammin</i>	<i>taššā</i>
A		am-min	tab-ba-a	am <sup>l</sup> -min	taš-šá-a
B		[	]-ba-a	am <sup>l</sup> -min	taš <sup>l</sup> -šá-a
C		am-min	tab-ba-a	am-min	taš-šá-a

6 *ammēni ikkalkināši bāšu ša nāri*  
 A11 am-me-n[ī -š]u ša ʿna<sup>L</sup>[ ]  
 B16 [ ]  
 C16' am-me-ni ik-kal-ki-na-ši ba-a-šu ša na-a-ri

	<i>taltallū</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>gišimmari</i>
A	[ ]		
B	[t]al-tal-lu-ú	šá	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR
C	tal-tal-lu-ú	šá	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR

7 *ša titti niqqaša ša ari tibišū*  
 A12 šá ti-[ ] ʿša<sup>L</sup> [ ] »  
 B17 [ -š]u »  
 C17' šá ti-it-tu ni-iq-qa-šá šá a-ri-i IN.NU-šu »

8 *alsikināši alkāni*  
 A [ ]  
 B al-si-ki-na al-ka-[ ]  
 C al-si-ki-na-ši al-ka-ni

9 *ul alsikināši ul tallakāni*  
 A13 ul a[l- -n]i »  
 B18 ʿul al-si<sup>L</sup>[- ] »  
 C18' ul al-si-ki-na-ši ul ta-la-ka-ni »

10	<i>lām</i>	<i>itbākināši</i>	<i>šūtu</i>	<i>ištānu</i>	<i>šadū</i>	<i>amurru</i>	<i>šiptu</i>
A	la-[ ]						
B	[ ]-ʿba-ki-na-ši <sup>L</sup>	IM.1	IM.2	ʿIM.3 <sup>L</sup>	[ ]		
C	la-am	it-ba-ki-na-ši	IM.1	IM.2	IM.3	IM.4	EN

rubrics:

A14 ka-[ ]  
 B19 ka-inim-ma igi-gig-ga-[ ]  
 C19' ka-inim-ma igi-gig-ga-kām

*igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar*

*igi-ḥuš igi-ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar-ra ḥuš-ḥuš*

*igi-bar ná-a igi-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a*

Clouded eyes, blurred eyes, the eyes are (each) a bowl of blood, crosswise?

Why do you become clouded? Why do you become blurred?

Why do the sand of the river, the pollen of the palm,  
 The fig's dust, (and) the palm frond's straw hurt you?  
 I called you, come!  
 Did I not call you? Will you not come?  
 Before the south wind, north wind, east wind, (and) west wind rise up against you?  
 (incantation for sick eyes)

4: The end of the line is presumably corrupt for *inā pursit dāmi šuḥarratu* "the eyes are  
 (each) a porous<sup>2</sup> bowl of blood."

### Eyes 8

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iv 34-9

B: M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 296 (K 2970+, = Köcher BAM 514) iv 39-44

A-B: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger, JNES 17 (1958): 58 (transcription and translation); M. Geller, ZA 74  
 (1984): 296-7 (transliteration of B, commentary); Foster, *Anthology*, 840  
 (translation).

1		<i>at[tina]</i>	<i>in[ā]</i>	<i>pursimīt?</i>	<i>dāmi</i>	<i>šuḥarratu</i>
A34	EN	ʾat <sup>1</sup> [	]	ʾpur-si-mi <sup>2</sup> -it <sup>1</sup>	ÜŠ	šu-ḥar-ra-tú »
B39		[	ʾi <sup>1</sup> -n[u]	ʾpur-si <sup>2</sup> ʾ-[m]i <sup>2</sup> -ʾit <sup>1</sup>	ÜŠ	šu-ʾḥar-ra <sup>1</sup> -tú »

2		<i>ammīni</i>	<i>taššāni</i>	<i>ḥāma</i>
A		am-mi-ni	ta-aš-ša-ni	ḥa-ma
B		am-mi-ni	ʾta-aš-šá-ni	ḥa-ma <sup>1</sup>

		<i>ḥand[āšpir]a</i>	<i>šuršurra</i>	<i>alapā</i>	<i>ša nāri</i>
A35		ḥa-an-d[a- r]a	šu-ur-šu-ra	e-la <sup>2</sup> -pa-a	ša ID »
B40		[x x]	ʾšu-úr-šu-ri-im	a-lap <sup>1</sup> -pa-ʾna <sup>2</sup> -a	ʾša ID <sup>1</sup> »

3 *ina sūqāti kirbāna*  
A *ina SILA.MEŠ kir-ba-ni*  
B *ina SILA.MEŠ ʾkir-ba-niʿ*

*ina tubk[inn]āti hušāba ammīni taššāni*  
A36 *ina tub-k[ín- ]-ʾa<sup>l</sup>-te hu-ša-a-ba am-mi-ni taš-ša-ni »*  
B41 [ *-t]e? ʾhu-ša-a-ba am<sup>l</sup>-mi-ni ʾtaš-ša-ni<sup>l</sup> »*

4 *zunnāni kīma kakkabi*  
A *zu-un-na-ni GIM MUL*  
B *ʾzu<sup>l</sup>-un-ʾna-ni GIM<sup>l</sup> MUL*

*mitaqqutāni kīma nabli*  
A37 *mi-ta-q[u- ]-ni GIM nab-li »*  
B42 [ *-t]a-ʾqu-ta-ni GIM<sup>l</sup> nab-ʾli<sup>l</sup> »*

5 *lām ikšudūkināši šurrū naglabū ša Gula*  
A *la-am ik-šu-du-ki-na-ši šur-ru nag-la-bu<sup>38</sup> ša ʾgu-la »*  
B *ʾla<sup>l</sup>-am ik-šu-ʾdu-ki-na<sup>l</sup>-ši šur-ʾru u nag-la-bu<sup>l 43</sup> [ *-l]a »**

6 *šīpat lḷā paṭāri? šīpat Asalluḫi Marduk*  
A *É[N?] NJU DU<sub>8</sub> ÉN ʾasa-l-lú-ḫi ʾAMAR.UTU »*  
B *É[N ] ÉN ʾasa-l-lú<sup>l</sup>-ḫi ʾAMAR.UTU<sup>l</sup> »*

7 *šīpat Ningirima bēlet šipti u Gula bēlet asūti*  
A *ÉN ʾnin-gi-rim-ma EN ÉN<sup>39</sup> u ʾgu-la EN ʾA<sup>l</sup>.ZU-ti »*  
B *É[N ni]n-ʾgi-rim-ma<sup>l</sup> EN ÉN<sup>44</sup> [ *-t]i<sup>l</sup> »**

8 *iddīma anāku ašši tē šipti*  
A *i-di-ma ana-ku áš-ši TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN*  
B *ʾi-di-ma<sup>l</sup> [  *] ʾTU<sub>6</sub><sup>l</sup>.ÉN**

rubrics:

A40 *ka-inim-ma ḫa-a-mu hu-ša-ba u mim-ma ša IGI<sup>II</sup> šu-li-i*  
B45 [ *-m]a [ḫ]a-ʾa-mu hu-ša-ba<sup>l</sup> u mim-ʾma<sup>l</sup> [  *] ʾšu-li-i<sup>l</sup>**

Y[ou], Ey[es], are a porous *bowl* of blood;

Why did you carry the chaff, the th[or]n, the *suršuru* fruit, (and) the algae of the river?

Why did you carry the clod of dirt in the streets, the potsherd in the garb[age dum]ps?



Rain down like a star! Keep falling down like a flame!

Before the obsidian scalpels of Gula reach you!

The incanta[*tion that can*]not be loosened?<sup>2</sup> is the incantation of Asalluḫi, Marduk,

It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations, and of Gula, mistress of the  
physician's craft!

She cast it and I took it up!

(incantation to cause chaff, sherds, or anything else in the eye to go up)

1: *pur-si-mi-it* is presumably corrupt for *pursit*, "bowl."

2-3: I take *ta-aš-ša-ni* as a form of *našū* "to carry," and this is corroborated by the rubric. Eyes 7:5-7, Belly 21:1, and 22:35 use the present tense when asking a personified illness a question; perhaps *našū* is in the preterite here in order to make a pun with *taššā*, the present tense of *ešū* "to be blurry" (cf. Eyes 7:5).

5: Note that while A seems to have *šurrū* in apposition to *naglabū*, B joins them by the conjunction *u*; cf. *maškadu* 1:5: *lāma ikšudūka šurrū naglab[ū] Gula*.

6: Note *šip[at l]ā patāri* for the expected *šiptu ul yattu*; the juxtaposition of Asalluḫi and Marduk at the end of the line is also unexpected.

## Eyes 9

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iv 23-5

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) iv 33

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iv 28-30

A-C: NA, Nineveh

1		<i>[in]ā apātu inā ašātu inā pursindi dāmi šuḫarriātu</i>
A23	[	<i>-n]u a-pa-tú i-nu a-šá-tú i-nu pur-si-in-di da-a-mi šu-ḫar-ri-a-tum</i>
B33	[	<i>-t]um</i>
C28	[	<i>-d]i da-a-mi šu-ḫar-ri-a-tum</i>

2 [...]  
 A24 [ ] 'x' i-bak-ka-a ana pān ummišina Mami  
 C29 [ ] IGI AMA-ši-na 'dma<sup>l</sup>-mi  
 [ ] IGI AMA-ši-na d<sup>o</sup>ma-mi

3 [amm]in nāšimma itīni tarkusi ašā dāma u šāra tē šipti  
 A25 [ ]-in na-ši-ma it-ti-ni tar-ku-si a-šá-a d[a-  
 C30 [ ] 'a<sup>l</sup>-šá-a da-a-ma u šá-a-ra TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN

rubrics:

A26 [ -in]im-ma [ ]  
 C31 [ ] igi-gig-ga-a-kám

Clouded [ey]es, blurred eyes, the eyes are (each) a bowl<sup>l</sup> of blood, porous?

[The eyes went] crying before their mother Mami (saying),

"[Wh]y (with) us? (Why) did you bind confusion, blood, and wind with us?"

(incantation for sick eyes)

1: *pur-si-in-di* is presumably corrupt for *pursit*; for *šuharriātu*, see comment to Eyes

1:4-5.

## Eyes 10

Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iii 39' -44' ("43' -8'")

NA, Nineveh

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 295 (collation of 41' ["45'"]).

- 39' [...]«x<sup>1</sup>-it ŪŠ šu-ḥar-ra-tu  
 40' [...]«a-tum ša IR  
 41' [...]«x<sup>1</sup>-a-tu GIM SILA u TÜR  
 42' [...] «x x<sup>1</sup> su-muk-«tú<sup>1</sup>  
 43' [...] «in ši kid<sup>1</sup> qu «x<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 44' [...] «x<sup>1</sup> ḥar «šá<sup>1</sup> [ ]

No translation is warranted.

### Eyes 11

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iv 1-3

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) iv 7-9

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) iv 6-8

D: STT 279 (S.U. 51/72+) 17-21

A-C: NA, Nineveh; D: NA, Ḥuzirina

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 295 (collations to C 6 and 8).

1	<i>ini</i>	<i>eṭli</i>	<i>maršat</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>ardati</i>	<i>maršat</i>	
A1	EN i-ni	GURUŠ	GIG-at	i-ni	SAL.KI.SIKIL	GIG-at	»
B7	[ ]-ni	eṭ-li	GIG-«at <sup>1</sup>	i-n[i	.K]I.SIKIL	GIG-at	»
C6	EN i-ni	GURUŠ	GIG-at	i-ni	SAL.KI.SIKIL	GIG-at	»
D17	EN IGI	GURUŠ	GIG-ma	IGI	KI.SIKIL	GIG-át	

2	<i>ini</i>	<i>eṭli</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ardati</i>	<i>mannu</i>	<i>uballaṭ</i>	
A	i-ni	GURUŠ	u	SAL.KI.SIKIL	man-nu	ú-bal-liṭ	
B	i-ni	GURUŠ	u	SAL.KI.SIKIL	man-nu	«ú <sup>1</sup> -[ ]	
C	i-ni	GURUŠ	u	SAL.KI.SIKIL	man-nu	ú-bal-liṭ	
D18	IGI	GURUŠ	u	KI.SIKIL	man-nu	ú-bal-laṭ	»

3	<i>tašappar</i>	<i>ileqqūnikku</i>	.....	<i>gišimmari</i>	
A2	ta-šap-pár	i-le-qu-ni-ku	ŠA.KÜ-ti	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR	»
B8	[ -š]ap-pár	i-le-qu-ni-ku	«SA <sup>1</sup> .KÜ-ti	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR	»
C7	ta-šap-pár	i-le-qu-ni-ku	ŠA.KÜ-ti	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR	»
D	a-šap-par	i-leq-qu-nik-ki	19 ŠA.KÜ-ti?	GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR	: »

4	<i>ina pika</i>	<i>teḥepi</i>	<i>ina qātika</i>	<i>tepettil</i>
A	ina pi-i-ka	te-ḥe-pi	ina ŠU-ka	te-pe-til
B	ina <sup>l</sup> pi <sup>l</sup> -i-ka	te- <sup>l</sup> ḥe-pi	ina ŠU-ka <sup>l</sup>	te-pe-t[il]
C	ina pi-i-ka	te-ḥe-pi	ina ŠU-ka	te-pe-til
D	ina pi-i-ka	te-ḥe-pi	ina ŠU-ka	SÚD

5	<i>eṭla</i>	<i>u ardata</i>	<i>ina nakkapātisunu</i>	<i>tukašsar</i>
A3	GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	ina SAG.KI.MEŠ-šú-nu	tu-ka-šar »
B9	[	K]I.SIKIL	ina SAG.KI.MEŠ-šú-nu	tu-ka-šar »
C8	GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	ina SAG.KI.MEŠ-šú-nu	tu-ka-šar? »
D20	GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	ina SAG.KI-šú-x	tū-ka-šar

6	<i>ini eṭli</i>	<i>u ardati</i>	<i>iballuṭ</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A	IGI GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	i-bal-lu-uṭ	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
B	IGI GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	i-bal-lu-uṭ	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
C	IGI GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	i-bal-lu-uṭ	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
D21	IGI GURUŠ	u KI.SIKIL	i-bal-luṭ	<sup>l</sup> ÉN <sup>l</sup>

rubrics:

A4	ka-inim-ma	igi-gig-ga-a-kám
B10	[ ]-inim-ma	igi-gig-ga-a-kám
C9	ka-inim-ma	igi-gig-ga-a-kám
D22	ka-inim-ma	igi- <sup>l</sup> gig <sup>l</sup> -[ ]

"The eye of the young man is sick, the eye of the young woman is sick;

"Who will heal the eyes of the young man and young woman?"—

"(If) you send (a message), they will take the...of the date palm to you;

"You break (it) in your mouth, you twist (it) in your hand,

"You bind the young man and young woman around their temples (with it),

"And the eyes of the young man and young woman will get better"

(incantation for sick eyes)

3: D has *ašappar ileqqûnikki* "I will send (a message and) they will take to you (fem. sing.)."

5: I disregard BAD at the beginning of D20.

## Eyes 12

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) ii 10'-3'

B: Köcher BAM 513 (K 2570+) ii 25'-8'

C: Köcher BAM 514 (K 2970+) ii 21'-4'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger, JNES 17 (1958): 57 (transcription and translation); M. Geller, ZA 74

(1984): 295 (collation to C 21').

1		igi	ti-la	a-ga	ti-la	
A10'	[					] »
B25'	[					] »
C21'	EN	igi	ti-la	a-ga	ti-la	»

2	igi	pa-na	a-ga	pa-na	
A	[			-n]a	»
B	[		-g]a	[ -n]a?	»
C	igi	pa-na	a-ga	pa-na	»

3	ú-ḫu-ur	sag-gi-na-ta	
A	ú-ḫu-ur	sag-ḡgi <sup>l</sup> -[ ]	
B	ḡú-ḫu-ur	sag-gi <sup>l</sup> -na-ta	
C	ú-ḫ[u-		] »

4	ša-ḫi	sur-ra-ta	su-ri-in	su-ri-in-ni	
A11'	[				] »
B26'	[				] »
C22'	ša-ḫi	sur-ra-ta	su-ri-in	su-ri-in-ni	»

5	<i>širu</i>	<i>šira</i>	<i>ikkal</i>	
A	še-e-ru	še-e-ra	e-k[al]	»
B	[ ]-ḡe <sup>l</sup> -ru	še-e-ra	e-kal	»
C	še-e-ru	še-e-r[a		] »

6	<i>dāmu</i>	<i>dāma</i>	<i>inaššab</i>	
A	[ ] 12'	[ ]	[ ]	»
B	da-mu 27'	[ ]	[ ]	»
C	[ ] 23'	da-ma	i-na-šab	»



10: I understand this line as an assertion that the remedy's efficacy is divinely established; it could also be translated "you established health (and) healing," although this makes less sense given the context.

### Eyes 13

A: AMT 18,1 (K 13465) 2'-4'

B: AMT 8,3 (79-7-8, 156) 9'-11'

A-B: NA, Nineveh

M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 293-4 (comments).

1	[...]	.....	a-lal-la	ér	gub-ba-a	gub-b[a-a]
A2'	[EN x x]	ʿx <sup>l</sup> -a	a-lal-la	ér	gub-ba-[	]
B9'	[				g]ub-ba-a	gub-b[a- ]

2	[imurma	Asalluḫi	ana]	Ea	abišu	išas[si]
A3'	[		]	é-a	AD-šú	i-šá-a[s- ]
B10'	[				-š]u	i-šá-as-[ ]

3	[ša anāku id]û	atta	tīdi	t[ē šipti]	
A4'	[	-u	at-ta	ti-di	T[U <sub>6</sub> . ]
B11'	[		ʿti-di]	[	]

rubric:

A5' [ka-inim-ma ig]i-gig-ga-ʿa<sup>l</sup>-[kám]

[...]...a-lal-la ér-gub-ba-a gub-b[a-a]

[Asalluḫi saw and] call[ed to] Ea, his father,

(Ea replied): "[What I know], you (also) know!"

([incantation for] sick ey[es])

2-3: These lines are an abbreviation of the "Marduk-Ea Formula"; see Falkenstein,

*Haupttypen*, 44ff.

## Eyes 14

A: Köcher BAM 510 (K 2573+) iv 41-5

B: M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 296 (K 2970+, = Köcher BAM 514) iv 46-50

A-B: NA, Nineveh

B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, JNES 14 (1955): 16ff. (edition); B. Landsberger,

JNES 17 (1958): 56 (edition); M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 296-7 (transliteration of B, commentary); Foster, *Anthology*, 839 (translation).

1		<i>ina</i>	<i>šurri</i>	<i>lām</i>	<i>bašāmi</i>	<i>alālu</i>	<i>urda</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>māt[i]</i>
A41	ÉN	ina	šur-ri-i	la-am	ba-ša-mu	a-la-lu	ur-da	ana	ma-t[i]
B46		[			]-[mu]	[ -l]a-l[u]	[ur-da]	[	]

2		<i>ittū</i>	<i>šer'a</i>	<i>ulid</i>
A42		it-tu-ú	še-er-a	U.TU »
B47		[	]	[U.TU] »

3		<i>šer'u</i>	<i>ḥabburr[a]</i>
A		še-er-ḥu	ḥab-bur-r[a]
B		[še <sup>1</sup> -er-ḥu	[

4		<i>ḥabburru</i>	<i>kanna</i>
A43		ḥab-bur-ra	ka-an-na »
B48		[	] »

5		<i>kannu</i>	<i>kišra</i>
A		ka-an-nu	ki-iš-ra »
B		[ ]-[nu	ki-iš-ra <sup>1</sup> »

6		<i>kišru</i>	<i>šubulta</i>
A		ki-iš-ru	šu-bu-ul-ta »
B		[ki <sup>1</sup> -iš-ru	šu-bu-[ ] »

7		<i>šubul[tu]</i>	<i>mir'a</i>
A		šu-bul-[ ] <sup>44</sup>	mi-ir-a »
B		[ ] <sup>49</sup>	[ ] »



8	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>iššid</i>	<i>Sîn</i>	<i>upahḫar</i>		
A	𐎶UTU	e-ši-id	𐎶30	ú-pa-ḫar »		
B	[			-ḫa]r »		
9	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>eṣēdišu</i>	<i>Sîn</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>puḫ[ḫurišu]</i>
A	𐎶UTU	ina	e-še-di-šú	𐎶30	ina	pu-ḫu <sup>1</sup> -[ ]
B	𐎶UTU	ina	e-ḫe-di <sup>1</sup> -[			]
10	<i>ana</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>eṭli</i>	<i>mir'u</i>	<i>iterub</i>	
A45	ana	IGI	GURUŠ	mi-ir-ḫu	KU <sub>4</sub> -ub »	
B50	[				]	»
11	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Sîn</i>	<i>išizzānimma</i>	<i>mir'u</i>	<i>lilā</i> [tē šipti]
A	𐎶UTU	u	𐎶30	i-ši-za-nim-ma	mi-ir-ḫu	li-la-a [ ]
B	[		]	ḫi-ši <sup>1</sup> -[ -ni]m-ḫa <sup>1</sup>	mi-i[r-	]

rubrics:

A46	ka-inim-ma	mi-ir-ḫu	ša	ŠA	IGI <sup>II</sup>	š[u-li-i]
B51	[		]	ḫa	IGI <sup>II</sup>	šu <sup>1</sup> -[ ]

In the beginning, before creation, the work song came down to the lan[d], (and)

The seeder(-plough) bore the furrow,

The furrow the shoo[t],

The shoot the stalk,

The stalk the node,

The node the ear,

The ear[r] the kernel of grain;

Šamaš harvests, Sîn gathers,

While Šamaš harvests, while Sîn gathe[rs],

A kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man—

Stand by me, Šamaš and Sîn, so that the kernel of grain may come up (out of the eye)!

(incantation to cause a "kernel" in the eye [to go up])

## Eyes 15

B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, JNES 14 (1955): 15 (Ish. 35-T. 19)

OB, Neribtum

B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, JNES 14 (1955): 14ff. (edition), with corrections B.

Landsberger, JNES 17 (1958): 56-7; W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 306 (partial edition) and TUAT II/2, 272-3 (translation); Foster, *Anthology*, 121 (translation).

- 1 er-še-tum-mi er-še-tum
- 2 ú-li-id lu-ḫa-ma
- 3 lu-ḫu-mu-ú
- 4 ú-li-<sup>f</sup>id<sup>1</sup> i-ši-na
- 5 i-ši-nu-um ú-li-id
- 6 šu-bu-ú-tam<sup>am</sup>
- 7 šu-bu-ul-tum
- 8 ú-li-id me-er-ḫa
- 9 i-na-mi A.ŠÀ <sup>d</sup>en-líl
- 10 mi-it-ḫa-ri-im
- 11 70 GÁN A.ŠÀ
- 12 <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU i-ši-di
- 13 <sup>d</sup>UTU ú-ša-ap-ḫa-ar
- 14 a-na-mi IGI GURUŠ
- 15 i-te-ru-ub
- 16 me-er-ḫu-um
- 17 ma-na lu-uš-pu-ur
- 18 ù lu-wa-ḫI-ir

- 19 a-na DUMU.SAL AN 7 7  
 20 li-il-qí-<a>-nim  
 21 ʽEʽ.GUB ša sa-am-ti  
 22 DUG ša ĩu-la-lim  
 23 li-sa-ba-nim  
 24 me-e? tam?-tim  
 25 [e]l-lu-tim me-er-ħa  
 26 [l]i-šeʽ-li-<a>  
 27 [i]-na IGI GURUŠ

*eršetummi eršetum ulid luħāma*

*luħummû ulid išinna*

*išinnum ulid šubultam*

*šubultum ulid merħa*

*inami eqel Enlil mitħārim*

*70 iki eqlam Sîn işşidi Šamaš ušapħar*

*anami in eqli iterub merħum*

*manna lušpur u luwa''ir ana mārāt Anim 7 7*

*liłqī<ā>nim egubbâ? ša sām̄ti karpatam ša ħulālim*

*lisābānim mē tām̄tim [e]llūt̄im*

*merħa [l]išeʽli<ā> [i]na in eqli*

The earth, the earth bore the mud,

The mud bore the stalk,

The stalk bore the ear,

The ear bore the kernel of grain;

In the square field of Enlil,

Šin harvests a 70 *ikū* field, and has Šamaš gather (it),  
 (When) a kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man—  
 Whom shall I send under orders to the seven (and) seven daughters of Anu,  
 (So that) they may take an *egubbū*<sup>2</sup> vessel of carnelian (and) a pot of *ḫulālu* stone,  
 Draw pure sea water,  
 (And so) cause the kernel to go up from the eye of the young man?

26: I emend *bu* to *še*.

*martu**martu 1*

Köcher BAM 578 (K 61+) ii 39-44

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 52-3 (edition).

- 39 EN mar-tu mar-tu mar-tu ʾpa-šit<sup>1</sup>-[tu-ma]  
 40 mar-tu GIM KI.SAG.[S]AL.MUŠEN SIG<sub>7</sub> it-ta-na-al-lak ʾa-lak<sup>2</sup>-[ta]  
 41 it-ta-na-za-az ina gi-šal-li ša BĀD  
 42 i-da-gal a-ki-lum ak-li i-da-gal šá-tu-ú ku-ru-un-ni  
 43 ki-i tak-ka-la ak-la ki-i ta-ša-ta-a ku-ru-un-ni  
 44 a-ma-qú-tak-ku-nu-šim-ma tu-ga-ša-a ki-i GUD TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

rubric: (same as for *martu 2*, see below)

*martu martu martu pāšit[tumma]*

*martu kīma igiri arqi ittanallak alak[ta?]*

*ittanazzaz ina gišalli ša dūri*

*idaggal ākilū akli idaggal šātū kurunni*

*kī takkalā akla kī tašattā kurunna*

*amaqutakkunūšimma tugaššā kī alpi*

*martu, martu, martu [is] pāšit[tu],*

*martu keeps walking the pat[h?] like a yellow heron,*

*It keeps standing on the reed fence (on top) of the wall,*

*It looks at those eating bread, it looks at those drinking beer, (and says):*

*"When you eat bread, when you drink beer,*

*"I will fall upon you and you will have to belch like an ox!"*

- 42: Note the writing *ša-tu-ú* for the accusative plural construct form of *šātū*. Cf. the genitive plural construct in Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen*, 34-5, l. 9: *kīma ša-tu-ù karānim* "like drinkers of wine" (OB), and also ZA 71 (1981): 69.

*martu 2*

Köcher BAM 578 (K 61+) ii 45-9

NA, Nineveh

Küchler Beitr. 52-3 (edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 831 (translation).

- 45 EN UZ ar-qá-at a-ruq DUMU-ša »  
a-ruq LÜ.SIPA-ša a-ruq na-qid-sa
- 46 ina e-ki SIG<sub>7</sub> U.MEŠ SIG<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ ik-kal »  
ina a-tap-pi a-ruq-ti A.MEŠ SIG<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ i-šat-ti
- 47 i-suk-ši GIS.GIDRU ul ú-tir-ra pa-ni-ša : »  
i'-suk'-ši kir-ba-nam ul ú-šaq-qa-a re-ši-ša
- 48 i-suk-ši pí-l-li U.ĤAR.ĤAR u MUN : »  
mar-tu GIM im-ba-ri ana šá-ha-ĥi it-bi
- 49 ʽEN ulʽ iu-ut-tu EN ʽé-[a u ʽasal]-ʽlú-ĥiʽ »  
ʽEN ʽdaʽ<sup>l</sup>-mu u ʽgu-la TU<sub>6</sub>.EN

rubric:

- 50 k[a-inim-ma] ša pa-šit-ti ʽxʽ [...]

*enzu arqat aruq māruša*

*aruq rē'iša aruq nāqissa*

*ina ēki arqi šammī arqūti ikkal*

*ina atappi aruqti mē arqūti išatti*

*issukši ĥaṭṭa ul utirra pāniša*

*issukši kirbāna ul ušaqqā rēšiša*

*issukši pillā? ḥašā u ṭabta*

*martu kīma imbari ana šaḥāḥi itbi*

*šiptu ul yuttu šīpat E[a u Asa]luḥi*

*šīpat Damu u Gula*

The she-goat is yellow, its offspring is yellow,

Its shepherd is yellow, its herdsman is yellow,

In the yellow plot of land it is eating yellow grass,

From the yellow canal it is drinking yellow water—

He (the shepherd) threw a staff at it, but it did not turn its face,

He threw a clod of dirt at it, but it did not raise its head,

He threw *pillū?* plant, *ḥašū* plant, and salt at it,

And *martu* rose up like fog to become nothing;

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of E[a and Asa]luḥi,

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula

(incantation for *pāšittu* illness)

47: I emend *nag* to *i-suk*.

48: *pillū* plant, *ḥašū* plant, and salt are presumably the ingredients for the ritual that accompanied this incantation (at least originally), but the ritual for the sole exemplar of this incantation is broken.

*maškadu**maškadu 1*

YOS 11 14 (YBC 4599) rev. 1-5

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 63 (collations); Foster, *Anthology*, 125 (translation).

- 1 [m]a-aš-ka-du-[um ma-aš-k]a-du-um ú-ul ma-aš-ka-du-um šu-ḫU-ú-u  
 2 i-<sup>l</sup>na sú<sup>?</sup>-li<sup>?</sup>-im<sup>l</sup> na-ar-ba-šú-šu i-na ma-an-za-az UDU.i-me-ri m[a-an-z]a-  
 zu-<sup>l</sup>šú<sup>l</sup>  
 3 na-ša-ak ba-ar-ba-ri-im i-na-aš-ša-ak ša-ḫa-aṭ kal-bi-im e-la-m[i<sup>?</sup>] <sup>l</sup>i-ša<sup>l</sup>-ḫi-  
 ṭ  
 4 <sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-re-eb bu-lim i-ru-u[b w]a-še-e bu-lim uš-<sup>l</sup>ši<sup>l</sup>  
 5 [š]i-i ma-aš-ka-<sup>l</sup>du-um la<sup>l</sup>-a-ma ik-šu-du-ka šú-ur-ru na-ag-la-b[u] <sup>l</sup>ḡgu-la

rubric:

[( )] t[u<sub>6</sub>]-én-é-nu-<sup>l</sup>ri<sup>l</sup>*[m]aškadu[m mašk]adum ul maškadum šu'ûm**ina sulîm<sup>?</sup> narbāšusu ina manzāz immeri m[anz]āzusu**našāk barbarim inaššak šaḫāt kalbim elam[i] išaḫḫit**erēb būlim irru[b w]ašē būlim ušši**[š]i maškadum lāma ikšudūka šurrū naglab[ū] Gula*

It is [M]aškadu, it is [Mašk]adu, it is not Maškadu, it is Šu'û,

Its spot is on the path<sup>?</sup>, its st[at]ion is at the station of the sheep,

It bites with the bite of the wolf, it leaps up with the leap of the Elami[te] dog,

It enter[s] with the entry of the herd, it exits with the [e]xit of the herd—

[G]o out, Maškadu, before the obsidian scalpel[s] of Gula reach you!



1: Although the H̄U in *šu-H̄U-ú-um* likely stands for 'u, note the writing 'š<sup>l</sup>u<sup>l</sup>-h̄u-'ú<sup>l</sup> in *maškadu* 6:3 (NA).

5: Cf. Eyes 8:5: *lām ikšudūkināši šur-ru u* (var. omits) *nag-la-bu ša Gula*, "before the obsidian stones and (var. omits) scalpels of Gula reach you." There does not seem to be enough room in the break between *naglabū* and *Gula* to restore *ša* in our text.

### *maškadu 2*

A 663 (transliteration courtesy of W. Farber) 8-15

OB, ?

W. Farber, ZA 71 (1981): 59 (comment).

8      ma-aš-ka-du-um ma-aš-ka-du-um ú-la ma-aš-ra šu-ú-um  
 9      iš-tu ša-mi ur-da-am  
 10     i-na ši-it-pi-im ma-an-za-zu-šu  
 11     i-na ki-bi-is al-pi-i-im ma-a-a-al-šu  
 12     e-re-eb bu-li-im i-ru-ab wa-ši bu-li-im iš-ši  
 13     ú-ta-mi-ka AN ù an-tum a-šar ta-aš-ba-tu  
 14     lu tu-wa-ša<sup>l</sup>-ar tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri  
 15     ši-i ma-aš-ka-du-<um> 'zi<sup>l</sup> šu h̄u ur

*maškadum maškadum ula mašra šu'um*

*ištu šamē urdam*

*ina šitpim manzāzušu ina kibis alpim mayyālšu*

*erēb būlim irrub wašē būlim išši*

*utammika Anum u Antum*

*ašar tašbatu lū tuwaššar tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri*

*šī maškadu<m>...*

It is *Maškadu*, it is *Maškadu*, it is not *Mašra*, it is *Su'ū*,

It descended from heaven,

Its station is in the hole, its resting place is on the track of the ox,

It enters with the entry of the herd, it exits with the exit of the herd—

I have made you swear by Anu and Antu:

You shall release wherever you have seized! *tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri*

Go out, *Maškadu<m>*,...

8: *mašra* is presumably corrupt for *maškadum*.

12: Note *i-ru-ab* for *irrub*, *iš-šī* for *ušši*.

13-4: I emend *ta* to *ša*. Cf. Belly 12:8-15: *utammika eršeta u ḥammē libbi Šamaš*

*nāsiḫika lū tuwaššar...en-ne-nu-ri* "I have made you swear by the earth and the pools?: You shall release the belly of Šamaš, the one who picked you!...*en-ne-nu-ri*."

### *maškadu 3*

STT 136 (S.U. 51/102+) iv 17-20

NA, Ḫuzirina

17 [É]N šu-'-ú šum-šu maš-ka-du ʾki<sup>1</sup>-nu-u[s-su]

18 [i]š-tu MUL šá-ma-mi [ur-da] »

ʾur<sup>1</sup>-dam-ma iš-tu MU[L šá-ma-mi]

19 [k]ib-si GUD ʾnar<sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup>l-[s]u kib-si UDU.NÍTA man-za-[as-s]u

20 [š]i-pat ʾla-áš<sup>1</sup> ʾer-ʾra-gal<sup>1</sup> TU<sub>6</sub>.ʾÉN<sup>1</sup>

*šu'û šumšu maškadu kīnu[ssu]*  
*[i]štu kakkab samāmi [urda]*  
*urdamma ištu kakka[b samāmi]*  
*[k]ibsi alpi narbā[ss]u? kibsi immeri manzā[ss]u*  
*[š]īpat Laš Erragal*

Its name is *Su'û*, it is real[ly] *Maškadu*,  
 [It descended f]rom the star(s) of heaven;  
 Having descended from the sta[r(s) of heaven],  
 [The t]rack of the ox is it[s s]pot?, the track of the sheep is it[s s]tation—  
 It is the [in]cantation of Laš (and) Erragal

17: I take *kīnussu* as an adverbial form of the adjective *kīnu*, similar to *baṭussu*,  
*arqussu*, and so forth; see von Soden GAG §147b and CAD s.v. *baṭūtu*,  
 discussion section. Note that in similar context *maškadu* 11:1 apparently has  
*kīn[i]š*, "truly." Cf. E. Reiner, Moran AV, p. 424, n. 18.

20: The mention of underworld deities Laš and Erragal in this context (if correct) is  
 unexpected.

#### *maškadu* 4

A: CT 23, 2-4 (K 2473) rev. 15-8

B: CT 23, 5-14 (K 2453+) iii 37-40

A-B: NA, Nineveh

1		<i>šû</i>	<i>šumšu</i>	<i>maškadu</i>	<i>kīnussu</i>
A15	[Ē]N	šu-u	šum-šú	maš-ka-du	ki-nu-us-su : »
B37	ĒN	šu-u	šum-šú	maš-ka-du	k[i- ]-us-su »

2	<i>ištu</i>	<i>kakkabī</i>	<i>šamāmī</i>	<i>urda</i>					
A	iš-tu	MUL.[			]				
B	iš-tu	MUL.MEŠ	šá-ma-mi	ur-da					
3	<i>išbat</i>	<i>ša eṭli</i>	<i>šimmatu</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>pagrišu</i>				
A16	[	š]á	GURUŠ	šim-ma-tu	kal	pag-ri-šú : »			
B38	iš-bat	šá	GURUŠ	šim-ma- <sup>1</sup> tú <sup>1</sup>	[k]a-lu	LÚ.ÚŠ-šú »			
4	<i>išbat</i>	<i>gišša</i>	<i>kimša</i>	<i>kišalla</i>					
A	iš-bat	giš-šá	kin-[		]				
B	iš-bat	giš-šá	kim-ša	ki-šal-la		»			
5	<i>qabla</i>	<i>rapašta</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>šašalla</i>					
A17	[	r]a-pa-áš-tú	u	šá-šal-la		: »			
B	qab-la	ra-pa-áš-tú	u	šá-šal-li					
6	<i>Asalluḫi</i>	<i>šana'udu</i>	<i>mūdū</i>	<i>kalama</i>					
A	asal-lú-ḫi	šá-na-'-d[u			]				
B39	asal-lú-ḫi	šá <sup>1</sup> -[n]u-du-u	mu-du-u	ka-la-ma		»			
7	<i>idišumma</i>	<i>šipta</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>šūšū</i>	<i>kalama</i>				
A18	[	E]N	šá	šu-ši-i	DÚ.A.BI	»			
B	i-di-šum-ma	EN	šá	šu-šu-u	ka-li-šú				
8	<i>kīma</i>	<i>urru</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>mūšu</i>	<i>izūzū</i>	<i>lizūza</i>	<i>murša</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>zumrišu</i>
A	GIM	ur-ru	u	mu-šú	i-zu-zu	li-z[u-		]	
B40	ki <sup>1</sup> -ma	u[r <sup>2</sup> - ]- <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> ana?		mu-ši	i-zu-zu	li-zu-za	GIG	šá	SU-šú EN

rubric:

B41 [ka-inim]-ma sa-gal-la-kám

Its name is Šū, it is really *Maškadu*,

It descended from the stars of heaven,

Paralysis seized the young man's entire body,

It (*Maškadu*) seized the hip, shin, ankle,

Loins, back, and achilles' tendon—

Heroic, all-knowing Asalluḫi!

Cast on him an incantation that expels everything,

So that, as day and night separated, the sickness of his body may separate!

([incanta]tion for *sagallu* illness)

3 B: I emend *šab* to *tú*.

7: The inclusion of epithets to Marduk suggests to me that Marduk is being addressed directly; one could also read *i-di-šum-ma* as *iddišumma* "(Asalluḫi) cast on him" or *iddiššumma* "(Asalluḫi) gave to him." I assume the scribe of B misread a logographic writing of *kalama*, DÛ.A.BI, as *kalīšu*, the literal translation of Sumerian *dù-a-bi*; it is possible, however, that one should read *kalīš*, and translate "an incantation that expels completely."

8 B: I emend *ku* to *ki*. For other examples of *zāzu* used transitively, see CAD s.v. *zāzu*, mng. 1.

### *maškadu 5*

Köcher BAM 182 (O. 194) obv. 14' -6'

NA, Assur

14' [ÉN] maš-ka<sub>15</sub>-dù iš-tu še-er šá-ma-me ur-di :? »

mi-šil im-tú šá MUŠ [il-qé]

15' [u šá] GÍR.TAB i-mat-sa il<sup>1</sup>-qé »

ut<sup>1</sup>-tur im-ta a-tar mi-ḫir-[ ]

16' [pa]-a la GAR-in <GAR-in> šin-na »

ša-bit šá GURUŠ giš-šá kim-ša ki-šal-la : »

MURU[B<sub>4</sub> GIŠ.KUN u ša-šal-li TU<sub>6</sub>.ÉN]

rubric:

17' [k]a-inim-ma maš-ka<sub>15</sub>-[dù]

*maškadu ištu šēr šamāmī urda*

*mišil imti ša šerri [ilqe]*

*[u ša] zuqaqīpi imassa ilqe*

*uttur imta atar miḥir[...]*

*[p]ā lā šakin <šakin> šinna*

*šabit ša eṭli gišša kimša kišalla*

*qabl[a rapašta u šašalla]*

*Maškadu* descended from up in heaven,

[It took] half of the venom of the snake,

[And] it took the scorpion[']s venom,

It has been augmented with venom, it is excessive in...,

It does not have a [mou]th, (but) <it does have> teeth,

It has seized the young man's hip, shin, ankle,

Loi[ns, back, and achilles' tendon]

([in]cantation for *maška[du]* illness)

14': Perhaps *šēr šamāmī* should be emended to *šer<ret> šamāmī* "lead-rope of heaven," as in Various Illnesses 2:10 and 6:26'.

15': I emend *al* to *il*, and *ma*<sup>2</sup> to *ut*; one might also consider emending *ma*<sup>2</sup> to *šu*, to read *šūtur* "it is superlative"; cf. *maškadu* 6:6 and 11:3.

### *maškadu* 6

STT 136 (S.U. 51/102+) iv 3-16

NA, Ḥuzirina

- 3 EN ʿšu<sup>1</sup>-ḫU-ʿú šum<sup>2</sup>-š<sup>1</sup> [maš-k]a-ʿdu<sup>1</sup> [ki-nu-u]s-su  
 4 ʿTA\* MUL<sup>1</sup> šá-ma-mi ʿur-da<sup>2</sup> ʿ »  
 ʿur<sup>2</sup>-[da]m-ma TA\* MU[L šá-m]a-mi  
 5 ʿmi-šil<sup>1</sup> im-ti ʿšá<sup>1</sup> M[U]Š<sup>2</sup> ʿil<sup>1</sup>-[qé] ʿ »  
 u šá GÍR.TAB i-mat<sup>2</sup>-s[a<sup>2</sup> il-q]é  
 6 ʿut-tur im<sup>1</sup>-ta a-tar ʿši<sup>2</sup>-bit-[su<sup>2</sup>]  
 7 ʿpa<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>1</sup> la šá-kin šá-kin š[i]-in-ni  
 8 [ši-i]n-ni la šá-kin ša-bit ʿqab<sup>1</sup>-[l]i  
 9 [Š]U.SI.MEŠ la šá-kin ša-bit kap-p[al]-ʿti<sup>1</sup>  
 10 ki-ma šar<sup>2</sup>-ti qa-tan la e-du [ina] UZU.MEŠ  
 11 iš-bat giš-ʿšá kin<sup>1</sup>-ši u ki-šal-la<sup>2</sup>  
 12 qab-ʿla<sup>1</sup> ra-pa-áš-ta u šá-šal-li  
 13 nap-ḫar ʿSA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ gi-mir ka-la pag-ri  
 14 iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-um ʿi<sup>2</sup>-[a]l-du ul-la-nu-um-[ma] ib-nu-šú  
 15 ʿx DINGIR<sup>1</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>u e ʿx<sup>1</sup> EN ʿMAS a-na b[u]l<sup>2</sup>-l[u]ṭ<sup>2</sup> [ša a-mi-lu-ti]  
 16 [š]ap-liš lit-ta-ši-ma e-liš a-a i-li T[U<sub>6</sub>.EN]

*š<sup>1</sup>u'ú šumš<sup>1</sup>u [maš<sup>1</sup>k]adu [kinu]ssu*

*ištu kakkab šamāmi urda*

*ur[da]mma ištu kakka[b šam]āmi*

*mišil imti ša š[er]ri il[qe]*

*u ša zuqaqipi imass[a ilq]e*

*uttur imta atar šibis[su<sup>2</sup>]*

*pā lā šakin šakin šinni*

*[ši]nni lā šakin šabit qabla*

*[ub]ānāti lā šakin šabit kapp[al]ta*

*kīma šārti qatan lā idū [ina] širi*

*išbat gišša kišša u kišalla*

*qabla rapašta u šašalla*

*napḥar šir'āni gimir kala pagri*

*ištu ūm i''[a]ldu ullānum[ma] ibnišu...išu*

*...ana bul[lu]ti? [ša amilūti]*

*[š]apliš littāšima eliš ay ili t[ē] šipti*

Its name is Šu'û, it is [rea]lly [Mašk]adu,

It descended from the star(s) of heaven,

Having des[ce]nd[ed] from the sta[r(s)] of hea]ven;

It to[ok] half of the venom of the s[na]ke,

And [it too]k the scorpion[']s venom,

It has been augmented with venom, it is excessive in [its] grip?

It does not have a mouth, (but) it does have teeth,

It does not have [te]eth, (but) it has seized the loins,

It does not have [fi]ngers, (but) it has seized the gr[oi]n,

It is thin like a hair, it is not recognized [in] the flesh,

It seized the hip, shin, and ankle,

The loins, back, and achilles' tendon,

All of the muscles, the whole entire body;

Since the day that it was [b]orn, at that tim[e] its god...made it

...in order to h[ea]l [mankind]

May it come out [b]elow, it should not go up above!



- 1: The writing *šu-ḥu-ú* for *šu'ú/sū* presumably derives from an Old Babylonian writing of the aleph with the ḤU sign (as in *maškadu* 1:1); note that *maškadu* 3:17, from the same tablet, writes *šu-'-ú*.
- 7-8: I understand *ši-in-ni* as the dual *šinnī*, used to express plurality, in parallel to *ubānāti* (ŠU.SI.MEŠ) in l. 9. In the same context *maškadu* 8:21-2 writes *šin-ni* and *maškadu* 10:7' writes ZÜ.MEŠ (presumably also for dual *šinnī*), while *maškadu* 5:16' and 13:28' write *šin-na* (presumably for singular *šinna*).
- 15: The beginning of this line probably goes with the end of l. 14; cf. *maškadu* 8:29.
- 16: The meaning of this line is unclear; cf. *maškadu* 8:36, 9:23', 11:8-9 (which, however, has *šapl[iš...] eliš lili*), and Eyes 1:14-5.

### *maškadu* 7

Köcher BAM 390 (VAT 62) obv. 1-8

NB, provenance unknown

- 1      [ÉN] šu-'-ú šum-šú  
 2           maš-ka-du ki-nu-ut-su  
 3      ul maš-ka-du ki-nu-ut-su  
 4           šu-'-ú šum-šú  
 5      [i]š-tu MUL.MEŠ šá-ma-mi ur-da  
 6      [u]r-dam-ma iš-tu MUL.MEŠ  
 7           šá-ma-mi  
 8      mi-šil im-tú šá MUŠ il-q[é]

*šu'ú šumšu maškadu kīnussu*

*ul maškadu kīnussu šu'ú šumšu*

*[i]štu kakkabī šamāmī urda*

[u]rdamma ištu kakkabi samāmi

mišil imti ša šerri ilq[e]

Its name is Šu'û, it is really Maškadu,

It is not really Maškadu, its name is Šu'û;

It descended [f]rom the stars of heaven;

Having [d]escended from the stars of heaven,

It too[k] half of the venom of the snake

The incantation breaks off abruptly because it is a school text.

**maškadu 8**

A: Köcher BAM 127 (VAT 11224+) 1-14

B: Köcher BAM 124 (VAT 8772+) iii 60-iv 27

C: CT 23 1-2 (K 2432+) 15-21

D: AMT 42,6 (Th. 1905-4-9, 246) obv. 3-6

A-B: NA, Assur; C-D: NA, Nineveh

1		a-zu	kalam-ma	ḏnin-ì-si-in-na-ke <sub>4</sub>
A1	[ ]	ṛa <sup>1</sup> -zu	kalam-ma	ḏnin-ì-si-[ ] »
B60	[ ]			ṛḏ <sup>1</sup> ḏnin-ì-si-in-ṛna-ke <sub>4</sub> <sup>?1</sup> »
C15	ÈN	a-zu	kalam-ma	ḏnin-ì-si-in-[ ]-ṛke <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> »
D3	ÈN	a-zu	kalam-m[a	] »

2	ama	arḥuš	kalam-ma	me-en
A	[			]
B	ama	ṛarḥuš <sup>1</sup>	ka[lam-	]
C	ama	arḥuš	kalam-ma	me-en
D	[			]

3 agrig é-kur nin é-dub-ba  
 A2 [agri]g é-kur nin é-dub-ba »  
 B61 [ ] nin é-dub-b[a]  
 C16 agrig é-kur <<bad>> nin é-dub-ba »  
 D4 agrig [é¹-[ ] »

4 [ ]-gal an-na nin sag-ge<sub>6</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 A [x¹[ ]]  
 B1 [ ] nin sag-g[e<sub>6</sub>- ]  
 C [ ]-gal an-na nin sag-ge<sub>6</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 D [ ]

5 an-uraš dagal-la ᵀTAR.KAL ba-gar-ra š[a...]  
 A3 an-uraš dagal-la ᵀTAR.KAL ba-gar<sup>l</sup>-ra š[a ] »  
 B2 [ ] ᵀTAR<sup>l</sup>.KAL b[a- ]  
 C17 [ -ura]š dagal ᵀTAR<sup>l</sup>.KAL ba-<sup>l</sup>gar-ra x¹[ ] »  
 D5 an<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>uraš<sup>l</sup> [ ] »

6 [...] samē agē namriri  
 A [ ]  
 B3 [ ] -g]i nam-ri-ri  
 C [ ] [x¹ AN-e a-ge-e nam-ri-ri  
 D [ ]

7 ša Anu Enlil u Ea iškunūši  
 A4 [š]a ᵀa-num ᵀen-lil u ᵀe-a iš-ku-nu »  
 B4 šá ᵀa-n[um ]<sup>l</sup>en-lil u<sup>l</sup> 5 [ -k]u-nu-ši »  
 C18 [ ] »  
 D6 [ša<sup>l</sup> [ ] »

8 rēš parak mātāti  
 A re-[ ]  
 B re-eš [BARAG<sup>l</sup> KUR.KUR  
 C [ ]  
 D [ ]

[ša] ilū rabūtu inaššūši  
 A [x x¹[ ] ]  
 B [x x [ ] ] x-áš-šú<sup>l</sup>-u-ši <<ki>>  
 C [ ] [DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>?</sup> GAL.MEŠ i-na-áš-šú-u-šú  
 D [ ] ]

9 [...] šuk-ra hu-bur še-gá-gá  
 A5 [ ] šuk-ra hu-bur še-gá-gá : »  
 B5 [ -r]a hu-bur še-gán-gán »  
 C19 [ ] »

10 *Ea zārû sa māti*  
 A [d] [ ] za-ru-ú sa<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 B é-a za-ru-ú sá KUR  
 C [ ] KU]R

*ulgiritu tillatu im-ma-an-šub*  
 A6 [u]l-gi-ri-tum til-la-tum im-ma-an-šub »  
 B6 [ -r]i-tum til-la-tum im-ma-an-šub  
 C ul-gi-ri-tú<sup>20</sup> [ ] »

11 *ar[hu in]a qarniša laḥru ina šipātiša*  
 A A[B in]a SI-šá U<sub>8</sub> ina SIK[I. ]  
 B7 [ ]-šá U<sub>8</sub> ina SIKI.ḪI.A-šá »  
 C [ ] »

12 *Irḥan ina kibriša*  
 A7 ID.ir-ḥa-an ina kib-ri-šá »  
 B [ID<sup>1</sup>.ir-ḥa-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ina [kib<sup>1</sup>.ri-šá  
 C [ ] kib-ri-šá

13 *ša inaḥu liddīma pašḥu lišši*  
 A šá i-na-<sup>1</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup> lid-di-ma pa-á[š- ]  
 B8 [ -ḥ]u lid-di-ma pa-áš-ḥu liš-ši  
 C21 [ ] »

14 *qibāmma ša annanna mār annanna pariktašu lišir*  
 A8 qí-ba-a-ma šá NENNI A NENNI pa-rik-ta-šú li-[ ]  
 B9 [ -m]a šá NENNI A NENNI pa-rik-ta-šú li-šir  
 C [ ] [x x x<sup>1</sup>

15 *šû šumšu maškadu kinussu*  
 A9 šu-u šum-šu maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-su : »  
 B10 [ š]um-šu maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-su »

16 *ul maškadu kinussu šû šumšu*  
 A ul maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-[ ]  
 B ul maš<sup>1</sup>-ka-du<sup>11</sup> ki-nu-us-su šu-u šum-šu

17	<i>ultu</i>	<i>kakkabī</i>	<i>šamāmī</i>	<i>urda</i>			
A10	ul-tu	MUL.MEŠ	šá-ma-mi	ur-dam	»		
B12	ul-tu	MUL	šá-ma-me	ur-da			
18	<i>urdamma</i>	<i>ultu</i>	<i>kakkab[ī]</i>	<i>šamāmī</i>			
A	u[r-d]am-ma	ul-tu	MUL.[		]		
B13	ur-dam-ma	ul-tu	MUL	šá-ma-mi			
19	<i>mišil</i>	<i>imti</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>šerri</i>	<i>ilqe</i>		
A11	[ ]-šil	im-ti	šá	MUŠ	il-qé »		
B14	mi-šil	im-ti	šá	MUŠ	il-qé »		
20	<i>mišil</i>	<i>imti</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>zuqaqīpi</i>	<i>ilqe</i>		
A	m[ī-	]	ʿša	GÍR.TAB <sup>1</sup>	[ ]		
B	mi-šil	im-ti	šá	GÍR.TAB	il-qé		
21	<i>pā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>šakin</i>	<i>šakin</i>	<i>šinnī</i>		
A12	[ ]	GAR-in	GAR-in	šin-ni	»		
B15	pa-a	la	GAR-in	GAR-in	šin-ni »		
22	<i>šinnī</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>šakin</i>	<i>šabit</i>	<i>šir'ānī</i>		
A	š[in-				]		
B	šin-ni	la	GAR-[i]n	ša-bit	SA.MEŠ		
23	<i>ubānāti</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>šakin</i>	<i>šabit</i>	<i>kappalta</i>		
A13	[ ]	GAR-in	ša-bit	kap-pal-ti	»		
B16	ŠU.SI.MEŠ	la	GAR-in	ša-bit	kap-pal-ti		
24	<i>kīma</i>	<i>šārti</i>	<i>qatan</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>idū</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>širī</i>
A	k[ī-						]
B17	ki-ma	šar-ti	qa-tan	la	i-du	ina	UZU.MEŠ
25	<i>ul</i>	<i>išā</i>	<i>pāna</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>bāba</i>		
A14	[		]-ʿna	u	ba <sup>1</sup> -[ ]	»	
B18	ul	i-šá-a	pa-na	u	KÁ	»	
26	<i>išbat</i>	<i>gišša</i>	<i>kīnša</i>	<i>kišalla</i>			
A	[				]		
B	iš-bat	giš-šá	kīn-ša	ki-šil-la			

- 27     *qabla rapašta u šašalla gubguba puḥur šir'ānī*  
 B19   qab-la ra-pa-áš-tu u šá-šal-li gu-ub-gu-ba pu-ḥur SA.MEŠ
- 28     *šabit ša annanna mār annanna puḥur kališunu sagallī*  
 B20   ša-bit šá NĒNNI A NĒNNI pu-ḥur ka-li-šú-nu SA.GAL
- 29     *ultu ūm i'aldu ullānumma ibnišu ilšu*  
 B21   ul-tú u<sub>4</sub>-um i'-al-du ul-la-nu-um-ma ʾib<sup>l</sup>-ni-šu DINGIR-šu
- 30     *in-dab in-sar in-[du<sub>8</sub>]*  
 B22   in-dab in-ʾsar in<sup>l</sup>-[ ] »
- 31     *[lippaṭir liṭṭar]id likkami*  
 B     [                 -r]id lik-ka-mi
- 32     *šiptu [ul y]uttu šip[at Ea u] Asalluḫi*  
 B23   ʾÉN<sup>l</sup> [ i]u-ʾut<sup>l</sup>-tú É[N                 ]ʾasal<sup>l</sup>-lú-ḫi
- 33     *[šipat] Damu u [Gul]a*  
 B24   [                 ]da-mu u [                 ]-l]a
- 34     *šipat Ningirima [bēlet] šipti*  
 B25   ʾÉN<sup>l</sup> <sup>d</sup>nin-girima [                 ] ÉN
- 35     *šunu iqbūnimma anāku uša[nni]*  
 B26   šu-nu iq-bu-ni-ma ana-ku ú-šá-[ ] »
- 36     *[šapliš litt]ašima eliš ay ilī*  
 B     [                 -t]a-ši-ma <sup>27</sup> e-liš a-a i-li »
- 37     *eme-ḫul-gál bar-[šè ḫé-em-ta-gub]*  
 B     eme-ḫul-gál bar-[                 ]

rubric:

B28 ka-inim-ma ʾsa<sup>l</sup>-[gal-la]-ʾkám <<x>><sup>l</sup>

Physician of the land, Lady of Isin,

Merciful mother of the land, am I,

Steward of the Ekur, lady of the tablet-house,  
 Great [...] of heaven, lady of the black-headed people,  
 .....  
 [...] heaven, the crown of radiance,  
 Which Anu, Enlil, and Ea placed on her,  
 The dais of the lands, [which] the great gods attend to for her,  
 [...].....  
 Ea, the progenitor of the land,.....  
 The co[w wit]h its horn, the ewe with its wool,  
 The River Irḫan with its bank,  
 May the one who is weary throw (the illness) down, may the one at ease take (it) up!  
 Speak to me, so that the wrong of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, may become right!  
 Its name is *Šû*, it is really *Maškadu*,  
 It is not really *Maškadu*, its name is *Šû*;  
 It descended from the stars of heaven;  
 Having descended from the star[s] of heaven,  
 It took half of the venom of the snake,  
 It took half of the venom of the scorpion;  
 It does not have a mouth, (but) it does have teeth,  
 It does not have teeth, (but) it has seized the muscles,  
 It does not have fingers, (but) it has seized the groin;  
 It is thin like a hair, it is not recognized in the flesh,  
 It has neither front nor door,  
 It seized the hip, shin, ankle,  
 The loins, back, and achilles' tendon, the *gubguba*, all of the muscles,  
 It has seized every single one of the *sagallu* muscles of So-and-so, son of So-and-so;

Since the day that it was born, at that time its god made it—

(Sum. :) May it be bound, may it be sent away, may it be [released!]

[(Akk. :) May it be released, may it be sent away, may it be bound!

The incantation is [not mine], it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

[It is the incantation of] Damu and [Gul]a,

It is the incantation of Ningirima, [mistress] of incantations,

They told (it) to me and I repeated (it);

[May it go] out [below], it should not go up above!

(Sum. :) [May] the evil tongue [stand as]ide!

(incantation for *s[agallu]* illness)

ll. 1-5, 30, 37, and perhaps 9 and part of 10 are in Sumerian.

1: Köcher BAM 125:34 cites the incantation's incipit: [...ka]lam-ma ḏnin-ì-si-in-na.

5 A: I emend *za* to *gar*, B and C: I emend KUR to TAR; D: I emend *ti* to *an*.

10 C: I emend *gi* to *ri*.

13: Cf. Arnaud Emar 6 735:34'), an incantation against *šimmatu* illness: *an-ḫu li-[di-ki] pa-aš-ḫu li-iš-ši-ki* "May the weary one [throw you (*šimmatu*) down], may the one at ease take you up!"; and *maškadu* 12:8'-9'.

16 B: I emend *pa* to *maš*.

25: For the phrase *ul iṣā pāna u bāba*, see F.R. Kraus, RA 64 (1970): 57.

30: Although these Sumerian verbs are not precatives, I translate them as such in parallel to the Akkadian precatives in l. 31.

30-7: Restored from *maškadu* 9:16'-24'.



*maškadu 9*

Köcher BAM 128 (VAT 9955) iv 1'-24'

NA, Assur

- 1' [ ]-ṛa<sup>1</sup> la [ ]-ṛin<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- 2' [ši]n-[ ]
- 3' [ ] ṛša<sup>1</sup>-[ ]
- 4' [ ]-tan la<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- 5' [ ] pa-na [ ]
- 6' [ ]
- 7' [ ]-p]a-aš-t[u<sup>1</sup> ]
- 8' [ ]-ḫur ka-[ ]
- 9' [ ] ka-l[a ]
- 10' [ ]-d]u ṛul-la<sup>1</sup>-[ ]
- 11' [( )] DIN[GIR- ]
- 12' [ ]ṛé<sup>1</sup>-a a-na b[u- ]
- 13' [( )] š]á<sup>?</sup> a-mi-lu-t[i]
- 14' [ ] ṛid<sup>?</sup>-di<sup>1</sup>-ma a-na šup-šu-ḫi
- 15' šá a-mi-lu-ti
- 16' [i]n-dab in-sar in-du<sub>8</sub>
- 17' lip-pa-ṭir liṭ-ṭa-riḍ lik-ka-mi
- 18' ÉN ul iu-ut-tu-un
- 19' ÉN é-a u é<sup>1</sup>asal-lú-ḫi
- 20' ÉN é<sup>1</sup>da-mu u é<sup>1</sup>gu-la
- 21' ÉN é<sup>1</sup>nin-girima EN ÉN
- 22' šu-nu iq-bu-ma ana-ku ú-šá-an-ni

23' šap-liš lit-ta-ši-ma e-liš a-a i-li

24' eme-ḥul-gál bar-šè ḥé-em-ta-gub

rubric:

25' k[a]-inim-ma sa-gal-la-kám

[.....]

[p]â lā [šak]in [šakin šinni]

[ši]n[nī lā šakin šabit šir'ānī]

[ubānāti lā šakin] ša[bīt kappalta]

[kīma šārti qa]tan lā [īdū ina širi]

[ul išā] pāna [u bāba]

[iṣbat gišša kiṣa kišalla]

[qabla rap]ašt[a u šašalla gubguba puḥur šir'ānī]

[šabit ša annanna mār annanna pu]ḥur ka[lišunu sagallī]

[napḥar šir'ānī gimir] kal[a pagri]

[ultu ūm i'ald]u ullā[numma ibnišu] i[lišu]

[...] Ea ana b[ulluṭi š]a amilūt[i]

[...] iddimma ana šupšuḥi ša amilūti

[i]n-dab in-sar in-du<sub>8</sub>

*lippaṭir liṭṭarid likkami*

*šiptu ul yuttun*

*šipat Ea u Asalluḥi*

*šipat Damu u Gula*

*šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti*

*šunu iqbūma anāku ušanni*

*šapliš littasīma eliš ay īli*

eme-ḥul-gál bar-šè ḥé-em-ta-gub

[.....]

[It does] not ha[ve a mo]uth, [(but) it does have teeth],

[It does not have te]t[h, (but) it has seized the muscles],

[It does not have fingers,] (but) it has se[ized the groin];

[It is t]hin [like a hair, it is] not [recognized in the flesh],

[It has neither] front [nor door],

[It seized the hip, shin, ankle],

[The loins, b]ac[k, and achilles' tendon, the *gubgubu*, all of the muscles],

[It has seized eve]ry sing[le one of the *sagallu* muscles of So-and-so, son of So-and-so];

[All of the muscles, the whole] enti[re body];

[Since the day that it was bor]n, at that ti[me its g]od [made it]—

Ea [...] to h[ea]l mankind,

He gave [...] to ease mankind;

(Sum. :) May it be bound, may it be sent away, may it be released!

(Akk. :) May it be released, may it be sent away, may it be bound!

The incantation is not mine,

It is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,

It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations,

They spoke (it) and I repeated (it);

May it go out below, it should not go up above!

(Sum.:) May the evil tongue stand aside!

(i[n]cantation for *sagallu* illness)

1'-8': Restored from *maškadu* 8:21-8.

4': I emend *ma* to *la*.

7': I emend *la* to *tu*.

9': Restored from *maškadu* 6:13.

### *maškadu* 10

OECT 6 23 (K 3209) obv. 4'-12'

NA, Nineveh

4' ÒN šu-u šum-šú maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-[su] »

[ul maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-su šu-u šum-šú]

5' iš-tu MUL.MEŠ šá-ma-mi ur-da »

[ur-dam-ma iš-tu MUL.MEŠ šá-ma-mi]

6' mi-šil im-ti šá MUŠ il-qé »

[mi-šil im-ti šá GİR.TAB il-qé]

7' pa-a la GAR-in GAR-in ZÜ.MEŠ »

[ZÜ.MEŠ la GAR-in ša-bit UZU.MEŠ] »

[ŠU.SI.MEŠ la GAR-in ša-bit kap-pal-ti]

8' iš-bat giš-šá kim-ša ki-šal-la »

qab-la [ra-pa-áš-ta u šá-šal-la gu-ub-gu-ba pu-ḥur UZU.MEŠ]

9' iš-šab-tu kul-lat pag-ri gi-[ ] »

[ ]

10' é-a ta-a-šú iš-kun ana bul-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>l</sup>-[ti ša a-mi-lu-ti] »

[ ]

11' AB ina SI-ša U<sub>8</sub> ina SIKI.ĜI.A-ša »

[ID.ir-ġa-an ina kib-ri-ša]

12' qí-ba-a-ma šá NENNI A NENNI pa-rik-ta-[šú li-šír TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN]

rubric:

13' ka-inim-ma [ ]

*šû šumšu maškadu kīnus[su]*

[ul maškadu kīnussu šû šumšu]

*īštu kakkabī šamāmi urda*

[urdamma īštu kakkabī šamāmi]

*mišil imti ša šerri ilqe*

[mišil imti ša zuqaqīpi ilqe]

*pā lā šakin šakin šinnī*

[šinnī lā šakin šabit šir'ānī]

[ubānāti lā šakin šabit kappalta]

*išbat gišša kimša kišalla*

*qabla [rapašta u šašalla gubguba puḫur šir'ānī]*

*iššabtu kullat pagri gi[mir...]*

[.....]

*Ea tāšu iškun ana bullu[ti ša amilūti]*

[.....]

*arḫu ina qarniša laḫru ina šipātīša*

[Irḫan ina kibriša]

*qibāmma ša annanna mār annanna parikta[šu lišir]*

Its name is Šû, it is real[ly] *Maškadu*,

[It is not really *Maškadu*, its name is Šû],

It descended from the stars of heaven;  
 [Having descended from the stars of heaven],  
 It took half of the venom of the snake,  
 [It took half of the venom of the scorpion],  
 It does not have a mouth, (but) it does have teeth,  
 [It does not have teeth, (but) it has seized the muscles],  
 [It does not have fingers, (but) it has seized the groin],  
 It seized the hip, shin, ankle,  
 The loins, [back, and achilles' tendon, the *gubgubu*, all of the muscles],  
 It seized the whole body, the en[tire...]  
 [.....]  
 Ea established his spell to hea[l mankind],  
 [.....]  
 The cow with its horn, the ewe with its wool,  
 [The River Irḫan with its bank],  
 Speak to me, so that the wrong of So-and-So, son of So-and-so, [may become right]!

***maškadu* 11**

W.G. Lambert, *Studies Landsberger*, 287 (Rm. 376) obv. ii 1-11

MA, Nineveh

W.G. Lambert, *Studies Landsberger*, 285 (transliteration).

1 [šú-'-ú šum-šu maš-ka-du] ki-ni-[i]š? »

KI MUL AN-e ʿú<sup>1</sup>-[ri-id]

2 [mi-ši-il i]m-ʿte <šá> MUŠ il-qe<sup>1</sup> »

mi-ši-il im-te šá GIR.TAB il-qe x [ ]

- 3 [i]š-ša-bat MURUB<sub>4</sub> x x (x) giš-šá iš-ša-bat UZU.SA.MEŠ »  
 šu-te-er im-ta<sup>?</sup> a-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>?</sup>l-a[r<sup>?</sup> ]
- 4 qa-ta-an GIM šar-te ul i-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>?</sup>ad ina pa-ag-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>?</sup>  
 iš-ša-ab-ta <sup>r</sup>x<sup>?</sup> [ ]
- 5 DÜ.A.BI pa-ag-ri ni-ib-sir pi-ir ka-lu [UZ]U.SA.MEŠ iš-ša-a[b-ta ]
- 6 GIM GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR ù mi-ši-il GIŠ.x.x.MEŠ UZU.SA.[MEŠ ]
- 7 u UZU.ra-pal-te  
 TU<sub>6</sub> <sup>é</sup>a iš-ru-uk-šu-[m]a ana bu-lu-tu DÜ.[A.BI]
- 8 LÜ.U<sub>18</sub>.MEŠ iš-ru-uk-šu-ma NU SUB-di NU pa ša ta šap-l[i<sup>?</sup>-iš ]
- 9 e-li-iš li-li UR-gi-ni lab-bir šal-bir giš la ki x [ ]
- 10 SUB-di TU<sub>6</sub> ana ra-ma-ni-ia u su-um-ri-ia lu-ur-ḫi KU x [ ]
- 11 lu-bi-il-ka pa-ag-ri tu<sub>6</sub>-én-é-nu-[rù]

No translation is offered.

*maškadu 12*

KBo 1 18 (VAT 7425) i 1'-9'

MB, Ḫattuša

- 1' <sup>r</sup>x x x x x<sup>?</sup> [ ]
- 2' ba-ma-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>?</sup> im-ti<sub>4</sub> š[a MUŠ il-qé]
- 3' ba-ma-at im-ti<sub>4</sub> š[a<sup>?</sup> GÍR.TAB il-qé]
- 4' iš-bat ki-im-ša ù k[i-šal-la]
- 5' iš-bat qa-ab-li ù [ra-pa-aš-ta]
- 6' a-nu-um-ma a-na <sup>é</sup>a<sup>?</sup>-a<sup>?</sup> [qí-bi-ma]
- 7' li-id-di-iš-šu ši-p[a-at ba-la-ṭi]
- 8' an-ḫu li-id-[di-ma]

9' pa-aš-ḥu li-iš'-š[i? ]

rubric:

10' ši-pa-at be-[ ]

[.....]

*bāmat imti š[a ṣerri ilqe]*

*bāmat imti š[a zuqaqīpi ilqe]*

*išbat kimša u k[išalla]*

*išbat qabla u [rapašta]*

*anumma ana Ea? [qibīma]*

*liddiššu šip[at balāti]*

*anḥu lid[dīma]*

*pašḥu lišš[i...]*

...[...]

[It took] half of the venom o[f the snake],

[It took] half of the venom o[f the scorpion],

It seized the shin and the a[nkle],

It seized the loins and [the back]—

Now then, [speak] to Ea,

(So that) he may give him an incan[tation of life]!

May the weary one throw (the illness) down,

And the one at ease tak[e (it) up ...]

(incantation of [...])

7': Cf. Various Illnesses 4:15' -7': *manna[m] lušpur ana N[ingirima] liddina[m] šjipat*

*šal[imtim?] u balātim* "Who[m] shall I send to N[ingirima], (so that) she may



give m[e an in]cantation of wel[-being?] and heal[th]?" Note that *ši-pa-at* is not necessarily in the construct or absolute state, since line i 16' of the tablet apparently has *š[i]-pa-at ú-ul i-ia-a-[x]* for expected *šiptu ul yattu*; cf. also Eyes 1:10: *ši-pát ú-lí-ṽa ṽ-ti*.

8'-9': I emend *il* to *iš*. Cf. comment to *maškadu* 8:13.

### *maškadu* 13

Köcher BAM 182 (O. 194) obv. 25'-30'

NA, Assur

- 25' [ÉN ] ṽx<sup>1</sup> bu-uḫ-ru bu-ḫa-ru »  
 šu-ú maš-[ka-du]
- 26' [ ] ṽx ša<sup>1</sup> ṽa-num MUL.MEŠ šá-ma-mi [ur-da]
- 27' [mi-šil im-t]ú šá MUŠ il-qé »  
 šá GÍR.TAB i-mat-s[a il-qé]
- 28' [pa-a ul GAR-in GA]R-in šin-na : »  
 šin-na ul šá-kin ṽ[a-bit SA.MEŠ]
- 29' [iṽ-bat giš-šá kim-ṽa ki-ṽal-la] »  
 [MU]RUB<sub>4</sub> GIŠ.KUN ṽu<sup>1</sup> [šá-ṽal-la ( )]
- 30' [ ] »  
 ṽat-ta<sup>1</sup> maš-k[a-du ]

(rest of obv. broken)

[...] buḫru buḫaru

šû maš[kadu]

[...] ša Anu kakkabi šamāmi [urda]

[mišil imt]i ša ṽerri ilqe

*ša zuqaqīpi imass[a ilqe]*

*[pā ul šakin ša]kin šinna*

*šinna ul šakin š[abit šir'ānī]*

*[iṣbat gišša kimša kišalla]*

*[qa]bla rapašta u [šašalla]*

*[.....]*

*atta mašk[adu.....]*

*[.....]*

*[...] buḫru buḫaru;*

It is Šû, it is Maš[kadu]

*[...] of Anu, the stars of heaven, [it descended],*

It took [half of the veno]m of the snake,

[It took] the scorpion's venom;

[It does not have a mouth], (but) it does [ha]ve teeth,

It does not have teeth, (but) it has s[eized the muscles],

[It seized the hip, shin, ankle],

[The lo]ins, back, and [achilles' tendon]

*[.....]*

You, Maš[kadu,.....]

*[.....]*

*su'ālu**su'ālu 1*

A: Köcher BAM 549 (DT 178+) iv 6-9

B: Craig ABRT 2 11 (K 4609) obv. ! ii' 21' -5'

C: Köcher BAM 553 (K 11348) obv. 1' -3'

A-C: NA, Nineveh

CAD s.v. *su'ālu* (translation of A and B).

1		<i>su'ālu</i>	<i>su'ālu</i>	<i>su'ālu</i>	<i>dān</i>	<i>šib[issu]</i>
A 6	ÉN	su-a-lam	MIN	MIN	da-ni	ši-b[it- ]
B21'	ÉN	su-URU	su-URU	su-URU	KALAG <sup>a</sup> [ <sup>n</sup>	]
C1'	[					] »

2		<i>ina bīrit ḥašê</i>	<i>ittadi</i>	<i>kussīšu</i>		
A 7	ina	bi-rit ḥa-še-e	it-ta-di	GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú	»	
B22'	ina	bi-rit MUR.MEŠ	it-ta-di	[ ]		
C	[	-r]it MUR.MEŠ	SUB-di	GIŠ.GU.[ ]		

3		<i>atlak su'ālu ul šubat[ka]</i>				
A	at-lak	su-URU	ul	š[u-	]	
B23'	at-lak	su-URU	ul	šu-bat-[	]	
C2'	[			]	»	

4		<i>ša kiširti guḥḥi ū su'āli</i>				
A 8	šá	ki-šir-ti	gu-uḥ-ḥa	u	s[u-	]
B24'	[ ]	ki <sup>l</sup> -šir-ti	gu-uḥ-ḥi	u	su-[ ]	
C	[	-ši]r-ti	gu-uḥ-ḥi		su-URU	

5		<i>Gula bēlet balāti lippula šursīšu tē šipti</i>				
A 9	ḡgu-la	be-let	TI.LA	lip-pu-la	šur-ši <sup>l</sup> -[ ]	
B25'	[ -l]a	be-let	TI.LA	li-pu <sup>l</sup> -lu	šur <sup>l</sup> -ši-šú	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN
C3'	[			]	šur-ši-ka	TU <sub>6</sub> .ÉN

rubric:

A10 ka-inim-ma [ ]

*Su'ālu, Su'ālu, Su'ālu*, strong is [its] gras[p],

It set up its chair between the lungs—

Go away, *Su'ālu*, he is not [yours] to dwell in!

Of the lump, hack, or *su'ālu*,

May Gula, mistress of health, destroy its roots!

5 B: I emend the *še* of Craig's copy to *pu*, although *lišēlā* "may she cause (its roots) to go up" is not impossible; I emend *maš* to *šur*. C: Note the variant *šuršika* "your roots."

## Teeth

## Teeth 1

a: CT 17 50 (BM 55547) 1-23

B: AMT 24,2-25,2 (K 10330+) rev. 15'-28'

C: Köcher BAM 538 (K 2439+) iv 31'-7'

D: AMT 23,6 (S 234) 1'-5'

a: NB, ?; B-D: NA, Nineveh

K. Hecker, AOATS 8, 2ff. (edition, previous literature) and TUAT III/4, 603-4

(translation); Foster, *Anthology*, 863 (translation).

1	<i>ultu</i>	<i>Anu</i>	<i>ibnû</i>	<i>šamê</i>
a1	ul-tu	<sup>d</sup> a-nu-um	i[b-	]
B15'	[	]a-nu	ib-nu-u	AN-e

2	<i>šamû</i>	<i>ibnû</i>	<i>eršeta</i>
a2	AN-ú	ib-nu-ú	[ ]
B16'	[ ]	ib-nu-u	KI- <sup>r</sup> tu <sup>r</sup>

3	<i>eršetu</i>	<i>ibnû</i>	<i>nārāti</i>
a3	er-še-tum	ib-nu-ú	ID.MEŠ
B17'	[	]b-nu-u	ID.MEŠ

4	<i>nārātu</i>	<i>ibnâ</i>	<i>atappāti</i>
a4	ID.MEŠ	ib-na-a	a-tap-pa-ti
B18'	[ ]	ib-na-a	a-tap-pa-tú
C31'	[		] »

5	<i>atappātu</i>	<i>ibnâ</i>	<i>rušumta</i>
a5	a-tap-pa-ti	ib-na-a	ru-šum-ta
B19'	[ ]	ib-na-a	ru-šum-tú
C	[ ]	<sup>r</sup> ib-na-a <sup>r</sup>	[ ]

6	<i>rušumtu</i>	<i>ibnû</i>	<i>tūta</i>
a6	ru-šum-ta	ib-nu-ú	tu-ul-tu
B20'	[ ]	ib-na-a	tul <sub>5</sub> -tú
C32'	[		] »

7	<i>illik</i>	<i>tūtu</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>pān</i>	<i>Samaš</i>	<i>ibakki</i>
a7	il-lik	tu-ul-tu	ana	ĪGI	𐎶UTU	i-bak-ki
B21'	[		] ana	IGI	𐎶UTU	i-bak-ki
C	[					-b]ak-ki »

8	<i>ana</i>	<i>pān</i>	<i>Ea</i>	<i>illakā</i>	<i>dimāša</i>
a8	ana	ĪGI	𐎶e-a	il-la-ka	di-ma-a-ša
B22'	[			]	↑(traces)-im <sup>1</sup> -tú-šá
C	ana	IGI	𐎶e-a	il- <sup>1</sup> la-ka	di-ma-šá <sup>1</sup>

9	<i>minā</i>	<i>taddana</i>		<i>ana</i>	<i>akāliya</i>
a9	mi-na-a	ta-at-ta-an-na		a-na	a-ka-li-ia
B23'	[ -n]a-a	ta-ad-da-na <sup>24'</sup>		ana	a-ka-li-i[a]
C33'	[				] »

10	<i>minā</i>	<i>taddana</i>		<i>ana</i>	<i>munzuqiya</i>
a10	mi-na-a	ta-at-ta-an-na		a-na	mun-zu-qi-ia
B25'	[ -n]a-a	ta-ad-da-na <sup>26'</sup>		ana	mun-zu-qi-[ ]
C	[	]- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	ta-da-na	ana	mun-zu-qi-ia
D1'	[		]- <sup>1</sup> Dan <sup>1</sup> -[		]

11	<i>attannakki</i>	<i>tīta</i>	<i>bašīta</i>
a11	at-tan-nak-ki	GIS.PES	ba-ši-il-ta
B27'	↑at <sup>21</sup> -ta-↑nak <sup>1</sup> -ki	GIS.PES	[ ]
C34'	[		]
D2'	[a]t-ta-nak-k[i <sup>1</sup>		]

		<i>armanā</i>	<i>ḥašḥūra</i>
a12		ar-ma-na-a	GIS.ḤAŠḤUR
B28'		ar-ma-na-[	]
C		[ ]- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	GIS.ḤAŠḤUR
D		[	]

12	<i>anāku</i>	<i>ammīna</i>	<i>annā</i>	<i>tīta</i>	<i>bašīta</i>
a13	ana-ku	am-mi-na	an-na-a	GIS.PES	ba-ši-il-ta
C35'	[				]
D3'	[ -k]u	am-ma-na-a-a		[	]

		<i>u</i>	<i>armanā</i>	<i>ḥašḥūra</i>
a14		ù	ar-ma-na-a	GIS.ḤAŠḤUR
C		[	-n]a-a	GIS.ḤAŠḤUR
D		[		]

13 *šuqqānima* *ina birit sinni* <sup>16</sup> *u lašhi sūšibanni*  
 a15 *šu-uq-qa-an-ni-ma* *ina bi-rit ši-in-ni* *ù la-áš-ḫi* *šu-ši-ba-an-ni*  
 C36' [ *l]a-áš-ḫi* *šu-ši-ban-ni*  
 D4' [*š]u-uk-na-an-ni-ma* *ina bi-rit ZU* [ ] »

14 *ša sinnimma lunzuqa dāmišu*  
 a17 *ša ši-in-ni-ma lu-un-zu-qa da-mi-šu*  
 C37' [ ] »  
 D [ ]

15 *u ša lašhimma luksus kusāsēšu*  
 a18 *ù ša la-áš-ḫi-<<ši>>-im* *lu-uk-su-u[s]* <sup>19</sup> *ku-sa-se-e-šu*  
 C [ *l]u-uk-su-sa* *ku-sa-si-šú*  
 D5' [*ù*<sup>1</sup> *šá* *la-áš-ḫi-im-ma* [*lu*<sup>2</sup>-*uk*<sup>2</sup>]- ]

16 *sikkata retēma šēpa šabat*  
 a20 *sik-ka-ta re-te-ma GĪR* *ša-ba-at*

17 *aššum annā taqbī tūltu*  
 a21 *aš-šum an-na-a taq-bi-i tu-ul-tu*

18 *limḫaški Ea ina dannati rittišu*  
 a22 *lim-ḫa-aš-ki é-a i-na dan-na-ti* <sup>23</sup> *ri-it-ti-šu*

rubrics:

a24 *ka-inim-ma zú-gig-ga-kam\**  
 D6' [*k]a-inim-ma zú-gig-ga-kám*

After Anu made heaven,

Heaven made the earth,

The earth made the rivers,

The rivers made the canals,

The canals made the mud,

(And) the mud made the worm,

The worm went crying to Šamaš,

Its tears coming before Ea, (and said):

"What will you give me to eat?"

"What will you give me to suck?"—

"I have (already) given you a ripe fig (and) an *armanû* apple"—

"I? Why (have you given me) this, a ripe fig and an *armanû* apple?"

"Raise me up and seat me between a tooth and a jaw!"

"I will suck the blood of the tooth,

"And I will gnaw on little bits of the jaw!"

[A continues]:

Make fast the peg and seize the foot!

Because you said this, worm,

May Ea strike you with his hard hand!

(incantation for a sick tooth)

11 D: I emend *š[u]* to *k[i]*.

12: One might also read *ammīnannā* "why now," though this does not seem to fit the context; *am-ma-na-a-a* in D is presumably corrupt. The conjunction *u* between *titta bašīlta* and *armanā hašhūra* (lacking in l. 11, however) suggests that *armanā hašhūra* refers to a single piece of fruit.

13 D: [*š*]*uknannima* "[p]lace me" for *šūqqānimma* "raise me up."

15: I take *kusāsu* as a nominalization of \**kss* with a diminutive meaning, perhaps expressing that the worm can only gnaw a little bit at a time; see F.R. Kraus ZA 43 (1936): 112, and von Soden GAG § 55k.

16: This line (only in a) is usually understood as an instruction for pulling the sick tooth; note, however, that the medical prescription to be used with the incantation in a (paralleled by C iv 38'-9') does not mention pulling the tooth.



## Teeth 2

A: Köcher BAM 538 (K 2439+) iv 40'-8'

B: AMT 23,6 (S 234) 8'-15'

A and B: NA, Nineveh

W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 318-9 (edition).

1		<i>arikib?</i>	<i>nibāriki</i>
A40'	「EN	a-ri <sup>l</sup> -ki-[ ]	ni-ba-ri-ki
B8'	ÉN	a-「ri <sup>l</sup> -k[i-i]b?	ni-ba-a-ri-ki »

2	<i>daltu</i>	<i>širu</i>	<i>sikkūru</i>	<i>ešemtu[u]</i>
A41'	GIŠ.IG	UZU	GIŠ.SAG.KUL	GIR.PAD.D[U] »
B	GIŠ.IG	U[ZU		]

3	<i>[a]na?</i>	<i>s[iri?]</i>	<i>iruba</i>	<i>ešemta</i>	<i>išši</i>
A	[ ]	[ ]	「e <sup>l</sup> -ru-ba	GIR.PAD.DU	iš-ši
B9'	[ ]-na?	U[ZU?	-b]a	GIR.P[AD.	]

4	<i>iššuk</i>	<i>šira iḥp[i?]</i>	<i>ešemta</i>
A42'	iš-šu-uk	UZU [ ]	GIR.PAD.DU
B10'	i[š-	] iḥ-p[i <sup>i</sup>	]

5	<i>ana</i>	<i>Sinni</i>	<i>itadi</i>	<i>sili'ta</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>qaqqa[di ita]di</i>	<i>umma</i>
A43'	a-na	ZU.MEŠ	it-ta-di	「sim <sup>l</sup> -[ma		]-「di <sup>l</sup>	KUM
B11'	「a <sup>l</sup> -n[a		-t]a-di <sup>i</sup>	LİL	a-na	SAG.D[U	]

6	<i>manna</i>	<i>lušpur</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>Asalluḫi</i>	<i>māri</i>	<i>rēštī</i>	<i>[ša Ea?]</i>
A44'	man-nu	lu-uš-pur	a-na	「asal <sup>l</sup> -[			]
B12'	[m]an-n[a?		]	「d <sup>l</sup> asal-lú-ḫi	DUMU	reš-ti-「i <sup>l</sup>	[ ]

7	<i>lišēbilamma</i>	<i>šammi</i>	<i>balāti</i>	<i>nādi</i>	[ ]
A45'	lu-še-bi-lam-ma	šam-me	TI.L[A		]
B13'	lu <sup>l</sup> -š[e- ]-「lam <sup>l</sup> -[ ]	ÉN	TI.LA	na-a-di	「x <sup>l</sup> [ ]

8	<i>šiptu</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>yattu</i>	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>Asalluḫi</i>
A46'	TU <sub>6</sub>	ul	ia-at-tu	[ ]			]
B14'	TU <sub>6</sub>	ul	「ia <sup>l</sup> -[ ]	ÉN	d40	u	d <sup>l</sup> asal-lú-ḫi »

9	<i>šipat</i>	<i>Damu</i>	[u]	<i>Ninkarra[k]</i>	
A47'	ši-pat	ᵀda-mu	[ ]	ᵀnin-ᵀkar-ra <sup>1</sup> -[ ]	
B	[				]
10	<i>Gula</i>	<i>bullitīma</i>	<i>qīšta[ki</i>	<i>liq ]i</i>	<i>tē šipti</i>
A48'	ᵀgu-la	TI.LA-ma	[	]-ᵀi <sup>1</sup>	TU <sub>6</sub> .EN
B15'	ᵀgu-la	[	ᵀNIG.BA <sup>1</sup> -[		]

rubrics:

A49' ka-inim-ma zū-gig-ga-kám  
 B16' ka-ini[m- ]

*arikib nibāriki.*

The door is flesh, the bar is bon[e];

[Th]rough the f[lesh?] it (the worm) entered, it raised the bone,

It bit the flesh, it bro[ke?] the bone,

It threw illness on the teeth, it [thr]ew fever on the hea[d]—

Whom shall I send to Asalluḫi, the first-born son [of Ea?],

(So that) he may send me a plant of life, a waterskin of [....]?

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and Asalluḫi,

It is the incantation of Damu [and] Ninkarra[k];

Gula, heal and t[ake your] gift!

(incantation for a sick tooth)

1: *arikib nibāriki* is gibberish; compare Teeth 3, which begins with the gibberish word

*šittakruma.*

4 B: Although the traces on the copy after *iḫ-* do not support restoring a form of *ḫepū*

"to break," the word should be a verb denoting a harmful action upon *eṣemtu*

"bone," in parallel to *iššuk šira* at the beginning of the line. Other possibilities

include *ḫesēru/ḫasāru* "to chip" (said of teeth in lexical texts) and *ḫaṣāṣu* "to cut,

trim."

5: A has *sim[ma]* for *sili'ta*; both are general words for illness. In a similar context,

Teeth 3:5 has *m[urša]*, another word for illness. B: I emend *ki* to *di*.

6: At the end of the line one might also restore the name of a temple. In similar

context, Teeth 3:6 has *apli ša KUR.RA*.

7 B: I emend the *ki* at the beginning of the line to *lu*; note that *lišēbilamma* appears as

the Assyrian form *lušēbilamma*; B has *šipat* "incantation" for *šammi* "plant."

### Teeth 3

Köcher BAM 542 (K 2450) iii' 4-7

NA, Nineveh

W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 319 (edition).

- 4      ĒN šī-it-ta-ak-ru-ma »  
          GIŠ.IG UZU GIŠ.SAG.KUL GIR.PAD.DU »  
          iš-tu a-a-nu ʿxʿ [       ] 5 GIR.PAD.DU »  
          UGU ZU it-ta-bak KUM : »  
          UGU SAG.DU it-ta-bak m[ur- ]
- 6      man-na lu-uš-pur ana IBILA šá KUR.RA ʿAMAR.UTU »  
          li-lap-pi-tu<sub>4</sub> tu[l<sub>5</sub> ]
- 7      [t]ul<sub>5</sub>-tum ki-ma šik-ke-e lit-ta-ši šer-ra-niš TU<sub>6</sub>.Ē[N]

*šittakruma*

*daltu širu sikkūru ešemtu*

*ištu ayyānu [...] ešemta*

*eli šinni ittabak umma*

*eli qaqqadi ittabak m[urša]*

*manna lušpur ana apli ša šadi? Marduk*

*lilappitū tū[ita]*

*[t]ūltu kīma šikkē littāši šerrāniš*

*šittakruma.*

The door is flesh, the bar is bone,

From where [...] the bone?

It (the worm) poured fever upon the tooth,

It poured s[ickness] upon the head—

Whom shall I send to the first-born son of the mountain?, Marduk,

(So that) they may strike the wo[rm],

(And) the [w]orm may go out like a mongoose through the door-pivot?

#### Teeth 4

YOS 11 5 (YBC 4616) 1-8

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 61 (collations); N. Veldhuis, OLP 24 (1993): 45-6 and 62

(edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 122 (translation).

- 1      ḏa-nu ir-ḫi-a-am ša-me-e ša-mu-ú er-še-tam ul-ḫdu-nim<sup>1</sup>
- 2      er-še-tum ú-li-id bu-ša-am bu-šum ú-li-id lu-ḫu-ma-a-am
- 3      lu-ḫu-mu-um ú-li-ḫid<sup>1</sup> zu-ba zu-u[b]-bu ú-li-id tu-ul-tam
- 4      tu-ul-tum ḫDUMU.SAL ḫgu-la lu-ul-lu-um-tam lu-ub-bu-ša-at da-mi ḫA-  
ap-ra-at
- 5      a-ḫ x x<sup>1</sup> da-mi še-eḫ-ri-im ú-bi-el-li-a-am i-ni-i-šu
- 6      ḫid-di ši-ip<sup>1</sup>-tam ḫda-mu ù ḫgu-la<sup>1</sup> ú-ni-ra ḫše-eḫ-ra<sup>2</sup>-am<sup>1</sup> [ ] ḫ x x<sup>1</sup> ḫ-  
bu-uḫ-šu-nu-ḫti<sup>1</sup> [( )] a-ḫna<sup>1</sup> m[u]-ḫuḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫi ḫx<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- 7      ip-te pí-i-šu iḫ-ša-bat tu-la-a-am iḫ-ši-i-ma i-ni-šu i-[ ] ḫ x x<sup>1</sup>

8      ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-a-tum ši-pa-at ḏda-mu ù ḏgu-la ḏda-ḏmu<sup>1</sup> [i]d-di-ma a-na-  
ku el-qé

*Anu irḥiam šamē*

*šamū eršetam uldūnim*

*eršetum ulid būšam*

*būšum ulid luḥummām*

*luḥummūm ulid zubba*

*zu[b]bu ulid tūltam*

*tūltum mārat Gula*

*lullumtam lubbušat dāmī 'aprat*

*[...] dāmī šeḥrim ubelliam inišu*

*iddi šiptam Damu u Gula unirra šeḥram?*

*[...] iṭbuḥšunūti ana muḥḥi [...]*

*ipte pišu iššabat tulâm iššima inišu [...]*

*šiptum ul yattum šipat Damu u Gula*

*Damu [i]ddīma anāku elqe*

Anu impregnated heaven,

Heaven bore the earth,

The earth bore the stench<sup>?</sup>,

The stench bore the mud,

The mud bore the fly,

The fly bore the worm;

The worm is the daughter of Gula,

It is dressed in a *lullumtu* cloak, it wears blood as a headdress;

[...] the blood of the infant, it put out<sup>?</sup> his eyes;

Damu cast the incantation and Gula struck the child?,  
 [...] slaughtered them, on account of [...],  
 He (the infant) opened his mouth, he seized the breast, he raised his eyes [...]—  
 The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 Damu [c]ast (it) and I took it

5: Veldhuis translates this line as "[ ] the blood of the baby, destroyed its eyes."

Foster (following a suggestion of W. Farber) translates "...the child's blood, an ember in its eye." Eyes appear as the direct object of *bullû* in Eyes 4:8, but there the sense is to extinguish an illness afflicting the eyes. One could also read *upelliam*, an otherwise attested D stem of *pelû* "to be red," *upillâm* "kohl," or *Û.pillâm* a medicinal plant. The *a-* at the beginning of the line makes it difficult to restore a third-person verb with the worm as its subject.

6: Veldhuis reads the traces after *û-ni-ra* as *ʽtuʽ-ulʽ-tamʽʽ*, although this makes more sense, it is against the copy.

### Teeth 5

YOS 11 3 (NBC 8957)

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 60 (collations).

- 1 tu-ul-tum la-biʽ-[ ]
- 2 ŠAʽ.GAL-la-ʽša ulʽ [ ]
- 3 ʽteʽ-l[i] ʽa-na ša-diʽ-*i*
- 4 ʽtuʽ-ša-li-mi ʽpiʽ NITAʽʽ kiʽ-maʽ ŠEʽ
- 5 i-ti-li li-ša-ʽli-ma-niʽ-ik-ki
- 6 a-di i-mi-ri ʽx-puʽ-[š]uʽ

- 7 mi-tum iš-tu er-「še-tim」<sup>1</sup>  
 8 i-ba-lu-ṭa-am-ma  
 9 la te-li  
 10 ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-a-tum  
 11 ši-pa-at 𐎎n-líl  
 12 ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-a-tum  
 13 ši-pa-at 𐎎UTU  
 14 𐎎UTU ši-ip-tam id-di  
 15 a-na-ku ri-mu  
 16 ka-ad-ru ša ša-「di」<sup>1</sup>-i  
 17 ad-「di」 ši-ip-tam ša<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 18 a-na ra aš ku [ ]

*tūltum...[...]*

*ukullāša?...[...]*

*tēl[i] ana šadī*

*tušallimī pi? zikari? kīma? zē?*

*itīlī lišallimānikki*

*adi immeri...*

*mitum ištu eršetim iballuṭamma*

*lā tēlī*

*šiptum ul yattum šipat Enlil*

*šiptum ul yattum šipat Šamaš*

*Šamaš šiptam iddi*

*anāku rīmu kadru ša šadī addi šiptam ša [...] ana...[...]*

The worm...[...]

Its fodder?...[...]

You (worm) went [up] to the mountain,

You blackened the mouth<sup>?</sup> of the man<sup>?</sup> as with<sup>?</sup> excrement<sup>?</sup>—

Lie down! May they (fem. pl.) blacken you!

Until...sheep<sup>?</sup>,

(Until) a dead man comes back to life from the netherworld,

Do not come up!

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Enlil,

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Šamaš,

Šamaš cast the incantation,

I, the fierce bull of the mountain, cast the incantation of [...] for [...]

1: According to Farber, the last sign preserved "might as well be *t[a]*, or possibly *š[a]*."

4: Alternatively, the signs at the end of the line may all form a single word, the direct object of *tušallimī*.

5: I take *i-ti-li* as *itīli*, G feminine imperative of *utūlu*, addressed to the worm. In parallel to *tēli* of line 2, however, one might consider reading *i-ti-li* as *iteli*, Gt preterite, third-person singular of *elū*, perhaps to be emended to *i-ti-li-<a>*, in order to agree with the following third person plural feminine verb, *lišallimānikki*. The feminine plural subject of *lišallimānikki* may be the usual feminine plural divine intercessors, the daughters of Anu.

6: *immerī* "sheep" (or possibly *imērī* "donkeys") is in the plural oblique case, and is presumably a direct object to a present verb at the end of the line, perhaps an impersonal third person plural.



7-8: See Whiting, *Tell Asmar*, No. 12:8 and discussion, pp. 53-4, for the possible use of a ventive on *balātu* in the sense of "coming back to life."

### Teeth 6

YOS 11 29 (YBC 4597) 19-21

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 74 (collation).

19    ÉN! KALAG KÚ.GI šī-na i-te-en-ni-a-am mu-ši ù ur-ri-im  
 20    at-ti a-na ra-mi-ia e tar-ku-sí-im bi-it-[ki]  
 21    a-na dam-qí-im bi-ši qá-ti-i-ki e ta-ap-pa-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>l</sup>-s[i-im]

*dān hurāšum*

*šina itenniam mūši u urrim*

*attī ana rāmiya ē tarkusīm bit[ki]*

*ana damqim biši qātiki ē tappals[im]*

Strong is gold;

He has continually changed the two, day and night—

You should not bind your house to my love!

You should not look favorably upon what you have in your hands!

Because the medical prescription that follows this incantation apparently treats a sick tooth, the incantation's second-person singular feminine forms presumably refer to the worm (*tūltu*) that causes toothache. The incantation's conceit seems to be that the person suffering from toothache is like one suffering from unrequited love. The incantation uses the phraseology of love incantations (and once an *é-gal-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra* incantation, whose purpose is also to gain power over someone), but

in reverse—whereas a love incantation seeks to secure a person's love and attention, this incantation seeks to persuade the grammatically feminine worm to stop "loving" the patient, and so leave him alone.

- 19: EN is written MIN+DINGIR; for *dān ḥurāšum*, cf. the é-gal-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra incantations KAR 71 rev. 12-5: *dān erū dān siparru siparru ina da'ānišu iššabat qaqqara anāku ina da'āniya aššabat pā ša qalli u danni* "strong is copper, strong is bronze; in its strength bronze seized the ground; in my strength I seized the mouths of the weak and the strong," and LKA 104 rev. 9: *dān erū dān Marduk* "strong is copper, strong is Marduk." Since both é-gal-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra incantations make use of the metals in their ritual procedures, the phrase may refer to a ritual act not recorded in our text. *šina itenniam mūši u urrim*: The juxtaposition of the verb *erū* with "day and night" calls to mind the idiom *kalita erū* "to toss and turn" (lit.: "to change the kidney"). I understand *šina* as referring to the two kidneys, and *itenniam* as the Gtn preterite of *erū*. Sleeplessness was recognized as one of love's manifestations; e.g., cf. the love incantation IB 1554:38-40 (C. Wilcke, ZA 75 [1985]: 200), which calls on the woman whom it seeks to charm to *dūlpī mušitam urri ē tašlali muši ē tušbī* "be restless at night, do not sleep days, do not sit (still) nights!" In our incantation, the patient is presumably unable to sleep because of the pain resulting from the worm's attentions.
- 20: *attī ana rāmiya ē tarkusim bit[ki]*: cf. the love incantation YOS 11 87:18-20 and 23-4 (transliterated on p. 50, translated Foster, *Anthology*, 141-2): *ʿx xʿ[ta-ar]-ku<sup>l</sup>-si-im bi-it-ki / a-na [ri]-ik-si-im [ša] bi-ti-ki / [t]u-u[š-zi]-iz-zi-i*; and *ammīni rāmī kīma par[šī]gim tarkusī rēški* "why have you bound my love around your head like a turban?"
- 21: *ana damqim biši qātiki ē tappals[im]*: again, cf. YOS 11 87:6: *āmurma šima ul ippalsa[m]* "I saw her, but she did not look favorably upon m[e]," and l. 21:

*kīma š[um-m]a-ni-im i-ta-ap-la-si-ni.* In our incantation the worm already possesses the patient, and the incantation wishes that the worm would not look upon him so favorably.

### Teeth 7

Köcher BAM 538 (K 2439+) iii 71'-2'

NA, Nineveh

71' EN <sup>d</sup>a-nu-m[i...]

72' iš-tu <sup>d</sup>a-num i[b-...]

(rest broken)

No translation is warranted.

### Teeth 8

AMT 24,2-25,2 (K 10330+) obv. 17'-23'

NA, Nineveh

17' [EN] ta [ ] [an kal ú]

18' [ ] [x] [ ] zu-[ ]

19' [ ] ú [x]

20' [ ] tul-t[um]

21' [ ] kal [x]

22' [ ] [x kul x]

23' [ ] [x x]

No translation is warranted.

**urbatu****urbatu 1**

Köcher BAM 480 (K 2354+) iii 65-8

NA, Nineveh

Foster, *Anthology*, 860 (translation); I. Finkel, *Borger AV 81* (edition).

65    ĒN u[r-b]a-tum ur-ba-tum ur-ba-tum sa-am-tum ZI-am-ma ur-pa-ta SA<sub>5</sub>  
       ik-tùm IM.ŠĒG SA<sub>5</sub>

66    ZI-[m]a KI-tú SA<sub>5</sub>-tum ir-ḫu A.ZI.GA SA<sub>5</sub> ZI-ma ID SA<sub>5</sub>-tum im-la  
       LÜ.ENGAR SA<sub>5</sub>

67    GIŠ.[MA]R SA<sub>5</sub> GIŠ.IL SA<sub>5</sub> IL-ši-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> A.MEŠ SA<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ li-is-kir  
       GIŠ.IG-ma SA<sub>5</sub> GIŠ.SAG.KUL-mi SA<sub>5</sub>

68    <sup>1</sup>KÁ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu ed-li<sup>1</sup> man-nu-um-ma šá i-pe-et-ta-ku-nu-ši i-ri-iš-ma-ra i-ri-iš-  
       ma-ra TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN

rubric:

iv1    ka-ini[m-ma A.MEŠ] la ik-kal-lu-ú

*u[rb]atu urbatu*

*urbatu sām̄tu itbām̄ma urpata sām̄ta iktum*

*zunnu sām̄mu itbi[m]a erṣeta sām̄ta irḫu*

*mīlu sām̄mu itbīma nāra sām̄ta imla*

*ikkāru sām̄mu [mar]ra sām̄ma tupšikka sām̄ma liššīma mē sām̄ūti liskir*

*daltumma sām̄mat sikkūrummi sām̄*

*bābšunu edla<sup>?</sup> mannumma ša ipettākkunūši*

*irišmara irišmara*

*u[r̥b]atu, urbatu,*

The red *urbatu* rose up and covered the red cloud,

The red rain rose up [a]nd poured down on the red earth,

The red flood rose up and swelled the red river—

May the red farmer take up the red [spa]de and the red hod and may he dam up the red  
water!

The door is red, the bolt is red—

Who is the one who will open their locked door for you (O water)?

*irišmara irišmara*

(incant[ation (to be used so that) water] will not be retained)

66: I read *irḫu* (from *reḫû*, for expected *irḫi*); both Köcher (BAM V, p. xxv) and

Foster read *ir-ḫu-<ša>*, which is also possible, especially since the *a* sign that follows is similar to *ša*, and so may have led to a haplography.

68: I emend *tu* to *li*.

## Various Illnesses

### Various Illnesses 1

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 9, text A (UIOM 1059)

OB, provenance unknown

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 8ff. (edition); W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 307 (partial edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 116-7 (translation).

- 1 [sí-ka-tum i-š]a-tum
- 2 ʾa<sup>l</sup>-[šú-ú z]i-iq-tum
- 3 ʾmi-iq<sup>l</sup>-[tu]m še-nu
- 4 ša-ma-gu sa-ma-nu
- 5 gi-ir-gi-šu še-ni-tum
- 6 sí-mu ma-at-qum e-ke-tum
- 7 ri-ši-tum ni-ṭù
- 8 šu-ru-pu-ú ša-ag-ʾba<sup>l</sup>-nu
- 9 ù ša-ša-ṭù
- 10 iš-tu zi-qú-ra-at ša-me-e ur-du-ni
- 11 úḫ-ta-mi-iṭ i-me-ri ka-lu-mi
- 12 uḫ-ta-ʾdi<sup>l</sup>-<ir> šú-ḫa-re-e i-na bu-ud ta-ri-tim
- 13 ma-an-na lu-<uš>-pu-ur ù lu-wa-ir
- 14 a-na ma-ra-at a-ni 7 ù 7
- 15 ša ka-nu-ši-na KÙ.GI ka-<ar>-pa-tu-ši-na
- 16 uq-nu-ú el-lu
- 17 li-<il>-qí-a-ni ka-ni-ši-na ša KÙ.GI
- 18 ka-<ar>-pa-ti-ši-na ša uq-ni e[l-li]
- 19 li-sà-ba-ni me-e ta-m[e-ti] e-lu-ti

- 20 li-is-lu-ḫa li-bi-le-e  
 21 sí-ik-ka-tam i-ša-tam  
 22 a-ša-a zi-iq-ta  
 23 mi-iq-ta še-na  
 24 ša<sub>4</sub>-ma-ga-am sa-ma-na  
 25 gi-ir-gi-ša še-ir-<sup>l</sup>ni<sup>l</sup>-tam  
 26 sí-ma ma-at-qá-a  
 27 e-ke-tam ri-ši-tam  
 28 ni-ṭa šu-ru-pa-a  
 29 ša-ag-ba-na ù ša-ša-ṭa  
 30 tu-tu KÙ ša <sup>d</sup>da-mu ù <sup>d</sup>nin-ni-ka-ra-ak  
 31 ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-a-tum  
 32 ši-pa-at <sup>d</sup>ni-gi-ri-ma  
 33 <sup>d</sup>EN.KI <sup>d</sup>a-sa-lú-ḫi  
 34 <sup>l</sup>ša<sup>l</sup> ni-gi-ri-ma i-du-ma  
 35 [a-na-k]u el-qú-ú

*[sikkatum iš]ātum*

*a[šû z]iqtum*

*miq[tu]m šēnu*

*šamagu sāmānu*

*gergiššu šennitum*

*simmu matqum ekketum*

*rišitum niṭu*

*šuruppû šagbānu*

*u šaššaṭu*

*ištu ziqqurrať samē urdūni*  
*uťtammiť immerī kalūmī*  
*uťtaddi<r> řuťhārē ina būd tārītim*  
*manna lu<ř>pur u luwa''ir ana mārāt Ani 7 u 7*  
*řa kannūřina řurāřu ka<r>pātūřina uqñū ellu*  
*lilqiāni kanniřina řa řurāři ka<r>pātiřina řa uqñī e[lli]*  
*lisābāni mē tām[eti] ellūti*  
*lisluťhā libellē*  
*sikkatam iřātam*  
*ařā ziqta*  
*miqta řēna*  
*řamagam sāmāna*  
*gergiřřa řernītam*  
*simma matqa*  
*ekketam riřītam*  
*nīta řuruppā*  
*řagbāna u řařřaťa*  
*tū<sup>1</sup>ellu řa Damu u Ninnikarrak*  
*řiptum ul yattum řīpat Niggirima Ea Asalluťi*  
*řa Niggirima iddūma [anāk]u elqū*

(various illnesses)

Descended from the ziggurat of heaven,

(One illness) made the sheep (and) lambs feverish,

It made the infants on the shoulder of the nursemaid restless—

Whom shall I send under orders to the seven and seven daughters of Anu,



Whose vessels are gold, whose pots are pure lapis lazuli,  
 (So that) they may take their vessels of gold, their pots of p[ure] lapis lazuli,  
 Draw pure se[a]water,  
 Sprinkle (the water) and so extinguish  
 (the various illnesses)?  
 It is the pure spell of Damu and Ninkarrak;  
 The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ningirima, Ea, (and) Asalluḫi,  
 Which Ningirima cast and I took

30: *tu-tu* presumably represents *tū* "spell."

### Various Illnesses 2

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 10, text B (HTS 2)

OB, provenance unknown

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 8ff. (edition); W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 307 (partial edition); Foster, *Anthology*, 116-7 (translation).

- 1 sí-ka-tum i-ša-a-tum
- 2 a-šu zi-iq-tum mi-iq-tum
- 3 [š]a-na-du ʿsa-ma<sup>l</sup>-nu-um
- 4 [gi<sub>4</sub>]-ir-gi<sub>4</sub>-ʿšu sí<sup>l</sup>-mu ma-at-qú
- 5 [e-ke-t]um ri-šu-tum
- 6 [ni]-ṭù-um ʿše-nu<sup>l</sup>-um ši-i-tum
- 7 [ša]-ag-ba-nu ʿša<sup>l</sup>-pi-nu-um
- 8 [šu-r]u-pu-um le-ʿe<sup>l</sup>-em-nu-um
- 9 [e-p]e-e-qé-nu ʿù<sup>l</sup> [bu-š]a-ʿnu<sup>l</sup>-um
- 10 [i]š-tu še-re-et ʿša<sup>l</sup>-me-e

- 11 ur-du-ni uḫ-ta-mi-ṛṭù<sup>1</sup>  
 12 i-mi-ri ka-lu-mi  
 13 uḫ-ta-mi-ṭù še-ḫe-ru-tim ṛša<sup>1</sup> bu-ṛud<sup>1</sup> ta-ri-tim  
 14 ù la li su ni DUMU AN.NA 7 ù 7  
 15 ša ka-nu-ši-na ša KÙ.GI<sub>4</sub>  
 16 ka-ar-pa-tu-ši-na uq-nu [e]l-lu <<li-sà->>  
 17 l[i]-sà-ba-ni me-e ti-ma-ti KÙ  
 18 ṛli<sup>1</sup>-is-lu-ḫa li-ba-li-a  
 19 [sí-k]a-ta i-ša-ta  
 20 ṛa<sup>1</sup>-ši-a zi-iq-ta mi-i[q-ta]  
 21 ša-na-da ṛsa-ma-na<sup>1</sup>  
 22 gi<sub>4</sub>-ir-gi<sub>4</sub>-ša sí-ma ma-at-qá  
 23 e-ke-e-ta ri-šu-ta-am  
 24 ni-ṭa-am še-na-am ši-i-ṛta-am<sup>1</sup>  
 25 ša-ag-ba-na ša-pi-na-am  
 26 šu-ru-pa-am le-em-na-ṛam<sup>1</sup>  
 27 e-pi-qé-na-am ù bu-ša-na  
 28 [ú-ta]m-mi-ka ṽUTU ṛqú<sup>1</sup>-ṛ[a]-da  
 29 [ ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> za la i-ṛla<sup>1</sup> d[a]-ṛa<sup>1</sup>-a-na  
 30 [a-na] ši-ib-ṛti<sup>1</sup>-ka  
 31 [ta-t]u-ru-ú-ma  
 32 [ ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> la a ti ṛbu li zu<sup>1</sup>  
 33 [a-n]a-ku ši-ip-ta lu-ú-di

*sikkatum išātum*

*ašû ziqtum miqtum*

[š]anādu sāmānum  
 [g]ergiššu simmu matqu  
 [ekket]um rišūtum  
 [ni]ṭum šenum šitum  
 [š]agbānu šapīnum  
 [šur]uppūm lemnum  
 [ep]eqēnu u [būš]ānum  
 [i]štu šerret šamē urdūni  
 uḫtammitū immeri kalūmi  
 uḫtammitū šehherūtīm ša būd tārītīm  
 ...mārāt Ari 7 u 7  
 ša kannūšina ša ḫurāši karpātūšina uqnū [e]llu  
 l[i]sābāni mē tiamti? ellūti  
 lisluhā liballiā  
 [sikk]ata išāta  
 ašia ziqta mi[qta]  
 šanāda sāmāna  
 gergišša simma matqa  
 ekketa rišūtam  
 niṭam šenam šitam  
 šagbāna šapīnam  
 šuruppām lemnam  
 epeqēnam u būšāna  
 [uta]mmika Šamaš qur[ā]da  
 [...]...ila dayyāna  
 [ana] šibtika [tat]jurruma

.....  
*[an]āku šipta luddi*

(various illnesses)

Descended [f]rom the lead-rope of heaven,

They made the sheep (and) lambs feverish,

They made the infants of the nursemaid's shoulder feverish—

...the seven and seven daughters of Anu,

Whose vessels are of gold, whose pots are [p]ure lapis lazuli,

(So that) they m[ay] draw pure seawater,

Sprinkle (the water and so) extinguish

(the various illnesses)?

[I h]ave made you swear by Šamaš the wa[rr]ior,

[...]...god, judge—

[(Woe to you) if you] return [to] the one you have seized!

.....

I will indeed cast the incantation!

30-1: I understand *[ana] šibtika [ta]turruma* as a promissary oath (introduced by

*[uta]mmika* in l. 28) in the form of a conditional clause (marked by *-ma* on the verb instead of an introductory *šumma*) with a present-tense subjunctive verb;

cf. Lamaštu I:17-21: *utammiki Anu u Antu...šumma ana bīti annī taturrimma* "I

have made you swear by Anu and Antu...(Woe be to you) if you return to this house!"; for other conditional promissary oaths in Standard Babylonian

incantations, see W. Farber, ZA 64 (1975): 177-9. More distant parallels

include W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40, ll. 10-3 (fire incantation): *utammiki*

*Anu abaki utammiki Antu ummaki...ē tassaḥri ana šibtika* "I have made you

swear by Anu, your father, I have made you swear by Antu, your mother, ...you should not return to the one you have seized!"; *maškadu* 2:13-4: *utammika Anu u Antu ašar tašbatu lū tuwaššar* "I have made you swear by Anu and Antu: You shall release wherever you have seized!"; and *bu'sānu* 1:9: *atta ē tatūr* (var. *tassaḥra*) *ana šibtika* "You should not return to the one you have seized!"

32: Goetze reads this line *[ga-a]m-la-a-ti ʿbu-li<sup>l</sup>-sū* for *gamlāti bullissu* "you (Šamaš) are merciful—heal him." This reading is unlikely, however, both because the traces after the break do not look like *[a]m* (cf. *am* in ll. 24ff.) and because the previous lines do not address Šamaš.

33: *lu-ū-dī* may be corrupt for *lū addī* "I did indeed cast (it)." If this is correct, l. 32 might indicate that a god or gods had communicated the incantation to the magician, similar to Various Illnesses 1:31-5: *šiptum...ša Niggirima iddūma [anāk]u elqū* "the incantation...which Niggirima cast and I took"; and *maškadu* 9:22': *sunu iqbūma anāku ušanni* "they spoke (the incantation) and I repeated it"); perhaps the end of l. 32 should be read *iq<sup>l</sup>-ʿbu<sup>l</sup>-nim<sup>l</sup>-ma*.

### Various Illnesses 3

YOS 11 8 (NBC 6321)

OB, provenance unknown

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 11ff. (edition); W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 61 (collations) and JNES 49 (1990): 307-8 (partial edition).

1      *sí-ka-tum i-ša-tum mi-iq-tum ša-nu-du-ú*  
 2      *a-šu-ú-um sa-ma-nu-ú-<sup>l</sup>um<sup>l</sup>*  
 3      *e-ep-qé-nu ša-la-at-ti-nu-um*

- 4      ù gi-ir-gi-iš-šum  
5      iš-tu MUL ša-me-e ur-du-nim  
6      an-na-nu-um er-še-tum šu-nu-ti im-ḥu-ur  
7      ti-bi gi-ir-gi-iš-šum la ta-ra-ab-<sup>f</sup>bi-iš<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>  
8      ki-ma qù-ut-ri-[i]m <sup>f</sup>e-li ša-ma-n[i<sup>?</sup>-iš<sup>?</sup>]  
9      ki-ma ib-b[a-ri-im na-as-pi-iḥ]  
10     tu-uš-ta-'-dī-ir bu-[lam im-me-ra-am]  
11     ka-lu-mi-e še-eḥ-ra-am i-na b[u-ud] ta-ri-tim  
12     ma-an-na-am lu-uš-pu-ur a-na ma-ar-ti a-[ni]-im  
13     li-bi-el-lu-nim  
14     sī-ik-ka-tam i-ša-tam mi-iq-tam ša-nu-du  
15     a-šu-ú-um sa-ma-nu-ú-um  
16     e-ep-qé-nu ša-la-at-ti-nu-um  
17     ù gi-ir-gi-iš-šum

rubric:

- 18     tu-ú-en-nu-<sup>f</sup>nu<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-ru

*sikkatum išātum*

*miqtum šanūdu*

*ašūm sāmānum*

*epqēnu šalattinum*

*u gergiššum*

*ištu kakkab šamē urdūnim*

*annānum eršetum šunūti imḥur*

*tibi gergiššum lā tarabbiš<sup>?</sup>*

*kīma qutrim eli šamān[iš<sup>?</sup>]*

*kīma ibb[arim naspiḥ]*

*tušta' dir bū[lam immeram] kalūmē ṣeḥram ina b[ūd] tārītīm*

*mannam lušpur ana mārti A[n]im*

*libellūnim*

*sikkatam išātam*

*miqtam šanūdu*

*ašūm sāmānum*

*epqēnu šalattīnum*

*u gergiššum*

(various illnesses)

Descended from the star(s) of heaven,

Here the earth received them;

Get up, *gergiššu*, do not lie down!

Go up t[o] heaven like smoke!

[Be dispersed] like fo[g]!

You caused the he[rd, the sheep,] the lambs, (and) the infant on the sh[oulder] of the  
nursemaid to be restless—

Whom shall I send to the daughter(s) of A[n]u,

(So that) they may extinguish

(the various illnesses)?

7-9: Cf. W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40, ll. 14-5 (fire incantation): *naspiḥi kīma imbari...kīma qutri etellī ana šamē ša Anu* "Be dispersed like fog,...Go up to the heaven of Anu like smoke," and also 41, ll. 32-3.

13: Note the masculine verb *libellūnim* with the feminine daughters of Anu.

14-7: Although the first three illnesses are accusative, the rest are nominative.

## Various Illnesses 4

A. Cavigneaux, RA 88 (1994): 161 (M. 15289) rev. 10' -6'

OB, Mari

A. Cavigneaux, RA 88 (1994): 156ff. (edition).

- 10'    sí-ka-tum i-ša-tum »  
       me-eq-tum ša-an-a-du-um »  
       a-šu ù ša-ma-nu-um
- 11'    i-na zu-qú-ra-an ša-me-e ur-da-ma
- 12'    im-qú-ut sí-ka-tum in-na-pí-iḫ i-sa-tu[m]
- 13'    ta-ku-ul i-ma-ra ka-lu-ma-am ù šú-ḫa-ra-am i-bu-ud t[a]-ṛi<sup>?</sup>-tim<sup>?</sup>
- 14'    qú-tu-úr bu-lu-um la-ṛka<sup>?</sup>-ta wu-š[u-ur]
- 15'    ma-na-a[m] lu-uš-pu-úr a-na ḏn[in-girima]
- 16'    li-ṛdi<sup>?</sup>-na-a[m] š[i-pa-at ša<sup>?</sup>-l[i-im<sup>?</sup>-tim<sup>?</sup>]
- 17'    [( )] ṛù<sup>?</sup> ba-la-[tim]

*sikkatum išātum*

*miqtum šanādum*

*ašû u sāmānum*

*ina zuqqurān šamê urdamma*

*imqut sikkatum innapiḫ išātu[m]*

*tākul immera kalūmam u šuḫāram ibbūd t[ā]ritim<sup>?</sup>*

*quttur būlum lakāta<sup>?</sup> wušš[ur]*

*manna[m] lušpur ana N[ingirima]*

*liddina[m] š[i-pat šal[imtim<sup>?</sup>] u balāṭim*



(various illnesses)

Descended from out of the top part of heaven,

*sikkatu* illness fell and "fir[e]" illness was kindled;

You consumed the sheep, lamb, and infant on the shoulder of the n[u]rsemaid?!

The herd is gloomy, it is ranging fr[ee]—

Who[m] shall I send to N[ingirima],

(So that) she may give m[e an in]cantation of wel[l-being?] and of heal[th]?

10': Although the broken writing *ša-an-a-du-um* for *šanādu* (*šanūdu* in Various Illnesses 3:1 and 14) may represent *šan'adu*, note the writing *be-el-et* for *bēlet* on rev. 4' of the tablet; note also *ša-ma-nu-um* for *sāmānum*.

11': *zuqqurānu* is otherwise unattested; Various Illnesses 1:10 has *ziqqurrať samē* in similar context.

12': Note *i-sa-tu[m]* for *išātum*.

14': For two other references to the idiom *lakāt/da wuššuru*, see Belly 16:60, and comment.

15'-7': Cf. Teeth 2:6-7: *manna lušpur ana Asalluđi māri rēštī [ša Ea?] lišēbilamma šīpat* (var. *šammi*) *balāťi nādi [...]* "Whom shall I send to Asalluđi, the first-born son [of Ea?], (so that) he may send me an incantation (var. plant) of life, a waterskin of [...]" ; and *maškadu* 12:6'-7': *anumma ana Ea? [qibīma] liddiššu šī-p[a-at...]* "Now then, [speak] to Ea, (so that) he may give him an incanta[tion...]."

## Various Illnesses 5

YOS 11 7 (YBC 5640)

OB, provenance unknown

W. Farber, YOS 11, p. 61 (collation); Foster, *Anthology*, 136 (translation).

- 1 i-na ša-me-e ʿx<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 2 in-na-pi-iḫ i-ša-a-ʿtum<sup>1</sup>  
 3 sí-ik-ka-tum im-ta-qú-ut  
 4 e-li ka-li bu-li-im  
 5 úḫ-ta-am-mi-ʿiṭ<sup>1</sup>  
 6 la-a-le-e ka-lu-mi  
 7 ù še-eḫ-ḫe-ru-tim i-na bu-ʿú<sup>1</sup>-ud ta-ri-i-tim  
 8 a-ʿna<sup>1</sup> um-mi-ia ʿnin-girima  
 9 qí-bi-a-ma  
 10 bu-lu-um li-wi-ru pa-nu-ʿšu<sup>1</sup>  
 11 li-iḫ-du ʿGIR  
 12 li-iḫ-du ša-am-mu-um  
 13 li-ri-iš šu-lu-ú-um  
 14 lu-uš-ta-ka-an ša-am-ša-a-tim  
 15 i-na šu-pa-a-at i-li ra-bu-tim  
 16 i-na te-ek-ni-i

rubric:

- 17 ka-inim-ma udu-gag-šub-ba

*ina šamē [urdamma]*

*innapiḫ išārum sikkatum imtaqut eli kali būlim*

*uḫtammīṭ lalē kalūmī u šeḫḫerūtīm ina būd tāritīm*

*ana ummiya Ningirima qibiamma*

*būlum liwwirū pānūšu*

*liḥdu Šakkan*

*liḥdu sammum*

*liriš sulūm*

*luštakkan šamsātīm ina šubāt ili rabūtīm ina tekni*

From out of heaven [(one illness) descended],

"Fire" illness was kindled, *sikkatu* illness fell down upon the entire herd,

(The illness) made the kids, the lambs, and the infants on the shoulder of the nursemaid  
feverish—

Speak to my mother Ningirima for me,

So that the herd's countenance may brighten,

Šakkan may become happy,

The pasturage may become happy,

The animal path may rejoice,

(And) I may keep placing sundisks on the daises of the great gods with loving care!

(incantation for a sheep afflicted with *sikkatu* illness)

8: *-girima* is written ḪA.KUD.A.GIŠ; for the writings of Ningirima, see Krebernik,

*Beschwörungen*, 233ff.

### Various Illnesses 6

Köcher BAM 543 (K 2419+) iv 24'-41'

NA, Nineveh

A. Goetze, JCS 9 (1955): 11ff. (edition); W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 316-8 (edition).

- 24' [ĒN sik-ka-tu] mi-iq-tu ša-na-du sa-ma-nu a-<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-[u]  
 25' [ ] a-šu-u DAL.DAL ek-ke-tu r[i-šu-tu]  
 26' [ši-in-na]-aḥ-te-ru iš-tu ṣer-ret AN-e ur-du-n[im]  
 27' [ú-ta]b-bi-tu UDU.NÍTA ka-[lu-me]  
 28' [ú]-tab-bi-tu šer-ra ina SAG.KI ta-ri-[ti]  
 29' [ ]-li il-tab-šu ina re-eš<sup>1</sup> [ap-pi]  
 30' man-nam lu-uš-pur a-na DUMU.SAL <sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[a-num]  
 31' lil-qa-an-ni ka-ni-ši-na šá <sup>1</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.[NÍR]  
 32' kar-pa-ti-ši-na šá NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.G[IN el-li]  
 33' li-sa-ba-ni A.MEŠ a-ab-ba ta-ma-te DAGA[L-te]  
 34' A ID.IDIGNA u ID.BURAN[UN<sup>kl</sup>]  
 35' li-is-lu-ḥa li-bal-la-a sik-ka-tu mi-iq-tú <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ši-a]  
 36' <sup>1</sup>x x x-ta<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>1</sup> a-ši-a DAL.DAL ek-ke-tú ri-šu-tú ši-i[n-na-aḥ-te-ra]  
 37' [ĒN ul iu]-ut-tu EN <sup>d</sup>e-a u <sup>d</sup>[asa-lú-ḥi]  
 38'/41' [ĒN <sup>d</sup>da-mu u <sup>d</sup>g]u-l[a É]N <sup>d</sup>ni[n]-g[irima be-let] É[N TU<sub>6</sub>.ĒN]

*[sikkatu] miqtu šanādu sāmānu ašū*

*[...] ašū muttaprištu ekketu ri[šūtu šinn]aḥteru*

*ištu ṣerret šamē urdūn[i]*

*[ūta]bbitū immera ka[lūma]*

*[ū]tabbitū šerra ina būd tārī[ti]*

*[x]-li il-tab-šu ina rēš [appi]*

*manna lušpur ana mārāt [Anu]*

*lilqānni kannišina ša [sāmti] karpātīšina ša uqn[i elli]*

*lisābāni mē ayabba tāmāti rapaš[ti] mē Idiqlat u Purat[ti]*

*lisluḥā liballā*

*sikkata miqta a[šia]*

*ʿx x x-ta?-a ʿašia muttaprišta ekketa rišûta ši[nnaḥtera]*

*[šiptu ul y]uttu šipat Ea u [Asalluḥi]*

*[šipat Damu u G]ul[a ši]pat Ni[n]g[irima bēlet] š[ipti]*

(various illnesses)

Descended from the lead-rope of heaven;

They [des]troyed the sheep (and) the la[mb],

They [de]stroyed the infant on the shoulder of the nursema[id],

On the tip of [the nose]...[...]

Whom shall I send to the daughters of [Anu],

(So that) they may take their vessels of [carnelian], their pots of [pure] lapis lazuli,

Draw water of the ocean, the broad sea, (and) water of the Tigris and Euphrat[es],

Sprinkle (the water), and so extinguish

(the various illnesses)?

[The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea and [Asalluḥi],

[It is the incantation of Damu and G]ul[a, it is the in]cantation of Ning[irima, mistress  
of] in[cantations]

This incantation shares its rubric with Various Illnesses 7, see below.

24'-9': These lines apparently duplicate Various Illnesses 7:43'-9' (which is on the same tablet).

26': *-n[im]* is collated by Farber.

28': The writing SAG.KI, *pūtu* "forehead," for *būdu* "shoulder" presumably derives from a scribe misreading *bu-ud* as *pu-ut*.

29': Farber reads the sign at the end of the line *kis*, but notes that it may be "eš (possibly over an erasure)," as one would expect from Various Illnesses 7:49'.

*il-tab-šu* could be read *iltabšū* "they put on (a garment)," but the sense would be unclear.

35'-6': Note that the list of illnesses here differs slightly from the list in ll. 24'-6'.

38'/41': According to Farber, p. 317, n. 66, ll. "38'" and "41'" are the same ; see also M. Geller, ZA 74 (1984): 294.

### Various Illnesses 7

Köcher BAM 543 (K 2419+) iv 43'-56'

NA, Nineveh

- 43' [ĒN sik-ka-tu mi-iq-tu] ša-na-du sa-[ma-nu]  
 44' [a-šu-u x-x]-ta a-šu-u [DAL.DAL]  
 45' [ek-ke-tu ri-šu-tu] ši-in-na-a[ḫ-te]-ru  
 46' [iš-tu ṣer-ret AN-e] ur-du-ni  
 47' [ú-tab-bi-tu UD]U.NÍTA ka-lu-me  
 48' [ú-tab-bi-tu šèr-ra] ina bu-ud ta-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>l</sup>-ti  
 49' [x-li il-tab-šu i]na re-eš <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>l</sup>-pi  
 50' <sup>r</sup>i-mur<sup>l</sup>-[ma <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi] DUMU <sup>d</sup>é<sup>l</sup>-a  
 51' <sup>d</sup>gu-la [a-zu-gal-la-t]ú GAL-tú šá <sup>d</sup>a-num  
 52' li-iš-ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>l</sup> [                    lid<sup>?</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>din<sup>?</sup>-ma li-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>l</sup>-et-bi <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>l</sup> šá SU-šú  
 53' liš-bi-' NA<sub>4</sub>.KÍŠIB NA<sub>4</sub>.ŠUBA 7 [    n]am ba bu ri <sup>r</sup>x<sup>l</sup> bi  
 54' GIM im-ba-ri li-i[t-bi] ina [šá-me-e]  
 55' ĒN ul iu-ut-tu ĒN <sup>d</sup>e-a [u] <sup>d</sup>asal-[lú-ḫi]  
 56' ĒN <sup>d</sup>da-mu u <sup>d</sup>gu-la ĒN <sup>d</sup>nin-gir[ima b]e-let Ē[N TU<sub>6</sub>.Ē]N  
 rubric:  
 57' 2 ka-inim-ma bi-i-<sup>r</sup>?<sup>l</sup>-[a<sup>?</sup>-ra<sup>?</sup>]-kám

*[sikkatu miqtu] šanādu sā[mānu]*  
*[ašû x-x]-ta ašû [muttaprištu]*  
*[rišûtu] šinna[hte]ru*  
*[ištu šerret šamê] urdūni*  
*[ūtabbitū im]mera kalūma*  
*[ūtabbitū šerra] ina būd tārīti*  
*[x-lī il-tab-šu i]na rēš appi*  
*imur[ma Asalluḫi] mār Ea*  
*Gula [azugallat]u rabītu ša Anu*  
*lišbatū [...lid]dīnma? lišetbi...ša zumrišu*  
*lišbi' kunuk šubī 7 [...]....*  
*kīma imbari li[tbi] ana! [šamê]*  
*šiptu ul yuttu šipāt Ea [u] Asal[luḫi]*  
*šipāt Damu u Gula*  
*šipāt Ningir[ima b]ēlet šip[ti]*

(the various illnesses)

Descended [from the lead-rope of heaven],

[They destroyed the sh]eep (and) the lamb,

[They destroyed the infant] on the shoulder of the nursemaid,

[...o]n the tip of the nose—

[Asalluḫi], the son of Ea, saw (it) [and]

Gula, the great [Chief-physician] of Anu—

May they seize [..., may he gi]ve? [...], and may he cause the...of his body to rise up!

May he cause a cylinder seal of *šubû* stone to pass by, seven [...]....!

May it ri[se up] to! [to heaven] like fog!

The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of Ea [and] Asal[luhi],

It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,

It is the incantation of Ningir[ima, mist]ress of incan[tations]

(2 incantations for *bi'āru*? illness)

43'-9': Restored from Various Illnesses 6:24'-9'.

50'-3': The sense of these lines is unclear.

### Various Illnesses 8

A: STT 136 (S.U. 51/102+) iii 32'-iv 2

B: W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 300 (K 6250) 5'-15'

A: NA, Huzirina; B: NA, Nineveh

W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 316-8 (edition).

1		<i>gergiššu</i>	<i>dipāru</i>	<i>epqēnu</i>	<i>kissat</i>	<i>išāti</i>
A32'	ÉN	ki- <sup>l</sup> ri <sup>l</sup> -giš	di-pa- <sup>l</sup> ar <sup>l</sup>	ep-qé-nu	ki-is-sa-tum	[i <sup>l</sup> - ]
B5'	[		d]i-pár	ep-qé-nu	ki-is-sat	IZI

2		<i>sikka[t]u</i>	<i>ašû</i>	<i>šanādu</i>	
A33'		sik-ka-[t]ú	a-šá-a	šá-na-du : »	
B6'	[		[a <sup>l</sup> -šá-a	šá-na-du	

3		<i>sāmānu</i>	<i>bi'āru</i>	<i>billu</i>	<i>bu'sānu</i>
A		sa-ma-nu	bi-'-a-NA	bi-e[l-	]
B7'	[		]- <sup>l</sup> ru <sup>l</sup> ?	bi-il-lu	bu-'-šá-nu

4		<i>išāt[u</i>	<i>aš]û</i>	<i>muttaprištu</i>	
A34'		[i-šá <sup>l</sup> -t[um	a-š]i-e	mut-tap-riš-tú : »	
B8'	[		]- <sup>l</sup> e <sup>l</sup>	mut-tap-riš-tum	

5		<i>ištu</i>	<i>kakkabi</i>	<i>šamāmī</i>	<i>urda</i>
A		iš-tu	MUL	šá-ma-m[i	]
B9'	[		MU]L.MEŠ	šá-ma-mi	ur-da



- 6      *urdamma*      *ištu*      *kakkabi*      *šamāmi*  
A35' ur-<sup>l</sup>dam<sup>l</sup>-ma      iš-tu      MUL      šá-ma-me »  
B10' [      u]l-tu      MUL.MEŠ      šá-ma-mi
- 7      *uḫtammit*      *immera*      *kalūma*  
A      uḫ-tam-me-eṭ      im-me-r[a      ]  
B11' [      ]      UDU.NITA      ka-lu-mu
- 8      *uḫtammit*      *šerra*      *ina*      *būd*      *tārīti*  
A36' uḫ-tam-mi-iṭ      šêr-<ra>      i-na      bu-ud      ta-ri-[      ]  
B12' [      ]      šêr-ru      ina      bu-ud      ta-ri-ti
- 9      [*uḫtammit*]      *la'āti*      *ina*      *būd*      [      ]  
A omits  
B13' [      ]      la-'-a-tú      ina      bu-ud      'x'<sup>1</sup>[      ]
- 10      *annumma*      *mārāt*      *Anu*      *ša*      *šamē*      *ellūti*      [...]      ]  
A37' an-nu-um-ma      DUMU.SAL      <sup>da</sup>a-num      šá      AN-e      KÙ.MEŠ      'x'<sup>1</sup>[      ]  
B14' [      ]      ].SAL.MEŠ      <sup>da</sup>a-num      šá      AN-e      KÙ.MEŠ      'x'<sup>1</sup>[      ]
- 11      *liḳāni*      *kannišina*      *ša*      *ḫu[lāli]*  
A38' 'li<sup>l</sup>qa-a-ni      kan-ni-ši-na      ša      NA<sub>4</sub>.N[IR]  
B15' [      ]      'kan-ni-ši<sup>l</sup>-na      šá      N[A<sub>4</sub>.      ]
- 12      *u*      [*ka*]r<sup>p</sup>ātīšina      *ša*      *uqni*      *ell[i]*  
A39' 'u'<sup>1</sup> [D]UG.MEŠ-si-na      šá      NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GIN      el-l[i]
- 13      *liḫbāni*      *mē*      *ayabba*      *tāmati*      *r[apašti]*  
A40' li-iḫ-<sup>l</sup>ba<sup>l</sup>-ni      A.MEŠ      a-ab-ba      ta-ma-ti      r[a-      ]
- 14      *mē*      [*I*]diqlat      *mē*      *Puratti*  
A41' A.MEŠ      ID.[I]DIGNA      A.MEŠ      ID.BURANUN<sup>kl</sup> »
- 15      [*lisluḫā*]      *liballā*  
A      [      ]<sup>42</sup>      li-bal-l[a]-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>1</sup> »
- 16      *gergišša*      *dīpāra*      *epqēna*      *kis[sat*      *išāti]*  
A      ger-giš      di-pār      ep-qé-na      ki-is-[      ]



[...]

[...]

1: Note the writing *ki-ri-giš* for *gergiššu* (*ger-giš* in l. 16).

1 and 16: *kissat išāti* is presumably a compound word, since *išātu* appears alone in ll. 4 and 19.

10: This line seems corrupt; it perhaps originally read *anumma ana mārāt Anu ša šamē ellūti qibīma* "now then, speak to the daughters of Anu of the pure heavens (so that they may take, etc.)"; cf. *maškadu* 12:6'-7': *anumma ana Ea? [qibīma] liddiššu šī[pat balāti]* "Now then, [speak] to Ea, so that he may give an in[cantation of life]"; and Various Illnesses 5:8-10: *ana ummiya Ningirima qibiamma būlum liwwirū pānūšu...* "Speak to my mother Ningirima for me, so that the herd's countenance may brighten...."

15: The restoration of *lišluḫā* at the end of A 41' is tentative.

### Various Illnesses 9

A: CT 23 2-4 (K 2473) obv. 1'-14'

B: AMT 31,2 (K 9689) obv. 2-14

NA, Nineveh

W. Farber, JNES 49 (1990): 311-2 (partial edition).

1-3 (various illnesses)

A1'	「x x x ti x」 [	]
A2'	gir-giš-šum bu-'-šá-nu p[i?-	]
A3'	ka-ka-šá-nu e-sa-du i-「li-bu-re-e」 »	
B2	[	-t]u? še-en-ni-it-tú ši-rip-tú
B3	[	]-ru bu-'-šá-nu



A ki-is-sa-tum ʿi¹-[ ]  
 A10' šá-áš-šá-ṭu še-en-ni-tum ši-rip-tum ep-qé-na s[a- ]  
 A11' pi-a-šú bi-'-a-ra ù bu-'-šá-nu »

B9 [ ] šá-na-du šá-áš-šá-ṭu  
 B10 [ ] bu-'-šá¹-nu ʿpi¹-a-šú  
 B11 [ ]-li-bu-re-e

18 *kima eṭlūti ša [ ]*  
 A GIM GURUS.MEŠ šá na[m- ]  
 B12 [ ] »

19 *ana aḫrāti kissat išāt[i]*  
 A12' a-na aḫ-ra-a-tim ki-is-sa-tum i-šá-t[um]  
 B [ a]ḫ-ra-a-ti 13 [ ]

A [š]ennitu [ b]u'āru  
 B [š]e-en-ni-it-tum 14 [ b]u²-'-a-ru

20 *lā itār ana annanna mār annanna*  
 A13' la i-ta-ár ana NENNI A NENNI »

21 *šiptu ul yuttun šipat E[a u Asalluḫi]*  
 A ÉN ul iu-ut-tu-un ÉN d[é¹-[ ]

22 *šipat Damu u Gula*  
 A14' ÉN dda-mu u dgu-la »

23 *šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti*  
 A ÉN dnin-girima EN ÉN »

24 *šunu i[qbû anāku ašši tē šipti]*  
 A šú-nu i[q-

rubric:

A15' [É]N an-ni-ta a-na qu-ta-ri ù TU₅ šá SA.GAL ʿx¹ [ ]

(various illnesses)

Descended [from the lead-rope of heav]en,

They burned the young men all day long,  
 They burn[ed the infant on the sh]oulder of the nursemaid—  
 Whom shall I send to the daughters of Anu of heaven,  
 (So that) they may tak[e the]ir [vessels] of *hulālu* stone  
 And their pots of bright lapis lazuli,  
 Draw water of the ocean, the broad sea,  
 Water of the Tigris, water of the Euphrates—  
 Which no impure woman has gone down (into) and no uncle[an woman has washed  
     her hands (with)]—  
 (And so) extinguish and *go away (with)*  
 (various illnesses)?  
 Like young men who [...],  
 For all time, (various illnesses)  
 Should not return to So-and-so, son of So-and-so!  
 The incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of E[a and Asalluḫi],  
 It is the incantation of Damu and Gula,  
 It is the incantation of Ningirima, mistress of incantations,  
 They t[old (it) to me and I took (it)]  
 (This [inca]ntation is for a fumigant or bath against *sagallu* illness [...])

1-3, 14-17: Both A and B list different illnesses at the beginning and the end, and they  
     differ from one another. It is possible that A 1'-3' duplicates B 9-11, and A 9'-  
     11' duplicates B 2-3, but this cannot be proven.

5: The translation follows Farber. The line seems corrupt; one would expect *immeri*  
     *kalūmī*, "sheep (and) lambs," similar to Various Illnesses 1:11, 2:12, and  
     passim.

13: The feminine plural subjects of *littalkāni* are presumably the daughters of Anu, though the sense is unclear.

14-7: B 10: I emend *a* to *šá*.

## APPENDIX A

### ELEMENTAL ANALYSES OF SELECTED INCANTATIONS

This Appendix analyzes the composite structure of groups of medical incantations for Belly, *bu'sānu* and *su'ālu*, Eyes, *maškadu*, and Various Illnesses, as well as incantations for *uzzu* (anger). For each group, a table displays the presence or absence of elements across the incantations, as well as the elements' relative sequence within each incantation. Each element is then listed as it appears in the incantations of the group. Elements are identified by letters. Medical incantations are numbered as they are in the text editions; *uzzu* incantations are numbered as follows: *uzzu* 1: R.M. Whiting, ZA 75 (1985): 184 (Tell Asmar 1930-T117); *uzzu* 2: TIM 9 72 (IM 51207); *uzzu* 3: UET 6/2 399 (U 16892; new copy in R.M. Whiting, ZA 75 (1985): 184); *uzzu* 4, 5, and 6: C. Wilcke, ZA 75 (1985): photo between pp. 208-9 (IB1554), ll. 78-84, 85-94, and 95-8, respectively. *uzzu* 1-3 are edited by R.M. Whiting, ZA 75 (1985): 180ff.; *uzzu* 4-6 are edited by C. Wilcke, ZA 75 (1985): 202ff. In order to facilitate comparison, line numbering follows an incantation's transcription (rather than its transliteration).



Table 1. Elemental Analysis of Selected Belly Incantations

element	Belly						
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
A	1	1a					1a
B	2			1	1		1b
C			[...]	2	2-3		2
D		1b	1'-2'				
E	3-4						
F				3			
G		2	3'				
H			4'-5'				
I					4-6		
J						1-3	3
K				4-7		4-8	[...]
L					7-10		
M						9	
N		3-4		8-10			[...]
O		5-6	6'	11	11-2	10	8b
P	5	7-9			13		
Q					14		

Belly 18: OB; Belly 20: MB (Emar); Belly 16-7, 19, and 21-2: NA.

A.

*libbumma libbu* (Belly 16:1)*libbu libbu* (Belly 17:1a)*[li]bbumma* (Belly 22:1a)

B.

*libbu dān libbu qarrād* (Belly 16:2)*dān libbu qarrād libbu* (Belly 19:1)*libbu dān libbu qarrād* (Belly 20:1)*libbu qarrād libbu lasim* (Belly 22:1b)

C.

*ša libbi arraqā ināšu pursit dāmi našima* (Belly 19:2)*ša libbi dannī arra[qā<sup>1</sup> ināšu] pursit dāmi ina[šši]* (Belly 20:2-3)*ša libbi zīrā ināšu pursit dāmi* (Belly 22:2)

D.

*ekil libbu kīma mušiti mali namriri* (Belly 17:1b)*e[k]il libbum ki[ma mušitim] namriri mali kīma ū[mim]* (Belly 18:1'-2')

E.

*kīma nēši mali puluḥ[ta] kīma barbari lakāda uššur* (Belly 16:3-4)

F.

*irrū sāḥirūtu ullulū ina aḥišu* (Belly 19:3)

G.

*[in]a qabliti ul išu apātīmma ul ušāršu mamma* (Belly 17:2)*ana aptišu mamma ul [ušār]* (Belly 18:3')

H.

*ʿša<sup>1</sup> ak na at ʿku<sup>2</sup> dan nu šu te bu ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...] iṭṭeḥa<sup>2</sup> libbum* (Belly 18:4'-5')

I.

*Šamkan ina šēr[i] libbašu ikassi[š]u išši inišu ul u[mmašu] ul aḥatašu* (Belly 20:4-6)

J.

*libbu libbu ēkiam tallak libbi eḥli ana<sup>1</sup> akāliya libbi ardati ana ḥepiya* (Belly 21:1-3)*[libb]u libbu ayyiša tallak libbu ayyiša tašabbur libbu* (Belly 22:3)

K.

*ē tallik libbu ē tatūra libbu ana eḥli damqi ana ardati damiqti uššir eḥlamma bita lipuš  
uššir ardatam[m]a qinna liqnun* (Belly 19:4-7)*libbi eḥli lā takkal libbi ardati lā teḥpepi akul libbi alpi ina tarbaši libbi immeri ina<sup>1</sup> supūri  
libbi šaḥi ina asurrē* (Belly 21:4-8)

L.

*manna lušpur<sup>1</sup> ana mārā[t Anu] ša kan[n]ūšunu ḥurāšu<sup>2</sup> ša karpātūšunu [kaspu] liššiāni  
lisābāni<sup>2</sup> mē ayabba tāmati* (Belly 20:7-10)

M.

*ša iqabbū libbī u qaqqadī lā? maḥār?* (Belly 21:9)

N.

*[ir]rū suḥḥurū zīr karšu u šī riqītu buppāniša saḥpat [l]itruš karšu riqītu litruš* (Belly 17:3-4)

*irrū suḥḥurū zīr karšu u šī riqītu buppāniša saḥpat lišlim karšu irrū lištēširūma riqītu litruš* (Belly 19:8-10)

O.

*[kīm]a šāri ana šuburri kīma gišūti ana napšāti [in]a zu'ti upāti u dimāti kala zumrišu našallilāni* (Belly 17:5-6)

*[k]īma šārim? i-ba-aš-ši ʿe? šī?* (Belly 18:6')

*kīma šāri ina šuburri kīma gišūti ina napīšti lišā* (Belly 19:11)

*šumma šāru ana šuburri šumma dāmu ana...* (Belly 20:11-2)

*kīma šāri ana šuburri kīma šerri karāni ana arkati lišā?* (Belly 21:10)

*[...] ana bābi lišēši* (Belly 22:8b)

P.

*šiptu ul yattu šip[at] Gula* (Belly 16:5)

*[š]iptu ul yattu šipat Ea u Asalluḥi šipat Damu u Gula [šipat] Ningirima bēlet šipti* (Belly 17:7-9)

*šiptu ul yattu šipat Damu u Gula* (Belly 20:13)

Q.

*dam ti pa an ti ʿx<sup>1</sup> sal a ni tar a e* (Belly 20:14)

Table 2. Elemental Analysis of *bu'sānu* and *su'ālu* Incantations

element	<i>bu'sānu</i>				<i>su'ālu</i>
	1	2	3	4	1
A				1-5	
B					1a
C			1		
D	1	1	2	6	1b
E	2-3	2-3	3-4	7-8	
F	4	4		9	
G	5	5	5	10	2
H	6	6			3
I	7-8	7-8		11-4	
J	9	9		15	
K				16-7	
L			6-15		
M					4-5
N	10-3			18-9	
O	14			[...]	

*bu'sānu* 1-4, *su'ālu* 1: NA/NB.

A.

*Anumma Anu Anu puḫur šamê Anu puḫur eršeti eršetu ibtani t[ũlta] eršetu ibtani  
bu'sāna (bu'sānu 4:1-5)*

B.

*su'ālu su'ālu (su'ālu 1:1a)*

C.

*bu'sānu amir kīma nēšī (bu'sānu 3:1)*

D.

*bu'sānu dān šibissu (bu'sānu 1:1)  
dān ša bu'sāni šibissu (bu'sānu 2:1)  
ana lā ša nēšī ša bu'sāni dān šibissu (bu'sānu 3:2)  
ša bu'sāni dān šibissu (bu'sānu 4:6)  
su'ālu dān šib[issu] (su'ālu 1:1b)*

E.

*kīma n[ēš]i napšāra iṣbat kīma barbari iṣṣabat nurza (bu'sānu 1:2-3)  
kīma nēšī qaqqada iṣbat [k]īma barbari iṣṣabat lu'ḫa (bu'sānu 2:2-3)  
kīma barbari iṣṣabat pā kīma mindinaš iṣṣabat laḫê (bu'sānu 3:3-4)  
kīma nēšī napšāti iṣṣa[bat] kīma barbari iṣṣabat lu'a (bu'sānu 4:7-8)*

F.

*iṣbat nu[rub appi] iṣṣabat lišāna (bu'sānu 1:4)  
iṣbat appa iṣṣabat lišāna (bu'sānu 2:4)  
iṣbat appa nurub app[i ḫ]ašê (bu'sānu 4:9)*

G.

*ina imbūb ḫašê ittadi kussīšu (bu'sānu 1:5)  
ina birīt šinnī ittadi kussīšu (bu'sānu 2:5)  
ina nurzī narbāti ittadi kussīšu (bu'sānu 3:5)  
ina birīt šinnī nadāt kussīšu (bu'sānu 4:10)  
ina birīt ḫašê ittadi kussīšu (su'ālu 1:2)*

H.

*šī bu'sānu ul šibitka (bu'sānu 1:6)  
[š]ī bu'sānu ul šibitka (bu'sānu 2:6)  
atlak su'ālu ul šubat[ka] (su'ālu 1:3)*

I.

*kīma mītu šuddū alakta u nīd libbi lā iniqu tulê ummišu (bu'sānu 1:7-8)  
kīma mār naditi lā ibūru u nīd libbi lā iṣbatu tulê ummišu (bu'sānu 2:7-8)  
saklu imtiši al[aktaš]u<sup>?</sup> up]putu imtiši rebīt ālišu mītu lā issaḫra<sup>?</sup> i[štu eršet]i kūbu lā  
i]niqu tulê ša ummišu (bu'sānu 4:11-4)*

J.

*atta ē tassaḫra ana šibtika (bu'sānu 1:9)  
[at]ta ē tassaḫra ana šibtika (bu'sānu 2:9)  
būšānu ay [itūrma ana šib]tišu (bu'sānu 4:15)*

K.  
*ekallu? [...] kima [...]* (bu'sānu 4:16-7)

L.  
*manṇa lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē liššānimma tallišina ša šarpi u kandurišina ša  
 ḥurāši liḥbānimma mē Ulaya tāmti rapašti ašar urruštu lā imsū qātiša musukkatu  
 lā imsū lubāriša iṣṣūr ḥurri lā unassisu kappišu lā idli' u kalbu šalmu liddā ana  
 pišuma linnasiḥ ummu sikkatu labātu bu'sānu (bu'sānu 3:6-15)*

M.  
*ša kiširti guḥḥi ū su'āli Gula bēlet balāṭi lippula šuršišu (su'ālu 1:4-5)*

N.  
*šiptu ul yuttun šipat Ea u Asalluḥi šipat Damu u Gula šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti šipat  
 Gula bēlet balāṭi (bu'sānu 1:10-3)  
 šiptu ul [yuttu...] šipat [...]* (bu'sānu 4:18-9)

O.  
*Gula bulliṭima qišatki liqē (bu'sānu 1:14)*

Table 3. Elemental Analysis of Selected Eye Incantations

element	Eyes								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A		1-3	1-2	1-2	1-3	1-2	1-3		
B	1	4a			4a		4a		1a
C	3	4b			4b		4b	1	1b
D	4-6	5-7							
E							5-7	2-3	
F					5	3			
G			3a	3a	6a				
H	2		3b	3b	6b				
I		8	4-6	4	7				
J		9							
K		10		5					
L									2-3
M				6-8	8-12				
N							8-10	4-5	
O			7-9						
P	7	11-2			13-5			6-7	
Q								8	
R	8	13			16				
S	9								

Eyes 1: MB, Ugarit; Eyes 2-9: NA.

## A.

igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar igi-ḥuš igi-ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar-ra ḥuš-ḥuš [igi]-bar ná-a  
igi-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a (Eyes 2:1-3)

igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar igi-sùḥ igi-sùḥ-sùḥ igi-bar-ra sùḥ-s[ùḥ] (Eyes 3:1-2)

igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar igi-ḥul igi-ḥul-ḥul igi-bar-ra ḥul-ḥu[1] (Eyes 4:1-2)  
[igi-bar igi-b]ar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar igi-ḥuš igi-ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar-ra ḥuš-ḥuš [igi-bar ná-a  
a igi]-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a (Eyes 5:1-3)

igi-bar-bar [...] igi-bar ḥuš-ḥuš [...] igi-bar-ra nu-gi-na (Eyes 6:1-2)

igi-bar igi-bar-bar igi-bar-ra bar-bar igi-ḥuš igi-ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar-ra ḥuš-ḥuš igi-bar ná-a  
igi-bar da-a igi-bar ḥul-a (Eyes 7:1-3)

## B.

ēnā [apātu] ēnā ašātu ēnā dalḥātu (Eyes 1:1)

inā abātu inā ašā[tu] (Eyes 2:4a)

inā apātu inā ašātu (Eyes 5:4a)

inā apātu inā ašātu (Eyes 7:4a)

[in]ā apātu inā ašātu (Eyes 9:1a)

## C.

ēnā pursit dāmi šuḥarritu (Eyes 1:3)

[inā pursit] dāmi šuḥarratu (Eyes 2:4b)

inā šamūta malā (Eyes 5:4b)

inā pursit dāmi suteslipātu (Eyes 7:4b)

at[tina] in[ā] pursimit? dāmi šuḥarratu (Eyes 8:1)

inā pursindi dāmi šuḥarriātu (Eyes 9:1b)

## D.

...u išāta...kīma? šilla?...kīma alapī (Eyes 1:4-6)

inā kīma niksi immeri dāma šen'ā kīma mē ša agalpē alapā nadā kīma karpāt ṭābāti nadā  
šilla (Eyes 2:5-7)

## E.

ammīn tabbā ammīn taššā ammēni ikkalkināši bāšu ša nāri taltallū ša gišimmari ša titti  
niqqaša ša ari tibinšu (Eyes 7:5-7)

ammīni taššāni ḥāma ḥand[ašpir]a šuršurra alapā ša nāri ina sūqāti kirbāna ina  
tubk[inn]āti ḥuṣāba ammīni taššāni (Eyes 8:2-3)

## F.

[...]...saniq qabū ša Gula (Eyes 5:5)

[...]q]abū ša Anu (Eyes 6:3)

## G.

šitta inā (Eyes 3:3a)

šitta šina (Eyes 4:3a)

šittama šinam[a] (Eyes 5:6a)

## H.

ēnā mārāt šāri (Eyes 1:2)

aḥātu šinama (Eyes 3:3b)

(šina) mārāt Anu (Eyes 4:3b)



(šīnam[a]) [a]ḫātu (Eyes 5:6b)

I.

*ina bērišina pitiqtu patqat* (Eyes 2:8)

*ina bērušina šadū pari[k] elēnušina kiširtu kašrat šaplānušina pitiqtu pat[qat]* (Eyes 3:4-6)

*ina bērušina pitiqtu patqa[t]* (Eyes 4:4)

*ina bīrušina parik šadū* (Eyes 5:7)

J.

*irub Nergal ina bērušina ittadi kussišu* (Eyes 2:9)

K.

*aššum annitu ina libbi anniti lā napāši* (Eyes 2:10)

*ul illak aḫatu ana lēt aḫatiša* (Eyes 4:5)

L.

*[...] ibakkā ana pān ummišina Mami [amm]in nāšimma ittini tarkusi ašā dāma u šāra*  
(Eyes 9:2-3)

M.

*manna lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē liššāni kannišina ḫulāla karpātišina zagindurā ebba lissāpānimma libillā inī abāti inī ašāti u dalḫāti* (Eyes 4:6-8)

*manna lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē liššāni tallišina ḫulāla karpātišina uqnā ebba lisāpāni mē ayabba tāmṭi rapašti ša ḫarišt[u l]ā ūridu ana libbi musukkatu lā imsū qātīša lišlānimma likiṣṣā umma širiḫta ša libbi inīšu* (Eyes 5:8-12)

N.

*alsikināši alkāni ul alsikināši ul tallakāni lām itbākināši šutu ištānu šadū amurru* (Eyes 7:8-10)

*zunnāni kīma kakkabi mitaqqutāni kīma nabli lām ikšudūkināši šurrū naglabū ša Gula*  
(Eyes 8:4-5)

O.

*ayyū šāršīnama ayyū lā šārši[nama] ayyū šār tibišina ayyū lā šār tib[išina] šār pāni ikil pāni šulu[m pāni...]* (Eyes 3:7-9)

P.

*šīpat uliyatti šīpat Damu u Nikkarrak* (Eyes 1:7)

*šīptu ul yattun šīpat Ea u Asalluḫi šīpat Damu u Gula šīpat Ningirima bēlet šīpti* (Eyes 2:11-2)

*šīptu ul yattun šīpat Ea u Asalluḫi šīpat Damu u Gula šīpat Ningirima bēlet šīpti* (Eyes 5:13-5)

*šīp[at l]ā paṭāri? šīpat Asalluḫi Marduk šīpat Ningirima bēlet šīpti u Gula bēlet asūti*  
(Eyes 8:6-7)

Q.

*iddīma anāku ašši* (Eyes 8:8)

R.

*Nikkarrak bulliṭīma mār ummiāni qīšta limḫur* (Eyes 1:8)

*Gula bullitima qistaki liqi* (Eyes 2:13)

*Gula bullitima qistaki liqi* (Eyes 5:16)

S.

*elis aya elima saplis lusi* (Eyes 1:9)

Table 4. Elemental Analysis of *maskadu* Incantations

element	<i>maskadu</i>												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
A	1	1	1	1	1a	1	1-2	15-6		1-2	1a		2
B		2	2	2	1b	2	3	17		3	1b		3
C			3			3	4	18		[4]			
D					2-3	4-5	5	19-20		5-6	2	1'-2'	4-5
E					4	6					3b		
F	2	3	4										
G	3												
H	4	4							[...]				
I					5	7-9		21-3	1'-3'	7-9			6-7
J						10		24	4'		4a		
K								25	5'				
L				3									
M				4-5	6-7	11-3		26-7	6'-7'	10-1	3a	3'-4'	8-9

Table 4, continued. Elemental Analysis of *maškadu* Incantations

element	<i>maškadu</i>												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
N								28	8'-9'	12-3	4b-7a		[...]
O						14		29	10'				
P				6-8		15			11'-2'	14-5	7b-8a	5'-6'	
Q		5-6											
R	5	7											11
S								30-1	13'-4'				
T			5					32-4	15'-8'				
U								35	19'				
V						16		36	20'		8b-9a		
W								37	21'				

*maškadu* 1-2: OB; *maškadu* 3-10, 13: N/A/NB; *maškadu* 11: MA; *maškadu* 12: MB (Hattuša).

Lines not incorporated: *maškadu* 8:1-14; 10:16-8; 11:9b-11; 12:7'-8'; and 13:1.

## A.

*[m]aškadu[m mašk]adum ul maškadum šu'ûm (maškadu 1:1)*  
*maškadum maškadum ula mašra šu'ûm (maškadu 2:1)*  
*šu'û šumšu maškadu kinu[ssu] (maškadu 3:1)*  
*šû šumšu maškadu kinussu (maškadu 4:1)*  
*maškadu (maškadu 5:1a)*  
*šu'û šumšu [mašk]adu [kinu]ssu (maškadu 6:1)*  
*šu'û šumšu maškadu kinussu ul maškadu kinussu šu'û šumšu (maškadu 7:1-2)*  
*šû šumšu maškadu kinussu ul maškadu kinussu šû šumšu (maškadu 8:15-6)*  
*šû šumšu maškadu kinu[su ul maškadu kinussu šû šumšu] (maškadu 10:1-2)*  
*[šu-'-û šum-šu maš-ka-đu] ki-ni-[i]š? (maškadu 11:1a)*  
*šû maš[kadu] (maškadu 13:2)*

## B.

*ištu šamê urdam (maškadu 2:2)*  
*[i]štu kakkab šamāmi [urda] (maškadu 3:2)*  
*ištu kakkabi šamāmi urda (maškadu 4:2)*  
*ištu šēr šamāmi urda (maškadu 5:1b)*  
*ištu kakkab šamāmi urda (maškadu 6:2)*  
*[i]štu kakkabi šamāmi urda (maškadu 7:3)*  
*ultu kakkabi šamāmi urda (maškadu 8:17)*  
*ištu kakkabi šamāmi urda (maškadu 10:3)*  
*KI MUL AN-e ʿú<sup>l</sup>-[ri-id] (maškadu 11:1b)*  
*[...] ša Anu kakkabi šamāmi [urda] (maškadu 13:3)*

## C.

*urdamma ištu kakka[b šamāmi] (maškadu 3:3)*  
*ur[da]mma ištu kakka[b šam]āmi (maškadu 6:3)*  
*[u]rdamma ištu kakkabi šamāmi (maškadu 7:4)*  
*urdamma ultu kakkab[i] šamāmi (maškadu 8:18)*

## D.

*mišil imti ša šerri [ilqe u ša] zuqaqīpi imassa ilqe (maškadu 5:2-3)*  
*mišil imti ša š[er]ri il[qe] u ša zuqaqīpi imass[a ilq]e (maškadu 6:4-5)*  
*mišil imti ša šerri ilq[e] (maškadu 7:5)*  
*mišil imti ša šerri ilqe mišil imti ša zuqaqīpi ilqe (maškadu 8:19-20)*  
*mišil imti ša šerri ilqe [mišil imti ša zuqaqīpi ilqe] (maškadu 10:5-6)*  
*[mi-ši-il i]m-ʿte <šá> MUŠ il-qe<sup>l</sup> mi-ši-il im-te šá GĪR.TAB il-qe x [...] (maškadu 11:2)*  
*bāmat imti š[a šerri ilqe] bāmat imti š[a zuqaqīpi ilqe] (maškadu 12:1'-2')*  
*[mišil imt]i ša šerri ilqe ša zuqaqīpi imass[a ilqe] (maškadu 13:4-5)*

## E.

*uttur imta atar mihir[...] (maškadu 5:4)*  
*uttur imta atar šibis[su?] (maškadu 6:6)*  
*šu-te-er im-ta? a-ʿta<sup>l</sup>-a[r?] [...] (maškadu 11:3b)*

## F.

*ina sulim? narbāšušu ina manzāz immeri m[anz]āzušu (maškadu 1:2)*  
*ina šitpim manzāzušu ina kibis alpim mayyālšu (maškadu 2:3)*  
*[k]ibsi alpi narbā[ss]u? kibsi immeri manzā[ss]u (maškadu 3:4)*

G.

*našāk barbarim inaššak šahāṭ kalbim elam[ī] išahḫit (maškadu 1:3)*

H.

*erēb būlim irru[b w]ašē būlim ušši (maškadu 1:4)*

*erēb būlim irrub wašē būlim išši (maškadu 2:4)*

I.

*[p]ā lā šakin <šakin> sinna (maškadu 5:5)*

*pā lā šakin šakin sinni [si]nni lā šakin šabit qabla [ub]ānāti lā šakin šabit kapp[al]ta  
(maškadu 6:7-9)*

*pā lā šakin šakin sinni sinni lā šakin šabit šir'āni ubānāti lā šakin šabit kappalta  
(maškadu 8:21-3)*

*[p]ā lā [šak]in [šakin sinni si]n[ni] lā šakin šabit šir'āni ubānāti lā šakin] ša[bit kappalta]  
(maškadu 9:1'-3')*

*pā lā šakin šakin sinni [sinni lā šakin šabit šir'āni ubānāti lā šakin šabit kappalta]  
(maškadu 10:7-9)*

*[pā ul šakin ša]kin sinna sinna ul šakin š[abit šir'āni] (maškadu 13:6-7)*

J.

*kīma šārti qatan lā idū [ina] širi (maškadu 6:10)*

*kīma šārti qatan lā idū ina širi (maškadu 8:24)*

*[kīma šārti qa]tan lā [idū ina širi] (maškadu 9:4')*

*qa-ta-an GĪM šar-te ul i-<sup>l</sup>na <sup>l</sup>-ad ina pa-ag-<sup>l</sup>ri<sup>l</sup> (maškadu 11:4a)*

K.

*ul išā pāna u bāba (maškadu 8:25)*

*[ul išā] pāna [u bāba] (maškadu 9:5')*

L.

*išbat ša etli šimmatu kal pagrišu (maškadu 4:3)*

M.

*išbat gišša kimša kišalla qabla rapašta u šašalla (maškadu 4:4-5)*

*šabit ša etli gišša kimša kišalla qabl[a rapašta u šašalla] (maškadu 5:6-7)*

*išbat gišša kišša u kišalla qabla rapašta u šašalla naphar šir'āni gimir kala pagri  
(maškadu 6:11-3)*

*išbat gišša kišša kišalla qabla rapašta u šašalla gubguba puḫur šir'āni (maškadu 8:26-7)*

*[išbat gišša kišša kišalla qabla rap]ašt[a u šašalla gubguba puḫur šir'āni] (maškadu  
9:6'-7')*

*išbat gišša kimša kišalla qabla [rapašta u šašalla gubguba puḫur šir'āni] (maškadu  
10:10-1)*

*[i]š-ša-bat MURUB<sub>4</sub> x x (x) giš-šá iš-ša-bat UZU.SA.MEŠ (maškadu 11:3a)*

*išbat kimša u k[išalla] išbat qabla u [rapašta] (maškadu 12:3'-4')*

*[išbat gišša kimša kišalla qa]bla rapašta u [šašalla] (maškadu 13:8-9)*

N.

*šabit ša annanna mār annanna puḫur kališunu sagalli (maškadu 8:28)*

*[šabit ša annanna mār annanna pu]ḫur ka[lišunu sagalli naphar šir'āni gimir] kal[a  
pagri] (maškadu 9:8'-9')*

*iššabtu kullat pagri gi[mir...]* (maškadu 10:12-3)  
*iš-ša-ab-ta* [x<sup>1</sup> [...]] DÜ A.BI *pa-ag-ri ni-ib-sir pi-ir ka-lu* [UZ]U.SA.MEŠ *iš-ša-a[b-ta...]* GIM GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR ù *mi-ši-il* GIŠ.x.x.MEŠ UZU.SA.[MEŠ...] u  
 UZU.ra-pal-te (maškadu 11:4b-7a)

O.

*ištu ūm i''[a]ldu ullānum[ma] ibnišu...išu* (maškadu 6:14)  
*ultu ūm i''aldu ullānumma ibnišu išu* (maškadu 8:29)  
*[ultu ūm i''ald]u ullā[numma ibnišu] i[išu]* (maškadu 9:10')

P.

*Asalluḫi šana'udu mūdū kalama idišumma šipta ša šūšū kalama kīma urru u mūšu*  
*izūzū lizūza murša ša zumrišu* (maškadu 4:6-8)  
*...ana bul[lu]ḫi? [ša amilūti]* (maškadu 6:15)  
*[...] Ea ana b[fullu]ḫi ša amilūt[i...]* iddimma ana šupšuḫi ša amilūti (maškadu 9:11'-2')  
*Ea tāšu iškun ana bullu[ḫi ša amilūti...]* (maškadu 10:14-5)  
 TU<sub>6</sub> *é-a iš-ru-uk-šu-[m]a ana bu-lu-ḫu* DÜ.[A.BI] LÜ.U<sub>18</sub>.MEŠ *iš-ru-uk-šu-ma* NU  
 SUB-di NU *pa ša ta* (maškadu 11:7b-8a)  
*anumma ana Ea? [qibīma] liddiššu šip[at balāḫi]* (maškadu 12:5'-6')

Q.

*utammika Anum u Antum ašar ša tašbatu lū tuwaššar tu-en-ni-in-nu-ri* (maškadu 2:5-6)

R.

*[š]i maškadum lāma ikšudūka šurrū naglab[ū] Gula* (maškadu 1:5)  
*šī maškadu <m>... (maškadu 2:7)*  
*atta mašk[adu...]* (maškadu 13:11)

S.

*in-dab in-sar in-[du<sub>8</sub> lippaṭir liṭṭar]id likkami* (maškadu 8:30-1)  
*[i]n-dab in-sar in-du<sub>8</sub> lippaṭir liṭṭarid likkami* (maškadu 9:13'-4')

T.

*[š]ipat Laš Erragal* (maškadu 3:5)  
*šiptu [ul y]uttu šip[at Ea u] Asalluḫi [šipat] Damu u [Gul]a šipat Ningirima [bēlet] šipti*  
 (maškadu 8:32-4)  
*šiptu ul yuttun šipat Ea u Asalluḫi šipat Damu u Gula šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti*  
 (maškadu 9:15'-8')

U.

*šunu iqbūnimma anāku uša[nni]* (maškadu 8:35)  
*šunu iqbūma anāku ušanni* (maškadu 9:19')

V.

*[š]apliš littāšima eliš ay ili* (maškadu 6:16)  
*[šapliš litt]ašima eliš ay ili* (maškadu 8:36)  
*šapliš littāšima eliš ay ili* (maškadu 9:20')  
*šap-[i<sup>?</sup>-iš...]* e-li-iš li-li (maškadu 11:8b-9a)

W.

*eme-ḫul-gál bar-[šè hé-em-ta-gub]* (maškadu 8:37)

eme-ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub (*maškadu* 9:21')



Table 5. Elemental Analysis of Various Illnesses Incantations

element	Various Illnesses								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A	1-9	1-9	1-5	1-3		1-2	1-3	1-4	1-3
B	10	10	6	4	1	3	4	5	4
C								6	
D				5	2				
E			7						
F			8-10						
G	11-2	11-2	11	6	3	4-5	5-6	7-9	5-6
H				7		6	7		
I	13-26	13-25	12-8	8-9	4-9	7-12		10-9	7-17
J							8-12	[...]	
K		26-8							18-20
L	27								
M	28					13-4	13-5		21-3

Table 5, continued. Elemental Analysis of Various Illnesses Incantations

element	Various Illnesses									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
N	29	29-30								24

Various Illnesses 1-5: OB; Various Illnesses 6-9: NA.

A.

*[sikkatum iš]ātum a[šū z]iqtum miq[tu]m šenu šamagu sāmānu gergiššu šennitum  
simmu matqum ekketum rišutum niṭu šuruppū šagbānu u šaššaṭu* (Various  
Illnesses 1:1-9)

*sikkatum išātum ašū ziqtum miqtum [š]anādu sāmānum [g]ergiššu simmu matqu  
[ekket]um rišūtum [ni]ṭum šenum šitum [š]agbānu šapinum [šur]uppūm  
lemnum [ep]jeqēnu u [būš]ānum* (Various Illnesses 2:1-9)

*sikkatum išātum miqtum šanūdu ašūm sāmānum epqēnu šalattinum u gergiššum*  
(Various Illnesses 3:1-5)

*sikkatum išātum miqtum šanādum ašū u sāmānum* (Various Illnesses 4:1-3)

*[sikkatu] miqtu šanādu sāmānu ašū [...] ašū muttaprištu ekketu ri[šūtu] šinn]aḥteru*  
(Various Illnesses 6:1-2)

*[sikkatu miqtu] šanādu sā[mānu ašū x-x]-ta ašū [muttaprištu rišūtu] šinna[ḥte]ru*  
(Various Illnesses 7:1-3)

*gergiššu dipāru epqēnu kissat išāti sikka[t]u ašū šanādu sāmānu bi'āru billu bu'sānu  
išāt[u aš]ū muttaprištu* (Various Illnesses 8:1-4)

(various illnesses listed, differing in exemplars A and B) (Various Illnesses 9:1-3)

B.

*ištu ziqqurrat šamē urdūni* (Various Illnesses 1:10)

*[i]štu šerret šamē urdūni* (Various Illnesses 2:10)

*ištu kakkab šamē urdūnim* (Various Illnesses 3:6)

*ina zuqqurān šamē urdamma* (Various Illnesses 4:4)

*ina šamē [urdamma]* (Various Illnesses 5:1)

*ištu šerret šamē urdūn[i]* (Various Illnesses 6:3)

*[i]štu šerret šamē] urdūni* (Various Illnesses 7:4)

*ištu kakkabi šamāmī urda* (Various Illnesses 8:5)

*[i]štu šerret šam]ē urdūnimma* (Various Illnesses 9:4)

C.

*urdamma ištu kakkabi šamāmī* (Various Illnesses 8:6)

D.

*imqut sikkatum innapiḥ išātu[m]* (Various Illnesses 4:5)

*innapiḥ išātum sikkatum imtaqut eli kali būlim* (Various Illnesses 5:2)

E.

*annānum eršetum šunūti imḥur* (Various Illnesses 3:7)

F.

*tibi gergiššum lā tarabbiš? kīma qutrim eli šamān[iš?] kīma ibb[arim naspīḥ]* (Various  
Illnesses 3:8-10)

G.

*uḥtammiṭ immerī kalūmī uḥtaddi<r> šuḥārē ina būd tāritim* (Various Illnesses 1:11-2)

*uḥtammiṭū immerī kalūmī uḥtammiṭū šeḥḥerūtīm ša būd tāritim* (Various Illnesses 2:11-  
2)

*tušta'dir bū[lam immeram] kalūmē šeḥram ina b[ūd] tāritim* (Various Illnesses 3:11)

*tākul immera kalūmam u šuḥāram ibbūd t[ā]ritim?* (Various Illnesses 4:6)

*uḥtammiṭ lalē kalūmī u šeḥḥerūtīm ina būd tāritim* (Various Illnesses 5:3)

*[ūta]bbitū immera ka[lūma] [ū]tabbitū šerra ina būd tāri[ti]* (Various Illnesses 6:4-5)

[ūtabbitū im]mera kalūma [ūtabbitū šerra] ina būd tārīti (Various Illnesses 7:5-6)  
 uḥtammiṭ immera kalūma uḥtammiṭ šerra ina būd tārīti [uḥtammiṭ] la'āti ina būd [...]  
 (Various Illnesses 8:7-9)  
 uṣṣarripū eḥlūti kallūmi uṣṣarrip[ū šerra ina b]ūd tārīti (Various Illnesses 9:5-6)

H.

quttur būlum lakāta? wuṣṣ[ur] (Various Illnesses 4:7)  
 [x]-li il-tab-šu ina rēš [appi] (Various Illnesses 6:6)  
 [x-li il-tab-šu i]na rēš appi (Various Illnesses 7:7)

I.

manna lu<š>pur u luwa''ir ana mārāt Ani 7 u 7 ša kannūšina ḥurāšu ka<r>pātūšina  
 uqnū ellu lilqāni kannišina ša ḥurāši ka<r>pātišina ša uqni e[lli] lisābāni mē  
 tām[eti] ellūti lislūḥā libellē sikkatam išātam ašā ziqta miqta šēna šamagam  
 sāmāna gergišša šernitam simma matqa ekketam rišitam niṭa šuruppā šagbāna u  
 šaššaṭa (Various Illnesses 1:13-26)  
 u la li su ni mārāt Ani 7 u 7 ša kannūšina ša ḥurāši karpātūšina uqnū [e]llu [i]sābāni mē  
 tiamti? ellūti lislūḥā liballā [sikk]ata išāta ašā ziqta mi[qta] šanāda sāmāna  
 gergišša simma matqa ekketa rišūtam niṭam šenam šitam šagbāna šapīnam  
 šuruppām lemmam epeqēnam u būšāna (Various Illnesses 2:13-25)  
 mannam lušpur ana mārti A[n]im libellūnim sikkatam išātam miqtam šanūdu ašūm  
 sāmānum epqēnu šalattinum u gergiššum (Various Illnesses 3:12-8)  
 manna[m] lušpur ana N[ingirima] liddina[m] š[ī]pat šal[imtim?] u balātīm (Various  
 Illnesses 4:8-9)  
 ana ummiya Ningirima qibiamma būlum liwwirū pānūšu liḥdu Šakkan liḥdu šammum  
 lirīš šulūm luštakkan šamšātim ina šubāt ilī rabūtīm ina tekni (Various Illnesses  
 5:4-9)  
 manna lušpur ana mārāt [Anu] lilqāni kannišina ša [sāmti] karpātišina ša uqn[i] ellī  
 lisābāni mē ayabba tāmāti rapaš[ti] mē Idiqlat u Purat[ti] lislūḥā liballā sikkata  
 miqta a[šā] [x x x-ta?-a] ašā muttaprišta ekketa rišūta ši[nnaḥtera] (Various  
 Illnesses 6:7-12)  
 annumma mārāt Anu ša šamē ellūti [...] lilqāni kannišina ša ḥu[lāli] u [ka]rpātišina ša  
 uqni ell[i] liḥbāni mē ayabba tāmāti r[apašti] mē [I]diqlat mē Puratti [lislūḥā]  
 liballā gergišša dipāra epqēna kis[sat išāti] si[kk]ata [aš]ā šanāda sāmāna bi'āra  
 [billa bu' šāna] išāt[a] ašā m[uttaprišta] (Various Illnesses 8:10-9)  
 manna lušpur ana mārāt Anu ša šamē liššā[ni kannišin]a ša ḥulāli u karpātišina ša uqni  
 ebbi liḥbāni mē ayabba tāmāti rapašti mē Idiqlat mē Puratti ša urrušti lā uširru u  
 musukk[atu lā imsū qātiša] libillānimma littalkāni (various illnesses listed,  
 differing in exemplars A and B) (Various Illnesses 9:7-17)

J.

imur[ma Asalluḥi] mār Ea Gula [azugallat]u rabītu ša Anu lišbatū [...lid]dinma?  
 lišetbi...šā zumrišu lišbi' kunuk šubī 7 [...]...kīma imbari li[tbi] ana' [šamē]  
 (Various Illnesses 7:8-12)

K.

[uta]mmika Šamaš qu[rā]da [...]...ila dayyāna [ana] šibtika [ta]turruma (Various  
 Illnesses 2:26-8)  
 kīma eḥlūti ša [...] ana aḥrāti kissat išāt[i...š]jennitu [...]b]u'āru lā itār ana annanna mār  
 annanna (Various Illnesses 9:18-20)

L.

*tû'ellu ša Damu u Ninnikarrak* (Various Illnesses 1:27)

M.

*šiptum ul yattum šipat Niggirima Ea Asalluḫi* (Various Illnesses 1:28)

*[šiptu ul y]uttu šipat Ea u [Asalluḫi šipat Damu u G]ul[a š]ipat Ni[n]g[irima bēlet]  
š[ipti]* (Various Illnesses 6:13-4)

*šiptu ul yuttu šipat Ea [u] Asa[l]uḫi šipat Damu u Gula šipat Ningir[ima b]ēlet šip[ti]*  
(Various Illnesses 7:13-5)

*šiptu ul yuttun šipat E[a u Asalluḫi] šipat Damu u Gula šipat Ningirima bēlet šipti*  
(Various Illnesses 9:21-3)

N.

*ša Niggirima iddūma [anāk]u elqū* (Various Illnesses 1:29)

*[...] 'x' la a ti 'bu li zu' [an]āku šipta luddi* (Various Illnesses 2:29-30)

*šunu i[qbū anāku ašši]* (Various Illnesses 9:24)

Table 6. Elemental Analysis of *uzzu* Incantations

element	<i>uzzu</i>					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
A		1a	1	1	1	1
B		1b-2	2-3		2-3	
C		3-4	4-5		4-5	
D	[...]		6-7	2	6-7	
E	1'-2'	5-6	8-10		8-9	2-3
F		7-8				
G		9		3-4		
H	3'-5'			5-6		
I				7	10	4

*uzzu* 1-6: OB.

not incorporated: *uzzu* 3:11 ff.

## A.

uzzum (uzzu 2:1a)  
 [uzz]ummi uzz[um] (uzzu 3:1)  
 [uzzum] uzzum (uzzu 4:1)  
 uzz[u]m uzzum (uzzu 5:1)  
 uzzum uzzum (uzzu 6:1)

## B.

illaka rīmāni [i]štanahḥiṭam kalbāni (uzzu 2:1b-2)  
 [i]llaka rīmāni[š i]štanahḥiṭ kalbāni[š] (uzzu 3:2-3)  
 i[llakam] rīmāniš išt[anahḥiṭam] kalbāniš (uzzu 5:2-3)

## C.

kīma nēšim ēz alākam kīma barbarim mali libbātīm (uzzu 2:3-4)  
 kīma nēšim ēz alāka kīma barbarim lakāta mādmi (uzzu 3:4-5)  
 k[īma nēšim ēz] al[ākam] k[īma barbarim lak]ātām ušša[r] (uzzu 5:4-5)

## D.

issuḥ bāštam ša pānišu ihpi Kuliam ša libbišu (uzzu 3:6-7)  
 [...] ina libbišu (uzzu 4:2)  
 [...] kabattim i[hpi Kuliam] ša libbišu (uzzu 5:6-7)

## E.

quddamma kī asku[ppatim] lubāk[a] kī arkabinnim [l]ūtettikka (uzzu 1:1'-2')  
 tašbam kīma askuppatim lubāka kīma arkabinnim lūtettikka (uzzu 2:5-6)  
 apriššuma kīma titurri lubā eliš[u] šapal...[l]diqlat [nā]rum (uzzu 3:8-10)  
 ti[turram lu]bā elišu šapa[lšu] Idiqlat nārum (uzzu 5:8-9)  
 kīma asku[pp]atim lukabbisk[a] kīma qaqqari[m] lūtettikka (uzzu 6:2-3)

## F.

kīma sippim lušqallil ina šērika kīma šumunnim lunē' kibiska (uzzu 2:7-8)

## G.

lušēši ištām ša libbika (uzzu 2:9)  
 lušqika [m]ē kašūtīm lušqika šuripam takšiātīm (uzzu 4:3-4)

## H.

[k]īma barbarim [b]āštam [kī] nēšim šalummat[am] [lūt]erka (uzzu 1:3'-5')  
 [l]ibbaka kīma barbarim bāštam [kīma] nēšim šal[umm]atūm liklāka? (uzzu 4:5-6)

## I.

šeḥiṭ uzzu[m] ša Nanaya (uzzu 4:7)  
 šeḥiṭ [uzzum] ša Nanaya (uzzu 5:10)  
 šeḥiṭ [uz]zum ša Nanaya (uzzu 6:4)

## APPENDIX B

### ETIOLOGICAL STORIES IN MEDICAL INCANTATIONS

Embedded in some medical incantations are etiological stories telling how the illness first came to exist. These stories show either 1) a god (or gods) creating the illness unintentionally, or else 2) the illness being created without any god's involvement. After presenting the stories, I suggest that their basic point is that the illness's creation did not reflect the gods' will. The stories thereby imply that the illness's present existence should not be taken as a sign of the gods' attitude toward mankind or their design of the cosmos.

Most of the etiological stories in medical incantations tell how one or more gods created an illness, or at least brought it into contact with mankind (thus creating it qua illness).<sup>1</sup> According to several, Šamaš created *kis libbi* by picking the *sammi libbi* plant and bringing it down from the mountain:

*Samaš sammam ištu š[adim] ušēbiram[ma]  
libbi Šamaš mušēbirišu iṣbat  
libbi Šin ina šamē iṣbat  
libbi alpim ina supūrim iṣbat  
libbi immerim ina tarbašim iṣbat  
libbi eṭlim ina šulim iṣbat  
libbi ardatim ina mēlultim iṣbat*

Šamaš brought the plant over from the m[ountain],  
[And] it seized the belly of Šamaš, the one who brought it over,  
It seized the belly of Šin in heaven,  
It seized the belly of the ox in the fold,  
It seized the belly of the sheep in the pen,

---

<sup>1</sup>Some medical incantations include two stories in succession, the first telling how the illness was created, the second how it came into contact with mankind.



It seized the belly of the young man on the path,  
It seized the belly of the young woman in the game

(Belly 11:1-9)

*[šammu š]a libbi i[na šadī ašīma Šamaš iss]uḫam  
[libbi] Šamaš' nāsi[ḫišu' iṣṣabat]  
rē[ 'a] Sīn iṣṣa[bat]  
libbi alpi ina supūri iṣṣ[abat]  
libbi immeri ina tarb[āš]i iṣṣabat  
libbi annanna māri annanna ša iṣṣu annanna iṣṣaršu [anna]nnitu iṣṣabat*

[The plant fo]r the belly [was growing] o[n the mountain, so Šamaš pic]ked (it);  
[It seized the belly of] Šamaš, the one who pick[ed it],  
[It se]ized herds[man] Sīn,  
[It seiz]ed the belly of the ox in the fold,  
It seized the belly of the sheep in the pe[n],  
It seized the belly of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose  
goddess is [So-a]nd-so

(Belly 12:1-7)

In another version, Sīn apparently picked the plant for Šamaš, who then brought it  
down with similar results:

*libbi Šamaš ina šadī [...] maruṣma  
šammi libbi ina Makkan ašīma Sīn [issuḫšu]  
ša Šamaš immerū p[ā]nū[š]u  
Šamaš šamma iṣṣu šadī ušēridam[ma]  
iṣkunma ina qaqqari  
šuršūšu qaqqara malū qarnāšu šamē nakpā  
iṣbat libbi Šamaš lēqīšu  
iṣbat libbi Sīn ina erpēti  
iṣbat libbi alpi ina tarbašī  
iṣbat libbi immer[ī] i[na] supūri  
iṣbat libbi imēri ina sugullī  
iṣbat libbi kalbi ina šigari  
iṣbat libbi šaḫi ina erretī  
iṣbat libbi eṭli ina mēlulti  
iṣbat libbi ardati ina uršiša  
iṣbat libbi annanna mār annanna*

The belly of Šamaš was sick on the [...] mountain;  
The plant for the belly was growing in Makkan, so Sīn [picked it];  
Šamaš's f[a]ce brightened;  
Šamaš brought the plant down from the mountain,  
He planted it in the ground,  
And its roots filled the earth, its horns gored the heavens;  
It seized the belly of Šamaš, the one who took it,  
It seized the belly of Sīn in the clouds,  
It seized the belly of the ox in the pen,  
It seized the belly of the shee[p i]n the fold,

It seized the belly of the ass in the herd,  
 It seized the belly of the dog at the bolt (of the door),  
 It seized the belly of the pig in the sty,  
 It seized the belly of the young man in the game,  
 It seized the belly of the young woman in her room,  
 It seized the belly of So-and-so, son of So-and-so

(Belly 10:23-30)<sup>2</sup>

When harvesting grain, Šin and Šamaš created the sty (*merḫu*) by causing a kernel (also *merḫu*) to get into a person's eye:

*inami eqel Enlil mithārim*  
*70 iki eqlam Šin iṣṣidi Šamaš ušapḫar*  
*anami in eṭli iterub merḫum*

In the square field of Enlil,  
 Šin harvests a 70 *ikū* field, and has Šamaš gather (it),  
 (When) a kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man

(Eyes 15:9-16)

*Šamaš iṣṣid Šin upaḫḫar*  
*Šamaš ina eṣēdišu Šin ina puḫ[ḫurišu]*  
*ana in eṭli mir' u iterub*

Šamaš harvests, Šin gathers,  
 While Šamaš harvests, while Šin gathe[rs],  
 A kernel of grain got into the eye of a young man

(Eyes 14:8-10)

Šamaš and Ea created toothache by placing a worm in a person's tooth:

*illik tūltu ana pān Šamaš ibakki*  
*ana pān Ea illakā dimāša*  
*minā taddana ana akāliya*  
*minā taddana ana munzuqiya*  
*attannakki titta bašilta armanā ḫašḫūra*  
*anāku ammīna annā titta bašilta u armanā ḫašḫūra*  
*šuqqānnima ina birīt šinni u lašḫi šūšibanni*  
*ša šinnimma lunzuqa dāmišu*  
*u ša lašḫimma luksus kusāsēšu*

The worm went crying to Šamaš,  
 Its tears coming before Ea, (and said):  
 "What will you give me to eat?  
 "What will you give me to suck?" —

<sup>2</sup>Other versions of the *šammi libbi* story are found in Belly 13-4; but since those versions portray a first person narrator (presumably the patient) picking the plant, they describe the illness's incidence, rather than its origin.

"I have (already) given you a ripe fig (and) an *armanû* apple"—  
 "I? Why (have you given me) this, a ripe fig and an *armanû* apple?  
 "Raise me up and seat me between a tooth and a jaw!  
 "I will suck the blood of the tooth,  
 "And I will gnaw on little bits of the jaw!"

(Teeth 1:7-15)

When creating the cosmos, Anu initiated chains of creation that resulted in the  
 toothache-worm or *bu'sānu* illness:

*Anu irḥiam samē*  
*šamû eršetam uldūnim*  
*eršetum ulid būšam*  
*būšum ulid luḥummâm*  
*luḥummûm ulid zubba*  
*zu[b]bu ulid tūltam*

Anu impregnated heaven,  
 Heaven bore the earth,  
 The earth bore the stench?,  
 The stench bore the mud,  
 The mud bore the fly,  
 The fly bore the worm

(Teeth 4:1-3)

*ultu Anu ibnû šamē*  
*šamû ibnû eršeta*  
*eršetu ibnû nārāti*  
*nārātu ibnâ atappāti*  
*atappātu ibnâ rušumta*  
*rušumtu ibnû tūlta*

After Anu made heaven,  
 Heaven made the earth,  
 The earth made the rivers,  
 The rivers made the canals,  
 The canals made the mud,  
 (And) the mud made the worm,...

(Teeth 1:1-6)<sup>3</sup>

*Anumma Anu*  
*Anu puḥur šamē*  
*Anu puḥur eršeti*  
*eršetu ibtani t[ūlta]*  
*eršetu ibtani bu'sāna*

<sup>3</sup>Cf. also Teeth 7:71'-2': *Anumm[i...] ištu Anu i[bnû...]*.

It was Anu, Anu,  
 Anu (made) all of heaven,  
 Anu (made) all of earth,  
 The earth made the w[orm],  
 The earth made *Bu'sānu*

(*bu'sānu* 4:52'-3')

The mother goddess Bēlet-ilī (also known as Mami) apparently made mankind susceptible to nasal and vaginal bleeding when she made its blood:

*mimmū ilū ibnū amilūti*  
 [Bēlet-i]lī dāmšina ibni  
 [īmu]ršinātima Ea ibakki  
 [ana lēt]i Mami illakā dimāša  
 [...i]lsūni? ilī kalama  
 [...] Istar Bēlet-ilī Šamaš u Gula  
 [...ša] eṭli ina appišu u ša ardati ina ūriša  
 itta[nattuk]ū [u itt]anallakū dāmūšu dimāšu  
 ittanattuk u ittanallak

All the gods made mankind,  
 (But) [Bēlet-i]lī made their blood;  
 Ea [sa]w them (mankind) and began to cry,  
 Tears came [to] Mami's c[heeks],  
 [...they ca]lled? all of the gods,  
 [...], Istar, Bēlet-ilī, Šamaš, and Gula, (saying):  
 "[...] the young man['s] from his nose, and the young woman's blood from her  
 vagina,  
 "Their blood continually drips and flows, their tears  
 "Continually drip and flow"

(Bleeding 1:1-9)

The mother goddess also apparently created mankind to be susceptible to eye illness, since the sick eyes ask "their mother, Mami,"

[*amm*]in nāšimma ittini tarkusī ašā dāma u sāra  
 "[Wh]y (with) us? (Why) did you bind confusion, blood, and wind with us?"  
 (Eyes 9:3)

Medical incantations also sometimes indicate that an illness is the offspring of a god; thus sick eyes are *mārāt Anu* "the daughters of Anu,"<sup>4</sup> the toothache-worm is *mārat*

---

<sup>4</sup>Eyes 4:3; cf. Eyes 9:2, which refers to Mami as the sick eyes' mother.

*Gula* "the daughter of Gula,"<sup>5</sup> "fire" (*išātu*, i.e., fever) is the offspring of Anu and Antu,<sup>6</sup> and *šāru* (the "wind" that causes flatulence) is *māri ilī* "the son of the gods."<sup>7</sup>

Other stories do not explicitly involve a god in the illness's creation.<sup>8</sup> Thus the earth or the work song (*alālu*) initiated the chain of creations that resulted in the sty:

*eršetummi eršetum ulid luḫāma*  
*luḫummū ulid išinna*  
*išinnum ulid šubultam*  
*šubultum ulid merḫa*

The earth, the earth bore the mud,  
 The mud bore the stalk,  
 The stalk bore the ear,  
 The ear bore the kernel of grain (i.e., the sty)

(Eyes 15:1-8)

*ina šurri lām bašāmi alālu urda ana māt[i]*  
*ittū šer'a ulid*  
*šer'u ḫabburr[a]*  
*ḫabburru kannu*  
*kannu kišra*  
*kišru šubulta*  
*šubul[tu] mir'a*

In the beginning, before creation, the work song came down to the lan[d], (and)  
 The seeder(-plough) bore the furrow,  
 The furrow the shoo[t],  
 The shoot the stalk,  
 The stalk the node,  
 The node the ear,  
 The ea[r] the kernel of grain

(Eyes 14:1-7)<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Teeth 4:4.

<sup>6</sup>W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 40, l. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Belly 1:2; cf. Belly 2:57, where gods are referred to as *šāru*'s "brothers."

<sup>8</sup>Although some of these stories may involve the gods implicitly, by tracing the illness's creation to a metonym for them.

<sup>9</sup>*alālu* "work song" is perhaps a metonym for the gods, since it is often marked with the divine determinative and was first called out by a god (according to Maqlu VI 49, which establishes a primordial setting as: *lām Ningirsu ina šadī ilsū alāla* "before Ningirsu called out the work song in the mountains").

Further, "fire" "emerged from the depths of the forests" or "descended from heaven,"<sup>10</sup> *maškadu* illness descended from "heaven" or the "stars of heaven,"<sup>11</sup> and various illnesses descended from the "stars," "lead-rope" (*ṣerretu*), "ziggurat," or "top part" (*zuqqurānu*) of heaven.<sup>12</sup>

Given how widely these stories vary, it is striking that they all suggest that the illness's creation was not an intentional act of the gods. The stories do this in one of two ways. On the one hand, stories that do not involve the gods at all suggest that the illness's creation occurred independently of the gods' intentions. On the other hand, stories that do involve gods can all be interpreted as implying that the gods created the illness only unintentionally:

- Since Šamaš and Sîn were themselves victims of the *šammi libbi* plant, they presumably did not realize that picking it would create *kis libbi* illness;
- Šamaš and Ea placed the worm in a person's tooth in order to placate it, and only after first offering it other foods; thus toothache's creation was not a deliberate act meant to cause human suffering, but rather an incidental effect of divine kindness;
- Anu created the toothache-worm and *bu'šānu* illness only indirectly (by initiating a chain of creations) and incidentally (when creating the cosmos).
- The mother goddess was generally considered benevolent to mankind; thus I believe she most likely created people to be susceptible to bleeding and eye illness only accidentally.

---

<sup>10</sup>W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970): 41, l. 20 and LKU 59 obv. 9; and J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 17 rev. 20'.

<sup>11</sup>*maškadu* 2:9, 4:2, and passim.

<sup>12</sup>Various Illnesses 3:5; 2:10; 1:10; and 4:11'. Heaven may serve as a metonym for the gods, since it is their home.

(In addition, divine parentage does not imply why a god created an illness, since a parent may sire or bear a child for many reasons, or for no reason at all.) No story unambiguously shows a god intentionally creating an illness to punish mankind, reduce its numbers, or serve any other cosmic purpose.<sup>13</sup> Thus although the stories never say in so many words that the illness was not created for any reason, they do lend themselves to that interpretation.

But why would the stories imply that the illness was not created for any reason? I suggest that the stories tell an illness's origin only in order to express something about its present existence. As W. Doniger O'Flaherty remarks in regard to Hindu myths describing the origin of evil, "[t]he myths... appear to be about origins, but implicit in them is a concern for the way things *are*. The pseudo-historical framework is merely a manner of speaking, a metaphor for theoretical ideas.... The myth elucidates the nature of evil by means of an invented story of its origin."<sup>14</sup> I believe the etiological stories in medical incantations have a similar purpose: by expressing that an illness was not created for any reason, the stories imply that the illness does not now exist for any reason, and thus that it signifies nothing about the gods' attitude toward mankind or their design of the cosmos.

---

<sup>13</sup>However, I exclude Eyes 2:8-10: *ina bērišina pitiqtu patqat / irub Nergal ina bērušina ittadī kussīšu / aššum annitu ina libbi anniti lā napāši* "Between them (the sick eyes) a wall has been made; / Nergal entered between them and set up his chair, / So that the one could not relax with<sup>2</sup> the other." I do not count this as an etiological story because a comparison with similar eye incantations and with other incantations in which an illness "sets up its chair" (e.g., *bu'sānu* 1-4) suggests that the incantation describes the illness's incidence, rather than its origin.

<sup>14</sup>W. Doniger O'Flaherty, *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 9.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achterberg, Jeanne. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine*. Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985.
- Adamson, P.B. "Anatomical and Pathological Terms in Akkadian, Part II." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1979, 2-8.
- Ahern, Emily M. "The Problem of Efficacy: Strong and Weak Illocutionary Acts." *Man* n.s. 14 (1979): 1-17.
- Arnaud, Daniel. *Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar*, vol. 6: *Les textes sumériens et accadiens* and *Textes de la bibliothèque: Transcriptions et traductions*. 4 parts. Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "L'incantation ourgaritaine contre le 'Feu': RS. 17.155 2 § 8." *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995): 137-9.
- Avalos, Hector. *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel*. Harvard Semitic Monographs, 54. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995.
- Beckman, Gary, and Benjamin R. Foster. "Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection." In *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs* (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 9), ed. Erle Leichty, Maria deJ. Ellis, and Pamela Gerardi, 1-26. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1988.
- Biggs, Robert D. *ŠA.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources, 2. Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Medicine in Ancient Mesopotamia." *History of Science* 8 (1969): 94-105.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Babylonien." In *Krankheit, Heilkunst, Heilung*, ed. Paul U. Unschuld, 91-114. Freiburg and Munich: Karl Alber, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Medizin, A: In Mesopotamien." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 (1987-1990): 623-9.
- Black, Jeremy, and Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Bottéro, Jean. *Mythes et rites de Babylone*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 328. Geneva: Slatkine; Paris: Champion, 1985.



- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*. Translated by Zainab Bahrani and Marc van de Mieroop. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992. First published: *Mésopotamie: L'écriture, la raison et les dieux*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Magie, A: In Mesopotamien." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7 (1987-1990): 200-34.
- Boyer, Pascal. *Tradition as Truth and Communication: A Cognitive Description of Traditional Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas: A Cognitive Theory of Religion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine. "Notes sumérologiques." *Acta Sumerologica* (Japan) 9 (1987): 45-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Magica Mariana." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 88 (1994): 155-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Notes sumérologiques." *Acta Sumerologica* (Japan) 18 (1996): 31-46.
- Cavigneaux, Antoine, and Farouk N.H. al-Rawi. "New Sumerian Literary Texts from Tell Haddad (Ancient Meturan): A First Survey." *Iraq* 55 (1993): 91-105.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Charmes de Sippar et de Nippur." In *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le proche-orient ancien: Offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer* (Mesopotamian History and Environment: Occasional Publications, 2), ed. H. Gasche, M. Tanret, C. Janssen, and A. Degraeve, 73-89. Leuven: Peeters, 1994.
- Civil, Miguel. "A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song." In *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, ed. Robert D. Biggs and John A. Brinkman, 67-89. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Remarks on 'Sumerian and Bilingual Texts.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967): 200-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les limites de l'information textuelle." In *L'archéologie de l'Iraq du début de l'époque néolithique à 333 avant notre ère: Perspectives et limites de l'interprétation anthropologique des documents* (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 580), ed. Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, 225-232. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration." In *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (American Oriental Series, 67), ed. Francesca Rochberg-Halton, 37-55. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1987.
- Craig, James A. *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, 2. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897.

- Cunningham, Graham. "Deliver Me From Evil": *Mesopotamian Incantations, 2500-1500 B.C.* Studia Pohl: Series Maior, 17. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1997.
- Deller, Karlheinz. "The Sealed Burial Chamber." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 1/2 (1987): 69-71.
- Du Bois, John W. "Self-Evidence and Ritual Speech." In *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, ed. Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols, 313-36. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1986.
- Durand, Jean-Marie. *Documents cunéiformes de la IVe Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, 1: *Catalogue et copies cunéiformes*. École pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 2. Hautes études orientales, 18. Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Maladies et médecins." In *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1* (Archives royales de Mari, 26), ed. Jean-Marie Durand, 543-84. Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988.
- Falkenstein, Adam. *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht*. Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge, 1. Leipzig: August Pries, 1931; reprint, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1968.
- Farber, Walter. "'Wehe, wenn...!'" *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 64 (1975): 177-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1981): 51-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lamaštu." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6 (1980-1983): 439-46.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Early Akkadian Incantations: Addenda et Subtrahenda." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1984): 69-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Akkadisch 'blind'." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 210-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Rituale und Beschwörungen in akkadischer Sprache." In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, 2: *Religiöse Texte: Rituale und Beschwörungen*, 1, ed. Walter Farber, Hans Martin Kümmel and Willem H. Ph. Römer, 212-81. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!: Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*. Mesopotamian Civilizations, 2. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Magic at the Cradle: Babylonian and Assyrian Lullabies." *Anthropos* 85 (1990): 139-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "*mannam lušpur ana Enkidu*: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990): 299-321.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "'Forerunners' and 'Standard Versions': A Few Thoughts About Terminology." In *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg, 95-7. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lamaštu: An Edition of the 'Canonical' Lamaštu Series and Related Akkadian Texts from the First and Second Millennium B.C." Unpublished manuscript, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "*qanu'ummi qanu'um*." *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1996/80.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "*māra/āt Anim* oder: Des Anu Töchterlein (In Singular und Plural, Text und Bild)." In *tikip santakki mala bašmu...: Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994* (Cuneiform Monographs, 10), ed. Stefan M. Maul, 59-69. Groningen: Styx, 1998.
- Finkel, Irving L. "The Crescent Fertile." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27 (1980): 37-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Study in Scarlet: Incantations against Samana." In *tikip santakki mala bašmu...: Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994* (Cuneiform Monographs, 10), ed. Stefan M. Maul, 71-106. Groningen: Styx, 1998.
- Finnegan, Ruth. *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Fish, T. "Miscellanea." *Iraq* 6 (1939): 184-6.
- Foley, John Miles. *The Singer of Tales in Performance*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Foster, Benjamin R. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1996.
- Foster, George M. "Disease Etiologies in Non-Western Medical Systems." *American Anthropologist* 78 (1976): 773-82.
- Frankel, Stephen. *The Huli Response to Illness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Frazer, James G. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged ed. London: Macmillan, 1922; reprint, Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1996.
- Gardner, D.S. "Performativity in Ritual: The Mianmin Case." *Man* n.s. 18 (1983): 346-60.
- Geller, Markham J. Review of Köcher BAM, vols. 5-6. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 74 (1984): 292-7.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "A New Piece of Witchcraft." In DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A: *Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 11), ed. Hermann Behrens, Darlene Loding, and Martha T. Roth, 193-205. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989.
- George, Andrew R. "Ea in Hiding." *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1995/68.
- Gibbs, Raymond W., Jr. *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Gillies, Eva. "Causal Criteria in African Classifications of Disease." In *Social Anthropology and Medicine* (A.S.A. Monograph 13), ed. J.B. Loudon, 358-95. London and New York: Academic Press, 1976.
- Goetze, Albrecht. "An Incantation against Diseases." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 9 (1955): 8-18.
- Goltz, Dietlinde. *Studien zur altorientalischen und griechischen Heilkunde: Therapie—Arzneibereitung—Rezeptstruktur*. Sudhoffs Archiv, 16. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974.
- Gurney, O.R. *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, 11. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Gurney, O.R., and P. Hulin. *The Sultantepe Tablets*, Vol. 2. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1964.
- Hecker, Karl. *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Sonderreihe, 8. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kleinere Schöpfungserzählungen." In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, 3: *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen: Mythen und Epen*, 2, ed. Karl Hecker, et al., 603-11. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Schultexte aus Kültepe: Ein Nachtrag." *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1996/30.
- Herrero, Pablo. *La thérapeutique mésopotamienne*. Edited by Marcel Sigrist. Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1984.
- Holyoak, Keith J., and Paul Thagard. *Mental Leaps: Analogy in Creative Thought*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.
- Howell, Signe. "Formal Speech Acts as One Discourse." *Man* n.s. 21 (1986): 79-101.
- Huehnergard, John. *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. Harvard Semitic Studies, 34. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989.

- Hunger, Hermann. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, Vol. 1. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 9. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1976.
- Keane, Webb. "Religious Language." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 47-71.
- Kerewsky-Halpern, Barbara, and John Miles Foley. "The Power of the Word: Healing Charms as an Oral Genre." *Journal of American Folklore* 91 (1978): 903-24.
- King, Leonard W. *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum: Supplement*. London, 1914.
- Kirmayer, Laurence J. "The Body's Insistence on Meaning: Metaphor as Presentation and Representation in Illness Experience." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 6 (1992): 323-46.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Healing and the Invention of Metaphor: The Effectiveness of Symbols Revisited." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 17 (1993): 161-95.
- Köcher, Franz. "Ein mittelassyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrsfest." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 50 (1952): 192-202.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Ritualtafel der magisch-medizinischen Tafelserie 'Einreibung'." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21 (1966): 13-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*. 6 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963-1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Spätbabylonische medizinische Texte aus Uruk." In *Medizinische Diagnostik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift für Heinz Goerke zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Christa Habrich, et al., 17-39. Munich: Werner Fritsch, 1978.
- Kraus, Fritz Rudolf. "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43 (1936): 77-113.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Akkadische Wörter und Ausdrücke, I-III." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 64 (1970): 53-61.
- Krebernik, Manfred. *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla: Untersuchungen zur ältesten keilschriftlichen Beschwörungsliteratur*. Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, 2. Hildesheim and Zurich: Georg Olms, 1984.
- Küchler, Friedrich. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin: Texte mit Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Assyriologische Bibliothek, 18. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1904.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

- Lakoff, George, and Zoltán Kövecses. "The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English." In *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*, ed. Dorothy Holland and Naomi Quinn, 195-221. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Lambert, Wilfred G. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960; reprint, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 16 (1962): 59-77.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Middle Assyrian Tablet of Incantations." In *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), ed. Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen, 283-8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Middle Assyrian Medical Text." *Iraq* 31 (1969): 28-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Fire Incantations." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970): 39-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sultantepe Tablets, IX: The Birdcall Text." *Anatolian Studies* 20 (1970): 111-7.
- Lambert, Wilfred G., and Alan R. Millard. *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Landsberger, Benno. "Corrections to the Article 'An Old Babylonian Charm against Merḫu'." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 (1958): 56-8.
- Landsberger, Benno, and Thorkild Jacobsen. "An Old Babylonian Charm against Merḫu." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 14-21.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology*. Translated by Claire Jacobson and Brook Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Basic Books, 1963.
- Lewis, Gilbert. *Knowledge of Illness in a Sepik Society: A Study of the Gnau, New Guinea*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, 52. London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1975.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966; reprint, Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Magic, Reason and Experience: Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Maskarinec, Gregory G. *The Rulings of the Night: An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Maul, Stefan M. *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*. Baghdader Forschungen, 18. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.

- Mayer, Werner R. "Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD Š<sub>1</sub>." *Orientalia* n.s. 63 (1994): 111-20.
- McCreery, John L. "Potential and Effective Meaning in Therapeutic Ritual." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 3 (1979): 53-72.
- Meier, Gerhard. *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 2. Berlin, 1937; reprint, Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1963.
- Michalowski, Piotr. "Carminative Magic: Towards an Understanding of Sumerian Poetics." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1981): 1-18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Orality and Literacy and Early Mesopotamian Literature." In *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout, 227-45. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Early Mesopotamian Incantation Tradition." In *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (Quaderni di Semitistica, 18), ed. Pelio Fronzaroli, 305-26. Florence: Dipartimento di Linguistica, Università di Firenze, 1992.
- Michel, Cécile. "Une incantation paléo-assyrienne contre Lamaštum." *Orientalia* n.s. 66 (1997): 58-64.
- Nöth, Winfried. "Semiotics of the Old English Charm." *Semiotica* 19 (1977): 59-83.
- Nougayrol, Jean. "Textes et documents figurés." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 41 (1947): 23-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit." In *Ugaritica*, 5 (Mission de Ras Shamra, 16), ed. Claude F.A. Schaeffer, 1-446. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Textes religieux (II)." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 66 (1972): 141-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Tablettes diverses du musée du Louvre." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 73 (1979): 63-80.
- O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo. "Mesopotamian Medicine." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (1962): 97-108.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Perspectives on Mesopotamian Divination." In *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines* (XIVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale), 35-43. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Man and Nature in Mesopotamian Civilization." *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 15 (1978): 634-66.

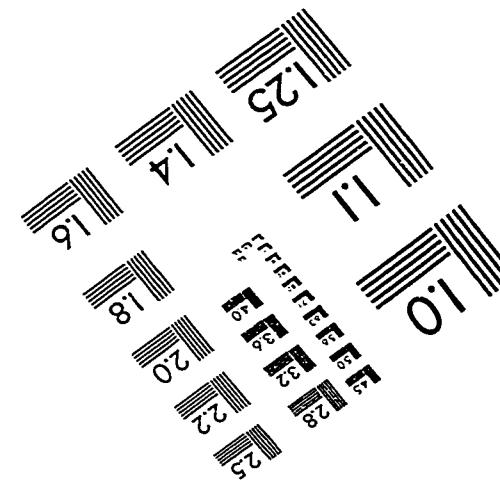
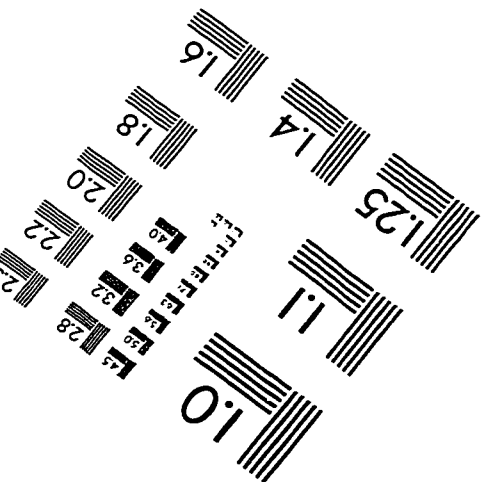
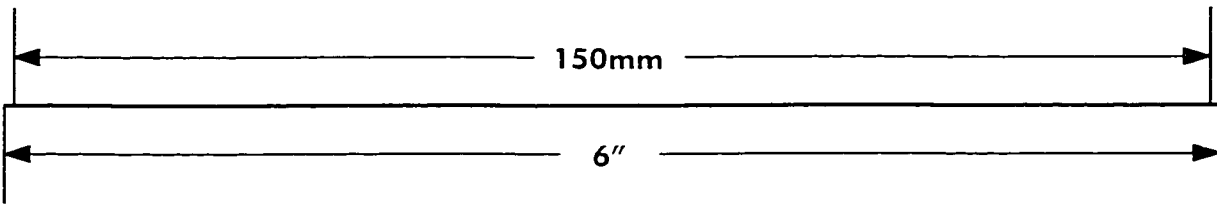
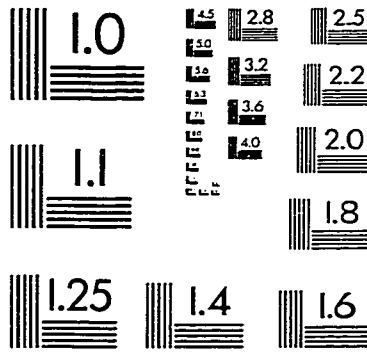
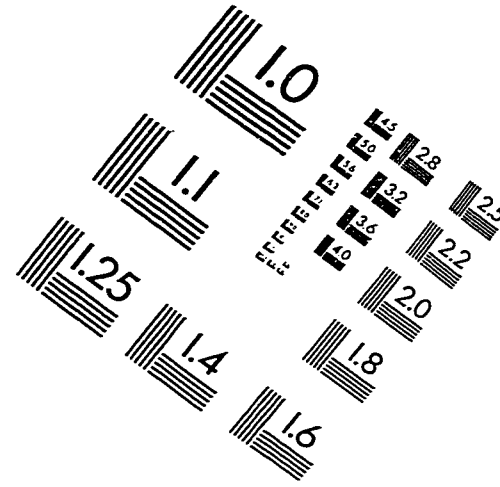
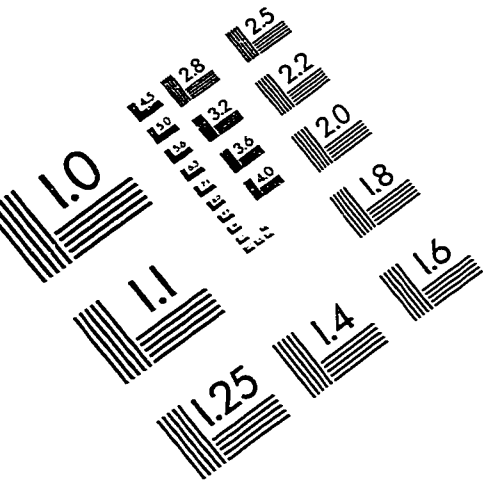
- Parpola, Simo. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. State Archives of Assyria, 10. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Assyrian Prophecies*. State Archives of Assyria, 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997.
- Paul, Judith Roberta. "Mesopotamian Ritual Texts and the Concept of the Sacred in Mesopotamia." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1992.
- Picchioni, S.A. *Il poemetto di Adapa*. Assyriologia, 6. Budapest, 1981.
- Reiner, Erica. *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 11. Graz, 1958; reprint, Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Medicine in Ancient Mesopotamia." *The Journal of the International College of Surgeons* 41 (1964): 544-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967): 177-200.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria*. Michigan Studies in the Humanities, 5. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Nocturnal Talk." In *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 37), ed. Tzvi Abusch, John Huehnergard, and Piotr Steinkeller, 421-4. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "First-millennium Babylonian Literature." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. 3/2, ed. John Boardman, et al., 293-321. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Astral Magic in Babylonia*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85/4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995.
- Ritter, Edith K. "Magical-expert (=āšipu) and Physician (=asū): Notes on Two Complementary Professions in Babylonian Medicine." In *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), ed. Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen, 299-321. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Scurlock, Jo Ann. "Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1988.
- Sherzer, Joel. *Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- Starr, Ivan. *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. State Archives of Assyria, 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.



- Stol, Marten. "Zur altmesopotamischen Bierbereitung." Review of Wolfgang Röllig, *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien. Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28 (1971): 167-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Old Babylonian Fields." *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 4 (1988): 173-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Old Babylonian Ophthalmology." In *Reflets des deux fleuves: Volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet* (Akkadica, Supplementum 6), ed. Marc Lebeau and Philippe Talon, 163-6. Leuven: Peeters, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Diagnosis and Therapy in Babylonian Medicine." *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "ex oriente lux"* 32 (1991-1992): 42-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Epilepsy in Babylonia*. Cuneiform Monographs, 2. Groningen: Styx, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Review of Avalos, *Illness and Health Care. Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54 (1997): 406-10.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. "The Magical Power of Words." *Man* n.s. 3 (1968): 175-208.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View." In *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies*, ed. Robin Horton and Ruth Finnegan, 199-229. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.
- Thompson, R. Campbell. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. Oxford, 1930.
- Thureau-Dangin, Francois. "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mâri." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 36 (1939): 1-28.
- Turner, Mark. *Death Is the Mother of Beauty: Mind, Metaphor, Criticism*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- van der Toorn, Karel. *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 22. Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum, 1985.
- van Dijk, Johannes J.A. *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte*. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971.
- van Dijk, Johannes J.A., Albrecht Goetze, and Mary I. Hussey. *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*. Yale Oriental Series: Babylonian Texts, 11. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.
- van Soldt, Wilfred Hugo. "Irrigation in Kassite Babylonia." *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 4 (1988): 104-20.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 40. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991.
- Veenhof, Klaas R. "An Old Assyrian Incantation against a Black Dog (kt a/k 611)." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (Festschrift Hans Hirsch) (1996): 425-33.
- Veldhuis, Niek C. "The Heart Grass and Related Matters." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 21 (1990): 27-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Cow of Sin*. Library of Oriental Texts, 2. Groningen: Styx, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Fly, the Worm, and the Chain: Old Babylonian Chain Incantations." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1993): 41-64.
- von Soden, Wolfram. Review of CT 42. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18 (1961): 71-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Duplikate aus Ninive." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33 (1974): 339-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, 3rd ed. *Analecta Orientalia*, 33. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995.
- von Weiher, Egbert. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, vols. 2-3. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 10 and 12. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1983-1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18*, vols. 4-5. Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte, 12-3. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993-1998.
- Waetzoldt, Hartmut. "'Rohr' und dessen Verwendungsweisen anhand der neusumerischen Texte aus Umma." *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 6 (1992): 125-46.
- Wasserman, Nathan. "Sin Goes to Fishing." *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1995/71.
- Whiting, Robert M., Jr. "An Old Babylonian Incantation from Tell Asmar." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 179-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*. *Assyriological Studies*, 22. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987.
- Wilcke, Claus. "Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 188-209.
- Young, Allen. "Some Implications of Medical Beliefs and Practices for Social Anthropology." *American Anthropologist* 78 (1976): 5-24.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



**APPLIED IMAGE, Inc**  
 1653 East Main Street  
 Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
 Phone: 716/482-0300  
 Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved