

ПУБЛИКАЦИИ

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BABYLONIAN SCHOLARS WORKING FOR ASHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARY?
SOME COLOPHONS WITH CRYPTOGRAPHY AND LEARNED WRITINGS¹

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Abstract: *The article explores evidence for Babylonian scholars working for Ashurbanipal's library. Colophons of Ashurbanipal's library tablets are usually highly standardized and, as opposed to the colophons of private or temple libraries, they do not contain any information about copyists. Most colophons on Babylonian tablets found at Nineveh are very short and provide only the information about the original tablet from which the copy was made. Thus it is remarkable that the colophons of the two scions of the prominent Babylonian family of lamentation priests, descendants of Šumu-libši, comprise not only a wealth of information but also a variety of cryptographic writings of their and their ancestor's names.*

Šumu-libši, the lamentation priest of Marduk at Esagil, was a prominent scribal ancestor of lamentation priests of Babylon, known since the Middle Babylonian period. Already then, his descendants used cryptography to write their names and the name of their ancestor.

The article studies the cryptography of Šumu-libši's descendants that worked at Nineveh and suggests its decipherment. My study establishes that the cryptographically-written theophoric element in their names stands for Marduk. Comparing the peculiarities of the colophons of these two scribes and their handwritings allows to identify their individual styles. Analysing this cryptography and juxtaposing it with the other Šumu-libši-related colophons on the tablets found in Assyria sheds light on the input of Babylonian scholars in creating the library of Ashurbanipal.

Keywords: Ashurbanipal's library, colophons, cuneiform cryptography, learned writings lamentation priests, Babylonian scholarship, Nineveh, Assyria; Šumu-libši.

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The colophons of tablets written in Babylonian ductus and found in Nineveh shed light on work of Babylonian scribes for the Ashurbanipal's library enterprise. It is well known that Ashurbanipal ordered Babylonian scholars to copy tablets for his library and apparently generously rewarded them for their work². But there were also Babylonian scribes who worked at Nineveh, as is clear from the colophon of K. 10129, which states Nineveh (NINA^{ki}) for the place of writing of the tablet [May, 2022, p. 160] and from SAA 11 156, which reports on Babylonians copying scholarly texts³.

¹ All the abbreviations in this article are taken from *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. This article was first presented as "Six Babylonian tablets with colophons from Nineveh" at the **Library of Ashurbanipal – Colophon Workshop: Reading the Library of Ashurbanipal: A Multi-sectional Analysis of Assyriology's Foundational Corpus** on Wednesday 29 September 2021.

² BM 28825: 24–36 [Frame, George, 2005, p. 274].

³ ABL 447 = SAA 11 156 is a list of scholars working for the royal library. Although S. Parpola [LAS II, p. 458

Of all the tablets written in Babylonian ductus and found at Nineveh, which might belong to the library of Ashurbanipal very few – only 93 – have some kind of a colophon⁴. Eight among these 93 have various types of the so-called “Ashurbanipal’s library colophons”. Most of the rest 85 colophons are reduced to captions only. Sometimes the catchlines are followed by the statement that the tablet was copied “in accordance with its original” more rarely specifying the kind of this original, but nothing else⁵. Indeed very few – 39 colophons on Babylonian tablets from Nineveh – bear some information beyond captions and reference to their originals and contain names of their copyists or owners, scribal professions, formulas etc.⁶

Among these few colophons with names of the scribes a group of seven colophons stands out, since these seven not only name their copyists, but these names are written cryptographically. These seven tablets belong to two descendants of Šumu-libši at Nineveh: DN-šumu-ibni and DN-zēru-ibni.

Šumu-libši family was the most prominent *kalû* family in Babylon. One of the descendants of Šumu-libši, Šumu-ušur, the *kalû*, is the scribe of a *kudurru*-grant given by Marduk-zākir-šumi I to Ibni-Ištar//Hunzu, *kalû* of Ištar of Uruk and scribe of Eanna in the second regnal year of this king (856 BCE)⁷. Besides, there are seven NB colophons on tablets deriving from Babylonia that mention Šumu-libši, mostly as an ancestor [HES I, p. 247, 273–274].

ŠUMU-LIBŠIS IN ASSYRIA

The ancestor Šumu-libši (written in Sumerian – ^mMu-na-ti-la) appears in the Nineveh list of names [Lambert, 1957, p. 12]. Scholarly activities of descendants of Šumu-libši are probably attested in Assyria better than in Babylonia⁸. Babylonian scholars could have been brought to Assyria as prisoners of war and some of them had to write tablets for the royal library as palace slaves⁹. Among these POW were also *kalûs*, including some descendants of Šumu-libši. The *kalû* Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Šumu-libši (his father, grandfather and address are mentioned as well), was dedicated to Bēl by Nabû-bēlšunu together with four other prominent Babylonian scholars [SAA 11 153 = K. 6]. Professions are indicated only for him and the exorcist, both heading this list. The manumission is written in Assyrian ductus and the manumitter is either Nabû-bēlšunu of the N4 library or his namesake, the palace scribe¹⁰.

Šumu-libši’s Assyrian Descendants and Tablets

Some Babylonian scholars came to Assyria voluntary and were apparently even invited by kings. They made remarkable carriers at the court¹¹. The family of descendants of Šumu-libši

and SAA 11: XXIX] dates this letter to the reign of Esarhaddon (ca. 670 BCE), but this is evidence of employment of Babylonian scholars at the Nineveh court, which gives a picture of arrangement of their work for a royal library. One of them, Ninurta-gimilli, son of *šandabakku* was put in irons. Typically, all the texts mentioned in this letter are healing texts. S. Parpola [1972, p. 33] discussed the matters of compulsory work and indoctrinated education of Babylonians at the Assyrian court.

⁴ This number does not include the colophons of astronomical and extispicy reports and naturally not five tablets dated to the reign of Sennacherib, among them two from the private collection of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.

⁵ All these are treated in this article in one way or another. See below, pp. 198–200.

⁶ This number includes also colophons with traces of names.

⁷ AO 6684, see Thureau-Dangin. 1919.

⁸ Although they are well attested in Babylonian documents [HES I, p. 241 n. 132; Nielsen, 2015, p. 380].

⁹ See above p. 189 with fn. 3.

¹⁰ SAA 11 140, the list of four soldiers.

¹¹ The first known dynasty of Neo-Assyrian royal scholars originated from Dēr, including Issarān-mudammiq, the *saggamaḥḥu* of Ashurnasirpal II, and the *ummānu* of Adad-nērārī III (name lost). Nick name of one of them was

at least at the beginning was affiliated with Ḥarrān, a city that had a special significance for Esarhaddon [May, 2017, p. 518–520]. Nabû-zēru-iddina, the *kalû* of Šin and the king, son of Urdu-Ea *kalamāḫu* of Šin of Ḥarrān, left six *kalûtu* texts, written in Assyrian ductus¹². Both Nabû-zēru-iddina and Urdu-Ea corresponded with Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal on matters related to their profession¹³. We do not have scholarly tablets written by Urdu-Ea, but all tablets by Nabû-zēru-iddina were found at Nineveh. Colophons of two texts of Nabû-zēru-iddina indicate that they were copied from the tablets of the “house” of Šumu-libši, *kalamāḫu* of Esagila¹⁴. This claim points out that the Ḥarrānean Šumu-libšis brought from Babylon some of their ancestral library. Nabû-zēru-iddina heads the group of *kalûs* in the list of experts, SAA 7 1.

Only two *kalûtu* tablets were found at Ḥuzīrīna [STT 232]. One of them is a copy of the tablet of Šumu-libši (no. 5). This is the only tablet related to Šumu-libši among those discovered in Assyria, which does not originate from Nineveh. It belonged to Nabû-ētir-napšāti, son of Ḥarriri, the lamentation priest(?) of Marduk¹⁵. Not only the original of this tablet is said to be of Šumu-libši's, but there are some common features in the colophon of no. 5 (Appendix) and the colophons of Nabû-zēru-iddina (Appendix, nos. 1–4). These similarities prove that Nabû-ētir-napšāti studied in the same school as Nabû-zēru-iddina and most probably himself was a descendant of Šumu-libši. But unlike the latter's Ḥarrānean descendants, he (or his father) was the lamentation priest(?) of Marduk as well as Šumu-libši himself. This is the only attestation (if at all) for a lamentation priest at Ḥuzīrīna. The tablet, however, was most probably not written there but purchased in some way by this library owners.

The colophons of all descendants of Šumu-libši found in Assyria contain some learned writings. ḤÉ.GÁL, the ideographic writing for *libši* in Šumu-libši also means abundance. This writing is attested in four colophons on tablets by Nabû-zēru-iddina (Appendix, nos. 1–4). In two of these colophons Nabû-zēru-iddina stated that he copied the tablets of his ancestor Šumu-libši. There he uses ḤÉ.GÁL to write *libši* twice: first in order to designate that the original was the product of “the house” of Šumu-libši and then he repeats this writing in the name of his forefather in order to stress his connection with the famous *kalû*¹⁶.

Despite their highly cryptographic name writings, Nineveh-based descendants of Šumu-libši, who wrote in Babylonian ductus, did not use any cryptography or learned writings for the name of their ancestor, with probably one uncertain exception (no. 9). There are no cryptographic or learned writings of this family name in all the bulk of the documents that mention descendants of Šumu-libši affiliated in Babylonia. Outside of Assyria it is attested only once as ^mMU—ḤÉ.GÁL in a colophon of the MB copy of the hymn to Ištar [HS 1879]. The colophon of this tablet written with archaising grammar and peculiar archaising sign forms says that it was copied by ŠEG₅.ŠEG₅-bēlu-rēšušu, descendant/son of Šumu-libši (ŠEG₅.ŠEG₅—Á.DAḫ—A.NI DUMU ^mMU—ḤÉ.GÁL) from the original dated to the ascension year of Ḥammurabi [von Soden, Oelsner, 1991, S. 339–341]. Clearly in the first millennium the learned writing ḤÉ.GÁL, which kept the Sumerian precativ suffix on one hand and alluded to the additional meaning “abundance”, on the other, is typical of those Šumu-libšis, who wrote in Assyrian ductus. Apparently they were connected to this ŠEG₅.

Babilāja, see May, 2015, p. 92, n. 71 for details.

¹² Nos. 1–4. Other two tablets are K. 14576 and Sm. 80, both flakes of colophons, see also HES I, p. 254–255.

¹³ SAA 10 338–346. Urdu-Ea is also mentioned in SAA 10 29, 238, 240, 287, 377 and co-authors SAA 10 1, 25, 212.

¹⁴ Appendix, nos. 1 and 2. The “house” here indicates that the composition on the tablet was created by Šumu-libši or his descendants, and not that it was just a part of his library. Cf. *bultu bīt Dābībī*, “prescriptions of the house of Dābībī”.

¹⁵ ^{md}PA—KAR-ir—Zīmes A ^mḤar-ri-ri (see no. 5). In Assyria “A” not followed by -šu šā still means just “son,” for instance in the colophons of the same Nabû-zēru-iddina [Sm. 80, 1881-2-4, 306, K. 20627, K. 3238], and not descendant like in Babylonia. Assyrians normally wrote “descendant” as ŠĀ.BAL.BAL.

¹⁶ In nos. 1 and 2.

and learned writings. These are a cryptographic writing KÁ.DIŠ.DIŠ for Babylon and rare learned and cryptographic writing GÜ.GÜ.SUM (*miḫṣtu*) for “stroke (of the stylus), cuneiform wedge, inscription”.

Another instance of Babylon written using DIŠ.DIŠ^{ki} also stems from Nineveh, appears on the tablet in Babylonian script is K. 5824 + K. 10337 (EAE LIX–LX). There the provenience of the original is written as ÁŠ-ÁB-DIŠ.DIŠ^{ki}. Enrique Jiménez has most plausibly suggested that it must be read as Ba₅-áb-DIŠ.DIŠ^{ki} and interpreted it as *Bāb-ilī* [Jiménez, 2015]²³. ÁŠ = ziz, “emmer” is unique in writing the name of Babylon and might be a hint at the city’s riches. As pointed out by Andrew George DIŠ^{ki} or DIŠ.DIŠ^{ki} is a common cryptography for Babylon, playing on DIŠ = 60 = Anu = *ilu* [George, 1992, p. 254.]. Moreover, since DIŠ = *li*₅²⁴ Rykle Borger discusses plays on DIŠ.Ú = *li*₅-ú = *lē’ú*, “wooden board” in conjunction with KÁ.DIŠ.DIŠ^{ki}/KÁ.DIŠ^{ki} for Babylon [Borger, 1956, S. 31].

Besides two texts from Nineveh, no. 6 in Assyrian ductus and K. 5824 + in Babylonian, the use of DIŠ to write Babylon in colophons is only attested in three more Babylonian tablets. Among them two *kalūtu*-texts owned by Bēl-ikšur/Iddin-Papsukkal from Borsippa were found at Nineveh (nos. 14 and 15); at least one of these two was copied by the apprentice lamentation priest Nabû-balassu-iqbi, son or descendant of Bēl-iškun. It is not a coincidence that in the colophon of no. 14 Bēl-ikšur’s ancestral name²⁵ is rendered as ŠÁ-DIŠ.LUḪ. The third text, a lexical list from Babylonian, belonged to Nabû-balassu-iqbi/Miširaja²⁶. K. 3054 + (no. 6) is the only Assyrian tablet, in whose colophon, DIŠ is utilised to write Babylon. Nabû-zuqup-kēnu and his descendants were devoted to the Babylonian traditions [May, 2018(1); 2022].

It is worth noticing that those descendants of Šumu-libši, who wrote in Assyrian ductus did not use cryptographic or learned writings in their own names and names of their fathers, but only in the name of their ancestor. Contrarily, the descendants of Šumu-libši, who wrote in Babylonian ductus richly applied cryptography in their own names, but not in the name of their forefather²⁷.

Tablets of Šumu-libši’s in Babylonian Script Found at Nineveh

A group of seven tablets found at Nineveh and written in Babylonian ductus by two descendants of Šumu-libši is interesting against this backdrop. They might shed light on some aspects of creation of Ashurbanipal’s library. None of the seven texts is a *kalūtu*-text. All these tablets use cryptographic writings in PNs, DN’s and professional titles. These are tablets of two scribes DN-šumu-ibni and DN-zēru-ibni. Their patronym is never indicated. Because of the cryptography, the reading of the theophoric element in their names is a crux²⁸. Of seven tablets, five – two by DN-šumu-ibni and three by DN-zēru-ibni – preserved the names of the scribes. Remarkably, in their colophons both appear as scribes and not as owners, which is expressed by GIŠ in nos. 7, 11 and 13 and by ŠU^{li} in no. 9.

Both these scribes consistently apply the same cryptography to write the theophoric element in their names. Important, they write it **differently**. DN-šumu-ibni uses ⁴KU.SUD.NUN.TU in nos. 8 and 9, where his name has been preserved. Despite the scribal show off, his writing is defect since in all five copies of the gods lists, including the OB one, it is written as KU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU.²⁹ In

²³ Reading ÁŠ-šur^{li} (= ŠAR₅⁷)^{ki} is much less probable, nonetheless these might be sign plays of the scribe.

²⁴ Labat, 1988, no. 480; AN = *li*₄/*le*₄ (no. 10).

²⁵ In no. 15 broken off.

²⁶ BM 46537: GABA.RI KÁ.DIŠ^{ki}.

²⁷ With one possible exception, but in any case this was not 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗, see pp. 191–192, 196..

²⁸ See the discussion below, pp. 194–195.

²⁹ See Litke, 1998, p. 48, I 238 (⁴KU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU); 127–128, III: 95 (⁴KU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU), and p. 36, AN : *Anu ša amēli* I 106 (K. 4349; ⁴KU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU). The writing must derive from the second millennium since I 238 is known in

no. 7 the name of the scribe is broken, but it can be restored as ^{md}KU.SUD.NUN.TU—MU—DÙ, as well based on the ^dKU.SUD.NUN.ˁTUˁ in his professional title. Although in the gods lists KU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU is mostly associated with Sumuqan, this writing implies many allusions³⁰. This is the reason why the DN in these seven colophons is purposely never indicated clearly.

In all three colophons of DN-zēru-ibni his name survived and it is written either as ^{md}KUR.GAL—NUMUN—DÙ (nos. 11 and 13) or as ^{md}KUR.GAL—NUMUN—ib-[ni] (no. 12). ^dKUR.GAL initially designated Enlil³¹. But Richard Litke suggests that ^dKUR.GAL might be also associated with ^dMAR.TU³². In fact in An : *Anu šá amēli* ^dKUR.GAL appears just five lines above ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU (ll. 101 and 106 respectively), both as alternative writings for Sumuqan. ^dMAR.TU immediately (l. 102) follows ^dKUR.GAL, so all three writings of DNs found in these colophons might refer to Sumuqan.

Cryptography in the divine name appears also in the title of Šumu-libši only in the colophons of DN-šumu-ibni. In his three colophons it is written as ^dKU.SUD.NUN.ˁTUˁ in no. 7 and as ^dKUR.GAL in nos. 8 and 9. The colophons of DN-zēru-ibni never give the title of his ancestor. This and some other peculiarities of writing seem to point out that no. 10, where ^dMAR.TU is found in the title of the lamentation priest Šumu-libši, was written by DN-šumu-ibni³³.

Although Sumuqan was venerated in the first millennium Assyria [Wiggermann, 2013, S. 309], in this period he is not attested as a theophoric element neither in Assyrian, nor in Babylonian names. Sumuqan is also never attested in *kalûtu* corpus and there is no evidence for *kalûs* as his priests. Nabû-zēru-iddina calls his ancestor Šumu-libši, the “lamentation priest of Esagil” (nos. 1, 3, 4); Issār-šumu-ēreš(? , no. 6) – the “lamentation priest of Marduk”. In Babylonia he is called the “lamentation priest of Marduk” as well in the aforementioned grant of Marduk-zākir-šumi I³⁴ and in other documents³⁵. Besides nos. 11–13, ^dKUR.GAL in PNs is only found in a single colophon³⁶: the Urukian exorcist Anu-ikšur wrote his name as ^{md}KUR.GAL—ik-šur. Thus it must be assumed that ^dKUR.GAL, literally “the Great Mountain”, stands for the head of the local pantheon³⁷, in the case of Babylonians DN-šumu-ibni and DN-zēru-ibni, – Marduk but with allusion to Aššur, the head of the Assyrian pantheon and the deified mountain of the city Aššur [Lambert, 1983]. As Andrew George has shown, the very aforementioned lines of An : *Anu šá amēli* 100–105 identify Sumuqan and ^dMAR.TU as the “Great Mountains”. Ea was a “Great Mountain” too [George, 2009, p. 13–14]. Apparently ^dKU.SUD.NUN.TU and ^dMAR.TU in the colophons of DN-šumu-ibni stand for

the OB copy – AO 5376. This might be an echo of some *kalûtu* lore because I 239, which refers to the wife of ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU, appears also in Emesal lists [MSL IV, p. 4 and Borger, 1998, S. 19, I 10 = K. 13672 and 13682, both written in Assyrian script, as well as K. 4349 and K. 4340 + 1879-7-8, 294].

³⁰ Thus R. Litke comments “For the reading of the name, see under Tablet III 95. Here, ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU appears in the circle of “Nin.urta only as the brother-in-law of “Nin.urta [Litke, 1998, p. 48]. In Tablet III 95, he appears among the sons of “NIN.MAR.KI; in Tablet VI 230, he is equated with ^dMAR.TU; and in An : *Anu šá amēli* 106, he is identified with ^dSumuqan (^dGIR). ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU was apparently viewed as an ideogram for “Sumugan/Saman/Šahan. Cf. CT 12 37:46a (= CT 12 35:29a), where the name is explained as: <ḫ>Sum-man-nu šá GUD ‘Summanu of cattle’”. I: 239 “describes “Nin.u₄.zal.le as the wife of ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU and the sister of “Nin.urta”.

³¹ See Beaulieu, 2005, p. 35–39 with n. 44 and with further references for ^dKUR.GAL standing for Enlil. ^dKUR.GAL s for Enlil appears also in the gods list [Litke, 1998, p. 38, I 154], one of the copies of which is OB.

³² Litke, 1998, p. 236, commentary to An : *Anu šá amēli* I 101.

³³ See below, pp. 195–196.

³⁴ AO 6684 iv 24 ^mMU—lib-ši ¹⁰ŠU ^dAMAR.UTU DUB.SAR. Reading of F. Thureau-Dangin is outdated [Thureau-Dangin, 1919, p. 130].

³⁵ VAT 175231 [George, 1992, p. 231 and pl. 50].

³⁶ IM 74366 = W 22307/15.

³⁷ U. Gabbay [HES I, p. 265 with n. 288] has pointed to the connection between Ea, another head of the pantheon, and ^dMAR.TU.

Marduk as well³⁸. Thus DN-šumu-ibni must be read as Marduk'-šumu-ibni and DN-zēru-ibni as Marduk'-zēru-ibni.

Interesting in this connection are six tablets from Dēr which apparently derive from the library of Iqīšāja/Ēkur-zākir (Uruk 10), of which five are *kalûtu*-tablets written by Nidintu-Anu from Dēr, the lamentation priest of Issarān/Anu(-rabu) and his son Anu-zēru-līšir [Oelsner, 1995]. This is evidence for the close connection between Dēr and Uruk because both were centres of the cult of Anu. On the other hand, Dēr was the source of scholarship for Assyria too³⁹. It is plausible that rendering the name of the head of the pantheon as ^dKUR.GAL came to Assyria and to Uruk, from Dēr, the seat of Anu(-rabu)/Issarān⁴⁰.

Besides distinct differences in cryptographic writings of the theophoric elements in their names, the colophons of Marduk'-šumu-ibni and Marduk'-zēru-ibni contrast in a number of other features. Marduk'-šumu-ibni (nos. 7–9) never refers to his own title, but always gives the title of their ancestor, Šumu-libši. Marduk'-zēru-ibni mentions his ancestor only in one colophon (no. 12), and writes *libši* phonetically as *lib-ši*, while Marduk'-šumu-ibni always use ideogram GÁL for it. For the profession of Šumu-libši Marduk'-šumu-ibni uses a great variety of ideograms: in his three colophons three different ideograms are used: playful and apparently cryptographic ^{lū}LAGAB⁴¹ appears in no. 7, rare ^{lū}la-gar⁴² in no. 8 and common ^{lū}GALA in no. 9. As has been pointed out above⁴³, he also varies writing for Marduk in the title of Šumu-libši: ^dKU.SUD.NUN.ʽTUʽ is found in no. 7, ^dKUR.GAL in nos. 8 and 9.

All the aforementioned differences between the colophons of Marduk'-šumu-ibni and Marduk'-zēru-ibni suggest that no. 10 was written by the former, as has been already proposed above⁴⁴. There Marduk'-šumu-ibni not only mentions the title of his ancestor, but again uses different ideograms in it: he uses ^{lū}šÚ, which can be also read as LÚ ÉN, for *kalû*; Marduk is rendered as ^dMAR.TU in this colophon; *libši* is written with GÁL.

While proudly and skilfully referring to the title of his ancestor, Marduk'-šumu-ibni never mentions his own. The only case among these seven colophons (nos. 7–13), when the profession of the scribe is named is no. 12. Marduk'-zēru-ibni designates himself as ^{lū}SAMÁN.LÁ ʽMAŠ.MAŠʽ [a-g]a-aš-gu-ú. Although the tablet is not intact, the traces of MAŠ.MAŠ (fig. 1) are clear and there is no place for UŠ.KU, as suggested by Uri Gabbay [HES I, p. 256, n. 287]. The genre of the text –



Fig. 1. Name, ancestral name and the title (^{lū}SAMÁN.LÁ ʽMAŠ.MAŠʽ [a-g]a-aš-gu-ú) of Marduk'-zēru-ibni (no. 12, K. 2542 +)

³⁸ For ^dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.ʽTUʽ = ^dMAR.TU, see VI: 230 [Litke, 1998, p. 217]. For ^dKUR.GAL interchanging with ^dMAR.TU in MB names, see [Brinkman, 197, p. 145 n. 30]. Unlike Sumuqan, Amurru (^dMAR.TU) is attested in Akkadian (but not Amorite!) names of all periods including the NA [Beaulieu, 2005 *passim*]. He is also addressed in a number of hymns and lamentations, some of them in Emesal [Klein, 1997, p. 99–102 with further references]. In the first millennium Amurru was well established in both Assyria and Babylon in the entourage of Aššur and Marduk respectively [Beaulieu, 2005, p. 43–45]. He also was perceived as a “Great Mountain” [Beaulieu, 2005, p. 37–41].

³⁹ See above, p. 189–190 with fn. 11.

⁴⁰ The route of descendants of Šumu-libši from Babylon to Assyria is impossible to trace.

⁴¹ Gabbay designates it as “rare.” He only knew of two instances MLC 1852 and BM 42286, both Babylonian [HES I, p. 66].

⁴² See HES I, p. 67 for ^{lū}LAGAR^{mes}.

⁴³ P. 193–194.

⁴⁴ P. 194.

therapy with stones – is also typically exorcistic, which fits the scribe's title. Finally, *agašgû* is typically found only in the colophons of healers.

Agašgû is an extremely rare Sumerian “loan word” usually applied as a modifier in the titles of young apprentices and healers. Once it is used as a substantive standing on its own (STT 301) and twice as an epithet for an apprentice (STT 192 and VAT 10382). VAT 10382 written probably by just(?) an apprentice is loaded with learned and cryptographic writings. The end of the line, which might contain the profession is, however, broken off and the indication of scribal specialisation could follow after *agašgû*. Both texts were written by Nabû-eṭiranni from Ashur. Besides Assyrian colophons *agašgû* is only known in *Ludlul I*: 75 [BWL, p. 34], all preserved copies of which are Assyrian⁴⁵, and in a single Babylonian colophon of the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi written by a “young exorcist”, by coincidence, Nabû-eṭir [Lambert, 1967, p. 115; BAK 435]. All the texts but one (UET 6 204) that use *agašgû* were written in Assyria and among them only no. 12 is in Babylonian ductus.

In Assyrian colophons besides VAT 10382 by Nabû-eṭiranni, *agašgû* appears in three colophons from the library of the healer and the priest of Bābu, Qurdī-Nergal discovered at Ḫuzīrīna. These are STT 192, STT 64, and aforementioned “Babylonian Almanac,” STT 301, which was written by Nabû-eṭiranni in 678 BCE for the studying of five of his colleagues. Their titles are given in this colophon as well. One of them (name broken) was an “*agašgû*” – in this case this is a title in its own and not a modifier, – another was a “young physician”, (^{lu}[A].ZU *še-eḫ-ri*). The “Babylonian Almanac” (STT 301) is a list of favourable days – a typical exorcistic text. STT 64 was written by the son of Qurdī-Nergal, Mušallim-Bābu⁴⁶ and STT 192 was written by Qurdī-Nergal himself, while still a young apprentice. Qurdī-Nergal, who copied STT 192 being an apprentice, however, became a healer, a priest of Bābu. Apart from Ḫuzīrīna, *agašgû* is found in VAT 8256, a tablet of a young physician, the son of an “Assyrian” scribe. *Agašgû* is probably only once used in conjunction with *kalû* in undated LB litany from Ur, UET 6 204 (P346289), in which it is rendered unclearly: ^aga-aš-gu²-ú.

The physical appearance of tablet 1881-2-4, 202 (colophon no. 9) by Marduk'-šumu-ibni is distinct and differs from that of the other tablets of this group. It is made of a brown-reddish clay, while the other tablets have light brown-yellowish colour typical for most of Ashurbanipal's library tablets. Besides cryptograms, Marduk'-šumu-ibni uses also some other peculiar writings in its colophon. He applies DÍM in *-ibni*, which is not standard rare writing of this verb for PNs. DÍM is used as ideogram for “architect” [May, 2018(2), p. 256–257] and alludes to the primary meaning of *banû* – “to build,” while normally in PNs this verb is understood as “created.” Šumu-libši in the colophon of this tablet is rendered as ^mMU—GÁL.ŠUR with ŠUR written clearly, though over erasure. ŠUR = AMAR is a part of one of ideograms used for Marduk (^dAMAR.UTU). This does not explain what the scribe could mean by replacing *-ši* by ŠUR in the name of his ancestor, who was a lamentation priest of Marduk, but there is no any better interpretation for this writing. Could he for some reason omit or forget to write at least four signs in ^mMU—GÁL-ši *kalû* ^dAMAR.UTU?

All the above described features of this seven tablets with the differences between tablets of Marduk'-šumu-ibni and Marduk'-zēru-ibni are summarized in the Comparative Table below.

⁴⁵ In NB school tablet BM 36386 + *agašgû* is not preserved, although the beginning of the line is there [Oshima, 2014, p. 389, ms I:s].

⁴⁶ *Agašgû* in his title lacks the last syllable or two. There is also a mistake and an erasure in the first line of this colophon.

No.	Tablet no.	Content	Copyist	Name writing	Title of Šumu-ibši	Writing of Šumu-ibši	Title of the tablet scribe
7	K. 2294	<i>EAE</i> excerpt tablet	[Marduk'-šumu-ibni]	^{md} [KU.SUD.NUN.TU—MU—DÜ]	^{lu} LAGAB ⁹ KU.SUD.NUN.T[U]	[...]	—
8	K. 2848 (+ Sm. 1088 + Sm. 1531)	obv. catalogue of terrestrial omens; rev. catalogue of astrological omens ("Diviner's Manual")	Marduk'-šumu-ibni	^{md} KU.SUD.NUN.TU—MU—D[Ü...]	^{lu} <i>a-gar</i> ⁴ KUR.GAL	^m MU—GÁL-ŠI	—
9	1881-2-4, 202	<i>Šumma ālu</i> XIX	Marduk'-šumu-ibni	^{md} KU.SUD.NUN.TU—MU—DĪM.MA	^{lu} GALA ⁴ KUR.GAL	^m MU—GÁL-ŠUR	—
10	K. 6145	? (sherd with a colophon)	[Marduk'-šumu-ib]ni	[^{md} MAR.TU—MU—D]Ü	^{lu} ŠU ⁴ MAR.TU/ LÚ ÉN MAR.TU	^m MU—GÁL-ŠI	—
11	K. 2285 + K. 3717 + K. 12709 (+) K. 2719) + K. 3014 (+) K. 3856 + K. 10467	<i>Šumma ālu</i> VII	Marduk'-zēru-ibni	^{md} KUR.GAL—NUMUN—DÜ	[...]	[...]	—
12	K. 2542 + K. 2772 + K. 2991 + K. 3300 + K. 6030 + K. 10223 + K. 13382 + DT 85 + DT 170	Xth paragraph of the "Seal of <i>Ḫalnu</i> ."	Marduk'-zēru-ibni	^{md} KUR.GAL—NUMUN— <i>ib</i> -[<i>ni</i>]	—	^m MU— <i>lib</i> -ŠI	^{lu} SAMÁN.LÁ "MAŠ MAŠ" [<i>a-g</i>] <i>a-āš-</i> <i>gu-ū</i>
13	K. 2246 + K. 2994 + K. 3578 + K. 3605 + K. 3614 + (K. 2324 + K. 6152)	<i>EAE</i> L (Aššur numbering), <i>EAE</i> LIV (Assyrian Niniveh numbering), <i>EAE</i> *LVII (Babylonian Niniveh numbering)	Marduk'-zēru-ibni	^{md} KUR.GAL—NUMUN—DÜ	—	—	—

Comparative Table of Babylonian Tablets by Marduk'-šumu-ibni and Marduk'-zēru-ibni in Ashurbanipal's Library

Assyrianisms and Further Peculiarities in the Colophons of Marduk!-šumuibni and Marduk!-zēru-ibni and Other Nineveh Babylonian Tablets

Besides *agašgû*, which might be an Assyrian influence in no. 12, Marduk!-zēru-ibni uses Assyrian-style sequences LI[BIR.RA.BI G]IM AB.SAR BA.AN.È for “in accordance with its original written and collated” in no. 13. Babylonians use more simple variants for *kî pî tuppi* and *šaṭirma bari/išturma ibri*. LIBIR.RA.BI GIM AB.SAR BA.AN.È is only attested in Assyrian colophons⁴⁷, LIBIR.RA, “(ancient) original” very typical in Assyrian colophons, but extremely rare in Babylonian ones, is in fact a playful writing as well since it is in the first place the writing for the D-stem of *labāru*, “to last long”. Thus its usage in colophons alludes to the meaning of *labāru* D. But LIBIR.RA.BI GIM AB.SAR BA.AN.È, actually a learned writing with elements of cryptography, is found in Assyrian colophons so often and is so common that we do not perceive it as a cryptogram.

Another Assyrianism appears in no. 12 by Marduk!-zēru-ibni. It is ^{gis}LE.U₅.UM which is standardly used in Assyria for a “wooden tablet”. But in all the bulk of colophons on tablets written in Babylonia it only appears twice⁴⁸. At Nineveh ^{gis}LE.U₅.UM is found in a group of eight more tablets written in Babylonian ductus, the colophon of which states that they were copied from a wooden board. Of them only four mention scribe’s personal details. Two of them are 1883-1-18, 751 – a flake with a colophon by Nabû-u... [son of] ...x-Nabû descendant of ..., and K. 2777 +, a Namburbi copied by a apprentice exorcist ...-ilāni. Rm 2, 127, a commentary on an Elamite calendar by [Nabû-nāšir]//Ea-pattā[ni] originally belonged to Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, which means that the use of ^{gis}LE.U₅.UM by Babylonians in Assyria started already in the times of Sennacherib⁴⁹. Others five (K. 151, a on a ritual against pests and bad weather; K. 2773, K. 6117, both Namburbis; K. 3664 +, a building ritual; and 1881-2-4, 233, a dream ritual) have absolutely uniform subscripts which says: *kî pî ^{gis}lē’î lā bari šaṭir*, “written in accordance with uncollated wooden board.” The wooden original of K. 2777 + is marked as uncollated. In 1883-1-18, 751 the part, where the state of the original should have been specified is broken off. Additionally, 1879-7-8, 150 (*EAE* VII-XIV) has [*kî-i pi-i ^{gis}lē’î* U₅.UM] too. In all of these colophons *lē’û* is rendered as ^{gis}LE.U₅.UM⁵⁰. The colophon of K. 3561 + K. 6141 reads [*kî pî ^{gis}LE*].U₅.UM *šá MU 11^{kam} dIM—IBILA—SUM-n[a šar Bābili šaṭir-ma bari]*, “[In accordance with the wooden] board of the 11th year of Adad-apla-idinn[a, king of Babylon, written and collated]”. K. 10129 by an apprentice scribe Nabû-šāpik-zēri, with [*ki-m)a ^{gis}le-u₅-ma GABA.R* I ...] is a good instance of a young Babylonian corrupting the Assyrian ideogram⁵¹. In 1891-5-9, 51 (a flake) ^{gis}LE.[U₅.UM²] is even written with an Assyrian form of LE⁵². All these tablets stem from Nineveh and have an appearance of Ashurbanipal’s library tablets. ^{gis}LE.U₅.UM in them clearly results from Assyrian influence.

Finally, colophon no. 12 contains a unique formula (iv 27–28) that invokes the one, who sees the tablet to restore it in joy. This is the most elaborated colophon of Marduk!-zēru-ibni.

⁴⁷ But note some other colophons from Nineveh in Babylonian ductus: K. 2236 + K. 2891 (+) K. 6195.

⁴⁸ VAT 14521 is an Eršahunga, which belonged to Nabû-šumu-iddin/Nabû-gāmīl/Iddin-Papsukkal, a lamentation priest of Sin. It was found in the library of Eanna at Uruk, but was brought there from Ur. The text has other Assyrian parallels in SAA 20 15 and in the text copied by Nabû-zēru-iddina (no. 1). BM 93016 = 1882-9-18, 3737, *Enūma eliš* IV tablet from Borsippa was written by Nā’id-Marduk//Nappāhu and installed by him at Ezida.

⁴⁹ In K. 75 + K. 237, a commentary on *EAE* V(?) by the same scribe, also from the collection of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, the “wooden board” is broken off [May, 2018(1), p. 131].

⁵⁰ They all actually consist of this only line. K. 3664 and K. 2773 have AL.TIL before it.

⁵¹ But his colophon also indicates the place of writing – Nineveh (NINA⁴⁰), see May, 2022, p. 160.

⁵² [...*ki-i*] *pî* (text-PA)-i DUB ^{gis}LE[U₅.UM]. This one also has SAR repeated three times, traces of [BA.AN⁷].È and had name of the scribe indicated. K. 3853 (+ K. 13287) has traces of *ki-i* KA ^{gis}LE[U₅.UM].

His other two colophons (nos. 11 and 13) are less sophisticated than those of Marduk¹-šumu-ibni (nos. 7–10).

Personal Handwritings Features of Marduk¹-šumu-ibni and Marduk¹-zēruibni

Besides the differences in style of the two scribes there are also features that distinguish the handwriting of the each of them. Thus in signs NU and NUMUN Marduk¹-zēru-ibni always writes the diagonal wedge over the horizontal one, in his MA and GAL the upper horizontal is always longer than those below it.

Contrarily, in Marduk¹-šumu-ibni's handwriting in NU and NUMUN the horizontal is written over diagonal and his upper horizontals in MA and GAL are not as protruding as those of Marduk¹-zēru-ibni and sometimes are not protruding at all. The differences are quite obvious in the way each of the two writes ^dKUR.GAL—the cryptogram, which they both use (fig. 2a–b).



a



b

Fig. 2a. ^dKUR.GAL by Marduk¹-šumu-ibni (no. 8, K. 2848 +); 2b ^{md}KUR.GAL by Marduk¹-zēru-ibni (no. 11, K. 2285 +)

SUMMARY

There is no doubt that Babylonian scholars worked for Ashurbanipal's library copying Babylonian tablets for the king. They did it at Nineveh⁵³. The colophons of Marduk¹-šumu-ibni and Marduk¹-šumu-ibni shed light on some aspects of their work.

Five of the seven tablets by Marduk¹-šumu-ibni and Marduk¹-šumu-ibni, the descendants of Šumu-libši, the lamentation priest of Marduk, have a typical appearance of the Ashurbanipal's library tablets (nos. 7, 8, 11, 12 and 13). No petrography or any other clay analysis was made for them⁵⁴, but they apparently were produced at Nineveh. No. 10 and no. 9 (the flake) are brownish, but no. 10 looks like some other tablets from Nineveh library, which have the same colour. None of these tablets have Ashurbanipal's library colophons, but they all bear the names of the copyists. Taking into consideration the history of Šumu-libši's descendants in Assyria, it seems most plausible that these two scribes, who are definitely somehow related, probably brothers, arrived at Nineveh either on their own will or as captives and worked for the royal scholarly enterprise.

Despite the differences between the two scribes their common descent and the similarities in style marked by the use of cryptography distinguish them from other scribes and point to their common training. At Nineveh they probably were allowed to put their own names in the colophons, but were only copyists, not owners of the tablets. Despite their prominent *kalû*-family descent, they did not copy *kalûtu*-texts but scholarly texts of any kind, apparently on demand. Four of their colophons, nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12, make clear that their main job at Nineveh was copying uncollated wooden tablets obviously from Ashurbanipal's Babylonian loot⁵⁵. Some other

⁵³ See above, pp. 189–190. In Babylonia they did it too [Frame, George, 2005].

⁵⁴ Jonathan Taylor, personal communication.

⁵⁵ See Frame, George, 2005, p. 265 (BM 45642: 12, ⁸⁵DA ŠÁ ⁸⁵MES.MÁ.GAN.NU, “boards of sissoo-wood” and

Babylonian tablets, the colophons of which do not give any names, among them two identical *Šumma ālu* V tablets from Ashurbanipal's library (K. 2307 and K. 196), as well as K. 45 + with parallels to many *Šumma ālu* tablets, including *Šumma ālu* V, and K. 3698 + (*Šumma ālu* XX), could have been copied by Marduk'-zēru-ibni as well. These tablets also belong to the group of tablets copied from uncollated wooden boards. In K. 2307 the only line of the colophon, besides the caption, is *ki-i KA* ^{gis}*ZU la ba-ri-i šá-ṭir*. K. 196 and its colophon are identical to that of K. 2307, but in the latter this line is broken. Some tablets with ^{gis}*LE.U₅.UM* and any other tablets copied from wooden boards⁵⁶ could also be the product of Marduk'-zēru-ibni's or Marduk'-šumu-ibni's work.

There are tablets with other kinds of texts in Babylonian ductus at Nineveh, in the colophons of which scribes or owners are not indicated, but the original is described as the original from a certain city, mostly from Babylon⁵⁷, a collated original (K. 8666), or just a wooden board (K. 2050 +)⁵⁸. Some Babylonian handwritings at Nineveh are very similar, apparently due to the use of the same clay and styli. Their copyists can probably be identified through the further investigation, comparing the handwritings of authorized and unauthorized tablets. But as follows from SAA 11 156, there were many Babylonian scribes working at the Assyrian court and copying tablets in Babylonian script. They were not supposed to put their names in the colophons and only indicated the kind of an original, in most cases wooden boards. Some of these probably were wooden boards of sissoo-wood from Babylon and Borsippa, prepared by these cities on the king's demand⁵⁹.

Marduk'-zēru-ibni, probably the younger of the two Babylonian descendants of Šumu-libši at Nineveh, was more committed to get himself accepted and to make a career at the Assyrian court. He also eagerly applied Assyrianisms. He has chosen not the profession of a lamentation priest, hereditary for the people of his descent, but the profession of an exorcist, more valued in Assyria and especially at the court, than that of *kalû*. Apparently he did not have much choice. *Kalû* was not very much honoured and demanded scholarly profession in Assyria. There were not many positions for *kalûs* in Assyrian temples and the place of the chief lamentation priest of the king was already occupied by the Ḫarrānean branch of Šumu-libšis. In Assyria *kalûs* often dealt with issues not related to their profession⁶⁰.

Both Marduk'-šumu-ibni and Marduk'-zēru-ibni tried to upgrade their status at the court. They used playful writings in order to impress their Assyrian colleagues and employees. The cryptography they used to write Marduk in their names and in Šumu-libši's title is alluding to Aššur. Marduk'-zēru-ibni consistently applied ^k*KUR.GAL*, which makes this allusion more apparent.

We can only speculate if the king's chief *kalû* Nabû-zēru-iddina, their high-positioned Assyrian "extended family" member of Marduk'-šumu-ibni's and Marduk'-zēru-ibni, provided a protection to his "poor Babylonian relatives" and helped them to be accepted at the court. It well might

BM 28825: 16, 1, 12 ^{gis}*DA šá* ^{gis}*MES.MÁ.GAN.NU*, "72 boards of sissoo-wood") for the wooden tablets from Borsippa and Babylon, which these cities provided to Ashurbanipal, and Parpola, 1983, esp. p. 4–6. See also Frame, George, 2005, p. 277–278 for the wooden boards brought from Babylonia to Nineveh in general.

Nos. 8 does not state whether the original wooden board was collated or not and no. 12 names the city, wherefrom the wooden board comes.

⁵⁶ See above, pp. 198–199.

⁵⁷ K. 5824 +, K. 3561 + K. 6141, K. 90; K. 2898 +; 1879-7-8, 121 + 1879-7-8, 125.

⁵⁸ Additionally there are K. 6114 +; K. 3016; K. 2874; K. 2874 +; K. 2932 +; K. 45 + (parallel to *Šumma ālu* V, VI, VII, X, XIII, XIX, XXI); K. 3698 + (*Šumma ālu* XX); K. 4795 (also say that it is an excerpt) and K. 2939 (only says that it is excerpt) in Babylonian ductus, the colophons of which are even shorter. Their colophons only state that the tablets accord with their original and do not give any further details, such as the information on the provenience of this original, the names of the copy's scribes, owners or else.

⁵⁹ See above, fn. 56.

⁶⁰ [Gabbay, 2014, p. 116–122]. In SAA 7 1 *kalûs* are the last group of scholars of "Mesopotamian" profession, followed only by augurs, estrange to Mesopotamian culture, and by Egyptians.

be that the Marduk¹-šumu-ibni's and Marduk¹-zēru-ibni's scribal show-off targeted to impress particularly their Assyrian "relatives".

As learned and playful writings in Nabû-zēru-iddina's colophons show, the Assyrian branch of Šumu-libšis liked to boast of their erudition too. But their tablets prove their rather Assyrian education with some Babylonian elements. Nabû-zēru-iddina's use of *aštalû* clearly points out that the Assyrian connection to Mari was well remembered by the descendants of Šumu-libšis employed at the Assyrian court. He also applied Assyrianisms like NIR.GÁL.ZU NU.MU.UN.TÉŠ⁶¹. But Nabû-zēru-iddina also states (no. 1) that he copied the wooden board from Babylon, produced by the "house of" his ancestor Šumu-libšis, which his family most probably brought with them to Assyria. Nabû-zēru-iddina could certainly read Babylonian ductus and probably could write in Babylonian script too. His application of "A" for "son" also demonstrates some Babylonian preferences in use of ideograms for common words.

Of course, there are also Babylonian tablets in Ashurbanipal's library, which were brought from Babylonia, like nos. 14 and 15. But these cases are rare and the majority of the tablets in Babylonian ductus stemming from Nineveh were copied in the capital of Assyria.

APPENDIX: THE COLOPHONS⁶²

1. 1881-2-4, 306

Copy: —

Edition: Elat, 1982, S. 14–16; LAS II, p. 452, no. 12

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: Assyrian war ritual

BAK 500

CDLI no. P452180

Ruling

Rev. 6' *né-pe-ši ša* ŠU^{II} ^{li}GALA *ni-šir-ti* [x x x x]

Ruling

7' *e-nu-ma* LUGAL *it-ti* ^{li}KÚR-šu DU₁₄ *ip-pu-šu*

(the rest of the colophon follows after some space; it is more dense and written with smaller signs)

8' *ki-i pi-i* ^{gis}ZU-ⁱ *gaba-ri* TIN.TIR^{ki} *šá* ÉR.ŠÀ.ḪUN.GÁ^{mes} *šá* É MU—ḪÉ.GÁL
 9' GALA.MAḪ *É-sag-il* ^{md}AG—NUMUN—SUM-na *áš-ta-lu-u* ^d30 A ^mIR—^dÉ-a
 10' GALA.MAḪ ^dEN.ZU *šà* ŠÀ ^{uru}Har-ra-an ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^mMU—ḪÉ.GÁL
 11' GALA.MAḪ *É-sag-il a-na* IGI.DU₈.A-šú *iš-tur-ma ib-ri*
 12' NIR.GÁL.ZU NU.MU.UN.TÉŠ ^dEN.KI *u* ^dAsal-lú-ḫi

Rev. 6' Ritual for the handling by a lamentation priest. Secret [...].

Ruling

7' "When the king fights his enemy."

8' In accordance with the wooden board, original from Babylon, Eršahunga-songs of the house of Šumu-libšis,

⁶¹ See above pp. 192–193.

⁶² The numbers of the tablet fragments, which do not bear the colophon appear in parenthesis. The references to copies and editions relate to colophons in the first place.

9' chief lamentation priest of Esagila, Nabû-zēru-idinna, the (cult) singer of Šîn, son of Urdu-Ea,

10' chief lamentation priest of Šîn, who is in the midst of Harrân, descendant of Šumu-libši,

11' chief lamentation-priest of Esagila, for his learning wrote and collated.

12' Trusting in you (sg.), oh Šîn and Marduk, will not be deceived!

2. K. 3238 +

Copy: BL 158 [Langdon, 1913, pl. 50]

Edition: LAS II, p. 452, no. 11

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: unkin-ta eš-bar til-la (“He, who makes decisions in the country”)

BAK 499

CDLI no. P394891

Ruling

Rev. 4' ġuruš-kala-ga-šu-du₇-[mà ki-bal-la gul-gul-la]

5' *šal-šú nis-ġu* unkin-ta eš-bar til-la

6' GIM KA ^gle-['i la]-bi-ri [...]]

7' *šá é* ^mMU—ĤÉ.GÁL GALA.MAĤ [...]]

8' ^{md}AG—MU—SUM-na ŠÚ ^d30 u LUGAL A ^mir—^dÉ-a

9' [ŠÀ.BAL.BA]L ^mMU—ĤÉ.GÁL ŠÚ.MAĤ *iš-tur-ma ib-ri*

Ruling

Rev. 4' “... my hero perfect in strength [who destroys a hostile land]!”

5' The third excerpt of unkin-ta eš-bar til-la (“He, who makes decisions in the country”).

6' In accordance with the old wooden board

7' of the house of Šumu-libši, chief lamentation priest

8' Nabû-zēru-idinna, the lamentation priest of Šîn and the king, son of Urdu-Ea,

9' [descendant] of Šumu-libši, chief lamentation priest, wrote and collated.

3. K. 4240 +

Copy: —

Edition: Borger, 1998, S. 31

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: Emesal vocabulary

BAK —

CDLI no. P395458

Ruling

Rev. ii' 4' ma[?] [...]]

ii' 5' dub-min-kam*-ma dim-me-[er] [...]]

ii' 6' eme-sal-la [nu] al-til

ii' 7' ^{md}AG—NUMUN—SUM-na GALA ^dEN.ZU

ii' 8' u LUGAL

ii' 9' [mar] ^mir—^dÉ-a ŠÚ.MAĤ ^rd^{erased}LUGAL

ii' 10' [ŠÀ.BAL.BA]L ^mMU—ĤÉ.GÁL ŠÚ.MAĤ *É-sag-il*

ii' 11' [*iš-tur-ma*] *ib-[ri]*

Rev. ii' 4' ...

ii' 5' Second tablet of “Deity ...”

ii' 6' of Emesal. [Not] finished

ii' 7' Nabû-zêru-idinna, the lamentation priest of Sîn

ii' 8' and the king,

ii' 9' [son] of Urdu-Ea, chief lamentation priest

ii' 10' [descendant] of Šumu-libši, chief lamentation priest of Esagil

ii' 11' [wrote and] col[lated]

4. K 20627 + K 20682 + K 20861

Copy: —

Edition: Borger, 1998, S. 35

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: Emesal vocabulary (only colophon preserved)

BAK —

CDLI no. P419019

1' DUB 3^[kam*.ma? ...]

2' eme-sal-la [al-til]⁶³

3' ^{md}AG—NUMUN—[SUM-na kalû ^dSîn u LUGAL]

4' A ^mIR—^dĒ-a GALA.[MAĤ ^dSîn u LUGAL]

5' [ŠÀ.BAL.]BAL ^mMU—ĤÉ.GÁL

6' [kalû Ē]-^rsag⁻-il iš-tur-ma ^rib⁻-[ri]

1' The thir[d] tablet [of...]

2' of Emesal. [Finished].

3' Nabû-zêru-[idinna, the lamentation priest of Sîn and the king].

4' son of Urdu-Ea, [chief] lamentation priest [of Sîn and the king].

5' [descen]dant of Šumu-libši,

6' [lamentation priest of E]sagil wrote and collated.

5. Su 1951, 27

Copy: STT 232

Edition: Maul 1988, S. 48; Ambos, 2004, S. 19

Provenience: Huzīrīna

Text: Building ritual (ritual for replacing a temple door); Eršaḫunga prayer.

BAK 381

CDLI no. P338551

Ruling

Rev. 40 *ki-i pi-i* ^{im}GÍD.DA GABA.RI ^rTIN^r.TIR^{ki} šá ^mrMU[?]—ĤÉ.GÁL ŠÚ

41 DUB⁶⁴ ^{md}PA—KAR-ir—ZI^{mes} A ^mHar-^rri⁻-ri [ŠÚ[?]] ^rd^rAMAR.UTU

Rev. 40 In accordance with the long tablet, original copy from Babylon of Šumu-libši, the lamentation priest.

41 Tablet of Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, son of Ḥarriri, [the lamentation priest[?] of] Marduk.

⁶³ So Borger.

⁶⁴ Oelsner, 1993, S. 146; Ambos, 2004, S. 197.

6. K. 3054 (+ K. 9398 + K. 21396)

Copy: CT 16 38

Editions: Geller, 2016, p. 433 (only catchline)

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: Udug-ḥul XII

BAK 502

CDLI no. P394777

Special physical features: the colophon is even more dense than the main text

Double ruling

Rev. iv 17' [én imin-bi an]-na`ḥa-la ba-an-ús`gù`[du<sub>11</sub>-ga]-bi nu-sa<sub>6</sub><sup>65</sup>iv 18' [DUB 12<sup>kám</sup>] `udug`-ḥul-a-kám`GIM`[labīrišu`lē`i']UR<sup>ki</sup> GABA.RI KÁ.DIŠ.DIŠ<sup>ki</sup>iv 19' [ša<sup>m</sup>...]UD DUMU<sup>m</sup>MU—GÁL-ši<sup>lú</sup>UŠ'.[KI] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTUiv 20' [ina tarši<sup>md</sup>Šul-ma]-nu—MAŠ LUGAL KUR Aš+šur u<sup>md</sup>AG—A—`SUM-na` LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}

iv 21' [...i]š-tu-ru šà-tir-ma sa-niq [ba]-rì GÙ.GÚ.SUM up-pu-uš

iv 22' [šatir[?]]^{lú} GAL DUB.SAR^{meš} šá^mAš+šur—`DÙ`—A LUGAL KUR Aš+šuriv 23' [bari[?]] GAL DUB.SAR^{meš} `ù DUB.SAR É DINGIR^{meš} šá qé-reb^{un}LIMMU—DINGIR

Rev. iv 17' [Incantation: "These Seven], whose voice is unpleasant, imposed division on heaven."

iv 18' [12th tablet] of Udug-ḥul (*Evil Demons*). In accordance with its original, wooden tablet] from Akkad, copy from Babylon,

iv 19' [that PN], descendant of Šumu-libši, the lamentation priest of Marduk,

iv 20' [in the reign[?] of Shalma]neser, king of Assyria and Nabû-šumu-iddina, king of Babylon.

iv 21' [...w]rote. Written, checked, collated, an inscription made.

iv 22' [Written by[?] ...] the chief of the scribes of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria

iv 23' [Collated by[?] ...] the chief of the scribes and the scribe of the temples, which are inside Arbela.

7. K. 2294

Copy: ACh 2. Suppl. 86

Edition: —

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: EAE excerpt tablet

CDLI no. P238157

Ruling

Rev 4' DIŠ ina^{iti}BARÁ MAN ina MURUB₄ A[N[?]...]

Ruling

5' ki-i KA tup-pa šá a-na[...]

6' šá-tir-ma È GIŠ^{md}[KU.SUD.NUN.<KU>.TU—MU—DÙ A^mMU—GÁL-ši]7' ^{lu}LAGAB^dKU.SUD.NUN.<KU>.`TU`⁶⁵ Catch line of the tablet XIII.

Ruling

Rev 4' "If in Nisannu the Sun in the middle of the s[ky³...]."

Ruling

5' In accordance with the tablet, which for [...]

6' written and collated. Wrote [Marduk¹-šumu-ibni, descendant of Šumu-libši]

7' lamentation priest of Marduk⁶⁶.

8. K. 2848 (+ Sm. 1088 + Sm. 1531)

Copy: III R 52, 3

Edition: Virolleaud, 1911, p. 113; Oppenheim, 1974, p. 198, n. 7

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: "Diviner's Manual," obv. catalogue of terrestrial omens; rev. catalogue of astrological omens

CDLI no. P238187

Ruling

Rev. 34' ^rki^r-i KA ^{giš}ZU SAR-*ma* IGI.KÁR ŠU^{II} ^{md}KU.SUD.NUN.<KU>.TU—MU—D[Ù...]

35' A ^mMU—GÁL-šī ^{lú}la-gar^d KUR.GAL [...]

Rev. 34' In accordance with the wooden board written and collated. Hand of Marduk¹-šumu-ib[ni],

35' descendant of Šumu-libši, lamentation priest of Marduk¹ [...].

9. 1881-2-4, 202

Copy: CT 38 25

Edition: Freedman, 1998, p. 284

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: *Šumma ālu* XIX

BAK 444

CDLI no. P237000

Special physical features: colophon is written on a convex side

Ruling

Rev 4' [DIŠ *ina* É NA *bir*]-šU IGI.DU₈ BIR-ah^r É^r [NA]

5' [...] DUB 19^{kam*} DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD-*e* GAR-*in*

6' [ki]-^ri KA ^{giš}ZU NU È-*i* SAR

7' [qāt²] ^{md}KU.SUD.NUN.<KU>.TU—MU—DÍM.MA⁶⁷ A ^mMU—GÁL.ŠUR⁶⁸ over erasure [...]

8' [...] ^{lú}GALA ^dKUR.GAL

Ruling

Rev 4' ["If in a man's house a light] flash is seen—dispersal of the [man's] house "

5' [...] 19th tablet of *If a City is Set on a Height*.

6' Written in [accordan]ce with an uncollated wooden board.

⁶⁶ See the discussion on pp. 193–195.

⁶⁷ Freedman, 1998, p. 284 – *mu-kim-ma*.

⁶⁸ H. Hunger read Šumu-ikšur here; Freedman, 1998, p. 284: ^dMU—*iq-bi*. U. Gabbay [HES I, p. 255, n. 278] collates as ^mMU—GÁL-šī^r, but there is clearly ŠUR on the tablet, which must be considered as scribal mistake and amended to šī. Alternatively it can also be some attempt at cryptography.

7' [hand⁶⁹ of] Marduk¹⁶⁹-šumu-ibni, descendant of Šumu-libši,
8' ... lamentation priest of Marduk¹.

10. K. 6145

Copy: —

Edition: HES I, p. 256, n. 288

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: a flake of a colophon

CDLI no. P238613

Rev. 1' [...]

2' [^{md}MAR.TU —MU—D] Û A ^mMU—GÁL-šī lúšú ^dMAR.TU/LÚ ÉN MAR.TU

Rev. 1' [...]

2' [Marduk¹-šumu-ib]ni⁷⁰, descendant of Šumu-libši, lamentation priest of Marduk¹⁷⁰.

11. (K. 2285 + K. 3717 + K. 12709 (+) K. 2719) + K. 3014 ((+) K. 3856 + K. 10467)

Copy: —

Edition: [Freedman, 1998, p. 138, 140–143 (text a2)]

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: *Šumma ālu* VII

CDLI no. P238156

Rev. 15'' [Dīš ina] 'É LÚ ina ZI' [...]

16'' GIM KA ^{giš}ZU NU ba-^rri' [...]

17'' a-mi-rù GIM SUMUN-ma lá 'a⁷⁰' [...]

18'' GIŠ ^{md}KUR.GAL—NUMUN—DÙ [...]

Rev. 15'' ["If in the House of a Man in... ."]

16'' In accordance to the uncollated wooden board

17'' The one who sees (the original) and not... .

18'' Wrote Marduk¹-zēru-ibni

12. (K. 2542 + K. 2772 + K. 2991) + K. 3300 + (K. 6030 + K. 10223 + K. 13382 + DT 85 + DT 170)

Copy: AMT 29, no. 4 (K. 3300 + K. 10223)

Edition: Schuster-Brandis, 2008, S. 192–193, no. 17

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: Xth paragraph of the ^{na4}KISIB *ḫalti* (*kunuk ḫalti*, "Seal of Ḫaltu")

CDLI no. P237751

Ruling

Rev. iv 24 [^{na4}ŠU.U NITÁ u MUNUS] ^{na4}pa ^{na4}ni-bu ^{na4}šu-bu-u

iv 25 [x]-^rú⁷⁰ pir-su ^{na4}KISIB ḫal-tu₄ NU 'AL.TIL'

iv 26 [ki]-i pi-i ^{giš}LE.U₅.UM

iv 27 [GN]^{ki} SAR a-mi-ri GIM SUMUN-ma

⁶⁹ H. Hunger: Sumuqan.

⁷⁰ See the discussion on pp. 194–195.

- iv 28 *dar-ma ḥad-da-a li-šal-lim*
 iv 29 [*qāt'*]^{md}KUR.GAL—NUMUN—*ib-[ni]*
 iv 30 [*mār*^m]MU—*lib-ši*^{lu}SAMÁN.LÁ^rMAŠ.MAŠ^l^r
 iv 31 [*a-g*]*a-aš-gu-ú*

- Rev. iv 24 [male and female shells(?)], *ajartu*-shell, (*ja*)*nibu*-stone, *šubû*-stone(?)
 . iv 25 Xth paragraph of the “Seal of *Ḥaltu*.” Not finished.
 iv 26 In accor[dan]ce with the wooden board
 iv 27 from GN written. The one who sees (it), in accordance with the original
 iv 28 may he forever restore (it) in joy.
 iv 29 [Wrote] Marduk^l-zēru-ibni
 iv 30-iv 31 [descendant of] Šumu-libši, junior apprentice of an exorcist.

13. K. 2246 +

Copy: AAT 42; AAT pl. 42 = ACh Ishtar 20

Edition: ACh Ishtar 20 (lines 37'–38')

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: *EAE* L (Aššur numbering), *EAE* LIV (Assyrian Niniveh numbering), *EAE* *LVII (Babylonian Niniveh numbering), Venus (^{mul}*Dil-bat*)

BAK 465

CDLI no. P238154

Ruling

Rev. 37' [DUB 5]'7[?] kam*

DIŠ UD AN^{d+}EN.LÍL.[LÁ ...]

Ruling

Rev. 38' [DIŠ^{mul}]UGA([Ú.NA]GA.GA)^{mušen} KASKAL^dUTU KUR-*ud* GANBA(KI.LAM) [TUR-*ir*]

39' LI[BIR.RA.BI G]JIM AB.SAR BA.AN.È GIŠ⁷¹^{md}KUR.GAL—NUMUN—DÛ

Rev. 37' 2+[5]'7[?]th [tablet] of *Enūma Anu Enlil*

38' [“If Āribu] catches the path of the Sun, the business [will be reduced]”⁷².

39' In [accordance with its original] written and collated. Written by Marduk^l-zēru-ibni.

14. K. 5168 + (K. 5171 + K. 5189 + K. 5354 + K. 6099 + K. 8728 + K. 10728 + K. 11219 + K. 13412 + K. 13935 +) K. 13949 (+ K. 16931)

Copy: —

Edition: —

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: 1st tablet of *balag en zu sá mar-mar*

BAK 476 (only K. 13949)

CDLI no. P238371

Ruling

Rev iv' 58'' [...] -ma gig-ga-b[i[?]] ma-a x x

iv' 59'' [...] x ZU *mar-ši*-[iš...] 'x x' PU * 'x'

iv' 60'' im^dDUB I^{kam*} en 'zu' sá mar-mar NU AL.TIL

iv' 61'' [GABA].RI E.<<DIŠ>>^{ki} GIM SUMUN-šú^{md+}EN—*ik-šur* A^mŠá-DIŠ.LUḤ

⁷¹ This seems to be the earliest use of it.

⁷² CAD M I 94 s.v. maḥiru.

iv' 62'' [...] ^{giš}ZA ʿx x x x x ʿ *ne²-ri*⁷³ *ú-šeš-tir-ma*
 iv' 63'' [...] ʿx (x) ʿ *ba²-ri*

Ruling

Rev iv' 58'' ...

iv' 59'' [...] grievously [...] x x x (x)

iv' 60'' 1st tablet of "Wise Lord, planner". Not finished.

iv' 61'' [Origin]al from Babylon. According to its old original Bēl-ikšur, descendant of

Iddin-Papsukkal.

iv' 62'' ... caused it to be written and

iv' 63'' ... collated.

15. K. (5174+) K. 10595 (+ K. 11174 + K. 13941 + K. 14110 (+) K. 18655)

Copy: HES II, pl. 14

Edition: HES II, p. 28

Provenience: Nineveh

Text: 3rd tablet of the (balag) gu₄-ud nim é-kur-ra

BAK 429

CDLI no. P238374

Ruling

Rev iv 44' [an ki-bi-ta] ki-áĝ-bi-ta šà-zu ḥa-m[a ḥuĝ-e] ʿe'-lum me-na-šè

Ruling

iv 45' [ér-šèm]-ma ^dnin-urt[a]-kam*

iv 46' [ér-šèm]-ma gu₄-ud nim kur-ra

iv 47' [1 u]š 39 àM MU.BI.IM DUB 3^{kam*.ma}

iv 48' [gu₄-u]d nim kur-ra ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ʿŠÈ' EN 1 UŠ

iv 49' [M]U.ŠID^{meš} ÉR.ŠÈM.MA-ŠÚ GABA.RI KÁ.DIŠ^{ki}

iv 50' [*kīma la*]-bi-ri-šú^{md+}AG—TIN-su—ʿiq'-bi

iv 51' [*mār*^{md+}E]N—GAR ^{lú}ŠAMÁN.LÁ ^{lú}GA[LA iš-ṭur ib]-ʿri

iv 52' [IM^{md+}E]N—ik-ṣur A^m[MU—^dPAP—SUKKAL/^mŠÁ-DIŠ.LUH]

iv 53' [x x x x] ʿx x x x ʿ[x x x x]

Ruling

Rev iv 44' May [heaven and earth] *with their love* [calm] your heart on my behalf! Honoured one, how long?

Ruling

iv 45' It is an [Eršem]ma of Ninurta,

iv 46' an [Eršem]ma gu₄-ud nim kur-ra ("Elevated Ox of the Land/Ekur")

iv 47' x+99 lines of the 3rd tablet of

iv 48' [gu₄-u]d nim kur-ra Completed; including 60+x

iv 49' [l]ines of its Eršem]ma. Original from Babylon.

iv 50' [In accordance with] its old original of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi

iv 51' [son/descendant of B]ēl-iškun, apprentice lamentation pr[iest has written and collated].

⁷³ Gabbay [HES I, p. 256] suggests DN—*e²-te²-ri*, but such a spacing of the name signs and the orthography itself would be highly unusual.

- iv 52' [Tablet of Bē]l-iḫṣur, descendant of [Iddin-Papsukkal]
 iv 53' ...

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