ASSYRIAN LIBRARY RECORDS*

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To Irving L. Finkel

In this article, 10 fragments of Neo-Assyrian administrative records are published giving important, previously unrecognized information on the history of the famous palace libraries of Assurbanipal in Nineveh. Six of these fragments have been previously published in copy by C. H. W. Johns as nos. 869, 943, 944, 980, 1053, and 1107 of his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1901); his copies, however, are in every respect so poor that a republication is more than amply justified. The other four fragments are previously unpublished.[1] The emphasis of the article is on the *ADD* texts, labeled "Records," which constitute the bulk of the material and form a chronologically and structurally homogeneous whole. The information in these will be discussed collectively in the following introduction, whereas the unpublished fragments will be dealt with separately in an appendix.

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Structure, Terminology, and Nature of the Records*

Even a superficial study of the Record fragments suffices to determine their basic structure and characteristic features. They are all itemized lists of literary works arranged in sections, and each section concludes with a sum-total and a personal name (in one case, a geographical name) followed by a professional, patronymic, or geographical identifier. A closer examination reveals the following facts: the *ADD* fragments and two unpublished ones are actually parts of only *three tablets*, all compiled by the same scribe.[2] Two of the tablets, henceforth referred to as (nos.) "1"

* In this article each text is divided into sections which are assigned separate numbers. Information found in individual sections will be identified with reference to both text and section; for example, 1.4 indicates that the item discussed occurs in text no. 1, section 4.

Abbreviations are those used in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and R. Borger's *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*.

This article was originally envisaged as a joint paper to be co-authored with Irving L. Finkel, who thoroughly collated the *ADD* fragments and discussed a number of problems in the texts with me. For various practical reasons, the original plan was later abandoned. However, even after the completion of the first draft of the manuscript, Finkel continued to take an active interest in it, contributing the join K.4753 + K.5711 and important observations (see n. 23 below). Thus this article owes him more than can be expressed in a mere dedication. I am also indebted to Professor Erica Reiner for advice received for the notes to 1.7 and 2.7. The responsibility for the interpretations offered, views presented, and errors committed in the article remains, naturally, entirely mine.

[1] The permission to publish these fragments was kindly granted on behalf of the Trustees by Dr. E. Sollberger, Keeper, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum.

[2] That all fragments are the work of the same scribe is clear from the handwriting, see figs. 2–4 and note, for example, the forms of PAB, ZU, RA, TI, and DUB (not UM), as well as the wedge-head visible at the left end of each dividing line. The indirect joins between *ADD* 943 (+) 944 and *ADD* 869 (+) K.12722 are certain on the basis of such criteria as column width, width of the space between columns (see fig. 1), script density and size of signs (see

[*JNES* 42 no. 1 (1983)]

0022–2968/83/4201–0001$1.00.

and "2") have 3 columns of text on both sides; the third is a two-column tablet (fig. 1). Nos. 1 and 3 end with eponym dates showing that both texts were written at the end of year 648 within a period of two months. The date in 2 is lost, but its affinities with 1 make it certain that it also dates from the same period. The significance of the dates will be discussed in detail below (see § 4). No. 1 consisted of at least 10 sections separated from one another by dividing lines, no. 2 consisted of at least 12, and no. 3 of two similar sections.

The literary works listed in the tablets are specified not only in terms of title or genre as is commonly done in catalogues of literary texts,[3] but every entry in the Records also contains a number or numbers indicating the quantity in which a given text was available and is followed by a specification of its material and/or format. The following four terms were used to express the latter feature: *ṭuppu* (DUB); *egirtu*; *lē'u* (GIŠ.ZU); *daltu* (GIŠ.IG). In addition, the term *asarru* occurs once (1.8). As is well known, *ṭuppu* is the generic term for "clay tablet," *egirtu* normally means "letter," *lē'u* has been convincingly shown to be the generic term for "(wax-covered) writing board,"[4] and *daltu* literally means "door." In the Records, however, each of these terms has a different, more specific technical meaning. The first two are both used to refer to clay tablets, the difference in meaning being that the former denotes full-size tablets divided into two or more columns and the latter smaller one-column tablets.[5] Correspondingly, *lē'u* refers to sets of writing boards consisting of two or more "leaves" and therefore should be rendered in these texts "diptych," "triptych," or "polyptych" (depending on the case),[6] whereas *daltu* serves as a designation of single writing boards not forming part of a multi-board "book." This technical meaning of *daltu* is not known from any other texts but is a natural assumption in view of the doorlike appearance of Assyrian writing boards.[7] The meaning of *asarru* is unknown, but the context in 1.8 makes it certain that it, too, denoted a type of clay tablet.

The implications of the above terminology are important to keep in mind when assessing the number of tablets and boards registered in the Records. The quantities of clay tablets and single writing boards can be established immediately from the numbers preceding them, but in the case of *lē'us* the matter is more complicated, since they consisted of a variable number of boards. Thus, each multi-board edition of a text listed in the Records is preceded by two sets of numbers, the first indicating the number of *lē'us* and the second the number of boards each *lē'u* consisted of (e.g., 2 3-*a-a iz-bu*, "two triptychs of teratological omens," 1.7). The number of individual boards

figs. 2–4), tablet totals (*ADD* 869 (+) K.12722), and orthographical and stylistic considerations, e.g., *ADD* 869 and 980 both write MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú* as opposed to *a-ši-pu-tú*, 943 (+) 944, and omit DUB.MEŠ in tablet-totals, as opposed to 943 (g) 944.

[3] See, for example, $4R^2$ and S. Langdon, "The Assyrian Catalogue of Liturgical Texts: A Restoration of the Tablets," *RA* 18 (1921): 157 ff. (= Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, pp. 19 ff.), liturgical texts; R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum," *Or.* n.s. 34 (1965): 108 ff., namburbi rituals; King, *BMS*, p. xix, incantations.

[4] See D. J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 3–13.

[5] *Egirtu* does not actually mean "letter" but is the term for *any* vertically oblong tablet showing the ratio 2:1 between its long and short axis. It is contrasted with the term *u'iltu* referring to *horizontally* oblong tablets with the same ratio between its axes. Letters and legal transactions were usually written on *egirtu* shaped tablets, reports, excerpt texts, and loan documents and court proceedings on *u'iltu* shaped ones.

[6] Diptychs are mentioned in 1.7 and 3.1; triptychs in 1.2, 1.7, 1.8, and 3.1; and polyptychs (of 4 to 12 boards) in 1.2, 1.7, 2.12, and 3.1.

[7] See Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," and M. Howard, "Technical Description of the Ivory Writing-Boards from Nimrud," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 14–20.

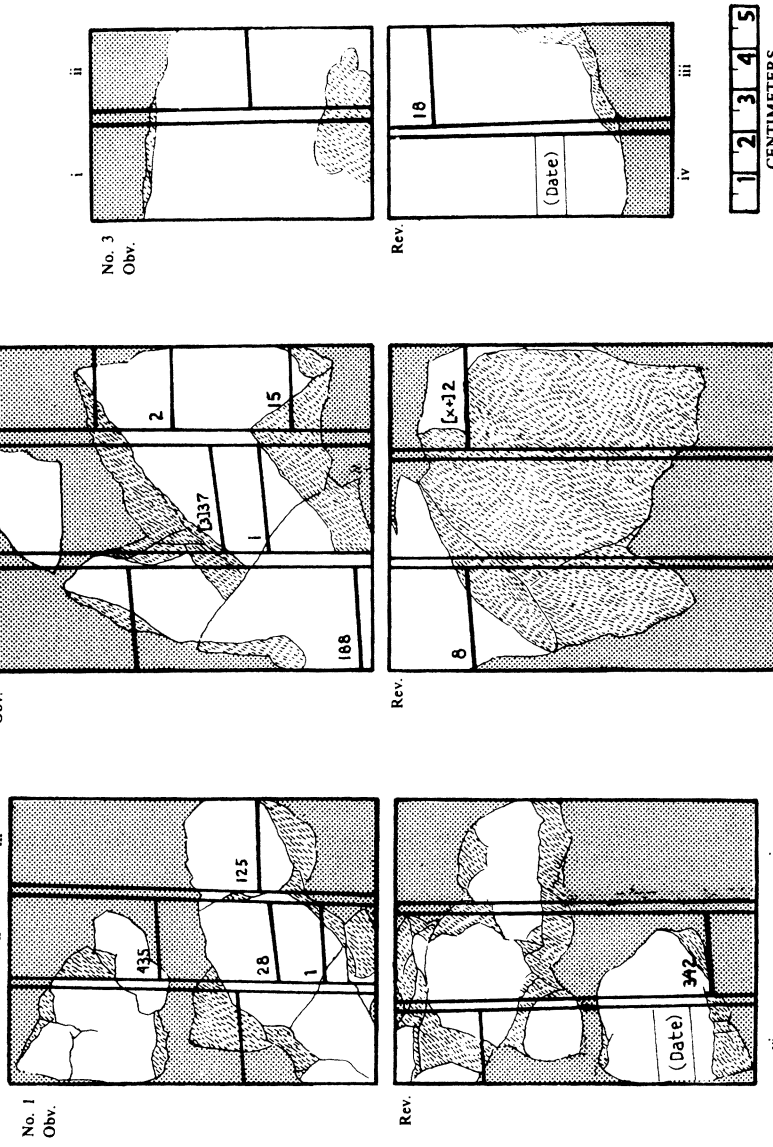

FIG. 1.—Diagram showing the Records in their original outline and present state of preservation. Reconstruction is based on the ratios 3:4 and 2:3 normally holding between the short and long axis of three- and two-column tablets; the numbers before dividing lines represent extant tablet-totals recorded in the relevant sections. Bold lines indicate outlines of tablets and rulings drawn by the scribe, insofar as they are reconstructible. Weak lines indicate breaks and cracks. White areas represent surfaces with extant script. Shaded areas represent areas with no traces of script left. Dotted areas indicate parts of the tablet which are completely lost.

is not, however, given in the totals. Consequently, while the totals of clay tablets give an accurate idea of the quantity of material involved, those of writing boards have to be multiplied by at least three to give an idea of the number of boards actually involved. This fact may well be worth keeping in mind in the study of other contemporary texts as well.[8]

Writing boards and clay tablets are listed and added up in groups. If both types of texts occur in the same section, the former are consistently listed first.[9] Combined totals of boards and tablets are not given.

Even though the purpose of the Records is nowhere explicitly stated, their content leaves no doubt as to their nature: they record acquisitions or accessions to the palace libraries of Nineveh, the source of the acquisitions being mostly a private individual and in one case (3.1) also a "House." As such, they not only give us invaluable information about the colossal library of Assurbanipal, but also about several private libraries whose existence and constitution would otherwise have remained totally unknown. This latter information is especially important because of its significance to the question of literacy and the breadth of literary and professional competence in ancient Mesopotamia.

The importance of the texts not only to us but also to the ancients is borne out by the fact that they were dated, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of administrative texts from Nineveh.[10]

2. *Information on the Library of Assurbanipal*

With the exception of the chronological information discussed in §4 below, most data in the Records relevant from the viewpoint of the Assurbanipal Library can be elicited from table 1 (below). It speaks for itself, and thus only a few supplementary remarks are necessary.

The most striking fact emerging from the table is the great number of tablets and writing boards listed in the Records. Despite the fact that all of them are badly broken, they can be shown with certainty to have registered a minimum of 1,441 clay tablets and 69 polyptychs, the majority of which consisted of more than 4 boards. Taking the breaks into consideration, the original tablet-total can be placed at about 2,000 and the writing-board total somewhere in the vicinity of 300.[11] In view of the fact that the total number of tablets and fragments (including the smallest ones) found

[8] E.g., the ivory writing board found in Nimrud was actually a polyptych consisting of 16 separate boards; correspondingly, when the writer of *LAS* 319 (r. 1 ff.) refers to a *lē'u* of Enūma Anu Enlil, he certainly does not mean a single board but a whole set of boards like the Nimrud polyptych.

[9] See 1.2, 1.8, 1.10, and 2.12. This convention implies that 1.6 and 1.7, and probably 1.7 and 1.8, are separate sections.

[10] While legal documents are always dated, very few administrative texts from Nineveh bear an eponym date (see *ADD* 753, 818, 851, 853, and 859 for extant dates; many more broken tablets naturally may originally have been dated).

[11] The fragmentary obverse of 2 lists a minimum of 358 tablets. Supposing that the reverse (which is almost totally destroyed) contained approximately the same number, this text would have listed at least 716 tablets, i.e., 337 more than are ascertainable in its present state of preservation. Three sections of 1 (6, 7, and 10) constituting about one-fifth of the whole text are very poorly preserved, adding in their present state virtually nothing to the tablet-total; they may be estimated to have contained about 20 percent of the ascertainable tablet-total, i.e., about 280 tablets. 1,441 + 337 + 280 = 2,058 tablets. Multiplying the polyptych total (69) by 4 and adding to the product (276), the same 20 percent as above would yield 321 as the approximate total number of single writing boards; this seems a realistic number considering that very few boards are listed in 2.

TABLE 1

Text Label	No. 1										No. 2												No. 3		Total of MSS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	
alandimmû											T	T													2
ālu								37		L		T	29		6					6					6
āšipūtu			6							L_2	T	T	T			2	T				T			6	9
bārûtu		L								L													27L		3
bulṭē		L_6						$3L_3$		L_2		6										L_8			5
Enūma Anu Enlil		L					4L	57		L		T	38							4					8
Gilgameš	1																								1
GIŠ.GIGIR. . .	1				8																				1
ḪAR-*ra*																								5	1
iqqur īpuš												T			1									2	3
išḫur māda	1																								1
izbu	1		2				2L3	L_3		L					2		1			1					8
kakku sakku	L_3																								1
kalûtu		L_{12}			2																				2
kammāni	3																								1
kispu												T					1								3
kunuk ḫalṭe	2						L_5																		2
[M]ÁŠ-TI.LA																								4	1
mukallimtu		2						6																	2
MUL.SAG.MU																	1								1
SAG.ME.GAR = S.							L_2																		1
sakiqqê												T													1
SI-DÙ	1																								1
ṣarrat šamê																								1	1
tīrāni																							L_2		1
UDU.[X].MEŠ																	1								1
ūm il āli	1																								1
ūmē ṭābūti															2		1								2
ušburrudāni														1											2
zaqīqu					1		L					12	T				9?								4
PI Ú-*ri*				1*																					1
Total Tablets	11	*435*	*28*	*1*	*125*	2		*342*	100			*188*	137	*1*	13	*2*	*15*	2		13	*8*			*18*	=1441
Boards	L	*6L*					9L	*10L*		6L												9L	*28L*		= 69L

NOTE: Plain digits indicate *tablets*. T = unknown number of tablets; (2)L = (2) *lē'u*s polyptychs, etc. (sub index indicating number of boards in each *lē'u*). *Egirtu*s are counted as tablets. The totals represent the *minimum* number of tablets attested in each section; italics indicates that the respective sum-total is preserved on the tablet itself.

in Nineveh does not exceed 30,000,[12] and taking further into consideration that a substantial portion of these 30,000 fragments (about one-fifth) are non-literary texts (letters, legal and administrative texts, reports, etc.), the tablets recorded in the present lists must have represented a major acquisition to the library.

Another striking fact is that out of all these hundreds and thousands of tablets and boards, only a tiny fraction (in all 10 tablets) consists of what could be called *belles-lettres*, i.e., epics, myths, etc.[13] The rest is professional literature of experts in Mesopotamian scientific and religious lore. This fact is well known to all students of the Assurbanipal Library, but because of the fragmentary state in which the Library has come down to us, it does not stand out as clearly as it does in the present lists.

Altogether, 31 different types of text figure in the lists. Seventeen of them, all independent compositions identified by their own specific names or labels, occur only once.[14] Of the remaining 14, relatively few represent independent compositions but are mostly identified by a generic designation permitting the lumping together of several different texts falling under the same broad category. In descending order of frequency, the compositions or text categories attested in greatest numbers of copies are:

9	Exorcists' Lore (*āšipūtu*)	at least 18 tablets and 1 board
8	Astrological Omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*)	at least 107 tablets and 6 boards
8	Teratological Omens (*izbu*)	in all 10 tablets and 10 boards
6	Terrestrial Omens (*Ālu ina mēlê šakin*)	at least 79 tablets and 1 board
5	Medical Recipes (*bulṭē*)	at least 6 tablets and 24 boards
4	Dream Omens (*iškār Zaqīqu*)	at least 22 tablets
3	Haruspical Omens (*bārûtu*)	at least 135 writing boards

If any of these compositions occur together in one section, the sequence in which they are listed is usually *Enūma Anu Enlil—bārûtu—Ālu—izbu—āšipūtu—bulṭē—Zaqīqu*; this sequence is not absolutely binding, however.[15] Note that the order in which the texts are listed is not determined by the number of the items involved (see 1.1, 2.6, 2.9, 3.2), nor by the extent of the series or corpora in question (*Ālu* is much more extensive than *Enūma Anu Enlil*, not to speak of such vast corpora as *bārûtu* or *āšipūtu*) and may accordingly reflect the popularity the texts enjoyed.

Most of the compositions/corpora and their designations are well known, but some are unidentified or only imperfectly known (see notes to 1.1 ad *kunuk ḫaltu*, GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD, *is-ḫur ma-a-da*, ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ; 1.2 ad *kakku sakku*; 1.4 ad PI Ú-*ri*; 1.7 ad SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È.A; 2.2 ad *kispē*; 2.7 ad MUL.SAG.KUL, 3.2 ad *ṣarrat šamê* and [M]ÁŠ-TI.LA). Not all of these can be considered rarities, since they are also attested in other library catalogues,[16] and some of them occur twice or even more often in the

[12] See E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.," *AfO* 16 (1952): 197 f. To the figure 25,357 mentioned by Weidner one must add the ca. 5,000 small fragments currently being catalogued by W. G. Lambert.

[13] These include one tablet of the Gilgameš Epic and probably the following texts: GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD (1 tablet), *iṣḫur māda* (2 tablets), *kammāni* (3 tablets), the Series of SI-DÙ (1 tablet), possibly also *kakku sakku* (3 writing boards). It must be noted, however, that virtually all of these latter texts are either unidentified, imperfectly known, or imprecisely specified, so the number of actual "*belles-lettres*" texts may be even smaller than assumed here.

[14] See the commentary to 1.1 *iškār Gilgameš* and 2.1 *sakiqqê* below.

[15] In 1.3 we have the sequence *āšipūtu—izbu*; in 1.8, *bulṭē—Izbu*.

[16] For ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ, see Lambert, "A Late Assyrian Catalogue of Literary and Scholarly Texts"

present records. It is interesting to note that hemerological texts are identified by a collective designation (*ūmē ṭābūti*, "auspicious days") which is otherwise attested as the name of the Assur hemerologies, a composition poorly represented in Nineveh.[17] *Ūm il āli* (1.1) appears to be the name of a text listing holidays;[18] *tīrāni*, "convolutions" (3.1), probably refers to omen texts dealing with the convolutions of the sheep's intestines; and *kammāni* (1.1) could be a general term for hymns or other poetical works.[19]

A fact worthy of attention is that very few of the sets of tablets and writing boards listed seem to have been complete, i.e., to have comprised the entire composition or corpus of texts in question. Thus 1.1 lists only one tablet of the Gilgameš Epic (out of a total of 12),[20] 1.3 only 3 of the 24 tablets of the *Izbu* series,[21] 2.2 only 6 of the 107-tablet series *Šumma Ālu*, etc. This matter will be taken up again under §3 below but is worth noting here, too, since it helps to explain why it is so difficult to put together a complete text of most large Babylonian compositions despite the fact that so many separate manuscripts of each text were apparently kept in the Nineveh libraries.[22]

The provenance of the tablets is known for certain in only four instances (1.4 and 5: Nippur, yielding tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, lamentations (*kalûtu*), and dream omens; 2.4: Babylon, 1 tablet of anti-witchcraft rituals; 3.1: *Bīt-Ibâ*, yielding masses of haruspical material). However, since all these cities were located in Babylonia, it is reasonable to assume that the bulk of the other tablets also came from Babylonia (see also §4 below), and it seems possible, hence, that a large portion of the tablets in Neo-Babylonian script found in Nineveh are actually to be identified with the tablets listed in the present records.[23] On the other hand, there is reason to believe that not all tables listed in them necessarily were written in Babylonian script. Aššur-mukīn-palē^{3}a, the owner of the tablets listed in 3.2, was a brother of Assurbanipal and as such was more likely to have possessed tablets in Assyrian rather than in Babylonian script. The haruspex Nabû-nādin-apli (2.2) is found in a contemporary document (*ADD* 851 ii 5) among scholars employed at the royal court, so his library *may* also have been in Assyrian script.

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in B. L. Eichler, J. W. Heimerdinger, and Åke W. Sjöberg, eds., *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT, vol. 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), pp. 315 f.; *is-ḫur ma-a-da* is also attested in two other catalogues; see note on 1.1 6′.

17 The Nineveh version of the Assur Hemerologies (Labat, *HMA*, p. 146 ff.) seems to be extant only in K.3765 (*Babyl.* 4 108) and K.2607+ (= *AMT* 6,6 + *Babyl.* 1 204 f.). See also K.3769 and K.6482 (= *Babyl.* 4 104 ff.).

18 See E. Weidner, "Der Tag des Stadtgottes," *AfO* 14 (1941–44): 340 ff.

19 See the dictionaries s.v. *kammu*.

20 The formulation of the entry (1 MIN [i.e., ÉŠ.GÀR] ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ "1 ditto [Series] of Gilgameš") does not imply that the whole series was meant. See, for example, 1.5 1 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu* as opposed to 12 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*, 2.2.

21 E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, TCS 4 (Locust Valley, New York, 1970).

22 For example, large portions of *Šumma Ālu* (comprising several tablets in a row) cannot be reconstructed at present. See Sally Moren, "The Omen Series Šumma Ālu" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978), passim.

23 For example, the tablet K.10595, in Babylonian script, was written by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (see 2.8), as discovered by C. B. F. Walker in June 1980 (I. Finkel, personal communication, 18 June 1980). K.10595 is a copy of *eršemma* lamentations and thus neatly fits with Nabû-balāssu-iqbi's identification as a "priest's son." As pointed out by Finkel, many more tablets in Babylonian script in the Kuyunjik Collection could undoubtedly be identified with the entries in the Records if a serious effort at identification were to be made. However, such an enterprise would require several months to complete and is hence not within the scope of the present article.

Finally, the information the Records provide about the writing-board component of the Ninevite libraries is truly invaluable, since this component has completely perished. It was noted above (§1) that writing-board editions of texts were listed before clay-tablet editions, so they were probably considered more precious or desirable than the latter. They were also available in lesser numbers than the latter (2000:300), even though here one should note that a writing-board could contain much more text than a clay tablet.[24] In any case, the evidence of the Records suggests that the libraries contained, in addition to clay tablets, thousands of writing boards, and this is borne out by other textual evidence as well.[25] Conspicuously, the Records make no mention of copies of texts on papyrus (*niāru*) or parchment (*mašku*), and this can be taken as an indication that traditional literary texts were not copied on such materials (a fact also clear from other evidence).[26] Most texts available on clay also seem to have been available in a writing-board edition, so the two materials seem to have been fully equivalent in terms of their literary acceptability; the only difference probably was in price and practicality. Writing boards were lighter to handle, and whole series could be combined into a single polyptych edition; but they must have been more expensive and difficult to make than clay tablets.

3. *The Private Libraries*

Out of the total of 23 sections into which the Records are divided, the name of the owner of the tablets has been (totally or partially) preserved in 15 instances, and in 9 of these even the profession of the man or his father is known (see table 2). As can be expected on the basis of the technical nature of the literature listed in the texts, all persons whose profession can be ascertained prove to be either scribes or specialists in various branches of the Mesopotamian scientific lore (we have two exorcists [*āšipu*] in 1.4 and 5; three haruspices [*bārû*] in 1.3, 2.2, and 2.3; one scribe [*ṭupšarru*] in 2.6;[27] two sons of scribes in 2.4 and 2.11; as well as a son of a priest [*šangû*] in 2.8), but now for a real surprise: in not one case does the list of tablets indicated for these men include works related to their fields of specialization! The exorcists are cited as possessing tablets containing astrological omens, lamentations, and dream omens but not a single tablet of *āšipūtu*; the haruspices are in possession of various collections of unprovoked omens (*Ālu*, *Izbu*, *Zaqīqu*), medical and exorcistic texts (*bulṭē*, *sakiqqû*, *āšipūtu*), physiognomic omens (*alandimmû*), and rituals relating to offerings to ancestral spirits (*kispē*) but no single text of *bārûtu*; the scribes have exorcistic and anti-witchcraft literature but no omen collections. Since it would be absurd to assume that these men could have practiced their profession without any professional literature of their own, the inevitable conclusion is that the texts listed for them do not represent

[24] See Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," p. 8.

[25] See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, AOAT, vol. 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), p. 166 s.v. *le'u* and the passages quoted in *CAD* s.v.

[26] There are no references to papyrus or parchment originals in colophons of Mesopotamian literary texts. Both materials seem to have been restricted to ephemeral use only and served as the writing material only for texts written in Aramaic.

[27] The word for "scribe" also has the technical meaning "expert in (unprovoked) omens," a fact well known from the title *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*, "EAE scribe" = "astrologer." It is uncertain whether the narrow or broad meaning or both are meant in the Records.

their entire private libraries but rather only that part of it which they did not need in their professional work.

The same conclusion can be reached by observing the number of items derived from each source. Some persons provide large numbers of tablets and boards, others only a single one-column tablet. Thus, Nabû-x [. . . .] provides 435 tablets and 6 complete polyptychs (1.2); Nabû-apal-iddin, 342 tablets and 10 polyptychs (1.8); Nabû-nādin-apli, 188 tablets (2.2); Nabû-šākin-šulmi, [1]37 (or [3]37) tablets (2.3); and Arrabu, 125 tablets (1.5), etc. On the other hand, Aplai, an exorcist from Nippur, and Mušēzib-Nabû, the son of the personal scribe of the king of Babylon, yield only one tablet each (1.4 and 2.4); Tabnî, the scribe of the crown prince's eunuch (2.6), produces only two tablets. It is unthinkable that persons of such standing would have possessed only one or two tablets; hence, the bulk of their libraries is not featured in the lists and very probably remained in their private possession.

TABLE 2

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE OWNERSHIP ENTRIES

1.1	[ ] x
1.2	PAB 4-me-35 [DUB.MEŠ] / ^{md}PA-x [ ]
1.3	PAB 28 DUB.MEŠ / ^{md}UTU-SU ḪAL
1.4	1 DUB PI Ú-*ri* / ^{m}A-*a-a* MAŠ.MAŠ / EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*
1.5	PAB 1-me-25 DUB.ME[Š] / ^{m}*Ar-ra-bu* MAŠ.MAŠ / EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*
1.6	[ ]
1.7	[ ]
1.8	PAB 3-me-42 [DUB.MEŠ] / ^{md}PA-A-AŠ [ ] / A ^{m}SUḪ[UŠ-^{d}DN]
1.9	PAB 1-m[e-. DUB.ME]Š / ^{md}[DN-x] x-PAB?
1.10	[ ]
2.1	[PAB] x-*eš* A.BA / [A ^{md}DN]-x-*a-ni*
2.2	PAB 1-me-88 / ^{md}PA-SUM-A ḪAL / [A] ^{md}15-BÀD
2.3	[PAB 3]-me-37 / ^{md}PA-GAR-*šul-me* ḪAL
2.4	1 *e-gír-tu* UŠ$_{12}$.BÚR.DA.MEŠ / ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}PA A ^{md}PA-MU-GAR/ A.BA *ša* MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA
2.5	[ ] / [^{md}DN-M]U-DU [ ]
2.6	PAB 2 ^{m}*Tab-ni-i* A.[BA] / *šá* GAL-SAG? A-MAN
2.7	[PAB 1]5 ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ [A.Z]U /A ^{m}*Su-m[a-a-a]*
2.8	[PAB x]+2 DUB.[MEŠ] / [^{md}PA]-TI-*su-iq-bi* / [A ^{md}P]A?-A-AŠ LÚ.SANGA ^{d}[x]
2.9	[ ]
2.10	[ ]
2.11	PAB 8 ^{md}[x]-MU-GIŠ / A ^{m}DUMU-^{d}[15] A.BA / GAL-*kal-lap*? A-MAN
2.12	[ ]
3.1	PAB TA* É ^{m}*I-b[a-a]*
3.2	[PAB 1]8 DUB.MEŠ / PAB ^{m}*As+šur-mu*-GIN-BALA-*iá*

These considerations lead to an important corollary. If the owners did not give up their whole library but kept (or were allowed to keep) for themselves the part they needed themselves, then they very likely were still alive and continued to practice their profession at the time the Records were drawn up. In other words, with the books listed in the Records we are not dealing with literary remains donated to (or appropriated by) the Palace after the death of the owners, as one might be a priori prone to think. Rather, we are dealing with (voluntary or involuntary) *donations made by the owners themselves*. This conclusion is in turn substantiated by the fact that the brother of Assurbanipal who contributed the books listed in 3.2, was still alive as late as 627, more than 20 years after the Records were drawn up.[28] Note also the mention of Nabû-nādin-apli (2.2) among court haruspices in a contemporary text, referred to

[28] See *BRM* 4 50:4.

above. The nature of and historical circumstances surrounding these donations will be discussed in §4.

However incomplete the entries may be in the sense just indicated, they nevertheless provide much interesting information about Mesopotamian private libraries. The first thing to note is the basic fact that private libraries indeed did exist in considerable numbers in this period and that these libraries could be quite comprehensive, containing up to 435 tablets, if not more.[29] This is an important point in that it suggests that excavations in the residential quarters of large first millennium cities are likely to produce many tablet finds comparable in size to major provincial libraries such as the one discovered in Sultantepe.[30] Another important point to make is the fact already noted that the libraries of specialists in a given field by no means consisted of only their professional material but could include hundreds of works outside their field of specialization. This certainly indicates the broad education and, in some cases, deep learning of the individuals in question. Furthermore, the fact that many of the works listed are incomplete (see §2) gives us a clue as to how these private libraries were compiled: their core probably consisted of texts copied by their owners during their education, when they would be required to read (and copy) only selections from a fairly large range of scientific/literary texts. They probably increased gradually whenever there later arose a need to copy additional texts. It is extremely unlikely that any books in these private libraries were purchased.[31]

There is one private library reflected in the present Records which deviates from the pattern just outlined: the Bīt-Ibâ Library (3.1) yielding masses of writing boards on haruspical matters, but this is more appropriately dealt with in the following section.

4. *The Historical Context*

We have seen above that the Records represent accessions to the royal libraries in Nineveh and that the majority of the works listed in them originated in private libraries of individuals still active in their professional work, most of them Babylonians. One major question remains to be answered: was this the normal way the Ninevite palace libraries were enlarged, or do the Records reflect an exceptional situation?

There is solid evidence beyond the Records that private libraries played a considerable role in the formation of the Assurbanipal libraries and possibly even formed the original core of them; one needs only to refer to the numerous tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu in the Kuyunjik material.[32] However, there is also considerable evidence of organized, large-scale tablet production within the Palace itself,[33] the most eloquent

[29] Only a very few private libraries have hitherto been identified with certainty, the best known example being the library of the exorcist Kiṣir-Aššur in Assur (see, for example, Hunger, *Kolophone*, p. 19). This seems to have been a very large one, and it is likely that hundreds of the "religious" and exorcistic texts published in *KAR* originate in it, even though the name of Kiṣir-Aššur is found in relatively few of the texts.

[30] A case in point is the Kiṣir-Aššur library just mentioned, which was discovered in systematic soundings in the residential quarters of Assur.

[31] Note, for example, the Kiṣir-Aššur tablets, whose colophons show that all of them (insofar as ascertainable) were copied either by Kiṣir-Aššur himself or by members of his family.

[32] Cf. Hunger, *Kolophone*, pp. 20 ff. and idem, "Neues von Nabû-zuqup-kēna," *ZA* 62 (1972): 99 ff.; Weidner, "Die astrologische Serie Enûma Anu Enlil," *AfO* 14 (1941–44): 178.

[33] See, for example, *ABL* 447 and *LAS* 318 and 331.

testimony of this being, of course, the beautiful, carefully prepared Assurbanipal editions of innumerable literary texts from Nineveh.[34] Against this background, if one now takes into consideration how many tablets have actually been recovered from Nineveh and the number of tablets listed in the present Records (see above, §2), it becomes clear, I believe, that we must be dealing with a rather unusual situation. Even if it is assumed that the total of some 30,000 *fragments* from Nineveh gives an idea of the original *tablet*-total of the libraries, which seems very unlikely,[35] at the rate of 2,000 tablets in two months (or 1,000 per month) this total would have been reached in a matter of a few years; yet we know that the libraries took many decades to reach their final size.[36]

The key to the issue is furnished by the dates of the Records: Šabāṭu 1, eponymy of Bēlšunu = 28 January 647 B.C. (1); and Addāru 29, eponymy of Bēlšunu = 26 March 647 B.C. (3).[37] The former date hardly postdates by five months the fall of Babylon, marking the end of the bloody civil war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn.[38] Prior to that, the Assyrian government had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Babylonia, least of all to lay claim to the private property of her citizens; here, however, we all of a sudden find large quantities of Babylonian literary tablets being channeled into Assyria a few months after the conquest of the country. It seems likely that the Assyrian monarch, well known for his literary interests, was utilizing the situation to add to the collections in his libraries. In other words, part of the works listed in the Records could have been brought to Nineveh as spoils of war, while others may have been confiscated from their owners in accordance with a royal order to this effect. The former explanation seems very likely in the case of the writing boards from Bīt-Ibâ (3.1), a Chaldean "House" in conflict with Assyria during the reign of Assurbanipal because of the ambitious policies of its ruler Bēl-ēṭir;[39] the latter explanation (confiscation) could apply to the majority of the sections in Texts 1 and 2 and is strongly supported by a letter from an Assyrian king (almost certainly Assurbanipal) to the governor of Borsippa, where the confiscation of all kinds of literary works both from temple and private libraries for inclusion in the Ninevite libraries is explicitly ordered.[40] It is quite likely that similar orders were sent to other Babylonian cities as well, not just to Borsippa.

[34] Recognizable by their elaborate colophons, about which see Streck, *Asb.*, pp. lxv ff.

[35] See Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.," p. 197.

[36] The tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu date to the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C., the texts mentioned in n. 33 above to about 670, 665, and 655, respectively. Other evidence of the long history of the palace libraries could easily be adduced.

[37] For the Julian correlations of these dates see my *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, pt. 2, AOAT, vol. 5/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), appendix A; a margin of error of 1–2 days is implicit.

[38] The last legal document from Babylonia dated after Šamas-šum-ukīn bears a date corresponding to Ābu 30, 648 B.C.; see G. Frame, "Babylonia 681–627 B.C." (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980), p. 167.

[39] Bēl-ēṭir of Bīt-Ibâ is calumniated in two unpublished political pamphlets from the reign of Assurbanipal (K.1351 and 82–5–22, 88) as well as in a letter addressed to Assurbanipal (*ABL* 454). The first two texts imply that he had been severely punished by the Assyrians. While it is as yet difficult to establish the exact date of Bēl-ēṭir's clash with the Assyrians, *ABL* 289: 7 f. (compared with K.1351:14 and r. 4, and 82–5–22, 88:2) does suggest that it coincided with the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. I hope to deal with this problem in greater detail in a future article.

[40] *CT* 22 1.

Some entries in the Records, however, require a different explanation, for it is quite unthinkable that persons of such standing as Aššur-mukīn-palē'a, the kings's brother and the high priest of [. . .],[41] could have been *forced* to surrender parts of their libraries to the Palace against their own will. It would seem that in such cases we are dealing with (semi-)voluntary donations, those possibly responding to an explicit request on the part of the king. In any case, whatever the reasons behind the individual contributions, the Records, in my opinion, bear clear witness to a major drive to add to the royal libraries of Nineveh in late 648 B.C. That this drive was at least in part fueled by the fall of Babylon seems obvious; may one conclude that by focusing his attention on literary matters, Assurbanipal tried to forget his tragic feud with his brother; or is this interest in library matters, so soon after his brother's death, rather an illustration of the cynical disposition of this last great Assyrian ruler?

No. 1 (figs. 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d)
80-7-19,144 (+) 262 = *ADD* 943 (+) 944

Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 1

obverse			
col. i	1′	1 *i*[*z-bu*]	1 (tablet of) Izbu,
	2′	2 NA$_4$.KIŠI[B] *ḫal-*⌜*tú*⌝	2 (of) Seal of *ḫaltu* Stone,
	3′	1 UD-*mu* DINGIR URU	1 (of) Day of the City God,
	4′	3 *kam-ma-a-ni*	3 esoteric(?) compositions,
	5′	1 GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD	1 (tablet of) the Chariot of . . . . ,
	6′	1 *is-ḫur ma-a-da*	1 (tablet of) *Isḫur māda*,
	7′	1 ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ	1 (of) the SI-DÙ Series,
	8′	1 MIN ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ	1 (of) the Gilgameš Series,
	9′	⌜40? *e-gír-a*⌝-*te*	40 (?) one-column tablets,
	10′	[ ]x	
		Break of about 4 lines	
	11′	[ ]x	

Section 2

12′	[x UD AN] ^{d}BE	[x polyptychs of Enūma Anu] Enlil,
13′	[x ḪAL]-*u-tú*	[x (of) the Exti]spicy corpus,
14′	[1 GIŠ.ZU] ⌜1⌝2 GIŠ.IG	[1 polyptych] of 12 boards,
15′	[U]Š.KU-*tú*	[la]mentations,
16′	1 ⌜3⌝ *kak-ku sak-ku*	1 of 3 (boards), *kakku sakku*,
17′	1 ⌜6⌝ *bul-ṭi*	1 of 6, medical recipes,
18′	PAB 6 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	in all 6 complete
19′	*šal-mu-u-te*	polyptychs.
20′	⌜4 GIŠ⌝.IG.MEŠ (end of column)	4 writing boards

[41] See Streck, *Asb.* 250:6.

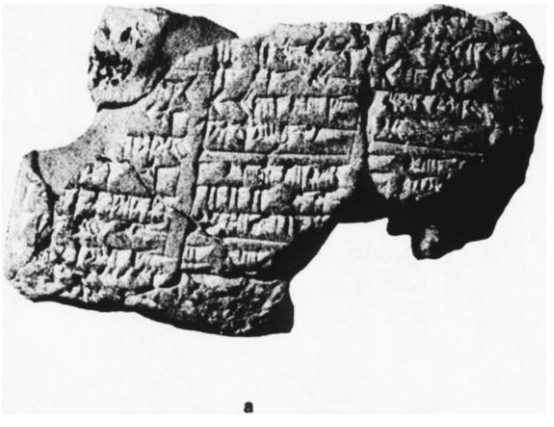
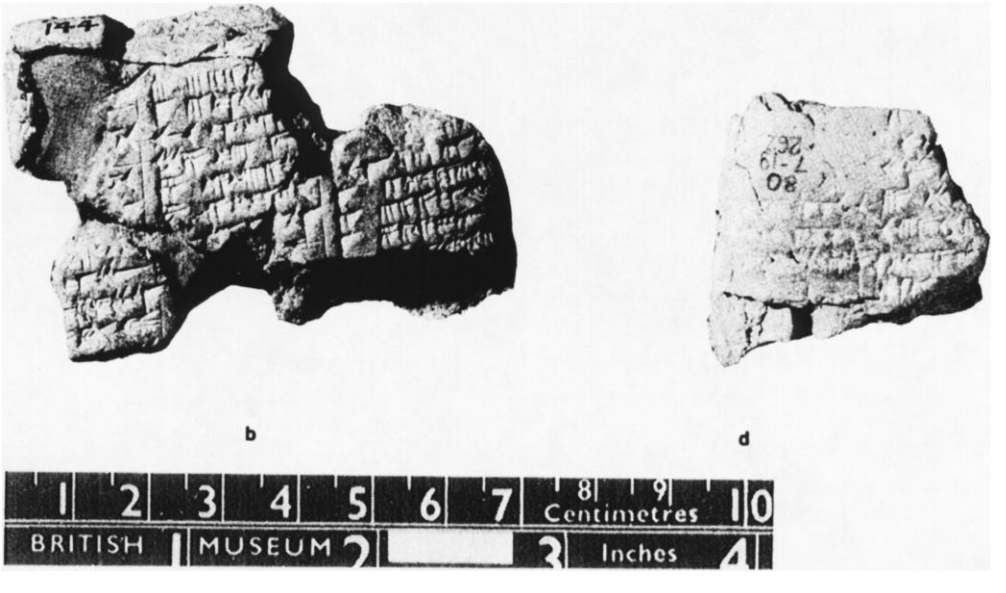


FIG 2a.—No. 1, 80-7-19,44, obverse

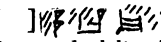
2c.—No. 1, 80-7-19,262, obverse



2b.—No. 1, 80-7-19,144, reverse

2d.—No. 1, 80-7-19,262, reverse. All courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

col. ii Beginning (about 5 lines) destroyed

1′	x[ ]	
2′	[ ]	
3′	[ ]  [ ]	
4′	2 *mu-kal-lim-*[*tú*]	2 (tablets of) commentaries,
5′	PAB 4-me-35 [DUB.MEŠ]	in all 435 [tablets],
6′	^{md}rPA^{1}-  [ ]	Nabû-[ ].

Section 3

Break of about 3 lines

7′	[ ]rx^{1}[ ]x	
8′	6 *a-ši-pu-tú*	6 (tablets of) Exorcists' Lore,
9′	2 *iz-bu*	2 (of) Izbu,
10′	PAB 28 DUB.MEŠ	in all 28 tablets,
11′	^{md}UTU-SU ḪAL	Šamaš-erība, haruspex.

Section 4

12′	1 DUB PI Ú-*ri*	One tablet of . . . . ,
13′	^{m}A-*a-a* MAŠ.MAŠ	Aplai, an exorcist
14′	EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*	from Nippur.

Section 5

15′	3 DUB.[MEŠ]	3 tablets,
16′	5 r*e*^{1}-[*gír-a-te*]	5 one-column tablets
17′	U[D AN ^{d}BE]	(of) Enūma Anu Enlil.
18′	r2^{1}[ ] (end of column)	2 [ ]

col. iii Beginning (about 13 lines) destroyed

1′	r2^{1} *ka-lu-*r*tú*^{1}	2 (of) lamentations,
2′	1 rÉŠ^{1}.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	1 (of) the Dream Book,
3′	PAB 1-me-25 DUB.ME[Š]	in all 125 tablets,
4′	^{m}*Ar-ra-bu* rMAŠ.MAŠ^{1}	Arrabu, an exorcist
5′	EN.[[L]]ÍL.[[K]]I-*a-a*	from Nippur.

Section 6

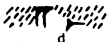
6′	1 DUB [ ]	1 tablet,
7′	r1^{1} *e-gí*[*r-tu*]	1 one-column tablet,

Rest (about 6 lines) destroyed

reverse

col. iv Beginning (about 6 lines) destroyed

Section 7

1′	r1^{1} [ ]  [ ]	1 [ ]
2′	PAB 4 UD AN ^{d}BE	in all 4 (of) Enūma Anu Enlil;

	3′ 1 2	SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.P[A.È.A]	1 of 2 (boards), Sagmegar = Šulpaea,
	4′ 2	3-*a-a iz-bu*	2 of 3 each, Izbu,
	5′ 1 5	NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*	1 of 5, Seal of *ḫaltu* Stone,
	6′	[x U]$Š_{12}$ ⌜BÚR⌝.RU.[DA.MEŠ]	[ ], Anti-witchcraft Rituals,
		Rest (about 14 lines) destroyed	

Section 8

col. v	1	[ ]x x[ ]	
	2 3	3-*a-a bul-[ṭi]*	3 of 3 each, medical recipes,
	3 1 3	*iz-bu*	1 of 3, Izbu,
	4	PAB 10 GIŠ.ZU.M[EŠ]	in all 10 polyptychs;
	5	45 DUB.MEŠ	45 tablets,
	6 5	*e-gír-a-t[e]*	5 one-column tablets,
	7 7	*a-sar-ri*	7 diagrams(?),
	8	[PA]B UD AN ⌜^{d}⌝UTU [*sic*]	all Enūma Anu Enlil(!);
	9	[*bul-ṭ*]*i*	[medi]cal recipes,
		Break of about 5 lines	
	10′ 2	[ ]	2 [ ],
	11′	PAB S[I]	all [ ];
	12′ 37	U[RU? *ina* SUKUD GAR]	37 (of) Ā[lu ina mēlê šakin],
	13′ 6	*mu-k*[*al-lim-tú*]	6 (of) comm[entaries],
	14′	PAB 3-me-42 [DUB.MEŠ]	in all 342 [tablets],
	15′	^{md}PA-A-AŠ [ ]	Nabû-apal-iddin [ ]
	16′	A ^{m}SUḪ[UŠ-DN]	son of Išd[ī-DN].
		– – – – – – – – –	
		Rest (about 3 lines) destroyed	

Section 9

col. vi	1	[ ]	
	2 4	[ ]	4 [ ],
	3	PAB 1-m[e x DUB.ME]Š	in all 100+[x table]ts,
	4	[DN-]x-PAB?	[ ]-uṣur.
		– – – –	

Section 10

	5	[x x UD AN] ⌜^{d}⌝BE	[x of x (boards), Enūma Anu] Enlil,
	6	[x ḪAL-*u-t*]*ú*	[x of x, Extispicy Cor]pus,
	7	[x]⌜URU *ina* SUKUD GAR⌝	[x of x], Ālu ina mēlê šakin,
	8	[x] *iz-bu*	[ ], Izbu,
	9	[x x]+2 *a-ši-pu-tú*	[x of x]+2, Exorcists' Lore,
	10	[x x]+2 *bul-ṭi*	[x of x]+2, medical recipes,
	11	[ ] ⌜x x x⌝	
		Break of about 2 lines	
		3 lines blank	
	12′	ITU.ZÍZ UD.1.KAM	Šabāṭu day 1,

13′	*lim-mu* EN-*šú-nu*	eponymy of Bēlšunu,
14′	LÚ.NAM KUR *ḫi-in-dan*	governor of Ḫindāna.
	blank	
15′	[ ]x ⌜LUGAL⌝?	[ ] king(?)
	Rest (about 3 lines) destroyed	

No. 2 (figs. 3a, 3b, 3c)
K.4753 + K.5711 + 81-2-4, 268 (+)K.12722 = *ADD* 869 + 980 + unpub. (+) unpub.[42]

Beginning (about 8 lines) destroyed

Section 1

obverse

col. i	1′	[x *alan-dí*]*m-mu-*⌜*u*⌝	[x, Physiogn]omic, Omens
	2′	[x MAŠ.MA]Š-*tú*	[x, Exorcis]ts' Lore,
	3′	[PAB . . .]x-*eš* A.BA	[in all x; PN], scribe,
	4′	[x x A ^{m}x x]x-*a-ni*	[x son of DN]-x-ani.

Section 2

5′	[x *e-g*]*ir-a-te* UD AN BE	[x one-colu]mn tablets, Enūma Anu Enlil,
6′	[x] *iq-qur* DÙ-*uš*	[x], Iqqur īpuš;
7′	[x] GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	[x] polyptychs,
8′	[x] UD AN ^{d}BE	[x] (of) Enūma Anu Enlil,
9′	[x] URU *ina* SUKUD GAR	[x], Ālu ina mēlê šakin,
10′	[x] *alan-*⌜*dím*⌝*-*[*mu-u*]	[x], Physiogno[mic], Omens
11′	[x] SA.GI[G.MEŠ]	[x], Sympto[ms];
12′	[x] DUB.MEŠ	[x] tablets,
13′	[x] *ki-is-pi*	[x], Funerary Offering(s),
14′	[x] MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	[x], Exorcists' Lore,
15′	⌜12⌝ ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	12, Dream Book,
16′	6 *bul-ṭi*	6, Medical Recipes,
17′	PAB 1-me-88	in all 188;
18′	^{md}PA-SUM-A ḪAL	Nabû-nādin-apli, haruspex,
19′	[A] ⌜^{m}⌝^{d}15-BÀD	son of Ištar-dūrī.

(end of column)

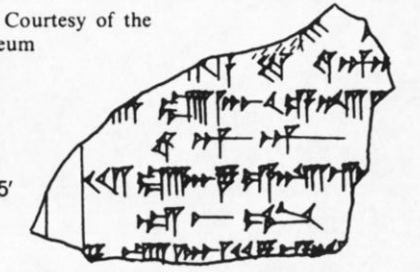
[42] K.5711 was identified as a catalogue by W. G. Lambert and joined to K.4753+ by I. Finkel. The other joins to this text were made by me.

a

FIG. 3a.—No. 2, K.4753, obverse

b

3b.—No. 2, K.4753, reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



c

3c.—No. 2, K.12722 (other side destroyed) (scale= 1.3:1)

col. ii Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 3

1′	[x GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ *i*]*q-q*[*ur* DÙ]	[x polyptychs, I]qq[ur īpuš],
2′	[x *e-g*]*ir-a-te* UD AN ⌜d⌝[BE]	[x one-colu]mn tablets, Enūma Anu Enl[il];
3′	[2]8 DUB.MEŠ 10 *e-gír-*⌜*a*⌝-[*te*]	[2]8 tablets, 10 one-column tablets,
4′	UD AN d[BE]	Enūma Anu E[nlil],
5′	22 DUB.MEŠ 7 *e-gír-rat* [0]	22 tablets, 7 one-column tablets
6′	URU *ina* SUKUD [GAR]	Ālu ina mēlê [šakin],
7′	⌜4 DUB⌝.MEŠ 85 ⌜*e*⌝-*gí*[*r-a-te*]	4 tablets, 85 one-c[olumn tablets]
	Break of about 4 lines	
8′	[1 *ki-is*]-*pu*	[1, Funerary Offer]ing,
9′	[x MA]Š.MAŠ-*tú*	[x, Exo]rcists' Lore
10′	[x ÉŠ].GÀR *za-ki-qu*	[x], Dream Book,
11′	[PAB 3?]-me-37	[in all 3]37;
12′	⌜m⌝d⌜PA⌝-GAR-*šul-me* ḪAL	Nabû-šākin-šulme, haruspex.

Section 4

13′	1 *e-gír-tú* $UŠ_{12}$.BÚR.DA.MEŠ	1 one-column tablet, Anti-witchcraft,
14′	m*Mu-še-zib-*dPA A mdPA-MU-GAR	Mušēzib-Nabû, son of Nabû-šum-iškun,
15′	A.BA *ša* MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA	the scribe of the king of Babylon.

Section 5

16′	1 ⌜*e*⌝-[*g*]⌜*ír-tú*⌝ [*i*]*q-*⌜*qur*⌝[DÙ-*uš*]	1 on[e-c]olumn tablet, Iqqur [īpuš],
17′	[[6]] PAB 1 m⌜d⌝-[ ]	in all one, [PN].
18′	6 URU *i*[*na* SUKUD GAR]	6, Ālu i[na mēlê šakin],
19′	2 UD.ME[Š DÙG.GA.MEŠ]	2, [Auspicious] Days,
20′	2 *i*[*z?-bu*]	2, I[zbu],
	Last line of column destroyed	

col. iii Beginning (about 9 lines) destroyed

1′	[A mdDN-M]U-DU [ ]	[son of DN-šu]m-ukīn, [ ].

Section 6

2′	[1] DUB [ ]	1 tablet,
3′	1 *e-gír-t*[*u*]	1 one-column tablet,
4′	MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	Exorcists' Lore,

5′	PAB 2 ^{m}*Tab-ni-i* A.[BA]	in all 2; Tabnî, the scri[be]
6′	*šá* GAL.SAG? A-M[AN]	of the crown prince's chief eunuch.

Section 7

7′	1 MUL.SAG.MU	1, The New Year Star,
8′	1 UD.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ	1, Auspicious Days,
9′	1 *iz-bu*	1, Izbu,
10′	1 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	1, Dream Book,
11′	9 UDU?.[NÍTA?]-MEŠ	9, The Sh[eep],
12′	1 *ki-is-pu*	1, Funerary Offering,
13′	[1] MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	[1], Exorcists' Lore;
14′	[PAB 1]5 ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ	[in all 1]5; Nabû-šum-iddin,
15′	[A.Z]U A ^{m}*Su-m[a-a-a]*	[physicia]n, son of Sum[ai].
16′	[ ]x x[ ]	

Rest (about 4 lines) destroyed

col. iv Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 8

1′	[PAB x]+2 DUB.[MEŠ]	[In all x+]2 tablet[s],
2′	[^{md}PA]-TI-*su-iq-bi*	[Nabû]-balāssu-iqbi,
3′	[A ^{md}P]A?-A-AŠ LÚ.SANGA ^{d}[DN]	[son of Na]bû-apal-iddin, priest of [DN]

Section 9

4′	[ ]x	

Rest (about 22 lines) destroyed

col. v	1	4 UD AN ^{d}[BE]	4, Enūma Anu [Enlil],
	2	6 URU *ina* SUK[UD GAR]	6, Ālu ina mēlê [šakin],

Section 10

	3	1 *i[z?-bu]*	1, I[zbu],
	4	2 [ ]	2, [ ]

Rest (about 24 lines) destroyed

Section 11

col. vi	1	MAŠ.MAŠ-*u*-*tú*	Exorcists' Lore,
	2	PAB 8 ^{md}[DN]-MU-GIŠ	in all 8; [DN]-šum-līšir,
	3	A ^{m}DUMU-^{d}[15] A.BA	son of Mār-[Ištar] the scribe,
	4	GAL *kal?-lap?* A.MAN	the crown prince's chief *kal-lāpu*.

Section 12

5	1 GIŠ.ZU 8 [GIŠ.IG.MEŠ]	1 polyptych of 8 [boards],
6	*bul-[ṭi*]	Medic[al Recipes];
7	⌜8⌝ D[UB. MEŠ]	8 ta[blets],
8	[x+]1 [ ]	[x+]1 [ ]
	Rest (about 21 lines) destroyed	

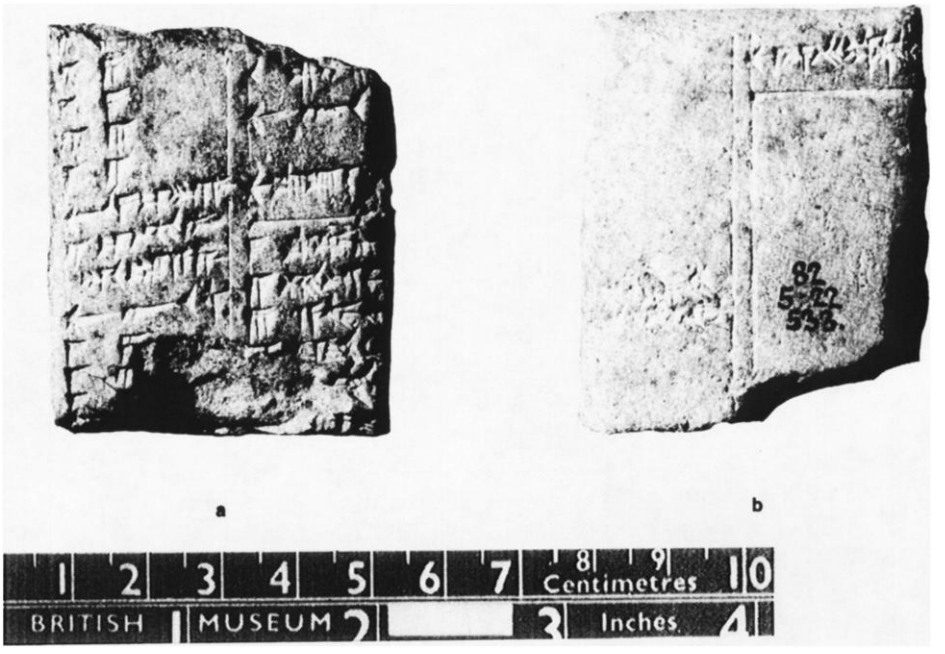


FIG. 4a.—No. 3, 82–5–22 533, obverse

4b.—No. 3, 82–5–22 533, reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

No. 3 (figs. 4a, 4b)
82–5–22,533 = *ADD* 1053

obverse
col. i Beginning (about 3 lines) destroyed

Section 1

1′	2 6 [ ]	2 of 6 (boards),
2′	2 5	2 of 5,
3′	2 4	2 of 4,
4′	3 3	3 of 3,
5′	1 2	1 of 2,
6′	PAB 14 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	in all 14 polyptychs,
7′	2 GIŠ.IG.MEŠ	2 writing boards,
8′	*ti-ra-a-ni*	convolutions (of the intestines),
9′	PAB ḪAL-*u-tú*	all extispicy.
10′	1 5[ ]	1 of 5,
11′	1 3[ ]	1 of 3,

	12′	1 ⌜2⌝[ ]	1 of 2,
	13′	PAB [3 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ]	in all [3 polyptychs]
edge	14′	11? [GIŠ.IG.MEŠ]	11(?) [writing boards]
	15′	*ša*? ḪAL-*u-tú*	of(?) extispicy.

col. ii Beginning (about 4 lines) destroyed

	1′	10 GIŠ.⌜ZU⌝.[MEŠ]	10 polyptychs,
	2′	PAB ḪAL-*u-tú*	all extispicy.
		blank	
	3′	PAB TA* É-^{m}*I-b*[*a-a*]	All from Bīt-Ibâ.

Section 2

	4′	1 *ṣar-rat* AN-*e*	1 (tablet of) Rope of Heaven,
	5′	2 *iq-qur* DÙ	2 (of) Iqqur īpuš,
	6′	6 *a-ši-pu-tú*	6 (of) Exorcists' Lore,
	7′	⌜5?⌝ ÉŠ.GÀR ḪAR-*ra*	5 (of) the Series ḪAR-ra,
	8′	[4 M]ÁŠ.TI.LA	[4 (of) m]áš-tila,
	9′	[PAB 1]8 DUB.MEŠ	[in all 1]8 tablets,
reverse col. iii	1	PAB ^{m}*Aš+šur-mu*-GIN-BALA-*iá*	all (of) Aššur-mukīn-palē^{3}a.

Rest of column uninscribed

col. iv blank space of about 10 lines

	1′	ITU.ŠE UD-⌜29⌝-KAM*	Addāru, day 29,
	2′	*lim-mu* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*	eponymy of Bēlšunu.
		Rest uninscribed	

COMMENTARY

1.1 2′ NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*: also attested as a title of a composition in *AMT* 66, 4 r.(!) ii 7′ ([*pir-su reš-tu*]-⌜*ú*⌝ NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-ti*), a collection of medical rituals and incantations pertaining to pregnant women. Cf. *KAR* 194 = *BAM* 237, colophon not preserved, which contains similar rituals pertaining to pregnant women suffering from hemorrhage (note NA_4 *ḫal-ta* obv. i 6 and rev. ii 39), *RA* 18 162:2 (NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*, a Lamaštu ritual), and *KAR* 213 = *BAM* 376, a list of amulet stones (passim). On the basis of this evidence, it seems that the title *kunuk ḫalti* was a common denominator for medical rituals involving the use of this amulet stone for the protection of pregnant women. As the writing-board edition of this work consisted of as many as five boards (1.7), the clay-tablet series may have been much more extensive than suggested by the present passage.

3′ UD-*mu* DINGIR URU: see above, p. 7 with n. 18. Possibly also referring to a tablet listing omens observed on "the day of the city god," such as *TCL* 6 9.

4′ *kam-ma-a-ni*: the references to tablets identified as *kammu* quoted in *CAD* K s.v. *kammu* B include several different types of texts, viz. a tablet in obscure Sumerian (Streck, *Asb.* 256 i 17), the Erra epic, a hymn to Šamaš on behalf of Assurbanipal (*KAR* 105), and a hemerological and menological compendium (*KAR* 177). What connects all these texts (and the obscure text *LKA* 35) is that they are all, in one way or another, elaborate and/or difficult. Thus, *kammu* could be a general term for "esoteric compositions." This would agree with the fact that in Igituh I 52, *kammu* is listed immediately after *ṣâtu*, "commentary (for difficult or obsolete words)."

5′ GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD: judging from the context, this would seem to be a literary composition, perhaps an epic or a myth, but the identity of the text (and indeed, the reading of the name(?) ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD) remains obscure. It is hardly the bilingual hymn to the chariot of Marduk.[43]

6′ *is-ḫur ma-a-da*: this composition is also listed in the catalogue Rm. 618, r. 8[44] and in Text no. 4 below, obv. 13 but remains unidentified to date. In Rm. 618, it occurs between the Etana and Sargon legends, so probably an epical/mythological text is in question. For lack of context, it is at present not clear whether the signs *is ḫur* are to be read as *is-ḫur*, "he toiled (much)," as assumed here, or as GIŠ.ḪUR/*uṣurtu* "design."

7′ ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ:[45] only one tablet out of the total of 35 +[x] tablets making up this composition has been identified to date (K.1870).

11′ Possibly to be read [PN A.B]A (or [MAŠ.MA]Š). Certainly not [ḪA]L, "haruspex."

1.2 *kak-ku sak-ku*: an unidentified composition, attested elsewhere both as a medical plant and a stone used in medical/exorcistic rituals; see *CAD* K s.v. *kakkusakku*. Since the title occurs here immediately before *bulṭē*, "medical recipes," it is possible that it refers to a medical or exorcistic compendium; cf. above 1.1 *ad* NA$_4$.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*. Note, however, the following passages suggesting a different interpretation: "I read inscriptions on stone from before the Flood, *ša kak-ku sa-ak-ku bal-lu*, 'which are a mixture of *kakku sakku*'," Streck, *Asb.* 256:18; "the comb and the mirror which are in her hands *kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú* are *kakku sakku*, the likeness of the Corpse Star";[46] and [. . .]x-*nu kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú* : SIG$_4$ *šu-u*, "the [. . .] is a *kakku sakku*, is a brick," BM 37055:5 (cited *CAD* K 153b). While it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions from these scattered passages, it does seem that the term *kakku sakku* referred to a concrete object of a definite shape, perhaps a mythological weapon (*kakku*), which would also have given its name to the medicinal plant and stone just mentioned. If so, there probably also existed a text describing the *kakku sakku* and its mythological role in greater detail, which accordingly might be the text referred to in the present context.

1.4 DUB PI *Ú-ri*: obscure. Uncertain whether to be read as *ṭuppi ūri*, "a tablet pertaining to the roof/vagina," or as DUB *uzni šamri*, or any of the several other theoretical possibilities.

1.7 SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È.A: the third tablet of the astronomical compendium Mul Apin, mentioned in the catch-line of VAT 9412 (unpublished, courtesy of H. Hunger).

[43] See W. G. Lambert in M. A. Beek et al., eds., *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 275 ff.

[44] A. H. Sayce, "The Literary Works of Ancient Babylonia," *ZK* 1 (1884): 191 r. 8, there cited as UD *is-ḫur ma-da*.

[45] On this composition, probably a collection of bilingual proverbs, see Lambert, "Late Assyrian Catalogue," pp. 315 f.

[46] J. Epping and J. N. Strassmeier, "Neue babylonische Planeten-Tafeln," *ZA* 6 (1891): 242, line 12.

According to E. Reiner (personal communication) this tablet is actually attested among the unpublished astronomical fragments from Nineveh.

1.8 *a-sar-ri* [*sic*] (collated): the word is attested only here, and the rendering "diagrams" given in the translation is a guess based on the context (a loan-word from Sum. *a/ì-sar?).

2.1 The name of the owner of the tablets listed in this section is most probably to be restored as either [^{md}BE-D]Ù-*eš* (see *CAD* E s.v. *eppēšu*) or [^{m}x-^{d}]30; both restorations are epigraphically possible.

2.5 5′ UD AN BE: this spelling of the astrological omen series Enūma Anu Enlil (omitting the divine determinative before BE) is otherwise attested only in *ADD* 851 i 8, a roster of scholars attached to the court of Assurbanipal ca. 650 B.C. It is not unlikely that this roster was drawn up by the same scribe who wrote down the present records.

13′ *ki-is-pi*: while there is no doubt as to the rendering of the word (see *CAD* K s.v. *kispu*), no texts explicitly identified by their colophons as (*ša*) *kispi* are known to date. This is surprising considering the frequency with which the composition is listed in the present records (cf. 2.3 and 2.7).

2.3 [PAB 3]-me 37: the first digit of the sum-total is broken away, but the restoration is very likely in light of the space broken away and the (very high) totals of tablets listed in the preceding lines of this section.

2.5 ⟦6⟧: a deletion very likely occasioned by the fact that the scribe did not anticipate again listing just one tablet by a single owner. Note the figure 6 on the following line.

2.6 GAL-SAG?: the text appears to read here GAL-SI+MA (for expected GAL-SI+PA).

2.7 MUL.SAG.MU (not MUL.SAG.KUL as copied by Johns): probably a reference to an astrological text, but the text in question has not been identified to date. Cf. DIŠ MUL ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ina* SAG MU, *ACh* Ištar 17:6 and Supp. 2 66:20 ff.; DIŠ *ina* SAG MU 20 *a-dir*, K.12453:1.[47]

8′ UD.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ: see above, p. 7 with n. 17. Note also the term *ú-tuk-ku* (<Sum. u_4-dùg) as a title of a hemerology.[48]

11′ UDU?.[NÍTA?].MEŠ: uncertain, possibly referring to tablets listing omens derived from the behavior of sacrificial sheep (cf. Appendix, under 4). Instead of LU one could also (perhaps more justifiably) read IB.

15′ [A.Z]U: the restoration is supported by *ADD* 851 (see above, *ad* 2.2), listing a ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ under section A.ZU, "physician" (ii 13).

2.11 GAL-⌜*kal*?-*lap*?⌝: this reading is the best one obtainable fitting the traces; cf. *CAD* K s.v. *kallāpu*. While a *kallāpu* surely was not a person likely to possess a collection of literary/scientific tablets, it is possible to envisage a situation where a son of a prominent scribe like Mār-Ištar (see *LAS* 276 ff. and ibid., App. N 27) could have come to possess such a collection. Assuming tablet damage, one could, of course, also read GAL.⌜SAG(!).MEŠ(!)⌝, "chief eunuch," and the like.

3.1 8′ *ti-ra-a-ni*: cf. *AHw.* 1361, s.vv. *tīrānu*, "Windungen"; *tīru* II; and *tīru* IV. In the present context, *t.* appearing exclusively with *bārûtu*, "extispicy" tablets, it is certainly more

[47] Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1244.

[48] See P. Hulin, "A Hemerological Text from Nimrud," *Iraq* 21 (1959): 57 and correct *AHw.* 1445a s.v. *uttuku*.

plausible to connect the term with *tīrānu*, "Darmwindungen" (etc.) than *tēru* I, "ein Bauteil."

ii 3′ É ^{m}*I-b*[*a-a*]: see Introduction, p. 11 above with n. 38. The political role of Bīt-Ibâ and its ruler Bēl-ēṭir during the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion is an issue too complex to be taken up in the present context, but I hope to come back to it in a future article.

3.2 4′ *ṣar-rat* AN-*e*: this composition appears to be still unidentified. Cf. A. Goetze editing an Old Babylonian incantation against demons descending from *ṣí-ri-it*/*ṣir-rit*/*ṣí-KU-ra-at šamê*, a locality also identified as MUL *šamê*, "starry sky," in one of the manuscripts.[49] Cf. *Aššur ta-mi-iḫ ṣi-rat* AN-*e*, *OECT* 6 pl. 2:2 (a tablet from Nineveh).

8′ [M]ÁŠ-TI.LA: since listed after ḪAR-*ra*, this would seem to be a lexical rather than an exorcistic (cf. UDU.TI.LA, *BBR* 26 i 21, and passim) text. The identity of the text, unfortunately, remains obscure.

APPENDIX

1. *Further Fragments of Ninevite Library Texts*

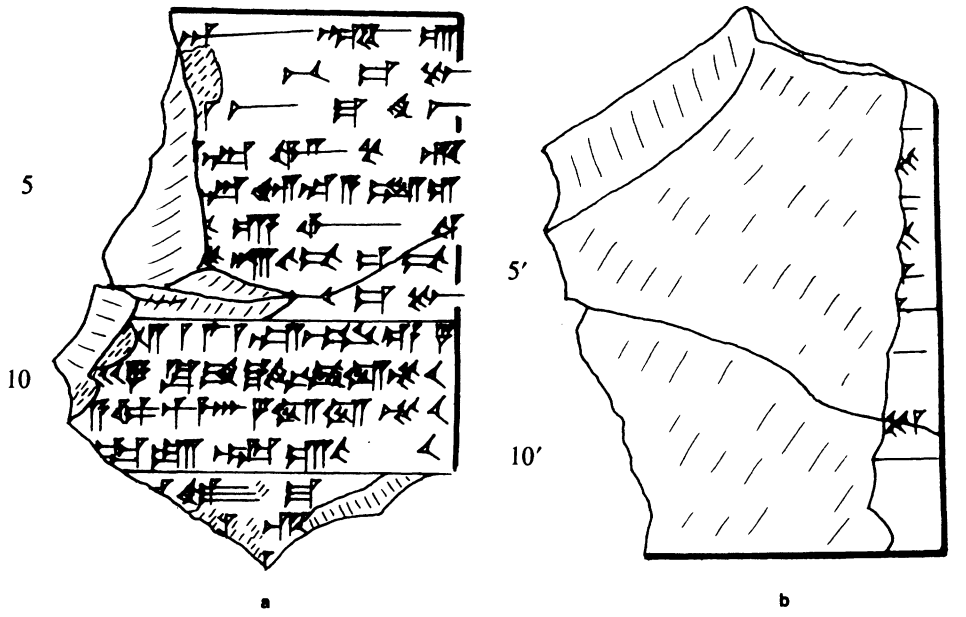


FIG. 5a.—No. 4, K.13280 + K.13818, obverse (scale= 1.3:1)

5b.—No. 4, K.13280 + K.13818, reverse (scale= 1.3:1)

No. 4 (figs. 5a and 5b)
K.13280 + K.13818 (unpub. + Kraus, *Texte* 51)

[49] Cf. A. Goetze, "An Incantation against Diseases," *JCS* 9 (1955): 8 ff.

obverse
1 [UD] AN ^{d}EN.LÍL
2 [ ] BE *iz-bu*
3 [*gu]r-rum ma-ḫi-rum*
4 [BE UD]U.NÍTA PI^{II} *kur-ri*
5 [BE UDU].NÍTA *im-ba-a il-si*
6 [*m]u-kal-lim-tú*
7 [NA]M.BÚR.BI *iz-bi*
8 [ ] BE *iz-bu*

---

9 [1-me]-12 1 LAL 1 URU *ina* SUKUD-*e* GAR
10 [x]+37 ÉŠ.GÀR *alan-dím-mu-u*
11 [ ] *a-di* BAR.MEŠ *níg-dím-dím-mu-u*
12 [K]A.TA.DUG$_4$.GA-*u*

---

13 [*í]s-ḫur ma-[a-da]*
14 [ ] *x ri* [ ]
15 [ ] *x* [ ]
Rest destroyed

reverse Remains of final signs of 8 lines

Commentary

3) This is the incipit of the Izbu Commentary.[50] Note that while neither of the two extant manuscripts containing the incipit match the orthography of the present catalogue, the spelling *gur-rum* is actually found in the Izbu series itself (tablet I 2).

4) "If the sheep has an (anomalously) short ear": unidentified but certainly an incipit of a tablet containing omens derived from the appearance of sacrificial sheep. Cf. BE UDU PI.MEŠ *ar-ra-ak-ka*, *CT* 41 9:1 (and the other omens listed in this tablet and its duplicates); BE MIN (= UDU) PI^{II} *šú ana* KI.MIN (= *ana pān kāribi tarṣat*), *CT* 31 31:35; BE UDU.NÍTA SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* IGI-*šú it-te-en-mi-da*, *CT* 28 32b:1, etc. See also the following note.

5) Cf. BE MIN (= UDU) *im-ba-a is-si-ma*, *CT* 41 10a:10. It is interesting that this omen, which certainly is the equivalent of the incipit occurring here, does not begin a tablet or even a section in a tablet but is the *last* omen in a section dealing with the behavior of sacrificial sheep. Evidently, the composition in question was circulated in several different versions, as also implied by the orthographic and linguistic differences between the present line and *CT* 41 10a:10. Cf. also [BE UDU *í*]*š-tu kar-bu im*-ME-*a is-si*, *TuL* 42:5, and BE UDU *i-na* SISKUR *is-si*, ibid. 43:4′.

7) For copies of the izbu namburbi found in Nineveh see R. Caplice.[51]

9) According to S. Moren, "as far as is presently known, Šumma Alu consisted of at least 107 tablets .... Whether tablet 107 was the last tablet in the series is unknown."[52] The present passage, which can only be rendered "[1]12 (tablets), one missing (*muṭê*)," shows that at least the edition (or one of the editions) known in Nineveh consisted of 113 tablets. The restoration of [1 me] in the break is virtually certain.

10) It is possible, though unlikely, that one should restore [1] at the beginning of the line, which would put the number of the tablets in the series Alandimmû (together with its non-canonical appendix, and the sister series Nigdimdimmû and Kataduggû) at 97.

50 Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 211, tablet I 1: *gur^{gu-ru}-ru ma-hi-ru/ri*.

51 Caplice, "Namburbi Texts," pp. 125 ff.

52 Moren, "Omen Series 'Šumma Alu'," pp. 19 f.

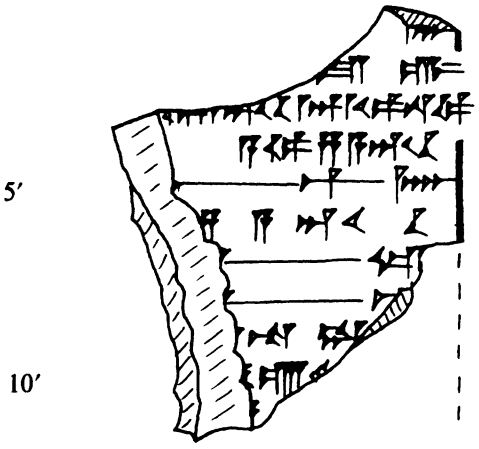


FIG. 6.—No. 5, K.6962 (other side destroyed) (scale= 1.3:1)

No. 5 *(fig. 6)*
K.6962

Beginning destroyed

1′ [ ].MEŠ
2′ [ ]-*su-ú*
3′ [*a*]-ʳ*di ṣa*ˡ-*ti-šú ana* ᵈNER *pa-qa-di*
4′ [ ] *a-di ṣa-a-ti-šú*
5′ [MU.ME]Š BAR.MEŠ
6′ [*a-di*] *ṣa-a-ti-šú*

7′ [ ] ʳᵈˡU.GUR
8′ [ ] ʳᵈˡx[ ]
9′ [ ] x *na du* [ ]
10′ [ ] x É.ŠÁ[R.RA]
11′ [ ] x [ ]

Other side broken away

Commentary

This fragment is part of the same tablet as no. 4, but it is uncertain whether it belongs to the obverse or the reverse. In spite of many affinities in orthography and manner of listing, both fragments are definitely *not* parts of the catalogue of literary and scholarly texts edited by W. G. Lambert.[53]

3′) *ana* ᵈNER (= *Anunnakī*) *pa-qa-di*: an unidentified composition, probably a mythological text describing a sort of Titanomachia. Cf., "the cup is the cup of [Bēl], because Bēl vanquished

53 W. G. Lambert, "Late Assyrian Catalogue," pp. 313 ff.

Anum, flayed him, and relinquished his corpse to the infernal gods (LÚ.ÚŠ-*šú ana* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ip-qid*); *TIM* 9 59:14′ f.; ⌜^{d}EN⌝ MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA *ik-mu-ma* . . . [*a-n*]*a* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ip-qid-su*, ibid 22′ f.; "[The king who] goes to the well . . . is [Ea who] cast his spell on Enlil in the Abyss and assigned him to the infernal gods (*ana* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ip-qí-*[*du-šu*])," *CT* 15 44:3. Note also *LKA* 72:3 and duplicate 71:13.

10′) Possibly referring to the "Götteraddressbuch" of Assur.[54]

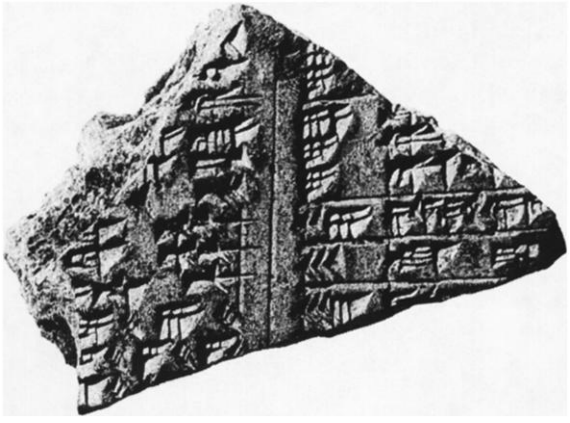


FIG. 7.—No. 6, K.5184. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

No. 6 (fig. 7)
K.5184 (*ADD* 1107)

col. A	1′	b]i	col. B	1′	6 [
	2′	e]n		2′	7 [
	3′	di?].di		3′	8 É[Š.GÀR
	4′	di]r?.diri		4′	7 di x[
	5′	š]à-*bi*		5′	7 ^{d}60 N[A
	6′	]umun.mu		6′	26 NA_4.GÚ.KUG.ME[Š
	7′	ḫU]L-*tim*		7′	30 tu.ra.[kìlib.ba.meš
	8′	ḫ]UL-*tim*		8′	33 ⌜x x⌝ [
	9′	⌜*a*⌝-*na* BE			
	10′	⌜7⌝ MIN 6 MIN			
	11′	⌜4⌝ MIN 4 MIN 4 MIN			
	12′	⌜2⌝ MIN x[ ]			

Rest destroyed

Rest of col. B and other side completely destroyed

[54] As edited by K. Deller in B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Studia Pohl Series Maior 10 (Rome, 1981), vol. 2, pp. T 156 ff.

This fragment resembles in external appearance (color, clay, script, size of signs) the Lambert catalogue commented upon below and may well be part of the same tablet. It does not make a direct join, however.

Commentary

A 1′–6′) Probably titles of lamentations. The suggested restorations are naturally hypothetical.

B 5′) The traces following ^{d}60 seem to exclude reading here ^{d}60 ^{r}d!$^{\urcorner}$ [*A-nu-um*] (cf. A 9′).

6′) Cf. NA$_4$.MEŠ.GÚ.KUG.MEŠ, Borger, *Asarh.* §93 r.4′, in fragmentary and obscure context along with other exorcistic titles(?).

7′) Restoration based on "Exorcist's Manual" (*KAR* 44), obv. 9: sag.gig.ga.meš gú$^{sag.gig}$gig.ga.meš *u* tu.ra.kìlib.ba.[meš]. To my knowledge, this composition has not been identified as yet. Cf. [tu].^{r}ra.kìlib$^{\urcorner}$.ba = *nap-ḫar mur-ṣu*, *BRM* 4 32:18.

2. *Notes on the Text Catalogue K.11922 (+) K.13684 (+) K.14067 + (AOAT 25 313 ff.)*

I examined and collated these fragments in July 1978 to check the possibility of their being parts of the same tablet as the fragments edited above. As already noted, the result was negative, and, as was to be expected, the collation fully confirmed the accuracy and reliability of Lambert's copies. A few improved readings of secondary importance could, however, be obtained. These readings are communicated below, along with other remarks.

K.14067 + Rm. 150

The blank space on the left margin measures 7 mm in width, the one on the right, 2 mm. The marks on the left-hand margin, not commented upon by Lambert, probably are ditto signs (:) preceded by numerals (cf. line 9′ and K.13684 + ii 4′) and correspond to the tablet-totals found in the Records. Since the numbers in question consistently are surprisingly low (there is hardly space for a numeral higher than [1] in K.14067 +), considering the nature of the texts, the ditto sign hardly referred to clay tablets but more likely to writing boards. Thus the private libraries of the scholars whose names appear in the catalogue, at least one of whom (Adad-šumu-uṣur) was very prominent, would have consisted chiefly of *polyptych editions* of traditional texts. This conclusion is supported by *LAS* 147:8 ff., where Adad-šumu-uṣur refers to a writing-board edition (of Enūma Anu Enlil or Iqqur īpuš) he had consulted in his (downtown) home.

10′) The name is not written ^{m}DUMU+UŠ-*a* but distinctly ^{m}DUMU+UŠ-*ia*. The sign at the beginning of the line is [P]AB.

24′) The sign preceding ZU can be either NIŠ or E]Š; M]U (or the like) is excluded.

K.13684 + Sm. 2137

8′) The beginning of the Cuthaean Legend, tentatively restored by Lambert (on the basis of this line) as *tub-šin-na pi-*[*it-qa-ad-ma*] *narâ šitassi* (p. 317), can now be given confidently as *tupšinna pitēma narâ šitassi*, "open the tablet box and read the stela." The incipit is fully preserved on K.1351, a document aping the Naram-Sin legend to ridicule Bēl-ēṭir of Bīt-Ibâ (see above, introduction, §4), and opening as follows: *tup-šin-na* BAD-*ma* NA$_4$.NA.RÚ.A *ši-t*[*as-si*].

K.11922

1′) [x(x) DI]B(!)-*it be-e*[*n*(!)-*ni*]. This composition is not otherwise known, but *ṣibit benni*, "(attack of) epilepsy," as a disease is well known from Assyrian legal documents and (in the phrase *bennu iṣabbassu*) in medical texts. The beginning of the line could be restored as [NA_4.MEŠ], "amulet stones (against)," or the like.

6′) The second sign actually looks like  .

11′) The fourth sign in ⌜*e*⌝(!) and the title of the composition accordingly la.bar dim_4.e.