The Babylonian Texts of Nineveh

Report on the British Museum's *Ashurbanipal Library Project**

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"[113]I learned the craft of Adapa, the sage, (which is) the secret knowledge, everything pertaining to the scribal art, [114]I am well acquainted with the signs of heaven and earth, I was deliberating in the assembly of the scribal experts, [115]I was calculating the liver (which is) an image of heaven together with the (most) competent oil (divination) experts, [116]I solved complicated *mathematical problems* that have not (even) been understood before, [117]I read the artfully written texts in which the Sumerian version was obscure and the Akkadian version for clarifying (too) difficult, [118]I am enjoying the cuneiform wedges (sc. writing) on stone(s) from before the flood."

(Ashurbanipal, inscription L^4)

This article is the final report on the *Ashurbanipal Library Project* of the British Museum that I carried out at the Museum's Department of the Ancient Near East over six months in 2003.[1]

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I. The British Museum's *Ashurbanipal Library Project*

This part of the British Museum's *Ashurbanipal Library Project* sets out to investigate what kind of texts the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal ordered to be included in his famous royal library. Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) was the sixth Neo-Assyrian king who ruled over Assyria as well as over Babylonia – about 60 years after Tiglath-pileser III had conquered

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[1]) A preliminary report was given during the 49*e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, London, 7-11 July 2003. This paper will be published together with the other *Rencontre* papers on the subject "Nineveh" in volume 66 of *Iraq*.

Babylonia (729 BC). During the first 20 years of Ashurbanipal's reign, his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn was appointed king of Babylonia, but later revolted against his brother. In 648 BC, Ashurbanipal was victorious in the civil war and took over the kingship of Babylonia. This situation gave him direct access to all the Babylonian temple archives. When Ashurbanipal created his extensive royal library in the citadel of his Assyrian capital city Nineveh (Kouyunjik) he incorporated Assyrian and Babylonian tablets into the collection. The tablets written in Babylonian characters may have been imported from Babylonian libraries, whereas others could have been written by Babylonian scribes in the service of the Assyrian king.[2]

The *Ashurbanipal Library Project* was initiated by Dr. Ali Yaseen of the University of Mosul who described the project to a group of British Museum curators during the Nimrūd conference in March 2002. It was explained that the University of Mosul was intending to establish a new Institute of Cuneiform Studies, specifically for the study of Ashurbanipal's Library. A specially designed building would contain an exhibition of casts of tablets, computer facilities and a library. Dr. Yaseen asked whether the British Museum would agree in principle to supply casts of tablets, and he was assured that the British Museum would make every effort to co-operate. Shortly afterwards this was confirmed by Dr. John Curtis, Keeper of the British Museum's Ancient Near East Department, in an interview in Baghdad with the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Dr. Hummam Abdul Khalik. This was followed by some press coverage of the subject.[3]

As well as agreeing to supply casts of tablets from Ashurbanipal's Library, it was decided in the British Museum that the opportunity should be taken to reappraise the Library. As the first stage of this process, an application was made to the British Museum Friends to fund a six-month post for this purpose. The present writer was appointed to this position for the period from the 10th of March until the 9th of September, 2003. In the British Museum the work was supervised by the curators Christopher B. F. Walker and Irving L. Finkel.

This initial part of the *Ashurbanipal Library Project* is focused exclusively on the Babylonian tablets of the so-called library of Ashurbanipal[4]. The intention of this research is to establish the compositions involved, and their relation both to the rest of the Kouyunjik Collection and to the collecting activities of Ashurbanipal. This task has been limited by various facts. Firstly, the survey on the tablets of Ashurbanipal's library is inevitably based on the material which has been excavated so far. We do not know how many tablets are either still waiting in Nineveh to be discovered[5] or have already perished and been lost forever. Moreover, the invaders who conquered Nineveh in 612 BC might have destroyed or even carried off an unknown number of cuneiform tablets. There might also have been looters who ransacked the ruins of Nineveh later, or casual visitors and travellers who entered or re-opened earlier excavations and whose finds have since appeared in private collections or on the antiquities market.[6] It is therefore obvious that the material in the British Museum's Kouyunjik Collection does not represent the complete number of tablets that were included in the libraries and archives in Ashurbanipal's time[7]. However, the number and variety of texts unearthed so far is large enough to outline the focus of Ashurbanipal's libraries. The number of tablets is also large enough for a statistical survey.

Secondly, the task of relating the Babylonian texts to the rest of the Kouyunjik Collection has to be postponed until the carrying out of a similar project on the Ninevite Assyrian tablets. Within the limited time of this initial project it was impossible also to examine the Assyrian texts, the number of which is several times higher than the number of the Babylonian texts (see below). Therefore, the basic task of this research has been to record the Babylonian written tablets and fragments of the Kouyunjik Collection, to identify the compositions[8] or classify the tablets and fragments

[2]) It is unlikely that Assyrian scribes used Babylonian cuneiform signs to write their tablets, although it is conceivable that they did. In this research, tablets with Babylonian characters are assumed to have been written by Babylonians.

[3]) See e. g. *The Times*, 09. 05. 2002; *The Independent*, 09. 05. 2002; *The Art Newspaper*, 08. 05. 2002.

[4]) See below section III.

[5]) The relatively small number of Ninevite letters written to Sennacherib leads to the assumption that this king's archive has not yet been found; see below section X.4.

[6]) See e. g. the tablet with a historical epic of the Lord Binning Collection published by C. B. F. Walker – S. N. Kramer in their article "Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of Lord Binning," *Iraq* 44 (1982) 70-86 as no. 2 (pp. 76-78). Another example is the tablet fragment of the École pratique des Hautes Études that is joined to a tablet of the British Museum's Kouyunjik collection and published by S. Parpola, "A Letter to Sennacherib Referring to the Conquest of Bīt-Ha'iri and Other Events of the Year 693," AOAT 281, Münster 2002, 559-580. The British Museum also purchased tablets unearthed in Kouyunjik, e. g. the numbers or collections 1901-10-12, 89. 1909-2-13, 1. 1909-3-13, 1. 1919-10-8, 142-148. 1912-5-13, 2. 1913-4-16, 147-160E and 1930-5-8, 47-90 or tablets from private collectors, see e. g. S. Parpola, "A Letter from Šamaš-šum-ukīn to Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 34 (1972) 21-34.

[7]) Apart from clay tablets, Ashurbanipal's libraries also included many wooden writing-boards that have not survived; see below sections VIII and IX.

[8]) The identification of the compositions is based on the seven volumes of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection* (Volumes I-IV by C. Bezold, 1889-

according to the text genre,[9] to analyse these data, and to give an overview of the Babylonian material.

During the first three months, I surveyed approximately 26,000 tablets and fragments of the Nineveh tablet-collection for the script. The last three months were occupied in examining Babylonian texts by content, grouped together to rejoin fragments,[10] and by trying to identify previously unclassified fragments. While researching the Kouyunjik tablet-collection I entered the content of the Babylonian texts into a database[11], also adding a short description of the fragments including shape, colour, number of columns, lines, and dividing lines. This database[12] includes information on 4252 tablets and fragments of which, so far, 658 have already been rejoined to other fragments. Until today, the total number of Babylonian texts and fragments unearthed in Nineveh is 3594,[13] or less than 1/7 of the complete British Museum's Nineveh tablet-collection.

II. The British Museum's excavations at Kouyunjik

Most of the famous sculptures of the Ninevite palaces and nearly all the cuneiform tablets of the so-called Ashurbanipal's Library are housed in the British Museum, London.[14] The fact that they did not enter the collection of the Louvre, Paris, is due to the peculiar circumstances at the time and the diplomacy of Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810-1895). When Paul-Émile Botta (1802-1870), French Consul in Mosul, started excavating Tell Kouyunjik in December 1842 he did not find anything. Disappointed, he moved on to Khorsabad (ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn) in March 1843 where he unearthed some figures and inscriptions within three days of excavation. Understandably enough, he continued to excavate Khorsabad and did not return to Kouyunjik. The British excavator Austin Henry Layard (1817-1894) took up excavations there again in May 1846 and May to July 1947 during his campaign in Nimrūd (ancient Kalḫu). Within a few months, Layard found a terrace and some adjacent rooms, which led the British Museum to entrust him with another excavation campaign at that site. During his campaign from October 1849 to April 1851 he excavated Nimrūd and Kouyunjik at the same time. At Kouyunjik, he unearthed another 72 rooms of a large palace (the South-West palace), found ten winged bull-colossi and a countless number of cuneiform tablets and fragments. In his book *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, Layard described the finding of the cuneiform tablets (p. 345):

> The chambers I am describing [i. e. rooms 40 and 41 of the South-West palace] appear to have been a depository in the palace of Nineveh for such documents. To the height of a foot or more from the floor they were entirely filled with them; some entire, but the greater part broken into many fragments, probably by the falling in of the upper part of the building. They were of different sizes; the largest tablets were flat, and measured about 9 inches by 6 inches; the smaller were slightly convex, and some were not more

96, Supplementary Volume by L. W. King, 1914, Second Supplement by W. Lambert – A. R. Millard, 1968, Third Supplement by W. Lambert, 1992) and innumerable text editions that I surveyed before starting research at the British Museum and after I returned to Heidelberg. I am aware of the fact that, most probably, various publications might have escaped my attention and that the bibliography I compiled is not complete.

[9]) The classification of unpublished texts given in the seven volumes of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection* (see previous note) had to be verified and corrected.

[10]) Many Assyriologists who did their research on certain groups of texts or even special literary compositions proved the usefulness of this method to find joins. Nevertheless, this method is described in great detail by R. Borger, "Ein Brief Sîn-idinnams von Larsa an den Sonnengott sowie Bemerkungen über "Joins" und das "Joinen"," NAWG 1991.2 (= *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1991 Nr. 2), Göttingen 1991, 37-58 (or: [1]-[22]).

[11]) A first draft of the database was made by C. B. F. Walker and handed over to me and other scholars. The first draft included the Museum numbers of the Babylonian texts, the genre according to the seven volumes of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, and a few publications.

[12]) Part of this database is now available on the World Wide Web: http://fincke.uni-hd.de/nineveh/.

[13]) This number refers to December 2003 and will be reduced in the future by rejoining more fragments; during six-months' research on the Kouyunjik Collection I was able to make 86 joins and there are many more to be found. Another possibility to reduce the number of Babylonian tablets is to identify Babylonian tablets, which originate from ancient sites other than Kouyunjik (for this see below note 22). This is most probably the case for 31 text numbers of the original database, which have already been deducted in the above-mentioned calculation.

[14]) For the discovery of Kouyunjik and the different excavators at this site see M. T. Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria. Excavations in an Antique Land*, (English edition) London 1996, P. Matthiae, *Ninive. Glanzvolle Hauptstadt Assyriens*, translated from Italian by Eva Ambros, München 1999 (the Italian edition was published in Milano 1998), 12-18, J. E. Curtis – J. E. Reade, *Art and Empire. Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*, British Museum 1995, 9-16, and N. Chevalier, *La recherche archéologique françcaise au Moyen-Orient* 1842-1947, Paris 2002, 21-29 (esp. note 26, 28-29, note 51), 46-58. For the different campaigns and excavators in combination with the excavated areas see J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)," *RlA* 9, 392-394. Those tablets excavated since 1932 are in Baghdad and other Iraqi museums.

than an inch long, with but one or two lines of writing. The cuneiform characters on most of them were singularly sharp and well defined, but so minute in some instances as to be almost illegible without magnifying glass. These documents appear to be of various kinds ...

In the following years, the British Museum continued to dig at Kouyunjik. Henry Creswicke Rawlinson undertook the next rather productive campaign in December 1852 - April 1854.

In 1851, Victor Place (1818-1875) was made French Consul in Mosul and he asserted his right to continue Botta's excavations in Kouyunjik. Rawlinson and Place agreed that the British were to excavate the southern part of Kouyunjik, and the French the northern part, which they did very sporadically and without any remarkable results. Then Hormuzd Rassam (1826-1910), Rawlinson's assistant, started to dig the northern part of the tell by night. On the 20th of December 1853, they uncovered the first reliefs of Ashurbanipal's North Palace and later on several thousands further cuneiform tablets. Rawlinson was able to appease the angry Place by offering him some of the reliefs from the North Palace for the Louvre. The French accepted the offer and withdrew from Kouyunjik. In general, the British Museum continued to excavate Kouyunjik until 1932. Since that time, Iraqi and American excavators have undertaken excavations at Nineveh on several occasions.[15]

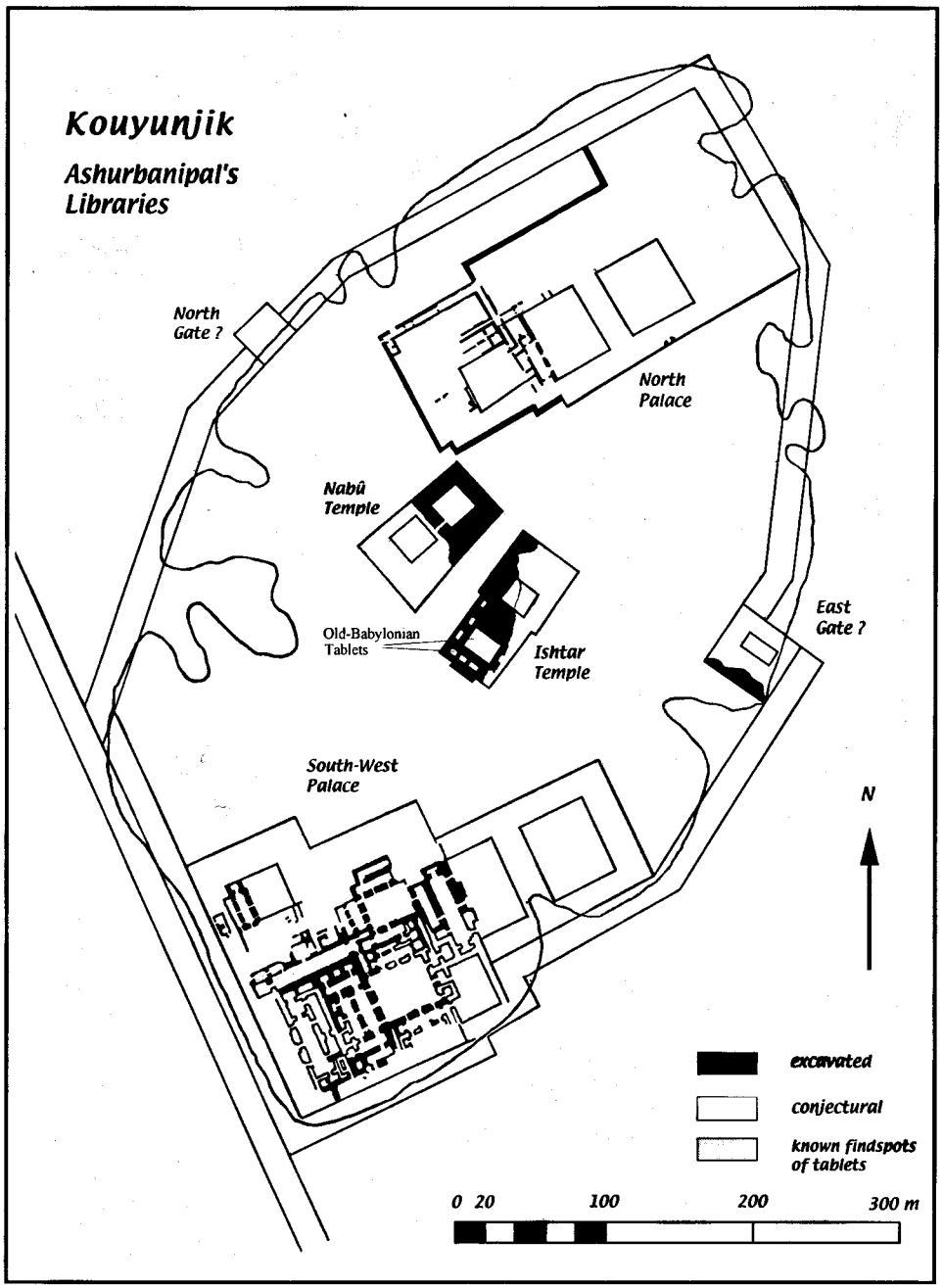

Figure 1. Kouyunjik – Ashurbanipal's Libraries: sketch with restorations after J. E. Reade, *RlA* 9, 391, 407-418, 421-427 (article "Ninive (Nineveh)") (drawn by J. C. Fincke).

III. The so-called Ashurbanipal Library

In principle, the tablets excavated in Nineveh had originally been stored in four or more different buildings (see figure 1)[16]: the South-West Palace, the North Palace, the areas of the Ištar- and Nabû-temples, with some additional findspots on and off the mound of Kouyunjik. It is the tablet collection of the South-West Palace that formed the Ashurbanipal library, but tablets from the North Palace are also considered to belong to this library.[17]

When the combined force of Babylonians and Medes conquered Nineveh in 612 BC, the looters did not spare the libraries. In addition to the looting of the

[15]) See J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)," *RlA* 9, 390-394.
[16]) See J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)," *RlA* 9, 421-422.
[17]) See e. g. L. W. King, *Catalogue ... Supplement*, XII note 2, XIV; R. C. Thompson – M. E. L. Mallowan, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh 1931-32," AAA 20 (1933) 110; J. E. Curtis – J. E. Reade, *Art and Empire*, 12-13.

city, the invaders destroyed most of the buildings, especially the royal palaces and temples. However, most of the libraries had been housed on the second floor of these buildings on the citadel of Nineveh. When the buildings collapsed, all the tablets crashed through the ceiling into the rooms of the ground floor beneath. The tablet fragments were widely scattered.[18] The difficulty we have today in finding those fragments that belong to the same tablet and to rejoin them is partly due to this situation. Apart from this the excavation reports of Nineveh very seldomly refer to the places where the tablets were found – the excavators were much more interested in the finds themselves than in their findspots. In some cases, we know the year in which the different buildings of Nineveh had been excavated and we can connect the finds of tablets with those buildings.[19] This is the case, for example, for most of the Old Babylonian tablets from Nineveh, which came from the room in square TT and the part of the court covering square OO of the Ištar Temple.[20]

In most cases, different places were excavated at the same time and there is no evidence to enable us find out where the tablets originally came from. Even the Museum's numbering system of the Kouyunjik tablets does not always help in tracing the possible findspot:[21] The tablets excavated by Layard and Rassam in July 1849 - April 1854, for example, were given a registration number referring to the excavation site "K", Kouyunjik. Sometimes, the excavated tablets remained unregistered in their consignment boxes for several years before being given a K-number. During the years, the sequence of their arrival at the British Museum was disturbed and therefore the numbers no longer allow assigning tablets to individual excavation campaigns. Sometimes it is even evident that tablets from other excavations slipped into the K-registration system.[22] This fact has important consequences for research on the Babylonian tablets of the so-called Ashurbanipal Library: in many cases, there is no proof that a Babylonian or an Old Babylonian tablet was excavated at Kouyunjik; some might have been unearthed in Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, or another Babylonian site altogether.[23]

To reconstruct the different libraries[24] and archives[25] is a very time-consuming task and beyond the sope of this project. Therefore, for the time being, all Babylonian literary tablets and all official or legal documents from Kouyunjik written during or before Ashurbanipal's reign are considered as coming from one place, namely the Ashurbanipal Library (or libraries) in Nineveh[26].

IV. The historical background regarding Babylonian scholars in Assyria

The relation of the Neo-Assyrian kings to Babylonia, Babylonian scribes, or Babylonian tablets can be

[18]) L. W. King, *Catalogue ... Supplement*, XX note 2, described that "Some, evidently kicked by the feet of fugitives when the palace was in flames, were found scattered around the main exit on the west, and they extended for some distance on to the paved terrace which overlooked the Tigris beyond the palace-façade on this side."

[19]) The complexity of this situation is illustrated by G. Turner with regard to the South-West Palace in his article "Sennacherib's Palace at Nineveh: The Primary Sources from Layard's Second Campaign," *Iraq* 65 (2003) 175-220.

[20]) See J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)," *RlA* 9, 407, and St. Dalley, "Old Babylonian Tablets from Nineveh; and Possible Pieces of Early Gilgamesh Epic," *Iraq* 63 (2001) 155.

[21]) See the *Catalogue ... of the Kouyunjik Collection* (see above note 8), and E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Volume* VI: *Tablets from Sippar* 1, London 1986 (with an introduction by J. E. Reade). See further e. g. G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London 1875; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York – Cincinnati 1897; S. Parpola, "The Royal Archives of Nineveh," in: K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, CRRAI 30 (PIHANS 57), Leiden 1986, 223-236; J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)," *RlA* 9, 388b-433b. For an on-line overview of the registration numbers of the Babylonian Nineveh texts see http://fincke.uni-hd.de/nineveh/ following the "description and explanation" of the database.

[22]) Some of the Babylonian texts have already been identified as deriving from Babylonia and not from Kouyunjik; this information entered the different volumes of the *Catalogue ... of the Kouyunjik Collection* and the *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Volume* VI: *Tablets from Sippar* 1, by E. Leichty. However, even tablets from other Assyrian sites entered the Kouyunjik Collection, see J. E. Reade, "Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives," CRRAI 30, 213.

[23]) It is possible that some of the Old Babylonian tablets that are thought to have been excavated at Kouyunjik will be identified as coming from other sites, which will further reduce the total number of Babylonian tablets from Nineveh.

[24]) Not all of the so-called library texts (for this see below) that were unearthed in Nineveh necessarily came from the royal library, e. g. the Ninevite tablets of Nabû-zuqupkēna might have never been part of Ashurbanipal's libraries but were only used to produce copies for the palace; see St. J. Lieberman, "A Mesopotamian Background for the So-Called *Aggadic* 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics?," HUCA 58 (1987) 217.

[25]) For the different archives of Nineveh, see e. g. J. E. Reade, CRRAI 30, 213-222, and S. Parpola, in the same volume, 223-236.

[26]) L. W. King, *Catalogue ... Supplement*, XIV-XV, considered the tablets from the Nineveh temple libraries to form "a very inconsiderable proportion of the total number recovered at Kouyunjik, so that for all practical purposes the bulk of the literary, religious and explanatory texts in the Kouyunjik Collection may be regarded as coming from the Palace Library."

traced with the help of letters and reports unearthed in Nineveh. Evidently, the earliest Ninevite records date from the reign of Sargon II (721-705 BC). It was his son and successor, Sennacherib (704-681 BC), who made Nineveh – the residential city of his crown princeship (which he held, at least, since 715 BC) – the new Assyrian capital[27]. Moreover, because Sennacherib had already taken over Assyrian government business during the time of the king's absence while he was crown prince,[28] there are many letters and documents from Sargon's II reign archived in Nineveh.[29]

The earliest records concerning Babylonians and Babylonian scribes belong to the period after the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (721-710 BC) went into exile to Elam in 710 BC, and Sargon II ascended the Babylonian throne. In those days, the Assyrian palace was – apart from the temples – the only institution that was able to support a large number of scribes on a long-term basis,[30] and many Babylonian scholars sought employment by the Assyrian king. This situation did not change substantially over the following 43 years,[31] until Ashurbanipal ascended the Assyrian throne (668 BC) and his brother Šamaš-šumukīn the Babylonian throne (667 BC). Many Babylonians had been acting as agents for the Assyrian kings since 710 BC, writing letters and reports about events in their hometowns.[32]

A letter to Sargon II reveals "[when they rem]oved our writing-boards they [brou]ght (them) to Marduk-apla-iddi[n]a."[33] This fragmentary letter also refers to the Babylonian cities of Dēr and Dūr-ladini, and therefore might have either been written in Nippur, most probably by the governor, the *šandabakku*-official,[34] or rather in Borsippa.[35] There is no hint of the number of writing-boards that had been removed or their owners – they could have been private scholars or even the temple library of Dūr-anki. If these writing-boards were literary texts and not administrative records,[36] one might speculate that Marduk-apla-iddina II anticipated the Assyrian effort to obtain the written knowledge of Babylonia and he might then have tried to prevent this by collecting the writing-boards and storing them at a safe place. However, Marduk-apla-iddina could have requested the writing-boards for another reason. In any case, mentioning these writing-boards to Sargon II indicates that they were of some interest for the king.

Sargon II[37] or his successor Sennacherib[38] gave an order to a Babylonian scholar concerning a *lē'u ša ekurrī*, a "writing-board of the temples."[39] The intention was to prepare a list of all Babylonian temples. The scholar in charge was Bēl-iddina who wrote an interim report to the king describing the regions of Babylonia he had already checked and the lists he had made and sent to the king. Bēl-iddina wrote that he was afraid to continue his inspection further to the

[27]) In the 9th century BC, Ashurnaṣirpal II (883-859 BC) extended the Middle Assyrian provincial capital Kalḫu (Nimrūd) into his royal capital. Kalḫu remained Assyrian capital until Sargon II (721-705 BC) moved into his own choice, on the site of the small village Magganubba, and founded royal capital Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad).

[28]) See E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, *AfO Beih.* 26, Wien 1997, 2-3, and S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 233.

[29]) See e. g. S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 229 and note 31: almost 50 % of the letters from the Kouyunjik collection date from the reign of Sargon II. It is rather unlikely that later these letters and other important documents were transferred from the archives of the former capital to Nineveh, during the reign of Sennacherib (see Parpola, *op. cit.*, p. 233 note 52).

[30]) A royal library in the palace of Babylon cannot be traced (see below section XI). Therefore, if the scholars were not associated with a temple or a school, they had either to work independently as scribes or to be employed by officials. However, there are hints at Assyrian scribes employed by high Babylonian officials; these scribes might have been assigned by the Assyrian king as loyal agents, see G. Frame, "The Correspondence of Nabû-ušabši, Governor of Uruk," CRRAI 30, 267.

[31]) See e. g. the letter from an unknown Babylonian scholar, who had taught "apprentices whom the king appointed in my charge" the astrological series *enūma anu enlil*, but was ignored, when the king summoned "scribes great and small;" see ABL 954 (K. 895) = SAA X 171 (S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Helsinki 1993). This letter had been written to either Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal.

[32]) Altogether, the excavators unearthed some 1046 Babylonian letters and letter fragments in Nineveh; see below section X.4.

[33]) CT 54, 451 (79-7-8, 257) rev. 1-3: ... *ù* GIŠ.DA.MEŠ-*n*[*i ki-i*] (2) [*ú-še-ṣ*]*u-nu a-na* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA SUM-[*n*]*a* (3) [*ul-te-b*]*i-lu* ...; see M. Dietrich, *The Babylonian correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*, SAA XVII, Helsinki 2003, 165 (no. 201).

[34]) M. Dietrich, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Babyloniens (I)", *WdO* 4 (1967-68) 86-87 (A VI 1b).

[35]) In SAA XVII, 2003, 165 (no. 201), M. Dietrich assumes this letter to be written by Ana-Nabû-taklāk, who was based in Borsippa (see p. XXXV).

[36]) For the use of writing-boards in Neo-Assyrian libraries and administration, see below section IX.

[37]) L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire Vol.* 1 (RCAE I), 1930, 360-361 (no. 516); H. D. Baker in: K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (PNAE) Vol. 1.II: B-G, Helsinki 1999, 312 (Bēl-iddina no. 8); M. Dietrich, SAA XVII, 2003, 41-42 (no. 43), see p. XXXV.

[38]) M. Dietrich, *WdO* 4 (1967-68) 90; F. W. Vera Chamaza, *Die Omnipotenz Aššurs. Entwicklungen in der Aššur-Theologie unter den Sargoniden Sargon* II., *Sanherib und Asarhaddon*, AOAT 295, 2002, 308-309 (no. 65).

[39]) ABL 516 (81-7-27, 31) 6: *áš-šu* GIŠ.*le-u$_5$-um šá* É.KUR.MEŠ. For the use of wooden writing-boards in Assyrian administration, see below note 124. For the use of writing-boards in the Nineveh libraries, see below section IX.

south of Babylonia, to the villages of Dēr and Nippur, because it was too dangerous for him to go there as an official in the Assyrian king's service without special proof of authorization.[40] The order to prepare a list of Babylonian temples might have had administrative reasons,[41] but it could also concern the tablets of the Babylonian temple libraries. At least this letter proves the uncertain political situation in southern Babylonia for the Assyrian king and makes it clear that Sargon II would have experienced much difficulty in creating a royal library that included Babylonian tablets[42] as Ashurbanipal did about 60 years later.

During the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC), the son and successor of Sennacherib and father of Ashurbanipal, several Babylonian scholars were taken into the king's service. Esarhaddon is the first known Neo-Assyrian king to keep reports about extispicy and astrological observations in his archives for reference purposes (see below and section X.2). The large number of these reports indicates that Esarhaddon used divination systematically; he might even have been the first Neo-Assyrian king to use divination to this extent.[43] Knowing future events beforehand enabled the king to be prepared properly. Esarhaddon is the first known Neo-Assyrian king to revive the ancient "substitute king ritual" which made a substitute absorb the evil that was predicted to the Assyrian king through particular omens.[44] Knowledge of future events was also believed to help prevent bad events by performing suitable rituals.[45] In other words, knowledge of these omens was vital to maintain the power of the king, as well as kingship itself, and the well-being of the country. Therefore, Esarhaddon employed experts (*ummânū*) in extispicy (*bārûtu*), diviners (*bārû*), astrologers (*ṭupšar enūma anu enlil*, *ṭupšarrū*), exorcists (*āšipū*), and augurs (*dāgil iṣṣurē*)[46] who observed the different materials the gods used to give ominous signs. At the same time, they were familiar with reading the relevant omen texts[47] for their correct interpretation. Many of these scholars came from Babylonia.

Babylonian diviners had been inspecting the sheep's liver and writing reports on the procedure for centuries. At this period, even though they never dated their reports according to the year,[48] the shape of the tablets and the introduction formula are distinctive. The reports, physically characterised by their distinctive pillow-shape, begin with an address to the sungod, "Šamaš, great lord, give me a firm positive answer to what I am asking you,"[49] followed by the specific question, a description of the various parts of the inspected sheep's

[40]) ABL 516 (81-7-27, 31) rev. 6-9: ... GIŠ.*le-u$_5$-um* (7) *liš-šá-ṭar šá la* LUGAL *pal-ḫa-ku-ma* (8) *a-na* BÀD-AN.KI *ù* NIBRU.KI (9) *ul al-lak it-ti dul-li-ia* "... Let a writing-board be written, because without the king I am in fear and I will not proceed to Dēr and Nippur with my work."

[41]) M. Dietrich, SAA XVII, 41-42 (no. 43), edits the letter under the title "Inspection of Work on Temples all over Babylonia". H. D. Baker, PNAE 1.II, 312 (Bēl-iddina 8.) describes the information of the letter as copying required Babylonian texts on writing-boards which the sender would send to the king, later. This interpretation would point to the collecting methods of Babylonian texts used by Ashurbanipal, for this see below section VII.

[42]) He could have created a library that included Babylonian material, but certainly not original Babylonian tablets. For the exchange of knowledge between scholars by travelling and copying tablets or lending tablets to other scribes, see Eckart Frahm, "Headhunter, Bücherdiebe und wandernde Gelehrte: Anmerkungen zum altorientalischen Wissenstransfer im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.," to appear in CDOG 4, *Wissenskultur im Alten Orient. Weltanschauung, Wissenschaften, Techniken, Technologien*; 4. *Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 20.-22. *Februar in Münster*.

[43]) At the beginning of the 8th century BC, Babylonian diviners were employed in Kalḫu (Nimrūd), and their number might even have been larger than the number of Assyrian diviners; see J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists. A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century, B. C.*, London 1972, 75 (no. 40). However, no extispicy reports have yet been unearthed in Kalḫu.

[44]) The Assyrian king became the "farmer" (LÚ.ENGAR) while the substitute king sat on the throne and officially ruled Assyria. At the end, the substitute king was put to death for the dual purpose of proving the correctness of the bad omen, and eliminating him before the king was reinstalled. Letters unearthed in Nineveh refer to the substitute king, which, according to S. Parpola, date to the years 679 or 674 BC (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4), 671 BC (nos. 12, 189, 314, 350, 351), and 669 BC (nos. 209, 210, 211, 212, 219, 220, 221); SAA X no. 311 cannot be dated.

[45]) The Akkadian term for these rituals is ***namburbi***; see St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*, *BaF* 18, 1994.

[46]) For bird augury, a science from the west that is principally known from the Hittite texts, and the augur from Kummuḫi (Commagene), who was employed at the palace of Kalḫu (Nimrūd) in the beginning of the 8th century, see J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, 75 (no. 9). See also the reference to the LÚ.*da-gil* M[UŠEN.MEŠ] / [LÚ].*ḫa-mat-a-a* "the augur from Hamath" (in the Orontes valley) in ABL 1346 (K. 10849) obv. 2-3, edited by L. Waterman, RCAE II, no. 1246 (see above note 37).

[47]) Scholars created different series for the signs in the sky (*enūma anu enlil*) and on earth (*šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*), as well as for those signs seen during the examination of the appearance of the human body (physiognomic omens) or inspection of animals (extispicy).

[48]) The earliest texts with "oracle inquires" were not dated. Later, the diviners added the date according to the day and the month on which the sheep's liver had been inspected and their own names as a kind of signature to prove the accuracy of the tablet, e. g. "ITU.GUD (IIIrd month), 3rd day; (from) Nadinu and Tabnî".

[49]) *šamaš bēlu rabû ša ašalluka anna kīna apulanni*.

liver, and the result of this inspection.[50] These reports are called "oracle enquiries" or "queries to the sungod",[51] and differ from the so-called "extispicy reports" written under the reign of Esarhaddon's son Ashurbanipal.[52]

Esarhaddon also employed astrologers who observed the sky and wrote reports on the appearance of the sun and the moon, or the constellations of the stars.[53] In the face of this it is probable that the fragmentary letter from the Babylonian scholar Marduk-šāpik-zēri,[54] who offered himself and twenty other able scholars[55] for royal service, should also be dated to the reign of Esarhaddon.[56] In his letter, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, extensively describes his abilities in the different disciplines:[57]

[36]I am fully master of my father's profession, the discipline of lamentation; I have studied and chanted the series. I am competent in [...], 'mouth-washing', and purification of the palace [...]. I have examined healthy and sick flesh.

[40]I have read the (astrological series) *Enūma Anu Enlil* [...] and made astronomical observations. I have read the (anomaly series) *šumma izbu*, the (physiognomical works) [*kataduggû*, *alandi*]*mmû* and *nigdimdimmû*, [... and the (terrestrial omen series) *šum*]*ma ālu*.

[43][*All this* I lear]ned [*in my youth*]. Under the aegis of the king, my lord, I have perfected my [...] ...

Each of the 20 scholars Marduk-šāpik-zēri mentioned in his letter – "there are [...] who [have *returned*] from Elam, [scribes (sc. astrologers), lamentation chanters], exorcists, diviner, and physicians"[58] – was a master in his field – most of them were specialised in more than one discipline based on their study of the written lore – and were "useful to the king, my lord."[59]

Esarhaddon not only employed scholars but also kept sons of high officials or even sheikhs of Babylonia as hostages in one of his Ninevite palaces in order to have them taught the scribal art. We know about 18 young Babylonians who were instructed in scribal lore, sometimes under compulsion like Ninurta-gimillī, son of the *šandabakku* of Nippur, who "has been put in irons".[60] These students were educated in Assyria and, later, might have entered into the king's service as loyal officials. Some of them might even have later returned to their native country, as is well known from the royal inscriptions.[61]

The fact that Esarhaddon not only educated them in the Assyrian ideology but also wanted them to learn the scribal art points to the privileged status of these hostages. A goldsmith of the queen's household who wanted his son to get the same privilege and therefore bought a Babylonian who taught the exorcist's literature and special divination texts to his son, was reported to the king by an agent.[62] The agent pointed out that by doing this the goldsmith was acting like the king and the crown prince, which of course was unforgivable.

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[50]) There are at least 186 complete or fragmentary so-called "queries to the sungod" written by Babylonian diviners in the tablet collection from Nineveh.

[51]) See E. G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig 1913; J. Aro, "Remarks on the Practice of Extispicy in the Time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal," CRRAI 14, Paris 1966, 109-117; I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA IV, Helsinki 1990.

[52]) The first years of Ashurbanipal's reign were marked by a change in these "oracle enquiries". At first, the tablets were still written by Babylonians, but later Assyrian diviners signed and dated them. At about the same time the format of the tablets changed, as well as the formula: the tablets no longer look like blown-up pillows, but have more or less the usual shape of letters, and do not have an address to the sungod, but begin with the question for which the inspection of the sheep's liver was performed. These are the so-called "extispicy reports". Later, Assyrian diviners themselves wrote increasing numbers of tablets.

[53]) There are so far 85 complete or fragmentary astrological reports from Nineveh identified as having been written during the reign of Esarhaddon. For these reports, see e. g. R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1900, A. L. Oppenheim, "Divination and Celestial Observation in the Last Assyrian Empire," *Centaurus* 14, Copenhagen 1964, 97-135, and H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*, SAA VIII, Helsinki 1992.

[54]) ABL 1321 (K. 5440) + CT 54, 106 (82-5-22, 123 b+...) (+) CT 54, 57 (K. 3034+7655; edited by H. Hunger, *Studies Reiner*, AOS 67, 1987, 157-162) = SAA X 160; cf. also S. M. Freedman, *If a City is Set on a Height. The Akkadian Omen Series šumma alu ina mēlê šakin*. Vol. 1: *Tablets* 1-21, *Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund*, 17, Philadelphia 1998, 10 n. 40.

[55]) SAA X 160 rev. 35: PAP 20 UM.ME.A.MEŠ *le-'u-ú-tu*.

[56]) See H. D. Baker (ed.), PNAE 2.II: L-N, 2001, 726 (Marduk-šāpik-zēri). M. Dietrich, *WdO* 4 (1967-68) 95 (A/B I 1a: K. 3034+7655), 96 (K. 5440+82-5-22, 123), dates this letter to the reign of Sargon II, and H. Hunger, *Studies Reiner*, 162, to Ashurbanipal. S. Parpola, SAA X, 120-124 (no. 160) does not date the letter at all, but SAA X only includes letters from the reign of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

[57]) Translation by S. Parpola, SAA X, 122 (no. 160).

[58]) SAA X 160 obv. 47-49: ... *ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šú-nu* (48) [x x x x x x x x x x]-*áš-šú šá ul-tu* KUR.NIM.MA.KI (49) [x x x LÚ.DUB.SAR.MEŠ LÚ.GALA.MEŠ LJÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ LÚ.A.ZU.ME.

[59]) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ía ṭa-a-bu*.

[60]) ABL 447 (K. 821) = SAA XI 156 obv. 10: *si-par-ri* AN.BAR *šá-kin*; see also S. Parpola, *Iraq* 34 (1972) 33-34.

[61]) See e. g. Esarhaddon's Nineveh inscription A col. IV 15-16 (see R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, *AfO Beih.* 9, Graz 1956, 53): [ta]*-bu-u-a tar-bit* É.GAL AD-*iá a-na* LUGAL-*u-ti* (16) UGU-*šú-nu áš-kun-ma it-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šá a-na* KUR-*šá ú-tir-ši* "I placed Tarbūa, who was brought up in my father's palace, to the kingship over them and let her return to her (home) country together with her gods."

[62]) ABL 1245 (83-1-18, 121) = SAA XVI 65.

V. Ashurbanipal's rise to power

Ashurbanipal was born as the third eldest son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria and Babylonia (680-669 BC). His eldest brother, Sîn-nādin-apli, was appointed crown prince of Assyria, while his second eldest brother, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, was appointed crown prince of Babylonia. Born as third son, Ashurbanipal had no right to a throne, and grew up with no chance of a position of power in the future. However, when Sîn-nādin-apli died Ashurbanipal's situation changed immediately and he became crown prince of Assyria in 672 BC.[63]

Politically, Ashurbanipal's newly established position as Assyrian crown prince was rather dangerous for him, because it was contrary to the practice that only the eldest son would succeed his father on the throne. Whenever a king broke this rule and appointed a younger son as crown prince, the appointed son had to struggle against opponents and face rebellion. After Sîn-nādin-apli's death the second eldest son of Esarhaddon would have been the legitimate candidate for the Assyrian throne. However, Šamaš-šum-ukīn had already been chosen for the Babylonian throne and his education was certainly focused on his future position. Esarhaddon clearly did not want Šamaš-šum-ukīn to have a conflict of interests, if he now instead became crown prince of Assyria, and therefore chose the younger son Ashurbanipal as successor to the Assyrian heir to the throne.[64] Ashurbanipal and his friends in high positions[65] certainly supported Esarhaddon in making this decision.

Esarhaddon and his son Ashurbanipal had been aware of the difficulty of the situation. The legitimacy of Ashurbanipal's crown princeship was said to rest not only on his being declared the son of king Esarhaddon but especially on his having been manifestly chosen and elevated by the gods.[66] Ashurbanipal was "created by Aššur and Mulissu,"[67] the one whom Sîn appointed for the "shepherdship of Assyria" even before he was actually born, and whom Šamaš and Adad entrusted with exercising the kingship.[68] By establishing his crown princeship through the will of the highest-ranking Assyrian gods, his authority became detached from human legitimacies as well as inviolable. To avoid a possible civil war in the future, Esarhaddon "convened the people of Assyria, great and small, from coast to coast, made them swear a treaty oath by the gods and established a binding agreement to protect my crown princeship and future kingship over Assyria."[69] This happened on the 12th[70] day of the month *ajjaru* (April/May), when he officially announced Ashurbanipal as his successor on the Assyrian throne.

During the ceremony of his designation as crown prince of Assyria Ashurbanipal became "oldest prince of the *bīt ridûti*"[71], "the House of Administration", or the old North Palace in Nineveh[72] and the residence of the crown prince and the king since its construction by his grandfather Sennacherib.[73] In his royal inscriptions, Ashurbanipal described the events following the ceremony as follows:[74]

[23] Admidst rejoicing and merrymaking I entered the House of Administration,

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[63]) For Ashurbanipal's family and rise to power see recently E. Weissert, PNAE 1.I (A), 160-163.

[64]) See e. g. the letter to Esarhaddon written by the exorcist Adad-šuma-uṣur describing this situation, ABL 595 (K. 1119) + K. 1915 + ABL 870 (82-5-22, 107) = CT 53, 31, edited by S. Parpopla, SAA X, 1993, no. 185.

[65]) Ashurbanipal seems to have carefully prepared his rise to power by making sure that he had enough supporters. Even before he became crown prince he had been the one who "gave the order to officials" and without whom "no governor had been appointed and no prefect had been installed," see Ashurbanipal inscription L[4] (K. 2694+3050; cuneiform text: C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Šamaššumukîn. König von Babylonien* 668-648 *v. Chr.*, Leipzig 1892, pl. XXXIV-XXXIX; edition: M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's* II. Teil: Texte, VAB VII.2, Leipzig 1916, 252-271, and others; cf. now corrections and collations by R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (BIWA), Wiesbaden 1996, 187-188) I 27-28: ... *ṭe-e-me aš-ta-nak-kan a-na* GAL.MEŠ (28) *ba-lu-u-a* LÚ.NAM *u[l] ip-pa-qid* LÚ.GAR *ul iš-ša-kan.*

[66]) The same happened to Esarhaddon himself. He was a younger son, as well, though appointed crown prince by his father Sennacherib "on demand of Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela" after having practiced extispicy on this subject; see R. Borger, *AfO Beih.* 9, 40 (Esarhaddon's Nineveh inscription A col. I 8-14).

[67]) *binût aššur u mulissu*: Ashurbanipal Prism A and F I 1. For all prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, see M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, and the new edition by R. Borger, BIWA.

[68]) Ashurbanipal Prism F I 3-6. In each of his prism inscriptions Ashurbanipal refers to the gods who selected him. The number of gods differs in the various inscriptions but these five gods are always named.

[69]) Ashurbanipal Prism F I 12-17. Translation by S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA II, Helsinki 1988, XIXX. See the latest edition of a composite text of the treaty by S. Parpola – K. Watanabe, *ibid.* 28-58 (no. 6).

[70]) Other prism inscriptions refer to the 16th or 18th day of this month.

[71]) *mār šarri rabû ša bīt ridûti*: Ashurbanipal Prism A and F I 2.

[72]) Later, Ashurbanipal demolished this palace while constructing the Nabû Temple on part of the site of the former palace. Another palace was built to the north of the Ištar- and Nabû-temples in the late 640s BC; see Figure 1.

[73]) Ashurbanipal Prism F I 18-24, IV 22-25.

[74]) Ashurbanipal Prism A I 1-34. Translation by E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces. Your Mooring Rope Cut. Poetry from Babylonian and Assyria, Michigan Studies in the Humanity* 5, Michigan 1985, 19-20. See also the new edition by R. Borger, BIWA, 15-16, 208-209 (translation).

[24] an artfully constructed place, the node of the kingdom,
[25] wherein Sennacherib, father of the father who engendered me,
[26] exercised the crown-princeship and kingship,
[27] in which Esarhaddon, my own father, was born,
[28] grew up, exercised the rule over Assyria,
...
[31] and in it I myself, Ashurbanipal, learned the wisdom (who's patron is) Nabû,
[32-33] the entire scribal art; I examined the teachings of all the masters, as many as there are.
[34] I learned to shoot the bow, to ride horses and chariots, to hold the reins.

Having moved into the *bīt ridûti* Ashurbanipal received an education suitable for a crown prince. The training in intellectual and physical skills he already obtained was appropriate for one of the king's younger sons, but certainly not good enough for someone who would have to rule over Assyria. Ashurbanipal refers to himself having learned the scribal art (see below section VI) and the art of warfare.[75] He must have considered these two skills the most important ones; the first ability would give him independence from his officials in the future and the other one he would certainly need to practise as king. We do not know how old Ashurbanipal had been in 672 BC but he took over the kingship of Assyria just four years later (668 BC).

Ashurbanipal must have been a very diligent pupil judging by his deeds and inscriptions. Even as a younger son he must have had some insight into the political events and he certainly knew what a reign depended on.[76] And Ashurbanipal must have been clever enough to know that he had to be better in everything than any of his predecessors had been if he wanted to be accepted by other kings, or even the officials of his own country Assyria.[77] The following historic events demonstrate that Ashurbanipal had to prove his ability in maintaining the Assyrian empire by using diplomacy, deterrence, and military campaigns during the first three decades of his reign. His military success was mainly due to his officers, because Ashurbanipal himself was not very keen on fighting.[78] He stayed in continuous contact with his officials and agents, instead, and controlled his empire using the written word of letters and instructions.[79]

VI. Ashurbanipal's interest in the scribal art

The colophons of his tablets repeatedly refer to Ashurbanipal's interest and abilities in the scribal art. The image one can obtain from these sources would be that Ashurbanipal was gifted with "great intelligence" and a "bright eye."[80] He used his talents to learn the scribal art and gained considerable success so that he was not only able to read cuneiform tablets,[81] but also to write "the wisdom of Nabû, the cuneiform signs" on clay tablets.[82] He practised his skills even after he became designated crown prince.[83] At the end, he was

[75]) Ashurbanipal Prism F I 31-32: *īde epēš qabli u tāḫāzi* (32) *kullumāku sedēru u miṯḫuṣūtu* "I know how to wage war and battle (32) I have been shown (how to set up) battle line(s) and (do) combat."

[76]) Ashurbanipal already knew the usefulness of conspiracy to reach a goal before he became crown prince, see above note 65.

[77]) After Esarhaddon's death in 669 BC, his mother Zakûtu imposed a loyalty oath on the Assyrian royal family, the aristocracy, and the nation in favour of her grandson Ashurbanipal, who had just ascended the Assyrian throne; see ABL 1239 (83-1-18, 45) + 83-1-18, 266 (JCS 39 [1987] 189), edited by S. Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian treaties from the royal archives of Nineveh," JCS 39 (1987) 165-170, and S. Parpola – K. Watanabe, SAA II, 62-64 no. 8.

[78]) Ashurbanipal did not always attend the military campaigns in person but let his commanders do the job. This is for example known for the campaign against Teumman in 653 BC when he stayed at home to praise Ishtar, thereby obeying an explicit order of the goddess, see Ashurbanipal Prism B V 46-76, esp. 63-68.

[79]) See e. g. the letter from Ashurbanipal to Bēl-ibni, the military commander of the Sealand, giving instructions for Bēl-ibni's further action concerning the Gurasimmu-people, after the commander had neglected the king's order; see ABL 291 (K. 938) edited by L. Waterman, RCAE I, as no. 291 (see above note 37), and by R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria, a Transliteration and Translation of* 355 *Official Assyrian Letters Dating from the Sargonid Period* (722-625 *B. C.*), AOS 6, New Haven 1935, 149 no. 202; see also M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit* (700-648), AOAT 7, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, 188-191.

[80]) H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (BAK), (AOAT 2), Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, 97-98 (no. 319: Asb. type c-e) ll. 3-4: *ša* ^{d}*nabû u* ^{d}*taš-me-tu$_4$ uz-nu ra-pa-áš-tu$_4$ iš-ru-ku-uš* (4) *i-ḫu-zu* IGI *na-mir-tu* "to whom Nabû and Tašmetu gave great wisdom, who acquired a bright eye"; see also p. 103 (no. 329: Asb. type o) ll. 1-2.

[81]) H. Hunger, BAK, 97-98 (no. 319: Asb. type c-e) ll. 4, 7-8: ... *ni-siq ṭup-šar-ru-ti* ... (7) *ina ṭup-pa-a-ni áš-ṭur as-niq ab-re-e-ma* (8) *a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-as-si-ia qé-reb* É.GAL-*ia ú-kin* "(I learned) the highest level of the scribal art. ... I wrote on clay tablets, checked and collated (them) and deposited (them) in my palace for inspection and reading by me."

[82]) H. Hunger, BAK, 97-98 (no. 319: Asb. type c-e) ll. 4-7: ... *ni-siq ṭup-šar-ru-ti* (5) *šá ina* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-lik maḫ-ri-ia mam-ma šip-ru šu-a-tu la i-ḫu-uz-zu* (6) *né-me-eq* ^{d}*nabû ti-kip sa-an-tak-ki ma-la ba-áš-mu* (7) *ina ṭup-pa-a-ni áš-ṭur as-niq ab-re-e-ma* "The wisdom of Nabû, the cuneiform signs, as many as there are formed, I wrote on clay tablets, checked and collated (them)"; see also p. 105-106 (no. 338) ll. 7-9.

[83]) A tablet with the text of the fourth tablet of the explanatory series ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* had been written "for the inspection of Ashurbanipal, the crown prince;" see H.

familiar with the "complete scribal art"[84] including the "craft of the diviner, the secrets of heaven and earth," and the "wisdom of Šamaš and Adad."[85]

According to his royal inscriptions, Ashurbanipal was familiar with difficult bilingual texts,[86] but focused his particular interest on old tablets. It was well established within Assyrian and Babylonian scholarship that the older a tablet was, the more authority it was allotted. Ashurbanipal was therefore very proud of his ability to read "stone tablets from before the flood," which is really remarkable considering the change in cuneiform script over the millennia. According to one of his prism inscriptions, Ashurbanipal was not only able to read these old scripts, but was also "enjoying the writing on stones from before the flood."[88]

Because of his interest in old tablets, the king encouraged his agents to look for them in Babylonia. One of his agents, Ašarēdu the younger, wrote to Ashurbanipal:[89] "The tablet which the king is using is defective and not complete. Now then I have written and fetched from Babylon an ancient tablet made by king Hammurapi and an inscription from before king Hammurapi."

The official sources describe Ashurbanipal as a learned scholar, who was able to read any cuneiform tablet, no matter how old it was and regardless of whether it was written in either Sumerian or Akkadian. Some of those scholars who wrote letters or reports to the king might have judged his ability differently. Sometimes, they explained a rather common word of the omen literature by a synonym[90] or an alternative expression[91]. Some scribes even transferred the learned kind of writing that uses logograms into syllabic Akkadian writing[92] or gave the pronounciation of these logograms;[93] someone who was familiar with Sumerian would have known how to read these sentences. The exorcist Nabû-nāṣir, on the other hand had overestimated the king's knowledge when he wrote to him about *miqit šamê*, "what has fallen from heaven," a not uncommon expression for epilepsy[94]. The king was astonished and asked: "'Fall of heaven.' What is this? The heavens exist forever."[95]

The obliging manner of the scribes to explain certain words or expressions might indicate that the king himself read the reports; the scribes did not expect the king to have the expert knowledge of divination.[96] Still, it is doubtful whether Ashurbanipal started to learn the scribal art only after his designation as crown

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Hunger, BAK, 108 no. 345 l. 2: *a-na tam-ri-irtu* ^{md}*aš-šur*-DÙ-DUMU.NITA DUMU LUGAL.

[84]) H. Hunger, BAK, 103 (no. 330: Asb. type r-s) l. 5: *kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-ti iḫ-su-su ka-ras-su* "who understood the complete scribal art."

[85]) H. Hunger, BAK, 100-101 (no. 325: Asb. type l) l. 3: NAM.AZU AD.ḪAL AN-*e u* KI-*tim né-me-qi* ^{d}UTU *u* ^{d}IŠKUR *i-ḫu-zu-ma uš-ta-bi-lu ka-ras-su* "who learned the craft of the diviner, the secrets of heaven and earth, the wisdom of Šamaš and Adad, and understands it."

[86]) So according to Ashurbanipal inscription L^4 (K. 2694+3050; for editions of the inscription see above note 65) I 17: *áš-ta-si kam-mu nak-lu šá* EME.GI$_7$ *ṣu-ul-lu-lu ak-ka-du-u ana šu-te-šu-ri áš-ṭu* "I have read artfully-written texts in which the Sumerian version was obscure and the Akkadian version for clarifying (too) difficult."

[87]) Vacat.

[88]) Ashurbanipal inscription L^4 (K. 2694+3050; for editions of the inscription see above note 65) I 18: *ḫi*$^{!}$*-ṭa-ku* GÙ.SUM *ab-ni šá la-am a-bu-bi* "I am enjoying the cuneiform wedges (sc. writing) on stone(s) from before the flood." None of these stones were excavated.

[89]) ABL 255 (K. 552) = SAA X 155 obv. 5-13: *ṭup-pi šá* LUGAL (6) [*ma*]-*ṭu ù ul šá-lim* (7) [*a*]-*du-ú ṭup-pi* (8) [*l*]*a-bi-ru šá am-mu-ra-pi* LUGAL (9) [*e*]-*pu-šú ma-al-ṭa-ru* (10) [*šá p*]*a-ni am-mu-ra-pi* LUGAL (11) *ki-i áš-pu-ru* (12) *ul-tu* TIN.TIR.KI (13) *at-ta-šá-a.*

[90]) See e. g. RMA 37 (K. 729) = SAA VIII 253 obv. 4 (Nergal-ēṭir to Esarhaddon): ^{r}SA$_5^{1}$: *pe-lu* : S[A$_5$] : *sa-a-mu* "SA$_5$ (means) red. SA$_5$ (also means) red (brown)."

[91]) See e. g. RMA 36 (Bu. 89-4-26, 159) = SAA VIII 106 rev. 1 (written by Akkullānu to Esarhaddon): *e-de-du* : *ṣa-pa-ru ša qar-ni* "'to be pointed' means to be *adorned*, said of horns"; the same explanation is given RMA 36A (K. 12469) = SAA VIII 190 obv. 2' (unknown Assyrian scribe), and RMA 27 (K. 874) = SAA VIII 330 obv. 7 (written by Ašarēdu the older to Ashurbanipal). In RMA 82 (K. 769) = SAA VIII 320 obv. 9-10, the astrologer Munnabitu explaines Esarhaddon the phenomenon that "the moon and the sun will make an eclipe" with: *šá* UD-14-KAM (10) ITU-*us-su* DINGIR KI DINGIR NU IGI-*ru* "on the 14th day, each month, one god will not be seen with the other."

[92]) In his reports to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian astrologer Nabû-aḫḫē-erība used to add the syllabic writing in a smaller script below the logogram concerned; see SAA VIII 40, 41, 43-45, 48-55, 57, 60, 62-66, 68-87. The same can be seen on RMA 42 (Sm. 1073) = SAA VIII 188 obv. 5 (unknown Assyrian scribe): ... KA GI.NA (pronounced) *pu-u i-kan* "speech will become reliable", RMA 137 (K. 799) = SAA VIII 268 rev. 4 (Nergal-ēṭir to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal): ... DIB-*šú* (pronounced) *iṣ-ba-tu-uš* "he seized him."

[93]) See e. g. ABL 869 (81-2-4, 120) = SAA X 78 obv. 5' (written by the Assyrian astrologer Nabû-aḫḫē-erība to Ashurbanipal): EN.NUN-UD.ZA[L.LA] (is pronounced) *e-nu-un ú-*^{r}*za-al*^{1}*-la.*

[94]) See M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia*, CM 2, Groningen 1993, 7-9. *miqit šamê* is the Akkadian translation of Sumerian AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, a word that is used in medical texts; the common word for epilepsy or epilepsy like diseases used in every day life is Akkadian *bennu.*

[95]) PBS VII 132 (CBS 1471) = SAA X 295 obv. 11-12: ... ŠUB-*ti* AN-*e mi-i-nu šu-u* (12) *ka-a-a-*[*ma-n*]*u* AN-*e i-ba-ši.* N. P. Heeßel kindly drew my attention to this text.

[96]) This would also refer to scribes, who used to read the royal correspondence. They haven't have been able to read omen texts, at the same time, because the vocabulary of both texts differs very much.

head of the king's bed and the feet of the king('s bed), [15]the grindstone weapon of the head of the king's bed, [16]the incantation "May Ea and Marduk [17]bring together [16]wisdom", the collected one, [18]the series (concerning) "battle", as much as there is, [19]including their extra single-columned tablets[102], [20]as much as there are, [21](the ritual) "that an arrow should not come close to a person in battle", [22](the rituals for) "walking in the open country", (for the) "entering the palace", [23]the instructions of the "hand lifting", [24]"the inscription of the amulets" and [25]whatever is good for the kingship, [26]"purification of the village", "giddiness"[103], [27](although it is) out of use, and whatever is needed [28]in the palace – as much as there is; and the [29]rare [28]tablets [29]that are known to you but [30]are not in Assyria. Search for them and [31]bring them to me! Right now, [32]I have written [31]to [32]the *šatammu*-officials and to the provincial commandants; [33]you shall place (them) in the houses of your surety.

No one [34]is allowed to hold back a tablet from you; and as for [35]any tablet or instruction that I did [36]not write to you about but that you have discovered [37]to be good for the palace, you must take (them) as well and [39]send (them) to me.

Taking a closer look at the various tablet-series the king was seeking for – instructions for the first and the seventh month of the year, several rituals for the king's bed, for battles, for walking around in the dangerous desert, for amulets to protect a person against evil, for care of the palace – we must agree with the king's summary that he was looking for "whatever is good for the kingship" (l. 25) and "whatever is ... good for the palace" (l. 37). First of all, the king's aim was to collect as many instructions for rituals and incantations as possible that were vital for his own protection and that of every single place where he might possibly stay during his reign: his palace or one of his military campaigns.

But the king not only asked for tablets of rituals that were vital to maintain his royal power but also for "the rare tablets that ... are not in Assyria" (ll. 28-30). This instruction points to Ashurbanipal's idea of creating a comprehensive library including every scholarly tablet he was able to get hold of. And he knew that he also had to get access to the private libraries of the scholars and to the temple libraries (ll. 8-10) if he wanted to collect the written knowledge and wisdom of the known world for his library.

Fortunately, we know the answer of the scholars of Borsippa to this or a similar instruction of Ashurbanipal.[104] This reply to the king became a very important and well-known document for the citizens of Borsippa, because they inscribed a stela with the text of this letter.[105] Later, during the Seleucid period, a scribe copied the stela onto a cuneiform tablet, which happens to be in the British Museum Babylon collection.[106] The relevant passages run as follows:[107]

[1]To Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, ...

[8]Thus answer the obedient people of Borsippa the instruction, the king, their master, wrote (to them):

[9]"Copy the complete scribal corpus that is in the possession of Nabû, my lord, and send it to me!" [10]...

[11]... Now, we are neither negligent of the king's, our master's, order, nor do we rest, but keep awake to please the king, our master. [12]We will carry out (lit.: write) [11]the instruction [12]by writing-boards made of *musukkannu*-wood. ... Everything [13]that you wrote, apart from what is in the Esaggil, is here. Our lord (which is the god Nabû) might complete (the order) in front of the king, our master.

In his letter order to Šadûnu, Ashurbanipal requested the original tablets of "whatever is good for the kingship" and "whatever ... is good for the palace," but the scholars of Borsippa just refer to copies of tablets. Obviously, they misinterpreted the instruction with the intention of keeping the original tablets in their own temple library. Could the memory of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1243-1207 BC) who ransacked the Babylonian libraries in the late 13th century BC and carried away many tablets[108] to Aššur[109] be the reason for their misinterpretation?

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[102]) A tablet format used both for excerpts and tablets of a series.

[103]) IGI-NIGIN.NA = *šūd pāni* "giddiness, vertigo."

[104]) BM 45642 (81-7-6, 35). I learned about this text from an unpublished manuscript Eckart Frahm kindly made available to me (see above note 42).

[105]) BM 45642 (81-7-6, 35) rev. 21: *šá-ṭár an-na-a ina* UGU-*ḫi* NA_4.R[Ú.A] *šá* NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL "this is written on a ste[le] made of alabaster".

[106]) Andrew R. George who gave a paper on this subject at the 49*e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, 2003, in London, will publish this tablet. In S. Parpola – R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Assyria* 1995, Helsinki 1997, 71-72, note 9, A. R. George gave the first information about this text and transliterated and translated some lines.

[107]) BM 45642 (81-7-6, 35) obv. 1, 8-9, 11-13: (1) *a-na* ^{m}AN.ŠAR-D[Ù-A L]UGAL GAL-*ú* LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL *kiš-šat* LUGAL *aš-šur*.KI ... (8) ⌜*um*⌝-*ma bar.sìp*.KI.MEŠ *sa-an-q*[*u-t*]*ú a-na* LUGAL EN-*šu-nu ú-ta-ru-*⌜*ni*?⌝ *na-áš-par-tum šá iš-ṭu-ru* (9) *um-ma kul-lat* LÚ.DUB.SAR-*tú š*[*á* Š]À NÍG.GA ^{d}AG EN-*ia šu-ṭu-ra-a*' *šu-bil-la-ni* ... (11) ... *e-nin-ni ina* K[A LUG]AL EN-*ni ul ni-ig-gu ni-na-ḫu ni-dal-li-pu ana* LUGAL EN-*ni nu-šal-*⌜*lam*⌝ *n*[*a-aš-pa*]*r-tum* (12) *ni-*[*ša*]*ṭ-*⌜*ṭár ina* UGU⌝ GIŠ.DA *šá* GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NU *nu-pal*<-*lu*> ... UL DÙ.A.[B]I (13) [*š*]*á taš-pu-ru al-la šá ina* É.SAG.GÍL *ia-a-nu* EN-*ni ina* IGI LUGAL EN-*ni liš-lim*.

[108]) See the Tukultī-Ninurta Epic B rev. VI (BM 98730) 2'-8', 11', 12'-13' (see W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 18 [1957-58] 44-45, P. B. Machinist, *The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta* I: *A Study in Middle Assyrian Literature*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Yale 1978, 128-129): *ni-ṣir-*[*ti* ...] (3') *ṭup-pa-at* [...] (4') *ṭup-*⌜*šar-ru*⌝*-t*[*a* ...] (5') *a-ši-pu-ta b*[*a*? ...] (6') ÉR.ŠÀ.ḪUN.GÁ ⌜*šá*? *pi*⌝ x [...] (7') *ba-ru-ta ... ú-ṣ*[*u-r*]*at* AN-⌜*e*⌝ [KI-*ti* ...] (8') *mal-ṭa-rat a-su-ti né-peš na-*[*a*]*ṣ-m*[*a-da-te* ...] (9') ... (11') *ul ez-ba ina* KUR *šu-me-ri ù* URI.KI *mìm-ma* [...] / (12') [*t*]*ák-ši-it ta-tu-ri ni-šir-ti* MAN *ka*[*š-ši-i* ...] (13') *ú-še-em-li* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ

prince.[97] Learning how to write and read cuneiform signs must already have been part of his former education, judging by the advanced knowledge he reached in this art. Ashurbanipal was very proud of the fact that his scholarly skills were much better than those of any of his predecessors[98] because, unlike them, he did not depend on what his scribes or officials told him or read to him. His ability to check the correctness of the written words prevented him from being manipulated.

At some point, Ashurbanipal must have discovered his interest in literature and in old historical texts. Moreover, later on when he had the opportunity to do so, this interest led him to create a personal royal library as well as to extend the existing libraries. This was of such concern to him that the scholars in charge informed him about the process of copying tablets for his library, as well as about the number of copies that already existed of a certain composition.[99] In addition to that, Ashurbanipal tried to acquire Babylonian tablets for his libraries.

VII. Ashurbanipal's method of collecting Babylonian tablets

During the first 20 years of Ashurbanipal's reign, his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn ruled as king of Babylonia (see above section V), but he later started a revolt against his brother. In 648 BC, Ashurbanipal was victorious in the civil war and assumed kingship of Babylonia. This gave Ashurbanipal access to all the Babylonian temple archives and libraries, and enabled him to use these Babylonian sources for expanding his own royal library.

An Assyrian king, who most probably is Ashurbanipal, gives the most instructive information about the way of assembling tablets for royal libraries: He gave a written order to his agents in Babylonia to search for tablets that might be useful for his royal library. Two copies of his letter order to Šadûnu, the governor of Borsippa, are preserved:[100]

[1]Order of the king to Šadûnu: [2]I am well – let your heart be at ease!

[3]The day you see my letter [7]seize in your hands [3]Šumāya, [4]the son of Šuma-ukīn, Bēl-ēṭir, his brother, [5]Aplāya, the son of Arkat-ilāni, [6]and (all) scholars from Borsippa [7]whom you know and [10]collect [8]all the tablets as much as there are in their houses [9]and all the tablets as much as there are stored in the temple Ezida: [10]the tablets concerning the amulets of the king, [11](those) concerning the watercourses of the days of the month *nisannu* (I), [12]the amulet concerning the watercourses of the month *tašrītu* (VII), (e. g.) concerning the (ritual) *bīt salā' mê*[101], [13]the amulet concerning the watercourses of the decisions (or: trials) (of) the day (*sc.* Šamaš, the sun), [14]4 amulets of the

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[97]) Ashurbanipal's prism inscription A 1-34 seems to indicate this, if we interpret the sequence of events as a description in real chronological order.

[98]) H. Hunger, BAK, 97-98 (no. 319: Asb. type c-e) ll. 4-5: ... *ni-siq ṭup-šar-ru-ti* (5) *šá ina* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni a-lik maḫ-ri-ia mam-ma šip-ru šu-a-tu la i-ḫu-uz-zu* "(who learned) the highest level of the scribal art, a skill which none among the kings, my predecessors, ever had learned;" see also p. 103 (no. 329: Asb. type o) ll. 2-3, and p. 105-106 (no. 338) ll. 4-6.

[99]) See e. g. two of Akkullānu's, the 'temple-enterer' of Aššur, letters to the king: CT 53, 187 (K. 1538) = SAA X 101 and CT 53, 417 (K. 10908) + CT 53, 702 (K. 15645) = SAA X 102.

[100]) CT 22 no. 1 (BM 25676, BM 25678): (1) *a-mat* LUGAL *a-na* ^{m}*šá-du-nu* (2) *šul-mu ia-a-ši lìb-ba-ka lu-u ṭa-ab-ka* (3) u_4*-mu ṭup-pi ta-mu-ru* ^{m}*Šu-ma-a* (4) DUMU-*šú šá* ^{m}MU-GI.NA ^{md}EN-KAR-*ir* ŠEŠ-*šú* (5) ^{m}IBILA-*a* DUMU-*šú šá* ^{m}*ár-kát*-DINGIR.MEŠ (6) *ù* LÚ.*um-ma-nu šá bár-sipa*.KI (7) *šá at-ta ti-du-ú ina* ŠU^{II}-*ka ṣa-bat-ma* (8) DUB.MEŠ *ma-la ina* É.MEŠ-*šú-nu i-ba-áš-šú-ú* (9) *ù* DUB.MEŠ *ma-la ina é-zi-da šak-nu* (10) *ḫi-pi-ir-ma* DUB.MEŠ *šá* GÚ.MEŠ *šá* LUGAL (11) *šá na-ra-a-ti šá* DADAG.MEŠ *šá* ITU.BÁR (12) NA_4.GÚ *šá* ÍD.MEŠ *šá* ITU.DUL *šá* É *sa-la-'* A.MEŠ (13) NA_4.GÚ *šá* ÍD.MEŠ *šá di-ni* u_4*-mu* (14) 4 NA_4.GÚ.MEŠ *šá* SAG GIŠ.NÁ LUGAL *u še-pit* LUGAL (15) GIŠ.TUKUL GIŠ.MA.NU *šá* SAG GIŠ.NÁ LUGAL (16) ÉN ^{d}*é-a u* ^{d}ASARI.LÚ.ḪI *ni-me-qa* (17) *li-gam-me-ru-ni pu-uḫ-ḫu-ru* (18) ÉŠ.GÀR MÈ *ma-la ba-šú-ú* (19) *a-di* IM.GÍD.DA.ME-*šú-nu at-ra-a-ti* (20) *ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú* (21) *ina* MÈ GI *ana* LÚ NU TE-*e* (rev. 22) EDIN-NA-DIB-BI-DA É-GAL-KU_4-RA (23) *ni-pi-ša-a-nu* ŠU-ÍL-LA.KAM.*a-nu* (24) *mál-ṭa-ru šá* NA_4.MEŠ *u* (25) *šá a-na* LUGAL-*ú-ti ṭa-a-bi* (26) *tak-pir-ti* URU IGI.NIGIN.NA (27) *ki-i na-qut-ti u mim-ma ḫi-šiḫ-ti* (28) *i-na* É.GAL *ma-la ba-šú-ú ù* DUB.MEŠ (29) *aq-ru-tu šá mé-dak-ku-nu-šim-ma* (30) *ina* KUR.*aš-šur*.KI *ia-'-nu bu-'-a-nim-ma* (31) *šu-bi-la-a-ni a-du-ú a-na* (32) LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM *u* LÚ.GAR-UMUŠ *al-tap-ra* (33) *ina* É ŠU^{II}-*ka tal-tak-nu man-ma* (34) *ṭup-pi ul i-kil-lak-ka u ki-i* (35) *mim-ma ṭup-pi u ni-pi-šú šá a-na-ku* (36) *la áš-pu-rak-ku-nu-šú-u ta-tam-ra-ma* (37) *a-na* É.GAL-*ia ṭa-a-bu* (38) *it-ti-'-im-ma i-šá-nim-ma* (39) *šu-bi-la-a-ni*. For earlier translations of this letter see e. g. R. C. Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, 1906, 2-5, F. Martin, *Lettres néo-babyloniennes*, 1909, 19-22, R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters*, 1935, 179-180 (no. 256) (see above note 79), and E. Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe*, München 1949, 1-3. See also E. Weidner, *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 178, 178 note 37, S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," JNES 42 (1983) 11 and St. J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection," in: T. Abusch – J. Huehnergard – P. Steinkeller, *Lingering over Words, Fs. Moran*, Atlanta 1990, 310, 334-336.

[101]) "House of the water sprinkling". This purification ritual was often performed together with the *bīt rimki* ritual after eclipses of the moon (ABL 437 [K. 168] = SAA X 352; see also the catalogue in L. W. King, BMS, 1896, p. xix). According to the ritual tablet, it was to be performed in the early month *tašrītu* (VIIth month) (K. 2798+ obv. 1 [G. Meier, *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 139 n. 2]). See also K. 1526 (SAA X 219), the letter from Adad-šuma-uṣur to the king questioning if it was too soon to perform the (ritual) of *bīt salā' mê* after the 26th of the month *ulūlu* (VI).

Another very important piece of information contained in the scholar's answer is the fact that they intended to copy the requested tablets on wooden writing-boards (GIŠ.*lē'u*)[110] instead of clay tablets (*ṭuppu*). This might correlate the situation in the Ashurbanipal libraries since there are only a few tablets known to have been written in Babylonia and therefore imported to Nineveh,[111] whereas the other Babylonian tablets could just as well have been written by Babylonian scribes in the service of the king's palace in Assyria.[112]

ḫi-iṣ-bi ana ^{d}*a-šur* [...] "Secret[s of (or: The treasu[re of) ...], tablets of [...], the corpus of scribal ar[t ...], the corpus of incantation ... [...], *eršaḫunga*-lamentations according to ... [...], the corpus of diviners ..., the plans of heaven [and earth ...], medical prescriptions according to the lore of the physicians (including) the procedure for band[ages ...] ... There was not left any [...] in the land of Sumer and Akkad (sc. Babylonia). / The abundant profit of the secrets (or: treasures) of the king of the Kassi[tes ...], he filled boats with (rich) yields for (or: ..., to) the god Aššur [...]."

[109]) The Middle Assyrian library of the Aššur temple in Aššur (Qal'at Šerqāt) included both Assyrian and Babylonian texts. For this library see E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesars I.," *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 197-215, O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A survey of the material from German excavations*. Part I, Upsala 1985, 31-42 (library M 2), and below section XI; the literary texts of Aššur are subject of the project initiated by St. M. Maul, Heidelberg.

[110]) For the use of writing-boards see below.

[111]) See e. g. the tablet with a ritual for the prince mounting a chariot (DIŠ NUN GIŠ.GIGIR U_5-*ma* KASKAL *ina* GIN-*šú* ...) Th. 1905-4-9, 88 (BM 98582) (see Thureau-Dangin, RA 21 [1924] 128 [copy], 127-137 [edition], and CT 34 pl. 8-9) that is copied from a tablet from Babylon by the Babylonian scribe Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Egibi, LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ. The clay of the tablet points to a Babylonian origin.

[112]) This can easily be demonstrated by the Babylonian extispicy (*bārûtu*) tablets from Nineveh that have an Ashurbanipal colophon. U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens. The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library*, CNI *Publications* 25, Copenhagen 2000, 28, has shown that the most common Ashurbanipal colophons are type "b" (see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 318) and type "l" (see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 325). Among the relevant Babylonian tablets only these two types of colophons are preserved, so far: see e. g. the 20th *pirsu* (division?) of the *bārûtu*-subseries *multabiltu*, K. 2880 (to be published by U. Koch-Westenholz) with an Asb. col. type "b"; K. 2912 (to be published by U. Koch-Westenholz), also a *multabiltu*-tablet, of which the colophon is a variant to Asb. col. Type "l" (courtesy U. Koch-Westenholz); K. 16799 (to be published by U. Koch-Westenholz), a *multabiltu*-tablet with an Asb. col. type "l" (courtesy U. Koch-Westenholz); Rm. 231, a liver omen text, has Asb. col. type "l" (courtesy U. Koch-Westenholz). The Babylonian tablet K. 9118 that has a variant to Asb. col. type "l" might belong to the extispicy series, as well.

VIII. The Neo-Assyrian library records

The administration of the Neo-Assyrian royal libraries was well organized. The scribes in charge wrote record tablets about acquisitions of incoming tablets (DUB.MEŠ, *ṭuppū*) and wax-covered writing-boards (GIŠ.ZU, *lē'u*) in the library and kept them for further reference. Some of these library records from early in the year 647 BC have been found[113]. In general, the records list tablets separately from writing-boards, summing them up at the end of each group. There is just one case when the scribe gave a sum that refers to tablets together with writing-boards.[114] Most of the writing-boards mentioned in these library records were polyptychs made of several leaves (GIŠ.IG, *daltu* "door, leaf (of writing-boards)") hinged together to form a kind of book.[115] They consist of one to six leaves; the majority of them have three to four leaves.

Even though none of the library records of 647 BC is complete, they still give significant information about Ashurbanipal's method of assembling tablets for his libraries in Nineveh. Approximately 2,000 tablets and 300 writing-boards[116] were taken from Assyrian and Babylonian private scholars. With few exceptions these palace acquisitions consist of the complete Mesopotamian scientific and religious lore, mainly divination texts, like extispicy, astrological, terrestrial, physiognomic, dream and birth omens, as well as the exorcists' lore, medical texts and lamentations, and various other compositions that occur only once or twice in the records.

The library records give the following information (see Fig. 2),[117] although, because of the fragmentary condition of the records, the compositions of 74.7 % of the tablets are still unknown to us. But, still, the divination corpus is the largest one – 20.8 % of all tablets mentioned in the records, but 82 % of those whose compositions can be identified (see Fig. 3) – followed by the exorcists' lore, which is 1.2 % of all tablets but 4.8 % of the numbers of known compositions (see Fig. 3). Within the group of divination texts

[113]) S. Parpola, JNES 42 (1983) 1-29 published the records; see also F. M. Fales – J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, Part I, SAA VII, Helsinki 1992, nos. 49-56. In some cases, the numbers of tablets and writing-boards given in SAA VII differ from those of JNES 42. The statistics given in the present article use the numbers given in SAA VII.

[114]) The total of 188 given in SAA VII I 17' (PAP 1 me 88) refers to tablets (I 5': *egirāte* "one-column tablets"), I 12': DUB.MEŠ "tablets") and to writing-boards (l. 7': GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ).

[115]) For this see below.

[116]) According to S. Parpola, JNES 42 (1983) 4.

[117]) The records published as SAA VII 53-56 are not included in this statistical survey because they are too fragmentary and uninformative.

Figure 2. Four library records from Nineveh (SAA VII 49, 50, 51, 52).

compositions and series	number of tablets	writing-boards: number of leaves	percentage of the total number of tablets	writing-boards
terrestrial omens (*šumma ālu*)	161 tablets	1 wr.-boards	10.9 %	0.7 %
astrological omens (*enūma anu enlil*)	73 tablets	3 wr.-boards	5.0 %	2.2 %
extispicy (*bārûtu*)	0 tablets	69 wr.-boards	–	50.4 %
physiognomic omens (*alandimmû*)	39 tablets	1 wr.-boards	2.7 %	0.7 %
dream omens (*iškār zaqīqu*)	16 tablets	0 wr.-boards	1.1 %	–
birth omens (*šumma izbu*)	9 tablets	7 wr.-boards	0.6 %	5.1 %
omen series *iqqur īpuš*	4 tablets	0 wr.-boards	0.3 %	–
hemerologies (*ūmē ṭābūti*)	3 tablets	0 wr.-boards	0.2 %	–
(total: divination texts	305 tablets	81 wr.-boards	20.8 %	59.1 %)
exorcists' lore (*āšipūtu*)	18 tablets	4 wr.-boards	1.2 %	2.9 %
medical texts (*bulṭē*)	7 tablets	27 wr.-boards	0.5 %	19.7 %
lamentations (*kalûtu*)	2 tablets	12 wr.-boards	0.1 %	8.8 %
various compositions	40 tablets	13 wr.-boards	2.7 %	9.5 %
(total of the known compositions	372 tablets	137 wr.-boards	25.3 %	100.0 %)
unknown compositions and series	1097 tablets	0 wr.-boards	74.7 %	–
total:	1469 tablets (+ 188 tablets	137 wr.-boards and wr.-boards)	100.0 %	100.0 %

the terrestrial omens (*šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*) have the largest number with regard to tablets – 161 tablets, which is 10.9 % of all tablets – while there is just one writing-board which is 0.7 % of all writing-boards mentioned in the records. The astrological texts (*enūma anu enlil*) are cited with 73 tablets – 5 % of all tablets – and 3 writing-boards. With regard to the writing-boards the extispicy corpus (*bārûtu*) has the largest number – 69 (50.4 %) but no tablets at all. All of these *bārûtu* writing-boards were acquired from the Babylonian clan Bīt-Ibâ.

According to the library records, some of the scholars gave away a remarkably high number of tablets,[118] but none of them submitted compositions needed for the individual's profession.[119] The records also prove that contemporary scholars had private libraries that included a variety of scholarly texts,[120] rather than just collections of tablets relevant to their special field.[121] Some scholarly texts from these private libraries were acquired for the royal library.[122]

[118]) See e. g. Nabû-[...], who handed over 435 tablets (see SAA VII 49 II 5'-6'); Nabû-apla iddin, son of Ub[ru-...], gave 342 tablets (SAA VII 49 rev. II 19-21); the diviner Nabû-nādin-apli, son of Issar-dūri, handed over 188 tablets (SAA VII 50 I 17'-19'); Bīt-ibâ gave 10 polyptychs (of writing-boards) with extispicy texts (SAA VII 51 II 1'-3').

[119]) See S. Parpola, JNES 42 (1983) 8-9.

[120]) In this context, see e. g. the variety of the 503 texts in the Late-Babylonian library of the *āšipu* (exorcist) Iqīšâ, son of Ištar-šuma-ēreš, of the family of Ekur-zākir in Uruk (Warka), who inherited tablets from former libraries. His library included incantations, medical texts, the diagnostic handbook SA.GIG, the terrestrial omens series (*šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*), texts of the anomaly series, astrological (*enūma anu enlil*) and astronomical texts, extispicy (*bārûtu*), and lexical texts, as well as myths, hymns, and others. The texts are published by H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* (*SpTU*) I (ADFU 9), 1976, E. von Weiher, *SpTU* II (ADFU 10), 1983, E. von Weiher, *SpTU* III (ADFU 12), 1988, E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U* 18 (*SpTU* IV) (AUWE 12), 1993, and E. von Weiher, *dito* (*SpTU* V) (AUWE 13), 1998. Another example of the variety of literary texts incorporated in a private library is the library of the exorcist (*āšipu*) Kişir-Aššur in Aššur. The excavation produced about 800 clay tablets from the so-called "house of the exorcist". Most of them were from the exorcists' lore but they also included epics, copies of the "Topography of Aššur", royal rituals, and others as well as some legal documents. See O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Aššur: A Survey of the Material from German Excavations* II, Upsala 1986, 41-76 (library N4), and O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, Bethesda 1998, 135-136 (library N4 = Assur 20). S. M. Maul's project (see above note 109) will give more insight into this library.

[121]) The astrologer Adad-šuma-uṣur apologized for his late answer to the king's question explaining (ABL 357 [Sm. 1368] = LAS 147 = SAA X 202 obv. 8-12: *ina* ŠÀ É.GAL *a-na* ᶠUDUᵎ.NÍTAᵎ.MEŠ *šú-nu* (9) *šá* LÚ.GAL-MU *ú-še-ṣa-an-ni* (10) *ú-se-li* GIŠ.ZU *ina* É *šú-u* (11) *ú-ma-a an-nu-rig* GIŠ.ZU (12) *a-mar* pᵎ-*šir-šu a-na-sa-ḫa*) "I was driving to the palace those rams, which the chief cook had brought forth to me. The writing-board was in (my) house. Now then, I can check the writing-board and extract the relevant interpretation;" this letter was written to Esarhaddon in 670(?) BC.

[122]) It is not clear whether the scholars gave the tablets voluntarily or were forced to do so.

IX. The writing-boards of the Neo-Assyrian libraries in Nineveh

The answer of the Borsippean scholars to Ashurbanipal's request for Babylonian tablets (see above section VII) and the library records (see above section VIII) indicate that the palace acquired great numbers of waxed wooden writing-boards (GIŠ.*lē'u*)[123] inscribed with literary texts. As regards those from Borsippa, it seems likely that the transport from Babylonia to Assyria itself was a significant factor as it is much easier to dispatch wooden writing-boards than clay tablets. Many of the cuneiform tablets of Ashurbanipal's libraries might originally have been unbaked[124] and therefore were soft and fragile. The same might have been the case with the tablets from the Babylonian temple or private libraries. Therefore, the transport of cuneiform tablets would have needed special precautions for their protection, such as wrapping in straw. Secondly, cuneiform tablets are much heavier than wooden writing-boards, which would have increased the load. The Assyrian imperial administration, of course, used both clay tablets (see Fig. 3)[125] and writing-boards (see Figs. 4-6). The reason for using writing-boards in this context[126] is obvious: script on wax-covered wood could easily be erased or corrected even days or months later, while clay dried after a few hours which made changes of the written text impossible.

The library records indicate that wooden writing-boards were included in the library for long-term storage just as the clay tablets were. In fact, there are several hints that writing-boards were considered equivalent to clay tablets regarding their substance and reliability by Neo-Assyrian scholars, even by the king

[123]) The excavators of Nimrūd (Kalḫu) unearthed in the North-West Palace several ivory and walnut writing-boards measuring app. 33.8 × 15.6 cm with a margin which is raised 0.3 cm. Within the margin, the boards were scratched with criss-cross lines to produce a surface with a good grip. The inner part of some boards were still partially covered with wax showing some cuneiform signs. According to the colophon written on the outside of one of the leaves, the ivory boards were once produced for Sargon's II palace in Dūr-Šarrukīn – they had been inscribed on both sides in two columns and hinged together to form a polyptych consisting of eight or nine leaves (GIŠ.IG, *daltu*); see M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1953," *Iraq* 16 (1954) 98-107, and D. J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing-Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955) 3-13. For the technical aspect of these writing-boards, see M. Howard, "Technical Description of the Ivory Writing-Boards from Nimrud," *Iraq* 17 (1955) 14-20.

The excavation in Aššur (Qal'at Šerqāt), west of the so-called "house of the exorcist", also revealed an ivory writing-board measuring 8.2 × 4.3 cm with a margin raised 0.4-0.5 cm and criss-cross scratching on the inner side (Ass. 13932). The way of connecting this board to others proves that this board was meant to form a diptych of just two leaves. See E. Klengel-Brandt, "Eine Schreibtafel aus Assur," AOF 3 (1975) 168-171, Tafeln 21-22.

[124]) See J. E. Reade, CRRAI 30, 218-219, who considered that looters' fires in 612 BC had baked the tablets of the Kouyunjik collection. The existence of the so-called "firing holes" on some of the Ninevite tablets does not necessarily point to baking of the tablets in antiquity (see C. B. F. Walker, *Reading the past: Cuneiform*, British Museum 1987, 24-25), but rather to the scribes' effort to avoid empty space on the tablets so that nobody was able to add something, later (see U. Jeyes, "Gall-bladder omens extant in Middle Babylonian, Nineveh, and Seleucid versions," in: A. R. George – I. L. Finkel (ed.), *Wisdom, gods and literature* [*Studies Lambert*], Winona Lake 2000, 371). The use of these firing holes became a matter of tradition – even the copies of literary tablets have their "firing holes" in exactly the same position (see C. B. F. Walker, *op. cit.*, 24). On the other hand, all tablets with firing holes published so far seem to have been baked in antiquity.

The oldest tablet with firing holes is Old Babylonian (see B. Alster – C. B. F. Walker, "Some Sumerian Literary texts in the British Museum," in: H. Behrens – D. Loding – M. T. Roth [ed.], *DUMU-E$_2$-DUB-BA-A* [*Studies Sjöberg*], Philadelphia 1989, 10-11). There is at least one Middle Babylonian tablet with firing holes (see U. Jeyes, *Studies Lambert*, 2000, 371), and several Middle Assyrian tablets from Aššur (E. Ebeling, *AfO* 14 [1941-44] 298-303, Tafeln IX-X [Assur 21953o; Etana-myth]), some of them belong to the group of tablets with a distinctive sort of clay which have a red core and an ivory coloured surface (e. g. KAV 1 [VAT 1000; Old Assyrian laws], VAT 14388 [*AfO* 12 (1937-39) Tafel V]). The same appearance of clay has a Middle Assyrian tablet with incantations from Nineveh, and it therefore must have been taken from Aššur; see W. G. Lambert, "A Middle Assyrian tablet of incantations", AS 16 (*Studies Landsberger*), Chicago 1965, 283-288 (Rm. 376). There is no research on the Middle Assyrian tablets from Nineveh, but at least the tablet describing the eighth campaign of Sargon II (714 BC) published in TCL III has firing holes on the edges and between the columns on obverse and reverse. In Neo-Assyrian times, some large library tablets from Kalḫu (Nimrūd) and Nineveh have firing holes.

[125]) The scene shows two Assyrian officials taking records during a military campaign, one with a clay tablet, and the other one with a scroll. The latter is used to be thought a scribe writing in the Aramaic language. However, J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, British Museum, London, 1996 (8th impression), 34, gives another interpretation. According to him, "the man with the scroll was a war-artist, illustrating the events about his colleague is writing. After the reign of Tiglath-pilesar, however, they appear frequently, sometimes with scrolls, sometimes with hinged boards, the ancient equivalent of bound books." For reliefs of Assyrian officials, one with a writing-board and the other one with a scroll, dating to the reign of Ashurbanipal, see Figs. 4-6.

[126]) For the use of writing-boards in the Assyrian administration see e. g. ADD 826 (K. 897) = SAA XI 172 rev. 1-2: PAP 17 ZI.MEŠ (2) *ša la* GIŠ.*le-'i* "In total 17 deportees, who are not (recorded) on the writing-board." For writing-boards in the Neo-Babylonian temple administration of Sippar, see J. MacGinnis, "The Use of Writing Boards in the Neo-Babylonian Temple Administration at Sippar," *Iraq* 64 (2002) 217-236.

Figure 3. Tiglath-pileser III (745-725 BC), Kalḫu (Nimrūd), Central Palace (BM 118882): Eunuch scribes taking notes of the booty; the left scribe is writing on a clay tablet using cuneiform script, and the right one on a parchment in Aramaic (sketch drawn by J. C. Fincke after B. Hrouda, *Der alte Orient*, 1999, 204).

himself. The Assyrian astrologer Ištar-šuma-ereš suggested to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal "let them bring in that writing-board of *enūma anu enlil*, which we wrote, (and) let the king, my lord, have a look"[127]. Scholars quoted from a "writing board of the series MUL.APIN".[128] Even Babylonian scholars quoted from writing-boards[129] as well as from tablets. Occasionally scholars made excerpts on writing-boards and sent them to the king to allow him to study a certain matter in more detail.[130]

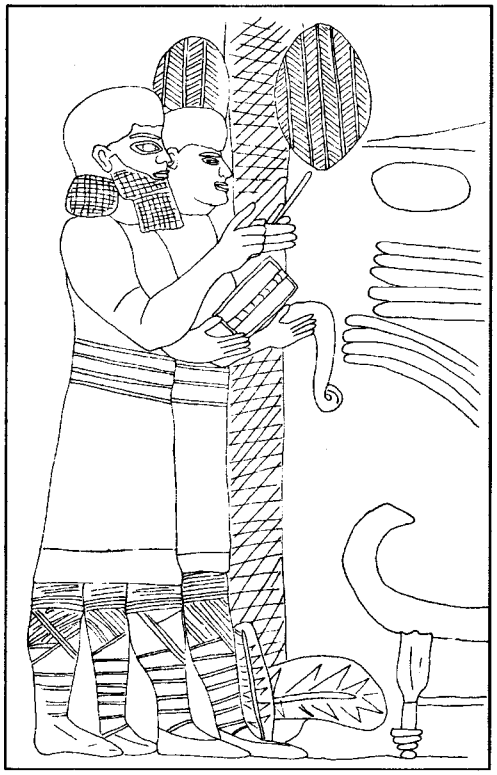

Figure 4. Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC) or later, Nineveh (Kouyunjik), South-West Palace, Court XIX (BM 124782): Scribes taking notes of the booty; the bearded scribe is writing on a waxed writing-board (diptych) using cuneiform signs, and the other one on a parchment in Aramaic (sketch drawn by J. C. Fincke after S. Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in The British Museum*, 1938, p. XLVII).

Neo-Assyrian scholars who worked for the palace had access to Assyrian[131] and Babylonian[132] writing-boards. Scribes copied or extracted from these writing-boards to produce clay tablets for the royal library,[133] as is well known from the tablet colophons.[134] The

[127]) RMA 152 (Ki. 1904-10-9, 268) = LAS 319 = SAA VIII 19 rev. 1-3: GIŠ.LI.U$_5$.UM *am-mi-u* (2) *ša* UD-AN-$^{d+}$*en-lil ša ni-iš-ṭur-u-ni* (3) *lu-še-ri-bu-u-ni* LUGAL *be-li le-mu.*

[128]) See the letter from Balasî and Nabû-aḫḫe-erība LAS 43 (K. 13174) (+?) ABL 693 (83-1-18, 154) = LAS 55 (= SAA X 62) obv. 13-14: [GIŠ].DA *ša* MUL.APIN (14) [*ki*]-*i an-ni-e* "[The] writing-board of MUL.APIN says as [fo]llows."

[129]) See the report Nabû-iqīša from Borsippa wrote to Esarhaddon: RMA 215 A (DT 304) = SAA VIII 297 obv. 1-2: MUL.UDU.IDIM.SAG.UŠ [x x x x] (2) *ana* 3-*šu ina* GIŠ.DA [*šá-ṭi-ir*] "Saturn [... it is written] three times on a writing-board."

[130]) See e. g. the letter from Esarhaddon to the chief chanter Urad-gula (PBS VII 132 [CBS 1471] = SAA X 295 obv. 4-8): ... *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* GIŠ.ZU (5) *šu-u* [*š*]*a ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}PAB$^{?}$-ᵀBÀD$^{?}$ᵀ (6) *tu-še-bi-la-an-ni* (7) *me*-UGU-*šú-nu* x [x x]-*a-te* (8) *i-na* ŠÀ-*bi* [x x x] ... "In that writing-board that you dispatched to me *via* Aḫi-dūri there [*was described* (how to make)] phylacteries [of/and ...]."

[131]) See e. g. CT 53, 187 (K. 1538) = SAA X 101 obv. 9: [GIŠ.ZU].MEŠ *aš-šur*.KI-*ú-ti.*

[132]) See e. g. CT 53, 187 (K. 1538) = SAA X 101 obv. 8: [GIŠ.Z]U.MEŠ URI.KI-*ú-t*[*i* x x x x x], and LAS 320 (83-1-18, 235) = SAA X 384 rev. 1-2: *an-nu-r*[*ig* GIŠ.LI].U$_5$.UM (2) URI.KI-ᵀ*ú*ᵀ [*li-bi*]-*ru* "Now then, let them [sel]ect an Akkadian (sc. Babylonian) writing-board."

[133]) Akkullānu, the 'temple enterer' of Aššur in Aššur, wrote to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal about copying omen texts for the king: CT 53, 187 (K. 1538) = SAA X 101 obv. 7-10: ... *ḫa-ra-me-ma* [x x x x x x] (8) [GIŠ.Z]U.MEŠ URI.KI-*ú-t*[*i* x x x x x] (9) [GIŠ.ZU].MEŠ *aš-šur*.KI-*ú-ti* [x x x x x] (10) [x x x D]UB.MEŠ *la-áš-ṭur* "Later [*I shall collect*] the Akkadian (sc. Babylonian) [writing-b]oards [...] and the Assyrian [writing-boa]rds [...], and I shall write the tablets [...]."

[134]) The following information of the colophons about the origin of the writing-boards and tablets the scribes copied the text from are taken from the writer's research on the Babylonian texts from Nineveh and the study by H. Hunger, BAK,

Figure 5. Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) or later, Nineveh (Kouyunjik), South-West Palace, Room XXVIII, Panel 10 (BM 124956): Scribes taking notes of the booty; the beardless (sic!) scribe is writing on a waxed writing-board (diptych) using cuneiform signs, and the bearded (sic!) one on a parchment in Aramaic (sketch drawn by J. C. Fincke after P. Matthiae, *Ninive*, 1999, p. 98-99).

Figure 6. Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) or later, Nineveh (Kouyunjik), South-West Palace, Room XXVIII, Panel 9 (BM 124955): Scribes taking notes of the dead enemies; the bearded scribe is writing on a waxed writing-board (diptych) using cuneiform signs, the beardless one on a parchment in Aramaic (sketch drawn by J. C. Fincke after J. M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace without Rival at Nineveh*, 1991, 30 figure 19).

original writing-boards used for the tablets of Ashurbanipal's libraries came from Assyria[135], from "Assyria and the countries 'Sumer and Akkad' (sc. Babylonia)"[136], from "Assyria and Akkad (sc. northern part of Babylonia)"[137], from Babylon[138], and other Babylonian cities[139]. Other originals – writing-boards or clay tablets – came from Assyria[140], and from the Babylonian cities Babylon[141] and Borsippa[142].

1968. Further studies will certainly give a more detailed picture of the different cities from which the originals came.

[135]) See e. g. the Babylonian *ṣâtu*-commentary to astrological texts (Rm. II, 127 [E. Reiner, *AfO* 24 (1973) 101; see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 439) or the Babylonian extispicy-tablet K. 9872 (see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 479). See also H. Hunger, BAK, no. 544.

[136]) See H. Hunger, BAK, no. 318 (Asb. col. type "b").

[137]) See H. Hunger, BAK, no. 336.

[138]) See e. g. the tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's library in Kalḫu that had been written during the reign of Sennacherib and were later transferred to Nineveh. Most of these tablets had been written "according to old tablets" (see H. Hunger, BAK, nos. 296, 297, and 301), some of which originally came from Babylon (see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 312). Other tablets of this library were written after original writing-boards from Babylon (see H. Hunger, BAK, nos. 293 and 302) or from Babylon and Assyria (see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 307). As for other tablets of Ashurbanipal's libraries that were written after writing-boards from Babylon, see H. Hunger, BAK, nos. 500, 502, and 535.

[139]) The origin of the writing-board used by the Babylonian scribe Nabû-šāpik-zēri for the third tablet of the series *enūma anu enlil* is not known (K. 10129 [AAT 11a = *ACh Sin* 7]); see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 346. It is the same with the Babylonian tablet containing a *namburbi* (K. 3853 [K. D. Macmillan, BA 5.5, 1906, 698 no. LI) + 13287 [R. I. Caplice, *OrNS* 40 (1971) Tab. 14 (photo); S. M. Maul, *BaF* 18, 1994, 439-442]), and the unpublished Babylonian fragments K. 8890 and 83-1-18, 751.

[140]) The original of the religious tablet with prayers to Šamaš written by a Babylonian scribe came from KUR.*aš-šur*.KI (K. 6073 [Geers Heft B p. 28] + 91-5-9, 132 [C. D. Gray, *Šamaš* pl. 20]).

[141]) The first (K. 3139 [AAT pl. 6 = *ACh Sin* 1]) and the 22nd (79-7-8, 121 [*ACh Sin* 34] + 79-7-8, 125, cf. F. Rochberg-Halton, *AfO Beih.* 22, 1988, 253-270 [text J]) tablet of the astrological series *enūma anu enlil* written by unknown Babylonian scribes, the unpublished Babylonian tablet with terrestrial omens K. 12188, the Babylonian religious text K. 8637 (Geers Heft A p. 19), and the tablet with a ritual, written by the Babylonian scribe Nabû-ušallim (Th. 1905-4-9, 88 [F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 21 (1924) 128; CT 34 pl. 8-9;

What happened to the writing-boards after the palace acquired them? Were they housed in the libraries next to the tablets as the library records indicate? This would certainly have been the case if they were made of valuable material, as the ivory writing-boards found in Nimrūd suggest.[143] But what happened to the writing-boards made of simple wood? Were they all stored in a special part of the library, awaiting scribes to copy the text onto clay tablets as the colophons indicate? If so, were they later reused, or were they kept for future reference? We cannot answer these questions, at least as yet.

X. The Babylonian texts of the Ninevite Libraries

The Babylonian texts unearthed in Nineveh have various contents. There are literary compositions on the one hand, and letters, contracts, as well as reports on ominous events like celestial observations or extispicy reports, on the other. It is generally accepted that these texts belong to different tablet collections, namely the library and the archive.

According to Olof Pedersén the definition of archives and libraries runs as follows:[144] "The term "archive" here, as in other studies, refers to a collection of texts, each text documenting a message or statement, for example, letters, legal, economic, and administrative documents. In an archive there is usually just one copy of each text, although occasionally a few copies may exist. "Library", on the other hand, denotes a collection of texts normally with multiple copies for use in different places at different times, and includes, e. g., literary, historical, religious, and scientific texts. In other words, libraries may be said to consist of the texts of tradition. With rather broad definitions of the terms "document" and "literary text," it may be simplest to say that archives are collections of documents and libraries are collections of literary texts."

With regard to the Babylonian Nineveh texts this definition leads us to assign the following texts to the two different tablet collections. Literary and scientific compositions such as divination, religious, lexical, medical, epical and mythological, historical[145], and mathematical texts were incorporated in the libraries, whereas letters, reports, legal documents like contracts, and administrative texts were kept in archives. There is just one group of Ninevite texts that might belong to both kinds of tablet collections, namely the reports on ominous events[146] which were written to report observed phenomena. The later examples of this type are even dated like contracts, and, significantly, there exists always just one manuscript of each text. These reports are therefore considered "archival texts".[147] On the other hand, these reports cite from and sometimes refer to the literary works on astrological omens (*enūma anu enlil*) and extispicy (*bārûtu*). It is therefore unlikely that they were usually separated from the related divination texts:[148] both kinds of text must have been consulted for further reference, especially during the initial stage of the royal library.[149]

To be able to relate the data of the Babylonian Nineveh texts to those of the above-mentioned library records and other Mesopotamian libraries, but also to make the group of the divination reports available for future studies, it has been decided to make the distinction between "library texts", "divination reports", and

L. W. King, *Catalogue ... Supplement*, 1914, pl. 4 no. 498 (photo)], see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 437).

The Babylonian tablet with prayers (K. 6163 [Geers Heft B p. 30] + 82-9-18, 7387), which is registered as part of the Kouyunjik-collection might as well have been excavated in Sippar or Babylon; see J. E. Reade in E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets ...* VI: *Tablets from Sippar* 1, 1986, xxxiii.

[142]) Urad-Gula, chief chanter of Esarhaddon, copied 11 lines from the "frieze of 'lord of Borsippa'" (*nēbeḫi ša bēl Borsippa*); see H. Hunger, BAK, no. 498.

[143]) See above note 123.

[144]) O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, 3.

[145]) E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 197, classifies the historical texts as archival texts: "Die historischen Texte und Bauinschriften, vor allem die Prisma- und Zylinder-Inschriften, die Briefe, die astrologischen Rapporte, die Anfragen an den Sonnengott gehören dem Staatsarchiv an." Copies of old royal inscription, on the other hand, belonged to the library according to his understanding. In the present study, all royal inscriptions written on tablets, cylinders, prisms, and cones as well as the treaties are considered historical texts of the libraries.

[146]) For these texts see above section IV.

[147]) See e. g. E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 197 (see above note 109), S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 224, and H. Hunger, who worked on the Ninevite astrological reports (SAA VIII, 1992, xv), called these texts archival texts. I. Starr, who recently re-edited the so-called queries to the sungod and the extispicy reports in SAA IV, 1990, did not mention the terms library or archive at all.

[148]) E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 198, states "so erkennt man sofort, dass in Ninive, wie auch an anderen Stätten des Alten Orients, Bibliothek und Staatsarchiv nicht getrennt waren;" for his definition of "archival texts" see above note 145. S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 224, like Weidner uses the term "archival" for legal documents as well as divination reports and explains that "the label "archival" attached to them is rather arbitrary. There is no evidence, other than a certain likelihood that any of them were kept in any sort of separate archives ..., it has in fact been suggested that many if not most of the Kuyunjik "archival" texts actually had formed part of the royal libraries;" see also p. 234.

[149]) The royal libraries did not hold tablets of the astrological compendium and the scholar had to consult his own copy; see above note 121. This, certainly, was also the case for other literary compositions.

"archival texts" and classify letters, legal and administrative texts as "archival texts" according to the generally accepted classification. Thus, the distribution of the Babylonian texts is as follows:[150]

library texts:	1594
divination reports:	645
archival texts:	1085
not classified:	270
Total:	3594

X.1. The literary and scientific texts

The group of the literary and scientific texts within the Babylonian text corpus of Nineveh covers divinatory, religious, medical, lexical, historical, and mathematical texts as well as epics, myths and the like. In general, these texts are represented in the following quantities:

Babylonian literary and scientific texts	library texts		divination reports		not classified	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
divinatory	746	46.8 %	645	100 %	27	81.8 %
religious	585	36.7 %				
medical	81	5.1 %				
lexical	56	3.5 %				
historical	27	1.7 %				
epics, myths, etc.	17	1.1 %				
mathematical	1	0.1 %				
varia	21	1.3 %				
not identified	60	3.8 %			6	18.2 %
total	1594	100.0 %	645	100 %	33	100.0 %

The largest group of the literary and scientific texts is the divination corpus, which includes nearly half of all library texts (46.8 %), followed by the religious texts with 36.7 %. The divination corpus will be discussed later together with the archival texts (see below).

The religious texts

585 Babylonian tablets and fragments of the Nineveh collection are identified so far as religious texts, which make up 36.7 % of all Babylonian literary and scientific texts. There are monolingual – Akkadian or Sumerian – and bilingual religious texts. The content of these texts derives from the lamentation-priest's lore (*kalûtu*) with Sumerian and bilingual prayers, cult songs, and hymns, as well as from the exorcists' lore (*āšipūtu*) with incantations and rituals. The Akkadian prayers that distinguish between regular 'prayers', *ikribu*, and *tamītu*-prayers[151] belong to the the lore of the diviner (*bārûtu*).[152] The Sumerian and bilingual prayers are called balag, eršemma, and eršaḫunga. Most of the Akkadian rituals and incantations belong to *namburbi*-[153] (26 texts) or *maqlû*-rituals[154] (13 texts), while most of the bilingual rituals are from the exorcistic series UDUG.ḪUL.A.MEŠ – *utukkū lemnūtu*[155] (37 texts). Most of the tablets with prayers or incantation and rituals, of course, are in a much too fragmentary state to be identified without further study (Akkadian prayers: 27 texts, Akkadian rituals: 114 texts; bilingual prayers: 17 texts, bilingual rituals: 46 texts). In addition to the Akkadian, Sumerian and bilingual texts there are three tablets and fragments written in Old Babylonian or archaic signs; these texts are not included in the following overview:

[150]) The database of the Babylonian Nineveh texts with the museum numbers, category of texts, publication of the cuneiform and edition of the texts together with a short description of the tablets and fragments is available online; see http://fincke.uni-hd.de/nineveh/.

[151]) The *tamītu*-prayers – a typical Babylonian kind of prayer – will be edited by W. G. Lambert, see his article "The '*tamītu*' texts" in: *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et les régions voisines*, CRRAI 14, Paris 1966, 119-23.

[152]) Some of the Akkadian prayers, of course, belong to the exorcists' (*āšipūtu*) or the musicians' lore (*nārūtu*). Assigning the specific prayers to the lore of one of these fields is subject to further studies. For the purpose of this research, all Akkadian prayers are generally considered as part of the lore of the diviner.

[153]) For the apotropaic *namburbi*-rituals, see S. M. Maul, *BaF* 18, 1994.

[154]) Main parts of the ritual *maqlû* "burning" have been edited by K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû* (ASSF 20/V), Leipzig 1895, G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, *AfO Beih.* 2, Berlin 1937, and G. Meier, "Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû," *AfO* 21 (1966) 70-81. See also T. Abusch, "Maqlû," *RlA* 7, 346-335.

[155]) An edition of the incantation and ritual series "the evil *utukku*" is in preparation by M. J. Geller. For previous editions see e. g. E. Ebeling, "Zwei Tafeln der Serie *utukku limnûtu*," *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 295-304, and M. J. Geller, "A Middle Assyrian tablet of *utukkū lemnūtu*, tablet 12," *Iraq* 42 (1980) 23-51.

Babylonian religious texts	Akkadian		Sumerian		bilingual	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
kalûtu			9	29.0 %	71	38.4 %
āšipūtu	209	57.1 %	3	9.7 %	91	49.2 %
bārûtu	41	11.2 %				
varia	116	31.7 %	19	61.3 %	23	12.4 %
total	366	100.0 %	31	100.0 %	185	100.0 %

The medical texts

The corpus of medical texts covers 81 documents and is the third largest group within the Ninevite literary and scientific texts in Babylonian script (5.1 %). The vast majority of these texts are "medical compendia" referring to special diseases or parts of the body (71 tablets and fragments); many of them, however, are too fragmentary to identify the relevant compendium involved (43). One fragment might be a commentary on the diagnostic handbook SA.GIG[156]. Moreover, it is likely that all lists of stones (8 fragments), or plants and stones (1 fragment), belong to the medical lore, because the Assyrian and Babylonian therapists used plants and stones for the cure of diseases.

The lexical texts

There are altogether 56 Babylonian lexical texts, which is 3.5 % of all literary and scientific texts. 12 texts belong to the well-known lexical series ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* (5), *malku* = *šarru* (3), ALAM = *lānu* (1), IGI.DUḪ.A = *tāmartu* (1), SIG_7.ALAN = *nabnītu* (1), and the plant-list URU.AN.NA(?) (1). Twenty tablets or mostly fragments are other explanatory texts (5) or not identified (15). The largest group within the "lexical" texts is syllabaries or archaic sign lists (22). Apart from this, there are two grammatical texts.

Historical texts

Nearly all of the 27 historical texts, which are 1.7 % of all literary and scientific texts,[157] are royal inscriptions like tablet inscriptions (14 texts), cylinders (8), prisms (2), and cones (1). The tablet inscriptions date to Esarhaddon (1), Ashurbanipal (4), either Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal (1), or are inscriptions from an unknown king (6); three inscription are written in archaizing script (3), of which one dates to Esarhaddon (1). There are cylinders from Esarhaddon (2), Ashurbanipal (1), or from an unknown king (3), and one cylinder in archaic script. The prisms date to Sargon II (1) and to Ashurbanipal (1). There is one Old Babylonian architectural cone from Samsuiluna (1). In addition to this, there are two treaties, one treaty between Šamši-Adad V and Marduk-zākir-šumi I, and one treaty between Ashurbanipal and the Babylonian allies.

Epics, myths, and other literary texts

The group of epics, myths, and the like is represented by 17 Babylonian pieces or 1.1 % of all literary and scientific texts.[158] Most of the epics (7) represent the famous Gilgameš-epic of Babylonian origin (3), while another three fragments refer to the Neo-Assyrian kings Sennacherib (1)[159] and Ashurbanipal (2). Half the mythological texts (8) deal with the Babylonian Anzû-myth (4); the others belong to the so-called Babylonian "epic of creation" *enūma eliš*[160] (2), or are not yet identified (2). In addition, there is one fragment containing love poetry(?), and another represents a literary propaganda text of Ashurbanipal.

Mathematical texts

There is just one mathematical text within the corpus of the Babylonian Nineveh texts.

Varia

21 or 1.3 % of the literary or scientific texts are smaller groups. There are 14 unidentified fragments with colophons. Four fragments are parts of commentaries to literary compositions that are not yet identified. There is one fragment each of a catalogue of texts containing prophecies(?), and of the Middle Assyrian laws.

X.2. The divination corpus: library texts and divination reports

The corpus of divination texts is the largest within the Babylonian literary and scientific texts of Nineveh and encompasses 746 tablets and fragments or 46.8 % of all library texts, all of the divination reports plus 27

[156]) For this series, see recently N. P. Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, AOAT 43, Münster 2000.

[157]) For the uncertainty in categorizing the historical texts as library texts see above note 145.

[158]) For the influence of Babylonian epics and myths in Assyria see e. g. W. von Soden, "Übernahme babylonischer Literaturwerke im neuassyrischen Großreich," in: H. Waetzoldt – H. Hauptmann, *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*, CRRAI 39 (HSAO 6), Heidelberg 1997, 178-180.

[159]) The so-called "tablet of destination" of Sennacherib.

[160]) See L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, London 1902, René Labat, *Le poème babylonien de la création* (*Enūma eliš*), Paris 1935, and W. G. Lambert, "Enuma eliš," TUAT III.4: *Mythen und Epen* II, Gütersloh 1994, 565-602.

fragments that are not classified according to library texts or divination reports deal with divination. The texts cover various aspects of divination:

Babylonian divination texts	library texts		divination reports		not classified	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
astrological omens	359	48.1 %	333	51.6 %	6	22.2 %
(of which "astronomy"	13	1.7 %)				
extispicy	104	13.9 %	289	44.8 %	15	55.6 %
terrestrial omens	73	9.8 %	1	0.2 %		
series *iqqur īpuš*	6	0.8 %				
teratomantic omens	5	0.7 %				
physiognomical omens	2	0.3 %				
hemerology	1	0.1 %	4	0.6 %		
various divination	196	26.3 %	18	2.8 %	6	22.2 %
total	746	100.0 %	645	100.0 %	27	100.0 %

Astrological omens:

Most of the Babylonian divination texts refer to various phenomena in the sky: 359 library texts (48.1 %), 333 divination reports (51.6 %), as well as 6 unclassified fragments (22.2 %) deal with this subject. The relevant library texts are tablets of the series *enūma anu enlil*, "when Anu (and) Enlil",[161] excerpts from this series, various celestial omen texts, commentaries (6 *ṣâtu-* and 12 *mukallimtu*-commentaries), and one catalogue of celestial and terrestrial omens.

More than half the divination reports (51.6 %) deal with celestial events. 1/3 of these 333 astrological reports[162] can be dated to one of the Assyrian kings:

reign of Sargon II (721-705 BC) <2>
reign of Sennacherib (688-681 BC) <1>
reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) <85>
reign of Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) <20>
reign of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal <3>
unknown date <222>.

The biggest share of the astrological reports dates to the reign of Esarhaddon (85 reports), father and predecessor of Ashurbanipal.[163] The number of tablets unearthed so far might lead to the assumption that Esarhaddon introduced celestial divination into the everyday life of the Assyrian sovereign on a large scale,[164] although there is no further evidence for this suggestion.[165] Ashurbanipal, like his father, took note of astrological reports, but there are less examples dating clearly to his reign (20 reports). The remaining 222 undated astrological reports must have been written during the reign of either of these kings.

"Astronomy"

The texts summarized under the heading "astronomy" (13 fragments or 1.7 % of all Babylonian library divination texts) are texts of the series MUL.APIN "Plow Star"[166] (9 fragments) and related texts (4 fragments). These texts combine the description of the sky at night – the stars and their constellations – with a mythological explanation of stars, and some ominous interpretations of certain phenomena like astrological texts. MUL.APIN is a compendium of many sources describing stars and planets seen at different times, and does not invent new scientific ideas or give sufficient information to calculate the heliacal rise of a certain

[161]) For publication of this series and further bibliography, see J. C. Fincke, "Der Assur-Katalog der Serie *enūma anu enlil* (EAE)," *OrNS* 70 (2001) 19-39, esp. 20-21, and L. Verderame, *Le Tavole* I-VI *della serie astrologica Enūma Anu Enlil*, NISABA 2, Roma 2002.

[162]) For publication of these astrological reports see above note 53.

[163]) David Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, CM 18, Groningen 2000, 47, understands the increase of divination reports to Esarhaddon in his final years as reflection of "the Scholars' concern over their charge" – every report is also meant to remind the king to pay his agent for the given service. The reports also reflect "the Scholars' concern over" Esarhaddon as king of Babylonia; the economic growth during his reign also increased the number of employees at the palace and encouraged Babylonian scholars to offer themselves for the king's service.

[164]) E. Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 5, assumes that Sennacherib's archive might not yet have been found, if it survived at all. E. Frahm disagrees with S. Parpola, who considered Sennacherib's archive to be destroyed by his successors; see S. Parpola in: Mario Fales (ed.), *Assyrian royal inscriptions: New horizons in literary, ideology, and historical analysis*, Roma 1981, 120-121 note 3, and CRRAI 30, 1986, 235. In CRRAI 30, 231, note 40, S. Parpola refers to the palace called *bīt māšarti* on Tell Nebi Yunus (Nineveh, south of Tell Kouyunjik), where at least four fragments of Sennacherib's royal inscriptions were found; unfortunately, there have only been limited excavations on Tell Nebi Yunus because of modern settlement.

[165]) As far as is known, no astrological reports have been unearthed at Kalḫu (Nimrūd), the Assyrian capital in the 9th and early 8th century BC, or Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad), Assyrian capital of Sargon II (721-705 BC). This fact could lead to the assumption that this category of texts was only introduced into the Assyrian palace during the reign of Sargon II as the earliest Ninevite reports date to his reign. However, it is equally possible that they did not include these texts when they moved the library and archives from the old to the new capital, or simply that the archive of these texts has not yet been found.

[166]) This series is edited by H. Hunger – D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, *AfO Beih.* 24, Wien 1989.

planet for the future. It is obvious that MUL.APIN cannot be regarded as a real astronomical series and is therefore subordinated to divination, esp. astrology, in this study.

Extispicy

The second largest group of divination texts refer to the observation of the entrails of sheep: 104 library tablets and fragments (13.9 % of the Babylonian divination corpus), 289 extispicy reports (44.8 % of all Babylonian reports), and 15 unclassified fragments (55.6 % of the unclassified Babylonian divination texts).

Most of the library texts are tablets from the *bārûtu*-series, the composition dealing with extispicy, or related texts (100 texts and fragments).[167] In addition to these omen texts there are four commentaries, all of them of the *mukallimtu*-type, written in Babylonian script.

The archival texts dealing with liver omens are "oracle enquiries", on the one hand, and "extispicy reports", on the other hand. The number of Babylonian texts from Nineveh clearly shows the distribution of these two kinds of reports to the two kings Esarhaddon (oracle enquiries) and Ashurbanipal (extispicy reports)[168]:

oracle enquiries (queries to the sungod) <186> written
- during the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) <93>
- during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) <5>
- during the reign of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal <4>
- unknown date <84>

extispicy reports <73> written
- during the reign of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal <1>
- during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) <31>
- unknown date <41>

not yet classified archival extispicy fragments <30>.

Terrestrial omens

73 or 9.8 % of the Babylonian library texts belong to divination regarding ominous events on earth. Almost all of these texts belong to the series of terrestrial omens with the title *šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* "if a city is set on a height"[169] or related texts (66 tablets and fragments). Apart from that, there are seven *ṣâtu*-commentaries to *šumma ālu* written in Babylonian script.

There is just one report dealing with terrestrial omens that the Babylonian Nabû-iqbi wrote during the reign of Ashurbanipal (SAA VIII 435).

Series *iqqur īpuš*

The omen series *iqqur īpuš*[170] is divided into two parts, the first dealing with terrestrial events and the second with celestial phenomena. In this respect, the series *iqqur īpuš* is a sort of combination of terrestrial and astrological omens, but, unlike these, *iqqur īpuš* only considers the twelve months of the year for the interpretation of each event. In Nineveh, six library texts of this series written by Babylonian scholars (0.8 %) have been found.

Teratomantic omens

There are just five examples of Babylonian birth omens; all of them are library texts (0.7 %). Three tablets and fragments belong to the relevant omen series *šumma izbu* "if an *izbu*",[171] and two are *ṣâtu*-commentaries.

Physiognomical omens

Two Babylonian Nineveh fragments represent omens dealing with the appearance of a person's human body (0.3 %).[172] Both of them are library texts and belong to the series *alandimmû*.

Hemerology

Strictly speaking, hemerological texts do not belong to the divination corpus, because they give instructions and orders for what has to be done or not done on certain days of each month, whereas divination interprets given ominous phenomena or events. On the other hand, hemerological texts are treated like divination texts, in that there are reports dealing with hemerology as well as with omens. Therefore, the five Ninevite hemerological texts written by Babylonians are dealt with in the category of divination texts.

There is just one hemerological text written by a Babylonian scholar for the Ninevite library (0.1 %), but there are four hemerological reports (0.6 % of all reports); one of these dates to the reign of Esarhaddon.

Various divination texts

Nearly all of the 196 tablets and fragments of this group, or 26.3 % of all library texts, cannot be identified with the above-mentioned divination practices. One of these texts deals with medical or diagnostic

[167]) For this series see Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum*, Leiden 1989, and U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 2000, with further literature.

[168]) For this see above section IV.

[169]) This series has been studied by Sally M. Moren, *The Omen Series šumma alu: A Preliminary Investigation*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1978, see S. M. Freedman, *If a city*.

[170]) For this series see R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des traveaux des signes et des mois* (*séries* iqqur îpuš), Paris 1965. A new edition of *iqqur īpuš* is in preparation by the author.

[171]) See E. Leichty, *The Omen Series šumma izbu*, TCL IV, Locust Valley 1970.

[172]) The relevant series has recently been re-edited by Barbara Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, *AfO Beih.* 27, Wien 2000.

omens[173], and two are *Sammeltafeln* with omens followed by epigraphs for sculptures.

18 fragments, or 2.8 % of all reports, cannot be identified according to astrological, terrestrial, or extispicy reports. Another six fragments cannot be classified as either library texts or divination reports.

X.3. Comparison with the data of the library records

The library records from the early part of the year 647 BC (see above VIII) list divination texts of various content, religious texts like the exorcists' (*āšipūtu*) and lamentation priests' lore (*kalûtu*), medical and lexical texts, one tablet of the Gilgameš-epic, and some rare compositions. Nearly all of these texts are also represented within the corpus of the Babylonian library texts of Nineveh. Therefore, one can compare the data of these compositions in detail, even though we only know the titles of 25.3 % of all tablets summed up in the library records and therefore the given percentage must be considered as a hint of the ratio of these compositions to each other rather than as a real and reliable picture of the acquisition.[174] Furthermore, even though the texts of the library records were acquired from both Babylonian and Assyrian scholars, while this part of the *Ashurbanipal Library Project* is only focused on the Babylonian texts, the comparison of data reveals a remarkable correspondence between them (see Fig. 7).

The largest group among both library records and Babylonian library texts is the divination corpus. According to the library records, this corpus covers 82 % of all identified tablets and almost 60 % of all writing-boards. Among the Ninevite Babylonian texts, this corpus has a smaller number but still consists of 46.8 % of all library texts.

Most of the texts within the divination corpus include astrological and terrestrial omen texts as well as extispicy and physiognomic omens and their series. The numerical weighting of these different divination series differs in the library records and the Babylonian library texts. The library records have the sequence terrestrial (43.3 %), extispicy (no tablets, but 50.4 % of all writing-boards, all acquired in Babylonia from Bīt-Ibâ), astrological (19.6 %), and physiognomic (10.5 %) texts, whereas in the Babylonian library texts the relative order of the omen series is as follows: astrological (22.5 %), extispicy (6.5 %), terrestrial (4.6 %), and

Figure 7. The data of the four library records (SAA VII 49-52) in comparison with the data of the Babylonian „library" texts of Ashurbanipal's libraries.

Compositions and series	Four library records from Nineveh: tablets (W = writing-boards)				Ashurbanipal's libraries: Babylonian library texts	
astrological omens (*enūma anu enlil*)	73	(3 W)	19.6 %	(2.2 %)	359	22.5 %
extispicy (*bārûtu*)	0	(69 W)	–	(50.4 %)	104	6.5 %
terrestrial omens (*šumma ālu*)	161	(1 W)	43.3 %	(0.7 %)	73	4.6 %
physiognomic omens (*alandimmû*)	39	(1 W)	10.5 %	(0.7 %)	2	0.1 %
dream omens (*iškār zaqīqu*)	16	(0 W)	4.3 %	(–)	0	–
birth omens (*šumma izbu*)	9	(7 W)	2.4 %	(5.1 %)	5	0.3 %
omen series *iqqur īpuš*	4	(0 W)	1.1 %	(–)	6	0.4 %
hemerologies (*ūmē ṭābūti*)	3	(0 W)	0.8 %	(–)	1	0.1 %
(total: divination texts	305	(81 W)	82.0 %	(59.1 %)	746	46.8 %)
religious texts	29	(16 W)	7.8 %	(11.7 %)	585	36.7 %
of which exorcists' lore (*āšipūtu*)	18	(4 W)	4.8 %	(2.9 %)	303	19.0 %
of which lamentations (*kalûtu*)	2	(12 W)	0.5 %	(8.8 %)	80	5.0 %
medical texts (*bulṭē*)	7	(27 W)	1.9 %	(19.7 %)	81	5.1 %
lexical series	6	(0 W)	1.6 %	(–)	34	2.1 %
syllabaries in archaic characters					22	1.4 %
historical texts					27	1.7 %
epics, myths, etc.	1	(0 W)	0.3 %	(–)	17	1.1 %
mathematical text					1	0.1 %
various compositions	24	(13 W)	6.5 %	(9.5 %)	21	1.3 %
not identified fragments					60	3.8 %
total:	372	(137 W)	100.0 %	(100.0 %)	1594	100.0 %

[173]) For the diagnostic handbook, see N. P. Heeßel, AOAT 43, with further bibliography.

[174]) The titles of at least 1097 tablets (74.7 %) are lost.

physiognomic (0.1 %) texts. This result may change slightly in the future by identifying more fragmentary Babylonian omen texts as belonging to one of these series, keeping in mind that 26.3 % of all divination texts have not yet been identified.

There is another difference between the library records and the Babylonian texts. The library records mention 16 tablets of dream omens (4.3 %), while none of these has been identified so far within the Babylonian divination corpus of Nineveh. The other divination texts are represented with smaller numbers of tablets.

The second largest text group of Babylonian texts and library records is the religious corpus. In the records, 7.8 % of all identified tablets and 11.7 % of all writing-boards are certainly of religious content. Compared to this, the Babylonian library texts are of a much higher number, namely 36.7 %. This high number of Babylonian religious texts unearthed in Nineveh might reflect Ashurbanipal's order to assemble tablets with instructions for rituals and incantations in Babylonia and send them to him. In that case, the acquisition of religious texts from private scholars may have been simply intended as supplementary to the existing collection of original tablets.

As in the case of the library records, the Babylonian texts show a much higher number of tablets of exorcists' lore (Babylonian literary texts: 19 %; library records: 4.8 %) compared to those of the lamentation priests' lore (Babylonian literary texts: 5.0 %; library records: 0.5 %).

The third largest group of the Babylonian literary texts is the medical texts corpus, totalling 5.1 %. The number of medical texts is just slightly smaller than the number of lamentation texts (8.2 %). In contrast to this, the number of medical texts (1.9 %) within the Library Records is more than three times higher than the number of lamentation texts (0.5 %). As for the writing-boards of the library records, the number of medical texts (19.7 %) is even higher than the combined total of religious texts (11.7 %). The writing-board thus seems to have been the regular medium for private scholars on which to write medical texts.

The lexical texts make the fourth largest group among the Ninevite Babylonian literary texts (3.5 %), as well as in the library records (1.6 %). No writing-boards are mentioned as belonging to lexical texts and so the latter compositions might instead have been written on clay tablets. Epics, myths, and related texts make up a very small group among the Babylonian literary texts (1.1 %) and library records (0.3 %), although this total may change as soon as more fragments of library records are identified in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum and rejoined to published examples.

The following observations can be drawn from comparison of the Babylonian literary texts with the library records.

Both groups indicate the same priority, namely the assembly of a large collection of divination texts for the recognition and correct interpretation of omens, and of tablets from the exorcists' lore which provide instructions for rituals, which were vital to protect king and country from misfortune predicted by omens. In addition, medical texts with therapies for the health of the king and his relatives, and lexical texts for learning the vocabulary of the scholarly texts were of major concern for the collection.

The difference in the number of texts in question, for example in the different methods of divination, partly depends on the fragmentary state of the data and is partly due to the fact that the library records refer to both Assyrian and Babylonian texts. It might be pure coincidence that the rather small number of Babylonian terrestrial omens was completed by a rather high number of texts from private scholars, while, *vice versa*, the high number of astrological omen texts – the largest group within the Babylonian divination texts – was completed by a rather small number of tablets from private scholars. However, the large percentage of divination and exorcists' texts also reflects the main intention of Ashurbanipal's order for collecting Babylonian tablets (see above section VII).

X.4. The Babylonian archival texts

Almost one third of all Babylonian Nineveh texts – 1085 tablets and fragments – belong to the group that was said to have been stored in archives (see above section X). The vast majority are letters (1009); some are contracts and related texts (32), administrative texts (38), or archival texts of an otherwise unidentified nature (6).[175]

The group of letters[176] (1009) can be divided into letters to the king or members of the royal family

[175]) For divination reports see above section X.2.

[176]) Major groups of Babylonian Ninevite letters are published in cuneiform by R. F. Harper, ABL, and M. Dietrich, CT 54, London 1979. In general, the letters are edited in transliteration and translation by L. Waterman, RCAE I and II, R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters* (see above note 79), M. Dietrich, SAA XVII, F. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, SAA XVIII, Helsinki 2003 and others. Some of the Babylonian letters are (re)edited within studies on officials; see e. g. J. M. C. T. de Vaan, *Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs. Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, AOAT 242, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995, or studies on other aspects, see e. g. S. Parpola, SAA X, and F. W. Vera Chamaza, AOAT 295. This list of publications and editions is by no means exhaustive.

(681), unidentified letter fragments (193), letters from the king or the king's son (62), letters to officials (53), private letters (16) and Old Babylonian letters (4).

Nearly all of the "letters from the king or the king's son" (62) written in Babylonian script were addressed to Babylonian officials at Nippur, Uruk, Borsippa, Kutha, and other Babylonian cities, or to Babylonian tribes like the Gambuleans or Rašaians.[177] Even some letters to Elamite kings were written in Babylonian script. We do not know whether the original letters sent to the addressees had also been written in Babylonian script or in Assyrian, but it is clear that the letters unearthed in Nineveh are duplicates of the originals. The existence of these letters proves the acceptance of Babylonian scribes at the Assyrian palace some of these garned sufficient trust to be allowed to deal with royal correspondence.[178] The distribution of Babylonian letters written by "the king or the king's son" to the different rulers is as follows:

Babylonian letters from the king or the king's son **<62>**
- letters from Sargon II (721-705 BC) <3>
- letters from Sennacherib (704-703 BC) <0>
- letters from Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) <3>
- letter from the crown prince (= Ashurbanipal) **<1>**
- letters from Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) <39>
- letter from Ashurbanipal's son (to Ashurbanipal) <1>
- sender not (certain) identified <15>.

Babylonians wrote 681 of the letters found in the citadel of Nineveh to the king or other members of the royal family. Most had been addressed to Ashurbanipal (235), followed by letters written to Sargon II (193) and Esarhaddon (109) whereas only a small number were written to Sennacherib (27). This imbalance might be attributed to the fact that the "archives" of these kings were stored in different places and were not excavated to the same extent. There is evidence that Sargon's II archive originally had been stored in the North Palace but after the restoration of the palace of the crown prince (646/7 BC), called "House of Administration" (*bīt ridûti*), the archive was returned to its place.[179] Tablets from the archives of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon/Ashurbanipal[180], on the other hand, were stored in the South-West Palace, the principal royal residence.[181] It is conceivable that Sennacherib, who replaced the old South-West Palace by a new one (*bītu eššu* "the new house"), might not have returned the whole of his temporarily-evacuated archive to its original home. This would explain the small number of letters dating to his reign, although there is no evidence to support this assumption.[182]

The Babylonian letters written to the king or other members of the royal family date to the reign of the following rulers:[183]

Babylonian letters to the king <681>
- letters to Sargon II (721-705 BC) <193>
- letter to the king's son (= Sennacherib) <1>
- letters to Sennacherib (704-681 BC) <27>
- letters to Sargon II or Sennacherib <33>
- letters to the king's mother (king = Esarhaddon) **<3>**
- letters to Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) <109>
- letters to Sargon II or Esarhaddon <7>
- letters to Sennacherib or Esarhaddon <2>
- letters to the king's son (= Ashurbanipal) <3>
- letters to the crown prince Ashurbanipal <1>
- letter to the king's mother (king = Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal) <1>
- letters to Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) **<235>**
- letters to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal <54>
- letter to the daughter of the king <1>
- addressee unknown <110>.

Babylonian agents and scribes not only wrote letters to the king but also corresponded with officials of the Ninevite palace. There are 53 of these letters that date to the reigns of the following kings:

Babylonian letters to officials <53>
- officials of Sargon II (721-705 BC) <15>
- officials of Sennacherib (704-681 BC) <5>
- officials of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) <8>
- officials of Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 BC) <6>
- unassigned <19>.

A small group of Babylonian private (16) and Old Babylonian letters (4) have also been unearthed in

[177]) For these letters see K. Watanabe, "Die Briefe der neuassyrischen Könige", ASJ 7 (1985) 139-156.

[178]) G. Frame, CRRAI 30, 267, assumes that some of the Babylonians, who were trained in Nineveh for future occupations, were employed by the Assyrian king "to aid him with his Babylonian correspondence."

[179]) See S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 232-233.

[180]) Ashurbanipal's archive only contains the correspondence until 645 BC; see e. g. S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 235. R. C. Thompson – M. E. L. Mallowan, AAA 20 (1933) 111-112, considered that because of the Elamites Ashurbanipal might have shifted his residence and archive to another place, possibly "further to the north-west away from the danger zone," possibly to Harrān.

[181]) See S. Parpola, CRRAI 30, 232-233.

[182]) See note 164.

[183]) In general, the Ninevite letters are not dated according to king or *limmu*. G. Frame, CRRAI 30, 270, assesses the percentage of Ninevite letters and letter fragments that have been dated in antiquity at "less than three dozen" and gives a list of the dated ones in note 64. Because of this situation, dating of the letters is based on their content, historical events or individuals that are mentioned. The dates proposed by various scholars do not always match; in this case, every ruler proposed is named. The given dates are based on the information given by the publications of the tablets (ABL and CT 54), and on the following studies: G. Frame, *Babylonia* 689-627 *B. C. A Political History*, PIHANS 69, Istanbul 1992, M. Dietrich, *WdO* 4 (1967-68) 61-103, 183-251, *WdO* 5 (1969-70) 51-56, 176-190, and the volumes of PNAE.

Nineveh. A rather large quantity of letter fragments (193) is not yet identified and may rejoin some of the above-mentioned letters.

The Babylonian legal texts consist of contracts and related texts (32). Most of these texts are rather fragmentary but the date is preserved on some and these were written during the reign of Sennacherib (2) and Esarhaddon (3).

There are 38 administrative texts written by Babylonians. In the palace administration (33), they either list the names of individuals (17), sometimes together with their professions (2), or list objects (4). In contrast, only five Babylonian tablets belonging to the temple administration have been discovered.

XI. Comparison with other Mesopotamian royal libraries

The earliest known palace library[184] has not been found in Mesopotamia, but in Anatolia. There are three libraries in the palace area of the Hittite capital Ḫattuša (Boğazköy)[185]. In principle, these include texts from the beginning of the Hittite Empire in the late 17th century until the end of this period in the late 12th century BC.[186] The other palace libraries of the Hittite kingdom date generally to the 13th[187] or more specifically to the second part of the 13th century BC.[188] In general, the Hittite palace libraries[189] concentrated on religious texts consisting of descriptions of rituals and festivals, hymns and prayers which make up to 70-80 % of the tablets whereas the omen texts, which represent the largest proportion of the Ashurbanipal libraries (46 %), played a minor part in the Hittite libraries. This is no surprise because the omen texts were imported from Mesopotamia and Syria[190] whereas the Hittites used oracles[191] instead.

There is no royal library in Mesopotamia before the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1420-1050 BC).[192] Furthermore, no royal library can be detected in Babylonia. If this situation is not due simply to archaeological chance based on accidental discoveries of ancient remains, there should be historical reasons. In Babylonia, temple libraries have a long tradition, and there had been private libraries and schools too where they collected religious and scientific literature and, in many cases, trained scribes.[193] It seems likely that the Babylonian kings, in one way or another, always had access to the literature of these libraries and therefore had no need to create their own library. However, the hint at the "tablets of [...], the corpus of scribal ar[t ...]" as being "the abundant profit of the secrets (or: treasures) of the king of the Kassi[tes ...]" mentioned in the Tukultī-Ninurta I epic (1243-1207 BC) (see above note 108) suggests the existence of a Babylonian royal library during the Kassite period, if this is not simply

[184]) O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.* gives a good overview of these libraries.

[185]) See O. Pedersén, *op. cit.*, 1998 48-49. The largest share of texts in the library of Palace A have a religious content (2/3 of all tablets of the library are rituals or descriptions of festivals, followed by incantations [*bārûtu*], prayers, and other religious texts), but there are also omens and oracles, medical texts, historical texts like annals, treaties, and laws, horse texts, and lexical texts. The library of Palace K contained religious texts in large quantity (rituals and descriptions of festivals make up more than 50 %, followed by incantations and related rituals, and prayers), but also omen texts, epics, historical texts like royal annals, treaties, instructions, and a library catalogue. The library of Palace E cannot be entirely reconstructed but religious texts were the most numerous.

[186]) The palace itself had most probably been built and renovated by Tutḫalia IV in the late 13th century BC.

[187]) See O. Pedersén, *Archives and libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, 56-57: The palace library of the Hittite city Šapinua (Ortaköy) contained religious texts and a smaller quantity of texts from the temple administration; the building with the library probably dates to the 13th century BC.

[188]) See O. Pedersén, *Archives and libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, 59-60: In the palace library of the Hittite city Šarišša (Kuşaklı) religious texts including rituals and cultic inventories, as well as oracles were unearthed. For the publication of these texts see J. Hazenbos, "Die in Kuşaklı gefundenen Kultinventare," MDOG 128, Berlin 1996, 95-104, V. Haas – I. Wegner, "Die Orakelprotokolle aus Kuşaklı. Ein Überblick," MDOG 128, Berlin 1996, 105-120, M. Giorgieri, "Ein Text über Tempelbedienstete aus Kuşaklı (*KuT* 32)," MDOG 128, Berlin 1996, 121-132, G. Wilhelm, *Kuşaklı-Sarissa.* Band 1.1: *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A*, Rahden 1997.

[189]) For an overview of the kind of texts that were considered as "texts of tradition" and therefore were represented by duplicates in the Hittite libraries see Theo van den Hout, "Another view of Hittite literature," in: St. de Martino (ed.), *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati.* Vol. II, *Eothen* 11, Firenze 2002, 857-878.

[190]) For the paths by which Mesopotamian literary texts were transmitted to the Hittites see e. g. G. Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," JCS 35 (1983) 97-114 with further literature.

[191]) See e. g. Th. van den Hout, "Omina (Omens). B. Bei den Hethitern", in *RlA* 10, 88-90.

[192]) The palace archive of Ugarit (Ras Šamra) in Syria also contained 25 library texts in room 81 and dating to the 12th century. Nearly all of these are of religious or literary content (23); two of them are alphabets, see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, 1998, 71. However, it is questionable whether these 25 library tablets should be called a royal library.

[193]) For the Mesopotamian schools, especially during the late first millennium BC, see P. D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AOAT 275, Münster 2000.

meant figuratively as the king being the owner of every single object in Babylonia. Nevertheless, if there was a royal library in Babylonia all their tablets were taken to Assyria in the late 13th century BC.

In Assyria the situation is different. After the Assyrians had been able to throw off the yoke of the Mitannian occupation during the 14th century BC, they focused on military and administrative matters relating to the recapture of their empire rather than on scholars, literature, or temple libraries.[194] According to the epic of Tukultī-Ninurta I, this king took the opportunity to plunder the Babylonian libraries and carry away the tablets to Assyria to present them – as the epic says – to the city god Aššur.[195] In fact, the temple library of Aššur includes Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian tablets[196], but we do not know whether Tukultī-Ninurta I himself ordered these tablets to be transferred to the temple or whether they were included subsequently. However, many of the Middle Assyrian tablets of the Aššur temple that were fired in antiquity have a distinct appearance – a red core with an ivory-coloured outer surface[197] – which can also be observed on Middle Assyrian tablets from the Anu-Adad temple in Aššur and from the area between these temples.[198] These tablets were therefore regarded as having originally formed one library, known as the library of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC).[199] However, the tablets once belonged to several private libraries,[200] and some of them go back to as early as the reign of Aššur-rēš-iši I (1132-1115 BC),[201] if not Tukultī-Ninurta I.[202] There is no proof for the existence of a Middle Assyrian library in Aššur[203] that had been assembled by a king, nor that these tablets had been acquired for the palace.[204]

The Middle Babylonian tablets from the Aššur temple in Aššur, however, most probably represent Tukultī-Ninurta I's booty from Babylonia and the remains of the tablet collection that this king acquired in Babylonia in the late 2nd millennium BC.[205] Although the number of Babylonian tablets from Aššur is rather small, these texts can be compared with those of the Babylonian texts of Ashurbanipal's libraries (see Fig. 8).

16 tablets found at the Aššur temple in Aššur are written in Old or Middle Babylonian script. Divination texts have the largest number (7), of which nearly all deal with extispicy (6).[206] In Ashurbanipal's library, the Babylonian divination texts also have the largest number (746 = 46.8 %), but here the astrological omens bear the largest share (359 = 22.5 %) whereas the corpus of extispicy represents the second largest group (104 = 6.5 %).

The next largest number among the Babylonian texts unearthed at the Aššur temple in Aššur has those of lexical and explanatory nature (5). Within the Babylonian Ashurbanipal library tablets, these comprise the fourth largest group (34 = 2.1 %) after the corpora of divinatory, religious (585 = 36.7 %) and medical texts (81 = 5.1 %).

Among the Middle Babylonian tablets from the Aššur temple in Aššur there is one Babylonian text from each of the groups of religious, medical, and historical texts, as is the case for the group of epics, myths, and the like.

Comparison of the Middle Babylonian texts found at the Aššur temple in Aššur that most probably were part of Tukultī-Ninurta I's late 2nd millennium BC

[194]) W. von Soden, CRRAI 39, 177.

[195]) See above note 108.

[196]) For the Middle Assyrian library of the Aššur temple see E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 197-215, and O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Aššur*, Part I, 31-42 (library M 2). The literary texts from Aššur are the subject of a project initiated by S. M. Maul, Heidelberg.

[197]) See e. g. E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 203. The colour of these tablets is a result of the method of firing, see W. G Lambert, AS 16, 283: "tablets baked to about 650° centigrade have a red colour as a result, a temperature reaching about 750° yields a whitish colour, and if still more heat is applied tablets are ruined because vitrification and a greenish colour result."

[198]) This characteristic colour of the clay is typical for Middle Assyrian literary texts of the time before Tiglath-pilesar I. It can be seen on tablets written about 50 years prior to the accession of Tiglath-pilesar I, and also on the Tukultī-Ninurta I epic (see W. G. Lambert, "Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian Kinglist," *Iraq* 38 [1976] 85-94); the literary texts from the reign of Tiglath-pilesar I have a different appearance; see H. Freydank, *Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, SGKAO 21, Berlin 1991, 95 note 245.

[199]) E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53) 199-203, 203 note 34.

[200]) None of the library texts bears a colophon but some of the legal texts found together with the library texts were dated. A large quantity of these tablets originate from the royal scribe Ninurta-uballissu, whose three sons together wrote at least 16 tablets.

[201]) W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 38 (1976) 85-86, 85 note 2.

[202]) H. Freydank, SGKAO 21, 1991, 94-97.

[203]) W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 38 (1976) 86 note 2, doubts that all Middle Assyrian tablets from Aššur once belonged to one and the same library. H. Freydank, SGKAO 21, 1991, 95-96, also questions the existence of one Middle Assyrian library.

[204]) O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Aššur*. Part I, 37-38, describes this reconstructed library (M 2) as originally either having been the library of a scribal family or that it had formed an official library which might have been the "library of the Aššur temple, of the Old Palace or perhaps of the Anu-Adad temple."

[205]) The present study is based on the data given by O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Aššur*, 34-37. The results of S. M. Maul's project on the literary texts from Aššur, certainly, will change the given numbers in the future.

[206]) This relation recalls the number of writing-boards given in the four Ninevite library records early in 647 BC, where 69 of 81 divination texts are extispicy; see above Fig. 2.

Figure 8. The data of the Middle Babylonian tablets from the Aššur temple in Aššur (O. Pedersén, *Archives and libraries in the city of Aššur*, 31-42) that most likely came from Tukulti-ninurta I's booty in Babylonia in comparison with the data of the Babylonian "library" texts of Ashurbanipal's libraries.

Compositions and series	tablets from the Aššur temple in Aššur: Babylonian texts		Ashurbanipal's libraries in Nineveh: Babylonian texts	
	number	%	number	%
astrological omens (*enūma anu enlil*)	0	–	359	22.5 %
extispicy (*bārûtu*)	6	37.50 %	104	6.5 %
terrestrial omens (*šumma ālu*)	0	–	73	4.6 %
iqqur īpuš	0	–	6	0.4 %
"astronomy"	0	–	13	0.8 %
unidentified omens	1	6.25 %	6	0.4 %
(total divination texts	7	43.80 %	746	46.8 %)
religious texts (total)	1	6.25 %	585	36.7 %
of which exorcists's lore (*āšipūtu*)	0	–	303	19.0 %
of which lamentations (*kalûtu*)	1	6.25 %	80	5.0 %
medical texts (*bulṭē*)	1	6.25 %	81	5.1 %
lexical and explanatory texts	5	31.20 %	34	2.1 %
syllabaries in ancient characters	0	–	22	1.4 %
historical texts, laws, regulations concerning palace, etc.	1	6.25 %	27	1.7 %
epics, myths, and the like	1	6.25 %	17	1.1 %
mathematical	0	–	1	0.1 %
various compositions	0	–	21	1.3 %
not identified fragments	0	–	60	3.8 %
total	16	100.00 %	1594	100.0 %

booty with those of the Ashurbanipal's libraries of the 1st millennium BC leads to the following observations. Extispicy seems to have originated in Babylonia[207] and the relevant texts were imported into Assyria during the late 2nd and again during the 1st millennium BC, whereas Babylonian astrological omen texts only seem to have become of interest in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC. Lexical and explanatory texts also played a large part in the transmission of literary texts from Babylonia to Assyria in the late 2nd millennium, but less so in the 1st millennium BC when religious and medical texts were of greater interest.

No other 1st millennium BC Assyrian palace library has been excavated, yet there is evidence that there once had been a royal library in Kalḫu (Nimrūd), the Assyrian capital of the 9th and 8th century BC. The ivory writing-boards excavated, which originally had been made for the earlier palace of Sargon II in Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad),[208] indicate the existence of a library[209] or at least a collection of literary texts with a *scriptorium* in that area of the palace. These ivory writing-boards also imply the existence of an intended royal library which Sargon II wanted to create in his new capital Dūr-Šarrukīn. Sargon II certainly planned to acquire literary tablets from his former capital Kalḫu and include them in the library of his new palace. However, it is questionable whether Sargon II had sufficient time to carry out these plans as he died only a year after he opened his new capital and before the city was completed. Later, after Sennacherib moved

[207]) The earliest record of extispicy dates to the reign of Urnanše of Lagaš, in the 25th millennium BC; see H. Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*. Teil II. *Kommentar zu den Inschriften aus Lagaš. Inschriften außerhalb von Lagaš*, FAOS 5, Wiesbaden 1982, 7-8, commentary to no. 24 col. V 3-6. In the early Old Babylonian period, different omens were arranged systematically in a compendium of at least 17 tablets, for the first time; see Th. Richter, "Untersuchungen zum Opferschauwesen I. Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion der altbabylonischen *bārûtu*-Serie," *OrNS* 62 (1993) 121-141. During the late Old Babylonian time, different compendia were used in Sippar, the longest of which had at least 90 tablets; see U. Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy*, text 11 rev. 1'-3' and U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 16. In the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC) there must have been a more or less standardized series on extispicy of which the title is unknown; see E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-1953) 210 no. 77. This series was a forerunner of the standardized series that is attested in Nineveh and fixed from at least 750 BC down to the Seleucid period; see U. Koch-Westenholz, *op. cit.*, 21-27.

[208]) See above note 123.

[209]) See O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500-300 *B. C.*, 150.

the capital to Nineveh, he might have sent all the tablets onto the new site. Considering the number of texts discovered in Nineveh which had been written for the library of Nabû-zuqup-kēna, son of Marduk-šumu-iqīša[210], who worked in Kalḫu[211], it is likely that tablets from the putative palace library of Kalḫu were also brought to Nineveh.

XII. Summary and prospects for further studies

The fall of Babylon in autumn 648 BC and Ashurbanipal's accession to the throne of Babylonia mark a clear change in the king's relation to Babylonian written literature and science: being king of Babylonia enabled him to indulge in his passion for the scribal art by collecting tablets of various content. Ashurbanipal gained access to Babylonian libraries and used this opportunity to acquire literary tablets from private scholars as well as from temples for his own Ninevite library. Even though it seems likely that Ashurbanipal was not the first Assyrian king who tried to built up a palace library – see e. g. the assumed library in Kalḫu, and Sargon's II library in Dūr-Šarrukīn – the political situation enabled him to create a comprehensive library that was unique in his lifetime and became famous again two and a half millennia later, when Austin H. Layard excavated at Nineveh in the middle of the 19th century AD.

Ashurbanipal sent orders to several Babylonian cities to collect tablets with clearly defined content and send them to Nineveh. We know of his order to Borsippa from two contemporary copies. The answer of the Borsippeans on the other hand, who declared their intention to carry out the order by sending wooden writing-boards instead of clay tablets, is preserved on a late copy only. In addition to that, the library records of the early year 647 BC prove the acquisition of library tablets and writing-boards from various Assyrian and Babylonian scholars. Wooden writing-boards, of which a great number must have existed in the libraries, are lost forever.

The Ashurbanipal libraries also incorporate a few tablets from Kalḫu and Aššur. Considering that the Neo-Assyrian libraries of Aššur also included Middle Babylonian tablets carried away by Tukultī-Ninurta I in the late 13th century BC, it is strange that Ashurbanipal asked for tablets from Babylonia and only acquired a few from Aššur. He might have considered the tablets from Babylonia to be original documents, and therefore more reliable.[212]

According to his letter-order, Ashurbanipal's initial plan for his library was to collect as many tablets as possible with instructions for rituals and incantations that were vital to maintain him on his throne and in power, but he was also interested in other scientific literature. It is remarkable that those texts which Ashurbanipal ordered his agents to collect in Borsippa and send to him only represent the second largest group of the Ninevite Babylonian literary texts (36.7 %). The same is true for the library records of early 647 BC. The largest group of Babylonian texts in the Ninevite libraries is the divination corpus (46.8 %). Omens were used to learn about future events in order to be prepared properly or even to prevent bad situations before they actually happened. This was effected with the help of the rituals and incantations which are represented in the second largest group within the Babylonian texts and the library records. The third largest group among the Babylonian texts and the library records were medical texts. These texts contain instructions for therapies to heal diseases and to restore the king's and his family's health. The king was therefore well provided against evil of any kind.

Ashurbanipal did not only ask for Babylonian tablets but also employed Babylonian and Egyptian[213] scholars at his Ninevite palace to make use of their knowledge. Babylonian diviners had been employed in Nineveh since his father Esarhaddon ruled over Assyria or possibly even earlier.[214] They inspected the sheep's

[210]) 20 different colophons of this scribe have been identified so far; see H. Hunger, BAK, 1968, nos. 293-313, but see also the list of tablets with his colophon given by S. J. Lieberman, HUCA 58 (1987) 204-206 note 222. According to his colophons, Nabu-zuqup-kēna's tablet collection was produced between 718 BC and 684 BC; see S. J. Lieberman, *op. cit.*, 205-206. For an overview of this scribe's library and activities, see S. J. Lieberman, *op. cit.*, 204-217. H. Hunger, "Neues von Nabû-zuqup-kēna," ZA 62 (1972) 10, assumes that Adad-šuma-uṣur, son of Nabû-zuqup-kēna, is identical with Adad-šuma-uṣur, the physician of Sargon II, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, and that he transferred some of his father's tablets to Ashurbanipal's Ninevite libraries. However, some of Nabû-zuqup-kēna's tablets remained in Kalḫu.

[211]) S. J. Lieberman, HUCA 58 (1987) 217, declares himself against the assumption that Nabû-zuqup-kēna's tablets had ever been part of the king's library, because none of them bears a royal colophon that could easily have been added to the tablets in ink. On the contrary, the tablets must have been brought to Nineveh by the family of Nabû-zuqup-kēna and, later, were copied for Ashurbanipal's libraries.

[212]) Another possible reason may be that the Middle Babylonian tablets had already been incorporated into the library of the Aššur-temple and Ashurbanipal did not choose to appropriate objects from the temple of this god.

[213]) Three Egyptian magicians (*ḫarṭibī*) and three Egyptian scribes are named in a memorandum of Ashurbanipal's reign that lists all together 45 scholars of various professions who were employed at the palace, see ADD 851 (K. 1276) = SAA VII no. 1 rev. I 8 - II 2.

[214]) In Kalḫu, Babylonian diviners had already been employed in the early 8th century BC, and their number might

liver and wrote reports on this procedure.[215] About the time when Ashurbanipal became king, the Assyrian diviners took over responsibility for the extispicy reports. In the first stage, they signed reports that were still written by Babylonian scribes but later they changed the format and the formula of the reports and increasingly wrote them themselves.[216] Esarhaddon had also employed Babylonian astrologers, lamentation chanters, exorcists and physicians at his palace in Nineveh, as did Ashurbanipal. These scholars not only worked for the king according to their profession but also wrote tablets for Ashurbanipal's palace library.

The Babylonian tablets of the Ashurbanipal libraries, which make less than one seventh of the total Nineveh collection in the British Museum (approximately 26,000 tablets and fragments), were partly imported and partly written by Babylonian employees in the Ninevite *scriptoria*. Apart from the above-mentioned divination and religious texts, there are quite remarkable quantities of medical (5.1 %) and lexical or explanatory texts (3.5 %). Historical texts including treaties (1.7 %), epics, myths and the like (1.1 %), and miscellaneous compositions (1.3 %) make less than 2 % each. There is even one mathematical text written by a Babylonian scribe.

The variety of these texts represents the range of literary and scientific skills of the Babylonians. These were the compositions Ashurbanipal wanted to include within his libraries as original tablets, whereas Assyrian scribes had copied others from wooden writing-boards,[217] while further writing-boards, now lost, completed the collection. Considering the immense wealth of texts which have been unearthed at Nineveh, one can only wonder at their original extent.

The information about the Babylonian texts of Ashurbanipal's libraries presented here is based on six months of research focused on the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum. It is therefore obvious that further research on these texts will shed more light on various aspects of the library. A more detailed examination of tablets and fragments grouped together according to the different kinds of text will certainly result in more joins to the different manuscripts. This has to be done in addition to tackling the problem that there are still many unclassified fragments in the collection. A closer look at the *ductus* of the Ninevite tablets might give an idea where in Babylonia the tablets or the scribes came from. The so-called firing holes – the small or rather large round, rectangular, and triangular holes of the Babylonian tablets that are visible on the obverse and reverse within the lines or between the columns, and sometimes also on the edges – should also be the subject of further examination.

Another problem that is not dealt with here is the relationship between the Babylonian texts and compositions and the rest of the Kouyunjik Collection. In this respect, one might ask what kind of Babylonian texts were copied or reworked for the royal library by Assyrian scribes, as was the case for most of the omen series. Another task might be the search for texts that were represented by Assyrian tablets only. This is the case, for example, for some of the lexical series including lú = *ša*[218] or an-ta-gal = *šaqû*[219], for some of the myths such as Atra-ḫasīs[220] or Etana[221], for the so-called wisdom literature,[222] and others. Some of these compositions are likely to have been brought to Nineveh on wooden writing-boards that are now lost, whereas others, such as an-ta-gal = *šaqû*, are compositions created by Neo-Assyrian scholars in Nineveh. These and other aspects are subjects for further research. A thorough comparison of the Babylonian and contemporary Assyrian texts must await further general research on the Assyrian tablets of Nineveh which is planned as part of the British Museum's *Ashurbanipal Library Project* and represents another stage of what George Smith (1840-1876) recommended in July, 1874:[223] "Most of the fragments of cuneiform tablets which I have described will join on to other portions of the texts already in the Museum, and thus the new inscriptions will be to a great extent absorbed into the old collection, but very much more requires to be done in this direction before the cuneiform texts will be complete."

even have been larger than the number of Assyrian diviners; see J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, 75 (no. 40).

[215]) None of the so-called oracle enquiries (see above sections IV and X.2) was written by an Assyrian scribe.

[216]) See above sections IV and X.2. One might guess that the Babylonian diviners of Esarhaddon's time trained Assyrian diviners in their skills until they had learned enough to undertake this task by themselves and created something new. However, because of the lack of extispicy reports from other Assyrian places there is no proof for this assumption.

[217]) Babylonian scribes also copied compositions from writing-boards.

[218]) See M. Civil, *The Series lú = ša and Related Texts*, MSL XII, Roma 1969.

[219]) See A. Cavigneaux – H. G. Güterbock – M. T. Roth, *The Series Erim-ḫuš = anantu and An-ta-gal = šaqû*, MSL XVII, Roma 1985.

[220]) See e. g. W. G. Lambert – A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Winona Lake 1999.

[221]) For this myth see M. Haul, *Das Etana-Epos. Ein Mythos von der Himmelfahrt des Königs von Kiš*, GAAL 1, Göttingen 2000.

[222]) For these texts see W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1960 and the new edition Winona Lake 1996.

[223]) G. Smith, "Account of recent excavations and Discoveries made on the Site of Nineveh" (read 7th July, 1874), TSBA 3, London 1874, 462.

XIII. Appendix: List of the museum numbers of the Babylonian tablets from Nineveh according to their genre

Ad X. The Babylonian texts of the Ninevite Libraries

Unclassified texts (270)

unclassified astrological texts (6): **82-5-22**, 1765; **K.** 11816; 12586; 13345; 20930; 21116

unclassified extispicy texts (15): **82-3-23**, 29; 95; 98; 122; **82-5-22**, 498; **83-1-18**, 572; 586; **K.** 4720; 8731; 8883; 12160; 12686; 12816; 17631; **Sm.** 1838

unclassified divination texts (6): **83-1-18**, 874+892; **DT.** 153; **K.** 5674; 12723; 21937; **Sm.** 1495

not at all classified texts (243): **81-7-27**, 269; **83-1-18**, 528; 855; **BM** 121079; 134533; 134539; 134562; 134593; 134825; 134826; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 228; **K.** 1626; 1984; 3009; 3036; 3339; 5554; 5602; 5747; 6145; 6175; 7329; 7365; 7855; 8454; 8699; 8755; 10618; 11474; 11528; 11540; 12117; 12203; 14248; 14594; 14618; 15096; 15343; 15665; 16873; 16889; 16928; 17296; 17379; 17398; 17533; 17693; 17802; 17805; 18044; 18046; 18120; 18126; 18140; 18229; 18272; 18325; 18345; 18451; 18481; 18503; 18530; 18556; 18592; 18598; 18599; 18611; 18623; 18629; 18631; 18646; 18657; 18661; 18682; 18686; 18697; 18698; 18706; 18707; 18734; 18739; 18752; 18758; 18759; 18760; 18768; 18776; 18785; 18795; 18796; 18800; 18811; 18814; 18877; 18887; 18889; 18898; 18933; 18980; 18981; 18982; 18988; 18991; 18994; 18997; 19004; 19014; 19020; 19034; 19035; 19038; 19039; 19046; 19055; 19065; 19071; 19076; 19080; 19082; 19105; 19110; 19112; 19125; 19140; 19148; 19157; 19167; 19175; 19180; 19182; 19186; 19198; 19221; 19223; 19226; 19256; 19264; 19273; 19287; 19303; 19320; 19332; 19333; 19339; 19351; 19352; 19354; 19362; 19376; 19381; 19392; 19399; 19402; 19434; 19554; 19584; 19662; 19808; 19897; 19941; 20066; 20072; 20087; 20167; 20175; 20206; 20215; 20232; 20272; 20279; 20408; 20552; 20606; 20625; 20631; 20663; 20765; 20771; 20783; 20821; 20893; 20908; 20928; 20933; 20935; 20938; 20964; 21062; 21086; 21152; 21194; 21299; 21373; 21441; 21468; 21519; 21522; 21531; 21561; 21609; 21611; 21615; 21637; 21639; 21645; 21695; 21709; 21717; 21718; 21735; 21745; 21765; 21768; 21769; 21792; 21804; 21815; 21839; 21920; 21933; 21941; 21956; 21971; 21994; 22006; 22007; 22023; 22028; 22038; 22067; 22074; 22084; 22095; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 295 (BM 99263); 306 (BM 99274); 307 (BM 99275); 319+347 (BM 99287+99315); 329 (BM 99297); **Sm.** 1192; 1815; 2000; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 108 (BM 98602); 279 (BM 98773)

Ad X.1. The literary and scientific texts

Religious texts (585)

Akkadian (366)

Akkadian *āšipūtu* (209)

namburbi-ritual (26): **80-7-19**, **98+179+359**; **K. 157+2788**; 2296+2776; 2495; 2773+2901+8910; 2777+13876; 2782; 2995; 2999+Sm. 810; 3853+13287; 6133; 6142; 8710; 11535; 12179; 12556; 13229; 16865; 18844; 19056; **Sm.** 111; 386; 810; 945; 1513; 1704+80-7-19, 181

maqlû-ritual (13): **K.** 2436+6006; 3665; 5349+10161; 5350+5374+7610+7476+7631+9635+11567+19154+Sm. 798b; 5376+8629+13445; 7594+8882; 8879+Sm. 229+499+929+1194; 9188+11971+12916+13910+18609+Sm. 1866; 13264; 18609; **Sm.** 388; 741+2069; 1901

mis pî-ritual (6): **K.** 3367; 3472; 10473; 15534; 17091+20105; 19192

miscellaneous incantations (41): **79-7-8**, 95; 348; **81-2-4**, 440; **K.** 949; 2132; 2883; 6179+82-5-22, 496; 8732; 10106+10276; 12110; 12141; 13315; 13950; **14966**; 15055; 15212; 15535; 15943; 16681; 16702; 16707; 16722; 16824; 18992; 21653; 21689; **Ki.** 1904-10-9, 301 (BM 99269); **Sm.** 249; 611; 829; 925; 1343; 1982; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 19 (BM 98513)+23 (BM 98517)+35 (BM 98524)+243 (BM 98737)+291 (BM 98785)+292 (BM 98786); 111 (BM 98605); 136 (BM 98630); 149 (BM 98643); 163 (BM 98657); 199 (BM 98693); 200 (BM 98694); 326 (BM 98820)

miscellaneous rituals (124): **79-7-8**, 77; **80-7-19**, 88; 91+81-2-4, 274; 108; **81-2-4**, 166; 233; 323; 334; **81-7-27**, 100; 205; **82-3-23**, 59; **82-5-22**, 76+83-1-18, 295; **83-1-18**, 447; 761; **BM** 123375; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 50; 143+176; **DT.** 15; 90; 114; 118; 126; 169; 258; **K.** 151; 888; 2315+3125+83-1-18, 469; 2775; 2993; 3299; 3570; 3664+6125+8686+8881 (+) 7677; 5328; 6117; 7677 (see 3664+); 8477; 8504; 8626; 8666; 8689+Ki. 1904-10-9, 2 (BM 98973)+212 (BM 99180); 8696; 8698; 8718+Sm. 1266; 8734; 8736; 8870+8908+Sm. 668+721+1202; 8893; 8906; 8907; 9568; 9611; 9745; 10366; 10555; 11550; 11871; 11887; 12076; 13428; 14006; 14357; 16365; 16842; 17085; 17780; 18051; 18205; 18251; 18683; 18695; 18745; 18778; 18871; 18901; 18960; 18985; 18996; 19025; 19101; 19132; 19169; 19342; 19364; 19838; 20145; 20394; 20973; 21071; 21623; 21831; 21909; 21965; 21978; 22021; **Rm.** 247; 510; 534; 551; **Rm. II**, 359; 485; 519; **Sm.** 219; 864; 1118; 1138; 1203; 1396; 1749; 2056+83-1-18, 465; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 67 (BM 98561); 72+73 (BM 98566+98567); 88 (BM 98582); 94 (BM 98588); 157 (BM 98651); 204? (BM 98698); 207 (BM 98701); 208 (BM 98702); 209? (BM 98703); 210? (BM 98704); 211? (BM 98705); 212-215 (BM 98706-98709); 216? (BM 98710)

Akkadian *bārûtu* (41)

ikribu (7): **K.** 20; 128; 3030; 4733; 6070+19864; 8723; 17816

tamītu (2): **K.** 3340; 4721

varia prayers (32): **79-7-8**, 340; **DT.** 239; **K.** 1939+5552; 5980+8746; 6163+82-9-18, 7387 (BM 67391); 10270; 11783; 14001; 14141; 15376; 16713; 17859; 18719; 18974; 19009; 19089; 19348; 19367; 19711; 19776; 19948; 20275+20295; 21030; 21866; 21974; 22045; **Rm.** 427; 518; **Rm. II**, 351; **Sm.** 31; 533; 901+1652

Akkadian religious texts, varia (116)

81-2-4, 225; 309; **81-7-27**, 202; **82-3-23**, 110; **83-1-18**, 784; **DT.** 83; 210; 245; **K.** 69+3007; 120b+144+3265+3298; 4741; 5402; 5587; 5744; 5778; 6073+Bu. 91-5-9, 132; 6100+7491+10526+11734+13868+13916+19108; 6132; 6151; 6155; 6160; 7546; 7612; 7639; 8637; 8769; 8871; 8878; 8884; 8902; 9029; 9034; 9604; 9633; 9644+13993; 10398; 10906; 11246; 11536; 11902; 12086; 13303; 13734; 13939; 14036; 14154; 15145; 17186; 17528;

18625; 18630; 18653; 18677; 18679; 18699; 18727; 18730; 18742; 18749; 18757; 18761; 18774; 18797; 18971; 19021; 19023; 19033; 19052; 19067; 19095; 19097; 19116; 19337; 19410; 19561; 19589; 19880; 20035; 20086; 20448; 20948; 21074; 21922; 21942; 22035; **Rm.** 381; 602; **Sm.** 123; 139; 144; 203; 338; 489; 535; 667; 910; 1183; 1282; 1291; 1292; 1627; 1850; 1864; 1997; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 140 (BM 98634); 141 (BM 98635); 146 (BM 98640); 147 (BM 98641); 151? (BM 98645); 156 (BM 98650); 158 (BM 98652); 159? (BM 98653); 165 (BM 98659); 170+174 (BM 98664+98668); 177? (BM 98671); 189 (BM 98683)

Sumerian (31)

Sumerian *kalûtu* (9)
K. 3001; 3026; 4795; 5469; 9767; 11988; 12020; 13918; 13927

Sumerian *āšipūtu* (3)
K. 9041; 13944; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 91 (BM 98585)

Sumerian religious texts, varia (19)
BM 134571; **K.** 315; 5302; 5978; 5979; 10284; 11162; 13932; 13936; 14818+18791; 18036; 18209; 18663; 18782; 19133; 19289; 19732; 20356; 20757

Bilingual (185)

Bilingual *kalûtu* (71)
balag (20): **81-7-27**, 203; **K.** 41; 257+2997; 2004; 2875+5838+9930; 3315+8706+9154+Sm. 1204; 3328; 5167; 5168+5171+5189+5354+6099+8728+10728+11219+13412+13935+13949+16931; 5174+10595+11174+13941+14110 (+?) 18655; 5188+8481; 5337+17424+18651+19380; 5362+8898+11938+13410+Rm. 385; 7598+19304+Sm. 1294; 8399+10077+13951; 18059; 18655 (see 5174); 18724; 18732; 19816; 19827
eršaḫunga (14): **K.** 5364+5370+9051+11553+13937+18743+19092; 5703a; 7498; 8733+18711; 8899; 10591+Sm. 306; 10617; 11976; 14086; 18726; 19113; 19786; 21179; **Rm.** 514
hymns (17): **79-7-8**, 73; **83-1-18**, 488; 693; **K.** 879+2769+10527; 3025+5982+8917; 3658; 5158; 5200; 5268+5333a; 5742; 5970; 11769; 13911; 13925; 13955; **Rm.** 373+79-78, 239; **Sm.** 141
varia (20): **81-7-27**, 129; **K.** 5160; 5190; 5303; 5339; 6063; 9822+13957; 10957; 11173; 13308; 13380; 13494; 15139; **118655** (see balag 5174+); 18736; 18794; 19222; 19346; **Sm.** 370+566; 1099

Bilingual *āšipūtu* (91)
UDUG.ḪUL.A.MEŠ (37): **K.** 111+2754+5227+5295+7525+7632+7633; 2758; 2853; 2873; 2893+3011+Sm. 1258+1346 (+) K. 22037; 2900; 3021; 4904+5294+5363+12041; 5169; 5194+5312+5355+Sm. 2057; 5211; 5237; 5286; 5338; 5353+5369; 5360; 5368; 5373+10079+12039+Sm. 438+1337; 5378; 7451; 8472; 8475+12040; 8488; 8508; 8635; 10274; 21855; 22037 (see 2893); 22171; **Rm.** 326; **Sm.** 132; 134+2184; 271+299; 778; 1448; 1486; 1555
ordination of an Enlil priest (5): **K.** 2437+5177+9442+10518; 8212; 9096; **Rm. II**, 242; **Sm.** 350
various incantations or rituals (49): **80-7-19**, 160; **81-7-27**, 261; 282; **82-3-23**, 7; 88; 101+82-5-22, 1048 (BM 93014); **82-5-22**, 565; **83-1-18**, 490; 492; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 173; **DT.** 38; **K.** 1401b; 4643; 5132; 5165+Sm. 1818; 5263; 5334; 5347; 5356; 5372; 5709; 6164; 7613; 7687; 8455; 9008+83-1-18, 141; 11338; 11534; 12028; 12206; 12903; 13922; 14827; 15189; 15223; 16753; 18628; 20274; 20952; **Rm.** 450; **Rm. II**, 290; **Sm.** 291; 487+750; 594; 614; 1592; 1935; 1979; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 93 (BM 98587); 245 (BM 98739)

Bilingual, varia (23)
DT. 255; **K.** 17989; 18597; **18637**; **18639**; **18665**; **18678**; 18680; 18787; 19003; 19041; 19210; 19278; 19540; 19624; 21079; 21701; 21803; 21875; 22072; 22073; **Rm. II**, 372; **Sm.** 1432

Bilingual religious texts in archaic script (3)
BM 134820; **K.** 2841+9141+16783; 6697+8069

Medical texts (81)

medical compendia (71)
identified (27): **81-7-27**, 75; **K.** 1930+11752; K. 2542+2772+2991+3300+6030+10223+13382+DT. 85+170; 2581; 3010+6187+13346+DT. 86; 3304+8785+9217; 3350+Th. 1905-4-9, 77 (BM 98571); 3550; 6572; 8248; 8685; 8716 (+) 18547; 10212+13884+17205; 10535; 10567+13901; 11513; 11785; 13242; 13289; 18547 (see K. 8716); 18667; 18773; 19131; **Sm.** 708; 1283+1947; 1991; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 119 (BM 98613)
unidentified (43): **BM** 128042; 128080; **DT.** 28; **K.** 263; 1893; 2779; 5176+Sm. 1107; 5843; 7306; 8678+16461+19344; 8896; 9228; 9579; 10410; 10500; 10934; 11295; 12587; 13343+13573; 13405+Sm. 804+926+2160; 13838; 13906; 16132; 16433; 17502; 18343; 18762; 18918+18977+20195; 19017; 19087; 19271; 19355; 19378; 19461; 19506; 20137; 20254; Sm. 233; 345; 460; 666+923; 1442; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 122 (BM 98616)
commentary (1): **DT.** 113

commentary to SA.GIG(?) (1)
K. 19769

list of plants and stones (9)
lists of stones (8): **81-2-4**, 299; **81-7-27**, 281; **83-1-18**, 324; **K.** 8516; 10519; **Rm.** 320; **Sm.** 914; 1071
list of plants and stones (1): **DT.** 89

Lexical texts (56)

identified lexical lists (17)
ḪAR.RA = *ḫubullu* (5): **K.** 55; 2028; 4249; **8404**; 8894
malku = *šarru* (3): **K.** 13593; 13612; 13620
ALAM = *lānu* (1): **K.** 4191
IGI.DUḪ.A = *tāmartu* (1): **K. 14890**
SIG_7.ALAN = *nabnītu* (1): **K.** 4580+14079
URU.AN.NA (1): **K.** 9283
other explanatory texts (5): **79-7-8**, 226; **83-1-18**, 749; **DT.** 221; **K.** 4714; **Rm. II**, 588

unidentified lexical lists (15)
83-1-18, 899; **BM** 121073; **K.** 4214; 9133; 13636; 13663; 13686; 14473; 14798; 18486; 18546; 19024; **Sm.** 593; 803; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 139 (BM 98633)

syllabaries or archaic sign lists (22)
81-2-4, 266; **82-5-22**, 571; **DT.** 16; **K.** 2835; 2839+2840; 4228; 4372; 4582; 8251; 8252+8257+8259+14002+14020+21801; 8253+8260+9058; 8254; 8255; 8256; 8258; 14015; 21069; **Rm. II**, 35; 42; 204; **Sm.** 309+82-5-22, 570; 1539

grammatical texts (2)
K. 8410; 18600

Historical texts (27)

tablet inscriptions (14)
80-7-19, 374; **K.** 2632; 2846; 7943; 8479; 8692; 9881+11657+11660+unnumbered; 10300(?); 13225; 16781; 18967; 19323; **Sm.** 1523; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 210 (BM 98695)

cylinders (7)
81-2-4, 174; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 169; **K.** 1655; 6364; 6386; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 71; **Sm.** 486; 2043

prism (2)
BM 127994; **K.** 1660

cone (OB Samsuiluna)
Ki. 1902-5-10, 37 (= BM 115039)

treaties (2)
82-5-22, 130; **Rm. II**, 427

Epics, myths, etc. (17)

epics (7) of
early kings (Gilgameš) (3): **BM** 134537.A, B+I, C, F, H; 134537.E+G+134538; **Rm.** 907
Neo-Assyrian kings (3): **83-1-18**, 476+482+728; **K. 2524**; 6177+8869
unidentified kings (1): **Binning** 2

myths (8)
Anzu (4): **K.** 3008; **18740**; **19368**; 21072
epic of creation (2): **DT.** 184; **K.** 12582
varia (2): **K.** 5341; 8742

poetry (love poetry) (1)
K. 20817

propaganda text of Assurbanipal (1)
K. 1351

Mathematical text (1)

K. 8705

Varia literary or library texts (21)

colophons (14)
Bu. 91-5-9, 51; **83-1-18**, 751; **K.** 3027; **15828**; **15883**; 15888; 18718; 19012; 19029; 19043; 19280; 19597; 21068; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 125 (BM 98619)

commentaries of unidentified compositions (4)
K. 2892+8397; 7698; 14129; **Rm. II**, 536

catalogue of texts (1)
K. 17585

prophecies(?) (1)
K. 19295

Middle Assyrian laws (1)
K. 10135

Unidentified literary or library texts (60)

83-1-18, 789; **BM** 121112; 121124; **K.** 4432; 7187; 8672; 8890; 10197+19134; 12134; 12357; 13378; 13727; 13894; 14395; 15242; 15280; 17053; 17710; 18658; 18783; 18784; 18850; 18979; 19005; 19044; 19057; 19062; 19356; 19522; 19636; 20135; 20854; 20405; 20429; 20735; 20831; 20942; 21028; 21053; 21127; 21287; 21291; 21467; 21494; 21520; 21590; 21685; 21903; 21997; 22097; 22099; 22102; 22173; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 208 (BM 99176); **Rm.** 457; 1015; **Sm.** 419; 783; 1229; 1265

Ad X.2. The divination corpus: library texts and divination reports

Astrological omens

library texts (359)
celestial omens (327): **79-7-8**, 116; 121+125; 150; 151; 271; **80-7-19**, 100 (see K. 2920+); 103; 114; **81-2-4**, 223; 230; 234; 280; 387; 488; **81-7-27**, 60; 62; 96; 137; 219; 238; 260; 267; **82-3-23**, 83; **82-5-22**, 75; 519; 577a (see Sm. 253); **BM** 128124; 134541; 134543; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 174; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 164; **DT.** 104; **K.** 75+237; 90; 230; 278; 800; 1957; 2073+9520; 2126; 2131+2283+11824 (+) 2932+14533 (+) Rm. II, 250; 2157; 2162+2206+4137; 2194; 2228; 2231; 2236+2891; 2246+2994+3578+3605+3614+2324+6152; 2278; 2294; 2310+6154+12061+12633; 2321+3032; 2326; 2328; 2341+2899+81-2-4, 288 E. Reiner: (+) BM 98744 (= Th. 1905-4-9, 250) (+) 3575; 2342+2990+12422+19019; 2345+12047 (+) 12189 (+) 15098 (+) 14415; 2346+3904a+3904b+8725; 2874; 2876; 2884; 2885; 2886+2929a; 2887; 2903+2915+8659+8747+10145 (+) 10337; 2904+3029; 2913+5820+22098; 2914; 2916+3112+3575+12063+12603+12787+13933+13978+19359+22155; 2920+3604+8876+9527+12117+12136+12242+15582+81-7-27, 208 (+) 80-7-19, 100; 2932+14533 (see 2131+); 2932+14533 (see 2131+); 2933; 2936+3103; 2992+3017+6146+11741+11885; 3002; 3004; 3005; 3013; 3016; 3033; 3035+12605+16247+20596+22143 (+) 12675; 3099+18689 (+) Sm. 259; 3104; 3105; 3108; 3111+10672; 3115 (+) 12589; 3139; 3525; 3561+8025+9502 (+) 6141+6148+6156+9108; 3566; 3575 (see 2341+); 3590;

3601+Rm. 103; 3609; 3619; 3858+5643+5971+10396+12536; 3882; 3911; 3914+10215; 3923+6140+81-7-27, 149+83-1-18, 479; 5689+17655; 5712; 5748; 5751; 5759; 5770; 5780b; 5787+9641+10153+12368+12627+12706; 5790; 5792; 5806; 5826; 5851; 5964; 5972; 5977; 5985; 6021+8611; 6062+6178; 6098+11547; 6102; 6103; 6105; 6112; 6113; 6114+11840; 6116+9695; 6119; 6120; 6121+6131+9126; 6130; 6134; 6135; 6137; 6138+9646+12048; 6141+(see 3561+); 6153; 6158; 6174; 6185+8901+12567; 6188; 6194; 6195; 6595; 7277; 7621; 8471; 8484; 8497; 8647; 8656; 8688; 8695; 8707+10171+12218; 8715; 8735; 8744; 8749; 8885; 8900+8914; 9052; 9098; 9151+10731; 9181; 9225+9638+Sm. 2078; 9505; 9519; 9570; 9573; 9632+12151+14177+18656; 9634; 9636; 9637+11175+14187+18728+81-7-27, 52; 9640; 9642; 9645; 9647; 9679; 10114; 10129; 10196; 10337 (see 2903+); 10367; 10382; 10491; 10566+Sm. 1925+81-2-4, 305; 10597+11854+12616; 10616; 10688; 10696; 10714; 10872; 11247; 11257; 11270; 11721; 11740; 11839; 11894; 11911+15558; 12011; 12065; 12067; 12079; 12080; 12090; 12099; 12107; 12113; 12115; 12126; 12129; 12142; 12147; 12157; 12163; 12166; 12175+14404; 12178; 12189 (see 2345+); 12226; 12245; 12304; 12305; 12341; 12366; 12403; 12414; 12429; 12470; 12575; 12576; 12583; 12589 (see 3115); 12598 (see 3115); 12601; 12602; 12607; 12610; 12611; 12614; 12615; 12666; 12674; 12675 (see 3035+); 12690; 12733; 12796; 12803; 12817; 13748; 13930; 14162; 14206; 14388; 14405; 14415 (see 2345+); 14418; 14448; 14503; 14517; 14561; 15098 (see 2345+); 15201; 15329+Rm. 151+82-3-23, 16; 15459; 15469; 15523; 15577; 15592; 15930; 16667; 17092; 17254; 17271; 17600; 17660; 18722; 18733; 19102; 19142; 19531; 19855; 19935; 20081; 20430; 20635; 21626; 22057; 22140; **Ki. 1902-5-10**, 23; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 217 (BM 99185); 248 (BM 99216); **Rm.** 308+79-7-8, 117+79-7-8, 223; 546; **Rm. II**, 122; 250 (see 2131+); 293; 302; 496; 569; **Sm.** 45; 81; 151; 253; 259 (see K. 3099+); 442; 445; 503; 676; 751; 999; 1004; 1014; 1088+1531; 1130; 1187; 1260; 1354; 1363; 1647; 1963; 1976; 1996; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 100 (BM 98594); 127 (BM 98621); 250 (BM 98744)

commentaries (18): **82-5-22**, 572; **DT.** 51; **K.** 148+2902+5207+18378; 2329; 2906+10108; 2907+12248; 3558; 3855; 5994; 8067; 11905; 12068+Rm. II, 38+340; 14318; 15033; 15202+15204; **Rm.** 855; **Rm. II**, 127; **Sm.** 1054

catalogue of astrological and terrestrial omens (1): **K.** 2848

"astronomy" (13): **K.** 2077+3771+11044+BM 54619; 3020; 3852; 8598; 8630; 9483; 10719; 12376; 13254; 15929; 16255; **Rm.** 319; 322

divination reports (333) written during the reign of

Sargon II (2): **Rm. II**, 345; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 257 (BM 98751)

Sennacherib (1): **K.** 8713

Esarhaddon (85): **80-7-19**, 55; 66; **81-2-4**, 81; **84**; 89; **102**; 103; **104**; **107**; **136**; 138; **81-7-27**, 23; **82-5-22**, 48; 49; 57; 58; 59; 1778; **83-1-18**, 48; 171; 172; 173; 186; 187; 195; 200; 208; 221; 232; 233; 241; 244; 296; 299; 301; 302; 775; **Bu.** 91-5-9, 7; **DT.** 304; **K.** 19; 188; 700; 701; 702; 722; 729; 734; 739; 741; 756; 761; 763; 772; 783; 785; 791; 793; 799; 803; 840; 842; 869; 901; 902; 907; 960; 972; 1302; 1306+83-1-18, 316; 1309; 1322; **1342**; **1369**; 1384; 1389; 1399; 4708+10298; 8861; 12367+13175; 13087+82-5-22, 85; **Rm.** 191; 194; 196; 197; **Sm.** 1062

Ashurbanipal (20): **80-7-19**, **154**; **81-2-4**, 141; 273; **82-5-22**, 51; 72; 83-1-18, 188; 202 (+) 305; 219; 290; 303; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 9; **K.** 699; 744; 745; 789; 933; 1329; 1380; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 39 (BM 99010); **Rm.** 198

Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal (3): **80-7-19**, 19; **K.** 1393; 2085

unknown king (222): **79-7-8**, 100; **80-7-19**, 58; 59; 61; 62; 63; 65; 176; 197; 355; **81-2-4**, 82; 83; 85; 88; 105; 106; 132; 134; 135; 140; 142; 143; 145; 321; 344; **483**; **82-3-23**, 112; **82-5-22**, 46; 50; 53; 56; 61; 63; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 74; 89; 156; **83-1-18**, 7; 174; 175; 176; 177; 178; 179; 180; 181; 182; 194; 196; 203; 212; 214; 216; 220; 225; 229; 230; 242; 243; 245; 248; 293; 312; 313; 319; 322; 718; 774; 810; 834; 881; 883; 884; **BM** 134556; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 8; 11; 18; 166; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 28; 29; 161; **DT.** 53; 131; 249; **K.** 119; 172; 178; 698; 714; 721; 723; 732; 735; 737; 752; 753; 754; 755; 758; 759; 768; 769; 770; 776; 790; 794; 805; 806; 807; 808; 809; 811; 812; 813; 815; 843; 850; 851; 856; 861; 873; 874; 875; 900; 904; 921; 955; 963; 964; **967**; **973**; 987; 1236; 1300; 1305; 1307; 1308; 1310+14559; **1311**; 1312; 1316; 1324; 1328; 1330; 1331; 1332; 1338; 1339; 1340; 1341 (+) 1586; 1343; 1344; 1345; 1346; 1373+83-1-18, 780; 1385; 1392; 1394; 1395; 1398; 1407; 1457; 1557; 1586; 1586; 1593; 1594; 1606; 1909; 1921+3488; 1927; 1952; 1955; 1971; 5453b; 5723; 6077; 6149; 6182; 6184b; 8391; 8393; 8407; 8704; 8711; 8729; 8748; 8872; 9042; 12013; 12017; 12211; 12281; 12283; 12388+13101; 13012; 14150; 14564; 14565; 14568; 15086; 16621; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 28 (BM 98999); 36 (BM 99007); 55 (BM 99026); 262 (BM 99230); 321 (BM 99289); **Rm.** 193; 201; **Rm. II**, 254; **Sm.** 86; 231; 366+80-7-19, 371; 694; 885; 1232; 1327

unclassified astrological texts (6)

82-5-22, 1765; **K.** 11816; 12586; 13345; 20930; 21116

Extispicy

library texts (104)

liver omens (100): **79-7-8**, 114+120; 124; 347; **80-7-19**, 275+357; 361; **81-2-4**, 201; 335; 405; 439; **82-3-23**, 106; **83-1-18**, 730+805; **BM** 121056; 134530; 134546; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 119; **DT.** 18; **K.** 2323+6157+8679; 2877+80-7-19, 294; 2880; 2896; 2897; 2910; 2912; 2921; 2939; 3015; 3022+12792; 3809; 3839; 3849; 3877; 4084; 4113; 6058; 6115; 7608; 8700; 9186; 9256; 9678; 9872; 10115+13847; 10492; 10571; 10956; 10976; 11556; 11558; 11712; 11912; 12111; 12130; 12210; 12257+79-7-8, 59; 12279; 12300; 12303; 12335; 12448; 14870; 15100; 15115; 16799; 18750; 18790; 19053; 19328; 19365; 19496; 19700; 20299; 20303; 20313; 21150; 21229; 21641; Ki. 1902-5-10, 24; Ki. 1904-10-9, 207 (BM 99175); **Rm.** 106+Rm. II, 111; 231; 300; 391; 547; 936; **Rm. II**, 102; 115+79-7-8, 88; 134; 308; 506; 526; 541; 551; **Sm.** 210; 647; 1309; 1437; 1455; 1707; 1759; 1932

commentaries (4): **K.** 1315+4702; 3786+10440+15496; 8915; **Rm.** 227

divination reports (289)

oracle enquiries dated to Esarhaddon (93): **80-7-19**, 73; 74; 77; 78; 79; 137; **81-2-4**, 436; **82-5-22**, 136; 480; 484; 489; **83-1-18**, 518; 531+568+Bu. 91-5-9, 194; 535; 538; 540; 552; 557+563; 571; 576; 580; 697; 765; 799; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 148; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 201; **K.** 195; 2663+12738; 3051; 4668; 6128; 8622 (+) Sm. 295; 10149; 11432; 11473+82-5-22, 986; 11475; 11476; 11477; 11479+80-7-19, 70; 11480; 11481; 11482+83-1-19, 898; 11483; 11484; 11485+Sm. 908; 11486; 11487; 11488; 11489+80-7-19, 71+75+83-1-18, 534; 11491; 11492+Sm. 412+684; 11493+11504; 11494+12637 (+) 11501; 11495+Bu. 91-5-9, 181; 11496; 11498+81-2-4, 190+290; 11500; 11502+Sm. 705+Rm. 432+521; 11505+Sm. 1158+83-1-18, 551; 11507; 11514; 11515; 11517+Bu. 91-5-9, 170; 11520; 11521; 11523+11529; 12201; 14590; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 4 (BM 98975); 17+69 (BM 98988+99040); 137 (BM 99108); 173 (BM 99143); **Rm.** 43; **Sm.** 176; 384 (+) 1053; 433; 524; 608; 657+83-1-18, 545; 662; 663; 664; 665; 904; 1157; 1320+83-1-18, 537; 1358; 1516; 1638; 1880+83-1-18, 539; 2002+80-7-19, 162; 2005; 2485+83-1-18, 555

oracle enquiries dated to Ashurbanipal (5): **82-3-23**, 89; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 46; **K.** 9106; 11478; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 10 (BM 98981)

oracle enquiries dated to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal (4): **83-1-18**, 790; **K.** 4270; 11499; **Rm.** 397

oracle enquiries of unknown date (84): **80-7-19**, 191; **81-2-4**, 283; 342; 453; **81-7-27**, 74; **82-3-23**, 42; **82-5-22**, 73+83-1-18, 383+570 (+) Sm. 656; 177; 486; 492; **83-1-18**, 503; 553; 558; 565; 574; 585; 588+720+850; 589; 699; 795; 800; 822; 846; 860; 879; 891; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 55; 69; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 89; 168; 216; **K.** 2747+Ki. 1904-10-9, 5 (BM 98976) (+) Sm. 1214; 11490; 11497; 11501 (see 11494+, Esh); 11503; 11509; 11510; 11512; 11518; 11519; 11522; 11524; 11525; 11526; 12012; 12684; 12692; 14557; 14594a; 14955; 15479; 16626; 19018; 19047; 19077; 19847; 20214; 20216; 21080; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 3 (BM 98974); 7 (BM 98978); 172 (BM 99142); 219 (BM 99187); **Rm.** 413; 420; 490; **Sm.** 119; 205; 295 (see Esh K. 8622); 317; 591; 656 (see 82-5-22, 73+); 659; 660+82-5-22, 495; 661; 956; 1053 (see 384, Esh); 1195; Sm. 1214 (see K. 2747+); 1268; 1272; 1390; 1605; 1811

extispicy reports dated to Ashurbanipal (31): **82-3-23**, 5223b; **82-5-22**, 86; 137; 178; **K.** 4; 8; 28+3960; 37; 159; 303; 375; 392; 396; 1360; 1611; 3161; 3742+4284; 3791; 4537; 4728; 8674; 8738; 8880; 8904; 10882; 11506; 11516; 12213; 12360; 12593; 19060

extispicy report of unknown date (41): **81-2-4**, 442; 477; **82-3-23**, 27; 5223a; **82-5-22**, 71; **83-1-18**, 541; 547; 561; 564; 788; **K.** 1423; 1433; 3741a; 3747; 4717; 4725; 4766+14308+82-5-22, 70; 4802; 8680; 8909; 9215; 10754; 10766; 10783; 10789; 10864; 11665; 11669; 12181; 12809; 14146; 17745; 18595; 18624; 19048; 20959; 21929; 22303; **Rm.** 213; **Sm.** 847; 1226

oracle enquiries or extispicy reports (30): **80-7-19**, 72+76; **81-2-4**, 470; **82-5-22**, 542; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 167; **K.** 7471; 11508; 11511; 16283; 17302; 17650; 17636; 18469; 18492; 18706; 18942; 19073; 19197; 19457; 20062; 20209; 20218; 20219; 20221; 20227; 20229; 20417; 21093; 21469; **Sm.** 1021; 1225

unclassified extispicy texts (15)

82-3-23, 29; 95; 98; 122; **82-5-22**, 498; **83-1-18**, 572; 586; **K.** 4720; 8731; 8883; 12160; 12686; 12816; 17631; **Sm.** 1838

Terrestrial omens

library texts (73)

terrestrial omens (66): **81-2-4**, 202; 410a; **DT.** 261; **K.** 45+198+12600; 190+2987A+3755+9710+10110+10199+10558+11751+12512+14199+15584+16658+DT. 288; 196; 2285+3717+12709 (+) 2719+3014 (+) 3856+10467; 2307; 2312+2576+3572+3592+6123+8691+9348+13902+10324+11755+13295+13902+18654+18780+18591; 2376+8020+12167+82-3-23, 81; 2719+3014 (see 2285+); 2720; 2850+3023+Sm. 327; 2888+8677; 2898+8694+8911+12267; 2922+12197+6008+10167; 2925+3534+5975+8719+9643+DT. 155; 2930+3737+8875; 2937+6136+8903+10173+12101+12214+12532+12853+18888; 2942+8693+81-2-4, 203; 3019+6101+Sm. 392; 3028; 3698+79-7-8, 230; 3856+10467 (see 2285+); 6097+6693+12724 (+) 7669+9450 (+) Sm. 1406; 6111+Sm. 2080; 6144; 6170+Sm. 775; 7669+9450 (see 6097+); 7749+8675; 8682+8891; 8703; 8739; 8877; 9703; 10250; 10251; 10291; 10381+ 12521; 10484; 10950; 11551; 11746; 11862; 11873; 12188; 12441; 12498; 12520; 12529; 12538+21687; 15484; 18962; 19061; 19137; 19412; 19791; 21017; 21019; 21063; 21945; 22279; **Rm.** 118+380; 456; 596; **Sm.** 1222; 1406 (see K. 6097)

commentaries (7): **K.** 1; 36+2917; 103; 118; 2895; 2919+2924+8422; 4229

divination reports (1)

K. 18

Series iqqur īpuš (6)

K. 2050+6150+11106; 2219+2878+9639+5847; 5701; 8737; 12503; **Sm.** 315+Rm. 296

Teratomantic omens (5)

79-7-8, 127; **K.** 749; 1913; 2918; 19224

Physiognomical omens (2)

K. 8730+79-7-8, 107; 10346

Hemerology (5)

library texts (1)

K. 18645

divination reports (4)

Bu. 89-4-26, 19; **K.** 915; 1336; **1599**

Various divination

library texts (196)

79-7-8, 328; **81-2-4**, 315; **81-7-27**, 91; **82-3-23**, 75; **83-1-18**, 830; **BM** 134548; BM 134601; 134831; **DT.** 156; 246; **K.** 1442; 2996; 3006; 3988; 4694; 5669; 5721; 5739;

5809; 5824; 6023; 6075; 6104+15487; 6124; 6129; 6176; 6192; 6193; 8702; 8874; 8889; 8892; 8895+12223; 8897; 9107+10193; 9118; 9545; 9715; 9878; 10146; 10186; 10288; 10296; 10563; 10568; 10596; 10974; 11662; 11813; 11945; 12156; 12266; 12399; 12435; 12592; 12689; 12701; 12718; 13115; 13947; 14454; 14472; 14489; 14493; 14874; 15468; 15477; 15483; 15488; 15491; 15542; 15579; 16245; 16276; 16291; 16299; 16316; 16338; 16659; 16660; 16845; 16858; 17077; 17203; 17289; 17375; 17412; 17654; 18086; 18162; 18590; 18593; 18608; 18613; 18627; 18660; 18676; 18688; 18708; 18714; 18731; 18737; 18751; 18764; 18766; 18770; 18775; 18777; 18779; 18801; 18868; 18875; 18970; 18984; 18987; 18989; 18990; 18993; 18995; 18999; 19002; 19010; 19022; 19026; 19028; 19031; 19063; 19070; 19072; 19075; 19078; 19084; 19085; 19086; 19091; 19096; 19100; 19114; 19130; 19138; 19189; 19191; 19193; 19200; 19209; 19212; 19214; 19218; 19227; 19231; 19296; 19297; 19319; 19330; 19331; 19343; 19347; 19349; 19361; 19385; 19398; 19611; 19666; 19710; 19747; 19801; 19842; 19934; 20262; 20332; 20690; 20846; 20918; 21091; 21336; 21528; 21624; 21686; 21693; 21860; 21912; 21999; 22026; 22121; **Rm. II**, 287; 391; 455; 517; **Sm.** 1108; 1121; 1572; 1616; 1950; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 104 (BM 98598); Th. 1905-4-9, 120 (BM 98614); Th. 1905-4-9, 155 (BM 98649)

divination reports (18)

81-7-27, 95; **82-9-18**, 12483; **83-1-18**, 819; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 26; **K.** 5773; 7302; 8403; 8671; 9673; 11693; 12289; 15005; 16236; **Rm.** 210; 994; **Sm.** 703; 1179; 1463

unclassified divination texts (6)

83-1-18, 874+892; **DT.** 153; **K.** 5674; 12723; 21937; **Sm.** 1495

Ad X.4. The Babylonian archival texts

Letters (1009)

letters from the king or the king's son (62)

letters from Sargon II (3): **K.** 1159+4683; 5610; 13047+13119+13854+15417+16553+16589

letters from Esarhaddon (3): **Bu. 91-5-9**, 2; **K.** 87; 13135

letter from the crown prince (= Ashurbanipal) (1): **Rm.** 72

letters from Ashurbanipal (39): **67-4-2**, 1; **80-7-19**, 113; **81-2-4**, 92; 378; 509; **82-5-22**, 91; 97; **83-1-18**, 27; 31; 166; 263; 811; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 5; 88; 115; 126; **K.** 17; 94; 95; 824; 828; 938; 1054+81-7-27, 40; 1085; 1139; 1162; 1271; 1610; 5446b; 5452b; 5511; 5576+10399+Sm. 520; 5635; 12007+82-5-22, 129; 12984; 13725; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 34 (BM 99005); 206 (BM 99174); 290 (BM 99258)

letter from Ashurbanipal's son (1): **K.** 4449

sender not (certain) identified (15): **79-7-8**, 63; **82-5-22**, 1764; **83-1-18**, 129; 709; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 20; 71; **K.** 1164; 1245+83-1-18, 107; 5192; 5388; 5625; 5634; 7557; 20897; **Sm.** 1827+80-7-19, 372

Babylonian letters to the king (681)

letters to Sargon II (93): **79-7-8**, 153; 257; **80-7-19**, 45; **81-2-4**, 76; **81-7-27**, 32; 142; **82-5-22**, 113; 144; **83-1-18**, 696; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 162; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 124; **K.** 114; 562; 564; 588; 605; 684; 844; 906; 912; 939b; 982; 1138; 1146; 1165; 1172; 1238; 1241; 1244+Sm. 416; 1370; 1546; 1559+5419a+5422c+5535+7421+7544+13125+15692+15712; 1879; 1890+5385+11799+13118; 1945; 1968; 4287; 4682+81-2-4, 379; 4698; 4740+5559+14644; 4745+5550+5614+16119; 4748; 4778; 5097; 5170; 5304; 5418b; 5423c; 5426b+7459+10408+13018+15410+15696+16138+16615; 5444b+14617+15388+15688; 5541+5617+13173; 5594+11425; 5607; 5626+7558; 5627; 7383; 7426+15695+16602+21597; 7435; 7526+19980; 7530+Rm. II, 483; 7880; 8379; 8389; 8409; 8412; 11694; 12946; 12954+13130; 13045+14599; 13080; 13090; 13092; 13853+Sm. 1915; 14603; 15127; 15298; 15354; 15385; 15702; 15708+16592+16607; 16111+16115; 16113; 16581; 16605; 16610; 19564; **Rm.** 54; 215; **Rm. II**, 596; **Sm.** 346; 563+2169; 740; 764+1650

letter to the king's son (= Sennacherib) (1): **K.** 9525

letters to Sennacherib (27): **79-7-8**, 312; **82-5-22**, 1779; **83-1-18**, 79; 254; **DT.** 138; **K.** 508; 580; 597; 654; 894; 1214+7313+7450; 1225+15690+16582; 1898; 5433b; 5447a+13038; 5538; 7428; 12962; 13100; 14680; 15003; 16112+16586+16596; **Rm.** 64; 925; **Sm.** 549 (+) 1213; 1243; 1919

letters to Sargon II or Sennacherib (33): **79-7-8**, 256; **81-7-27**, 31; **83-1-18**, 71; **K.** 145; 563; 923; 1045; 1371; 1887; 1936+16609; 1942; 5264; 5406+14659+15699; 5412b; 5427b+5525; 5429; 5431b; 5434a; 5450b; 5471; 5536; 5591; 5595; 5605; 7326+EPHE 342; 9187; 13169; 15323+Rm. II, 408; 15714+15719; 16613+Sm. 37+361+1794+1951+2158; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 37 (BM 99008); **Rm. II**, 495; **Sm.** 1975

letters to the king's mother (king = Esarhaddon) (3): **K.** 478; 523; 1355

letters to Esarhaddon (109): **80-7-19**, 27; 28; 362; **81-2-4**, 70; 77; 91; 164; 417; 485; 497; **82-5-22**, 106; 153; 1773; **83-1-18**, 1; 3; 32; 65; 77; 78; 87; 124; 135; 138; 253; 285; 394; 554; 746; 835; 864; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 164; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 33; 39; 93; 133; **DT.** 192; 301+83-1-18, 276; **K.** 154; 474; 479; 517; 545; 566; 644; 646; 905; 944; 1002; 1009; 1055; 1056; 1104; 1106; 1156; 1180; 1202; 1353; 1459; 1905+2905+5410b; 1919+7378+10489+12958+13081+15416+16116; 1969; 1973; 2889; 4670+Ki. 1904-10-9, 261 (BM 99229); 4684; 4716; 5393; 5397; 5401; 5439a; 5455b; 5463+22015; 5467; 5522; 5553; 5579; 5590; 5638+12015+13834; 6118; 7355; 7372; 7396; 7427+16125; 7455; 8530; 8681; 10120+16127; 10736; 11687; 11790; 11924; 13162; 13191; 14140; 14142; 15078; 15101+83-1-18, 47; 16122; 16583; 19517; 20917; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 15 (BM 98986); 225 (BM 99193); **Rm.** 280; **Sm.** 161; 179; 1028; 1186; 1254

letter to the crown prince (Esarhaddon) (1): **82-5-22**, 105

letters to Sargon II or Esarhaddon (7): **81-2-4**, 114; **83-1-18**, 28; **K.** 4775+5604; 5400+13157; 14627; **Rm.** 78; 217

letters to Sennacherib or Esarhaddon (2): **K.** 16588; **Rm.** 561

letters to the king's son (= Ashurbanipal) (3): **K.** 7433; 14661; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 49 (BM 99020)

letter to the crown prince Ashurbanipal (1): **Bu. 91-5-9**, 148

letter to the king's mother (king = Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal) (1): **K.** 825

letters to Ashurbanipal (235): **48-11-4**, 282; **48-7-20**, 117+120; **79-7-8**, 313; **80-7-19**, 153; 174; 338; **81-2-4**, 78; 124; 313; 394; 459; 494; 499; 506; **81-7-27**, 48; 151+83-1-18, 123; **82-5-22**, 101; 111; 116; 126+83-1-18, 133; 131; 132; 133; 154; 163; 165; 167; 1769; 1772; **83-1-18**, 4; 8; 29; 30; 49; 51; 69; 91; 105; 108; 116; 125; 131; 137; 143; 150; 158; 162; 260; 261; 267; 581; 712; 717; 733; 736; 772; 824; 849; 869; 872; 886; **BM** 121053; 134599; **Bu. 89-4-26**, 63+81; 156; **Bu. 91-5-9**, 19+107; 23+72+238; 26; 56; 87; 90; 113; 125; **DT.** 23; 129; **K.** 10; 13; 79; 81; 82; 83; 462; 471; 473+1950; 509; 524; 544; 599; 607; 615; 638; 647; 672; 680; 909; 961; 974; 1030; 1066; 1074; 1089; 1095; 1107; 1122; 1167+81-2-4, 468; 1174+1210; 1184+7467; 1185; 1196; 1203+83-1-18, 753; 1218; 1248; 1250; 1303; 1374; 1541; 1550; 1560; 1592+20912; 1596; 1616; 1895; 1899; 1926; 1929; 1958; 1964; 1992; 2645; 2923; 2998/2988+81-2-4, 385; 3102+82-3-23, 40; 4275+83-1-18, 52; 4303; 4489; 4671+5396; 4673+4681+82-5-22, 147; 4736; 4793; 4796; 4800; 5062+8314+Ki. 1904-10-9, 296 (BM 99264); 5380; 5384; 5398; 5404; 5407; 5413b; 5437a; 5441b; 5442b; 5448b+83-1-18, 53; 5449b+13148+13176; 5451b; 5456b; 5457+13128; 5461; 5473; 549a; 5504+6946; 5505; 5512+5575; 5558+7371; 5567; 5585; 5588+5619+7475+15718; 5622; 5637; 5639+7792; 5807+13106; 6122; 7256; 7317; 7324+83-1-18, 275; 7340; 7369; 7397; 7404; 7410; 7415; 7417; 7479; 7513; 7537; 7540; 7541; 7543; 8381; 8440; 10319; 12944; 13031+16124; 13107; 14130; 14278; 14593; 14649; 15016; 15045; 15058; 15129; 15304; 15324; 15393; 15397; 15401; 15404; 15679; 16123; 16137; 16594; 19196; 20566; **Ki. 1904-10-9**, 47 (BM 99018); 184 (BM 99152); 276 (BM 99244); 283 (BM 99251); 298 (BM 99266); 317 (BM 99285); 337+346 (BM 99305+99314); **Rm.** 48; 60; **Sm.** 620; 632; 1066; 1165; 1378; 1392+1831; 1631; 1735; 1793; 1954; 2164; **Th. 1905-4-9**, 69 (BM 98563); 83 (BM 98577)

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officials of Sargon II (15): **83-1-18**, 57; 92; **K.** 823; 830; 862; 986; 1177; 1941; 5399+7335+16585; 5417b; 5474+Sm. 501; 8301; **Rm.** 563; **Rm. II**, 457; **Sm.** 267

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