

Adad-apla-iddina, Esagil-kīn-apli, and the Series SA.GIG

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In 1956 J. V. Kinnier-Wilson published a recently discovered piece of a Nimrud tablet that contained part of a catalogue to the medical omen series SA.GIG.¹ A broken section of that tablet describes the role played by a significant redactor, Ešguzi-gin-a, but the name of the king under whom he worked is broken (^dX-apla-iddina), and has proved a point of discussion.² Subsequently, the same scholar identified, joined, and published (in transliteration only) the remainder of the Nimrud tablet.³ The new piece added almost all the remaining incipits to SA.GIG, and added similar information for the physiognomic omen series Alamdimmu, Kataduggu, and associated texts.

The identification of a duplicate to the Nimrud catalogue (ND 4358+4366) in BM 41237+ now establishes for certain that the name of the king was Adad-apla-iddina, gives fuller information about the editing of the series, and adds the few SA.GIG incipits that were previously either broken, or altogether missing.

THE NEW MANUSCRIPT

BM 41237 (81-4-28,785) + 46607 (81-8-30,73) + 47163 (81-8-30,685)⁴ represents slightly more than the lower half of a single-column tablet; it measures 7.4 × 11.0 (at maximum) × 1.8 cms., and there seems every likelihood that when complete it contained the same material as did the

1. See *Iraq* 18 (1956) 130-146.

2. Marduk-apla-iddina was suggested in *Iraq* 18 (1956) 136; W. G. Lambert proposed Nabu-apla-iddina in *JCS* 11 (1957) 6; J. A. Brinkman opted for the same in *JCS* 16 (1962) 96 sub 24.3.3; compare also *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), p. 37. J. J. A. van Dijk later showed (Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 18 [Berlin, 1962], p. 51) that the king should be Adad-apla-iddina of the

Second Dynasty of Isin (1067-1046 B.C.); see also J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.*, *AnOr* 43 (Rome, 1968), p. 141. For the reign of Adad-apla-iddina see recently C. B. F. Walker, in G. van Driel *et al.*, eds., *Zikir Šumim* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 398-417.

3. *Iraq* 24 (1962) 52-62.

4. BM 46607 and 47163 were joined by C. B. F. Walker in 1977; BM 41237 was joined and the text identified by the present writer

Nimrud tablet ND 4358+4366. The 81-4-28 and 81-8-30 collections of the British Museum both consist of tablets brought to England by Hormuzd Rassam⁵; the provenances are stated in the Department Registers to be Babylon for 41237 and 46607, while 47163 has no provenance quoted. The script is Babylonian, small and neat, and probably Neo-Babylonian rather than later; the sign forms are not dissimilar from those in many tablets in a Babylonian hand from the libraries at Nineveh. A copy of BM 41237+ is given below as Fig. I.

THE EDITORIAL WORK ON SA.GIG

The authorship of the medical and physiognomic omens was anciently attributed to Ea,⁶ but it is evident that by the turn of the second millennium BC a proliferation of tablets, recensions and variants required a firm human editorial hand; and in the remarkable passage studied below (already partly known from ND 4358+) we are informed that order was brought to bear on the problem by one Ešguzi-gin-a.

The name of this scholar-scribe is well-known. The Akkadian equivalent to his name (written ^mèš-gú-zi-gi-in-a) is given in VR 44 iii 44⁷ as ^mé-sag-gil-ki-in-ap-li, and he is also listed as one of the famed official *ummānū*, "(chief) scholars," in W 20030,7, the Seleucid *List of Sages and Scholars*⁸ in the following context:

16 [ina tar-ši ^mx-x]-x LUGAL ^mé-sag-gil-ki-i-ni-DUMU.NITA *um-man-nu*

17 [ina-tar-ši] ^mIM-¹DUMU.NITA¹-MU.SUM LUGAL ^mé-sag-gil-ki-i-ni-ub¹-ba-(sic!) *um-man-nu*

18 [ina tar-š]i ^mAG-NÍG.DU-ŠEŠ LUGAL ^mé-sag-gil-ki-i-ni-ub-ba LU(sic!) *um-man-nu*

Esagil-kīni-ubba (Saggil-kīnam-ubbib), probably the author of the Babylonian Theodicy,⁹ is shown to have served as *ummānu* both under Nebuchadnezzar I and Adad-apla-iddina; his career thus spanned at least thirty-five years, although the reigns are given in reverse order.¹⁰

Saggil-kīnam-ubbib is independently known to have worked under Adad-apla-iddina, from K.10802 rev. 1-2.¹¹ On the basis of the present evidence one might hazard that Esagil-kīn-apli was Adad-apla-iddina's first appointed *ummānu*, but that he died in office and was replaced by Saggil-kīnam-ubbib, but van Dijk's remarks on W 20030, 7:16¹² make the expected restoration of Adad-apla-iddina's name unlikely.¹³ A text that might have given evidence were it more complete, is the *TDP* tablet A 3442. Dated in its colophon to ITI APIN UD 17.KAM [MU n.KAM ^mX-DUMU.NI]TA-SUM-na LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI,¹⁴ the tablet can now be reasonably dated to the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, and seen as an example of the Esagil-kīn-apli edition.

5. See J. E. Reade in E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 6: Tablets from Sippar*, 1 (London, 1986), pp. xxx-xxxii.

6. See *JCS* 16 (1962) 64, K.2248 2-4.

7. See *JCS* 11 (1957) 13.

8. Published by J. J. A. van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 44-52.

9. Compare W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957) 12; *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 63-64. On the restoration of K.10802:1 see *JCS* 16 (1962) 66, and J. J. A. van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 46 and 51.

10. See J. A. Brinkman, *AnOr* 43, p. 115 n. 641.

11. See W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 63-64; *JCS* 16 (1962) 66, and J. A. Brinkman, *AnOr* 43, p. 141 n. 852.

12. *UVB* 18, p. 51.

13. The transliteration suggests a surviving trace of the RN ("vielleicht Raum für drei Zeichen"), but this is not shown in the copy (pl. 27), nor in that later printed in *Bagh. Mitt.* Beiheft 2 as no. 89.

14. Collated by J. A. Black; see *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 37 n. 219.

Esagil-kîn-apli's "father" is shown by the new duplicate to be Asalluḫi-mansum (not *Ištaran-šeš-mansum),¹⁵ who functioned as *apkallu* (NUN.ME), or Sage, in the reign of Ḥammurapi.¹⁶ *māru* here evidently must mean "descendant." In the Uruk list the term *apkallu* is chiefly used for those scholars dating to pre-Flood Days,¹⁷ although there was a NUN.ME under Enmerkar, and the scholar who lived under Gilgames¹⁸ was likewise a NUN.ME. No scholar from the reign of Ḥammurapi is given in the Uruk list.

The catalogue opens with the forty incipits to the series SA.GIG, and divides the tablets into sub-series as is also found in the colophons known from the sources in Labat *TDP*. Each entry is ruled, and each incipit is prefaced with the number of lines in the tablet. Both manuscripts share the same format, although where the line totals are preserved in both, there is no agreement. After the incipits for SA.GIG comes the unusual passage that describes Esagil-kîn-apli's work. Appended to the catalogue as it is, the passage thus qualifies effectively as a colophon. The style of the SA.GIG catalogue differs in both manuscripts for the succeeding entries in that line totals for the individual tablets are omitted. It might well be that originally the catalogue to SA.GIG and the catalogue to Alamdimmū and related texts were separate, and were subsequently amalgamated. This is in some measure borne out by the placing of what we have termed the colophon to SA.GIG.

The end of the Nimrud tablet ND 4358+ is badly broken, but the phrase *niširti e[zida]*, "secret of Ezida" (A 92) fits well with its discovery in Nabû's temple Ezida at Nimrud, and it seems probable that BM 41237+, if not itself from Borsippa, originated textually in a manuscript from Ezida in Borsippa. Thus we are dealing with the Borsippa edition of SA.GIG from the Sage of Borsippa; see B 21' below.

The pieces ND 4358 and 4366 have now been joined and further cleaned, and J. A. Black has recently prepared a complete new copy for inclusion in the forthcoming volume of Late Assyrian texts from the Nabû temple library at Nimrud.¹⁹ His very considerable kindness in making this copy available prior to publication and collating several passages has meant that a transliteration of the tablet, revised in the light of the Babylonian duplicate, can be given here.²⁰ The incipits are thus given in full for the convenience of future workers with the series.²¹ One or two difficulties still remain, but the forty incipits in this edition of SA.GIG are now complete.

The following transliteration is based on A = ND 4358+4366, restored where necessary after B = BM 41237+; where B has preferable reading, however, it is adopted in the transliteration. Variations and sundry observations on new readings are given in the footnotes. Where the line totals are preserved in A and B they are quoted in that order.

15. Correct therefore *Iraq* 18 (1956) 136; UVB 18, p. 51, etc.

16. On the possible implications of this see W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957) 6-7.

17. See also E. Reiner, *OrNS* 30 (1961) 7; J. J. A. van Dijk, UVB 18, pp. 46-47.

18. If correctly understood; see UVB 18, pp. 50-51.

19. D. J. Wiseman, J. A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Nabu Temple* (CTN 4), forthcoming.

20. J. V. Kinnier Wilson has commented on these

incipits in the above-mentioned articles, so translations are not given here.

21. Labat has rather simplified the manuscript difficulties in *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux* (Leiden, 1951); the problem will need investigation if a new edition is undertaken incorporating the many new sources and commentaries, published and unpublished. Compare, for example, E. Leichty, *AfO* 24 (1975) 82-86.

SA.GIG TABLETS I-XL

Transliteration

Obv. A 1		[SAG DUB.MEŠ u Š]U. ¹ NIGIN, ¹ MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.X ²²
A 2	I	[... e-nu-ma ana É] ¹ LÚ ¹ .GIG KA.PIRIG DU-ku
A 3	II	[... DIŠ LÚ ana É] ¹ LÚ.GIG ¹ DU-ku
A 4		[.....] x x ²³ GIBIL NU TIL
A 5		[NIGIN..... e-nu]-ma ana É ¹ LÚ.GIG ¹ KA.PIRIG DU- ¹ ku ¹
A 6	III	[...] ana GIG ina TE-ka
A 7	IV	[...] DIŠ SAG.KI he-si-ma
A 8	V	[...] DIŠ IGI 15-šú KÚ-šú
A 9	VI	[...] DIŠ KIR ₁ -šú
A 10	VII	[...] DIŠ EME-šú SA ₅ - ¹ át ¹
A 11	VIII	[...] DIŠ GEŠTUG 15-šú ¹ tar-kát ¹
A 12	IX	[...] DIŠ GIG pa-nu-šú SA ₅ , ²⁴
A 13	X	[...] DIŠ GIG ¹ GŪ-su ¹²⁵
A 14	XI	[...] DIŠ rit-ta-šú šá 15 KÚ- ¹ šú ¹
A 15	XII	[...] DIŠ] GABA-su KÚ-[šú]
A 16	XIII	[...] DIŠ SA]G ŠA-šú [SA ₅]
A 17	XIV	[...] DIŠ g]i-liš 15-šú [SA ₅ -át]
A 18		[NIGIN..... ana G]I[G] ina TE-ka
A 19		[.....]x ²⁶ SUR.GIBIL šab-[tu ₄]
A 20	XV	[...] DIŠ U]D I.KAM GIG-ma GAR TAG-t[¹ i]
A 21	XVI	[...] DIŠ U]D I.KAM GIG-ma SAG- ¹ su ¹ KÚ-šú
A 22	XVII	[...] ¹ DIŠ ¹ ina SAG GIG-šú IR bu-bu- ² -ta ir-ta- ¹ šú ¹
A 23	XVIII	[...] DIŠ GIG SU-[šú]
A 24	XIX	[...] DIŠ i-mim u ŠED ₇
A 25	XX	[...] DIŠ GIG IR ú-ka[l]
A 26	XXI	100 DIŠ NIGIN SA.MEŠ-šú SILIM.MEŠ-ma

22. Sign perhaps B[I] or N[E]. To mark the heading, the whole line is in larger script than the remainder.

23. Signs like ¹TU BI¹.

24. Contra *Iraq* 24 (1962) 55, evidently confused; new

copy unambiguous.

25. Contra *Iraq* 24 (1962) 55, evidently confused; new copy unambiguous.

26. x = lower half of broken vertical.

A 27	XXII	88	DIŠ GIG 'iṣ-búr' 1 2 u 3 ²⁷ GIG ina 'še ¹ -re-e-ti il-te-'né ¹ - eb-bu
A 28	XXIII	103	DIŠ 'ZÉ' ep-ru
A 29	XXIV	137	DIŠ 'GIG' GIŠ.ḤAŠḤUR APIN-iš
A 30	XXV	85	DIŠ IZI.GAR šá ina SAG LÚ.GIG kun-nu
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A 31			ŠU.NIGIN 14 UŠ 20 DIŠ UD 1.KAM GIG-ma SA x ²⁸ 'SA' ⁷¹ SUR.GIBIL šab-tu ₄
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A 32	XXVI	60	DIŠ ŠUB-tu ŠUB-su-ma
A 33	XXVII	60	DIŠ NA mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma
A 34 B 1'	XXVIII	'60' ⁷¹	šum ₄ -ma ŠU.GIDIM.MA ana AN.TA.ŠUB.BA GUR-šú
A 35	XXIX	144	'DIŠ 'LUGAL.ÜR.RA 'DU ₆ ' ¹²⁹ .BI Ū.TU
A 36	XXX	84	DIŠ GIG-ma KA-šú BAD.BAD-'te' ¹
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A 37 B 4'			NIGIN 4+2 UŠ 20+[. . . DIŠ Š]U[B-t]ú ŠUB-su-ma SA.GIG AN.TA.ŠUB.BA "SUKUD.GIM
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A 38 B 5'	XXXI	81	DIŠ UD.DA TAB-su-ma
A 39 B 6'	XXXII	[. . .]	DIŠ IM iš-biṣ-su-ma
A 40 B 7'	XXXIII	[. . .]	DIŠ 'GIG' GAR-šú EN 'sa' ⁷¹ -ma-nu ³⁰ ŠU 'ME.ME
A 41 B 8'	XXXIV	[. . .]	DIŠ 'NA' ana MUNUS-šú ŠA-šú 'IL ¹ -šú-ma
A 42 B 9'	XXXV	[. . .]	'DIŠ NA' IGI.MEŠ-šú NIGIN.MEŠ-du ³¹
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A 43 B 10'			[NIGIN] 3+[. . .] UŠ 5 ³² DIŠ UD.DA TAB-su-ma SUKUD.GIM
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Rev. A 44 B 11'	XXXVI	147	šum ₄ -ma TU PEŠ ₄ -ma UGU S[AG].'KI ¹ -šú [SIG ₇]
A 45 B 12'	XXXVII	118/98	DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ ₄ GIG-ma
A 46 B 13'	XXXVIII	141/143	DIŠ MUNUS A-šá UD 3.KAM x-šú ³³
A 47 B 14'	XXXIX	152/82	DIŠ MUNUS ha-riš-ti i-di-ip 'i ¹ -[g]iš-šú ³⁴
A 48 B 15'	XL	62+24/144	DIŠ LÚ.TUR la ⁻² -ú

27. Numeral possibly 148 (collation by Black). Reading *iṣ-búr*(?) after *Iraq* 18 (1956) copy; 1 2 3 after new copy, quite provisional; the equivalent incipit in *TDP* 176:1 reads simply [DIŠ GI]G ina še-re-e-ti il-te-né-eb-bu . . . (Tablet "23"), which might suggest that this line in fact contains what should be two incipits.

28. x: broken Winkelhaken followed by vertical visible as 'IGI' (collation by Black).

29. This tablet has remained unknown, but now the following Late Babylonian unpublished pieces have been identified by the writer: (i) BM 42310+; (ii) BM 46563; (iii) BM 56605; and (iv) an unnumbered fragment. BM 38375 is a fragment of a commentary on this tablet. The sources suggest that DU₆.BI rather than KI.BI is to be read. The format of this tablet differs noticeably from *TDP* generally. The medical problems are linked in the obverse to the age

of the patient (DIŠ ina MU n.KAM ŠUB-su . . .), and in the reverse to the spot where the patient is at the time of attack (for example, DIŠ AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ina a-lak gir-ri ŠUB-su . . .). Each "omen" or diagnosis has a magical/medical prescription appended, in some cases even including the incipits of the incantations to be used. One would scarcely identify the text as SA.GIG were the first line not preserved. BM 56605 has on its reverse a mysterious table of astrological significance, a duplicate to which is BM 40680.

30. EN clear; 'sa'⁷¹- short, but probable (collation by Black).

31. A: NIGIN.MEŠ-du; B: NIGIN₂-[. . .].

32. A: [NIGIN] '3'+[. . . U]Š 5; B: [. . .]+1 UŠ 5.

33. x like B[I or TA[B.

34. Confirmed by H. Hunger, *Spät Babylonische Texte aus Uruk* 1 (Berlin, 1976), no. 40.

A 49 B 16'

NIGIN 5+6³⁵ UŠ 42 MUNUS. 'PEŠ, ' [x] x 'šab-tu₄¹³⁶ GIŠ.GIŠ.A

A 50 B 17'

ŠU.NIGIN 40 DUB.MEŠ 3000+ x x³⁷ [. . . M]U.MEŠ šá SA.GIG
ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ

ESAGIL-KĪN-APLI'S EDITORIAL WORK

- A 51-2 B obv. 18' ša ul-tu ul-la SUR.G[IBIL] 'la¹ šab-tu₄ ù GIM GU.MEŠ 'GIL.MEŠ³⁸ ša'
GABA.RI¹³⁹ NU TUKU
- A 53-4 B rev. 19' ina BAL-e ^mdIM-DUMU.NITA-MU⁴⁰ LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI⁴¹ GIBIL.BI.ŠÈ [x].AM⁴²
- A 54-5 B 20' ^mèš-gú-zi-gin-a⁴³ DUMU⁴⁴ ^masal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-sum⁴⁵ NUN.M[E] 'm'ḫa-a[m]-
mu-ra-pí LUGAL
- A 55-6 B 21' um-mat ^d30 ^dli₉-si₄ u ^dna-na-a BARA₂.SIPA.KI-i reš-ti-i
- A 57-8 B 22' ZABAR.DAB.BA é-zi-da pa-šiš ^dI.ZU.ZU⁴⁶ na-áš DUB šī-mat DINGIR.MEŠ sa-
niq mit-ḫur-t[ú]⁴⁷
- A 59-60 B 23' i-šip-pu ram-ku šá ^dnin-zil-zil-le be-let tak-né-e ta-li-mat nar-mi-šú
- A 60-1 B 24' UM.ME.A KUR EME.KU u URI.KI ina GEŠTUC⁴⁸ ni-kil-ti šá 40' u PAP.PAP⁴⁸
iš-ru-ku-šú
- A 61-2 B 25' ina ka-bat-ti-šú uš-ta-bil-ma SA.GIG⁴⁹ TA muḫ-ḫi EN GĪR.ME[Š]
- A 62 B 26' [S]UR.GIBIL.DIB.MEŠ-ma ana NĪG.ZU DU-in it-id 'pit¹-[qad]
- A 63-4 B 27' [NĪG.Z]U.ZŪ.ŠÈ NAM.BA.ŠE.BI.DA⁵⁰ šá NĪG.ZU NU GUB.BI⁵¹ sa-kik-ka ul
DUG₄[GA-ma]
- A 65-6 B 28' [al]am-dīm-ma-a ul i-nam-bi sa-kik-ka ri-kis GIG u ri-kis k[u-ri]⁵²
- A 66-7 B 29' alam-dīm-mu-ú bu-un-na-an-né-e la-a-nu šī-mat NAM.LŪ.U₁₈.L[U]
- A 67-8 B 30' šá 40 u PAP.PAP⁵³ i-šī-mu šá ÉŠ.GĀR ki-lal-la-an K[É]Š-su-nu⁵⁴ l-ma
- A 69 B 31' [a-šī-pu(P)] TAR-is⁵⁵ EŠ.BAR ḫa-²-iṭ ZI-ti UN.MEŠ
- A 70-1 B 32' [sa-k]ik-ka u alam-dīm-ma-a ka-liš ZU-ú li-ḫi-iṭ lib-ri lib-bi
- A 71 B 33' [liš-ta-bil]-ma ana LUGAL ME-a liš-kun

35. A: 4+6; B: 5+6.

36. A: MUNUS.P[ES₄] GIŠ.GIŠ.A; B: MU[NUS]. 'PEŠ, ' [(x)] x 'šab-tu₄ GIŠ.[. . .].37. A: ŠU.NIGIN 40 DUB.MEŠ 3000+6⁷+4⁸=[. . .]; B: ŠU.NIGIN 40 1800+[. . .].38. The *editio princeps* offered SUMUN.MEŠ 'GIL.MEŠ¹, "obscure originals" (see W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 [1957] 6 and 13-14), but the new copy shows a clear GU.MEŠ 'GIL.MEŠ¹, "twisted threads," thus adopted here. Professor Köcher suggests GIB.MEŠ, "crossed." On SUR.GIBIL (= za-ra-a) see *Iraq* 18 (1956) 138, *JCS* 11 (1957) 14, and YBC 7123 rev. 5' elsewhere in this volume.39. LŪ before GABA.RI (see *Iraq* 18 [1956] 138-39) is not visible at all in the new copy; ša remains uncertain.40. A: ina, ^mdIM¹-DUMU.NITA-SUM.NA; B: ina, ^dIM-DUMU.NITA-MU.41. A: 'KÁ¹.DINGIR.RA.'KI¹.42. A.AN now seems clear contra]-šd-an; the restoration proposed in *JCS* 11 (1957) 13 is thus ruled out. An adverb is probably to be restored.43. A: ^mèš-gú-zi-gin-a; B: ^mèš-gú¹-zi-gi-a.

44. A: A.

45. Since B has ^dasal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-sum, ^dKAXDI-ŠEŠ¹-ma-an-sum in A is now seen as ^dasal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-sum (confirmed by Black); compare p. 150 below.46. A:]. 'BAR.DAB¹; B: ZABAR.DAB.BA; A: ḪAL.NI.ZU.ZU, also in new copy.47. A: sa-ni-qu mi[t]-'ḫur¹-t[i].

48. A: ina UD IR-kil-ti (collation by Black); A: 20 (+), (worn) u x[(3 small initial horizontals: new copy); B: 50 (sic) u PAP.PAP; see note 62.

49. A: SA.GIG.MEŠ 'iṣ¹-[tu]; B: SA.GIG TA.50. = ana iḫzika la teggi; compare it-i-id la te-eg-gi (*JNES* 33 [1974] 200 71), and it-id pit-qad la te-gi in the passage partly quoted below at footnote 57.

51. The translation assumes that GUB here is an unsupported ideogram for kašādu; compare CAD E 47 sub iḫzu A.

52. A: omits SA.GIG, continues 'ri¹-kis ku-[ri] ri-[kis] 'GIG¹ [u ri-kis a-di]r-ti.

53. A: šá 40 u [. . .]; B: [. . .] PAP.PAP; see footnote 62.

54. A: perhaps KA rather than KÉŠ; B: K[É]Š.

55. A: unidentified trace (x AŠ⁷) corresponding approximately to TAR-is.

- B Obv. 18' Concerning that which from old time had not received an [authorised] edition, and according to 'twisted threads' for which no duplicates were available,⁵⁶
- B Rev. 19' In the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, King of Babylon, to work it anew . . . ,
- 20' Esagil-kīn-apli, son of Asalluḫi-mansum, the Sage of King Hammurabi,
- 21' the *ummatu*⁵⁷ of Sin, Lisi and Nanai, a prominent citizen of Borsippa,
- 22' the *zabardabbū* of Ezida,⁵⁸ the *pašišu* of Nabu⁵⁹ who holds the gods' Tablet of Fate, and can reconcile conflicting things,
- 23' the *išippu* and *ramku* priest of Ninzilzil,⁶⁰ lady of loving trust, 'sister'⁶¹ of his loved one,
- 24' the (chief) scholar of Sumer and Akkad, through the incisive intelligence that Ea and Asalluḫi/Marduk(?)⁶² had bestowed on him,
- 25' deliberated with himself, and produced the authorised editions for SA.GIG, from head to foot,⁶³
- 26' and established them for knowledge. Take care! Pay [attention!]
- 27' Do not neglect your knowledge! He who does not attain(?) knowledge must not speak aloud the SA.GIG omens,
- 28' nor must he pronounce out loud Alamdimmūl SA.GIG (concerns) all diseases and all (forms of) distress;
- 29' Alamdimmū (concerns) external form and appearance (and how they imply) the fate of man
- 30' which Ea and Asalluḫi/Marduk(?) ordained in Heaven. (Regarding) the twin series, their arrangement is one.⁶⁴

56. The Uruk commentaries to *TDP* available in SpBTU vol. 1 are consistently described where preserved as being *ša pi ummāni/ummāni*, "according to the Sage(s)." Admittedly this attribution occurs in commentaries to other texts, but does it here perhaps mean that Esagil-kīn-apli also wrote explanations of the difficult passages?

57. The term *um-mat* occurs also in CRRAI 19, p. 436 12, but its meaning remains uncertain. The present passage shows that the citation in *AHw*, p. 1415 sub *ummatu* 3) c) as subordinate to *mukīn* . . . must be corrected. A meaning "descendant" in the Nebuchadnezzar I text seems probable, and support for this might be provided by the passage quoted from Rm 17+ and BM 55148+ below, where ŠĀ.BAL.BAL ⁴li₂-si₄ a a corresponds to *um-mat* ⁴30⁴li₂-si₄ u ⁴na-na-a. Compare also K 2596 rev. iii 18'-20' (drawn to my attention by W. G. Lambert), a colophon describing the textual history of the incantations against agricultural pests:

AŠ(for =) <PAP>.SUKKAL.DUG₄.NU.

BAL.BAL u[m-mat . . .]

SU.AN.NA.KI ZABAR.DAB.BA ⁴na-bi-um [. . .]

GUDU₄ é-sag-íl u é-zi-da ki-i[. . .]

For the name of this scholar-scribe see *JCS* 11 (1957) 13:51.

58. Compare the scribal ancestor Baba-šum-ibni, in colophons from Assur, who is described as *zabardabbū* of Ešarra; see now O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* part 2, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia

Semitica Upsaliensia 8, p. 45 n. 22.

59. For ⁴zu-zu as a name of Nabû see F. Pomponio, *Studi Semitici* 51 (1978) 158-159.

60. ⁴nin-zil-zil is given as Emesal for Nanai in MSL 49:90 (compare W. G. Lambert, *MIO* 12/2 [1966] 45); she is described as ⁴na-na-a DUMU.MUNUS [. . .] *ša man-za-as-su šá-qu-u be-let tak-né-e* [. . .] in CT 25 49 7-8, and the syncretistic hymn KAR 109 22 states that in BARÁ.SIPA.KI ⁴nin-zil-zil-le be-let tak-né-e zi-kir-šá.

61. It is assumed that *narmû* stands for *narðmu* (compare CAD N/1 361 sub *narmû*), and refers to Nabû, and that -šú refers to Esagil-kīn-apli; *talimtu* must therefore mean "lover" here.

62. In line 30', A offers 40 u [. . .] and B [. . .] PAP.PAP where gods must be meant, and since the ordaining of human fate must be largely Ea's responsibility (compare K.2448 2-3 referred to above), 40 may be trusted; in the parallel phrase in line 23' A has '30' and B '50' which must be emended. PAP.PAP seems likely to stand for Asalluḫi/Marduk, although no support can be offered; ⁴PAP.PAP = DUMU.MUNUS ⁴nin-šubur (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* 50 i 7-8), explained as LÜ KĀ na-qiḏ, is no doubt irrelevant.

63. *a capite ad calcem* (MSL 16, p. 23 and refs.) expressed in Akkadian! Compare also line A 77 below, *TDP* 28 86-96, and R. D. Biggs, *RA* 62 (1968) 58 17'.

64. That is, both organized by this tablet.

- 31' [Let the *āšipu*] who makes the decisions, and who watches over people's lives,
 32' who comprehensively knows SA.GIG and Alamdimmû, inspect (the patient) and
 check (the appropriate series),
 33' [let him ponder], and let him put his diagnosis at the disposal of the king.⁶⁵

In many ways this passage is a remarkable one. According to this text, SUR.GIBIL (= *za-ra-a*) *šabātu* effectively represents the process of "canonisation" so often discussed by Assyriologists; a text is established from disparate sources to represent the standard version of the composition. The expression is also applied to the individual sub-series in A 19 and A 31; compare also A 49 (not apparently SUR.GIBIL), and also A 4: GIBIL NU TIL. Other technical terms here, still quite obscure, are ^(u)SUKUD.GIM in A 37 and A 43, and GIŠ.GIŠ.A in A 49 and A 91. The passage is direct supportive evidence for the conventional placing of "canonisation" in the second half of the second millennium, and provides a unique glimpse of a major scholarly effort from a master scribe.

In the *Exorcist's Manual* KAR 44, the opening section (obv. 2 - rev. 3) lists the "incipits of the series of *āšipūtu* which have been established for knowledge and study" (SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá ana NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU₆A kun-nu). The following section (rev. 5-20) is, in contrast, described as the "incipits of the series of *āšipūtu* according to Esagil-kīn-apli (SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá ^me-sag-il-DU-A). Two new Late Babylonian duplicates to KAR 44 to be published by M. J. Geller (Rm 717+ and BM 55148+) offer fuller information at this point, and are particularly relevant to the passage under study. Rm 717+ (with variants from BM 55148+) reads as follows:

Rev. 3. ŠU.NIGIN •ÉŠ.GÀR *a-ši-pu-tu* (var. MAŠ.MAŠ-x[. . .] šá ^mèš-gú-zi-gin'-DUMUXUŠ (var. ^mè]š-gú-zi-gi-in-a) DUMU ^masal-lú-ši-[*ma-an-su*]m

.4. NUN.ME ^mha-am-mu-ra-pt LUGAL ŠÚ (var. x[. . .]) ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^{li}si₄ A (var. A A) *i-šip-pu* (var. GUDU,) *é-zi-da* (var. adds [. . .])

The anonymity of cuneiform literature has been stressed by W. G. Lambert,⁶⁶ who emphasized the importance of the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*⁶⁷ as being exceptional in approach. The present text, now more or less complete, shows both one individual at work, and the care with which those who were to use that work were to proceed. In its rather cryptic use of a colophon-style mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian and its choice of unusual words and gods the passage embodies the protective attitude of the *āšipu* to his inherited lore. The closing lines likewise are suggestive. It is interesting that while the *āšipu* is seen as responsible for health at large, it is primarily the king for whom the practical value of his knowledge is to be put to use, unless this is mere diplomatic hyperbole. Furthermore, would it be wholly inappropriate to see in the injunction to safeguard the corpus, study the symptoms, and produce the correct diagnosis on request a faint anticipation of the admonitions of Hippocrates?

65. ME-a is taken to stand for *qību*; for passages in which this means a medical diagnosis, construed with *šakānu*, see CAD Q, p. 249 sub voce.

66. See JCS 11 (1957) 1.

67. See JCS 16 (1962) 77.

ALAMDIMMŪ

A 72 B 34'	I	DIŠ SAG.DU IGI BAR- <i>at</i> DINGIR.MEŠ ⁶⁸
A 72 B 35'	II	DIŠ 'ŠA.NIGIN ¹ [<i>ina</i> SA]G.DU LŪ <i>saḥ-ru</i>
A 73 B 36'	III	DIŠ SAG.KI NU TUKU
A 73 B 37'	IV	DIŠ SIG ₇ IGI 15 <i>ka-bar</i>
A 74 B 38'	V	DIŠ 'KIR ₄ ¹ -šú <i>a-ri-ik</i> ⁶⁹
A 74 B 38'	VI	DIŠ EME-šú <i>nam-¹rat</i> ⁷⁰
A 74 B 39'	VII	DIŠ 'TE.MURUB ₄ ¹ .MEŠ-šú x ³ -x ⁷¹
A 75 B 40'	VIII	DIŠ <i>pa-nu-šú</i> GĪD.DA
A 75 B 41'	IX	DIŠ GŪ- ¹ su ¹ GĪD.DA
A 75 B 42'	X	DIŠ GABA- ¹ su ¹ GĪD.DA ⁷²
A 76 B 43'	XI	DIŠ 'UMBIN ¹ GIM GU ₄ GAR- <i>in</i> ⁷³
A 76 B 44'	XII	DIŠ <i>alam-dtm-ma-[a]</i>

A 77 B 45' NIGIN 12 DUB.MEŠ *alam-dtm-mu-ú* TA *muḥ-ḥi* EN
GĪ[R¹¹ ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠE]

NIGDIMDIMMŪ

A 78 B 46'	I	DIŠ pa' m[u' x (x)]-šú šà gi 'gan ¹ sa SA ₅ ⁷⁴
A 78 B 47'	II	DIŠ [x] IGI' SAG.DU-su x [x] ⁷⁵

B 48' [NIGIN 2] DUB.MEŠ [*nig-dtm-dtm-mu-ú*]⁷⁶

KATADUGGŪ

A 79 B 49'	[DIŠ x (x)] x DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá NAM.LŪ. ¹ U ₁₆ .LU ¹ [z] <i>a-qt-iq-šá ana</i> EN.LĪL-[<i>ti</i>]
A 80 B 50'	[GAR- <i>nu</i>] <i>ú ka-ta-dug₄-ga šá ana re-te-et</i> 'GIR ¹¹ ₁ -šá <i>ú-kin-nu</i>

A 81 B 51' I DUB DIŠ *ka-¹ta-dug₄-ga¹-ú*⁷⁷

68. A: DIŠ SAG.DU IGI BAR-*at* DINGIR.MEŠ '(ME.U) (after new copy, contra *Iraq* 24 [1962] 55 29a); B:] x KID B[AR]-*at* DINGIR.MEŠ. This tablet is unidentified. Note that unusually this series is named after Tablet XII rather than Tablet I.

69. A: *a-rik*.

70. A: *nam-¹rat*¹; B: *nam-¹rat*¹ clear.

71. A: 'DIŠ TE¹ [. . .].

72. In this and preceding entry B apparently omits *-su*.

73. A: DIŠ 'UMBIN¹ GIM GU₄ GAR-*in*; B: DIŠ GIŠ.X GIM' GU₄ [. . .].

74. Reading from A; B: DIŠ *ana* DINGIR-šú ŠA GI x x [. . .] (AŠ before ŠA probably erasure).

75. Reading from A; B: DIŠ LÁ KA X-šú [. . .]; SAG'.DU' unlikely.

76. This rubric omitted in A. For the restoration compare K.13280+13818 obv. 10-12: [. . .] 37 ÉŠ.GAR *alam-dtm-mu-u* [. . .] *a-di* BAR.MEŠ *nig-dtm-dtm-mu-u* [. . . u k] *a-ta-dug₄-ga-u* (see S. Parpola, *JNES* 42 [1983] 24-25; F. R. Kraus, *Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik*, AfO Beiheft 3 (Berlin, 1935), no. 51; *Iraq* 24 [1962] 53). See also CT 54 108 15 and F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner*, AOS 67 (New Haven, 1987), p. 163.

77. Compare *Iraq* 24 (1962) 53 and 57. In A line 81 is written over the ruling between 80 and 82 as if added later (J. A. Black).

ŠUMMA SINNIŠTU QAQQADA RABIAT

- A 82 B 52' I [DIŠ MUNUS S]AG.DU GAL-at
 A 83 B 53' [DIŠ MUNUS]-x x⁷⁸ GAL-at GIBIL NU TIL
 A 84 II [DIŠ] x SAG.DU-šú 15 GUR-ru⁷⁹

A 85 [NIGIN 2 DUB].MEŠ DIŠ MUNUS SAG.DU 'GAL-at'

ŠUMMA LIPTU

- A 86 [DIŠ TAG-tu₄ ina SAG].DU NA BAR-^rma¹ [x]en⁷ lī⁷-ip⁷-te⁷ pi tu šú i-
 < . . . >
 A 87 [DIŠ]x bi ku [x x x]⁸⁰
 A 87 'DIŠ SAG¹.DU NA zaq-pat [š]A um ud⁷ en [(x)]
 A 88 [DIŠ . . . ina SAG].DU NA [.] A.MEŠ ŠUB.MEŠ MIN ina
 bu-U[B-x]
 A 89 ù i-x-(x)-^rgi¹

A 90 [NIGIN⁸¹ . . . DUB].^rMEŠ¹ [DIŠ] 'lī¹-[ip]-^rte¹

SUMMARY

- A 91 [ŠU.NIGIN DUB.MEŠ ÉŠ.GAR ala]m-dīm-mu-ú ZAG.TIL.LA.BIŠE
 GIŠ.GIŠ.A
 A 92 [ŠU.NIGIN DUB.MEŠ SA.G]IG.MEŠ alam-dīm-mu-ú 'SAL.ŠEŠ¹ é-[zi-
 da]
 A 93 [.] AL.TU.RA ŠUM.MA.^rME'¹⁸²

It is evident from the summary that Nigdimdimmû, Kataduggû, Šumma Sinništu, and Šumma Liptu were considered the sub-series to Alamdimmû. The uncertainty concerning the number of tablets to Šumma Liptu means that the missing final totals cannot be filled in for certain. J. V. Kinnier Wilson suggested six tablets for the latter case, so the resulting total would be 40+12+2+1+2+6 = 63 tablets for the twin series SA.GIG and Alamdimmû, representing the editorial achievement of the Sage of Borsippa.

While on the subject of the SA.GIG medical omens we may conclude with a text of a very different stamp. This is BM 47687+48517(81-11-3,392+1228), joined by the writer, and given in

78. A: [. . .] GAL-at; B: . . .] x x [. . . ; the GIBIL NU TIL here, in view of A obv. 4 above, shows that this entry is not to be taken as a third series tablet incipit.

79. See *Iraq* 24 (1962) 58 n. 31.

80. Rm 268+ (TBP no. 50) gives the incipit for Tablet II as DIŠ GIG.PEŠ ina SAG.DU LÚ GAR-in NA BI [. . .]; should one read then . . .N]A BI ku- [. . .]?

81. The correct total here and understanding of lines 86-90 must await new evidence; compare S. Parpola, *JNES* 42 (1983) 26.

82. ŠUM.MA.ME is taken to stand for *šummû*, "the ifs," that is, the medical omens themselves. ME' is followed by a small low subscript sign like ZA.

(a) BM 47463 (81-11-3,168), explanatory text:⁸³

DUB AŠ *še-ma³-ia* A ^mA-DI-ru

(b) BM 47451 (81-11-3,156), bil. ušburruda inc.:

ŠU^{II} *mše-ma³-ia* A-šú šá *mdza-ba₄-ba₄-pir³-u-ŠEŠ* A ^mA-DI-ru

(c) BM 47459 (81-11-3,164), ritual:

IM.GÍD.DA ^m[.] *mdza-ba₄-ba₄-NUNUZ-Š[E]Š DUMU ^me-ti-ru*

(d) BM 47491 (81-11-3,196), *Frauenkrankheit*:

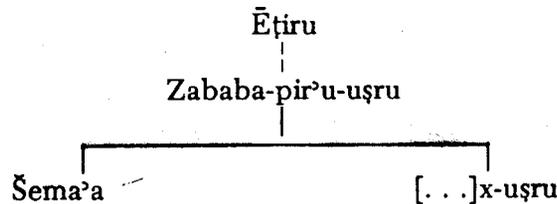
IM AŠ *še-ma³-ia* DUMU šá *dza-ba₄-ba₄-NUNUZ-ŠEŠ* A ^me-ti-ru

A further text must also be compared:

(e) BM 47506 (81-11-3,211), medical:

[. ^m. . .]x-uš-ru A-šú šá *mdza-ba₄-ba₄-pir³-u-ŠEŠ* A ^me-ti-ru

Since A may be read *e* (^d*e₄-ru₈* etc.), taken together these colophons provide the following branch of a scholarly family tree for Babylon in the Persian period:



It is likely that Zababa here is to be understood and read as Marduk, in which case two further spellings may be compared:

(f) BM 47529+47685 (81-11-3,234+390), Comm. on Marduk's Address:

[. . .] ^dSA.ZU-pir³-u-uš-ru A ^me-t[i-ru]

(g) BM 47462 (81-11-3,167), *aḫūtu* Alu omens:

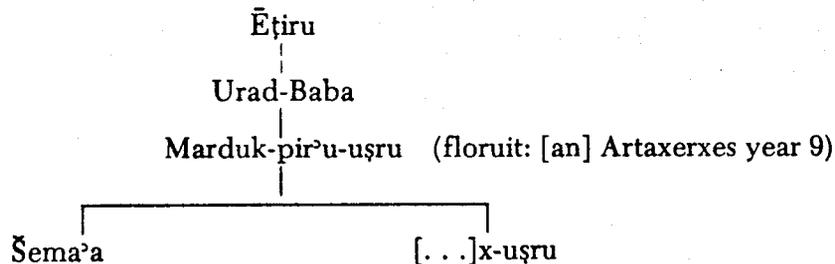
AŠ SIRSIR⁸⁴.NUNUZ-ŠEŠ A ^me-t[i-ru]

A third, in which ^dAMAR.UTU is written, adds another generation:

(h) BM 47456 (81-11-3,161), *Iqqur-Ipuš*:

ŠU^{II} ^mAMAR.UTU-NUNUZ-ŠEŠ DUMU šá ^mIR-^dKÁ A ^mA-DI-ru

Provisionally, then, one may suggest the following:



83. Published in A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford, 1986), pls. iii-v; see pp. 259-260. There seems to be no sure reason to assume that *mše-ma³-a* is a Hebrew scribe, since *-ma* would be expected. The use of AŠ for DIŠ before the name also in BM 47491 and BM

47462 below shows that this is not a mistake in BM 47463; compare K.2596 rev. iii 18' at footnote 57 and, e.g., K.8173 11'-12': AŠ ^dl.ZU.ZU-ZU-DU.DU A AŠ ^dKU.KU.x [. . .] ^da-na¹ ta-mar-ti-šú iš-tur (colophon).

84. For Sirsir = Marduk see B. Landsberger, *WO* 1 (1947) 362-366.

Note finally one further text from this group:

(i) BM 47447 (81-11-3, 152), Comm. on EAE:

IM ^mše-ma-³-ia A ^mIR-^dba-ú A ^me-ti-ru,

dated ITU.ÁŠ UD 23.KAM MU 19.KAM ^mar-tak-šat-su LUGAL.

It is curious that Šema'a has omitted his father's name. Comparison of these colophons highlights the uncertainties involved in reconstructing scribal families.

The preceding remarks⁸⁵ are respectfully dedicated to the memory of Abraham J. Sachs, who was a bit of an *apkallu* himself. Would but that the present publication were his *Festschrift* and not his Memorial Volume.

85. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the helpful discussion of several points in this paper with J. A. Black, M. J. Geller, J. V. Kinnier Wilson, and W. G. Lambert. I am particularly

grateful to Prof. Franz Köcher for his careful reading of the manuscript. Such errors as may have escaped remain the writer's responsibility.

FIG. I. BM 41237+46607+47163

Obverse

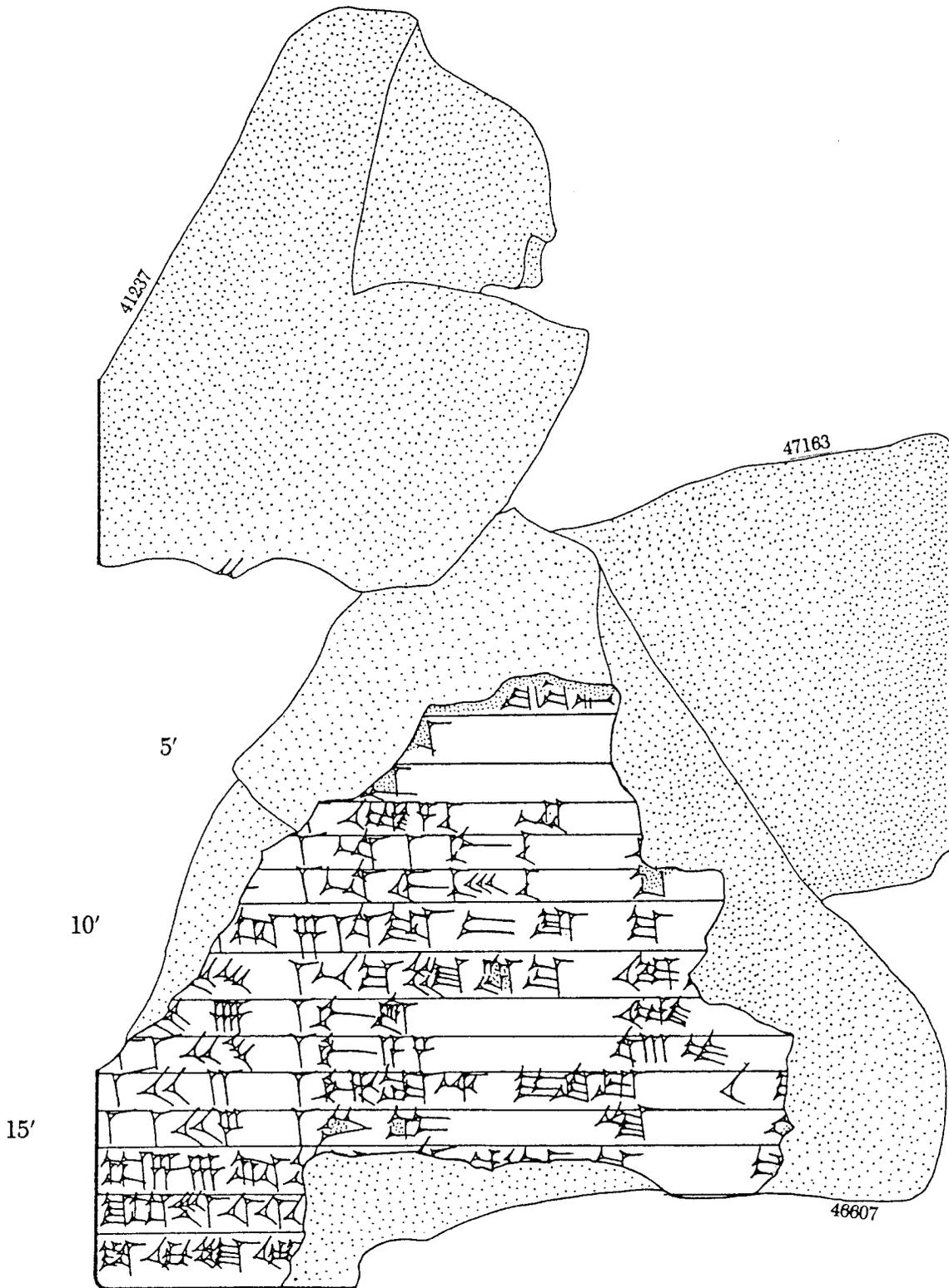


FIG. I. BM 41237+46607+47163

Reverse

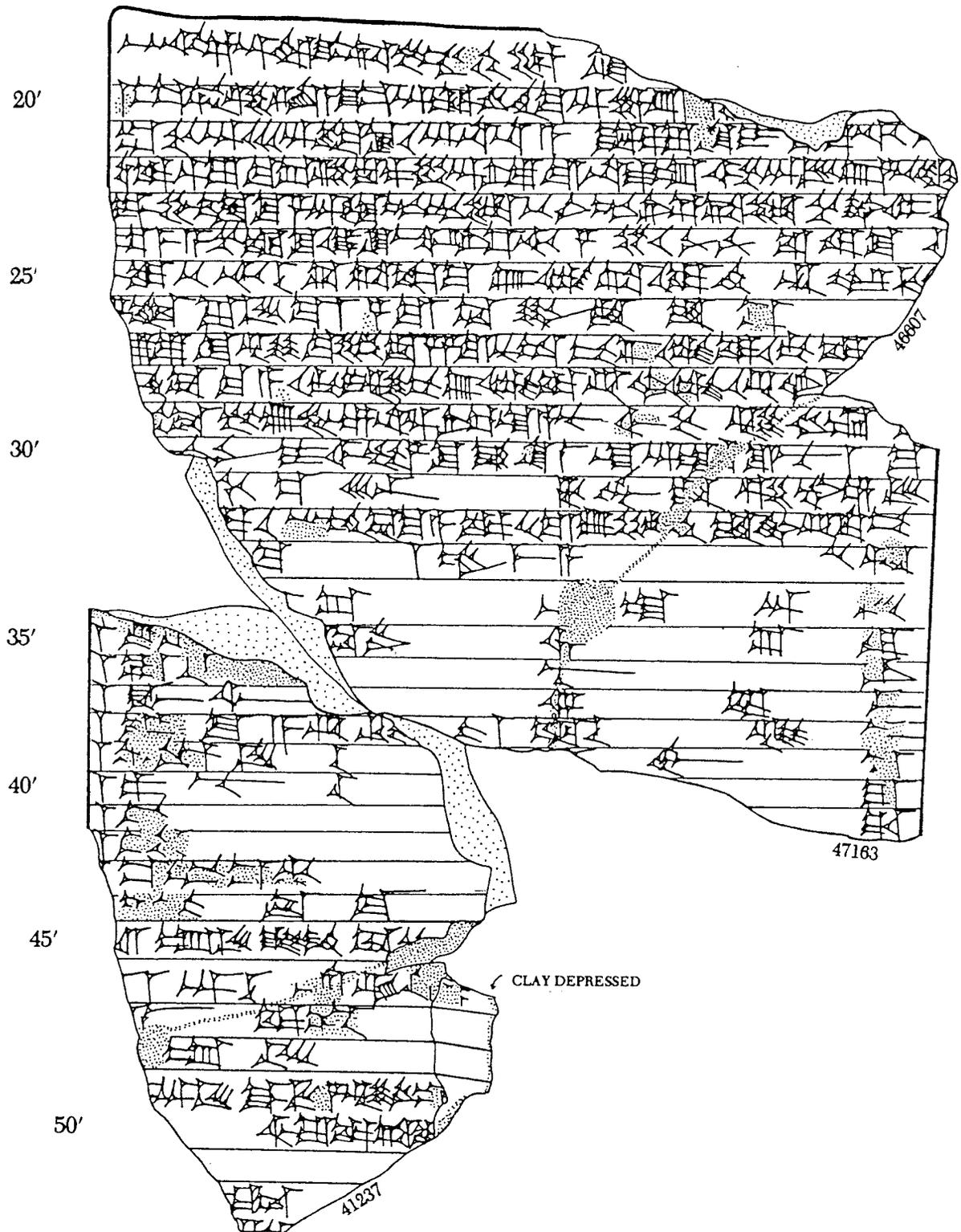


FIG. II. BM 47687+48517

Obverse

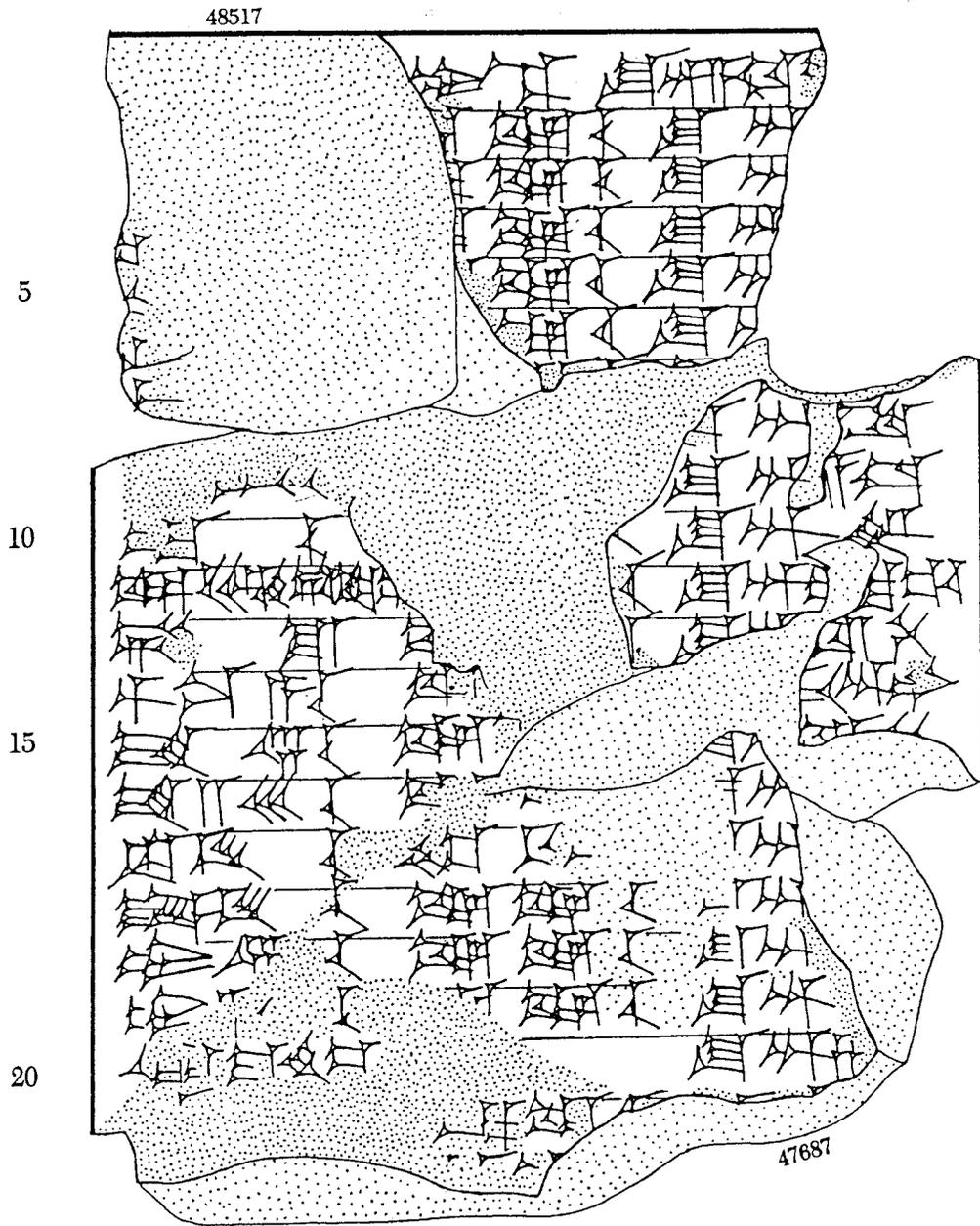


FIG. II. BM 47687+48517

Reverse

