

C. Prosopographical data concerning the authors

Prefatory remarks

The purpose of this chapter is, on one hand, to synthesize the data available for writing a prosopography of the scholars from whom the letters under study originate; on the other hand, I want to elucidate the method that has been applied for identifying the writers of broken letters, and to present the relevant data. The way of presentation is intentionally succinct and schematic: in order to keep the study in reasonable limits, it was necessary to register only the essential facts here and leave the details and discussions to the commentary.

The authors are treated in alphabetic order¹. Under section A, I give a classified list of sources in which information pertaining to them can be found. As will be seen, these are generally restricted to three categories: 1. *epistolary texts* (= letters and reports written by the persons concerned, or mentioning them), 2. *official records* (including legal and administrative documents or memoranda) and 3. *colophons* of literary texts. Though I cannot claim to have succeeded in registering all pertinent sources, the chances that the authors can be traced in text categories other than these three are really minimal².

In order to establish the reading of the names of the authors, all different cuneiform spellings are listed under section B. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the name forms posited by me (e.g., Adad-Šu-mu-ušur) represent a "hypercorrect" form which perhaps never existed in reality. The strong chain accent dominating the composite names, especially those consisting of three or more elements, certainly affected the vocalization of the unstressed syllables (cf. the renderings of Assyrian names in Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew texts, and such occasional spellings as *Idi-šur-ba-an-Ax* Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 333:4 for **Aššur-bāni-apli*, etc.). However, these phonetic changes are of secondary nature, and since syllabic spellings are only rarely available, I have preferred the grammatically correct forms.

Under section C a brief summary of the biographical data which can be squeezed out of the available sources is given. I have restricted myself to clearing up the following items: 1. *Profession* and/or *title* (attested in colophons and records or, in some cases, inferred from the contents of the letters), 2. *genealogy* (found in the colophons), 3. *special field* (deduced from the topics of the letters), 4. *domicile* (which, of course, does not always coincide with the provenience of the letters) and 4. ap-

¹ For the sake of completeness all authors, even the poorly documented ones, have been treated, except *Idad-ahū-iddina* whose identity could not be ascertained. To judge from the introductory formula and the contents of his letter (LAS 317) he seems to have belonged to the clergy of the Aššur-temple Ešarra (in the reign of Esarhaddon).

² An exception is constituted by the authors Ištar-šumu-ereš and Nabū-šumu-šēr who, as "masters" of Assyrian kings, were important enough to be mentioned in the king lists. For a characterization of the cuneiform source material and the kind of information to be extracted from its different categories see A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, pp. 13-26.

proximate dating of the *career* of each author. For reasons stated above I had to refrain from trying to sketch real portraits of the scholars; that can be more aptly done in a separate monograph¹.

Section D contains a summary of the characteristic features recurring in the letters of each author. Combined with the data listed under C, they usually suffice for assigning a broken letter to a definite writer. The statistics on which this section is ultimately based were compiled with the help of a computer; they include complete lists of the inflected forms and orthographic variants, as well as analyses of the use of signs by each author (every occurrence of the signs in initial, middle or end position of a word, or alone, were registered). Presenting these lists here is naturally out of question; but they will be cited in the commentary whenever the need arises. The data found here are as follows: 1. Typical examples of the individual *orthographies* and *scribal conventions*² (without references to the texts); 2. a provisional classification of the *local dialects*³ of the authors into five different groups⁴; 3. a synopsis on the *introductory formulas* which, though basically similar⁵, nevertheless vary slightly depending on the author. In addition to this, characteristic stylistic features and the like are sometimes pointed out.

It goes without saying that the authors who have left only a couple of letters cannot be treated as thoroughly as the others.

¹ Cf. E. Dhorme, *Quelques prêtres assyriens d'après leur correspondance*: RHR 116 (1937) 5-25; the general conclusions of this article need, however, radical modifications. For more successful attempts to grasp the personalities of the authors see B. Landsberger, BBEA (1965) p. 38 f and A. Schott, ZA 47 (1941-42) 95 ff (*Mār-Ištar*); W. von Soden, ZA 43 (1936) 10 ff, *Herrscher im alten Orient*, (1954) p. 125 f. and K. Deller, Fs von Soden (1969) 45 ff (*Adad-šumu-ušur*); G. Meier, OrNS 8 (1939) 306 ff and A. Schott, ZA 47 (1941-42) 100 (*Balast*); A. Schott, ZA 44 (1938) 194 ff (*Nabū-ahhē-eriba*); J. Thorwald, *Nacht und Geheimnis der frühen Ärzte* (1967) p. 125 ff (*Urad-Nanā*).

² On the ground of the statistical analysis it is absolutely certain that the authors wrote their letters themselves or, less likely, used always scribes of their own. This conclusion is fully confirmed by the originals where individual handwritings are clearly discernible; only in a number of cases the authors may have made use of the services of a public scribe. It is interesting to note that certain orthographical conventions were shared by representatives of the same field; they undoubtedly originated in the study of the technical literature. Thus the word *bēlīja* "of my lord" is regularly spelled EN-ja in the letters of the "scribes", *be-lī-ja* or EN-ja in the letters of the exorcists and the physicians, EN-ja in the letters of Mār-Ištar, etc.

³ The existence of different vernaculars is proved by statistics which show that certain linguistic (not orthographic) variants occur only in letters of certain authors. The differences are so slight that one cannot speak of dialects but rather of local vernaculars, probably originating in different cities. The reconstruction of these vernaculars is, unfortunately, hampered by two factors: firstly, the inaccurate orthographies which do not coincide with the linguistic differences, and secondly, the fact that the original vernacular has often been mixed with or superseded by the Ninevite one. A thorough analysis of all Neo-Assyrian epistolary texts might one day bring about a definite clarification of the matter, but that is out of the scope of the present study.

⁴ The classification of the vernaculars into five groups is based on the occurrence or non-occurrence of either or both of the facultative forms *šumma/šummu*, *adu/adi*, *ūdina/ūdinu*, *akī/kī*, *anni'u/anniju/annī*, *muk/nuk*, *pān/ina pān*, and the connective *u/zero*. It goes without saying that the classification itself is provisional and might need modification after more material has become available; nevertheless, it is quite useful for the identification of the writers.

Vernacular 1: *šumma*, *adu* (seldom *adi*), *ūdina*, (*akī*), *anniju* or *annī*, *ina pān*, connective zero;

Vernacular 2: *šumma*, *adu*, seldom *adi*, *kī*, *anniju* or *annī*, *pān*, *nuk*, connective *u*;

Vernacular 3: *šumma*, *adi* (seldom *adu*), *ūdina*, *kī*, *anni'u*, *ina pān*, *muk*, connective *u*;

Vernacular 4: *šummu* (seldom *šumma*), *kī*, *annī*, *ina pān*, *muk* (seldom *nuk*), connective *u*;

Vernacular 5: *šumma*, *ina pān*, *adu*, *ūdinu*, *akī* (seldom *kī*), *muk*, connective *u*.

⁵ All writers, with the exception of the physicians, invoked the gods Nabū and Marduk at the beginning of their letters. On this "Reichsgruß", characteristic of Esarhaddon's reign, see B. Landsberger, BBEA p. 23, note 44.

1. Adad-šumu-ušur

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Adad-šumu-ušur: LAS 119-138, 140-161, 333 and, as co-author, LAS 29, 31-32, 139, 163-170 [= 43 + 12 letters]; b) addressed to Adad-šumu-ušur: LAS 162; c) mentioning Adad-šumu-ušur: LAS 224, 225, 232, 249; ABL 367, 1373; Šm. 2116. 2) *Reports*: LAS 332; RMA 135, 136 F; ADD 709. 3) *Legal documents*: ADD 448 = AR 443¹. 4) *Colophons*: Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 498; K. 2223 and 11922.

The following texts, also mentioning Adad-šumu-ušur, refer to a different person: ABL 1029 (time of Šargon), ADD 350 (dated 707 B.C.), 93, 628 (postcanonical) and 216.

B. Name. Usually written ^{Id}IM-MU-PAP, six times ^{Id}IM-MU-^ušur (LAS 123, 133, 147, 158, 249 and K. 2223), thrice ^{Id}IM-MU-ŠEŠ (LAS 130, ABL 1373, Šm. 2116) and once ^I10-MU-PAP (LAS 170).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: exorcist (cf letters and C 2). 2) *Title*: exorcist of the king (^{Id}IM-MU-^ušur ^{LU}MAŠ.MAŠ ša MAN, K. 2223), šangamāhu of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (^{Id}IM-MU-^ušur ^{LU}ša-an-gam-ma-hu ša [1Aš+šur][PAP-AŠ] MAN [K]UR Aš+šur^{KI}, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 498), chief [...] (^I[^{Id}IM-MU-PAP ^{LU}GAL [...]], ADD 448). 3) *Special field*: therapeutic exorcism (see LAS 141 ff and cf chapter II A 3), with good knowledge of astrology (see LAS 119-120 and RMA 135) and hemerology (see LAS 145-146 and 332). 4) *Lineage*: unknown. Son: Urad-Gula (^{IR}dGu-la DUMU-aja šu-^u "Urad-Gula is my son", LAS 121 r9-10; ^{IR}dGu-la ^{LU}MAŠ.MAŠ [DUM]U ^{Id}IM-MU-^ušur, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 498). Head of a leading family of Nineveh (see LAS 121 r6 ff). 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh. 6) *Career*: Served under Sennacherib (see LAS 125 and the pertinent notes), Esarhaddon (cf above, C 3; LAS 129-132 were written in 672 B.C., LAS 119 and 136 in 669) and Assurbanipal (see ADD 448, written in 666 B.C.).¹ Calls himself "old man" in LAS 126:15-16, 129 L.E. 1, and 144 r3 (all dating from Esarhaddon's reign).²

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Orthography*: the sign ša often used alone; the preposition ana often expressed by the sign DIŠ (instead of normal a-na); ina sometimes written i-na (instead of normal AŠ). Many signs have superfluous wedges. 2) *Writing conventions*: the word bēlīja is written inconsistently, either be-lī-ja/já or EN-ja/já; aleph is usually not expressed (a-^he-iš, is-sa-^he-iš, do-iq, de-iq-tu, iš-ši-a-ri; but also ina šī-a-a-ri, a-še-a-ar; in the present tense of verba primae aleph the gemination is left unexpressed (e-ra-ab, e-rab, e-da-ar, ne-pa-áš, e-pu-šú for errab, eddar, neppaš and eppušū); note also the spelling of the pronouns anniu (nom. sg. an-ni-ú/an-ni-i, gen. sg. an-ni-i(ha)-jan-ni-ma, pl. an-nu-(ú)-ti) and mīnu (mi-i-nu; also mé-e-mi-i-ni). In comparison with other authors, the orthography of Adad-šumu-ušur must be characterized as remarkable but unstable. 3) *Vernacular*: 1. 4) *Introductory formula*: a) a-na LUGAL be-lī-ja^(a) ^{IR}ka Adad-šumu-ušur^(b) lu^(c) šul-mu^(d) a-na^(e) LUGAL^(f) be-lī-ja^(g) ^u(h) ^dAMAR+UD a-na⁽ⁱ⁾ LUGAL be-lī-ja^(k) ^(l) lik-ru-bu.

VARIANTS: (a) be-lī-ja LAS 151, EN-ja 137; (b) ... (b) caret 138, 148, 156, 158; (c) lu-u 126, 133, 134; (d) šul-mu 137, 151; (e) ana 155; (f) MAN 152; (g) be-lī-ja 126, 151; EN-ja 129, 142; (h) ^dPA 126, 142, 147, 152; (i) caret 129, 134, 137, 138, 144, 147, 151; (j) ana 144, 145; (k) be-lī-ja 126, 134, 138, EN-ja 121, 129, 137, 148, 152, EN-ja 144, 145, 154; (l) 121 inserts a-dan-niš a-dan-niš.

b) a-na LUGAL be-lī-ja ^{IR}ka Adad-šumu-ušur lu-u^(a) šul-mu a-na^(b) LUGAL be-lī-ja ^dAš+šur^(c) ^d30 ^dUTU^(d) ^dAG [a] ^dAMAR+UD DINGIRMEŠ GALMEŠ ša AN-e [ū] KLIM (d) a-na LUGAL be-lī-ja a-dan-niš a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu, LAS 119-120 and 130.

¹ The date of this document is broken away, but was with all probability 666 B.C. (cf AR 100 (= ADD 420-421) and 356 (= ADD 331), both written by the same scribe (Ištar-nādin-apli) in 666 B.C., and note that the buyer (Rīmāni-Adad) and the month are identical in all three documents.

² For the possible identity of Adad-šumu-ušur and Mīqar see W. von Soden, ZA 43 (1936) 10 ff.

VARIANTS: (a) lu-^u LAS 130; (b) ana 119; (c) Aš+šur 119; (d) ... (d) [^dEN] ^dAG ^dU+GIR 120.

c) LAS 122, 123, 125, 127 and 128 are opened with long. Byzantine formulas which cannot be reproduced here.

2. Akkullānu

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Akkullānu: LAS 298-316 and, as co-author, LAS 168 and ABL 840 [= 19 + 2 letters]; b) mentioning Akkullānu: LAS 40, 104; ABL 185 and 539. 2) *Reports*, written by Akkullānu: RMA 34, 36, 87A, 138A, 144, 144B, 166, 235, 272A [= 10 reports].

B. Name. ^IAk-kul-la-nu LAS 298, 300-302, 306-309, 311, 313, 315-316; ABL 185, 539, 840; ^IAk-kul-la-ni (gen.) RMA 36, 144B, 166, 235, 272A; ^IA-kul-la-nu LAS 303, 304, 312, 314; RMA 34.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: priest (cf letters and C2). 2) *Title*: enterer of the Aššur temple (^IAk-kul-la-nu ^{LU}*TU.É Š AN.ŠÁR, ABL 539 r14-15). 3) *Special field*: astrology (cf letters 298-302 and the astrological reports enumerated above). 4) *Lineage*: unknown. 5) *Domicile*: Assur (cf LAS 309, 311, 315, ABL 185, 840, and above, C2). 6) *Career*: Served under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (LAS 300 = written in 672 B.C.; RMA 235 = 670 B.C.; RMA 89 = 669 B.C.; RMA 272A = 667 B.C. Note also LAS 298 r19: "you [= Akkullānu] are a servant of my father [= Esarhaddon]". Assurbanipal speaking).

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Orthography*: A sharp distinction is made between the signs ša and ša; the former is never used to express a syllable, whereas the latter never occurs alone. In writing professions and titles, the graph LÚ (not LÚ*) is used. 2) *Writing conventions*: bēlīja is mostly written EN-ja (but also EN-ja and be-lī-ja/já occur). In writing the present tense of verba pr. aleph, the gemination is mostly left unexpressed (e-pa-áš-u-ni, e-pu-šú, e-kal-u-ni, but once er-rab [LAS 310:6]). Note also the spellings of the pronouns anāku (mostly ana-ku, twice a-na-ku), anniu (nom. sg. an-ni-u, gen. sg. an-ni-i [once an-ni-e], pl. an-nu-(u)-te and an-na-a-te) and mīnu (mostly mi-i-nu, once mi-i-nu; thereagainst me-me-e-ni), the full writing is se-e-šú (instead of is-se-šú), and lu-u/ú-di (instead of lu-u ú-di/da). 3) In addressing the king, Akkullānu frequently omits the words "my lord". 4) *Vernacular*: 3. 5) *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL EN-ja^(a) ^{IR}ka Akkullānu lu-u^(b) šul-mu^(c) a-na LUGAL EN-ja^(d) ^dAG^(e) ^u(f) ^dAMAR+UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja^(g) lik-ru-bu.

VARIANTS: (a) EN-ja LAS 301, 307, 309, 316, be-lī-ja 298, 300; (b) lu 303; (c) šul-mu 303, 305, 307, 312, 314;

(d) be-lī-ja 300; (e) ^dPA 303, 307, 312, 314-316; (f) caret 312; (g) EN-ja 304.

3. Bābu-šumu-iddina

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*, written by Bābu-šumu-iddina: LAS 80-81. 2) *Other sources*: none.

B. Name. written ^{Id}Ba-^uMU-AŠ. The reading of the DN as Bābu (not Bāba or Bau) is certain on the ground of the Middle Assyrian spelling ^{Id}Ba-bu-ŠEŠ-SUM-na KAJ 158:18 and the Neo-Assyrian spellings with KÁ (= bābu): e.g. ^IKū-KÁ (= bābu)-DINGIR-aja ABL 342:16, ^IKū-bābu-sa-tar 387:10.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: scribe (inferred). 2) *Special field*: astronomy. 3) *Domicile*: Calah (^{Id}Ba-^uMU-AŠ ša [^{URU}]Kal-^ha, LAS 80:2-3). 4) *Career* cannot be fixed chronologically.

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL EN-ja ^{IR}ka Bābu-šumu-iddina ša [^{URU}]Kal-^ha^(a) lu šul-mu a-na LUGAL EN-ja ^dAG ^u ^dAMAR+UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja a-dan-niš^(b) a-dan-niš^(b) lik-ru-bu.

VARIANTS: (a) caret LAS 81; (b) caret 80.

b) Both letters of Bābu-šumu-iddina contain the wish ma-šar-te šul-me u ba-la-ti TA* LUGAL EN-ja lip-qid-du "may (the gods) appoint a guard of health and life with the king, my lord." (cf. Nergal-šumu-iddina).

4. *Balaš*

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Balaš: LAS 34-42, 44-50 and, as co-author, LAS 43 and 51-58 [= 16 + 9 letters]; b) mentioning Balaš: LAS 341 and ABL 413. 2) *Reports*, written by Balaš: LAS 324-326; RMA 8, 55, 68, 88, 91, 119, 136Q, 138, 138A, 140, 171, 208A, 234A, 254, 256B, 274L, 274O, 277F [= 21 reports]. 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: ADD 121, 206, 261, 532.

B. *Name*: written consistently ¹*Ba-la-si-i*.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (inferred). 2) *Special fields*: astrology, terrestrial omens, malformed births, hemerology (cf. the topics of the letters). 3) *Other activities*: In ABL 413 Balaš (if the same person) is connected with delivery of wool for weaving material, in LAS 37 with leather-work. According to LAS 36 he owned a large estate in the country of the chief cupbearer. 4) *Lineage*: unknown. 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh (¹*Ba-la-si-i* DUMU URUNINA, ADD 261 r17). 6) *Career*: Served under Esarhaddon (cf. ADD 121, dated 671 B.C.; RMA 256B and LAS 41 = written in 670 B.C.; RMA 88, LAS 45, 46 and 54 = 669 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (LAS 324 = 668 B.C.; RMA 68 = 667 B.C.). The record ADD 206 mentioning Balaš is dated 648 B.C., but it is uncertain whether the same person is concerned.

From the scribe Balaš has to be differentiated the *bodyguard* Balaš mentioned in a number of legal documents dating from Sennacherib's reign (cf. ¹*Ba-la-si-i* L^U_{qurhūtu} ADD 325 r13, 400 r14, 414 r30; L^U_{rab} kišer 318 r8, 361 r13, 623 r17; L^U_{rab} kišer ša šēpē 235 r14; L^U_{ša šēpē} 475 r10; son of Nabū-nākil, L^U_{rab} kišer 308 r9). Note, furthermore, that Balaš is not identical with ¹*Ba-la-su* (= *Balāšsu), against Landsberger, BBEA p. 14.

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Orthography*: The sign *i* regularly denotes the glide *y* in words *aniju*, *šijāru* and *ajju* (*an-ni-i-a*, *an-ni-i-e*, *ha-an-ni-i-e*, *ši-i-a-ri*, *a-i-ū*). This feature occurs only in letters of Balaš (excepting the spelling *an-ni-i-e* found in LAS 67:16, from Nabū-aḥḥē-eriba). Dates are always written with the graph KĀM* (not KĀM or KAM). The sign ša appears never connected (šā is used alone too). *Bēlija* is always written EN-ja, *bēli* always *be-lī*. The gemination in the present tense of verba pr. aleph is expressed (*er-rab*, *er-ra-ba*, *ep-pal*): the pronoun *mīnu* is consistently written *mī-i-nu/ni*. Note also *nē-me-ēl* (instead of *-el*), *pi-še-er* (instead of *pi-šar*), *ma-ḥe-er* (instead of *ma-her*), *ša-ṭe-er* (instead of *ša/šā-ter*). 2) *Vernacular*: 1. 3) *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(a) ĪR-ka^(b) Balaš lu-u^(c) šul-mu^(d) *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(a) (c) dPA dAMAR+UD^(f) *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(a) lik-ru-bu^(e) VARIANTS: (a) EN-ni LAS 51-52, 54-56; (b) ĪRMEŠ-ka 52, 54-57, ĪRMEŠ-ni-ka 51; (c) lu 37, 38, 48, 55; (d) šul-mu 45, 47, 55, 57; (e) ... (e) caret LAS 40; (f) 36 r5 ff adds: TILA UDMEŠ ru-qu-ti šī-bu-ū-ti lit-tu-tu a-na LUGAL EN-ja lid-di-nu; similarly 44:7 ff and 50 r6 ff.

5. *Bānī*

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*, written by Bānī: LAS 263. 2) *Legal documents*, mentioning Bānī: ADD 377 and 470.

B. *Name*: written ¹*Ba-ni-i* in LAS 263:2 and ADD 470 r19; ¹*Dū-i* in ADD 377 r5.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: physician (cf. the introductory formula of LAS 263, where gods of medicine are invoked). 2) *Title*: deputy of the chief physician (¹*Ba-ni-i* L^U*2-u ša LUGAL A.ZU, ADD 470 r19; ¹*Dū-i* L^U*2-u ša LUGAL A.ZU, 377 r5). 3) *Domicile*: Nineveh (inferred from the fact that Bānī appears as witness in legal documents found in that city). 4) *Career*: The legal documents are dated in 664 and 663 B.C.

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja* ĪR-ka Bānī lu-u šul-mu *a-dan-niš a-dan-niš a-na* LUGAL EN-ja dMAŠ u dGULA tu-ub ĩb-bi tu-ub UZUMEŠ *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja lid-di-nu.

6. *Ikkāru*

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*, written by Ikkāru: LAS 258-262. 2) *Other sources*: none.

B. *Name*: written consistently ¹*Ik-ka-ru*.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: physician (inferred from the contents of the letters and from the introductory formula). 2-3) *Title* and *domicile* unknown. 4) *career*: Served under Esarhaddon (LAS 258 refers to the rheumatism of this ruler and mentions the king's son Šamaš-šumu-ukīn).

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja*^(a) ĪR-ka Ikkāru lu-u šul-mu *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja*^(a) *a-dan-niš a-dan-niš* dAG^(b) ū^(c) dAMAR+UD *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja* lik-ru-bu^(d) dNIN.URTA ū dGULA^(d) tu-ub ĩb-bi tu-ub UZUMEŠ *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja* lid-di-nu^(e) (LAS 258 and 259).

VARIANTS: (a) *be-lī-ja* LAS 258; (b) dPA 258; (c) caret 258; (d) ... (d) dEN* dPA dBe-lit TILA 258; (e) lid-di-nu 259.

b) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja* ĪR-ka Ikkāru lu-u šul-mu *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja a-dan-niš* (LAS 260-262).

7. *Īštar-nādin-apli*

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Īštar-nādin-apli: LAS 96-99; cf. LAS 93-95; b) mentioning Īštar-nādin-apli: ABL 1217(-)K.13737. 2) *Legal documents*: ADD 2, 331, 420, 421, 448 and 507.

B. *Name*: ¹*Id15-MU-A* ADD 448 r23; ¹*Id15-AŠ-A* ADD 420 r7, 507 r6; ¹*Id15-SUM-A* ADD 2 r4, ABL 1217 r12'14'19'; ¹*Id15-SUM-A* LAS 96:2, 97:2, ADD 331 r7; ¹*Id15-[SUM-A]* LAS 98:2; [¹*Id15-SUM-A*] ADD 421 r14.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (¹*Id15-SUM-A* L^UĀ.BA, ABL 1217 r12'14', 19', ADD 331 r7, 421 r14, etc.). 2) *Title*: for-man of the collegium of ten scribes of Arbela (¹*Id15-SUM-A* L^UĀ.GAL 10-ti ša L^UĀ.BAMEŠ ša URU Arba-īl, LAS 97; cf. LAS 96 and 98-99). 3) *Special field*: astronomy (inferred from the contents of the letters). 4) *Domicile*: Arbela (cf. C2); cf. also below, C5. 5) *Career*: ABL 1217, mentioning Īštar-nādin-apli, dates from the reign of Esarhaddon, probably from the years 672-669 B.C. (K.98217, from the same author and dealing with the same topic, mentions the crown prince [Assurbanipal] and the eponym of 676 B.C., Bambā). ADD 331, 420 and 421, all written by Īštar-nādin-apli, date from 666 B.C. At that time Īštar-nādin-apli was evidently an official scribe working in Nineveh. Later on, in Assurbanipal's reign, he appears as the head of the astronomers of Arbela (LAS 96-98 are dated 651, 650 and 648 B.C.).

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja ĪR-ka Īštar-nādin-apli LUGAL 10-ti (a) ša L^UĀ.BAMEŠ (a) ša URU Arba-īl lu-u šul-mu *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja dAG dAMAR+UD (b) ¹*Id15 ša* URU Arba-īl^(c) (b) *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja lik-ru-bu.

VARIANTS: (a) ... (a) caret LAS 98,99; (b) ... (b) caret 96; (c) Arba-īl KI 99.

8. *Ištar-šumu-ēreš*

A. Sources: 1) *Letters*: a) written by Ištar-Šumu-ēreš: LAS 1-9, 11-27, 318-319, 321-323 and, as co-author, LAS 10, 29, 31, 168 and 170 [= 31 + 5 letters]; b) mentioning Ištar-Šumu-ēreš: LAS 242, ABL 580 and 845. 2) *Reports*: a) written by Ištar-Šumu-ēreš: RMA 7, 21, 21 A, 31, 93, 128, 1360, 136P, 157D, 159, 168, 198, 206, 244, 247, 252E, 255, 257, 262B, 264, 267, 277L; K.115, Ki.1904-10-9.32 and 268; (by the “chief scribe”) RMA 58, 74, 81, 109, 259, 266 and 275 [= 25 + 7 reports]; b) mentioning Ištar-Šumu-ēreš: RMA 55 = ABL 993. 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: ADD 444, 445, 448 and 851. 4) *Colophons*: Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344; 3R 66 (Frankena, Takultu, p.5 ff). For 3R 53.2 and Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 299 see below, C4. 5) *King lists*: KAV 216 (cf Weidner, AfO 3 71).

B. N a m e. Normally written ^lI5-MU-KAM-~~ø~~š (attested 26x) or simply ^lI5-MU-KAM (10x). Other writings: ^lI5-MU-APIN-~~ø~~š LAS 4:2, ABL 845 r6, ADD 851 i 1; ^lId^lI5-MU-APIN-~~ø~~š RMA 55:6, j-APIN-~~ø~~š LAS 168:5; ^lId^lI5-MU-KAM-~~ø~~š LAS 242:2'4', ADD 444:32, 448:34, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344; ^lI5-MU-KAM* ABL 580 r3; ^lId^lIš-tar-MU-KAM-~~ø~~š K.3877 IV 17.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: scribe (see below). 2) *Title*: chief scribe of Assurbanipal (Id15-MU-KAM-eš LUGAL *šur-šar-ri ša* IAN.ŠAR-DÜ-A. Hunger. AOAT 2. Nr. 344), master of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (I48+šur-PAP.AŠ . . . IdPA-NUMUN-SI.SÁ I15-MU-KAM-eš *um-ma-ni-šu* I48+šur-DÜ-A . . . I15-MU-KAM+eš *um-man-šu*, KAV 216 iv 12-16). 3) *Special field*: astrology, hemerology, terrestrial omens (see letters). In accordance with his influential position, Ištar-šumu-ereš was also engaged with tasks falling outside his special field: organization of the oath-taking for treaties of Esarhaddon (LAS 1-3), the substitute king ritual (LAS 25-28), supervision of temples (LAS 19), festivals (LAS 5-6), returnal of the statue of Marduk to Babylon (LAS 29), etc. 4) *Lineage*: son of Nabû-zêru-îšêr, chief scientist(?) (Id15-MU-KAM-eš LUGAL *šur-šar-ri* . . . DUMU IdAG*-NUMUN-SI.SÁ LUGAL.GLU¹, Hunger. AOAT 2. Nr. 344). To avoid confusion, it has to be stressed that our Ištar-šumu-ereš is not identical with the son of the well-known astrologer Nabû-zuqup-kênu, in spite of the fact that this had the same name, profession (cf [Id18]-tar-MU-KAM-eš LU.A.[BA DUMU IdAG]-zu-qup-GLNA LU.A.[BA], 3R 53.2, colophon of an astrological text), and lived roughly at the same time (cf. Hunger, AOAT 2. Nr. 299, dated 684 B.C.). 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh. 6) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (see above, C2); though the title “chief scribe” is attested only for Assurbanipal’s reign, it may be supposed that Ištar-šumu-ereš held this office also under Esarhaddon (note that the title “master” is common to both reigns). LAS 1-3 were written 672 B.C., LAS 12, 25 and 29 in 669 B.C.; ADD 448, mentioning the chief [scribe] Ištar-šumu-ereš as witness, dates from 666 B.C. (see above, under Adad-šumu-ušur). ADD 444 and 445, likewise mentioning the chief scribe Ištar-šumu-ereš, bear the date 660 B.C.; the report RMA 247 is dated 657 B.C. ADD 851: presenting Ištar-šumu-ereš at the head of the section “scribe”², was written around 650 B.C.³

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Orthography*: the sign *ša* (often written with 3 verticals only) is almost exclusively (only one exception) restricted to writing the determinative pronoun *ša*: the sign *ša* appears both connected and unconnected. Dates are always written with the sign KAM (not KAM or KAM²). Note also the spelling *ša-tar* (not *ša-tar* etc.). 2) *Writing conventions*: especially characteristic of Ištar-šumu-urēš is the spelling *be-li* (instead of *be-lí*) “my lord”: the oblique case is usually written EN₃*ya*. Very cha-

¹ For this title see below, Nabû-zēru-līšer, Ç2.

² Gol. I 8 has to be read [PAP 7 A.BJA]MES₇ (copy AN.BE) according to the collation of G. van Driel, *The Cult of Assur*, p. 55, note 18.

³ This date is rendered probable through comparison with the parallel texts ADD 852, 853 and 859, the last of which is dated in the eponym year of Bēl-Harrān-šadū'a.

9. *Marduk-šākin-šumi*

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Marduk-šakin-šumi: LAS 171-202 and, as co-author, LAS 28-29, 139, 163-166, 169 [= 32 + 8 letters]; b) addressed to Marduk-šakin-šumi: LAS 162; c) mentioning Marduk-šakin-šumi: LAS 125; ABL 1006 and LAS 224 refer to M. as chief exorcist. 2) *Reports*: none. 3) *Legal documents*: ADD 444, 448. 4) *Colophons*: Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 348 (which, however, refers to a different person: see below, under C2 and C6).

B. N a m e . Written ^{Id}AMAR-UD-GAR-MU and (twice) ^{Id}ŠU-GAR-MU (see LAS 178 and ADD 444).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: exorcist. 2) *Title*: chief exorcist (^{Id}ŠĠ-GAR-MU LĠ GAL.MAŠ.MAŠ. ADD 444:33). The scribe of an inscription of Esarhaddon, calling himself Marduk-šakin-šumi the small pupil (^{Id}AMAR+UD-GAR-MU LĠ ŠAM.ĀN.LÁ TUR Hunger. AOAT 2. Nr. 348), cannot be identical with our Marduk-šakin-šumi. 3) *Special field*: therapeutic, apotropaic and cultic exorcism (cf chapter II A3 and the letters). 4) *Lineage*: unknown. 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh (appears as witness in transactions found in Nineveh; cf. also LAS 173 r4-5). 6) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (LAS 181 = written after the Egyptian campaign of 671 B.C., LAS 185 = Kanūnu 671 B.C., LAS 190 = Ušulu 670 B.C.; LAS 172-174, 184-188, 199 and 201 mention sons of Esarhaddon) and Assurbanipal (ADD 448 = dated 666 B.C., ADD 444 = 660 B.C.). LAS 224 r7-8' proves that Marduk-šakin-šumi held the office of the "chief exorcist" not only under Assurbanipal (cf ADD 444:33, above, C2), but also under Esarhaddon (cf also LAS 125, 163-166, 185 and ABL 1006).

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Orthography*: Dates are written with the sign KAM (not KAM or KAM*). The sign SAH is used to express the syllable *šah*. Signs of the type CVC are used unusually frequently (e.g., *ki-i an-nim-ma*, *e-pa-šim-ma*, *IGI-TIM-ma*, *ša-TER*, *ma-IJER*). 2) *Writing conventions*: "My lord" (in genitive) is normally written *be-li-ia*/EN-ja (less often EN-ja). Aleph is expressed consequently (*is-sa-he-i-iš*, *de-i-iq*, *lu-ke-i-il*): the first of these spellings occurs only in letters of Marduk-šakin-šumi). The double consonant in the present tense of *verba pr.* aleph is written fully (*ep-pa-aš*, *te-ep-pa-aš*, *nē-ep-pa-aš*, *ep-pu-šu*). Nom. and gen. sg. of *annu* are identical: both are written *an-ni-i* (*an-nim-ma*, *ša-an-nim-ma*). The pronoun *mī-nu* is written *mī-i-nu-ni* or (5 times) *mī-i-nu* (therecognized *me-me-ni*). Note also the defective spelling *bu-nt*, characteristic of Marduk-šakin-šumi, and the rare *ki-i ma-ši* (normally *ki ma-ši*). 3) *Vernacular*: 4. *Special linguistic characteristics of the letters of M.* are the occurrence of the form *šum-mu* (7 times) instead of *šum-mu* (which is attested 6 times): *lu [a-ab-šu* instead of *lu [a-a-ba*; *ina pu-u-ti* (twice) instead of *ina pūt-ti* (once); and *mu-uk* (thrice) instead of *nu-uk* (once). 5) *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na LUG AL be-li-ia*^(a) [Rka Marduk šakin-šumi lu-u šul-mu]^(b) a-na LUG AL EN-ja^(c) d[pa]^(d) u[er]^(e) d[AMAR UD a-na LUG AL EN-ja]^(f) lik-ru-bu^(g)

¹ See above, p. 28, note 1.

VARIANTS: (a) *be-lí-ja* LAS 178, EN-*ja* 179; (b) 197 and 198 add *a-dan-nūš*; (c) EN-*ja* 172, 174, 182, 198, 199, *be-lí-ja* 178, 183, 185, 197, 200; (d) *daḡ* 177; (e) *u* 177; caret 172, 178, 201; (f) EN-*ja* 172, 174, 182, 197, 199, *be-lí-ja* 178, 183, 200; (g) 197 adds *ši-bu-tu lit-tu-tu a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ja* [lu-šab-bi-ú].

b) LAS 186-193 and 195 have complicated formulas which cannot be reproduced here.

10. Marduk-šumu-ušur

A. Sources. 1) *Letters* a) written by Marduk-šumu-ušur: LAS 113-114, 117 and, as co-author, LAS 115-116¹; b) mentioning Marduk-šumu-ušur: none. 2) *Reports*: AGS 6, 35, 48, 51, 98, 108, 119, 124, 125; PRT 17, 74, 110, 111, 124; RMA 252F. 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: ADD 408 and 851.

B. Name. Mostly written *IdAMAR+UD-MU-PAP*. Other spellings: *IdŠU-MU-PAP* PRT 110, ADD 851; *IdŠU-MU-ŠEŠ* LAS 117; *IdAMAR-UD-MU-ŠEŠ* AGS 98, PRT 17; *IdAMAR+UD-MU-úšur* AGS 6, 51.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: *haruspex* (*IdŠU-MU-PAP* ... *PAP 5 HAL-MEŠ*, ADD 851 II 4 ff; see also C2). 2) *Title*: chief *haruspex* (*IdAMAR+UD-MU-PAP LUGAL HAL*, ADD 408 r7). 3) *Lineage*: unknown. 4) *Domicile*: Nineveh (cf the title; besides, M. appears as witness in a legal document found in Nineveh). 5) *Career*: Served under Esarhaddon (LAS 114, AGS 6-145 and PRT 17 and 74 date from Esarhaddon's reign; AGS 51 bears the date 673/671 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (LAS 117 was addressed to Assurbanipal; PRT 110 and 111 are dated 651, and PRT 124, 650 B.C.). It is probable that Marduk-šakin-šumi held the office of the chief *haruspex* during the reign of Esarhaddon and the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign, but lost it towards 650 B.C.; according to PRT 116, Ninuāja was the chief *haruspex* in 651 B.C. (*ININA-aḡu LUGAL HAL*), while Marduk-šumu-ušur was at that time entitled simply as "reporter" (*IdAMAJR+UD-MU-PAP EN tē-me*, PRT 111)².

D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formulas*: a) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ja*(a) *IR-ka* Marduk-šumu-ušur (b) *lu-u šul-mu*(c) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ja*(d) (b) *daḡ u*(e) *IdAMAR-UD a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ja*(f) *lik-ru-bu*, LAS 113-115.

VARIANTS: (a) EN-*ja* 114, EN-*ni* 115; (b) ... (b) caret 115; (c) *šul-mu* 114; (d) EN-*ja* 114; (e) caret 114, 115; (f) EN-*ja* 114, EN-*ni* 115.

b) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ni* *IR-MEŠ-ka* PNX *lu šul-mu a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ni Aš+šur dUTU* [*dEN*] *u daḡ a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ni* [*lik-r*] *u-bu*, LAS 116. c) LAS 117 opens with a complicated formula which, however, cannot be repeated here.

11. Mār-Ištar

A. Sources. 1) *Letters* a) written by Mār-Ištar: LAS 275-297 [23]; b) mentioning Mār-Ištar: TKSM 21/676 (= BBEA p. 8 ff); 81-2-4, 417 (= WO 4 217) and, perhaps, ABL 206 (see below). 2) *Other sources*: none.

B. Name. Always written *IdDUMU*³. Though the Neo-Assyrian reading of the logogram DUMU was certainly = *mar'u*⁴, the first element of the name is here, conventionally, normalized *mār* (< *mar'*) for lack

¹ The author of ABL 772, copied by Harper as *IdŠU-MU-PAP*, has to be read (after collation) *IdŠU-MAN-PAP*.

² That Marduk-šumu-ušur held the office of chief *haruspex* in Esarhaddon's reign appears from his heading the *haruspex* colleges in the letters and reports from that time.

³ Cf. the spellings *ma-ar-i-šu* LAS 142:13 and *DUMU-aḡa* LAS 121 r10; ABL 166:7, 633:10.

of explicit syllabic spellings which would justify another construct state form, e.g., *mar'i* (cf. GAG § 64c Anm.).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Office*: In spite of the fact that several letters of Mār-Ištar deal with astrological and magical matters⁵, this man certainly was no professional scribe, exorcist, or any other type of scholar. In most of his letters he appears as the supervisor of (the reorganization of) Babylonian temples and their cults under Esarhaddon. No title is attached to Mār-Ištar's name in his letters, and we do not know therefore the exact Akkadian designation of his office: Landsberger, BBEA p. 38, has suggested a somewhat broad designation 'Esarhaddon's ambassador-at-large'⁶. However, as far as I can see, there should be no doubt that we have here the Assyrian prototype of the officials called in the later Persian empire *king's eyes* and *dears*⁷ (to avoid misunderstandings, this term has to be distinguished from incidental informants acting in the hope of a reward or out of their loyalty to the ruler⁸). The phrases *aseme mā* "I have heard" and *šarru bēlī lū ādi* "the king, my lord, should know (this)", opening and closing nearly every section of Mār-Ištar's letters, make it clear that informing the king was the primary duty of Mār-Ištar⁹. Another part of his activity consisted of communicating the king's orders – certainly influenced by his letters – to the local authorities, and of seeing about their due execution¹⁰. Apparently directly responsible to the king only, Mār-Ištar is sometimes seen mixing into the local affairs⁷ but generally he retained the attitude of an observer. 2) *Place of office*: Akkad (cf. LAS 275:12-13 "ever since the king, my lord, introduced me into the city of Akkad"; LAS 276, 284, 287, 293 and 297 deal with affairs of Babylon; 275, 278 and 283 with those of Akkad; 281, 286, 291-292 with those of Barsip; 277, 282 with those of Uruk; 284 and 291 with those of Cutha; 292-293 with those of Dūr-Šarrukku, and 296 with Sippar). 3) *Career*: All letters of Mār-Ištar, with possibly one exception⁹, were written in the years 671-669 B.C. (for details see the comments on individual letters). Outside of this span of time nothing is known about Mār-Ištar's life. It is only a faint possibility that a bodyguard bearing the same name, mentioned in ABL 206, a letter from Sargon's reign (about 710 B.C.), is identical with our Mār-Ištar.

D. Characteristic features. *Preliminary remark*: The letters of Mār-Ištar are characterized by an exceptional consistency in shape, physical appearance, script, orthography and style. Each of these features is so conspicuous that identification of even tiny fragments is mostly possible without the elaborate combined evidence otherwise necessary. 1) *Tablets and script*: with two exceptions¹⁰ all tablets are relatively large and thin (measuring 17x40x80 mm on the average), and inscribed with small, neat, clear characters (for details see Pt. I, p. 339). 2) *Orthography and writing conventions*: The sign *ša* is used exclusively for

¹ See LAS 277 r28 ff, 278, 279, 289, 290 and 291 (astrology); 279, 280, 292 (magic).

² Cf. also the vivid portrait of Esarhaddon painted by Landsberger, *ibid.*, p. 38-39.

³ Cf. H. Bengtson, *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 5 (1965) 23: "In allen Satrapien hatte der Großkönig seine Vertrauensleute, die im Volksmund die 'Augen' und die 'Ohren' des Großkönigs genannt wurden. Diese Männer hatten ihrem Gebieter über alles zu berichten, was sie an Bemerkenswertem in Erfahrung brachten. Da sie dem Großkönig unmittelbar unterstellt waren, standen sie in der Regel mit den Satrapen und den lokalen Behörden auf gespanntem Fuß."

⁴ See A.L. Oppenheim, "The Eyes of the Lord", JAOs 88 (1968) 173-180.

⁵ This essential purpose of Mār-Ištar's mission was misunderstood by Landsberger who writes (*loc. cit.*): "Obgleich dies außerhalb seiner Kompetenz liegt, schwärzt er die Statthalter und Amtsmänner beim König an, wie überhaupt Kleinlichkeit und Mißtrauen gegen jedermann zu den negativen, echte Königstreue, Unbestechlichkeit, tiefer Glaube und vielleicht auch Gerechtigkeitsinn zu den positiven Seiten seines Charakters gehören."

⁶ Cf. LAS 276:15-17, 284:13 ff, 287:8 ff; for Mār-Ištar's own suggestions (introduced by the words "if it suits the king, my lord") see 277 r23 ff, 280 r13 ff, 291:14' ff, 293 r10 ff.

⁷ E.g. LAS 282.

⁸ On the possible identity of Akkad and Babylon (first suggested by B. Landsberger, BBEA p. 38, note 56) see the comments on 275:143.

⁹ LAS 286; see the pertinent notes.

¹⁰ LAS 287 and 296.

writing the demonstrative pronoun *ša*. In all other cases the sign *ša* is used. — The word “king” is mostly written with the sign MAN. — *bēlī* is always written *be-lī*, *bēlīja* always EN-*já* (i.e., never EN-*ja* etc.). — The determinative preceding the names of professions is always LÚ*, never LÚ; the latter is reserved for writing the independent word *amēlu*. — Dates are always written with the sign KĀM* (never KAM or KAM). — The glide *y* in forms of verba ultimae infirmae and in the pronouns *anni(ju)*, *ammi(ju)* and *šani(ju)* is regularly represented by the sign *i* (e.g., *i-qab-bi-i-u*, *ib-ti-ki-i-u*, *up-ta-at-ti-i-u*, *ša-ni-i-u-te*); this feature is found only in the letters of Mār-Ištar. — Full writings of long vowels are remarkably frequent; they occur regularly in plural forms ending *-āni* and *-āte* (e.g., *is-qa-a-te*, *qé-(e-)pa-a-ni*), before pronominal suffixes (e.g., *e-gēr-a-te-e-a*, *e-da-ni-i-šu*, *is-se-e-šu-nu*), in short words (e.g., *ki-i*, *ma-a*, *lu-u*), denoting the main stress or contracted vowels (e.g., *ba-a-si*, *di-i-na*, *ku-ū-nu*; *ū-ša-a*, *gi-nu-u*, *a-ge-e*; *né-e-pa-āš*), and before the endings of ventive and subjunctive (e.g., *is-su-uh-ru-u-né*, *na-aš-su-u-né*, *bé-e-du-u-ni*, *a-na-ku-u-ni*). — “Temple” is, curiously enough, written É.DIN-GIR^{MEŠ} instead of the normal É.DINGIR. 3) *Vernacular*: 2. 4) *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-*já* IR-*ka* IDUMU^{d15} *lu-u* šul-mu *a-na* MAN EN-*já* dPA u dAMAR-UD^(a) *a-na* MAN EN-*já* lik-ru-bu *u*₄ *me* ar-ku-te^(b) *tu-ab* UZU *u*^(c) *hu-ud* lib-bi DINGIR^{MEŠ}^(d) GAL^{MEŠ} *a-na* MAN EN-*já* liš-ru-ku. VARIANTS: (a) dŠU LAS 286; (b) *ar-ku-te* 275.286.293, *ar-ku-ti* 287, *da-ru-ti* 281; (c) *u* 276-278.283-284.290; (d) DINGIR^{ME} 286.

12. Nabû'a

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters* a) written by Nabû'a: LAS 87-92; b) mentioning Nabû'a: none. 2) *Reports*: ABL 817, 819-828. 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: see K. Tallqvist, APN, s.v. However, none of the persons enumerated there need be identical with our Nabû'a. Firstly, the latter lived in Assur whereas the former appear in documents found in Nineveh; secondly, the name itself was common, and it is in most cases not possible to distinguish between different persons, since further specifications are lacking.

B. *Name*. Written either ¹*Na-bu-u-a* or (twice, LAS 90 and ABL 817) ¹*Na-bu-ū-a*

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (inferred). 2) *Special field*: astronomy (all texts written by Nabû'a are reports on the appearance of the moon in the beginning and the middle of the month). 3) *Domicile*: Assur (¹*Na-bu-u-a* *ša* URUŠA.URU ABL 817, 819, 820 etc.). 4) *Career*: to judge from ABL 817 which is addressed to a crown prince, Nabû'a served under Esarhaddon (see Chapter IV, p. 52).

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Orthography*: *bēlīja* is mostly written *be-lī-ja*. 2) *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja*^(a) IR-*ka* Nabû'a dAG *u*^(b) dAMAR-UD *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja*^(c) lik-ru-bu.

VARIANTS: (a) EN-*ja* LAS 92; (b) *u* 89.90, caret 92; (c) EN-*ja* 91.92, EN-*já* 87.

b) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* IR-*ka* Nabû'a dAG+šur dŠa-maš dEN* dAG *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* lik-ru-bu *šu-um-rat* lib-bi *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* lu-šak-ši-du, LAS 88.

13. Nabû-ahhē-erība

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters* a) written by Nabû-ahhē-erība: LAS 59-76, 328 and, as co-author, LAS 43 and 51-58 [= 13 + 9 letters]; b) mentioning Nabû-ahhē-erība: none. 2) *Reports* a) written by Nabû-ahhē-erība: RMA 42, 43, 51, 54, 57, 62, 70, 75, 81G, 84, 96, 98, 103, 106, 112, 139, 141, 179, 180, 191, 204, 209, 212, 229, 235D, 236G, 236H, 237, 238, 244C, 246A, 246B, 246G, 248, 252D, 258, 271A, 274E, 274G, 274H [= 40 reports]; b) mentioning N.: RMA 55 (= ABL 993). 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: possibly ADD 43, 473 and 637.

B. *Name*. Always written IdPA-PAPMEŠ^{ŠU}.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (inferred from the contents of the letters; cf also IdPA-PAPMEŠ^{ŠU} LUGAL.BA ADD 473 r23, if the same person; referred to as *kinātu* (“colleague”) of the scribe Ištar-šumu-ereš in LAS 12). 2) *Titles*: none preserved. 3) *Special field*: astrology and hemerology (see the letters). 4) *Domicile*: Nineveh (cf RMA 55 and s.v. Balaš). 5) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (LAS 59 and 61 = written in 671 B.C., LAS 62 and RMA 274G = 670 B.C., and LAS 63, 65, 66, 69-71 and RMA 103 = 669 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (LAS 60 was written after the accession of Assurbanipal, RMA 70 and 236G in 667 B.C.). The document ADD 473, cited in section C1, is dated 698 B.C.; ADD 43 bears the date 687 B.C. Nabû-ahhē-erība might then have been in the beginning of his career. His non-occurrence in the list ADD 851 suggests that he was no more alive around 650 B.C.¹

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Orthography*: The sign *ra* has a special form (𐎠𐎼). Sporadic use is made of a separation line between words (LAS 65:10.19.r9, 66:13.r9; RMA 43 r4, 57 r6, 62:3, 70 r3, 103:4.11.r2.4.6.9 etc.). Aleph-sign is used extremely rarely (only once in *su-u*¹-*mu-u* LAS 64 r4). 2) *Writing conventions*: *bēlī* is always written *be-lī*, *bēlīja* always EN-*ja* (like Balaš). The double consonant in verba praeleph is expressed: *er-ra-ba*, *er-rab-an-ni*. The pronoun *anniu* is written in nom. sg. *an-ni-ū* and in gen. sg. *an-ni-e* (only once *an-ni-e*, LAS 67:16, as in Balaš's letters; similarly *ba-i-il* LAS 71 r6.). Dates are always written with the sign KĀM*. Note especially the following spellings which occur only in Nabû-ahhē-erība's letters: *a-he-e-iš*, *is-sa-a-he-e-iš*, *ur-ke-e-et*, *le-pu-u-šu*, each of which is attested several times. Note further the “short” spellings *ki* *ša* (normally *ki-i* *ša*) and *ki* *ma-si*, and the syllabic writing of the word “sun”, dŠa-maš (dUTU is not attested). 3) *Vernacular*: 1. 4) *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* IR-*ka* Nabû-ahhē-erība lu^(a) šul-mu^(b) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja*^(c) dPA dAMAR-UD *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* lik-ru-bu^(c) VARIANTS: (a) *lu-u* LAS 61; (b) *šul-mu* 58.64.72.74; (c) ... (c) caret 61.

b) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* IR-*ka* Nabû-ahhē-erība *lu-u* šul-mu *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* (a) [dPA] dAMAR-UD (a) d15 ša NINAKI d15 ša URU.Arba-īl [UDMEŠ] ar-ku-u-te [MU].AN.NAMEŠ^{ŠU} *da-ra-a-te* [tu-ab lib-bi hu-ud lib-bi [a-na] LUGAL EN-*ja* lid-di-nu LAS 75-76 VARIANTS: (a) ... (a) Aš-šur dEN* dAG d30 dU-GUR, LAS 75.

5) *Other characteristics*: Nearly every letter and report written by Nabû-ahhē-erība contains explanatory glosses added in smaller characters under words mostly written with logograms. Since glosses are not found in letters of other authors², they are a most potential means for identifying letters and reports written by Nabû-ahhē-erība. The purpose of the glosses is clear: they were intended to facilitate the reading of logograms and certain unusual syllabic signs³. Many of them can be directly traced in vocabularies⁴ or commentaries which served for

¹ On the dating of this document see above, p. 32, note 3.

² Excepting two reports of Balaš: cf RMA 88:5 (GĀN.BA = *ma-ḫi-ru*) and LAS 326:1 (GE₆ = *mu-šu*).

³ E.g., *i-be-el* = [i]-bi-il RMA 62:3; *a-der* = [a-d]e-or 180 r3; *me-her* = *me-he-er* 57:4; *ba-il* = *ba-il* 84 r3; *ū-kal* = *ū-ka-la* 98:2; *kaš-du* = *ka-aš-du* 229:2; *bu-u-lī* = *bu-u-lī* 103 r4. On examining the glosses one is certainly, at first sight, surprised at the fact that sometimes quite simple ideograms are explained, but difficult ones left unexplained (e.g., AGA = *a-ga-a* RMA 43:1, 106:2, 209:4.r1; DUG.GAMEŠ = *ta-bu-u-ti* 112:9; IM = *ša-a-ru* 248:2; thereagainst, e.g., SU.KU (= *sugū*) has been left unexplained in 103:r4 (between KUR-ud = *ik-šu-ud* and *bu-u-lī* = *bu-u-lī*). This inconsistency is, however, to be found also in elementary vocabularies, e.g. Sb (= MSL III 89 ff) which contains scores of very rare signs but fails to give all basic readings of even very common ideograms.

⁴ E.g., ARHUS = *re-o-mu* RMA 212:3 (cf SbA 316; Ea IV 240; Diri VI E 51); BAD = *naq-bi* RMA 258:3 (cf Igituh Short Version 109); EME = *li-ša-a-nu* RMA 62:3 (cf SbA 259); GISKIM = *it-tu* RMA 57:4.r6 (cf SbA 355; Diri II 100, Igituh Short Version 52); NU = *la* RMA 112:9, 180 r4, 258:4 (cf SbA 277); it must be noted, however, that many of the glosses are in declined or conjugated form, cognate to the vocabularies (e.g., DIM₂ = *is-niq* RMA 103:9, DIR-pu = *i-ge-lip-pu* 139:8, DUM.DUMMEŠ^{ŠU} = *mar-mar-i-šu* LAS 72 r12-13, GAR.GAR-nu = *it-ta-na-aš-kan* RMA 248:2, GINA = *ke-e-ni* 244C:1, i-kan 42:5), or give an Assyrian

the erudition of the scribes: since the letters addressed to the king were usually read to him by his well-trained private secretary, it is likely that the glosses were meant not for this secretary but the king, who in this case would have read his letters himself. Hitherto it has been assumed that the king in question was Assurbanipal¹; however, since glosses occur in letters addressed to both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal², one has to conclude that if the glosses are supposed to attest to the literacy of the rulers, also Esarhaddon must have possessed some kind of it³.

14. Nabû-ahhê-šallim

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Nabû-ahhê-šallim: LAS 107, ABL 695; b) mentioning N.: ABL 150; K. 5517. 2) *Legal documents*: perhaps ADD 46, 922 and 993.

B. *Name*. Mostly written ^{Id}PA-PAPMEŠ^{DI}, once (K.5517:5) ^{Id}PA-PAPMEŠ^{šal-lim}.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (hypothetical, inferred from the contents of the fragmentary letter LAS 107). 2) *Domicile*: unknown (Assur? Cf ABL 150, sent from Assur). 3) *Dating*: Esarhaddon's time (in ABL 695 r3 mention is made of a person named ^{Id}Bal(a)-ta-a¹[ju] who otherwise is known only from LAS 188, written in 670 B.C.).

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL EN-ja ÌR-ka Nabû-ahhê-šallim lu-u šul-mu a-na LUGAL EN-ja ^dPA ^dAMAR-UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja lik-ru-bu.

15. Nabû-gāmil

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Nabû-gāmil: LAS 227; b) mentioning N.: LAS 172, 174, 238.

B. *Name*. ^{Id}PA-ga-mil LAS 172 r17, 227:1; ^{Id}AG-ga-mil LAS 238:11¹.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession and title*: exorcist (appears side by side with other exorcists in LAS 174 and 238; performs an exorcistic ritual in LAS 172; mentions the exorcistic ritual *bīt salā mē* in LAS 227). 2) *Domicile*: Nineveh (belongs to the palace personnel according to LAS 172 and 238). 3) *Contemporary of* Marduk-šakin-šumi (see LAS 172 and 174).

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL EN-ja ÌR-ka ^{Id}PA-ga-mil lu-u šul-mu a-na LUGAL EN-ja a-dan-niš^[d]AG ù ^[d]AMAR+UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja lik-ru-bu.

16. Nabû-nādin-šumi

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Nabû-nādin-šumi: LAS 203-215 and, as co-author, LAS 169 [= 13 + 1 letters]; b) mentioning N.: LAS 122, 125, 263; 82-5-22, 1768. 2) *Reports*, mentioning Nabû-nādin-šumi: K.10386.

B. *Name*. Usually written ^{Id}PA-SUM-MU (attested 13 times); also ^{Id}PA-na-din-MU (LAS 203), ^{Id}AG-na-din-MU (LAS 205), and ^{Id}AG-[SUM]-MU (LAS 213).

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: exorcist (inferred from the contents of the letters; note also LAS 169 where N. appears as co-author with the prominent exorcists Adad-šumu-ušur and Marduk-šakin-šumi). 2) *Special field*: apotropaic exorcism. 3) *Lineage*: unknown. Brother of Nergal-šarrāni (cf LAS 122 r26ff *ina* UGU ^{Id}U+GUR-MAN-a-ni ^{Id}PA-SUM-MU ŠEŠ^{šá} Šá LUGAL be-lí tē-e-mu iš-kun-an-nē-ni: ahu cannot here mean 'colleague' since Nergal-šarrāni was priest by profession). 4) *Domicile*: Nineveh (cf LAS 206:10 ff: "from Nineveh I took the road to Zikkū"; note also LAS 125 r9 and 211:10 ff). 5) *Career*: contemporary of Adad-šumu-ušur (cf LAS 122 and 125), Marduk-šakin-šumi (cf LAS 169), Balāši (cf LAS 205) and Urad-Nanā (cf LAS 212). Since the letters LAS 122 and 125 mentioning Nabû-nādin-šumi were written in Esarhaddon's reign, it is certain that also the letters of Nabû-nādin-šumi himself belong to the group written between 675-665 B.C. (see p. 52). LAS 211 refers to the treaty of 672 B.C. and 208 mentions Esarhaddon's mother, but otherwise the letters cannot be assigned with certainty to either Esarhaddon's or Assurbanipal's reign.

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Orthography*: Šá appears often unconnected; the sign ša is used also in connection with other signs. Many signs are written with superfluous wedges (see LAS 203, 204, 205 etc.). 2) *Writing conventions*: note especially the spelling a-ki-i (instead of the normal a-ki) which occurs only in Nabû-nādin-šumi's letters, and the odd spellings iq-qab-bi (for iqabbī), id-da-ab-bu-ub (for idabbub), ib-ba-aš-ši (for ibašši) and ū-šē-tu-uq-qu (for ušētuqū). Note also the indication of the glide in šī-ja-a-ri and lu-di-ju-u, and the full spellings le-e-pu-u-šū and né-pe-e-še. The present tense of verba primae aleph is written defectively: e-pa-aš, né-pa-aš. 3) *Vernacular*: 5. 4) *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja^(a) ÌR-ka Nabû-nādin-šumi lu-u^(b) šul-mu^(b) a-na LUGAL EN-ja ^dPA^(c) u^(d) ^dAMAR+UD a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja^(e) a-dan-niš^(f) lik-ru-bu^(g) VARIANTS: (a) EN-ja LAS 204,205,207,209,213; (b) lu šul-mu 213; (c) ^dAG 205,207,212; (d) ù 209,214; caret 205-207,212; (e) EN-ja 203,214, EN-ja 209,212; (f) caret 204,206,212; 213 adds a-dan-niš; (g) 212 adds: UDMEŠ GÍD^dAMARMEŠ MU^{MEŠ} da-ra-a-te tu-ub lib-bi tu-ub UZU a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja ki-di-nu.

17. Nabû-nāšer

A. *Sources*. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Nabû-nāšer: LAS 215-221 and, as co-author, LAS 222, b) mentioning Nabû-nāšer: none¹. 2) *Other sources*: none.

B. *Name*. ^{Id}AG-PAP-er LAS 215:2, 220:2, 221:2; ^{Id}AG-na-[se-er] LAS 217:2; ^{Id}PA-PAP-er LAS 222.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: exorcist (inferred from the contents of the letters, cf also LAS 222 where Nabû-nāšer co-operates with the physician Urad-Nanā, and see the pertinent notes). 2) *Special field*: therapeutical exorcism (all letters of Nabû-nāšer deal with this subject). 3) *Domicile*: Nineveh (belongs to the palace personnel according to LAS 218). 4) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (children of Esarhaddon appear as patients in every letter of Nabû-nāšer: LAS 222, written with Urad-Nanā, reports on the health of the queen mother Naqia).

¹ The palace official Nabû-nāšer (^{Id}PA-PAP ÌR-ka hu-ja-ri) mentioned in ABL 145:3 is probably a different person: the letters ABL 738:5, 839:16, 964:1 and 1125:2 refer to Babylonians.

reading not attested in the lists (e.g., ITU = ur-hi LAS 59 r3-4, besides ur-hu RMA 98:2; cf ŠbB 84). Besides Akkadian, also Sumerian readings of logograms are given (e.g., AB.GUD^{Id} = [a]b-ba-a-gud-ja-a RMA 103:11; EN.NUN^{Id} ZA[L.LA] = e-nu-un ū-za-a-l-la LAS 63:5-6; MU^{Id} K^{Id} = mu-ul ka-a RMA 103 r9; MU.NIG.SIŠA = mu-ni-ig-si-sa 209:4; AŠ^{Id} ŠI.ZA = me-lí-za 191:2; U^{Id} UD^{Id} = u-si-du-ja-a 103:11; MUŠUDUN = šu-du-un 238:1).

¹ See V. Schott, Nabû-ahhê-riša, der Astrologe mit den Silbenlesungen, ZA 44 (1938) 194-200, esp. 198.

² LAS 59, 62, 66, 71, 72, RMA 98, 103 and 274G were certainly addressed to Esarhaddon; RMA 70, 236G certainly to Assurbanipal.

³ A.L. Oppenheim, Centaurus 14 (1969), p. 119, is "inclined to think that the glosses were meant for the royal secretaries" rather than for the king himself, since Esarhaddon never even pretended to be able to read". Cf., however, LAS 318 and 198.

D. Characteristic features. 1) *Vernacular*: 5. The language of Nabû-nāšer is characterized above all by regressively assimilated words (see OrNS 36.337f) which occur extremely seldom in other letters of the present selection: cf. *lib-bi* (for *libbu*) passim, *ū-di-ni* (for *uddīna*) LAS 218 r16, *ma-a'-du-tu* (for *-te*) 218:16, *re-e-ši* (for *rēšu*) 219:14', *dul-lu* (for *dullī*) 219 r9, etc. Note, furthermore, the form *lu ta-ab-šu* 215:12, 219:3' instead of the more usual *tāba*. 2) *Orthography*: the word *nēpēšē* is consistently spelled *nē-pe-šī* contrary to all other exorcists, who write *ne-pe-(e-)šē*. The DN *Šarrat parši* is written syllabically (*par-ši*) contrary to the convention of Adad-šumu-ušur (GARZA). 3) *Introductory formula*: *a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja*(a) *IR-ka Nabû-nāšer* dAG ū(b) dAMAR+UD *a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja*(c) *a-dan-niš a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu*. VARIANTS: (a) *be-li-ja* LAS 220; (b) *u* 218; (c) *EN-ja* 218, *be-li-ja* 220.

4) *Other characteristics*: Nabû-nāšer shares with Adad-šumu-ušur a characteristic which does not occur in letters of other writers: the formula *šulmu ana piqitti ša Šarrat parši libbi ša šarri bēlīja adanniš lū tābšū* (for orthographical and linguistic differences see above).

18. Nabû-šumu-iddina

A. Sources. 1) *Letters* written by Nabû-šumu-iddina: LAS 77-79 and, as co-author, LAS 31. 2) *Other sources*: none¹.

B. Name. Always written *IdPA-MU-AŠ*.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: scribe (cf C2 and the letters). 2) *Title*: foreman of the collegium of ten scribes of Nineveh (*IdPA-MU-AŠ LUGAL 10-te ša NINAKI*, LAS 77:24). 3) *Special field*: astronomy. 4) *Lineage*: unknown. 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh (see C2). 6) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (LAS 31 proves that Nabû-šumu-iddina was a contemporary of Nabû-zēru-līšer, Adad-šumu-ušur, Urad-Ea and Ištar-šumu-ēreš; LAS 77 probably refers to a lunar eclipse in 669 B.C.).

D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na LUGAL*(a) *EN-ja*(b) *IR-ka Nabû-šumu-iddina*(c) *LUGAL 10-te*(c) *ša NINAKI dPA dAMAR+UD a-na LUGAL*(a) *EN-ja lik-ru-bu*. VARIANTS: (a) *LUGAR* 77; (b) *EN-ja* 78; (c) . . . (c) caret 78.

b) *a-na LUGAL*BA KUR *EN-ja IR-ka IdPA-MU-AŠ lu [šul-mu a-na] EN-ja d[PA] u dAMAR+UD d[15] ša NINAKI d[15] ša Arba-il a-na EN-ja lik-ru-bu lu šal-li-mu-ka*, LAS 79².

19. Nabû-tabni-ušur

A. Sources. 1) *Letters* written by Nabû-tabni-ušur: LAS 264. 2) *Other sources*: none.

B. Name. Written *IdPA-tab-ni-PAP*.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: physician (inferred from the introductory formula where gods of medicine, Ninurta and Gula, are invoked). 2) *Dating*: reign of Esarhaddon (LAS 264 was written in 672-669 B.C.).

¹ Our Nabû-šumu-iddina has to be differentiated from Nabû-šumu-iddina, overseer (*hazannu*) of the Nabû temple in Calah, who lived at the same time and from whom the most letters in ABL signed with this name originate. The name itself was very popular (cf Tallqvist, APN), and it is not possible to make a distinction between these and possibly other others mentioned in juridical documents.

² Though the introductory formula of this letter is different from that of LAS 77-78, the author is most probably identical: cf the introductory formula of Ištar-nādin-apli (no. 7), and note the invocation of Ištar of Nineveh.

D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formula*: *a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja IR-ka IdPA-tab-ni-PAP lu-u šul-mu a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja a-dan-niš a-dan-niš dNINURTA u dGula a-na LUGAL be-lí-ja a-dan-niš a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu* dEN u dAG ū₄-me GID.DAMES MU₄AN.NAMES *ma-a'-da-a-te* [GIS]GU.ZA *ša da-ra-a-te pu-ab lib-bi tu-ab* UZUMESŠ [a]na LUGAL be-lí-ja [lid]-di-nu.

20. Nabû-zēru-līšer

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Nabû-zēru-līšer: LAS 30, 33, and, as co-author, LAS 31-32; b) mentioning N.: LAS 174, 238; ABL 1285. 2) *Memoranda*: ABL 1285. 3) *Colophons*: Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344. 4) *King lists*: KAV 216.

B. Name. *IdPA-NUMUN-SIŠÁ* LAS 30.31; Hunger, Kolophone, Nr. 344; KAV 216. *IdPA-NUMUN-GIŠ* LAS 32.238; ABL 512, 1285; *IdAG-NUMUN-GIŠ* LAS 33.

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: scribe (or exorcist? See C2). 2) *Titles*: chief . . . (*IdPA-NUMUN-SIŠÁ LUGALGIU* Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344); master of Esarhaddon (*AŠ-šur-PAP-AŠ* . . . *IdPA-NUMUN-SIŠÁ I15-MU-KAM+eš um-ma-ni-šū* KAV 216 IV 12-13). Cf. Šg 8 428 *tup-pi IdAG-šal-lim-šu-nu LUGALGIU SAR šar-ri GAL-ú LUGALGIU LUGALGIU um-ma-an LUGALGIU LUGAL KUR AŠ+šurKI*; this parallel and the rarity of the name (cf Tallqvist, APN) make it probable that Nabû-zēru-līšer *LUGALGIU* and Nabû-zēru-līšer *LUGALGIU* are the same person. Since Ištar-šumu-ēreš was the son of this man (see above, Ištar-šumu-ēreš, C4), Esarhaddon's "masters" evidently were a father and a son (compare the careers of Adad-šumu-ušur and Urad-Gula). That the letter-writer Nabû-zēru-līšer is identical with the "master" of Esarhaddon appears from the position he held in letters written by colleges of scholars: in both LAS 31 and 32 his name appears first, preceding Adad-šumu-ušur, Nabû-šumu-iddina, Urad-Ea and Ištar-šumu-ēreš; analysis of the letters having a joint authorship proves that the order of writers was fixed on the ground of their prestige (depending on their age and office).¹ — The meaning of *LUGALGIU* has not yet been determined with certainty. In CT 12 2 II 61 (series á A = *nāqu*) we have the equation *bu-ru-ú* (= *gi-gu-ru-u*) *ša GIU pi-ta uz-nu*; since *pī-t uz-ni* is a synonym of *hāsisu* "intelligent" (cf *eršu mūdū ha-si-su pī-t uz-ni* "learned, knowledgeable, intelligent, wise", AKA 197 iv 5).

¹ Here is a survey on the relevant letters:

LAS	authors
10	[Ištar-šumu-ēreš + NN]
28	Ištar-šumu-ēreš + [Urad]-Ea + [Marduk]-šākin-šumi
29	Ištar-šumu-ēreš + Adad-šumu-ušur + Marduk-šākin-šumi
31	Nabû-zēru-līšer + [Adad]-šumu-ušur + Nabû-šumu-iddina + [Urad]-Ea + Ištar-šumu-ēreš
32	Nabû-zēru-līšer + Adad-šumu-ušur
43	[Balasī + Nabû-ahhē-erība]
51-57	Balasī + Nabû-ahhē-erība
58	Nabû-ahhē-erība + [Balašī]
115	Marduk-šumu-ušur + Nāširu + Aqarāju
116	Marduk-šumu-ušur + Nāširu + Tabnī
139	Adad-šumu-ušur + Marduk-šākin-šumi
163-165	Adad-šumu-ušur + Marduk-šākin-šumi
166	[Adad-šumu-ušur] + Marduk-šākin-šumi
167	Adad-šumu-ušur + Urad-Ea
168	[Adad]-šumu-ušur + [Urad]-Ea + [Ištar-šumu-ēreš + [Akkul]]ānu
169	Adad-šumu-ušur + Marduk-šākin-šumi + Nabû-nādin-šumi
170	Adad-šumu-ušur + Nabû-mušēši + Ištar-šumu-ēreš
222	Nabû-nāšer + [Urad]-Nanā
262	Ikkušru + [NN]

pe-ti ú-zu-ni ha-si-si, ibid. 164:23, etc.), it appears possible that LUGAL.GLU is just a learned expression for the head of the scholars (housed in the palace).¹ The matter is however complicated by the occurrence of a profession LUMÁŠU in the colophons (see Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 233, 355, 392 and 398). It seems that this spelling is only a graphic variant of LUGLU (lacking one vertical wedge). In Nr. 392 = STT 108, a copy of the pharmacological series *abnu šikinšu*, the father of the scribe Šummu-tabni-šur LUMÁŠU is called LUG-tukul-ti LUMÁŠU[U]; cf. STT 36 (a poem), the colophon of which reads: [šū-tir LUG-tukul-ti-PAP LUMÁŠU]ŠU. LA TUR mar LUG-tukul-ti LUGLU IR ša mar MAX. This passage would yield the equation LUMÁŠU = LUGLU "physician", seemingly supported by the contents of STT 108. Yet one has to make reservations: the reading of LUMÁŠU[U] in this text is not certain, and the equation is not necessarily accurate, for the tablets are separated from each other by an interval of 13 years. In Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 398 (the son of?) a LUMÁŠU appears as copyist of the exorcistic work *Enūma ana bit marši ašipu illiku*; in Nr. 233 two LUMÁŠUs are said to be sons of scribes. – The contents of the letters of Nabû-zêru-lîšer do not help in determining his profession. The fact that the substitute king ritual forms the topic of two letters would suggest that he was an *exorcist*; however, since several letters of Ištar-šumu-êreš and Mār-Ištar too deal with the same topic, only restricted significance can be assigned to this argument. Taking into consideration šg 8 428 where a person called LUGAL.GLU is identical with LUG.DUB.SAR šar-ri, one is tentatively justified to regard also Nabû-zêru-lîšer a scribe (which was also the profession of his son Ištar-šumu-êreš; however, another son of his was an exorcist, see C4). 3) *Special field*: unknown. 4) *Lineage*: unknown. Sons: Ištar-šumu-êreš, chief scribe (see above); Šumāju, exorcist (Šu-ma-a DUMU LdPA-NUMUN-UGIŠ) LAS 174 r7; Šu-ma-a-ju DUMU LdPA-NUMUN-UGIŠ LAS 238 r2; it is likely that our Nabû-zêru-lîšer is in question because occurrence of a patronym in letters suggests that the father was more famous than the son). More children of Nabû-zêru-lîšer are enumerated in ABL 512: a brother is mentioned in ABL 1285 r21. 5) *Domicile*: Nineveh (hypothetical). 6) *Career*: See above C2. It seems that Nabû-zêru-lîšer held his office during the early part of Esarhaddon's reign and later on, after his death, his son Ištar-šumu-êreš inherited this position. Note that, despite his high position, Nabû-zêru-lîšer has left surprisingly few letters (cf. the chronological distribution of the letters, p. 50) and that in LAS 31 Nabû-zêru-lîšer precedes all other writers, but Ištar-šumu-êreš comes last of all (in contrast to LAS 28 and 29, written in 669 B.C., where the latter precedes Adad-šumu-ušur, Marduk-šakin-šumi and Urad-Ea).

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D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL(a) EN-ja(b) IR-ka Nabû-zêru-lîšer(c) lu šul-mu a-na LUGAL(d) EN-ja (c) dAG u dAMAR-UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja(e) lik-ru-bu(f). VARIANTS: (a) LUGAL LAS 30; (b) be-li-ni 31:32; (c) . . . (c) caret 33; (d) caret 30; (e) 30 adds MU. AN.NA.MEŠ ma-a-da-te; (f) li-ik-ru-bu 32.

21. Nergal-šumu-iddina

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*, written by Nergal-šumu-iddina: LAS 82-84. 2) *Legal documents*: ADD 640 and, perhaps, 623.

B. Name. Normally written LdU+GUR-MU-AŠ; also LdMAŠ.MAŠ-MU-AŠ ADD 640 r18 (if dMAŠ. MAŠ is here to be read *Nergal*; cf. CT 24 36:65 [section *Nergal*], but note Tallqvist, *Namenbuch* 269, where dMAŠ.MAŠ = Ninurta).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: scribe (LdMAŠ.MAŠ-MU-AŠ LUGAL, ADD 640 r18; cf. Bābu-šumu-iddina and Nabû-šumu-iddina). 2) *Special field*: astronomy. 3) *Lineage*: son of Nabû-mudammîq (ADD 640 r18). 4) *Domicile*: Nineveh (if identical with the person mentioned in the legal documents). 5) *Dating*: both ADD 640 and 623 bear post-canonical dates (after 648). The letters were, however, certainly written earlier, see p. 49. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the solar eclipse reported in LAS 82.

¹ Against W.G. Lambert, WO 5 (1970), 291, there is no equation LUGLU = *kapšarru* in the vocabulary Meissner AS 1 p. 87 note 2 (= LUGLU = *amêlu*, tablet B, cited by Lambert, GIL precedes the section "scribe" and most likely belongs to the section *kapšarru*).

D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formula*: a-na LUGAL EN-ja IR-ka Nergal-šumu-iddina lu šul-mu a-na LUGAL(a) EN-ja (b) (c) dAG u(d) dAMAR-UD a-na LUGAL EN-ja lik-ru-bu.(e) VARIANTS: (a) MAN LAS 83; (b) 83 adds a-dan-niš a-dan-niš; (c) . . . (c) caret 83; (d) caret 84.

22. Tabnî

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Tabnî: LAS 118, ABL 221 and, as co-author, LAS 116, b) mentioning Tabnî: ABL 912. 2) *Reports*: AGS 48, 108, 124, 145. 3) *Legal documents*: ADD 160, 164, 234.

B. Name. Usually written ¹Tab-ni-i, once ¹Tab-né-e-a (ABL 912:7, Babylonian author).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: haruspex (LAS 118 was included in this edition because of the possibility that its writer is identical with the haruspex known from LAS 116 and the reports mentioned in section A2; this is, however, by no means certain, for the fragmentary letter does not contain anything pointing to a haruspex except the invocation of the god Šamaš in the introductory formula. It is equally well possible that the author has to be identified with the scribe Tabnî known from ADD 164 dated 679 B.C., and that the haruspex Tabnî has to be sought in the Babylonian Tabnê-a mentioned in ABL 912¹. ABL 221 was excluded because of a still greater uncertainty about the identity of the author.). 2) *Lineage*: unknown. 3) *Domicile*: Nineveh (belongs to the collegium of haruspices headed by Marduk-šumu-ušur, q.v.). 4) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (all reports signed by Tabnî belong to the end of Esarhaddon's reign).

D. Characteristic features. *Introductory formula*: [a-na LUGAL be-lî-ja {IR-ka ¹T}ab-ni-i {lu šul-mu a-na} LUGAL be-lî-ja [Nabû (u) Marduk] a-na LUGAL be-lî-ja {lik-ru-bu Aš-šur} dŠa-māš GIŠPA LUGAL-ú-ti-ka [. . .] lu-ŕi-i-bu.

23. Urad-Ea

A. Sources. 1) *Letters*: a) written by Urad-Ea: LAS 268-274 and, as co-author, LAS 28, 31, 167 and 168 (= 7 + 4 letters); b) mentioning Urad-Ea: LAS 167, 172, 185, 232, 321 and 335. 2) *Astrological reports*, written by Urad-Ea: RMA 72, 100 and 256C. 3) *Administrative documents*: ADD 857. 4) *Colophons*: Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 499, 500, and 524.

B. Name. Written IR-dÉ-a, except once IR-dI (LAS 172 r20).

C. Biographical data. 1) *Profession*: appeaser (IR-dÉ-a LUGAL ADD 857 l 40; cf. C2). 2) *Titles*: *galmāhu* of the Moon god and the king (IR-dÉ-a ŠUMMAH 30 u LUGAL, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 524); *galmāhu* of the Moon god of Harrân (IR-dÉ-a GALA.MAH dEN.ZU ša ŠA URU Har-ra-an, ibid., Nr. 500). 3) *Lineage*: descendant of Šumu-libši, *galmāhu* of Esangila; father of Nabû-zêru-iddina, appeaser of the Moon god and the king (var. *aštalû* of the Moon god) (LdAG-NUMUN-SUM-na ŠU d30 u LUGAL A IR-dÉ-a {ŠA.BAL.BAL} LdMU-JÉ.GÁL ŠUMMAH, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 499:4-5; LdAG-NUMUN-SUM-na aš-ta-lu-u d30 A IR-dÉ-a GALA.MAH dEN.ZU ša ŠA URU Har-ra-an ŠA.BAL.BAL LdMU-JÉ.GÁL GALA.MAH E-sag-ila, ibid., Nr. 500). 4) *Domicile*: Harrân (see above, C3) and Nineveh (see the letters). 5) *Career*: served under Esarhaddon (LAS 185 was written in 671 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (?), contemporary of Nabû-zêru-lîšer, Adad-šumu-ušur, Nabû-šumu-iddina, Ištar-šumu-êreš (see LAS 31), Marduk-šakin-šumi (see LAS 28) and Akkullānu (see LAS 168).

¹ Note that the two colleagues of Tabnî appearing as co-authors of LAS 115-116 (Nāširu and Aqarāju Aqarā) were certainly Babylonians; see note on 115:4.

