

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 ^{Id}Aš-šur-ba-an-AxX 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-ahu-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 Nabû-šerub-šer 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 of 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 (*Balaš*); A. Schott, ZA 44 (1938) 194 ff (*Nabû-ahhê-eriba*); J. Thorwald, *Nacht und Geheimnis der frühen Ärzte* (1967) p. 125 ff (*Urad-Nand*).

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, ūdīna/ūdini, 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*), *ūdīna, (a)kī, anniju* or *annī, ina pān*, connective *zero*;

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

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

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

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

⁵ All writers, with the exception of the physicians, invoked the gods Nabû 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 Sargon), ADD 350 (dated 707 B.C.), 93, 628 (postcanonical) and 216.

B. *Name*. Usually written ^lIM-MU-PAP, six times ^lIM-MU-*ú-šur* (LAS 123, 133, 147, 158, 249 and K. 2223), thrice ^lIM-MU-ŠEŠ (LAS 130, ABL 1373, Šm. 2116) and once ^lIO-MU-PAP (LAS 170).

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: exorcist (cf letters and C 2). 2) *Title*: exorcist of the king (^lIM-MU-*ú-šur* ^lUM.AŠ.MAŠ ša MAN, K. 2223), *šangamāhu* of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (^lIM-MU-*ú-šur* ^lŠu-an-gam-ma-hu ša [1Aš+šur][PAP-AŠ] MAN [K]UR Aš+šur^{KI}, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 498), chief [...] ([^lIM-MU-PAP ^lUGAL [...]), 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 (^lIR-^dGu-la DUMU-*a-ja* šu-*ú* "Urad-Gula is my son", LAS 121 r9-10; ^lIR-^dGu-la ^lUM.AŠ.MAŠ [DUM]U ^lIM-MU-*ú-šur*, 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 šá 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-ḥe-iš*, *is-sa-ḥe-iš*, *do-iq*, *de-iq-tu*, *iš-ši-a-ri*; but also *ina ši-á-a-ri*, *a-še-á-a-ri*: 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-)an-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) ^lIR-ka Adad-šumu-ušur^(b) *lu*^(c) *šul-mu*^(d) *a-na*^(e) LUGAL^(f) *be-lī-ja*^(g) ^(b) ^dAG^(h) ⁽ⁱ⁾ ^dAMAR+UD *a-na*^(j) 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* ^lIR-ka Adad-šumu-ušur *lu-u*^(a) *šul-mu a-na*^(b) LUGAL *be-lī-ja* ^dAš+šur^(c) ^d30 ^dUTU ^(d) ^dAG [á] ^dAMAR+UD DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{MEŠ} ša AN-*e* [ú] KLTIM ^(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 (Rīmami-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-ú* LAS 130; (b) *ana* 119; (c) *Aš+šur* 119; (d) ... (d) [^dEN] ^dAG ^dU+GI R 120.

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

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: priest (cf letters and C 2). 2) *Title*: enterer of the Aššur temple (^lAk-kul-la-nu ^lU.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, C 2). 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 šá: the former is never used to express a syllable, whereas the latter never occurs alone. In writing professions and titles, the graph LU (not LU*) 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 *mī-i-nu*: thereagainst *me-me-e-ni*), the full writing *is-se-e-šá* (instead of *is-se-šá*), and *lu-u-ú-dī* (instead of *lu-u ú-dī/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) ^lIR-ka Akkullānu *lu-u*^(b) *šul-mu*^(c) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja*^(d) ^dAG^(e) ^(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 ^lBa-bu-šumu-iddina. The reading of the DN as *Bābu* (not *Bāba* or *Bau*) is certain on the ground of the Middle Assyrian spelling ^lBa-bu-šumu-iddina KAJ 158:18 and the Neo-Assyrian spellings with KÁ (= *bābu*): e.g. ^lKū-KÁ (= *bābu*)-DINGIR-*a-ja* ABL 342:16, ^lKū-bābu-sa-tar 387:10.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (inferred). 2) *Special field*: astronomy. 3) *Domicile*: Calah (^lBa-bu-šumu-iddina ša [^lURU] ^lKal-ha, LAS 80:2-3). 4) *Career* cannot be fixed chronologically.

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* ^lIR-ka Bābu-šumu-iddina ša [^lURU] ^lKal-ha^(a) *lu* *šul-mu a-na* LUGAL EN-*ja* ^dAG ^(b) ^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, 274I, 274O, 277F [= 21 reports]. 3) *Legal and administrative documents*: ADD 121, 206, 261, 532.

B. *Name*: written consistently ^I*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 (^I*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. ^I*Ba-la-si-i* LU^U *qurḫūtu* ADD 325 r13, 400 r14, 414 r30; LU^U *rab kišer* 318 r8, 361 r13, 623 r17; LU^U *rab kišer ša šepē* 235 r14; LU^U *ša šepē* 475 r10; son of Nabū-nākil, LU^U *rab kišer* 308 r9). Note, furthermore, that Balaš is not identical with ^I*Ba-la-su* (= "Balātsu), against Landsberger, BBEA p. 14.

D. *Characteristic features*. 1) *Orthography*: The sign *i* regularly denotes the glide *y* in words *anūju*, *šijāru* and *ajju* (*an-ni-i-a*, *an-ni-i-e*, *ha-an-ni-i-e*, *š-i-i-a-ri*, *a-i-ú*). This feature occurs only in letters of Balaš (excepting the spelling *an-ni-i-e* found in LAS 67:16, from Nabū-ahḫē-eriba). Dates are always written with the graph KĀM* (not KĀM or KAM). The sign *ša* appears never connected (*šā* is used alone too). *Bālija* is always written EN-ja, *bēlī* 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-ḫe-er* (instead of *ma-ḫer*), *ša-ṭe-er* (instead of *ša/šā-ter*). 2) *Vernacular*: 1. 3) *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(a) IR-ka^(b) Balaš lu-u^(c) šul-mu^(d) a-na LUGAL EN-ja^(a) (e) dPA dAMAR+UD^(f) a-na LUGAL EN-ja^(a) lik-ru-bu^(e) VARIANTS: (a) EN-ni LAS 51-52, 54-56; (b) IRMEŠ-ka 52, 54-57, IRMEŠ-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: TILLA UDMEŠ ru-qu-tī šu-bu-ú-tū 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 ^I*Ba-ni-i* in LAS 263:2 and ADD 470 r19; ^I*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 (^I*Ba-ni-i* LU^U *2-u ša LU^U GAL A.ZU, ADD 470 r19; ^I*Dū-i* LU^U *2-u ša LU^U GAL[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 661 and 663 B.C.

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja* IR-ka Bānī lu-u šul-mu a-dan-niš a-dan-niš a-na LUGAL EN-ja dMAS u dGULA tu-ub lib-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 ^I*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-ukin).

D. *Characteristic features*. *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lī-ja*^(a) IR-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 lib-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 TILLA 258; (e) lid-di-nu 259.

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

7. *Ištar-nādin-apli*

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

B. *Name*: Id₁₅-MU-A ADD 448 r23; Id₁₅-AŠ-A ADD 420 r7, 507 r6; I₁₅-SUM-A ADD 2 r4, ABL 1217 r12'14'19; Id₁₅-SUM-A LAS 96:2, 97:2, ADD 331 r7; Id₁₅-[SUM-A] LAS 98:2; [Id₁₅-SUM]-A ADD 421 r14.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (Id₁₅-SUM-A LU^U A.BA, ABL 1217 r12'14'19; ADD 331 r7, 421 r14, etc.). 2) *Title*: for-man of the collegium of ten scribes of Arbela (Id₁₅-SUM-A LU^U GAL 10-ti ša LU^U A.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 Ištar-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 Ištar-nādin-apli, date from 666 B.C. At that time Ištar-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 IR-ka Ištar-nādin-apli LU^U GAL 10-ti (a) ša LU^U A.BAMEŠ(a) ša URU Arba-īl lu-u šul-mu a-na LUGAL EN-ja dAG dAMAR+UD (b) d₁₅ 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^{K1} 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, 21A, 31, 93, 128, 136O, 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. *Name*. Normally written ¹I5-MU-KAM-eš (attested 26X) or simply ¹I5-MU-KAM (10X). Other writings: ¹I5-MU-APIN-eš LAS 4:2, ABL 845 r6, ADD 851 l 1; ¹IdI5-MU-APIN-eš RMA 55:6, J-APIN-eš LAS 168:5; ¹IdI5-MU-KAM-eš LAS 242:2, 4, ADD 444:32, 448:34, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344; ¹I5-MU-KAM* ABL 580 r3; ¹IdIš-tar-MU-KAM-eš K.3877 IV 17.

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: scribe (see below). 2) *Title*: chief scribe of Assurbanipal (¹IdI5-MU-KAM-eš ¹LUGAL *tup-šar-ri ša* ¹AN.ŠAR-DÛ:A, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344), master of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (¹Aš+šur-PAP-AŠ . . . ¹IdPA-NUMUN-SI.SÁ ¹I5-MU-KAM-eš *um-man-šú* ¹Aš+šur-DÛ:A . . . ¹I5-MU-KAM+eš *um-man-šú*, KAV 216 iv 12-16). 3) *Special field*: astrology, hemerology, terrestrial omens (see letters). In accordance with his influential position, Ištar-šumu-ēreš 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-zēru-līšer, chief scientist(?) (¹IdI5-MU-KAM-eš ¹LUGAL *tup-šar-ri* . . . DUMU ¹IdAG*-NUMUN-SI.SÁ ¹LUGAL.GLU¹, Hunger, AOAT 2, Nr. 344). To avoid confusion, it has to be stressed that our Ištar-šumu-ēreš is not identical with the son of the well-known astrologer Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, in spite of the fact that this had the same name, profession (cf [¹IdIš]-tar-MU-KAM-eš ¹LUGAL[BA DUMU ¹IdAG]-zu-qup-GLNA ¹LUGAL[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-ēreš 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-ēreš as witness, dates from 666 B.C. (see above, under Adad-šumu-ušur). ADD 444 and 445, likewise mentioning the chief scribe Ištar-šumu-ēreš, bear the date 660 B.C.; the report RMA 267 is dated 657 B.C. ADD 851: presenting Ištar-šumu-ēreš 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 KAM*). Note also the spelling ša-ter (not ša-ter etc.). 2) *Writing conventions*: especially characteristic of Ištar-šumu-ēreš is the spelling *be-li* (instead of *be-lí*) "my lord": the oblique case is usually written EN-ja. Very cha-

¹ For this title see below, Nabû-zēru-līšer, C2.

² Col. 18 has to be read [PAP 7.A.B]AM.E.S: (copy AN.BE) according to the collation of G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 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-Ḫarrān-šadū'a.

acteristic are also the full writings of precative forms such as *be-e-ru-bu*, *lu-ú-kal-li-mu*, *né-e-mur*. Aleph is left unexpressed (*a-ḫe-iš*, *iš-šá-ri*). The double consonant in the present tense of verba pr. aleph is usually expressed (*er-rab-u-ni*, *er-ru-bu*, *ep-pa-aš*, *ep-pu-šú*, but once *er-[u-bu]*). No regularity in the writings of the pronouns *anniu* and *minu* can be observed: nom.sg. *an-nu-ú*, gen.sg. *an-ni-je* or *an-nim-ma*, pl. fem. *an-na-a-ti*; *minu* is written *mi-(i)nu* or (twice) *mí-i-nu*. Note also the spellings *ma-ḫe-er* (instead of *ma-ḫor*) and *pi-šar-šú* (instead of *pi-še-er-šú*). 3) *Vernacular*: 4) *Introductory formula*: *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(a) EN-ja^(b) IR-ka Ištar-šumu-ēreš *lu šul-mu*^(c) *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(d) dAG^(e) u^(f) dAMAR-UD *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(g) lik-ru-bu^(h). VARIANTS: (a) ¹LUGAR LAS 25, AMALUGAL 21; (b) *be-lí-ja* 1.7, *be-lí-ja* 4.13, *be-lí-ni* 29; (c) šul-mu 5, 8.9.10.14.15.17.19.24; (d) EN-ja 2.4.14.26, *be-lí-ja* 5.13, EN-ni 29; (e) dPA 8.9.10.14.15.21.23; (f) caret 16; (g) EN-ja 5.14.19.26, EN-ni 29; (h) LAS 5 omits the blessing.

9. *Marduk-šakin-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. *Name*. Written ¹IdAMAR-UD-GAR-MU and (twice) ¹IdŠÚ-GAR-MU (see LAS 178 and ADD 444).

C. *Biographical data*. 1) *Profession*: exorcist. 2) *Title*: chief exorcist (¹IdŠÚ-GAR-MU ¹LUGAL.MAŠ.MAŠ, ADD 444:33). The scribe of an inscription of Esarhaddon, calling himself Marduk-šakin-šumi the small pupil (¹IdAMAR-UD-GAR-MU ¹LUGAL.MAŠ.MAŠ 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 = Ulūlu 670 B.C.; LAS 172-174, 184-188, 199 and 201 mention sons of Esarhaddon) and Assurbanipal (ADD 448 = dated 666 B.C.¹, ADD 444 = 660 B.C.). LAS 224 r7-8² 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 ŠAHJ 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*, *šá-TER*, *ma-IJER*). 2) *Writing conventions*: "My lord" (in genitive) is normally written *be-lí-ja*/EN-ja (less often EN-ja). Aleph is expressed consequently (*is-sa-ḫe-ṭi-iš*, *de-ṭi-iq*, *lu-ke-ṭi-ú*: 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*, *né-ep-pa-aš*, *ep-pu-šú*). Nom. and gen. sg. of *anniu* are identical: both are written *an-ni-i* (*an-nim-ma*, *ḫa-an-nim-ma*). The pronoun *mī-nu* is written *mī-i-nu/ni* or (5 times) *mí-i-nu* (thereagainst *me-me-ni* thrice). Note also the defective spelling *iq-bu-ni*, 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-nu* (which is attested 6 times): *lu ta-a-šú* instead of *lu(u) ta-a-ba*; *ina pu-ú-ti* (twice) instead of *ina pit-ti* (once); and *mu-uk* (thrice) instead of *nu-uk* (once). 5) *Introductory formula*: a) *a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ja*^(a) IR-ka Marduk-šakin-šumi *lu-u šul-mu*^(b) *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(c) dPA^(d) u^(e) dAMAR-UD *a-na* LUGAL EN-ja^(f) lik-ru-bu^(g)

¹ See above, p. 28, note 1.