

Abhandlung

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Exorcists and Physicians at Assur: More on their Education and Interfamily and Court Connections

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Abstract: This study presents a further investigation into the library of the so-called *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*, also known as N4 library, the largest and richest Neo-Assyrian private library. The research is based mostly on colophons, and also involves other texts originating in and outside Assur. Its purpose is to investigate further the functions of the exorcist family members in the Aššur temple and at the court and their kinship and professional relationships.

Introduction

The problem of identifying division and interaction between two Mesopotamian scholarly professions—*āšīpu*, the exorcist, and *asû*, the physician—has a long history in research.¹ The present study treats this problem by investigating the prosopography of the authors and copyists of medical and related texts rather than the content of the texts themselves. Some colophons of the texts found at the famous *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* at Assur are examined for the connections between the individuals

that appear in them. All the available evidence that refers to these individuals, including letters and documents, is assessed. Associating colophons with the type and genre of texts in which they appear is very important since through the duplicates and similar texts copied by different scholars one can detect common interests of certain individuals and relations between scribal families and their members. Some training methods and features in the curriculum of apprentice exorcists and physicians in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* library are explored. Mapping the results of the research is another important methodological approach for it highlights connections between groups of scholars in various Assyrian metropolises and the relations between scholarly groups inside each city as well as the family ties of exorcists to the scholarship of the court.

¹ E.g., Oppenheim (1962), Ritter (1965), Jean (2006, 4. 16), Robson (2008, 465–470. 475 f.), Maul (2010, 212–214), and Koch (academia.edu, 1–2).

Article Note: The abbreviations used in this article are those employed by the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, and in addition BAK = Hunger 1968. Neo-Assyrian PNs but not DNS (including those within PNs) follow PNA. GNs follow Parpola/Porter (2001). For the transliteration *tuppu* and so forth, see Streck (2009, 136–139).

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The House of *Beschwörungspriester* and the family of exorcists

The library of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* at Assur, N4 in Pedersén's nomenclature, was found in the courtyard 10 of this house (fig. 1).² The layout of long rectangular hall 3 with symmetrical entrances on both long sides³, which terminates with broad room 4 at its short

² Nr. h8:4B; detailed descriptions are: Miglus 1996, 237–239; Plan 41. Plan 132d; Miglus 1999, 304; pl. 77, fig. 363.

³ Actually, there are three entrances: two at the long sides and one at the short.

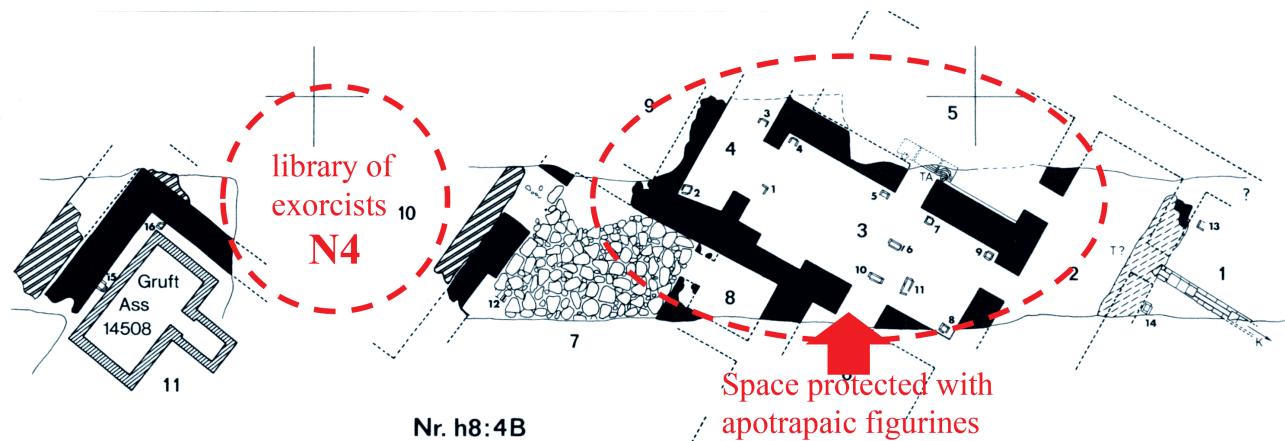


Fig. 1: Find spot of the library of exorcists (hD8I, courtyard 10). After Miglus 1996, Plan 132.

north-western end, reproduces the layout of temple cellas with the “bent axis” approach in miniature.⁴ The broad room is separated from the hall by protruding pillars, as are the holy-of-holies areas of cellas.⁵ In the corners, under the doorjambs, and in the centre of hall 3 and room 4 boxes were found containing clay plaques and figurines

representing protective spirits.⁶ To make the complex fit for the performance of the rituals of exorcism was one of the purposes of burying apotropaic figurines.⁷ The walls of hall 3 were covered with gypsum stucco and painted red,⁸ too lavish a decor for a space used just for mundane purposes in the private house of scholars.

According to Pedersén (1986, 44), “most of the approximately 631 available texts (of N4–NNM) are literary. Some 201 of them, i. e. around 1/3, have more or less

4 For Mesopotamian oblong shrines with the “bent axis” approach and broad rooms separated by piers, see Frankfort (1979, 109), with references to the earlier periods, and especially fig. 116 for the Ur III period Aššur temple E. For Assyrian temples of various periods with such a plan, see, e.g., Schmitt (2012, pls. 3–5, Nabû temple at Assur); Bär (2003, 404; pl. 19, Old Ištar temple at Assur), Gries (2017, pl. 7, Sennacherib’s Aššur temple), and Heinrich (1980, 272f; fig. 359, Sebettu temple). For the bent-axis layout of the audience halls in the Neo-Assyrian state apartments, see Turner (1970) and Miglus (1999, pl. 85, nos. 388–394). Two Neo-Assyrian big houses are known, apparently the houses of officials, with plans imitating palaces (Miglus 1999, pl. 83, figs. 383, 384). For Assyrian houses serving as offices, see May/Steinert (2014, 13 with n. 33) and Kühne (2000, 763, 768); for scholars’ homes as places of learning and medical practice, see Robson (2008, 459). In the Neo-Assyrian period the plans of cellas and audience halls of palaces continued the age-old tradition, while in private houses oblong rooms with the bent-axis access and the broad room separated from the main space by piers are extremely rare (see the next footnote).

5 There are only three(?) other examples of a private Assyrian house with such plan: see Miglus 1999, pl. 73, fig. 338 and 303, Nr. f9:1; pl. 77, fig. 361; Miglus 1996, 138; pl. 93, Nr. E7: 35, but the plans of the latter two houses are largely restored. Miglus (1996, pl. 77, figs. 363–367) assembled only five instances of private houses with apotropaic figurines buried under the floors, all from Assur, the first of which is the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*. In all these instances the plans are rather fragmentary. It is worth noticing that the largest number of these figurines (14) was found in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*. In the other houses only 2–4 figurines were unearthed. See also Klengel-Brandt (1968) and Rittig (1977: 232–237 [2.2.6–16]), and Ismail (1982, 199f.; figs. 1–6).

6 Apotropaic images were found everywhere in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*; see Pedersén (1986, 43). However, most of them were buried under the floor of the complex of hall 3 and room 4. 7 An apotropaic ritual was performed when the figurines were first installed. Thereafter this space stayed continuously secured from evil and thus fit for the exorcistic procedures. Most probably it was some reduced variant of the ritual *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsi* (“To Block the Entry of the Enemy in Someone’s House;” Wiggermann 1992, 41–90). KAR 298 (= N4 [84]), is the excerpt of this ritual made by Kišir-Aššur, the grandson of Bābu-šumu-ibni. Wiggermann (1992, 96–101) points out that neither finds from palaces nor these from private houses fit fully the prescriptions of *šēp lemutti*. He (*ibid.*, 99f.) further demonstrates that in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* a rather complete set of figurines was found, but nonetheless “we do not know whether it was a building ritual (like text IV) or a *šēp lemutti* text (like I/II) that covered their installation.”

It is unlikely that *bīt mēseri*, the copies of which were found in the N4 library as well (N4 [254, 516, 572]) and which also involves the installation of apotropaic figures, was performed when the prophylactic genii were buried under the floor of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*. No images of Lugalgirra, who plays an important role in *bīt mēseri*, or other gods that it involves (*cf.*, e.g., Meier 1941–1944, 143–147: ll. 22–132 and BBR 53, 54), were found there. Of course, the prophylactic figurines could have been made of perishable materials. This further complicates the exact identification of the rites performed by an exorcist on each particular occasion.

8 See Miglus (1996, 237–241) for the detailed description of the complex of hall 3 and room 4; see also Maul (2010, 192).

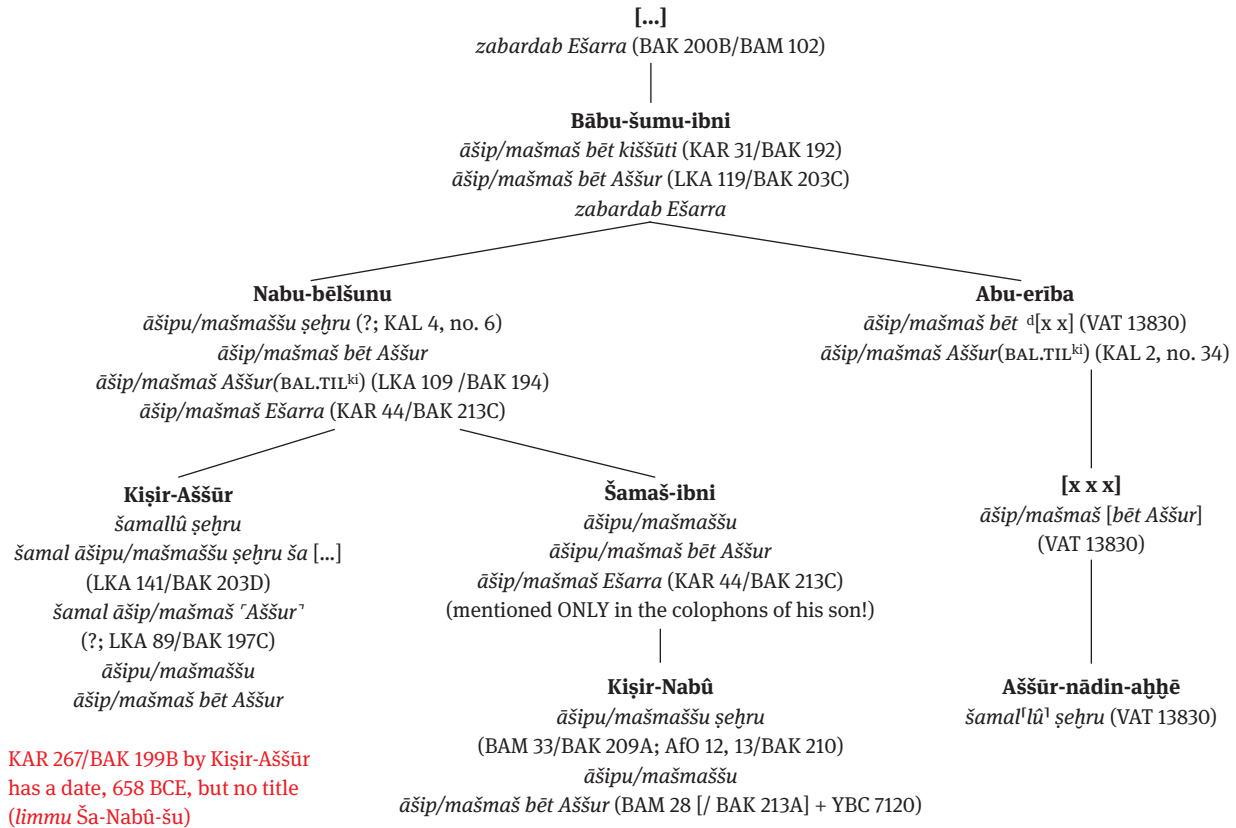


Fig. 2: Genealogical tree of the family of exorcists, the owners of N4 (based on Maul 2010, 203).

preserved colophons (...).” Subsequently Maul has identified 1242 texts as belonging to the N4 library; of these 316 texts, about a quarter, have colophons or remains of them.⁹ The most complete family tree of the N4 exorcists has been reconstructed by Maul (2010, 203) and included two branches.¹⁰ It is reproduced here for the convenience of the reader (fig. 2).¹¹

⁹ Maul 2010, 194 f. with n. 24. Pedersén (1986, 45–46) speaks of at least 59 texts of Kišir-Aššūr and 32 of Kišir-Nabû. Maul (2010, 205 with n. 56) counts 78 texts that can be unequivocally attributed to Kišir-Aššūr and 44 written by Kišir-Nabû. Maul’s tables give an account of how often every title was used by the members of the exorcists’ family, but they have no text numbers and apparently include some yet unpublished texts. I was able to identify 60 texts of Kišir-Aššūr and 35 of Kišir-Nabû based on published texts only.

¹⁰ Maul also treated exhaustively the titles and careers of the exorcists’ family members. Interestingly, so far there are no attestations of double titles used together for any of them.

¹¹ In this stemma the titles appear to ascend in accordance with the career growth; the most common titles are given without references to the texts. The references are specified only for the single attestations.

Pedersén stated: “The first member of the family, Bābu-šumu-ibni, is not attested in central function in the texts of this library. In the genealogical formulas he usually has the title *zabardabbu bīt Aššur*, but is once (471) called *MAŠ.MAŠ bīt kiššūti*, the exorcist of the “House of Might” (i. e. the Assur temple).¹² It can be added that in LKA 119 Bābu-šumu-ibni is called *āšip/mašmaš bēt Aššur*. Only one tablet apparently belonging to the N4 library¹³ was written by Bābu-šumu-ibni himself. Maul very plausibly suggested that Nabû-bēlšunu was not the eldest son of

¹² Pedersén 1986, 45; written ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ É kiš-šū-ti. See also Maul 2010, 200 n. 40. 203 n. 47.

¹³ KAL 4, no. 36 = VAT 13943. It does not have a field number and was not included in Pedersén’s catalogue. Since the tablet belonged to Bābu-šumu-ibni, the family forefather, it was attributed by Maul and Strauß (2011, 17. 83) to the library of the exorcists. The text type—the ritual against the spirit of a dead, a demon or an evil—testifies in favour of this attribution, but of course the possibility that it was an occasional find deriving from the library of some other descendant of Bābu-šumu-ibni or even from the collection of an exorcist that did not belong to this family cannot be totally excluded.

Bābu-šumu-ibni, so that most of his library was inherited by the older branch of the family.¹⁴

What was the *zabardabbu/û* in the NA context? Besides Bābu-šumu-ibni, only two other Assyrian individuals have that title: the father of this Bābu-šumu-ibni;¹⁵ and a certain Nabû-šumu-ušur, *zabardabbu/û* of Ninurta and Nabû from Kalḫu.¹⁶ Ever since its first attestation a *zabar-dab₅/zabardabbu* always had cultic functions. In Ur III *zabar-dab₅/dab* was the highest cult official and the chief cupbearer.¹⁷ In the OB period he was one of the highest state officials concerned with the cult.¹⁸ Charpin has pointed out that already in OB *zabar-dab₅* is a title for scribes and priests in Ur and Kiš.¹⁹

In Assyria, apart from being the title of the temple officials mentioned earlier, *zabardabbu/û* is attested in NA copies of SB liver omen texts; and in lists of gods.²⁰ In the latter, minor gods are called the *zabardabbu/ûs* of the major ones. One of these liver omen tablets has the colophon of the famous contemporary of Bābu-šumu-ibni, the greatest Neo-Assyrian scholar, Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.²¹ The Assyrian evidence we have, although meagre, certainly does not point to any role in the affairs of state for

a *zabardabbu/û*, nor to him having any elevated status at the court. But it can be clearly established that in the first millennium in Assyria the *zabardabbu/û* was a grandiloquent term for an exorcist. This is deduced from the Neo-Assyrian catalogue of the sub-series SA.GIG,²² which ascribes the authorship of this text to the famed Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli²³ and calls him ZABAR.DAB.BA *Ē-zi-da*, and then in the next line *i-ši-pu ram-ku*, a purification priest.²⁴ The family of exorcists of N4 knew well the work of their legendary Babylonian colleague and consequently adopted his Sumerian title. The Exorcist's Manual, copied by Kišir-Nabû, speaks of “incipits of the series *āšipūtu* according to Esagil-kīn-apli” (SAG^{meš} ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá mĒ-sag-īl-DU-A, KAR 44 rev. 4).²⁵ *Zabardab Ešarra* was an equivalent term for *āšipu/mašmaššu* of the Aššur temple. The title of the authority for exorcism, Esagil-kīn-apli, alludes also to the highest officials from earlier periods. By using it the family of exorcists, the descendants of Bābu-šumu-ibni, showed their intention to stress their own importance and elevated status. In the NA period *zabardabbu/û* was an archaic and honorific title for *āšipu*, borrowed from the Babylonian milieu.²⁶

14 Maul 2010, n. 64. It is equally possible that the one who received the largest share of the scholarly collection of his ancestors was the father of Kišir-Nabû, Šamaš-ibni. He is not represented in N4 even by a single tablet and his copies were apparently stored in his own library together with his part of Bābu-šumu-ibni's *Nachlass*.

15 BAM 102: 7, the god's name lost.

16 BAK 316, the colophon of some kind of a list (?; CT 5, 12c = 79–78, 190):

rev. 1' PEŠ.GAL [m^dNĀ¹–[x x x x (x)]
2' PEŠ.GAL m^dNĀ–MAN-*a*'-ni [x (x)]
3' ŠĀ.BAL.BAL m^dNĀ–MU–PAP
4' ^{f1}ū¹ZABAR.DAB.BA ^dMAŠ
5' [x (x)] ^{f1}NĀ šá ŠĀ ^{uu}Kal-ḫi

1' the firstborn of Nabû- [...],
2' the firstborn of Nabû-šarrāni,
3' descendant of Nabû-šumu-ušur,
4' *zabardabbu/û* of Ninurta,
5' [...] of Nabû, who is in the centre of Kalḫu.

17 See Sallaberger in Sallaberger/Westenholtz 1999, 186–188 with n. 219 and Sallaberger 1993, 211 with n. 997. 231 with n. 1103 and with further literature. The fact that *zabar-dab₅* is mentioned in Gilgamesh and Aga ll. 65–84, where Aga mistakes this official for the king (ETCSL, etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk, composition 1.8.1) also points to his elevated status in the early periods.

18 See Charpin (1986, 236–240) for the review of the evidence for *zabar-dab₅* in Mari and Babylonia.

19 *Ibid.*, 237–238. It is worth noticing that the scribe (dub-sar) Lugal-lu-titi is the *zabar-dab₅* ^{dn}n [n a] (YOS 5, no. 52).

20 CT 30, 16 rev. 12; Rm 2, 103 iii 22; CT 25, 16:10; CT 24, 3 i 18.

21 This is the *manzāzu*-commentary Rm 2, 103 iii 22. See Koch (2000, 132–150; no. 19: 72 on p. 141).

22 ND 4358+ND 4366, which has a Neo-Babylonian duplicate BM 41237+.

23 The *ummānu* of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina according to the Seleucid List of Sages and Scholars (W 20030, 7: 16), ND 4358+ND 4366: 53–55 and BM 41237+: 19'–20', see Finkel (1988, 144, 148–149); Finkel (1988, 149, n. 58) for the reference to the title of Bābu-šumu-ibni, and Heeßel (2010, 157) for the discussion of the possible date for Esagil-kīn-apli.

24 ND 4358+ND 4366: 57–59; BM 41237+ rev. 22'–23'; Finkel 1988, 148–149. In a late Neo-Assyrian fragment of a catalogue of literary texts, Esagil-kīn-apli is possibly named as the author of the Babylonian Theodicy and an *exorcist* (^ūMAŠ.MAŠ [K. 10802: 2]). Although Lambert (1960, 63 f.) suggests restoring the totally broken name in this line as Saggil-kīnam-ubbib, he himself points out that this restoration is uncertain. Now, when Finkel has shown that Esagil-kīn-apli was referred to as the *ummānu* of Adad-apla-iddina as well, it might be that he was also the author of the Babylonian Theodicy, the exorcist by profession.

25 The incipits of the works ascribed to him include the section KAR 44 rev. 5–20. For Esagil-kīn-apli in Assyria and Babylonia, see further Heeßel (2010, 157–164).

26 The other, much less plausible possibility would be that this word was preserved in the Assyrian milieu since the Old Assyrian period, when Samsī-Addu and his sons ruled in Mari, as were some other cultic terms, e.g., *qersu*, see May (2010). The methodological approach to the change of the semantic field of a word over time is best summarised and exemplified by Robson (2008, particularly pp. 460–462). *Zabardabbu/û* could also either survive in Assyria from the Ur III period, or be resurrected by the scribes of Sargon II, in whose reign Bābu-šumu-ibni should be dated (Maul 2010, 205). I am indebted to Maul for pointing out to me that this title could be revived in Assyria.

In first millennium Babylonia, besides the aforementioned Neo-Babylonian copy of the catalogue of SA.GIG, ^{lú}ZABAR.DAB.BA is found in another tablet, which is a later copy of the text from the time of king Nabû-apla-iddina. There ^{lú}ZABAR.DAB.BA is listed among temple personnel between the lamentation priest (^{lú}GALA) and the brewer (^{lú}LUNGA), as recipients of a share (*kurummatu*) in daily sheep-offerings (*ginû*) to Ištar and Nanāia at Eanna.²⁷ The *zabardabbu/û* is, however, “completely absent from later texts from Uruk as actual professional titles.”²⁸ Jursa has firmly identified ^{lú}ZABAR with *āšipu* in the Late Babylonian context²⁹ based on the lexical lists and the Late Babylonian ritual.³⁰ Thus, in first millennium Babylonia ^{lú}ZABAR(.DAB.BA) also meant *āšipu*. In the early first millennium in Assyria and in Babylonia *zabardabbu/û* was a grandiloquent word for an exorcist. It disappeared in Assyria in the later first millennium, but a term reminiscent of this title remained in LB, where it has the abbreviated form ^{lú}ZABAR for *āšipu* and */zabarûtu/* for *āšipûtu*. Clearly, for the use of this title in Babylonia there was a continuous tradition and the appearance of */zabarûtu/* in administrative contexts indicates that in Babylonia the term was not restricted to scholarly circles. But, because it is absent from the post-OB second millennium, it remains a mystery how *zabardabbu/û* came to be the title of an exorcist. Apparently, the major changes of the Kassite period saw it being abandoned as the title of high state and temple officials.

Nabû-bêlšunu, the son of the *zabardabbu/û* Bābu-šumu-ibni, is the first in the family who left us a sufficient amount of his texts. He is apparently attested as owner or copyist of tablets³¹ in seven³² colophons of texts from

For the revival of archaic words and titles by Sargon’s scribes see, e.g., May (2012, 201 f., May (2011–2012), and May (2015, 91, 94, 96).

27 OECT 1, pls. 20–11 = McEwan 1983, 188–193; figs. 1–2: 13, 37, 63.

28 *Ibid.*, 195 (refers also to the title *maḥḥû*). But *zabar-dab, un-g^{ki}-g^a-ke^a* is mentioned twice in Gilgamesh and Aga 65. 84 (ETCSL, see fn. 17), which is, of course, a much earlier literary composition.

29 See Jursa (1999, 19, 22, 44, 86, 177 [BM 42498: 1] and especially 72 f.) for the discussion of ^{lú}ZABAR and a peculiar late term for *āšipûtu*—^{lú}za-bar-ru-^{lú}tu as well as for further references.

30 Çağırkan/Lambert 1991–1993, 94 (BM 32206+: 12).

31 BAK 192–196. See also PNA (814 f., s. v. Nabû-bêlšunu 1).

32 These are BAK 192/KAR 31 = N4 (471), BAK 193/KAR 64 = N4 (91), BAK 194/LKA 109 = N4 (499), BAK 195/RA 18, no. 18 = N4 (627), BAK 196/BAM 95 = N4 (496), RA 18, no. 19 = DCEHPE 331 = N4 (628), and probably KAL 4, no. 6. In the last text the name of ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{lú}TUR²¹ is broken; Maul/Strauß (2011, 33) restore Nabû-bêlšunu, which is plausible since [^{md}BA.]BA₆–MU–ib-ni appears in the next line. But the exact width of the tablet cannot be established with certainty since only one edge of it is preserved. There could be one more name between Bābu-šumu-ibni and ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{lú}TUR²¹. On the other hand,

the N4 library. His own colophons give evidence of stages in his career, as the “young apprentice” ([^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{lú}TUR¹; KAL 4, no. 6 rev. 3’),³³ the “exorcist of the temple of Aššur” (MAŠ¹.MAŠ É ^d[Aššur]; KAR 64 rev. 24), and the “exorcist of the city Assur,” (^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ BAL.TIL^{ki}; LKA 109 rev. 15’).³⁴ In the colophons of his son Kišir-Aššur and his grandson Kišir-Nabû, he is consistently called “the exorcist of the temple of Aššur.” It is worth noticing that unlike other family members, but like his father, he is never called just an “exorcist” in the material available.³⁵ Two of his own colophons (LKA 109 and KAR 64) contain a homophonic cryptographic writing of his name PISÂN–be-sun(BE). Nabû-bêlšunu is the only person, at least in Assyria, to write *Nabû* as PISÂN in his name.³⁶ Apparently this writing plays on the homophony of the two parts of the name: PISÂN/*pisannu* and *bēssun*: in the colophons of Nabû-bêlšunu and his descendants the non-theophoric part of his name is always written *bēssun(u)* with “s” and never with “š,” while the final “u” is dropped in most cases.³⁷ In the god list An: Anu ša Amēli the writing of the divine name ^dPISÂN = ^dŠID×A for Nabû is interpreted as MIN (= ^dAG) *šá pi-riš-ti*, “Nabû of the secret lore” (Litke 1998, 237: 216). About seven colophons of Kišir-Aššur also preserved the writing *be-sun*(BE).³⁸ These are rare instances of cryptography in N4.³⁹

the remains of the sign can be read as either TUR or É. The reading) (*Nabû*)-be-su-^{lú}x¹ in BAM 50 = N4 (520)/BAK 191 should now be dismissed. According to Maul (personal communication) and the collation by the present author, the traces of ^{md}AMAR.UT[^{lú}]-^{lú}te¹ appear on the tablet. Thus Nabû-bêlšunu never was SANGA GAL (*pace* Menzel 1981, 194 f., and PNA, 814, s. v. Nabû-bêlšunu 1a). See also Pedersen 1986, 45, ns. 22–23.

33 However, his name in this colophon is restored.

34 His brother, Abu-eriba, also had this title (KAL 2, no. 34).

35 Cf. Maul 2010, 209. Given that the name of *āšipu/mašmaššu šeḥru* in KAL 4, no. 6 is uncertain, it seems that only the attestations for the rather late stages of careers of the three elder representatives of the exorcists’ family are known.

36 To the best of my knowledge the rare writing (^{lú}ÚMBISAG = ŠID×A, apart from in the sign lists (MSL 3, 144, l. 236), is in a NA context only attested in KAR 150 = KAL 5, no. 30 rev. 18, the colophon of a trainee of N4 (N4 [479]/BAK 232).

37 See PNA (814 f. s. v. Nabû-bêlšunu 1a-c). The name was apparently pronounced “Nabû-bēssun,” but the present paper follows the conventions of PNA in normalising PNs.

38 BAM 121 rev. 26/BAK 198B; LAK 40 rev. 14/BAK 199C(?); BAM 303 (rev.) 26’/BAK 200D; LKA 43 rev. 17/BAK 197B; LKA 70 iv 21/BAK 203A; KAR 80 rev. 39/BAK 203H; BAM 131 rev. 11’/BAK 203K.

39 For Aššur-šakin-šumi, see below with fns. 116 f. In the names, the writing KA.SAR = ZÚ.KEŠDA for *kišir-* found in the colophon of Kišir-Aššur (BAM 121/BAK 198B), and probably also in that of Kišir-Nabû (LKA 110/BAK 208G), is unusual. The peculiarity of writing and the fact that only ^{mk}KA survived of Kišir-Nabû are not reflected in BAK. Re-

Furthermore, Nabû-bêlšunu apparently is the author of a letter discovered at Nineveh.⁴⁰ He writes to a certain Aššur-mudammiq ordering him to give Akkullānu silver to repair the seats of Aššur and Mullissu and to inspect the result.⁴¹ Akkullānu was the priest (^{lú}SANGA) of the Aššur temple and resident in Assur in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.⁴² He was an astrologer and one of the most prominent scholars of his time, but he also played an important administrative role. He corresponded with the kings and is mentioned in a letter by Assurbanipal to his Babylonian ally.⁴³ He submitted astrological reports to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal and noted as an authority on astrological matters in letters to the king.⁴⁴

Akkullānu supervised the copying of scholarly texts for the library of Assurbanipal. In this capacity once more he becomes associated with the family of exorcists when reporting to the king that Kišir-Aššur and Dugul-pān-ili are copying the series Urra = *hubullu*.⁴⁵ It has been suggested by Villard (1998) that in this letter he is referring to Kišir-Aššur⁴⁶ known from the N4 library. In favour of his sug-

gestion, Villard pointed out that Kišir-Aššur's colophon shows he copied a tablet from Nineveh with an incantation ritual against evil spirits.⁴⁷

Indeed, Kišir-Aššur as an exorcist must have been an expert in stones and stone amulets. Pedersén identified 25 lists of amulet stones in the N4 library,⁴⁸ including N4 (38) with the colophon of Kišir-Aššur and N4 (307) with the colophon of Kišir-[...]. A prayer and ritual for stone oracle also belongs to Kišir-Aššur.⁴⁹ There are tablets of the series DUB.NA₄^{meš}, "Tablets of Stones," mentioned in the Exorcist's Manual (N4 [132, 310]), with the colophon of Kišir-Nabû.⁵⁰ Probably these are the lists of amulet stones found in the N4 library. The text *Abnu šikinšu*, "The Stone, its Appearance," (N4 [264]) is a list of short descriptions of stones and their names.⁵¹ Various kinds of Urra = *hubullu* lists were also found in N4 in plenty. Pedersén said they included an updated and shortened Urra = *hubullu* list, Urra = *hubullu* tablet I with juridical terminology (N4 [598]), tablet XIV (N4 [180]) with wild animals, excerpts from tablets III-V (N4 [573]) and from tablets XXII-XXIV (N4 [452]), and the shortened Murgud commentary to Urra = *hubullu* tablets XVI and XVII, (N4 [620]) dealing with the stones and plants.⁵² Some other Urra = *hubullu* lexical lists that belonged to the N4 library were among 50 tablets excavated by the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq.⁵³ Most of the Urra = *hubullu* lists deriving from N4 have no colophon, except for tablet XIV (N4 [180]). Kišir-Aššur, the central figure of the N4 library and a great specialist on stones and lexical lists, was commissioned to copy Urra = *hubullu* texts for Assurbanipal's library. All these facts further confirm Villard's suggestion. It is also highly probable that it is our exorcist Kišir-Aššur who is mentioned in the letter to Assurbanipal (SAA 13,

markably Kišir-Nabû is written as ^{ka}KA.SAR-^hÉ.DU₇ in the colophon of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 rev. 21 = N4 [132]/BAK 213C: 2). The reason for such a writing is not clear: probably it is a play on the similarity of the signs KA, "mouth," SAR, "write," which is also ZÚ.KEŠDA, KEŠDA = *kišru*, or some allusion to their meanings. It can be also an archaizing learned writing, which is found in the NA period primarily in scholarly texts (see CAD K 436-438 s. v. *kišru*, lexical section and 1. 2). However, even KEŠDA for *kišru* is rare in the names. Besides the aforementioned occurrences in the colophons of the exorcists' family members it is attested for only two witnesses on the documents from Assur (PNA, 626 s. v. Kišir-Aššur 58 and 60). Both are contemporaries of the exorcist Kišir-Aššur, so it might be he himself.

⁴⁰ So PNA, 815 s. v. Nabû-bêlšunu 1d. It should be noted that SAA 13, no. 19: 1 is the only case where this name is written ^{ka}AG-EN-šú-nu. However, the name is quite rare and there is no other Nabû-bêlšunu from Assur. Given that this individual lived at the same time as Nabû-bêlšunu, the exorcist, was connected to the Aššur temple, and was involved with the matters concerning the cult of Aššur, this identification made by Baker is most plausible.

⁴¹ SAA 13, no. 39: 1 = K. 1396, not dated.

⁴² PNA, 95-96, s. v. Akkullānu 1.

⁴³ ABL 539 rev. 14 concerns Akkullānu and two other Assyrian officials imposing a loyalty oath on this ally; CT 54, 113 probably concerns the same matter. The name of the Babylonian is lost. Parpola restores it as Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk (PNA, 961f. Nabû-ušabši 9).

⁴⁴ PNA, 95-96, s. v. Akkullānu 1c.

⁴⁵ SAA 10, no. 102 = K 10908 + K 15645. The name of the author of this letter is not preserved, but Parpola attributes it to Akkullānu. Only Dugul-pān-[...] survived from the name of Kišir-Aššur's colleague; the only Assyrian name to begin thus is Dugul-pān-ili (PNA, 386-387, particularly s. v. Dugul-pān-ili 5).

⁴⁶ According to PNA, 621-626, there were 65 men named Kišir-Aššur.

⁴⁷ LKA 70 = N4 (119)/BAK 203A. Villard (1998) further makes a number of important observations concerning the tablet, its colophon, and the rarity of references to copying the originals from Nineveh. However, it should be stressed that the pattern of this colophon of Kišir-Aššur by no means repeats that of the Assurbanipal's library colophons. For Assur and Nineveh tablets copied from the same Babylonian original, see Heeßel (2007, 6-7 with n. 60).

⁴⁸ N4 (7, 38, 58, 63, 64, 118, 121, 150, 167, 176, 182, 203, 205, 208, 223, 253, 261, 274, 307, 311, 386, 413, 416, 428, 599); Pedersén 1986, 55. Now that Maul has traced almost twice as many N4 texts than Pedersén, we can suggest with certainty that there were also more stone amulets lists.

⁴⁹ Ass. 17721 ct; VAT 13958 = LKA 137 = N4 (529)/BAK 205.

⁵⁰ BAK 213C/KAR 44.

⁵¹ Schuster-Brandis 2008, 24-38, ms C (= BAM 378).

⁵² Again, this is according only to Pedersén 1986, 55.

⁵³ Pedersén 1986, n. 35; Ismail 1982, 199.

no. 155) alongside Dāri-šarru, overseer of the household of the Aššur temple (*ša UGU É*),⁵⁴ and Urdu-Ea, an official at Assur.⁵⁵ They are to perform the rites preceding the offering of sacrifices in the Inner City.

Finally, some information not from N4 is probably available for Kišir-Aššur's brother Šamaš-ibni, also *āšip/mašmaš* Ešarra at Assur, who is known only from the colophons of his son Kišir-Nabû. A certain Šamaš-ibni(^{md}UTU-DÛ) was the official responsible for the Aššur temple offerings of the 24th day, according to a document about offerings in the temples of Aššur and of Dagan (SAA 7, no. 211 = K 1131 + rev. 16, not dated).

There is a group of royal rituals for the days 17–21, 18–23, and 23–25 of the month Šabātu and for the 8th day of the month Addaru.⁵⁶ All these texts come from N4 and relate to the cult rituals of Aššur and other gods. They were performed at the Aššur temple. In N4 (97) the cultic itinerary includes the palace and *Bēt Dagan*, and in N4 (309) just *Bēt Dagan*. The king plays the main role in all these rites, and his assistant cultic personnel includes the priest of Aššur (N4 [242, 97]) and the *kalû* chanters (N4 [97, 309, 242]). N4 (127) is a report of a ritual for Šabātu 23–25 performed by the king, by the priest of Aššur, who is specified as such in this text,⁵⁷ by other priests,⁵⁸ but also by exorcists (^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ^{meš}). The latter recite an incantation.⁵⁹ One of these exorcists might be our Šamaš-ibni, who could be responsible for the Aššur temple offerings of Šabātu 24. This was the day, like Addaru 8, when the king wore the tiara of Aššur to confirm his status as the agent of the supreme state god. In N4 (127) ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ^{meš} are mentioned showing that there were many exorcists among the personnel of the Assur temple, and not all of them necessarily had extended titles such as *āšip/mašmaš bēt Aššur*.⁶⁰ Other members of the family of exorcists could also have participated in the ritual of Šabātu 23–25.

54 PNA, 380 s. v. Dāri-šarru 7.

55 PNA, 1398 s. v. Urdu-Aia/Urdu-Ea 10.

56 N4 (242) = SAA 20, no. 10, N4 (97) = SAA 20, no. 1, N4 (309) = SAA 20, no. 3, N4 (127) = SAA 20, no. 11, respectively. Cf. perhaps *sakkê šarruti* in the Manual, Pedersén (1986, 57). For the discussion of the entire cycle of rituals for Šabātu-Addaru and its cultic localities, see SAA 20, XIX-XXI. XLVII-LVI and Maul 2000. Texts relating to this cycle were found at Nineveh as well (SAA 20, nos. 2. 4.).

57 ^{lú}ŠANGA *ša Aš+šur* in N4 (127) = Menzel, no. 30: 6, 14, 16.

58 N4 (127) = Menzel, no. 30 = SAA 20, no. 11: 18, 20, rev. 38. Menzel (1981, T. 50) interprets them as “*šangû ša Aššur* und der *šangû šani'u*,” but these can be also priests of other gods or other priests that belonged to the Aššur temple.

59 Menzel, no. 30 = SAA 20, no. 11: 25.

60 It is worth noting that the offspring of two other families of the “exorcists of the Aššur temple” were trained at the N4 library. Their texts were found at N4 (see Pedersén 1986, 46, N4 [16, 153, 243]); for

A similar undated ritual text VAT 13597+, written by Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē, refers to rites of the cult of Ištar Aššuritu in Nisannu.⁶¹ The ritual takes place in the temple of this goddess and involves the king and a priest (^{lú}ŠANGA), probably of Ištar, a singer (^{lú}NAR), and also princes (DUMU^{meš} LUGAL). The colophons of VAT 13597+⁶² and of KAL 2, no. 34, written by Abu-eriba, the grandfather of Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē, are our only sources for the second branch of the family of exorcists (fig. 2). VAT 13597+ contains four-tier genealogy that goes back to Bābu-šumu-ibni. Of 35 texts written by another great grandson of Bābu-šumu-ibni, Kišir-Nabû, which I could check, only two have four-tier genealogies.⁶³ The colophon of Abu-eriba (KAL 2, no. 34 rev. iv 14'–15') has only a two-tier genealogy like the colophons of his brother, Nabû-bēlšunu.

A Family of “Physicians” at N4

Relations between the family of exorcists and some of the other scholarly families can be traced through the colophons of two almost identical copies of the incantation series “Fever, fray, fever fight!” (ÉN KÚM *te-šu-ú KÚM qab-lu*). One was written by the youngest representative of Nabû-bēlšunu's branch of the exorcists' family, his grandson Kišir-Nabû, probably a young exorcist at the time.⁶⁴ The other one reads as follows:

their genealogies, see Fadhil (2012, 37 f.), but take into consideration fn. 111 below.

61 Meinhold 2009, 367–375, pls. 30–31 (no. 12) = N4 (399); the colophon is on VAT 13830. Note that SAA 20, no. 17 rev. 16 restores ^m[ki-ši]r²-^laš+š[ur] (see SAA 20, no. 216 for the handcopy of the collation, which differs from that of Meinhold). This restoration is highly unlikely since, so far as we know, there are neither cousins with identical names, nor in general the use of the same name in one clan in first millennium Assyria and Babylonia. By contrast in the Seleucid period papponymy is well attested (e. g., Ossendrijver 2011, 216, fig. 1).

62 The colophon itself is written on VAT 13830, Meinhold 2009, 369, pl. 31.

63 BAM 106 and LKA 100.

64 BAM 147 = N4 (171)/BAK 212B. In this colophon Kišir-Nabû has no title; Šamaš-ibni, however, is called ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ É AN.ŠÁR. Thus, according to Maul (2010, 210), Kišir-Nabû should still be “a young exorcist” (*āšipu/mašmaššu šeḥru*).

Colophon of BAM 148 = N4 (562)/BAK 222:⁶⁵

rev.

28' [ÉN KÚM te-š]u-ú KÚM qab-lu [EGIR]-šú SAR nis-ḥ[u2'-ú?]⁶⁶29' [ki-i KA ʒiZ]U URÍ^{ki} ša-ḥ[i-ir b]ā-[rī ḥa]-an-tiš z[1-ḥa]⁶⁷30' [tuppi m̄rēmūt]-^dBA.¹BA₆¹ lúŠAMÁN.LÁ A.¹ZU¹⁶⁸31' [DUMU m̄dgula]⁶⁹-NUMUN-DÙ lúSANGA ^dBA.¹BA₆¹32' [šá qé-reb ^{uru}BAL.TIL^{ki}]33' [NIR.GÁL.ZU-k]a BA.RA.TÉŠ ^dAMA[R.UTU]

28' [Incantation "Fever, fr]ay; fever, fight;" written [after] it, [2nd] excerpt.

29' [According to] a Babylonian wo[oden tablet] wri[ttten, col]-lat[ed], (and) [ha]stily exc[erpted].

30' [Tablet of Rēmūt]-Bābu, apprentice *physician*

65 VAT 13927+14131+14179. Collated from the original tablet. I am grateful to S. M. Maul, C. Wunsch, and J. C. Fincke for their advice concerning the collations of this colophon and to J. C. Fincke for making photographs on my behalf. For a brief discussion of this colophon and the colophon of YBC 7123, see May (2017a, 97 f.).

66 The copy of the apprentice physician is practically identical to that of Kišir-Nabû, who in this case did not indicate his title. Thus, though the differences start in the colophon, I suggest reading nis-ḥu' [2'-ú?] in rev. 28' and [ki-i KA ʒiZ]U URÍ^{ki} in rev. 29' as it appears in the colophon of BAM 147 rev. 26'-27'. Even so, [GABA.R]U URÍ^{ki} for rev. 29' as suggested by Hunger is also possible. Apparently the excerpt was made by Kišir-Nabû "for his reading" (BAM 147 rev. 30' has rather ana [mal]-su'-[ti]-šú z1-ḥa than ana [šabāt epēšī] as proposed by Hunger [BAK 212A]). BAM 148 was copied from Kišir-Nabû's excerpt. The identity of both copies brings up the possibility that the two associates of N4, Kišir-Nabû and the apprentice physician, collated each other's tablets. Such a practice is attested in the MA period for the two brothers Bēl-aḥa-iddina and Marduk-balāssu-ēreš, young scribes and sons of Ninurta-uballissu, the scribe of the king, from the reigns of Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Aššur-dān (Wagensonner 2011, 650). Moreover, they collated each other's identical copies of Nin-Isina's Journey to Nippur (BAK, 11 and no. 44; Wagensonner 2008; 2011, 659–661). Another MA tablet (*contra* BAK 231 and PNA 447. 718. 733 s.v. Ḥambizu, Marduk-kabti-mārēšu, and Marduk-šumu-izkur, respectively) VAT 5744/BAK 231, tablet III of Erim-ḥuš (MSL 17, 45–52 source A) was copied from two originals by the young scribe Marduk-šumu-izkur, son of Ḥambizu, royal exorcist, and proof-read by the scribe Marduk-kabti-mārēšu. The MA(?) diagnostic-prognostic text KAR 211 = VAT 10235/BAK 230 was written by the exorcist Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, son of the exorcist Sin-mušēpi, and collated by the exorcist Amēl-Gula. Thus, the system of proofreading or collating scholarly tablets by a colleague of a copyist existed in Assur in the MA period; it was used particularly when training apprentices. The practice may have been sustained until the NA period.

67 It is worth noting that the colophons of Kišir-Aššur (KAR 63 = N4 [101], KAR 267 = N4 [69], LKA 40 = N4 [519], BAM 201 = N4 (492)/BAK 199ABCD, respectively) use exactly the same sequence *šaṭir(ma) bari ḥantiš našha* with slight orthographic variations. To the best of my knowledge this expression is not attested in this actual form elsewhere.

68 As suggested by Maul (personal communication), but 'BA' is also possible here.

69 The traces of the sign before NUMUN, if there are any, are completely illegible (*contra* Meinhold [2017, 24]).

31' [Son of Gula]-zēru-ibni, priest of Bābu,

32' [who is in the midst of] Assur.

33' [(The one) trusting in yo]u, (oh) Mard[uk], will not be deceived! (lit. will not be put to shame).

The names missing from this colophon are restored based on the parallels and prosopographic evidence from the other colophons. Thus "[...]-zēru-ibni, priest of Bābu [who is in the midst of] Assur" (lúSANGA ša ^dBA.₆ ša qe-reb ^{uru}BAL.TIL^{ki}) in BAM 148 rev. 31' is Gula-zēru-ibni, the father of Bābu-aḥu-iddina, a young apprentice and the copyist of the Erra Epic. Two tablets of the latter now in collection of the Istanbul Museum originate from Assur.⁷⁰ One of them, A 131, is a duplicate of A 48 = LKA 11, tablet III of the Erra Epic, written by Rēmūt-Nabû, son of the exorcist Aššur-ibni (see below with fig. 5), and found in the N4 library (168).⁷¹ The colophons of the tablets copied by Bābu-aḥu-iddina (A 130 and 131/BAK 238B) are of the same type as five other tablets from N4 (BAK 238ACEFH),⁷² of which two were also written by apprentices (BAK 238CE). These six colophons are simple and use common expressions; but they are uniform and five of them come from the N4 library. This suggests that A 130 and A 131, the Erra Epic tablets of Bābu-aḥu-iddina, son of Gula-zēru-ibni, with the sixth colophon of this type (BAK 238B), also both stem from the N4 library, and that the young

70 A 130, the end of tablet II and A 131, the end of tablet III of the Erra Epic. See Frankena (1957, 7. 9 f., pl. 2), BAK 238B, and Cagni (1969, 5 f. 88–91. 100–103), which has no edition of the colophons. The colophons read as follows (according to Frankena's handcopy, *ibid.*, pl. 2):

A 130: 18' [...^{md}BA.BA₆-PAP]-SUM-na lú*ŠAB TUR DUMU [...]19' [...^{md}gula-zēru-ibni lú*šangū ^dBA.BA₆] šá qé-reb ^{uru}BAL.TIL^{ki}

18' [...Bābu-aḥu]-iddina, young apprentice, son of [...]

19' [...Gula-zēru-ibni priest of Bābu], who is in the midst of Assur

A 131: 11' [ki-m]a LIBIR-šú šà-tir-ma ba-rì SAR ^{md}BA.BA₆-PAP-SUM-na ^llú*¹ [...]12' [mār ^{md}]gu¹-la-^{NUMUN-DÙ} lú*É.MAŠ ^dBA.BA₆ šá q[é-reb ^{uru}BAL.TIL^{ki}]

11' [accor]ding to its original written and collated. Written (by) Bābu-aḥu-iddina [...]

12' [son of]Gula-zēru-ibni priest of Bābu, who is in the mid[st of Assur]

71 BAK 253. Tablet I of Erra Epic (= KAR 168) was also found in the N4 library (521) and belonged to Rēmūt-Nabû's father Aššur-ibni (BAK 252). See also below.

72 BAM 30 = N4 (473)/BAK 238A; KAR 58 = N4 (147)/BAK 238C; KAR 236 = N4 (114)/BAK 238E; KAV 182 = N4 (358)/BAK 238F; LKA 105 = N4 (288)/BAK 238H, respectively, but one KAR 141 = N3 (36)/BAK 238D originates from N3. The exact provenance of KAR 188/BAK 238G is unknown.

apprentice who copied them was trained in the school of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*.

We can also restore the name of the second son of Gula-zēru-ibni. According to the colophon of a ritual text of Bābu-mušēši, it should be his father Rēmūt-Bābu,⁷³ son of Gula-zēru-ibni, grandson of Bābu-šumu-iškun and great grandson of Bābu-šumu-idinna. From the join recently made by Meinhold we know that they were all priests of Bābu:

KAL 7, no. 1 (VAT 10568/BAK 251+12909):⁷⁴

vi² 2' *ina pu-ut* SUMUN-^lšú¹ [šāfirma bari]
 vi² 3' *im* m^dBA.BA₆-*mu-še-šē*¹ [lú]¹SANGA[?] X X¹[...]
 vi² 4' AMAR m^{re}-*mut*-^dBA.[BA₆]^{lú}¹SANGA^dBA.BA₆
 vi² 5' PEŠ m^dgu-*la*-[NUMUN *ib*]-^lni¹ lúSANGA^dBA.BA₆
 vi² 6' ¹DUMU¹ m^dBA.BA₆-[MU]-GAR lúSANGA^dBA.BA₆
 vi² 7' [mār] m^dBA.BA₆-[M]U[?]-AŠ lúSANGA^dBA.BA₆

vi² 2' In accordance with its original [written and collated],
 vi² 3' tablet of Bābu-mušēši, [priest of Bābu ...]
 vi² 4' son of Rēmūt-Bā[bu], priest of Bābu,
 vi² 5' first born of Gula-[zēru-ib]ni, priest of Bābu,
 vi² 6' son of Bābu-[šumu]-iškun, priest of Bābu,
 vi² 7' [son] of Bābu-[šumu]-iddina, priest of Bābu.

Consequently, Rēmūt-Bābu, the father of Bābu-mušēši, is the scribe of BAM 148, whose colophon is fully restored above. Moreover, Bābu-mušēši and Bābu-aḥu-iddina⁷⁵ are addressed jointly in a letter written to them and all their “brothers” by a chief scribe.

From another colophon we can deduce that Gula-zēru-ibni had a third son, an apprentice physician, and the

copyist of the Assur Medical Catalogue.⁷⁶ Though both the names of the son and the father are broken, a fragmentary colophon YBC 7123 contains the title “the priest of Bābu, who is in the midst of Assur,” and this is a title attested exclusively for Gula-zēru-ibni:⁷⁷

Colophon of YBC 7123

7' [... ša-tir] BA.AN.È
 8' [...]-¹GIN/-^{du}¹ lú(lú¹) (partly erased)⁷⁸ A.ZU TUR⁷⁹
 9' [mār m^dgula-zēru-ibni lúSANGA^dBA.BA₆ šā qē-reb BAL.TIL^{ki}
 10' [...] ^dgu-la
 7' [...wrote] (and) collated
 8' [...]-*kēnu*, young physician,
 9' [son of Gula-zēru-ibni, pri]est of Bābu, who is in the midst of
 Assur,
 10' [...] Gula.

This young physician, son of Gula-zēru-ibni, was the third son of “the priest of Bābu, who is in the midst of Assur.” The text written by this apprentice physician apparently also derives from the library of exorcists. Among the texts purchased by the Yale Babylonian Collection and published by Beckman and Foster together with this fragment are two texts from the N4 library: YBC 7120 is a join to BAM 28 with the colophon of Kišir-Nabū (BAK 213A); YBC 7124 belonged to Kišir-Aššur.⁸⁰

⁷³ There are only two more persons attested in the entire NA period, whose names end with Bābu. The first is the physician Mutak-kil-Bābu, who lived in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The second is a certain Mušallim-Bābu, priest of Aššur, son of Qurdi-Nergal, “priest (lúSANGA) of Zabāba and Bābu, who are in the midst (ša qereb) of Arbail, Ḥarrān and Ḥuzirīna.” He also dealt with medical texts in the late 7th century BCE, but was a resident of Ḥuzirīna (see Menzel 1981, 186–187 with the genealogical tree restored and PNA, 774 s.v. Mušallim-Bābu).

⁷⁴ The collation by the present author proved that the readings of the names in lines vi² 5 and 7 are as presented above. The readings suggested by Meinhold are *Gula-šumu*(MU[?])-*iškun*(GAR[?]) and *Bābu-šumu*(MU)-*ibni*(DÜ). I am grateful to J. C. Fincke for providing a second opinion concerning the doubtful signs. The sign -MU- in vi² 5 is not at all sure and could also be -NUMUN- (*contra* Meinhold [2017, 24]).

⁷⁵ PNA, 247 s.v. Bābu-aḥu-iddina 6. PNA also suggests that Bābu-aḥu-iddina 5 and 6 (*ibid.*) might be the same person, as well as Bābu-mušēši 1 and 2 (PNA, 247 f.). The identification of Bābu-aḥu-iddina 3, who lived in the time of Sargon with Bābu-aḥu-iddina 5 and 6, the contemporary of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, as suggested in PNA, cannot be correct. There is only one more Bābu-aḥu-iddina (PNA, 247 s.v. Bābu-aḥu-iddina 4) also from Assur in this period.

⁷⁶ Partly published by Scurlock (2014, 296–306) without the colophon (I am grateful to N. Heeßel for this reference). See also Attinger (2008, 8, 26).

⁷⁷ Collated according to the photograph. I am most grateful to E. Jiménez for making the photographs of this extremely difficult colophon for me. Note the expression *ša qereb* GN attested also in the title of the priest of Zabāba and Bābu, who are in the midst (*ša qereb*) of Arbail, Ḥarrān and Ḥuzirīna (STT 300: 3 [ca. 619 BCE] and STT 64: 4–5).

⁷⁸ According to E. Jiménez, who collated this sign from the original tablet. Most probably the apprentice physician mistakenly wrote LÚ twice and tried to erase the superfluous sign.

“Young physician” and “apprentice, young physician” are rare titles. The form A.ZU TUR is not found elsewhere except probably for BAM 148, for which an alternative reading is also possible (see above with fn. 68). But an “apprentice, yo[un]g physician” (lúSAMÁN.LÁ lúA.ZU a-g[a-aš-gu-u]) is attested for someone whose name included Gula as a theophoric element (KAL 2, no. 9), and whose father and grandfather (their names are broken) were colleagues of Gula-zēru-ibni, also priests of Bābu (lúÉ.MAŠ^dBA.BA₆) and diviners (lúAZU). The provenance of the text is unknown. Schwemer (2007, 36) dates it as early Neo-Assyrian. That means they can be priests of Bābu not at Assur. lúA.ZU a-g[a-aš-gu-u] alone is attested in BAM 1 iv 27 (BAK 234).

⁷⁹ Cf. lú[A.ZU] še-eḥ-ri in STT 301 v 11–vi 12 (BAK 382).

⁸⁰ Beckman/Foster 1988, 1–4. 9, 11, nos. 7 and 21, respectively.

Assur is known from the *Götteradressbuch* (Frankena 1957, 10). However, a Late Assyrian temple of Zabāba and Bābu was built at Assur in the time of Sennacherib.⁸³ Apparently Gula-zēru-ibni was the priest of Bābu, and subsequently or simultaneously of Gula in the time of Sennacherib. The introduction of the cult of Zabāba and Bābu to Assur took place in the time of this king, and their temple was built in this ancient religious capital of Assyria.⁸⁴ The temple of Gula at Assur is well attested from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁸⁵ Some of the texts from the N4 library are said to have been copied from tablets of the Gula temple at Assur by Kišir-Aššur; all of them are prescriptions.⁸⁶

Of the four ancient scholarly professions in Mesopotamia,⁸⁷ *asū* is the only one not attested directly as someone

Menzel agreed with Frankena's identification (Menzel 1981, 81f.). It is conceivable that the expression *Bābu ša qereb Aššur* is a grandiloquent epithet for ancient Gula of Assur, who was there at least from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (George 1988, 30f.), and she is called so in order to distinguish her from Bābu, the spouse of Zabāba, whose temple was built at Assur by Sennacherib. Significantly for the discussion here, in *tākultu* (SAA 20, no. 40 iii 21) the temple of Gula is specified as "that in the centre of Assur" (É⁴gu-la šá^{uru}šā-URU) similar to the temple of Bābu "who is in the midst of Assur" (šá⁴qé-reb^{uru}BAL.TIL^{ki}). Note also [...]d⁴Ba-ba⁶šá^{uru}BAL.TIL in VAT 12933: 6' = BAM 36: 6', which might be an abbreviated form of the same title. Based on paleography this text should be dated to the MA period (see also BAM I, XVII). Further, [x x-D]ù^{li}šANGA É¹d⁴Gu⁴-la, who appears as a witness on the conveyance text SAA 14, no. 286 rev. 11', might be our Gula-zēru-ibni as well.

83 See Menzel (1981, 81. 263–264) with the reference to KAV 39 and the next fn.

84 See Galter (1984) for the discussion. The brick inscriptions of Sennacherib commemorating the construction of the temple of Zabāba, which apparently accommodated the cult of the divine couple, were subsequently published as RINAP 3/2 177.

85 See George (1988, 30–35) and Frankena (1957, 10) with the reference to *tākultu* (SAA 20, no. 40 iii 10–21), and to *Götteradressbuch* (SAA 20, no. 49: 100–109). Bābu-šumu-šukna from Assur, priest of Gula, appears on his sales document dated to the eighth century/the beginning of seventh (VAT 9750: 1, 11; PNA, 249 s. v. Bābu-šumu-šukna and George 1993a, 138, no. 946 é.sa.bad 4). However, priests of Gula are rarely attested. Besides Gula-zēru-ibni, Bābu-šumu-šukna, and the individual with a broken name (fn. 82), only one anonymous^{li}šANGA šá⁴ME.ME is found in KAV 76: 2 = VAT 10497: 2.

86 BAM 99 = N4 (161)/BAK 202A is an excerpt of prescriptions "from the original of the temple of Gula at Assur" (GABA.RI É.SA.BAD ša Aššur; see George (1993a, 138, no. 946 é.sa.bad 4 for the temple name); BAM 201 = N4 (492)/BAK 199D, also an excerpt of prescriptions "from a wooden board of the temple of Gula;" (TA ŠÁ⁴š⁴bul-ti ša É⁴ME.ME; BAM 131 = N4 (601)/BAK 203K prescriptions copied "from a wooden board of the temple of Gula" ([...]š⁴ZU šá⁴bul-ṭi ša É⁴ME.ME).

87 These are *barū* "haruspices," *kalū* "lamentation priest," *āšīpu* "exorcist," and *asū* "physician." *Tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* is the term for an astronomer/astrologer that emerges in the 7th century. This

is also the profession not necessarily affiliated with the temple, but, e. g., an astronomer/astrologer Akkullānu was the priest of the Aššur temple and the members of Bēl-Kundi-ilā'i's family held positions of the scribes there (see above and below).

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affiliated to a temple or as an *ērib bitī*. However, priests of Gula and Bābu were certainly healers and apparently considered to be physicians, whether or not they were given this title.⁸⁸ Gula-zēru-ibni, the priest of Gula and Bābu, was one of them, as confirmed by the interest of his descendants in medicine and in medical and related texts. Naturally questions arise. Was Rēmūt-Bāba only trained in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*, or were the family of exorcists and the "physicians" family, so to say "Bābu family," related? Could Gula-zēru-ibni's father, Bābu-šumu-iškun, be the brother of Bābu-šumu-ibni? The date of Gula-zēru-ibni, priest of Gula, 687 BCE, suggests that he was a contemporary of Nabu-bēlšunu and Abueriba. Names starting with the theophoric element Bābu were not very common in Assyria. They are attested for 22 individuals (PNA, 246–249), of which two were definitely Babylonian and one was a woman.⁸⁹ The families of exorcists and physicians were connected through their professions. Their relationship is further confirmed by the connection of the family of "physicians" to the N4 library. The ancestors of both families have names starting with d⁴Bābu, showing possible kinship.

One possible ancestor of the two families (fig. 4) would be Bābu-šumu-iddina,⁹⁰ who bought a field on the 1st of Ayyaru, 742 BCE.⁹¹ This fits the dates of both scribal families, but most remarkable is the list of the witnesses to his purchase. Nine of the fourteen witnesses were priests or scholars in high positions: a temple scribe apparently

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88 For an *asū* associated with the temple of Gula at Nippur in the Kassite period, see Sassmannshausen (2001, 73 with n. 1173 and further literature). Other evidence for the priests of Gula as healers comes from the Neo-Babylonian copy (818 BCE) of a literary composition, a comic tale originally no later than the Kassite period (George 1993b, 65). There the priest (^{li}šANGA) of Gula at Isin, the main cultic centre of this healing goddess, cures a patient who has been bitten by a dog (IM 78552: 5, *ibid.*, 1993b, 66f.). This priest has a typical name, Amēl-Bāba/u, and George is confident that he was an *asū* (*ibid.*, 72).

89 Of the remaining nineteen, Bābu-šumu-ibni was the forefather of the exorcists' family, two occurrences of Bābu-aḥu-iddina refer to the same person, and similarly two of Bābu-mušēši (see above with fn. 75), Bābu-šumu-iškun and Bābu-šumu-iddina are the ancestors of Bābu-mušēši and the priests of Bābu. Bābu-šumu-šukna was the priest of Gula (fn. 85). Note that Urdu-Gula, an exorcist and probably the deputy of the chief physician at the royal court, grandson of the famous Nabū-zuqup-kēnu, also includes Gula in his name (PNA 1403, s. v. Urdu-Gula 5, 6).

90 PNA, 249 s. v. Bābu-šumu-iddina 1.

91 Eponymy of Nabū-da'inanni. See VAT 9749 = N24 (11) edited by Deller/Fales/Jakob-Rost (1995, 126–128) as no. 136.

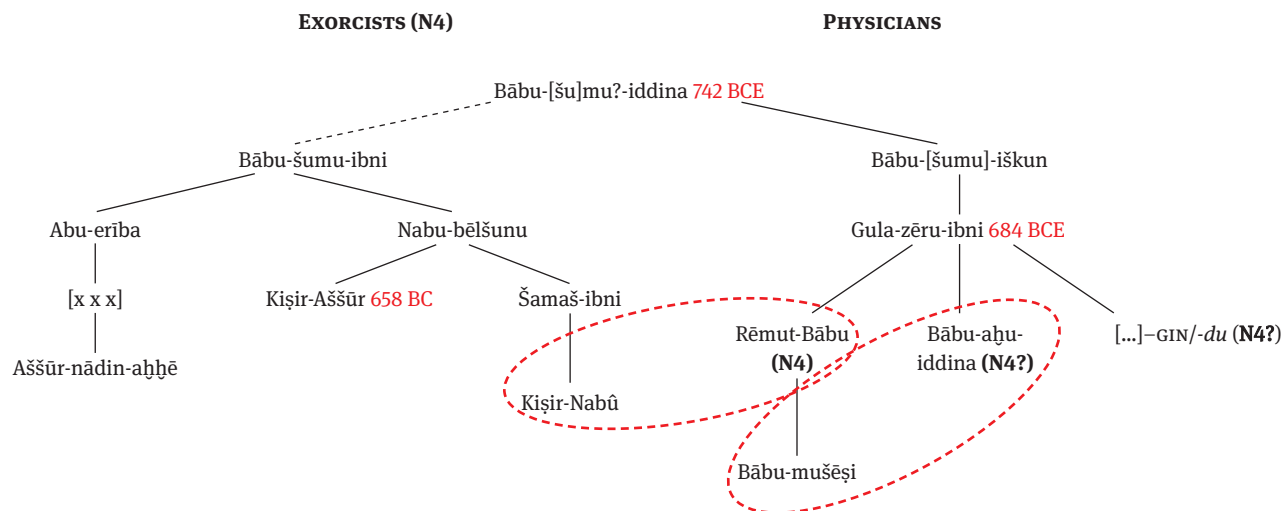


Fig. 4: Suggested reconstruction of the family relationships of those connected to the N4 library

from Aššur, a priest, the chief *architect*, the priest of Nabû, the chief of the cultic actors (*kurgarrû*), three physicians and a scribe.⁹² The purchaser must have had connections with scholarly, priestly and medical circles and most probably belonged in them himself. N4 from N24 are only ca. 600 m apart.⁹³ If indeed this Bābu-šumu-iddina was the ancestor of both families, of the exorcists and of the physicians, he then had two titles: *zabardabbu/û* of an unknown god, most plausibly but not necessarily of Aššur, and priest of Bābu.⁹⁴

Connections of N4 to the Capitals and to the High Priests of Aššur

There is another scholarly and priestly family, all descendants of Bêl-Kundi-ilā'i, *rab tupšarrē* and *tupšar bêt Aššur* (fig. 5),⁹⁵ which was closely associated with the family of exorcists.

Bêl-Kundi-ilā'i had two sons, Nabû-mušeši and Nabû-zēr-Aššur-ukîn, from whom are descended two branches of the family. All the descendants of Nabû-zēr-Aššur-

ukîn, *tupšarru aššurû*, the “Assyrian scribe,” wrote or owned tablets found in the N4 library. Aššur-ibni was also *āšip/mašmaš bêt Aššur*. One of his two sons, Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, inherited his father’s title; Aššur-ibni’s other son was called Rēmût-Nabû, a young apprentice (^{lú}ŠAMÁN. LÁ BÀN.DA) who copied Erra Epic III.

The tablets of the representatives of the second branch of this family, the descendants of Nabû-mušeši, were found at Nineveh. Nabû-mušeši himself had the titles *tupšarru* and *tupšar bêt Aššur*, which suggests that he was resident in Assur, even though the only tablet we have that he probably wrote himself was found at Nineveh.⁹⁶ It could have been brought from Assur to Nineveh by his sons (Frahm 2011, 270); the descendants of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu similarly brought his library there from Kalḫu. Frahm (*ibid.*) argued that Nabû-mušeši, the scribe of the Assur temple, might be identified with Nabû-mušeši, author of seventeen astrological reports found at Nineveh dating from 669 to 663/62 BCE.⁹⁷ Frahm based this plausible suggestion on SAA 8, no. 157, where Nabû-mušeši declares that he comes to Nineveh to perform work or rites (*dullu*) with the scribes of the citadel, showing that he did not reside in the capital. But he could also be identified with other important scribes with the same name,⁹⁸ one of whom was the deputy of the chief scribe.⁹⁹ In the astrological report of the chief scribe, Issār-šumu-ēreš, himself

⁹² And also three gardeners, a bow-master and three persons whose professions are not given.

⁹³ See Pedersén (1986, fig. 7 or 1998, 133) for the findspots of the archives and libraries.

⁹⁴ There are instances of the same person having double titles (e.g., KAL 2, no. 9) and serving in two temples (e.g., the dynasty of the priests of Aššur and Nergal, Fadhil 2012, 39, “Familie Nr. 3”).

⁹⁵ See also Menzel (1981, 221) and Fadhil (2012, 41) for the family tree (“Familie Nr. 4” according to Fadhil).

⁹⁶ K. 11908. Only three lines of its colophon survived.

⁹⁷ SAA 8, nos. 143–159; PNA, 247–248 s. v. Nabû-mušeši 6.

⁹⁸ Nos. 1–3 and 5 in PNA, 247.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 3.

ASSUR

ATTESTED AT N4 LIBRARY

Hemerology of Nazimarutaš N4[455]

[Issarān-mudammīq](#)

Sargon's Letter to Aššur (714 BCE;
N4 (477))

[Nabû-šallimšunu](#)

**FAMILY OF BĀBU-ŠUMU-IBNI
(THE EXORCISTS)**

Bābu-šumu-ibni

[Nabû-bēlšunu](#)

[Kišir-Aššur](#) (658 BCE)

[Šamaš-ibni](#)

Kišir-Nabû

Abu-eriba

Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē

BĒL-KUNDI-ILĀ'Ī FAMILY

Bēl-Kundi-ilā'ī

[Nabû-mušēši](#)

[Aššur-mudammīq?](#)

Nabû-zēr-Ašur-ukin

Aššur-ibni

Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu

Rēmūt-Nabû

KALĦU

[Issarān-mudammīq](#)

saggamaḥḥu of Assurnasirpal II
(883–859 BCE)

[Nabû-šallimšunu](#)

tupšar šarri of Sargon II

NINEVEH

FAMILY OF THE EXORCISTS

IN LETTERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

SAA 13, no. 39:

[Nabû-bēlšunu](#)

[Akkullānu](#), priest of Aššur and court astrologer

SAA 10, no. 102:

[Kišir-Aššur](#)

[Akkullānu](#), priest of Aššur and court astrologer

SAA 7, no. 211:

[Šamaš-ibni](#)

BĒL-KUNDI-ILĀ'Ī FAMILY

ASTROLOGICAL OMENS

[Nabû-mušēši](#) (K. 11908)

[Aššur-mudammīq](#) (K. 872, K. 8510)

Marduk-šallim-aḥḥē (K. 8119)

ASTROLOGICAL REPORTS

[Nabû-mušēši](#)

Report of his own: SAA 8, nos. 143–159 (669 to 663/62 BCE)
of Ištar-šumu-ēreš: SAA 8, no. 2

Fig. 6: Connections of the family of exorcists with Kalḥu and Nineveh

branch moved to Nineveh and switched to astrology, the scholarly specialisation in fashion at the court at that time.

The connections of the family of exorcists with the court (Fig. 6) can be traced further back than the time of the last Sargonids. One of the rare dated pre-Sargonid scholarly tablets, a duplicate of the so-called Hemerology of Nazimarutaš, was found at the N4 library.¹⁰⁸ The colophon states that the copyist was Issarān-mudammīq, *saggamaḥḥu*¹⁰⁹ of Assurnasirpal II, a learned representative of the highest Assyrian priesthood notably of Baby-

lonian descent. Probably he was a forefather of an early dynasty of Assyrian court scholars (May 2015, n. 71). The connection of the exorcists' family with the court scholars at Kalḥu continued also in the time of Sargon. The copy of Sargon's famous Eight Campaign, his Letter to Aššur, found at N4 (no. 477), is an exquisite literary composition created by the royal scribe, *tupšar šarri*, Nabû-šallimšunu from Kalḥu. His ties with Assur are also known from ND 1120 (May 2015, 100. 102).

The family of exorcists was connected through their affiliation with the Aššur temple not only with the family of Bēl-Kundi-ilā'ī, the "scribes of the Aššur temple," but also with the high priests (*šangû rabû ša Aššur*). The tablet with prescriptions found at N4 belonged to the son of a high priest named Marduk-[...],¹¹⁰ and it is worth notic-

¹⁰⁸ KAR 147 = VAT 8780 = N4 (455)/BAK 315b; Livingstone 2013, 177 f. 181–188. There are only six firmly dated pre-Sargonid Neo-Assyrian scholarly tablets. May (2018, 154, n. 4) *contra* May (2015, n. 71). In the latter I was able to trace only four such tablets.

¹⁰⁹ Written *sag/šag-ga-maḥ-ḥu*. This very archaic Sumerian name for a profession came to mean "exorcist," see CAD (Š I 376 s.v. *šangammāḥḥu*); for the meaning "Hauptpriester", see AHw (1163 s.v. *ša(n)ga(m)māḥḥu*).

¹¹⁰ BAM 50 = N4 (520)/BAK 191. This tablet can no longer be attributed to Nabû-bēlšunu (see fn. 32).

ing that this text deals with medical treatment for the king (Maul 2010, 198 with n. 32). Two other texts stemming from N4 belonged to the exorcist (*āšipu/mašmašu*) and the exorcist of the Aššur temple (*āšip/mašmaš bēt Aššur*), son(s) of the high priest(s).¹¹¹ Apparently it refers to the priesthood of Aššur, since in Assyria that position is always associated with this god.¹¹² The title *šangû rabû*, the “high priest,” is rarely attested,¹¹³ so the number of tablets related to him in N4 is significant.

The training and activity at N4 of Aššur-šākin-šumi, who was to be the priest of Aššur and Ninurta, and who was known as a descendant of four other priests with the same title,¹¹⁴ has been discussed by Maul (2010, 216 f.). An abundance of texts belongs to him,¹¹⁵ and the spellings in his colophons with repetitive signs are especially distinctive.¹¹⁶ Such sign-plays in colophons are not typical for the family of exorcists except for Nabû-bēlšunu.¹¹⁷ Sometimes, as in the colophons of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, they function as a cryptographic writing of the name.¹¹⁸

Conclusions

Maul (2010, 196, 198 f.) pointed out that N4 was a professional library and that the *Haus des Beschwörungs-*

priesters functioned as a “*Lehrbetrieb*.”¹¹⁹ However, it apparently provided a specialized training for scribes in advanced stages of their education.¹²⁰ Here it has been shown that N4 was the place for training young exorcists and physicians for service at the Aššur temple, the temples of Gula and/or Bābu, or elsewhere. Apprentice exorcists and physicians copied the same tablets, some of which were medical as in case of Kišir-Nabû and Rēmût-Bābu. The library was replenished with student copies, including numerous excerpts prepared for the actual performance of rituals and as learning exercises. This suggestion is confirmed by the uniform colophons of the tablets found in the N4 library, many of which were written by apprentices.¹²¹ The trainees in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* included those with similar specialisms, such as physicians, especially if they were related to the school’s central family. Some texts were loaned from the library of the temple of Gula, the other professional library for exorcists and physicians at Assur, to be copied and excerpted by trainees in N4.¹²²

The curriculum of exorcists and physicians included the Erra Epic. Three of the five tablets of this literary composition dedicated to the god of the plague were found in the N4 library. Tablet I (N4 [521]) belonged to Aššur-ibni, and tablet III (N4 [168]) was written by Rēmût-Nabû son of Aššur-ibni of Bēl-Kundi-ilā’i’s family. The amulet-shaped tablet V (N4 [120]) has no colophon. Two unprovenanced copies of tablets II and III of the Erra Epic which were prepared by Bābu-aḥu-iddina of the family of “physicians” apparently also originated from N4. Erra Epic seems to be

111 Prescriptions BAM 296 = N4 (40)/BAK 265B and incantation LKA 143 = N4 (243)/BAK 265C respectively. All the names are broken. See May (2017a, 99) and Fadhil (2012, 37). Geller (2014, 10) erroneously ascribed the title *šangû rabû* to Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu by confusing BAK 265A with BAK 265B and C.

112 Menzel 1981, 194–195. However, Šumu-lēšir, a chief priest: ^mMU-GIŠ ^{lú}SANGA GAL^{l-u'} is attested on a fragmentary conveyance document from Nineveh, SAA 14, no. 286 rev. 8', date lost (PNA, 1294, s. v. Šumu-lēšir 8).

113 To the best of my knowledge there are only three other attestations for the high priests: SANGA GAL GAL (name broken) in KAR 215 = N1 (7)/BAK 266; and a certain Kišir-Aššur in a document dated to 675 BCE (A 2527 rev. 15); PNA, 622, s. v. Kišir-Aššur 16. The latter cannot be Kišir-Aššur, the son of Nabû-bēlšunu, who in his colophon of 658 BCE is only ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ É ^dAŠ+Šur. In SAA 12, no. 9 rev. 4–5 the high priest Abu-ul-idi and his sons receive a royal grant.

114 Fadhil 2012, 40, “Familie Nr. 3.”

115 Maul (2010, 216) now counts at least eighteen tablets of Aššur-šākin-šumi, but does not specify how many of them stem from N4. According to the excavation records (Pedersén 1986, 46) only six of the texts of this offshoot of a priestly family and the trainee of N4 were found in the German excavations.

116 KAL 2, no. 49 rev. 24; KAL 4, no. 53 rev. 17–18; KAL 4, no. 64 rev. 8'–9'; BAM 42 rev. 71–72 = N4 (605)/BAK 245B: 3–4; LKA 145 rev. 8–9 = N4 (249)/BAK 245A: 3–4; BAM 22 rev. 16' = N4 (583). For the similar sign plays by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, see May (2018, 118 f.).

117 See above with fns. 36–38.

118 K. 953/BAK 310 and K. 8173/BAK 307. See also May (2018, 118 f.).

119 On the descendants of scribal and priestly families at N4, see Maul (2010, 216) and Fadhil (2012, 37–43).

120 We know next to nothing about NA primary education (Gesche 2001, 23 f.). É *tup-pi* is found twice in the Neo-Assyrian texts: in SAA 3, no. 12: 8, and in SAA 16 no. 52 rev. 1–3. SAA 3, no. 12, a Late Assyrian hymn to Nabû (Lambert 1959, 129) is a literary composition and provides no information about actual school education. However, SAA 16, no. 52 is a letter of an official from the time of Esarhaddon that concerns schoolboys from Kalḥu and is the evidence for the existence of an institution for primary education in Assyria at least at this time. É *tup-pi* in SAA 17, no. 37: 4' relates to Babylonia. É *tup-pa-ti* in ND 1120 rev. 21' refers to the Middle Assyrian institution which was an archive and not a school (see May 2017b, 140), although this text dates to 714 BCE.

121 E.g., BAK 238, see above with fn. 72. For the trainees of the N4 library that appear in the colophons as “assistants,” see Maul (2010, 216). For the lineages of the trainees of N4, the descendants of the various scholarly and scribal families, see Fadhil (2012, 37–43).

122 For the loans from the library of the Gula temple copied in the library of exorcists, see Pedersén (1986, 48) and Maul (2010, 213).

a composition of particular professional importance for exorcists and physicians, the “epic of healers.”¹²³

The layout of the compound of hall 3 and room 4 reproduced in miniature the layout of the temple cellas. It was protected from evil by apotropaic figurines buried under the floor in the corners and by the door jambs, regarded as points of weakness. The plan of this complex was different from usual living quarters and was used for practical exercises by the students there, or even for “private practice” at the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*. All the younger members of the family at some point bore just the title “exorcist” without any further elaboration.¹²⁴ They could have practised privately at home before being promoted to a higher status at the temple.¹²⁵

The family of exorcists was affiliated to the Aššur temple. They were naturally most closely connected with that temple and its staff. The tablets of the high priests of the Aššur temple and many other temple associates were found in N4. Connections with Akkullānu, the priest of Aššur, are reflected in letters found at Nineveh.

The family of Bābu-šumu-ibni was associated with the court scholarship and kings. This started in rather early periods, not just in the time of Assurbanipal and his heirs to which the majority of the N4 material belongs. The members of both of the families from Assur, the central family of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* and that of Bēl-Kundi-ilā’ī’s family, were involved with scholarship at the Nineveh court. Kišir-Aššur, the leading authority of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters*, was summoned by Assurbanipal to copy texts in his main field of expertise for the king’s library. Tablets from the palace at Nineveh including the vassal treaty of Sīn-šarru-iškun¹²⁶ were also copied and excerpted by scholars and students at the N4 library. Šuillas, the “hand-lifting prayers,” for Sargon (N4 [115]), Assurbanipal (N4 [125]), and Sīn-šarru-iškun (N4 [126]),¹²⁷ as well as a prayer for Assurbanipal (N4 [548]), exemplify the role of the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* in the Assyrian establishment.¹²⁸ The *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* prepared specialists for the needs of the temple and the state and maintained close connections with the court through professional and family channels. The main field of expertise of these specialists was healing and protection from evil.

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- 123 This matter, however, demands further investigation. According to Pedersén (1986, 30), at Assur apart from at N4 the Erra Epic was found only at N2. It is surprising that he does not provide any further information about the field or museum numbers of the Erra Epics tablets at N2. In N4 various tablets of Erra Epic were distributed between several trainees.
- 124 See above with fn. 35.
- 125 Maul (2010, 210). Both Pedersén (1986, 46) and Maul (2010, 211) suggested that the career of Kišir-Nabû ended at the fall of Assur in 614 BCE.
- 126 Incantations and prescriptions N4 (173), an incantation ritual N4 (119) and an excerpt from the treaty N4 (27) = SAA 2, no. 12.
- 127 See Maul (2010, 204 with n. 50) for another as yet unpublished Šuilla for Sīn-šarru-iškun.
- 128 Pongratz-Leisten (2017, 88. 331. 391. 394. 396–397) made a number of important observations about the role that Kišir-Aššur might have had in the Assyrian state cult and ideology. She consistently calls him the chief exorcist of Assurbanipal, the chief exorcist of the Aššur temple, and the head of family of exorcists, but for this there is no evidence.

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