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Typological Aspects of Scholarly Tablets in the Library of Ashurbanipal

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Abstract The Library of Ashurbanipal is an archetype of standardisation in cuneiform. It has been seen as a collection of compositions whose text took the form of fixed, canonical versions on which modern reconstructions can best rely. The script used in the Library is so carefully controlled and standardised that it has been described as 'typewriter' script. An aspect that has received less attention is the typology of the tablets on which the standardised texts were written in this careful Library script. As the thousands of fragments into which the Library was shattered in antiquity are gradually pieced back together, the types of tablet in that collection are becoming more apparent. These types help us understand the nature of the tablets in antiquity, as well as the functioning and vision of the Library itself.

Keywords Materiality. Typology. Standardisation. Colophons. Terminology.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Ancient Terminology of Tablet Types. – 3 The Tablets. – 4 A Comparison of Tablet Types Across Groups. – 5 Basic Typology of Tablets Produced for Ashurbanipal's Library. – 6 Literature. – 7 Lexical. – 8 Omens. – 9 Magic/Medicine. – 10 Conclusions. – 11 Appendix.

1 Introduction

The Library of Ashurbanipal is treated as a monolith; its remains are so numerous and complex that they have defied attempts to identify the component parts. Thus we remain largely ignorant of how the Library was assembled, what was in it, and what status any tablet had there. Several features will ultimately allow us to distinguish groups reflecting their time and place of creation, intended function, and ownership. One important feature is tablet typology. It is unambiguously true that tablet typologies existed in the cuneiform world, even though most still remain undocumented. For the Neo-Assyrian corpus, there are descriptions of archival document types[1] and royal inscriptions,[2] but not yet the scholarly material.[3] That is not to say that typology has gone unremarked. For example, Lambert typically

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1 See Radner 1995.

2 See the introductions to the RINAP volumes, Taylor 2018 and 2023.

3 See now Schnitzlein 2023b, 315-22 and Simkó (this volume).

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recorded typology at the level of how many columns the tablets had, at least.[4] More recently, Fincke offered an extensive treatment on the appearance of clay tablets based on manuscripts of the plant lists *Uruanna* and MÚD-UR.MAH.[5] Schnitzlein took a more generic approach, referring to both archival documents and scholarly material.[6] Special attention is paid there to tablets with Ashurbanipal colophons, taking into account ductus, format, and shape.[7] George featured a detailed study of the source tablets of *Gilgameš* from a range of perspectives including clay, script, and colophons; this extended to consideration of potential sets of tablets.[8] Schwemer undertook a similar exercise for *Maqlû*;[9] Hätinen (in this volume) does the same for *Ludlul*. All three rely on manuscripts found at Kuyunjik. Panayotov pointed out with regard to the *Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia* that "the format of Nineveh manuscripts always consisted of two-column tablets, with ca 250 lines, depending on the scribe who wrote them".[10] Böck noted that tablets of the new Library version of *Uruanna* use a format "with seemingly neatly kept measurements: they are about 11 cm broad and some 20 cm large".[11] Koch observed for divinatory texts that "There was a convention that the text of a particular tablet within a series had a certain shape, but this convention was not strictly followed. The same text may be written on manuscripts of different shapes and sizes".[12] Fincke noted this phenomenon for the astrological omens, hypothesising that the major scholarly centres retained established formatting conventions when the series was standardised, and that this might have been one reason why the series was never fully canonised.[13]

For the Hittite corpus there is a major study on both the outer appearance and colophons of around 2700 mainly scientific-literary texts stemming from Hattuša/Boğazköy. Waal described 1) the shape, size, clay of the tables as well as seal impressions and other intentional changes; 2) the writing process; 3) layout. Taking into account physical features, especially their shape, Waal identified different tablet types.[14]

It is worth noting first of all that there is no such thing as 'an Ashurbanipal Library tablet'. Nor is there 'a one-column Ashurbanipal Library tablet'. A variety is attested. For example, one-column tablets bearing *Enūma Eliš* look markedly distinct from one-column tablets bearing *Maqlû*. Secondly, there was almost inevitably a close correlation between text length and tablet size. But at the same time, tablet type was not determined by, and therefore is not predictable via, text length. Thirdly, script size is variable. It is noticeable that the script size of *Enūma Eliš* tablets is significantly smaller than those of *Maqlû*. For example, three manuscripts of *Enūma Eliš* (K.12000b, K.13299, K.13761) offer an average density of 27-31 mm per 10 lines, while three manuscripts of *Maqlû* (K.2950, K.10241, 1881-02-04, 217) offer an average density of 33-36 mm per 10 lines.

There are two ways to investigate tablet typology. Firstly, there is textual evidence. Several native designations for tablet types are of course known,[15] although these will not correlate one-to-one with the types identified here. These terms can each refer to different implementations of a concept. For example, *u'iltu* can refer to tablets in either portrait or landscape format, as well as to both scholarly and non-scholarly texts. Furthermore, the terms were applied not simply as descriptors of size/shape. They can refer to genre as well. That being said, it is worth noting when designations are applied to specific tablets, and noting to which modern type it refers in that instance.

Secondly, and most importantly, there is the evidence of the tablets themselves, to the extent that they have been reconstructed so far from the fragments in which they were found. A comprehensive analysis of the typology of Library tablets is beyond the scope of what is possible for this article. For the purposes of this study, two approaches were used to assemble an initial overview. Building on work conducted by Taylor in preparation for the *I am Ashurbanipal, King of the World* exhibition at the British Museum 2018-19, a survey was made of the Nineveh collection to identify tablets whose full original di-

4 See e.g. Lambert 1960; 2007; 2013.
5 Fincke 2021, 27-72.
6 Schnitzlein 2023a, 14-84.
7 Schnitzlein 2023a, 346-58 and *passim*.
8 George 2003, ch. 8.
9 Schwemer 2017, 26-50.
10 Panayotov 2018, 110.
11 Böck 2015, 24.
12 Koch 2015, 55.
13 Fincke 2013, 583-4.
14 Waal 2015, 1-124.
15 See Schnitzlein 2023a, 128-211.

mensions are preserved. This limited corpus was supplemented by a selection of tablets of which some full original dimension is preserved. In tandem with this collections-based survey, a literature-based survey addressed the known sources of compositions drawn from across the range of genres found in the Library. Key questions to be addressed include whether there was standardisation of the tablets used for each composition, and whether tablet types were shared between compositions.

A preliminary formal typology of Library tablets is not offered here, to avoid compromising an eventual comprehensive typology. A detailed analysis of Library tablet typology including formatting features are the focus of a project carried out at the University of Venice.[16] For this study, we limit the resolution to tablet size, shape, profile, orientation of inscription, as well as the number of text columns. Other features are relevant to the discussion, but again lie beyond the scope of the present work. No account can be taken here of features such as clay type, rulings, formatting, marginal marks, firing holes, orthography, palaeography, script size or density, or even consideration of the distribution of text for reconstructing the dimensions of partially preserved tablets. For convenience, we use the established terms 'portrait' to refer to tablets inscribed parallel to the short side and 'landscape' to tablets inscribed parallel to the long side.

It would be feasible to use a given tablet type in different ways. That is, a given tablet could potentially be inscribed in two or three columns, for example. Sultantepe tablet STT 394 even has three columns on the obverse and two on the reverse.[17] Column width varies very widely in the Library. Thus were lexical texts, for example, all written on a single tablet type appropriate to their genre, the nature of the various compositions would require different formatting. A specific example can be offered in the form of Ashur tablet VAT 10162;[18] it is labelled as an *u'iltu* – typically one-column tablets – but has two columns. A tablet could also plausibly be used in either orientation. A hint in this direction is offered by examples such as K.105, a landscape tablet with an excerpt from *Alamdimmû* **[fig. 4]**. The top and bottom edges are lightly rounded, while the right and left edges are strongly rounded and display curvature at the juncture of obverse/reverse and top/bottom. This is the opposite arrangement to what is typically seen in portrait format tablets.

Several groups of tablets came into Ashurbanipal's collection: those that belonged to him or were written for him in his younger days; the royal collection that he inherited when he became king; tablets written specifically for his Library; tablets from other scribes that were written for him, given to him, or taken by him, as king. There are also several groups visible in the modern collection that represents the partial remains of the Library: those with Ashurbanipal Library colophons except *a* (within which there may be sub-collections); those with colophon *a* (which was added secondarily); those with a colophon naming an individual scribe; those with no colophon. It is not to be expected that a 1:1 correlation exists between ancient and modern groups, but some correlation should be recoverable. Tablet typology is one component that will be necessary for answering that question.

The typology of Library tablets should reveal important information about how the Library scribes worked. The choice of type for compositions and individual manuscripts, together with consideration of the degree of standardisation, should clarify the overall vision, and the classification of material within the collection. Further, comparison with types attested on tablets with private colophons or from different sites elsewhere in Assyria and in Babylonia should indicate whether these choices are specific to the Library, a wider Assyrian practice, or a reflection of a more general convention. This in turn will be useful in interpreting tablets found at Nineveh whose attribution to the Library is not certain: those without a colophon, or those whose colophon is not preserved. Typology might help us discern between tablets in Babylonian script written in Babylonia from those written at Nineveh for the Library. It should also help us understand some colophon types. For example, it is demonstrable that Ashurbanipal colophon *a* was added secondarily to tablets; it was not planned for when the tablet was originally inscribed. In many cases, these could be understood as the collection of Ashurbanipal prior to, and immediately after, becoming king.[19] Thus the typology of these tablets would shed important light on the earliest phase of what would become the Library. Yet other functions will be served too. An outstanding desideratum is the matter of sets of tablets within the Library. Typology is one feature that will be necessary to consider in that research.

16 Corò, Ermidoro in this volume, fn. 2.

17 Cf. plant lists from Ashur VAT 10070 (Middle Assyrian) and VAT 10245 (Neo-Assyrian), noted by Fincke 2021, 49.

18 Gabbay 2015, no. 92.

19 As noted in Taylor et al. 2023; this point will be set out in detail in a forthcoming article on the typology of Library colophons. An alternative explanation would see these as evidence of a quality control process.

2 Ancient Terminology of Tablet Types

The terminology employed at seventh century BC Nineveh demonstrate that when dealing with literary-scientific texts their material support was of relevance. In addition to clay tablets, wax-filled wooden or ivory tablets were used as a writing support: in Akkadian these were known as *daltu* for a single leaf and *lē'u* for a polyptychon.[20] Almost no examples of these boards survive from ancient Iraq, whether from Neo-Assyrian times or the many previous centuries over which they had been in use. The major exception is the group of boards found at Nimrud.[21] With regard to clay tablets, the following terms were used to refer to tablet formats:

egertu these are one-column tablets in either landscape or portrait format.[22] In inventory lists from Nineveh, the so-called 'library records',[23] the term is used in juxtaposition to *ṭuppu*/*tuppu*. This latter word is the generic term for any kind of clay tablet, but in this context apparently refers to multi-columned tablets of scientific-literary content (by analogy with the *daltu* / *lē'u* contrast). *Egertu* appears there in connection with quite a number of text compositions:

- *Šumma Izbu* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 1', SAA 7 no. 50 rev. ii 1'(?))
- *Seal of Haltu-stone* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 2')
- *Day of the City God* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 3')
- 'Esoteric compositions' (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 4')
- *Chariot of Ibnutu* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 5')
- *Ishur māda* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 6')
- *SI.DÙ* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 7')
- *Gilgameš* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. i' 8')
- *Enūma Anu Enlil* (SAA 7 no. 49 obv. ii 18'–20', rev. ii 6'–8'; SAA 7 no. 50 obv. i 5', rev. ii 1'(?); SAA 7 No. 55 2'–3')
- *Šumma Ālu* (SAA 49 no. 49 rev. ii 17 (?); SAA 7 no. 50 obv. ii 11', rev. ii 1'(?), SAA 7 No. 55 6')
- *Ušburruda* (SAA 7 no. 50 obv. ii 6')
- *āšipūtu* 'corpus of the *āšipu*' (SAA 7 no. 50 obv. iii 4')

Within the remains of the Library there are indeed a number of one-columned text witnesses for most of these text compositions, although the term is not explicit in any of the colophons. The same can be said of the compositions described there as being written on DUB; that is, tablets with more than one column. A glaring entry here is the one-column tablet with *Gilgameš*, which is so ubiquitously written on three-column tablets. Only one such tablet is known, from Sultantepe. It is not clear what value such a tablet could have held to the Library scribes.[24]

u'iltu these are small one-column tablets in either landscape or portrait format. The texts written on them can include incantations, recipes, and commentaries. Some scholarly tablets found at Nineveh are labelled as *u'iltu* **[fig. 1]**:

- K.872: an almost complete landscape tablet containing a commentary to *Enūma Anu Enlil*.[25] Written by Ashur-Mudammiq, scribe of Ashur;
- K.8510: a fragment of landscape format tablet containing a commentary to *Enūma Anu Enlil* in Neo-Assyrian script.[26] Written by Ashur-Mudammiq, scribe of Ashur;
- Rm II 126: a fragment of landscape format tablet containing a commentary to *Enūma Anu Enlil* in Neo-Assyrian script. Ashurbanipal colophon *u*;
- 81-2-4, 258: a fragment of landscape format tablet containing a calculation probably in relation to *Alamdimmû*[27] in Neo-Assyrian script; written by Mušallim-DIL.

20 Compare Schnitzlein 2023a, 131-2 and 151-9.

21 See Howard 1955; a very small example was found at Ashur, Klengel-Brandt 1975.

22 The term is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian Period, where it was also used for one-column tablets of non-scientific-literary content; see Schnitzlein 2023a, 135-8.

23 See Parpola 1983.

24 The correlation between compositions in the lists and the tablet types on which they are found will be resumed in detail elsewhere.

25 Hunger 1968, no. 504.

26 Hunger 1968, no. 518.

27 Böck 2000, 20.

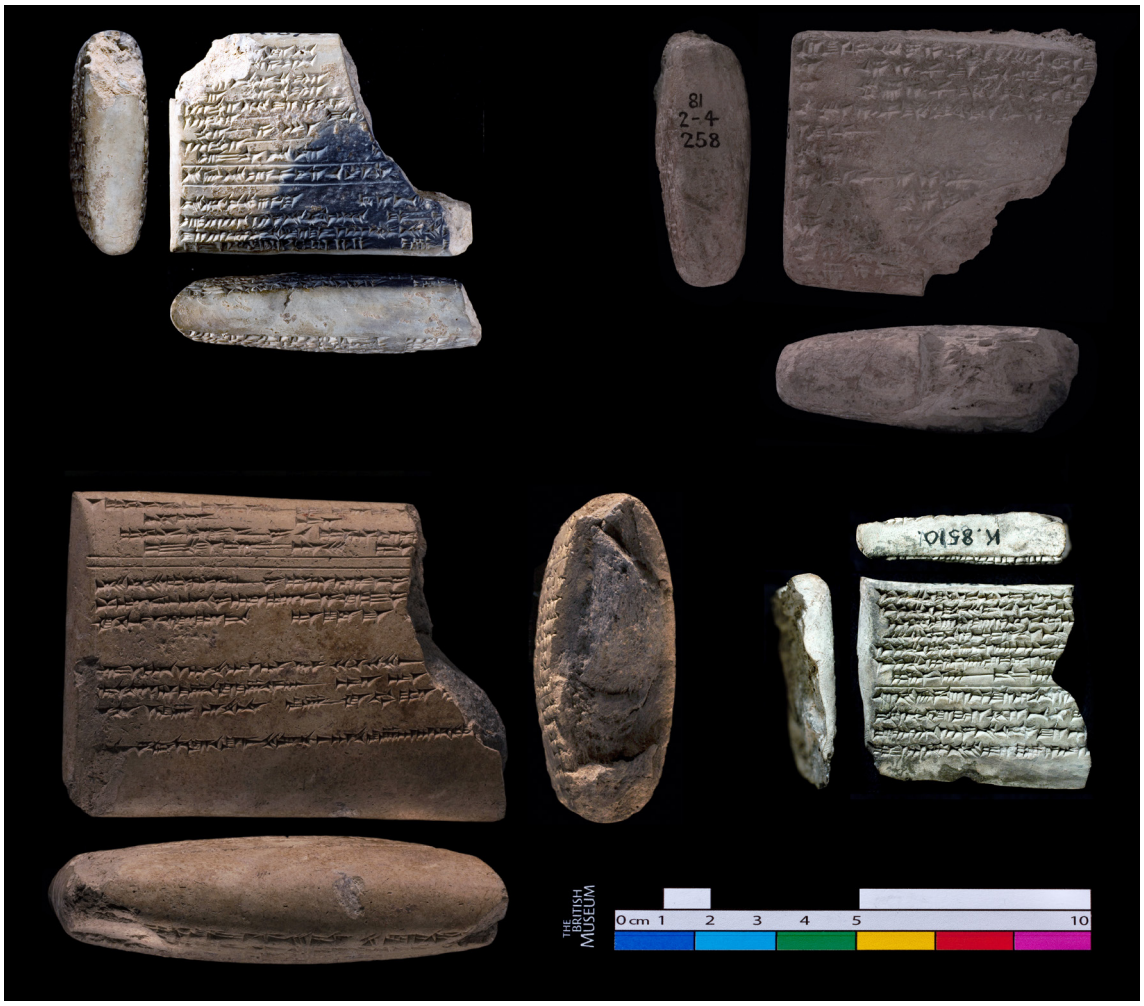

Figure 1 *u'iltu*s from Nineveh: K.872; 81-2-4, 258; Rm II 126; K.8510. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

u'iltu was also used as a description for astrological reports, which are small, landscape format tablets. Schnitzlein draws attention to a complication: VAT 8275 (KAR 44) is an incantation catalogue in landscape format labelled as an *u'iltu*.[28] It has a duplicate, also in landscape format, which is labelled instead as a *giṭṭu* (for which see below). Rm 717 is inscribed in Neo-Babylonian script; this might be the reason for not using the term *u'iltu*, which is only attested in Neo-Assyrian in connection with scientific-literary texts.

IM.GÍD.DA (*giṭṭu*; *imgiddû*; *liginnu*) 'long tablet': these are one-column tablets containing various scholarly texts, including medicine, omens, epics, and commentaries, as well as excerpts, which are sometimes serialised. They can be either portrait or landscape format. It is difficult to distinguish between *giṭṭu*, *imgiddû*, and *liginnu*. *Liginnu* can refer to canonical texts, including school tablets. Preserved Neo-Assyrian school tablets are uncommon. There are four examples from Nineveh **[fig. 2]**:

- K.90: fragment of a portrait format tablet in Babylonian script. The content is closely related to *Enūma Anu Enlil* XIV. Al-Rawi and George suggest that this tablet might be a scribal practice due to the many mistakes;[29]

28 Schnitzlein 2023a, 205.

29 Al-Rawi, George 1991-92, 66.

- K.945: an almost complete small landscape tablet in Neo-Assyrian script, containing the lexical list HAR-ra = *hubullu*;
- K.1520: small oval landscape tablet, which turns like a book. It is inscribed in Neo-Assyrian script. On its obverse is a list with measurements; the reverse contains the so-called *Practical Vocabulary of Nineveh*;
- K.2873: fragment of a portrait format tablet in Babylonian script, which turns like a book. The obverse is of magical content, while the reverse contains a prayer to Nabû.

Figure 2 School tablets from Nineveh: K.90; K.945; K.2873. For K.1520 see fig. 11. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

Beyond Rm 717 (mentioned above), three tablets from Nineveh are labelled as IM.GÍD.DA **[fig. 3]**:

- Sm 999: a fragment in Babylonian script;
- 1905-4-9, 88: a portrait format tablet containing magical *namburbi* texts in Babylonian script; written by Nabû-ušallim;
- K.398: a landscape format tablet containing a commentary to *Enūma Anu Enlil* in Neo-Assyrian script; written by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.

K.398 stemmed originally from Nimrud; it is dated to 698 BC. The term IM.GÍD.DA appears in another of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's tablets in Assyrian script: K.2164, a fragment of one-column tablet in portrait format. Within its colophon (for which see Cohen, this volume) three different expressions are used to refer to the tablet and its content. The tablet identification line refers to the text as the second division (*pirsu*) of the mystical text i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a. then IM.GÍD.DA A.RÁ-*e*, after which the entire tablet is labelled as *tuppu*/*ṭuppu*. The term *arû*, which appears also on the obverse of K.2164[30] can be translated as 'product (of a multiplication)', 'numerical table', 'astronomical ephemeris'. K.2164, as far as it is preserved, contains a number of calculations. Hence, IM.GÍD.DA in connection with *arû* does not (primarily) refer to a tablet format but gives further information about the text, and could be translated with 'calculation text' or similar depending on whether it refers to the entire text or a section of it. BM 122625 is a fragmentary Middle Assyrian manuscript of literary text *Lugale*, containing chapters 13, 14, 15, and 16 of the serialised text composition. Two preserved phrases label the respective section above as 15th IM.GÍD.DA[31] and as 16th IM.GÍD.DA,[32] the latter being part of the colophon. This portrait format tablet has two columns, probably due to its length. IM.GÍD.DA-notes in the middle of the text are also attested in Neo-Assyrian tablets.

30 Livingstone 1986, 22-3 l. 15.

31 Van Dijk 1983, 173.

32 Van Dijk 1983, 181.

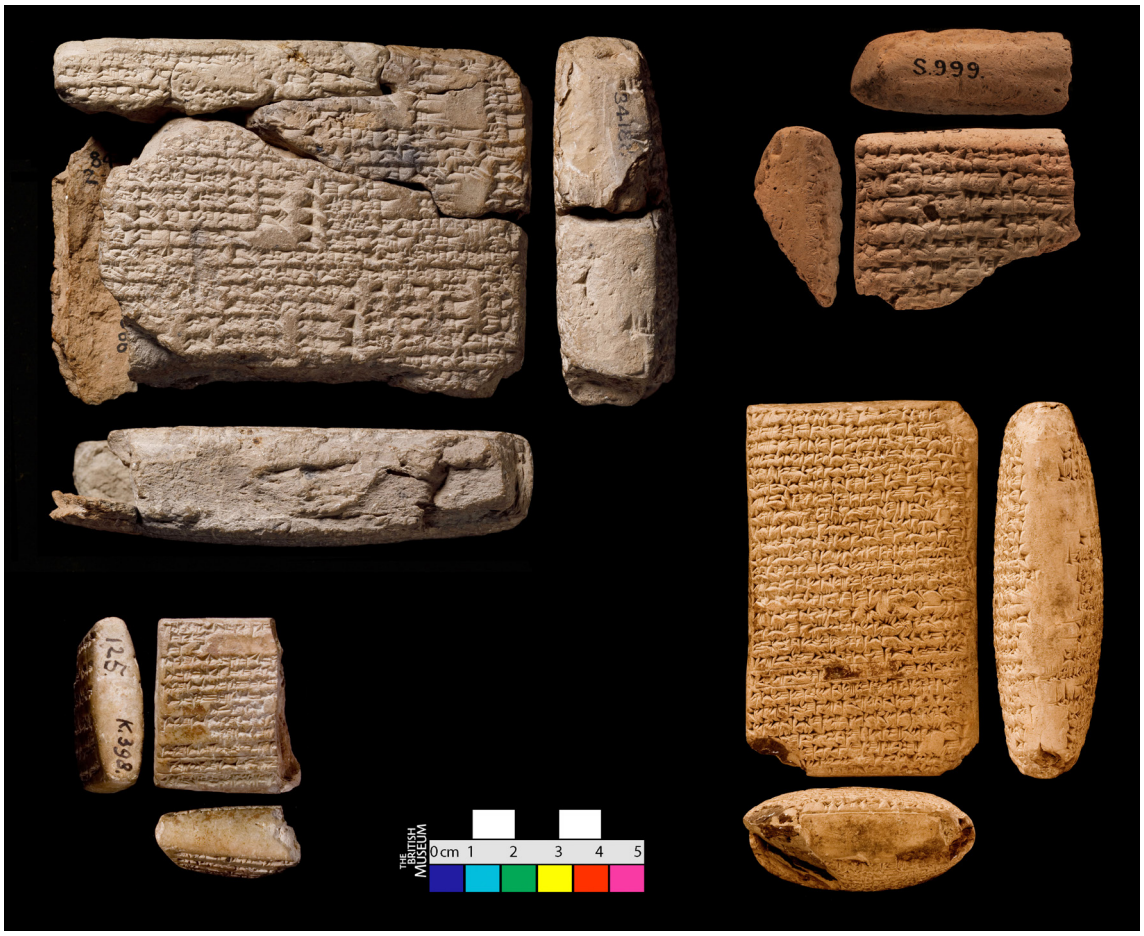

Figure 3 IM.GÍD.DAs from Nineveh: Rm 717; Sm 999; 1905-4-9, 88; K.398. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

Tablet identification lines can refer to the chapter of a serialised text composition with the terms *tuppu*/*ṭuppu*, *nisḫu* 'extract/copy', *pirsu* 'division', and IM.GÍD.DA. A chapter is usually found on one physical tablet. In Nineveh the terms *tuppu*/*ṭuppu* and *nisḫu* are the most commonly used. However, there are attestations of IM.GÍD.DA **[fig. 4]**:

- K.130: a landscape tablet containing physiognomic omens; second IM.GÍD.DA of the *Alamdimmû* excerpt series. Ashurbanipal colophon *a*;
- K.2166: a landscape tablet containing physiognomic omens; third IM.GÍD.DA of the *Alamdimmû* excerpt series. Ashurbanipal colophon *a*;
- K.3692: a fragment of a landscape format tablet containing physiognomic omens; second IM.GÍD.DA. Ashurbanipal colophon *a*;
- K.105: a landscape tablet containing physiognomic omens; sixth IM.GÍD.DA of the *Alamdimmû* excerpt series. Ashurbanipal colophon *a*.

K.130 and K.2166 seem to belong together as part of a set. They both contain the scribal process note *šá ina* ^{giš}LI.U$_5$.UM NU SAR.[33] K.105 and K.3692 seem to belong as part of another set (cf. K.3812). In addition to bearing Ashurbanipal colophon *a* in the unusual variant written while the clay was moist, they also share formatting features such as the double ruling before the colophon. Another example, K.14974, has IM.GÍD.DA and an abbreviated Ashurbanipal colophon *m*. The shape of the tablet cannot be discerned from the preserved fragment. Its content is cryptographic. Yet another fragment, Rm II 33, containing omens, refers to the text in its tablet identification line as the second IM.GÍD.DA.

33 We would like to thank Sophie Cohen for drawing this to our attention.

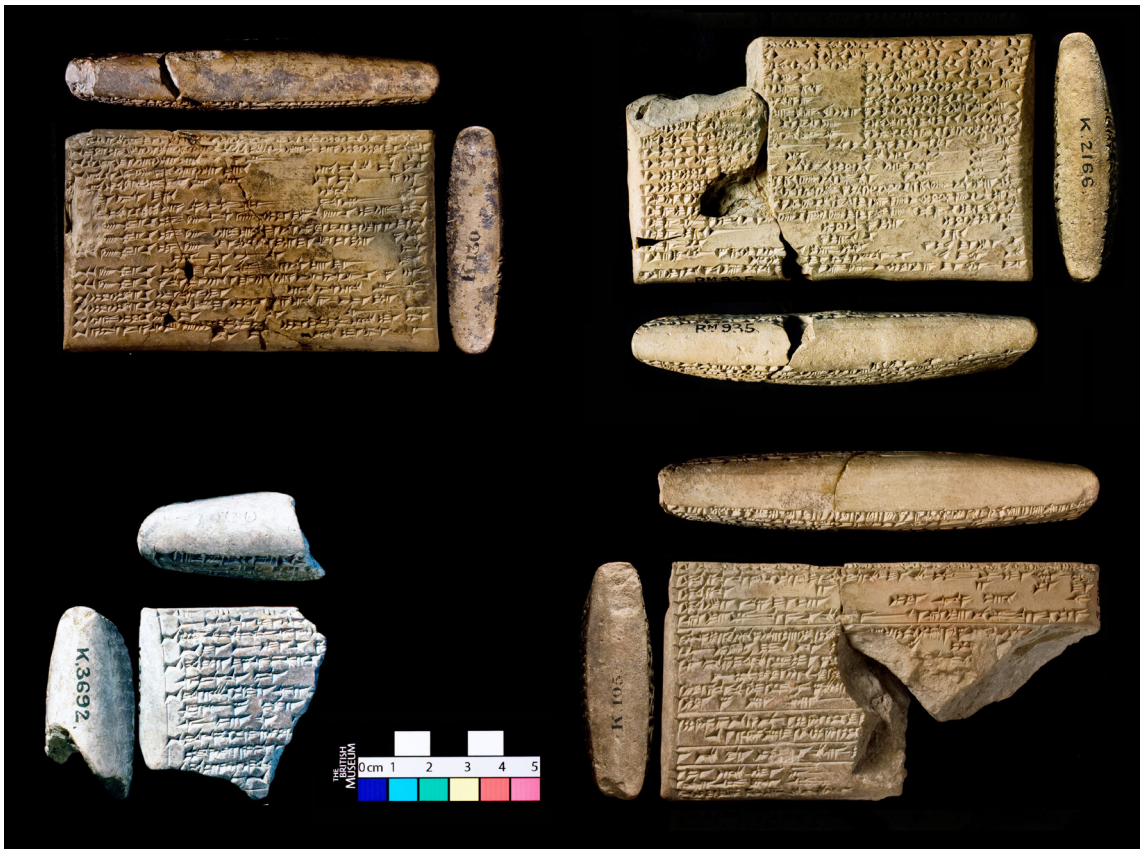

Figure 4 Serialised IM.GÍD.DAS: K.130; K.2166; K.3692; K.105. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

DUB.GAL (*dubgallu*) 'large tablet': these were unusually big tablets containing large volumes of text written in small script over multiple columns.[34] Several references to DUB.GAL are known from Nineveh:

- K.3786: a one-column landscape format tablet containing an extispicy commentary in Babylonian script; third excerpt from an Assyrian DUB.GAL;[35]
- K.1315: a one-column landscape format tablet containing an extispicy commentary in Babylonian script; fourth and final excerpt from an Assyrian DUB.GAL;[36]
- K.21314: small fragment mentioning a DUB.GAL in a broken context;
- K.4349: a largely preserved Middle-Assyrian manuscript of the entire god List An: *Anum* and An: *Anu ša amēli*, copied from an old *dubgallu*.[37]

K.3786 and K.1315 might have belonged to the same tablet set of an excerpt commentary series on *Bārûtu*.[38] The series *Bārûtu* consists of a number of sub-series divided into chapters. Each sub-series had its own main commentary, which is subdivided into individual tablets. At Nineveh, two-column portrait format tablets such as K.3978 are common, but there are examples of one-column portrait format tablets (e.g. K.3948) and three-column portrait format tablets (e.g. K.3785).[39] All these examples have a Library colophon. Among the examples with non-Ashurbanipal colophons, one-column portrait format tablets are prevalent. The excerpt texts K.3786 and K.1315 comment on the sub-series *Padānu*. K.1315 has a catchline to the main commentary of the next sub-series, *Pān tākalti*. K.3787 can be as-

34 See Abusch, Schwemer 2009, 53-4.
35 Koch-Westenholz 2000, 232-3, 250-1.
36 Koch-Westenholz 2000, 232-3, 251-2.
37 See Lambert, Winters 2023, 10-12.
38 See further Cohen, this volume, fn. 46.
39 Compare Frahm 2011, 171-89.

Figure 5 'An elephant folio' (K.4349). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

signed to the main commentary tablet 1, and K.1315 to the main commentary tablet 2.[40] There are attestations of two-column portrait format tablets for these main commentary tablets. Hence the term *dubgallu* might refer to such a two-column portrait tablet. Another option would be that K.3786 and K.1315 were both copied from the same *dubgallu*, which contained main commentary tablet 1 and 2.[41]

K.4349 is a largely complete six-column portrait tablet copied from a DUB.GAL **[fig. 5]**. There is a contemporary (Middle-Assyrian) duplicate, YBC 2401, which mentions the same scribe; it was copied instead from old tablets.[42] Its dimensions are 39.5 × 30.5 × 4.6 cm-1.8 cm at the sides. Both manuscripts most probably originated from Ashur.[43] Abusch and Schwemer infer that a *dubgallu* is such an 'oversized' tablet with 5-6 columns on each side, each column containing over 150 lines.[44]

Outside of Nineveh, Neo- and Late Babylonian DUB.GAL are attested as having contained lamentations, prayers, literature, and *Šumma Ālu*-omens: BM 35434,[45] BM 57532,[46] IM 77028 (SpTU 3 no. 98). According to Heinrich the ductus of BM 35434 is Old to Middle Babylonian, imitating the ductus of the *dubgallu* from which it was copied.[47] The text version itself is Middle Babylonian, and the colophon points to the tablet being written in the Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period. Additionally, Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 40205,[48] with literary and lexicographic excerpts, was hastily excerpted from a DUB.GAL.

3 The Tablets

Minimum and maximum measurements of sample tablets from Nineveh are provided in the appendix. As handmade objects, there is inevitably some variation in the dimensions, even when the opposite edges are intended to be parallel; such variation is usually minimal. More significant is variation due to intentional curvature of the profile. In Library tablets, it is typically the case that the upper and lower edges are straight and parallel, while the left and right are concave; the degree of concavity can vary from so slight that it is hardly noticeable to a much more pronounced profile. The range of measurements is therefore greater in the width dimension than in the height. This applies to Assyrian tablets. Babylonian tablets can display a very different profile, closer to the abstract idea of a tablet that a modern cuneiformist carries in their head. The top and bottom edges are parallel, as often are the right and left edges, although concavity can also be seen. The obverse is flat to slightly rounded (especially near the edges), while the reverse is curved, arcing in from all edges. Late Babylonian scholarly tablets from Uruk, for example, can resemble Library tablets more closely (see e.g. AO 7661), although the 'brick' format land sale contracts are perhaps closer still with regard to the angularity of the corners and the squareness of the edges.

Looking at a tablet end-on (along the 'height'), the profile of the obverse and reverse faces are usually lightly biconvex, with both obverse and reverse appearing to be curved (despite the obverse being flat and the reverse curved overall; e.g. K.137) **[fig. 9]**. In all cases, the middle of the tablet will be thicker than the parts closer to the corners. The thickness of the middle of edges is also, as one would expect, greater than that of the middle of the top/bottom. The profile of the right and left edges is lightly curved; in some cases it can be more squared-off (e.g. K.2007) **[fig. 15]**, or less commonly very rounded (e.g. K.2323) **[fig. 12]** or even bevelled (e.g. K.156). Looking at a tablet side-on (along the 'width'), the profile of the obverse and reverse faces is typically semi-oval, with flat obverse and curved reverse.

Irrespective of type, certain conventions are observable in Library tablets.[49] When viewing the obverse face, the top and bottom edges usually appear straight and parallel; the right and left edges

40 Frahm 2011, 177.

41 Frahm 2011, 179-80.

42 See Lambert, Winters 2023, 10-12.

43 Pedersén 1985, 41.

44 Abusch, Schwemer 2009, 153.

45 Heinrich 2022.

46 Zgoll 2003, 191-203 Ms D.

47 Heinrich 2022.

48 Edited by *eBL*.

49 This is not to suggest that every single tablet displays all these features. There are even cases known where the obverse is the curved side; the reverse flat. See, for example, K.72 (anti-witchcraft); 1905,0409.4 (Izi). Cf. Babylonian tablet K.6331 (blessings for the king; noted by Mayer *apud* Watanabe 1992, 369). See further Fincke 2021, 32.

usually appear concave to a greater or lesser extent. When viewing the side, the top and bottom edges almost always appear round in profile;[50] the right and left edges can vary from lightly rounded to squared. One of the most distinctive features is the curvature visible below the top and above the bottom on the obverse and reverse faces, being more pronounced on the lower reverse (e.g. DT 1) **[fig. 13]**.[51] It is perhaps a development from an effect that would appear naturally from the other profiles. The rounded top/bottom can lead to an appearance of space being left uninscribed at those edges. Combined with a concave profile, this would produce the curving depression. This curving feature is widespread in the first millennium cuneiform world, but seems to be more pronounced in Nineveh Library tablets. This is true regardless of the size of the tablet, the number of columns, and whether the tablet is inscribed in portrait or landscape format (noting that in the latter case, the curving is present at the right/left edges instead of the top/bottom). The interface between the obverse/reverse and side edges is typically quite sharp. This goes hand in hand with the feature that text is usually only inscribed on the obverse/reverse, unlike in Babylonian tablets when the other faces are more commonly used. The text is aligned to these interfaces. The interface between the top/bottom and side edges is typically a sharp arch, with pinched-looking corners **[fig. 6]**. This contrasts with the typical Babylonian intersection, which takes the form of a rounded corner. The curving and corners of the Library tablets suggest an aesthetic based on traditional forms, but leaning towards a more rectilinear shape and sharper edges. This parallels the aesthetic shown by the rectilinear nature of the characteristic Library script.

Figure 6 The characteristic arched corner marking the juncture between top/bottom and side edges of a Library tablet (K.110). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

50 See exceptionally 81-07-27, 49, a pictographic sign list, whose top edge is pointed like a roof; cf. Rm II 115 (landscape format tablet in Babylonian script with *Bārûtu*); K.253 (portrait format tablet in Assyrian script with verbal paradigms; private colophon).

51 Comparable curvature can occasionally be seen on other tablets, e.g. *Babylonian Almanac* K.106 (Assyrian script, no colophon).

4 A Comparison of Tablet Types Across Groups

The height of portrait format tablets[52] measured ranges from a minimum of 7.0 to 29.7 cm, and a maximum of 7.0 to 29.7 cm. The width ranges from a minimum of 3.6 to 19.6 cm, and a maximum of 3.8 and 20.8 cm. The thickness varies according to the place of measurement: the corners of a tablet are the thinnest part, expanding along both height and width, with the thickest part in the centre. The greatest thickness overall ranges from 1.4 to 4.0 cm. The thickness correlates with the other dimensions, bigger tablets being thicker. The minimum ratio (H:W)[53] lies between 1.3 to 3.1, the maximum[54] between 1.4 to 3.0. All the tablets with a ratio of 2.1 or larger are one-columned. The tablets with a smaller ratio are one to three-columned. Three-column tablets display a ratio maximum between 1.4-1.6, two column tablets between 1.4-2.0, and one-column tablets cover the full range. The width of a portrait format tablet is relatively fixed, with most variation taking place in the height, according to the length of the text. There are few examples of two- or three-column tablets with a maximum width below 10.0 cm (but see K.49, K.4395).

No tablets bearing a Library colophon have a height maximum under 10.0 cm. Examples of such small tablets in our sample include both tablets in Babylonian script (K.90: mentioned above, colophon absent;[55] K.888, colophon absent; K.3340, colophon area missing; K.118, colophon absent; K.2329, colophon existent, BM 98582, colophon present), and in Assyrian script (K.106, colophon absent; K.165, colophon absent; K.1908, colophon absent; K.1290, colophon absent, SAA 3 text). All of these tablets have a width under 7.0 cm (max. 3.8 to 6.3 cm). There are further examples for which the width is under 7.0 cm (max 5.2 to 6.8 cm), their height ranges between 10.8 cm to 12.1 cm. None of these bear an Ashurbanipal colophon.

For landscape format tablets, the width ranges from a minimum 7.1 to 16.7 cm to a maximum of 5.3 to 17.7 cm. The height ranges from a minimum of 3.6 to 11.7 cm to a maximum of 3.8 to 11.8 cm. The maximum thickness ranges between 1.4 to 2.7 cm. All of these examples contain one column of text. There is one exception: K.2252 (a three-column tablet containing *Gilgameš*) **[fig. 12]**, which is considerably bigger (width min and max 22.3 cm; height max 1.49 and height min 1.43 cm). The minimum and maximum ratio (H:W) both lie between 0.5 to 0.8. Calculated the other way around to allow comparison with the portrait format tablets described above, the minimum ratio (W:H) is 1.3 to 1.9, the maximum 1.3 to 2.0. These ratios show that with landscape tablets, the length of the longer side does not get as proportionally long as in portrait tablets.

If one takes into consideration only the portrait tablets with Library colophons, the height ranges between a minimum of 10.9 to 28.4 cm to a maximum of 10.9 to 28.7 cm. Nine tablets (out of 76) have a maximum height under 15 cm (K.48, K.49, K.235, K.35, K.1282, K.1284, K.2489, K.2847, K.2489, K.4045b). The width ranges from a minimum of 6.8 to 17.6 cm to a maximum of 7.0 cm to 18.3 cm. The maximum thickness ranges from 2.0 to 3.8 cm. The ratio maximum lies between 1.5 and 3.0, the minimum between 1.5 to 3.1 cm. Only tablets with two to three columns of text have a ratio maximum of 1.5.

The landscape one-column tablets with a Library colophon have a width between a minimum of 8.2 to 16.7 cm and a maximum of 8.2 to 16.7 cm, with a height between a minimum of 4.6 to 8.8 cm and a maximum of 4.9 to 9.0 cm. With K.887 the height could only be taken near the edge and is 3.9 cm. The thickness maximum lies between 1.8 to 2.5 cm. The minimum and maximum ratio (H:W) is 0.5 to 0.6. The maximum ratio (W:H) is 1.6 to 1.8 and the minimum 1.6 to 2.0 (K.3317, *Seed of Kingship*, having the ratio of 2.0). The only three column tablet is K.2252 (mentioned above); its maximum ratio (W:H) differs slightly, at 1.5.

In our sample, portrait and landscape tablets with a Library colophon fall within the general range of tablets. Yet, some interesting observations can be made. Apparently, the thickness of the tablets with a Library colophon has been standardised. Portrait format tablets are at least 10.0 cm high and 7.0 cm wide.

Nabû temple library tablets – written for that collection on behalf of Ashurbanipal – display some features divergent from the royal collection. An unusually high proportion are conspicuously flat on both sides (see 1905-4-9, 246; 1905-4-9, 412; BM 128083; Rm II 146). Similarly, they display markedly square edges, beyond what is typical for the royal collection (see BM 128083; K.9278; Rm II 199). Almost all clearly had

52 At the time of writing, it was not possible to include measurements of 'complete' tablets K.47, K.150, K.263, K.2175, K.2262, K.2354, K.2845, K.4345, K.4956.

53 In the case of 92 out of 172 'complete' tablets, the minimum ratio cannot be given, since the minimum height or width was not preserved.

54 In the case of 54 out of 172 'complete' portrait format tablets, no maximum ratio can be given, since the maximum height or width was not preserved.

55 For the purposes of this paper, 'absent' refers to the situation where neither a Library colophon nor one naming a private individual is present. Such tablets may include remarks typically found in colophons about the sources used, for example.

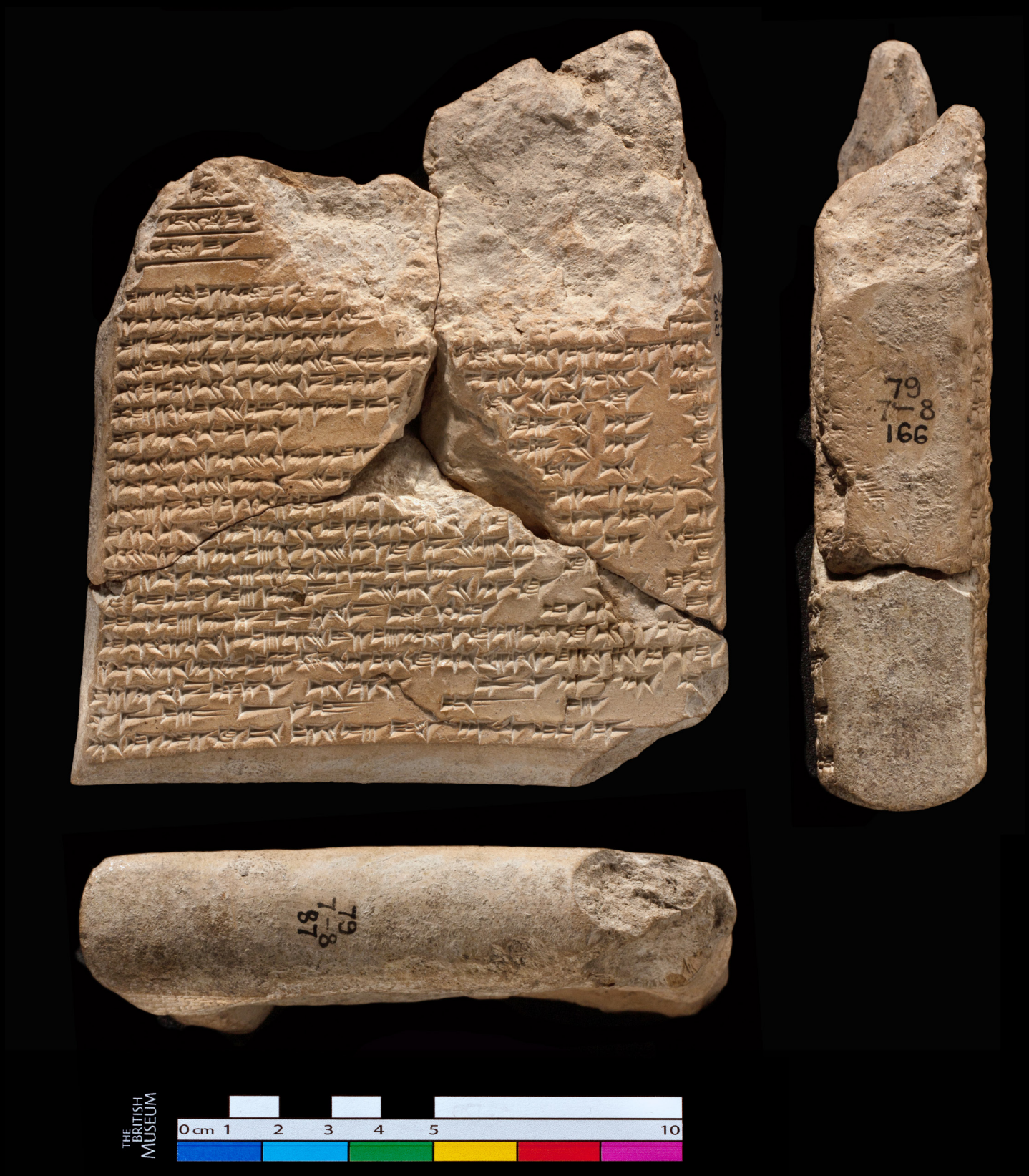

Figure 7 Nabû temple Library tablet (Rm II 146). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

square[56] (or very lightly rounded) edges more akin to what is found elsewhere at Nineveh, although at a much higher frequency. They are also often among the thickest tablets found at Nineveh. K.4614 and BM 128083 have text on the top edge, which is unusual for Library tablets. Lamentation texts with Ashurbanipal colophon *o* (from the temple library) are unusual in sometimes being found on two-column tablets.

The tablets with Ashurbanipal colophon *a*, added secondarily, form a mixed group. It includes numerous tablets that have been used over the years to illustrate exemplary Library tablets, such as K.162, the famous *Descent of Ishtar* tablet, and K.2252, Tablet 11 of *Gilgameš* (the Flood Tablet, as reconstructed by George Smith) **[fig. 12]**. K.65 (*Šurpu*) **[fig. 8]** looks much like a Library tablet, although with features less like the characteristic Library ones, and the inscription less carefully executed. This can be compared with K.150 **[fig. 8]**, a *Šurpu* tablet with an unambiguous Ashurbanipal Library colophon (*c*). K.197 (*Nabnītu*) could be another example.

Figure 8 Two copies of *Šurpu*. K.65 (Ashurbanipal colophon *a*); K.150 (Ashurbanipal colophon *c*).

Around 120 tablets from Nineveh are now known to mention Nabû-zuqup-kēnu in their colophons. These tablets originated from Nimrud. Their appearance is not as standardised as the Ashurbanipal tablets. The script height varies between 2 to 4 mm. With the shorter edges, there is a curvature visible both for portrait and landscape format tablets, although its degree is variable. With K.3068 and Rm 155 it looks slight, while with K.137, K.953, K.2171, K.2686, and K.3475 it is more pronounced **[fig. 9]**. The non-Library tablets in Assyrian script from Nineveh are a heterogeneous group. The shape of a tablet belonging to Issar-šumu-ēreš, K.2861 looks like the Ashurbanipal-style, but the layout of the text does not appear to be as carefully implemented **[fig. 12]**. Cohen (this volume) points out that the sign forms used are similar to those of the Library tablets, but this is not the case with all Issar-šumu-ēreš-tablets. For example, K.3384 shows – according to Cohen – similarities in layout and ductus to a Nabû-zuqup-kēnu tablet (K.2164). Interestingly, the shape of its upper and lower edges is different from what is seen with Library tablets.

56 Noticeably square edges are also seen in tablets containing lamentations found in other groups; e.g. K.257 (Babylonian script), K.4338a (Assyrian script, no colophon). It is not restricted to that group, however.

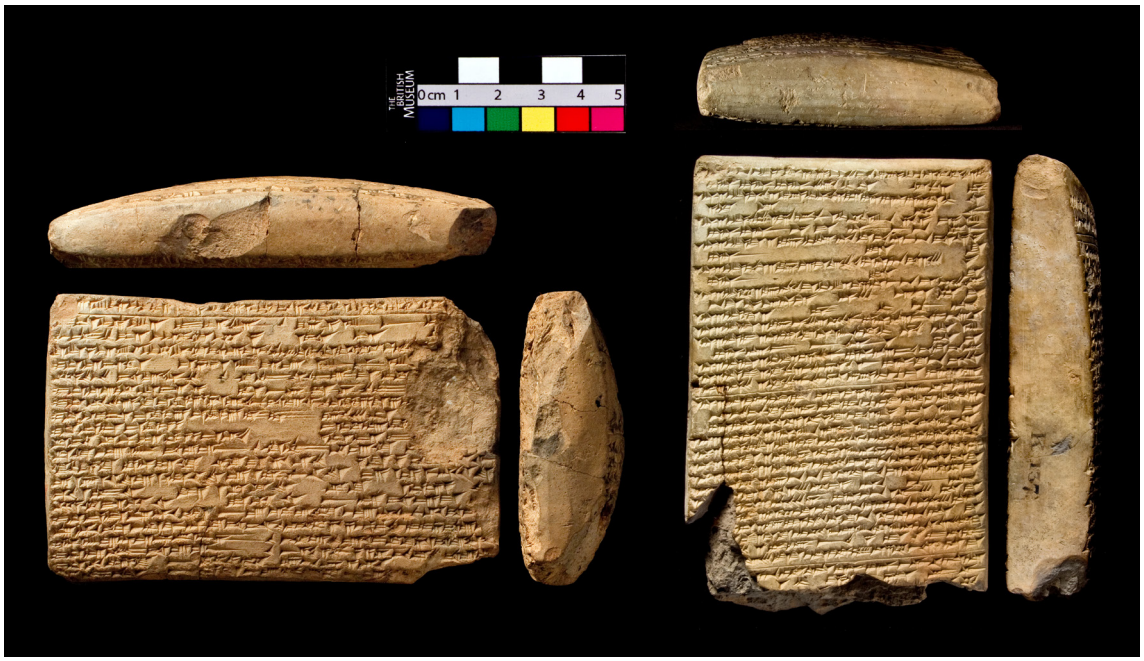

Figure 9 Nabû-zuqup-kēnu tablets (Rm 155; K.137). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence)

A group of tablets from outside Nineveh that merits mention here is the four Neo-Assyrian tablets bearing colophons that name as scribe Šumma-Balaṭ (VAT 10262, VAT 9000, VAT 10143, VAT 10270).[57] These are carefully finished tablets, which are neatly inscribed.[58] Given their find spots, VAT 10262 and VAT 9000 belong to the so-called library N2 in Assur.[59] VAT 10143 and VAT 10270 presumably belong also to this same library.[60] Possible dates for the N2 tablets range between 739 B.C. to post-canonical 618* B.C.[61] The dimensions of two of these tablets have been preserved completely. Based on available photographs and the secondary literature, some preliminary remarks on the shape of these tablets are possible. VAT 9000 **[fig. 10]**[62] is a two-column tablet in portrait format. Its measurements are 26.8 × 16.6 × 2.8 cm.[63] The ratio between its length and width (26.8:16.6) is approximately 1.6. The obverse is flat and the reverse bulks slightly outwards. The longer edges bend slightly inwards towards the middle of tablet. The shorter edges form straight lines from one corner to the other and are rounded. VAT 10143 **[fig. 10]**[64] is a completely preserved three-column portrait format tablet measuring 20.9 × 13.3 × 2.2 cm.[65] The ratio between its length and width is 1.6. The obverse is flat and the reverse bulks outwards. The edges, as far as they are preserved, form straight lines from one corner to the other, the longer edges – from the images at least **[fig. 10]** – might slightly bend inwards. The upper and left edge appear to be rounded. Similar dimensions and ratios are also attested at Nineveh. There is one major difference from Ashurbanipal tablets, however: the curvature of the shorter edges. This is significant. Judging by the photographs of the incompletely preserved Šumma-Balaṭ-texts VAT 10262[66] and VAT 10270,[67] the shorter edges of these portrait tablets are rounded and form once again straight lines; no curvature is present.

57 Hunger 1968, no. 246 and no. 261.
58 We would like to thank Joachim Marzahn for suggesting these tablets to us.
59 See Pedersén 1986, 31.
60 Pedersén 1986, 33.
61 Pedersén 1986, 29.
62 Fincke 2021, pl. XXX.
63 Fincke 2021, 80.
64 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, no. 185, 602-9.
65 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 211.
66 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, no. 156, 538-9.
67 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, no. 179, 572-85.

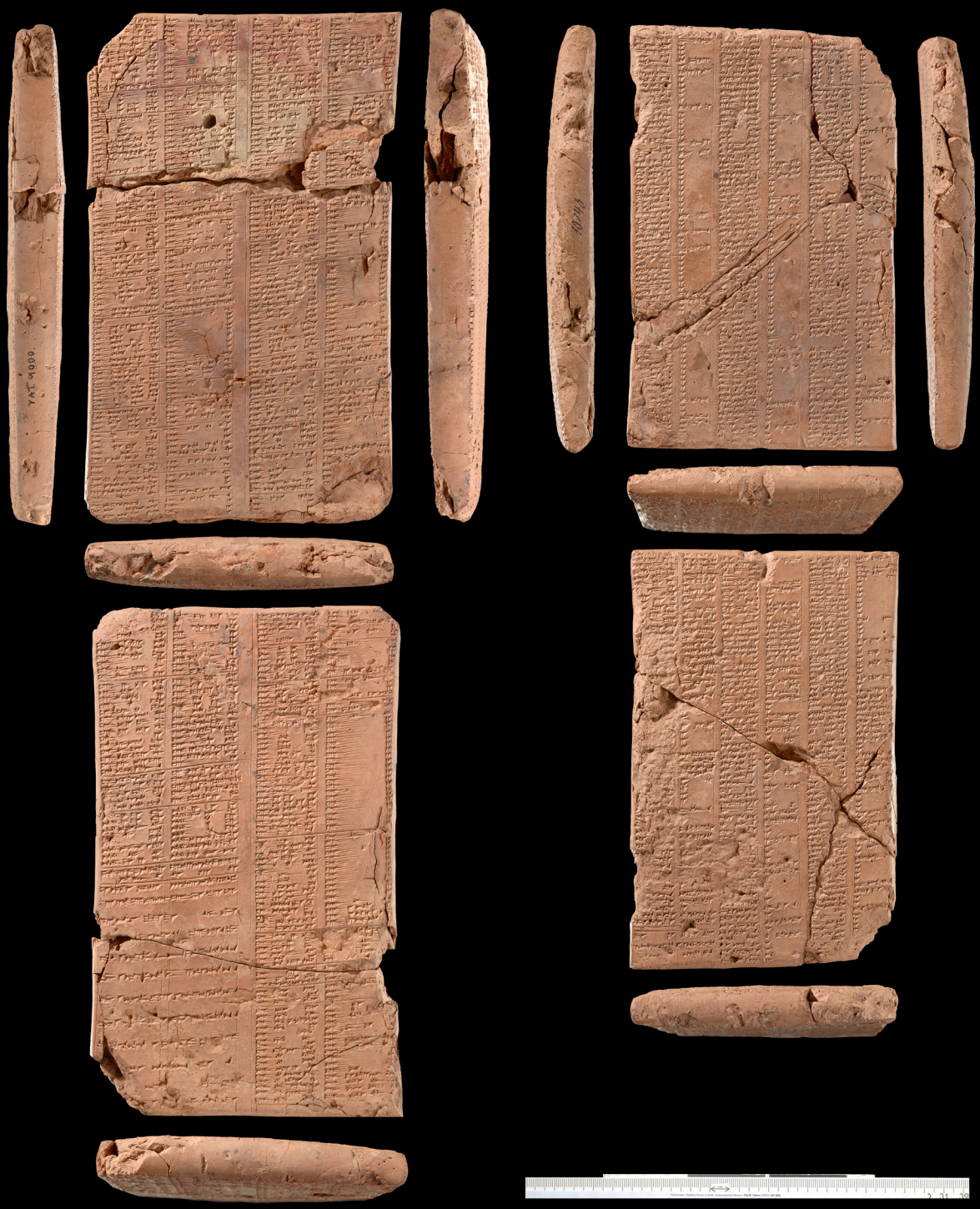

Figure 10 VAT 9000 and VAT 10143 tablets written by Šumma-Balaṭ.

The tablets in Babylonian script are of course another mixed group. Some (59) bear colophons naming individual scribes. These can appear very different from Library tablets **[fig. 12]**. Other members of the group lack a colophon, and thus belong also in the next group, which is also highly mixed. Some we would not expect to have had a colophon, such as school tablets, catalogues, or labels.[68] Many are written in Babylonian script, and often look distinct from Library tablets. Some others are Assyrian, but also look distinct from Library tablets.[69] Then there are some Assyrian literary texts (published in SAA 3) or royal rituals or cultic texts (published in SAA 20), which were not canonical in the sense that a text like *Enūma Eliš* was, that lack colophons. Those tablets exhibit a wide variety of often unusual types, and offer the impression of being less carefully completed than Library tablets proper. Also conspicuous here are text compositions that were not as canonised as others, referring here to a degree of fixity in content, tablet number and sequence. As examples, the omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*[70] and *Šumma Ālu*[71] could be cited. Many are one-column Babylonian sources, but there are also numerous one- and two-column Assyrian sources.

Other tablets contain texts that we might ordinarily expect to have been given a colophon. The tablets sometimes look indistinguishable from tablets with a Library colophon. Some could once have been marked with Ashurbanipal *a* in ink, of course. It is not yet possible to detect traces of lost ink. Various groups could be identified. A high proportion of tablets without colophon are in landscape format. Of these, some are expected: *Gilgameš*, baby incantations, excerpts, commentaries. Others are less immediately explicable. Might we see among them intermediary tablets in an editorial process?[72] This format was typical for school exercises among other ephemeral documents. The phenomenon of extispicy queries may be relevant here. While the queries – which are particularly roughly made and inscribed – are in landscape format, the subsequent reports are in portrait format. The exceptions to this pattern (that is, queries in portrait format) are actually archival copies.[73] One further tablet deserves mention here: AO 5372,[74] the famous *Eighth Campaign of Sargon*, which in many respects looks like an Ashurbanipal Library tablet.[75]

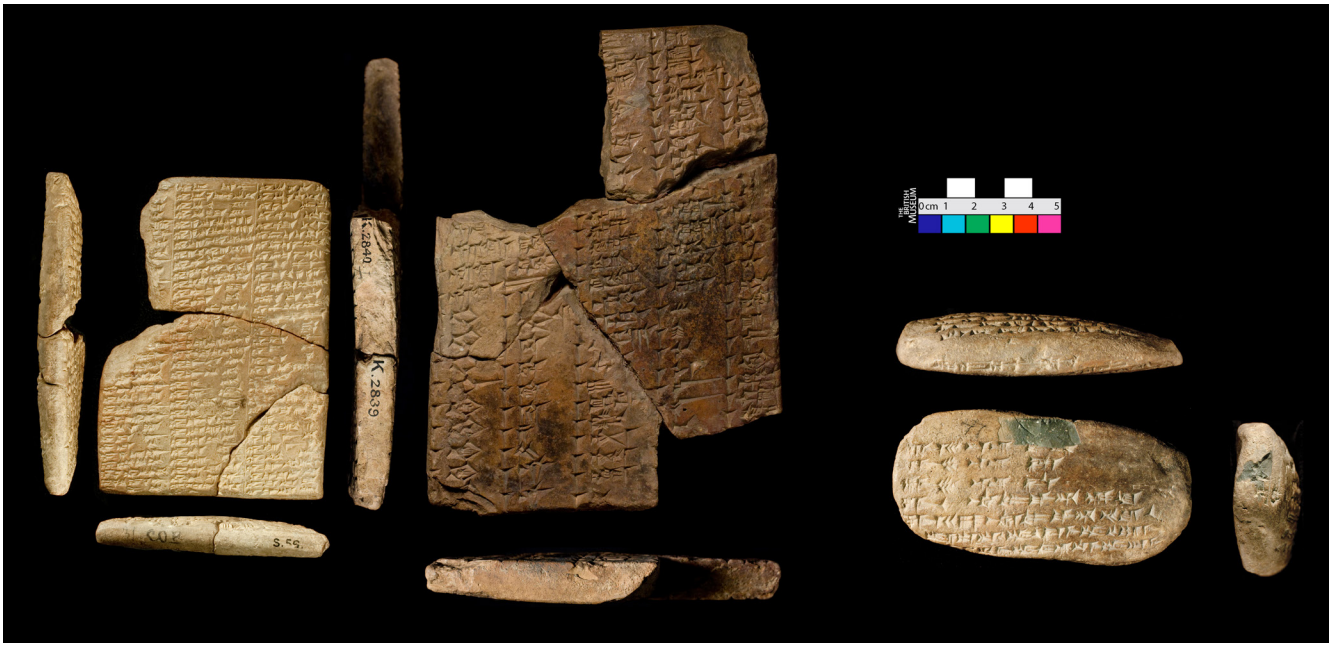

Figure 11 Unusual lexical tablets: K.4395 (*Practical Lu*); K.2839 (*Syllabary A*); K.1520 (*Practical Vocabulary of Nineveh*). All of these seem to be school tablets.

68 Catalogues and labels are not included here.

69 See, for example, K.3846, already identified as anomalous by Koch-Westenholz 2000, 105.

70 See Al-Rawi, George 2006, 50 and Heeßel 2018, 256 with further references.

71 See Freedman 2005, 3.

72 See further two *namburbi* catalogues interpreted by Maul 1994, 196 as being witness of an editorial process. This is taken up by Steinert 2018, 163 and Schnitzlein 2023a, 313-14. For a discussion of the function of catalogues see Steinert 2018. For chains of sources, see now Simkó (this volume).

73 See SAA 4: 282 note to no. 299.

74 `https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010166028`. It is very large: 24 × 37 × 4 cm.

75 We might even consider K.3751, a royal inscription of Tiglath-pileser III.

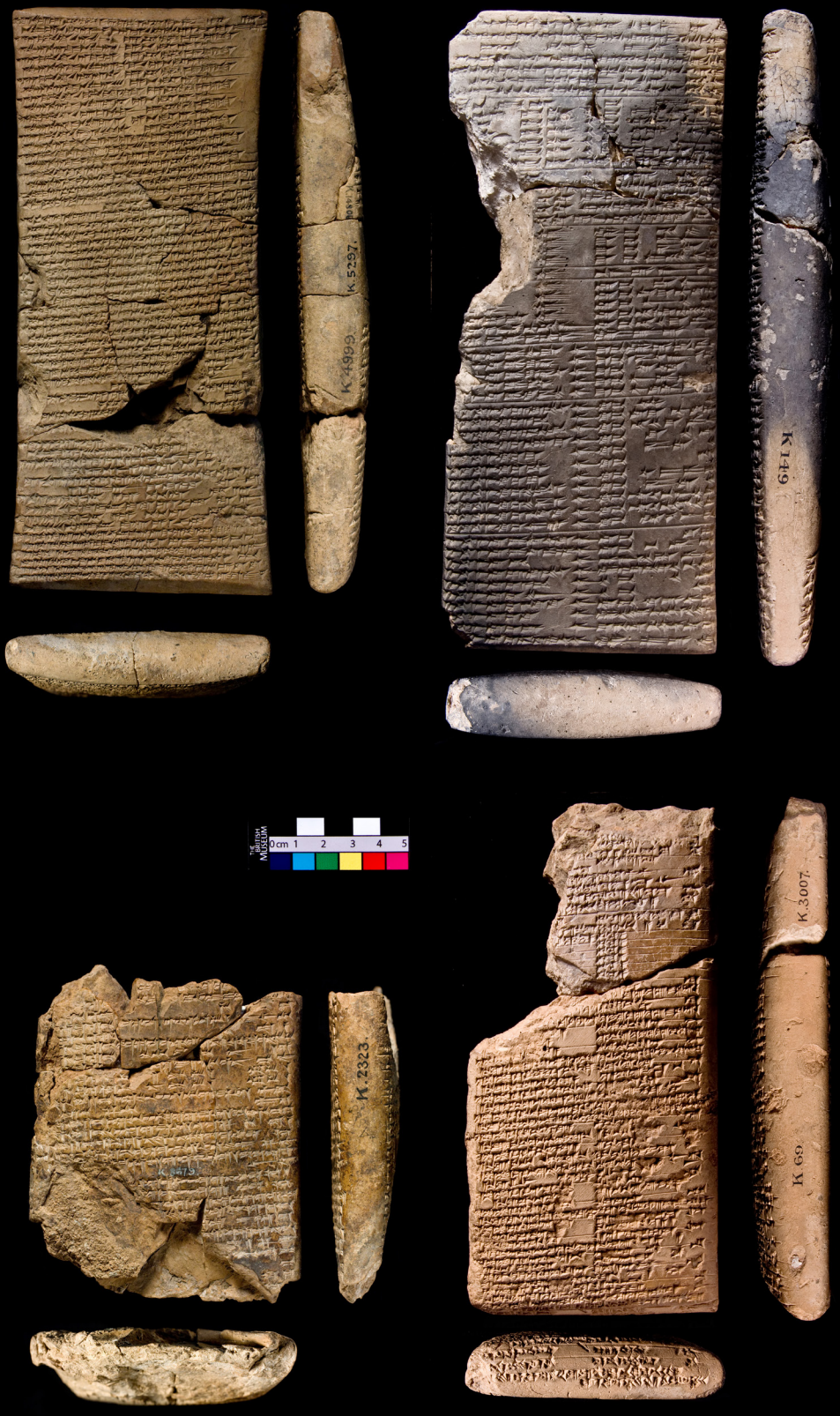

Figure 12 A tablet of Issar-šumu-ēreš (K.2861); a tablet without colophon (K.149; *Šumma Ālu* excerpt in Assyrian script); a Library tablet in Babylonian script (K.2323; extispicy); a Babylonian tablet (K.69; balag, colophon of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu).

5 Basic Typology of Tablets Produced for Ashurbanipal's Library

The use of tablet types correlates strongly with textual types (i.e. genres) and, via both of these, with colophon types. The copies of texts clearly produced for Ashurbanipal's Library (meaning here those bearing Ashurbanipal colophons) were typically written on standardised tablet types. That is to say, tablets bearing *Gilgameš* are written on landscape format tablets in three columns. Likewise, copies of the *Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia* were written on large portrait format tablets in two columns. This is not to suggest that all such tablets were of identical proportions; certainly, there is no evidence to suggest manufacture from templates or moulds. The typology of tablets within a composition, and within and between genres, from various sites, can help reveal how a manuscript was viewed, as well as its intended function. In this section can be found a selection of examples of compositions from across the range of genres, as found at Nineveh, together with duplicates found at other sites.[76]

A notable exception to this standardisation is provided by *Maqlû*, for which copies of Tablet I (which is shorter than the others) are one-column, while the other Tablets are all two-column. Similarly, *Šurpu* is typically written on two-column tablets, except for Tablets IV, VII–IX, which are regularly written on one-column tablets.[77] This is again determined by text-length.[78] The complementary distribution of column formats for these two witchcraft-related magical compositions is a clear indication that genre or composition was not a sole determining principle in typology. *Maqlû* also illustrates another point. Schwemer noted that the dimensions of members of a set of tablets can vary from one tablet to the next.[79] *Maqlû* and *Šurpu* sources look similar to each other **[figs 8, 16]**.

6 Literature

Account of Creation K.4175 is a two-column tablet in portrait format.

Advice to a Prince DT 1 is a one-column tablet in portrait format. The Babylonian source (IM 77807) is similar.

Angim this text was written on one-column tablets in portrait format. Cooper divided the sources into three groups, based on a combination of features including tablet shape.[80] One group displays features used exclusively for *Angim* and *Lugale*. Middle Assyrian sources were either one- or two-column tablets. At Neo-Assyrian Nimrud there are one-column tablets of both *Lugale* and *Angim*.

Assyrian collection proverbs this text was written on two-column tablets in portrait format.

Atrahasīs the Standard Babylonian version is too poorly preserved at Nineveh. The only sufficiently preserved source of the Neo-Assyrian version is a three-column portrait format tablet.

Counsels of a Pessimist K.1453 is a one-column tablet in landscape format.

Counsels of Wisdom this text is found on one- and two-column tablets in portrait format. Babylonian source BM 38484 and Borsippa source BM 33851 are two-column tablets.

Enki and Ninmah most sources are two-column tablets in portrait format. K.3364 is a one-column tablet in portrait format.

Enūma Eliš Most sources are one-column portrait format tablets. BM 98909 (Babylonian script) has two columns; it contains two tablets of text (I–II). One-column tablets are the norm elsewhere too, as at Sult-

76 The following survey does not pretend to be exhaustive for compositions or genres, or sometimes for manuscripts within compositions. It should, nevertheless, be illustrative of the corpus.

77 We would like to thank Frank Simons for bringing this to our attention.

78 The phenomenon is not confined to a single genre. For example, Koch 2015, 32 notes that while Tablet 1 of *Bārûtu* chapter 5 was written on two-column tablets, Tablet 2 was written on one-column tablets, as was Tablet 15 of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Similarly, the *Emesal Vocabulary* was two-column for the first two Tablets, but three-column for Tablet 3.

79 Schwemer 2017, 45.

80 Cooper 1978, 35.

antepe and Ashur. They are also typical at Babylonian sites. A two-column tablet is also known at Ashur.

Erra and Išum one- (K.1282) or two-column (K.2619) tablets in portrait format, both at Nineveh and at other Assyrian sites.

Founding of Eridu one-column tablets in portrait format.

Gilgameš George notes that a three-column format was standard for the Standard Babylonian version of the text;[81] this applies to manuscripts from Babylonian sites as well as Assyrian, whether Nineveh or elsewhere. A small number of exceptions are known. The author suggests that Nineveh source Sm 2122 may have had only two columns per side.[82] At Sultantepe there is a one-column tablet in portrait format containing only half a Tablet's worth of text. At Nimrud there is a four-column tablet (containing text from two Tablets) and another that was either two or four columns. Two Babylonian sources seem to have been two-column tablets.

Ludlul one-column tablets are standard at both Assyrian and Babylonian sites, although a two-column tablet and a three-column tablet also exist, at Ashur and Babylon respectively. See further Hätinen (this volume, "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* in Ashurbanipal's Library").

Lugale this text was written on one-column tablets in portrait format. See further under *Angim* above.

Proverbs these are found on two- or three-column tablets in portrait format.

Seed of Kingship the sources are one-column tablets in landscape format. A detailed study of the tablets containing this composition will form part of the dissertation of Tonio Mitto, University of Munich.

Šamaš Hymn the sources are two-column tablets in portrait format. Sources from Sippar follow the same format.

Slaying of Labbu Rm 282 is a one-column tablet in portrait format.

Theodicy two-column tablet in portrait format. Two-column tablets are also found at Neo-Assyrian Ashur, and Late Babylonian Babylon and Sippar.

Toil of Babylon two-column tablet in portrait format. A one-column tablet is known from Late Babylonian Sippar.[83]

Lamentations usually one-column tablets in portrait format. Gabbay discusses the tablet formats of Emesal texts.[84] In the first millennium, such texts were usually written on one-column tablets, copied for a specific use, and could be labelled IM.GÍD.DA. The occasional two-column tablets, called *tuppu*, are suggested to be reliable reference copies. *Balag*s in Babylonian script found at Nineveh can sometimes be written on two-column tablets. Old Babylonian *eršemma*s tended to be written on one-column tablets, while *balag*s could be on multi-column tablets.

81 George 2003, 394.
82 George 2003, 407.
83 Pers. comm. E. Jiménez 21 March 2024.
84 Gabbay 2014, 230-3.

Figure 13 *Advice to a Prince* (DT 1); *Enūma Eliš* (K.3473); *Šamaš Hymn* (K.3182); *Gilgameš* (K.2252); *Lugale* (K.133).

7 Lexical

Aa/Ea two-column tablets in portrait format.[85] Babylonian tablets from Borsippa/Babylon, Nippur, and Sippar share the two-column format (e.g. BM 38128). A few examples are known from Babylonia of one-column tablets, offering only a third or a half of a Tablet. Commentaries are one-column tablets. Middle Assyrian predecessors can be two- (e.g. BM 108862) or three-column (e.g. VAT 10172), except for excerpts. *Reciprocal Ea* seems to be written on three-column tablets in portrait format (e.g. Rm II 158).

Alan Lānu two-column tablets in portrait format.

An Anum two-column tablets in portrait format. The same format is found at Middle Assyrian Nineveh,

85 The column count refers to sets of related sub-columns rather than the individual sub-columns.

Neo- and Middle Assyrian Ashur, and Late Babylonian Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, and Kish. One-column tablets are also attested. K.204 contains the short Tablet VII. K.52 seems to contain extracts; K.9788 is an unusual two-column extract tablet.

Ana Ittišu two-column tablets in portrait format. The same format is found at Ashur, in Middle Assyrian manuscripts (VAT 8875, VAT 9552).

Antagal two-column tablets in portrait format.

Diri two-column tablets in portrait format. The same format is found at Neo-Assyrian Ashur and Late Babylonian Babylon. One-column tablets from Late Babylonian Sippar and Babylon contain only part of a Tablet.

Emesal Vocabulary most sources are two-column tablets in portrait format. The same format is found at Middle Assyrian Ashur. Sources of Tablet 1 seem to be one-column tablets.

Erimhuš two-column tablets in portrait format. The same format is attested at Middle and Neo-Assyrian Ashur, as well as Late Babylonian Babylon, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk. Late Babylonian Uruk also knew a three-column format.

Great Star List this list is usually found on four-column tablets in portrait format, with a word list appended. A three-column tablet is also known, without the appended word list (K.250).

HAR-ra usually two-column tablets in portrait format. This format is known elsewhere, as for example at Late Babylonian Sippar. A three-column format is also common (e.g. K.4257, Rm 608), as in Late Babylonian sources from Nippur and elsewhere (AO 2131). Excerpt tablets are known as one-column tablets in either portrait (K.165) or landscape (K.945) format. Middle Assyrian sources from Ashur also attest a three-column format.

Izi most sources are two-column tablets in portrait format, but three-column tablets are also known. Two-column tablets are also known at Middle Assyrian Ashur, Neo-Assyrian Khorsabad and Nimrud, and Late Babylonian Sippar. Three-column tablets are also known at Late Babylonian Sippar. Middle Assyrian Ashur also attests a four-column arrangement.

Lu two-column portrait format. Compare K.4395, which contains *Practical Lu*, a non-canonical text. It is three-column tablet in portrait format whose size and shape differs markedly from tablets containing Lu **[fig. 11]**.

Malku two-column tablets in portrait format. Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe attests two- and three-column tablets (and even one with three on one side, two on the other), while Neo-Assyrian Nimrud attests two-column tablets in both Assyrian and Babylonian script.

MUR-gud two- and three-column tablets in portrait format. Sources of this composition follow the typology of lexical tablets rather than commentary tablets, implying that it was viewed in antiquity as a lexical text in its own right.

Nabnītu two-column tablets in portrait format. K.4314 appears to be a two-column rather than three-column tablet (pace MSL 16 267). K.4165 is, exceptionally, three-column. A three-column arrangement is also known at Neo-Assyrian Nimrud.

Syllabary A multi-column tablets in portrait format.

S^{a} Vocabulary two-column tablets in portrait format are standard; also at Middle and Neo-Assyrian Ashur.

S^{b} Vocabulary three-column tablets in portrait format.

Triple Column God List two(or more)-column tablets in portrait format.

Figure 14 *Ana Ittišu* (K.251; Ashurbanipal colophon *a*); *Antagal* (K.40); *Malku* (K.4375); *MUR-gud* (Sm 13).

8 Omens

Alamdimmû the physiognomic omens are typically one-column tablets in portrait format, with some two-column. *Ahû* and excerpt tablets use landscape format [fig. 4]. Late Babylonian Uruk attests a two-column format.

Bārûtu most tablets are one-column tablets in portrait format, with some in two-column format. Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe attests one- and two-column tablets. Commentaries are typically two-column tablets in portrait format, with a few three-column tablets and exceptionally one-column tablets (K.2146, without colophon; K.3068, Nabû-zukup-kēnu; K.182; K.3617). Babylonian script commentaries tend instead to be one-column and usually in landscape format.

Enūma Anu Enlil celestial omens use portrait format tablets. Most are one-column, with some two-column or even three-column (e.g. K.270). Fincke notes that the three-column format was only used for *Sammeltafeln*. Interestingly, the three-column tablets from other sites are either also a *Sammeltafel* (Babylon) or treat two Tablets as a single unit (Ashur). Two-column tablets are known from other Assyrian and Babylonian sites.[86] Excerpt tablets use landscape format. Commentaries are known as one-column tablets in either portrait or landscape tablets. One-column tablets are known from other Assyrian and Babylonian sites. The serialised commentary *Šumma Sîn Ina Tāmartišu* is found on one-column tablets in portrait format.

Hemerology the *Babylonian Almanac* is found on three-column tablet K.106, in portrait format. At Late Babylonian Borsippa a four-column tablet in landscape tablet is known. At Late Babylonian Sippar, there are six-column landscape format tablets (as also at Babylon) containing the entire text, with one-column portrait format tablets containing only part of it. The *Prostration Hemerology* is found on one-column portrait format tablets. The same arrangement is known from Late Babylonian Babylon. *Inbu Bēl Arhi* is typically found on two-column tablets in portrait format, but an example of a one-column tablet is also found.

Iqqur Īpuš one- and two-column tablets in portrait are found, with a one-column landscape arrangement also known. Fincke notes that a recension from Ashur uses four-column tablets, while others from Nineveh use one- or two-column tablets.[87]

Šumma Ālu terrestrial omens (both Assyrian and Babylonian) are typically found on one-column tablets in portrait format, with some two-column. Neo-Assyrian Nimrud attests one-column format; Sultanepe one- and two-column format. This applies whether the tablet is in Assyrian or Babylonian script, and whether it bears a Library colophon or not. Excerpt tablets use landscape format.

Šumma Izbu sources are usually one-column tablets in portrait format, although landscape format is also known. Excerpts are also typically one-column tablets in portrait format. At Nimrud there are several two-column tablets in Babylonian script.

Šumma Sîn Ina Tāmartišu one-column tablets in portrait format.

Tamītu one- and two-column tablets in portrait format. K.2383 is three-column, as is the source from Neo-Assyrian Nimrud. K.2608 is landscape format.

Ziqīqu sources are typically found on two-column tablets in portrait format. K.2266 is a four-column tablet provisionally assigned to *Ziqīqu*. Similarly, Sm 801 is a three-column tablet.

86 Fincke 2013, 583-4.

87 Fincke 2013, 584.

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Figure 15 *Šumma Ālu* (K.236; Ashurbanipal colophon *a*); *Šumma Izbu* (K.2007; Ashurbanipal colophon *a*); *Enūma Anu Enlil* (K.3563); *Ziqīqu* (K.25).

9 Magic/Medicine

Bīt Mēseri the text is found on variously one- two- and three-column tablets in portrait format.

Bīt Rimki the text is found on mostly on one-column tablets in portrait format, with some two- and three-column tablets. Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe attests a one-column portrait format.

Bīt Salā' Mê the typical arrangement is one-column tablets in portrait format. Late Babylonian tablet BM 47696 is two-column.

Lamaštu tablets of the *pirsu* version (apparently created at Nineveh, and shared at Sultantepe) use two-column tablets in portrait format for Tablets 1-2 and one-column for the ritual tablet, Tablet 3. Sources containing the entire text use three-column tablets. Tablets of the *tuppu* version (Ashur and Babylonia) use mostly two-column format, with a source from Sippar in three-column.

Maqlû Most sources are two-column tablets in portrait format. Some one-column sources are known. Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe attests two-column tablets.

Mīs Pî this composition is found on one- and two-column tablets in portrait format. The difference seems to be partly one of tablets and partly different editions of the material.[88] Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe attests one-column tablets.

Muššu'u most sources are one-column tablets in portrait format. The same arrangement is found at Late Babylonian Ur, Sippar, and Babylon. A two-column format is found at Neo-Assyrian Nimrud.

Namburbi most *namburbi*s are one-column portrait format tablets, although a landscape format is also known (K.1363).

Namerimburuda most sources are one-column tablets in portrait format, although two-column tablets are known; also at Neo-Assyrian Ashur and Nimrud, and Late Babylonian Sippar.[89]

Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia all sources are unusually large two-column tablets in portrait format. The exceptional size of these tablets is remarkable. The text could instead have been distributed over a larger number of smaller tablets. Presumably, this choice implies a deeper significance. We might speculate that the size conveyed a certain special status, or maybe the size is what was required to allow the 12 treatises of the series to be contained on 50 tablets, with those numbers carrying meaning.[90] The related series of therapeutic medical texts, the very poorly preserved *Nineveh Medical Compendium*, seems to have been written on three-column landscape format tablets (see Simkó this volume). Related material in Babylonian script is found on one-column and multi-column tablets, the former of which might have been intermediate sources in the editing of the *Encyclopaedia*.

Šurpu typically two-column tablets in portrait format, with one-column tablets when the chapter is short. This applies to manuscripts in Assyrian and Babylonian script. The distribution is followed by tablets from Ashur, Nimrud, and Sultantepe too.

Udughul this composition is found in two- three- and four-column tablets in portrait format.

Uruanna Fincke identifies three groups of sources (narrow one-column tablets, broader one-column tablets, and tablets with more than one column), plus small extract tablets.[91] Most sources are on two-column tablets. The same arrangement is known from Middle Assyrian Nimrud and Ashur, as well as Neo-Assyrian Ashur. Three-column sources are known; also from Middle and Neo-Assyrian Ashur.[92]

88 See Walker, Dick 2001, 31.

89 See Maul 2019, 8.

90 As suggested by Panayotov 2018, 106.

91 Fincke 2021, 31.

92 See further Fincke 2021, 48-9.

Figure 16 *Bīt Salā' Mê* (K.2106); *Maqlû* (K.2950); *Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia* (K.61); *Udughul* (K.2507).

10 Conclusions

It is clear from the above survey that standardisation of tablet formats was present in the Library. It is also apparent that the degree of standardisation correlates positively with the degree of canonisation of the text in question. A particular instance of this in action can be seen in the various texts seen as commentaries.[93]

Several general observations can be made. Firstly, there is a very strong preference for portrait format tablets.[94] In this regard, the corpus stands in contrast to Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian ones, where landscape tablets gained in popularity.[95] Secondly, there is a strong preference for tablets having two columns per face[96] when one is not suitable. This pattern seems to be stronger than at contemporary Ashur or Late Babylonian sites, where the three-column format appears to be retained more often. This feature, together with many others such as Ashurbanipal's patronage of an editorial programme covering various scholarly compositions, his implementation of a new characteristic tablet shaping, the Library script, and the consistent application of colophons, for example, suggest that his Library and its activities should be seen as innovative and cutting edge, rather than a conservative accumulation of pre-existing material. This, of course, should be understood within the relatively conservative context of cuneiform culture, and its philosophical view of practical scholarly knowledge as revealed to men by the gods rather than created by them. Great scholars could nevertheless edit material into a new form. It is noteworthy that the texts newly edited in the Library typically adopt two-column format. The *Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia* is perhaps the ultimate manifestation of this; Library scribes seem to have taken one-column Babylonian sources, reworked their content via one-column tablets into the final product – deluxe editions in the form of sets of large, two-column tablets.[97] One-column tablets seem to have been used as intermediary devices more widely in the Library.

When faced with lengthy texts, Library scribes usually preferred either to increase the number or the size of the tablets rather than the number of columns beyond two; a rare exception is presented in the case of *Lamaštu*, when it was possible to include the entire text on a single three-column tablet. The preferences for portrait orientation and two-column format make the *Gilgameš* tablets all-the-more noteworthy, characterised by their consistent use of both landscape orientation and three-column format. These two habits were traditional and apparently somewhat old-fashioned looking by the seventh century. The retention of them for *Gilgameš* suggests a special reverence for that text. *Seed of Kingship* is also unusual in this regard, being written consistently on one-column tablets in landscape format. It is further noteworthy that landscape tablets are almost always in one-column format, despite their orientation favouring multi-column use.

Many literary texts are found on one-column tablets. As a group of compositions, the lexical corpus shows a very high degree of uniformity, with a marked preference for two-column portrait format tablets. While some examples of three-column tablets are known, they cluster in certain compositions. A few are found in *Izi*, with others in HAR-*ra* and its standardised commentary MUR-*gud*. The *Great Star List* is exceptional in its favouring of four-column tablets. That text is not really part of the lexical corpus proper, however, being more of a technical tool in list format. Copies of the elementary *Syllabary A* is found on multi-column tablets; in this case, the phenomenon is probably explicable by the very brief nature of its entries. The omen corpus exhibits a noticeable tendency towards one-column tablets, which is perhaps surprising given the length of the compositions. The magical compositions often favour one-column tablets, although the pattern is mixed. Rituals are typically on one-column tablets, witchcraft and medicine more usually on two-column.

Apart from the carefully controlled script, with sign heights between 2 to 3 mm, the shape of the tablets with Library colophons is also clearly standardised, regardless of how many columns its surface is divided into. Tablets bearing Ashurbanipal colophon *a* seem to conform to this suite of features that are standard for tablets bearing the other Library colophons. The same can often be said of many tablets that lack a colophon altogether. Tablets bearing the colophons of private individuals, by con-

93 On which see Frahm 2011, 28-9.

94 We leave aside here exceptional object types such as the astrolabes or anatomical models.

95 See here Anor, Cohen 2018, 204.

96 Fincke 2021, 49 comments on the general popularity of two-column tablets in Neo-Assyrian Nineveh, Nimrud, and Sultantepe, while Ashur more often retained three- or four-column formats.

97 See Simkó (this volume) for the chain of sources in the editing process. The choice of the rare three-column portrait format for the related medical text, the *Nineveh Medical Compendium* is striking. Its explanation may become clearer when the status of that composition is established.

trast, form a more noticeably heterogeneous group. Many of them differ clearly from Library tablets. Given all of the above, this would suggest that tablets bearing colophon *a* do not represent such a highly mixed group of tablets from divergent sources. Different explanations of the type are possible. They were perhaps not originally intended for inclusion in the Library, but could plausibly have belonged to Ashurbanipal (and presumably would have been written specifically for him). In this case, the Library conventions follow standards established prior to Ashurbanipal's time on the throne.[98] Another possibility would be that this colophon type indicates an administrative process of approving tablets written by another scribe.[99] A thorough analysis of the different tablet groups, including also other features, is a desideratum.

The typology apparent among the Library tablets may also represent an answer to the unresolved question as to how scribes would find what they sought in such a large collection. One might speculate that labels of some sort were attached to the storage system. Here rough tablets K.1400 and K.1539 might be adduced:

(K.1400) '*Šumma Ālu*; collection of excerpts'
(K.1539) '*Enūma Anu Enlil*; collection of excerpts'

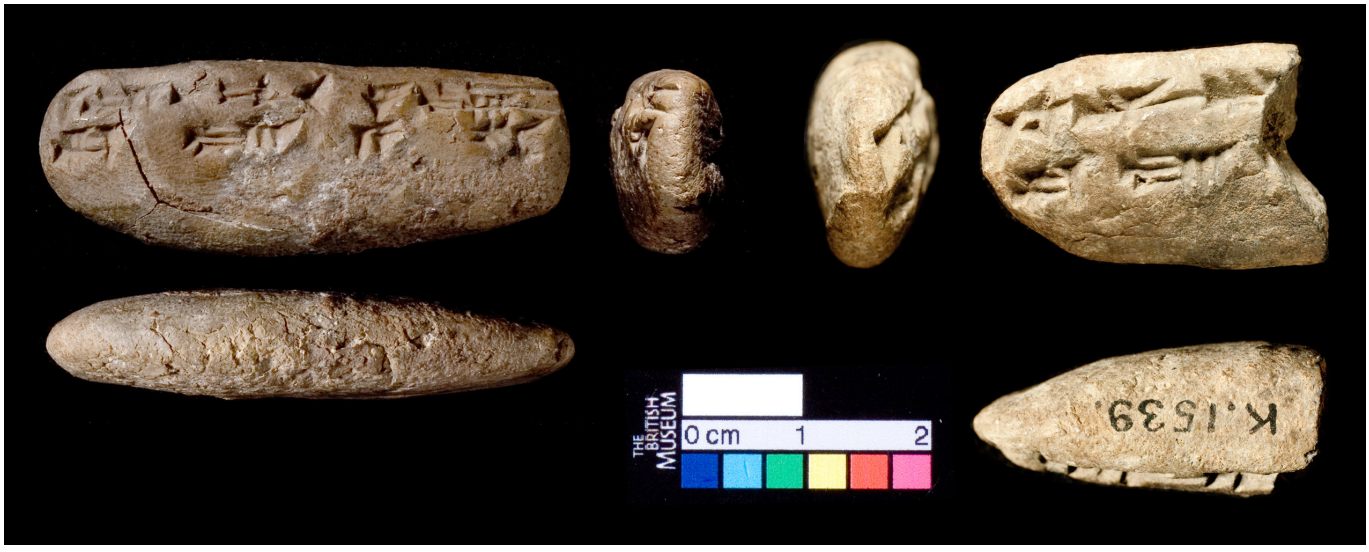

Figure 17 The two so-called library labels, K.1400 and K.1539. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

However, a convincing explanation of how they would have functioned has not yet been offered (there are no perforations or traces of affixation, for example), and their status as shelf navigation labels remains unproven. Their appearance reflects that of more ephemeral documentation than library material.[100] We can plausibly assume that the scribes operating in the Library were sufficiently familiar with it that they knew roughly where to find any given text, as do modern users of academic and other libraries.[101] Typology represents a means to differentiate, and therefore locate, tablets. Texts look different from each other; anyone can distinguish even from distance a complete tablet with a lexical text from a medical compendium from a literary text. In a way roughly analogous to the difference between a series of small blue books and another of large cream-coloured books, a scribe could quickly and easily have told the difference between a long, thin one-column tablet and short, wide two-column tablet.

98 Cohen (in this volume) describes the career and scholarly impact on the Library of Ashurbanipal's chief scribe, Issar-šumu-ēreš. She notes a change between his earlier material and the later material, which resembles Library documents.

99 See here Schnitzlein 2023a, 350-1.

100 All catalogues/inventories from Nineveh look like administrative tablets rather than library tablets. The only exception is K.2529, *Kalûtu*-catalogue (Ashurbanipal colophon *o*); cf. Schnitzlein 2023a, 319 fn. 1403 for references.

101 SAA 8: no. 19 (where a specific tablet in the royal collection was requested for reference), for example, points to an administration of the Library; see Schnitzlein 2023a, 309-10.

11 Appendix

To facilitate further research, we provide here a list of all known scholarly tablets found at Nineveh whose full original height and width are preserved. After each museum number comes (text type/script type: Assyrian or Babylonian/number of columns/colophon type: Asb = Ashurbanipal, pr = private, Nzk = Nabû-zukup-kēnu, Iše = Issar-šumu-ēreš, - = absent, [ ] = broken).

80-7-19, 98 (*namburbi*/B/1/-)
80-7-19, 152 (literary/A/1/Asb d)
81-2-4, 207 (*eršemma*/A/1/Asb a)
81-7-27, 22 (*Iqqur īpuš*/A/1/-)
81-7-27, 137 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/B/1/-)
82-3-23, 1 (witchcraft/A/1/-)
91-5-9, 213 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/-)
AO 7092 (Šarru/A/2/Asb d)
BM 98582 (*namburbi*/B/1/pr)
DT 1 (*Advice to a Prince*/A/1/Asb d)
DT 40 (Á = *Idu*/A/2/Asb b)
K.1 (*Šumma Ālu* commentary/B/1/-)
K.2 (*kalûtu* cat/A/1/-)
K.20 (ikrib/A/1/-)
K.25 (*Ziqīqu*/A/2/[ ])
K.32 (hemerology/A/2/[ ])
K.35 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/A/1/Asb k var)
K.39 (*Nabnītu*/A/2/Asb d)
K.40 (*Nabnītu*/A/2/Asb d)
K.43 (*Maqlû*/A/1/Asb c)
K.45 (*Šumma Ālu* /B/1/-)
K.47 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/2/Asb a)
K.48 (building ritual/A/1/Asb a)
K.49 (*Mīs Pî*/A/2/Asb b)
K.52 (*An Anum*/A/1/Asb a)
K.57 (omens/A/1/-)
K.59 (extispicy/A/1/Asb l)
K.61 (*Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia*/A/2/Asb q)
K.62 (*Syllabary A*/A/3/Asb c/d)
K.65 (*Šurpu*/A/2/Asb a)
K.72 (witchcraft/A/1/Asb c)
K.90 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/B/1/-)
K.105 (*Alamdimmû*/A/1/Asb a)
K.106 (*Babylonian Almanac*/A/1/-)
K.110 (*Syllable Alphabet B*/A/3/[ ])
K.111 (*Udughul*/B/2/[ ])
K.116 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/Asb d)
K.118 (*Šumma Ālu* commentary/B/1/-)
K.128 (*ikrib*/B/1/-)
K.130 (*Alamdimmû*/A/1/Asb a)
K.135 (*Syllable Alphabet B* palaeographic/2/A/-)
K.136b (*Šurpu*/A/1/Asb c)
K.140 (*šu'ila*/A/1/Asb c)
K.148 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/B/1/-)
K.149 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/-)
K.150 (*Šurpu*/A/2/Asb c)
K.156 (*Zipa*/A/2/Asb a)
K.162 (*Descent Ishtar*/A/1/Asb a)
K.163 (witchcraft/A/1/Asb c)

K.164 (SAA 20/A/1/-)
K.165 (HAR-*ra*/A/1/-)
K.190 (*Šumma Ālu*/B/1/-)
K.191 (*Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia*/A/2/Asb q)
K.197 (*Nabnītu*/A/2/Asb a)
K.199 (*Ana Ittīšu*/A/2/Asb a)
K.210 (*Iqqur Īpuš*/A/1/-)
K.213 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/1/[ ])
K.235 (*šu'ila*/A/1/Asb i)
K.236 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/Asb a)
K.241 (PNs/A/3/-)
K.249 (*Ušburruda*/A/3/[ ])
K.251 (*Ana Ittīšu*/A/2/Asb a)
K.253 (verbal paradigms/A/4/-)
K.256 (*Bīt Rimki*/A/1/Asb c)
K.257 (*balag*/B/1/[ ])
K.261 (*Sagig*/A/1/Asb d)
K.263 (*Šumma Amēlu*/A/1/-)
K.270 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/3/[ ])
K.717 (extispicy/A/1/-)
K.872 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/A/1/pr)
K.879 (*kiutu*/B/1/-)
K.885 (witchcraft/A/1/Asb c)
K.887 (magic/A/1/Asb c)
K.888 (ritual memorandum/B/1/-)
K.890 (SAA 3/A/1/-)
K.953 (celestial commentary/A/1/Nzk)
K.959 (*Šumma Immeru*/A/1/Asb a)
K.1279 (*Mīs Pî*/A/1/-)
K.1282 (*Erra and Išum*/A/1/Asb b)
K.1283 (*Alannigsagila*/A/1/-)
K.1284 (*Alannigsagila*/A/1/Asb c)
K.1285 (SAA 3/A/1/-)
K.1289 (*Ušburruda*/A/1/-)
K.1290 (SAA 3/A/1/-)
K.1315 (*Padānu* commentary/B/1/-)
K.1350 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/[ ])
K.1352 (extispicy catalogue/A/1/-)
K.1363 (*namburbi*/A/1/Asb c)
K.1367 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/-)
K.1453 (*Counsels of a Pessimist*/A/1/[ ])
K.1454 (extispicy/A/1/-)
K.1520 (school/A/1/-)
K.1908 (*Ālu*/A/1/-)
K.2000 (building rituals/A/1/Asb c)
K.2001 (incantations/A/2/Asb c)
K.2003 (*balag*/A/1/Asb a)
K.2007 (*Šumma Izbu*/A/1/Asb a)
K.2021a (group vocabulary/A/2/[ ])
K.2022 (*Erimhuš*/A/2/Asb a)
K.2054 (*Šarru*/A/1/Asb d)
K.2083 (celestial/A/1/-)
K.2106 (*Bīt Salā' Mê*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2128 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/[ ])
K.2130 (*Multābiltu*/A/1/Asb l)
K.2166 (*Alamdimmû*/A/1/Asb a)

K.2175 (medical/A/2/[ ])
K.2187 (*Maqlû*/A/1/[ ])
K.2234 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/2/-)
K.2252 (*Gilgameš*/A/3/Asb a)
K.2262 (medical/A/1/Asb r/s)
K.2263 (*Pān Tākalti*/A/1/Asb l)
K.2312 (*Šumma Ālu*/B/1/-)
K.2315 (magic/B/1/-)
K.2319 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/-)
K.2329 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/B/1/pr)
K.2354 (*Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia*/A/2/Asb q)
K.2355 (*Udughul*/A/2/Asb a)
K.2372 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/Asb a)
K.2373 (*Bīt Rimki*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2385 (*Maqlû*/A/2/Asb c)
K.2396 (*Bīt Salā' Mê*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2427 (*Šurpu*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2455 (*Maqlû*/A/2/Asb d)
K.2458 (*Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia*/A/2/Asb q)
K.2485 (*balag*/A/1/[ ])
K.2489 (hymn/A/1/Asb c)
K.2507 (*Udughul*/A/3/[ ])
K.2514 (*Inbu Bēl Arhi*/A/1/[ ])
K.2520 (glassmaking/A/1/-)
K.2529 (*kalûtu* catalogue/A/2/Asb o)
K.2535 (medical/A/1/-)
K.2541 (ritual/A/1/-)
K.2542 (*Kunuk Halti*/B/2/pr)
K.2544 (*Maqlû*/A/2/Asb d)
K.2563 (*Bīt Rimki*/A/1/-)
K.2587 (*namburbi*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2608 (*tamītu*/A/1/Nzk)
K.2647 (SAA 3/A/1/-)
K.2718 (*Alamdimmû*/A/1/-)
K.2728 (*Maqlû*/A/2/Asb c)
K.2741 (*šu'ila*/A/1/Asb c)
K.2773 (*namburbi*/B/1/-)
K.2811 (*eršahunga*/A/1/Asb a)
K.2823 (*šu'ila*/A/1/-)
K.2836 (*šu'ila*/A/1/[ ])
K.2839 (*Syllabary A* palaeographic/B/5/-)
K.2847 (*Manual Diviners*/A/1/Asb b)
K.2856 (*Udughul*/A/2/pr)
K.2861 (*šu'ila*/A/1/Iše)
K.2862 (*Lugale*/A/1/-)
K.2864 (*Mušš u'u*/A/1-)
K.2869 (*Mušš u'u*/A/1-)
K.2892 (topographical text/B/1/-)
K.2907 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/B/1/-)
K.2950 (*Maqlû*/A/2/Asb c)
K.3169 (*Saggigameš*/A/2/Asb c)
K.3182 (*Šamaš Hymn*/A/2/Asb e)
K.3227 (*Bīt Rimki*/A/3/Asb c)
K.3269 (*Inbu Bēl Arhi*/A/2/[ ])
K.3294 (*Maqlû*/A/1/Asb d)
K.3317 (*Seed of Kingship*/A/1/Asb a)

K.3340 (*tamītu*/B/1/[ ])
K.3384 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/A/1/Išе)
K.3463 (*Bīt Rimki*/A/1/Asb c)
K.3473 (*Enūma Eliš*/A/1/-)
K.3563 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/1/[ ])
K.3586 (*Sagba*/A/1/[ ])
K.3671 (*Padānu*/A/1/Asb b)
K.3683 (extispicy/A/1/[ ])
K.3688 (*Šumma Izbu*/A/1/Asb a)
K.3726 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/2/-)
K.3746 (*Manzāzu*/A/2/[ ])
K.3786 (*Padānu*/B/1/-)
K.3811 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/Asb a)
K.3815 (*Alamdimmû*/A/1/Asb a)
K.3860 (*Alamdimmû*/A/2/[ ])
K.3867 (*Šumma Izbu*/A/1/-)
K.3945 (*Multābiltu*/A/2/Asb l)
K.3962 (*TDP*/A/1/Asb d)
K.3966 (*Šumma Izbu*/A/1/Asb d)
K.3978 (*Isru*/A/2/Asb l)
K.4001 (*Šumma Ālu*/A/1/[ ])
K.4045b (*eršahunga*/A/1/Asb a)
K.4174 (*Diri*/A/2/Asb b)
K.4243 (*Alan Lānu*/A/2/Asb b)
K.4257 (*HAR-ra*/A/3/[ ])
K.4292 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* commentary/A/1/-)
K.4319 (*Emesal Vocabulary*/A/2/Asb a)
K.4338a (*HAR-ra*/A/3/-)
K.4345 (*Uruanna*/A/2/Asb g)
K.4375 (*Malku*/A/3/Asb d)
K.4395 (*Practical Lu*/A/3/-)
K.4415 (*namerimburruda*/A/1/pr)
K.4900 (*Mīs Pî*/A/1/Asb a)
K.4918 (*Mušš'u*/A/1/Asb d)
K.4956 (*lam*/A/1/Asb a)
K.5834 (*Nineveh Medical Encyclopaedia*/A/2/Asb q)
K.6313 (*namburbi*/A/1/Asb c)
K.6997 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/2/[ ])
K.7749 (*Šumma Ālu*/B/1/[ ])
K.8447 (witchcraft/A/1/-)
K.8521 (*HAR-ra*/A/2/[ ])
Rm 155 (omens/A/1/Nzk)
Rm 192 (*Enūma Anu Enlil*/A/1/-)
Rm II 103 (*Manzāzu*/A/2/Asb l)
Rm II 115 (*Ubānu*/B/1/-)
Sm 954 (*eršemma*/A/1/Asb h)

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