



LETTERS FROM PRIESTS TO THE
KINGS ESARHADDON AND
ASSURBANIPAL

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FOREWORD

Part of the basic manuscript of this volume was prepared by Peter Machinist between 1988 and 1994. During this period, he prepared translations of the letters originally assigned to the volume and wrote a first draft of the critical apparatus. Machinist made two trips to the British Museum to collate the texts; Parpola has collated many of the texts over the years beginning in 1966. Proofs of this preliminary manuscript were provided to Machinist in 1994. At this point, other publication projects were given higher priority and the manuscript of this volume was allowed to steep for some time.

With the reconstitution of the State Archives of Assyria Project on a firmer basis in 1997, the manuscript of the current volume was reexamined with an eye to completing its publication as quickly as possible. A large number of texts were added (including the "horse reports" and a number of letters written in Babylonian). Unfortunately, Machinist was not able at the time to drop everything else to complete the manuscript within a year so the task of completing the volume was turned over to Steven Cole, then working with the SAA Project, with Machinist's concurrence. In addition to translating the new texts, Cole also revised Machinist's translations to make the style consistent throughout and updated the critical apparatus. As neither Machinist nor Cole is, strictly speaking, a specialist in Neo-Assyrian, Parpola continued to collaborate closely on the translations.

As a consequence, the joint editorship of this volume is more of a sequential effort than a collaborative one, with Parpola providing the continuity. In addition, Cole had the further disadvantage of not having had an opportunity to see or collate any of the tablets. The Introduction was written by Cole with parts (the chapter on prophecy and the section "On the Present Edition") written by Robert Whiting. The order of the texts in the volume has been revised several times, the most recent being in December 1998 when a number of additional texts were attributed to specific sites by Karen Radner and a number of the texts written in Babylonian were excluded as being more appropriate to future volumes.

The texts in this volume are particularly difficult, even exceeding the normal difficulties with letters, in that their interpretation depends on numerous technical terms referring to temples, cult and ritual that are not well understood. Parpola's experience with the ritual texts (which will be the subject of a forthcoming SAA volume) has provided expertise on which both editors of the volume have had to rely.

Our thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum and to the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin for permission to publish texts and illustrative material in their keeping and to the British Museum photographic department for its prompt and professional service. Our thanks also go to Mark Geller of the University of London for last-minute collations.

Thanks are also due to Raija Mattila for proofreading and editorial work and for pasting up the collations, to Mikko Luukko whose critical reading of the texts uncovered a number of errors, and to Kalle Fabritius for proofreading and typesetting assistance.

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Helsinki, January 1999

Robert M. Whiting

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INTRODUCTION

The letters edited in this volume represent the correspondence of various priests and high temple officials in the Assyrian realm during the third through fifth decades of the seventh century BC. They consist chiefly of reports to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal about cultic concerns and matters connected with the construction and renovation of temple edifices in the major cities of the Assyrian empire, both in the heartland and in the provinces. These kings took an interest in, and were kept informed of, even the minutest details concerning the temple and cult. Those who reported to them were all men of eminence, occupying high positions in the hierarchies of the temples with which they were associated. Among them are a scribe of the temple of Aššur and the inspector of the holy precinct of Assur; the priests of the temples of Ninurta, Ištar, and Nabû, and the "mayor" of the temple of Nabû, all in Calah; the priest and steward of the temple of Ištar of Arbela; the priest and chief administrator of the temple of Marduk in Babylon; the priest of the temple of Adad in Kurba'il; and priests of temples in Nineveh and Harran. Several royal orders dealing with matters of cult are also included.

These fascinating letters throw light on the building, refurbishment, and maintenance of temples, the fashioning and installation of statues of the king, the provisioning of the cult, the performance of sacrifices, the rite of sacred marriage, and the processions of divine images. Staggering quantities of precious metals and gems are mentioned, as are huge numbers of animals destined for sacrifice.

The Reconstruction of Babylon

The rebuilding of Esaggil, the great temple complex in Babylon, dedicated to the god Marduk, also known as Bel, is the topic of several of these reports. The reconstruction of the Babylonian capital, which had been leveled in 689 by Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib (who also carried off the statue of Bel), became one of Esarhaddon's preoccupations. Reports from officials overseeing Babylon's reconstruction confirm claims made in his official inscriptions regarding the scope of this work. It is reported, for example, that the foundations of the city gates, the perimeter wall of Esaggil, and the great

ziggurat had been laid (no. 161); that perfumes, sweet-scented oils, and precious stones were to be deposited in them (no. 161); and that the structures eventually rebuilt included battlements, courtyards, shrines, daises, and even drains (nos. 162, 168). Cedar was used to reconstruct the main gate (no. 162); cedar, cypress, and fir to roof the shrines (nos. 163, 164); precious metals to ornament the doors (no. 166); gold to manufacture the pedestal destined to receive the image of Bel (no. 179); gold to adorn the image of his spouse, Zarpanitu (no. 174); gems to ornament the crown of the Sky god and the solar disks (no. 174); and both gold and gems — 30 kg in all — to fashion Bel's equipment (no. 179).

But Bel had to be returned first. The inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, as well as letters published previously in SAA 10, have already provided considerable information on the preparations for his return and its eventual accomplishment. But another curious detail connected with Bel's exile is found in our corpus. The god apparently spent time in Issete, a town in northeast Assyria, at some point in his journey either to or from Assur.¹ A royal official on an errand to the Province of the Chief Cupbearer reported having discovered statues of Babylonian deities in a house there, including the images of Nergal, Amurrû, Lugalbanda, Marat-Sin of Nemed-Laguda, Marat-Sin of Eridu, and Marat-Eridu. The inhabitants told him that these gods had arrived with Bel, and that the king's father had intended to send them to Babylon along with Bel (no. 190).

Pongratz-Leisten believes that this letter was directed to Esarhaddon and that the king who deported the statues was Sennacherib, who campaigned against Eridu and Nemed-Laguda in the course of his first campaign to Babylonia.² She is certainly correct in attributing their removal to Sennacherib. However, because the gods in question are said to have come with Bel to Issete, and because no mention is made of cult statues being deported in Sennacherib's account of his first Babylonian campaign, it is more likely that the divine images from Eridu and Nemed-Laguda were taken in 694, in the course of this king's naval campaign against the Yakinite exiles in Elam. The report of this expedition states that the exiles had taken the gods from the shrines of Bit-Yakin with them to Elam³ and that at the conclusion of the venture all the gods of Bit-Yakin were loaded on ships and brought to Sennacherib in Bab-salimeti.⁴ The other gods in question were taken in either 693 or 689. Inscriptions recording the events of 693 inform us that the king of Elam and the Babylonians who had gone with Merodach-baladan II to Elam came to Babylon and placed Šuzubu on the throne and that the Assyrians then advanced against Babylon, and afterwards Uruk. It was in Uruk that Sennacherib claims to have captured, among others, the statues of Beltu of Eridu (= Marat-Sin of Eridu) and Nergal, who are described as gods dwelling in Uruk.⁵ Lugalbanda and Amurrû were probably taken at the time of the destruction of Babylon in 689, since both gods are known to have had sanctuaries in the Babylonian capital — Lugalbanda in the quarter of Kullab in Babylon,⁶ and Amurrû in both east Babylon⁷ and west Babylon.⁸

The letter in question states that the addressee's father had intended to send these six gods to Babylon with Bel. It is almost certain, therefore, that the recipient was Assurbanipal, not Esarhaddon, since the latter's father, Sen-

nacherib, showed nothing but animosity towards the Babylonians during his reign.

After or just prior to Bel's return to Babylon, arrangements were made for the provisioning of his cult. We are told that two towns in the vicinity of the capital were donated to the god, one of them being Apak, a cult center of Nergal from at least Sargonic times (no. 181).⁹ We are also told that a cultic tax was imposed on the dates of a neighboring Chaldean shaykh (who however responded by intimidating the inhabitants of these towns and refusing to give the required dates), and that 300 jars of wine from Assyria, 330 sheep from the city of Halman in Iran, and an impost of sheep and oxen from the tax receipts of the governors were to be delivered annually to his temple (nos. 166, 181).

The Refurbishment of Assyrian Temples

The Babylonian capital and its chief deity were not the only cult center and god to receive such attention. Priests and officials in the temples of Assyria proper also dispatched letters to the king mentioning precious metals and stones that had been used, or were intended to be used, in their precincts: 50 silver statues of cherubs and deified winds, 2 big silver statues of the king, 3 silver doorjambs, and a silver kettle — 150 kg in all (no. 28); silver for the socles of the gods Aššur and Mullissu (no. 39); gold, copper, and lapis lazuli for divine images (no. 127). It is reported that the temple of Mullissu in Assur had been rebuilt and was awaiting reconsecration (no. 12). And the king himself sent dispatches concerning "golden waters" and "flood monsters" cast of bronze and iron (no. 7). The former were probably intended to function as ornaments for divine banquet tables, such as those attested for Nanaya and Sin in the Neo-Babylonian period,¹⁰ and may have even been representations of deified bodies of water comparable to the silver and bronze representations of the Ṭaban and Diyala Rivers attested in the early second-millennium year formulae of Belakum, king of Ešnunna.¹¹

Some of the men responsible for this work apparently got carried away. A lamentation priest, for example, is accused of running riot in the temple, tearing out or cutting down doorposts and other architectural members, replacing ancient goldwork with new, appointing officials of his own choosing, and tampering with ancient rites (no. 134). This charge is also leveled against others, who are said to have removed the hands of the goddess Tambaya, and, more seriously, to have set aside the old rites of Nikkal and instituted new ones in their place (no. 47).

The Cult of the Royal Image

Many of these letters concern the design, manufacture, and installation of statues of the king in various temple cellas within his realm. We discover that

attention was paid to every detail, and that scholars debated even the proper positioning of the king's scepter and the correct representation of his dress, sending sketches or actual sculptures to the king for his approval when they could not agree (no. 34). In the case of the royal statues destined for Esaggil and the temples of Babylon, we are told that the king was to be represented in the ritual attire that he actually wore when he went before the (still-exiled) image of Bel in his cella in the temple of Aššur, and that such statues had already been installed on the dais of the god there (no. 178). These statues were apparently made in pairs, and were installed on either side of not only Bel but also Ištar in Arbela (no. 140), the Moon god in Harran (SAA 10 13), and the goddess Tašmetu in Borsippa (SAA 10 358). These images were made of copper, silver, lapis lazuli, and gold. In one case 200 kg of gold was said to have been destined for fashioning statues of the king and the queen mother (no. 61). Images of the king were not only placed in the temples but also on the streets of some towns (e.g. SAA 10 350). This was true also of statues of the queen mother (no. 188). Statues of the king's sons were said to have been installed behind and in front of the image of the Moon god in Harran (SAA 10 13); and, along with the gods of Assyria and the king's own statue, statues of the princes were said to have been the guardians of a treaty imposed on imperial vassals (SAA 2 6 §35).

Other evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period indicates that the royal image was the focus of offerings and that in due course it came to be considered divine. These circumstances undoubtedly stemmed from the dogma that the Assyrian king was the very "Image of God."¹² They also reflect practices and beliefs current in Mesopotamia during the third and early second millennia and are thus perfectly consonant with ancient tradition. Before considering the Neo-Assyrian evidence, therefore, it may be interesting to survey some of the earlier material, at least briefly, to see precisely how the later Assyrian practices fit into this stream of tradition.

We know, for example, that in Early Dynastic Lagaš, around the middle of the third millennium BC, offerings were made to the statues of the rulers Ur-Nanše,¹³ Lugalanda (along with the gods Hendursag and Šul-utul),¹⁴ Enmetena (alongside Ninmarki, Nanše, Ningirsu, and other deities),¹⁵ and to the statues of Barnamtara, wife of Lugalanda, and Šagšag, wife of Uruinimgina.¹⁶ During Ur III times offerings were made before the deified statues of the earlier Akkadian kings Sargon, Naram-Sin, and Maništušu,¹⁷ and before Gudea, ensi of Lagaš.¹⁸ During this period such offerings were also placed before statues of the Ur III rulers themselves, with numerous texts attesting to the existence of cults devoted to the divinized Ur-Nammu,¹⁹ Šulgi,²⁰ Amar-Sin,²¹ Šu-Sin,²² and Ibbi-Sin.²³ In the early second millennium BC, numerous year formulae of the kings of Isin, Larsa, Babylon, Ešnunna, and Mari also attest to the practice of installing royal images in temples and placing offerings before them, as does other evidence too abundant to cite.²⁴ Finally, statues of the great kings of the third millennium, in particular Sargon and Naram-Sin, also continued to be venerated.²⁵

Therefore it is more than evident that before the Neo-Assyrian period there had been a long tradition of setting up statues of kings in temples and that these statues received offerings in much the same way as the images of the gods. These royal statues were also frequently preceded by the divine deter-

minative in the texts in which they are mentioned. The same was true of the Neo-Assyrian period. We have already cited evidence demonstrating that statues of the king were set up in temples next to those of the gods.²⁶ There is also evidence that the Assyrian royal image received offerings as well. Particularly important in this context is the *akitu* ritual tablet VAT 10464, which states that the king was to sacrifice sheep before the king's statue, probably in the Adad temple.²⁷ There is also unambiguous evidence from inscriptions, administrative texts, and legal documents that such statues were considered divine. First, Tiglath-pileser III states in his annals that he set up "images of the great gods and a golden image of my kingship" in the palace of Hanunu in Gaza and that these were "counted as gods of his (Hanunu's) land."²⁸ Second, in the so-called Götteradressbuch, which is an inventory of the gods inhabiting the various major temples of the Assyrian heartland, the royal statues present therein are almost all recorded with a divine determinative before them (𐎶Šalam-šarri).²⁹ And finally, a number of Neo-Assyrian legal documents from the seventh century were confirmed before divine witnesses, including (besides Aššur, Šamaš, Nergal, Adad, and Nabû) 𐎶Šalam-šarri, the "Divine Image of the King."³⁰

Divine Processions and Sacred Marriage

In Assyria, as in Babylonia, images of deities made excursions from their cellas on feast days. These journeys were also duly reported to the king. Thus we read that the god Adad-of-Plenty went for an outing in the park (no. 58); that Adad of Kilizi and the goddess Parisat-palê journeyed to their festival chapels on the occasion of the New Year celebration (nos. 189, 153); that Enlil, the old chief of the Babylonian pantheon, enjoyed an outing to one of the fortresses (no. 6); that Ištar of Arbela went to a "divine party" (no. 147); and that Ištar of Nineveh was taken on procession atop the city walls (no. 152). The image of this goddess is also said to have traveled through the city gate down to the canal, then back to the gate of the Nabû temple, and finally out into the countryside to the temple of Gula, goddess of healing (no. 135). It is also reported that her avatar, Šatru-Ištar, was due to arrive in Arbela from the town of Milqia, and that the king and the goddess would make a triumphal entrance into the city together (who would be the first to enter, however, was a dilemma for the king to solve) (no. 149). Finally, we read that the procession of Aššur and the Moon god to the garden of the lower terrace was accompanied by the performance of sacrifices meant to bring benefit to the king (no. 58), while the journey of Tašmetu to her festival chapel on the occasion of her "party" was punctuated by offerings specifically intended to assure his longevity and good health (no. 130).

The sacred marriage of Nabû and Tašmetu is also the topic of several letters. On the appointed day it is said that the god was taken by chariot from the temple, then to the palace threshing floor, and finally to the garden, where sacrifices were performed (no. 78); that Nabû and Tašmetu spent six days and seven nights in their wedding bed (no. 70); that the god afterwards went out to "stretch his legs" and do some hunting in the game park (no. 70); and finally

that the sacrifices attending this rite were performed both for the life of the king and the lives of the crown princes and other male progeny (no. 56).

Given all these comings and goings of divine images, accidents were bound to happen during transport. We read, therefore, that the rim of Aššur's banquet table and the front side of his image were damaged while being pulled in a chariot (no. 44), and that the ceremonial couch of the goddess Šarrat-samme was dropped by porters bringing her out of her temple (no. 192).

Rituals and Sacrifices

The auspicious timing and correct performance of rituals and sacrifices were also of concern to the king and his priests. A significant number of letters are therefore devoted to these topics as well. The king is informed, for example, that the temple of Ištar in Calah was to be cleared on the 28th of the month, that the goddess was to be taken down from atop her sacred lion, and that her jewellery was to be removed in preparation for a ritual bath that was to be filled only if the moon was seen on the 29th (no. 59).³¹ We also learn that the almanac (*Abšegeda*) was consulted to choose a propitious month and day in which to reconsecrate the newly rebuilt temple of Mullissu in Assur (no. 12);³² that the king dispatched notices to the clergy in the Babylonian cities of Cutha and Der to inform them of intercalations of the calendar necessary to bring the annual lunar cycle of 354 days in line with the solar year of 365 days (nos. 4, 5); and that when the king once failed to do this, a delegation of nobles from Babylon and Borsippa had to travel to Calah to ask how the intercalation should be accomplished, because without this information they would be unable to determine the correct day on which to perform sacrifices before Bel (no. 60). Since sacrificial animals also had to be without defect, the discovery of such flaws occasioned yet more reports, as when the left kidney of a sheep was discovered to be too small and was forwarded to the palace to be inspected by the scholars (no. 131), or when another sheep was found to have its right kidney missing and was put in storage, presumably to be inspected later by the scholars as well (no. 133).

Huge numbers of sheep and oxen were consigned to be sacrificed before Aššur on behalf of the king, to be consumed in the banquets of the gods, or to be fired as burnt offerings to the planets, Sun, Moon, stars, and constellations. These animals, we are told, were supplied by the cities of the Assyrian heartland and beyond, each of which was assigned one or more days in the cultic calendar.³³ (We read that Rašappa and Arzuhina alone were required to provide 10,000 sheep annually [no. 21].) Similar practice is attested as far back as the Ur III period. The locales from which the Assyrian deliveries were sent include Barhalzi, Rašappa, Kilizi, Isana, Tillê, Kullania, Arpad, Di-quqina, Isana, Halzi-Atbar, Birtu, Arzuhina, Arbela, Guzana, Šahuppa, Tamnuna, and Talmusu (see e.g. SAA 10 96).³⁴ Of course, failures to meet delivery deadlines prompted yet more reports and complaints. This seems to have been an age-old problem for temple administrators; in fact, remarkably similar complaints were lodged against those responsible for monthly deliveries of

regular sheep offerings to the Annunitum temple in Sippar-Amnanum in the Old Babylonian period.³⁵

Prophecy

Four of the letters in the volume refer in one way or another to prophecy (nos. 139, 148, 37, 144; see Nissinen SAAS 7 pp. 9-10 for the criteria for recognizing prophecy in NA texts). No. 139 clearly contains a prophecy as it quotes the words of a divinity and mentions the name of Assurbanipal. Moreover, it uses the formulaic "fear not" (*lā tapallah*), characteristic of prophetic utterances (cf. Parpola SAA 9 p. LXV Chart I). Details of the manner of the prophecy are lost. No. 148 is only a small scrap, but it is likely that it was the beginning of a prophecy since the woman reporting the "message" (*šipirtu*) was a votary of Ištar of Arbela, an important deity in Neo-Assyrian prophecy. The name of the votary is not preserved, but the extant traces do not match any of the prophets or prophetesses known from the prophecy corpus (Parpola SAA 9 pp. XLVIII-LII). The fact that this piece, like no. 139, is from Arbela is in keeping with the importance of this city as a source of prophecies.

In no. 37 we find an interesting mixture of a report of a prophecy and bureaucratic buck-passing. A prophetess (*raggintu*), speaking in the name of a deity whose name is not preserved, demands the throne from a temple. Adad-ahu-iddina, obviously in charge of the temple, refuses to hand over the throne without the king's permission, equally obviously fearing the king's wrath more than that of the god (cf. Nissinen SAAS 7 pp. 78-81). Finally, no. 144 is less sure to be a prophecy: although it seems to be quoting the words of a divinity, the mode of address is not characteristic in that the king is, in part, addressed indirectly and the message consists entirely of cultic demands. The message is part of a general report on cultic matters and comes after a break in the text.

Despite the scattered and incomplete nature of these few references, taken together with the corpus of archived prophecy (SAA 9 1-4), the other prophecy reports (SAA 9 5-11), and the references to prophecy in a wide variety of text types (Nissinen SAAS 7), it is clear that prophecy was an important vehicle for establishing the divine will during the late Neo-Assyrian period, and that priests and temple administrators were responsible for reporting prophetic messages to the king.

Deliveries of Horses to the Nabû Temple

Though much is already known about the Assyrian military (which at first glance would seem to have had nothing to do with temple or cult), some 40 letters in this corpus illuminate how and whence certain of its units, which were obliged to meet challenges to imperial authority over an area extending

from Iran to Egypt, were supplied with some of the horses and mules that they required.³⁶ Should the reader be asking why this was a priestly concern, the answer is that the animals with which these documents are concerned were inspected by the "mayor" (better "inspector") of the temple of Nabû in Calah, who, after receiving and reviewing them, forwarded reports to the king on the numbers, breeds, origins, and eventual disposition of the equids that had come in. (It is tempting here to postulate the existence of an elite strike-force of the god Nabû, regarded by the Assyrians as the god of victory, to which these animals were directed, but there is no direct evidence for this. Nevertheless, the connection between the reports and the cult of Nabû is intriguing and calls for further study.)

Contributions came from all the major cities of Assyria and from as far away as Parsua in Iran and Damascus in Syria. Those to whom deliveries are attributed include the commander-in-chief, the palace herald, the chief cup-bearer, the treasurers of the queen and queen mother, the governors of Calah and Nineveh, and the magnates of the province of Bet-kari in Media — the "50 houses of the magnates" according to one fragmentary report (no. 82).³⁷ The horses were designated as Mesean, Egyptian, or Kushite (apparently a breed that had originated in the region of modern Sudan)³⁸ and were destined to become either cavalry mounts or "yoke horses." Once the inspector of the Nabû temple had conducted his review, some were sent on to the palace in Nineveh (no. 97), others remained in (or were transferred to) the Review Palace in Calah (no. 98), and a few at least were assigned to the teams of the god Aššur (no. 104). We know from other sources that the latter were comprised of white horses,³⁹ since VAT 13596 mentions that white horses pulled Aššur's chariot.

Theft and Corruption

Finally, given the wealth in animals, gems, and precious metals concentrated in Nineveh, Calah, and Assur during the seventh century, it comes as no surprise that this corpus also chronicles the abuses of royal servants of all stations — from humble shepherds and cooks to "men of the cloth" — who proved to have not only feet of clay but also sticky fingers and were therefore unable to resist the powerful enticements with which they were surrounded. The list of culprits is long: shepherds in charge of flocks of sheep destined for sacrifice in Assur who refused to bring their animals in (no. 19); shepherds who illegally sold the sheep under their care (no. 172); shepherds who stole entire flocks and raised militias to protect both themselves and their loot (no. 20); a cook who stole a golden statue of the plague god Erra (and was beaten to death) (no. 157); drunken prefects esconced outside the gates of Assur who stole the exit tolls they collected, confiscated deliveries, and extorted money from the deliverers (no. 33); a chief victualler of a temple who carried off 30 kg of silver, including utensils that had been given as gifts to the shrine by the king and the queen mother (no. 154); a priest of Ea who stole gold from a temple offering-table (no. 138); temple authorities who covered up thefts made by their subordinates (no. 138); a ring of clerical criminals who cut off

and removed gold appendages from the cella of the god to whom they were supposedly devoted (nos. 25, 26); and finally a lamentation priest and a temple guard who carried off large sections of silver sheeting from a temple's walls (no. 128). Some of these thieves, naturally, were put to death (no. 128).⁴⁰

From the various letters we have surveyed it is obvious that when it came to matters connected with temple and cult very little escaped the king's notice. If the point needs reinforcing, we will mention one last text, the sole topic of which is the discovery of a lowly fungus growing in the courtyard of the temple of Nabû, which of course called for a report and, just as predictably, a ritual to eradicate it (no. 71).

On the Present Edition

This volume includes all letters dealing with temple administration or cultic affairs that can be assigned to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal that have not been published in other SAA volumes. Most of the letters were written by priests or by temple administrators, or, in the case of the letters written by the king, to such officials. A number of letters, presumably written by some of the same individuals, have already been published in SAA 8 and SAA 10. The following texts edited in this volume are written in Babylonian: 3-7, 173-183, 185.

The Order of Texts in this Edition

The texts have primarily been organized by geographical areas and within those areas by individuals. Letters dealing with the same topic have been grouped together where possible, but there is generally no attempt at any chronological order, nor is there any systematic attempt to assign letters to the reign of a specific king.

Texts Included and Excluded

All letters written by identified or identifiable priests and temple administrators that have not already been published in other SAA volumes are included here, as are letters from the king to such individuals. In addition, fragmentary pieces that contain any references to temple administration or