

Assurbanipal's *bārūtu*

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It is well known that Assurbanipal promoted himself as an intellectual who, amongst other things, had acquired the secret knowledge of the craft of extispicy, *bārūtu*.¹ The royal correspondance confirms that the king took a personal interest in his tablet- and writing board collection in which the omen material was prominent.²

It is therefore reasonable to assume that, one way or the other, there is an Assurbanipal influence on the vast amount of extispicy material from Nineveh. Because the texts to a large extent are unpublished, my observations must be of a preliminary nature.

What particularly catches one's attention is the Assurbanipal colophon in which it is claimed that the king has learnt *bārūtu* and understands it.³ This colophon appears on extispicy compendia which usually, but not always, contain a catchline and a serial number⁴ and which may be combined with a statement that the tablet is written "in accordance with the wording of a writing board".⁵ The tablets in this group are not written by the same scribe and they differ in appearance as regards to number of columns, the so-called firing holes, line indicators or lines within the text.⁶

In this and also in other groups of extispicy compendia from Nineveh we find for the first time the term *īkaru*, "series", applied to collections of omens. Altogether there are 10 series attested: 1 *isru*, 1 *tirānu*, 5 liver, 1 *kakku*, 1 lung, and one called *Multābiltu*, "Interpretation".⁷ Furthermore, it appears that there was a commentary, *mukallimtu*, comprising one or more tablets, for each of the 10 series.⁸

The afore-mentioned Assurbanipal colophon is also found on other kinds of tablets, f.ex. on the *ikribus*, Zimmern, BBR nos. 76+, 78+, and on a small unpublished tablet which contains omens from exta which were not examined according to current practice.¹⁰ Perhaps we have here an indication that Assurbanipal's interest in *bārūtu* included ritual procedures and old tradition.

A line total, a (*limu*) date or a piece of information about the original of the tablet, not found on those with an Assurbanipal colophon, may appear on another group of tablets which name the scribe.¹¹

¹ See Streck, *Asb.* 2, 254 i 9-15

² See Parpola, *LAS* 2, 218, 513; Parpola, *Assyrian Library Records*, in: *JNES* 42 (1983) 1-29; Lieberman, *Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection*, in: *HSS* 37 (1990) 305-336; Starr, *AFO* 32 (1985) 60-63.

³ See Hunger, *Kolophone*, 100-101 (*Asb.* type 1) no. 325.

⁴ CT 31 27 (K 3984) only has the colophon.

⁵ CT 30 48 (K 3948) r. 14': *šé ka* ⁶⁵*le-²-u₃-um 'x' [...]*

⁶ Examples of different lay-outs of tablets with the Assurbanipal colophon "type I": K 3878+; two columns, lines in the text, line indicators, "firing holes", see n. 8; K 6788*: one column, lines in the text, "firing holes", see no. 10; CT 20 2 (Rm. 2, 112): one column, line indicators, "firing holes"; CT 20 34-37: two columns, lines in the text, "firing holes"; CT 20 3-4 + CT 20 9 (K 12889) + CT 20 17 (K 4034): one column, line indicators; CT 30 20 (Rm. 273 + Rm. 2, 104): one column.

⁷ See Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum*, *PIHANS* 64 (Leiden 1989) 10-11. The following piece of information updates the one given in the mentioned reference: The *šumma tirānu* series has at least 8 tablets because Boissier, *Choix* I 93-94 (K 4007) is the 7th tablet and the catchline = the first line of Boissier, *Choix* I 93 (K 3733). An example of a subscript is: CT 30 20 r. 6': [DU]B.8.KAM ÉŠ.GAR BE ZÉ; the "*īkaru*" may be omitted, f.ex.: CT 31 29 r. 19': DUB.3.KAM.MA BE GIŠ.TUKUL!

⁸ See the *mukallimtu* to the *šumma isru* series, K 3978+* iv 44-46 (?): BE 'ŠA.NIGIN' 15 'TAG.MES ERIN₂-ka ina x x ri¹-ti-šá SUB-*u*[t] DUB.1.KAM mu-kal-lim-tú ZU.A¹ ZU.A li-kal-lim NU.ZU.A NU [KI]-mar NIG.GIG Šullat ú "Haniš". Thus, because of the catchline mentioning the *tirānu*, it appears that there only was one *mukallimtu* tablet to this series. However, in Boissier, *DA* 11-19 (Rm. 2, 103) iv¹ 41 we have: DUB.2.KAM mu-kal-lim-tu. The text is a *mukallimtu* to the *šumma manzāzu* series and the catchline, iv¹ 40 also refers to the *manzāzu* (NA).

⁹ Also Zimmern, BBR nos. 84 and 85 have the Assurbanipal colophon "type I".

¹⁰ K 6788* obv. 1-3: BE *qin*,² (NIGIN)-na-tú; r. 1'-2': BE *šu-ub-tu*. For *šubtu*, see Jeyes, *JEOL* 32 (1991-92) 33-34.

¹¹ Examples are: CT 31 45 r. 5': catchline, r. 6': serial number, r. 7': scribe, r. 8': dating, see Hunger, *Kolophone*, 141 no. 529; CT 31 49 r. 30': catchline, r. 31': origin of tablet, r. 32': scribe; CT 28 46 (K 8100) + CT 30 41-42 r. 28': scribe, r. 31'-32': *limu* dating; 82-3-23, 32* r. 8': catchline, r. 9': serial number, r. 10': scribe, see Hunger *Kolophone*, 141 no. 530; K 3971* r. 2'-3':

Tablets in this group may also contain a catchline and a serial number. The tablets, usually of rich reddish brown colour, written in the distinctive Assyrian script, "type B", may belong to this group.¹² From Late Babylonian Babylon we find tablets which in appearance differ substantially from those in the two mentioned Nineveh groups and which are written in a, sometimes large, Babylonian script. In the catchline of one tablet, dealing with the breastbone, there is an indication that the 5th tablet of the *isru* series also is a *kaskasu* compendium.¹³ However, according to the catchline of an Assyrian tablet, the same 5th tablet deals with the kidney.¹⁴ This is one example to show that the numbering of the Babylonian tablets should not be regarded as a sure guideline for the numbering and arrangement of the Assyrian tablets.¹⁵ Another Late Babylonian tablet has the subscript: "the 3rd tablet (in) the series *Bārūtu*".¹⁶ Within the omen literature, this is the earliest reference, I have found so far, to a series, named *Bārūtu*.¹⁷

The general impression is, that when the tablets from Nineveh duplicate each other, they do so accurately. It thus appears that the Nineveh scribes, whose works have been uncovered, copied from one and the same source.¹⁸

Amongst the Nineveh material we find tablets dating as far back as to Tiglatpileser I¹⁹ but also to Sargon and Sennacherib, from the library of the famous scribe, Nabū-zuqup-kēna.²⁰

In certain cases it has been possible to establish a link between texts from Assur, from Tiglatpileser I onwards, and the Nineveh texts, but it appears that it was only sections of the older texts which were copied.²¹

However, a Middle Babylonian tablet, of unknown provenance and in private ownership, was copied *in toto* and the text reappears in both a Nineveh and a Seleucid version, according to which late text it is the 4th tablet in the gall bladder series in the series *Bārūtu*.²² It is apparent that the Seleucid scribe merely copied the Nineveh version without altering the text in any way. The Nineveh scribes, on the other hand, had undertaken some discreet editing, f.ex. adding 6 omens and omitting 2 omens, and, in one case, adding a second apodosis. Also one can ascertain that the Nineveh scribes had an inclination

scribe (?), r. 6'-7': *limu* dating. None of these tablets have "firing holes" and so far I have not found this feature on tablets with a reference to the scribe.

¹² The expression is borrowed from W.G. Lambert. Examples of extispicy compendia written in this script are: CT 28 43-44 + CT 28 48 (K 12074) (+) K 12097*; K 8279*; CT 31 44 + K 3324* + K 3926* iv 31: catchline, iv 32: origin of tablet (?), iv 33: scribe (?). Also the following *ikribus* are written in this script: Zimmern, BBR nos. 75, 79, 80, 86, 93, 94, 95, K 6665*, K 8723*; likewise the *bārū* ritual, Zimmern, BBR no. 1 and CT 31 30-33 (behaviour of the sacrificial lamb), note r. 37': line total, r. 38': [... LU]HAL-ti AD.HAL AN-e u KI-tim taf-nin-tum UM.ME.A', see Borger, BiOr 14 (1957) 190-195.

¹³ 76-11-17, 2289* + 76-11-17, 2233* left edge 1-2: catchline, 3: IM.4.KAM.MA¹ [...] SA.É.GAL¹.

¹⁴ 82-3-23, 32* r. 8': BE BIR ana 150 GU.UD-i[...], see n. II and Jeyes, Old Babylonian Extispicy (see no. 7), 80.

¹⁵ The Babylonian tablet, BM 75224* has r. 14' a catchline which refers to the gall bladder and r. 15': IM.15.KAM.MA BE IGI TUN, see Starr, BiOr 48 (1991) 177. However, according to Nougayrol, RA 40 (1945-46) 83, the *summa pān tākalti* series only has 12 tablets.

¹⁶ K 48865* r. 26: IM.DUB.3.KAM.MA É.S.GAR NAM.UZU₂ N[U ALTIL (...)].

¹⁷ Possible references to a series named *Bārūtu* are: CT 35 37-38 (Rm. 2, 455) r. 18: [sa ina (?) ba-r]ju-tu ša-ru ina mah-ri-i TA SA É.S.GAR ki-i as-su-ba, "what is written [in B/bārūtu] I have previously excerpted from the series", see Bauer, Asb. 85-86 and Starr, AFO 32 (1985) 60-62; Zimmern, BBR no. 1, 9: ... NAM.UZU₂ ša KI sa-a-ti, "B/bārūtu the one with the commentaries", see Lambert, JCS 21 (1967) 133. In spite of the evidence being somewhat scarce, it is, in my view, possible that a series, *Bārūtu*, was compiled during (the later part of) Assurbanipal's reign.

¹⁸ The existence of a catalogue tablet like CT 20 1 (duplicated by K 3041*) is an indication of a standard work of *bārūtu*. Rm. 2, 101 (+) K 205, see Starr, JNES 42 (1983) 109-119 and George, Iraq 50 (1988) 35-37. Duplicate lines are found in CT 31 34-35 and in CT 51 no. 152 (Babylonian), see Starr, JNES 42, 110.

¹⁹ Dated to 711 B.C.: K 2678*, K 2683 + K 8083, K 2692 + K 3164, K 6348, see Hunger, Kolophone, 92 no. 297 (all lung compendia); dated to 704 B.C.: CT 30 25, see Hunger, Kolophone, 91 no. 294. Also CT 41 12 (behaviour of sacrificial lamb) belongs to this library, see Lieberman, HUCA 58 (1987) 204-207.

²⁰ KAR 148 (from Tiglatpileser I) has the following duplicate lines: KAR 148 ii 1-9 = CT 30 23-24 (K 8178 + K 1802*) r. 25'-33'; ii 19-28 = CT 31 28-29 obv. 2'-9'. The second of the two texts in Assur 4530 (Tschinkowitz, AFO 22 (1968-69) 60-61) obv. 56-61. 45 may have been the forerunner to the 4th tablet in the *summa ubānu* series, see Nougayrol, RA 63 (1969) 150 n. 1. KAR 423 i 14-25 is duplicated by K 6412* i 1'-12'.

²¹ Treated in my forthcoming publication: A Gall Bladder Compendium in a Middle Babylonian, Nineveh, and Seleucid Version. The Middle Babylonian tablet belongs to Mr. J.H. Carré. Two Nineveh texts are available: CT 28 43-44+ (see n. 12) and CT 30 5-6. TCL 6 2 is the Seleucid version. References to the series *Bārūtu* are found in this text r. 27 and in TCL 6 3 r. 40; 4 r. 16; BRM 4 12 r. 81; 13 r. 78.

towards creating pairs of omens so that "right"/"left" in the protases correspond to "the king"/"the enemy" in the apodoses. Thus one gets the impression that the Nineveh scribes combined competent copying, with or without some editing, of older tablets, or sections thereof, with a measure of new composition.

One example of a new composition from the time of Assurbanipal is Boissier, DA 209-212.²³ The text is a detailed analysis of the connection between certain formations on the entrails, in a good and bad omen result respectively, and a diagnosis and prognosis for the patient. Detailed apodoses which are not found in older texts, applying to the sick person are a feature of the Nineveh material;²⁴ to give just one example: "the patient will calm down, he will take food and drink water".²⁵ Perhaps this reflects that the diviners, in performing their duties of establishing the cause of an illness, had extra work to do for Assurbanipal during his bouts of ill health and even more so for Esarhaddon who suffered from chronic illness.²⁶

A hitherto unattested kind of text is the so-called "orientation tablet" which has as its purpose to assign to each and every subsection of the liver and the lung the designation, "right" or "left".²⁷ The most complete published one, CT 31 1-5, contains the long Assurbanipal colophon in which the king claims to have written the tablet in the assembly of the *ummāni*, "masters".²⁸

A new feature in the Nineveh material is the illustrations, some very simple, of formations of the *kakku*, the *padānu* or parts of the lung.²⁹ These appear in commentaries of the *mukallimtu* type or in extracts from such commentaries.³⁰ Inserted into a *mukallimtu* we find a unique feature, namely a question which an *ummānu* might ask as well as the correct answer.³¹

If we are here dealing with an Assurbanipal influence, it is that of the student and not that of the master. It does not seem likely that a teaching aid like an illustration and an exam question for an ordinary pupil would be immortalized in a royal collection.

In this connection, one might briefly mention that no significant developments in the interpretative apparatus of *bārūtu* can be dated to the reign of Assurbanipal. Indeed, the achievements of this period can best be described as improved organization and standardization.

Two texts have been published which contain omens that are unique, because the royal client, Assurbanipal, is mentioned by name in the apodoses. Also "the treacherous brother" and Elam are referred to.³² The well known text, K 2130, published by King³³, differs from its older version in two omens which state that 1) Sargon defeated Elam and 2) Sargon enlarged his palace.³⁴ The so-called "historical omens" do not otherwise attribute to Sargon these particular achievements and I suggest that,

²³ Nougayrol, RA 61 (1967) 29 n. 1, refers to unpublished duplicates, K 2896* and K 3988*. The text does not have an Assurbanipal colophon but it does contain quotations from *Multābīlū*, tablets one and 10: DA 212 r. 31': a-rik-tu, KUR-tu = CT 20 39 obv. 1; r. 30': ERIN₂ KUR ana KUR MU ug-tip-pi-lū = CT 20 1 r. 25.

²⁴ The 7th tablet of *Multābīlū* deals with divination for the patient, see CT 20 r. 22. *Marṣu* apodoses are found in Boissier, DA 248-250 r. 1'-21' (this tablet also has *Multābīlū* quotations, f.ex. obv. 7 = CT 20 1 edge 19); CT 30 41, 43 obv. 2'-6', 9'-12', 24'-30', 32', 35'; CT 31 36 ii 14, iii 7-9; CT 20 5 r. 26; CT 20 10 r. 6; Boissier, DA 11 i 8, 232 r. 38; Starr, AFO 26 (1978-79) 52 obv. 16; TCL 6 1 obv. 10, 26, 49, r. 15.

²⁵ Boissier, DA 249 r. 9 (duplicated by CT 31 36 iii 7-8); GIG ne-hu GAR NINDA.HLA Kū N.A.M.E.S NAG. Boissier, DA 248-250 (D.T. 49 + Rm. 2, 105* + Rm. 2, 394*) is duplicated by CT 30 40 (K 10579 + K 6283*).

²⁶ See Parpola, LAS 2, 229-238 for Esarhaddon's condition; Starr, SAA 4 (1990) 188-199; "Medical Queries"; Jeyes, Old Babylonian Extispicy (see no. 7), 42.

²⁷ See Nougayrol, RA 62 (1968) 34-36.

²⁸ See Hunger, Kolophone, 97 no. 318 (Asb. type b). Also the one-line colophon, Asb. type a, occurs on extispicy compendia, f.ex. CT 30 7-8 r. 19, see Hunger, Kolophone, 97 no. 317.

²⁹ In Nougayrol, RA 38 (1941) 81 r. 26 one finds an illustration on an Old Babylonian compendium. For illustrations on Nineveh tablets, see Nougayrol, RA 68 (1974) 61-68. Illustrated *padānu* commentaries are: CT 20 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, CT 20 27-28 (K 4069) + CT 20 21 (81-2-4, 397); Ki 1904-10-9, 100*. Illustrated *hāšu* commentaries are: CT 31 38-40; K 3967*, 81-2-4, 443*.

³⁰ CT 20 23 (K 4702 + K 1315*) is an extract, "excerpted quickly for perusing", see Hunger, Kolophone, 133 no. 484.

³¹ Boissier, DA 13 i 47-53, see CAD M/I 4 and CAD Š/I 275.

³² Rm. 2, 455 is treated in Bauer, Asb. 2 85-86, Rm. 2, 134 is published by Starr in AFO 32 (1985) 60-67.

³³ King, Chron. 2, 129-137, treated 25-39.

³⁴ BM 26472 is published in King, Chron. 2, 3-14. Omen 1 of K 2130 (obv. 1-3) refers to the defeat of Elam and omen 8 (obv. 27-29) refers to the enlargement of the palace.

in this instance, one by "Sargon" should understand "Assurbanipal". Nougayrol has pointed out the connection between K 2130 and tablet 15 of *Multābiltu*.³⁵ Both contain the protasis: *šumma amūtu kima imšukki*, "if the liver is like a clay-case".³⁶ The first protasis in K 2130, "if the liver, from all sides, surrounds the gall bladder", also appears in the Nineveh *bārūtu* texts.³⁷ Tablets 14–16 of *Multābiltu* are unique to the extispicy compendia with each protasis beginning: *šumma amūtu*, "if the liver". In these tablets, which certainly would be new compositions, one would expect to find apodoses alluding to Assurbanipal.³⁸ This is indeed the case, but throughout the Assurbanipal *bārūtu* tablets one finds apodoses which must refer to recent events, either in isolation or in small clusters. A selection of these new apodoses can be arranged into the following narrative:

The gods are hostile, f.ex.: CT 31 39 i 18'–19': ZI-*tú* GAR-*an-ma* ⁴EN.LIL UMUŠ-*mi* UN.MEŠ *u* GALGA UN.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.KAK *il-lal-ma* ..., "there will be an onslaught (from the enemy) and Enlil will suspend the counsel and guidance of the people on a peg"; CT 20 32 r. 70: ⁴U.GUR KÚ ⁴IM RA-*š* ⁴EN.LIL *ka-šá-šá ka-liš* GAR-*an*, "Nergal will ravage, Adad will flood, Enlil will bring about crushing defeat everywhere"; CT 20 32 r. 78: BAL-*c* ⁴U.GUR *ka-šá-šá*, "the reign of Nergal, crushing defeat".³⁹

It was Assurbanipal's personal experience that, to paraphrase the English expression, "dog does eat dog". At a guess, this outrage might be alluded to in the following apodosis: TCL 6 1 r. 23: BA-*ut* *man-nu* LUGAL *man-ni* NU LUGAL UD-*um* HAR.BAD DÜ-*šá* *ina* SISKUR NUN GU₄ UZU GU₄ KÚ "the omen of 'who is king, who is not king'; on the day you take an omen, during the sacrifice of the prince, ox will eat the flesh of ox". Another enemy is described in this double apodosis: TCL 6 1 obv. 55: ZI-*ut* BURU₅.HIA *ú-lu* ZI-*ut* NIM.MA.KI, "onslaught of locusts or onslaught of Elam".⁴⁰

The king gets bad omen results articulated as follows: CT 20 47 iii 32: *te-es-si-ib-hu la ta-šar-ru-ur*, "you will only meet with trouble so do not risk (anything)"; CT 31 29 r. 15': UD-*um* IM.ULU₃ DU-*ku* GIŠ.TUKUL NU DÜ-*uš* ID NU *te-eb'-bir*, "on the day the South wind blows, do not take to arms, do not cross a river".⁴¹ The prince (or king) is in serious trouble: CT 20 3 obv. 10: NUN *ina* É.GAL-*šú qu-bur-šá* BAD-*ti*, "the prince, his grave has been dug in his (own) palace".

But then comes the turning point, instigated by good omen results: CT 31 29 r. 9'–10': ⁴LAMA₂ *ina* SISKUR LUGAL GIŠ.TUKUL *ni-ir za'(ŠÁ)-ir-šá*, "a protective spirit in the sacrifice of the king, it is a weapon (which means: 'slay his enemy'"; TCL 6 3 r. 32: *ina-DUG₄* ⁴UTU NUN KASKAL DU, "upon the word of Šamaš, the prince will go on a campaign". Great gods are on the king's side: CT 31 9 iv' 8: ⁴UTU *u* ⁴IS re-*šu-ú-a* KÜR *ina* ⁴BIL.<GI> *a-dak*, "Šamaš and Ištar are my helpers, I shall defeat the enemy by fire".⁴² The enemy is described as follows: CT 20 7 obv. 18': LUGAL UR.MAH GAZ *ú-lu* LUGAL GABA.RI-*šá* 'GAZ', "the king will kill a lion or the king will kill his equal". Just as the many locust apodoses in the Nineveh texts might refer to Elam, the lion, also mentioned frequently, might refer to the king's opposite number on the throne of Babylon. This, at least, is an unusual lion-apodosis: CT 20 49 r.

34–35: ... UR.MAH [... *m*] *ina* KASKAL GU₄.UD-*tu* ŠUB-*ut*, "the lion [...] which attacked during the campaign will fall".⁴³

The enemy is beset by the following misfortune: CT 20 5 r. 10–11: ERIN₂ KÜR DINGIR.MEŠ-*šá i-dal-la-lu-šá-ma* [DINGIR].MEŠ-*šá* TAK₄.MEŠ-*šá*, "the enemy's army, its gods will glorify it but (then) its gods will let it down". The motifs of the refugee prince (*tardu*)⁴⁴ and a pincer movement (*nitu lamú*) are prominent in the texts.⁴⁵

The defeat of the enemy is total and alluded to as follows in this traditional apodosis: TCL 6 1 obv. 35: BA-*ut* ⁴MI-*bi*-⁴30 *šá* NIG.HA.LAM.MA, "the omen of Ibbi-Sin of catastrophe"; an updated version is: TCL 6 1 r. 18: BA-*ut* LUGAL UR⁴ NIG.HA.LAM.MA, "the omen of the king of Akkad of catastrophe"; furthermore: CT 31 28 obv. 13: LUGAL É.GAL LUGAL GABA.RI-*šú* TI-*qi*¹, "the king will take the palace of the king, his equal".⁴⁶ Finally, we have a graphic description of a totally devastated city: TCL 6 1 r. 2: URU.BI ŠUB-*ma* *ina* ŠA-*šú qa-du-ú i-qa-dú-ú*, "this city will fall and in its midst owls will hoot".⁴⁷

The great gods are now benevolent: CT 20 49 obv. 27–28: ⁴EN.LIL *ana* LUGAL *bi-ib-lat* ŠA-*šú* ÚS.MEŠ-*šá* [*ana* MAN *na-ki-ri-šú* GAM].MEŠ-*šú kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ *i-šam-šu ana be-cl*, "Enlil will always guide the king according to his wish, for the king, he (Enlil) will subject his enemies to him, will assign to him all people for supreme power"⁴⁸; CT 20 49 r. 29: ⁴IŠtar MUL.MEŠ *i-ra-áš*, "Ištar of the stars will rejoice"; CT 20 49 r. 37: ⁴UTU *mi-šá-ru* GI.NA.MEŠ *di-in ki-ti u mi-šá-ri* [...], "Šamaš will forever establish justice, a verdict of righteousness [...]"; as for the king: CT 20 49 r. 38: LUGAL KI DINGIR TILA *ur-rak*, "the king will obtain long life from the god"; CT 20 39 iii 15: LUGAL KUR-*su i-ram-ma*, "the king, his country will love him"; and finally: CT 28 50 r. 8': NUN É.GAL-*šú* ŠUB-*ma* ¹*ina* ZAG-*šú* É.GAL MAN-*tam-ma* DÜ-*ma* [...], "the prince, his palace will fall into disrepair but he will build another palace next to it and [...]".

In conclusion, Assurbanipal's contribution to *bārūtu* was that of accommodating Babylonian and Assyrian traditions of the remote and recent past within his palace and to lend his name to a comprehensive and reasonably homogeneous compilation of extispicy compendia. To this legacy were added new omens in which the king is portrayed as righteous and glorious.

³⁵ Iraq 31 (1969) 59.

³⁶ King, Chron. 2, 133 obv. 27; CT 20 1 r. 30. The protasis is also found in Boissier, DA 226 obv. 11 (this text has the colophon, Asb. type 1); CT 30 9 obv. 2', 4', 12', 14', 16', 18', 20'; K 20815* (small fragment); Nougayrol, RA 73 (1979) 70 (AO 7756) obv. 2', 5', 7'.

³⁷ K 2130 obv. 1: BE BA *ana* NIGIN-*ti-tú* ZÉ *sab-rat-si*. The line is duplicated in CT 30 9 obv. 15' and in 79–7–8, 58+* r. 34', 36'; both have the correct, *ana* NIGIN-*ti-lá*.

³⁸ A fragment of tablet 14 is published in CT 30 31. The Seleucid version, TCL 6 1, is intact. CT 30 9–10 is a commentary to the 15th tablet. CT 20 50 has parts of tablets 13 and 14. Tablet 10, published CT 20 49, has a concentration of unique apodoses; the expression, *sullú u surrātu*, "lies and falsehood", which is typical of the Assurbanipal texts, occurs in obv. 15. *Šumma amūtu* omens are also found in K 10599*, K 11011*, K 11141*, K 14549*, 81–2–4, 249*.

³⁹ Duplicated in CT 20 37 iv 18 and in TCL 6 1 obv. 16.

⁴⁰ Also in TCL 6 1 obv. 56, 61, 62. Other Elam apodoses are: CT 20 31–33 obv. 41, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52; CT 20 37 iv 6; CT 28 49 obv. 2'; CT 30 10 r. 7'; 79–7–8, 58+* r. 35'. TCL 6 1 obv. 25: DINGIR.MEŠ KUR NIM.MA.KI KUMES, "the gods of Elam will sit back (?)".

⁴¹ Also CT 20 4 r. 14': GIŠ.TUKUL NU DÜ-*m* KÜR ERIN₂-*ka i-sa-šip*, "do not take to arms, the enemy will overthrow you".

⁴² In KAR 423 iv 37, Sin and Šamaš are the helpers, in v 3, Šamaš and Marduk. Could this be an indication of a dating to Esarhaddon for this text?

⁴³ Other lion apodoses are found in: Boissier, DA 6–10 obv. 25, r. 33, 34; CT 20 31 obv. 37; CT 31 38–40 i 5'; Starr, AFO 26, 47 obv. 8, 48 obv. 18, 20, 52 obv. 11, 54 r. 17; TCL 6 3 obv. 38, 39.

⁴⁴ *Tardu* omens are found in: CT 20 39 obv. iii 17; CT 28 50 r. 14'; CT 30 16 r. 2, 3, 4, 5; CT 30 20 obv. 19; see also TCL 6 1 obv. 22: NUN *ina* URU-*šú* É-*ma* *ina* URU MAN-*ma* KU-*ab*¹ (DU MA), "the prince will leave his own city and will settle (?) in a foreign city".

⁴⁵ *Nitu lamú* apodoses are found in: Boissier, DA 226 obv. 11; K 3978+* ii 56 (duplicated by CT 31 49+ r. 24'); TCL 6 1 r. 54, 55, 56; TCL 6 3 r. 33, 34.

⁴⁶ Another confident message is: CT 20 50 r. 7: BE-*ma* *ina* ID GIŠ.MA.MEŠ KÜR BE-*ma* *ina ta-ba-lu* ERIN₂; KÜR GAZ-*ak lá-ni* DUMU LUGAL *šá* KÜR KÜR ZAH-*i-i*¹, "if at sea (you will defeat) the enemy's ships, if on dry land, you will defeat the enemy's army, secondly: the king's son of the enemy's country will disappear".

⁴⁷ Duplicated in CT 30 9 obv. 14'; K 11141* r. 5'; 81–2–4, 249* r. 12'.

⁴⁸ Duplicated by CT 20 12 (K 9213 + K 11809*) i 5'–7'.

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