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LETTERS FROM ASSYRIAN SCHOLARS

to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal

Part II A: Introduction and Appendixes

by

Simo Parpola

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

*to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Section of History and Philology
of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Helsinki,
in Lecture Room XII, on Saturday, March 20, 1971, at 12 o'clock noon*

KEVELAER-NECKIRCHEN, VLUYN 1971

PREFACE

The present volume contains the information that, in my opinion, is essential to a fruitful utilization of the letters edited in Pt. I (AOAT 5/1). It is naturally intended to replace the previous commentary on the letters presented in the Vol. III of L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*¹. Though I have written in the first place for specialists, I have, at the same time, tried to take into account the more generally oriented reader too.

The adopted scheme (Introduction, Commentary, Appendices, Indexes) as such is conventional and hardly need be accounted for. A few comments on the introduction and the commentary may however be appropriate in this connection.

The *introduction* contains a *synthesis* of the general conclusions that can be drawn from the detail *analysis* of the material presented in the commentary. Far from trying to exhaust the information of the letters, I have concentrated on a number of carefully selected topics that bear on the understanding of the letters as a whole. This was all the more imperative as in many cases widely current opinions about these questions obviously were in need of revision or precision.

The purpose of the *commentary* is twofold. On one hand, I have tried to clarify difficult passages by adducing illustrating parallels or other evidence from other, mostly contemporary sources. On the other hand, I have done my best to point out the relative or absolute certainty of the text and translation given by me². This implied a thorough grounding of all major restorations (especially concerning the assignment of letter fragments to definite authors) and questionable translations (especially those deviating from authorities such as CAD and AHw; quite obvious mistranslations and misinterpretations of earlier editions are passed over in silence); the numerous philological and historical discussions serving for this purpose are registered in the indexes. Whenever sufficient astronomical or historical criteria are available, I have endeavoured to establish the exact date of each document, and the line of argumentation is presented in the commentary in proper connections; otherwise the general time limits deduced in the introduction have to be applied. The comments on each

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letter are preceded by a list of the extant photographs, copies (other than ABL) and scholarly contributions that have appeared after 1930¹.

The main body of this volume dates from 1968: chapters III and IV of the introduction, and parts of chapter II, were written after my release from military service in 1969. In order to keep the manuscript up to date, I have later on inserted new material and rewritten some sections.²

I repeat my thanks to all persons and institutions whose assistance was acknowledged in Pt. I. Furthermore, I want to thank my wife for her loving help, Prof. K. Deller (Heidelberg) for reading through the introduction, and especially the editors of the series AOAT for the outstanding generosity and elasticity shown to me during the printing of this book.

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- 1938 A. Schott, "Nabû-ahhê-erība, der Astrologe mit den Silbenlesungen": ZA 44, 194-200.
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- 1939 G. Meier, "Ein Brief des assyrischen Gelehrten Balāsi": Or NS 8, 306-309.
- 1941 A.L. Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian": JAOS 61, 251-271.
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- 1943 G.B. Denton, "A new interpretation of a well-known Assyrian letter": JNES 2, 314-315.
- 1944 A.L. Oppenheim, "Notes to the Harper-letters": JAOS 64, 190-196.
- 1946 R. Labat, "Le sort des substituts royaux en Assyrie au temps des Sargonides": RA 40, 123-142.
- 1947 A.L. Oppenheim, "The shadow of the king": BASOR 107, 7-11.
- 1956 W. von Soden, "Beiträge zum Verständnis der neuassyrischen Briefe über die Ersatzkönigsriten": Fs Christian 100-107.
- 1962 L.F. Hartman, "The date of the Cimmerian threat against Ashurbanipal according to ABL 1391": JNES 21, 25-37.
- 1965 B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*, MAW NR 28.6. Amsterdam 1965.
- 1969 K. Deller, "Die Briefe des Adad-šumu-ušur": Fs von Soden, 45-64.

Less important contributions are listed in the commentary under respective numbers.

4. Neo-Assyrian grammar and vocabulary

The date there is no adequate presentation of either the Neo-Assyrian grammar or vocabulary. Especially the latter has been badly neglected, the only extensive list of words available being the one published in the fourth volume of RCAE (which besides being incomplete, is to a large extent unreliable and does not distinguish between NA and NB words). The main features of the NA grammar are worked out in Š. Ylvisaker, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, eine Untersuchung auf Grund der Briefe aus der Sargonidenzeit (= LSS 5/6, Leipzig 1912). Despite its undeniable merits, this study is now out-of-date, owing to the considerable growth of the textual material. A new, comprehensive grammar is in preparation by K. Deller. Until its completion, Neo-Assyrian students have to resort to their own collections and the scattered lexical and grammatical studies that have appeared during the two past decades. Here is a list of the most important ones:

- 1952 W. von Soden, *Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik* (= AnOr 33, Rome 1952), passim, esp. p. 248, (*Ergänzungsheft* Rome 1969).
- 1956 L. Matouš und K. Petráček, "Beiträge zur akkadischen Grammatik I": ArOr 24, 1-14.
- 1957 W. von Soden, "Zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Neuassyrischen": AfO 18, 121-122.
- 1958 K. Deller und A. Pohl, review of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 6 (J): Or NS 27, 119-122.
K. Deller, review of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 5 (G): Or NS 27, 206-208.
— — —, review of A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*: Or NS 27, 311-314.

- 1959 K. Deller, *Lautlehre des Neuassyrischen*, Diss. Wien 1959.
- 1961 E. Knudsen, "Cases of free variants in the Akkadian *q* phoneme": JCS 15, 84-90.
K. Deller, "Zur Terminologie neuassyrischer Urkunden": WZKM 57, 29-42.
— — —, LU LU = LU *parrisu* und LU *sarru*: Or NS 30, 249-257.
— — —, "Die Verdrängung des Grundtammes von *ezēbu* durch *rammū* im Neuassyrischen": Or NS 30, 345-354.
- 1962 — — —, "Zweisilbige Lautwerte des Typus KVKV im Neuassyrischen": Or NS 31, 7-26.
— — —, "Studien zur neuassyrischen Orthographie": Or NS 31, 186-96.
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— — —, review of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 21 (Z): Or NS 31, 459-462.
- 1963 — — —, review of W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*: AfO 20, 166-167.
- 1964 E. Reimer, "The phonological interpretation of a sub-system in the Akkadian syllabary": Studies Oppenheim, 167-180.
K. Deller, review of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 16 (S): Or NS 33, 89-96.
— — —, review of A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien*: Or NS 33, 99-103.
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— — —, review of E. Leichty, *A Bibliography of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection*: Or NS 33, 476-578.
- 1965 — — —, *šmn bl* "to make a covenant" (Hosea 12.2). Additional evidence: Biblica 46, 349-352.
M. Dahood, K. Deller und R. Köbert, "Comparative Semitics: some remarks on a recent publication": Or NS 34, 35-44.
K. Deller, review of *Studies Oppenheim*: Or NS 34, 73-77.
— — —, review of Ungnad-Matouš, *Grammatik des Akkadischen*: Or NS 34, 77-79.
— — —, "Marginalien zu den Rechtsurkunden aus Balawat": Or NS 34, 169.
— — —, review of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 1 (A-D): Or NS 34, 259-274.
— — —, review of R. de Vaux, *Les sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament*: Or NS 34, 382-386.
— — —, "Neuassyrisches aus Sultantepe": Or 34 (1965), 382-386.
— — —, review of A. Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien*: OLZ 60, 248-250.
- 1966 — — — and S. Parpola, Neuassyrisch "unser Herr" = *bēlīni*, nicht **bēlīni*: Or NS 35, 121-122.
— — —, The Neo-Assyrian epigraphical remains of Nimrud: Or NS 35, 179-194.
— — —, review of A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamien*: Or NS 35, 207-209.
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W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. I": Or NS 35, 1-20.
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5. Mesopotamian traditional literature¹

TUŠARRĪTU — OMEN SCIENCE

- Enūma Anu Enlil = Ch. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, le livre intitulé "enūma (Anu) ilubēl". Paris 1908-12. A new edition is being prepared by E. Reimer. For the present see E. Weidner, Die astrologische Serie Enūma Anu Enlil: AfO 14 (1941-44) 172-95 und 308-18; 17 (1954-56) 70-89; 22 (1968-69) 65-75.

¹ While this section has to be understood in the light of footnote 1, p. IX, it is by no means exhaustive. De-

- Šumma ālu* = F. Nötscher, *Haus- und Stadtomina der Serie šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, Or 31, Roma 1928; *Die Omen-Serie šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, Or 39-42 and 51-54, Roma 1929 and 1930; Zur Omen-Serie "šumma ālu": Or NS 3 (1934) 177-195. This series is badly in need of re-edition¹. Additions and corrections to the edition of Nötscher are given by F. Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, AfO 18 (1957-8) 62-77; R. Borger, BiOr 11 (1954) 88-89; E. Weidner, AfO 11 (1936-7) 358-360 and AfO 21 (1966) 46.
- Šumma izbu* = L. Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburts-Omina*, AB 22, Leipzig 1914. Ch. Fossey, *Présages tirés des naissances Ire partie*, Bab. 5 (1914). Both of these editions will be replaced by E. Leichty, *The series šumma izbu* (TCS 4).
- Iqqr ipuš* = R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes et des mois (séries iqqr ipuš)*, BEHE 321, Paris 1965.
- Inbu bēl arji* = B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (LSS 6/1-2, Leipzig 1915), p. 101-145. S. Langdon, *Babylonian menologies and the Semitic calendars*, London 1935, p. 74ff. Neither of these two is a text-edition. Copies of individual tablets are given by Labat, *Iqqr ipuš*, pl. XLIV-XLVI (see also pp. 243-246); Virolleaud, ZA 19 (1905-06) 377-382; and Pinches, 4R² (1891), 32-33.
- Babylonian almanac* = R. Labat, "Un almanach babylonien (V R 48-49)", RA 38 (1941), 13-40. Additional texts of this genre are given by R. Labat, "Nouveaux textes hémérologiques d'Assur", MIO 5 (1957), 307-315; idem, "Un calendrier cassite", Sumer 8 (1952), 17-36; and L. Matouš, "L'Almanach de Bakr-Awa", Sumer 17 (1961), 17-66.
- Assur-hemerologies* = R. Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur*, Paris 1939. Additions, R. Labat, "Nouveaux textes hémérologiques d'Assur", MIO 5 (1957), 299-306. Texts of this type, following a slightly different tradition, have also been found in other cities: see Ch. Virolleaud, Bab. 1 (1907), 204 and 4 (1911), 104-106 (Nineveh); P. Hulin, "A hemerological text from Nimrud", Iraq 21 (1959), 42-53; and R. Labat, "Tabous de Tešrit et autres prescriptions", Iraq 23 (1961), 88-94 (Calah); O.R. Gurney, STT II (1964), 302-303 (Huzirina); idem, "Further texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu", Sumer 9 (1953), 21-34, no. 28 (Dūr-Kurigalzu).
- MUL.APIN* = E. Weidner, "Ein babylonisches Kompendium der Himmelskunde", AJSL 40 (1923-24), 186-208. For the 1st tablet of this work see also E. Weidner, HBA (1915), 35-51; to the fragments and duplicates of the 2nd tablet, enumerated by Weidner, in AJSL 40, have to be added STT II (1964), 331-334, and 336-338.
- MULMES 3.TA.ĀM* = E. Weidner, HBA (1915), 62-76. Cf. A. Schott, ZDMG 88 (1934), 302-311 and LBAT 1499-1500.
- LNAM GIŠ.IJUR AN.KLA* = E. Weidner, "Zur babylonischen Astronomie", Bab. 6 (1912), 8-28 and pl. I-II (2nd *pīrsu* of the work); CT 25, 50 + CT 46:54 ("final extract" of the work).

More astronomical texts from the Sargonic period are published in CT 26, 29, 33 and 34. For these texts, both in general and in particular, see E. Weidner, "Ein astrologischer Sammeltext aus der Sargonicidenzeit", AfO 19 (1959-60), 105-113.

tailed information (distinguishing between Akkadian literary works) is given only in the case of omen science and exorcism; even there, many titles are omitted. In the case of extispicy, medicine and lamentation science, only general information is given, since relatively few of the letters deal with these subjects. An extensive and detailed presentation of the whole Akkadian literature will be found in my forthcoming study on the "Library of Assurbanipal".

According to R. Labat, *Iqqr ipuš*, p. 3, footnote 1, "une nouvelle édition de ces textes est actuellement préparée par W.G. Lambert".

BĀRĀTU — EXTISPICY

- Boissier, A., *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne* I, Genève 1905, pp. 39-169.
- — —, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*, Paris 1894.
- — —, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite*, Paris 1935.
- Borger, R., "Die erste Tafel der Serie *šumma multabiltu*", AfO 18 (1957), 88.
- Clay, A.T., *Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts*, BRM 4, New Haven 1923, Nos. 12-16.
- Ebeling, E., *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, WDOG 28 and 34, Leipzig 1919 and 1923, Nos. 148-153, 422-460.
- Fossey, Ch., *Textes assyriens et babyloniens relatifs à la divination transcrits, traduits et commentés*, Paris 1905.
- Goetze, A., *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*, YOS 10, New Haven and London 1947.
- Gurney, O., and Hulin, P., *The Sultantepe Tablets II*, London 1964, Nos. 308-319.
- Handcock, P., CT 28 (1910), 30 (1911) and 31 (1911).
- Lambert, W.G., "Enmeduranki and related matters", JCS 21 (1967), 126-138.
- Nougayrol, J., "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre", RA 38 (1941) 67-88, 40 (1945-46) 56-79, 44 (1950) 1-35.
- Thompson, R.C., CT 20 (1904).
- Thureau-Dangin, Fr., *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du temple d'A'u au temps des Séleucides*, TCL 6, Paris 1922, Nos. 1-6.
- Weidner, E., *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy* 4, Berlin 1924, Nos. 65-66 and 71-75. See also H. Otten, KBo 7 (1954), nos. 4-7.
- — —, Die erste Tafel der Serie *šumma multabiltu*: AfO 15 (1945-51) 54.
- Zimmern, H., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, AB 12, II Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger, Leipzig 1901, Nos. 1-25.

ĀŠĪPŪTU — EXORCISM

- alandimmū* = F.R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier*, MVAG 40/2, Leipzig 1935. Cf. ZA 43 (1936), 77; Idem, *Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomik*, AfO Bh 3, Berlin 1939 (esp. p. 4-5); Weitere Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomik, Or NS 16 (1947), 172-205.
- kataduggū* = F.R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform", ZA 43 (1936), 77-113. See also the works cited under *alandimmū*.
- nigdimdimmū* = F.R. Kraus, "Babylonische Omina mit Ausdeutung der Begleiterscheinungen des Sprechens", AfO 11 (1936-37), 219-230. See also AfO Bh 3, no. 53.
- Enūma āšipu ana bīt marši illiku (= šakikkū)* = R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951. Additions by the same author, Syria 33 (1956), 119-30. See also J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "Two medical texts from Nimrud", Iraq 18 (1956), 130-46, and id., "The Nimrud catalogue of medical and physiognomical omina", Iraq 24 (1962), 52-62.
- lškar Zaḫūji* = A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society N.S. 46:3, Philadelphia 1956.
- Asakki maršūti* = R.C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylon*, Vol. II (London 1904), pp. 2-43.

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- Sag-gig (= dī'u) = R.C. Thompson, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 52.
- Mušī'u = F. Köcher, "Die Ritualtafel der magisch-medizinischen Tafelserie "Einreibung"", AfO 21 (1966), 13-20.
- Lamaštu = D. Myhrman, "Die Labartu-Texte, babylonische Beschwörungsformeln gegen die Dämonin Labartu", ZA 16 (1902), 141-183. Cf. A. Falkenstein, LKU (1931), p. 8-13. According to Landsberger and Jacobsen, JNES 14 (1955) 143, "a new edition by F. Köcher is ready for publication but has not yet appeared".
- Maqlû = G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beuschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO Bb 2, Graz 1937. See also idem (†), "Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû", AfO 21 (1966), 70-81.
- Šurpu = E. Reiner, *Šurpu, a Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, AfO Bb 11, Graz 1958. Cf. W.G. Lambert, Two Notes on Šurpu, AfO 19 (1959-60), 122.
- Ilī ul īdi = E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach der Vorstellung der Babylonier*, Berlin und Leipzig 1933, p. 116ff. Cf. Reiner Šurpu p. 3f and Köcher, AfO 21, p. 18⁴⁵.
- Māmīt pašāri = E. Reiner, "Lipšur litanies", JNES 15 (1956), 129-149. See also E. Knudsen, "An incantation tablet from Nimrud", Iraq 21 (1959), 54-61, and O.R. Gurney, "An incantation of the Maqlû type", AfO 11 (1936-37), 367-368.
- Bit rimki = J. Laessle, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bit rimki*, Copenhagen 1955. Cf. the review of Reiner, JNES 17 (1958) 204-207, W.G. Lambert, BiOr 14 (1957), 227-230, and R. Borger, AfO 18 (1957-58), 138-140. See also A. Ungnad, "Bemerkungen zum bit-rimki-Ritual", Or NS 12 (1943), 196-198, and C.J. Mullo Weir, "The prayer cycle in the Assyrian ritual bit rimki, tablet IV", AfO 18 (1957-58), 371-372. For published texts belonging to the series, see H. Zimmern, BBR 26 (= the ritual tablet, supplemented by fragments published by Laessle and Reiner), 28-30; O.R. Gurney and J.J. Finkelstein, STT I 76-77; Th. Pinches, 4 R² 17 and Add. p. 5; L.W. King, BMS no. 1-3.
- Bit salā' mē = hitherto not edited; provisionally, see G. Meier, AfO 14 (1941-44), 139 note 2, and W. Kunstmann, LSS NF 2 (1932), p. 62.
- Bit mēširi = C. Frank, "bit mēširi", ZA 36 (1925), 215-217, and H. Zimmern, BBR nos. 41-48 and 53 (= the ritual tablet); G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bit mēširi", AfO 14 (1941-44), 139-152; Th. Pinches, 4 R² Add. p. 5.
- Mis pi = G. Meier, "Die Ritualtafel der Serie "Mundwaschung"", AfO 12 (1937-39), 40-45; idem, "Beschwörung mittels eines Mehlkreises", AfO 11 (1936-37), 365-367; R.C. Thompson, Devils II 136-145; Th. Pinches, 4 R² 18; L.W. King, BMS no. 6; H. Zimmern, BBR nos. 31-39; S. Smith, "The Babylonian ritual for the consecration and induction of a divine statue", JRAS 1925, 37 ff.
- Namburbi = E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48 (1954), 1-15, 76-85, 130-141, 178-191; 49 (1955), 32-41, 137-148; 178-192; 50 (1956), 22-33 and 86-94; R. Caplice, "Namburbi-texts in the British Museum", Or NS 34 (1965), 105-131; 36 (1967), 1-38, 273-298; 39 (1970) 111-151; see also E. Weidner, "Beschwörung gegen Böses aller Art", AfO 16 (1952-53), 56.
- Šar pūhi-ritual = W.G. Lambert, "A part of the ritual for the substitute king", AfO 18 (1957-58), 109-112; idem, "The ritual for the substitute king - a new fragment", AfO 19 (1959-60), 119.
- Šuilla = L.W. King, *Babylonian magic and sorcery*, being "The prayers of the lifting of the hand", London 1896; E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" von neuem gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Berlin 1953.

For medical rituals see under *asûtu* "medicine".

- Exorcist's manual = E. Ebeling, KAR 44; see H. Zimmern, ZA 30 (1916), 204-220.
- Exorcist's almanach = O.R. Gurney - P. Hulin, STT II 300; cf. BRM IV 19-20 and A. Ungnad, AfO 14 (1941-44), 258-275.

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- — —, *Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde*, Berlin 1955.
- F. Köchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*, AB 18, Leipzig 1904.
- R.C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, London 1923.

KALÛTU — LAMENTATION

- S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, Paris 1913.
- — —, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, OFCT 6, Paris 1927.
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- — —, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, PBS 10/2, Philadelphia 1917.
- — —, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, PBS 10/4, Philadelphia 1919.
- — —, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford 1914.
- — —, "The liturgical series "From the assembly wisdom is departed", a Nabû liturgy", Gaster anniversary volume, London 1936, p. 335 ff.
- — —, "Two Sumerian liturgical texts", RA 16 (1919), 207 ff.
- — —, "The Assyrian catalogue of liturgical texts, a reconstruction of the tablet", RA 18 (1921), 157 ff.
- — —, "A list of the known titles of Sumerian penitential psalms (eršagunga), arranged in alphabetical order", RA 22 (1925), 119ff.
- G.A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 10, Berlin 1896.
- H. Zimmern, *Sumerisch-babylonische Tamūzlieder*, BSGW 59/4, Leipzig 1907.
- F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadiens*, Paris 1921.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Bibliographical abbreviations¹

AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek (Leipzig)
ABB	E. Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kulturellen Inhalts (= LSS 2/2, Leipzig 1906)
ABL	R.F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (London and Chicago 1892-1916)
ABRT	J. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts (= AB 13, Leipzig 1895-97)
AC	F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, Akkadian Chrestomathy (Leyden 1947)
ACH	Ch. Virolleaud, L'astrologie chaldéenne (Paris 1908-12)
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents (Cambridge 1898-1923)
AK	Archiv für Keilschriftforschung (Graz; continued as AfO)
AfO (Bh)	Archiv für Orientforschung (Beiheft) (Graz)
AGH	E. Ebeling, Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" (Berlin 1953)
AGS	J. Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott (Leipzig 1893)
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (Wiesbaden 1958-)
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (continued as JNES)
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves (Brussels)
AKA	E.A. Budge and L.W. King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria I (London 1902)
AL	F. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke (Leipzig)
AMT	R.C. Thompson, Assyrian Medical Texts (London 1923)
ANET	J. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (2nd ed., Princeton 1955)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Rome)
Antagal	lexical series a n t a g a l = <i>šaqa</i> , cited from unpubl. Chicago MS (in the remains of F.W. Geers)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer - Neukirchen)
AOS	American Oriental Series
APN	K. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names (Helsinki 1914)
AR	J. Kohler und A. Ungnad, Assyrische Rechtsurkunden (Leipzig 1913)
ArOr	Archiv Orientální (Prague)
AS	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
Assurbanipal	M. Streck, Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Ninivehs (= VAB 7, Leipzig 1916)
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig)
Babyl.	Babyloniaca (Paris)
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Jerusalem, Baghdad)
BBA	B. Landsberger, Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon (Amsterdam 1965)
BBR	H. Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion II (= AB 12, Leipzig 1901)

¹ Titles of Akkadian literary works are also used as abbreviations; for these, see the bibliography.

- BChr Babylonian Chronicle. Cited from CT 34, 43-50.
 BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
 BÉHÉ Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, IVe section (sciences historiques et philologiques)
 Bezold Glossar C. Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg 1926)
 BHIT S. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts (London 1924)
 Biblica Biblica (Rome)
 BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies
 BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
 BKBM F. Kückler, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin (= AB 18, Leipzig 1904)
 BL S. Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies (Paris 1913)
 BM tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 BMS L.W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (London 1896)
 BRM Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
 BSGW Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
 BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
 Bu. tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 BWL W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford 1960)
 CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago and Glückstadt 1956)
 Cat. C. Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection (London 1889-99)
 Cat. Spl. L.W. King, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Supplement (London 1914)
 CCK D.J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (London 1956)
 Centaurus Centaurus (Copenhagen)
 Choix A. Boissier, Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne (Genève 1905-06)
 CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
 DAB R.C. Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany (London 1949)
 DACG R.C. Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology (Oxford 1936)
 Devils R.C. Thompson, The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia (London 1903-04)
 Diri lexical series *d i r i* DIR *si'ajaku* = *atru*, cited from unp. Chicago MS (in the remains of W.F. Geers)
 D.T. tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 En. el. *Enūma eliš*, The Babylonian Epic of Creation. Text established by W.G. Lambert and copied out by S. Parker (London 1966)
 Era F. Gössman, Das Era-Epos (Würzburg 1956)
 Esarh. R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien (= AfO Bh 9, Graz 1956)
 Fs Christian Vorderasiatische Studien, Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Viktor Christian (Wien 1956)
 Fs Friedrich Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet (Heidelberg 1959)
 Fs von Soden *lišān mīthurti*, Festschrift Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 19. VI. 1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern (= AOAT 1, Neukirchen 1969)
 GAG W. von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik (= AnOr 33, Rome 1952)
 Gilg. R.C. Thompson, The epic of Gilgamesh (Oxford 1930)
 Götterepitheta K. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta (= StOr 7, Helsinki 1938)
 HBA E. Weidner, Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie I (= AB 23, Leipzig 1915)
 Herodotus Herodotus, With an English Translation by A.D. Godley (Loeb Classical Library, London 1960)
 Ijg lexical series IJAR.gud = *imru* = *ballu* (= MSI. 5 ff)

- Ijg lexical series IJAR.ra = *hubullu* (= MSI. 5 ff)
 Hippologia A. Salonen, Hippologia Aecadia (Helsinki 1956)
 HKL R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur I (Berlin 1967)
 HMA R. Labat, Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur (Paris 1939)
 HWB F. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig 1896)
 Igituh lexical series *i g i . d u g . a* = *tāmartu* (Short Version = AfO 18, 81 ff.)
 Iraq Th. Bauer, Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals (= AB N.F. 1-2, Leipzig 1933)
 Izi lexical series *i z i* = *išātu*, cited from unp. Chicago MS (in the remains of F.W. Geers)
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society (Boston, Mass.)
 JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven)
 JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, Ill.)
 K. tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 KAI H. Donner und W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften (Wiesbaden 1964-68)
 KAR E. Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (Bd. I = WDOG 28, Leipzig 1915-19; Bd. II = WDOG 34, Leipzig 1920-23)
 KAV O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (= WDOG 35, Leipzig 1920)
 KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
 Ki. tablets in the collections of the British Museum
 King Chronicles L.W. King, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings (London 1907)
 Körperteile H. Holma, Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen (Leipzig 1911)
 KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
 LAS S. Parpola, Letters from Assyrian Scholars I (= AOAT 5/1, Neukirchen 1970)
 LKA E. Ebeling und F. Köcher, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur (Berlin 1953)
 LKU A. Falkenstein, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk (Berlin 1931)
 LSS (N.F.) Leipziger Semitische Studien (Neue Folge)
 Ludlul *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, cited from W.G. Lambert, BWL p. 21 ff.
 MAOG Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
 MAW, N.R. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks
 MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
 MSI Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (Rome)
 Muss-Arnolt W. Muss-Arnolt, Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch (Berlin 1905)
 MV Aeg Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig)
 Nabnitu lexical series SIG.⁺ALAM = *nabnitu*, cited from unp. Chicago MS (in the remains of F.W. Geers)
 ND field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
 OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
 OIP Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
 OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin)
 Or Orientalia (Series prior, Rome 1920-1930)
 Or NS Orientalia Nova Series (Rome)
 PBS University of Pennsylvania, the Museum, publications of the Babylonian Section
 PICO Proceedings of the . . . th International Congress of Orientalists
 PKTA E. Ebeling, Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur (Rome 1950)
 Pract. Voc. B. Landsberger and O.R. Gurney, Practical Vocabulary of Assur, AfO 18 (1957-58), 328 ff.
 PRT E. Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig 1913)

PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
Quttulu	H. Holma, Die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen der Form quttulu (Helsinki 1914)
R	H. Rawlinson (et al.), The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (London 1861-1891)
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris)
RAcc.	F. Thureau-Dangin, Rituels Accadiens (Paris 1921)
RM	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Comptes rendus
RCME	L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire (Ann Arbor 1930-36)
RHR	Revue d'histoire des religions, Annales du Musée Guimet (Paris)
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin and Leipzig 1932 ff)
Rm.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
RMA	R.C. Thompson, The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon (London 1900)
Rost Tgl	P. Rost, Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser's III. (Leipzig 1893)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein und W. von Soden, Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (Zürich-Stuttgart 1953)
sb	lexical series Syllabary B (= MSL 3, 96 ff)
SBH	G. Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit (Berlin 1896)
Sg 8	F. Thureau-Dangin, Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (= TCL 3, Paris 1912)
SL	A. Deimel, Sumerisches Lexikon (Rome 1934-1937)
SLA	R. Pfeiffer, State Letters of Assyria (= AOS 6, New Haven 1935)
Sm.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
SSB	F.N. Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel (Münster 1907-37)
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden 1965 ff)
STC	L.W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation (London 1902)
StOr	Studia Orientalia (Helsinki)
STT	O.R. Gurney et al., The Sultantepe Tablets (London 1957 and 1964)
Studies Landsberger	Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger on his 75th Birthday April 21, 1965 (= AS 16, Chicago 1965)
Studies Oppenheim	From the Workshop of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, Studies presented to A. Leo Oppenheim (Chicago 1964)
Sumer	Sumer (Baghdad)
Šurpu	E. Reiner, Šurpu, a collection of Sumerian and Akkadian incantations (= AfO Bh 11, Graz 1958)
SVAT	E. Ebeling, Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel (Berlin 1954)
Syria	Syria (Paris)
Takultu	R. Frankena, Takultu, De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel (Leiden 1954)
TCL	Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Textes cunéiformes
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Chicago)
TDP	R. Labat, Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux (Leiden 1951)
Th.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
TuL	E. Ebeling, Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier (Berlin und Leipzig 1931)
Ugnad Glossar	A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-urkunden, Glossar (Leipzig 1937)
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts (London)
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAT	tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin

VTE	D.J. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon (London 1958)
Wasserfahrzeuge	A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen (Helsinki 1939)
WDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin)
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna)
WO	Die Welt des Orients (Göttingen)
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie (Berlin)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden)
83-1-18, etc.	tablets entered into the collections of the British Museum on the 18th of January, 1883, etc.

2. Other abbreviations

acc.	accusative	MA	Middle Assyrian
adj.	adjective	MB	Middle Babylonian
Akk.	Akkadian	mng.	meaning
app.	appendix	n.	note
Arab.	Arabic	NA	Neo-Assyrian
Aram.	Aramaic	NB	Neo-Babylonian
Asb	Assurbanipal	nom.	nominative
Ash	Esarhaddon	OA	Old Assyrian
Ass.	Assyrian	OAkk	Old Akkadian
astr(ol)	astrological	OB	Old Babylonian
Bab.	Babylonian	obv.	obverse
Bibl.	Biblical	p.	page, person
col.	column	pl.	plural
coll.	collation	PN	personal name
dat.	dative	prs.	present
dem.	demonstrative	prt	preterite
DN	divine name	r(ev.)	reverse
dupl.	duplicate	sg.	singular
ed.	edition, editor	Sg	Sargon II
esp.	especially	Šn	Sennacherib
f.	feminine, following	SN	star-name
gen.	genitive	st. estr.	status constructus
GN	geographical name	Sum.	Sumerian
imp.	imperative	Tgl	Tiglathpileser
inf.	infinitive	tr.	transitive
itr.	intransitive	unp.	unpublished
m.	masculine	var.	variant