

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1A:

SCHOLARLY ADVISORS OF ESARHADDON AND ASSURBANIPAL

This appendix gives a survey on two successive generations of ancient scholars, employed by King Esarhaddon around 670 B.C. and by his successor Assurbanipal 20 years later. The latter group is well enough defined in an Assyrian administrative document, and it suffices here to give a transliteration and a translation of that text, with necessary complementary notes. The former group must be reconstructed on the ground of the scattered (but ample) evidence of contemporary letters, reports, and official records. Grounds for assigning individual scholars to this group are not explicitly stated in the following list, but each case can relatively easily be verified by means of the material presented elsewhere in this book (the scholars treated in the chapter on the prosopography are recognizable by the fact that only their names, without any additions, are cited; asterisks refer to appendices 1B and 2B; references to sources and necessary details are given in other cases). Persons whose classification is uncertain are enclosed in parentheses (e.g., *unidentified senders* of astrological reports, especially if the reports are not very numerous, are not necessarily 'scribes', since reports originated also from haruspices, exorcists, chanters, priests, and officials). Scholars demonstrably of Babylonian origin are followed by a B in ellipses.

Further comments on this appendix are not necessary, but attention may be drawn to two facts that stand out even on a superficial comparison of the two groups: the absence of interpreters of dreams in the circle of Esarhaddon's scholars (cf. Introduction, p.), and the change of personnel effected by the intervening 20 years (only 6 of Esarhaddon's scholars are still in their office in 650 B.C.). If one were to reconstruct the circle of scholars serving Sennacherib in the year 690 B.C., a parallel situation would probably become apparent (the influential scholarly posts were then occupied by persons called Kalbu, Nabû-zuqup-kēni, Dadā, etc.). Twenty years may perhaps be assumed as the average length of the career of an Assyrian scholar.

1. Scholars serving Esarhaddon around 670 B.C.

SCRIBES

N a b ū - z ē r u - l i ṣ e r , chief scribe
 I ṣ t a r - ṣ u m u - ē r e ṣ , chief scribe
 Balasī
 Bēl-nāṣer* (B)
 Bēl-uṣēzib* (B)¹
 (Marduk-šāpik-zēri*) (B) cf. šāpiku
 Nabū-aḫḫē-erība
 Nabū-muṣēsi*
 Ṭāb-šilli-Marduk* (B) of Ṭābija

¹ A.L. Oppenheim, *Centaurus* 14 (1969), p. 105, suggests that Bēl-uṣēzib was stationed somewhere in Babylonia, possibly in Sippar. The correct location is evident from K. 1353 where Bēl-uṣēzib explicitly states that four elders from Nippur are "here in Nineveh" to visit the king. M. Dietrich (*WO* 4 [1968] 234 and recently *AOAT* 7, p. 69) reads, instead of Nineveh (written *Nēna-aḫ*¹ as usual in Neo-Babylonian texts), Ninā and connects

not residing in the court:

Nineveh: Nabū-šumu-iddina
 Calah: Bābu-šumu-iddina
 Assur: Akkullānu
 Nabū'a
 Arbela: Ištar-nādin-apli
 Babylon: Mār-Ištar
 Rāsi-ili* (B)
 Šuma-iddin* (B)
 Ṭābija* (B)
 Zākir* (B)
 Barsip: Aplā* (B)
 Nabū-iqīša* (B)
 Šāpiku* (B)
 Cutha: Nabū-iqbi* (B)
 Dilbat: Nabū-aḫḫē-iddin* (B)
 Uruk: Aḫḫēšā

somewhere in Assyria:

Bamāju*
 Bulluṭu*
 Nergal-šumu-iddina

somewhere in Babylonia:

Ašarēdu* (B)
 Nabū-šuma-iškun* (B)
 Nergal-ēter* (B)
 Munnabtu* (B)

sending occasionally astrological reports:

(Aššūr-nāṣer*)
 (Aššūr-šarrāni*)
 (Adad-šumu-ušur see exorcists)
 (Aššūr-šumu-iddina*)
 (Bēl-ēri* see exorcists)
 (Bēl-upaḫḫir* see haruspices)
 (Bēl-šuma-iškun* see appeasers)
 (Marduk-šumu-ušur see haruspices)
 (Nādinu* see haruspices)
 (Rīmūtu* see exorcists)
 (Šumā* see exorcists)
 (Urad-Ea see appeasers)

this with the old Sumerian city of Nina which flourished in the 3rd millennium B.C. This interpretation seems unlikely in the light of ABL 895 = RMA 274, a report of Bēl-uṣēzib on a lunar eclipse which he had been observing "in the capital, (i.e.) the city where the king lives" (*URU BAL URU ša LU GAL ina lib-bi aš-bu*, obv. 4-5).

EXORCISTS
 Marduk-šākin-šumi, chief exorcist
 Adad-šumu-ušur, king's exorcist

Balāssu (B) LAS 238 r4
 Bēl-nāser (B) LAS 47, 174 r10
 Nabū-gāmil
 Nabū-lē'ūtū LAS 174 r9, 223 r6, 13'
 Nabū-murīb-aḫi LAS 174 r6
 Nabū-nādin-šumi
 Nabū-nāser
 Ninurta-aḫa-iddin* (B)
 Rīmūtu* (B) cf. LAS 174 r4
 Šumā (B) cf. LAS 174 r7, 238 r1
 Urad-Gula

not living in Nineveh:

Bēl-lē'ī* son of Egibi* (B)
 Nabū-šuma-līšer* (B): cf. ABL 276 r6 with ABL 263

HARUSPICES
 Marduk-šumu-ušur, chief haruspex

Aqarā* (B) AGS 98, 108
 Balāssu (B) AGS 48
 Bāni AGS 108, 119
 Bēl-īpuš (B) RMA 18 r3
 Bēl-ušallim* (B): cf. AGS 8, 9, 54, 57, 98
 Kāširu AGS 48
 Kudurru (B) K.3034+ r15 (WO 4 95): AGS 48
 Nabū-aḫḫē-uballit AGS 119, 145
 Nabū-(u)šallim AGS 46, 48, 118
 Nādinu* (B): cf. AGS 55
 Nāširu (B): AGS 6, 48, 98, 108, 145; PRT 1, 17
 Marduk-šumu-ibni AGS 108
 Šāš LAS 115:12, AGS 35 (written ¹Sa-<si>-ja)
 Šukinu AGS 48
 Tabni

PHYSICIANS
 Urad-Nanā, chief physician
 Bānī, Deputy of the chief physician

Aḫa-šubši (B) K.3034+ r17 (WO 4 95)
 Ikkāru
 Nabū-tabni-ušur

APPEALERS
 Urad-Ea, king's zalmāḫu

Bēl-šuma-šum* (B)
 Marduk-nāser (B) ABL 1321+ r2 (WO 4 96)

AUGURS no names preserved, but cf. LAS 2

2. Scholars serving Assurbanipal around 650 B.C.

K.1276 = ADD 851, with partial duplicate Sm. 471 (unp.): cf. B. Landsberger, BBEA, p. 14 note 8; G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, p. 55 note 18; and A.L. Oppenheim, *Centaurus* 14 (1969), p. 100. For the dating of this document see Introduction, p. 32, note 3.

		Transliteration	Translation
Col. I	1	¹ I5-MU-APIN-eš	Ištar-šumu-ēreš
	2	¹ AŠ.PAPMEŠ	Nādin-aḫḫē
	3	¹ Ba-la-su	Balāssu
	4	¹ DÙ-na-aja	Bunāja
	5	¹ Ki-šer-dPA	Kišer-Nabū
	6	¹ E-tel-pu	Etelpu
	7	[¹ DN]-KAR-or	[DN]-ēter
	8	[PAP 7 A.B]AMEŠ	[total 7 sc]ribes
	9	[¹ ...]-X-NUMUN	[...]-zēri
	10	[¹ EN-DÙ-u]š	[Bēl-ēpu]š
	11	[...]-aja	[...]-āja
	12	[...]-BU-u'	[...]-bu'
	13	[¹ Ku]-na-aja	[Ku]nāja
	14	[¹ d]PA-sa-kip	Nabū-sākip
	15	[¹]Rém-u-tú	Rēmūtu
	16	[¹]EN-ú-še-zib	Bēl-ušēzib
	17	[¹ d]PA-NUNUZ-GIŠ	Nabū-per-ū-līšer
	18	PAP 9! MAŠ.MAŠMEŠ	total 9 exorcists
Col. II	1	¹ A-qar-a	Aqarā
	2	¹ Ba-ni-i	Bāni
	3	¹ Zi-zi-i	Zizi
	4	¹ dŠU-MU-PAP	Marduk-šumu-ušur
	5	¹ dPA-SUM-A	Nabū-nādin-apli
	6	PAP 5 HALMEŠ	total 5 haruspices
	7	¹ Qur-di-Arba-il	Qurdī-Arba'il
	8	¹ dPA-u-a	Nabū'a
	9	¹ dPA.PAPMEŠ.TI	Nabū-aḫḫē-uballit
	10	¹ dMAŠ!-bal-lit-su	Ninurta-ballissu
	11	¹ As-qu-du	Asqūdu
	12	¹ 30-MAN-PAP	Šin-šarru-ušur
	13	¹ dPA-MU-AŠ	Nabū-šumu-iddina
	14	¹ Bu-uq-lu	Buqū
	15	¹ Ši-ḫu-ru	šūḫurru
	16	PAP 9 A.[U]MEŠ	total 9 physicians

	Transliteration	Translation
Col. III	1 ^l dpA-NUMU N-AŠ	Nabû-zêru-iddina
	2 ^l Za-ki-ru	Zâkiru
	3 ^l 30-TI-su-E	Šm-balâssu-iqbi
	4 ^l dpA-MAN-a-ni	Nabû-šarrâni
	5 ^l dpA-EN-MU MEŠ	Nabû-bêl-šumâti
	6 ^l Mar-duk	Marôduk
	7 PAP 6 UŠ.KU MEŠ	total 6 appeasers
Col. IV	8 ^l dIGLIDU-DÛ.PAP MEŠ	Nergal-bâni-aĥĥê
	9 ^l IS-PU-te	Ispute
	10 ^l SUJUŠ.d15	Išôf-Ištar
	11 PAP 3 da-gîl MUŠËN	total 3 augurs
	12 [X]Ši-i	[]Š
	13 ^l Ra-a'-si-i	Ra'sî
	1 ^l Ši-hu-u	Šihû
	2 PAP 3 ĥar-ĥi-bi	total 3 dream interpreters
	3 ^l Iju-u-ru	Iĥûru
	4 ^l Ni-mur-a-u	Nimmura'u
	5 ^l Šu-u-a-šu	Šû'âsu
6 3 A.BA MEŠ	3 Egyptian	
7 Mu-sur-aje	scribes	
8 ITU AB UD 16.KÁM	Kanûnu 16th. (650 B.C.)	

Notes

I have not been able to collate the tablet, and therefore some uncertain readings remain.

I 8. John's copy in ADD has]+UD AN BE: the reading suggested by Oppenheim, loc. cit., [PAP 7 A.BA] UD AN BE. "[total 7 scribes] of Enûma Anu Enlil" (i.e., astrologers), is possible, but rather unlikely, since *Enlil* is to my knowledge never written with mere BE in NA texts. Note also that in all other instances the totals are followed by a MEŠ (I 18, II 6.16, III 7, IV 6), for which there is no place in the breach.

I 9f. Cf. Šm. 471 which has the following entry for exorcists (obv. 1-3): ^lNa-šî-ru 2 ^lEN-DU-úš 3 PAP 2 LU *MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ.

I 13. Restored from ABL 447:15; uncertain.

I 15 ff. Cf. ABL 447 r6 ^lRe-mu-tu, r8 ^lEN-ú-še-zib, r16 ^lPe-er-ú, all engaged with exorcistic rituals.

I 18. Collated by G. van Driel, loc. cit.

II 1-6. In this list of haruspices are missing at least Ninu'aju (who was the chief haruspex according to PRT 116), Danâ (PRT 110 etc) and Nergal-šarru-ušur (PRT 124 etc.).

II 10. Instead of ^ldpA-bal-lit-su (copy Johns), Šm. 471:4 (copy Bezold) has ^ldMAŠ-DIN-su which has to be preferred.

II 15. Cf. ^lŠi-i-ĥur-ru Šm. 471:5.

III 12. The broken sign could be, according to the copy of Johns, either '(zi)' or '(zi)l'.

APPENDIX 1B:

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELATED TEXTS

1. Letters from Babylonian scholars

NAME	TEXT	CONTENTS
Aĥĥêšâ	K.4670 + BM 99229 (WO 4 227f) Šm.1186 (ABL 1062)	consecration of priests broken
Aplâ	K.523 (ABL 324)	salutation
Aqarâ	Bu.91-5-9.23 (ABL 1259)	petition
Ašarêdu	K.478 (ABL 254) K.552 (ABL 255)	salutation acquisitions for the royal library
	83-1-18.869 (ABL 743)	broken
Ašarêdu qatnu	K.10736 (WO 4 208f) 83-1-18.210 (ABL 796 = RMA 274C)	astrological astrological
Bêl-nâšer	81-2-4.485 (ABL 765)	astrological
Bêl-ušêzib	K.772 (ABL 895 = RMA 274) K.1353 (WO 4 234 ff)	astrological astrol. + political
	K.4684 (WO 4 240f)	astrol. + political
	K.6118 (WO 4 237f)	political
	K.10120 + K.16127 (ABL 1344 + WO 4 242)	astrological
	K.13191 (RMA 277AE)	astrological
	K.15101 + 83-1-18.47 (WO 4 233f + ABL 1109 = RMA 90)	astrol. + political
	Rm.280 (WO 4 239f)	petition
	Rm.561 (ABL 1183)	astrological
	82-5-22.105 (ABL 1216)	astrol. + historical
	83-1-18.1 (ABL 1237)	astrol. + political
	83-1-18.394 (WO 4 240)	astrological
	Ki.1904-10-9.15 (ABL 1373)	astrol. + political
Kuduru	K.154 (ABL 276)	astrol. and magical allusions
Marduk-šâpik-zêri	K.3034 + K.7655 (WO 4 95)	astrological omens, enumeration of scholars
	K.5440a + 82-5-22.123 (ABL 1321 + WO 4 96)	similar to K.3034+
Munnabitu	K.5463 (ABL 928)	petition
Nabû-iqbi	K.7455 (WO 4 219f) Rm.198 (ABL 1410)	broken astrological
	81-2-4.91 (WO 4 221f)	petition
	83-1-18.132 (WO 4 220f)	petition
Nabû-šuma-lêzer	K.825 (ABL 263)	allusion to a magical ritual
Nergal-êter	K.1055 (ABL 228)	petition
Nimurta-aĥa-iddin	K.22 (ABL 334) K.559 (ABL 335)	acquisitions for the royal library broken

NAME	TEXT	CONTENTS
Rāšī-ili	K.474 (ABL 496)	cultic matters
	K.545 (ABL 497)	cultic matters
	K.646 (ABL 498)	decoration of divine statues
	K.1002 (ABL 499)	petition
	83-1-18.3 (ABL 475)	cf. K.474
	Bu.91-5-9.39 (ABL 501)	denunciation
Rāšī-ili son of Nurzānu	K.1303 (ABL 500)	petition. to the crown prince
Šuma-iddin	K.4789 (ABL 968)	building operations
	81-2-4.417 (WO 4 217)	broken
	83-1-18.32 (WO 4 215f)	cultic matters
	TKSM 21/676 (BBEA 7ff)	cultic and political matters
Ṭāb-šilli-Marduk	K.1393 (ABL 1448 = RMA 58)	astrological
Zākīr	K.467 (ABL 137)	astrological
	81-2-4.77 (ABL 702)	political
anonymous	83-1-18.7 (ABL 477)	astrological
name broken	K.895 (ABL 954)	astrological, petition
	K.5439a (WO 4 211)	astrological
	83-1-18.60 (ABL 1113)	astrological

2. *Astrological reports*

a) From Assyrian writers

Adad-šumu-ušur	K.730 (RMA 135)	Šm.1179 (RMA 136F)	
Akkullānu	K.694 (RMA 166)	Rm.208 (RMA 144B)	
	K.702 (RMA 272A)	83-1-18.191 (RMA 138A)	
	K.747 (RMA 235)	83-1-18.205 (RMA 34)	
	K.1007 (RMA 87A)	83-1-18.228 (RMA 144)	
	K.1304 (RMA 89)	Bu.89-4-26.159 (RMA 36)	
Aššūr-nāšer	K.920 (unp.)		
Aššūr-šarrāni	K.775 (RMA 16)	Rm.207 (RMA 175)	
Aššūr-šumu-iddina	K.985 (unp.)	-	
Balasī	K.86 (RMA 91)	K.1301 (RMA 277F)	
	K.703 (RMA 119)	K.1323+ (RMA 256B)	
	K.706 (RMA 140)	K.1333 (RMA 2740)	
	K.712 (RMA 88)	K.1335+ (RMA 55 = ABL 993)	
	K.774 (RMA 68)	K.11046 (RMA 136Q)	
	K.784 (RMA 8)	Šm.1027 (RMA 171)	
	K.786 (RMA 254)	83-1-18.191 (RMA 138A)	
	K.795 (RMA 138)	83-1-18.207 (RMA 274)	
	K.855 (RMA 234A)	83-1-18.208A (RMA 208A)	
	Bamāju	K.92 (RMA 127)	83-1-18.246 (RMA 102)
		K.718 (RMA 161)	Bu.89-4-26.37 (RMA 81B)
K.364 (RMA 99)		Bu.91-5-9.8 (RMA 156)	
K.371 (RMA 185)			

Bulluṭu	K.742 (RMA 196)	82-5-22.83 (RMA 4)	
	K.787 (RMA 256A)	83-1-18.183 (RMA 76)	
	K.1334 (RMA 114)	83-1-18.184 (RMA 77)	
	K.1375 (RMA 229B)	83-1-18.185 (RMA 3)	
	Rm.204 (RMA 131)	83-1-18.198 (RMA 232)	
	81-2-4.133 (RMA 1)		
Ištar-šumu-ēreš	K.115 (unp.)	K.3504 (RMA 198)	
	K.124 (RMA 267)	K.12555 (RMA 262B)	
	K.696 (RMA 7)	Rm.195 (RMA 157D = ABL 1409)	
	K.697 (RMA 128)	Rm.200 (RMA 159)	
	K.728 (RMA 244)	Rm.212 (RMA 136P)	
	K.731 (RMA 206)	80-7-19.57 (RMA 93)	
	K.733 (RMA 168)	81-7-27.19 (RMA 257)	
	K.765 (RMA 255)	82-5-22.55 (RMA 247)	
	K.773 (RMA 1360)	83-1-18.224 (RMA 21A)	
	K.788 (RMA 31)	83-1-18.287 (RMA 264)	
	K.966 (RMA 277L)	Bu.91-5-9.14 (RMA 21)	
	K.1321 (RMA 252E)	Ki.1904-10-9.32 (unp.)	
		Ki.1904-10-9.268 (unp.)	
	rab ṭupšarrī (= Ištar-šumu-ēreš)	K.693 (RMA 58)	80-7-19.56 (RMA 81)
		K.715 (RMA 259)	81-2-4.144 (RMA 109)
K.779 (RMA 266)		Ki.1904-10-9.38 (unp.)	
Rm.203 (RMA 74)		Ki.1904-10-9.233 (unp.)	
Rm.211 (RMA 275)			
Marduk-šumu-ušur	K.1460 (RMA 252F)		
Nabū-aḫḫē-eṛība	K.692 (RMA 75)	Šm.1073 (RMA 42)	
	K.705 (RMA 43)	Šm.1974 (RMA 62)	
	K.736 (RMA 139)	81-2-4.79 (RMA 70)	
	K.740 (RMA 106)	81-2-4.86 (RMA 209)	
	K.748 (RMA 248)	81-2-4.109 (RMA 244C)	
	K.781 (RMA 180)	81-2-4.287 (RMA 229)	
	K.782 (RMA 204)	82-5-22.52 (RMA 96)	
	K.839 (RMA 271A)	82-5-22.79 (RMA 236H)	
	K.864 (RMA 98)	83-1-18.189 (RMA 54)	
	K.865 (RMA 274E)	83-1-18.190 (RMA 51)	
	K.868 (RMA 238)	83-1-18.197 (RMA 112)	
	K.877 (RMA 84)	83-1-18.204 (RMA 212)	
	K.984 (RMA 274H)	83-1-18.227 (RMA 179)	
	K.1317 (RMA 191)	83-1-18.236 (RMA 236G)	
	K.1326 (RMA 252D = ABL 1447)	83-1-18.297 (RMA 246G)	
	K.1508 (RMA 141)	83-1-18.314 (RMA 81G)	
	K.2327 (RMA 235D)	83-1-18.317 (RMA 246A)	
K.8432 (RMA 57)	83-1-18.320 (RMA 274G)		
Šm.375 (RMA 103)	Bu.91-5-9.34 (RMA 246B)		
Šm.1043 (RMA 258)	Bu.91-5-9.102 (RMA 237)		

Nabû-muṣṣi	K.120A (RMA 94) K.704 (RMA 228) K.710 (RMA 200) K.719 (RMA 174) K.725 (RMA 205) K.767 (RMA 136E) K.801 (RMA 118) K.866 (RMA 157)	K.876 (RMA 136L) K.1318 (RMA 206A) K.14563 (unp.) Sm.1664 (RMA 6A) 80-7-19.54 (RMA 61) 81-2-4.380 (RMA 244D) 82-5-22.78 (RMA 217) 83-1-18.310 (RMA 266B)	b) From Babylonian writers	
Nabû'a of Assur	K.184 (ABL 817) K.716 (ABL 819) K.720 (ABL 820) K.792 (ABL 821) K.802 (ABL 822) K.1368 (ABL 823)	K.13116 (ABL 824) Rm.205 (ABL 825) 82-5-22.37 (ABL 826) 83-1-18.192 (ABL 827) Bu.91-5-9.6 (ABL 828) Ki.1904-10-9.215 (unp.)	Aḫḫēš	K.840 (RMA 13) K.1389 (RMA 252) K.13087+ (RMA 203) 82-5-22.58 (RMA 125) 83-1-18.233 (RMA 236A)
Šumāju	K.121 (RMA 207) K.695 (RMA 169) K.713 (RMA 80)	K.8960 (RMA 274D) 83-1-18.222 (RMA 111) 83-1-18.298 (RMA 246D)	Aplā	K.172 (RMA 46) K.714 (RMA 132) K.723 (RMA 197) K.758 (RMA 211) K.987 (RMA 190A) K.1236 (RMA 277M) K.1385 (RMA 253A) K.1407 (RMA 79A) 81-2-4.82 (RMA 120) 81-2-4.140 (RMA 2770) 82-5-22.61 (RMA 265) 83-1-18.312 (RMA 86A)
Urad-Ea	K.853 (RMA 256C) K.1383 (RMA 72)	K.1405 (RMA 100)	Ašarēdu 1) mahṛū	K.861 (RMA 216) K.874 (RMA 27) K.1238+ (RMA 32) K.1394 (RMA 187A) Sm.86 (RMA 29) 79-7-8.100 (RMA 172) 81-2-4.105 (RMA 201) 82-5-22.63 (RMA 170) 83-1-18.174 (RMA 202) 83-1-18.177 (RMA 87) Bu.89-4-26.18 (RMA 250)
anonymous	K.727 (RMA 165) K.804 (RMA 40) K.848 (unp.) D.T.148 (RMA 129)	82-5-22.60 (RMA 9) 83-1-18.240 (RMA 136 I) 83-1-18.286 (RMA 136 B) Bu.89-4-26.3 (RMA 192)	2) qatnu	K.735 (RMA 231) K.1312 (RMA 136D) 83-1-18.178 (RMA 220)
name broken away	K.854 (RMA 262) K.878 (RMA 130A) K.994 (RMA 160A) K.1320 (RMA 70A) K.1317 (RMA 191A) K.1388 (RMA 6) K.1535 (RMA 277G) K.6078 (RMA 155A) K.12004+ (RMA 274K) K.12176 (RMA 211A) K.12369 (RMA 274L) K.12469 (RMA 36A) K.12555 (RMA 262B) K.13170 (RMA 212A) Sm.508 (RMA 277AC) Rm.209 (RMA 183A) 80-7-19.154 (RMA 19A) 80-7-19.155 (RMA 229A) 80-7-19.343 (RMA 261) 80-7-19.364 (RMA 274M)	81-2-4.108 (RMA 136) 81-2-4.504 (RMA 118A) 82-5-22.54 (RMA 239) 82-5-22.84 (RMA 96A) 82-5-22.87 (RMA 277R) 83-1-18.218 (RMA 194A) 83-1-18.236 (RMA 236C) 83-1-18.292 (RMA 157A) 83-1-18.309 (RMA 277T) 83-1-18.311 (RMA 16C) 83-1-18.317 83-1-18.318 (RMA 277U) 83-1-18.786 (RMA 196A) 83-1-18.870 (RMA 144C) 83-1-18.884 (RMA 277W) 83-1-18.885 (RMA 81H) Bu.89-4-26.61 (RMA 123A) Bu.91-5-9.34 (RMA 246B) Bu.91-5-9.38 (RMA 81A) Bu.91-5-9.58 (RMA 236C)	3) unspecified	K.737 (RMA 133) K.753 (RMA 22B) K.768 (RMA 249) K.806 (RMA 187) K.873 (RMA 252A) K.955 (RMA 270) K.1338 (RMA 116A) K.1340 (RMA 46A) Sm.1232 80-7-19.58 (RMA 210) 80-7-19.62 (RMA 81F) 81-2-4.132 (RMA 221) 81-2-4.135 (RMA 242) 82-5-22.56 (RMA 219) 83-1-18.175 (RMA 48) 83-1-18.176 (RMA 252B) 83-1-18.313 (RMA 216B)
			Bēl-ahhē-irība	K.902 (RMA 241) 81-2-4.84 (RMA 218)
			Bēl-irī LÚ ₂ āšipu	K.188 (RMA 183) K.734 (RMA 83) K.1399 (RMA 24) 83-1-18.775 (RMA 115F)
			Bēl-nāser	K.808 (RMA 236) K.12017 (RMA 157C) 81-2-4.81 (RMA 215) 82-5-22.69 (RMA 274P) 82-5-22.1778 (RMA 253B) 83-1-18.195 (RMA 18) 83-1-18.296 (RMA 155B)
			Bēl-šuma-iškun LÚ ₂ kalū	K.700 (RMA 134) 83-1-18.252 (RMA 235A)
			Bēl-upahḫer	Ki.1904-10-9.36 (unp.)
			Bēl-ušal[lim]	K.6149 (RMA 277X)
			Munnabitu	K.769 (RMA 82) K.776 (RMA 63) K.812 (unp.) K.921 (RMA 274A)
			Nabû-ahhē-iddin	K.755 (RMA 158A) K.794 (RMA 121) K.1305 (RMA 115C) K.1398 (RMA 38) K.2085 (RMA 268 = ABL 1006) K.1373+ (RMA 143) 83-1-18.244 (RMA 163)

Nabû-iqbi mār Kutē	K.18 (unp.) K.699 (RMA 233) K.714 (RMA 10) K.745 (RMA 177) K.789 (RMA 136M) K.933 (RMA 201A) K.1329 (RMA 144E) K.1380 (RMA 263) Rm.198 (RMA 19 = ABL 1410) 81-2-4.141 (RMA 112B)	81-2-4.233 (RMA 136H) 82-5-22.51 (RMA 213) 82-5-22.72 (RMA 80A) 82-5-22.156 (unp.) 93-1-18.188 (RMA 249A) 83-1-18.202+ (RMA 22) 83-1-18.219 (RMA 20) 83-1-18.290 (RMA 101A) Bu.91-5-9.9 (RMA 110) Ki.1904-10-9.39 (unp.)
Nabû-iqīša mār Barsip	K.756 (RMA 11) K.793 (RMA 153) K.900 (RMA 5) D.T.304 (RMA 215A) 81-2-4.104 (RMA 240) 81-2-4.107 (RMA 189)	82-5-22.48 (RMA 195) 83-1-18.48 (RMA 155) 83-1-18.186 (RMA 150) 83-1-18.187 (RMA 49) 83-1-18.241 (RMA 112A) 83-1-18.299 (RMA 64)
Nabû-šuma-iškun	K.19 (RMA 215) K.785 (RMA 95) K.791 (RMA 41) K.803 (RMA 17) 80-7-19.55 (RMA 223A)	81-2-4.102 (RMA 151) 82-5-22.59 (RMA 230) 83-1-18.200 (RMA 190) Bu.89-4-26.19 (RMA 277AD)
Nādinu	K.1384 (RMA 274F) K.8393 (RMA 144D)	81-2-4.89 (RMA 226)
Nergal-eēter	K.701 (RMA 14) K.702 (RMA 272B) K.722 (RMA 78) K.729 (RMA 37) K.739 (RMA 97) K.741 (RMA 30) K.749 (RMA 277 = CT 27.45) K.763 (RMA 123) K.783 (RMA 216C) K.799 (RMA 137) K.842 (RMA 146A) K.856 (RMA 22A) K.901 (RMA 81K) K.907 (RMA 195A) K.972 (RMA 225) K.1302 (RMA 277K) K.1306+ (RMA 144A) K.1309 (RMA 181A) K.1322 (RMA 136T) K.1342 (RMA 207B) K.1369 (RMA 157B)	K.4708+ (RMA 199) K.8861 (RMA 252C) Sm.1062 (RMA 39) Rm.191 (RMA 146) I Rm.194 (RMA 86) Rm.196 (RMA 162) Rm.197 (RMA 274Q) 81-2-4.103 (RMA 35) 81-2-4.136 (RMA 199A) 81-2-4.138 (RMA 52A) 81-7-27.23 (RMA 208) 82-5-22.49 (RMA 69) 82-5-22.57 (RMA 186) 83-1-18.171 (RMA 154) 83-1-18.172 (RMA 243B) 83-1-18.173 (RMA 79) 83-1-18.208 (RMA 244) 83-1-18.221 (RMA 92) 83-1-18.301 (RMA 277S) 83-1-18.302 (RMA 149) Bu.91-5-9.7 (RMA 115D)

Rāši-ilī	K.119 (RMA 182) K.752 (RMA 85) K.805 (RMA 164) K.807 (RMA 148) K.809 (RMA 66) K.815 (RMA 269) K.843 (RMA 165A) K.849 (CT 28.30) K.850 (RMA 147) K.851 (RMA 244A) K.875 (RMA 236B) K.963 (RMA 245) K.973 (RMA 151A)	K.1310 (RMA 250A) K.1346 (RMA 96B) K.1395 (RMA 59) K.1594 (RMA 277B) Sm.231 (RMA 273) 81-2-4.106 (RMA 173) 82-5-22.50 (RMA 65) 82-5-22.53 (RMA 60) 82-5-22.64 (RMA 142) 83-1-18.230 (RMA 227) 83-1-18.242 (RMA 26) 83-1-18.243 (RMA 33) Bu.89-4-26.166 (RMA 107)
Rāši-ilī son of Nurzānu	K.698 (RMA 126) K.721 (RMA 130) K.811 (RMA 246) K.904 (RMA 46A)	K.1330 (RMA 174A) K.1331 (RMA 115E) 81-2-4.83 (RMA 101) 82-5-22.74 (RMA 218A)
Īmūtu	82-5-22.68 (RMA 265C)	83-1-18.245 (RMA 145)
Šāpiku	K.178 (RMA 117) K.790 (RMA 265A) K.6184b (RMA 277A)	80-7-19.371+ (RMA 167) 81-2-4.134 (RMA 2) 81-2-4.344 (RMA 262D)
Šumā	83-1-18.216 (RMA 47)	
Šuma-iddin	83-1-18.194 (RMA 67)	
Ṭābija	K.1392 (RMA 243A) 81-2-4.85 (RMA 12) 83-1-18.179 (RMA 193) 83-1-18.180 (RMA 260)	83-1-18.181 (RMA 222) 83-1-18.182 (RMA 71) Bu.89-4-26.11 (RMA 73) Ki.1904-10-9.28 (unp.)
Ṭāb-šilli-Marduk	K.754 (RMA 15) K.1308 (RMA 11A)	K.1332 (RMA 194)
Zākir	K.770 (RMA 25) K.1345 (unp.) K.6077 (RMA 114A) K.8391 (RMA 272C) D.T.53 (RMA 253C) Rm.201 (RMA 181) 80-7-19.19 (RMA 267A = ABL 416) 80-7-19.59 (RMA 28)	80-7-19.155 (RMA 229A) 81-2-4.143 (RMA 251A) 82-5-22.46 (RMA 234) 82-5-22.67 (RMA 236E) 83-1-18.196 (RMA 183B) 83-1-18.248 (RMA 122) Bu.89-4-26.8 (RMA 108) Ki.1904-10-9.55 (unp.)
anonymous	80-7-19.60 (CT 28.32) 82-5-22.89 (RMA 124)	83-1-18.234 (CT 27.28) Bu.91-5-9.161 (RMA 135A)
name broken	K.759 (RMA 184) K.964 (RMA 207A) K.967 (RMA 277I) K.1300 (RMA 277H) K.1307 (RMA 81H) K.1311 (RMA 115B)	K.1314 (RMA 244B) K.1316 (RMA 181B) K.1324 (RMA 136C) K.1336 (RMA 277D) K.1339 (RMA 136C) K.1341 (RMA 56)

name broken	K.1344 (RMA 47A)	80-7-19.355 (RMA 277 AB)
	K.1347 (RMA 216A)	81-2-4.88 (RMA 223)
	K.1557 (RMA 277C)	81-2-4.103 (RMA 240)
	K.1592 (RMA 116)	81-2-4.142 (RMA 243C)
	K.1593 (RMA 262C)	81-2-4.145 (RMA 104)
	K.1599 (imp.)	81-2-4.321 (RMA 46B)
	K.1606 (RMA 85A)	81-2-4.483 (RMA 136A)
	K.1921+ (RMA 113)	82-3-23.112 (RMA 277C)
	K.1927 (RMA 64B)	82-5-22.56 (RMA 53)
	K.1955 (RMA 211C)	82-5-22.64 (RMA 142)
	K.5723 (RMA 56A)	82-5-22.65 (RMA 105)
	K.6182 (RMA 246E)	83-1-18.203 (RMA 45)
	K.8407 (RMA 211B)	83-1-18.212 (RMA 50)
	K.8704 (RMA 236F)	83-1-18.214 (RMA 115 A)
	K.8713 (RMA 272)	83-1-18.220 (RMA 160B)
	K.12250 (RMA 211F)	83-1-18.225 (RMA 158)
	K.12281 (RMA 265B)	83-1-18.296 (RMA 155B)
	K.12283 (RMA 23A)	83-1-18.319 (RMA 211D)
	Sm.694 (RMA 115)	83-1-18.322 (RMA 246C)
	Sm.885 (RMA 136C)	83-1-18.718 (RMA 262 A)
	Sm.1327 (RMA 214A)	83-1-18.774 (RMA 277V)
	Rm.2.254 (RMA 237A)	83-1-18.834 (RMA 211E)
	Rm.2.345 (RMA 136S)	83-1-18.881 (RMA 116B)
	80-7-19.62 (RMA 81F)	83-1-18.883 (RMA 277Y)
	80-7-19.63 (RMA 44)	Bu.91-5-9.28 (RMA 136R)
	80-7-19.65 (RMA 23)	Bu.91-5-9.29 (RMA 277Z)
	80-7-19.176 (RMA 69A)	

3. Oracle queries

Reports of haruspices dating from the Sargonid period have been published in the following two books:

J. Knudtzon. *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals*. Leipzig 1893.

E. Klaubert. *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*. Leipzig 1910.

A new edition of these texts is in preparation by J. Aro. Insofar as the queries are signed, they are always written by a whole college of haruspices, and there is consequently no purpose in drawing a list of writers like in the preceding sections.

APPENDIX 2A:

DIACHRONIC SURVEY ON THE LETTERS

This appendix has been compiled in order to make available, in concise form, the results obtained through the dating of the letters, and to provide a check of the ensuing historical consequences. It contains a list of all datable letters arranged in chronological order, with a brief résumé of the contents of each letter. Uncertain cases, which also are included, are indicated by question marks; it has to be pointed out, however, that the commentary should be consulted in all instances before drawing any conclusions on the ground of the present list. The statement of the Assyrian dates in terms of the Julian calendar (cf. Appendix 2C) is largely approximate, since sufficient chronological data to form an absolutely certain frame of reference are lacking, and the Julian dates are here given only for the sake of convenience.

Attention should be paid to the following abbreviations and peculiarities in the list

a. = after

b. = before

M.D. = Mesopotamian date

J.D. = Julian date

Regnal years: Ash 3, etc. = Esarhaddon, 3rd year, etc.

Months are mostly expressed by Roman numerals (for the Assyrian months see Appendix 2D): VIIb = intercalary Ulûlu, XIIb = intercalary Addaru.

Writers of letters are enclosed in brackets.

J.D.	M.D.	LETTER	CONTENTS
28.III.673 (?)	15.I.Ash 8(?)	345	verbal equinox on 15th Nisannu [anonymous]
January 672(?)	Šabāṭu Ash 8(?)	325	request for intercalation of the year [Balasī]
February 672(?)	Addaru Ash 8(?)	197-8	mourning the death of Esarhaddon's queen(?) [Marduk-šākin-šumi]
1.IV.672	28.XIIb.Ash 8	338	medical [name broken away]
b. 10.IV.672	b. 8.I. Ash 9	1	arrangements for imposing an oath of loyalty on Assyrian scribes [Ištar-šumu-ereš]
18.IV.672	16.I. Ash 9	2	ditto
April(?) 672	Nisannu(?) Ash 9	3	arrangements for oath-taking [Ištar-šumu-ereš]
May 672	Ajaru Ash 9	129	Assurbanipal's nomination as crown prince; reference to the Elamites [Adad-šumu-ušur]
May 672	Ajaru Ash 9	132	Assurbanipal's nomination as crown prince; reference to the deceased queen [writer's name lost]

J.D.	M.D.	LETTER	CONTENTS
May(?) 672	Ājaru(?) Ash 9	211	magical ritual performed for the king's sister [Nabû-nâdin-šumi]
28.V.672	26.II. Ash 9	300	heliacal rising of Mars portending calamity to the king [Akkullânu]
June 672(?)	Simânu Ash 9(?)	334	expiatory rites on account of the late rise of Mars, addressed to the 'farmer' [anonymous]
28.III.671(?)	6.I. Ash 10(?)	344	vernal equinox on the 6th of Nisannu [anonymous]
a. 12.VII.671	a. 22.IV. Ash 10	34	king's return from his campaign <to Egypt>: assurances of loyalty [Balasî]
a. 12.VII.671	a. 22.IV. Ash 10	59	ditto [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
22.VII.671	2.V. Ash 10	276	making of the crown of Nabû: riot in Babylon [Mâr-lštar]
July(?) 671	Abu(?) Ash 10	57-58	making of the crown of Nabû [Balasî and Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
a. July 671	a. Abu Ash 10	181	medical: reference to the king's Egyptian campaign [Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
b. 7.X.671	b. 22.VII. Ash 10	249	substitute king ritual [Urad-Nanâ]
end of X.671	Arašsamna Ash 10	277	king's journey to Šur-marrâte: making of god's of Uruk: building operations in Dêr: reference to the Elamite crown prince [Mâr-lštar]
28.XII.671	15.X. Ash 10	40	report on lunar eclipse [Balasî]
28.XII.671	15.X. Ash 10	61	ditto [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
28.XII.671	15.X. Ash 10	278	ditto [Mâr-lštar]
26.XII.671	13.X. Ash 10	185	magical rites performed on account of a lunar eclipse: commencement of a substitute king ritual [Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
3.I.670	20.X. Ash 10	279	substitute king ritual [Mâr-lštar]
January(?) 670	Šabâtu Ash 10	280	substitute king ritual: reaction of the Akkadians [Mâr-lštar]
March 670	Nisannu Ash 11	281	completion of the crown of Nabû: difficulties in Barsip concerning temple revenues [Mâr-lštar]
April 670 (?)	Ājaru Ash 11(?)	38	king frightened on account of a stroke of lightning: intercalation of the year discussed [Balasî]
a. 3.V.670(?)	a. 22.II. Ash 11(?)	51	king's illness and abstinence from food [Balasî and Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
a. 3.V.670(?)	a. 22.II. Ash 11(?)	143	ditto [Adad-šumu-ušur]
May 670	Simânu Ash 11	180	king seriously ill [Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
15.IV.670	4.II. Ash 11	282	procession of the Lady of Akkad: building operations in Uruk [Mâr-lštar]
May 670	Simânu Ash 11	246-7	king seriously ill: reference to the quelling of a conspiracy in Assyria [Urad-Nanâ]

J.D.	M.D.	LETTER	CONTENTS
June(?) 670	Du'ūzu(?) Ash 11	284	building of Ezida: conjuration of administrative officials of Babylonia: reference to the conspiracy in Assyria: political troubles in South Babylonia [Mâr-lštar]
June(?) 670	Du'ūzu(?) Ash 11	159	reference to the recovery of the king [Adad-šumu-ušur]
July(?) 670	Abu(?) Ash 11	285	reference to the mid-year festival of Babylon [Mâr-lštar]
10.VIII.670(?)	3.VI. Ash 11(?)	286	work on the gods of Ezida [Mâr-lštar]
	[or 667]	[or Ash 2?]	
b. 12.IX.670	b. 6.VIb. Ash 11	190	reference to the intercalation of the year and to the mid-year festival of Babylon [Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
12.IX.670	6.VIb. Ash 11	287	ditto [Mâr-lštar]
September 670	Ulûlu Ash 11	288	ditto [Mâr-lštar]
November 670(?)	Arašsamna Ash 11(?)	196	reference to the Cimmerians [Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
1.XII.670	26.VIII. Ash 11	41	king worried about solar eclipse [Balasî]
b. 17.XII.670	b. 14.VIII. Ash 11	62	prediction of a lunar eclipse [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
February(?) 669	Šabâtu(?) Ash 11	191	magical
March 669	Addaru Ash 11	106	astrological [name of writer broken away]
March 669	Addaru Ash 11	45	astrological [Balasî]
24.III.669	25.XII. Ash 11	12	astrological [Ištar-šumu-ereš]
26.III.669	27.XII. Ash 11	65	astrological [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
27.III.669	28.XII. Ash 11	66	ditto [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
28/9.III.669	29/30.XII. Ash 11	70	ditto [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
30. III.669	1.I. Ash 12	46	astrological and hemerological [Balasî]
30.III.669	1.I. Ash 12	71	ditto [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
March 669- June 669	Addaru Ash 11- Simânu Ash 12	54	astrological [Balasî and Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
April 669	Nisannu Ash 12	69	astrological [Nabû-ahhê-eriba]
May 669	Ājaru Ash 12	29	interrupted transport of the statue of Marduk to Babylon [Ištar-šumu-ereš, Adad-šumu-ušur and Marduk-šâkin-šumi]
3.VI.669	6.III. Ash 12	289	astrological [Mâr-lštar]
b. 11.VI.669	b. 14.III. Ash 12	25	substitute king ritual: forecast of a lunar eclipse [Ištar-šumu-ereš]
11.VI.669	14.III. Ash 12	105	astronomical [name of writer lost]
a. 11.VI.669	a. 14.III. Ash 12	136	substitute king ritual [Adad-šumu-ušur]
27.VI.669	I.IV. Ash 12		astrological [Mâr-lštar]
June 669	Simânu 669		reference to an earthquake and a lunar eclipse [name broken away]
8.VII.669	10.IV. Ash 12	291	building operations in Barsip and Utha: dismissal of several Babylonian officials by royal decree [Mâr-lštar]