The Chronology and Historical Background of the Corpus

The problem with the royal documents from the reign of Esarhaddon is not lack of information, but their chronological arrangement. We lack from the reign of this king annals in the strict sense of the term, such as we have from the reigns of other Assyrian kings. On the other hand, we do have, aside from royal inscriptions, chronicle texts providing a firm chronological framework for the major political events of the period, and an abundance of royal correspondence, including astrological omen reports and the corpus of oracle queries and reports edited here. The queries in particular are a major source of information, sometimes our only source, for events in the reign of Esarhaddon. The major shortcomings of the queries are their fragmentary nature and, with a few exceptions, their lack of dating, so that in the majority of cases we can only guess at the chronological order of the episodes described in them.

Texts Dated by Eponym Year

The oracle queries themselves may have undergone a process of evolution. It has been suggested by Aro that the earliest ones were written in Babylonian and generally left undated, or, if dated, then only by the day and month of the performance; further, that names of the officiating haruspices were generally not noted in the older queries. In this view, reports in Assyrian script made their appearance only gradually, toward the end of Esarhaddon’s reign, while at the same time dating by year eponym (limmu) started to become a habit and finally, at the latest stage of the evolution, a rule. The earliest year date attested in an unbroken context is Nabû-belu-uṣur, eponym for the year 672 (no. 183, a text in Assyrian script). However, if the other part of Aro’s theory is correct, viz. that queries in Babylonian script tend to be earlier than those in Assyrian script, then some of the earliest ones do have the names of the participating officials, at least, as well as a date, e.g. nos. 3, 5 and 13.

Many of the queries preserve the names of the officiating haruspices or the officials involved in recording them. It is noteworthy, however, that no titles are ever mentioned. In particular, the title bēl ūṣer, “reporter,” so prominent in the reports, is conspicuously lacking. In the reports, by contrast, not only are the names of the officiating haruspices and the reporting officials systematically given but they are also consistently differentiated by title or profession. Both diviners and ”reporters” are occasionally listed side by side, e.g. nos. 279, 296, 316 and 324. The title ”reporter” appears to have been indicated regularly. It also appears that the chief haruspex too could serve as a reporter, see 319 r.5, 326 r.3f and 334 r.3.
Many queries from the reign of Esarhaddon are dated by month and day; some also indicate provenance (e.g. city Calah, Succession Palace, etc.). It is not clear, however, how prevalent dating by eponym was. The word *limmu* is preserved five times in the extant queries from Esarhaddon’s reign (nos. 13, 89, 90, 183 and 212), and it is restorable in three further texts (nos. 23, 35 and 74). However, many of the texts are fragmentary, and an eponym date may have been included in the portion of the tablet now lost. It is therefore difficult to determine whether dating by eponym indicates a development in the latter part of the reign of Esarhaddon, or just the vagaries of preservation.

It certainly appears to have become standard practice in the "reports," all of which are from the reign of Assurbanipal. However, in the queries from this reign, the practice of dating appears to have been as erratic as under Esarhaddon. It is true that four of the relatively few (sixteen) queries extant from this reign bear an eponym date (nos. 262 and 271–273, dating from years 668 and 658–657 respectively); but it has to be noted that a date is *certainly* lacking in at least one (no. 267), and possibly many more of these texts.

Systematic vs. unsystematic dating may thus simply reflect the functional difference between queries and reports. As primary documents prepared at the time and probably also at the site of the extispicy (see above, pp. XXIII and XXVIII), the former were often left undated; whereas the latter, as documents prepared primarily for archival purposes, were bound to be dated more systematically.

**Datable Historical Events**

It is clear that some of the oracle queries, those which can be dated with the help of other sources, are at least as early as 676/675. Possibly the earliest query in this edition is no. 1, referring to an alliance of Phrygia (Mušku, Biblical Meshech) with the Cimmerians, against the city Melid (Roman Melitene, modern Malatya on the upper Euphrates). This fact is of interest, because according to the Greek sources it was the Cimmerians who destroyed the kingdom of Phrygia. In spite of the defeat which Esarhaddon claims to have inflicted on the Cimmerians early in his reign (ca. 679), they evidently remained active in Asia Minor and elsewhere in the peripheries of the Assyrian empire, either alone or in association with local populations. We should perhaps infer from this query that Phrygia, having been reduced to vassalage by the Cimmerians, joined the latter in that capacity against Melid. Whatever the case, the association of Phrygia with the Cimmerians brought to an end its peaceful relations with Assyria which date back to the year 709 B.C., in the reign of Sargon II.

**Muggallu of Melid**

Paramount among the problems of Esarhaddon in Anatolia at the time was his struggle against Muggallu, the ruler of Melid. Although Muggallu is invariably described in the queries as "the Melidean," he was no doubt one of the numerous Tabalean kings in that region, who was allied at times, according to
nos. 9 and 11 with another Taballean king, Iškallu. In fact, he must be none other than Mugallu known from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal as king of Tabal. He may have ruled over a considerable territory, because he is never referred to as a 'city lord' (bēl āli), as are many other local rulers. The Babylonian Chronicle and the Esarhaddon Chronicle (Grayson Chronicles pp. 83 and 126) refer to an expedition against Melid in Esarhaddon’s sixth year (Elul, 675); the latter (but not the Babylonian Chronicle) explicitly states that it was Mugallu against whom the expedition was undertaken. This expedition may have forced Mugallu to sue for peace; see no. 12. Mugallu is mentioned by name in ten queries and may have been referred to in many others.

The astrological reports are often helpful in fixing events in this period chronologically, especially when they refer to datable eclipses. ABL 629 (= LAS 279), an astrological report from Mar-Ḫestar to Esarhaddon, falls into this category because it provides us with datable astronomical as well as historical information. Its subject matter is the seating of a substitute king on the throne at Nineveh and Akkad to take upon himself the portended evil of a lunar eclipse. The historical allusions in this report are in the form of unfavorable predictions for, among others, the kings of Egypt and Tyre and Mugallu. Schott and Schaumberger, pointing out that a total eclipse is referred to in this report, dated it to 27/28 December 671. This date is vigorously supported by Parpola against the objections of Landsberger, who argued that it should be dated earlier because both Egypt and Tyre were already in Assyrian hands by mid-671. Whatever the case, it is evident that Mugallu remained among the major enemies of Esarhaddon all through the latter’s reign. His initiative in requesting a (peace) treaty with Esarhaddon (no. 12) evidently did not alter this state of affairs. A Mugallu of Tabal appears in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal together with the kings of Cilicia and Arwad among those “who did not submit to my predecessors.”

The Northern and Northeastern Frontiers

I may have belabored the role of Mugallu, but it only serves to underline the general weakening in the reign of Esarhaddon of Assyrian control in the north and east territories because of growing pressure, exerted in a wide arc stretching from the central Zagros to the shores of Lake Van and east-central Anatolia, by Cimmerians, Scythians, and local war lords, such as Mugallu himself and Kaštaritu of Karkašši (see below). It is not accidental that many of the extant queries are concerned with conditions in these regions. The Assyrians had long recognized the need to keep a close watch on the developments on the north and east frontiers. The result was the evolution of what has been referred to as an Assyrian “deuxième bureau,” a well organized intelligence service which the crown prince was apparently in charge of, or at least was closely associated with: Sennacherib under Sargon II and Assurbanipal under Esarhaddon.

The information received from Assyrian outposts on these frontiers from agents, informers, deserters, and fugitives was processed, as the evidence suggests, through the crown prince for presentation to the king. According to ABL 434, for example, Assurbanipal was in charge of interrogating Mannean
fugitives. This letter may actually reflect conditions prevailing at the time in the region. It alerts the garrisons stationed on the Urašṭian, Mannean, and Median frontiers to the importance of gathering intelligence from fugitives arriving from these territories. These were to be dispatched promptly to the crown prince for interrogation. 247

This letter illustrates the important role played by the crown prince in the Assyrian intelligence gathering service, especially in the closing years of Esarhaddon’s reign, when his illness often incapacitated him and placed much of the burden of government on the shoulders of Assurbanipal. 248 Sennacherib too, when he was crown prince, had occasion to receive and forward to his father accounts of witnesses, such as these described in ABL 197, of the Urašṭian defeat at the hands of the Cimmerians. It has been suggested that this experience may have helped him, as king, to deal with the north-east regions by recourse to diplomacy rather than war. 249 He in fact fought only sporadically north and east. Early in his reign (in the course of his second campaign), rebellious Ellipi, for example, was punished by having some of its territory annexed to Harhar, and his generals conducted campaigns against Cilicia and Tilgarimmu.

The northern frontier may have appeared secure to Assyria, at least for a time, following the double defeat of Urašṭu at the end of the eighth century at the hands of the Cimmerians and Sargon II. But the weakening of Urašṭu opened the way for a Cimmerian incursion into the general area between Lake Van and Lake Urmia, and eventually farther west in Asia Minor to overwhelm the prosperous kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia. As noted above, early in his reign, in his second year according to the chronicles (i.e. 679), Esarhaddon claims to have defeated the Cimmerians at Hubišna located in east central Anatolia, 250 but as the evidence makes clear, they remained prominent among the enemies of Assyria all through the reign of Esarhaddon, and long after. Nor were the Cimmerians the only newcomers on the scene. Scythians, the very people who are said by Herodotus to have forced the Cimmerians out of their homeland to seek a new one elsewhere, make their appearance at the time on the peripheries of the Mannean and Median territories. These peoples, Cimmerians and Scythians alike, had no difficulty in forming alliances with the more sedentary populations settled in their path, especially those who had been unwilling tribute-bearers of Assyria. Both were associated at one time or another with the Manneans, for example.

Esarhaddon’s Mannean War

Esarhaddon’s expedition against Mugallu may have followed the one against the Manneans, a people inhabiting the area south of Lake Urmia. The most informative source for conditions in the Mannean territory in the reign of Esarhaddon is the letters of Bel-ušezib, the Babylonian scholar with a keen interest in politics discussed above. The two letters pertinent to our discussion are ABL 1237 and CT 54 22, in this chronological order. 251 ABL 1237 describes the vacillations of Esarhaddon about undertaking a campaign against the Manneans, due mostly to his uncertainty about the intentions of the Cimmerians, who according to this letter were present on the scene and were claiming,
it seems, neutrality in the conflict. The letter explicitly voices Esarhaddon’s distrust of the Cimmerians, who are described (line 15f) as “vagabonds who recognize neither oaths nor treaties.” The second letter, CT 54 22, was written later, when the Assyrian offensive was in full swing, and a good deal of Mannean territory was under Assyrian occupation. Bel-uṣeziib therefore urges the king not to slacken the momentum of the offensive, especially since the astrological omens are propitious. He further assures the king that the Mannean king will soon fall into his hands. But let the letter speak for itself:

“Now (that) the army of the king my lord has invaded Mannea, has captured fortresses, has plundered cities, looted the open country, it should go on and plunder the rest of the country. Should the army of the king my lord not proceed further against the enemy, the (situation) might become serious ... Now the Mannean cities will be plundered in the same manner (as Sidon in the previous year), its people will be taken captive, and he (the Mannean king) will be confined in his palace until he is delivered into the hands of the king my lord.” (CT 54 22:8ff)

The author does not tell us the name of that king, but it may have been Ahšeri, known to us from an oracle query, no. 269, and from the annals of Assurbanipal who had to mount a campaign against him; in this campaign the city Šarru-iqbi, also the subject of a query (no. 29), was recovered from the Manneans together with other cities lost, according to Assurbanipal’s account,252 by his predecessors. Note in this context no. 267, from the reign of Assurbanipal, where an expedition to recover cities lost to the Manneans is described.

Esarhaddon’s Mannean campaign can now be dated with reasonable certainty with the help of CT 54 22. In the course of his discourse, Bel-uṣeziib refers to the capture of Sidon by Esarhaddon as an event which occurred the previous year: “Was not Sidon destroyed last year?” (line 13f). Since Sidon, according to the chronicles, fell in Esarhaddon’s fourth year, the letter can be dated in 676/675. Dietrich actually dates it to March 21, 675.253

Some of the reasons for the necessity of a campaign against the Manneans can be found among the queries. Nos. 30 and 31 (the two appear to be duplicates, although the name of the city is not preserved in the latter) refer to the attempted recovery of the city Duq-Ilil from the Manneans, and no. 29 refers to the threatened loss of the city Šarru-iqbi. In this case, the name of the enemy is not preserved, but as noted above, the annals of Assurbanipal claim to have recovered the city Šarru-iqbi from the Manneans, so it is very likely that they are the ones referred to in the query.254

**Kaštaritu/Phraortes**

However, the effects of Esarhaddon’s victory over the Manneans could not have been very long lasting, because soon thereafter we find them, side by side with Medes, Cimmerians and Sapardeans, allied with Kaštaritu of Karkašši. The name of his city, Karkašši, suggests the center of his activities to have been in the old Kassite homeland in the central Zagros mountains. Kaštaritu (Median Khšathrita) is commonly identified with Phraortes of the Mede dynasty of Deioces.255 According to Herodotus, this Phraortes fell years later, in 653,
i.e. in the reign of Assurbanipal, in battle against the Assyrians. The identification of Kaštaritu with Phraortes does raise some problems of chronology, which cannot be properly discussed in this introduction.\textsuperscript{256}

About twenty oracle queries in various states of preservation are our only Assyrian source of information about him and his activities. His major thrust was against Assyrian outposts from central Anatolia to western Iran. The events associated with Kaštaritu and his allies may have occurred between the years 674 and 672. At least, his threat must have been over by 672, because in that year Esarhaddon was able to initiate treaties with some of his Iranian vassals, indicating peaceful conditions in that region at the time. These treaties were designated to secure the loyalty of Assyrian vassals to the succession to the Assyrian throne, with Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukin being designated that year crown princes of Assyria and Babylonia, respectively. The Babylonian orthography of all but one of the queries in this group, although in itself indecisive as a criterion, supports a pre-672 date, because after Assurbanipal was named crown prince, the use of the Assyrian script appears to have become more prevalent in the queries.

\textit{The Cimmerians and the Scythians}

The role of the Cimmerians in the Mannean conflict remains ambiguous, in spite of their statement, "we have separated from them" (i.e. the Manneans, ABL 1237:14), because of their well-attested association with the Manneans in other anti-Assyrian enterprises, notably that of Kaštaritu. According to no. 18 they were threatening, apparently in alliance with Urartu, Šubria, a country southwest of Lake Van, which according to the chronicles was conquered by Esarhaddon in Tebet 673.\textsuperscript{257} An echo of the Cimmerian presence in Mannean territory may also be found in RMA 22, an astronomical report of a certain Nabû-iqbi, which should be dated on account of its historical allusions to about 667 B.C.\textsuperscript{258}

The Cimmerians also appear as far south as the territory of Ellipi. No. 80 refers to an expedition led by Ša-Nabû-šû, Esarhaddon's chief eunuch into the territory of Ellipi, where the armies of Ellipi, the Medes and the Cimmerians were encountered. Since this particular expedition was initiated by the crown prince, Assurbanipal, it should not be dated earlier than 672.

The Cimmerians were not the only cause for concern to the Assyrians in that region. According to no. 23, Scythians were threatening Hubuškia and other cities on the peripheries of Urartu from Mannean territory, and in no. 35 we find them as far south as Bit-Hamban. The inscriptions of Esarhaddon claim to have defeated a Mannean-Scythian alliance and to have killed the Scythian chieftain, Išpakaya in the encounter.\textsuperscript{259} Winckler surmised long ago that the two accounts (i.e. the one in the royal inscriptions and the one in the queries) refer to the same event, and that Išpakaya lost his life in the passes of Hubuškia.\textsuperscript{260} However, this would make these queries the earliest in the corpus (679), while the Assyrian script of nos. 23 and 35 rather points to a date after 672. Admittedly, the assumption that queries written in the Babylonian script are pre-672 and those written in the Assyrian script are post-672 (i.e. after Assurbanipal was named crown prince) can hardly be considered an accurate yard-
stick for dating; however, it may serve as a rule of thumb.\textsuperscript{261}

The view that Scythians and Cimmerians in the period under discussion were closely cooperating, "perhaps as elements in locally federated tribes," proposed by Diakonoff,\textsuperscript{262} finds some support in nos. 35–40, which refer to an anticipated invasion of the two into Assyrian territory around Bit-Hamban. See also nos. 24 and 66. On the other hand, in many queries where either Cimmerians or Scythians are mentioned, they are not linked to each other; they do have common allies (e.g. Manneans, Medes), but usually independently of each other. It does seem that once the two were out of their old homeland, their paths largely diverged.

Such is the evidence of both the queries and royal inscriptions. In the former, the Scythians are conspicuous by their absence from the coalition led by Kaštaritu, and in nos. 64ff, grouped together because of their common concern for the safety of Assyrian expeditions sent into Median territory to collect tribute of horses, the Manneans and Cimmerians appear side by side as a potential threat in no. 65; the Scythians, separately, in nos. 66 and 67, as if the dangers en route to these expeditions came from different quarters and on different occasions. The inscriptions and other royal correspondence reveal a similar picture. Nowhere in the Assyrian encounters, belligerent or otherwise, with Scythians or Cimmerians do the two appear together. ABL 1237, which attests to a Cimmerian presence in Mannea, says nothing about Scythians, although the latter are known to have operated from Mannean territory in the reign of Esarhaddon.

\textit{Bartatuα-Protothyes}

This pattern, which remained consistent throughout much of the seventh century, shows that Cimmerians and Scythians generally operated independently, and often at cross-purposes to each other, even when operating from the same or adjacent territories. One can assume that there was no love lost between these two. It was, after all, the Scythians who were ultimately instrumental in the expulsion of the Cimmerians (if the Treres are to be identified with the Cimmerians) from Asia. Assyrian diplomacy tried to turn this state of affairs to its own advantage. The proposed marriage of Esarhaddon’s daughter to a Scythian chieftain, Bartatua (Protothyes of the Greeks), is a case in point. It is presented in the queries (no. 20; cf. no. 21) as a request for a formal (vassalage) treaty, because Šamaš is asked whether this Bartatua can be trusted to keep its terms. We are not told whether Esarhaddon acceded to the request, but considering the political situation at the time, it is more than likely. It can be assumed that an Assyrian-Scythian alliance of sorts resulted from these efforts and lasted into the reign of the son and successor of Protothyes, Madyas, who was instrumental in relieving Median pressure on Assyria, at least temporarily, by conquering their country.
THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Rebellion against Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal

By far the largest single group of queries is concerned with matters of internal security, notably the loyalty of various classes of officials and people, as well as individual appointees to office. As we shall see, this entire group probably largely belongs to the years 671–670. For purposes of clarity, it can be divided into two parts. The first consists of queries (nos. 139–147) whose subject is the loyalty of sundry classes of royal officials and military personnel, including foreigners such as Arameans, Elamites, Cimmerians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Arabs, etc. serving as contingents in the Assyrian army.

The second group (nos. 150–180) is concerned with the loyalty of individual appointees to office. They usually begin: "Will the man whose name is written in this papyrus, and who is being appointed to the following office remain loyal to Esarhaddon and to Assurbanipal, the crown prince of the Succession Palace, as long as he is serving in this office?" As noted above, both groups probably largely date from the years 671–670 for the following reasons:

1) In many of these queries the loyalty called for is both for Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. The latter is described as "the crown prince of the Succession Palace," a title he held only since 672.

2) The texts in this group are prevalently written in Assyrian script, a practice which apparently became more common after 672, when Assurbanipal became crown prince.

3) The date of the queries in this group can be narrowed down even further when we note the mention of both Egyptians and Cushites (i.e., Nubians) as potential rebels against the king of Assyria. This became possible only after the occupation of Egypt in 671, when Esarhaddon, having defeated the Nubian Pharaoh Taharka and conquered Memphis (cf. nos. 84ff), incorporated large contingents of Egyptian and Cushite soldiers into his army.\(^{263}\)

4) The queries concerning the loyalty of appointees to office may reflect a period of unrest in 670 following an attempted coup d'état, which resulted in the execution of numerous officials.\(^{264}\) This event is described in the laconic language of the chronicles as follows: "In the eleventh year (of Esarhaddon) the king put many of his magnates to the sword."\(^{265}\) The executions may account for the numerous vacancies open to prospective aspirants to office whose loyalty was being tested by means of divination.

Wars of Assurbanipal against Mannea and Gambulu

Turning now to Assurbanipal as king, twelve out of the sixteen queries from his reign pertain to political and/or military events known from other sources. Nos. 262–266 deal with the return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon, in early 668, and matters associated with it, like the appointment of a priest for the god.\(^{266}\) Nos. 267–273 relate to warfare, the three first queries of this group to Assurbanipal's war against the Manneans,\(^{267}\) a war which ended in the defeat and death of Ašeri, the Mannean king, and the rest to military action against the Gambulu, one of the major Aramean tribes on the border of Elam.

The best preserved and therefore the most informative of the Gambulu texts
is no. 271, dated 658. No. 272 is fragmentary, but does preserve the name of the eponym, Labasi, for the year 657, while no. 270 (no date preserved) parallels no. 271 and must have been approximately contemporary with it. All these queries accordingly date from about 658-657, but the beginnings of the conflict which they reflect were rooted in an earlier time, in 664 at the latest, when Urtaku of Elam, evidently with the support of Bel-iqiṣa of Gambulu, invaded Babylonia, thus bringing to an end the peaceful relations he had established with Assyria ten years earlier.

The subsequent deaths of these two rulers did not materially change the prevailing state of affairs. Urtaku's successor, Teumman, found an ally in Dunanu, the son of Bel-iqiṣa, and their anti-Assyrian activities must have continued for some time after 658/7, since the end of both apparently only came in 653, as a result of an Assyrian campaign culminating in the annexation of both Gambulu and Elam. The military actions planned in nos. 270-272 are, accordingly, not directly related to the events described in the royal inscriptions.

The Šamaš-šumu-ukin War

No dated texts are extant from the years 656-653, and when such material again becomes available in the year 652, it is in the simplified form of the so-called "reports," nos. 278-353 in the present edition. These are concerned to a large extent with the civil war, i.e. the revolt of Šamaš-šumu-ukin and related matters, such as the activities of his allies, e.g. Nabû-bel-šumati of the Sealand, and Tammaritu II of Elam. The apparent five-year hiatus between the queries and reports of course does not mean that the practice of extispicy was discontinued between the years 657-652 and only re instituted at the start of the civil war, but has to be explained differently.

The chronicles officially date the start of hostilities towards the end of 652 (19-X-652, see Grayson Chronicles p. 131:11), but one of the reports, no. 279, dated 17-IV-652, already inquires whether Šamaš-šumu-ukin will fall into the hands of invading Assyrian troops. Similarly no. 280, dated 4-I-651, inquires about the intentions of Nabû-bel-šumati of the Sealand, who by that time evidently had defected to Šamaš-šumu-ukin and was rumored to be gathering an army in Elam to fight the Assyrians within their own borders.

The attack either did not materialize or was not a success, because about seven months later (17-VII-651), according to no. 279, Assurbanipal was expecting Šamaš-šumu-ukin to save himself by fleeing to Elam. The Assyrians appear to have mounted an offensive of their own in the fall of 651, because no. 283, dated 16-VIII-651, asks whether Šamaš-šumu-ukin will flee Babylon. Assurbanipal must have therefore had high hopes at the time of terminating the civil war. No. 287, dated 651, inquires whether the Assyrians should engage in battle in a unidentified locality called Bit-sami and may refer to an episode in that offensive, although this is uncertain because the month and day of the year are missing. The prognosis was favorable.

No. 281 (date lost) concerns an expected Elamite summer offensive (from 8-V to 8-VI) against the Assyrian army. Although no names are given in this report, we know that the king of Elam for the greater part of the civil war was
Tammaritu II (652–649). This report may refer to one of his incursions into Assyrian territory. No. 289 (no date) concerns such an incursion of Tammaritu and a possible threat to Nippur. The second part of this query questions the continued loyalty of the Puqadeans (Biblical Pekod, one of the most important southern Aramean tribes) in the Assyrian army.

Now the Puqudu are attested as being in the forefront of those tribes and populations which were in opposition to Assyrian rule in southern Mesopotamia during the civil war. In ABL 275 a certain Kudurruru, possibly the same individual on whose report the query of no. 289 was based (rev. 6), claims that the Puqudu had "destroyed" Bit-Amukani "in an uprising." Letters from other writers, e.g. ABL 942 and 1241+, describe how the Puqudu joined forces with the Gurasmimmu (another Aramean tribe) and the Sealanders to pose a threat to those cities in the south, such as Ur, Uruk, Eridu, and Šat-iddina, which remained loyal to Assurbanipal. The Gambulu, on the other hand, must have been forcibly pacified following the failure of their alliance with the Elamites, and do not appear to have played any role in these events.

One of the results of the civil war and the defection of senior officials such as Nabû-bel-šumati of the Sealand and others to Šamaš-šumu-ukin, was the growing concern of Assurbanipal for the loyalty of his officials in the south. This concern is voiced in several reports, e.g. no. 290, to be dated, most likely, in 651, when the combined threat from Šamaš-šumu-ukin, Nabû-bel-šumati and the king of Elam to southern Mesopotamia was at its height. Nos. 300 and 301 question the loyalty of Sin-tabni-uṣur, governor of Ur, who succeeded his brother, Sin-balassu-iqbi. The date of the succession is uncertain, but an unpublished legal document, dated 23-III-650, referring to Sin-tabni-uṣur as governor, gives a firm *terminus ante quem*. Since no. 290 must have been written after the outbreak of the hostilities, i.e. after 19-X-652, the appointment most likely took place in 651.

Other reports in this group are nos. 306 and 307. These two inquire whether the appointments of certain people to the priesthoods of Anu and Sin, respectively, is acceptable to these two particular gods. Similarly, no. 310 inquires about an appointment to a temple office in Assur. In none of these reports is a date preserved but they most likely all belong to the years of the civil war, when loyalty of appointees was of paramount importance.
On the Present Edition

The objective of the present volume is to make the corpus of Sargonid oracle queries and extispicy reports available in a convenient up-to-date edition that can be profitably used both by the specialist and the more general reader. Every effort has been expended to make it as complete and reliable as possible, by identification of previously unpublished fragments, repeated collation of the originals, and scrutiny of the manuscript by several experts in Neo-Assyrian.

The Order of Texts in this Edition

In its basic organization, the edition follows the norms established in the Editorial Manual of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project and exemplified by the previous volumes of the series. The order in which the texts are presented is, to some extent, chronological, in that queries from the reign of Esarhaddon, those from the reign of Assurbanipal, and extispicy reports from the reign of Assurbanipal (in this order) are presented as separate groups, and in that texts in the latter group dated by eponym year are, as far as feasible, presented in their chronological order. In view of the dating problems discussed in the Introduction, however, a systematic chronological arrangement of the whole corpus has not been attempted. Instead, texts within the three major groups have been divided into subgroups on the basis of their subject matter, and large subgroups (like the military queries) have been further subdivided by topical criteria. The order of the military subgroups is geographical.

Texts Included and Excluded

The edition is meant to contain all extant Sargonid oracle queries and reports identified to date. In order to make sure that all pertinent texts are included, the unpublished material described in the catalogues of Bezold, King, Lambert + Millard and Leichty as possibly belonging to the genre, as well as the uncatalogued Kuyunjik pieces currently being catalogued by Lambert and Finkel, have been sifted through as carefully as possible by the editor and various other people involved in the production of the book. We have taken care to include even the smallest fragments that can with certainty be shown to belong to the corpus. It is naturally possible that in spite of our efforts, some minor fragments may have escaped our attention. It can be
confidently claimed, however, that whatever omissions there may be are insignificant fragments at best.

Four small fragments possibly belonging to the corpus (K 12686, 82-3-23,122, 83-1-18,572 and 83-1-18,874+892, the latter communicated by R. Borger) have been copied by the editor but were submitted too late to be included in the volume. All of them contain omens only and a few signs at most in each line. K 15042, K 17302, K 20556 and BM 123389 were excluded as not pertinent.

**Transliterations**

Transliterations, addressed to the specialist, render the text of the originals in roman characters according to standard Assyriological conventions and the principles outlined in the Editorial Manual. Every effort has been taken to make them as accurate as humanly possible. All the texts edited have been recently collated either by the editor or a competent colleague.

Results of collation are indicated with exclamation marks. Single exclamation marks indicate corrections to published copies, double exclamation marks, scribal errors. Question marks indicate uncertain or questionable readings. Broken portions of text and all restorations are enclosed within square brackets. Parentheses enclose items omitted by ancient scribes.

**Translations**

The translations seek to render the meaning and tenor of the texts as accurately as possible in readable, contemporary English. In the interest of clarity, the line structure of the originals has not been retained in the translation but the text has been rearranged into logically coherent paragraphs. For the first time this corpus is presented with the ezibs and the closing formulas fully translated. The translations of the ezibs and the omens have been set in smaller type than the queries themselves.

Uncertain or conjectural translations are indicated by italics. Interpretative additions to the translation are enclosed within parentheses. All restorations are enclosed within square brackets. Untranslatable passages are indicated by dots.

Month names are rendered by their Hebrew equivalents, followed by a Roman numeral (in parentheses) indicating the place of the month within the lunar year. Personal, divine and geographical names are rendered by English or Biblical equivalents if a well-established equivalent exists (e.g., Esarhaddon, Nineveh); otherwise, they are given in transcription with length marks deleted. The rendering of professions is a compromise between the use of accurate but impractical Assyrian terms and inaccurate but practical modern or classical equivalents.
Critical Apparatus

The primary purpose of the critical apparatus is to support the readings and translations established in the edition, and it consists largely of references to collations of questionable passages, scribal mistakes corrected in the transcription, and alternative interpretations or restorations of ambiguous passages. Restorations based on easily verifiable evidence (e.g., parallel passages found in the text itself) are generally not explained in the apparatus; conjectural restorations only if their conjectural nature is not apparent from italics in the translation.

Collations given in copy at the end of the volume are referred to briefly as "see coll."

The critical apparatus does contain some additional information relevant to the interpretation of the texts, but it is not a commentary. Comments are kept to a minimum, and are mainly devoted to problems in the text, elucidation of omens and lexical items, or Akkadian expressions necessarily left untranslated. The historical information contained in the texts is generally not commented upon.

Glossary and Indices

The glossary and indices, electronically generated, follow the pattern of the previous volumes. Please note that the sorting program treats short and long vowels as different letters and hence ābu, ālik pāni, ālu, āpiu and āru are listed after ātu; bābu, bārtu and bārū after bašu, etc.

NOTES

1 Some of Klauber's remarks concerning the difficulties in defining the meaning of the imperative ezîb in these texts (PRT, p. xv) are still valid. In some cases, e.g. "ezîb that an unclean person has performed extispicy in this place," the intended meaning seems to be "forgive, overlook"; in other cases, however, such as where enemy action is referred to, e.g. "ezîb that they (may) plunder the open country and inflict a defeat" (44:18), such a rendering is clearly out of the question. We have accordingly chosen the neutral rendering "disregard," holding that there was a functional difference between the standard and non-standard ezîbs, the latter purporting to narrow down the scope of the query, the former relating to the diviner's concern to "neutralize" any harmful circumstances or unfavorable conditions jeopardizing the outcome of the extispicy.
3 Cf. Aro, CARRAI 14 (1966), p. 115f; see, however, notes on nos. 279, 290, 299 and 319, below.
5 See Reiner, AS 16, p. 248 n. 5.
7 Cf. TCL 3:64:416, "by the firm 'yes' (anni kēni) of Šamaš", referring to extispicies, and "by the precious 'yes' (anni šûquri) of Šamaš", ibid. line 319; see also Klauber PRT, p. xiii and CAD A/2 135, s.v. annu.
8 So, evidently, is to be restored K 9851:3 (cited Bezold Cat., p. 1043), [br gur ana is] ma-qīt is dug ša ul-la i-pu-šu-ka an-[ta it-pal-ka]. For other duplicates, see KAR 423 i 63 and STT 308 i 33f, 309:33f.
9 See Klauber PRT, p. xiii and p. 6.
10 The stipulated term need not always begin with line 2; see no. 44:2ff, where it begins in line 4.
11 See Klauber PRT, p. xii.
12 Grayson Chronicles no. 14; cf. ibid. no. 1 iv 29.
13 See CAD E 293a s.v. ūribu and cf. Knaudron AGS, p. 13f.
14 Note also the group of omens in KAR 452:7ff, where a term of one month is evidently involved, but for purposes of prediction the action described in the apodoses progresses at intervals of three days.
15 See L. De Meyer in F's Kraus (1982), pp. 271ff.
16 On the use of birds for divination, see Starr Rituals, p. 61.
17 See, for example, JCS 21 224 1:1f, where both *lipit qāṭi* and *nēpēštī bārīm* appear together, and note in addition JNES 15 142:61, "extispicium (*lipit qāṭi), haruspex rituals (*nēpēštī bārītā) set obstacles in my way", and AnBi 12 284:57 "(evil omens resulting from) extispicium (*lipit qāṭi) and haruspex rituals (*nēpēštī bārīm), which keep occuring in my house." Note also *immer lipit qāṭi*, "the sacrificial sheep," Hh xii 145.
18 E.g., "I have not performed an extispicium (*tērtām*) with them (the diviners of Hammurapi), I am (therefore) not sensible upon their extispiciums (*nēpēštīsāntum*) to my lords," JCS 21 229 M.36ff; cf. ibid. 7ff and ARM 2 97.22f. For *nēpēštīsāntum* alone referring to extispics, see further ARM 2 133:10 ("they have exhausted their lambs in making extispiciums") and ARM 7 263 iv 16.
19 Cf. *nēpēštī kalātī/usāti/dāzātipī* i.e. the rituals of the lamentation priest, the physician, and the exorcist, respectively. On the terms discussed, see also Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) 94; Reiner, AS 16, p. 248 n. 5.
21 For its numerous additional examples, see Knudtzon AGS, pp. 18ff; see also Klauber PRT, p. xiii.
22 This function of the precatives in the queries was apparently first recognized by Jensen apud Manihius ZA 24 (1910) 211; cf. Klauber PRT, p. xiii.
23 For the occurrences, see Klauber PRT, xv.
24 See ibid. xvi.
25 *bēl šisipī u ulmīi, also bēl atē* (*sig mi*) u *ulmīi; cf. CAD A/2 s.v. atā*.
26 See CAD A/2 251f s.v. *gupra*. It is almost invariably the practice in contracts from Nimrud, as the following representative example shows: *Ku-um NA, Kīti bā īs-pūr ρā iš-ku īs-pūr PN, "instead of his seal he impressed his nail—Nail-mark of PN*" (followed by nail-marks, passim in Postgate GPA).
28 Cf. Klauber PRT, p. xvi.
29 "Disregard that enemies lie in ambush at his right and left and he will be passing through enemy ambushes." For a discussion, see Ara, loc. cit.
30 Cf. CAD D 5a; differently A1hw 849a s.v. *pātu*. Since *ina* in this ezib is in the available examples regularly spelled with the sign *A₂, not once *i-na, reading dl-pa-a-iti or dl-pa-a-iti "sleepy words" (cf. CAD D s.v. *dalam* and *dilipitu*) remains a possibility.
31 On this ezib see also Klauber AGS, p. 26; cf. Klauber PRT, xv.
32 On *ikrib* and *dimu*, see Starr Rituals, pp. 45f and 58, respectively.
33 See ibid. p. 57.
34 Cf. Klauber PRT, p. xvi. Note that taking an oath "before Šamaš" could be postponed by a month if the day set for the oath-taking ceremony happened to be cloudy (see Parpola LAS 2, p. 162, ad line 11). In 206.5, the place of ezib 1b is taken by the oath to the likeness of the day, which seems to have had an equally inauspicious import for the outcome of the extispicium; see below, p. XXVII. The reading *šu-pu ermu* is confirmed by glosses in astrological omens (e.g., RMA 87:5 and 257:11) as well as by apodoses in OB extispicium texts (e.g., "the weather will be overcast (ud-um-um i-ra-pa-am-ma) and it will rain," YOS 10 22:23, cf. Boissier DA 217:9 and PBS 2/2 123:8; "the weather will be overcast (ānum um ṭu-ra-ma-pu), (but) it will not rain," Riemscherneider ZA 57 130:21f, cf. Denner WZKM 41 212).
35 Normally spelled *u-ru* in this formula, but once (45:11) *ud-nītā*. This indicates that the sign has to be read *immeru* and taken as an independent word, not as a determinative.
36 See Knudtzon AGS, p. 34.
37 See Knudtzon AGS, p. 34.
38 For variants, see ibid. p. 36.
39 Nos. 32 r.1 and 244.1 are to be restored differently, contra Knudtzon AGS, p. 108.
40 The spelling logographically (mAš). The reading *biri* is made certain by the phonetic *Ambi* in 133:6.
41 Attested only occasionally in this ezib. For the texts in question see Knudtzon AGS, p. 37.
42 For *pahāhā lepatu, "to touch the lamb," another term for extispicium, see the examples cited in CAD L 85a.
43 For the syllabic writing of *sag.ki* (pu-*ut*) and *tu* (*pu-bat*), attested only in 23 r.3 and possibly 244.2, (pu-bat)"*i*), as well as for the numerous orthographic variants of *arsāti* attested, see the glossary. Note also the interesting variant *lūšu* in 154.4.
44 *gūg.nūmûn* is not attested syllabically, but *gūg.a = kabašu*, so *ukbabšu*, suggested by Knudtzon and adopted by Klauber, appears to be the correct reading. Examples: 277 r.5; 267 r.4 (*gūg.a,Mēšt*). *kē* is rarely written syllabically in this formula, only in 169:6, i-tu-*lu*, but more commonly with the phonetic complement-*lu*, as in 45:4; 199 r.5; 251:4, and possibly 7:11, [kē]-*lu*.
45 Although *gilitu* is occasionally written syllabically (e.g. 136:5, 272 r.3), it is mostly attested as *lu-ti-tu* and occasionally *ša-mud*, e.g. 108 r.2 (where *ša-mud* serves for both *gilitu* and *piritu*). *Piritu*, on the other hand, is usually written syllabically *pi-tu-ri*, but occasionally *ša-mud*, as in 267 r.5; 270 r.5, etc.
46 The syllabic writing *mē*-*a* is attested in the extant queries only in 45:13. *Mīhu-u* and *hashu* are always written syllabically; *mashatu* is always written syllabically.
47 *Diri* is written in 225 r.4 for the phonetic complement-ri, which suggests a form of (w) *a-tu* (*uštu*). For instances of the syllabic writing *qa-tu*, see Knudtzon AGS, p. 39. Note the writing *uš-pel-*lu* in 225:4 and in 276 r.3; *uš-pe-*el-*lu*, 108 r.5.
48 The words *mīhu* and *mashatu* are well attested in the rituals of the diviner and in rituals in general: e.g., "(barley) for (preparing) mīhù-beer and mashatu-flour for the gods," HSS 14 153:3 and reverse 3; see also ibid. 154:3 and ibid. 63:24. Only its counterpart ezib in rituals as being libated (mīha *maḫa*) with milk (*šāšu*), wine (*karku*), beer (*šikaru*), etc. Note also in the rituals of the diviner BBR 87:7, *ikrib mēkhē kanu*, "*ikribu* for placing the *mīhū*-beer," and ibid. 75-78 r.75, *ikrib māšāti ... sarāqī, "*ikribu* for scattering the *mashatu*-flour. On *māšātu*, see also Starr Rituals, p. 105.
49 Ezib 6b usually ends with *ipšu* (*šš-*; for variants, see Knudtzon AGS, p.39). The last two terms in this formula are only occasionally attested (e.g. 267 r.2 and note the abbreviated formula *minma hū* tā *ulapṭitu, 77:12*), but the word commonly in ezib 6b, *uš-lap-pu* in 45:14; 53:5; 89 r.4; 267 r.4 (*tag.šēš*); 277 r.6. *Diri* is rarely attested in ezib 6e, only in 225 r.4 and 276 r.3.
50 E.g., 8:3, 45:13, 51:15, 76:8, and 235 r.1.
The last verb is normally omitted, but occurs, written LAL.ŠEŠ-š, in 5:15, 8:5, 24 r.5, 32 r.5, 45:15, 51:17, 52:3, 77:14, 98 r.3. The reading NEŠTU is confirmed by the syllabic spelling UR-šUI in 12:6.5 and in 169:8. No. 98 r.3 inserts after LAL.ŠEŠ-š the "non-standard" exib UD-MU 4 [gä], restored from 206:6, where it appears to be attached to exib I.

E.g., 88 r.2, 90 r.3, 132 r.5, 155 r.3, 156 r.7f, 20 r.5, 5f, 275v.5, and passim.

BBR 225b:3; see BBR 97 note 3; cf. BBR 1:20-24.

LAL.ŠEŠ-š "Adad bēl Adad ša UR-šU Adad ismānāmā, "he arrives before Šamaš and Adad for judgment" (BBR 1:20-16). The diverter echoes similar sentiments in the so-called "Old Babylonian Prayer of the Divination Priest": "I am (cultically) clean, I am approaching the assembly of the gods for judgment" (JCS 22:25ff, line 9f).

The reading nasaša (stative fem. plural of násatu "to extract, pull out," etc.) is, however, made certain by the phonetic complement and the parallelism with ṣarādā.

An unusually brief version is 142; reverse; see Klauber PRT, p. xxiii.

In fact, the two usually share the same line in the text.

See Lambert CRR 14 (1966), p. 120.

Craig ABRT 4 and 81; Weidner AFO 11 360ff.

See Lambert, op. cit. p. 122f.

Šamaš bēl namūm Adad bēl bīrī "Šamaš, lord of the (oracular) verdict, Adad, patron of expiatory," etc. On the epithets of Šamaš and Adad, see Starr Rituals, p. 44.

It is written syllabically, nē-šū tu bu-ru-ti, in 79-7-8,4 ii 7 (cited Klauber PRT, p. xiii).

K 2008+ (Craig ABRT 81) 3.25 r.10 and 11. See also Klauber PRT, pp. xxv-xxvi.

Parpola LAS 112-118, 340 and 353; ABL 1259 and 1261.

Cf. Parpola, LAS 2, pp. XVII and 365.

CC SAA 1, p. XVII


See Grayson, Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts, p. 8 n. 11.


2 volumes, London 1900. Hereafter RMA.

So Parpola LAS 2, p. 38. The relevant passage where the scholar in question thanks the king for appointing him to be tutor to the crown prince is ABL 604 = LAS 34 r.6ff. Assurbanipal's tutor was previously thought to have been Nab-ah-re-riba, a close collaborator of Balas. See, for example, Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 789.


See also ABL 618 = LAS 66 by the same author.

For this and other examples, see Oppenheim, op. cit. p. 118.

E.g. ABL 565 = LAS 149ff.

See also ABL 1383 = LAS 70, ABL 82 = LAS 69, etc.

Examples are numerous, e.g. ABL 82 = LAS 69 reverse; ABL 652 = LAS 145; Oppenheim Letters from Mesopotamia II 96, ABL 406 = LAS 72 r.8ff; ABL 77 = LAS 52; ABL 354 = LAS 46 r.6ff.

See Oppenheim JNES 19 (1960) 138. However, the opposite can also be said, i.e. that the celestial bodies can influence an expiary. See Reiner, "The Uses of Astrology," JAOS 105 (1985) 591ff.

See Starr Rituals, p. 5. For the Mari text, see now Parpola LAS 2, p. 486.


For a discussion of the nature of Esarhaddon's illness, see Parpola LAS 2, p. 230ff.


Cf. Parpola, CRR 14 (1969), 179 note 41. See also RMA 274 = ABL 395.

See Hartman, JNES 21 (1962) 25ff, and Parpola LAS 2, pp. 307ff and 375ff, for a full discussion and edition of the complete text.

E.g., "the haruspices tabulated the omens. In accordance with the favorable omens, will 150 men go out, and 150 return?" ARM 2 22:28ff.


Cf. Parpola LAS 2, p. XVIII.

For the NB period, notably the reign of Nabonidus, see my remarks in Starr Rituals, p. 126.

For a brief discussion of the anatomy of the liver, see Starr Rituals, p. 77.

Ull Jeyes refers to these parts, following Nougarol, as "zones" (JCS 30 [1978] 204).

E.g., CT 31 9 (weapon-mark); KUB 7 7 (foot-mark), etc.

See JCS 11 no. 8 r.15; 37 153:23.


Table 14 of the mutabišitu is preserved in TCL 1 61 (cf. CT 20 1:29-31).

In the correspondence of Yasmith-Adad and Isme-Dagan (ARM 4 54). For a discussion of this letter, see Starr, JCS 27 (1975) 242ff. Another part of the heart, kisir šarāt (kisir šarāt) is mentioned in an expiary report from Mari, JCS 21 227 L.22 and n. 59; cf. YOS 10 42.35. For OB omens derived from the heart and its parts, see YOS 10 41.72ff; 42.1-47.

E.g., TCL 6.6.

E.g., RA 44 23f and YOS 10 11 ii 1-23 (nuspatu); JCS 21 227 M:10, 21, N:7, and passim in these expiary reports (nuspatu); CT 4 34b.1, an expiatory report (masušu). E.g., YOS 10 13-18, passim; 9:11; 19.1f (IGIL BAR). Note the expression ŠEŠ-šU-šU-šu in AFO 7 273:27. The unusual lite-biak writing of mšarlu is attested in CT 6 1, an OB liver model of unusual orthography, apparently of northern provenance; see Nougarol, RA 38 (1941) 78; Goette, YOS 10 p. 6, n. 38.

For the temporal distribution of all these terms, see Goette, YOS 10 p. 5; see also Nougarol, RA 38 (1941) 75 and JCS 21 (1969) 219 n. 6.

This may have been an acrophonic writing derived from nuspatu; see Nougarol, JCS 21 (1969) 219 n. 6. The spelling IGIL BAR appears occasionally as a variant of NA in the late texts, e.g., Rm 2,103 ii 65 and 96; IV 74, K 10436:6. The syllabic spelling ma₂₃₂₃₂₃₂ in KAR 448b is exceptional.
See Biggs, RA 63 (1969) 165 and the discussion in Starr Rituals p. 77f.

33. "The 'station' is like the PAB sign (kina pa-ap-pi-im), YOS 10 17:47; "the station' is like the KASKAL sign (kina ka-al-ko-al)," ibid. 48, see Lieberman, EANE (1977), p. 148.

34. Cf. "the 'station' (curved) to the right like a gamlu-staff (gim gam-lim)," Rm 2,103 iii 114 (cf. ibid. 47 and TIM 9 83:5); "the 'station' is (shaped) like a crescent (udšar)," TIM 9 83:1ff; "the 'station' is (shaped) like a bow (hil₂₃)," ibid. 625; "the 'station' is like a dadashešš (darsu)," Rm 2,103 iii 66 (duplicate TCL 6 11 r.1). Note also YOS 10 14:16, "the 'station' is like a trough (? b[u]-šī-mi-im)," and ibid. 11 i 7, "the 'station' is like a ring (? un-gi-im)."

35. "There are four naplastus at the same time in the liver"); cf. ibid. ii 1ff; Rm 2,103 iii 27.

36. E.g. YOS 10 13 r.1, "A normal (kašītanum) ['station'] is (located) normally (kašītanumma), a second one is located in the 'doorjamb' on the left of the 'gate of the palace' and its top is overturned and faces the gall bladder." In later texts the formulation is: BE NAG šAGUS GAR-ta-ša MIN-št. The 'station' is placed normally (or: a normal 'station' is there) and a second one,...", e.g. Rm 2,103 iii 16ff, and passim in extispicy texts.

37. "If the 'station' is long, the days of the prince will be long," KAR 423 i 39, CT 30 34.1, Rm 2,103 ii 69. On the paronomastic principle in the extispicy reports, see Starr Rituals, p. 9f.

38. E.g., Boissier DA 95:14ff; Rm 2,103 iii 54; KAR 423 i 40, and passim in MB reports, see JCS 37 168.

39. E.g., no. 295:1ff (with apodosis); KAR 423 i 48, and passim in MB texts for a OB version of this omen, e.g., YOS 10 7:65, summa iglbar qa-ab-la-ša pa-al-ta.

40. For a discussion of the 'path' and its various writings, see Starr Rituals, p. 78f.

41. For neptû, see for example JCS 37 140:13 and 150:56 (both MB reports), ne-ep-tu-i-ni zag gar (preceded by Kâlub Tukû); CT 20 23 K 4702.6, be ne-ep-tu-i ina is gar; CT 51 151 r.2f, be ne-ep-tu-i ina is/150 gar-im, all other protases in this text: girr. However, the two are not identical. They are listed separately in JCS 37 155:36f (a MB extispicy report).

42. E.g., pa-da-nu ši-na pa-da-an i-mi-tim e-li pa-da-an šu-me-lim iz-zi-iz, "there are 2 'paths,' the right 'path' stands over the left 'path.'" JCS 11 101 no. 12-9ff.

43. "There are two paths, and the upper/lower one is short," CT 20 10:7ff, cf. ibid. 16 K 6766 r.1 and passim. See also CT 20 5 K 11826.6, "there are three paths, and the middle one is short."

44. Cf. e.g. no. 3 r.16 (a bifurcation on the right toward the left) and 66 r.4 and 286:2 (two 'paths,' the right one having a bifurcation toward the left one). Note also CT 20 3 K 6939:11 and no. 20 r.14 (right and left 'path' with a bifurcation). For an OB example, see RA 67 (1973) 50:14ff.

45. E.g., CT 20 11:23-26. This protasis, when said of the middle part of the 'path,' (cf. CT 20 14f), is a common protasis in the Sargonic queries and reports, see 14 s.1, 41 r.11, 43 r.14, 64 r.13, 166 r.4, etc.

46. This characteristic, not unique to the 'path,' is well attested from the OB period on, e.g., JCS 21 222 F:4 (late OB report), JCS 37 146 no. 17:6 (MB report), and nos. 5 s.9, 285:4, 290:29, 292 r.2, and 306:3 of the present corpus.

47. The pušku is occasionally attested in syllabic writing in late OB and MB reports, e.g., JCS 21 no. 9:3 (OB) and YOS 10 2:4 (MB). Cf. also RA 41 50:4.

48. E.g., 229 r.6, 283 r.1, 337:1, cf. 316:5 and 323:10. This protasis is attested already in the OB extispicy reports, e.g., Babylon. 2 pl. 6:16, 3 pl. 9:5, and the MB report JCS 37 148:89.

49. See JCS 11 no. 6:8, 21 220 C:2f and 222 G:3. For the ominous significance of these statements, see Starr Rituals, p. 112. On šubat imittu/šašši, see also KAR 454 r.1ff.

50. Cf. CT 20 8:12, "the 'paths' are two and the right 'path' descends toward the right pušku, the left 'path' descends toward the left pušku," and query no. 290:12 "the 'path' has a bifurcation toward the right pušku."

51. E.g., the 'gate of the palace,' CT 20 29 r.8 and ibid. 10:2f, be giri ana is/10 ma-gi₂₃.

52. Attested from the OB period (including Mari) on. For OB texts, see YOS 10 20 14ff (ruqušu nasraptim), 22ff (warqat nasraptim), and passim in YOS 10. For warqat nasraptim, see also Nouayrol, RA 63 (1969) 15ff (in this text the nasraptu is in some unusual locations); for the nasraptu and ruqušu nasraptim, see also Starr Rituals, p. 79ff.

53. See also CT 20 31:1ff (cf. no. 64 r.10) and KAR 423 i 7ff.

54. The 'path' evidently has also some association with ruqušu/warqat nasraptim (sALLA/EGIR NIG.TAB GIR), see, for example, CT 20 31 20ff but never with NIG.TAB GIR by itself.

55. For an occurrence in OB extispicy reports, see JCS 21 219 *A:2f (ruqušu nasraptim).

56. The inspection of the nasraptu precedes that of the umbilical fissure (bab ēkallim). Cf. Starr Rituals 32:45f and 34:102f.

57. See CT 20 33 r.115, catch-line. See also KAR 423 ii 17ff (in the section which deals with those parts of the liver known as pām taktu, dealing with the NIG.TAB, followed by KADUGGA (lines 22ff)."

See Starr Rituals, p. 91; see also Biggs, RA 63 (1969) 165.

See Biggs, ibid.

See Goetz, JCS 11 (1957) 102.

See ibid. 45.2f, and ibid. 625; BE giri ana is/10 ma-gi₂₃.

See Boissier, RA 67 (1973) 50:14ff.

See ibid. 625; KAR 423 i 27-39.

See the evidence see Jeyes, JCS 30 (1978) 224f. On the 'strength' see also Starr Rituals, p. 82, and Nouayrol, RA 40 (1946) 66.

For a comprehensive discussion of the 'gate of the palace' and its parts, see Jeyes, JCS 30 (1978), 209-233. It is attested already in the extispicy reports from Mari, e.g., JCS 21 226f, L:11; M:12; N:8. For other occurrences in OB extispicy reports, see ibid. 219, A:5.

E.g., YOS 10 23:5f, "the 'gate of the palace' left its place and is located in the right/left side." Note also YOS 10 22:5f, a 'normal' gate of the palace' is located normally, a second one is located in the right/left side," cf. ibid. 9 and 24:12ff.

See Jeyes, loc. cit. p. 214. On the parts of the umbilical fissure, see ibid. p. 213ff and fig. 1 p. 220. For OB omens concerning 'doorjamb' of the 'gate palace,' see YOS 10 26 iii 19-26. Note also šubat (imittu) bab ēkallim, attested in MB reports (JCS 37 173).

Cf. Starr Rituals 32:49, "set a šunu of granting of (a prayer) descend from the cystic duct to the umbilical fissure.

For an etymology, see Goetz, YOS 10, p. 7 n. 46.


LXXI
E.g., JCS 21 231 N:4. Note also the MB report JCS 37 149:29, "the 'well-being' of the 'increment' slips to the right," and ibid. 42, "the 'well-being' of the 'increment' slips, is atrophied, crushed and covered."


For *appu*, the tip of the gall bladder see, e.g., YOS 10 31 ii 16, "the tip of the gall bladder is as sharp as a thorn", and ibid. x 4i, "the tip of the gall bladder is like a razor."

On this and other such devices see Starr Rituals, p. 1.11

For *appu* a common passage was as follows: "there is a cross-shaped marking in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder" (TCL 6 4 r.7f.), "there is a cyst in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder and it is soft" (ibid. 2.55f.), and "there is a hole in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder" (CT 30 16 K 3841 r.11ff). For the latter, cf., e.g., YOS 10 46 i 1f, "there is a 'weapon'-mark at the right of the top/middle/*masrahu* of the gall bladder."

Cf. ibid. 27, "The base of the gall bladder is split," and ibid. iv 25, "The base of the gall bladder is covered with flesh."

E.g., JCS 11 no. 12.13, 24; RA 41 50 6; JCS 21 219 A:6. Cf. Starr Rituals 32:53 and KAR 423 iii 11, *ša šušuš-meš-šād* is GLAM ANI ZLM. See, however, Babybl. 2 plate 6 5, "the gall bladder is firm on the right; the neck of the gall bladder is thick" (cf. CT 20 39 8). JCS 21 222 F:5 and 225 J:8; JCS 37 146 no. 17.7 (šg,šg-šat); ibid. 148:10.


E.g. CT 30 11 K 6785, K 3839, and numerous other unpublished fragments.

Cf. CT 20 i 46. OB omens connected to the gall bladder are YOS 10 28, 31, 32, 59, 60. Among omen texts of the NA period, numerous texts (mostly fragments) dealing with the gall bladder are to be found in CT 30.

E.g. ni-di GIB.GU₂ (J-šum); YOS 10 11 ii 36 and 33 i 20; ni-di GUD.ZA, JCS 11 no. 3:6 (OB report). It is also attested in syllabic writing as *madda/maddi kussi* in JCS 11 105 no. 236 and JCS 21 230 N:14, 26 (Mari).

The close proximity of the 'base of the throne' to the caudate lobe is evident from passages such as "there is a thick cyst in the right side of the 'finger' in the place of the 'base of the throne,'" AFO 22 61 r.26, cf. ibid. 39 and CT 44 37:18.


The 'palace' is sometimes in late texts used interchangeably with the "land," e.g. DA 222:10-15 (ēgal) = CT 31 43:7-12 (KUR), obviously because KUR in Neo-Assyrian script also served as a logogram for "palace." That the two were distinct parts is clear from BR 41 12:8, referring to šašuš KUR ĖGAL SULI.

*šušuš-tuš* JCS 21 225 K:4.

E.g. JCS 37 149:33, 150:47, 132:4, 133:14, but note DURUUR imitti ūbu,ši, ibid. 139 no. 7:5. A very common protasis in the Sargonic reports is "there is a hole in the wide part/base of the left side of the 'finger' at the side of the middle of the 'finger'"; see, for example, nos. 282:16; 285:11; 301:1, 15.

E.g. CT 44 37 r.3, "the palace of the 'finger' is atrophied in the top/middle/base of the 'finger.'" Also passim in the OB text YOS 10 33, e.g. iii 25f.

See also ibid. 14ff, said of the median area of the 'finger.' Note CT 44 37 r.6, "in the middle surface of the 'finger,' the right side absorbs the left: the left side absorbs the right," and cf. CAD E 68 s.v. *ekmu*.

The 'yoke' is always written syllabically (ni-ri) in the queries and reports, and usually even in omen texts of the first millennium at large, where logographic writing is common practice. The attested logograms are DUNA and AL.TERI. For the identification of these logograms with *₃ur₃* see Denner WZKM 41 (1934) 188 n. 3. According to Nougayrol (RA 44 [1950] 13 n.3) AL.TER was evolved from DUN₃, but see Biggs RA 63 (1969) 163 n. 4. DUN₃ should not be confused with DUN₃ = ṭakātu "pouch," another part of the liver occurring in nos. 5:2, 28:14 and 285:7 of the present corpus.

For a discussion of the two, see Starr Rituals, p. 91.

E.g. *šibšum šalḥim* JCS 21 220 A:18, and nos. 73:7, 139 r.18, 317:9, 323:6, etc., of the present corpus; *šibšum šalḥmat* JCS 11 100 no. 11:16, 31 and 101 no. 12:5, 16, 28.

E.g. JCS 21 231 N:16, 27; JCS 37 133:20; JCS 11 no. 3:8.

E.g. DUMU mešŠAR/mogšar, e.g. JCS 21 227 M:17, 29.

See for example 43 r.13, 282:5, 288:2, 296:8, and cf. KAR 423 iii 1 and Starr Rituals p. 129, appendix B. OB texts dealing with the 'increment' are YOS 10 35 and its duplicates AO 7029 (RA 40 81f) and AO 7033 (ibid. 85).

For OB omens derived from the *₃ur₃* see RA 44 12f and YOS 10 42 ii 50 - iv 52.

See JCS 37 p. 183. It may, however, have occurred already in an OB report, cf. YOS 10 10:1, elātum rapsalma.

For a discussion of this pair, see Starr, EANE (1977), p. 205 and Rituals, p. 11f.


See Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) no. 18:8, 15 and ibid. p. 98 n. 58 and, for the ominous significance of this observation, Starr Rituals, p. 113. Examples from OB and MB reports are numerous, e.g. JCS 11 no. 4:7, 7:7; 8:21, 21:6b, 4:4b; JCS 21 221f G:9, H:8, K:7, etc. The protases usually note that "the lung is 'suspended' on the right;" for the opposite case, see JCS 21 221 E:7, and cf. KAR 422 r.16ff. An OB omen text dealing with the lungs is YOS 10 36.

For a text from Assur, see KAR 422.


See KAR 429:49f and no. 151 r.10b.

It is not entirely certain that the two are one and the same.

For a discussion of the lobes of the lungs and the problems involved in their identification see Starr, JNES 42 (1983) 109f, and Rituals, p. 70f. The 'middle finger' of the lung is attested already in an extispicy report from Mari (ARM 5 65:35) and is well represented in the omen texts from the OB period (e.g. YOS 10 38:40) onward.

For a discussion of the staves *ɑššar/rakīš* see Starr Rituals, p. 111.

See, for example, JCS 11 90 no. 18:9; JCS 37 148:17; 23; 149:31; 150:49, 54 (uš-ša-ur), 58 (ra-ki-š). Note also ibid. 148:12, "the 'middle finger' of the lung: its top is pointed, its base is 'broad.'"

For omens derived from the 'middle finger' of the lung in NA texts, see, for example, KAR 423 r. i 39ff, 152 reverse; 159, and passim in omen texts.

See AFIh 144Bb. In the queries it is attested once or twice only, in 49 r.5 and possibly in 88 r.15, where the text actually has *a-pī*. For the omen texts see CT 31 22 Sm 916c, KAR 151 r.22ff, and passim.

E.g. CT 30 42 r.11, CT 31 42 K 3968:10.
NOTES

179 НГ.ПІ 15 СУСІ ДУГ-ді (...), НГ.ПІ СУСІ МУРУМУДІ ДУГ-ді (...), НГ.ПІ МЕСІ кі-лал-ла-ан ДУГ,МЕСІ, К 4072 р.2ff.
This passage may be a duplicate of CT 30 47 К 3943 r.3-5.

180 Кубуш also occurs in OB and MB reports, see JCS 11 91 no. 8:17ff, 21 222 G:8 (cf. ibid. I:3) and 37 184.

181 See Starr Rituals, p. 132f.

182 For instance, KUBUSH also occurs in the 12th-century AD, see JCS 11 91 no. 8:17ff, 21 222 G:8 (cf. ibid. I:3) and 37 184.

183 For the omission of this, see Starr Rituals, p. 112.

184 Cf. Hellman in OB and MB reports, see JCS 21 225 K-6, "a mukil resi is present in the lung"); JCS 11 no. 3.9f, "the lung is split at the place of the mukil resi"); ibid. 93 no. 9:10, "the mukil resi has slipped in the lung.". The mukil resi is also attested in omen texts, e.g. CT 31 38 K 1999 i 2, "in the place of the mukil resi [there is a hole]") (restored from unpublished duplicates); and see also ibid. I:11, II:4 and Boissier DA 229:60.

185 E.g. CT 31 38 K 1999 i 15; cf. no. 289:10. See also the fragment KAR 461 (all protases beginning МАСЯН [MUR]).

186 Cf. ни ные имерем, Starr Rituals, p. 31:23 and 33:78. See also ibid. 32:42, "let there be a firm ние resi in the station.") (napasulu.")

187 For nirjat haš in OB and MB extispicy reports, see JCS 21 225 J:17 and JCS 37 186. For late texts, see Boissier DA 229 r.6-10 (МЛЯСИ MUR), КАР 428:49f and r.49 (ЕНУН ЕГАЛ MUR), and further the following unpublished texts: K 3156 + and K 3834 (ЕНУН MUR); K 4111 (ЕНУН/МЛЯСИ MUR); and K 4135 (fragment, МЛЯСИ).

188 For attestations in OB and MB extispicy reports, see JCS 21 226 F:7 and JCS 37 186. In the late omen texts, much of K 3683+ (Lenormant Choix 88) is devoted to this part of the lung. See also Starr Rituals 124:11, where it is listed together with геруу, dunnу/масару hašim.

189 That the two are synonymous is clear from Starr Rituals 31:32, 34:89 (дак-а-нна-ат hašim), and the parallel passage ibid. 124:11 (дак-ан-ні hašim). For attestations in omen texts from Nineveh and Assur, see CT 20 45:12, K 3683+ (Lenormant Choix 88) r.14f, КАР 151 r.12ff (written кІКІЛ); ibid. r.11f, 428 r.37f (written дак-ні), and r.44 (written дак-ні). In the texts of the first millennium it is often impossible to say when dannatu or дакну was meant, because the word is normally written logographically. As a rule of thumb, however, it seems that whenever дакну was meant, it was written syllabically, so that кІКІЛ would in principle stand for dannatu.

190 For the identification of kaskasu with the breast-bone, see Goette YOS 10, p. 8; cf. CAD S.V. 244a, "soft part of the sheep's breastbone." The equation, first recognized by Boissier, Choix (1905) p. 56, is evident from Starr Rituals 127:31 and 130:34.

191 An exception is JCS 21 224 I:14f, in a broken context. The restoration, however, is certainly correct, since the identical protases is attested in the MB report JCS 37 149:36 and in no. 306:10.

192 See Starr Rituals, p. 22f. For the MB reports, see JCS 37 150:55 (cf. no. 301:9 and r.3, identical protases). See also ibid. 146:9 and 149:31.

193 See, for example, the omen cited by Boissier Choix, p. 94f, and КАР 423 i 17-22 (ег-тег-тег вег запагага,). This equation was first noted by Boissier in OLZ 11 (1908) 456ff.

194 For the omen reported of this fact, see Starr, HUCA 45 (1974) 23 and Rituals, p. 95.

195 For the MB reports, see JCS 37 149:36.

196 See the examples cited in the CAD s.v. дулу 267a.

197 See YOS 10 46 ii 33-44 (cf. CT 20 15:23) and queries no. 5 r.9 and 164 r.13.

198 See Starr Rituals 35:105 and Boissier DA 218 r.2ff.

199 In the OB period possibly also (OS 10 44, passim), see Goette YOS 10, p. 10 n. 69.

200 For OB omen texts where 'foot'-marks in the liver are extensively attested, see YOS 10 20:14ff and 26 iii 43ff. For 'foot'-marks in the lungs and their parts, see YOS 10 36 ii and iii and cf. Starr Rituals, p. 73.

201 Cf. a 'foot'-mark at the left of the gall bladder, JCS 11 91 8:10 and 92 6:7, 21 225 J:9 (Ob); JCS 37 148:10, 14; 149:28. For 'foot'-marks in other parts of the liver, see e.g. CT 30 2f. For 'foot'-marks in other parts of the liver (the 'finger' and the 'pouch'), JCS 11 10 11:29, "in the left of the 'pouch' (there is) a 'foot'-mark within a 'foot'-mark"); and see also 11 (a 'foot'-mark in the 'finger'). For 'foot'-marks in the (rear of the) lungs, see JCS 21 220 B:6 and cf. JCS 11 93 no. 9:12.

LXXIII
217 E.g., "the 'middle finger' of the lung leaves its place and stands in the right/left fissure (pi-iti-talki-mi-it-ti/Šu-me-tilm)." YOS 10 39 r.ffe; "there is a 'weapon'-mark in the left fissure and it faces the 'finger'," RA 27 142:21 (both OB); "there is a 'foot'-mark in the left side of the gall bladder and the right fissure and left fissure (Du 15 ii Du 159) are present," CT 30 335; "there is a 'foot'-mark in the left side of the gall bladder, and the right fissure is present," ibid. 332 (NA).

218 E.g. CT 20 43f. 1-45 (where it is listed among the piritrustus). See also YOS 10 26 iii 15 (OB) Sinna [i-na s]-pi-iti-ti-ti-ka-ge-ša-ša-pi-it-tu-šu-me-ek. "in the right/doorjamb' of the umbilical fissure a fissure is split." (cf. also ibid. 17); see also KAR 150:2f., all protoses beginning be-ma i-na šu-me-ek z6 pi-iti-tu-šu "there is a fissure in the left side of the gall bladder.

Occasionally Nin, as in Rm 2,103 i 9-12; TEC 6 2:7; 4:7; K 3868 r.1 (unpublished), Be-a-mu-tum Nin, Mes Diri-at, "the liver is filled with 'request-marks.'" For the identification of Kam with erištu, see Denner, WZKM 41 (1934) 279f.

219 E.g., "there is a 'request-mark (e-ri-ši-tum) within the gate of the palace," YOS 10 23 r.ffe; "there is a 'request-mark [in the] path'," ibid. 18:9-14; "in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder there is a 'request-mark'," TEC 6 4:4; "in the top of the 'yoke' there is a 'request-mark like a sprout," KAR 423 iii 7. Note further Ass. 4530 (= AFO 22 60ff, 'finger') and CT 20 41 vi 8-11.

220 See Starr Rituals, p. 10 and n. 50, for B and other examples.

221 For ṣpullatu "cross' (logogram šakar) and the variants pullatu, pulluru, see CAD I 253.

222 For the reading of the logogram see Nougarol, RA 44 (1950) 9; for a discussion of the verb ekēmu, idem, JCS 21 (1969) 222 n. 26.

223 Cf. also "if the right/left side of the lung is atrophied ... and the inside of the atrophied part is dark," YOS 10 36 ii 10ff; "if the 'path' is atrophied (kar) on the right and the atrophied part (kar-tum) descends to the right and to the left," CT 20 29 r.11; "if in the top of the 'finger' there is an atrophied part within an atrophied part," YOS 10 6:4. The former is the first millennium spelling, the latter, the Old Babylonian. A semi-logographic spelling ḫak (derived from ḫaku and not to be confused with ḫak = šummu) is also attested, e.g. Ass 4530 (= AFO 22 60ff), see Nougarol, RA 63 (1969) 150ff. Note also the peculiar writing mi-ib-ḫi in RA 65 70ff, if Nougarol's identification with the diibatu is correct. For the various syllabic spellings, see Nougarol, RA 44 (1950) 31.


225 Also see RA 65 72:57ff, 74 and CT 20 2 r.9.

226 Note also the OB omen YOS 10 18:52, "[in the ... of the] path' there is a dry (ru-šu-uk) cyst.

227 Cf. RA 65 72:59f., "there is a red/black cyst (mi-ib-ḪI) in the top of the intestines.

230 Aside from the examples cited above, also see RA 38 81 r.32-37 (cross-shaped mark/cyst/foot-mark/request-mark on the 'strength'), YOS 10 18:4ff (cross-shaped mark/request-mark/cyst/-hole on the 'path'), CT 31 114:9ff (cyst/request-mark/weapon-mark in the 'enclosure').

231 Qū šabat is the common expression. For numerous examples, see CAD s.v. qū A (sub 3) p. 287f.

232 E.g., "the top of the 'finger' is a 'filament which is bound' in the top of the 'station,"' CT 44 37 r.9f.; "there are two 'fingers' and their tops are held by a filament," YOS 10 11 iii 31f.; "there is a white filament in the top of the 'finger,'" YOS 10 33 iv 33ff.

233 E.g., "there is a filament inside the 'gate of the palace,'" YOS 10 11 iv 12; "two 'gates of the palace' lie side by side and a filament links them," ibid. 23:12; "there are two 'palace gates' riding upon one another, and a filament links them," ibid. 24:3; "a filament lies crosswise in front of the 'gate of the palace,'" ibid. r.41.

234 "A filament is stretched out and holds the top of the gall bladder," YOS 10 31 viii 38ff.

235 "3 or 4 filaments lie crosswise inside the 'station,'" 81-2,4,200-11 (unpub.); "a filament lies crosswise in the top of the 'station,'" ibid. 13. For this proasis, cf. nos. 281:2 and 313:3.

236 There are 2 'paths' and filaments lie in the right/left 'path.'" CT 20 8:10ff, see also ibid. 7:14ff.

237 Note also the opposite case ibid. 3. For numerous other examples see CT 20 28, for which see Klauber PRT p. xxxviii.

238 See Aro, CARRAI 14 (1965) 112ff.

239 Reading EN, MEš-[UMUS] in no. 129 s.4 is excluded according to collation. On bēl-temi, "reporter," see Stolper, JNES 48 (1980) 300ff.

240 See Aro, loc. cit., p. 116, citing Julius Africanaus (675-674 B.C.). The event should, most likely, be dated somewhat earlier. Aro's unpublished commentary elaborates on the issue as follows:

"Es wird in Übereinstimmung mit den klassischen Autoren, besonders Strabon 13, 21, gedacht, dass die Kimmayer die Phrygerier unterworfen haben. 'Die Kimmierer überließen die Paphlagonien und die Phrygen und Mides beginnd Selbstmord, indem er Ochsenblut trank. Danach hat Lydamus (= Dugdammu) die Lyder überfallen und ist bis nach Jonien vorgerückt.' Dann wäre also auch Gyges gestorben. Tatsächlich muss aber die Unterjochung der Phryger in viel frühere Zeit (Anfang Asarhaddon) gesetzt werden als die der Lyder, da die Musku sonst unter Asarhaddon keiner Rolle mehr spielten.

"Nach Eusebius, Kanon Abs. 1331 = 696 v.Chr. (Dies wäre aber schon zur Zeit Sanheribis!)"

"Africanaus: in der Zeit des Amos, 675-674 (6-7 Asch.

"Lehmann-Haupt glaubt auch ans spätere Datum, 'da die entscheidende Niederlage im Osten ers 677 erfolgte.'"

241 On Phrygian-Assyrian relations, see Sagg, Iraq 20 (1958) 20ff (especially 204f.; Postgate, Iraq 35 (1973) 22ff. It should perhaps be pointed out that, theoretically, the events described in this query could also have occurred in the reign of Assurbanipal, since the name of Esarhaddon is not preserved in the extant portion of the tablet; as is well known, the Cimmerians remained very active in Asia Minor in the reign of Assurbanipal and fought several battles against the kingdom of Lydia and its king Gyges, e.g. in 664 and in the years following. In view of the chronological structure of the corpus, this is very unlikely, however, and the fact that no 2 probably is part of the same tablet makes the assignment of the query to the reign of Esarhaddon virtually certain.

242 ŽA 47 (1941/2) 101 and 127, respectively.


244 Brief des Bischofs von Esigila an Assarhaddon (1965), p. 43f.

245 Piepkorn Asp p. 44:71ff.

NOTES

247 This letter should not be dated earlier than 672, because the greeting formulas refer both to the crown prince of Assyria and to the crown prince of Babylonia, i.e. Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukin, respectively, who were so designated in that year.


250 Possibly to be identified with Greek Kybistra. See Kessler, RIA 4 500 s.v. Hupînûa.


252 Piepkorn, Asp p. 52-71.


254 It is uncertain whether nos. 28 and 34, which mention the Manneans, fit into the chronological order of the queries. Of the two, only no. 28 is sufficiently preserved to offer a coherent context. It involves a Mannean threat to an Assyrian expedition on Siris, a little attested locality, most likely NW of Lake Urmia (cf. Parpola Toponymy p. 313).

255 First proposed by F.W. König, Altese Geschichte der Meder und Perser (1934), p. 29ff. The Phraorates of Herodotus is the son of Deioces, the founder of the Mede dynasty, who according to Herodotus rose to power in 728 and ruled 53 years. Scholars have long noted the similarity of this name to that of Dauikku, a Mannean ruler exiled in 715 B.C. to Syria by Sargon II. Now according to Diodorus (Book II 32), who explicitly states he derived his information from Herodotus, Deioces was succeeded in 711 B.C. by a certain Cyaxares. This person might well be identical with a Mede named Uakskat known from Sargon's correspondence. The latter part of Deioces' long reign would thus have to be ascribed to this Cyaxares, who would have reigned 711-675. This would make him the real father of Phraorates, and the latter a contemporary of Kaštaritu of the queries. That Kaštaritu and Phraorates were actually the same person is raised beyond a mere interesting possibility by a much cited passage from the Behistun inscription, in which a pretender to the throne named Fravartîš (i.e. Phraorates) declares: "I am Kššartitru (i.e., Kaššartutu) of the royal house of Cyaxares (= Uakskat)." See Weissbach, VAB 3 24 ii 14; Labat, JA 249 (1961) 2; and König, op. cit. 30. There is no denying the approximation of the name Kaššartu with the Old Persian Kššartitha. We find then a pretender to the throne of later times actually bearing both names, Phraorates and Kaššartutu, and even sharing with his Sargonid namesake an eponymous ancestor.

256 A thorough discussion of these problems, originally included in an earlier version of the present introduction, is planned for publication elsewhere.

257 Grayson Chronicles p. 84 and 127.

258 See Parpola, LAS 2 p. 420.

259 See Burger Esarh. p. 52-59ff.

260 AoF 1 (1897) 488f.

261 See ArQ loc. cit. p. 114.


263 See Burger Esarh. p. 114, Ft. J i 7f.

264 See Parpola LAS 2 p. 247ff.

265 Grayson Chronicles p. 86:29f and 127:27.

266 No. 262, which inquires whether Assurbanipal's brother, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, should escort the statue of Marduk to Babylon, is dated 23-1-668. No. 263 refers to the return of the statue as an event to occur in the "coming year," and was hence written in 669. On the political aspects of the reorganization of the cult of Marduk (and other Babylonian gods) see B. Porter, Symbols of Power: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy (Ph. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), p. 241ff.

267 To recover, according to no. 267, cities lost to the Manneans, presumably by Assurbanipal's predecessors. The exact date of this campaign is unknown, but it cannot have been undertaken before 664, since it is not included in the so-called Ešnāpušip list of Assurbanipal's annals, composed in 664/3 B.C.; see Cogan and Tadmor, Or. 46 (1977) 81.


270 See Streck Asp p.184:43ff, etc. The Assyrian campaign leading to the execution of Dunanu and Teumman can be fixed chronologically with the help of a lunar eclipse, see Mayr apud Piepkorn Asp p. 105ff; cf. also Mattila, SAAB 1 (1987) 30.

271 Note, however, that no. 274, a query referring to Assurbanipal as "king of Assyria and Elam," must date after the defeat of Teumman (653) and hence is approximately contemporary with the bulk of the "reports."

272 Cf. Streek Asp p. cccvii and passim.


274 ABL 301, a letter of Assurbanipal to the Babylonians, urging them not to join Šamaš-šumu-ukin, is dated even earlier (23-II-652).

275 At that period mostly a reference to the Chaldeans of Bit-Yakin. See Brinkman, op. cit. 97 n. 485.

276 See Brinkman, Or. 38 (1969) 342. Before this document came to light, both Brinkman (Or. 34 [1965] 249 n. 3) and Dietrich (AOAT 7 [1970] 110) read in 300 r.2 the name of the eponym for 649. Ahi-ilaya. The fact of the matter, however, is that the name of the eponym, which actually appeared in r.1, is not preserved. Rev.2 was correctly restored by Klauber as [da]rin-a LûSAG, a "reporter" well attested in these texts.
Abbreviations and Symbols

Bibliographical Abbreviations

ABRT  J.A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig 1895)
AfO  Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw  W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AnBi  Analecta Biblica
AO  tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre
AOAT  Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF  Altorientalische Forschungen
Ass  field numbers of tablets excavated at Assur
ARM  Archives royales de Mari
AS  Assyriological Studies
Babylon.  Babylonica
Bauer Asb  Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1933)
BM  tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Boissier Choix  A. Boissier, *Choix des textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne* I–II (Genève 1905–1906)
BRM  Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
Bu  tablets in the collections of the British Museum
CAD  Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CRRAI  Rencontre assyriologique internationale, comptes rendus
CT  Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
DT  tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Ea  lexical series ea A = nâgu
EANE  Maria de Jong Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 19, Hamden 1977)
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Fs Kraus G. van Driel et al. (eds.), *Zikir šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden 1982)


Geers copies of Kuyunjik tablets by F.W. Geers


Grayson A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5, Glückstadt 1975)

Hh lexical series HAR.ra = *hubullu*

HSS Harvard Semitic Series

HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual


JA Journal asiatique

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

K tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum

KAR E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1919)

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

Ki tablets in the collections of the British Museum

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi


Lenormant F. Lenormant, *Choix des textes cunéiformes inédits ou incomplètement publiés jusqu’à ce jour* (Paris 1873–75)

Lie Sg A.G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II* (Paris 1929)


MAD Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary

OLZ Orientalische Literaturzeitung

OIP Oriental Institute Publications

Or. Orientalia, Nova Series

Piepkorn Asb A.C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal* (Assyriological Studies 5, Chicago 1933)

PRT E. Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig 1913)

PSD Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary

RA Revue d’assyriologie

RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie

Rm tablets in the collections of the British Museum

RMA R.C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* I–II (London 1900)

RSO Rivista degli studi orientali
SAA  State Archives of Assyria
SAAB  State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
Sm  tablets in the collections of the British Museum
TCL  Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TIM  Texts in the Iraq Museum
VAB  Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VTE  D.J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* (London 1958)
WO  Die Welt des Orients
WZKM  Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YOS  Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA  Zeitschrift für Assyriologie