

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.²³⁸ 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-bel-uşur, 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 tēmi*, "reporter," so prominent in the reports, is conspicuously lacking.²³⁹ 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.²⁴⁰ 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.²⁴¹

Mugallu of Melid

Paramount among the problems of Esarhaddon in Anatolia at the time was his struggle against Mugallu, the ruler of Melid. Although Mugallu 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 Tabalean king, Išcallu. 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-Ištar 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 671.²⁴² This date is vigorously supported by Parpola²⁴³ 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-671.²⁴⁴ 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."²⁴⁵

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,"²⁴⁶ 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 Urartian, 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 Urartian 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 Urartu at the end of the eighth century at the hands of the Cimmerians and Sargon II. But the weakening of Urartu 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 Mannans, for example.

Esarhaddon's Mannean War

Esarhaddon's expedition against Mugallu may have followed the one against the Mannans, 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-ušeziḫ, 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 Mannans, 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-ušeziḫ 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 Mannaeans 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 Mannaeans 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-ušeziḫ 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 Mannaeans 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 Dur-Ilil from the Mannaeans, 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 Mannaeans, 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 Mannaeans could not have been very long lasting, because soon thereafter we find them, side by side with Medes, Cimmerians and Sapordeans, 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.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 Samaš-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.

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 Mannaeans, ABL 1237:14), because of their well-attested association with the Mannaeans 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 673.²⁵⁷ An echo of the Cimmerian presence in Mannean territory may also be found in RMA 22, an astrological report of a certain Nabû-iqbi, which should be dated on account of its historical allusions to about 667 B.C.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.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.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.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,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.

Bartatua-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.

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 Mannaeans,²⁶⁷ a war which ended in the defeat and death of Ahšeri, 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,²⁶⁸ when Urtaku of Elam, evidently with the support of Bel-iqiša of Gambulu, invaded Babylonia, thus bringing to an end the peaceful relations he had established with Assyria ten years earlier.²⁶⁹

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-iqiša, 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.²⁷⁰ 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,"²⁷¹ 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,²⁷² and Tammarithu 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 reinstituted at the start of the civil war, but has to be explained differently.²⁷³

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.²⁷⁴ Similarly no. 280, dated 4-I-651, inquires about the intentions of Nabû-bel-šumati of the Sealand,²⁷⁵ 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 Tammari-tu and a possible threat to Nippur. The second part of this query questions the continued loyalty of the Puqudeans (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 Kudurru, 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 Gurasimmu (another Aramean tribe) and the Sealancers 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-ušur, 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-ušur as governor, gives a firm *terminus ante quem*.²⁷⁶ 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

The 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 transliteration, 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 *atū*; *bābu*, *bārtu* and *bārū* after *bašū*, etc.

NOTES

¹ Some of Klauber's remarks concerning the difficulties in defining the meaning of the imperative *ezib* in these texts (PRT, p. xv) are still valid. In some cases, e.g. "ezib 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. "ezib 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 ezibs, 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.

² Cf. Tadmor, *Unity and Diversity* (1978), p. 143, and CRRAI 25 (1982), p. 453f.

³ Cf. Aro, CRRAI 14 (1966), p. 115f; see, however, notes on nos. 279, 290, 299 and 319, below.

⁴ See Nougayrol, JCS 21 230 N r.7ff; ARM 2 22:28ff.

⁵ See Reiner, AS 16, p. 248 n. 5.

⁶ See Lambert, CRRAI 14 (1966), p. 119ff.

⁷ Cf. TCL 3 64:416, "by the firm 'yes' (*anni kēni*) of Šamaš", referring to extispicies, and "by the precious 'yes' (*anni šuquri*) of Šamaš", *ibid.* line 319; see also Klauber PRT, p. xiif and CAD A/2 135, s.v. *annu*.

⁸ So, evidently, is to be restored K 9851:3 (cited Bezold Cat., p. 1043), [BE GÍR ana 15] *ma-qit* 15 DU₈ *ša ul-la i-pu-lu-ka an-[na ip-pal-ka]*. For other duplicates, see KAR 423 i 63 and STT 308 i 33f, 309:33f.

⁹ See Klauber PRT, p. xii 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. *ēribu* and cf. Knudtzon AGS, p. 15f.

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 Fs 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 qāti* and *nēpešti bārīm* appear together, and note in addition JNES 15 142:61, "extispicies (*lipit qāti*), haruspex rituals (*nēpešti bārūti*) set obstacles in my way", and AnBi 12 284:57 "evil omens resulting from) extispicy (*lipit qāti*) and haruspex rituals (*nēpešti bārīm*), which keep occurring in my house." Note also *immer lipit qāti*, "the sacrificial sheep," Hh xiii 145.
- ¹⁸ E.g., "I have not performed an extispicy (*tērtam*) with them (the diviners of Hammurapi), I am (therefore) not sending a report of their extispicies (*tēm nēpeštišunu*) to my lord", JCS 21 229 M:36ff; cf. *ibid.* 7ff and ARM 2 97:22f. For *nēpeštum* alone referring to extispicies, see further ARM 2 133:10 ("they have exhausted their lambs in making extispicies") and ARM 7 263 iv 16.
- ¹⁹ Cf. *nēpešti kalūti/asūti/āšipūti* 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.
- ²⁰ Cf. Klauber PRT, p. xiv.
- ²¹ For 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 Manitius ZA 24 (1910) 211; cf. Klauber PRT, p. xiii.
- ²³ For the occurrences, see Klauber PRT, p. xv.
- ²⁴ See *ibid.* p. xvi.
- ²⁵ *bēl šipāti u ulinni*, also *bēl atē* (SÍG.MI) *u ulinni*; cf. CAD A/2 s.v. *atū C*.
- ²⁶ See CAD A/2 251f s.v. *šupru*. It is almost invariably the practice in contracts from Nimrud, as the following representative example shows: *ku-um NA₄.KIŠIB-šū šu-pur-šū iš-kun šu-pur PN*, "instead of his seal he impressed his nail – Nail(-mark) of PN" (followed by nail-marks, *passim* in Postgate GPA).
- ²⁷ See Aro CRRAI 14 (1966), p. 111.
- 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 Aro, *loc. cit.*
- ³⁰ Cf. CAD D 5a; differently AHw 849a s.v. *pātu*. Since *ina* in this *ezib* is in the available examples regularly spelled with the sign AŠ, not once *i-na*, reading *dil-pa-a-ti* or *dāl-pa-a-ti* "sleepy words" (cf. CAD D s.v. *dalpu* and *diliptu*) remains a possibility.
- ³¹ On this *ezib* see also Knudtzon AGS, p. 26; Klauber PRT, p. xv.
- ³² On *ikribu* and *dīnu*, see Starr Rituals, pp. 45f and 58, respectively.
- ³³ See *ibid.* p. 57.
- ³⁴ Cf. Klauber PRT, p. xvii. 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. 182, ad line 11'). In 206:5, the place of *ezib* 1b is taken by a reference to the lateness in the day, which seems to have had an equally inauspicious import for the outcome of the extispicy; see below, p. XXVII. The reading *šū-pu = erpu* is confirmed by glosses in astrological omens (e.g., RMA 87:5 and 257:1f) as well as by apodoses in OB extispicy texts (e.g., "the weather will be overcast (UD-mu-um *i-ru-pa-am-ma*) and it will rain," YOS 10 22:23, cf. Boissier DA 217:9 and PBS 2/2 123:8, and "the weather will be overcast (*ūmum irrupma*), (but) it will not rain," Riemschneider ZA 57 130:21f, cf. Denner WZKM 41 212).
- ³⁵ Normally spelled UDU in this formula, but once (45:11) UDU.NITÁ. This indicates that the sign has to be read *immeru* and taken as an independent word, not as a determinative.
- 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 Spelled logographically (MÁŠ). The reading *bīri* is made certain by the phonetic complement *-ri* in 133:6.
- ⁴¹ Attested only occasionally in this *ezib*. For the texts in question see Knudtzon AGS, p. 37.
- ⁴² For *puhāda lapātu*, "to touch the lamb," another term for extispicy, see the examples cited in CAD L 85a.
- ⁴³ For the syllabic writing of SAG.KI (*pu-ut*) and TUG (*šu-bat*, attested only in 23 r.3 and possibly 244:2, [*šu-ba?*]-*ti*), as well as for the numerous orthographic variants of *aršāti* attested, see the glossary. Note also the interesting variant *libšu* in 154:4.
- ⁴⁴ GUG₄/NUMÚN is not attested syllabically, but GUG₄ = *kabāsu*, so *ukabbisu*, suggested by Knudtzon and adopted by Klauber, appears to be the correct reading. Examples: 277 r.5; 267 r.4 (GUG₄.MEŠ). KÚ is rarely written syllabically in this formula, only in 169:6, *i-ku-lu*, but more commonly with the phonetic complement *-lu*, as in 65:4; 159 r.5; 251:4, and possibly 7:11, [... *kú*]-*lu*.
- ⁴⁵ Although *gilittu* is occasionally written syllabically (e.g. 136:5, 272 r.3), it is mostly attested as LUH-tu/tú, and occasionally ŠA.MUD, e.g. 108 r.2 (where ŠA.MUD serves for both *gilittu* and *pirittu*). *Pirittu*, on the other hand, is usually written syllabically *pi/pí-rit-ti*, but occasionally ŠA.MUD, as in 267 r.5; 270 r.5, etc.
- ⁴⁶ The syllabic writing *me-e* for A.MEŠ is attested in the extant queries only in 45:13. *Mihhu* and *hašbu* are always written syllabically; *mašhatu* is always written ZÍD.MAD.GÁ.
- ⁴⁷ DIRI is written in 225 r.4 with the phonetic complement *-ru*, which suggests a form of (w) *atāru* (*ušātiru*). For instances of the syllabic writing *qa-ti*, 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 *mihhu* and *mašhatu* are well attested in the rituals of the diviner and in rituals in general: e.g., "(barley) for (preparing) *mihhu*-beer and *mašhatu*-flour for the gods," HSS 14 153:3 and reverse 3; see also *ibid.* 154:3 and *ibid.* 63:24. *Mihhu* is often described in rituals as being libated (*mihha naqū*) with milk (*šizbu*), wine (*karānu*), beer (*šikaru*), etc. Note also in the rituals of the diviner BBR 87:7, *ikrib mihhi kunni*, "ikribu for placing the *mihhu*-beer," and *ibid.* 75-78 r.75, *ikrib mašhati ... sarāqi*, "ikribu for scattering the *mašhatu*-flour. On *mašhatu*, see also Starr Rituals, p. 105.
- ⁴⁹ *Ezib* 6b usually ends with *ipšūšu* (šēš-šū; 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 *mimma lu²ū ulappiti*, 77:12), but more commonly in its counterpart *ezib* 7b, e.g. 24 r. 4 (*ū-lap-pi-tu*); 45:14; 53:3; 89 r.4; 267 r.4 (TAG.MEŠ); 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.

⁵¹ The last verb is normally omitted, but occurs, written LAL.MEŠ-ú, in 5:15, 8:5, 24 r.5, 32 r.5, 45:15, 51:17, 52:3, 77:14, 98 r.3. The reading *uhtafti* is confirmed by the syllabic spelling *uh-ta-[aṭ-tu-ú]* in 126 r.5 and in 169:8. No. 98 r.3 inserts after LAL.MEŠ-ú the "non-standard" *ezib UD-mu iš[qa]*, restored from 206:6, where it appears to be attached to *ezib* l.

⁵² E.g., 88 r.2, 90 r.3, 132 r.5f, 155 r. 3, 156 r.7f, 209 r. 5f, 275:5f, and passim.

⁵³ BBR 79 K 3750b:3; see BBR 97 note 3; cf. BBR 1-20:4.

⁵⁴ [*ana dīnim mahar Šamaš u Adad isannigma*, "he arrives before Šamaš and Adad for judgment" (BBR 1-20:16). The diviner 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).

⁵⁵ *zi.MEŠ-ha* is never so spelled in the extant queries. The reading *nashā* (stative fem. plural of *nasāhu* "to extract, pull out," etc.) is, however, made certain by the phonetic complement and the parallelism with *berā*.

⁵⁶ An unusually brief version is 142, reverse; see Klauber PRT, p. xxiii.

⁵⁷ In fact, the two usually share the same line in the text.

⁵⁸ See Lambert CRRAI 14 (1966), p. 120.

⁵⁹ Craig ABRT 4 and 81; Weidner AfO 11 360ff.

⁶⁰ See Lambert, op. cit. p. 122f.

⁶¹ *Šamaš bēl dīnim Adad bēl bīri* "Šamaš, lord of the (oracular) verdict, Adad, patron of extispicy," etc. On the epithets of Šamaš and Adad, see Starr Rituals, p. 44.

⁶² It is written syllabically, *né-piš-ti ba-ru-ti*, in 79-7-8,84 ii 7 (cited Klauber PRT, p. xiii).

⁶³ K 2608+ (Craig ABRT 81):3, 25, r.10 and 11. See also Klauber PRT, pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁶⁴ Parpola LAS 113-118, 340 and 353; ABL 1259 and 1261.

⁶⁵ Cf. Parpola, LAS 2, pp. XVI and 365.

⁶⁶ Cf. SAA 1, p. XVII.

⁶⁷ SAA 3 33. See Tadmor, Landsberger and Parpola, "The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's Last Will," SAAB 3 (1989) 1ff.

⁶⁸ See Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, p. 8 n. 11.

⁶⁹ See Oppenheim, Centaurus 14 (1969) 114. Cf. Parpola LAS 2, p. XII.

⁷⁰ 2 volumes, London 1900. Hereafter RMA.

⁷¹ 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-ahhe-eriba, a close collaborator of Balas. See, for example, Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 789.

⁷² LAS 2 (1983) and Fs Reiner (1987), pp. 257ff.

⁷³ See also ABL 618 = LAS 66 by the same author.

⁷⁴ For this and other examples, see Oppenheim, op. cit. p. 118.

⁷⁵ E.g. ABL 565 = LAS 14:9ff.

⁷⁶ See also ABL 1383 = LAS 70, ABL 82 = LAS 69, etc.

⁷⁷ Examples are numerous, e.g. ABL 82 = LAS 69 reverse; ABL 652 = LAS 145; Oppenheim *Letters from Mesopotamia* no. 96; ABL 406 = LAS 72 r.8ff; ABL 77 = LAS 52; ABL 354 = LAS 46 r.6ff.

⁷⁸ See Oppenheim JNES 19 (1960) 138. However, the opposite can also be said, i.e. that the celestial bodies can influence an extispicy. See Reiner, "The Uses of Astrology," JAOS 105 (1985) 591f.

⁷⁹ See Starr Rituals, p. 5. For the Mari text, see now Parpola LAS 2, p. 486.

⁸⁰ AfO 11 plate III, p. 361. On the *tamitus* in general, see W.G. Lambert, CRRAI 14 (1965), 119ff.

⁸¹ For a discussion of the nature of Esarhaddon's illness, see Parpola LAS 2, pp. 230ff.

⁸² Centaurus 14 (1969) 105.

⁸³ On the correspondence of Bel-ušezib, see also Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970) 62-68 and WO 4 (1968) 233-242; Fales and Lanfranchi, "ABL 1237: The Role of the Cimmerians in a Letter to Esarhaddon," East and West 31 (1981) 9-33.

⁸⁴ Cf. Parpola, CRRAI 26 (1980), 179 note 41. See also RMA 274 = ABL 895.

⁸⁵ See Hartman, JNES 21 (1962) 25ff, and Parpola LAS 2, pp. 307ff and 375ff, for a full discussion and edition of the complete text.

⁸⁶ 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.

⁸⁷ Cf. Starr JCS 27 (1975) 242f.

⁸⁸ Cf. Parpola LAS 2, p. XVIII.

⁸⁹ For the NB period, notably the reign of Nabonidus, see my remarks in Starr Rituals, p. 126.

⁹⁰ For a brief discussion of the anatomy of the liver, see Starr Rituals, p. 77.

⁹¹ Ulla Jeyes refers to these parts, following Nougayrol, as "zones" (JCS 30 [1978] 204).

⁹² E.g., CT 31 9 ('weapon'-mark); KUB 7 7 ('foot'-mark), etc.

⁹³ See JCS 11 no. 8 r.15; 37 135:23.

⁹⁴ Passim in YOS 10 11, etc.; cf. Jeyes, JCS 30 (1978) 232f.

⁹⁵ Tablet 14 of the *multiābiltu* is preserved in TCL 6 1 (cf. CT 20 1:29-31).

⁹⁶ In the correspondence of Yasmah-Adad and Išme-Dagan (ARM 4 54). For a discussion of this letter, see Starr, JCS 27 (1975) 242ff. Another part of the heart, *kišru* (short for *kišir libbim*) is mentioned in an extispicy report from Mari, JCS 21 227 L:22 and n. 59; cf. YOS 10 42 i 35. For OB omens derived from the heart and its parts, see YOS 10 41 r.72ff; 42 i 1 - ii 47.

⁹⁷ E.g., TCL 6 6.

⁹⁸ E.g., RA 44 23ff and YOS 10 11 ii 1-23 (*naplastu*); JCS 21 227 M:10, 21, N:7, and passim in these extispicy reports (*naplastu*); CT 4 34b:1, an extispicy report (*mazzāzu*).

⁹⁹ E.g., YOS 10 13-18, passim; 9:1ff; 19:1f (IGI.BAR). Note the equation [IGI].BAR (=) *nap-la-su* in AfO 7 273:27. The unusual logographic writing IGI.TAB is attested in CT 6 1, an OB liver model of unusual orthography, apparently of northern provenance; see Nougayrol, RA 38 (1941) 78; Goetze, YOS 10 p. 6, n. 38.

¹⁰⁰ For the temporal distribution of all these terms, see Goetze, YOS 10 p. 5; see also Nougayrol, RA 38 (1941) 75 and JCS 21 (1969) 219 n. 6.

¹⁰¹ This may have been an acrophonic writing derived from *naplastu*; see Nougayrol, JCS 21 (1969) 219 n. 6. The spelling IGI.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 *ma-za-zu* in KAR 448:6 is exceptional.

- ¹⁰² See Biggs, RA 63 (1969) 165 and the discussion in Starr Rituals p. 77f.
- ¹⁰³ "The 'station' is like the PAB sign (*kīma pa-ap-pi-im*)," YOS 10 17:47; "the 'station' is like the KASKAL sign" (*kīma ka-aš-ka-aš*), *ibid.* 48, see Lieberman, EANE (1977), p. 148.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. "the 'station' is (curved) to the right like a *gamlu*-staff (*gim gam-lim*)," Rm 2,103 iii 41 (cf. *ibid.* 47 and TIM 9 83:5); "the 'station' is (shaped) like a crescent (*ud.sar*)," TIM 9 83:1ff; "the 'station' is (shaped) like a bow (*til-pa-ni*)," *ibid.* 6; "the 'station' is like a *dadu*-shell (*ab.ku₆*)," Rm 2,103 ii 66 (duplicate TCL 6 1 r.11). Note also YOS 10 14:16, "the 'station' is like a trough (? *b[u]-gi₅-ni-im*)," and *ibid.* 11 ii 7, "the 'station' is like a ring (? *un-gi-im*)." ¹⁰⁵ "There are four *nāplastus* at the same time in the liver"; cf. *ibid.* ii 1ff; Rm 2,103 iii 27.
- ¹⁰⁶ E.g. YOS 10 13 r.1, "A normal (*kaiāntum*) ['station'] is (located) normally (*kaiāntumma*), 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 NA SAG.ŪŠ GAR-*ma* MĪN-ū "...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.
- ¹⁰⁷ "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.
- ¹⁰⁸ E.g., Boissier DA 95:14ff; Rm 2,103 iii 54; KAR 423 i 40, and *passim* in MB reports, see JCS 37 168.
- ¹⁰⁹ E.g., no. 295:1ff (with apodosis); KAR 423 i 48, and *passim* in 1st millennium texts. For an OB version of this omen, see YOS 10 7:65, *šumma* 1GL.BAR *qā-ab-la-ša pa-aš-ša*.
- ¹¹⁰ For a discussion of the 'path' and its various writings, see Starr Rituals, p. 78f.
- ¹¹¹ For *neptū*, see for example JCS 37 148:13 and 150:56 (both MB reports), *ne-ep-tu-ū i-na* ZAG GAR (preceded by KL.GUB TUKU); CT 20 23 K 4702:6, BE *né-ep-tu-ū ina* 15 GAR; CT 51 151 r.2f, BE *né-ep-tu-ū ina* 15/150 GAR-*in*, all other protases in this text: GİR. However, the two are not identical. They are listed separately in JCS 37 135:36f (a MB extispicy report).
- ¹¹² E.g., *pa-da-nu ši-na pa-da-an i-mi-tiwo 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.
- ¹¹³ "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 25 K 11826:6, "there are three paths, and the middle one is short."
- ¹¹⁴ Cf. e.g. no. 3 r.16 (a bifurcation on the right of the 'path') and 66 r.4 and 286:2 (two 'paths,' the right one having a bifurcation toward the left one). Note also CT 20 11 K 6393:11 and no. 20 r.14 (right and left 'path' with a bifurcation). For an OB example, see RA 67 (1973) 50:14f.
- ¹¹⁵ 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 Sargonid queries and reports, see 14 s.1, 41 r.11, 43 r.14, 64 r.13, 168 r.4, etc.
- ¹¹⁶ This characteristic, not unique to the 'path,' is well attested from the OB period on, see e.g. JCS 21 222 F:4 (late OB report), JCS 37 146 no. 17:6 (MB report), and nos. 5 r.9, 285:4, 290:25, 292 r.2, and 306:3 of the present corpus.
- ¹¹⁷ The *pušqu* 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.
- ¹¹⁸ E.g., 229 r.6, 283:1, 337:1, cf. 316:5 and 323:10. This protasis is attested already in the OB extispicy reports, e.g. Babyl. 2 pl. 6:16, 3 pl. 9:5 and the MB report JCS 37 148:9.
- ¹¹⁹ See JCS 11 no.8:6, 21 220 C:2f and 222 G:3. For the ominous significance of these statements, see Starr Rituals, p. 112. On *šubat imitti/šumeli*, see also KAR 454 r.1ff.
- ¹²⁰ Cf. CT 20 8:12f, "the 'paths' are two and the right 'path' descends toward the right *pušqu*, the left 'path' descends toward the left *pušqu*," and query no. 290:12 "the 'path' has a bifurcation toward the right *pušqu*."
- ¹²¹ E.g., the 'gate of the palace,' CT 20 29 r.8. and *ibid.* 10:2f, BE GİR *ana* 15/150 *ma-qit*.
- ¹²² Attested from the OB period (including Mari) on. For OB texts, see YOS 10 20:14ff (*ruqqi našraptim*), 22ff (*warqat našraptim*), and *passim* in YOS 10. For *warkat našraptim*, see also Nougayrol, RA 63 (1969) 153ff (in this text the *našraptu* is in some unusual locations); for the *našraptu* and *ruqqi našraptim*, see also Starr Rituals, p. 79ff.
- ¹²³ See also CT 20 31:1ff (cf. no. 64 r.10) and KAR 423 ii 17ff.
- ¹²⁴ The 'path' evidently has also some association with *ruqqi/warkat našraptim* (SAL.LA/EGIR NÍG.TAB GİR), see, for example, CT 20 31:27ff, but never with NÍG.TAB GİR by itself.
- ¹²⁵ For an occurrence in OB extispicy reports, see JCS 21 219 *A:2ff (*ruqqi našraptim*).
- ¹²⁶ The inspection of the *našraptu* precedes that of the umbilical fissure (*bāb ekallim*). Cf. Starr Rituals 32:45f and 34:102f.
- ¹²⁷ 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 *pān takāli*), dealing with the NÍG.TAB, followed by KA.DÜG.GA (lines 22ff).
- ¹²⁸ See Starr, Rituals, p. 81; see also Biggs, RA 63 (1969) 165.
- ¹²⁹ So Biggs, *ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ See Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) 102.
- ¹³¹ E.g., YOS 10 21, RA 38 80:9ff.
- ¹³² Boissier DA 6-10; cf. KAR 423 ii 27-39.
- ¹³³ For the evidence see Jeyes, JCS 30 (1978) 224f. On the 'strength' see also Starr Rituals, p. 82, and Nougayrol, RA 40 (1946) 66.
- ¹³⁴ 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 226ff, L:11; M:12; N:8. For other occurrences in OB extispicy reports, see *ibid.* 219, A:5.
- ¹³⁵ 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.
- ¹³⁶ 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's' of the 'palace gate,' see YOS 10 26 iii 19-26. Note also *šubat (imitti) bāb ekallim*, attested in MB reports (JCS 37 173).
- ¹³⁷ Cf. Starr Rituals 32:49, "let a *šulmu* of granting (of a prayer) descend from the cystic duct to the umbilical fissure."
- ¹³⁸ For an etymology, see Goetze YOS 10, p. 7 n. 46.
- ¹³⁹ See Starr Rituals 31:24; 33:80.

¹⁴⁰ 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."

¹⁴¹ Cited in Jeyes, *op. cit.* p. 223; cf. Denner WZKM 41 (1934) 219f.

¹⁴² 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 4f, "the tip of the gall bladder is like a lizard."

¹⁴³ On this and other such devices see Starr Rituals, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ For the former cf. passages such as "there is a cross-shaped marking in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder" (TCL 6 4 r.7ff), "there is a cyst in the top/middle/neck of the gall bladder and it is soft" (*ibid.* 2:55ff), and "there is a hole in the top/middle/neck in the right/left of the gall bladder" (CT 30 16 K 3841 r.11ff). For the latter, cf., e.g., YOS 10 46 i 1ff, "there is a 'weapon'-mark at the right of the top/middle/*maṣrahu* of the gall bladder."

¹⁴⁵ 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."

¹⁴⁶ 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, BE ZÉ SUHUŠ.MEŠ-ŠÁ 15 GI.NA 150 ZI.MEŠ. See, however, Babyl. 2 plate 6:6, "the gall bladder is firm on the right; the neck of the gall bladder is thick" (cf. CT 20 39:8).

¹⁴⁷ JCS 21 222 F:5 and 225 J:8; JCS 37 146 no. 17:7 (IGI.GI-at); *ibid.* 148:10.

¹⁴⁸ JCS 11 no. 3:5; 7:5 and possibly 21 223 H:4; 37 148:14. For a discussion of the verbal form, see Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) 97, but note Kraus, JCS 37 (1985) 176, n. 109.

¹⁴⁹ E.g. CT 30 11 K 6785, K 3839, and numerous other unpublished fragments.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. CT 20 i 46. OB omens devoted 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.

¹⁵¹ E.g. *ni-di* GIŠ.GU.ZA-(i)-im, YOS 10 11 ii 36 and 33 i 20; *ni-di* GU.ZA, JCS 11 no. 3:6 (OB report). It is also attested in syllabic writing as *madda/maddi kussi* in JCS 11 105 no. 23:6 and JCS 21 230 N:14, 26' (Mari).

¹⁵² 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 surface 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.

¹⁵³ See Starr, Afo 26 (1978-79) 49.

¹⁵⁴ The "palace" is sometimes in late texts used interchangeably with the "land," e.g. DA 222:10-15 (É.GAL) = 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 of the 'finger' is clear from BRM 4 12:28, referring to SUHUŠ KUR É.GAL ŠU.SI.

¹⁵⁵ *ru-pu-uš*, JCS 21 225 K:4.

¹⁵⁶ E.g. JCS 37 149:33, 150:47, 132:4, 133:14, but note DAGAL *imitti ubāni*, *ibid.* 139 no. 7:5. A very common protasis in the Sargonid reports is "there is a hole in the wide part/base of the left side of the 'finger' at the side of the middle surface of the 'finger'"; see, for example, nos. 282:16; 285:11; 301:1, 15.

¹⁵⁷ 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 25ff.

¹⁵⁸ 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. *ekēmu*.

¹⁵⁹ 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 DUN₄ and AL.TE/ṬI. For the identification of these logograms with *nīru* see Denner WZKM 41 (1934) 188 n. 3. According to Nougayrol (RA 44 [1950] 13 n.3) AL.TE evolved from DUN₄, but see Biggs RA 63 (1969) 163 n. 4. DUN₄ should not be confused with DUN = *takāltu* "pouch," another part of the liver occurring in nos. 5:2, 281:4 and 285:7 of the present corpus.

¹⁶⁰ For a discussion of the two, see Starr Rituals, p. 91.

¹⁶¹ E.g. *šibtu ṣalim* JCS 21 220 A:18, and nos. 73:7, 139 r.18, 317:9, 323:6, etc., of the present corpus; *šibtu ṣalmat* JCS 11 100 no. 11:16, 31 and 101 no. 12:5, 16, 28.

¹⁶² E.g. JCS 21 231 N:16, 27; JCS 37 133:20; JCS 11 no. 3:8.

¹⁶³ *šibtu maṣṣar/magṣarat*, e.g. JCS 21 227f M:17, 28.

¹⁶⁴ See no. 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).

¹⁶⁵ For OB omens derived from the *nīru* see RA 44 12f and YOS 10 42 iii 50 - iv 52.

¹⁶⁶ See JCS 37 p. 183. It may, however, have occurred already in an OB report, cf. YOS 10 10:1, *eliātum rapašma*.

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of this pair, see Starr, EANE (1977), p. 205 and Rituals, p. 111f.

¹⁶⁸ CT 20 15:38 and 30 46:15; TCL 6 5:40; KAR 423 r.ii 39ff; VAB 4 268:31 and 288:33 (= Starr Rituals p. 127ff, appendix B).

¹⁶⁹ 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, r.4b; JCS 21 222ff 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.

¹⁷⁰ See Starr, JNES 42 (1983) 109ff.

¹⁷¹ See KAR 428:49f and no. 151 r.10b.

¹⁷² It is not entirely certain that the two are one and the same.

¹⁷³ 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.

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of the statives *uššur/rakis*, see Starr Rituals, p. 111.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, JCS 11 90 no.18:9; JCS 37 148:17, 23; 149:31; 150:49, 54 (*uš-šu-ur*), 58 (*ra-ki-is*). Note also *ibid.* 148:12, "the 'middle finger' of the lung: its top is pointed, its base is 'bound.'"

¹⁷⁶ 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.

¹⁷⁷ See AHw 1448b. 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-pi*. For the omen texts see CT 31 22 Sm 916:5, KAR 151 r.22ff, and *passim*.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. CT 30 42 r.11, CT 31 42 K 3968:10.

- ¹⁷⁹ NÍG.PI 15 ŠU.SI DU₈-át (...) NÍG.PI ŠU.SI MUR MURUB₄ DU₈-át (...) NÍG.PI.MEŠ *ki-lal-la-an* DU₈.MEŠ, K 4072 r.2ff. This passage may be a duplicate of CT 30 47 K 3943 r.3-5.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Kubšu* also occurs in OB and MB reports, see JCS 11 91 no. 8:17ff, 21 222 G:8 (cf. *ibid.* I:8) and 37 184.
- ¹⁸¹ See Starr Rituals, p. 132f.
- ¹⁸² I.e. *kubšu eli kīdīti rakib* and vice versa, cf. JCS 37 184. For the ominous significance of this, see Starr Rituals, p. 112.
- ¹⁸³ Cf. Starr Rituals, p. 70 and, for occurrences of the two in context, *ibid.* 31:30f, 35; 34:87f, 92.
- ¹⁸⁴ E.g. 77 r.7, 305:7, 345:6 (split on the right); 308:11 (on the left). Cf. K 3638+ (Lenormant Choix 88) r.8ff and KAR 423 r.1 76f.
- ¹⁸⁵ See Starr, JNES 42 (1983) 121 and n. 44.
- ¹⁸⁶ *i-na ni-iš re-eš haši ša šumēli kakku šakin* AN.TA iṭṭul, JCS 37 148:24 and 149:44; *ni-iš reši ul-lu-uš*, *ibid.* 148:11.
- ¹⁸⁷ Cf. JCS 21 225 K:6, "a *mukil reši* is present in the lung"; JCS 11 no.3:9f, "the lung is split at the place of the *mukil reši*"; *ibid.* 93 no. 9:10, "the *mukil reši* has slipped in the lung." The *mukil reši* is also attested in omen texts, e.g. CT 31 38 K 1999 i 2, "[in] the place of the *mukil reši* [there is a hole]" (restored from unpublished duplicates); see also *ibid.* i 11, ii 4 and Boissier DA 229:60.
- ¹⁸⁸ E.g. CT 31 38 K 1999 i 15; cf. no. 289:10. See also the fragment KAR 461 (all protases beginning MU.SAG [MUR]).
- ¹⁸⁹ Cf. *nīš reš immerim*, Starr Rituals, p. 31:23 and 33:78. See also *ibid.* 32:42, "let there be a firm *nīš reši* in the 'station' (*naplastu*)."
- ¹⁹⁰ For *niširti haši* 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 (MÍ.ŠEŠ MUR), KAR 428:49f and r.49 (EN.NUN É.GAL MUR), and further the following unpublished texts: K 3156+ and K 3834 (EN.NUN MUR); K 4111 (EN.NUN/MÍ.ŠEŠ MUR); and K 4135 (fragment, MÍ.ŠEŠ).
- ¹⁹¹ 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 *šer/ruqqi/dunni/maššarti hašim*.
- ¹⁹² That the two are synonymous is clear from Starr Rituals 31:32, 34:89 (*da-an-na-at hašim*), and the parallel passage *ibid.* 124:11 (*du-un-ni hašim*). For attestations in omen texts from Nineveh and Assur, see CT 20 45:12, K 3683+ (Lenormant Choix 88) r.14ff, KAR 151 r.12ff (written KÍ.KAL); *ibid.* r.17ff, 428 r. 37f (written *du-un-ni*), and r.44 (written *du-ni*). In the texts of the first millennium it is often impossible to say when *dannatu* or *dunnu* is meant, because the word is normally written logographically. As a rule of thumb, however, it seems that whenever *dunnu* was meant, it was written syllabically, so that KÍ.KAL would in principle stand for *dannatu*.
- ¹⁹³ For the identification of *kaskasu* with the breast-bone, see Goetze 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.
- ¹⁹⁴ An exception is JCS 21 224 I:14f, in a broken context. The restoration, however, is certainly correct, since the identical protasis is attested in the MB report JCS 37 149:36 and in no. 306:10.
- ¹⁹⁵ 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.
- ¹⁹⁶ See, for example, the omens cited by Boissier Choix, p. 94f, and KAR 423 i 17-22 (*š liq-te ša* BE GAG.ZAG.GA).
- ¹⁹⁷ This equation was first noted by Boissier in OLZ 11 (1908) 456ff.
- ¹⁹⁸ For the ominous import of this fact, see Starr, HUCA 45 (1974) 23 and Rituals, p. 95.
- ¹⁹⁹ See Starr Rituals, p. 68f.
- ²⁰⁰ E.g. JCS 11 100 no. 11:20 (*ku-nu-uk-kum i-mi-it-tam e-te-eq*) and no. 9:14 (*ku-nu-uk-kum imittam a-ta-ar*, fragm. dupl. JCS 21 225 J:20). For the MB reports see, e.g., JCS 37 191.
- ²⁰¹ E.g., nos. 9 r.9 and 227 s.1. For a discussion of the verb *nahāsu*, see Starr Rituals, p. 65f; for the relevant apodosis (unfavorable), see KAR 423 r. ii 51.
- ²⁰² Cf. JCS 37 150:49, *ku-nu-uk-kum na-an-mu-ru* (MB report). Note also the OB observation *ku-nu-uk-kum mi-it-ha-ru*, "the vertebrae are equal (in size?)" JCS 11 p. 93 no. 23:10.
- ²⁰³ See Kraus, JCS 37 (1985) 190f; cf. Nougayrol, RA 44 (1950) 6 and RA 66 (1972) 94f.
- ²⁰⁴ For an OB example see YOS 10 15:1-22, where one and two 'weapon'-marks, respectively, are said to be in the 'station' (IGL.BAR). See also YOS 10 17:31ff, "in the top/middle/base of the 'station' two 'weapon'-marks face each other."
- ²⁰⁵ See YOS 10 43 and 46 (OB), further CT 30 33; CT 31 115; K 7073 + CT 30 37 (and its duplicate K 8297); K 9872; K 9910+; Rm 2,102; K 7222 (fragment), etc.
- ²⁰⁶ See Jeyes, JCS 30 (1978) 215.
- ²⁰⁷ See CT 31 15, CT 30 34 (79-7-8,110), etc. For drawings of this marking see also CT 31 9f, 14f, etc.
- ²⁰⁸ The terms used are *erā* "parallel" (usually written *i-ri-a*) and *rediš* "in succession." For drawings of such groups of 'weapon'-marks, see CT 31 15 K 2092 (three *rediš*, two *erā*), CT 31 9, CT 30 34 (79-7-8,110), etc. For drawings depicting deviations of these marks from their normal configurations, see CT 31 10, 12 and 14.
- ²⁰⁹ The two also occur together, in a different context, in Boissier DA 45:2ff, "the 'weapon'-marks on the right/left, as many as there are, either of the *pān takālti* or of the lungs ..." For *kak šumēli* in an OB omen text, see Starr Rituals 32:52.
- ²¹⁰ *2 kakkē nandurūti ... perniqqē šumšunu*, see Starr Rituals 129:14 and the parallels *ibid.* 132:12f and KAR 423 r.33f.
- ²¹¹ See the examples cited in the CAD s.v. *āridu* 267a.
- ²¹² See YOS 10 46 ii 33-44 (cf. CT 20 15:23) and queries no. 5 r.9 and 164 r.13.
- ²¹³ See Starr Rituals 35:105 and Boissier DA 218 r.2ff.
- ²¹⁴ In the OB period possibly also AŠ (YOS 10 44, *passim*), see Goetze YOS 10, p. 10 n. 69.
- ²¹⁵ 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.
- ²¹⁶ E.g., 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 (MB). For similar protases in NA omen texts, see e.g. CT 30 2f, BE *ina 150 zē gir*, etc. For 'foot'-marks in other parts of the liver (the 'finger' and the 'pouch'), see JCS 11 100 no. 11:29, "in the left of the 'pouch' (there is) a 'foot'-mark within a 'foot'-mark"; cf. also *ibid.* 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.

²¹⁷ E.g., "the 'middle finger' of the lung leaves its place and stands in the right/left fissure (*pi-ti-ir* 'i-mi'[-*it-ti*]/*šu-me-lim*)," YOS 10 39 r.6ff; "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 (DU₈ 15 u DU₈ 150) are present," CT 30 3:35; "there is a 'foot'-mark in the left side of the gall bladder, and the right fissure is present," ibid. 32 (NA).

²¹⁸ E.g. CT 20 43f 1-45 (where it is listed among the *pitrustus*). See also YOS 10 26 iii 15 (OB) *šumma* [*i-na sf*]/*pi-i-mi-it-ti* KA.É.GAL *pi-i-t-rum pa-te-er*, "in the right 'doorjamb' of the umbilical fissure a fissure is split." (cf. also ibid. 17); see also KAR 150:2ff, all protases beginning BE-*ma i-na šu-me-el ZÉ pi-i-t-rum* "there is a fissure in the left side of the gall bladder."

²¹⁹ Occasionally NIN, as in Rm 2,103 i 9-12; TCL 6 2:7; 4:7; K 3868 r.1 (unpublished), BE *a-mu-tum* NIN.MEŠ DIRI-at, "the liver is filled with 'request'-marks." For the identification of KAM with *erištu*, see Denner, WZKM 41 (1934) 215ff.

²²⁰ E.g., "there is a 'request'-mark (*e-ri-iš-tum*) within the 'gate of the palace,'" YOS 10 23 r.1ff; "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," TCL 6 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.

²²¹ See Starr Rituals, p. 10 and n. 50, for OB and other examples.

²²² For *išpallurtu* "cross" (logogram BAR) and the variants *pillurtu*, *pallurtu*, see CAD I 253.

²²³ For the reading of the logogram see Nougayrol, RA 44 (1950) 9; for a discussion of the verb *ekēmu*, idem, JCS 21 (1969) 222 n. 26.

²²⁴ 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.

²²⁵ The former is the first millennium spelling, the latter, the Old Babylonian. A semi-logographic spelling DI (derived from *di-hu* and not to be confused with DI = *šulmu*) is also attested, e.g. Ass 4530 (AfO 22 60ff), see Nougayrol, RA 63 (1969) 150ff. Note also the peculiar writing MI.B.HI in RA 65 70ff, if Nougayrol's identification with the *dihhu* is correct. For the various syllabic spellings, see Nougayrol, RA 44 (1950) 31.

²²⁶ RA 63 (1969) 163 n. 1.

²²⁷ See also RA 65 72:57f, 74 and CT 20 2 r.9.

²²⁸ Note also the OB omen YOS 10 18:52, "[in the ... of] the 'path' there is a dry (*ru-šu-uk*) cyst."

²²⁹ Cf. RA 65 72:59f, "there is a red/black cyst (MI.B.HI) in the top of the intestines."

²³⁰ Aside from the examples cited above, see also 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 šabit* 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 held by 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 protasis, cf. nos. 281:2 and 313:3.

²³⁶ "There are 2 'paths' and filaments lie in the right/left 'path,'" CT 20 8:10f, 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, CRRAI 14 (1965) 112ff.

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

²⁴⁰ See Aro, loc. cit., p. 116, citing Julius Africanus (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 I 3, 21, gedacht, dass die Kimmerier die Phrygier unterworfen haben. 'Die Kimmerier überliefen die Paphlagonen und die Phrygen und Midas beging Selbstmord, indem er Ochsenblut trank. Danach hat Lydamis (= Dugdammu) die Lydier überfallen und ist bis nach Jonien vorgerückt.' Dann wäre also auch Gyges gestorben. Tatsächlich muss aber die Unterjochung der Phrygier in viel frühere Zeit (Anfang Asarhaddon) gesetzt werden als die der Lyder, da die Mušku sonst unter Asarhaddon keiner Rolle mehr spielen.

"Nach Eusebius, Kanon Abs. 1321 = 696 v.Chr. (Dies wäre aber schon zur Zeit Sanheribs!)

"Africanus: in der Zeit des Amos, 675-674 (6-7 Ash).

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

²⁴¹ On Phrygian-Assyrian relations, see Saggs, Iraq 20 (1958) 202ff (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 ZA 47 (1941/2) 101 and 127, respectively.

²⁴³ LAS 2 (1984) 269.

²⁴⁴ Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an Asarhaddon (1965), p. 43f.

²⁴⁵ Piepkorn ASB p. 44:71ff.

²⁴⁶ See R. Follet, RSO 32 (1957) 61ff. On the Assyrian intelligence service, see also F. Malbran-Labat, *L'Armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie* (1982), p. 47ff.

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.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Parpola, LAS 2 p. 235f.

²⁴⁹ See Wiseman, VTE (1958), p. 9.

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

²⁵¹ A most recent edition of ABL 1237 is that of F.M. Fales and G.B. Lanfranchi, East and West 31 (1981). For a discussion of CT 54 22, see Dietrich, WO 4 (1968) 234ff and AOAT 7 (1970) 47f.

²⁵² Piepkorn Asb p. 52:71.

²⁵³ See WO 4 (1978) 235.

²⁵⁴ It is uncertain where 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 Siriš, a little attested locality, most likely NW of Lake Urmia (cf. Parpola Toponyms p. 313).

²⁵⁵ First proposed by F.W. König, *Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser* (1934), p. 29ff. The Phraortes 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 Daiukku, 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 Uaksatar 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 Phraortes, and the latter a contemporary of Kaštaritu of the queries. That Kaštaritu and Phraortes 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 Fravartiš (i.e. Phraortes) declares: "I am Khšathrita (i.e., Kaštaritu) of the royal house of Cyaxares (= Uaksatar)." 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 Kaštaritu with the Old Persian Khšathrita. We find then a pretender to the throne of later times actually bearing both names, Phraortes and Kaštaritu, 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 Borger Esarh. p. 52:59ff.

²⁶⁰ AoF I (1897) 488f.

²⁶¹ See Aro loc. cit. p. 114.

²⁶² *Istoriya Midii* (1956), p. 258, cited in Wiseman, op. cit. p. 10.

²⁶³ See Borger Esarh. p. 114, Frt. J i 7ff.

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-I-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 HT recension of Assurbanipal's annals, composed in 664/3 B.C.; see Cogan and Tadmor, Or. 46 (1977) 81. Grayson, "The Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal," ZA 70 (1980) 230 and 233, dates it to about 660 B.C.

²⁶⁸ Dietrich, AOAT 7 (1970), p. 75, dates it in 665. Grayson, ZA 70 (1980) 230, in 667. See, however, Brinkman, op. cit. 87 n. 423. See also Streck Asb p. cclxxxvif, and Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia in the Reign of Assurbanipal* (1968), 32f. ABL 269, a letter referring to the revolt of Bel-iqiša, is dated by Dietrich in 663, but the revolt most likely occurred a year earlier, in 664.

²⁶⁹ Cf. no. 74 and see SAA 2 pp. XVIIIf and XXIII. On Esarhaddon's policies towards the Elamites and Gambuleans, see Brinkman, op. cit. 78f.

²⁷⁰ See Streck Asb 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 Asb p. 105ff; cf. also Mattila, SAA 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. Streck Asb p. ccvii and passim.

²⁷³ See Parpola, CRRAI 30 (1986) 235 with n. 62.

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"]n-a LÚ.SAG, a "reporter" well attested in these texts.

Abbreviations and Symbols

Bibliographical Abbreviations

ABL	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> (London and Chicago 1892–1914)
ABRT	J.A. Craig, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts</i> (Leipzig 1895)
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> (Cambridge 1898–1923)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AGS	J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott</i> (Leipzig 1893)
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
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
Babyl.	Babyloniaca
Bauer Asb	Th. Bauer, <i>Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i> (Leipzig 1933)
BBR	H. Zimmern, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion</i> I–II (Leipzig 1896–1901)
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Boissier Choix	A. Boissier, <i>Choix des textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne</i> I–II (Genève 1905–1906)
Borger Esarh.	R. Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</i> (AfO Beiheft 9, Graz 1956)
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
DA	A. Boissier, <i>Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages</i> I–III (Paris 1894–99)
DT	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Ea	lexical series ea A = <i>nāqu</i>
EAANE	Maria de Jong Ellis (ed.), <i>Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein</i> (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 19, Hamden 1977)

Fs Kraus	G. van Driel et al. (eds.), <i>Zikir šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday</i> (Leiden 1982)
Fs Reiner	F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), <i>Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner</i> (American Oriental Series 67, New Haven 1987)
Geers	copies of Kuyunjik tablets by F.W. Geers
GPA	J.N. Postgate, <i>The Governor's Palace Archive</i> (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2, London 1973)
Grayson Chronicles	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5, Glückstadt 1975)
Hh	lexical series HAR.ra = <i>hubullu</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
Hunger Uruk	H. Hunger, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk I</i> (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, Berlin 1976)
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, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i> (Leipzig 1919)
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
Ki	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
LAS	S. Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal I, II</i> (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 5/1–2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, 1983)
Lenormant Choix	F. Lenormant, <i>Choix des textes cunéiformes inédits ou incomplètement publiés jusqu'à ce jour</i> (Paris (1873–75)
Lie Sg	A.G. Lie, <i>The Inscriptions of Sargon II</i> (Paris 1929)
Luckenbill Senn.	D.D. Luckenbill, <i>The Annals of Sennacherib</i> (Oriental Institute Publications 2, Chicago 1924)
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
Or.	Orientalia, Nova Series
Piepkorn Asb	A.C. Piepkorn, <i>Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal</i> (Assyriological Studies 5, Chicago 1933)
PRT	E. Klauber, <i>Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit</i> (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, <i>The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon I–II</i> (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
Starr Rituals	I. Starr, <i>The Rituals of the Diviner</i> (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 12, Malibu 1983)
Streck Asb	M.Streck, <i>Assurbanipal</i> I–III (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7, Leipzig 1916)
STT	O.R. Gurney et al., <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> I, II (London 1957, 1964)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
Toponyms	S. Parpola, <i>Neo-Assyrian Toponyms</i> (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 6, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970)
Unity and Diversity	H. Goedicke and I.J.M. Roberts, <i>Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East</i> (Baltimore 1975)
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VTE	D.J. Wiseman, <i>The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon</i> (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