

Mesopotamian Astrology about Elam: An Introductory Overview

Enrique Quintana Cifuentes

(CEPOAT, Universidad de Murcia)

Abstract: In this paper, the focus is on examining astrological aspects related to Elam, particularly from the Mesopotamian perspective, emphasizing Assyrian and Babylonian texts from the 1st Millennium BC. This brief exploration encompasses a diverse array of texts, including oracles, prophecies, and astrological predictions concerning Elam, its king, and its people. The discussed texts forecast significant events such as the demise of the Elamite king, Elam's defeat in battles, its destruction, and other catastrophic social occurrences.

Keywords: Mesopotamian Astrology, Elam, Prophecy, Oracle

Introduction

Despite the significance of the subject at hand, little scholarly attention has been paid to it.¹ While no considerable bibliography can be cited concerning the Elamite astrology, the matter can be discussed regarding Elam and the Elamites as seen through the Assyrian and Babylonian sources. It is crucial to mention that this paper is not comprehensive in any way. Its purpose is to serve as a concise introduction to astrology in relation to Elam. To my knowledge, there is not any particular work that has delved into Elam's astrology. Thus, I hope these few pages can function as a foundation or merely a catalyst for future more elaborate and in-depth investigations.

¹ The texts' labels are given in footnotes, if any.

Regarding this subject, apart from a Neo-Elamite omen (Scheil 1917, 35-36), most of the astrological information concerning Elam is from the Neo-Assyrian period. It is noteworthy that gaining insights from Babylonia under the Seleucids is rather limited (see below). Consequently, we know virtually nothing about the Elamite astrology, but the way Elam was regarded by Assyrian and Babylonian astrologers. In the case of Assyria, Assyrian students traveled to Elam to study and practice astrology. A report by the astrologer Marduk-shapik-zeri to the Assyrian king states that twenty Assyrian astrology apprentices returned from Elam, now competent experts, suitable for royal service (SAA 10 160²). Thus, if the Assyrians studied astrology in Elam, it is reasonable to assume that the Elamites had a solid grasp of astrology. Notably, the occurrence of some Elamite month names in certain Babylonian omens is also worth mentioning (see, for instance, BPO 3, Group C, EAE 59-60; Group E, K 229).

Oracles

We know that Assyrian kings sought guidance from oracles for various matters. In regard to Elam, their consultations primarily involved the Sun god. For instance, Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) inquired whether he should make a peace treaty with the Elamite king Urtaku, and if this alliance would be sincere and genuine (SAA 4 74³). Furthermore, Esarhaddon's concerns extended to the possibility of an Elamite rebellion against him (SAA 4 139 and 144⁴). In other instance, Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), a prominent Assyrian ruler, sought guidance on whether the Elamite king Tammartu would launch an attack on Assyria (SAA 4 289⁵):

“To Assurbanipal, king of Assyria: ‘Tammartu, king of Elam, is mobilizing his troops and making a hostile incursion into the Land of Assyria’... will the troops and army of Tammartu, king of Elam, come forth to do battle and will they make a hostile attack into the Land of Assyria?”

Or if the Elamites would go to war with him (SAA 4 281⁶):

“From the 8th day of this month Abu (V), to the 8th day of Month Elul (VI), will the Elamite troops gather, get organized, march, do battle with the soldiers and army of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria? Unfavorable.”

Like his father, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal also asked the Sun God if the Elamites would rebel against him (SAA 4 142⁷):

² Twenty Able Scholars, Fit for Royal Service

³ Has Urtaku Written Sincerely about Peace to Esarhaddon?

⁴ Will There Be a Rebellion against Esarhaddon?

⁵ Is Tammartu Going to Invade Assyrian Territory?

⁶ Will the Elamites Mobilize and Join the War?

⁷ Will Anyone Make a Rebellion against Prince Ashurbanipal?

“Will the Elamites make an insurrection or uprising against Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, or act against him in a belligerent behavior?”

Moreover, Ashurbanipal inquired if the Elamites would unite with Gambulu when the Assyrians engage in battle against them (SAA 4 271⁸):

Will the men and great army of the Elamites with Nabû-šarru-usur, chief eunuch, and his army, or the troops of Gambulu fight with him (Ashurbanipal).

In another case, Ashurbanipal would like to know if the rumor about his brother fleeing to Elam was true or not (SAA 4 282⁹):

Assurbanipal, king of Assyria... has heard: “Šamaš-šumu-ukin is fleeing to Elam”. Is the rumor true? Is he truly fleeing to Elam? ... unfavorable. Month VII, 15th day, eponym year of Sagab (651).

Ashurbanipal additionally seeks guidance on whether, if he assigns an official to lead the forces of Bit-Amukkani, this individual would betray him by aligning with the king of Elam and deserting with the troops (SAA 4 290¹⁰):

Should Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, designate the man whose name is written in this tablet... over the troops of Bit-Amukkani? If he designates him, will he joint Šamaš-šumu-ukin, or Nabû-bel-šumate, or the king of Elam?

From these examples, it is evident that astrology played a significant role in Mesopotamian culture. With regard to Elam, we will divide this study into two parts. In the first part, we will examine the details provided by the Assyrians and Babylonians during the Neo-Elamite period, which primarily offer insights about Elam. In the second part, we will focus on Uruk during the post-Babylonian period, that is, the Greek era under the Seleucids.

Astrological Predictions

We know certain astrological predictions concerning Elam, either explicitly or implicitly, due its reference as “the land of the East”. For instance, an eclipse on the 14th may pertain to Elam (SAA 10 26¹¹), or if Jupiter’s first appearance in Simanu (III) occurs in the morning, the path of the stars of Anu¹² signifies Elam (SAA 10 362¹³). In the month of Kislimu (IX) with a lunar eclipse, if the sun is surrounded by a halo, an eclipse will occur in Elam (SAA 8

⁸ Should Marduk-šarru-ušur be Sent to Plunder Gambulu?

⁹ Is Šamaš-šumu-ukin Fleeing to Elam?

¹⁰ Will Šamaš-šumu-ukin Flee Babylon if Assyrians Take Sippar?

¹¹ If the Eclipse Takes Place, What Does it Mean?

¹² The path of the Anu stars means the walk of Anu through the stars of the Equator (23 stars), in the manner of Enlil waked through the North (33 stars) and Ea through the South (15 stars). That is, Anu represents the equatorial path, Enlil the North path and Ea the South path.

¹³ Morning First of Jupiter in Sivan

382¹⁴). With the New Moon on the 1st, Elam will face defeat in combat (SAA 8 303¹⁵). However, if Adad thunders at the Moon's door, not only will Elam be defeated in combat, but its possessions will be taken to another country (SAA 8 119¹⁶). Additionally, the Crab's approach to the Plough may result in the dispersion of Elam (SAA 8 452¹⁷).

The prophecies can refer to different situations as well, such as potential dangers for Assyria, like an impending attack from Elam. For instance, if Mars and Saturn confront each other and stand in the Moon's halo during the full Moon, this signifies an attack from Elam (SAA 8 168¹⁸). Similarly, when Mars and another planet confront each other (BPO 3), or if a planet is positioned in the South (BPO 3), these celestial alignments may indicate potential threats or events involving Elam.

The Death of the King of Elam

The death of the king of Elam is foretold through various astrological texts. For instance, if on the 26th day of Ayaru (II), during a solar eclipse, Mars appears faintly with a yellowing glow, the king of the Elam will pass away in that year (that is Mars in the path of Enlil, at the feet of Perseo; SAA 10 100¹⁹). Similar predictions are made for the month of Duzu (IV; SAA 8 114²⁰), an eclipse of the Moon in Addaru (XII; SAA 8 250²¹) or in Ululu (VI; SAA 8 251²²) will also lead to the death of the king of Elam. If the Moon appears in Scorpius standing by its right horn, the king of Elam will be killed in that year and his reign will come to an end. Consequently, an enemy will attack and plunder the interior of his country (SAA 10 364²³). A variant of this prediction states that he may die during a rebellion of servants or simply he may be slaughtered (CTN 4, 14).

If Jupiter aligns with the Moon, the king of Elam will either fall in battle (SAA 8 100²⁴) or die (SAA 8 438²⁵). In another prediction, if the Moon is encircled by a halo and the Yoke star is within it, the king of Elam will face death (SAA 8 383). Additionally, a solar eclipse in Ayaru (II) on the 29th day foretells the demise of the Elamite king (SAA 8 384²⁶). Furthermore, if a planet approaches Aldebaran, the king of Elam will die (SAA 8 503). This

¹⁴ Eclipse of the Moon in Kislev

¹⁵ New Moon on 1st Day, Meteor

¹⁶ New Moon on 1st Day

¹⁷ Mars in Cancer

¹⁸ Mars and Saturn in Lunar Halo on Full Moon Day

¹⁹ Morning First of Mars in Iyyar, Eclipse of the Sun

²⁰ Morning First of Mars Near Mercury.

²¹ Predicting an Eclipse of the Moon in Elul

²² Predicting an Eclipse of the Moon

²³ The Bridge of Borsippa; Moon in Scorpio

²⁴ Occultation of Jupiter

²⁵ Occultation of Jupiter

²⁶ Eclipse of the Sun

prediction has a parallel in Babylonian astrology, where the death of the king of Elam is foretold when a planet comes close to the jaws of the bull (BPO 3, Enuma Anu Enlil 56).

The King of Elam: Events Others than Death

In some other cases, the predictions do not involve the death of the king of Elam but rather unfavorable events affecting him or his kingdom. For instance:

- When Jupiter passes behind Gemini in Elam, [the king of Elam] will be abandoned and a plague will devastate [the land] (SAA 8 84).
- If, on the 28th day, at 2 1/2 “double-hours” of the day, the day is covered with clouds on the north side, a famine will afflict the king of Elam (SAA 8 104).
- The appearance of a comet in the path of the stars of Anu is associated with the imminent end of the king of Elam’s days (SAA 8 339).
- A lunar eclipse in Simanu (III) on the 15th day, during the evening watch, with a south wind blowing, foretells the fall of the king of Elam (SAA 8 535²⁷).
- If a planet and Venus move towards one another and the Moon stands beneath them, an downfall of the king of Elam will take place in that month (BPO 3, Enuma Anu Enlil 56 and TCL 6 16).

However, there is a unique instance where the Elamite king experiences a positive outcome: if Mercury (or) Mars is covered with brightness, the king of Elam will become strong (BPO 3, Enuma Anu Enlil 56).

The Fall of Elam

In addition to the death or misfortune of the king of Elam, these astrological predictions also foretell the fall of Elam as a whole, particularly in relation to its military. The instances include:

- A storm blowing from the west in the month of Abu (SAA 8 31²⁸);
- The occurrence of fog on a cloudy day (SAA 8 34 and 353²⁹);
- When Venus descends darkly to the horizon and sets in Nisanu (I; SAA 8 56³⁰), or in Abu (V; SAA 8 96³¹);
- An eclipse in Nisanu (I) on the 28th day (SAA 8 104³²);
- The appearance of a comet in the path of the stars of Anu (SAA 8 339 and 456³³);

²⁷ Eclipse of the Moon on Sivan 15.

²⁸ Thunder in Ab.

²⁹ Fog in Adar.

³⁰ Morning Last of Venus.

³¹ Evening Last of Venus

³² Eclipse of the Sun in the Morning

³³ Comet and Evening Last of Jupiter

- A meteor appearing during the time span between the rising of the north wind and the rising of the south wind, with a tail resembling a scorpion (SAA 8 158³⁴).

Destruction of Elam and Its People

The destruction of Elam and its people is also predicted under certain astrological circumstances. For instance, if a planet comes close to Taurus when the full Moon rises (on the 14th day; SAA 8 459³⁵).

In a more complex text, several negative prophecies are mentioned followed by two positive outcomes for Elam (BPO 2, Enuma Anu Enlil 51):

- (3) When the Field (= part of Pegasus) rises in Nisanu (I), but in the East is not visible, in the land Elam [the cultivated field will not produce and the people will eat the price of their sons] ... (11) when the lowest stars collide with each other, Elam and Akkad [will be devastated] ... (13) [when the lowest stars] gather together, Elam and [Akkad will face devastation for five years] ... (14) [when the highest stars become black] and the lowest stars appear [normal in] Elam [the gods Erra and Adad will devour its people for five years] ... (15) when the lowest stars [become dark and the highest stars appear normal, in Elam] and Akkad [for five years, the gods Erra and Adad will devour its people] ... (17) when the lowest stars appear green and the highest stars [appear normal, during five years in Akkad] and Elam [the cultivated field will not produce, there will be famine in the land]. (18) When the highest stars appear extremely red, the market in Elam and Amurru will prosper. (19) When the lowest stars appear extremely red, [the cultivated field in Elam and Akkad will produce grain].

Astrological Features of Elam

To summarize the astronomical and astrological features related to Elam in the Assyrian documents, we can identify the following characteristics:

- The Month Tebetu (X) means “Elam” (SAA 8 120 and 472³⁶). However, there is an exception where Ayaru (II) is mentioned instead (SAA 8 487³⁷): “the morning watch means Elam” (SAA 8 4³⁸; SAA 8 103 and 487³⁹; SAA 8 308⁴⁰; SAA 8 35⁴¹).
- “The left side of the Moon means Elam” (SAA 8 316⁴²).

³⁴ Meteor, Sighting of Mercury. This is a Babylonian omen when Nebuchanedzzar I (1125-1104 BC) conquered Elam, transmitted until Neo-Assyrian times.

³⁵ Full Moon on 14th Day, Planet Sighted in Taurus

³⁶ New Moon on 30th Day

³⁷ Eclipse of the Moon

³⁸ Eclipse of the Moon in the Morning

³⁹ Eclipse of the Moon

⁴⁰ Red Sun

⁴¹ Occultation of Pleyades

⁴² Eclipse of the Moon, Jupiter Visible

- “Venus is the star of Elam” (SAA 8 302⁴³).
- “The 14th day means Elam” (SAA 8 4⁴⁴; SAA 8 300⁴⁵; SAA 8 316⁴⁶; SAA 8 336⁴⁷; SAA 8 487⁴⁸).

Furthermore, the texts in question encompass negative predictions as well. These include:

- A lunar eclipse in the morning beginning in the south, with the wind blowing in the north, means the fall of Elam (and) Gutu (SAA 8 4⁴⁹);
- A lunar eclipse on the 14th day signifies evil for Elam and the Westland (SAA 8 388⁵⁰);
- The diminishing radiance of the Sun in the path of the Anu stars; however, if the sun rises in the path of the Anu stars and its radiance is reduced, misfortune will befall Elam in the morning (SAA 10 79⁵¹);
- If Venus in Ab (V) descends darkly to the horizon and sets (SAA 8 246⁵²);
- If Venus disappears in the east during Nisanu (I) from the 1st to the 30th day: there will be wails and weepings in the land (SAA 8 145⁵³);
- If the Moon becomes visible on the 1st day (SAA 8 57, 86, 105, 188, 372, 373⁵⁴);
- If the full Moon is seen on the 14th day (SAA 8 293, 520⁵⁵);
- If the Mercury is sighted in Scorpius (SAA 8 371⁵⁶);
- If the full Moon is seen on the 28th day (SAA 8 63⁵⁷);
- If the Moon pulls the amount of its eclipse to the south and west (SAA 8 316⁵⁸);
- If the Moon is encircled by a halo and the Yoke star stands in it (SAA 8 383⁵⁹).

Positive Aspects: Good for Elam

There are features interpreted as being good omens for Elam. For instance:

-
- ⁴³ Saturn, Regulus and Orion in Lunar Halo
 - ⁴⁴ Eclipse of the Moon in the Morning
 - ⁴⁵ Eclipse of the Moon in Evening Watch
 - ⁴⁶ Eclipse of the Moon, Jupiter Visible
 - ⁴⁷ Eclipse of the Moon in Evening Watch of Sivan 14
 - ⁴⁸ Eclipse of the Moon
 - ⁴⁹ Eclipse of the Moon in the Morning
 - ⁵⁰ Predicting an Eclipse of the Moon
 - ⁵¹ Ominous Sunrise
 - ⁵² Predicting Morning First of Venus in Leo
 - ⁵³ Morning Last of Venus
 - ⁵⁴ New Moon on 1st Day
 - ⁵⁵ Full Moon on 14th Day
 - ⁵⁶ Mercury Sighted in Scorpius
 - ⁵⁷ No label.
 - ⁵⁸ Eclipse of the Moon, Jupiter Visible
 - ⁵⁹ Conjunction of Mars and Saturn in Lunar Halo

- Full Moon on the 12th day (SAA 8 88⁶⁰);
- Full Moon the 15th day: if the opposition Moon-Sun is observed on the 15th day instead of the 14th day (SAA 10 94⁶¹);
- If Scorpius appears at the side of the Moon, this means prosperity for Elam (CTN 4, 14).

Among the available texts, particularly the Venus series in the BPO 3, several references to Elam or its king can be found. Some of these references include:

- In the east, the left side of Venus is Elam. In the west, the right side of Venus is Elam (K.2907+12248 and K.2346+3904+8725). There will be battle in Elam if Venus is in the east within Leo (K.3632 and K.3601+Rm.103). There will be misfortune for Elam if Venus is inside Scorpio (K.2346+3904+8725).
- If Venus is dark on its way out, Enlil will look angrily at Elam, and the market will experience economic challenges (D.T. 47).
- If Venus is seen within the Moon, the king's son will rise to initiate a revolt, and by divine order Elam will perish. Additionally, there will be rains in the country, by divine order the country will decrease (VAT 10218 and K.8688; or Elam will be destroyed (K.3601+Rm. 103)).

Alternatively, Elam will destroy a mining border city, and a powerful city will be taken by the ruse (VAT 10218 and K.3111+10672).

- If Venus enters the Moon, remains visible beyond the expected time, and then disappears, this will signify several negative events that will unfold in Elam and its people. There will be orphaned girls among the people of Elam. This will be accompanied by a series of troubles and confusion within the country. People will sell their children for silver. Also, a big country will subdue a smaller one for the purpose of survival. The king of Elam will be confined to his palace, captured, and eventually killed similar to snake in its lair. The ruin of Elam and its people will continue, with fortresses being destroyed. Additionally, there will be a famine of barley and straw. The situation will worsen as dogs become rabid and attack humans, cattle, sheep, donkeys, causing injuries that will not heal (K.3111+10672; K.7169+7223; SM 781).
- If Venus appears to have a star on its right side (or horn) and Venus is larger than the star, this signifies that the king of Elam will become powerful and rule the people of the four regions. He will receive tributes from rival (variant: equals) kings. The king of Elam will take the throne of a rival king if Mars is on the right side (BM 75228; VAT 10218; K.2226+5969; K.7936+11331; K.229+7935; K.3601+Rm. 103).

⁶⁰ Full Moon on 12th Day

⁶¹ Full Moon on 15th Day; Reminder Concerning Offerings

- If Venus rises in the path of Ea, Elam will be ruined (SM 781; K.7936+11331; K.3601+Rm. 103; K.2816+7220; 81-2-4,229).
- If Venus is on the way of Anu, prosperity of Elam and the king of Elam will have no rival (SM 781; K.7936+11331; K.3601+Rm. 103; K.2816+7220 and 81-2-4,229; D.T.47, 81-2-4, 239; K.3601+Rm. 103).
- If Venus follows the path of Anu for six months and then stops, the gods will be reconciled with Elam (SM 781; K.7936+11331; K.3601+Rm. 103; K.2816+7220 and 81-2-4,229; ND 4362).
- If Venus is on the way of Enlil, Elam will be ruined (SM 781; K.7936+11331; K.3601+Rm. 103; K.2816+7220 and 81-2-4,229).
- If Venus enters the stars, Elam will be torn down in its [...] a fortress (or city) will be torn down (VAT 10218 and K.229+7935).
- If Venus does not change its position, the king of Elam will conquer wherever he goes and Elam will live in peace (K.7936+11331; K.3601+Rm. 103; K.2816+7220; K.3708+12663).
- If Venus [...] rises and wears two crowns, the king of Elam will dominate the world and he will receive tribute from the rival kings (K.2226+5969).
- If Venus rises at dawn and is surrounded by a halo in the second month (or in the month of the Harvest Furrow), Elam will experience confinement (Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60 and K.229+7935). If that halo is white or green, Elam will see difficulties or misfortunes (Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60 and K.229+7935). If that halo is long, Elam will see abundance (K.229+7935), and if the halo is red, the king of Elam will see abundance (Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60).
- If Venus is surrounded by a cattle pen at sunrise, Elam will experience confinement. If that cattle pen is long, Elam will see abundance (ND 4362).
- If, in the second month, Venus rises in the East and it is surrounded by the Great Twins and the Small Twins and it is dimmed, the king of Elam will fall ill and not recover (Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60).
- If Venus rises in the middle of the sky and sets dimly in the third month, the kings of Elam, Akkad, Gutu and Amurru will become hostile to each other and die, their children will not take (variant: they will take) their thrones, and their countries will become smaller and experience misfortune (Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60).
- If Venus descends to the horizon dimly (variant: remains dimmed) in the fifth month, the fall of Elam and his army will occur in that month (variant: by arms; Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60).

This enumeration can be expanded to incorporate additional predictions concerning Elam. Nonetheless, it is crucial to emphasize that our purpose is not to create an exhaustive list.

Babylonian Seleucid Texts from Uruk

The available Babylonian astrological information concerning Elam from Uruk is somewhat limited, primarily originating from the Seleucid Period. One text (TCL 6, 38) suggests that these tablets were initially taken from Uruk by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabopolassar (625-605 BC), then copied in Elam, and eventually returned to Uruk by a high priest during the reign of Seleucus and Antiochus. They focus on prophecies related to Elam or the Elamite king. These prophecies can be categorized as either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the celestial events and their implications for Elam. A specific text (UCP 9, 9) suggests that natural phenomena were also considered significant in predicting the fate of Elam. This text states that if it rains heavily on the 15th day and there is flood, the king of Elam will die.

Bad Prophecies for Elam

Bad prophecies regarding Elam include the following:

- If Mercury appears in the zodiac sign of Elam and ... stands, there will be terror in Elam (SpTU 1, 93).
- If (an eclipse takes place and) Venus becomes dark, there will be a famine in Elam (SpTU 1, 94).
- If Jupiter goes from the Crab to the Lion ... famine in Elam (SpTU 1, 94).
- If Mars glows and enters into the Fallow, an enemy will attack Elam. If Venus becomes dark, (the enemy) will take booty (TCL 6, 13).

Good Prophecies for Elam

In reference to the good prophecies, the following instances can be mentioned:

- (broken) ... the market will prosper in Elam ... (SpTU 1, 94).
- If Marduk, being in Esagil, turn to the left, the gods will become reconciled with Elam (SpTU 2, 35).
- If Marduk leaves the Esagil at the beginning of the year and turns to the left, Elam will be angry (SpTU 2, 35).
- If Marduk leaves the Esagil at the beginning of the year and goes backwards to the left, the foundations of Elam will be solid (SpTU 2, 35).
- If Mars comes close to the Crab, Elam will rise (SpTU 3, 101).

There are other texts that may be cited and discussed, but they do not significantly contribute to the examples provided in this study. Of course a more detailed study would shed further light on the subject matter.

In summary, through the examination of Mesopotamian (Assyrian and Babylonian) records, it becomes evident that during the 1st Millennium BC, Elam played a significant role in their astrological studies. This subject was crucial for scribes and astrologers, making it as a vital scholastic pursuit.

Addendum

The list of month names, star names, and texts discussed in this paper are provided below.

Months Names in the Texts

- 1 Nisanu (March-April)
- 2 Ayaru or Iyyar (April-May)
- 3 Simanu or Sivan (May-June)
- 4 Duzu (June-July)
- 5 Abu or Ab (July-August)
- 6 Ululu or Elul (August-September)
- 7 Tashritu (September-October)
- 8 Arahsamna (October-November)
- 9 Kislimu or Kislev (November-December)
- 10 Tebetu (December-January)
- 11 Shabatu (January-February)
- 12 Addaru or Adar (February-March)

List of Known Babylonian Star Names

The following list is extracted from Ulla Koch-Westenholz's *Mesopotamian Astrology* published in 1995:

The Bull's Jaw = Hyades

The Crab = Cancer

The Field = Part of Pegasus

The Furrow = Virgo

The Great Twins = Gemini

The Lion = Leo

The Plough = Part of Andromeda

The Yoke = Boötes

Sources of Astrological Predictions

SAA 10 26, 79, 94, 100: Astrological Reports to Assyrian kings by Assyrians (published as letters)

SAA 10 160, 362, 364: Astrological Reports to Assyrian kings by Babylonians (published as letters)

SAA 8 4, 31, 34, 56, 57, 63, 84, 86, 88, 96, 100, 103, 104, 105, 114, 119, 120, 145, 158, 168, 188: Astrological Reports to Assyrian kings by Assyrians

SAA 8 246, 250, 251, 293, 300, 302, 303, 308, 316, 336, 339, 351, 353, 371, 372, 373, 382, 383, 384, 388, 438, 452, 456, 459, 472, 487, 503, 520, 535: Astrological reports to Assyrian kings by Babylonians

Oracles

SAA 4: 74, 139, 142, 144, 271, 273, 281, 282, 289, 290.

Other Texts:

BPO 2: Enuma Anu Enlil 51

BPO 3: Enuma Anu Enlil 59-60 and others

CTN 4, 14 (Texts from Kalaj (Nimrud))

SpTU 1, 93 and 94

SpTU 2, 35

SpTU 3, 101

TCL 6 13, 16 (Enuma Anu Enlil 56) and 38

UCP 9, 9

Abbreviations

BPO: Babylonian Planetary Omens

BPO 2: Reiner 1982

BPO 3: Reiner 1998

CTN 4: Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud, published in Wiseman and Black 1996

SAA: State Archives of Assyria

SAA 4: Starr 1990

SAA 8: Hunger 2014

SAA 10: Parpola 1993

SpTU: Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk

SpTU 1: Hunger 1976

SpTU 2: Weiher 1983.

SpTU 3: Weiher 1988

TCL: Textes cunéiformes du Louvre, published in Thureau-Dangin 1922.

UCP 9: University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 9

References

- Hunger, Hermann. 1976. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*. Teil 1. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, Bd. 9. Gebr. Mann.
- Hunger, Hermann. 1992. *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. SAA 8. Helsinki University Press.
- Koch-Westenholz, Ulla. 1995. *Mesopotamian Astrology: An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination*. CNI Publications, vol. 19. Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Parpola, Simo. 1993. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. SAA 10. Helsinki University Press.
- Reiner, Erica. 1982. *Babylonian Planetary Omens*. Part 2. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, Malibu.
- Reiner, Erica. 1998. *Babylonian Planetary Omens*. Part 3. Cuneiform Monographs 11. STYX Publications.
- Scheil, Vincent. 1917. "Déchiffrement d'un document anzanite relatif au presages." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 14:29-59.
- Starr, Ivan. 1990. *Queries to the Sun God. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki University Press.
- Thureau-Dangin, François. 1922. *Tablettes d'Uruk*. Textes Cunéiformes, vol. 6. Paul Geuthner.
- Weiher, Egbert von. 1983. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*. Teil 2. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, Bd. 10. Gebr. Mann.
- Weiher, Egbert von. 1988. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*. Teil 3. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, Bd. 12. Gebr. Mann.
- Wiseman, Donald J., and Jeremy A. Black. 1996. *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabu*. CTN 4. British School of Archaeology in Iraq.



