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Article

2022

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### How to cite

BODDY, Kaira, HUBER VUILLET, Fabienne, MITTERMAYER, Catherine. The Excerpt Tablets of Šumma ālu: Reconstructing Tablets 80 to 95. In: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie, 2022, vol. 112, n° 1, p. 76–106. doi: 10.1515/za-2021-2005

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch//unige:171247>

Publication DOI: [10.1515/za-2021-2005](https://doi.org/10.1515/za-2021-2005)

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## Abhandlung

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# The Excerpt Tablets of Šumma ālu: Reconstructing Tablets 80 to 95

<https://doi.org/10.1515/za-2021-2005>

**Abstract:** Our knowledge about the omen series *šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin* has much advanced since the first manuscripts were edited. Even though the overall structure of Šumma ālu is generally well established, the final third of the series still poses considerable problems. In this article we will present a new reconstruction for the sequence from Tablet 80 to 95. As colophons with catchlines and Tablet numbers are scarce for this part of the series, we have developed a new method for the reconstruction mainly relying on clusters of excerpt tablets originating from Nineveh.

## 1 Introduction

The reconstruction of the omen series *šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin* has much advanced since the first manuscripts were edited by Nötscher in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>1</sup> We owe most of

<sup>1</sup> The present article presents the preliminary results of the Geneva Šumma ālu project that was financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation from 2017–2021 (see (<http://p3.snf.ch/project-175970>)). For scores of the Šumma ālu Tablets under discussion see the provisional working drafts available in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (<https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/>; search for “Shumma alu”). We would like to thank Sally Freedman and Ann Guinan for sharing their own material, as well as the at the time unpublished *Folios* with E. Leichty’s and W. G. Lambert’s transliterations, notes and identifications of Šumma ālu manuscripts. We also wish to thank Enrique Jiménez for allowing us to use the eBL (Electronic Babylonian Literature) database prior to its introduction to the public. The *Folios* as well as eBL helped us identify a considerable number of new fragments and joins. We would also like to thank Anmar Fadhil for providing us with excellent photographs of W 22706/2 and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut for allowing us to publish them. We have included images for all manuscripts discussed in this article for which new joins were made. If not otherwise indicated, these images were realized using photographs of the British Museum available on CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative). Because of the closure of the British Museum due to the COVID-19 pandemic, several joins could only be checked shortly before the article went to press. This explains why some indirect joins are still listed separately. P num-

our knowledge of the series to the pioneering work of Freedman (1978; 1998; 2006; 2017), who over the last few decades published Tablets 1 to 63. Important contributions were also made by Guinan (1990; 1997; 2002a; 2002b, for example), especially on the behavioral omens,<sup>2</sup> and by Heeßel (2007), who published the Assur manuscripts of the series.

Even though the overall structure of Šumma ālu is generally well established up to Tablet 79 (the last of the bird omen Tablets),<sup>3</sup> the final third of the series still poses considerable problems and remains largely unpublished.<sup>4</sup> In the last thirty years, editions have appeared for only two Tablets from this part of the series. Pongratz-Leisten (1994) published the procession omens, the first 35 lines of which were re-edited by Sallaberger (2000) as the beginning of Tablet 120, and Rendu Loisel (2016) presented an edition of the *egirru* omens of Tablet 95. More recently, Freedman shared her draft of Tablet 88 with the research community on Academia. Additionally, Fincke (2020) published a new manuscript for a thus far unplaced Tablet.<sup>5</sup>

bers (Pnnnnnn) refer to the entries of the CDLI (<http://cdli.ucla.edu>). Abbreviations follow those given in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (RIA).

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, she has announced the upcoming publication of her editions of Tablets 103 and 104 (personal communication).

<sup>3</sup> See, most recently, Maul (2003, 58–62); Heeßel (2007, 2–7); Koch (2015, § 4.5). For the last third of the series see also De Zorzi (2009, 109).

<sup>4</sup> Views differ on the total number of Tablets that make up Šumma ālu (cf. e.g. Freedman 1998, 6; Sallaberger 2000, 231; Heeßel 2001–2002, 233 f.; Maul 2003, 59, 86; Koch 2015, 240 f).

<sup>5</sup> BM 33406 duplicates Funck 3 (AFO 18, 72), which probably does not represent Šumma ālu 85 as proposed by Fincke (2020, 162f.), but a Tablet with omens similar to those of Šumma ālu 86; see also n. 37.

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The fragmentary state of publication of the last part of Šumma ālu can be explained by the fact that the Assur catalog,<sup>6</sup> on which Freedman's reconstruction of the series is largely based, breaks off after the incipit of Tablet 62. For the final part of the series, we thus have to turn to the odd colophon providing us with a catchline or Tablet number. Further information on the Tablet sequence can be taken from a catalog from Hellenistic Uruk (W 22706/2), edited by von Weiher (SpTU 3, 95), and from two recently identified manuscripts that give a choice of Šumma ālu incipits. The first, K.6925 (P396904), is a very small fragment that might be interpreted as a catalog from Nineveh. The second manuscript, Rm.429 (P424760), preserves a selection of incipits of both Tablets

and sections belonging somewhere between Tablets 80 and 120.<sup>7</sup>

The obverse of the Uruk catalog shows protases that probably belong to the bird omens of Šumma ālu. Even though not a single protasis corresponds to any of the known incipits of this part of the series (cf. Freedman 1978, 104–107; 1998, 339 f. and De Zorzi 2009, 89 f.), the references to the king and/or to the army support this attribution. On the reverse, several incipits that can now be attributed to Tablets in the 90s can be detected. The catalog ends with three incipits (ll. 13–15) from different sections of Tablet 120 (see already Sallaberger 2000, 231).

The following transliteration is based on excellent photographs taken by Anmar Fadhil (see Fig. 1).

#### W 22706/2

obverse

1. DIŠ 'NA<sup>1</sup> SÍSKUR *ana* DINGIR-šú *ana na*-<sup>1</sup>qé-e ZI<sup>1</sup>-[(ma)]<sup>8</sup>
2. DIŠ 'x x x x x<sup>1</sup>-ma
3. DIŠ NA *ina* É-šú TUŠ-ma MUŠEN 'x x<sup>1</sup>
4. DIŠ NA 'x<sup>1</sup> URU<sup>meš</sup> me-'x<sup>1</sup>-ti
5. DIŠ NA KASKAL *um-ma-ni ina* DU-šú
6. DIŠ 'x x<sup>1</sup> ŠÀ URU 'x x x x<sup>1</sup>-šú
7. DIŠ 'x x<sup>1</sup> BI NA 'x x<sup>1</sup> *ana* 'x<sup>1</sup> MUŠEN 'x<sup>1</sup> *lib-ba-šú* BABBAR
8. DIŠ 'x x x<sup>1</sup> MUŠEN 'x x x x<sup>1</sup>
9. DIŠ ŠU.SAR *zú-qí-qí-pu*<sup>9</sup>
10. DIŠ TUKUM.BI 'IGI+x x x<sup>1</sup>
11. DIŠ 'x x<sup>1</sup> LUGAL BI KUR 'x<sup>1</sup>
12. (DIŠ?) *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma* LUGAL 'x x x<sup>1</sup> is x
13. DIŠ *ina* EDIN? 'x BAR/AN<sup>1</sup> NA *iz-qut*
14. DIŠ LUGAL ÉRIN-šú u 'x x x<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>10</sup>
15. DIŠ LUGAL SU? NA IGI<sup>11</sup>
16. DIŠ UR.BAR.RA *ana* URU KU<sub>4</sub>
17. DIŠ TU<sup>mušen</sup> *ina* É NA? [(x)]<sup>12</sup>
18. DIŠ NA x *ina* GIŠ.KIR[I<sub>6</sub> (x)]

6 VAT 9438 + 10324 + VAT 9775 (KAR 407 + KAR 394; Weidner 1941–1944, pl. 3); Freedman 1998, 332 f.

7 For a copy, edition and discussion of this manuscript see Boddy/Mittermayer (2021).

8 The same incipit (followed by at least nine omens with protases beginning in the same way) is present on BM 47448. This small tablet treats different movements of birds that are observed while a man sets out to make an offering to his god. The first few protases on the reverse focus on the observations made after the offering has taken place ([DIŠ NA SÍSKUR *ana* DIN]GIR-šú *iq-qí<sup>1</sup>-ma*). The same protasis is known from the Kassite tablet BM 108874 and from the later tablet K.6278 + Rm.2, 389 o. 19–24 (CT 40, 48 = composite copy); for both see De Zorzi (2009) with a copy of K.6278+ on pl. 4. The beginning of the protases is also preserved on K.4000 (DIŠ NA SÍSKUR *ana* DINGIR-šú [...]). Freedman (1978, 233 f.) and De Zorzi (2009, 110) relate this protasis to a possible Tablet 96.

9 We owe the reading *zú-qí-qí-pu* to Jeanette Fincke. The same protasis can be found on Sm.533 (P240280), where it is followed by a se-

ries of other entries starting with ŠU.SAR. This tablet was classified by Fincke (2003, 142) as a prayer (*bārūtu*). The protasis also appears as the catchline of BM 38585 (CT 41, 20–21 = TBP 80), a tablet that is said to contain 37 omens belonging to Šumma ālu (r. 17–18: 37.ĀM MU.ŠID. BI.IM DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD 'GAR<sup>1</sup>[(<sup>m</sup>)] / GIM SUMUN-šú); see already Böck (2000, 9). The obverse of this manuscript contains protases similar to those of Tablet 60 (DIŠ KI xy *ú-kal* “if the soil produces xy”), followed first by physiognomic and later by astronomical omens. The colophon of BM 38585 was edited by Hunger (1968, 131, no. 462). The evidence from Sm.533 and BM 38585 suggests that ŠU.SAR probably has to be understood as another, hitherto unknown writing for introducing a conditional sentence (*šu-ma<sub>4</sub>?*). In the Uruk catalog it is preceded by DIŠ as is also the case for TUKUM.BI in the following line 10.

10 The protasis resembles that of the incipit of Tablet 79 (cf. Freedman 1978, 107).

11 A similar omen is attested in Tablet 11: 33' (DIŠ NA SU.BI BĀRA IGI. DU<sub>8</sub> x [...]).

12 // W 22729/10 (SpTU 2, 32) r. 12 (incipit of the 21<sup>st</sup> *nishu*).

## reverse

1. [T]UKUM.BI LÚ DIB
2. DIŠ NA *ina* *u<sub>4</sub>-um* <sup>1</sup>*ana* DINGIR<sup>1</sup> *ut-nen-[nu]*<sup>13</sup>
3. DIŠ NA *ri-gim* <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [X] <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>14</sup>
4. DIŠ NA TÚG NÍ-ŠÚ *ik-kis* = T.93<sup>15</sup>
5. DIŠ NA TÚG<sup>21</sup>(LÚ)-*su*
6. DIŠ TÚG NA GU<sub>4</sub> GU<sub>7</sub> = T.94<sup>16</sup>
7. DIŠ *ina*<sup>17</sup> KI ŠUB<sup>ti</sup>
8. DIŠ MUŠ<sup>meš</sup> *it-gu-ru-ti*
9. DIŠ NA (*ina*) *ša-lu-ti-šú* ŠE<sub>10</sub>-ŠÚ<sup>17</sup>
10. DIŠ (*hi-pí eš-šú*) *ana* É NA KU<sub>4</sub>
11. DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup>X *x-ti-šu* / *ana* IGI X *ú-ṭaḥ-ḥi<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>21</sup>*
12. DIŠ <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>KIŠIB <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>KUR<sup>nu</sup> DIB<sup>18</sup>
13. DIŠ <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *i-na* É.SAG.ÍL = T.120
14. DIŠ <sup>giš</sup>MÁ.TUŠ.A <sup>giš</sup>MÁ <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU = T.120
15. DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ŠÁ <sup>giš</sup>GIGIR DINGIR *is-kil* = T.120

## Translation

## obverse

1. “If a man sets out to make an offering to his god [(and)]
2. If ... and
3. If a man sits in the house and a bird ...
4. If a man ... cities ...
5. If a man, while walking along the road of the army
6. If ... center of a city ...
7. If ... bird ... its belly/interior is white
8. If ... bird ...
9. If a scorpion
10. If ...
11. If ... his king the land ...
12. If the king ...
13. If in the steppe a ... stings a man
14. If the king his army and his ...
15. If the king sees the (naked) body of a man
16. If a wolf enters a city
17. If a dove in a man’s house [(...)]
18. If a man ... in the garden [(...)]”

## reverse

1. “If a man passes by
2. If a man on the day he prays to the god
3. If a man ... the outcry of ...
4. If a man tears his own garment

<sup>13</sup> On this section of Šumma ālu see section 3.2 below.

<sup>14</sup> On this section of Šumma ālu see section 3.3 below.

<sup>15</sup> On the reconstruction of Tablet 93 see section 4 below.

<sup>16</sup> On the reconstruction of Tablet 94 see section 5 below.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. K.3756 with similar protases. A copy of this manuscript is provided by Meloni (1913) pl. 7, it was edited by Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958).

<sup>18</sup> On the connection between the seal and dream omens see already Sallaberger (2000, 231 n. 11).

5. If a man's garment
6. If an ox eats a man's garment
7. If in the fallow land
8. If entangled snakes
9. If a man (in) his sleep his excrement
10. If (new gap) enters into a man's house
11. If a man, in a dream his ... brings him into the presence of ...
12. If a seal of magnetic hematite
13. If Marduk in Esagil
14. If the Matuša, the boat of Marduk
15. If the horse of the god's chariot balks"

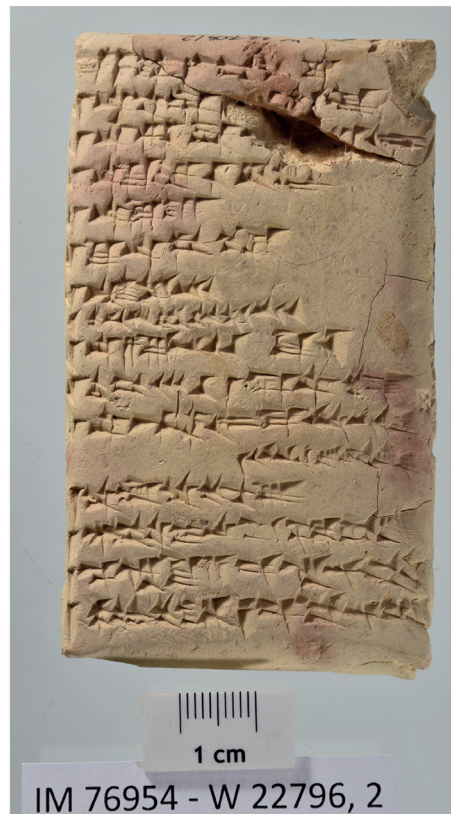
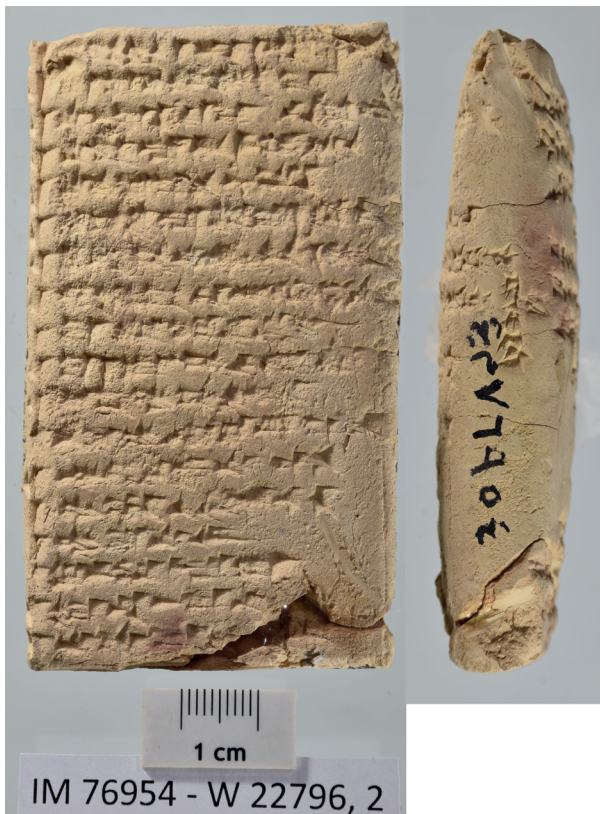


Fig. 1: Obverse and reverse of W 22706/2; photographs by Anmar Fadhil.

One side of K.6925, the fragmentary catalog from Nineveh (see Fig. 2 below), partly duplicates the reverse of W 22706/2, without necessarily following the same order of the entries.<sup>19</sup> From the other side of the fragment too little is preserved to allow for an attribution of the lines.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The little fragment K.14273 (P400718; upper left corner of a tablet) shows a very similar layout and might, therefore, belong to the same catalog. The preserved incipits seem to refer to the bird omens (l.1: DIŠ DAR.LUGAL<sup>mušen</sup> [...], l.2: DIŠ MIN 'x' [...], l.3: DIŠ NA *ina* MĀ[š. GE<sub>6</sub>(?) ...], l.4: DIŠ SIPA<sup>m[usēn?</sup> ...]).

<sup>20</sup> In o.<sup>2</sup> 4 we might read [... U]R.GI<sub>7</sub><sup>meš</sup> [...].

K.6925 reverse<sup>2</sup>

- 1'. 'DIŠ x x (x)<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 2'. [DI]Š NA ina šu-k[e-ni-šú (...)]  
 3'. [DIŠ] NA TÚG NÍ.TE i[k-kis] // W 22706/2 r. 4  
 4'.<sup>21</sup> [DIŠ] NA ri-gim [...] // W 22706/2 r. 3  
 5'. [DIŠ] na<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB!<sup>2</sup> n<sup>1</sup>[a<sub>4</sub>KUR<sup>nu</sup> DIB (...)] // W 22706/2 r. 12  
 6'. [DIŠ N]A ina MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub>-šú [...] // W 22706/2 r. 11  
 7'. [DIŠ N]A ina KI.NÁ-šú [...]  
 8'. [DIŠ NA an]a MUNUS ú-[zu-za-ta DU (...)]<sup>22</sup>  
 9'. [DIŠ x x] 'x<sup>1</sup> ina 'x<sup>1</sup> [...]

- 1'. "If ... [...]  
 2'. [I]f a man while pros[trating (...)]  
 3'. [I]f a man [tears his] own garment  
 4'. [I]f a man [...] the outcry of [...]  
 5'. [I]f a seal [of magnetic hematite (...)]  
 6'. [I]f a m[an] in his dream [...]  
 7'. [I]f a m[an] in his bed [...]  
 8'. [I]f a man has intercourse wit[h] a woman while st[anding up (...)]  
 9'. [I]f ... ... [...]

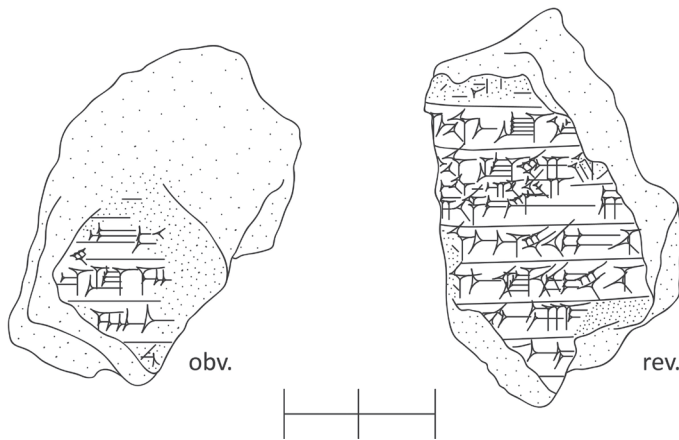


Fig. 2: Obverse and reverse of K.6925; copy C. Mittermayer.

For reconstructing the final third of the Šumma ālu series, these catalogs do not suffice. Neither can we rely on colophons with catchlines or Tablet numbers, another important source of information used by Freedman, since these are only rarely preserved for the last part of the series. With both catalogs and colophons lacking, excerpt tablets take on a very important role for the reconstruction of the series from Tablet 80 onward.<sup>23</sup> Although the available excerpt tablets are often very fragmentary, we will show that as a group they are highly informative. The

excerpts included on the different manuscripts almost always follow the same sequence, although individual sections can be omitted. This allows us to establish longer sequences by combining the information of several, partly overlapping excerpt tablets.

Furthermore, such clusters of excerpts help us reconstruct the Tablet sequence of the Nineveh series, where otherwise we would have to rely on sources that come from somewhere else and that may follow a different tradition. An example concerning some of the animal Tablets confirms that the Nineveh excerpts follow the Tablet sequence of the Nineveh series, which does not always correspond to the sequence given by catalogs originating elsewhere. Table 1 below shows the topics of Tablets 39 to 41 as given by three different catalogs (see also Heeßel 2001–2002, 235 f.) and by two excerpt tablets:

<sup>21</sup> Line 4' was added in smaller script over a horizontal ruling that originally separated ll. 3' and 5'.

<sup>22</sup> This line corresponds to the incipit of Tablet 103.

<sup>23</sup> The designation of the manuscripts as “excerpt tablet”, “catalog”, etc. follows the use of these terms by Freedman (1998, 5–10).

Tab. 1: T.39–41 according to catalogs and excerpt tablets

| Assur<br>(KAR 394+407) | Babylon<br>(BM 68437)    | Nineveh<br>(K.4094b) | K.8768                                      | K.10437                           |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| T.39: spider           | T.39: spider/AN.KI.NU.TE | T.39: spider         | spider<br>spider/AN.KI.NU.TE<br>AN.KI.NU.TE | spider/AN.KI.NU.TE<br>AN.KI.NU.TE |
| T.40: sheep            | T.40: sheep              | T.40: <i>bulṭītu</i> |   | <i>bulṭītu</i>                    |
| T.41: <i>bulṭītu</i>   | T.41: <i>bulṭītu</i>     | T.41: sheep          |   |                                   |

Whereas the Nineveh catalog gives the sequence spider – *bulṭītu* insect – sheep, the catalogs from Assur and Babylon both place the omens on sheep in between those on the small animals, that is, the spider and the *bulṭītu* insect. The excerpt tablets K.8768 (P397746)<sup>24</sup> and K.10437 (CT 40, 29; P398692), both from Nineveh, follow the same sequence as the Nineveh catalog.<sup>25</sup> After a section with spider omens, K.8768 combines omens on spiders and the AN.KI.NU.TE animal. K.10438 begins with a section on spiders and the AN.KI.NU.TE animal, followed by a section

solely concerned with the AN.KI.NU.TE. After a double horizontal ruling, indicating the transition to a new Tablet, the manuscript continues with two sections on the *bulṭītu* insect.

A second example concerns the sequence between Tablets 6 and 13. Freedman (1998) based her reconstruction for this sequence on the Assur catalog, which – as shown above – is not always coherent with the Nineveh series. The following Table 2 shows that a different order was probably followed in Nineveh.

Tab. 2: Manuscripts containing excerpts of Tablets 6 to 13

| Freedman – Assur:                       | T.6 | T.7 | T.8 | T.9 | T.10 | T.11 | T.12          | T.13          |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|---------------|---------------|
| K.6715 (2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>nishu</i> )  | a   |     |     |     | b    |      |               |               |
| K.2192+ (3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>nishu</i> ) |     |     |     | b   |      | a    | c (catchline) |               |
| Sm.686                                  |     | a?  |     | b   |      |      | c             |               |
| K.11616                                 |     |     |     | a   |      |      | b             | c (catchline) |
| K.7030+                                 |     |     |     | a   |      |      | b             | c             |
| Sm.1353                                 |     |     |     |     | a    | b    |               |               |

On the excerpt tablets from Nineveh, Tablet 9 is always followed by Tablet 12, whereas Tablets 6, 10, and 11 come before these. Together, the excerpt tablets give us the relative order T.6 – T.10 – T.11 – T.9 – T.12 – T.13 for the Nineveh series. The position of Tablets 7 and 8 in relation to these six Tablets remains to be determined.

In this paper, we have used clusters of excerpt tablets, all originating from Nineveh, to reconstruct part of the canonical version of the series.<sup>26</sup> In the following, the excerpt tablets will be presented in two groups: those concerning Tablets 80 to 86, and those that deal with Tablets 87 to 95.<sup>27</sup> Some Tablets that were newly identified or reconstructed will be discussed in more detail.

<sup>24</sup> Both Freedman (1998, 221) and Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 67. 71f.) place this manuscript between T.81–86. For a transliteration of the first six lines, see Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 76).

<sup>25</sup> Another Nineveh manuscript, K.947 (Freedman 1998, 326f.; Heeßel 2001–2002, 236) mentions the animals AŠ u AN.KI.NU.T[E?] after the moth (UR.ME) and *šassūru* insect (ŠĀ.TUR) of Tablet 38.

<sup>26</sup> We use the term “canonical” to refer to the Šumma ālu version that is mainly known from Assurbanipal’s library (cf. Heeßel 2007, 2).

<sup>27</sup> For the moment, no excerpt tablet connecting these two groups is known.

## 2 Tablets 80 to 86

In the current state of research, we can only identify three Tablets for this part of the series with certainty, namely, Tablets 80, 84 and 85.<sup>28</sup> Tablet 80, which deals with anomalous sexual behavior of animals and humans, is known thanks to the catchline on Rm.2, 135,<sup>29</sup> which is identified as Tablet 79 in the following colophon:<sup>30</sup>

r. 3'–4':

DIŠ UR.GI, *ana* MUNUS TE<sup>be</sup> TIL BALA<sup>e</sup> *na-zaq* : DINGIR GU<sub>7</sub> KUR DUB 79.KĀM.MA DIŠ URU *ina me-le-e* GAR 91.TA.ĀM MU.BI.IM  
 “If a dog approaches a woman (for sex): end of the reign, worry (or) pestilence for the land. Tablet 79 (of) ‘If a city is set on a height’; 91 are its lines.”

Tablet 84 contains sleep omens and can be identified through the colophon on the reverse of K.6417+,<sup>31</sup> which gives the Tablet number as well as the catchline of the following Tablet 85:<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958) offered a first list of manuscripts perhaps belonging to Tablets 81–86 and a proposed reconstruction of their sequence within the series. As Freedman (1978, 219–222) already noted, this study was a valuable contribution to the understanding of this part of the series, even though the sequence they reconstructed will need some revision.

<sup>29</sup> For a copy of the tablet, see DA 204–205 and CT 39, 28; a photograph is available on CDLI (P366128). The same catchline is found on K.4110+ (P366129; CT 39, 29–30) r. 61: DIŠ UR.GI, *ana* MUNUS TE<sup>be</sup> TIL BALA<sup>e</sup> [...]. A very similar incipit is preserved in a catalog recently published by Finkel (2018, 25–31), BM 103690 (P413539), where the dog approaches a man, rather than a woman (o. i 4).

<sup>30</sup> For this reconstruction see already Freedman (1978, 217; 1998, 340). The colophon of BM 47938, a Tablet 80 manuscript that was copied from an original from the Ezida temple in Borsippa, identifies the manuscript as Tablet 72 of the series Šumma ālu; cf. Nötscher’s (1930, 161–166) edition of BM 47938 as Tablet 72. For a new edition of Tablet 80 see Boddy/Mittermayer (2021).

<sup>31</sup> The colophon on K.9533 + K.15893 has been identified and joined to K.6417 + K.8494 + K.8821 + K.9537 + K.11837 by Guinan (1996, 9 n. 20; 2002a, 15 n. 41); for a photograph see the CDLI (P396517). For other joins to this manuscript and more details on Tablet 84 see the forthcoming doctoral thesis by Rachel Lerculeur (University of Geneva).

<sup>32</sup> This numbering reflects the Nineveh version known from tablets from the library of Aššurbanipal. In Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s version, attested by BM 131656 (Rassam; P480200; see the copy and edition by Weidner 1936, 359–361), Tablet 84 (hence T.84NZK) contains omens relating to different means of divination and their appropriate time during the day and to the behavior of a man while divination is performed by the *bārû*. For more details see the discussion in section 6.

r. 3'–4':

[DIŠ NA *ina* Á.GÚ.ZI.GA] 'KÁ *ina* È-ŠÚ NITA' IGI Á.ÁŠ-su NU KUR<sup>ád</sup> DUB '84'.[KAM] DIŠ URU *ina me-le-e* GAR

“[If a man], while going out the door [in the morning], sees a man: he will not achieve his objective. Tablet 84 (of) ‘If a city is set on a height’.”

Tablet 85 deals with observations made by someone going out the door in the morning (first section) and by someone walking along the street (second section: DIŠ SILA *ina* DU-ŠÚ).<sup>33</sup> The context of Tablet 85 is given by three excerpt tablets:

- K.19409 (P404241): [...] – T.84 – T.85 – [...]
- K.4134 + K.10889<sup>34</sup> (P395417 + P398953):<sup>35</sup> [...] – T.84 – T.85 – T.86<sup>2</sup> – [...]
- Sm.332 (P425359):<sup>36</sup> [...] – T.85 – T.86<sup>2</sup> – [...]

A Tablet 84 section is followed by a passage from Tablet 85 on K.19409 and K.4134+. The latter manuscript continues with omens concerning someone walking along the street for his enterprise (DIŠ NA *ana* Á.ÁŠ-ŠÚ SILA DIB-*ma*). These omens most probably belong to Tablet 86.<sup>37</sup> Sm.322 preserves omens with the same topic, again preceded by excerpts from Tablet 85, confirming this sequence.

Three other excerpt tablets preserve sections that have to be placed before Tablet 84:

<sup>33</sup> In a manuscript from Kalḫu (CTN 4, 44), the omens from the latter part of the second section make up a third section, the first omen of which starts with DIŠ NA *ana* DU-ŠÚ. For the moment, the overall reconstruction of Tablet 85 remains incomplete. Especially the connection to Funck 3 and its duplicates (K.17435 = P402776, Sm.610 = P425505, and BM 33406) remains difficult to determine; see also n. 37.

<sup>34</sup> Join by R. Lerculeur, for a new copy see her forthcoming doctoral thesis (University of Geneva). K.4134 has been joined with K.6759 + K.14548 by Geller (2003), making K.6759+ the reverse of the manuscript. This join is problematic, because K.6759+ contains omens that, for the moment, can only be connected to Tablet 102.

<sup>35</sup> For copies of K.4134 see Meloni (1913, 8); AMT 65/4. Editions by Meloni (1913, 109f.); Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 75).

<sup>36</sup> Editions by Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 75f.); Fincke (2020, 163f.; only r. 15. 18–19).

<sup>37</sup> Tablet 85 seems to conclude with a ritual, preserved on K.2244 + K.4117 (P394290 + P395408; join by R. Lerculeur), after which no room is left for an additional section. A preliminary score of the Tablet can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1). The omens now attributed to Tablet 86 show many similarities to those of Funck 3, although the observations are made in a slightly different context (DIŠ NA KASKAL DAB-*ma*). Nevertheless, Fincke (2020, 162f.) attributes Funck 3 and its partial parallel BM 33406 to Tablet 85, because the “general subject[s]” correspond.





Fig. 3: Join of K.6229 + K.17236 + K.18025

- K.6229 + K.17236<sup>38</sup> + K.18025<sup>39</sup> (P296396 + P402599 + P403297; Fig. 3): T.83 (“T.88”) – T.84 – [...]
- K.6458 + K.9238 + K.10457 (P396551 + P397987 + P398700; Fig. 4):<sup>40</sup>  
(obv.) T.83 (“T.88”)  
(rev.) T.84
- K.5348.B + K.10202 (P396004):  
(obv.) T.80 – T.81? – [...]  
(rev.) [...] – T.83 (“T.88”) – catchl. T.84

In all three manuscripts, the Tablet 84 omens are directly preceded by omens that have until now been attributed to Tablet 88.<sup>41</sup> However, it is far more likely that they represent omens from Tablet 83.<sup>42</sup> On K.6229+ these omens begin directly on the first line of the obverse. K.6458+ is unusual insofar as it contains only the protases of the omens.<sup>43</sup> The third of the three excerpt tablets, K.5348.B+,

is the most illuminating.<sup>44</sup> The obverse has 8 lines of Tablet 80 (o. 1’–8’), followed by two unattributed lines with only a few signs preserved at the end of the apodoses (o. 9’–10’). The preserved part of the reverse starts with the omens that we now consider to be excerpted from Tablet 83 (r. 1’–5’), followed, after a single ruling, by the catchline of Tablet 84 (r. 6’). This makes it highly probable that the two fragmentary lines on the obverse (o. 9’–10’) are to be attributed to Tablet 81, which is otherwise entirely unknown.<sup>45</sup>

If we accept that the omens on the reverse of K.5348.B+ belong to Tablet 83, this allows us to identify K.3969 + K.7120 (CT 40, 45–46; P395333), which has hitherto been regarded as (related to) Tablet 88,<sup>46</sup> as a Tablet 83 manuscript.<sup>47</sup> Another smaller, newly identified fragment, K.13970 (P400555), runs completely parallel to

<sup>38</sup> Join by C. Mittermayer.

<sup>39</sup> Join by K. Boddy.

<sup>40</sup> Joins by K. Boddy.

<sup>41</sup> For the attribution of the omens on the reverse of K.5348.B+ to Tablet 88 see Guinan (2002a, 8).

<sup>42</sup> For the attribution of these omens, see the preliminary score of Tablet 83 in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

<sup>43</sup> On this excerpt tablet see Boddy/Lerculeur (2021).

<sup>44</sup> For a copy of the tablet see Boddy/Mittermayer (2021).

<sup>45</sup> Freedman (1978, 108) suggests that K.14883 (P401055) and K.14868 (P401046) contain traces of the colophon of Tablet 82.

<sup>46</sup> K.3969+ was considered a Tablet 88 manuscript by Guinan (2002a, 8) and a text related to Tablet 88 by Freedman (1978, 225; 2020, 1).

<sup>47</sup> As the manuscript has ten-counts on the edge, it may have been written by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (see Guinan 2002a, 13). The Tablet number of this Tablet in Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s series remains unclear.

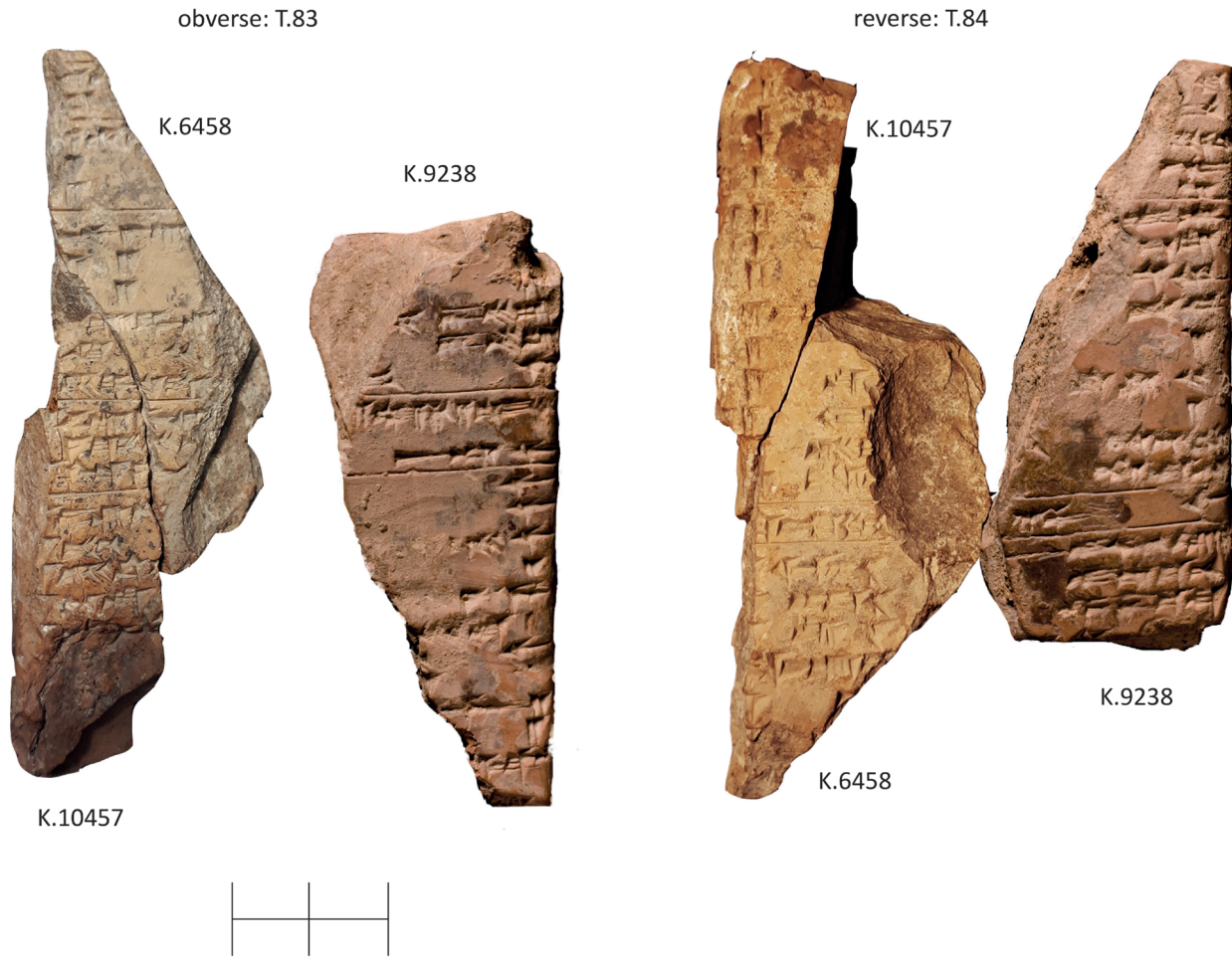


Fig. 4: Join of K.6458 + K.9238 + K.10457 (obverse and reverse; photograph of K.6458 + K.10457 by K. Boddy)

K.3969+, even changing from obverse to reverse at the same omen. It thus constitutes a second manuscript for Tablet 83.

Only the middle part of Tablet 83 is preserved. It is partly parallel to Tablet 88 and – as is summarized in l. 22' – seems to contain strange signs that can be seen in the land:<sup>48</sup>

DIŠ GIŠKIM<sup>meš</sup> ĤUL<sup>meš</sup> ĥa-ṭa-a-tu<sub>4</sub> a-ṭa-a-tu<sub>4</sub> šā ma-am-l<sup>mu</sup> [x (x)] ina KUR URU<sup>meš</sup> É.GAL<sup>me</sup> u A.ŠÀ A.GÀR IGI<sup>meš</sup> [...] / URU BI BIR<sup>ab</sup> É.GAL BI ZÁH A.ŠÀ A.GÀR 'x' [...]

“If evil portending, wrong, strange signs, that someone [...], are seen in the land, the cities, the palaces and the field of the arable land: that city will be dispersed, that palace will perish, [that] field of the arable land [...].”

<sup>48</sup> Reconstruction based on K.3969+ o. 22', K.13970 o. 3' and K.6458+ o. 12' (for K.6458+ see Fig. 3 above). Similar “strange signs” are listed in the Prodigies of the fall of Akkad (see Guinan 2002a, 31).

Parallels between Tablets 83 and 88 include omens mentioning honey that is seen in the (soil of the) land (T.83 10'–11': DIŠ LÀL ina (KI) KUR IGI // T.88 ll. 1–2), shadows that are seen on the linen curtain of the god's house (T.83 ll. 13'–16': DIŠ ina GADA.LAL É DINGIR GIM XY IGI // T.88 ll. 51–54), and different objects that make a rumbling sound (T.83 ll. 17'–19': DIŠ xy ir-mu-um // T.88 ll. 55–57). Since Tablet 88 is an eclectic Tablet with many passages taken from Tablets 2 and 61, overlaps with yet another Tablet are not that surprising.

### 3 The reconstruction of Tablets 87 to 95

The tablet sequence between Tablets 87 and 95 has been reconstructed as follows by Freedman (1998, 341 f.):

T.87: a man falling

T.88: anomalous events

[T.89–T.90: gap]  
 T.91–T.94: flame and light  
 T.94alt: furniture (represented by DT.10)  
 T.95: *egirru* omens

This reconstruction combines evidence from the Nineveh tablets and from the manuscripts of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (hence also NZK), which are known to differ, at least in regard to the numbering of the Tablets (see especially Guinan 2002a, 16 f.).<sup>49</sup> While the flame and light omens represent Tablets 91 to 94 in NZK's series,<sup>50</sup> their placement within the canonical series is not attested by any colophon. In fact, a different Tablet is numbered 94 in the canonical series (see section 5 below). We should, thus, consider the two versions separately. This leaves us with the following information on the Nineveh sequence:

T.87 (man falling) – T.88 (anomalous events) – [gap] –  
 T.94 (furniture) – T.95 (*egirru*)

The colophon (r. 28–29) of K.2372+,<sup>51</sup> a canonical Tablet 87 manuscript from Aššurbanipal's library, specifies its placement within the series as Tablet 87 and gives a catchline, which, accordingly, represents the incipit of Tablet 88:<sup>52</sup>

DIŠ LĀL *i-na* [KUR IGI]<sup>ir1</sup> [*na-zaq*] KUR TIL B[ALA<sup>e</sup>]  
 'DUB<sup>1</sup> 87.K[ĀM ...].ĀM<sup>1</sup> MU.[ŠID.IM.BI]  
 "If honey is [seen] in [the land: grief] for the land, end of the  
 r[eign].  
 Tablet 87 [... are its] lines."

The next colophon mentioning a catchline and a Tablet number together with Aššurbanipal's name is found on DT.10<sup>53</sup> (r. 19–21):

<sup>49</sup> May (2018, 123) gives a list of NZK's tablets of Šumma ālu and N. Heeβel gave a very insightful talk on the NZK version at the Šumma ālu workshop held in Geneva in February 2017.

<sup>50</sup> The excerpt manuscript K.4097 + Rm.93 + Rm.544 (CT 39, 34–36; P366133; edition by Nötscher 1930, 199–208) gives the Tablet numbers 91–94. N. Heeβel joined K.20700 + K.20730 (P419084) to this manuscript (Šumma ālu workshop held in Geneva, February 2017), thereby securely identifying it as a work by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu.

<sup>51</sup> K.2372 + K.2464 + K.11537 (P394382) can probably be joined to K.7919 (P397375) and DT.211 (P424532; joins suggested by K. Boddy); the fragments are copied in CT 37, 46–48 (K.2372 + K.2464) and CT 39, 31 (K.11537).

<sup>52</sup> The identification of Tablets 87 and 88 is well known since Freedman (1978).

<sup>53</sup> P366137; edition by Nötscher (1930, 214–218: Tablet 94a); copy in CT 39, 39–40.

[DIŠ] LÚ *ana* DINGIR *i-kar-rab-ma* INIM.GAR *ar-ḫiš it-ta-nap-pal-šú / ar-ḫiš im-man-gar* DINGIR *tas-lit-su iš-me*  
 DUB 94.KĀM DIŠ URU *ina me-le-e* GAR<sup>in</sup> 99.TA.ĀM MU.ŠID.IM.BI  
 "[If] a man prays to a god and an *egirru* always answers him quickly: he will quickly find acceptance, the god has listened to his prayer.  
 Tablet 94 (of) 'If a city is set on a height'; 99 are its lines."

Based on Nötscher's research this manuscript has, until now, been treated as Tablet 94alt. This is misleading, because it reflects the canonical and not an alternative version of Šumma ālu. The double counting of Tablet 94(alt) only resulted from the (modern) fusion of NZK's version with the one from Nineveh. There was only one Tablet numbered 94 in the canonical series, represented by DT.10.<sup>54</sup> Since the catchline of this manuscript refers to the *egirru* omens, these can also be safely placed within the canonical series, as Tablet 95.

In the Nineveh series we, thus, have a gap to fill between Tablets 88 and 94. In the following, we shall give a tentative reconstruction for this gap on the basis of excerpt tablets that are known to preserve omens from this part of the series. Especially important are two double-columned excerpt tablets, K.10021+ and K.2238+ that – even though fragmentary – seem to give the *fil rouge* for this part of the series.<sup>55</sup> K.10021+ deals with the beginning of this passage and will be treated first. K.2238+ of which the beginning is broken (on this gap see section 3.2) continues until Tablets 94 and 95 (see section 3.3).

### 3.1 The sequence of excerpts on K.10021+

The newly reconstructed double-columned manuscript K.10021+ gives the following sequence of excerpts:

- K.10021<sup>56</sup> + K.10818<sup>57</sup> + K.10832<sup>58</sup> + K.11973 (P39844 + P398907 + P398918 + P370803; Fig. 5):  
 (iii?) [...] – T.87<sup>2</sup> – [...]  
 (iv?) T.88 – T.91NZK – T.92NZK – T.93NZK – T.94NZK – washing<sup>59</sup> [...]

<sup>54</sup> Tablet 94 is discussed in more detail below, see section 5.

<sup>55</sup> Similarities in script and tablet layout (such as the use of initial DIŠ of the omens of the right column to build a second vertical ruling) suggest that both manuscripts may have been written by the same scribe.

<sup>56</sup> Join by K. Boddy.

<sup>57</sup> Join by C. Mittermayer.

<sup>58</sup> Edition by Caplice (1970, 111 f.).

<sup>59</sup> The washing section refers to a sequence of omens that are best known from W 22650. The manuscript was edited as SpTU 2, 34 by

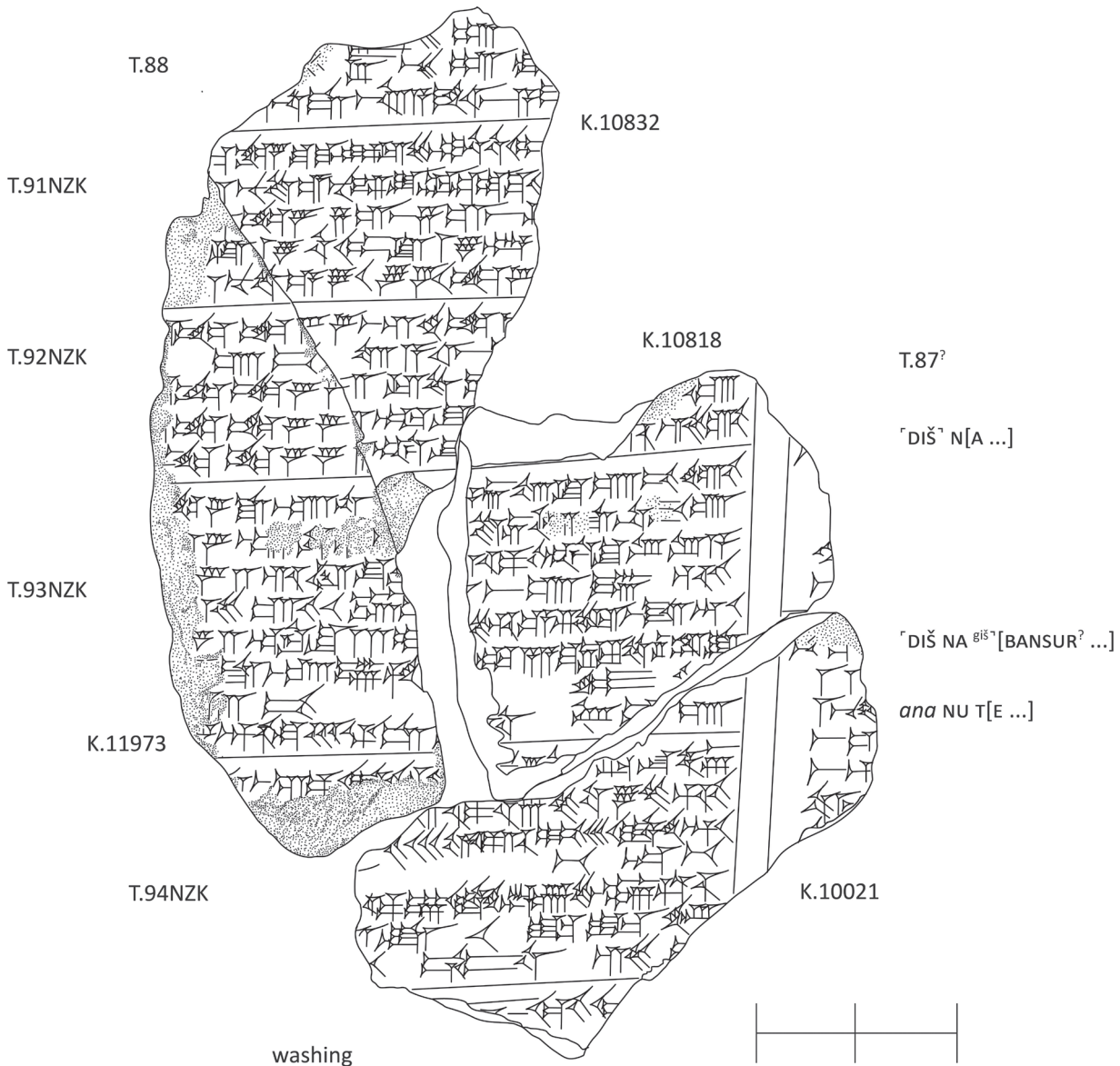


Fig. 5: Join of K.10021 + K.10818 + K.10832 + K.11973 (reverse<sup>?</sup> only; copy R. Lerculeur)

The two partly preserved columns seem to belong to the reverse of the tablet, since the few signs of col. iii<sup>?</sup> best fit the layout of the omens of Tablet 87. These are all written over several manuscript lines, most of them combining an evil portending omen with a ritual to keep said evil away. The two omens preserved in col. iii<sup>?</sup> both start with DIŠ NA (...), the second showing the introduction to the ritual (*ana NU T[E]* “so that it does not approach”) at the beginning of the third omen line. Unfortunately, these omens

cannot, with any certainty, be attributed to particular omens of Tablet 87, some of which are still fragmentary.<sup>60</sup>

Col. iv<sup>?</sup> starts with three omens from Tablet 88 (ll. 56–58) in ll. 1’–3’.<sup>61</sup> They are followed by four sections with omens related to flames and light that correspond to

von Weiher (1983, 149–153) and, again, by Farber (1989, 86–101); see later in the discussion.

<sup>60</sup> The preserved traces might refer to the omens about a man turning over a table; see K.2372 + K.2464 (CT 37, 46–48) + K.11537 (CT 39, 31) (P394382) + K.7919 (P397375; join by K. Boddy) o. 45–48, r. 1–6 and K.8604 (P397697) + K.13391 (P400272; join by K. Boddy) + K.17120 (P402496, join by C. Mittermayer) o. 5’–14’. A preliminary score of Tablet 87 can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

<sup>61</sup> For the line counting of Tablet 88 cf. Freedman (2020).

Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's Tablets 91 to 94.<sup>62</sup> Of the excerpt that follows the flame and light omens only three signs of the first apodosis are preserved (iv 29). They give the incipit known from W 22650 (SpTU 2, 34),<sup>63</sup> an Uruk manuscript that concerns a man bathing in different places and at different moments (hence washing; see n. 59).

K.10021+ col. iv<sup>2</sup>:

- 1'. [DIŠ A.ŠÀ] 'ir-mu<sup>1</sup>-um [GÌR.BAL GÁL<sup>š</sup>] = T.88  
 2'. [DIŠ KI KU]R ir-mu-um L[UGAL ÚŠ KUR SU.GU<sub>7</sub> IGI] = T.88  
 3'. [DIŠ KIN.GA]L.UD.DA ina ŠÀ A.GÀR IGI A.G[ÀR BI KAR<sup>ta</sup>, DU<sup>ak</sup>] = T.88

“[If a field] rumbles: [destruction will occur.]

[If the soil of the lan]d rumbles: the k[ing will die and the land will see famine.]

[If a *mutti*]lu demon is seen in the midst of arable land: [that ar]able land [will go to ruin.]”

- 4f. [DIŠ IZ]I IZI.GAR ma-gal i-šap-pu i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi [... DU<sub>11</sub>-ma DU<sub>14</sub> GAR]<sup>64</sup> /  
 ana NU TE<sup>e</sup> nu-ra tu-ka-ba-at-ma 'x' [...] = T.91Nzk

- 6'–8'. [DIŠ IZ]I IZI.GAR za-mar za-mar i[b-te-né-el-li] / lu ana 7 u<sub>4</sub>-mi lu ana 7 ITI [...] /  
 ana NU TE<sup>e</sup> 7 u 7 NINDA u IZI.GAR [...] = T.91Nzk

“[If the fla]me of a light becomes very intense: on that day [... will speak and quarrel will be established.] So that it does not approach: You will extinguish the light and [...]

[If the fla]me of a light ke[eps going out] instantly: either within seven days or within seven months [...] So that it does not approach: [You will ...] seven and seven loaves of bread and the light [...]

- 9f. DIŠ IZI IZI.GAR šá ina GI.IZI.L[Á na-šu-ú ZÁLAG<sup>ir</sup>] / É BI ŠÀ a-ši-b[i<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup> DÙG.GA<sup>2</sup>] = T.92Nzk  
 11'. 'DIŠ<sup>1</sup> IZI IZI.GAR šá MIN ib-te-n[é-el-li ...] = T.92Nzk  
 12'. 'DIŠ<sup>1</sup> IZI IZI.GAR šá 'MIN<sup>1</sup> GÛ-ŠU [ŠUB.ŠUB<sup>di?</sup> na-za]q É = T.92Nzk  
 13'. 'DIŠ<sup>1</sup> IZI IZI.GAR šá 'MIN<sup>1</sup> EME-ŠU [ana 2 i-zu-u]z ZI.GA = T.92Nzk

“If the flame of the light that [is carried by] a tor[ch is bright]: that house, [its] inhabita[nt(?)] will be hap[py(?)].

If the flame of the light that *ditto* (is carried by) a torch keeps go[ing out: ...]

If the flame of the light that *ditto* (is carried by a torch) [is constantly making(?)] noise: [wor]ries for the house.

If the flame of the light that *ditto* (is carried by a torch), its tongue di[vides into two parts]: an uprising.”

- 14'. [DIŠ I]ZI.GAR ša ina É NA [kun-nu ZÁL]AG<sup>ir</sup> ŠÀ DÚR É BI DÙG.GA = T.93Nzk  
 15'. [DIŠ IZ]I.GAR 'ina É NA kun<sup>1</sup>-[nu ib]-te-né-'el-li na<sup>1</sup>-zaq É = T.93Nzk  
 16f. [DIŠ IZI].GAR MIN ri-gim-šu š[UB.ŠU]B<sup>di</sup> : EME-ŠU ŠUB.ŠUB<sup>a</sup> /  
 [z]I.GA u D[U]<sub>14</sub> ina É LÚ GÁL = T.93Nzk  
 18' [DIŠ IZI.G]AR MIN EME-ŠU ana 2 i-[zu]-uz e-ze-eb aš-ša-ti = T.93Nzk  
 19f. [DIŠ IZI.G]AR ša ina É LÚ ku[n-nu] ka-a-a-ma-ni ib-te-né-él-li / 'É<sup>1</sup> BI BIR<sup>a</sup>[b] = T.93Nzk  
 21'. [DIŠ IZI.G]AR <sup>d</sup>NIN.KILIM iš-'du<sup>1</sup>-ud ŠUB<sup>e1</sup> É = T.93Nzk

<sup>62</sup> See NZK's manuscript K.4097 + Rm.93 + Rm.544 (CT 39, 34–36; P366133) + K.20700 + K.20730 (P419084; join by N. Heeßel); edition by Nötscher (1930, 199–208). That K.10832 and K.11973 partly parallel K.4097+ has been long known; cf. Nötscher 1930, 208; Reiner 1965, 251; Caplice 1970, 112.

<sup>63</sup> Editions by von Weiher (1983, 149–153) and Farber (1989, 86–101).

<sup>64</sup> The apodosis is reconstructed according to the catchline of Tablet 88, which is preserved on K.3811 + K.3822 + K.3833 (CT 39, 31–33; P366132).

“If the light that [is placed] in a man’s house [is bright]: the inhabitant of that house will be happy.  
 [If the light [placed] in a man’s house [keeps] going out: worries for the house.  
 [If the light *ditto* (placed in a man’s house) is constantly making noise (or) its tongue is constantly throwing:  
 loss and quarrelling will occur in the man’s house.  
 [If the light *ditto* (placed in a man’s house), its tongue divides into two parts: abandoning of  
 wives.  
 [If the light that is placed] in a man’s house keeps going out constantly: that [house] will be dispersed.  
 [If] a mongoose drags away a [light]: abandonment of the house.”

- 22’f. [DIŠ IZI.GAR š]a ina SAG GIG k[un-n]u ‘x’ [nu<sup>2</sup>]-‘ur<sup>1</sup>-šū ZALAG<sup>ir</sup> /  
 [... GIG(?) B]I? ‘a-di UD 6<sup>2</sup>.KAM<sup>v1</sup> UD 7.KAM<sup>v</sup> GÁL = T.94NZZK  
 24’f. [DIŠ MIN ... i-b]é-eš : a-di 2-šú i-bé-eš GIG TI / [ki-mu-š]ú ÚŠ BA.ÚŠ = T.94NZZK  
 26’. [DIŠ MIN nab-li-šū] SILIM ‘GIG siḥ-pu i-sa-ḥap-šú = T.94NZZK  
 27’f. [DIŠ MIN ib-te-né-e]l-li u MÚ.MÚ<sup>ab</sup> / [‘GIG B]I ár-ḥiš ZI<sup>b</sup>[i] = T.94NZZK

“[If the light that is placed] at the head of a sick person [...] its [light(?)] is bright: [that] [sickness(?)] will stay  
 for six days (or) seven days.  
 [If *ditto* (the light that is placed at the head of a sick person) divides [...] (or) it divides into two: the sick person  
 will live, [in his] [place(?)] a deadly ill person will die.  
 [If *ditto* (the light that is placed at the head of a sick person)] is in good condition [in regard to its flames]: the  
 sick person, an attack will overwhelm him.  
 [If *ditto* (the light that is placed at the head of a sick person) keeps going out and flaring up:  
 that [at sick man] will recover soon.”

- 29’. [DIŠ NA ina-tal-lak-ti É A<sup>meš</sup> T]U<sub>5</sub> ul u[l-tab-bar] = washing  
 (rest of column broken)

“[If a man was]hes himself [with water in an access way of the house]: he will not be[come old].”

The direct succession of Tablet 88 and Tablet 91NZZK in K.10021+ suggests that in the Nineveh version the flame and light omens directly followed the anomalous omens of Tablet 88. If this sequence is only attested by a single excerpt tablet, the succession from Tablet 94NZZK to the washing omens is further supported by two other excerpt tablets:

- Rm.452 + 1882-05-22, 507 (P424779 + P452605, Fig. 6):<sup>65</sup>  
 (obv.) [...] – T.94NZZK – washing – [...]  
 (rev.) ?
- K.11954 (P399539):  
 (obv.) [...] – T.94NZZK – washing – hand washing? [...]  
 (rev.) [...] – ? – ? – [...]

The excerpt tablets each give the incipit of the washing omens, but then select different omens, together preserving a total of nine washing omens, some of which belong

to the gap between the obverse and reverse of SpTU 2, 34.<sup>66</sup> The Uruk manuscript itself offers the most complete edition of the washing section with 39 omens preserved on the obverse, and another 48 on the reverse. The colophon that follows labels the manuscript as the 43<sup>rd</sup> *nishu* (r. 28’) of Šumma ālu and adds a catchline (r. 29’):

43 ni-is-ḥi DIŠ URU ina SUKUD<sup>e</sup> GAR-in BAR<sup>meš</sup> NU AL.TIL  
 DIŠ NA ŠU<sup>min</sup>-šú i-na NAGA.SI im-si LÚ BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA  
 “43<sup>rd</sup> *nishu* (of) ‘If a city is set on a height’; *aḥūtu*, not finished.  
 If a man cleans his hands with sprouted alkali: this man will be happy.”

It is interesting to note that in the Uruk sequence, the washing omens were apparently followed by omens concerning a man who washes his hands. This topic is well

<sup>65</sup> Join by K. Boddy.

<sup>66</sup> See the preliminary score of Tablet 90, which can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

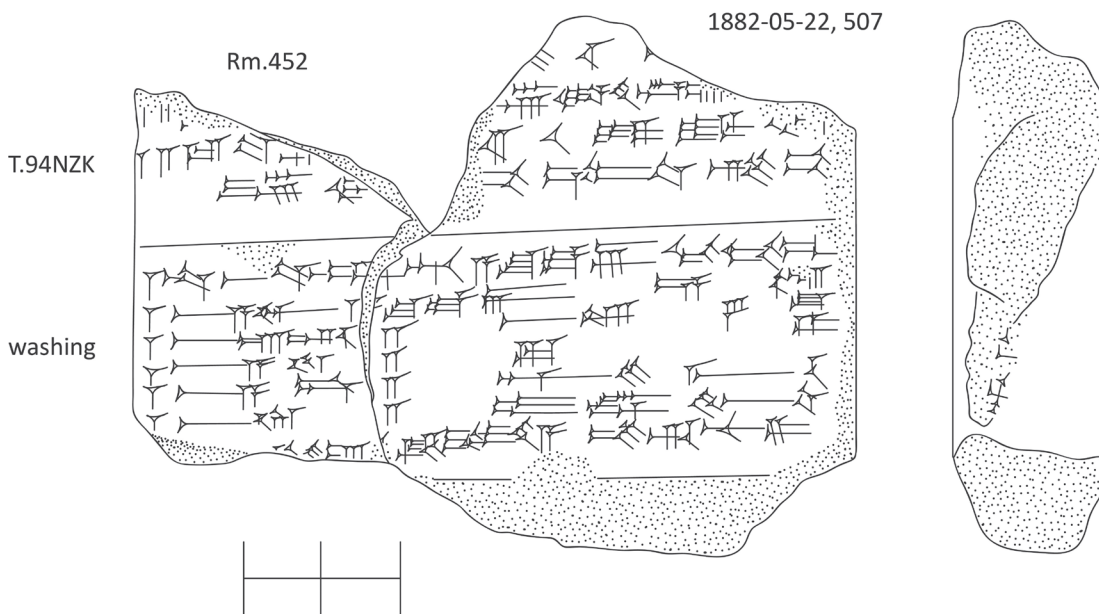


Fig. 6: Join of Rm.452 + 1882-05-22, 507 (obverse and right edge only; copy C. Mittermayer)

known from K.1562.<sup>67</sup> The first omen of the section is probably also found on the excerpt tablet K.11954 (r. 9': [DIŠ NA ŠU<sup>min</sup>-šú *i-na* NAGA.SI *im-si* LÚ B]I ŠÀ.B[I DÛG.GA]), suggesting that the Nineveh version followed the same sequence of topics.

### 3.2 The gap between K.10021+ to K.2238+

The second double-columned excerpt tablet that is especially important for the reconstruction of Tablets 87 to 95 is K.2238+.<sup>68</sup> As the beginning of the obverse of this manuscript is broken, it is likely that other sections have to be placed between the final section of K.10021+ (washing) and the first preserved excerpt on K.2238+ (KI.ZA.ZA, see section 3.3 below). A group of five excerpt tablets confirms this assumption and allows us to fill the gap.<sup>69</sup>

- 1880-07-19, 120 (P451985): [...] – washing – *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – [...]
- K.4057 (P366136):  
(obv.) T.88 – [...]  
(rev.) [...] – washing? – *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – SIKIL – catch. garment
- K.7212 + Sm.1944 (P366135):  
(obv.) [...] – T.91Nzk – T.92Nzk – T.93Nzk – T.94Nzk? – [...]  
(rev.) [...] – SIKIL – catch. KI.ZA.ZA
- Sm.1644 (P426029):<sup>70</sup>  
(obv.) [...] – T.94Nzk – [...]  
(rev.) [...] – SIKIL
- K.10469 + K.8042 (P398705+P397455; Fig. 10 below):<sup>71</sup>  
(i) [...] – *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – SIKIL – [...]  
(ii) [...] – *rigim* – spittle – [...]

Two of the excerpt tablets help us reconstruct the beginning of the gap: On 1880-07-19, 120 and K.4057,<sup>72</sup> the washing section is followed by omens that concern a man walking along the street on the day he prays to the god (hence *u<sub>4</sub>-um*). The first omen of this section is best preserved as the catchline of K.9697 + K.12855 (CT 39, 41–42

<sup>67</sup> Editions by Boissier (1906, 41–45) and Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 73. 77); P393913. The incipit is also present on K.3756 (Köcher/Oppenheim 1957–1958, 73. 76–77; copy by Meloni 1913, pl. 7) where it follows sleep omens that are not yet placed within the series.

<sup>68</sup> P366139; edition by Nötscher (1930, 218–220. 222–224: Tablet 95a); copy CT 39, 41–42 (composite copy).

<sup>69</sup> One of these excerpt tablets, the double column manuscript K.10469+, may actually be a join to K.2238+, in which case there would not be a gap. Besides similarities in the general layout of the tablets (e.g. position of initial DIŠ in the second column), all fragments show the same script and K.8042 has the same curving as K.2238. Both excerpt tablets complement each other in regard to the excerpts that are preserved. However, the exact position of K.10469+

on K.2238+ remains difficult to establish due to the plaster used for the reconstruction of K.2238+.

<sup>70</sup> This manuscript is an indirect join to K.7212+ (join by C. Mittermayer).

<sup>71</sup> Join by F. Huber Vulliet.

<sup>72</sup> On K.4057, the identification of the traces on r. 1' as belonging to the washing section must remain tentative.

= composite copy; P366149), a Nabû-zuqup-kēnu manuscript:<sup>73</sup>

[DIŠ NA] *u<sub>4</sub>-um ana DINGIR-šú ut-nen-nu SILA ina DU-šú MUŠ ana IGI [(x)] /*

[(x x)] *ʿtēs-lit<sup>1</sup>-su še-ma-at a-ra-an-šú D[U<sub>8</sub>]*

“[If a man] on the day he prays to the god, when he goes along the street, a snake [...] in front of him: his prayer will be heard, his fault will be dis[solved].”

Because of the state of preservation of the excerpt tablets, the overall reconstruction of the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* section remains very fragmentary.<sup>74</sup> However, we can see that the protases mention either observations made by the man while on his way (such as animals crossing or the wind rising up) or actions performed by the man (for example, tearing his garment).

After the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* excerpt, K.4057 (r. 8') and K.10469+ continue with omens about a man getting up to go to the temple of his god (hence SIKIL, after the last sign repeatedly attested in the apodoses):<sup>75</sup>

DIŠ NA *ana É DINGIR-šú ZI ZABAR?* (UD.BAR<sup>12</sup>.KA) TAG-*ma el*

“If a man gets up (to go) to the temple of his god: he touches bronze and he will be clean.”

Like the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* section, the following SIKIL section is to be reconstructed mainly on the basis of excerpt tablets. Most apodoses of this section end with *ēl* and resemble ritual descriptions that aim at the purification of the man in question. They have parallels in A.522 (P285400), a compilation of prescriptions and rituals.<sup>76</sup>

In two of the excerpt texts listed above, the SIKIL section is followed by a catchline:

- K.7212+: DIŠ NA *ina šu-ke-ʿni-šú x x<sup>1</sup> [...]*
- K.4057: ʿDIŠ<sup>1</sup> NA TÚG NÍ.TE.A.BI *ik-ki-is EGIR-šú*

The catchline of K.7212+ refers to omens that concern a man who is prostrating himself (hence KI.ZA.ZA, see section 3.3). The catchline of K.4057 is the incipit of the garment omens, otherwise known from three excerpt tablets (see section 4 below) and from the Uruk (r. 4) and Nineveh catalogs (r. 3').<sup>77</sup> By going directly from the SIKIL to the garment omens, K.4057 omits the KI.ZA.ZA section as well as others that are well attested in several other manuscripts.

### 3.3 The sequence of excerpts on K.2238+

The KI.ZA.ZA omens are the first preserved section of K.2238+ (col. i), our second double-columned excerpt tablet.<sup>78</sup> In the second column follow, after a gap, the garment omens and an excerpt of Tablet 94 that deals with a man falling from either a bed or a chair and with observations on the behavior of the *alû* demon (see section 5). The reverse contains the complete Tablet 95.<sup>79</sup>

- K.2238 + K.4018 + K.7991 + K.9194 + K.12695<sup>80</sup> (P366139 + P399995; for the obv. see Fig. 7):
  - (i) [...] – KI.ZA.ZA
  - (ii) [...] – ? – garment – T.94 (*alû* demon)
  - (iii-iv) T.95 (– ?)

<sup>73</sup> The obverse of this manuscript contains the *egirû* omens, paralleling those found in Tablet 95 of the canonical series. A group of three joining fragments might constitute the lower part of this manuscript: K.10015 (join by F. Huber Vulliet) + K.10755 + Rm.526 (join by C. Mittermayer) (P398444 + P398868 + P424822). For a discussion of this manuscript and NZK's numbering of the Tablets, see section 6 below.

<sup>74</sup> The only potential canonical manuscript with the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* omens is K.12310 (CT 39, 43; P366141).

<sup>75</sup> In NZK's version these omens are combined with flour omens on Tablet 95NZK. This is clear from a tally line on NZK's excerpt manuscript K.4097+, as discussed in more detail below (section 6). For a translation of the SIKIL omens, see also Guichard/Marti (2013, 83–84).

<sup>76</sup> See Schwemer 2013 (copy on pp. 182f.).

<sup>77</sup> The Uruk and Nineveh catalogs are discussed in the beginning of this article.

<sup>78</sup> For the copy and an earlier edition of this manuscript see n. 68. For the likely join with K.10469+ see n. 69.

<sup>79</sup> Two more small sections are attested on the reverse, following the ritual of Tablet 95, but they cannot be placed in the series yet.

<sup>80</sup> Join by K. Boddy.



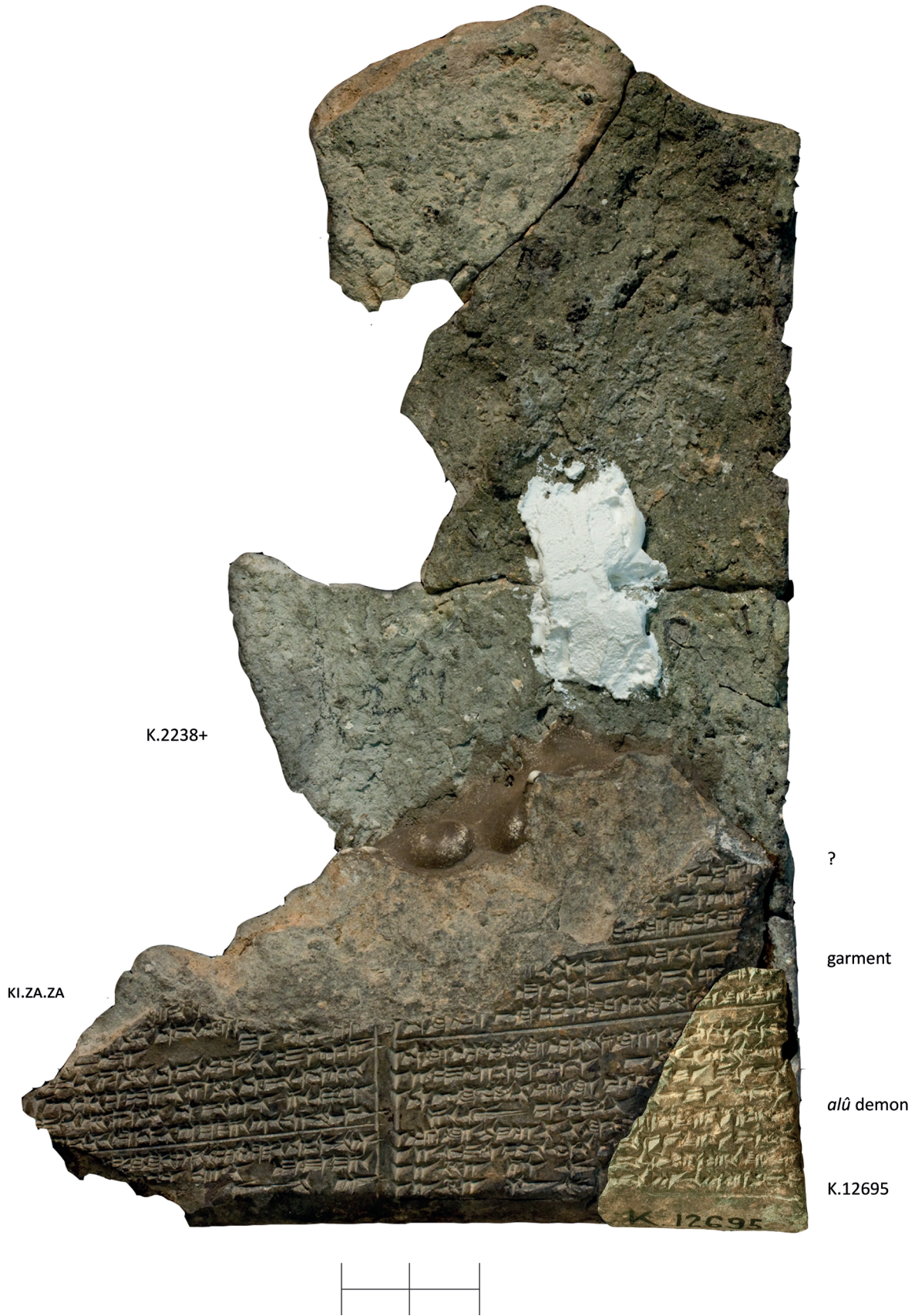


Fig. 7: Join of K.2238 + K.4018 + K.7991 + K.9194 + K.12695 (obverse only)

K.2238+ col. i<sup>81</sup>

- 1'. [DIŠ LÚ *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-šu *ana* IGI DINGIR ŠÀ-šú i]h-ḫi-i[d NA BI SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq</sup>] = KI.ZA.ZA  
 2'f. [DIŠ LÚ *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-šu *ana* GÛB-šú u]š-kin NA BI ŠÛD<sup>me</sup>[š-šú še-mu-ú] /  
 [tés-]it-su ma-<sup>1</sup>ag-rat<sup>1</sup> = KI.ZA.ZA  
 4'. [DIŠ LÚ *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-šu *ana*] ZAG-šú uš-kin NA BI KA.ḪI-šú i-šá-an-ni = KI.ZA.ZA  
 5'. [DIŠ LÚ *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-š]u *ana* ti-ri-iš pa-ni-šú uš-kin NA BI SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq</sup> = KI.ZA.ZA  
 6'f. [DIŠ LÚ *ina* KI.ZA.ZA-šu *ana*] ZAG u GÛB uš-kin NA BI DINGIR-šú ḫa-di-iš /  
 [ik]-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-bi-šú u su-pi-šú DINGIR ma-gir TI UD<sup>me</sup> GÍD<sup>meš</sup> = KI.ZA.ZA

“[If a man, while prostrating, his heart is a]nxiou[s before the god: this man will prosper.]

[If a man, while prostrating, pro]strates [to his left:] that man, [his] supplications [are heard,] his [pra]yer will be accepted.

[If a man, while prostrating,] prostrates [to] his right: this man will go insane.

[If a man, while prostrating,] prostrates opposite of him: this man will prosper.

[If a man, while prostrating,] prostrates himself to the right and to the left: this man, his god rejoices over him, the god is agreeable to his prayer and supplication, (he will have) a life of long days.”

- 8'. [DIŠ LÚ *ana* É DINGIR *ina*] <sup>1</sup>a-la<sup>1</sup>-ki-šú GE<sub>6</sub> MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub> ub-la-áš-šú NA BI šib-sat DINGIR = KI.ZA.ZA  
 9'f. [DIŠ LÚ *ana* É DINGIR a-la-k]a ŠÀ-šú la ma-gir / [NA BI] šib-sat DINGIR = KI.ZA.ZA

“[If a man, while] he is going [to the temple of the god,] the night brings him a dream: this man (will experience) divine anger.

[If a man,] his heart is reluctant [to g]o [to the temple of the god: this man] (will experience) divine anger.”

col. ii<sup>82</sup>

- 1'. [...] -<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [UD ZIB]  
 2'. [... nu NI K]A AŠ LÚ GÍ[R]  
 3'. [... b]e u<sup>1</sup>? DU GÍR S[AR]  
 4'. [...] <sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>-su NI KA AŠ LÚ G[ÍR]

1'–4' (translation unclear)

- 5'. [DIŠ ...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> na-ši *ina* la u<sub>4</sub>-me-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [úš] = garment?

<sup>81</sup> The reconstruction of col. i is based on three manuscripts. The first is a group of three joining fragments (K.10015 + K.10755 + Rm.526) that are probably part of NZK's manuscript K.9697 + K.12855 (see n. 73 and the discussion in section 6). The second manuscript is BM 33566 (for the *egirru* omens on its obverse see Rendu Loisel 2016). The third is W 22660/1 (SpTU 3, 98), an excerpt tablet from Uruk that gives a choice of omens from the KI.ZA.ZA section. Even if o. 8'–10' of K.2238+ do not mention the term KI.ZA.ZA, they are counted to the same section, seeing that they follow the KI.ZA.ZA omens in all manuscripts. A preliminary score of the KI.ZA.ZA section can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

<sup>82</sup> The partial reconstruction of col. ii 1'–4' follows Sm.958 ll. 14'–17'.

- 6'. [DIŠ ...] *la na-ši* NA BI *ú-<sup>1</sup>lab-bar<sup>1</sup>* = garment?  
 7'. DIŠ <sup>1</sup>NA TÚG-su<sup>1</sup> *ina* KI *i-maš-šar* NAM.ÉRIM DAB-SU = garment

“[If ...] is carrying [...] ...: [he will die] before his days.  
 [If ...] is not carrying [...]: this man will grow old.  
 If a man lets his garment drag on the ground: a *māmītu* will seize him.”

- 8'. DIŠ NA *lu ina* GIŠ.NÁ *lu ina* <sup>si</sup>GU.ZA TUŠ.A *ana* KI ŠUB<sup>ut</sup> TIL *u<sub>4</sub>-mi* = T.94  
 9'. DIŠ MIN *i-šú-ud-ma* ŠUB<sup>ut</sup> *ina* <sup>1</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup>-šú ZI<sup>ah</sup> = T.94  
 10'f. DIŠ NA *ina* KI.NÁ-šú U<sub>18</sub>.LU *is-húp-ma it-bi / ha-di* GIŠ.NÁ-šú KÚR-ma SIG<sub>5</sub> = T.94  
 12'. DIŠ U<sub>18</sub>.LU KUR.RA ŠÚ.ŠÚ-šu [*tam-ṭ*]a-a-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-za-qá-šu<sup>2</sup> = T.94  
 13'. DIŠ MIN *ši-it-qu-ul* NA BI *a-me-lu-ta<sub>5</sub>* DU<sup>ak</sup> = T.94  
 14'. DIŠ MIN GIM NITA IGI <sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> BI MUNUS.KALA.GA DAB-SU = T.94  
 15'. DIŠ MIN GIM MUNUS IGI [NA] BI DINGIR *u* <sup>4</sup>LAMMA <sup>1</sup>TUKU<sup>si</sup>1 = T.94

“If a man is sitting on a bed or on a chair (and) falls to the ground: end of days.  
 If *ditto* (a man is sitting on a bed or on a chair) (and) has vertigo and falls: he will be removed from his office.  
 If a man in his bed, an *alû* demon overwhelms (him), but he gets up (again): (it is) joyful, he will change his bed and it will improve.  
 If an *alû* demon from the mountain continuously overwhelms him: losses will cause him worries.  
 If *ditto* (an *alû* demon from the mountain) is in balance (with him?): this man will reach old age.  
 If he sees *ditto* (an *alû* demon from the mountain) (that looks) like a man: this man, distress will seize him.  
 If he sees *ditto* (an *alû* demon from the mountain) (that looks) like a woman: this [man] will have a god and a protective spirit.”

Tablet 94 is a somewhat eclectic Tablet, its subjects ranging from animals eating a man's belongings, a man sitting down on different types of furniture, the sighting of an *alû* demon (as in the final excerpt of K.2238+), and involuntary movements (see section 5). The first of these subjects is attested on two excerpt tablets, after a selection of garment omens, thereby confirming their position before Tablet 94:<sup>83</sup>

- K.8076 (P397477): garment – eat garment – [...]
- K.9128 + K.9203 + K.9428<sup>84</sup> (P398108 + P397926; see Fig. 8):  
 (obv.) garment – eat garment – eat wool – eat shoe  
 (rev.) ? – ?

After the garment omens, K.9128+ includes three excerpts on animals eating a man's garment, his wool, and his shoe, respectively. All three sections are well known from

W 22554/0 (SpTU 3, 97), a manuscript from Uruk that labels them as the 70<sup>th</sup> and 71<sup>st</sup> *nishû*.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the end of the third section, concerning the animals eating shoes, is attested on DT.10 (CT 39, 39; P366137), which shows that these omens belong to the canonical Tablet 94.

The gap at the beginning of the second column of K.2238+ can be filled with two other excerpt tablets that seem to run parallel. Taken together, they suggest that the garment section is preceded by omens concerning someone's clamor (hence *rigim*) and somebody spitting (hence spittle).

- Sm.958 + 1879-07-08, 213 (P425679+451891; Fig. 9):<sup>86</sup>  
 spittle – ? – garment
- K.10469 + K.8042 (P398705+P397455; Fig. 10):  
 (i) [...] – *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – SIKIL – [...]  
 (ii) [...] – *rigim* – spittle – [...]

<sup>83</sup> A third fragment giving this same sequence (garment – eat garment – [...]), K.10663+, probably represents part of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's Tablet with garment omens, which differs from Tablet 93 of the canonical series in several respects; see section 4. Two more excerpt tablets, Rm.2, 224 and 1879-07-08, 197, give garment omens, but are otherwise broken and therefore not treated here.

<sup>84</sup> Join by C. Mittermayer.

<sup>85</sup> See the edition by von Weiher (1988, 180–183); they are followed by the incipits of the 72<sup>nd</sup> and 73<sup>rd</sup> *nishû*. The catchline of the manuscript corresponds to the incipit of Tablet 105 (DIŠ [a-b]u ù DUMU ki-it-mu-lu).

<sup>86</sup> Join by J.L. Peterson (eBL).



Fig. 8: Join of K.9128 + K.9203 + K.9428 (obverse only; photograph E. Schmidtchen)

On K.10469+, the *rigim* omens (edited below) are tightly connected to the spittle excerpt.<sup>87</sup> On Sm.958+, the spittle omens are followed by two sections that run completely parallel to K.2238+ ii 1'–7' (see edition above). The omens of the first excerpt are of unknown content (only the end

of the apodoses is preserved),<sup>88</sup> those of the second deal with garments.

<sup>87</sup> The spittle omens are also known from W 22307/22 (SpTU 1, 76; 35<sup>th</sup>(?) *nishu*). Another spittle manuscript, BM 77046, is published by Schmidtchen (2021).

<sup>88</sup> The first line of this section reads [...*á*]r gan NA (or [... *á*]r-gan-na) *iz-qut* / [... *š*]u<sup>2</sup>-[r]u-up *šÀ* TUKU (Sm.958 o. 12'); cf. the very similar catchline on BM 38585 (CT 41, 20–21 = TBP 80): ŠU.SAR *zú-qí-qí-pu* TA x gan NA *iz-qut* / NA BI 'x<sup>1</sup>-ru-up *šÀ* BI DÜG.<sup>1</sup>GA<sup>1</sup> (on this tablet see n. 9).

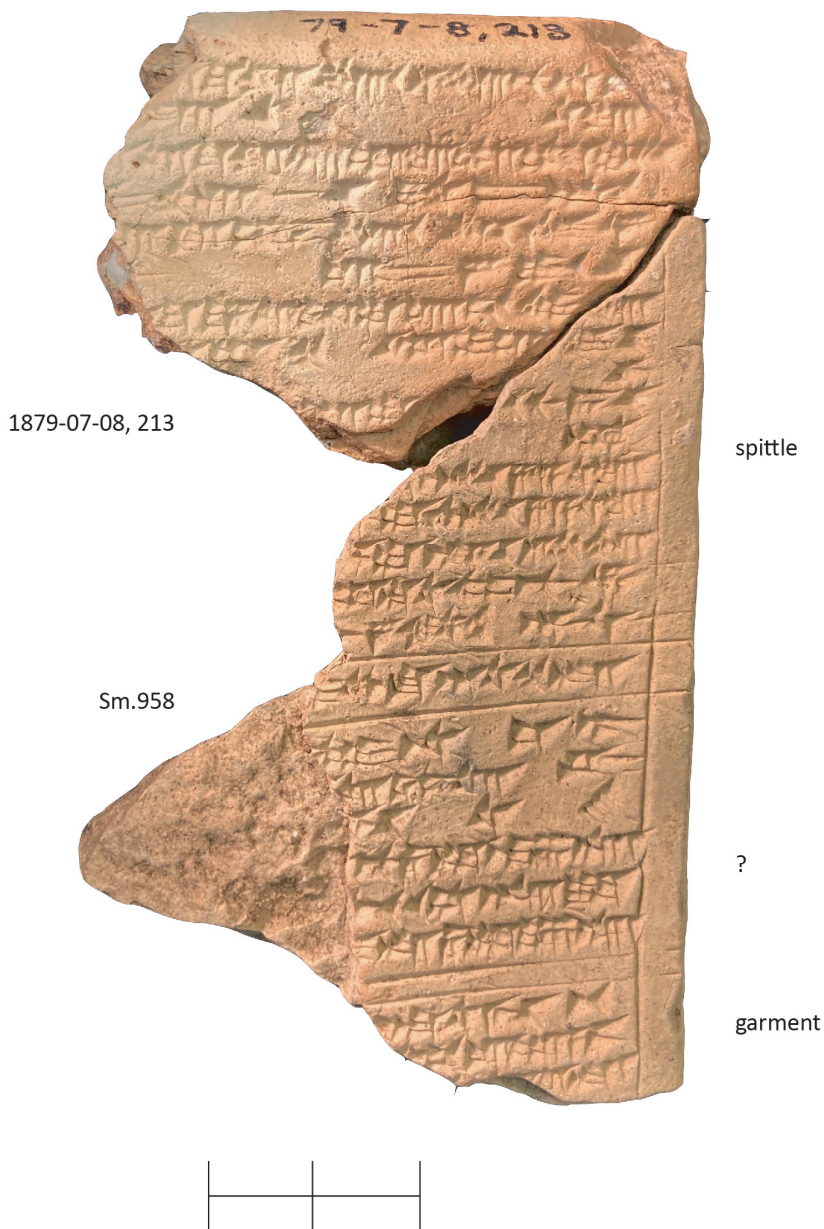


Fig. 9: Join of Sm.958 and 1879-07-08, 213 (photograph E. Schmidtchen)

**K.10469+ col. ii<sup>89</sup>**

- 1'f. DIŠ N[A *ri-gim* ...] / *ana* 'x x' [...]  
 3'. DIŠ NA *ri-gim* 'x' [...]  
 4'. DIŠ NA *ri-gim* m[u<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 5'. DIŠ KIMIN *qer-biš* 'x' [...]  
 6'. DIŠ KIMIN *ana* ZAG-šu MIN [LÚ BI ...]  
 7'. DIŠ KIMIN *ana* GÙB-šu MIN L[Ú BI ...]  
 8'. DIŠ KIMIN *ana* IGI-šu MIN LÚ B[I ...]

<sup>89</sup> From ii 10 onward the manuscript has a parallel on the reverse of Sm.1085.



Fig. 10: Join of K.10469 and K.8042 (photograph by E. Schmidtchen)

- 9'. DIŠ KIMIN *ana* EGIR-šu MIN LÚ BI [...]  
 10'. DIŠ KIMIN *ina* AN.BAR<sub>7</sub> MIN LÚ 'BI' [...]  
 11'. DIŠ KIMIN *ina* EN.NUN.<sup>1</sup>AN.USAN MIN LÚ BI NU<sup>1</sup> ù-[x]  
 12'. 'DIŠ KIMIN *ina* EN.NUN<sup>1</sup>.MURUB<sub>4</sub>.BA MIN LÚ BI ÁŠ-su KUR<sup>a[d]</sup>  
 13'. [DIŠ KIMIN] '*ina* EN.NUN.UD<sup>1</sup>.ZAL.LE MIN LÚ BI ARĪUŠ DINGIR-šÚ GÁL<sup>[šr]</sup>  
 14'. [DIŠ KIMIN] 'x x x' ki MAŠ.EN.GAG NÍG.TUKU NÍG.TUKU ÚKU<sup>[n]</sup>  
 15'. [KIMI]N<sup>2</sup> *ana*? MAŠ.EN.GAG *ta-a-a-rat* DINGIR GÁL-šu (followed by a single ruling)

“If a ma[n, the clamor of ...] / toward ... [...]”

“If a man, the clamor of [...]”

“If a man, the clamor of [...]”

“If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) nearby ... [...]”

- “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) at his right side *ditto* (=?): [this man ...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) at his left side *ditto* (=?): [this] m[an ...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) in front of him *ditto* (=?): th[is] man [...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) behind him *ditto* (=?): this man [...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) at midday *ditto* (=?): this man [...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) during the evening watch *ditto* (=?): this man will not [...]”  
 “If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) during the midnight watch *ditto* (=?): this man will attain his wish.”  
 “[If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) ] during the morning watch *ditto* (=?): this man, mercy of his god will befall him.”  
 “[If *ditto* (a man, the clamor of [...]) ] ...: the poor will become rich, the rich will become poor; [alternative]ly<sup>2</sup>, for the poor one, reconciliation of the god will happen for him.”

It is interesting to note that the incipit of the *rigim* section is also listed in both the Uruk catalog (before the garment incipit) and the Nineveh catalog (squeezed in after the garment entry; see n. 21). Unfortunately, no manuscript preserves a complete protasis informing us about the nature of the clamor.

Finally, two more excerpt tablets mention the spittle omens, but in a somewhat different context:

- Sm.1085 + 1881-02-04, 297 (P426459):  
 (obv.) [...] – // W 22307/22 (SpTU 1, 76; 33<sup>rd</sup> *nishu*) o. 1–3, 19 [...]  
 (rev.) [...] – *rigim* – catch. spittle
- K.2988 (P394764):  
 (obv.) [...] – anger – spittle – T.94 (furniture)  
 (rev.) T.94 (furniture) [...]

While the reverse of Sm.1085+ confirms the connection between the omens concerning someone’s clamor and the spittle section, the omens on the obverse have parallels on W 22307/22 (SpTU 1, 76), but these cannot yet be placed in the series. On K.2988 the spittle omens are directly preceded by otherwise unattested omens happening while a man is angry (DIŠ NA *ina a-ga-gi-šú* ...).

### 3.4 Synthesis

Combining the information from all the excerpt tablets discussed above results in Table 3.

The available excerpt manuscripts, thus, build a rather consistent picture, with four clusters of clearly connected sections. The first concerns the flame and light omens that were without any doubt followed by the washing omens. The second cluster tightly links these to the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* and SIKIL omens. The third group adds the sequence KI.ZA.ZA – *rigim* – spittle – garment omens. And the fourth connects the garment omens with topics known from Tablet 94.

The evidence taken from the excerpt tablets, therefore, justifies the following reconstruction for this part of the series:<sup>90</sup>

T.87 – T.88 – flame/light (T.91–94NZK) – washing/hand washing – *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – SIKIL – KI.ZA.ZA – *rigim* – spittle – garment – T.94 – T.95

The two double-columned excerpt manuscripts K.10021+ and K.2238+ appear to cover this complete sequence from Tablet 87 (first attested excerpt on the reverse of K.10021+) until Tablet 95 (reverse of K.2238+) (cf. n. 69). The sequence is coherent with the incipits listed in the Uruk catalog (r. 2–6: *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – *rigim* – garment – T.94). The Nineveh catalog, on the other hand, shows a different Tablet sequence (r.<sup>2</sup> 2’–4’: KI.ZA.ZA – garment – *rigim*). However, the scribe of this fragment appears to have added the incipit of the *rigim* section, which is written in a smaller script, at a later moment, which might explain for the deviation (see n. 21 above).

Having established the sequence of sections to be placed between Tablets 88 and 95, the question of their distribution over Tablets remains. Between Tablets 88 and 94 we can only reconstruct five Tablets. Because of the limited space available we can assume that in the canonical version (unlike NZK’s version) the flame and light omens were grouped together on one Tablet, presumably Tablet 89. The contents of the remaining Tablets are more difficult to establish. The washing section is not known from the catalogs, but the change in topic suggests that it starts a new Tablet, which would be Tablet 90. The presence of the incipit of the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* section in the Uruk catalog, as well as on Rm.429,<sup>91</sup> might justify placing it at

<sup>90</sup> In this reconstruction, only the well-attested sections are included. Sections that are attested only by one excerpt, are not taken up here. Further research will allow the future placement of such sections.

<sup>91</sup> This fragment gives incipits of both Tablets and sections of Šumma ālu (T.80, *u<sub>4</sub>-um*, T.95 and T.120NZK); see Boddy/Mittermayer (2021).

Tab. 3: Manuscripts containing excerpts of Tablets 88 to 95

| K.10021+ | K.11954       | K.4057                  | K.7212+  | Sm.1644 | 1880-07-19, 120         | Rm.452+      | K.10469+                | K.2238+ | Sm.958+ | Sm.1085+           | K.2988 | K.8076             | K.9128+         |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------|----------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------|
| [...]    |               |                         |          |         |                         |              |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.87?    |               |                         |          |         |                         |              |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.88     |               | T.88                    | [...]    |         |                         |              |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.91NZK  |               |                         | T.91NZK  |         |                         |              |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.92NZK  |               |                         | T.92NZK  |         |                         |              |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.93NZK  | [...]         | [...]                   | T.93NZK  | [...]   | [...]                   | [...]        |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| T.94NZK  | T.94NZK       |                         | T.94NZK? | T.94NZK | [...]                   | T.94NZK      |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
| washing  | washing       | washing?                | [...]    | [...]   | washing                 | washing      |                         |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
|          | hand washing? |                         |          |         |                         |              |                         |         |         | obv. // W.22307/22 |        |                    |                 |
|          |               | <i>u<sub>4</sub>-um</i> |          |         | <i>u<sub>4</sub>-um</i> | [...]        | <i>u<sub>4</sub>-um</i> |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |
|          |               | SIKIL                   | SIKIL    | SIKIL   | [...]                   | SIKIL        | [...]                   |         |         |                    |        | [...]              |                 |
|          |               | ---                     | KI.ZA.ZA |         |                         | [...]        | KI.ZA.ZA                |         |         | [...]              |        | ?                  |                 |
|          |               |                         |          |         |                         | <i>rigim</i> | [...]                   |         |         | <i>rigim</i>       |        | <i>ina agagišu</i> |                 |
|          |               |                         |          |         |                         | spittle      |                         |         | spittle | spittle            |        | spittle            |                 |
|          |               |                         |          |         |                         |              | ? = ?                   |         |         | ?                  |        |                    |                 |
|          |               | garment                 |          |         |                         |              | garment = garment       |         |         |                    |        | ---                | garment garment |
|          |               |                         |          |         |                         |              | T.94                    | [...]   |         | T.94               | T.94   | T.94               | T.94            |
|          |               |                         |          |         |                         |              | T.95                    |         |         |                    |        |                    |                 |



the beginning of the next Tablet, Tablet 91.<sup>92</sup> This same Tablet probably included the SIKIL omens, seeing that the incipit of this section does not appear in any catalog, nor as a catchline. The following KI.ZA.ZA section is known from the Nineveh catalog, as well as from the catchline of K.7212+. This may indicate that also this section represents the beginning of a Tablet. Alternatively, the *rigim* omens, the incipit of which is included in both the Uruk and the Nineveh catalog, begins this Tablet 92, and the KI.ZA.ZA omens are still part of the preceding Tablet.<sup>93</sup> In any case, the *rigim* omens were followed, on the same Tablet, by the spittle section. This is clear from Sm.958, where the *rigim* and spittle sections are separated by a single ruling, whereas the following garment omens are set apart from these by a double ruling. With the garment section we have the beginning of another Tablet, Tablet 93. The incipit of this Tablet is not only preserved in the Uruk and Nineveh catalogs, it is also the catchline of K.4057. Moreover, it occupies the first line on the obverse of three excerpt tablets, K.9128+ (P398108+P397926), K.8076 (P397477), and Rm.2, 224 (P424999), the first two of which continue with omens from Tablet 94 (see below).

## 4 The reconstruction and content of the canonical Tablet 93

As mentioned at the end of the preceding section, the incipit of Tablet 93, DIŠ NA TÚG NÍ.TE.A.BI *ik-ki-is* (...) “If a man tears his own garment”, is attested in catalogs and on excerpt tablets. Although no library tablet preserves the beginning of Tablet 93, parts of at least two main manuscripts with garment omens can be identified:<sup>94</sup>

- K.8328 + K.10923<sup>95</sup> (P397585 + P398972)
- K.12479 + K.12497<sup>96</sup> (P399871)
- K.10663 (+) K.10852 (P3988813 (+) P398931)<sup>97</sup>: garment – eat garment – [...]

<sup>92</sup> Moreover, K.12310 starts with this section on o. 1, and may be a canonical tablet (see n. 74). NZK gives the incipit of the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* section as the catchline of his tablet K.9697+; see the discussion in section 6 below.

<sup>93</sup> Thematically, the KI.ZA.ZA section fits better with the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* and SIKIL sections than with the following sections. In NZK’s version the KI.ZA.ZA section is put after the *egirru* omens (found in Tablet 95 of the canonical series).

<sup>94</sup> For the join between K.12479+ and K.10663(+) see n. 100 below.

<sup>95</sup> Join by C. Mittermayer. K.6745 + K.16976 (join by C. Mittermayer) are an indirect join to K.8328+.

<sup>96</sup> Several other fragments can now be joined to the obverse of K.12479+ (see n. 100 below).

<sup>97</sup> Indirect join by C. Mittermayer.

K.8328+ constitutes the right, upper part of a tablet preserving only apodoses. It shows omens on both sides. The reverse of K.8328+ is divided into smaller sections of four to six omens. The last group spans four lines and is probably followed by a catchline, which is placed between single rulings. From the colophon, only the last sign of the name of the series is preserved ([... DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD] GAR). The omens on the reverse show an unusual number of syllabic writings. K.12479+ belongs to the left upper half of a tablet and likewise preserves omens on the obverse and the reverse. The reverse shows a series of six entries (of which only initial DIŠ MIN is preserved), followed, after a single ruling, by a catchline and a colophon.

In both manuscripts, only a few lines are missing at the top of the tablet. However, the first 15 omens of K.12479+ do not correspond to the omens on K.8328+.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, the layout of the omens on the reverses of the manuscripts clearly differs. The differences between the two manuscripts suggest that they represent two different versions. The following discussion will show that K.8328+ is a canonical manuscript, whereas K.12479+ can probably be attributed to Nabû-zuqup-kênu. This attribution is supported by the fact that the manuscript shows ten-markers (U) at the left edge, which can be found on many of NZK’s tablets. Furthermore, the colophon states that the tablet was written according to its original (r. 10’: LIBIR.[RA.BI.GIM ...]), which is, likewise, the case for many of NZK’s tablets.<sup>99</sup> Unfortunately, the number of the Tablet is partially broken, preserving only DUB 60+10+[...].

Whereas the reverse of K.8328+ is not known from any other duplicate, the reverse of K.12479+ might be connected to a section of Tablet 94 (see section 5). The six entries preceding the colophon correspond in number and layout (DIŠ MIN (= <sup>kuš</sup>E.SÍR NA) [...]) “If [...] a man’s sandal”) to the section concerning animals eating a man’s shoes which comes immediately before the furniture section. Furthermore, the catchline, as far as preserved, corresponds to the first of the furniture omens of Tablet 94 (omen 35):

K.12479+  
r 7’. DIŠ NA in[a <sup>giš</sup>GÌR.GUB *tam-li-i* TUŠ.A MUNUS.KALA.GA  
DAB-su]  
“If a man is sitting on a footstool with stone inlay: distress will  
seize him.”

It therefore seems that in NZK’s version, the omens on animals eating garments, wool, and shoes belonged to the garment Tablet,<sup>100</sup> and the following Tablet started with the furniture omens.

<sup>98</sup> A maximum overlap of four lines is possible.

<sup>99</sup> This was pointed out to the authors by Eric Schmidtchen.

<sup>100</sup> K.10663 (+) K.10852 (P3988813 (+) P398931) contains garment

The preserved garment omens can be divided into four groups:

- position of the garment on the body
- garment infested by *miqtu*-fungus<sup>101</sup>
- a man sits on a chair and when getting up something happens to his garment
- an animal falls on the man after he has thrown of his garment (or after the garment has fallen down)

Some of these topics show a very long tradition, going back to Old Babylonian times. Two manuscripts from this period mention garment omens. The first is VAT 7527, which has four omens of this type in its second column:<sup>102</sup>

- ii 2 DIŠ LÚ šú-ba-at-sú i-ti-šu ma-ga-al i-x-[x] / nu-šu-úr-ru-um i-na bi-ti-šu ša-ki-i[n]  
 “If the sides of a man’s garment are very ...: there will be losses in his house.”
- ii 3 DIŠ LÚ šú-ba-at-sú ma-ga-al it-(ta)-na-ra-a[d] / di-il-hu-um ib-ba-aš-ši  
 “If a man’s garment hangs down all the times: there will be confusion.”
- ii 4 DIŠ LÚ šú-ba-at-sú wa-ri-id ù pu-ša-am i-t[a-ad-du] / šú-ba-at ta-am-ṭi-a-tim  
 “If a man’s garment hangs down and is do[tted] with white spots: (this is) the garment of privations.
- ii 5 DIŠ LÚ šú-ba-at-sú i-na pa-ag-ri-šu la i-ka-an-m[a] / ma-ga-al it-ta-na-aš-ha-at LÚ šu-ú x x x [x]  
 “If a man’s garment does not sit on his body and moves out of its place all the time: this man ...

For the moment, no direct parallels can be established with Tablet 93. The section on NZK’s manuscript that most

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omens followed by omens on animals eating different kinds of garment. Because of the combination of these two topics, at first sight this manuscript looks like an excerpt tablet with passages from Tablet 93 and 94. However, because it gives all the omens rather than just a selection, it is more likely a main manuscript that gives NZK’s version. K.10852 joins directly to the reverse of K.12489+. For a complete reconstruction of this manuscript see the preliminary score of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu’s garment omens Tablet in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

**101** A series of protases starts with DIŠ NA UGU/ina TÚG.BI *mi-iq-tu<sub>4</sub> ma-qit-ma* “If a man, a *miqtu* is infesting his garment”. In this context, the *miqtu* can probably be interpreted as a kind of fungus, especially since ll. 55–67 of Tablet 12 mention KA.TAR SA<sub>5</sub> ša *mi-iq-tu<sub>4</sub> MU.NI* “a red fungus whose name is *miqtu*”. For the *miqtu* fungus on the wall of a house see also CAD M/2 105.

**102** Edited by Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958); for a copy see *ibid.* pl. 5–9.

probably corresponds to these omens is in a very fragmentary state, with only the first few signs of the protases preserved.

More intriguing are the parallels with MS 3104, the second Old Babylonian manuscript.<sup>103</sup> Almost all the garment omens present on this tablet also appear in Tablet 93 of Šumma ālu. The following two examples shall illustrate the continuation in the tradition.<sup>104</sup> The first omen belongs to the *miqtu*-group and the second to the omens concerning the man getting up from a chair:

- a) †DIŠ<sup>1</sup> NA UGU TÚG.BI *mi-iq-tu<sub>4</sub> ma-qit-ma ana AN.TA<sup>nu</sup> u KI.TA<sup>nu</sup> šu-te-eb-ru* [EN TÚ]G †BI<sup>1</sup> MU.1.KÁM-ŠÚ NU È  
 “If a man, *miqtu* fungus is infesting his garment and spreads upward and downward: [the owner of] this [garment] will not leave (his position) during his year.”  
 //MS 3104 v 29’–34’:  
 DIŠ i-na ŠÀ †TÚG *mi-iq-tum<sup>1</sup> / ma-qi-it-ma / ana AN.TA KI.TA / uš-te-eb-†x<sup>1</sup> / LUGAL TÚG ša-ta-šu<sup>105</sup> / ú-ul ú-ma-la*
- b) [DIŠ NA ina <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA *TUŠ-ma ina te-bi-šu ina k]a-bal* <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA TÚG.SÍG-ŠÚ [ik]-bu-us-ma KUD<sup>is</sup> DÚR É.BI EME. SIG<sup>meš</sup>.ŠU GU<sub>7</sub>  
 “[If a man is sitting on a chair and while he is getting up he tr]aps his fringe [under the l]eg of a chair and he rips (it): an inhabitant of his house will denounce him.”  
 //MS 3104 iv 8’–14’:  
 DIŠ DILI i+na <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA *it-ba-a / i+na ka-pa-al* <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA / sí-sí-ik-tam ik-bu-ús / i+na te-bé-šu / it-ta-†ki<sup>1</sup>-is / wa-ši-ib É-šu / kar-ši-šu i-ka-al

The most important difference between the two traditions is that the accompanying Old Babylonian rituals have not been taken up in Šumma ālu. At least, none of the known manuscripts shows any evidence for these rituals.

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**103** Edited by George (2013, 90–100); for a copy of the obverse see *ibid.* pl. XL–XLI. Other parallels can be observed with W 22307/22 (SpTU 1, 76).

**104** For more examples see the preliminary score of Tablet 93 in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

**105** George (2013, 97) reads *it-ta-šu* and translates the apodosis as “the owner of the garment will not fulfill his function(?)”. A comparison of the writing of the values *ša* and *it* suggests that the sign in question must rather be *ša*. Cf. as well the Old Babylonian document VS 9, 209 l. 12–13 (MU.1.KAM-šu *ú-ma-al-la-ma / ú-šī-i*) combining the verbs “to fulfill” and “to leave”.

## 5 The reconstruction and content of the canonical Tablet 94

Tablet 94 of the canonical series is best known from the manuscript DT.10 (CT 39, 39; P366137),<sup>106</sup> the upper and lower part of which are broken away. The first four preserved omens of the obverse concern different animals eating a man's shoe. These are followed, after a single ruling, by a longer section dealing with a man sitting down on various types of furniture. A manuscript from Uruk, W 22554/0 (SpTU 3, 97),<sup>107</sup> preserves the beginning of the Tablet, with omens on animals eating not only shoes, but first garments and wool. This makes for a nice transition from the garment omens, which represent Tablet 93 of the canonical series (see the new reconstruction proposed in section 3.4). The progression from the garment omens to the omens on animals eating garments, wool, and shoes is preserved by two excerpt tablets (see section 3.3). The fact that, as stated in its colophon, DT.10 contained 99 omens, speaks for the attribution of this material to Tablet 94 of the canonical series.

However, as discussed in section 4, another tradition seems to have existed, in which the omens on animals eating garments, wool, and shoes belonged to the garment Tablet, and the next Tablet started with the furniture omens. The colophon of the commentary K.188 (P237784)<sup>108</sup>, which is discussed in more detail below, explicitly gives the first of the furniture omens as the incipit of the text commented upon. Moreover, this commentary text covers all of Tablet 94, except for the omens on animals eating garments, wool, and shoes.

The only excerpt of the furniture omens known so far is combined with omens concerning anger and spittle, rather than garments or animals eating a man's belongings.

- K.2988 (P394764):  
(obv.) [...] – anger – spittle – T.94 (furniture)  
(rev.) T.94 (furniture) – [...]

Since this excerpt tablet breaks off after ten furniture omens, the nature of the omens that followed remains unclear.

Tablet 94 included at least 26 furniture omens, with 26 different places where a man is sitting down. While some of these are pieces of furniture, such as a footstool and

a table, we also find the man sitting down, for example, on different types of vessels and containers, on a basket, a linen cloth, and a ladder. The end of this segment is not preserved. The omens preserved on the reverse of DT.10 concern the incontrollable movements of different body parts. These are preceded, in the break, by omens concerning the *alû* demon (see below).<sup>109</sup> Before the *alû* demon is mentioned, the section includes two omens that concern a man falling down from the bed or chair he is sitting on. Because these are very close in topic to the furniture omens, it is likely that more furniture omens were found in the gap that still remains after the last omens preserved on the obverse of DT.10.

The reconstruction of the *alû* demon omens as part of Tablet 94 is supported by two excerpt tablets. On BM 99036, the *alû* demon omens follow the omens on animals eating wool and shoes, that is, omens from the beginning of Tablet 94. On K.2238+, they follow the garment omens, which immediately precede Tablet 94 in the canonical series (see also section 3.3).

- BM 99036 (P422086): [...] – eat wool – eat shoe – T.94 (*alû* demon) – [...]
- K.2238 + K.4018 + K.7991 + K.9194 + K.12695<sup>110</sup>  
(P366139 + P399995; see Fig. 7 above):  
(i) [...] – KI.ZA.ZA  
(ii) [...] – ? – garment – T.94 (*alû* demon)  
(iii–iv) T.95 (– ?)

The attribution of the *alû* demon omens to Tablet 94 is also confirmed by K.188, a commentary text that concerns solely this Tablet, starting with the furniture omens and concluding with the final omen of Tablet 94 (the omen that directly precedes the colophon on DT.10). Several entries on the reverse of K.118 can now be identified as explanations to *alû* demon omens. Lines 6–7 explain the designation U<sub>18</sub>.LU KUR.RA (omen 72) as “*alû* demon from the mountain” (*a-le-e šá-di-i*) and “strong *alû* demon” (*a-lu-ú dan-nu*). Lines 8–9 offer synonyms for two Akkadian words found in omen 78: *ikâsma* (“he tarries”) for a form of *dalāpu* (“to linger on”; “to keep awake”), and *bubūtu* (“starvation”) for *ippiru* (“struggle”).

<sup>106</sup> Edition by Nötscher (1930, 214–218) (Tablet 94a).

<sup>107</sup> Edition by von Weiher (1988, 180–183).

<sup>108</sup> Labat 1933, 70–75; Frahm 2011, 200; for further literature see CCP 3.5.94 (Cuneiform Commentaries Project, which can be accessed under <https://ccp.yale.edu>).

<sup>109</sup> For a complete reconstruction of Tablet 94 see the preliminary score in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

<sup>110</sup> Join by K. Boddy.

## Tablet 94

- 71 DIŠ NA ina KI.NÁ-ŠÚ U<sub>18</sub>.LU is-ḥup-ma it-bi ḥa-di GIŠ.  
NÁ-ŠÚ KÚR-ma SIG<sub>5</sub>  
“If a man in his bed, an *alû* demon overwhelms  
(him), but he gets up (again): (it is) joyful, he will  
change his bed and it will improve.”
- 72 DIŠ U<sub>18</sub>.LU KUR.RA ŠÚ.ŠÚ-ŠU tam-ṭa-a-tu<sub>4</sub> ú-ša-za-  
qá-šú  
“If an *alû* demon from the mountain continuously  
overwhelms him: losses will cause him worries.”
- ...
- 78 DIŠ [U<sub>18</sub>.LU(?) (x)] [x<sup>1</sup> it-ta-lip-šum-ma šú.šú-šú ina  
im-ṭi-i u ip-pi-ri DU<sup>ak1</sup>  
“If [an *alû* demon(?)] ... lingers around him and  
continuously overwhelms him: he will go through  
losses and struggle.”

The *alû* demon omens concern a man in his bed (see omen 71 above). Their placement within Tablet 94 suggests a similar context for the omens on involuntary movements preserved on the reverse of DT.10. This context is made explicit by the Assur forerunner VAT 10526 (KAR 390; P282622),<sup>111</sup> where each of the parallel omens starts with DIŠ LÚ *i+na* GIŠ.NÁ-ŠU (“If a man in his bed”).

## Tablet 94

- 97 [DIŠ] MIN ĠIR 15-ŠÚ in-ni-ši-il ni-ziq-tu<sub>4</sub> sà-ḥal UZU  
GAR  
“[If] *ditto* (a man), his right foot becomes paralyzed: worries (and) pain will occur.”
- 98 [DIŠ] MIN ĠIR 150-ŠÚ MIN ana SIG<sub>5</sub> GAR  
“[If] *ditto* (a man), his left foot *ditto* (becomes paralyzed): it is placed as a favorable sign.”

## VAT 10526

- 6'. DIŠ LÚ *i+na* GIŠ.NÁ-ŠU ĠIR [...]
- 7'. DIŠ LÚ *i+na* GIŠ.NÁ-ŠU ĠIR [...]

The Assur manuscript connects these omens to sleep omens as found in Tablet 84 of the canonical series of Šumma ālu. This earlier tradition seems to be continued

by K.7075+ (P397011+), a manuscript combining the sleep omens with *alû* demon omens.

## 6 The final part of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's series

As reconstructed above, the Nineveh series deviates from that of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu on several points. For the passage under discussion (canonical Tablets 80 to 95), three manuscripts can be attributed to Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, because his name is attested in the colophons:

- BM 131656 (Rassam 1) (P480200):<sup>112</sup> T.84NZK – catchline T.85
- K.4097 + Rm.93 + Rm. 544 + K.20700 + K.20730 (P366133 + P419084):<sup>113</sup>  
(obv.) T.91NZK – T.92NZK – T.93NZK  
(rev.) T.94NZK – flour – SIKIL – catchline of *egirrû*
- K.9697 + K.12855 (P366140)<sup>114</sup> most probably joins indirectly to K.10015 + K.10755 + Rm.526 (P398444 + P398868 + P424822; see Fig. 11):<sup>115</sup>  
(obv.) *egirrû* – KI.ZA.ZA  
(rev.) KI.ZA.ZA (contin.) – catchline of *u<sub>4</sub>-um*

T.84NZK contains omens relating to different means of divination and their appropriate time during the day, and to the behavior of a man while divination is performed by the *bārû*.<sup>116</sup> On BM 131656, the colophon gives Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's name along with the Tablet number 84 (hence T.84NZK; cf. also n. 32). The catchline (r. 6': DIŠ LÚ SILA ina DU-ŠÚ LÚ DINGIR ÍL-ma 'IGI' [...] “If a man, while walking along the street, sees somebody carrying a god”) refers

<sup>112</sup> The tablet was edited and copied by Weidner (in Weidner/Meier/Gurney 1936, 359–361); the original tablet has lost some parts since Weidner's copy (*ibid.* pl. 1)

<sup>113</sup> K.4097 + Rm.93 + Rm.544 are published as CT 39, 34–36; edition by Nötscher (1930, 199–208). Join with K.20700 + K.20730 by N. Heeßel (Šumma ālu workshop held in Geneva, February 2017).

<sup>114</sup> For this manuscript also see n. 73. The entry of K.9697+ and the photograph on CDLI are misleading, because this manuscript does not, in fact, join K.12822+.

<sup>115</sup> Joins by F. Huber Vulliet and C. Mittermayer.

<sup>116</sup> A preliminary score of NZK's Tablet 84 can be found in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1). The Tablet can be reconstructed on the basis of several Nineveh manuscripts, which suggest that this same topic was present in the canonical version. We might consider placing it in the gap between Tablets 80 and 83. In this case, an attribution to Tablet 82 would be more plausible than an attribution to Tablet 81, because the traces on K.5348.B+ o. 9'–10' (see section 2) do not correspond to the first apodoses of Tablet 84NZK.

<sup>111</sup> Editions by Köcher/Oppenheim (1957–1958, 73f.) and Heeßel (2007, 103f. no.31).



Fig. 11: Join of K.10015 + K.10755 + Rm.526 (1:2; obverse and reverse)

to the second section of Tablet 85 of the canonical series. This means that in Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's version the sleep omens of canonical Tablet 84 were placed elsewhere,<sup>117</sup> and the first section of Tablet 85 (with the incipit [DIŠ NA ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA] 'KÁ ina È-ŠÚ NITA' IGI Á.ÁŠ-su NU KUR<sup>ad</sup> "[If a man], while going out the door [in the morning], sees a man, he will not achieve his objective"; preserved as the catchline of the canonical Tablet 84 manuscript K.6417+), was omitted (or moved elsewhere).

The other two manuscripts correspond to Tablets in the 90s of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's series. The excerpt manuscript K.4097+ preserves six excerpts, most of them followed by tallies giving the number of lines and the Tablet number. The first four excerpts are related to flames and light and represent Tablets 91NZK to 94NZK. They are followed by a section with flour omens<sup>118</sup> and a section with omens about a man who is about to go to the temple of his god (the SIKIL omens). It is interesting to note that the tally following the SIKIL section (r. 51') gives the total of the flour and SIKIL omens combined, which suggests they belonged to one Tablet:

[DUB ...]. 'KÁM' DIŠ URU ina SUKUD<sup>e1</sup> GAR 32.TA.ĀM [...]

Somewhat disappointingly, this tally does not preserve a Tablet number. However, if we continue the numbering that is given for the preceding excerpts, this represents Tablet 95NZK. The catchline of K.4097+ (r. 50') refers to the *egirru* omens, known from Tablet 95 of the canonical series, which would then represent Tablet 96NZK:

'DIŠ' [NA ana DINGIR] i-kar-rab-ma INIM.GAR ár-[hi]š i-ta(-nap)-pal-šú ar-hiš im-[man-gar DINGIR-šú tas-lit-su iš-me]  
 "If [a man] prays [to a god] and an *egirru* always answers him quickly: he will quickly find [acceptance, his god has listened to his prayer.]"

The *egirru* omens are present on K.9697+ which constitutes the upper half of NZK's manuscript. If K.10755+ indeed belongs the same tablet, the part with the *egirru* omens would be concluded, after a ritual, by a tally (present on K.10755). This tally shows the same form as the tallies of K.4097+, but unfortunately only the number of omens is preserved (namely, 44 omens). The tablet then continues

<sup>117</sup> Their placement in his version is thus far unknown.

<sup>118</sup> The flour omens are also known from K.57 (edition and copy by Nougayrol 1967, 35–37), where they follow a choice of omens concerning the behavior of the *bārû* and his client (see also Guinan 2002a, 14 and De Zorzi 2009, 98). These omens are known to belong to the alternative version of Tablet 84, which is, in fact, Tablet 84NZK.

with the KI.ZA.ZA omens, which, in turn, are followed on the reverse (l. 10'–11') by a catchline to the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* omens:

[DIŠ NA] *u<sub>4</sub>-um ana DINGIR-šú ut-nen-nu SILA ina DU-šú MUŠ ana IGI [(x)] /*  
 [(x x)] 'tés-lit<sup>1</sup>-su še-ma-at a-ra-an-šú D[U<sub>8</sub>]  
 "[If a man] on the day he prays to the god, when he goes along the street, a snake [...] in front of him: his prayer will be heard, his fault will be dis[solved]."

From the following tally (r. 11'), which gives the total as 84 lines, it becomes clear that Nabû-zuqup-kēnu combines the *egirru* and the KI.ZA.ZA omens on one Tablet:<sup>119</sup>

[DUB XY.KÁM DIŠ] 'URU ina SUKUD<sup>e1</sup> GAR 1 ŠU 24.TA.ĀM MU.Š[ID. BL.IM]

We can thus suggest the following reconstruction for Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's version of Šumma ālu:

T.84NZK: *bārû*  
 T.85NZK: T.85 (from the second section onward)  
 [gap]  
 T.91NZK: flame of a light (IZI IZI.GAR)  
 T.92NZK: (flame of a) light ((IZI) IZI.GAR)  
 T.93NZK: light (IZI.GAR)  
 T.94NZK: light (IZI.GAR)  
 T.95NZK: flour – SIKIL  
 T.96NZK: *egirru* – KI.ZA.ZA  
 T.97NZK: *u<sub>4</sub>-um*  
 [gap]  
 T.120NZK: Marduk/procession omens

The placement of the garment as well as the following furniture omens in his series is still unclear.

## 7 Conclusions

With other sources of information, such as colophons and catalogs, largely lacking, the final third of Šumma ālu can only be reconstructed through a careful study of the excerpt tablets, which, especially as a group, offer invaluable information on the sequence of sections and Tablets within the series. Many of the often very fragmentary manuscripts only preserve a small number of excerpts, but because of the many overlaps between excerpt tablets, longer sequences of sections can be pieced together. Although some excerpt tablets may skip certain sections,

<sup>119</sup> For a reconstruction of this Tablet see the preliminary score of T.96NZK in the *Archive ouverte* of the University of Geneva (see n. 1).

the sequence of those excerpts that are included is rather consistent.

By combining the information preserved on dozens of excerpt tablets from Nineveh, the contents of most of the canonical Tablets between 80 and 95 could be tentatively reconstructed:

- T.80: anomalous sexual behavior of animals and humans
- T.81–82: unknown
- T.83: observation of anomalous phenomena
- T.84: sleep omens
- T.85: observations in the street
- T.86: man on the road for an enterprise
- T.87: a man falling (with rituals)
- T.88: anomalous events
- T.89: flame (with rituals) – light
- T.90: washing – hand washing
- T.91: *u<sub>4</sub>-um* – SIKIL – (KI.ZA.ZA)
- T.92: (KI.ZA.ZA) – *rigim* – spittle – ?
- T.93: garment
- T.94: animals eating garment etc. – furniture – *alû* demon – man in bed (physiognomics)
- T.95: *egirru*

This Tablet sequence corresponds to the sequence of incipits listed on the catalog from Uruk (SpTU 3, 95). On the fragmentary Nineveh catalog (K.6925), only the position of the *rigim* incipit differs, but this is probably because the entry was added later on.

The above list includes several Šumma ālu Tablets that were completely unknown until now, notably Tablets 91–93. Other newly identified Tablets contain material that was already known, but not yet (correctly) placed within the canonical series. For example, many of the omens of Tablet 83 were previously connected to Tablet 88, the flame and light omens of Tablet 89 were known under their Tablet numbers in Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's series, and the washing omens of Tablet 90 were previously known only from Uruk. For some of the Tablets between 80 and 95 significant parts could be reconstructed with the help of the excerpts, while others, for the moment, remain very fragmentary.

It proved crucial to distinguish the canonical series from Nineveh from other versions, in particular that of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, which shows some considerable differences. The mixing of these different versions in the past has led to some confusion. For example, Tablets 94NZZ and 94 were edited side by side, even though these Tablets are completely unrelated.

A comparison of the canonical Tablets 80 to 95 with their counterparts in Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's series shows that the arrangement of the latter differs in various ways (not considering differences on the level of the individual omens). Whole Tablets were moved to a different position, as is likely the case for Tablet 84, although we cannot be sure, because the sleep omens have not yet been placed in NZK's series. In any case, Tablet 84NZZ deals with an entirely different topic (the *bārû*).<sup>120</sup> Tablet 84 and Tablet 84NZZ are followed by the 85<sup>th</sup> Tablet of their respective series, both of which deal with things observed on the street. Incidentally, this is the only Tablet for this part of the series that has the same number in both versions.

Similarly, sections were sometimes rearranged or moved to a different Tablet. Thus, the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* and SIKIL omens are combined on one Tablet of the canonical series (Tablet 91), whereas Nabû-zuqup-kēnu combines the SIKIL omens with flour omens (Tablet 95NZZ), while the *u<sub>4</sub>-um* omens only appear a few Tablets later (Tablet 97NZZ). Other sections, perhaps, he simply left out. The first section of Tablet 85, for example, is not included in Tablet 85NZZ. Seeing that Tablet 89 (flame and light) corresponds to Tablets 91NZZ–94NZZ, Nabû-zuqup-kēnu apparently even divided single Tablets into multiple ones (that is, he turned sections into Tablets), which, of course, entailed significant changes to the Tablet numbering.

Further investigation of the excerpt tablets of Šumma ālu will undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of the series, perhaps allowing us to refine the results presented above and to fill in some of the gaps that still remain.

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<sup>120</sup> Perhaps, the *bārû* omens represent Tablet 82 of the canonical series, the contents of which are still completely unknown (cf. n. 116).

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