

# Newly Identified Joins of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43 (Equines)-Fragments A.3449+A.3640+AO.6490+/(+)W.20030/116

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**Abstract** The article presents an edition of three Late Babylonian fragments of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43, previously considered separate manuscripts, but now virtually joined into a single witness that preserves the most complete version of the text.

**Keywords** Late Babylonian. Uruk. Divination. *Šumma ālu*. Animals. Donkey. Horse.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Discussion and Edition. – 2.1 Transliteration of A.3449+ (MS a). – 2.2 Translation. – 2.3 Commentary. – 3 Conclusion.

## 1 Introduction

J. Van Dijk (1962, 43) argued that many of the excavated fragments from Uruk numbered between W.20030/1 to W.20030/158 represent discarded fragments of illegal lootings prior to official excavation in Uruk/Warka and that the material from the Musée du Louvre published by F. Thureau-Dangin in 1922<sup>1</sup> came from the same spot.

This suggestion can now be further corroborated by newly identified joins between three cuneiform fragments, housed in three different collections, which together represent an almost complete Late Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 43<sup>2</sup> of the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*.<sup>3</sup> The fragments in question, all well known from previous publications, are as follows:

I would like to thank Prof. Kai Lämmerhirt (Universität Heidelberg), Veronique Patai (Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Susanne Paulus (University of Chicago) for providing photos of W.20030/116, AO.6490, and A.3449+A.3640.

I would also like to thank Nicla De Zorzi and Francis J.M. Simons for helpful comments and additions to the edition of *Šumma ālu* T.43. In addition, I am thankful for the efforts of Francis J.M. Simons to proofread and correct the English version of this paper and for his collation of A.3449+. This collation revealed a handwritten note, dated to the 06 November 2000, by a “J.O.” which independently identified the join between the Chicago and Paris fragments. Unfortunately, it is not clear who J.O. is and why the information on this join has not found its way into the scholarly discussion.

The starting point for the work on this material was the most recent edition of *Šumma ālu* T.43 by Craig A. Harris (2022), written as part of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* (2018-21, Universität Wien). This paper results from research conducted under the auspices of the project *REPAC Repetition, Parallelism and Creativity: An Inquiry into the Construction of Meaning in Ancient Mesopotamian Literature and Erudition* (2019-24, Universität Wien) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 803060).

<sup>1</sup> See TCL 6, especially fn. 88.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Tablet’ (capital letter and subsequently abbreviated T. + number) as distinct text unit is distinguished here from ‘tablet’ (without capital letter) as the medium on which the text is written.

<sup>3</sup> Most recent edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25.



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1. W.20030/116<sup>4</sup>
2. AO.6490<sup>5</sup>
3. A.3449+A.3640<sup>6</sup>

## 2 Discussion and Edition

There are three main arguments for the identification of the joins [fig. 1]:

1. Palaeography – the fragments share similar if not the same cuneiform character forms,
2. Text – the textual position of each fragment is complementary to the other fragments, and
3. Colophon – the colophon of A.3449+ attributes the MS to the Bīt Rēš-temple and to the individual associated with this find-spot in Planquadrat Le XVI 3, Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidinti-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir.<sup>7</sup>

A previous problem with identifying W.20030/116 as a potential join to AO.6490 existed in the ruling present at the bottom of the obverse after the last entry<sup>8</sup> but which seemed to be absent in the witness from Paris. However, collations of AO.6490 revealed that the bottom part of the obverse does not represent the bottom of the tablet itself, and actually shows traces of said ruling directly next to the edge of the break. Whether or not AO.6490 and W.20030/116 actually join physically cannot be ascertained without bringing both fragments together [fig. 2].

The Late Babylonian text A.3449+ (MS a) represents the main witness for T.43 of the omen series *Šumma ālu* – at least according to the structure suggested by the *Assur Catalogue*.<sup>9</sup>

Although information gathered from sources that stem from different proveniences suggests several redactions for the series, with partly differing structure and tablet numbering,<sup>10</sup> the structure of topics for the *Šumma ālu*-section on domesticated, wild, and domestic animals (T.41-9) mostly corroborates the structure indicated by the *Assur Catalogue* even though the actual tablet numbering may have differed. As is the case with the different tablet numbering for the late Uruk-MS a whose tally notes: <sup>im</sup>KIŠIB 40.ʽKAMʽ.MAʽ (see r. 27). The ascription “T.43” used here is thus to be seen as a conventional attribution of the content to the numbering used in the *Assur Catalogue* and not the actual tablet number of the MS itself.

Five serial Neo-Assyrian witnesses are known: K.3886+K.6819 (MS B),<sup>11</sup> K.2052 (MS C), K.19791 (MS D), K.19406 (MS E), and K.19763 (MS f). While the attribution of the first fragment is more or less without doubt, some of the other fragments are viewed as possible serial MSS only due to the lack of missing entries in the preserved text portions as well as due to the position of these passages which resemble more or less what is known from MS a and MS B. The ascription remains tentative without further evidence. In addition, two excerpts contain text belonging to T.43: Rm.2, 145 (Ex<sub>1</sub>);<sup>12</sup> K.6865+K.11059(+K.6436+Rm.2, 225+1879-7-8, 128 (Ex<sub>2</sub>)).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mayer 1980, 69: Tafel 31; last edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25, 270.

<sup>5</sup> Thureau-Dangin 1922, pl. 8. The preface states the fragment was purchased in 1913. Last edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25, 264.

<sup>6</sup> Previously edited in Freedman 2017, 16-25, 262-3 with incorrect reg. no. A.3447 (spotted by C.A. Harris during his work for the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*, Universität Wien).

<sup>7</sup> Van Dijk 1962, 43.

<sup>8</sup> See Mayer 1980, pl. 31.

<sup>9</sup> See KAR 394+; Weidner 1936-37, 360-1 (translation of o. and r.); 1941-44, 172-3; Freedman 1998, 322-3; Rochberg 2018, 124-31.

<sup>10</sup> See Freedman 1998, 17. All serial MSS stem from the 1st millennium and can be ascribed either to particular redactions from Nineveh and Nimrud – closely connected with the Assyrian scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu – or Assur and Neo-Babylonian redactions and Late Babylonian sources from Uruk.

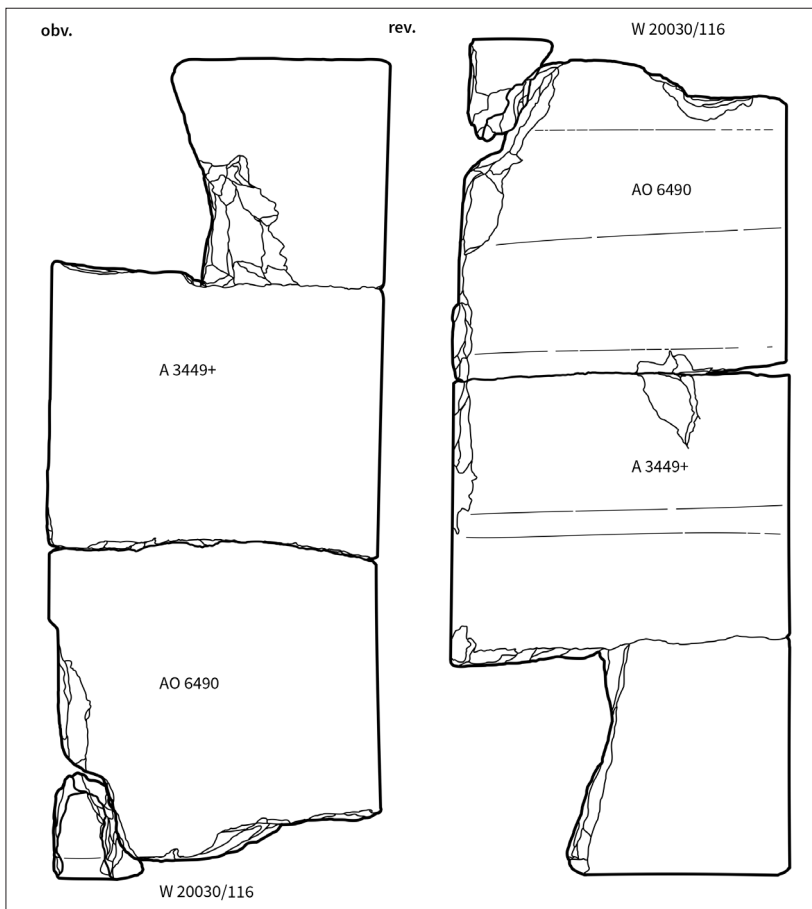
<sup>11</sup> See Freedman 2017, 20-3 and 209-10.

<sup>12</sup> See also Freedman 2017, 20-2, 240.

<sup>13</sup> The join K.6865+K.11059 was made by Zs. Földi. K.6436 and 1879-7-8, 128 were edited as separate MSS in Freedman 2017, 20-2, 247 (1879-7-8, 128) and 35, 38. K.6436 was understood as a standard witness for *Šumma ālu* T.44 but the new joins show that it is part of an excerpt tablet.

In addition, DT.298((+)Sm.626) – formerly understood as an excerpt of T.43<sup>14</sup> – represents an *aḫû*-excerpt with additional material taken from collections of chariot-omens.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore treated here as a related text, which differed considerably in terms of structure and content. Note that within *Šumma ālu*, the chariot omens are not positioned after the omens on equines (T.43) and there are some hints that these omens belong to the later parts of the series. In the so-called *Uruk Catalogue*,<sup>16</sup> the Chariot omens-incipit is found directly after an incipit referring Sumerian phrased or bilingual omens, and in close proximity to other omens concerning the king.

The following edition is basically that of the Late Babylonian MS a,<sup>17</sup> which is the most complete MS for *Šumma ālu* 43 and which, besides the break of the beginnings of around 12 lines on the obverse, preserves the whole text.<sup>18</sup> A short introduction dealing with the contents and structure of T.43, together with a composite transliteration, transcription, and score of all sources will be made public via the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* webpage at a later time. Given the relatively late date of MS a, there are some deviations in contrast to the older MSS which will be commented upon in a brief commentary following the edition.



**Figure 1** Overview of A.3449+A.3640+AO.6490+/(+)W.20030/116 (handcopy and copyright: E. Schmidtchen)

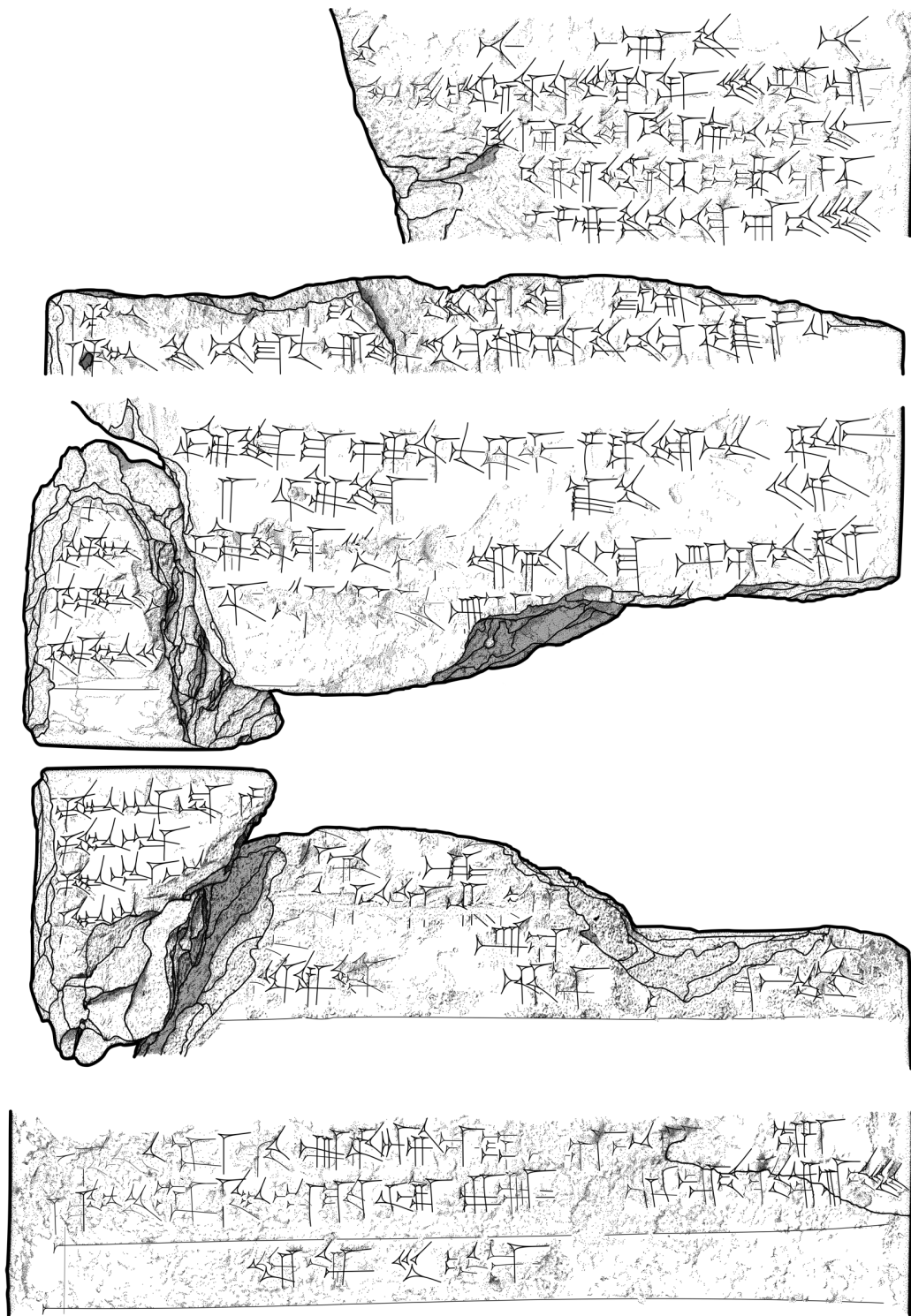
<sup>14</sup> Freedman 2017, 22-3.

<sup>15</sup> This is not only indicated by the preserved text but also by the terminology used within the colophon (ll. 5'-7': "14<sup>th</sup> ex[cerpt] of 'If a city] is set [on] a height'; [non-standardised?] ex[cerpt]s ... as a (written) memo[randum, ac[cording] to ...] ... [...]"). However, we may also note that the excerpt mentions the catchline to T.44 (l. 4'). The respective *aḫû*-material might thus not have been fully or differently standardised in Nineveh and could, as associated material, appear together in excerpt contexts.

<sup>16</sup> See Boddy, Huber Vulliet, Mittermayer 2022, 77-8 W.22706/2 o. 12. The instance can be transliterated with some certainty as 'diš<sup>1</sup> šum<sub>4</sub>-ma<sup>1</sup> LUGAL 'ù<sup>1</sup>-lu NUN <sup>918</sup>giš<sup>1</sup>giš<sup>1</sup> 'If the king or a prince (rides) a chariot'. Besides the unclear incipit in o. 11, the preceding l. 10 of the catalogue (diš<sup>1</sup> 'tukum<sup>1</sup>-bé 'ù-sá<sup>1</sup> EGIR<sup>1</sup> ud<sup>1</sup>) probably refers to a fragmentarily preserved Sumerian phrased Tablet known from the *Babylon Catalogue* (Schmidtchen 2023, 42 iii 6') and two fragments from the Nabû-zuqup-kēnu redaction of *Šumma ālu* (ND 5436+ o. 1; r. 6'-7', see CTN 4, pl. 51, and K.5905+ r. 7'-9', additional join with K.17305 by T. Mitto).

<sup>17</sup> The other witnesses have been used for reconstructing damaged lines.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the previous edition by S.M. Freedman (2017, 16-25).



**Figure 2** Collations of A.3449+, AO.6490, and W.20030/116 (handcopy and copyright: E. Schmidtchen)

## 2.1 Transliteration of A.3449+ (MS a)

1	o. 1	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ <i>it-ta-na-az-b</i> ]a-bu BIR-aḥ URU <sup>ki</sup>
2	o. 2	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ x x x (x)] <sup>1</sup> URU <sup>1</sup> BI <sup>14</sup> KÚR KIŠ IGI
3	o. 3	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ <i>it-te-neš-g</i> ]u <sup>7</sup> na-zaq {x x} URU{x} <sup>ki</sup>
4	o. 4	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ x x x (x) b]i <sup>7</sup> IDIM ina É LÚ ÚŠ
5	o. 5	[DIŠ x x x x x (x x x) A]NŠE. <sup>1</sup> MEŠ <sup>1</sup> <i>it-ta-na-<sup>1</sup>da-ru</i> BIR-aḥ URU
6	o. 6-7	[DIŠ (ANŠE.MEŠ <sup>2</sup> ) x x x x (x)] <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> .MEŠ- <i>ma ir-tak-ka-bu</i>   [... ba]i <sup>7</sup> kù/za <sup>7</sup> ru-uq-ta-šú <sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup> -qer-rib-šú
7	o. 8	[DIŠ ANŠE ... ú-n]a <sup>2</sup> -šá-ak LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR
8	o. 9	[DIŠ ANŠE ... DUM]U <sup>2</sup> -šú BA.ÚŠ
9	o. 10	[DIŠ ANŠE ... ú]š <sup>2</sup> -ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
10	o. 11	[DIŠ ANŠE ...] x <sup>1</sup> É LÚ
11	o. 12	[DIŠ ANŠE (...) ŠIR <sup>2</sup> .MIN <sup>2</sup> -šú GU <sub>7</sub> É BI ina ki-ri]m <sup>2</sup> -mi-šu ZÁḤ
12	Ex <sub>2</sub> 3 <sup>1</sup> only:	[DIŠ ANŠE (...) ŠIR.MIN <sup>2</sup> -šú u GIŠ-šú G]U <sub>7</sub> <sup>2</sup> li-li-da É-šú in-na-q[ar <sup>2</sup> ]
13	o. 13	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ <sup>1</sup> A[NŠE <sup>2</sup> (...) GIŠ-šú <sup>2</sup> GU <sub>7</sub> <sup>2</sup> É B]I BIR-aḥ
14	o. 14a	DIŠ ANŠE <sup>1</sup> KUN-su <i>ana</i> 15 <i>ik-ta-na-an<sup>1</sup></i> [x x x (x) : ...]
15	o. 14b	[DIŠ A]NŠE KUN-su <i>ana</i> 150 <i>ik-ta-na-an</i> MIN
16	o. 15	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> ni-ziq-tu <sub>4</sub> si-ḫi <sup>1</sup> -[il] <sup>1</sup> UZU nu-kúr <sup>2</sup> KI.TUŠ <sup>1</sup>
17	o. 16	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> -ma is-sí É BI ŠUB-di
18	o. 17	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> -ma GÙ.DÉ.DÉ EN É BI INIM pi<-qí> TUK-ši
19	o. 18	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ina</i> É LÚ È ŠU <sup>4</sup> ŠKUR EN É BI NÍG.GÁL-šú <i>ana</i> KA-šú BÚR
20	o. 19	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ina</i> É LÚ IGI.MEŠ-šú GUB-za EN É BI ina la-li-šú : la u <sub>4</sub> -mi-šú BA.ÚŠ
21	o. 20	DIŠ ANŠE TÚG[-šú <sup>2</sup> ] LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> LÚ BI KI <sup>1</sup> .ŠÚ dan-nu IGI-mar
22	o. 21	DIŠ ANŠE <sup>14</sup> GÚ.È LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> LÚ <i>ana</i> ki-di È
23	o. 22	DIŠ ANŠE <sup>14</sup> B.LAL LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> É BI AL.BIR.RE
24	o. 23	DIŠ ANŠE <sup>ku5</sup> E.SÍR GU <sub>7</sub> ina NU-URU-BI TUŠ-ab
25	o. 24	DIŠ ANŠE SÍG[-šú <sup>2</sup> ] LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> mim- <sup>1</sup> mu <sup>1</sup> -šú {x} DUGUD <sup>21</sup> {DUGUD} È
26	o. 25	DIŠ ANŠE za-ab-bu <i>ana</i> IGI LÚ i-ši-ir NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
27	o. 26	DIŠ ANŠE šá ú-da-a <sup>1</sup> na-šú <sup>1</sup> -ú <i>ana</i> IGI-šú i-ši-ir GE <sub>6</sub> IGI
28	o. 27	DIŠ ANŠE šá ta-ri-it-tu <sub>4</sub> <i>ana</i> IGI-šú i-ši-ir GE <sub>6</sub> IGI
29	o. 28	DIŠ ANŠE GEŠTU.GEŠTU-šú <i>ana</i> IGI-šú ip-pu-uš NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
30	o. 29	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> IGI-šú ú-zaq-qár NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
31	o. 30	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> IGI-šú <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup> x x (x) x <sup>1</sup> du ud/tú
32	o. 31	DIŠ <sup>1</sup> ANŠE <sup>1</sup> [ <i>ana</i> É] GIBIL <sup>1</sup> [š]á <sup>2</sup> ZAG <sup>1</sup> .[DU <sub>g</sub> ] kàš-ru KU <sub>4</sub> ÍBILA <sup>1</sup> LÚ <sup>1</sup> BA.ÚŠ
33	o. 32	DIŠ ANŠE še-pí-šu NU <sup>1</sup> ú-šar <sup>1</sup> -ḫi-iš ir <sup>1</sup> -ta-na <sup>1</sup> (LÚ)-bi-iš NIN ÉR
34	o. 33	DIŠ ANŠE i-na-ga-ag TÙR BI BIR-aḥ
35	o. 34	DIŠ ANŠE LÚ ir-kab <i>ana</i> KÙ.BABBAR SUM ù-lu-ú <sup>munus</sup> KALA.GA DAB-su
36	o. 35	DIŠ ANŠE ANŠE ir-kab EN É <sup>1</sup> BAD <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> DAB-su
37	o. 36	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> GU <sub>4</sub> TE-ḫi ZÁḤ TÙR KI.MIN dan-nu ina URU.<BI> ZÁḤ-iq
38	o. 37	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> GU <sub>4</sub> ú-ḫa-an-ni-iš <sup>1</sup> AMAŠ <sup>1</sup> TUR-ir
39	o. 38	[DIŠ È]ME iš-še-gu-ma ú-na-áš-šak <sup>1</sup> (kum) TÙR LÚ BI BIR-aḥ
40	o. 39	[DIŠ È]ME iš-še-gu-ma DÙR-ša <sup>1</sup> GAZ <sup>1</sup> DAM <sup>1</sup> LÚ BA.ÚŠ
41	o. 40-1	[DIŠ ÈM]E iš-še-gu-ma <<ANŠE>> DÙR-ša <sup>1</sup> lu ùš-su <sup>sic1</sup> GU <sub>7</sub> LUGAL KUR-su BAL-su LÚ BI É.BI BIR
42	o. 42	[DIŠ ÈM]E iš-še-gu-ma ùš-šú <sup>sic1</sup> GU <sub>7</sub> LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
43	o. 43	[DIŠ ÈM]E i <sup>1</sup> id <sup>1</sup> -da-na-am-ma-[am E]N-šú <sup>sic1</sup> KÚR TI- <sup>1</sup> qé <sup>1</sup> -ma DAM <sup>1</sup> -su id-da-nam-ma- <sup>1</sup> am <sup>1</sup>
44	o. 44	[DIŠ ÈM]E Ù.TU-ma MIN SAG.DU-šú AŠ.TE KÚR-ir <sup>1</sup>
45	o. 45	[DIŠ ÈM]E Ù.TU-ma SAG.DU NU TUK-ši NÍG.ḪA.LAM.MA ina KUR GÁL-ši
46	o. 46	[DIŠ È]M[E] MIN Ù.TU UMUŠ KUR MAN-ni
47	o. 47	[DIŠ] ÈME Ù.TU-ma <sup>1</sup> ŠIR.MEŠ <sup>21</sup> -šú iš-qá-lal-la TÙR BI ZÁḤ
48	o. 48	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ ÈME <sup>1</sup> ḫ[e <sup>2</sup> -pí an]a <sup>1</sup> IGI KÁ EGIR-šú-nu <sup>2</sup> TÙ[R] I[GI.MEŠ-šú-nu <sup>2</sup> IGI.MEŠ <sup>2</sup> ] zi <sup>2</sup> .GA <sup>21</sup> [ra-ma-ni-šú-n]u <sup>2</sup>
48a	o. 49	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ <sup>1</sup> ÈME ḫ[e-p]í <sup>2</sup> [...]
49	r. 1	[DIŠ] DÙR GEN <sub>7</sub> a- <sup>1</sup> ga <sup>2</sup> -li <sup>21</sup> [i-na]- <sup>1</sup> ga <sup>21</sup> -[ag <sup>2</sup> TÙR BI BIR-aḥ]
50	r. 2	[DIŠ] DÙR i-n]a-ga-ag [EN-šú BA.ÚŠ]
51	r. 3	[DIŠ] DÙR ina K[Á <sup>2</sup> É LÚ i]- <sup>1</sup> dam-mu <sup>2</sup> -um <sup>1</sup> EN-šú INIM <sup>21</sup> [NÍG.GIG KUR-su]
52	r. 4	[DIŠ] DÙ[R MIN <sup>2</sup> i-da-a]l TÙR B[i BIR]- <sup>1</sup> aḥ <sup>1</sup>
53	r. 5	[DIŠ DÙR EN-šú i]t-ru-uk EN <sup>1</sup> É i <sup>1</sup> -[q]al-lil

54	r. 6	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-šu lu LÚ.MEŠ ú-na-šak LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR
55	r. 7	[DIŠ M]N <sup>2</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> ŠIR.MIN-šú u GÌŠ-šú GU <sub>7</sub> LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
56	r. 8	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> iz <sup>1</sup> -za-bi<-ib> UMUŠ KUR MAN-ni
57	r. 9	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR]. <sup>1</sup> RA <sup>1</sup> MIN-ma <sup>1</sup> KUŠ <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ-šú GU <sub>7</sub> LUGAL UGU É šú-a-tu <sub>4</sub> GIG-iš GÙ-si
58	r. 10-11	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> ana <sup>1</sup> É LÚ <sup>1</sup> KU <sub>4</sub> taq <sup>1</sup> -ri-ir-tu <sub>4</sub> nu-kúr <sup>1</sup> KI <sup>1</sup> .TUŠ É. <sup>1</sup> GAL <sup>1</sup> ga-mi-ir-tu <sub>4</sub>   É LÚ UŠ-di ni-ziq-tu <sub>4</sub> TIL u <sub>4</sub> -mi
59	r. 12	[DIŠ A]NŠE. <sup>1</sup> KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> ana É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> -ma lu ANŠE lu LÚ iš-šuk EN É ÚŠ<-ma> É.BI BIR
60	r. 13	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. <sup>1</sup> RA <sup>1</sup> ana <sup>1</sup> É <sup>1</sup> LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> -ma lu im- <sup>1</sup> ḥaṣ <sup>1</sup> lu iš-šuk EN É ÚŠ<-ma> É BI BIR
61	r. 14	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. <sup>1</sup> RA <sup>1</sup> ana É LÚ KU <sub>4</sub> - <sup>1</sup> ma ÈME <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> DAB-bat <sup>1</sup> lu iš <sup>1</sup> -šuk <sup>1</sup> É BI <sup>1</sup> BIR
62	r. 15	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. <sup>1</sup> RA <sup>1</sup> <MIN-ma> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> EN-šú <sup>1</sup> lu iš-šuk-uk <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> i[r-ḥi-i]ṣ TIL U <sub>4</sub> .ME
63	r. 16	[DIŠ A]NŠE. <sup>1</sup> KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> EN-šú iš- <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> É BI ṭa-r[i-d]u- <sup>1</sup> ta <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup> DU-ak IBILA LÚ ÚŠ
64	r. 17	[DIŠ A]NŠE. <sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup> .RA ina É LÚ <sup>1</sup> È ŠU <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> iŠKUR <sup>1</sup> A.ŠÀ <sup>1</sup> ša EDIN <sup>1</sup> iŠKUR RA-iš
65	r. 18	[DIŠ] <sup>1</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA TÚG [L]Ú <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> GU <sub>7</sub> LÚ <sup>1</sup> BI <sup>1</sup> ŠU <sup>1</sup> ? <sup>1</sup> SÁ.SÁ
66	r. 19	[DIŠ ANŠ]E. <sup>1</sup> KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> túGÚ.È LÚ <sup>1</sup> G[U <sub>7</sub> <sup>2</sup> ina DU <sub>10</sub> .GA <sup>2</sup> ] <sup>1</sup> É <sup>2</sup> -šú <sup>2</sup> È <sup>1</sup>
67	r. 20	[DIŠ AN]ŠE. <sup>1</sup> KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> túGÍB <sup>1</sup> .LAL LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> DA[M LÚ KI NÍT]A <sup>1</sup> MAN-ma DAB<-ma> ÚŠ
68	r. 21	[DIŠ] <sup>1</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> kuš <sup>1</sup> E.SÍR <sup>1</sup> LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> [TU.RA-m]a TI-uṭ
69	r. 22	[DIŠ] AN[ŠE.KUR.R]A SÍG LÚ GU <sub>7</sub> mim-m[u-šú] <sup>1</sup> DUGUD <sup>1</sup> È
70	r. 23	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ <sup>1</sup> AN[ŠE.KUR.R]A <sup>1</sup> ana <sup>1</sup> É GIBIL <sup>1</sup> (SUḪUŠ <sup>2</sup> ) šá ZAG.DU <sub>8</sub> kàṣ-ru <sup>1</sup> KU <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> DAM LÚ ÚŠ
71	r. 24	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ <sup>1</sup> ANŠE. <sup>1</sup> KUR.RA <sup>1</sup> ana GU <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> TE-ḥi <sup>1</sup> na- <sup>1</sup> zaq <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> É LÚ
72	r. 25	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ ANŠE.KUR <sup>1</sup> .RA ana GU <sub>4</sub> ú-ḥa-an-ni-iš TUR [T]ÛR ina <sup>1</sup> INIM <sup>2</sup> -šú <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> GU <sub>7</sub>
73	r. 26	<sup>1</sup> DIŠ <sup>1</sup> < <sup>1</sup> munus? <sup>2</sup> >ANŠE.KUR.RA DÛR-ša ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa <sup>2</sup> > <sup>1</sup> GU <sub>7</sub> <sup>1</sup> URU BI ŠU KUR-sú <sup>2</sup> É <sup>1</sup> BI <sup>1</sup> BIR
tally	r. 27	<sup>1</sup> mKIŠIB 40. <sup>1</sup> KAM <sup>2</sup> .MA <sup>1</sup>

colophon

- r. 28 DIŠ AM ina IGI ABUL IGI-ir URU<sup>ki</sup> NIGIN-mi
- r. 29 NU <sup>1</sup>up<sup>1</sup>-puš<sub>4</sub> {x}
- r. 30 <sup>1</sup>m[DUB/KIŠIB<sup>2</sup>?] <sup>1</sup>m.dLX-EN-šú-nu A šá <sup>1</sup>mNÍG.ŠÚM<sup>1</sup>-ti-<sup>1</sup>dLX A šá <sup>1</sup>m.dEN-šú-nu <sup>1</sup>šÀ<sup>1</sup>.BAL.BAL
- r. 31 <sup>1</sup>mÉ.KUR-za-kir<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ <sup>1</sup>dLX u an-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>lúŠEŠ.GAL-íá šá É-re-eš<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>UMBISAG
- r. 32 [U<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>dLX <sup>1</sup>dEN.LÍL.LA ...] <sup>1</sup>x É<sup>2</sup> NÍG.ŠU<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup> UNUG<sup>2</sup>ki?1
- r. 33 [... ŠÀ.B]AL.BAL <sup>1</sup>mÉ.KUR-za-kir
- r. 34 [... š]á<sup>2</sup> É-re-eš<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>UMBISAG U<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>dLX <sup>1</sup>dEN.LÍL.LA
- r. 35 [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> 7 <sup>1</sup>pi<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> É SAG-eš<sup>2</sup> É ÉŠ.GAL
- r. 36 [...] kun-nu SUḪUŠ-a-a SAR-ma ú-kin
- r. 37 [...] <sup>1</sup>U<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> 6-<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.AN.NA 1 ME 60+šú<sup>1</sup>?(KU<sup>2</sup>) 2-KÁM
- r. 38 [...] pa-l]ḥ <sup>1</sup>iŠKUR <sup>1</sup>ša-la u EN DINGIR.MEŠ
- r. 39 [NU TÙM-šú ...] šá TÙM-šú NÚMUN ina a-mat <sup>1</sup>dLX u <sup>1</sup>an-tu<sub>4</sub> NU TUK-ši



## 2.2 Translation

- <sup>1</sup>If donkeys are constantly agitated – scattering of the city.
- <sup>2</sup>[If donkeys ...] – that city will see a powerful enemy.
- <sup>3</sup>[If donkeys (...) are repeatedly behaving wid]ly<sup>2</sup> – worrying for the city.
- <sup>4</sup>[If donkeys ...] ... – an important person will die in the man's house.
- <sup>5</sup>[If ... don]keys are constantly becoming restless – scattering of the city.
- <sup>6</sup>[If (donkeys?) ... (and) ...?] enter a man's house and they mate with each other – [...] ...<sup>2</sup> a (female) person distant from him<sup>2</sup> will approach him (sexually<sup>2</sup>).
- <sup>7</sup>[If a donkey ... bi]tes<sup>2</sup> [...] – that man will die and his household will be scattered.
- <sup>8</sup>[If a donkey ...] – his so[n<sup>2</sup>] will die.
- <sup>9</sup>[If a donkey ... – ... will d]ie and his house will be scattered.
- <sup>10</sup>[If a donkey ... – ...] ... of the man's house.
- <sup>11</sup>[If a donkey ... eats his testicles<sup>2</sup> – that house] will slip (lit.: get lost) [from] his [gr]asp.
- Ex<sub>2</sub> only: <sup>12</sup>[If a donkey ea]ts<sup>2</sup> [his testicles<sup>2</sup> and his penis<sup>2</sup>] – the offspring of his house will be pe[rish<sup>2</sup>].
- <sup>13</sup>If a d[onkey eats<sup>2</sup> his penis<sup>2</sup>] – that house will be scattered.
- <sup>14</sup>If a donkey is constantly twisting its tail to the right – [...] ]
- <sup>15</sup>[If a don]key is constantly twisting its tail to the left – ditto (...<sup>2</sup>).
- <sup>16</sup>If a donkey enters a man's house – worry; stinging pain of flesh; change of residence.
- <sup>17</sup>If a donkey enters a man's house and screams – that house will be abandoned.
- <sup>18</sup>If a donkey enters a man's house and is constantly screaming – the owner of that house will have a *word of constraint* (e.g. a grave issue).
- <sup>19</sup>If a donkey leaves a man's house – hand of Adad; (concerning) the owner of that house, his property will be sold at his behest.
- <sup>20</sup>If (for) a donkey in a man's house, its eyes stand still – the owner of that house will die in his prime : before his time.
- <sup>21</sup>If a donkey eats a man's garment – the man will experience severe confinement<sup>1</sup>.
- <sup>22</sup>If a donkey eats a man's cloak – the man will go forth into the open country.
- <sup>23</sup>If a donkey eats a man's belt – that house will be scattered.
- <sup>24</sup>If a donkey eats a man's shoe – he will settle in his prime (of life).
- <sup>25</sup>If a donkey eats a man's hair – everything of worth to him will vanish.
- <sup>26</sup>If an agitated<sup>2</sup> donkey charges forward in front of a man – non-attainment of a wish.
- <sup>27</sup>If a donkey loaded with baggage charges forward in front of him – anger.
- <sup>28</sup>If the donkey with a driving force charges forward in front of him – anger.
- <sup>29</sup>If a donkey shakes his ears in front of him – non-attainment of a wish.
- <sup>30</sup>If a donkey is rearing up in front of him – non-attainment of a wish.
- <sup>31</sup>If a donkey in front of him ...<sup>2</sup>
- <sup>32</sup>If a donkey enters [a ne]w [house who]se door frame is (already) assembled – the man's heir will die.
- <sup>33</sup>If a donkey cannot stamp<sup>2</sup>/move freely its hooves (lit.: did not let its feet trample) (and) lies constantly down – the lady will weep.
- <sup>34</sup>If a donkey is braying – that pen will be scattered.
- <sup>35</sup>If a donkey mounts a man – he will be sold for silver or hardship will seize him.
- <sup>36</sup>If a donkey mounts a(nother) donkey – hardship will seize the owner of the house.
- <sup>37</sup>If a donkey approaches an ox (sexually) – destruction (or: decline) of the pen; ditto (= If a donkey approaches an ox (sexually)) – a powerful person will disappear from <his> city.
- <sup>38</sup>If a donkey rubs (himself sexually) against an ox – the fold will be reduced.
- <sup>39</sup>[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and bites people – the man's pen will be scattered.
- <sup>40</sup>[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and kills her foal – the man's wife will die.
- <sup>41</sup>[If a jenn]y behaves wildly and eats her foal or her<sup>1</sup> afterbirth – (concerning) the king, his land will rebel against him; that man, his house will be scattered.
- <sup>42</sup>[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and eats her<sup>1</sup> afterbirth – that man will die and his house will be scattered.
- <sup>43</sup>[If a jen]ny is constantly moani[ng] – an enemy will take her<sup>1</sup> [o]wner and his wife will be constantly mourning.
- <sup>44</sup>[If a jen]ny gives birth and (the foal has) two heads – the throne will change (hands).
- <sup>45</sup>[If a jen]ny gives birth and (the foal) has no head – there will be destruction in the land.
- <sup>46</sup>[If a j]en[ny] gives birth to twins – the loyalty of the land will change.
- <sup>47</sup>[If a jenny] gives birth and its (viz. the foal's) testicles are hanging loose – that pen will perish.

48[If a jenny <sup>br[oken]</sup> (= gives birth and?) (the foals,) their backs (are situated) to the front of the gate, [thei]r f[aces look] (to) the pe[n – uprising of themselves?].  
MS a only: 48a[If a jenny <sup>br[oken?]</sup> (blank) [...]

49[If] a foal [brays] like an a[*gālu*-donkey – that pen will be scattered.]  
50[If] a foal [br]ays – [his owner will die.]  
51[If] a foal moans a[t the gate?] of a man's house – [it]s owner, [bad] n[ews will reach him.]  
52[If a fo]al is w[andering ditto?] (at the gate of a man's house)] – th[at] pen [will be scatt]ered.  
53[If a foal? h]its [its owner] – the owner of the house will be despised.

54[If a hor]se behaves wildly and bites either its fellow (horse) or people – that man will die and his house will be scattered.  
55[If a ho]rse ditto (= behaves wildly and) eats his testicles and his penis – that man will die and his house will be scattered.  
56[If a ho]rse is agitated – the loyalty of the land will change.  
57[If a ho]rse is agitated and eats its (own) hide(s)? – the king will exclaim bitterly against that house.  
58[If a hors]e enters a man's house – inundation?; changing of residence; the palace will claim the entirety of the man's house; grief; end of days.

59If a horse enters a man's house and bites either a donkey or a man – the owner of the house will die <and> his house will be scattered.  
60If a horse enters a man's house and either kicks or bites – the owner of the house will die <and> his house will be scattered.  
61[If] a horse enters a man's house and either seizes or bites a jenny – that house will be scattered.  
62If a horse <enters a man's house and> either bites or tramples his owner – end of days.  
63If a horse becomes strange (towards) its owner – his house(hold members) will become fugitive; the man's heir will die.  
64If a horse departs from a man's house – hand of Adad; Adad will trample down a field in the steppe.

65[If] a horse eats [a man's] garment – someone will arrest (lit.: a hand will reach) that man.  
66[If a h]orse eats [a m]an's cloak – that man will leave the peace of his house.  
67[If a h]orse eats a man's belt – the wi[fe of the man] will be caught [with] another man and she will be put to death.  
68[If] a horse eats a man's shoe – [he will fall ill b]ut recover.  
69[If] a horse eats a man's hair – everything of worth to him will vanish.  
70If a h[ors]e enters a new<sup>1</sup> house whose door frame is (already) assembled – the man's wife will die.  
71If a horse approaches an ox (sexually) – worrying of the man's house.  
72If a horse rubs (himself sexually) against an ox – diminution of the pen; it will be used up on his command?  
73If a mare eats either her foal or <her afterbirth> – that city, someone will conquer (lit.: a hand will reach) it; that house will be scattered.

tally It is T.40.

#### catchline and colophon

“If a wild ox is seen in front of the main gate – an enemy will surround the city”. Not finished. Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendent of Ekur-zakir, incantation expert of Anu and Antu, high priest of the Bīt-Rēš, scribe of [*Enūma Anu Enlil*? ...] ...? property? of Uruk? [desc]endent of Ekur-zakir, [...] Bīt-Rēš, scribe of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, [...] ...?, Bīt-Rēš of the Ešgal, [...] to] strengthen my? foundations, he wrote (it) and deposited (it). [...] da]y? 6 [ye]ar? 162? [of ... whoever wo]rships Adad, Šala, and the lord of the gods [shall not take it away ...] whoever takes it away, he may have no seed by the command of Anu and Antu!



## 2.3 Commentary

**Table 1** Parallels of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43 (according to the Uruk MSS) in other divinatory sources

Parallels	Text position	T.43
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 19 <sup>1</sup>	145'-7'	45-7
	148'	43
	149'-51'	48-50
	152'-3'	51-2 (var.)
	155'	35
	157'	14
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 19 <i>aḫû</i> (LKU 124) <sup>2</sup>	r. 14'-16', 17'-18' (var.)	48-50, 51-2 (var.)
	r. 22'	35
	r. 23'-6'	12-15
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 20 (3) <sup>3</sup>	2-3	54(?) -5
	5-6	56-7
	9'-16'	65-72
	21'	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 5 <sup>4</sup>	52	70
	53	32
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 80 <sup>5</sup>	24-5	37-8 (var.)
	27 (cf. var. 25)	72
	26	71
	48	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 94 <sup>6</sup>	13-15	21-3
	16-18	65-7
	26	25
	27	69
	33	24
	34	68
	57	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> chariot-omens K.2700 <sup>7</sup>	60-1 (r. 23'-4')	54(?) -5
KAL I, 6 iv 2'	iv 2'	37 (var.)
<sup>1</sup> De Zorzi 2014, 791-811.		
<sup>2</sup> De Zorzi 2014, 814-15.		
<sup>3</sup> De Zorzi 2014, 834-8.		
<sup>4</sup> Freedman 1996, 87-108.		
<sup>5</sup> Boddy, Mittermayer 2021.		
<sup>6</sup> Boddy 2021.		
<sup>7</sup> Freedman 2017, 191-2.		

**2-3** For the restoration cf. the comm. K.2919+: 29<sup>19</sup> which plausibly matches the traces in MS a o. 3 [... -g]u. Note, however, the absence of the plene-spelling of the long vowel at the end of the verb (*ittenešgû*) which is otherwise suggested in the comm. text. The attribution of the comm. line with this entry is thus not entirely certain.

**5** It is uncertain how many signs exactly are lost in the break before [... A]NŠE.MEŠ. Harris<sup>20</sup> proposed to restore the beginning following 42:5<sup>21</sup> assuming in turn that the broken verbal form is the same as that of 43:5 (*it-ta-na-'da-ru*). The circular argumentation for the restoration of the verb notwithstanding, the space is sufficient for the assumed restoration of *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA (*ina rebīti* 'in the main square') or a similar formulation. We may also note the unusual but not exceptional position of ANŠE.MEŠ not at

<sup>19</sup> Freedman 2017, 17-18.

<sup>20</sup> Harris 2022, 125.

<sup>21</sup> See Freedman 2017, 12.

the beginning of the entry but after the supposed spatial indication (e.g. [DIŠ ina SILA.DAGAL.LA AN]ŠE.MEŠ ...). Without further textual evidence, said restoration remains a possible but equally uncertain one.

**6** Collations of the traces after the break do not confirm the reading for the beginning of l. 7 ([... *ip*<sup>22</sup>]-*taḥ-ḥa-ru*) proposed by Freedman.<sup>22</sup>

For the term *rūqtu* in the context of omen apodoses see BM.32589 r. 5', BM.38194 r. 4', and BM.46594 r. 17' which all belong to the same tablet of bird omens. The apodoses in these MSS have *ru-uq-ta-šú* combined with *IGI-mar* 'he will see/experience/confront something distant (fem.)'; *rūqtu* fem. of *rūqu* (adj.) 'distant, remote'; see also CAD R, 421-5 *rūqu*. Since *rūqtu* in our entry appears together with the verb *qerēbu*, cf. also expressions like *ru-qu i-qer-rib-šú* attested in *Šumma ālu* 33:49 "something distant will approach him".<sup>23</sup> However, the exact meaning of this expression is unclear but we may note that, due to the similarity of the verbal roots \*krb (cf. the verbal form *ir-tak-ka-bu* in the protasis) and \*qrb, the particular meaning of *qerēbu* as 'to approach sexually'<sup>24</sup> might indicate a semantic link between protasis and apodosis, especially since the near synonym verb *ṭeḥû* is used more frequently than *qerēbu* in omen texts.

**7** The form [... -a]z-za-ak as suggested by Freedman<sup>25</sup> seems unlikely. Besides the spelling suggested in the edition above, the traces could equally be read [... ú-na]š-šá-ak. Given the similar wording in protasis and apodosis of 43:39 and 54, the restoration of *iššegūma* 'the donkey behaves wildly' at the beginning is likely.

**9** There are two equally plausible restorations for the first part of the apodosis: [... LÚ BI Ú]š-ma '... that man will die and ...' or [... IDIM ina É BI Ú]š-ma '... an important person will die [in that house] and ...'.

**10** The traces in front of É might belong either to the end of [... BIR-a]ḥ É LÚ or [... na-za]q É LÚ.

**11** The broken object of GU<sub>7</sub> is interpreted here as ŠIR.MEŠ 'testicles' - Ex<sub>2</sub> o. 3' preserves [...].MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup> GU<sub>7</sub> - due to the possible reconstruction of the next entry 43:12 (attested in Ex<sub>2</sub>) which mentions ŠIR.MEŠ-šú u Giš-šú 'he eats his testicles and his penis' according to the assumed parallel instance from *Šumma izbu* 19:156' [BE ANŠE] ŠIR.MEŠ-šú u Giš-šú GU<sub>7</sub> li-[li-da<sup>2</sup> ...].<sup>26</sup> The entry would thus introduce the first element 'testicles' which is joined by 'penis' in 43:12. Cf. the similar entry concerning a horse in 43:55. However, a restoration of [KUŠ].MEŠ-šú '(the donkey eats) his [hide]', similar to the wording in 43:57, cannot be excluded.

**12** It should be noted that the entry is attested in Ex<sub>2</sub> only and it is uncertain whether it was omitted in MS a or whether it was noted on o. 13a, against which would speak the spatial distribution of the end of the line.

See the comment on 43:11. The term *lillidu* mentioned in the apodosis in Ex<sub>2</sub> is also commented upon in the comm. K.2919+ r. 1.<sup>27</sup>

**13** Both entries in r. 23'-4' of the *Šumma izbu aḥû* text LKU 124 could represent parallels to 43:12-13,<sup>28</sup> which is also suggested by the following two entries r. 25'-6' paralleling 43:14-15. Note that the parallels deal principally with DÜR(*mūru*) 'foal' and not ANŠE(*imēru*) 'donkey'. We may thus sense some textual corruption or misunderstanding, which might have happened either in the process of textual transmission during the serialization of each series (viz. *Šumma ālu* and *Šumma izbu*) or during the copying process of either series in later times.

<sup>22</sup> Freedman 2017, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Freedman 2006, 207.

<sup>24</sup> CAD Q, 233a *qerēbu*.

<sup>25</sup> Freedman 2017, 19.

<sup>26</sup> De Zorzi 2014, 811; cf. also the presumably same entry in the context of *Šumma izbu aḥû*-omens edited in De Zorzi 2014, 815 r. 23'.

<sup>27</sup> See Freedman 2017, 17.

<sup>28</sup> De Zorzi 2014, 815.

**18** For the restoration of *pi<-qí>* cf. the comm. K.2919+ r. 3-4.<sup>29</sup> We may also note that the explanation of the comm. suggests an alternative meaning beside *amāt pīqi* ‘word of constraint (viz. a critical issue)’. For the proposed translation cf. also the comm. on *Šumma ālu* 49:80 (DT.37).<sup>30</sup>

**19** See also the comm. text K.2919+ r. 5-6,<sup>31</sup> possibly referring to the case of a horse leaving the owner’s house (Ē in the serial MS), as well as the alternative equation of the common logogram Ē not as the usual reading (*w*)*ašû* but as *maḥû* ‘to go frenzy’.

Note also the variant NÍG.GÁL instead of NÍG.ŠU (both for *būšu* ‘property’) in Ex<sub>2</sub> 7’ for this entry.

**20** The protasis might be identical with that commented upon in the comm. K.2919+ r. 7 ([... š]á IGI MIN-šÚ *i-ḫal-li-qa-ma* ‘[... whose] two eyes are lost (or: escape) and’).<sup>32</sup>

**21** The variation between the apodosis KI<sup>1</sup>.ŠÚ *dan-nu* IGI-mar and the one in 94:13 might be based on a corrupt reading of *ina é* as *dan-nu*. The sign KAL(*dan*) resembles the sign é and -*nu* might have been added due to a misunderstanding of the previous sign as the logogram KALA(.GA) which is equated with the root \**dnn*. In any case, we should also note that the main source for the omen in T.94 also stems from Late Babylonian Uruk,<sup>33</sup> and so it cannot be decided which of the texts provides the more original reading.

Note the omission of the otherwise unnecessary -šÚ in the protasis after TÚG.

**23** The sign RI in the verbal form AL.BIR.RI likely represents an error for -*aḫ*.

**24** As in the case of 43:21, it is uncertain which of the sources provides the earlier reading of the apodosis. Both formulations, *ina* NU-URU-BI TUŠ-*ab* (43:24) and *ina* NU INIM-šÚ DAB-*bat* ‘he will be caught in an affair that is not his’ (94:33),<sup>34</sup> are similar but their meanings differ considerably. We may note that the reading of the Late Babylonian source for T.94 is partly corroborated by another Neo-Assyrian excerpt which might be suggestive for the evaluation of the readings of our late source for T.43 which seems to have a lot of textual corruptions.

**25** The same apodosis also appears in 43:69, again with the spelling *mim-mu-šÚ* which thus suggests *mimmû* as the likely subject of Ē (the translation follows a suggestion by N. De Zorzi concerning 43:69) and not, as would be another possible reading, DUGUD (i.e. ‘an honoured person will leave everything (belonging to) him’).

**26** The verb *ešēru* can have the meanings ‘to straighten up’, ‘to charge’, and ‘to thrive’.<sup>35</sup> Within the context of 43:26, ‘to straighten up, rear up’ offers a possible meaning, but in the following entries the verb clearly refers to the circumstance of a donkey ‘going straight’, i.e. ‘charging’; note also the meaning “zugehen auf” in the AHW,<sup>36</sup> which has been chosen here as translation for the verb in the protasis for the entire section 43:26-8.

**27** For the protasis see the comm. K.2919+ r. 8-9.<sup>37</sup>

**28** The interpretation of *ṭa-ri-it-tu<sub>4</sub>* is uncertain, and the word – probably either a fem. sing. ptc./adj. derived from *ṭarādu* ‘to drive away’ – is rarely attested. In the dictionaries, it is assumed to refer to a disease.<sup>38</sup> This interpretation is based on the fact that the rare word appears together with *ḫimīṭ ṣēti* ‘heat stroke (?) (lit.: burning of heat/light)’ and *riḫīṣti Adad* ‘trampling (down) of Adad’ in a *tamītu*-prayer citing illnesses or bad events from which the sufferer wishes to escape. The term has not been

**29** Freedman 2017, 18.

**30** Cf. Jiménez 2016.

**31** Freedman 2017, 18.

**32** Freedman 2017, 18.

**33** See SpTU 3, no. 97.

**34** Translation according to Boddy 2021, 12.

**35** CAD E, 352b *ešēru*.

**36** AHW 254-5 *ešēru(m)* 7.

**37** Freedman 2017, 18.

**38** CAD T, 62a *ṭārittu*, “persecutor (name of an illness)”; AHW 1382 “Vertreibende”, “ein Übel (Seuche?)”.

translated by Freedman<sup>39</sup> because a ‘disease’ does not seem to make sense in the context of this protasis. In accordance with the translation of the *tāmītu*-passage by Lambert<sup>40</sup> “driving force”, it is assumed here to refer to a driving force behind the charging of the animal.

The comm. K.2919+ r. 10-11 possibly elucidates the meaning of this omen, but unfortunately, only the right edge of the text is preserved ([...] ANŠE *ra-ad-du* | [...] SAR: *ra-da-du* ‘[...] pursued donkey | [...] SAR (means) to pursue’).<sup>41</sup> Note further that the two verbs *ṭarādu* and *radādu* are often associated with each other in commentaries.<sup>42</sup>

**31** Note that Freedman<sup>43</sup> interprets A.3449+ ll. 30-1 as one entry running over two lines and assumes a gap after l. 31 until the texts continuation with AO.6490. The new join shows that ll. 30 and 31 must represent separate entries, which brings the Uruk MS a into alignment with the Neo-Assyrian witness MS B.

**32** Note the erroneous connection of AO.6490 o. 1' with 43:71' by Freedman.<sup>44</sup>

**33** Concerning the difficult verbal form *ušarḫiṣ*, the CAD cites the beginning of the omen as *šumma imēru še-bi-šu ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ*<sup>45</sup> without translating the verb interpreted as *raḥāṣu* B ‘to wash, to bathe’. However, Freedman<sup>46</sup> interprets *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ* differently as of *raḥāṣu* A (Š) with the meaning “to trample”<sup>47</sup> although no Š-stem is listed for *raḥāṣu* A in the CAD.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, von Soden combines A and B under one lemma and suggests that the verb means “to swamp, inundate” first and, secondarily, “to trample”.<sup>49</sup> George<sup>50</sup> collected passages in omens, commentaries, and lexical texts demonstrating that *raḥāṣu* (i/i) means “to trample”. He notices furthermore that in a few instances, *raḥāṣu* can come to mean “to run”.<sup>51</sup> Assuming that the preceding NU is part of a pl. pronoun suffix -*šunu*, the verb refers either to the inability of the equine to move freely or stamp its feet or hooves which thus condemns it to constantly lie down (*irtanabbīṣ*). In support of this, we may note that, with the exception of MS B o. 3', no pl. form of ANŠE is noted and MS B likely represents a hypercorrection due to a misunderstanding of the form as plural suffix.

Note the scribal error in the second verbal form *ir'-ta-na'(LÚ)-bi-iṣ* and the differences in the apodoses of Ex<sub>2</sub> o. 7' (ERİŠ-ti e x) and MS a (NIN ÉR). Again, it is quite possible that the apodosis of the late MS a results from a textual corruption, here, due to the similarity between the sign APIN/ERİŠ and NIN. The traces on the edge in Ex<sub>2</sub> might indicate to read either *e-š'i-x'* or *e 'È'*. Since the exact formulation in Ex<sub>2</sub> is unclear due to the damage at the edge, the meaning of the apodosis remains uncertain without further evidence.

**36** Ex<sub>1</sub> l. 3' was erroneously attributed to omen 43:34 by Freedman.<sup>52</sup>

**37** The translation of *dannu* as ‘strong, powerful, reliable person’<sup>53</sup> has been chosen here instead of “despotic person” given by Boddy and Mittermayer for the parallel in T.80, in part due to the change of the following verb GÁL (*bašû* N-stem ‘will occur, appear’) in T.80 and KAL I (having either (<sup>14</sup>)KAL for *dannu* or BAD<sub>4</sub> for *dannatu*) to *ḫalāqu* ‘to get lost, disappear’ in T.43, and in part to the overall negative tone of the apodosis in the present text, which implies the loss of desirable things.

**39** Freedman 2007.

**40** Lambert 2013, 71.

**41** Freedman 2017, 18.

**42** CAD R, 58 *radādu*.

**43** Freedman 2017, 20.

**44** Freedman 2017, 264.

**45** CAD R, 73-4 *raḥāṣu* B.

**46** Freedman 2017, 24: 33'.

**47** CAD R, 69-72 *raḥāṣu* A.

**48** See also Freedman 2017, 24.

**49** AHW 942-3 “überschwemmen; spülen”.

**50** George 2013, 62-3.

**51** See also AHW 943 *raḥāṣu(m)* I G 3a.

**52** Freedman 2017, 240.

**53** In addition to the few attestations in the CAD, cf. also the use of the term in Simons 2022a, 105.

**39** The spelling *ú-na-áš-KUM* in MS a represents most likely a scribal mistake and not a variant. It is assumed here that the sign KUM was confused with SAG(*šak*) since the form *ú-na-áš-ku<sub>13</sub>/qu<sup>?</sup>*, as read by Freedman, would be ungrammatical.<sup>54</sup>

Note the variant wording of the apodosis between MS B and Ex<sub>2</sub> (TÙR É LÚ BIR-*aḥ*) and the Late Babylonian MS a (TÙR LÚ BI BIR-*aḥ*).

**41** Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in *ùš-su* which should be fem. as in the preceding 'DÙR-*ša*'.

**42** Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in *ùš-šú* (s.a.).

**43** Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in [E]N-*šú* instead of the correct [E]N-*šá/ša*.

**44** Note the variation between the apodosis of MS a (AŠ.TE) and MS B (<sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA).

**46** Although the *tēmu* may have the meaning 'derangement, insanity' when combined with *šanû*,<sup>55</sup> it is more likely in the present context that it refers to the mood or loyalty of the land to its ruler.<sup>56</sup>

**48** As can be seen in the var. versions in the parallels *Šumma izbu* 19 (LKU 124) and *Šumma izbu* 19:149',<sup>57</sup> there seems to have been some corruption in these MSS. E.g., the form ANŠE.MEŠ at the beginning of *Šumma izbu* 19:149' might be based on the non-transparent use of the plural pronoun -*šunu*, which is supposed to refer originally to the new-born foals, and the omission of *ù.TU-ma* in the standard redaction that is still present in LKU 124. The context of giving birth is clearly indicated here, and it shows the same sequence as our section, which is followed by omens concerning the new-born foal.

Note further the var. syntax between *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu* 43:48 in the examples mentioned above: IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TÙR IGI.MEŠ vs. TÙR IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* IGI.MEŠ (T.43).

The present reading of the end of the line in MS a, which merges both lines of the entry attested in Neo-Assyrian sources, is tentative. Cf. the following comment on 43:48a for an alternative interpretation.

**48a** The entry is problematic since it is attested nowhere but MS a. Considering the spatial distribution of 43:48 in MS B, in which the second line has only ZI.GA (blank space) *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*, we may speculate that a similar distribution was used in MS a. If so, 'DIŠ' ÈME at the beginning in MS a would represent a hypercorrection of the second line of 43:48 having been understood by the Late Babylonian scribe as a separate, broken entry, marked with a *hepi*-gloss. Note that the break in this part of the original underlying MS a is already indicated by the first *hepi*-gloss at the beginning of entry 48.

The ruling following this line (in the Neo-Assyrian MSS after 43:48 and in W.20030/116 after 48a), can now be verified for AO.6490 (MS a) thanks to new coll. of the broken bottom edge (see the short discussion in the introduction above and the collations in fig. 2 below).

**49** For the traces at the top of the reverse of MS a, which might belong to the verbal form [*i-na*]-*ga<sup>?</sup>*-[*ag<sup>?</sup>* ...], see the collations in figure 2 below.

**52** Unlike MS B, the spatial distribution of the signs in the protasis of MS a suggests the use of the ditto-marker MIN after DÙR.

**54** Freedman,<sup>58</sup> following the copy in TCL 6, suggests that MS a (there AO.6490 r. 5') preserves a different version of the omen protasis and transliterates [... L]<sub>2</sub> *iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-šu lu* LU<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ *u<sub>2</sub>-na-šak*. However, coll. of photographs rules this out [fig. 2]. The supposed [L]<sub>2</sub> is better understood as the end of RA in [ANŠE.KUR.R]A.

<sup>54</sup> Freedman 2017, 264.

<sup>55</sup> CAD T, 95b *tēmu*; see also Harris 2022, 153.

<sup>56</sup> See CAD T, 93-4 *tēmu* 4 and Stol 2009, 2-3.

<sup>57</sup> [BE] ANŠE.MEŠ *ana* IGI KÁ EGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu* IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TÙR IGI.MEŠ [ZI.GA *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*]. Note the new join of K.10481 to MS A.

<sup>58</sup> Freedman 2017, 264.

**57** The plural of *kuš* (*mašku*) ‘hide’ is not usually attested with *GU<sub>7</sub>*(*akālu*) ‘to eat, devour’. However, it is uncertain if the logogram *kuš* is thus to be read *SU* = *šīru* ‘flesh’, more often written *UZU*(*MEŠ*).<sup>59</sup> Note the transferred meaning of *šīru* concerning kin and blood (viz. the family or tribe) which might have had here a particular underlying notion, although a symbolical connection between the agitation of the king in the apodosis and the agitation of the horse in the protasis is not fully certain.<sup>60</sup> Besides, eating the own flesh is a very curious phenomenon and eating the own skin would be much more probable, especially since it is known as peculiar behaviour of horses. The reading *kuš* has therefore been adopted here.

**58** The meaning of the term *taqrirtu* is unknown but it appears more than once in omen literature,<sup>61</sup> cf. also 42:29 (*DIŠ ana É LÚ GU<sub>4</sub> KU<sub>4</sub>-ma ŠURUN-su ŠUB taq-<sup>r</sup>ri-ir<sup>21</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub>? ...] x i-qá-ru-ur<sup>918</sup>N[Á ...]*; note the shared root \**qrr* of *taq-<sup>r</sup>ri-ir<sup>21</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub>?]* and *i-qá-ru-ur*). Freedman<sup>62</sup> suggests a meaning similar to ‘inundation’ relating it to the verb *qarāru* ‘to overflow, to pour’. Note that \**qrr* and \**grr* are listed under one lemma in AHw 902-3 with the basic meaning “sich krümmen; schlängeln”<sup>63</sup> and it appears time and again in the context of proskynesis, which might give a hint to the underlying meaning.

The variation between MS a and the other sources is minimal, chiefly concerning the position of *gami/erti* ‘everything’. In MS a, it has been integrated into the apodosis ‘the king will claim everything of the man’s house(hold)’ but in MS B and Ex<sub>1</sub>, it very probably represents a gloss, marked with the *Glossenkeil* (:), to *É LÚ* and is thus to be translated “the king will claim the man’s house(hold) var.: everything (of the man)”.

**61** Note the variation from MSS B and C, which read *ÈME lu DAB-ma iš-šuk-ši* in contrast to *ÈME lu DAB-ma lu iš-šuk* in MS a. This reading is also found in the parallel entry in the chariot omens in K.2700+ r. 22’ (59) (*DIŠ’ [... l]u iš-šuk-ši É BI BIR-aḥ*).<sup>64</sup> The unusual use of enclitic *-ma* in combination with *lu* ... *lu* ‘either ... or’ suggests a textual corruption in MS a.

**62** Since MSS B and C both include *ana É LÚ GU<sub>4</sub>-ma* as the first part of the protasis, the phrase is probably to be understood as an accidental omission in MS a, presumably written <MIN-*ma*> or similar.

**66** Freedman<sup>65</sup> translates “in happiness” for the formulation *ina DU<sub>10</sub>.GA É-šu* in the apodosis, but this seems unlikely due to the genitive construction suggested by the spelling of the pronoun *-šu* (viz. *bītišu* and not *bīssu* as would be expected without genitive) and the explicit syllabic spelling in the parallel *Šumma ālu* 94:17 (*ina ṭu-ub é-šu*).

**67** The sign *úš* in the apodosis could also be read *-bat* and understood as a phonetic complement to *DAB*(*iššabbat*). However, the majority of manuscripts, including the parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94, have both *DAB* and *úš*, and more importantly, Ex<sub>1</sub> adds *-ma* after *DAB*. It is therefore most likely that the sign was meant to be read *úš* at the end of the apodosis and *-ma* after *DAB* has been mistakenly omitted in MS a.

**68** Note that Freedman<sup>66</sup> mistakes the end of RA for the end of DAB, and restores the entry based on the wording of 43:67.

**72** There are traces after TUR in MS a, which resemble a *Glossenkeil* (:) but the following sign is certainly TUR and a *Glossenkeil* would be highly unusual in the middle of a genitive construction, even though not impossible.

The reading of the apodosis is not entirely certain. While the traces in front of *GU<sub>7</sub>* in Ex<sub>1</sub> r. 18 might belong to [... *ina INI*]*M-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>21</sup>* ‘on his word/command’, the reading of the supposed end of the protasis in

**59** Cf. CAD Š/3, 114-15 *šīru* A.

**60** CAD Š/3, 118 *šīru* A 2.

**61** CAD T, 201b *taqrirtu*.

**62** Freedman 2017, 25.

**63** For a more recent discussion cf. Simons 2022b, 46-7.

**64** Freedman 2017, 29.

**65** Freedman 2017, 22.

**66** Freedman 2017, 22.



Ex<sub>1</sub> r. 17 remains highly speculative. It has been interpreted here as [... ú-k]a<sup>2</sup>-an-nì-<iš><sup>2</sup> following the reading [...] -ha-an-ni<sub>3</sub>-[...] by Freedman.<sup>67</sup> If read correctly, the form is probably to be considered corrupt.

**73** Note that MS a and Ex<sub>2</sub> omit MUNUS before ANŠE.KUR.RA but use the female poss. suffix -ša whereas in MS B, MUNUS is written together with dittography of the cuneiform sign ANŠE. Thus, the omission of MUNUS does not necessarily imply a male horse as the subject of an omen. The protases of the Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian redaction differ in the spellings ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa> (MS a) and ù-lu ùš-sa (Ex<sub>2</sub>). A textual corruption (ù-lu <ùš>-sa<sup>1</sup>) or an omission (ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa>), as indicated in the transliteration above, are possible.

Note the difference in the apodoses of MS a (KUR-su; see the collations in fig. 2) and Ex<sub>2</sub> (the joined fragment 1879-7-8, 128 o. 11' reads KUR-ád).

**tally** Freedman<sup>68</sup> interprets the beginning of the tally as IM.SAR 'inscriptions'. However, the sign after IM resembles rather UM (cf. collations of 43:51 in fig. 2) or DUB (cf. collations of the tally in fig. 2; from Neo-Babylonian period on, forms like <sup>im</sup>DUB or <sup>im</sup>KIŠIB look more or less the same as each other),<sup>69</sup> which, in turn, suggests that the tally refers to the number of the Tablet which can therefore be read '40' in this Late Babylonian redaction.

**colophon** The indication "[... daly<sup>7</sup> 6, [ye]ar<sup>7</sup> 162]" in MS a r. 37 refers to the year 162 SE, corresponding roughly with the years 151/150 BCE, which falls in the reign of Alexander I Balas (150-145 BCE).<sup>70</sup> This date corresponds well with the other dated fragments between W.20030/1-158 from the Rēš-temple,<sup>71</sup> which stem mostly from the time between 120 and 150 SE in contrast to the Louvre texts (TCL 6), which date to an earlier time (around 90 to 100 SE).

The restoration of the form *pa-liḫ* in r. 38 and the possible beginning in the damaged first part of l. 39 (in accordance with BAK 96) has been kindly suggested to me by N. De Zorzi.

### 3 Conclusion

The content and positioning of the three fragments are complementary (see discussion and edition above), and the break shapes also match [fig. 1]. The ruling at the end of the obverse of the Louvre-fragment aligns with traces on the Heidelberg-fragment, and the palaeography is clearly identical [fig. 2]. Moreover, the colophon of the Chicago-fragment supports the dating of several manuscripts from the Rēš-temple, discovered at the same site as the Heidelberg-fragment. Together, these factors strongly suggest that the three fragments belong to the same manuscript.

<sup>67</sup> Freedman 2017, 240.

<sup>68</sup> Freedman 2017, 23.

<sup>69</sup> See the note in Borger 2010, 301 no. 242.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the similar colophon BAK 94.

<sup>71</sup> Van Dijk 1962, 43.

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