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„The Snake Omens in the Mesopotamian
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in the Mesopotamian Divinatory Series
Šumma ālu (Tablets 22-24)

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The snake found her not long into her return. She was wending through a cluster of stiff reeds when she disturbed its rest. The cottonmouth bit her twice, in the calf and deep in the meat of her thigh. No sound but pain. Mabel refused to believe it. It was a water snake, it had to be. Ornery but harmless. When her mouth went minty and her leg tingled, she knew. She made it another mile. She had dropped her sack along the way, lost her course in the black water. She could have made it farther—working Randall land had made her strong, strong in body if nothing else—but she stumbled onto a bed of soft moss and it felt right. She said, Here, and the swamp swallowed her up.

Colson Whitehead, *The Underground Railroad*

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Abbreviations

§	Marker for an omen within Tablets 22-24 of <i>Šumma ālu</i> following the revised sequence, e.g. §23.107 (Tablet 23, omen 107)
*	Marker for an omen within Tablets 22-24 of <i>Šumma ālu</i> following the sequence in <i>If a City 2</i> , e.g. *23.110 (Tablet 23, omen 110, i.e. §23.107)
ABL	<i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> , by R. F. Harper (Chicago 1892-1914)
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , by W. von Soden. 3 volumes (Wiesbaden 1965, 1972, 1974)
<i>Bestiarium Mesopotamicum</i>	Bestiarium Mesopotamicum: Tieromina im Alten Mesopotamien. Forthcoming online database of the animal omens in the Mesopotamian divinatory series <i>Šumma ālu</i> (University of Vienna/Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago 1956ff.)
CCP	Cuneiform Commentaries Project: https://ccp.yale.edu/ (Yale University)
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative: http://cdli.ucla.edu/ (Los Angeles/Berlin)
<i>Concise Dictionary</i>	<i>The Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> , edited by J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate. 2nd (corrected) printing (Wiesbaden 2000)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London 1896ff.)
GAG	<i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> , by W. von Soden. 3rd edition (Rome 1995)
Geers	Copies from the “Geers-Hefte” by F. W. Geers (Universität Heidelberg)
<i>If a City</i>	<i>If a City Is Set on a Height. The Omen Series Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin</i> , by S. Freedman. 3 volumes (Philadelphia 1998, 2006, 2017)
KAL	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg)
KAR	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i> , by E. Ebeling (Leipzig 1919-1923)
ms.	Manuscript (the physical clay-tablet)
obv.	Obverse of a manuscript
rev.	Reverse of a manuscript
STT	<i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> , by O. R. Gurney, J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin. 2 volumes (London 1957, 1964)

Conventions

x	illegible sign
‘x’	illegible broken sign
‘ú’	a broken sign, e.g. the sign ú
[x]	break of one sign
[x (x)]	break of about one or perhaps two signs
[...]	missing text of unclear length (up to a whole line)
<x>	omitted by scribe
<<x>>	repeated by scribe (superfluous)
ú [?]	uncertain reading, e.g. possibly ú
ú [!]	the sign is written unusually, but can be read thus based on context, e.g. ú
A _(MIN)	a spelling mistake made by the ancient scribe, e.g. the sign MIN for what should be the sign A
A _(copy: MIN)	a mistake made by the modern copyist, e.g. the copy has the sign MIN for what should be the sign A
A _(erasure)	sign written over an erasure
...	obscure text

Uncertain or interpretative translations are given in italics.

Paragraph system

§22.1	standard omen (e.g. the first omen on Tablet 22)
§22.60’	standard omen after a gap in the sequence, marked with apostrophe
§22-C1	commentaries on omens (e.g. the first commentary in a sequence on Tablet 22)
§22.1 (var.)	in the chapter “Composite text, transliteration, and translation”: this omen has a variant, see its entry in the chapter “Scores and philological commentary”

Throughout the thesis, paragraph signs (§) mark individual snake omens from Tablets 22-24 of *Šumma ālu*. The omens are marked §[Tablet number].[omen number], e.g. §22.1 is the first omen of Tablet 22. After a gap in the omen sequence, an apostrophe is added to the omen number, e.g. §24.60’ is the sixtieth omen preserved for Tablet 24, but several omens are missing in the sequence, so it is not the original sixtieth snake omen on Tablet 24.

Ancient commentaries discussing snake omens are marked §[Tablet number]-C[commentary number], e.g. §22-C1, in a commentary text on snake omens, is the first commentary related to an omen from Tablet 22. This count does not imply the number of the omen to which it relates, but the omen number – if known – will be given in brackets separately, e.g. §23-C10 (§23.42) is the tenth commentary on an omen from Tablet 23, namely §23.42.

Several sections in the omen sequences have been revised. In some cases, the updated omen count is distinct from the count used in Freedman’s edition *If a City 2* (Freedman 2006a). While paragraph signs (§) mark omen numbers in our edition, we use an asterisk (*) for omen numbers in *If a City 2*. For example, §23.110 is the 110th omen of Tablet 23 in our edition, but *23.110 in *If a City 2* is the 110th omen in Freedman’s edition. They are not the same omen: §23.110 correlates with *23.113; *23.110 correlates with §23.107. The omen numbers used in *If a City 2* are references with each omen in the score if they differ.

Foreword

Research for this master's thesis was conducted under the auspices of the FWF-funded project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum. Tieromina im Alten Mesopotamien* (2018-2021), initiated and directed by Dr. Nicla De Zorzi at the Institut für Orientalistik (University of Vienna), in collaboration with the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.¹ The project examines the ancient Mesopotamian divinatory composition known by its incipit, “If a city is set on a height” (in Akkadian *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*, henceforth *Šumma ālu*). The main objective of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* is to create an online database providing updated and improved editions of the animal omens from *Šumma ālu*. These editions will be openly accessible in Akkadian and English to researchers in Assyriology, colleagues from related fields, and anybody interested in the creative writings that Mesopotamians produced thousands of years ago.

The second objective of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* is to offer the first comprehensive interpretative study of the animal omens from *Šumma ālu*. Nicla De Zorzi's previous work on the text-internal mechanisms of omen generation and organization in the first-millennium series *Šumma izbu*,² as well as Abraham Winitzer's studies on the building principles of Old Babylonian extispicy omens,³ have provided the methodological basis for such an interpretative study of the animal omens. In particular, *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* argues that these omens should be read as a cultural construct expressed in a literary way, rather than as observations made of animal behavior in the natural world, as has often been assumed in previous studies. The title of the project, *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*, draws from this idea of a culturally constructed “bestiary” represented by the animals in these omens. The human-animal relationship within Mesopotamian culture was translated into omen lists, the non-human animals functioning as a mirror for humans.

The chapter-tablets (also called “Tablets”) from *Šumma ālu* on which the present thesis draws are Tablets 22-26, which are dedicated to snake omens. This thesis also provides an edition of Tablets 22-24, while an updated edition of Tablets 25-26 will be published in the online database *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*.

This thesis would not have been written without Sally Freedman's impressive three-volume edition of *Šumma ālu (If a City Is Set on a Height)*, volumes 1-3.⁴ Another essential edition of the snake omens from *Šumma ālu* is Nils Heeßel's *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts*, volume 1, with

¹ *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum: Tieromina im Alten Mesopotamien* (FWF project number P 31032 Einzelprojekte, see [https://ucris.univie.ac.at/portal/de/projects/bestiarium-mesopotamicum-animal-omens-in-ancient-mesopotamia\(a49c2223-6082-4c85-9047-ba06d260a608\).html](https://ucris.univie.ac.at/portal/de/projects/bestiarium-mesopotamicum-animal-omens-in-ancient-mesopotamia(a49c2223-6082-4c85-9047-ba06d260a608).html); <https://pf.fwf.ac.at/de/wissenschaft-konkret/project-finder/42881>, last accessed Jan. 10, 2021).

² De Zorzi 2011 and 2014.

³ Winitzer 2006, 2017.

⁴ Freedman 1998, 2006a, 2017. The animal omens are edited in Freedman 2006a, *If a City Is Set On a Height*, volume 2 (abbreviated *If a City 2*).

updated editions of the manuscripts with animal omens from Assur, among them several manuscripts containing snake omens. Some of these manuscripts were also included in Freedman's edition.

Our edition of the snake omens also includes the ancient commentaries. Two virtually identical manuscripts with commentaries on snake omens from Tablets 22 and 23 are preserved, of which Freedman edited one.⁵ They have been re-edited together by Enrique Jiménez.⁶

As a master's student without much previous experience in philological editing and textual criticism, it was of great help for me to approach the texts through the already existing editions. Of even greater importance was the support and education I received during this process from my thesis supervisor Nicla De Zorzi. For this, I would like to express my deepest gratitude.

Being Nicla's student has shown me the true qualities of a teacher: the imparting of enthusiasm for a scientific field, incredible patience, and the willingness to explain the most complicated and most obvious things. Many (if not most) of the new readings and collations provided in the revised edition are credited to Nicla's expertise and persistence. Her role in the writing of this thesis certainly surpasses that of a supervisor. Rather, she was the most thorough editor and proofreader I could have wished for, and the many hours she put in must have been long and laborious. Needless to say, remaining mistakes, arguments made, and personal opinions expressed are my own responsibility.

I also much appreciate Nicla's efforts to bring our team to the British Museum in February 2020 for collating tablets. It was an incredible experience, and I thank the staff of the Study Room for welcoming us there. Cuneiform texts from the British Museum collections are edited and discussed here with the kind permission of the Trustees of British Museum.

I am delighted to thank my colleagues on the project, Nicole Lundeen, Judith Pfitzner, Craig Harris, and our colleagues at the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, Saranya Balasubramanian and Daniel Schopper. The input I received from all of them by working together significantly contributed to my ideas. I am grateful to Céline Debourse and Frank Simons, who were kind enough to use some of their own time spent in the British Museum for taking photos of tablets with snake omens for me. Rachel Lerculeur (University of Geneva) pointed me to a tablet with possible snake omens, which I would otherwise have missed, and shared with me her knowledge from her work on sleep omens in *Šumma ālu*.

For my theoretical approach to the primary sources, I felt it was necessary to examine past Assyriological arguments, on which Shana Zaia provided me with insights and resources, and Jakob Flygare generously sent me his dissertation on the subject. Frank Simons, Martina Schmidl, and Nicole Lundeen were always quick to point me to sources and secondary literature on specific questions I had come up. Frank Simons also kindly proofread my thesis; remaining mistakes are my own.

I could fill many more pages with acknowledgments to all the talented fellow students and colleagues, the great professors and teachers, who have inspired and motivated me along the way. As much

⁵ Freedman 2006b.

⁶ Jiménez 2014, 2015.

as I am indebted to all of them, I would be amiss not to mention the people in my personal life, without whose support, encouragement, and interest in the unusual topics I work on, I could not have achieved my academic goals: I thank my parents, for their unconditional belief in my abilities, and for financial support during my studies; my sister Noa, for reminding me to enjoy life to the fullest, even when work is piling up; Denise, my Uni-Campus companion at the neighboring Sinology and art history institutes, for filling our shared lunch breaks with exciting and inspiring discussions; and Myriam, for making my journey of writing a thesis so much easier, for helping me with Assyriological literature in French throughout my study years, for teaching me about things I did not know, and for asking the questions of which I had not thought.

Part I. Introduction

Part I of this master's thesis, the introduction, provides some historical background information about the snake omens from *Šumma ālu* analyzed in part II and edited in part III. Both an overview of Mesopotamian divination in general and the series *Šumma ālu* in particular are included here.

1. Ancient Mesopotamian divination

The oldest written evidence for divination in Mesopotamia is found in Sumerian cuneiform texts from the third millennium BCE attesting diviners' professional titles.⁷ Sumerian and Akkadian divinatory traditions were distinct,⁸ but the underlying conviction that the whole world is interconnected with the divine is pervasive throughout.

A reference to dream divination, i.e. the interpretation of dreams as messages from the gods, is found in Gudea's Cylinder A.⁹ Both this reference to an oral consultation on a dream's meaning and the lack of technical divinatory writing in the third millennium point to Mesopotamian divination having originated as an oral practice. However, at the dawn of the second millennium, divination moved from being a mainly applied craft practiced orally to having a strong writing-bound character.

The earliest Akkadian written omens are inscribed on liver models from Mari dating to the Isin-period (20th-19th century BCE).¹⁰ The liver models are usually inscribed with not more than one omen or "statement," which is introduced by *šumma* (written *šum-ma*, *šu-ma*) "if," but also *inūmi* (written *i-nū-mi*) "when," or only *amūt* (written *a-mu-ut*, *a-mu-tum*) "liver."¹¹ "Divination literature" in the form of long omen lists became a prominent part of writing culture in the Old Babylonian period. It was then that diviners embraced a new, writing-based conception of divination with the conditional *šumma* "if" as its staple.¹² Over the centuries, thousands of omens were collected, sorted, and systematically grouped in long lists, which continued to be copied, edited, and stored in the libraries of palaces and temples in the first millennium.¹³ The most substantial bulk of texts found in Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh

⁷ Falkenstein 1966; Neumann 2008, pp. 1-2; Richardson 2010, p. 227.

⁸ Crisostomo 2018, p. 148, with ref. to Falkenstein 1966, p. 45.

⁹ Edited as Gudea E3/1.1.7.CylA in RIME 3/1 (Edzard 1997), pp. 69-88. See also Richardson 2010, pp. 228-233.

¹⁰ Snell 1974, p. 117.

¹¹ Snell 1974, pp. 120-122, see e.g. models nos. 14, 27, 6, 7, 23, 181.

¹² Winitzer 2017, p. 13. An earlier origin of the *if*-clause can be found in the Neo-Sumerian Codex Ur-Namma, where the Sumerian *tukum-bi* introduces casuistic laws (see Yıldız 1981, pp. 91-92). Omens were never originally written in Sumerian and examples such as a Sumerian liver omen from the Kassite period (UM 29-13-542), that uses *tukum-bi* for "if," was probably a translation from an Old Babylonian omen in Akkadian (Veldhuis 1999, p. 165, n. 28, see also Crisostomo 2018, pp. 152-153.).

¹³ Annus 2010, p. 1; Maul 2003-2005, p. 46; Guinan 2002, p. 9.

belong to the field of divination,¹⁴ mirroring not only the king's personal interest in divination,¹⁵ but also the primary position divination held in Mesopotamian scholarship overall and the prestige that was connected to mastering its arts.¹⁶

1.1. Definition and conceptualization

In its written form, an omen consists of two parts: the described phenomenon, or portent, called the protasis in grammatical terms, and the event connected to it, or prediction, called the apodosis.¹⁷ An omen thus has the form “If ... then ...”¹⁸ The connection between protasis and apodosis is a semiotic link, a similitude between protasis and apodosis on the semantic, phonetic, or graphic level.¹⁹ However, the associations behind an omen might not always be readily apparent to the modern reader and must be philologically deduced in detail. The interpretation of the analogical thinking system that stands behind the animal omens of *Šumma ālu* is one of the objectives of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*.

Each omen entails a positive, negative, or sometimes an ambiguous prediction. The subject of the apodosis might be the king or the country, as is generally the case in the teratomantic omen series *Šumma izbu* “If a malformed birth,”²⁰ or a private citizen (*amēlu*, translated “man”), which is the standard in the snake omens of *Šumma ālu*.

Unlike prophecies that spoke of fixed future events, omens were warnings that could be countered²¹ by magical rituals performed to ward off bad future events.²²

1.2. The divinatory techniques and the practitioners

Omens are defined either as provoked or unprovoked.²³ Provoked omens²⁴ resulted from divinatory rituals performed in a sacrificial setting: Diviners presented the inquired deity with offerings such as the

¹⁴ Ulanowski 2014b, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ Zamazalová 2011, pp. 314-316.

¹⁶ Koch 2015, p. 1.

¹⁷ George (2013, p. xvff.) uses the terminology *portent* – *prediction* for the contents of the written protasis – apodosis. Likewise, we will use *portent* and *prediction* when speaking of the phenomena described in the protasis and apodosis.

¹⁸ Rochberg 2010, p. 19.

¹⁹ George 2013, p. xviii.

²⁰ See De Zorzi 2014, the updated edition of Leichty 1970.

²¹ George 2013, p. xvii.

²² See Maul 1994, Veldhuis 1995/1996.

²³ Brown (2006, pp. 74-75) defines three categories: *oblative* (unprovoked omens), *impetrative* (provoked omens), and *mediumistic* (in which a human functions as a divinatory medium, e.g. dream omens).

²⁴ Also “artificially produced”, “inductive”, “empirical” (Jeyes 1991, p. 23), “impetrated,” i.e. *omina impetrativa* (George 2013, p. xvi). Note that the term “empirical” is misleading, as no empirical basis to omen protases can be proven (Veldhuis 1999, p. 171; Koch-Westenholz 1995, pp. 13-19).

intestines of a slaughtered sheep (extispicy),²⁵ or birds (ornithoscopy),²⁶ flour (aleuromancy),²⁷ incense (libanomancy),²⁸ or oil (lecanomancy).²⁹ The offered materials' appearance or behavior contained messages provided by the questioned gods.³⁰ The gods were understood to “write” their messages onto the offered material,³¹ an idea made explicit in the description of the divinatory liver as *tuppi ilānī* “the tablet of the gods.”³²

Unprovoked omens occurred in nature and could be recognized and observed by a diviner without interfering with them.³³ They can be divided into “terrestrial” and “celestial” omens, respectively observed on earth or in the sky. *Šumma ālu* is the most important series of terrestrial omens from Ancient Mesopotamia. The teratomatic omens in the series *Šumma izbu* “If a malformed birth,” dealing with anomalous births of humans and animals,³⁴ and the physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmû* “If the shape”³⁵ also count as terrestrial omens. Celestial omens are collected in the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* “When Anu and Enlil,” which treats heavenly phenomena, such as the appearance and movements of the sun, the moon, stars, and planets,³⁶ as well as weather omens pairing meteorological phenomena with specific times of the day.³⁷ Another series including terrestrial and celestial omens based on their occurrence during the calendar year is called *Iqqur īpuš* “He demolished, he built.”³⁸

Some omens are not necessarily unique to one series. For example, there are pig omens in *Šumma ālu* and pig omens in *Šumma izbu*, with significant overlap between them.³⁹ Snake omens make up five chapter-tablets of *Šumma ālu* (Tablets 22-26), but snake omens are also found in the physiognomic

²⁵ See Koch-Westenholz 2000; Koch 2005; Maul 2013, pp. 29-129.

²⁶ See George 2013, pp. 112-116; Maul 2013, pp. 131-153.

²⁷ See Maul 2013, pp. 156-162.

²⁸ Only in the Old Babylonian period in southern Babylonia, see Cingolo 2014.

²⁹ See Maul 2013, pp. 167-179.

³⁰ Jeyes 1991/1992, p. 23.

³¹ Veldhuis 1999, p. 164.

³² Maul 2003-2005, p. 77.

³³ Oppenheim 1977, p. 219; Maul 1999, p. 123.

³⁴ See De Zorzi 2011, 2014, 2017a, 2017b; Leichty 1970.

³⁵ See Böck 2000; Rochberg 2004, pp. 87-88; Bilbija 2008; Koch 2015, pp. 285-290; Schmidtchen 2019.

³⁶ See van Soldt 1995; Fincke 2016.

³⁷ See Gehlken 2012.

³⁸ See Labat 1965.

³⁹ In *Šumma ālu*, pig omens are found in Tablet 49 (see Freedman 2017, pp. 71-90), in *Šumma izbu* in Tablet 22 (see De Zorzi 2014, pp. 856-898). The two Tablets have many pig omens in common, but they are ordered in a different sequence (Leichty 1970, p. 190). Furthermore, omens in *Šumma ālu* write the conditional *šumma* “if” with the sign DIŠ, which is written in *Šumma izbu* with the sign BE. Accordingly, pig omens in *Šumma ālu* begin with DIŠ ŠAH “If a pig,” and pig omens in *Šumma izbu* begin with BE ŠAH “If a pig.” For a structural analysis of some pig omens in *Šumma izbu* see De Zorzi 2020.

series *Alamdimmû*,⁴⁰ and exact parallels to the *Šumma ālu* snake omens are found in the hemerological series *Iqqur īpuš* and the diagnostic series *Sakikkû*.⁴¹

Our sources on the people who wrote the omen lists are the so-called divination reports, written as a follow-up to a divinatory ritual,⁴² and the epistolographic correspondence between the diviners and the royal officials.⁴³ From what both the reports and the letters tell us, we learn that there was no such thing as a “*Šumma ālu* professional,” i.e., an expert whose expertise was specifically and uniquely *Šumma ālu*. Rather, a diviner would normally gain experience in all the various fields of divination, and the *āšīpu*, a profession distinct from the diviners and mostly interpreted as “conjurers,” “magicians,” or “exorcists,”⁴⁴ were not unlikely to have some knowledge on *Šumma ālu* as well, because the terrestrial omens sometimes include *namburbû* rituals from the field of apotropaic magic. *Namburbû* rituals are inserted between omens in *Šumma ālu* (see §22.36).⁴⁵

2. The divinatory series *Šumma ālu*

At the time of its most sophisticated development in the first millennium, *Šumma ālu* consisted of more than 100 Tablets (to be understood as chapters, also known as chapter-tablets), and over 13,000 individual omens.⁴⁶ This number makes *Šumma ālu* the most extensive divinatory series that cuneiform writing culture produced.

Manuscripts belonging to the series *Šumma ālu* have been published in autograph copies since the 1870s, followed by transliterations and translations at the beginning of the 20th century,⁴⁷ but the first major philological reconstruction was offered in three volumes by Sally Freedman over the past twenty years.⁴⁸ The protases in *Šumma ālu* cover a wide variety of topics, all loosely related by their connection

⁴⁰ See Schmidtchen 2019, pp. 99-101, 104-105, §87', §90', §§120'-126'.

⁴¹ Heeßel 2001/2002. See §§22.85'-91'. In general, it is difficult to know with certainty which series the omens were originally a part of and into which series they were copied (Koch 2015, p. 240), but a common ancestor of similar omen groups might be a possibility. Whether the texts allow an interpretation as examples of intertextuality is up for debate (see Allen 2000 for a history of the concept behind intertextuality and the term intertextuality as coined by Julia Kristeva). Probably a discussion of the inter-relatedness of passages across several distinct standard omen series would require a specific definition of intertextuality with the historical development of the sources in mind.

⁴² See Hunger 1992.

⁴³ See Parpola 1993.

⁴⁴ Schwemer 2017, pp. 14-16.

⁴⁵ Koch (2015, p. 239) writes that this feature is generally unknown in any other omen series besides *Šumma ālu*, but De Zorzi possibly identified an apotropaic ritual in a fragmentary section of a manuscript belonging to Tablet 19 of *Šumma izbu* (see De Zorzi 2014, p. 817). I thank Nicla De Zorzi for pointing me to the passage.

⁴⁶ Koch 2015, p. 239.

⁴⁷ Koch 2015, pp. 10-11. For a detailed publication history and an overview of unpublished sources see Freedman 1998, pp. 3-5. The first comprehensive publication of *Šumma ālu* was made by Friedrich Nötscher (1928, 1929, 1930).

⁴⁸ Freedman 1998, 2006a, 2017.

to human life – people’s houses and cities, people’s interactions with animals, people’s behaviors, and relationships with each other.⁴⁹ The apodoses in *Šumma ālu* characterize the omens as “private omens,”⁵⁰ because the predictions described in them usually concern private citizens instead of the country and the king.

2.1. The animal omens

The content of the protasis is a defining element for the categorization of an omen. The appearance, sighting, and behavior of a specific animal as a portent in the protasis and its repetition in a sequence of omens build a thematic entity. A list of omens describing snakes in the protasis, usually introduced “If a snake ...,” is thus a collection of “snake omens.” Other animals also appear in the snake omens,⁵¹ as snakes do in animal omens that have a different animal as their subject.⁵² Omens can also mention snakes (or other animals) but be part of a different omen series.⁵³

The organizational layout of the animal Tablets in *Šumma ālu* is an example of cultural taxonomy. The concept “cultural taxonomy” differs from “biological taxonomy” in that the former is a social construct based on the human view of the animal kingdom, and the latter aims at building a “tree of life” based on evolutionary steps that lead to more and less closely related species.

The idea behind “cultural taxonomy” is also known as “folk taxonomy.” The term “cultural taxonomy” is used by Cristiana Franco for her theoretical discussion of human-animal-relationships in Ancient Greece,⁵⁴ while the term “folk taxonomy” seems to have been popular in 20th-century anthropology.⁵⁵ For a discussion of Mesopotamian conceptions and categorizations of the animal kingdom as it appears in *Šumma ālu*, the term “cultural taxonomy” is more fitting. The sources are scholarly, preserved in writing, which makes them distinct from “folklore” or results of anthropological fieldwork.

It is impossible to determine one “Mesopotamian taxonomy” from the written sources we work with. The conclusions made here about how animals were understood to be related are only based on the animal omens in *Šumma ālu*, consequently we can speak of a “*Šumma ālu* taxonomy,” but not a “Mesopotamian taxonomy.” Other textual corpora from cuneiform culture reveal other taxonomies of animal

⁴⁹ For a detailed overview of all *Šumma ālu* Tablets and their contents see Koch 2015, pp. 241-256; Heeßel 2007, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁰ Freedman 1998, p. 2.

⁵¹ See the section in Tablet 23 where various animals are killing a snake or being killed by a snake, §§23.60-64.

⁵² For example, in a section of lizard omens, Tablet 32 of *Šumma ālu*, a lizard is interacting with a snake (Freedman 2006a, pp. 170-171, ll. 50-52’, see also the updated edition by Lundeen-Kaulfus, forthcoming master’s thesis, and the forthcoming digital edition for the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*).

⁵³ For example, the morphoscopic omen “If an *unclean scar* lies on his forehead like a snake – he will die from the bite of a snake” (Böck 2000, p. 203, l. 3) deals with a scar in the shape of a snake in the protasis, semiotically linked to a snake acting in the apodosis, but it is not a “snake omen.”

⁵⁴ See Franco 2014, pp. 161-184.

⁵⁵ See e.g. Mathiot 1962, Kay 1975.

groups. For example, in Old Babylonian magical texts, similar incantations were used against snake bites, scorpion stings, and dog bites.⁵⁶ In the series *Šumma izbu*, the lion, bull, and horse represent strength and are associated with the king, while the donkey and ibex can represent illegitimate power grabs. Snakes, mongooses, and bison symbolize aggression.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, a comparison of groups of animals in various texts can shed light on the innately Mesopotamian conceptions of the animal kingdom.

Naturally, there are overlaps between cultural taxonomy and biological taxonomy because cultural categories of species are never entirely arbitrary.⁵⁸ Even without knowledge of modern biology and evolution, humans recognize similarities and differences between animal species that may agree with taxons in modern biology, for example, body plans (most obviously vertebrates vs. non-vertebrates), forms of reproduction (sexual vs. asexual reproduction, oviparity vs. viviparity), or habitat (terrestrial, aquatic, or avian). The latter – the taxonomic categorization based on habitat – can be “misleading” from the point of view of biological taxonomy, as there are aquatic mammals and non-avian birds. A reading of the macro-structure of the animal omens in *Šumma ālu* reveals, however, that the category “habitat” forms a superset in the cultural taxonomy of *Šumma ālu*. The table below shows this in the tripartite division of Tablet-sequences into *earth* (Tablets 22-49), *water* (Tablet 63), and *air* (Tablet 64-79).

The next subdivisions in the table describe the individual *Šumma ālu* taxons, or species and sub-species, which have a hierarchical organization to be visualized as a “tree.” The taxons show some overlaps with biological taxonomy. For example, snakes, lizards, and geckos, which form a group, are *Reptilia*, but their group in *Šumma ālu* includes scorpions, which are arachnids. Spiders are arachnids as well, put in a group with insects. Turtles are reptiles, too, but they are grouped with fish and frogs in Tablet 63 (aquatic animals). Despite the contradictions with modern knowledge of biology, the taxonomic groups in *Šumma ālu* are also comprehensible according to modern standards, given the animals’ domain and size.

A few Tablets are inserted within the sequence associated with animals which do not deal with animals at all, but with various natural phenomena and environments, river omens, for example, which function as a sequel to the omens dedicated to aquatic and amphibious animals and are then directly followed by Tablets 64-70, which collect bird omens,⁵⁹ including eagles, crows, and various small birds.⁶⁰

Thus, the structure of *Šumma ālu* Tablets seems to be determined by habitat, physical appearance, and size of the animals involved. Another critical aspect that accounts for the terrestrial animals’

⁵⁶ See Finkel 1999.

⁵⁷ De Zorzi 2014, p. 285.

⁵⁸ Franco 2014, p. 167.

⁵⁹ See De Zorzi 2009, Guinan 2018.

⁶⁰ The list of the *Šumma ālu* Tablets in Freedman 1998, p. 2 is incomplete. Since an edition of Tablet 120 of *Šumma ālu* by Sallaberger (2000), researchers speak of at least 120 Tablets (e.g. Frahm 2011, p. 192; Brown 2006, p. 91; Koch 2015, p. 239), but the actual number of Tablets is still debatable (Nicla De Zorzi, personal communication).

organization is the human-animal relationship represented by each animal group. This structure is defined by an increasingly close interaction between humans and animals from the first to the last of the animal Tablets.

In her study of the human-animal relationship in Ancient Greece, Franco writes that the human-animal relationship is crucial for constructing a cultural taxonomy. Three forms of relationship can be differentiated: competitive, collaborative, and symbiotic. Humans and animals that are in competitive relationships are, on the one hand, competing for environments and resources (e.g., pests such as ants and mice within pantries and homes); on the other hand, relationships with animals that pose a threat to a human's health and life are also competitive (e.g., venomous animals that are also unwanted and feared in the human sphere). Tablets 22-40 and Tablets 44-45 of *Šumma ālu* have omens focusing on animals in a competitive human-animal relationship.

Collaborative relationships are those between humans and their domesticated farm animals. Humans and these animals are interdependent, and humans have a vested interest in their animals' health and productivity. In *Šumma ālu*, Tablets 41-43 focus on collaborative animals.

Symbiotic relationships between humans and animals manifest when there is a high degree of human identification with the animal. In *Šumma ālu* taxonomy, the dog and pig omens (Tablets 46-49) are clear examples of this. The behavior of dogs and pigs, which were part of the household and viewed with disdain, acts as a direct mirror for an omen's client's behavior and fate.⁶¹

De Zorzi has noted that the level of human-animal relationship represented by a particular animal in *Šumma ālu* determines the behavioral variety described in the protases which focus on that animal. Competitive animals display a small behavioral variety: they are seen, they fall, crawl. Competitive animals eat, chew, cry, murmur, have sexual intercourse. The most complex behavioral variety appears in the dog and pig omens.⁶²

In general, the argument is that the animal omens of *Šumma ālu* are built on hermeneutic principles on the macro-level and the micro-level, as the snake omens analyzed in part II will show. The table below provides a concise summary of the structural elements described above:

⁶¹ This is studied in detail in Nicla De Zorzi's unpublished paper, "Raving Dogs and Promiscuous Pigs: Rethinking the Representation of Animals in Mesopotamian Animal Omens." I thank Nicla De Zorzi for allowing me to read and cite her paper.

⁶² De Zorzi, "Raving Dogs and Promiscuous Pigs: Rethinking the Representation of Animals in Mesopotamian Animal Omens." Unpublished paper.

Habitat	Šumma ālu taxons			Tablets	Human-animal relationship	
Earth	Small animals	“Reptiles”	Snakes	22-26	Competitive 1	
			Scorpions	30-31		
			Lizards	32		
			Geckos	33		
		Small mammals	Mongoose	34		35-36
			Mice	35-36		
		“Insects”	Ants	37		38-40
			Various insects and spiders	38-40		
	Large mammals	Livestock	Sheep and goats	41	Collaborative	
			Cattle	42		
			Donkeys and horses	43		
		Wild animals	Wild cattle, monkeys, lions, gazelles, foxes, elephants, wolves, etc.	44	Competitive 2	
			Cats and wild cats	45		
		Domestic animals	Dogs	46-48	Symbiotic	
			Pigs	49		
Water		Aquatic animals		Fish, turtles, frogs	63	
Air	Birds	Birds of prey	Eagles	64-65		
			Hawks	66-67		
		Smaller birds	Chickens and other birds	71-72		
			Crows	79		

2.2. The snake omens

Human perception of the animal kingdom may differ between cultures, but often snakes play a prominent role. Throughout human history, snakes have been at the center of cults,⁶³ known as a symbol of healing and eternal life,⁶⁴ often as the embodiment of evil and the inimical,⁶⁵ sparking imaginations of bloodthirsty serpentine monsters fought by heroes in various myths in the Ancient Near East and beyond.⁶⁶

The psychological reasons for humans’ aversion to snakes are rooted both in human evolution,⁶⁷ in a trained strategy against danger,⁶⁸ and, as many might agree, in the snake’s embodiment of the

⁶³ See Koh 1994; Münnich 2005; Zimmermann 2019.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Retief and Cilliers 2005.

⁶⁵ See e.g. de Villiers 2016; Ronning 1997, p. 2.

⁶⁶ See Watkins 1995, p. 297; Bach 2019.

⁶⁷ Isbell 2009.

⁶⁸ Öhman and Mineka 2001.

uncanny:⁶⁹ its movements eerie and silent, its strike sudden and deadly. In Mesopotamia, snakes certainly posed a threat to people in their daily lives. Incantations against snake bites were written as far back as the Early Dynastic period,⁷⁰ and the tradition continued into the Ur III⁷¹ and Old Babylonian periods.⁷² Mythology associates snakes with the netherworld and the chthonic god Ningiszida.⁷³ The scene in Tablet XI of the Gilgames epic in which a snake steals the Plant of Rejuvenation from Gilgameš is an etiological tale for the snake's habit to slough its skin: "A snake smelled the fragrance of the plant, / [silently] it came up and bore the plant off; / as it turned away it sloughed a skin."⁷⁴

Snakes are one of the most important animals within the animal omens of *Šumma ālu*. Snake omens are the subject of five Tablets (Tablets 22-26) of the series, a number only exceeded by the bird omens (Tablets 64-79), which make up a later section in *Šumma ālu*, somewhat separate from the other animal omens. The animal Tablet of the lexical list *Har-ra = hubullu* (Tablet 14) also starts with entries about snakes, sub-species of snakes, and fantastical serpentine creatures.⁷⁵

The last two snake-Tablets of *Šumma ālu* describe a wider array of snake types in the protases. In Tablet 25, the "horned snake" (MUŠ.SI) is frequently mentioned,⁷⁶ Tablet 26 is characterized by snakes from the mythological realm,⁷⁷ which Landsberger calls "Wunderschlangen."⁷⁸ These wondrous snakes underline the premise that the animal omens are not to be read as strict naturalistic treatises, but as an expression of fantasy and creativity.⁷⁹

⁶⁹ Royle 2003, p. 139.

⁷⁰ Krebern timer 1984, p. 20; Rudik 2020.

⁷¹ Veldhuis 1993.

⁷² Finkel 1999, pp. 223-234; George 2016, pp. 98-102.

⁷³ Wiggermann 1997; Wiggermann 1998-2001a; George 2003, p. 116.

⁷⁴ George 2003, p. 723, ll. 305-307.

⁷⁵ Landsberger 1962, pp. 7-10.

⁷⁶ *Šēr qarnī* (see e.g. Freedman 2006a, p. 76, K 3674, ll. 1-3).

⁷⁷ *Bašmu, mušgallu*, two-headed, seven-headed, seven-tongued snakes (see e.g. Freedman 2006a, p. 88, K 6294, ll. 1-5).

⁷⁸ Landsberger 1934, p. 51.

⁷⁹ Examples of unlikely or straight-up impossible protases are found in many divinatory series, e.g. in *Šumma izbu* and *Enūma Anu Enlil* (see Veldhuis 1999, pp. 163-164; Rochberg 2017, p. 196).

Part II. Analysis

The series *Šumma ālu* has received little analytical attention in Assyriological research, but a preliminary approach to analyzing the snake omens' structure from a literary-critical perspective is taken here. The premise therein is that omens are generated through poetic techniques, which create a multi-dimensional structure. This structure acts as the key to the messages about the future sent by the gods, which is what Mesopotamians understood omens to be.

1. Reading omens as poetic lists

According to Veldhuis, omen compendia are an “extension” of the text type established within the lexical tradition,⁸⁰ known as the “lexical list.”⁸¹ Indeed, many of the same mechanisms that generate omen lists, such as association and analogy, are present in lexical lists.⁸²

Before diving into the complexity and multidimensionality of omen lists, a distinction between our approach and previous conceptions of lists in cuneiform culture is in order.

1.1. Against “Listenwissenschaft”

The study of the cuneiform list has a long tradition within Assyriology. Central to the discourse remains Wolfram von Soden's 1936 essay “Leistung und Grenze der sumerischen und babylonischen Wissenschaft.”⁸³ The idea advocated in this essay is that, despite their notable achievements, Mesopotamians were never able to break out of the limiting list format in which they put their knowledge in writing; that Greeks and Aryans (Indians writing in Sanskrit) were the first real ancient “scientists;” and that this proves the superiority of the “Indo-Germans who are determined by the Nordic race.”⁸⁴ In the post-war reprint of “Leistung und Grenze,” which appeared together⁸⁵ with a reprint of Benno Landsberger's

⁸⁰ Veldhuis 1999, p. 169.

⁸¹ A comprehensive work on lexical lists is Veldhuis 2014; a brief, but detailed overview is Cavigneaux 1980-1983.

⁸² Hilgert 2009, p. 302. For examples see Edzard 2007.

⁸³ von Soden 1936.

⁸⁴ “(...) so erlauben alle diese Tatsachen zusammen gewiß den Schluß, daß Wissenschaft im strengen Sinn des Wortes etwas ist, das nur von den durch die nordische Rasse bestimmten Indogermanen geschaffen werden konnte” (von Soden 1936, p. 556, emphasis in the original). Racialization is also applied to Sumerians and Akkadians (von Soden 1936, p. 413), an idea rejected by Oppenheim (1977, p. 48), who makes the complexity of Mesopotamian ethnicity and languages more than clear, statements that should be always kept in mind in the study of Mesopotamia. See also Veldhuis 2014, pp. 22, 54, and Flygare 2005, pp. 69-70, on Oppenheim's opposition to von Soden's ideas.

⁸⁵ The relationship of the teacher Landsberger and his student von Soden was tainted by Landsberger having to flee Germany from the Nazis in 1935 (Wilcke 2007, p. 13) and von Soden embracing Nazi ideology, but after the war, Landsberger helped von Soden to be reinstated in German academia (Vacín 2018, pp. 91-92). On the Landsberger-von Soden relationship and academic collaboration see also Sallaberger 2007, Sanders 2009, pp. 154-155.

1926/1927 essay “Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt,”⁸⁶ von Soden edited the racist wording slightly,⁸⁷ but his argument remains the same.

Even though von Soden joined the SA in 1934 and the NSDAP in 1944⁸⁸ (for ideological reasons or professional advantages or both), and despite his racist ideology going beyond his private life but making its way into prominent academic publications,⁸⁹ his works are frequently used and cited in Assyriology, including in this master’s thesis. As in any field of academia, Assyriologists must reflect on or at least be aware of the problematic attitudes of previous generations in the field, especially when these views found their way into publications with enduring relevance, like von Soden’s essay, or if they produced standard works that have not become obsolete, like von Soden’s grammar of Akkadian GAG (*Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*) or three-volume Akkadian dictionary AHw (*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*).

There are two central terms created by von Soden in “Leistung und Grenze”: “Listenwissenschaft” (*list science*)⁹⁰ and “Ordnungswille” (*desire of order*).⁹¹ “Listenwissenschaft” stands for the, as judged by von Soden, not-quite-scientific lexical lists created by Mesopotamian scholars in order to understand the universe. This was done, von Soden argues, because the Mesopotamians had a deep desire to bring order to the world around them, for which they utilized the cuneiform script.⁹² Von Soden’s terms

⁸⁶ Landsberger 1926/1927, reprinted in Landsberger 1965. Like von Soden, Landsberger takes an ethnicistic and mentalistic approach to the Mesopotamian worldview (see especially Landsberger 1926/1927, pp. 365-367).

⁸⁷ Instead of “[die] durch die noridsche Rasse bestimmten Indogermanen” (von Soden 1936, p. 556), he now wrote “[die] indogermanischen Griechen und [Inder]” (*the Indo-Germanic Greeks and Indians*) (von Soden 1965, p. 122).

⁸⁸ Borger 1997/1998, p. 589.

⁸⁹ As shown above, von Soden (1936) makes explicit use of Nazism as an ideological basis to his theoretical assumptions (Veldhuis 2014, p. 22), and in the reprint of the essay (von Soden 1965) only a half-hearted attempt is made at reformulating the Nazi-jargon to be socially acceptable in post-war Germany. Von Soden’s essay also made an impact on contemporary Orientalists, for example the Indologist Erich Frauwallner was influenced by von Soden in his work “Der arische Anteil an der indischen Philosophie” (1939) (see Stuchlik 2009, pp. 42-45; on Frauwallner see also Flygare 2005, p. 72). To my knowledge, no published monograph has yet been devoted to the role of racist ideology in Assyriology (von Soden was by no means the only Nazi working as an Assyriologist in the 20th century, e.g. A. Falkenstein is cited in this thesis). Most significant is Jakob Flygare’s dissertation, in which he analyzes, in addition to “Leistung und Grenze,” two other Assyriological essays of Soden’s (1937, 1938) that show a clear attachment to Nazi ideology (see Flygare 2005). I thank Jakob Flygare for sending me his dissertation to consult for this chapter.

⁹⁰ “Die sumerische ‘Wissenschaft’ ist also, soweit sie literarisch faßbar ist, eine reine *Listenwissenschaft*, die ihre Erkenntnisse nicht in Sätzen formuliert, sondern ohne sie als solche auszusprechen, in Form von Listen dokumentiert” (von Soden 1936, pp. 424-425).

⁹¹ “Einer der hervortretendsten Charakterzüge des sumerischen Volkes ist der ganz ungewöhnlich stark ausgebildete Wille zur *Ordnung*” (von Soden 1936, p. 413, see also p. 419). For Oppenheim’s rejection of “Ordnungswille” see Oppenheim 1977, pp. 248-249.

⁹² A similar argument, using the phrase “Ordnung des Geschehens” (*order of events*) is made by Landsberger (1926/1927, p. 366).

“Listenwissenschaft” and “Ordnungswille” can seem quite dark and cynical, considering that the Nazi regime he supported became notorious for its obsessive list-keeping in the organization of its genocides.

As Hilgert points out, the concepts of “Listenwissenschaft” and “Ordnungswille” come from an essentialist definition of science and truth and a teleological understanding of history and culture. Flygare underlines that von Soden’s essentialist account leads him to primitive circular reasoning.⁹³ Moreover, such an approach is inherently unscientific since it holds prejudices that a priori ostracize Sumerians and Akkadians’ mental capacity.⁹⁴

The “scientific nature” of Mesopotamian scholarship cannot be judged by the standard of science in industrial societies. Modern Assyriology has recognized this, and the role of Mesopotamian scholarship in the history of science has been adequately treated in various studies, most notably in the works of Francesca Rochberg, with a focus on celestial divination.⁹⁵

1.2. Theory and methodology

Our methodology for analyzing the snake omens builds on two theoretical assumptions. The first lies in the notion of *poeticity*. The term “poeticity” originally comes from the Russian Formalists’ literary theory and has had many meanings since.⁹⁶ Here, we understand poeticity as that property of a text present when the text has a strong *poetic function*, as defined by Roman Jakobson,⁹⁷ and produces a *poetic effect*, as illustrated by Adrian Pilkington’s pragmatic theory of poetics.⁹⁸

In Jakobson’s theory, the two modes *selection* and *combination* determine the arrangement within each verbal message. Producers of verbal messages use different principles in the selection of lexemes: equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymity, and antonymity. The selected elements, when combined, yield the sequence of the verbal message. Consequently, the combination is based on contiguity.⁹⁹

Parallelism may well be described as the fundamental feature of poetic language.¹⁰⁰ Pilkington, whose theory of poetic effects builds in part on Jakobson’s poetic function,¹⁰¹ explains that poetry forms complex symmetrical patterns by the repetition of phonologically or syntactically related items.¹⁰² If we apply these observations to omen lists, which display a high degree of repetition, structural parallelism,

⁹³ Flygare 2005, p. 68.

⁹⁴ See Flygare 2005, p. 69.

⁹⁵ See Rochberg 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, 2017, 2019. For Rochberg’s overview of *Šumma ālu*, see Rochberg 2004, pp. 78-81.

⁹⁶ van Peer 2007.

⁹⁷ Jakobson 1960; see also Waugh 1980; Jonestone 1991, pp. 17-22.

⁹⁸ Pilkington 2000.

⁹⁹ Jakobson 1960, p. 358.

¹⁰⁰ Jakobson 1960, p. 368.

¹⁰¹ See Pilkington 2000, pp. xi, 16.

¹⁰² Pilkington 2000, p. 16.

and contrasting opposition, we can argue for a strong poetic function in omens with a constant production of poetic effects. As a result, omens are defined by poeticity, and it is therefore legitimate to treat omens as poetic texts.

Another theory underlining the poeticity of omen lists is Umberto Eco's definition of the "infinite list." For Eco, lists fall into two domains: the practical list, which has a limited number of contents with unique referents in the real world, and the poetic list, which is potentially infinite because it has no real referents but can be spun on indefinitely.¹⁰³ This spinning on of infinite poetic lists also applies to omen lists. Abraham Winitzer has poignantly described the mechanisms that come into play in listing omens in his "generative paradigm."¹⁰⁴ His definitions serve, *mutatis mutandis*, as a starting point in the analysis of snake omens.

The second theoretical assumption for our methodology states that omen lists should be read regarding the *intentio operis*, the "intention of the text," which is the counterpart to the *intentio auctoris*, the "intention of the author," as described by Umberto Eco.¹⁰⁵ His theory holds that an author's original intention is less relevant to a literary-critical interpretation of a text than what the text itself wants to say to its readers. The idea is similar to Roland Barthes's statements about the "death of the author," that is, that the author recedes into the background and the text into the foreground.¹⁰⁶

As Selena Wisnom has already pointed out, the *intentio operis* reading is beneficial for cuneiform texts since their authorship is mostly invisible.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, we as modern researchers must accept that we can never have enough factual information about the exact context in which a cuneiform text was created in order to attempt an analysis of the *intentio auctoris* and the individual opinions, feelings, and intentions of the authors of literary cuneiform texts will probably remain unknown forever.

To further clarify the reading in our methodology, we add the term *decisio lectoris*, "decision of the reader." The term emphasizes that the analysts of literary cuneiform texts make decisions in advance that significantly determine the outcome of the analysis. By assuming that an omen list has poeticity, because we use modern theories to create poeticity where the authors may have never intended it, we as readers create arguments that may transcend the text's sole intention. In the case of ancient texts, the *decisio lectoris* reaches far back to the philological recreation of partially lost and illusive texts.

¹⁰³ See Eco 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Winitzer 2017.

¹⁰⁵ Eco 1992, p. 25.

¹⁰⁶ Barthes 1977, pp. 142-148.

¹⁰⁷ Wisnom 2020, p. 16.

2. The structural analysis of snake omens

Belknap's definition of a poetic list holds two key points relevant for the study of omen lists, the "separate and disparate items," which are the *constituents* of each list, and the "specific forces of attraction," which *generate* how the items come together in the list framework:

"At their most simple, lists are frameworks that hold separate and disparate items together. Lists are plastic, flexible structures in which an array of constituent units coheres through specific relations generated by specific forces of attraction."¹⁰⁸

The framework that generates the creation of omen lists is defined by Winitzer as a "generative paradigm," using the corpus of Old Babylonian extispicy omens as his primary text. However, his theories and definitions apply to the first-millennium snake omens in *Šumma ālu* as well.

The generative paradigm simultaneously works on the syntagmatic (or horizontal) level (inner- omen organization) and the paradigmatic (or vertical) level (inter-omen organization).¹⁰⁹ The basic syntagmatic unit of an omen list is the single omen itself. Its primary constituents are the protasis and apodosis. Their combination is the result of the generative force on the syntagmatic level. Individually, both the protasis and the apodosis can take on complex forms made up of distinct constituents. Thus, a protasis or an apodosis can be read as a list in itself. Some protases display features of lists by agglutinating elements to the protasis otherwise identical to the preceding omen, or by variation in one element, a form of "variant repetition."¹¹⁰ On the other hand, apodoses can develop to become lists of two, three, or even more apodoses that might relate to each other neutrally or as alternative apodoses.

2.1. The protasis

Each omen is introduced by a protasis, represented as a conditional "if"-sentence. The essential elements of each protasis of a snake omen are the sign DIŠ, which we read Akkadian *šumma* "if," usually directly followed by the subject MUŠ,¹¹¹ Akkadian *šēru* "snake," various additional elements, and finally the clause-final verb, which (usually)¹¹² describes the action or behavior of the snake.

In the model below, the constituents DIŠ, MUŠ, and VERB are marked in bold since they are all necessary for a complete protasis. DIŠ is entirely static, while MUŠ is seldom specified, i.e., "the snake" may have attributes such as "red" (§23.87) or "seven-headed" (§23.88). The client of an omen, usually

¹⁰⁸ Belknap 2004, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ For an overview of the linguistic concepts syntagm and paradigm with a review of Ferdinand de Saussure's original introduction of *syntagmatic relationships* and *associative* [later known as "paradigmatic"] *relationships*, see e.g. Jonestone 1991, pp. 11-16.

¹¹⁰ See De Zorzi 2019, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹¹ The protases of a significant section at the beginning of Tablet 22 (§§22.1-34) start not directly with DIŠ MUŠ "If a snake," but with DIŠ *ina* [month name] MUŠ, "If, in [a certain month], a snake," e.g. *šumma ina Nisanni šēru* "If, in Nisannu, a snake ..."

¹¹² Some protases focus on the behavior or action of the client, see e.g. §§22.35-37.

“a man” (NA/LÚ, *amēlu*), is often explicitly named, for example, as a direct object to the predicative verb with the snake as the subject. The clients can also be a couple, a woman, a group of people, or a baby, or they specify the *amēlu* regarding his state of being. Specifications of the *place* in which a portent occurs, or the *time* at which it occurs, are optional. The semantics of the verb are very flexible, but in the snake omens, they are limited to relatively inactive actions such as “staring,” “falling,” “lying,” “being seen,” and a smaller array of more active actions, like “hissing,” “biting,” “killing.”

DIŠ	MUŠ (+ SPECIFICATION)	CLIENT (+ SPECIFICATION)	(PLACE)	(TIME)	VERB
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The DIŠ of omens

The reading of DIŠ, a single vertical wedge, as the conditional *šumma* is not a given. DIŠ is known to serve as a paragraph marker in some lexical lists,¹¹³ and the non-lexical use of the sign DIŠ is also known as the “Personenkeil” for marking male personal names,¹¹⁴ though in this case, it is word-bound, not paragraph-bound. Some text editions of omens do not transcribe DIŠ as *šumma* but interpret it as a paragraph marker, representing it by an asterisk¹¹⁵ or a pilcrow.¹¹⁶ Winitzer writes that the choice between *šumma* or some sort of representative marker is merely a convention.¹¹⁷ Oppenheim sees a development from the initially non-lexical paragraph marker DIŠ to the reading *šumma* and subsequent syllabic writings of it, influenced by casuistic law collections.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, the reading of DIŠ as *šumma* has been contested: the CAD remarks that DIŠ in omens “is unlikely to have the reading *šumma*, since in those omens which are introduced by DIŠ or BE any alternative protasis is introduced by *šum-ma* or *BE-ma*.”¹¹⁹ Though this is true (see e.g. §23.44, §23.83, §23.102), it does not contradict the possibility of reading DIŠ as *šumma*. Paleographically similarly simple signs also appear at the beginning of omen protases like BE, AŠ, or MAŠ,¹²⁰ and the reading *šumma* for the signs AŠ, MAŠ, UD, and rarely MU, is mentioned in the CAD as well.¹²¹ Syllabic spellings of *šumma* are most frequent in the second-millennium omens (the Mari letters write *šum-ma* or *šu-ma*,¹²² and many Old Babylonian omens write *šum-ma*¹²³), but, for example, a few cattle omens in *Šumma ālu*, which usually have DIŠ, begin with *šum-ma* GU₄.MEŠ “If cattle.”¹²⁴ These examples rule

¹¹³ E.g. these lexical lists from the Old Babylonian period, referenced by CDLI number: P223453, P227644, P227783, P228022, P228838, P228844, P228898, P229723, P230023, P230032, P230168, P247535.

¹¹⁴ See Krecher 1973, pp. 161-163.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Crisostomo 2018, p. 154.

¹¹⁶ E.g. George 2013, pp. 33-34.

¹¹⁷ Winitzer 2017, p. 30, n. 5.

¹¹⁸ Oppenheim 1956, p. 256.

¹¹⁹ CAD Š/3, p. 276. The sign BE also has the reading *šum₄*.

¹²⁰ Cohen 2010, p. 710.

¹²¹ CAD Š/3, p. 275.

¹²² Snell 1974, pp. 120-122, see e.g. models no. 14, 27, 6, 7, 23, 181.

¹²³ See e.g. George 2013, pp. 30-31,

¹²⁴ See Freedman 2017, p. 13, Tablet 42, omen 45.

out the argument that DIŠ in *Šumma ālu* was not understood by the Mesopotamian scribes as a logographic spelling of *šumma*. Interestingly, the late Old Babylonian manuscript KD 27, which preserves various animal omens, among them snake omens, begins each omen with the sign BE,¹²⁵ like, for example, in the omen series *Šumma izbu*¹²⁶ or the first-millennium extispicy omens.¹²⁷

The DIŠ of omens holds a prominent position. As Oppenheim points out, scribes usually did not fail to clearly mark their omen entries and indent the next line if an omen did not fit into a single one.¹²⁸ A neat and aesthetic layout was important to the scribes, who created beautiful manuscripts that have typographic and calligraphic qualities.¹²⁹ Through its visual form and its history of use, the sign DIŠ functions as a graphic marker of an omen, and at the same time, it forms the first constituent of each protasis, the conditional. It is an example of the multiplicity and variety of the cuneiform writing system, which the scribes knew to apply.

The snake

Unlike in other omen series,¹³⁰ the physical appearance of the ominous sign – the snake – is seldom mentioned in the protases of Tablets 22-24. Commonly, MUŠ “snake” stands alone as the first element after DIŠ, without further elaboration. This could be explained by the innate symbolic power of the snake. Exceptions in which snakes are specified more closely regarding their physical appearance are almost exclusively confined to Tablets 25-26. The division between unspecified snakes in the first three snake Tablets and the various types of specified snakes in the last two snake Tablets shows that the specification of the snake acted as a parameter for the internal organization of the Tablets within the series.

The client

In most snake omens, the client is the *amēlu* (written LÚ or NA), translated “man.” Specifications of the man can be added:

§23.1. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli ša dīna gerû imqut* [Apodosis]

If a snake falls on top of a man who is litigating [Apodosis].

A specification of the man can also be made by the substitution of a particular characteristic for the generic *amēlu*, e.g., an ill man (*maršu* “ill one”).

¹²⁵ See Joannès 1994.

¹²⁶ See De Zorzi 2014.

¹²⁷ See Koch-Westenholz 2000.

¹²⁸ Oppenheim 1956, p. 256.

¹²⁹ For the snake omens, mss. A⁽²²⁾ and B⁽²²⁾ stand out, see their descriptions in part III below.

¹³⁰ In many celestial omens the coloration of the celestial bodies is dealt with, in *Šumma izbu* the physical appearance of a malformed birth is the central subject of each protasis.

§22.85'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši imqut* [Apodosis]

If a snake falls on top of an ill man [Apodosis].

In the following omens, the specification *muršu* is further delineated, as in §23.1:

§22.87'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša murussu irriku imqut* [Apodosis]

§22.87'. If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness has been dragging on [Apodosis].

§22.88'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša ūmī ma'dūti marši imqut* [Apodosis]

§22.88'. If a snake falls on top of an ill man who has been ill for many days [Apodosis].

§22.89'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša murussu kabtu imqut* [Apodosis]

§22.89'. If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness is difficult [Apodosis].

The woman as an independent client in snake omens can be found in Tablets 22-24 in only one case:

§23.101. If a woman catches a snake in the sewer inadvertently and (then) she lets it go [Apodosis.]

Usually, the woman appears paired with the man, the typical client of an omen. Both the description of the situation in the protasis and the consequences in the apodosis regard the woman in relation to the man. Protases in which man and woman are together often predict the separation of man and woman. As such, the “man/woman/snake” protases in connection with “man and woman separate” apodoses can be considered “divorce apodoses,” though not “divorce omens,” as this term is reserved for omens in the second section of Tablet 104 of *Šumma ālu*, where divorce is the theme of the protasis.¹³¹

§23.111. If a snake is thrown onto a man and a woman and (thereby) drives them apart – the man and the woman will leave each other.

§23.112. If a snake falls on top of a man and a woman – the man and the woman will separate.

Women may be named in the omens' apodoses, even if the corresponding protasis refers to a man as the client. The content of the apodoses is a clear case of the role attribution that prevails in patriarchal societies: the woman as a sexual object (§23.50), as a bearer of children, ideally of male children (§23.24), or as a bad mother (§24.1).¹³²

§23.24. [If] a snake holds its tail in its mouth – the wife of the man will give birth to a boy.

§23.50. If a snake sickly hisses in a man's house – they will continually have sexual intercourse with the [man's] wi[fe].

§24.1. [If] a snake lies on top of a man's bed – the man's wife will turn away her face and give her children away for silver.

¹³¹ See Guinan 1997, p. 462; Guinan 2014, pp. 108-110.

¹³² A study of women in omen apodoses and what can be said about their everyday lives according to them is Koch-Westenholz 2002.

There are also three omens in Tablets 22-24 (§§22.82'-84') with a "suckling baby" (*šerru lakû*) as the client, e.g., "If a snake falls on top of a suckling baby and scares it [Apodosis]" (§22.82'). Interestingly, in §22.82', the client of the protasis is *šerru lakû*, but the apodosis references it with the word *amēlu* "man:"

§22.83'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri lakê irbiš amēlu šū lū zikru lū sinnišu šuma irašši išarru : abūšu u ummašu nēmela immarū*

If a snake lies down on top of a suckling baby – that baby (lit. that man), whether male or female, will acquire fame, he/she will be wealthy : his father and mother will see profit.

Specifications of place

The generic specification of the place is *ina bīt amēli* "in the man's house." A locality can be referenced with the prepositions *ina* "in," *ana* "(in)to," or *ištu* "from," or a phrase referencing the whereabouts of the client(s) in the moment described in the protasis, using stative verbs (e.g., *ašbū* "they are sitting") or a phrase with *ašar* "place of ..." (status constructus of *ašru* "place.")

As an example of the types of locations dealt with, the specifications of place as they appear in Tablet 23 are provided below.

§§23.1-30. (none)

§23.31. *ašbū lū izzazzū* "where they (a man and a woman) are sitting or standing"

§23.32. *ašbūma kayy[ā]nu idabbubū* "where they (a man and a woman) are sitting and constantly talking"

§23.33. *ašar zikru u sinništu izzazzū* "the place where a man and a woman are standing"¹³³

§23.34. *[ašar zik]ru u sinništu ašbūma idabbubū* "[the place where a ma]n and a woman are sitting and talking"

§23.35. *ašar* (list of clients) "the place where they (the clients) are gathered"¹³⁴

§§23.36-39. (none)

§§23.40-45. *ina bīt amēli* "in a man's house"

§23.46. *ina igār bīti* "on the wall of a house"

§§23.47-64. *ina bīt amēli* "in a man's house"¹³⁵

§23.65. (broken)

§23.66. (none)

§23.67. *ištu bīti ana dalti, ištu dalti ana bīti* "from the house to the door," "from the door into the house"¹³⁶

§23.68. *ištu sūqi ana bīti* "from the street into the house"

§23.69-70. *ina bīt amēli* "in a man's house"¹³⁷

§23.71. *ana bīti* "into the house"

¹³³ We omit the literal translation of *ašru* "place" in the translation of the edition.

¹³⁴ Literally, "the place of (the clients)."

¹³⁵ Sometimes translated from context as "from the man's house," see §23.48, §23.52.

¹³⁶ The whole protasis of §23.67 is: *[šumma šēru ... iš]tu bīti ana dalti ušēšišu ištu dalti ana bīti īrubam* "[If a snake ...] takes it [ou]t [fr]om the house to the door (and) enters from the door into the house (again)."

¹³⁷ §23.69 uncertain, because the protasis is partially broken, see the score.

- §§23.72-75. (broken)
- §§23.76-88. *ina bīt amēli* “in a man’s house”¹³⁸
- §§23.89-91. *ina bīt amēli nadī* “in a man’s abandoned house”
- §§23.92-96. *ina bīt amēli* “in a man’s house”
- §§23.97-98. *ina bīt amēli ina ḥarūri* “in a man’s house in the *ḥarūru*-part of the mill”
- §§23.99-100. *ina asurrê bīt amēli* “in the sewer of a man’s house”
- §23.101. *ina asurrê* “in the sewer”
- §§23.102-104. *ina bīt amēli* “in a man’s house”
- §23.105. (broken)
- §23.106. (none)
- §23.107. *ina muḥḥi ereš amēli* “on top of a man’s bed”
- §23.108. *ina muḥḥi ereš zikri u sinništi* “on top of a man and woman’s bed”
- §§23.109-113. (none)
- §23.114. *ašar zikru u sinništu tappû ašbû* “the place where a man and a woman are sitting as companions”

Specifications of time

Protases in the omen series *Iqqur īpuš*¹³⁹ are organized by the specific time in the calendar year at which they occur. Such hemerological specifications are also characteristic of the beginning of Tablet 22 of *Šumma ālu*. The first twenty omens (§§22.1-20) specify the time of the protasis as being within the first month of the calendar year, Nisannu (March/April), after which the time is specified as Nisannu or Ayyaru (Month II, April/May) (§§22.21-23). §§22.24-34 each list simpler protases occurring in each month from Ayyaru (Month II) to Addaru (Month XII, February/March). In the sequence §§22.26-34 (Du’ūzu to Addaru), the pattern of each protasis is *šumma ina MN šēru amēla īmur* “If in MN a snake stares at a man.”

- §22.1. *ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM* “on the first day of Nisannu” (Month I, March/April)
- §22.2. *ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM* “on the first day of Nisannu”
- §22.3.¹⁴⁰ *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM* “between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu”
- §22.4. *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM* “between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu”
- §22.5. *ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM* “on the first day of Nisannu”
- §22.6. *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 15-KÁM* “between the first and the fifteenth day of Nisannu”
- §22.7. *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM* “between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu”
- §22.8. *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM* “between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu”
- §§22.9-20. *ina Nisanni KI.MIN* “in Nisannu, ditto”

¹³⁸ §23.83 does not write *ina bīt amēli* but includes the locality as a genitive in the object: [*šumma*] *šēr[u n]ammašīt bīt amēli iddanāk* “[If] a snak[e] repeatedly kills [the p]ests of a man’s house.” The protasis of §23.84 is partially broken, but its inclusion of *ina bīt amēli* is a possibility.

¹³⁹ See Labat 1965.

¹⁴⁰ Ms. A⁽²²⁾ has the variant *ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 10-KÁM* “between the first and the tenth day of Nisannu” (see the score for §22.3).

- §22.21. *ina zagmukki ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM lū ina Ayyāri U₄ 1-KÁM lū ina kal ūmi lū ina kal mūši* “on the New Year’s Festival, on the first day of Nisannu, or on the first day of Ayyāru, either all day or all night”
- §22.22. *ina Nisanni lū ina Ayyāri* “in Nisannu or in Ayyāru”
- §22.23. *ina Ayyāri ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 15-KÁM* “between the first and the fifteenth day of Ayyāru”
- §22.24. *ina Ayyāri* “in Ayyāru” (Month II, April/May)
- §22.25. *ina Simāni* “in Simānu” (Month III, May/June)
- §22.26. *ina Du’ūzi* “in Du’ūzu” (Month IV, June/July)
- §22.27. *ina Abi* “in Abu” (Month V, July/August)
- §22.28. *ina Ulūli* “in Ulūlu” (Month VI, August/September)
- §22.29. *ina Tašrīti* “in Tašrītu” (Month VII, September/October)
- §22.30. *ina Araḫšamni* “in Araḫšamnu” (Month VIII, October/November)
- §22.31. *ina Kislimmi* “in Kislimmu” (Month IX, November/December)
- §22.32. *ina Ṭebēti* “in Ṭebētu” (Month X, December/January)
- §22.33. *ina Šabāṭi ina qereb kuṣṣi* “in Šabātu, in the middle of winter” (Month XI, January/February)
- §22.34. *ina Addari* “in Addaru” (Month XII, February/March).

Apart from this notable sequence, two more instances have a specification of time in the protasis: though partially broken, the protasis of §22.39 can be reconstructed as [*šumma ... ina ūm*]i *utnennu šēru ana šapal amēli iḫlumma irb[iṣ ...]* “[If ... on the day on which he prays, a snake slithers below a man and (then) lies down ...],” i.e. the semiotic value regarding the specification of time is ON THE DAY OF PRAYER.

The protasis of §23.8 is *šumma šēru amēla ina ūmi rīqi īmur* “If a snake stares at a man on an empty day (i.e. a moonless day).” Note that the pattern is the same as in §§22.26-34, but here with *ina ūmi rīqi* instead of the month name. The exact meaning of *ūmu rīqu* is debatable and is discussed in the philological commentary for §23.8, but one possibility is that it means a day in which the sky is “empty,” i.e., on the day of a new moon. This interpretation would provide a link to the hemerological construction of the time-specific sequence in Tablet 22.

2.2. The apodosis

The apodoses form the right-side column in an omen list. They exhibit a wide variety of forms, which range from so-called “standard apodoses,” fixed phrases, likely detached from their precise semantic meaning to some extent and functioning as a stand-in for “it is a negative omen” or “it is a positive omen,” to more complex forms of apodoses, employing grammatical coordination, listing, and narrative structures.

The standard apodosis

The apodoses of the first millennium series are highly simplified compared to the Old Babylonian apodoses. This development may have resulted from the hermeneutic code not keeping up with the protases’

expansion during the serialization process and consequently being unable to generate equivalently complex apodoses. Instead, so-called “standard apodoses” emerged.¹⁴¹ Borrowing from Michalowski’s term “stock phrases” for the basic building blocks of an incantation,¹⁴² we may also refer to standard apodoses as stock phrases. As a stock phrase, the standard apodosis has lost its literal meaning, but functions as a stand-in for “it is a good omen” or “it is a bad omen.” Still, the “same” standard apodoses may appear in different variations, such as *bītu šū issappaḥ* “that house will be dispersed” and *bītu šū innaddi* “that house will be abandoned.” Most of the following examples, identified as standard apodoses based on their frequency in Tablets 22-24, display such small semantic variants. Possibly, the breaking down of complex apodoses in the post-Old Babylonian period itself had again led to diversification under the influence of the creativity of the diviner-scribes in the first millennium.

(*bēl bīti šuāti / amēlu šū*) (*ina libbi šatti šuāti / ina ūmi šuāti*) *imāt* “(the master of that house / that man) will die (within that year / that same day)” (§§22.1-2, §§22.20-22, §22.86’, §23.11, §23.47, §23.80, §23.93, §§24.11-12, §24.19)

bītu šū issappaḥ / iḥḥepi / innaddi “that house will be dispersed/destroyed/abandoned” / *nadē bīti* “abandonment of the house” (§22.11, §22.13, §23.41, §23.45, §23.51, §23.52, §23.55, §23.64, §23.69, §23.74, §23.77, §23.83, §23.94, §§23.97-100, §§23.102-104, §24.6, §§24.11-12, §§24.19-21, §24.25, §24.27)

kašād šibūti “granting of a wish”¹⁴³ (§22.55’, §§22.70’-71’, §23.21, §23.95)

maqāt bēl dabābišu (immar) “he will see the downfall of his adversary” (§22.51’, §22.65’, §22.69’, §22.77’, §23.58, §23.59, §23.66, §23.96)

niziqtu “grief” (§§22.25-32, §23.8, §23.53, §23.72)

tību (kašdu) “(heavy) attack” (§22.21, §22.41, §22.60’, §22.67’, §22.76’, §23-53)

The shorthand apodosis

The shorthand apodosis ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM, which we translate “ditto,” is written with four logograms roughly translated to “it is that one hand.” The written form KI.MIN “ditto” for repeating the apodosis is also possible but rare in the snake omens (see §24.2).

The shorthand apodosis repeats the previous omen’s apodosis when the protasis of two (or more) omens differ. Therefore, the new information lies in the protasis, which can be read as an “alternative protasis” to the same apodosis.

ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM appears in cases where two (or more) protases differ only slightly in one element or where an element is inserted into, or agglutinated to, the otherwise unchanged protasis:¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ De Zorzi 2014, p. 287.

¹⁴² Michalowski 1981, p. 11.

¹⁴³ In the edition we translate “(he will be) granted a wish.”

¹⁴⁴ This can be said of all cases in which an apodosis is repeated by ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM in Tablets 22-24, see §§22.6-8, §§22.74’-75’, §§22.78’-79’, §§23.5-6, §§23.89-91, §§23.97-100, §§23.109-110.

- §22.78'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp amēli imqut **miqitti ardi u amti***
 If a snake falls on top of a man's foot – **downfall of the male servant and the female servant.**
- §22.79'. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi būd šēp amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ĀM*
 If a snake falls on the arch of a man's foot – **ditto.**
- §23.5. *šumma šēru amēla ša dīna gerû iššuk [**bēl dabābišu uštēm**]eqšu*
 If a snake bites a man who is litigating – **[his adversary will supplic]ate him.**
- §23.6. *šumma šēru išburma amēla ša dīna gerû i[š]šuk ŠU.BI.AŠ.ĀM*
 If a snake hisses and b[i]tes a man who is litigating – **ditto.**

Syndetic and asyndetic multiple apodotes

In several omens, we see “multiple apodotes,” which can take two forms, syndetic or asyndetic. In syndetic multiple apodotes, two or more apodotes, each with finite verb-forms, could stand independently as apodotes but are joined by a conjunction.¹⁴⁵ Asyndetic multiple apodotes are the same except for omitting the conjunction between the two or more apodotes.¹⁴⁶

The enclitic particle *-ma*, which we translate, based on context, as “and” or “but,” always coordinates syndetic multiple apodotes.¹⁴⁷ Often the two coordinated apodotes may have a clear semiotic link or even a narrative coherence.¹⁴⁸

- §22.88'. [Protasis] *maršu šū iballu**ma** balāṭa urrak*
 [Protasis] that sick person will recover **and** he will attain a long life.
- §22.85'. [Protasis] *murussu irrik**ma** iballu*
 [Protasis] his sickness will be long, **but** he will survive.

¹⁴⁵ Compare Winitzer 2017, pp. 39-42.

¹⁴⁶ Winitzer describes complex apodotes joined with asyndeton extensively (Winitzer 2017, pp. 90-150) and separates the discussion from all forms of complex apodotes joined by coordination (Winitzer 2017, pp. 39-90). In the present discussion of multiple apodotes, which we differentiate from alternative apodotes (see below), a side-by-side presentation of complex apodotes joined by the coordinator *-ma* and those joined with asyndeton is also possible.

¹⁴⁷ The conjunction *u* “and” is never used for the neutral coordination of apodotes. It may connect constituents of a protasis (e.g. §22.68', §23.20), but usually it serves as a conjunction for related word-pairs, e.g. *pušqi u dannati* “misery and hardship” (§23.19), *pušqi u kīli* “misery and imprisonment” (§22.21), *še'im u kaspi* “grain and silver” (§23.62), *zikri u sinništi* “man and woman,” *muti u aššati* “husband and wife” (see §§23.27-35, §23.108-114), *ilu u šarru* “god and king” (§22.50'), *ardi u amti* “male servant and female servant” (§22.78'), *abūšu u ummašu* “his father and his mother” (§22.83'), *damiqi u būši* “well-being and property” (§22.50'), *mīlum u kišitti qāti* “flooding and conquest” (§22.53'), *illi u urrad* “goes up and down” (see §§23.45-46).

¹⁴⁸ The dispersal of a house as a consequence of the master of a house dying (§23.35, §24.11) or becoming bed-ridden (§22.11) is a good example of such a narrative structure: “the master of the house will die **and** the house will be dispersed” (§23.35).

Asyndetic multiple apodoses combine two or more individual apodoses, but without any grammatical coordination or any other marker:

§22.4. [Protasis] *amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrū māmītu išabbassu*
[Protasis] that man's days will shorten, a curse will seize him.

§23.94. [Protasis] *bītu šū issappaḥ qātu ikaššassu ekallu iredḏīšu*
[Protasis] that house will be dispersed, the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of it, the palace will confiscate it.

There also appear combinations of syndetic and asyndetic coordination in multiple apodoses:

§23.10. [Protasis] *šīt še'im amēlu šū Marduk ušallamma idammīq damīqta immar*
[Protasis] loss of grain, (but) that man will appease Marduk and he will be well, he will experience good fortune.

In multiple apodoses coordinated by *-ma*, there is no evidence that the individual, simple apodoses are in an alternating relationship to each other, as is the case with the “alternative apodoses”, which will be discussed in the next paragraphs. A multiple apodosis exists as a set and thus can be perceived as a unified constituent. In Halliday and Hasan's terms, conjunctions create a cohesive relation of structural equivalence.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, unlike alternative apodoses, multiple apodoses can occur only in syntagmatic form and never in paradigmatic form.

Syntagmatic alternative apodoses

In Old Babylonian omens, a simple way to indicate a second or alternative apodosis is the phrase *šanûm šumšu* “its secondary interpretation (lit. entry, line).”¹⁵⁰ The phrase does not occur in the *Šumma ālu* snake omens, which know other ways of indicating an alternative apodosis. The methods by which alternative apodoses are expressed in the snake omens can be divided into two groups: alternative apodoses, which depend as one unit on the same protasis, are called syntagmatic alternative apodoses because they operate within the syntagma and are independent of the paradigm. On the other hand, paradigmatic alternative apodoses break up the syntagm and are therefore in a paradigmatic relationship to each other (see pp. 25ff. below).

For the definition of the subtypes of syntagmatic alternative apodoses, the elements of *Glossenkeil*, grammatical coordination, and client specification are useful as determining characteristics.

¹⁴⁹ See Halliday and Hasan 1976, pp. 226-238.

¹⁵⁰ Winitzer 2017, p. 48.

a) *Glossenkeil*

The most straightforward way of indicating a syntagmatic alternative apodosis is the placement of a *Glossenkeil* “:” (two small diagonal wedges placed on top of each other) between the two alternative apodoses.¹⁵¹

§22.39. [Protasis] [b]ūšūšu izzibšu : iqqiršu

His [pr]operty will abandon him, (alternatively) it will become scarce for him.

§22.83'. [Protasis] amēlu šū lū zikru lū sinnišu šuma irašši išarru : abūšu u ummašu nēmela immarū

That baby (lit. that man), whether male or female, will acquire fame, he/she will be wealthy, (alternatively) his father and mother will see profit.

b) Grammatical coordination

Alternative predictions can be expressed by grammatical means, either by a single *lū* “or” between the two alternatives (§23.55), or by *lū ... lū* “either ... or”, or by *šumma ... šumma* “either ... or,” each introducing an alternative apodosis. Sometimes the clause-final verb refers to both apodoses (§22.6, §22.18), but other times the alternative apodoses require a verb each (§22.16).

§23.55. [Protasis] bītu šū innaddi lū innaqqar

That house will be abandoned or demolished.

§22.6. [Protasis] lū muršu lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu

Either illness or hard imprisonment will seize him.

§22.18. [Protasis] šumma ina nikip alpi šumma ina ziqit zuqiqīpi imât

He will die either from the goring of an ox or the sting of a scorpion.

§22.16. [Protasis] šumma imarruṣ šumma issalla 'āma imât

He will either fall ill or he will enter a critical stage of illness and die.

c) Specification of the client

A particular case of grammatical coordination occurs when the omen also specifies the requirements a client must meet in order for one or other of the alternative apodoses to apply to him. In the snake omens, this always concerns the social status of the client.

§23.79. [Protasis] šumma šarû ilappin šumma muškēnu išarru

If he is a rich man, he will become poor, if he is a commoner, he will become rich.

§22.37. [Protasis] lū kabtu gabarâ ul īši lū muškēnu lumunšu ippaṭṭar

Either an important man will not have a rival or a commoner will have his evil released.

§22.10. [Protasis] ana šarî idammiq ana muškēnu ina lā ālišu imât

Regarding a rich man, he will be well, regarding a commoner, he will die in a city not his own.

¹⁵¹ The *Glossenkeil* is most frequently used in commentary texts, where it separates the cited base text from the added commentary in the commentary type “cola” (see Frahm 2011, pp. 36-37; Jiménez 2013).

Paradigmatic alternative apodoses

We speak of an alternative apodosis at the paradigmatic level when a repeating shorthand is inserted for an omen's protasis, followed by a second apodosis. This repeating shorthand occurs in the snake omens as KI.MIN, which we translate "ditto," and as *šumma* (written with the signs BE-*ma*, i.e. *šum₄-ma*), which we translate "same protasis." KI.MIN and *šum₄-ma* do not signal an additional omen, although they usually start a new paragraph.

a) KI.MIN

KI.MIN has the same function as a *Glossenkeil* within an apodosis. The comparability of the two elements becomes even clearer in §22.21, in which ms. A⁽²²⁾ twice writes KI.MIN, but ms. B⁽²²⁾ writes *Glossenkeile* (see scores). The omen §22.39 mixes the use of *Glossenkeil* and KI.MIN for indicating alternative apodoses:

§22.39. [*šumma ... ina ūm*]i utnennu *šēru ana šapal amēli iḫlumma irb[iš ... b]ūšušu izzibšu ː iqqiršu*

KI.MIN *būšušu ittabbal*

KI.MIN *akla napša ik[k]al*

[If ... on the day, on which he prays, a snake slithers below a man and (then) lies down ...] – his [pr]operty will abandon him ː it will become scarce for him.

Ditto – his property will be carried off.

Ditto – he will eat plenty of bread.

b) *šumma* (written *šum₄-ma*)

The function of *šum₄-ma* as introducing an alternative apodosis on the paradigmatic level is the same as that of KI.MIN.

§23.44. [*šumma š*]ēru *ina bīt amēli ittanazzaz amēlu šū māmītu iṣabbassu*

šumma *qāt ilišu am[ēla ikaššassu]*?

[If a snake repeatedly appears in an upright position in a man's house – a curse will seize that man.

Same protasis – (the disease) "hand of his god" [will take hold of the man]?

§23.102. *šumma šēru ana bīt amēli īrubma ugallissu iṣšukšu bītu šū issappaḥ*

šumma *lapnu irašši*

If a snake enters a man's house, frightens him and (then) bites him – that house will be dispersed.

Same protasis – a poor man will get (it).

c) "Conditional rituals"

A special form of paradigmatic alternative apodosis could be described as a "conditional ritual." Our term for the phenomenon describes cases in which a ritual instruction is introduced after an omen, describing what a client should do to avoid the first, negative apodosis. This conditional ritual is introduced by *šumma* (written *šum₄-ma*). It is followed by the alternative apodosis, which depends on the client's performance of the ritual.¹⁵²

¹⁵² The conditional ritual is underlined, the apodoses are in bold font.

§22.1. *šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM amēlu lām ištu erši šēpšu ana eršeti iškunu šēru ištu hurri ūšīma lām mamman īmuru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt*
šumma amēlu šū balāta haših qaqqada uḥarrar lētišu ugallab ITI 3-KÁM uštapaššaqla iballuṭ

If, on the first day of Nisannu, before a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before anybody sees (it), it stares at the man – that man will die in the middle of that year.

If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for three months he will suffer, but he will survive.

Direct comparison of this omen with the following one, §22.2, reveals that the paradigmatic alternative apodosis with an inserted conditional ritual is, as in the case of KI.MIN, an extended form of the syntagmatic alternative apodosis: nearly identical alternative apodoses are listed in both §22.1 and §22.2, the latter expressed slightly more concisely and separated by a *Glossenkeil*.

§22.2. *šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM šēru amēla īmur ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt* : uštapaššaqla iballuṭ

If, on the first day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – he will die in the middle of that year : he will suffer, but he will survive.

In one case in Tablets 22-24, a conditional ritual is introduced by the preposition *ana* “for” instead of *šumma* “if”:

§22.22. *šumma šēru ina Nisanni lū ina Ayyāri šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt*
ana balātišu qaqqassu uḥarrar lētišu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti ramānšu uḥarrarma iballuṭ

If, in Nisannu or in Ayyāru, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

For (preserving) his life he should make incisions in his head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will make incisions in himself and he will survive.

There are also instances in the snake omens, where rather than a “conditional ritual,” the omen includes a positive alternative apodosis to the first negative apodosis, introduced by the condition of a prayer to Marduk. In other words: *negative apodosis*, but the man should pray to Marduk, and he will have a *positive apodosis*. As in the ritual instruction in §22.1, where the D-stem duratives *uḥarrar* and *ugallab* are translated “*should make incisions*” and “*should shave*,” respectively, we also translate the duratives instructing a prayer with “*should*.”

§21.21. (...) ¹⁵³

KI.MIN *tību kašdu amēlu šū ina šēri* *ana Marduk ušeddīma* idammīq

KI.MIN *kīla marša immar amēlu šū* *Marduk uše’ ’ūma* lumunšu ippaṭṭar amēlu šū ina pušqi u kīli ušši

Ditto – a heavy attack (will occur), (but) in the morning, that man **should let Marduk know** and he will be well.

Ditto – he will experience hard imprisonment, (but) that man **should seek out Marduk** and his evil will be released, that man will escape from misery and imprisonment.

¹⁵³ For the full omen see the reconstruction of §22.21.

§23.10. *šumma šēru amēla īmurma ugallissuma rēssu ikbusma ītadar šīt še'im amēlu šū Marduk ušallamma idammīq damīqta immar*

If a snake stares at a man and scares him, so that (the man) tramples on its head and is afraid (of the snake) – loss of grain, (but) that man should appease Marduk and he will be well, he will experience good fortune.

The observation that in some cases not only explicit *namburbû*-rituals are embedded in an omen list (see §22.36), but that formulations are integrated into an omen itself suggesting a way out of the negative prediction, reinforces the assumption that the Mesopotamians did not feel powerless in the face of negative omens.¹⁵⁴ Since omens were sent as warnings from the gods and not as fixed judgments,¹⁵⁵ their occurrence could be averted with the necessary knowledge through magical rituals and prayers.

2.3. The syntagmatic level

The connection between protasis and apodosis – regardless of the divinatory genre – is always a semiotic link. The most striking of these semiotic links in the snake omens are positive/negative symbolism and poetic devices associated at the semantic and phonetic levels.

Pars hostilis/pars familiaris symbolism

A portent is either *pars familiaris* or *pars hostilis* (also *pars inimica*), i.e., it is friendly or hostile, significant for “us” or for “them.”¹⁵⁶ The terms *pars familiaris* and *pars hostilis/inimica* are borrowed from a passage in Cicero’s treatise of Roman Divination, *De Divinatione*.¹⁵⁷ The passage speaks of the anatomical parts of an organ examined by diviners and asks how diviners agree among each other, regarding which part concerns oneself and which one the enemy.¹⁵⁸ An Akkadian metatextual account is remarkably similar: *birīt imitti yāumma šumēli ša nakri* “the central area of the right pertains to me; (that of)

¹⁵⁴ Earlier studies paint a different picture, for example Starr writes, “The unfavorable apodoses depict kings as sitting on uncertain thrones (...). The ordinary man stands in these accounts totally helpless before the vagaries of nature, constantly threatened by poverty and hunger, drought and flood (...)” (Starr 1983, pp. 12-13), an idea first formulated by Oppenheim, “Der kleine Mann tritt uns hier in seinem ganzen elenden Dasein entgegen; von Krankheit, Armut und Hunger bedroht, rechtlos der Willkür aller Mächtigen im Lande ausgesetzt, lebt er sein Leben dahin und seine Wünsche greifen nicht höher als nach Sättigung und Nachkommenschaft” (Oppenheim 1936, p. 202).

¹⁵⁵ See George 2013, p. xvii.

¹⁵⁶ Koch 2015, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ George 2013, p. xviii; Starr 1983, p. 15. The Latin reads: *aut quo modo est conlatum inter ipsos, quae pars inimica, quae pars familiaris esset, quod fissum periculum, quod commodum aliquod ostenderet* (*De Divinatione*, 2.28, 24-27), see Schäublin 2013, 158-159.

¹⁵⁸ William Rasmussen 2003, p. 122. See Wardle (2006, p. 142) for a comparison of the term *fissum* “fissure, cut” with the Akkadian extispicy term *piṛu* a “split” and as well as a comparison between Latin *fibra* “thread” and Akkadian *qū* “thread” in the context of extispicy.

the left, to the enemy” (CT 20 44, l. 59).¹⁵⁹ Building on the idea of *pars familiaris* and *pars inimica*, Koch formulates “arithmetic rules” of a protasis-apodosis link: an object X that is friendly or hostile appears/acts/changes in a friendly or hostile way, which generates a positive or negative outcome.¹⁶⁰

The snake as “object X” in the snake omens is generally an ill-boding animal and qualifies as *pars hostilis*. Consequently, the majority of apodoses in the snake omens are negative. A snake staring, falling, crawling, climbing etc., usually means death, illness, financial loss, dispersal of the household, or divorce. Nonetheless, there are also positive apodoses in the snake omens, dealing with the downfall of the adversary, the birth of an heir, or merely personal health and success, but such positive apodoses are usually interspersed between predominantly negative apodoses. A sequence of omens in Tablet 23 is an exception: in five consecutive omens the apodosis is positive. The protases of these omens contain elements that can be interpreted as generating the positive apodoses.¹⁶¹

§23.87. *šumma šēru sāmu ina bīt amēli innamir **amēlu šū išarru***

§23.88. *šumma šēru 7 qaqqadūšu ina bīt amēli innamir **bēl bīti šuāti ašaredūta illak***

§23.89. *šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadī ulid **bīta šuāti uššab***

§23.90. *šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadī innamir **ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM***

§23.91. [*šumma šēru ina*] *bīt amēli nadī īrub **ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM***

§23.87. If a red snake is seen in a man’s house – **that man will become rich.**

§23.88. If a seven-headed snake is seen in a man’s house – **the master of that house will achieve the highest rank.**

§23.89. If a snake gives birth in a man’s abandoned house – **he will inhabit that house (again).**

§23.90. If a snake is seen in a man’s abandoned house – **ditto.**

§23.91. [If a snake] enters a man’s abandoned house – **ditto.**

This section of omens is actually divided into two parts. The first two omens, §§23.87-88, are characterized by a specification of the snake,¹⁶² which probably also was the case in two omens preceding them, but the protases of §§23.85-86 are partly broken. The second section is a triplet of three similar protases with the same positive apodosis, the first written out and the two consecutive apodoses written in shorthand. We will begin with an analysis of the first section.

The constituents of the protasis of §23.87 are SNAKE + RED – IN A MAN’S HOUSE – IS SEEN, and the constituents of the protasis of §23.88 are SNAKE + SEVEN-HEADED – IN A MAN’S HOUSE – IS SEEN. A

¹⁵⁹ See Starr 1983, p. 16. See also an extispicy report written in Sumerian including the terminology *uzu zi-da-na*, literally translating to “his right-side entrails,” and *uzu gub₃-ba-ĝa₂* “my left-side entrails.” Crisostomo (2018, p. 150) translates interpretatively “his *pars familiaris*” and “my *pars hostilis*.” Michalowski (2006, p. 252) translates “the right side for him” and “the left side for me.”

¹⁶⁰ Koch 2015, pp. 12-15.

¹⁶¹ The apodoses are marked in bold font.

¹⁶² This is the only known instance of snake specification in Tablets 22-24, a feature predominant in Tablets 25-26.

possible explanation of the positive apodoses might be that the added constituents red and seven-headed, combined with the negative snake, can generate a positive outcome, perhaps by having culturally determined positive meanings.

The connection between the red color and wealth in §23.87 is such a culturally determined semiotic link.¹⁶³ The same semiotic link can be found in other animal omens, for example, in the lizard omen “If [there i]s a red lizard in a m[an’s] house – that house will have¹ riches.”¹⁶⁴

The connection between the seven heads and the high social rank in §23.88 offers a clue for the deduction of a semiotic link: in *Šumma izbu*, a head in the protasis is a symbol for the king in the apodosis.¹⁶⁵ The number seven symbolized totality in Mesopotamia.¹⁶⁶ Totality, described in terms and phrases like *kiššatu* “entirety,” *kullatu* “totality,” or *kiššat kal gimrāti* “the entirety of everything,”¹⁶⁷ is the Mesopotamian concept most closely comparable with the Ancient Greek concept of *cosmos*. In omen-logic, something whole and steady, like celestial bodies moving as they are expected to, is positive, while the stars and planets’ abnormal movements are negative. We should therefore understand the number seven in the snake omen to symbolize totality and the desired state of wholeness, making it a positive sign.¹⁶⁸

A translation of HEAD + SEVEN to “achievement of the highest rank” fits the symbolic meanings of the signs used to specify the snake in the protasis of §23.88.

Following the hypothesis that the snake’s specification as “red” or “seven-headed” generates the positive apodosis, we compare two omens with similar protases without specification of the snake. §22.15 and §23.34 do have specifications in the protasis (time, clients, place), but they do not specify the snake. The apodoses of the two omens are negative.

¹⁶³ Hirvonen 2016, p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ *šumma šurāru sāmu ina bīt a[mēli ittab]ši bītu šū mašrē irašši¹* (K 3730+, l. 30). I thank Nicole Lundeen for the reference to this omen. Lizard omens are being edited by Nicole Lundeen for the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* and will also appear in Lundeen’s forthcoming master’s thesis.

¹⁶⁵ De Zorzi 2014, p. 284.

¹⁶⁶ Winitzer 2017, p. 34. Like the number seven, the number four also symbolized totality, see also De Zorzi 2011, p. 65.

¹⁶⁷ Horowitz 1998, p. xiv. In this context, it is noticeable that the number four plays into the phrase *kibrāt arbā’i* “the four regions of the world” (see Horowitz 1998, p. xiii), which also expressed “the whole world.”

¹⁶⁸ Another example of the number seven having a positive connotation is found in the Sumerian epic *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, where the fates of deceased people are described. The man who is survived by seven sons is spending his time in the netherworld “[sitting] on a chair with the lesser gods and listen[ing] to the proceedings” (see Gadotti 2014, p. 159, ll. 267-268). In this section of the epic, we are told that the more sons the deceased had in life, the better he fares in the netherworld, and seven is the highest number of sons enumerated. I thank Frank Simons for pointing me to this passage. See also Verderame 2017 on the *Sebettu*, the “Seven Demons,” with a detailed literature review of Assyriological studies on the number seven (see Verderame 2017, p. 295, n. 30). I thank Martina Schmidl for pointing me to Verderame’s article.

§22.15. *šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ina bīt amēli innamir qāt Marduk arḫiš ikaššassu bītu šū issappah*

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake is seen in a man's house – **(the disease “hand of Marduk” will reach him promptly, that house will be dispersed.**

§22.34. [*šumma šēru ašar zik*]ru u sinništu ašbūma idabbubū innamir *zikru u sinništu ipparrasū innezzibū*

[If a snake] is seen [where a ma]n and a woman are sitting and talking – **the man and the woman will split up and leave each other.**

It is possible to derive a syntagmatic model, which describes the general negative meaning of a snake omen like this: a snake doing an action in some place at some time is negative, *but* if the snake is red/seven headed, it is positive, *or* if the place is abandoned, it is positive.

SNAKE [unspecified] – TIME/PLACE [unspecified] – ACTION > negative apodosis

SNAKE [RED/SEVEN HEADED] – TIME/PLACE [unspecified] – ACTION > positive apodosis

SNAKE [unspecified] – TIME/PLACE [HOUSE = ABANDONED] – ACTION > positive apodosis

Let us now turn back to §§23.89-91. The three omens form a triplet, varying in the protasis only in the snake's action. The apodosis of all three omens is “he will inhabit that house (again),” which references the “abandoned house” in the protasis. Thus, the syntagm displays a narrative structure: a man had to abandon his house, but later, he returned.

Another “formula” of omen-logic works not with the parameters of specified/unspecified constituents, but “multiplies” constituents based on them being *pars familiaris* (represented by the plus sign) or *pars hostilis* (represented by the minus sign):

- a) A protasis with two *pars familiaris* constituents connects to a positive apodosis: $(+) \times (+) = (+)$.
- b) A protasis with two *pars hostilis* constituents connects to a positive apodosis: $(-) \times (-) = (+)$.
- c) A protasis with one *pars familiaris* constituent and one *pars hostilis* constituent connects to a negative apodosis: $(+) \times (-) = (-)$.

Reading §§23.89-91 according to this formula, the negative SNAKE and the negative ABANDONED HOUSE (as opposed to a neutral unabandoned house) in the protasis connect to a positive apodosis: SNAKE $(-)$ $\times$ ABANDONED HOUSE $(-)$ = *positive apodosis* $(+)$.

This logic works well when the elements RIGHT and LEFT appear in the protasis. In omens, the right side is *pars familiaris*, the left side is *pars hostilis*.¹⁶⁹ In an example from *Šumma izbu*¹⁷⁰ (Tablet 3, omens 2-3), the absence of the right ear is a bad sign, but the absence of the left ear is a good sign, which is in line with the binary logic of *Šumma izbu* rendering ill-boding malformations on the right side as unfavorable and on the left side as favorable.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Guinan 1996, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Right/left omen-logic in *Šumma izbu* is also discussed in Guinan 1996, pp. 7-8, but note that the edition used there, Leichty 1970, has since been updated in De Zorzi 2014.

¹⁷¹ De Zorzi 2014, p. 283.

šumma sinništu ūlidma uzun imittišu lā ibašši ūmū rube gamrū
šumma sinništu ūlidma uzun šumēlišu lā ibašši ūmū rubê arkū

“If a woman gives birth and (the newborn) does not have the right ear – the prince’s days are at an end.”

“If a woman gives birth and (the newborn) does not have the left ear – the prince’s days will (still) be long.”¹⁷²

In theory, the snake, a negative sign, would entail a negative apodosis when combined with the positive right side, but a positive apodosis, when combined with the negative left side.¹⁷³ Looking at the examples from Tablets 22-24, one arrives to a more nuanced conclusion.¹⁷⁴

In the right/left couplet §§22.11-12, both apodoses are negative, regardless of the right or left side, though different in the details of their content:

§22.11. *šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ana imitti amēli imqut amēlu šū itti erši iṣabbassuma bītu šū issappaḥ*
If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls to a man’s right – that man will become bedridden and that house will be dispersed.

§22.12. *šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ana šumēl amēli imqut šarū ilappin muškēnu ina lalīšu imāt*
If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls to a man’s left – a rich man will become poor, a commoner will die in his prime.

§§22.76’-77’ and §§22.90’-91’ are couplets of right/left protases in which a *pars hostilis/familiaris* effect can be recognized in the apodoses. In §§22.76’-77’, the combination of the negative SNAKE falling on the positive RIGHT SIDE result in a negative apodosis, the combination of the negative SNAKE falling on the negative LEFT SIDE result in a positive apodosis.

§22.76’. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi imitti amēli imqut tību kašdu*
If a snake falls on top of a man’s right side – a heavy attack (will occur).

§22.77’. *šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šumēl amēli imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu immar*
If a snake falls on top of a man’s left side – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

In the case of §§23.16-17,¹⁷⁵ a pair of opposite omens with RIGHT TO LEFT (§23.16) and LEFT TO RIGHT directions (§23.17), both generate a positive apodosis:

§23.16. *šumma šēru ištu imitti amēli ana šumēl amēli ītiq šum damiqti irašši*
If a snake crosses from a man’s right to the man’s left – he will have a good reputation.

§23.17. *šumma šēru ištu šumēl amēli ana imitti amēli ītiq šumšu ina lemutti ippaṭṭar*
If a snake crosses from a man’s left to a man’s right – his reputation will be cleared of evil.

¹⁷² See De Zorzi 2014, pp. 409-410, §2-3.

¹⁷³ Brown 2006, p. 76.

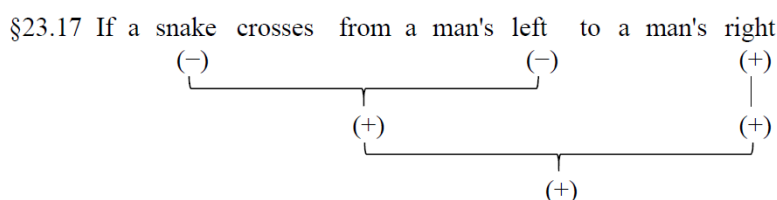
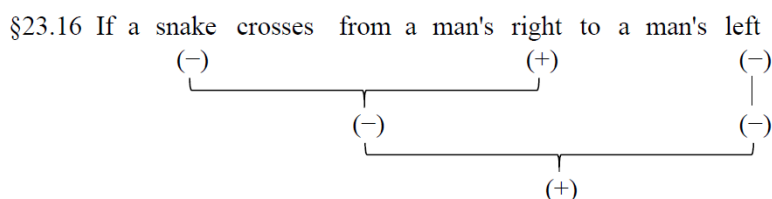
¹⁷⁴ All examples are couplets, as the omens play out both sides – right and left – on the paradigmatic level in a mechanism called “opposition” which is explored below.

¹⁷⁵ The analysis of these omens in Guinan 1996, p. 9, is based on an erroneous reading, see the comments on §23.17 in the score.

By defining three semiotic parameters in the protasis – SNAKE, side₁, and side₂ – a “multiplication” following the syntagmatic sequence (i.e., the sequential direction of language) results in positive apodosises for both omens.

In §23.16, the negative SNAKE and the positive RIGHT result in a *positive*, which combined with the negative LEFT results in a *positive*: [SNAKE (–) × RIGHT (+)] × LEFT (–) = *positive*.

In §23.17, the negative SNAKE and the negative LEFT result in a *positive*, which combined with the positive RIGHT results in a *positive*: [SNAKE (–) × LEFT (–)] × RIGHT (+) = *positive*.



Semantic association

Semantic association as a semiotic link between protasis and apodosis may make use of the same word twice, as in §23.93, where the DYING of the snake in the man's house leads to the DYING of the master of the house.

§23.93. [šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli imūt bēl bīti šuāti imāt

[If a snake] dies [in] a man's [ho]use – the master of that house will die.

Many semantic associations go beyond the conventions of the same lexeme but build connections in a semantic network.¹⁷⁶ In §23.107 and §24.3, the BED in the protasis is associated with OFFSPRING in the apodosis.

§23.107. šumma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš amēli rabiš amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu¹⁷⁷

If a snake lies down on top of a man's bed – his god will grant that man offspring.

§24.3. [šum]ma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš amēli ittīl amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu

[I]f a snake lies down on top of a man's bed – his god will grant that man offspring.

¹⁷⁶ Starr (1983, p. 10) names the concept “association of ideas,” but from a linguistic perspective, these semiotic links are not merely associations of *ideas* but indeed *semantic* associations, when applying Charles Fillmore's formal theory of frame semantics that describes lexical units as linked together in a semantic network (see Fillmore 1976).

¹⁷⁷ Note also the phonetic association between *ereš* and *ušaršāšu*. Indeed, the whole apodosis *amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu* plays with combining /š/ and /u/.

In §22.71', a snake falling onto a man's SHOULDER leads to the death of his SUPPORTER – one can imagine that a shoulder to lean for support is the idea lying behind this association. The negatively associated SNAKE is associated with the supporter's DEATH. In the following omen, §22.72', the variant of the snake falling on the man's KNEES leads to the death of his CHILDREN – here one can imagine that a father dandling his child on his knees serves as a figurative association, or that *burku* does not only refer to the knees, but also the lap, including the genital area, which is associated with offspring.¹⁷⁸

§22.71'. *šumma šēru ana **būdi** amēli imqut **mukīl kutal** amēli imât*

If a snake falls onto a man's **shoulder** – the man's **supporter** will die.

§22.72'. *šumma šēru ana **burki** amēli imqut **mārūšu** imuttū*

If a snake falls onto a man's **knees** – his **children** will die.

In §22.67', BIRDS are associated with the PLAGUE and with DESTRUCTION, a semiotic link also found in *Šumma izbu*.¹⁷⁹ The omen is also notable for its metaphorical language, “reign of Nergal” functioning as an expression for PESTILENCE, Nergal being associated with pestilence and the plague explicitly.¹⁸⁰ The association of birds and the plague may also come from the image of corpses lying out in the open, attracting scavenging birds, the victims being too numerous to be buried or survivors being hesitant to touch them.

§22.67'. *šumma šēru ana pān amēli kīma iššūri qadī issi palē Nergal tību mātātu lemutta immarā*

If a snake cries out like a bird (or) an owl – reign of Nergal, an attack (will occur), the lands will **experience evil**.

A semiotic link between the snake's movement into and out from the house with financial income or financial loss is found in §§24.15-18:

§24.15. [*šumma šēru iš*]tu bīt amēli mimma ana dalti **ušēsi sītu** ina bīt amēli ušši mītu ina bīt amēli imât

[If a snake] **takes something out** [fr]om a man's house towards the door – **loss** will be incurred in the man's house, a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.

§24.16. [*šumma šēru iš*]tu dalti mimma iššīma ana bīt amēli **īrub īrbu** ana bīt amēli irrub

[If a snake] takes something up [fr]om the door and **enters** a man's house – **income** will enter the man's house.

¹⁷⁸ Compare §24.22, *šumma šēru ana sūn amēli īrub mārī irašši ūmūšu ikarrū* “If a snake goes into a man's lap – he will have children, his days will become short.”

¹⁷⁹ Ravens (*āribu*) are associated with the plague and rapaciousness, birds with death and destruction (De Zorzi 2014, p. 285). On crow/raven omens see also Guinan 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Wiggermann 1998-2001b, pp. 221-222. Compare the common apodosis “Nergal will ravage” in Old Babylonian extispicy omens which is also known as the variant *ilu ikkal* “the god (i.e. Nergal) will ravage” (Jeyes 1980, p. 109; Jeyes 1989, p. 100, l. 17'), an apodosis perhaps contained in §24.6.

§24.17. [šumma š]ēru mimma ina pīšu n[a]šī[ma an]a bīt [amēli] **īrub haliqtašu iredđī[šu]**

[If a snake holds something in its mouth [and **enters** a man's house – he will **regain his lost property**.]

§24.18. [šumma š]ēru šēra šanâma ina pīšu našīma ana bīt [am]ēli **īrub irbu ana bīt amēli irrub**

[If a snake holds a second snake in its mouth and **enters** a [ma]n's house – **income** will **enter** the man's house.

A group of pig omens of *Šumma izbu* (Tablet 22)¹⁸¹ displays the same semantic association of the entering/exiting of the animal and the entering/exiting financial prosperity. In her analysis of this group of pig omens, De Zorzi writes that the dichotomy of ENTERING and EXITING with the association of INCOME and LOSS is a very conventional analogy that is also intuitively intelligible.¹⁸²

22: 121) šumma šaḥû qanâ našīma ana bīt amēli īrub bēlšu išarru

If a pig carries a reed and enters a man's house – (the house's and the pig's) owner will become rich.

22: 122) šumma šaḥû qanâ našīma ištu bīt bēlīšu ūši bēlšu mādūti ibissê / ibissâ immar

If a pig carries a reed and exits from its owner's house – its owner will suffer losses (var.: heavy losses).

22: 123) šumma šaḥû rikis qanê našīma ana bīt bēlīšu īrub bēlšu nēmelam immar

If a pig carries a bundle of reeds and enters its owner's house – its owner will make some profit.

22: 124) šumma šaḥû rikis qanê našīma ištu bīt bēlīšu ūši bēlšu ibissâ immar

If a pig carries a bundle of reeds and exits its owner's house – its owner will suffer losses.

Phonetic association

Phonetic association is one of the staples of protasis-apodosis links.¹⁸³ The root-scheme morphology of Akkadian as a Semitic language offers many possibilities for this form of paranomasia. From the (albeit few) examples in the snake omens it can be deducted, that especially plosives (/g/-/k/, /d/-/t/-/ṭ/, /p/) and nasals/approximants (/m/, /n/, /l/) are prominent phonemes.

§22.35. šumma amēlu šēra īmurma **īglut eklet** na[mrat ...] nazāqu arki [... l]ā māgīru ina lā tūb šīri [...] ... : idammīq

If a man sees a snake and **he trembles** – (first) **it will be dark**, (but then) it will become bright [...], to grieve², behind [... an unwilling one, in unhappiness [...]] ... : he will be well.

§22.62'. šumma šēru ana pān amēli **ilputa** mimma mala **ikappudu** imaggar

If a snake **strikes** in front of a man – whatever **he is planning** will work out.

§22.83. [šumma] šēr[u n]ammaštī bīt amēli **iddanâk** [bītu šū] **innaddi** : kurummatu izzibšu

[If] a snake **repeatedly kills** [the pests] of a man's house – [that house **will be abandoned** : the food rations will leave it.

¹⁸¹ See De Zorzi 2014, pp. 876-877.

¹⁸² De Zorzi 2020.

¹⁸³ For examples from *Šumma izbu* see De Zorzi 2014, p. 192.

Phonetic association can not only work on the syntagmatic level as a semiotic link between protasis and apodosis but also work on the paradigmatic level, creating a connection between two consecutive protasis or apodoses: the two paradigmatic alternative apodoses in §23.92 have the phonetic wordplay *innaddar* – *inneṭṭer*; the verbs of the protases in §§23.93-94 display phonetic wordplay in *imūt* – *ilut*; in §24.2 *ilula* – *ittil*; in §§22.62’-63’ *imaggar* – *iggammar*.

§23.92. [šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli amēla idūk amēlu šū ***innaddar***

KI.MIN dūssu ***inneṭṭer***

[If a snake] kills a man [in] a man’s house – that man will flee.

Ditto – his potency will be taken away.

§23.93. [šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli ***imūt*** bēl bīti šuāti imāt

[If a snake] dies [in] a man’s [ho]use – the master of that house will die.

§23.94. [šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli tappāšu ***ilut*** bītu šū issappaḥ qātu ikaššassu ekallu iredḏišu

[If a snake] swallows its companion [in] a man’s house – that house will be dispersed, the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of it, the palace will confiscate it.

§24.2. [šumma š]ēru ina muḥḥi ereš amēli ***ilula*** KI.MIN

[If a snake] hangs down on top of a man’s bed – ditto.

§24.3. [šum]ma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš amēli ***ittil*** amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu

[If a snake] lies down on top of a man’s bed – his god will let that man acquire offspring.

§22.62’. šumma šēru ana pān amēli ilputa mimma mala ikappudu ***imaggar***

If a snake strikes in front of a man – whatever he is planning will work out.

§22.63’. šumma šēru ana pān amēli sadir amēlu šū makkūršū ***iggammar*** ina lā tūb libbi ittanallak

If a snake continuously appears in front of a man – that man’s property will be diminished, he will continuously suffer from unhappiness.

2.4. The paradigmatic level

A list follows internal organizational principles which impart information in addition to the list’s content itself.¹⁸⁴ The organizational principles work on the vertical level of the list, being the principle of the paradigm. In the snake omens, omen clusters are generated through a paradigmatic mechanism creating patterns in the omen list sequence.

Belknap defines four patterns that a poetic list¹⁸⁵ can display: equality, contrast, gradation, and progression.¹⁸⁶ In Winitzer’s work, the term *gradation* stands for the general pattern of inter-omen

¹⁸⁴ Belknap 2004, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Belknap (2000, 2004) speaks of *literary* lists, but we treat the term synonymous to our poetic list.

¹⁸⁶ Belknap 2000, p. 37.

organization (i.e. the paradigm of an omen list), divided into *simple gradation* and *complex gradation*.¹⁸⁷ The form of simple gradation identified in omens is called “opposition,” and the form of complex gradation is called “pointillism,” which is divided into “pointillism of the paradigmatic type” and “pointillism of the agglutinative type.”¹⁸⁸ To simplify the terminology for the examples from the snake omens, we will speak of three mechanisms that work on the paradigmatic level: opposition, variant repetition, and agglutination.

Opposition

Compared to Belknap’s four patterns, the notion of opposition is also described by *contrast*¹⁸⁹ – two elements linked to each other by standing opposite to one another on a spectrum, e.g., as antonyms. Opposition generates a group of (usually) two omens¹⁹⁰ that mirror each other, the opposing elements being the variant factor.

Contrary to what one might expect, opposition is hardly present in the snake omens. The clearest examples of opposition are couplets of omens with right-left opposition (see pp. 31ff. for examples). Another likely example would be the opposition of entering and exiting, but the sequence §§24.15-18 already discussed above shows much more complex mechanisms, which cannot be described as mere opposition (see pp. 33f. above).

Variant repetition

Variant repetition describes the paradigmatic pattern in which the stem of the protasis remains constant, while one element – often the verb at the end of the clause – is variable and, through its variation, moves the sequence forward.¹⁹¹

§22.51’. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli imūt maqāt bēl dabābišu immar*

If a snake **dies** in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

§22.52’. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli ittapas bēl dabābišu idāk*

If a snake **is pushed down** in front of a man – he will kill his adversary.

§22.53’. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli izqup mīlum u kišitti qāti*

If a snake **rears up** in front of a man – (there will be) flooding and conquest.

¹⁸⁷ For an overview of each, see Winitzer 2017, pp. 172-174, and pp. 233-237.

¹⁸⁸ Winitzer 2017, p. 234.

¹⁸⁹ Starr (1983, p. 10) also uses the term “contrast” for describing the mechanism of opposite elements in omens.

¹⁹⁰ In extispicy omens, triads formed through the opposition right-middle-left or top-middle-base are common (Starr 1983, p. 11).

¹⁹¹ De Zorzi (2019, p. 160, n. 6) introduces the term “variant repetition” for all linguistic features in repetitive word-play, including phonetic, morphological, syntactical, lexical, and semantic variant repetition. For our purposes, we use the term only for a variation in one lexical element in a sequence of omens. The same mechanism is termed “pointillism of the paradigmatic type” by Winitzer, distinguishing it from “pointillism of the agglutinative type” (see Winitzer 2017, p. 234), which we simply call “agglutination” (see below).

§22.54'. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli **itallak** mīlum*

If a snake **crawls around** in front of a man – (there will be) flooding.

§22.55'. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli **ilsum** kašād šibūti*

If a snake **is speeding** in front of a man – (he will be) granted a wish.

§22.56'. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli **izziz** kišitti qāt šarri*

If a snake **stands** in front of a man – (there will be) a conquest by the king's hand.

§22.57'. *šumma sēru ana pān amēli **imsur** tēšû*

If a snake **strides** in front of a man – (there will be) chaos.

In §§23.94-96, in addition to the variant repetition of the protasis verb, the three verbs *ilut* – *idūk* – *īkul* stand in phonetic relationship with each other, all having the vowel pattern /i/-C₁-/u/-C₂, and only using the consonants /l/, /d/ or /t/, and /k/.

§23.94. *[šumma sēru ina] bīt amēli tappāšu **ilut** bītu šū issappaḥ qātu ikaššassu ekallu irreddīšu*

[If a snake] swallows its companion [in] a man's house – that house will be dispersed, the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of it, the palace will confiscate it.

§23.95. *šumma sēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu **idūk** kašād šibūti*

If a snake kills its companion in a man's house – (he will be) granted a wish.

§23.96. *šumma sēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu **īkul** maqāt bēl dabābišu immar*

If a snake eats its companion in a man's house – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

Agglutination

Agglutination is the mechanism where the whole protasis of the previous omen is repeated in the consecutive omen as a “stock phrase” and added an additional clause, connected by the enclitic *-ma* “and.”

§23.24. *[šumma] sēru zibbassu ina pīšu naši aššat amēli zikra ullad*

[If] a snake holds its tail in its mouth – the wife of the man will give birth to a boy.

§23.25. *šumma sēru zibbassu ina pīšu našīma sēru šanūma ina muhhi rabiš [ḥu]šaḥḥu ina māti ibbašši [ašš]atu[?] imātma bītu šū issappaḥ*

If a snake holds its tail in its mouth **and a second snake lies down on top (of it)** – there will be [fa]mine in the land, [the wi]fe (of the man)[?] will die and that house will be dispersed.

§23.27. *šumma sēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqut lū ... [...] lū ina zenūti ipparrasū*

If a snake falls between a man and a woman – they will part either in ... [...] or in hate.

§23.28. *šumma sēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqutma lū ūšīma idukkūšu lumunšu paṭir*

If a snake falls between a man and a woman **but it does not get out and they kill it** – his misery will be dispelled.

Even though the term agglutination suggests an attachment of the additional element at the end of the repeated protasis, the term can be extended to cases in which the additional element is inserted, becoming the first protasis, while the “stock phrase” protasis stands at the end.

- §23.5. *šumma šēru amēla ša dīna gerū iššuk [bēl dabābišu uštēm]eqšu*
 If a snake bites a man who is litigating – [his adversary will supplic]ate him.
- §23.6. *šumma šēru išburma amēla ša dīna gerū i[š]šuk ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM*
 If a snake hisses and b[i]tes a man who is litigating – ditto.

Paradigmatic features in the apodosis

Similar to the mechanisms of the generative paradigm working in the protasis column, the apodosis column can display such features. They are not, however, driving generators of the omen list, because the sequential order of the syntagm places the apodosis in the secondary position.

The use of the shorthand apodosis (see p. 21) can be interpreted as a mechanism of the apodosis clustering a group of omens. Apodoses may also display opposition, where the second apodosis references the first but holds the opposite prediction:

- §23.22. *šumma šēru ina reš amēli iknunma rabiš šukun ri[gm]i amēlu šū imât*
 If a snake coils on a man's head and lies down – (there will be) wa[il]ing, that man will die.
- §23.23. *šumma šēru ramānšu ikkal šukun rigmi amēlu [šū] iballut*
 If a snake eats itself – (there will be) wailing, (but) [that] man will survive.

Double apodoses, in which the first is a repetition of the apodosis in the previous omen, are a form of agglutination in the apodosis column:

- §23.32. *[šumma šēr]u ašar zikru u sinništu ašbūma kayy[ā]nu idabbubū ittanmarmā iktarrū innezzibū*
 [If a snak]e is continuously seen where a man and a woman are sitting and constantly talking and they feel constantly oppressed – they will leave each other.
- §23.33. *[šumma šēru] ašar zikru u sinništu izzazzū imqutma īmurūšu innezzibū zikru iballut*
 [If a snake] falls where a man and a woman are standing and they look at it – they will leave each other (and) the man will survive.

3. The multidimensionality of omen lists

We have approached the structural analysis of omen lists step by step by identifying features at the micro-level (elements of the protasis and the apodosis respectively), the meso-level (the semiotic link between protasis and apodosis in the syntagma), and on the macro-level (the generative paradigm creating sequences of omens). In this concluding chapter, we will try to bring our insights together and analyze the effects the chains of associations on all these levels produce by working simultaneously within an omen list and thereby creating a multidimensional structure. We argue that the effect created by the multidimensional structure, visualized as a rhizomatic model, is that of a poetic infinity, as described by Eco in *The Infinity of Lists*.¹⁹² Finally, we will briefly consider clusters within the omen sequence and suggest the potential of textual analysis of the omen lists as omen *texts*.

¹⁹² Eco 2009.

3.1. Rhizomatic structures beyond dichotomy

The multidimensional structure of an omen list can be described by Umberto Eco's semiotic theoretical model of the *rhizome*, which he used to describe multidimensional structure of an encyclopedia.¹⁹³ Similarly, Hilgert describes cuneiform lexical lists as a "rhizomatic 'knowledge network'" (*rhizomatisches "Wissensgeflecht"*).¹⁹⁴

The semiotic or text-linguistic *rhizome* is a derivation from the same term in botany, which denotes the axis system of roots of various plants: along the rhizome's central axis (also called rootstalk), smaller roots split off sequentially.¹⁹⁵ This visualization can be transferred to the structure of an omen list: the central axis, from which protases and apodoses branch off, is the paradigmatic *sequence* that holds all syntagmatic items together. The omen list, however, has an even more complex structure than a simple rhizome of one central axis surrounded by branches. In the omen list, the branches, in return, create their paradigmatic axes. The "protasis column" itself is a rhizomatic axis, as is the "apodosis column." Consequently, there is multidimensionality within multidimensionality, or, in other words, an omen list is a list of lists.

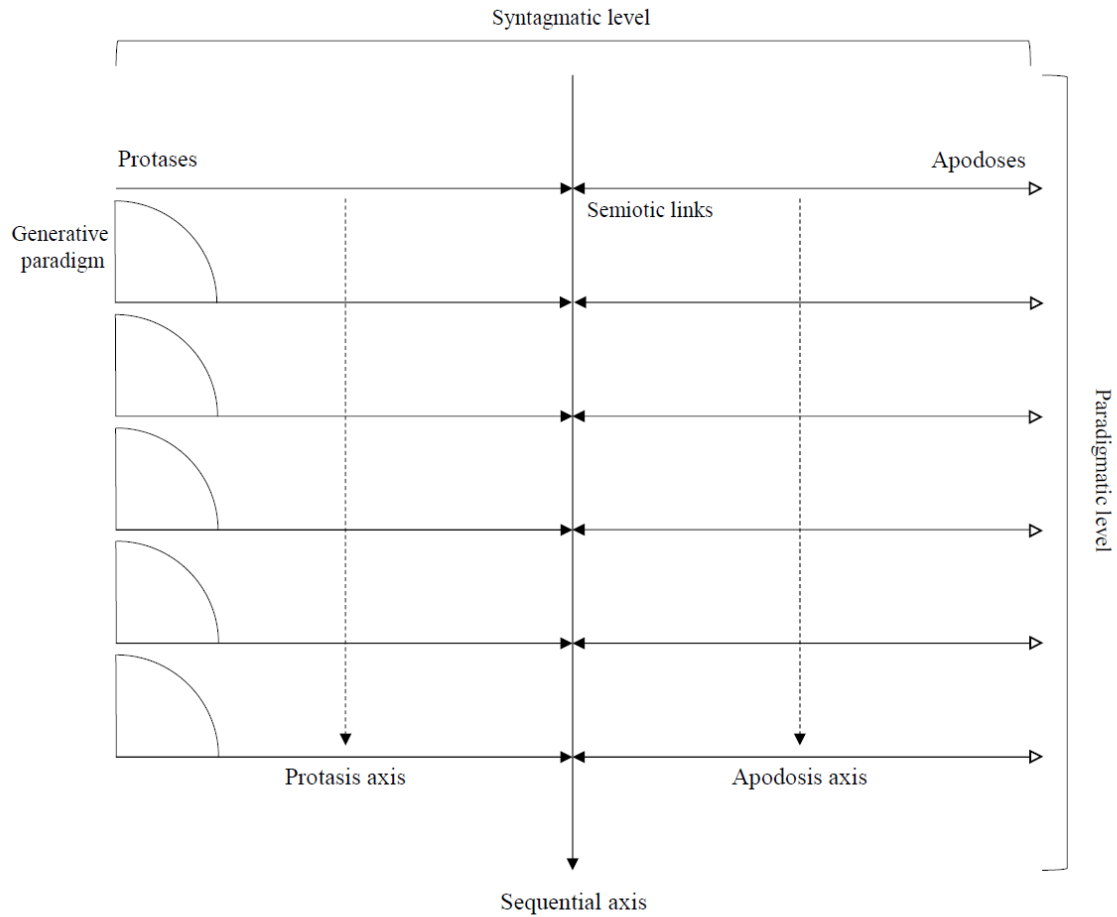
The diagram below is intended to represent all the text-linguistic aspects of the omen list discussed so far. The syntagm and the paradigm form the superordinate framework. At the syntagmatic level, protasis and apodosis connect with the help of a semiotic link. Each apodosis can be multiplied at the syntagmatic level, which is indicated by the white arrows pointing to the right. The formation of alternative apodoses at the paradigmatic level by inserting a shorthand repetition of the protasis (KI.MIN, *šumma*) is not evident from the diagram, but it exists within the possibilities of the apodosis axis.

The arcs on the left side of the protases represent the mechanism triggered by the generative paradigm in the protasis column. It is the driving force behind omen generation and is entirely dependent on the sequential axis.

¹⁹³ See Desogus 2012, p. 514.

¹⁹⁴ Hilgert 2009, p. 301.

¹⁹⁵ Kadereit et al. 2014, pp. 107-108.



It is important to emphasize that this model can only illustrate some aspects of an omen list's patterns and structures in a stylized and simplified form. Nevertheless, the model attempts to challenge the "simple structural dichotomy"¹⁹⁶ of the structuralist model for the mechanisms of human thought formulated by Lévi-Strauss.¹⁹⁷ For the Structuralists of the 20th century, human thought was hierarchically structured, primarily through binary opposition.¹⁹⁸ Lévi-Strauss's structuralist model draws on a dichotomy between syntagm and paradigm, concepts that are the basis of our model, too, which is, however, meant to exhibit the extent to which the structure of divinatory thought transcends the purely dichotomous framework of syntagm and paradigm. In an omen list, numerous dimensions simultaneously correspond to each other, evoking a complexity that a simple schema like the one above, consisting of a few labeled arrows and lines, cannot do justice.

The analysis of snake omens has shown that binary opposition as a paradigmatic mechanism is a rarity. The examples in the snake omens are limited to omen couplets with right/left opposition, which display a striking *pars hostilis/familiaris* symbolism.

¹⁹⁶ Winitzer 2017, p. 173.

¹⁹⁷ See Lévi-Strauss 1966.

¹⁹⁸ For a reflection on structuralism, post-structuralism, and critical theory in the context of his theory of the generative paradigm for Old Babylonian omens, see Winitzer 2017, pp. 173-174. Winitzer's reflections were also the impetus for those made here.

Variant repetition and agglutination occur far more frequently in the snake omens. This is important because while opposition is limited to producing couplets of omens, variant repetition and agglutination can be spun on indefinitely. Thus, variant repetition and agglutination generate “infinite lists,” which Umberto Eco characterizes as *poetic*.¹⁹⁹

3.2. Cohesive clusters

Groups of obviously related items that appear as a sequence within a list, then break off and continue at a later point are called “clusters” by Hilgert in his discussion of lexical lists.²⁰⁰ Like lexical lists, omen lists also display such clusters. Clusters in omen lists do not only collect single-word items as lexical lists do, but are made up of full clauses on both the protasis and apodosis sides. Read as a continuous text, these clusters display a high degree of thematic progression,²⁰¹ referential cohesion, and lexical cohesion.²⁰² As an example, we analyze a section of twelve omens from Tablet 23 (§§23.27-38), starting with the English translation.²⁰³ Looking beyond the two-column layout of the protasis-apodosis dichotomy also shows the interrelatedness of the syntagmatic (inner-omen) and paradigmatic (inter-omen) levels. Cohesive markers relate to elements both within their own column, e.g. from one protasis to the previous protasis, and across the syntagm, e.g., from the protasis to its apodosis.

(§23.27) If a snake falls between a man and a woman, **they** will part either in ... [...] or in hate. (§23.28) If a **snake** falls between **a man and a woman** but **it** does not get out and **they** kill it, **his** misery will be dispelled. (§23.29) If a **snake** falls between **husband and wife**, **partners** will divide (their assets), **husband and wife** will leave each other (and) die. (§23.30) If a **snake** falls between **husband and wife** and **it** does not go away [...], ... an interruption of (**his**) peace will be **his** lot. (§23.31) [If] a **snake** falls between **a man and a woman** where they are sitting or standing and **they** look at it, **they** will leave **each other** and the **man** will survive. (§23.32) [If a **snak**]e is continuously seen where **a man and a woman** are sitting and constantly talking and they feel constantly oppressed, **they** will leave **each other**. (§23.33) [If a **snake**] falls where a **man and a woman** are standing and they look at it, **they** will leave each other (and) the **man** will survive. (§23.34) [If a **snake**] is seen [where a **ma**]n and a woman are sitting and talking, **the man and the woman** will split up and leave each other. (§23.35) [If a **snak**]e falls between the **master of the house**, **the lady of the house**, the children of the **house**, the male and female servants [whe]re **they** are gathered, the **master of the house** will die and the **house** will be dispersed. (§23.36) [If a **snake**] falls [on top of **female weav**]ers and gets them agitated, that **garment** will not be tor[n]. [Dit]to² – that² **garment** will be torn out of unhappiness. (§23.37) [If a **snak**]e falls on top of **female weavers** and enters inside of the **thread**, **those female weavers** will die within three months. [Di]tto – a strong

¹⁹⁹ See Eco 2009.

²⁰⁰ Hilgert 2009, pp. 301-302.

²⁰¹ See Daneš 1970.

²⁰² See Halliday and Hasan 1976.

²⁰³ The same analysis applied to the Akkadian text is added below. Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) cohesion theory was developed for the English language, and an adaptation of the theory to fit the Akkadian language, especially by using practical texts such as letters, might be a powerful tool for Akkadian text analysis.

attack (will occur), that **garment** will be torn out of **unhappiness**. (§23.38) If a **snakes** falls on top of **female weavers** (and) enters into that **garment**, **their** hearts will be **happy** in **that month**.

For a more detailed illustration, the cohesion markers are singled out from the surrounding text. Words not marked in bold font appear for the first time in the text. Words marked in bold font are references to previously mentioned elements. Additionally, we mark conjunctions as cohesion markers in italics.

(§23.27) snake a man and a woman, **they** . (§23.28) **snake**
a man and a woman *but it* *and they* , **his** . (§23.29)
snake **husband and wife, partners** , **husband and wife**
. (§23.30) **snake** **husband and wife** *and it*
(his) **his** . (§23.31) **snake** **a man and a woman**
sitting or standing *and they* , **they** **each other** *and the man* . (§23.32) [
snak]e is **a man and a woman**
, **they** **each other**. (§23.33) [**snake**] **a man and a woman**
and they **it, they** **each other** **the man** . (§23.34) [**snake**] [**a**
ma]n and a woman , **the man and the woman** **each other**.
(§23.35) [**snak]e** **the master of the house, the lady of the house**, the children of the **house**, the
male and female servants [] **they** gathered, **the master of the house** *and the house*
. (§23.36) [**snake**] [**female weav]ers** , **that garment**
that? **garment** **unhappiness**. (§23.37) [**snak]e** **female**
weavers *and* **thread, those female weavers** **months**.
, **that garment** **unhappiness**. (§23.38) **snakes** **female**
weavers **that garment, their** **happy** **that month**.

The most consistent cohesive marker in this text is the anaphoric repetition of the *snake*.²⁰⁴ Deictic terms for the snake appear as the pronoun *it* (§23.28, §23.30, §23.33). Secondly, the clients in each omen are a group of people living together or working together. Anaphoric repetition of *a man and a woman* occur between §§23.27-28 and §§23.31-34. Lexical cohesion with *a man and a woman* in the form of *husband and wife* (§§23.29-30) and *the master of the house, the lady of the house* (§23.35) also occurs.

A semiotic link between protasis and apodosis appears in §23.29, where the protasis references *husband and wife*, while the apodosis references *partners* (*tappû*). We have decided to interpret *tappû* as business partners here, but within omen-logic, there is lexical cohesion with a married couple. Furthermore, *garment* in the apodoses of §§23.36-38 has a lexical cohesion with the protases by connecting to *female weavers* and *thread*.

After the section *man and woman* or *husband and wife* as the clients (§§23.27-34), omen §23.35 lists all household members. There, *the master of the house, the lady of the house* is a cohesive device (synonymic or metonymic) referencing *man and woman / husband and wife*, while the addition of the other

²⁰⁴ In terms of thematic progression, the text has a continuous theme (*durchlaufendes Thema*), see Daneš 1970, p. 76.

inhabitants of the house also works as lexical cohesion. Arguably, the *female weavers* in §§23.36-38 are an extension of the lexical cohesion in that they reference a group of people sitting together, which also applies to the clients in the previous omens.

On the apodosis side, cohesion between the individual apodoses can also be observed. See, for example *unhappiness* in §23.36-37 and the antonymic *happy* in §23.38, as well as *months* in §23.37 and *that month* in §23.38.

A view of the Akkadian text reveals a more concise pattern of cohesion. The analysis is somewhat impeded by the fact that the Halliday-Hasan model was developed for English. Akkadian word forms can express their complex grammatical meaning in a far more concise way through their root-scheme inflection, which makes many deictic terms “invisible” (conjugated verb forms do not require personal pronouns, the N-stem expresses reflexive meanings, e.g., *innezzibū* “they will leave each other”). On the other hand, the analysis of the Akkadian text has the advantage that those central keywords that reinforce the paradigm as a means of cohesion are even more prominent. Vital deictic elements in the Akkadian texts, however, which are essential in the cohesion between protasis and apodosis, are demonstrative pronouns, e.g., *išparātu šina* “those female weavers,” *šubātu šū* “that garment” (§23.37).²⁰⁵

(§23.27) *šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqut lū ... [...] lū ina zenūti ipparrasū* (§23.28) *šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqutma lā ūšīma idukkūšu lumunšu paṭir* (§23.29) *šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqut tappū izuzzū mutu u aššatu innezzibū imuttū* (§23.30) *šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqutma lā ūši [...] ... piṭir salīmi iššakkanšu* (§23.31) [*šumma*] *šēru ašar zikru u sinništu ašbū lū izzazzū* [ana] *birīšunu imqutma īmurūšu innezzibūma zikru iballuṭ* (§23.32) [*šumma šēr*]u *ašar zikru u sinništu ašbūma kayy[ā]nu idabbubū ittanmarmā iktarrū innezzibū* (§23.33) [*šumma šēru*] *ašar zikru u sinništu izzazzū imqutma īmurūšu innezzibū zikru iballuṭ* (§23.34) [*šumma šēru ašar zik*]ru *u sinništu ašbūma idabbubū innamir zikru u sinništu ipparrasū innezzibū* (§23.35) [*šumma šēr*]u *ašar bēl bīti bēlet bīti mārū bīti ardu u amtu ipḥurūma ana birīšunu imqut bēl bīti imātma bītu issappaḥ* (§23.36) [*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi išpar*]ātī *imqutma udalliḥšināti šubātu šū ul ut-takk[as] [KI].MIN² šubātu šū² ina lā ṭūb libbi uttakkas* (§23.37) [*šumma šēr*]u *ana muḥḥi išparātī imqutma ana libbi qē īrub išparātu šina ana ITI 3-KÁM imuttū [K]I.MIN tību dannu šubātu šū ina lā ṭūb libbi uttakkas* (§23.38) [*šumma šēr*]u *ana muḥḥi išparātī imqut ana libbi šubātī šuātī īrub ina arḥi šuātī libbašu iṭāb*

²⁰⁵ Demonstrative pronouns as a cohesive device between protasis and apodosis are omnipresent in the snake omens, where the apodosis often references the client (*amēlu*) already mentioned in the protasis with *amēlu šū* “that man.”

(§23.27)	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>zikri u sinništi</i>	(§23.28)	<i>ṣēru</i>	
<i>zikri u sinništi</i>			(§23.29)	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>muti u aššati</i>
<i>tappû</i>	<i>mutu u aššatu</i>	(§23.30)	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>muti u aššati</i>	
	(§23.31)	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>zikru u sinništu</i>		
	<i>zikru</i>	(§23.32) [	<i>ṣēr]u</i>	<i>zikru u sinništu</i>	
		(§23.33) [	<i>ṣēru]</i>	<i>zikru u sinništu</i>	
<i>zikru</i>	(§23.34) [	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>zik]ru u sinništu</i>		<i>zikru u sinništu</i>
	(§23.35) [	<i>ṣēr]u</i>	<i>bēl bīti bēlet bīti mārū bīti ardu u amtu</i>		<i>bēl</i>
<i>bīti</i>	<i>bītu</i>	(§23.36) [	<i>ṣēru</i>	<i>išpar]āti</i>	<i>ṣubātu šū</i>
	<i>ṣubātu šū?</i>	<i>lā ṭūb libbi</i>	(§23.37) [	<i>ṣēr]ru</i>	<i>išparāti</i>
<i>qê</i>	<i>išparātu šina</i>	ITI		<i>ṣubātu šū</i>	<i>lā ṭūb libbi</i>
(§23.38) [	<i>ṣēr]ru</i>	<i>išparāti</i>	<i>ṣubāti šuāti</i>	<i>arḫi šuāti libbašu iṭâb</i>	

As mentioned above, clusters may break off and be taken up again at a later point within a list.²⁰⁶ The couples/family/workers omens here in §§23.27-38 have such a continuation: §23.107 says, “If a snake lies down on top of a man’s bed – his god will grant that man offspring,” followed by protases with “man and woman” as the clients up to the last omen of Tablet 23 (§§23.108-113). The cluster arguably continues with Tablet 24, where §§24.1-6 specify the (man’s) bed (*eršu*) as the place in the protasis (like in §23.107), §24.5 even explicitly names the man’s *and* the woman’s bed combined with a divorce apodosis: “[If a snake] falls on top of a man and woman’s bed – husband and wife will leave each other.” §24.7 specifies the place as “bed (or) chair,” §§24.8-11 specify the place as the “chair” (*kussû*).

Such examinations highlight that the generative paradigm is very much reliant on thematic progression and cohesion markers. Furthermore, by juxtaposing two seemingly unrelated clusters with similar patterns of thematic progression, for which we will consider §§22.85’-89’ and §§23.1-6, it can be surmised that the generative paradigm is guided by concrete parameters for the development of thematic progression and cohesion. The following analysis does not conventionally distinguish theme and rheme, but instead tries to visualize the syntactic hierarchies, which are even more transparent in the English translation (in the Akkadian verb-final syntax, the subordinate clause appears as an insertion).

§22.87’. If a snake falls on top of an ill man

whose illness has been dragging on
his illness will leave him.

§22.88’. If a snake falls on top of an ill man

who has been ill for many days
that ill man will recover and attain a long life.

§22.89’. If a snake falls on top of an ill man

whose illness is difficult
that ill man’s illness will be removed from his body
and he will calm down.

²⁰⁶ Hilgert 2009, pp. 301-302.

- §23.1. If a snake falls on top of a man
who is involved in a lawsuit²⁰⁷
his lawsuit will be long.
- §23.2. [If a snake] fall[s on top of a man]
who is invol[ved] in a lawsuit,
[bu]t his lawsuit is already dragging on
[his lawsuit] will be settled.
- §23.3. If a snake hisses and falls on top of a man
who is litigating
his adversary will supplicate him.
- §23.4. If a snake falls on top of a man
who is being thrown into prison
that man will come out of prison
[that man's *mind*][?] *will be at peace*[?].

3.3. Conclusion

In the analytical part of this master's thesis, we could only consider selected poetic and linguistic aspects of the snake omens. Although we had almost 250 omens at our disposal for this purpose, compared to the thousands of omens to be analyzed in the animal Tablets of *Šumma ālu* alone, we have used only a small sample from a far more complex and diverse corpus. Thankfully, more comprehensive corpus linguistic analyses of the animal omens are in progress. Not only have Nicole Lundeen, Craig Harris, and Judith Pfitzner been working intensively for many months on the edition and analysis of additional animal Tablets, but the digital project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* is also showing its first exciting results, which Saranya Balasubramanian is making available through the application of computer linguistics to the more "traditionally" philological part of the team. Through computer linguistics, what we can read "with the naked eye" from the omen lists, as was done in this master's thesis, is massively enriched by additional insights into the omens' structure and mechanisms.

Nevertheless, our preliminary analysis of the snake omens using a theory-based methodology has shown the immense influence of poeticity in omens. Much as literary critics read the verses of a genius poet, we should approach the omen lists with admiration and humility, employing our methodological tools for getting a better understanding of their structure and genesis, and by this, be able to appreciate them fully.

²⁰⁷ We have translated *ša dīna gerû* as “who is litigating” (see §§23.1-2) but the more literal translation “who is involved in a lawsuit” serves better for the theme-rheme analysis attempted here.

Part III. Edition

This part of the thesis presents a new updated and improved edition of Tablets 22-24 of *Šumma ālu*. Some omens in the reconstruction are annotated with “(var.),” referring to the omen’s attestation in more than one form. Generally, the form of the omen documented by most manuscripts is identified as the “main variant.” However, like the rest of the philological work, this approach is highly dependent on the coincidental circumstances of transmission.

The basis for our philological work was the edition by Sally Freedman,²⁰⁸ supplemented by the edition of individual manuscripts from Assur by Nils Heeßel.²⁰⁹ The scores and reconstructions we present for Tablets 22-24 differ from Freedman’s, in some cases quite considerably. Collations have not only yielded new readings of cuneiform signs but also led to a reorganization of the omen sequence. In the translations into English, some of the wording or vocabulary has also been adjusted. The approach and reasoning for readings, omen arrangement, and translation can be found in the philological commentary.

Manuscripts

The catalog below presents all manuscripts containing omens from Tablets 22-24 used in this edition. It also lists related commentary texts, manuscripts of Tablets 25-26, and additional texts that preserve snake omens. The sigla assigned to the manuscripts follow the sigla used in *If a City 2* as near as possible, though Freedman’s system of upper- and lower-case letters identifying Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts has been ignored. In order to differentiate between manuscripts marked with the sigla A and B, which *If a City 2* uses three times respectively in Tablet 22, 23, and 24, the number of the chapter-tablet has been added in brackets and superscript in the list below: A⁽²²⁾, A⁽²³⁾, A⁽²⁴⁾ and B⁽²²⁾, B⁽²³⁾, B⁽²⁴⁾. In the score itself, the siglum is used without the indication of the chapter-tablet as the latter information is clear from context.

For the reconstruction of a divinatory series we identify different types of texts which were developed within the divinatory scribal tradition. Central to the philological reconstruction are the so-called “standard texts,” i.e., texts containing the complete version of a Tablet in a standardized order. Alongside these standard texts, there are also excerpt texts, which, as the name suggests, present a selection of individual omens from a standard text. Together, standard texts and excerpt texts provide the basis for reconstructing a divinatory series like *Šumma ālu*. Texts that originate from Assur in the Middle Assyrian period are several centuries older than the standard texts, most of which originate from Nineveh, are called here forerunners. The forerunner texts show parallels with the standard texts in large parts and contribute to the omens’ reconstruction.

²⁰⁸ Freedman 2006a, abbreviated *If a City 2*.

²⁰⁹ Heeßel 2007, abbreviated KAL 1.

Related to the divinatory series are the commentary texts. Commentary texts consist of citations from the omens generally accompanied by explanations of certain words, often through synonyms. Sometimes a commentary tries to explain the links between protasis and apodosis of an omen.

Omens from Tablet 22 are preserved on the standard texts mss. A⁽²²⁾, B⁽²²⁾, C, D, E, F, X; the excerpt texts mss. Ex2, Ex4, Ex5, Ex7, Ex8; and the forerunner text V3. Omens from Tablet 23 are preserved on the standards texts mss. A⁽²³⁾, B⁽²³⁾, F, G, H, X; the excerpt texts mss. Ex1, Ex2, Ex4, Ex6; and the forerunner texts mss. V1 and V2. Omens from Tablet 24 are preserved on the standard texts mss. A⁽²⁴⁾, B⁽²⁴⁾, X, and on the excerpt texts mss. Ex1 and Ex3. Mss. F and X also contain omens related to Tablets 25-26.

Tablet 22

A⁽²²⁾ K 1350 + K 2149 + K 11071 + 1879-7-8, 158

Omens preserved:²¹⁰ §§22.1-25, §§22.30-35

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. A; CT 38 33-36 composite; Craig 1899, no. 83 (copy); Nötscher 1929, pp. 110-122;²¹¹ CDLI, no. P366090 with photo

Ms. A⁽²²⁾ from Nineveh is a well-preserved standard manuscript for Tablet 22 in Neo-Assyrian script. It is one of the most beautifully written snake omen manuscripts. A pronounced DIŠ marks the beginning of each omen in a new line. In the omens taking up more than one line, all the lines after the first are indented, thus creating a clear layout.

For ending each line near the right edge of the manuscript, the scribe left uninscribed spaces in the middle of some lines. Horizontal wedges at the end of some signs (e.g., BIR, IGI, TUK) are elongated, creating a calligraphic effect.

All edges of the tablet are preserved. Almost all omens are preserved on the obverse, except for damage in the lower half, where parts of four lines are lost.

The reverse of the tablet is severely damaged. Traces of damaged signs are visible in the first few lines of the reverse. These lines can be placed, but many signs remain illegible. In the middle of the reverse, a fragmented sandwich-join preserves six lines belonging to five omens (ll. A r. 7'-13' = §§22.30-35). A ruling divides lines A r. 12' and A r. 13'. §22.35 is the last attested omen on the reverse of ms. A⁽²²⁾. The rest of the reverse, though now largely broken, was uninscribed.

²¹⁰ This representation can only make a statement about which omens are preserved on the manuscript, but not which were originally written on it and which were omitted from the standard sequence. For this, see the scores, where the omission of omens by standard manuscripts is marked as such, and the selection of omens by excerpt manuscripts should be equally evident.

²¹¹ Note that Nötscher defines the snake Tablets in *Šumma ālu* as Tablets 21, 22, and 23 (Nötscher 1929, pp. 83-154), and continues the sequence with scorpion omens in Tablet 24 (Nötscher 1929, pp. 155-169).

B⁽²²⁾ K 2128 + K 2136 + K 4098 + K 7154 + K 8288

Omens preserved: §§22.1-2, §§22.4-36, §§22.44'-91'

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. B; CT 38 33-36 composite (without K 8288); CDLI, no. P366091 with photo (note that the CDLI photo presents the reverse on top and the obverse on the bottom).

Ms. B⁽²²⁾ B⁽²²⁾ is, like ms. A⁽²²⁾, a professionally written, aesthetically pleasing standard manuscript for Tablet 22 from Nineveh written in Neo-Assyrian script. The DIŠ at the beginning of each omen is clearly marked near the left edge. Omens going over more than one line are indented. A fine vertical ruling is drawn along these indents from the lower tip of a DIŠ down to the head of the next DIŠ.

The scribe took care to place repeating cuneiform signs in a sequence of omens on top of each other, also aligning blank spaces in the lines. The places left blank within a line are arranged on top of each other so that blank squares are created as a graphic effect. In such a blank square on the obverse of the manuscript, the sign IGI has been prominently placed seven times on top of each other, the horizontal wedge of IGI being overly elongated.

All edges of the tablet are preserved, but a large chunk is broken in the lower half of the obverse, and the lower third of the reverse is completely broken. The scribe of ms. B used the sign U with the reading 10 to mark every tenth omen on the tablet. It is first visible on the obverse at the level of §22.31, which is the thirtieth omen of ms. B, because it omits §22.3. The same mark was probably placed at the level of §22.11 (the tenth omen of ms. B) and §22.21 (the twentieth omen of ms. B), but there the left edge of the tablet is damaged. On the reverse, 10-marks are preserved at the level of §22.77' and §22.87'.

C K 6071 + K 8352 + K 8360

Omens preserved: §§22.1-3, §§22.5-21, §§22.64'-91', incipit of §23.1 (colophon)

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. C; CT 38 33-36; CDLI, no. P366093 with photo

Ms. C is an aesthetically pleasant manuscript. The upper, left, and right edges are preserved. The obverse is broken from the top right corner downwards. The DIŠ wedge and the horizontal wedge of the *ina* at the beginning of each omen are clearly pronounced. The DIŠ of the omens that go over several lines is connected by a fine vertical ruling to the next DIŠ below. This can also be seen on the reverse. Parts of the reverse are broken both at the top and the bottom, but the two side edges are preserved. Within the written surface on the reverse, small squares have been left blank, and the elongation of horizontal wedges seems to have been used deliberately as a graphic device.

- D** 1880-7-19, 280
- Omens preserved: §§22.36-40, §§22.78'-82'
- Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. D; Caplice 1971, pp. 164-165, text no. 63, tab. XII (photo); CDLI, no. P452026 with photo
- Ms. D is a small fragment written in Neo-Assyrian script. The right edge is preserved. On the obverse, nine lines in tiny, neat script are preserved. About two-thirds of the reverse are broken, only four lines are preserved, and the script is slightly larger than on the obverse.
- Ms. D was collated in February 2020.
- E** BM 36389 + BM 36866 [E₁] (+) BM 36949 + BM 37028 [E₂]
- Omens preserved: §§22.1-30, §§22.32-36, §§22.46'-52', §22.54', §§22.56'-58', §§22.64'-67', §§22.78'-91', incipit of §23.1 (colophon)
- Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. e (only BM 36389 + BM 36866 (e₁) and BM 36949 (e₂)).
- Ms. E is written in Neo-Babylonian script. It is broken up into two non-physical joins, ms. E₁ and ms. E₂. Ms. E₂ was collated from photos taken by Céline Debourse (University of Vienna). We collated ms. E₁ at the British Museum in February 2020.
- Of ms. E₁, only the right edge is preserved. Few lines on the lower third of the reverse are uninscribed. Two physical joins make up ms. E₁. The surface of BM 36389 (the join on top of the obverse / on the bottom of the reverse) is in far worse condition than BM 36866, which makes many of the signs difficult to read. Of ms. E₂, the surface of the obverse is quite damaged, while the signs on the reverse are very clear. The join BM 37028 of ms. E₂ is not included in *If a City* 2 (compare *If a City* 2, p. 6, “e₂ = BM 36949 – [omens] 1, 2, 4, 6-7, 9, 12; 88-92, colophon”).
- F** SU 51/49+
- Omens preserved: §§22.50'-91', §§23.1, §§23.3-13, §§23.20-30
- Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablets 22-23, ms. F; *If a City* 2, Tablets 25-26, Related Texts, ms. (5); STT II, nos. 321-322 (pls. CCXL-CCXLI); CDLI, no. P338636 with copy
- Ms. F the only manuscript with snake omens from Sultantepe (ancient Huzirīna in Anatolia). The manuscript has a total of four columns, columns i-ii preserve omens from Tablets 22-23, the reverse with columns iii-iv preserves omens that can be attributed to Tablets 25-26 (see *If a City* 2, pp. 112-116). According to Heeßel, tablets with terrestrial omens from Sultantepe cannot be considered “standard” despite their similarity to the omens documented by the other manuscripts (Heeßel 2007, p. 3). However, our study has demonstrated that the omens of Tablets 22-23 overwhelmingly agrees with other “standard texts.” The omens on the reverse, which are associated with Tablets 25-26, do not closely parallel other manuscripts, which is not surprising, since overall the manuscripts attributed to Tablets 25-26 are very

dissimilar from each other so that no “standard sequence” can be reconstructed. For the reconstruction of Tablets 22-23, ms. F, in any case, contributes a great deal.

A photo of the manuscript is not available, only the copy made by the excavators O. R. Gurney and P. Hulin (see Gurney and Hulin 1964, pls. CCXL-CCXLI). It seems that there are a few copying errors in it which need to be taken into account (see §22.56', §23.4, §§23.8-9).

X VAT 10905a [X₁] (+) VAT 10481 + VAT 10905b + VAT 12918 [X₂] (+) VAT 10905c [X₃]

Omens preserved: §§22.33-37, §§22.39-43, §§23.3-19, §§23.75-114, §§24.1-20

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablets 22-24, ms. X; *If a City* 2, Tablet 25, ms. (8); KAL 1, no. 9; KAR 389; Nötscher 1929, pp. 92-98, 100-109; CDLI, no. P497584 with copy

With its six columns, the early Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Assur is the most extensive manuscript with snake omens. It is preserved by three non-physical joins, the numbering as X₁, X₂, and X₃ follows *If a City* 2, p. 6.

In terms of content and sequence, it is fairly standardized. Tablets 22-24 are represented on the manuscript as well as omens that can be assigned to Tablets 25-26. Intermediate rulings separate the sections of omens and there are vertical double rulings between the columns. A colophon in line X iv 12 designates the omens above as belonging to Tablet 21 (our Tablet 23).²¹² For further details on ms. X see KAL 1, p. 33.

Tablet 23

A⁽²³⁾ K 2925 + K 3534 + K 5975 + K 8719 + K 9643 + DT 155

Omens preserved. §§23.1-40, §23.78, §§23.81-83, §§23.85-88, §23.90, §§23.92-93, §§23.95-109

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 23, ms. a; Geers Q007, Q082, Q052;²¹³ CDLI, no. P237752 with photo (excluding DT 155)

The main manuscript for Tablet 23 is typically Neo-Assyrian, but the scribe's handwriting is somewhat peculiar compared to the other manuscripts from Nineveh. The upper and left and right edges are partially preserved. The lower edge is not preserved. There are blank areas within lines, but they are not as strictly graphically arranged as in the main manuscripts of Tablets 22 (see above).

²¹² DUB 21-KÁM.MA DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR 1 UŠ 54-ÀM MU.BI.IM “Tablet 21 of (the series) If a city is set on a height, 114 entries” (X₂ iv 12), see KAL 1, no. 9, pp. 35, 39. Our reconstruction of Tablet 23 also has 114 omens.

²¹³ Copies from the “Geers-Hefte” by F. W. Geers, Universität Heidelberg.

B⁽²³⁾ Si 732

Omens preserved: §§23.45-63

Publications: *If a City* 2 23, ms. B; Geers Ac49

Ms. B from Sippar is a fragment of twenty lines, accessible only in the form of a working copy by F. W. Geers. The philological reconstructions are thus accompanied by a certain degree of uncertainty.

G A 453 + A 536 + A 2410 + A 2438

Omens preserved: §§23.8-110, §§23.112-114, incipit of §24.1 (catchline)

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 23, ms. G; KAL 1, no. 11; KAR 386; Nötscher 1929, pp. 83-93, 98-100; CDLI, no. P369351 with KAR-copy

The upper and lower edges of this Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur are preserved. The first line of the obverse contains omen §23.8, meaning the first seven canonical omens are omitted (pace KAL 1, p. 12, the first six omens). A mistake has occurred in the KAR copy by Ebeling who placed a fragment on the obverse in the wrong way. The mistake was corrected by Heeßel in KAL 1 11. Because *If a City* 2 used the KAR copy for ms. G, many omens in Tablet 23 were in need of re-edition. For more information on ms. G see KAL 1, pp. 12, 44.

H BM 41232

Omens preserved: §§23.31-36, §§23.82-94

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 23, ms. H; photo by C. Debourse for the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*;

The late Babylonian manuscript ms. H originates from Babylon and was collated in February 2020 as part of the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* project. Photos of the manuscript were provided to us already a few months earlier by Céline Debourse. No photos are available on the British Museum database or on CDLI.

During the collation, it was possible to place some not previously assigned lines to any omen.

Tablet 24

A⁽²⁴⁾ K 2682 + K 2684

Omens preserved: §§24.1-38

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 24, ms. A; CT 38 32; CDLI, no P366089 with photo

Although all but the lower edge of ms. A⁽²⁴⁾ are preserved, the manuscript has significant breakage. In addition, the surface on the obverse is not always clearly legible either because of surface damage or because of the low resolution of the photo provided on CDLI.

On the reverse, eight lines are widely spaced across the entire preserved surface. They contain a detailed colophon that assigns the omens to Tablet 22 instead of Tablets 24 (see the commentary to §24.38). Note that this is consistent with the designation of Tablet 23 as Tablet 21 in ms. X (line X2 iv 12).

B⁽²⁴⁾ K 13981

Omens preserved: §§24.23-28

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 24, ms. B; CT 28 26; CDLI, no. 400563 with photo (by mistake, the copy of K 13961 is added)

Ms. B⁽²⁴⁾ is a tiny fragment containing the beginning of five omens, on top of which there are traces of another sign which can only be interpreted speculatively from the photo and which requires collation (see §24.23).

Excerpt texts

Ex1 K 2010

Omens preserved: §§23.76-79, §23.81, §23.83, §§23.86-89, §23.94, §23.97, §23.101, §23.103, §24.1, §24.5

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablets 23-24, ms. Ex(1); CDLI, no. P394135 with photo

This excerpt text collects omens from Tablets 23 and 24. The use of elongated vertical wedges, e.g., for the sign BIR, and the blank spaces within lines meet a professionally written manuscript's aesthetic requirements. An intermediate ruling is placed after §23.101 and after §23.103, the last two omens from Tablet 23 on ms. Ex1. After that, the omens from Tablets 24 begin with §24.1.

Ex2 K 2935 + K 11850 + K 12518 + K 12751 + K 12869 + K 13926 + K 14023 [Ex2₁] (+) K 10576 [Ex2₂]

Omens preserved: §§22.48'-53', §22.55', §§22.58'-59', §§22.68'-74', §§22.77'-78', §§22.80'-86', §§22.88'-91', §§23.1-4, §23.9, §23.11

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablets 22-23, ms. Ex(2); CDLI, nos. P394737 [Ex2₁], P398767 [Ex2₂]

Ms. Ex2 consists of two non-physical joins. The left edge and the lower edge of ms. Ex2₁ are preserved, but not the upper edge, as the CDLI photo, which places the reverse over the obverse, might suggest. On the reverse of ms. Ex2₁, two intermediate rulings give a good example of the use of rulings to divide thematic clusters and distinct Tablets of a series: The first ruling is placed between line r. 4 and r. 5, i.e. between §22.84' (ll. r. 3-4) and §22.85'. The line separates two thematic clusters: in §§22.82'-84' the client is a baby, in §§22.85'-91' the client is a sick man. The second ruling separates the last omen of Tablet 22 (§22.91')

from the first omen of Tablet 23 (§23.1). Though functioning as a border between the two Tablets, the ruling also separates thematic clusters, as the themes of the end of Tablet 22 and the beginning of Tablet 23 differ.

Ex3 K 6940 + K 10159 [Ex3₁] (+) K 10449 + K 13317 [Ex3₂]

Omens preserved: §§24.4-6, §§24.8-9, §§24.17-19, §§24.22-23

Publications: *If a City 2*, Tablet 24, ms. Ex(3); CDLI, nos. P398697 [Ex3₁], P396915 [Ex3₂]

From the two non-physical joins ascribed to ms. Ex3, ms. Ex2₁ contains omens from Tablet 24, ms. Ex2₂ has unplaced lines associated with Tablets 25-26 (see *If a City 2*, p. 61). This manuscript's characteristic feature is the relatively large line indentation for omens that extend beyond one line. The indent is as long as the two signs DIŠ MUŠ above it. The manuscript also exhibits other orthographic embellishments such as elongated horizontal wedges or blank spaces within lines.

Ex4 K 2935 + K 11850 + K 12518 + K 12751 + K 12869 + K 13926 + K 14023 [Ex4₁] (+) K 10576 [Ex4₂]

Omens preserved: §§22.71'-72', §22.74', §§22.76'-80', §§22.82'-83', §§22.85'-87', §§22.89'-91', §§23.1-3, §§23.28-30

Publications: *If a City 2*, Tablets 22-23, ms. Ex(4); CDLI, nos. P397972 [Ex4₁], P398150 [Ex4₂] with photos

The two non-physical joins are, firstly, the left side of the manuscript (ms. Ex4₂) and, secondly, the right side (ms. Ex4₁) (the designation follows *If a City 2*). Vertical rulings on the obverse allow a comfortable alignment of the fragments. A unique feature of ms. Ex4 is the sequence of excerpted omens. The manuscript begins with omens from Tablet 22, after which, between two vertical rulings, an insertion of two omens from Tablets 23 is placed, followed again by omens from Tablet 22.

Ex5 K 12140

§22.1, §22.4, §§22.15-16, §22.24

Publications: *If a City 2*, Tablet 22, ms. Ex(5); Leichty, transliteration (notebook, p. 83); CDLI, no. P399650

This small fragment is part of the upper right edge of the original manuscripts. Presumably, only one or two lines are gone from the top, because the first line preserved is placed in the latter part of §22.1, which probably was the first omen written on the excerpt text. No photos of the fragment are accessible online, but Céline Debourse provided us with photos taken at the British Museum. A working transliteration by Erle Leichty is found in his handwritten notebook, p. 83.

The lines on the obverse of ms. Ex5 are placed. On the reverse, two broken signs remain unplaced.

Ex6 K 13965

Omens preserved. §23.43, §23.50, §§23.53-55

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 23, ms. Ex(6)

Only the surface of one side is intact (assuming from the CDLI photo, which shows only one side). From this view, the upper edge is preserved, allowing the speculation that it is the reverse, as an excerpt text would not start with §23.43 from the middle of a Tablet. Note that in *If a City* 2, the line numbers are marked with an apostrophe, suggesting a broken upper edge.

The first five lines can be placed, after which eight lines remain unplaced (see *If a City* 2, pp. 42-43, n. 57).

Ex7 Sm 1980

§22.1, §§22.21-22

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. Ex(7); CDLI, no. P426207

This fragment of twelve lines has no intact edges, and the reverse is completely broken. The preserved surface has also experienced some damage, but the tablet was collated in February 2020.

The CDLI page for ms. Ex7 (Sm 1980, P426207) by mistake added the copy to K 2128+.

Ex8 1879-7-8, 319

§22.3, (§22.4, §§22.7-9)²¹⁴

Publications: *If a City* 2, Tablet 22, ms. Ex(8); CDLI, no. P451934 with photo

Though this fragment contains a few lines on the obverse, hardly an omen can be placed, as the omens' repetitive beginning is preserved. Of the five lines on the reverse, only two or one broken signs are visible in each line, making a placement difficult.

Forerunner texts

V1 VAT 10523 (+) A 10

Omens preserved: §§23.1-6, §§23.9-10, §23.12, §§23.18-19, §§23.27-28, §23.31, §§23.35-36, §§23.40-41, §23.44, §23.49, §23.81, §§23.95-96

²¹⁴ The placing of these lines in ms. Ex8 is uncertain see the philological commentary for §22.2.

Publications: KAL 1, no. 14; *If a City* 2, pp. 90, n. 24-32 (see also p. 73); KAR 383; Nötscher 1929, pp. 122-125; CDLI, no. P282621 with photo

Middle Assyrian manuscript with snake omens from Assur. See KAL 1, p. 58 for a detailed description.

V2 VAT 10805

Omens preserved: §§23.11-19

Publications: KAL 1, no. 15; CDLI, no. P282624 with photo

Middle Assyrian manuscript with snake omens from Assur. See KAL 1, p. 66 for a detailed description.

V3 VAT 13804

Omens preserved: §§22.12-18, §22.21, §§22.24-31, §22.33

Publications: KAL 1, no. 10; CDLI, no. P497588 with copy

Middle Assyrian manuscript with snake omens from Assur. See KAL 1, p. 42 for a detailed description.

Commentary texts

W1 BM 129092

Preserves commentaries for omens §22.1, §§22.5-11, §§22.16-17, §§22.19-21, §§22.33-37, §22.39, §§22.46'-48', §22.57', §22.60', §22.72', §23.3, §§23.6-10, §23.12, §23.14, §23.26, §23.37, §23.39, §23.42, §23.44, §23.47, §§23.51-52, §23.54-55, §23.64[?], §23.78, §23.81, §§23.84-86, §§23.94-96, §§23.101-102, §23.107, §23.112

Publications: CCP 3.5.22.A.b (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P461301>); Freedman 2006b; CDLI, no. P461301

Commentaries on snake omens from Tablets 22-23.

W2 W 22585,0

Preserves commentaries for omens §22.21, §§22.33-37, §22.39, §§22.46'-48', §22.57', §22.60', §22.72', §23.3, §§23.6-10, §23.12, §23.14, §23.26, §23.37, §23.42, §23.47

Publications: CCP 3.5.22.A.a (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P348846>); von Weiher 1998, no. 259; CDLI, no. P348846

Commentaries on snake omens from Tablets 22-23.

Catalog

VAT 9438 + VAT 10324 (obv.), VAT 9977 (rev.)

Previous publications: Rochberg 2018, pp. 126-131; Freedman 1998, pp. 322-323, *Assur Catalog*; KAR 407, KAR 394; Landsberger 1934, p. 50, §5

This manuscript is known as the “Assur catalog.” It lists the incipits of the five Tablets in *Šumma ālu* with snake omens: Tablet 22 (ll. ii 28-29), Tablet 23 (l. ii 30), Tablet 24 (l. ii 31), Tablet 25 (l. ii 32), and Tablet 26 (l. ii 33).

Additional texts

A 3439

Manuscript of *Sakikkû*, Tablet 2 (Heeßel 2001/2002), which preserves snake omens (see §§22.85’ for an overview). Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 27, lists previous publications of A 3439 (ms. A) as well as the parallel manuscripts BM 76022 (ms. B), K 12662 + Sm 281 (ms. C), BM 68460 (+) BM 83011 (ms. E).

VAT 10147

Manuscript of *Iqqur īpuš* with snake omens (see §22.21, §22.23, §§22.25-34). Published as KAR 212 and in Labat 1965, pp. 43 (parallels), pp. 124-127 (reconstruction and translation).

VAT 10163

Manuscript of *Iqqur īpuš* with a snake omen (see §22.31). Published as KAR 392 and in Labat 1965, pp. 226-233 (note that Labat interprets obverse and reverse opposite from Ebeling in KAR 392).

Composite text, transcription, and translation

Tablet 22

§22.1 (var.)	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM NA <i>la-am</i> TA ^{giš} NÁ GÌR-šú ana KI GAR-nu MUŠ TA ḪABRUD.DA È- <i>ma la-am</i> <i>ma-am-man</i> IGI LÚ IGI LÚ BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-</i> <i>KÁM amēlu lām ištu erši</i> <i>šēpšu ana eršeti iškunu šēru</i> <i>ištu ḫurri ūšīma lām</i> <i>mamman īmuru amēla īmur</i> <i>amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti</i> <i>imât</i>	If, on the first day of Nisannu, before a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before anybody sees (it), it stares at the man – that man will die within that year.
	<i>šum₄-ma</i> LÚ BI TI.LA ḫa-ših SAG.DU ú- <i>ḫar-ra-ár</i> TE.MEŠ-šú ú- <i>gal-lab</i> ITI 3- KÁM <i>uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma</i> TI-uṭ	<i>šumma amēlu šū balāṭa ḫaših</i> <i>qaqqada uḫarrar lētišsu</i> <i>ugallab ITI 3-KÁM</i> <i>uštapaššaqlma iballuṭ</i>	If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for three months he will suffer, but he will survive.
§22.2	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ : <i>uš-ta-pa-áš-šaq-ma</i> TI	<i>šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-</i> <i>KÁM šēru amēla īmur ina</i> <i>libbi šatti šuāti imât :</i> <i>uštapaššaqlma iballuṭ</i>	If, on the first day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – he will die in the middle of that year : he will suffer, but he will survive.
§22.3 (var.)	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI U ₄ .MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar	<i>šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-</i> <i>KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru</i> <i>amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu</i> <i>ikarrû ibissâ immar</i>	If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, he will suffer losses.
§22.4	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI U ₄ .MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su	<i>šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-</i> <i>KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru</i> <i>amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu</i> <i>ikarrû māmītu iṣabbassu</i>	If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, a curse will seize him.

§22.5	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut LÚ BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1- KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât</i>	If, on the first day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – that man will die within that year.
§22.6	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut lu GIG lu KI.ŠÚ dan-na DAB-su	<i>šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1- KÁM adi U₄ 15-KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut lū muršu lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu</i>	If, between the first and the fifteenth day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – either illness or hard imprisonment will seize him.
§22.7	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1- KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM</i>	If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – ditto.
§22.8	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1- KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru ana pān amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM</i>	If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake falls in front of a man – ditto.
§22.9	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR LÚ ŠUB-ut EN SILIM-mi-šú <i>ana</i> EN ḪUL-šú GUR-šú	<i>šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ana arki amēli imqut bēl šulmišu ana bēl lemuttišu itâršu</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls behind a man – his well- wisher will turn into his ill- wisher.
§22.10	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR LÚ ŠUB-ut- <i>ma</i> NU IGI <i>ana</i> NÍG.TUK SIG ₅ <i>ana</i> MAŠ.EN.GAG <i>ina</i> NU URU-šú ÚŠ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ana arki amēli imqutma lā īmur ana šarī idammīq ana muškēnu ina lā ālišu imât</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls behind a man and he does not look at (it) – regarding a rich man, he will be well, regarding a commoner, he will die in a city not his own.

§22.11	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> ZAG LÚ ŠUB-ut NA BI GIZKIM ^{giš} NÁ DAB-su-ma É BI BIR-aḥ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ana imitti amēli imqut</i> <i>amēlu šū itti erši</i> <i>iṣabbassuma bītu šū</i> <i>issappaḥ</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls to a man's right – that man will become bedridden and that house will be dispersed.
§22.12	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> GÙB LÚ ŠUB-ut NÍG.TUK ÚKU MAŠ.EN.GAG <i>ina</i> la-li-šú ÚŠ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ana šumēl amēli imqut</i> <i>šarû ilappin muškēnu ina</i> <i>lalīšu imât</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls to a man's left – a rich man will become poor, a commoner will die in his prime.
§22.13	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> MURUB ₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB TAR.MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ É BI GAZ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ana birīt muti u aššati</i> <i>imqut ipparrasū ul iballuṭū</i> <i>bītu šū iḥheppi</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls between husband and wife – they will separate, they will not survive, that house will be destroyed.
§22.14 (var.)	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> MURUB ₄ UKKIN ŠUB UKKIN AL.GAZ NU SI.SÁ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ana qabal puḥri imqut</i> <i>puḥru iḥheppi ul iššir</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake falls between an assembly – the assembly will break up, it will not prosper.
§22.15 (var.)	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ina</i> É LÚ IGI ŠU ^d AMAR.UTU ár-ḥiš KUR-su É BI BIR-aḥ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ina bīt amēli innamir</i> <i>qāt Marduk arḥiš ikaššassu</i> <i>bītu šū issappaḥ</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake is seen in a man's house – (the disease) “hand of Marduk” will reach him promptly, that house will be dispersed.
§22.16	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ina</i> SILA LÚ IGI šum ₄ -ma GIG šum ₄ -ma is-sal-la- 'a-ma ÚŠ	<i>šumma ina Nisanni</i> KI.MIN <i>šēru ina sūqi amēla īmur</i> <i>šumma imarruṣ šumma</i> <i>issalla 'āma imât</i>	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake stares at a man in the street – he will either fall ill or he will enter a critical stage of illness and die.

§22.17	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ ina SILA TA ZAG LÚ ana GÙB LÚ is- <i>hur</i> LÚ BI ina KUR KÚR-šú du-lu ₄ GIG TÙM	šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ina sūqi ištu imitti amēli ana šumēl amēli ishur amēlu šū ina māt nakrišu dulla marša ubbal	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake turns in the street from a man's right to a man's left – that man will have to bear insufferable labour in his enemy's country.
§22.18	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ ina SILA TA GÙB LÚ ana ZAG LÚ is- <i>hur</i> šum ₄ -ma ina ni- <i>kip</i> GU ₄ šum ₄ -ma ina zi- <i>qit</i> GÍR.TAB ÚŠ	šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ina sūqi ištu šumēl amēli ana imitti amēli ishur šumma ina nikip alpi šumma ina ziqit zuqiqīpi imât	If, in Nisannu ditto, a snake turns in the street from a man's left to a man's right – he will die either from the goring of an ox or the sting of a scorpion.
§22.19	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ ina SILA uš-te-eš-bi- šú-ma TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú S[IG ₅]	šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šēru ina sūqi uštešbīšuma bāltasu iṭṭeršu idammīq	If, in Nisannu, ditto, a snake stares fixedly at him in the street, so that it deprives him of his potency – he will be well.
§22.20	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ.MEŠ ina É LÚ ik-tap- pi-lu EN É BI ÚŠ	šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN šērū ina bīt amēli iktapilū bēl bīti šuāti imât	If, in Nisannu, ditto, snakes are entwined in a man's house – the master of that house will die.
§22.21 (var.)	DIŠ ina ZAG.MUK ina ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM lu ina ^{iti} GU ₄ U ₄ 1-KÁM lu ina kal u ₄ -mi lu ina kal GE ₆ MUŠ NA IGI LÚ BI ina ŠÀ MU BI BA.ÚŠ	šumma ina zagmukki ina Nisanni U ₄ 1-KÁM lū ina Ayyāri U ₄ 1-KÁM lū ina kal ūmi lū ina kal mūši šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât	If, on the New Year's Festival, on the first day of Nisannu, or on the first day of Ayyāru, either all day or all night, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

	šum₄-ma NA BI TI.LA ḥa- šiḥ SAG.DU ú-ḥar-ra-ár TE.MEŠ-šú ú-gal-lab 3 ITI.MEŠ šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa- šaq-ma TI-uṭ	šumma amēlu šū balāṭa ḥašiḥ qaqqada uḥarrar lētišu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti uštapaššaqma iballuṭ	If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will suffer, but he will survive.
	KI.MIN ZI-bu kaš-du NA BI ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA ana ^dAMAR.UTU ú-še-di-ma SIG₅	KI.MIN tību kašdu amēlu šū ina šēri ana Marduk ušeddīma idammīq	Ditto – a heavy attack (will occur), (but) in the morning, that man should let Marduk know and he will be well.
	KI.MIN KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU ú-še-’e-ú- ma ḪUL-šú DU₈ LÚ BI ina PAP.ḪAL u KI.KAL È	KI.MIN kīla marša immar amēlu šū Marduk uše’ūma lumunšu ippaṭṭar amēlu šū ina pušqi u kīli ušši	Ditto – he will experience hard imprisonment, (but) that man should seek out Marduk and his evil will be released, that man will escape from misery and imprisonment.
§22.22	DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA lu ina ^{iti}GU₄ MUŠ NA IGI NA BI ina ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ	šumma šēru ina Nisanni lū ina Ayyāri šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât	If, in Nisannu or in Ayyāru, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.
	ana TI.LA-šú SAG.DU-su ú- ḥar-ra-ar TE.MEŠ-šú ú-gal- lab 3 ITI.MEŠ šú-nu-ti ra- man-šú ú-ḥar-ra-ar-ma TI- uṭ	ana balāṭišu qaqqassu uḥarrar lētišu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti ramānšu uḥarrarma iballuṭ	For (preserving) his life he should make incisions in his head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will make incisions in himself and he will survive.

§22.23	DIŠ ina ^{iti} GU ₄ TA U ₄ 1- KÁM EN U ₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI NA BI UD.MEŠ-šú LUGUD.MEŠ I.BÍ.ZA IGI- mar	šumma ina Ayyāri ištu U ₄ 1- KÁM adi U ₄ 15-KÁM šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrū ibissā immar	If, between the first and the fifteenth day of Ayyāru, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, he will suffer losses.
§22.24	DIŠ ina ^{iti} GU ₄ MUŠ ana UGU NA ŠUB-ut lu GIG lu KI.ŠÚ dan-nu DAB-su	šumma ina Ayyāri šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut lū imarruṣ lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu	If in Ayyāru a snake falls on top of a man – either he will fall ill or hard imprisonment will seize him.
§22.25	DIŠ ina ^{iti} SIG ₄ MUŠ lu ana IGI NA lu ana EGIR NA ŠUB-ut ni ₅ -zíq-tu ₄	šumma ina Simāni šēru lū ana pān amēli lū ana arki amēli imqut niziqtu	If in Simānu a snake falls either in front of a man or behind a man – (there will be) grief.
§22.26	DIŠ ina ^{iti} ŠU MUŠ NA IGI ni ₅ -zíq-tu ₄	šumma ina Du'ūzi šēru amēla īmur niziqtu	If in Du'ūzu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.
§22.27	DIŠ ina ^{iti} NE MUŠ NA IGI ni ₅ -zíq-tu ₄	šumma ina Abi šēru amēla īmur niziqtu	If in Abu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.
§22.28	DIŠ ina ^{iti} KIN MUŠ NA IGI ni ₅ -zíq-tu ₄	šumma ina Ulūli šēru amēla īmur niziqtu	If in Ulūlu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.
§22.29	DIŠ ina ^{iti} DUL MUŠ NA IGI [ni] ₅ -zíq-tu ₄	šumma ina Tašrīti šēru amēla īmur [ni]ziqtu	If in Tašrītu a snake stares at a man– (there will be) [g]rief.
§22.30	DIŠ ina ^{iti} APIN [MUŠ NA] IGI [ni ₅ -z]íq-tu ₄	šumma ina Araḥšamni [šēru amēla] īmur [niz]iqtu	If in Araḥšamnu [a snake] stares [at a man]– (there will be) [gr]ief.
§22.31	DIŠ ina ^{iti} GAN [MUŠ NA] IGI [ni ₅ -zíq-t]u ₄	šumma ina Kislimmi [šēru amēla] īmur [niziqt]u	If in Kislimmu [a snake] stares [at a man]– (there will be) [grief].

§22.32	DIŠ ina ^{iti} AB MUŠ N[A IGI <i>ni-zíq-tu₄</i>]	<i>šumma ina Ṭebēti šēru amē[la īmur niziqtu]</i>	If in Ṭebētu a snake stares at a ma[n – (there will be) grief].
§22.33	DIŠ ina ^{iti} ZÍZ ina qé-reb EN.TE.NA NA MUŠ ina SILA.DAGAL.LA IGI UN.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ši- na NÍG.ŠU-ši-na ana KI.LAM È-a	<i>šumma ina Šabāṭi ina qereb kuṣṣi amēlu šēra ina rebīti īmur nīšu mārīšina būšīšina ana maḥīri uṣṣā</i>	If in Šabātu, in the middle of winter, a man sees a snake in a square – the people will sell their children (and) their property under market value.
§22.34	DIŠ ina ^{iti} ŠE NA MUŠ IGI [e]k-let nam-rat	<i>šumma ina Addari amēlu šēra īmur [e]klet namrat</i>	If in Addaru a man sees a snake – (first) it will be dark, (but then) it will become bright.
§22.35	DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-ma ig-lut ek-let na[m-rat ...] na-za-qu EGIR [... N]U ŠE.GA ina NU DÙG.GA UZU [...] ... : SIG ₅	<i>šumma amēlu šēra īmurma iglut eklet na[mrat ...] nazāqu arki [...] ā māgīru ina lā ṭūb šīri [...] ... : idammīq</i>	If a man sees a snake and he trembles – (first) it will be dark, (but then) it will become br[ight ...], to grieve[?], behind [... an u]nwilling one, in unhappiness [...] ... : he will be well.
§22.36	DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-ma GAZ- šú ḪUL IGI [...] ... šá-lum- mat LÚ i-tab-bal [...]	<i>šumma amēlu šēra īmurma idūkšu lumna immar [...] ... šalummat amēli ittabbal [...]</i>	If a man sees a snake and kills it – he will experience evil [...] ... the man's radiance will be taken away [...].

	A PÚ šá É^dAMAR.UTU ^{dug}nam-<i>ha-ra</i> SA₅-ma KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI [...] A ÍD^{giš}ŠINIG^uIN.NU.UŠ ^{giš}GIŠIMMAR.TUR.TUR GI.ŠUL.ĦI [...] ^{šim}LI NAGA.SI <i>ana</i> ŠÀ ŠUB-ma <i>ina</i> MUL <i>tuš-bat</i> <i>ina</i> Á.GÚ.ZI.GA TU₅-ma NAM.BÚR.BI	<i>mê būrti ša bīt Marduk</i> <i>namḥāra tamallīma kaspā</i> <i>ḥurāša [...] mê nāri bīna</i> <i>maštakkal sissinna šeḥra qan</i> <i>šalāti [...] burāša uḥūla ana</i> <i>libbi taddinma ina kakkabī</i> <i>tušbat ina šērti tarammukma</i> <i>namburbû</i>	You fill a <i>namḥaru</i>-vessel with well water from the Marduk-temple and silver, gold [...], you throw river water, tamarisk wood, soapwort, young datewood, <i>qan šalāti</i>-can, [...] juniper, horned alkali into (it) and you place it under the stars. In the morning you wash yourself (with it) and (that is) the <i>namburbû</i>-ritual.
§22.37	[DIŠ NA[?] MUŠ GAZ-ma TI- <i>ma ana</i> ŠÀ ḪAB]RUD.DA KU₄ <i>lu</i> DUGUD GABA.RI NU TUK-ši <i>lu</i> MAŠ.EN.GAG ḪUL-šú DU₈	[<i>šumma amēlu[?] šēra īdukma</i> <i>ušelqīma ana libbi ḥur]ri</i> <i>ušēreb lū kabtu gabarâ ul īši</i> <i>lū muškēnu lumunšu</i> <i>ippaṭṭar</i>	[If a man kills a snake, takes (it) and] makes (it) enter [in a hol]e – either an important man will not have a rival or a commoner will have his evil released.
§22.38	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] NA IGI A.RA.ZU ŠE.GA <i>qí-bit-su</i> <i>mag-rat</i>	[<i>šumma šēru ... amēla[?]</i> <i>īmur[?] teslītu magrat qibīssu</i> <i>magrat</i>	[If a snake ...] stares at a man[?] – (his) prayer will find acceptance, his command will be obeyed.
§22.39	[DIŠ ... <i>ina</i> U]₄ <i>ut-nen-nu</i> MUŠ <i>ana</i> KI.TA NA <i>iḥ-lu-</i> <i>um-ma</i> NÁ-[iṣ ... N]ÍG.ŠU- šú TAG₄-šú : <i>iq-qir-šú</i>	[<i>šumma ... ina ūm</i>]i <i>utnennu</i> <i>šēru ana šapal amēli</i> <i>iḥlumma irb[iṣ ... b]ūšūšu</i> <i>izzibšu : iqqiršu</i>	[If ... on th da]y, on which he prays, a snake slithers below a man and (then) lies dow[n ...] – his [pr]operty will abandon him : it will become scarce for him.
	KI.MIN NÍG.ŠU-šú TÙM	KI.MIN <i>būšūšu ittabbal</i>	Ditto – his property will be carried off.
	KI.MIN NINDA <i>nap-šá</i> G[U]₇	KI.MIN <i>akla napša ik[k]al</i>	Ditto – he will e[a]t plenty of bread.

§22.40	[DIŠ ... <i>ina a-šar KÀŠ i</i>]- <i>tin-nu MUŠ ina ŠÀ</i> ḪABRUD.DA KA-šu ... [... NA B]I MU NU TUK-ši	[šumma ... <i>ina ašar šīnāti</i> <i>i</i>]štinnu šēru <i>ina libbi ḫurri</i> <i>pīšu</i> ... [... <i>amēlu š</i>]ū šuma <i>ul irašši</i>	[If ... in the place where he urin]ated, a snake, inside a hole, its mouth ... [...] – [th]at [man] will not have progeny. [?]
§22.41	[DIŠ ... ZI-b]u kaš-du	[šumma ... <i>tīb</i>]u kašdu	[If ... a] heavy [atta]ck (will occur).
§22.42	[DIŠ ...] ... IGI-šú	[šumma ...] ... <i>immaršu</i> [?]	[If ...] ... will see [?] him. [?]
§22.43	[DIŠ ... L]Ú	[šumma ... <i>am</i>]eli [?]	[If ... of [?] the m]an.
(gap)	-----		
§22.44 [?]	[DIŠ ...] ...-šú EN INIM-šú [...]	[šumma ...] ...šu <i>bēl</i> <i>dabābišu</i> [...].	[If ...] ... him [?] – his adversary [...].
§22.45 [?]	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>lu</i>] ŠU NA <i>lu</i> GÌR NA NIGIN-mi ŠU ... [...]	[šumma šēru <i>lū</i>] <i>qāt amēli lū</i> <i>šēp amēli ilmi qātu</i> ... [...].	[If a snake] surrounds [either] a man's hand or a man's foot – the hand ... [...].
§22.46 [?]	[DIŠ MUŠ] GÌR NA NIGIN- <i>ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-[iḫ-ma</i> DU ₈ -ma] [?] MUŠ UR ₅ -ta GAZ-šú NA BI ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL-š [i-šú]	[šumma šēru] <i>šēp amēli</i> <i>ilmīma iknunma uštāni</i> [ḫma <i>ipṭurma</i>] [?] <i>šēra šuāta idūkšu</i> <i>amēlu šū kimilti ilīšu</i> <i>ibašš</i> [īšu]	[If a snake] encircles a man's foot, coils (around it) and persist[s, but (then) withdraws] [?] (and) he (= the man) kills that snake – there will b[e] the wrath of his god [for] that man.
§22.47 [?]	DIŠ MUŠ GÌR NA NIGIN- <i>ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma</i> DU ₈ -ma MUŠ UR ₅ -ta NU GAZ-šú [...] NA BI ina ... DINGIR ŠU-su NU ... [...]	šumma šēru <i>šēp amēli ilmīma</i> <i>iknunma uštāniḫma ipṭurma</i> <i>šēra šuāta ul idūkšu</i> [...] <i>amēlu šū ina</i> ... <i>ilu qāssu ul</i> ... [...]	If a snake encircles a man's foot, coils (around it) and persists, but (then) withdraws [?] (and) he (= the man) does not kill that snake – that man ... the god, his hand, not ... [...].

§22.48'	DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN- ma ina KI.KAL DU ₈ -šú NA B[I ...]	<i>šumma šēru kišād amēli ilmīma ina dannati ipturšu amēlū š[ū ...]</i>	If a snake encircles a man's neck and he gets rid of it with difficulty – th[at] man [...] .
§22.49' (var.)	[DIŠ MUŠ] ina UGU NA GAR-ma NU ZU iq-bu-šum- ma [...] ana ḤABRUD ŠUB NA GAZ-šú NA BI ina ... [...]	<i>[šumma šēru] ina muḥḥi amēli šakinma lā īdi iqbûšumma [...] ana ḥurri imqut amēlu idūkšu amēlu šū ina ... [...]</i>	[If a snake] is placed on top of a man and he does not know (about it), but they tell him [...], it falls into a hole (and) the man kills it – that man [...] in ... [...] .
§22.50'	DIŠ MUŠ TA ḤABRUD.DA ra-man-[šú ...] ... SAG.DU- su ra-bat DINGIR u LUGAL ana SIG ₅ -tî ù NÍG.TUK UŠ.M[EŠ]	<i>šumma šēru ištu ḥurri ramān[šu ...] ... qaqqassu rabât ilu u šarru ana damiqtî u būši irredd[û]</i>	If a snake [...] itsel[f] from a hole [...] ... its head is big – god and king will be led to well-being and property.
§22.51'	DIŠ MUŠ ana IGI NA i-mu- ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI- mar	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli imūt maqāt bēl dabābišu immar</i>	If a snake dies in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.
§22.52'	DIŠ MUŠ ana IGI NA it-ta- pa-aš EN INIM-šú GAZ-ak	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli ittapaš bēl dabābišu idāk</i>	If a snake is pushed down in front of a man – he will kill his adversary.
§22.53'	DIŠ MUŠ ana IGI NA iz-qu- up mi-lúm u ki-šit-ti ŠU	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli izqup mīlum u kišitti qātî</i>	If a snake rears up in front of a man – (there will be) flooding and conquest.
§22.54' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ ana IGI NA DU.DU mi-lúm	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli ītallak mīlum</i>	If a snake crawls around in front of a man – (there will be) flooding.
§22.55'	DIŠ MUŠ ana IGI NA KAŠ ₄ -um KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli ilsum kašād šibûti</i>	If a snake is speeding in front of a man – (he will be) granted a wish.

§22.56'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA GUB- iz KUR-ti ŠU LUGAL	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>izziz kišitti qāt šarri</i>	If a snake stands in front of a man – (there will be) a conquest by the king's hand.
§22.57'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA im- šur te-šu-ú	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>imšur tēšû</i>	If a snake <i>strides</i> in front of a man – (there will be) chaos.
§22.58' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA ip-ta- na-[rik [?] ...]	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>iptana[rrik[?] ...]</i>	If a snake continually obstr[ucts] [?] a man's path [?] ...].
§22.59'	[DIŠ MUŠ] <i>ana</i> IGI NA kit- pu-lu ina-an-ziq	[<i>šumma šērû</i>] <i>ana pān amēli</i> <i>kitpulû inazziq</i>	[If snakes] are entwined in front of a man – he will worry.
§22.60'	[DIŠ MUŠ] <i>ana</i> IGI NA i- tak-kal ZI-bu kaš-du	[<i>šumma šēru</i>] <i>ana pān amēli</i> <i>ītakkal tību kašdu</i>	[If a snake] eats itself in front of a man – a heavy attack (will occur).
§22.61'	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA iz- zi-iq LÚ BI NÍG.GA-šú GU₇	[<i>šumma</i>] <i>šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>izziq amēlu šû makkūršû</i> <i>ikkal</i>	[If] a snake hisses in front of a man – that man will consume his property.
§22.62'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA il-pu- ta mim-ma ma-la i-kap-pu- du i-man-gar	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>ilputa mimma mala</i> <i>ikappudu imaggar</i>	If a snake strikes in front of a man – whatever he is planning will work out.
§22.63'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA sa-dir NA BI NÍG.GA-šú i-gam- mar ina NU DÙG lib-bi DU.MEŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>sadir amēlu šû makkūršû</i> <i>iggammar ina lā tūb libbi</i> <i>ittanallak</i>	If a snake continuously appears in front of a man – that man's property will be diminished, he will continuously suffer from unhappiness.
§22.64'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA i-li NA BI šá-gi-šú i-šag-gis-su	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli īli</i> <i>amēlu šû šāgišu išaggissu</i>	If a snake goes up in front of a man – that man will be killed by a murderer.

§22.65'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA ŠUB- ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu</i> <i>immar</i>	If a snake falls in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.
§22.66'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA <i>i-kaš-</i> <i>ša-aš ú-nap-pa-aḥ</i> NA BI <i>ina</i> ḪI.GAR DAB-bat	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>ikaššaš unappaḥ amēlu šū</i> <i>ina bārti iṣṣabbat</i>	If a snake bares its fangs (and) hisses in front of a man – that man will be seized in a rebellion.
§22.67'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA GIM MUŠEN URU.ḪUL.A ^{mušen} GÙ-si BALA ʰU.GUR ZI- bu KUR.MEŠ ḪUL IGI.MEŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>kīma iṣṣūri qadī issi palē</i> <i>Nergal tību mātātu lemutta</i> <i>immarā</i>	If a snake cries out like a bird (or) an owl – reign of Nergal, an attack (will occur), the lands will experience evil.
§22.68'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI NA <i>in-na-</i> <i>dir-ma i-ram-mu-um u EME-</i> šú È.MEŠ-a NA BI DAB- bat-ma GAZ	<i>šumma šēru ana pān amēli</i> <i>innadirma irammum u</i> <i>lišānīšu uštēneṣṣā amēlu šū</i> <i>iṣṣabbatma iddāk</i>	If a snake goes wild in front of a man and roars and continuously lets its tongues shoot out – that man will be seized and killed.
§22.69' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI 15 NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM- šú <i>ina</i> NU DÙG-ub lib-bi DU.DU	<i>šumma šēru ana pān imitti</i> <i>amēli imqut maqāt bēl</i> <i>dabābišu ina lā tūb libbi</i> <i>ittanallak</i>	If a snake falls in front of a man's right side – downfall of his adversary, he will continuously suffer from unhappiness.
§22.70'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI 150 NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana pān šumēl</i> <i>amēli imqut kašād šibûti</i>	If a snake falls in front of a man's left side – (he will be) granted a wish.
§22.71'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana arki amēli</i> <i>imqut kašād šibûti</i>	If a snake falls obehind a man – (he will be) granted a wish.
§22.72'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> bu-di NA ŠUB-ut <i>mu-kil ku-tal</i> LÚ BA.ÚŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana būdi amēli</i> <i>imqut mukīl kutal amēli imât</i>	If a snake falls onto a man's shoulder – the man's supporter will die.

§22.73'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana bur-ki</i> NA ŠUB-ut DUMU.MEŠ-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana burki amēli</i> <i>imqut mārūšu imuttū</i>	If a snake falls onto a man's knees – his children will die.
§22.74'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU</i> NA ŠUB-ut <i>lu NÍG.TUK ÚKU</i> <i>lu MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG₅ NA</i> <i>BI is-sal-la- 'a</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli</i> <i>imqut lū šarū ilappin lū</i> <i>muškēnu idammīq amēlu šū</i> <i>issalla 'a</i>	If a snake falls on top of a man – either a rich man will get poor or a commoner will be well, that man will be very ill.
§22.75'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU</i> NA GU ₄ .UD-am-ma <i>ana KI</i> ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli</i> <i>išḥuṭamma ana erṣeti imqut</i> ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	If a snake jumps on top of a man and (then) falls to the ground – ditto.
§22.76'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU 15</i> NA ŠUB-ut <i>ZI-bu kaš-du</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi imitti</i> <i>amēli imqut tību kašdu</i>	If a snake falls on top of a man's right side – a heavy attack (will occur).
§22.77'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU 150</i> NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM- šú IGI-mar	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šumēl</i> <i>amēli imqut maqāt bēl</i> <i>dabābišu immar</i>	If a snake falls on top of a man's left side – he will see the downfall of his adversary.
§22.78'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU GÌR</i> NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-tì ÌR u GÉME	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp</i> <i>amēli imqut miqitti ardi u</i> <i>amti</i>	If a snake falls on top of a man's foot – downfall of the male servant and the female servant.
§22.79'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU</i> MURGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi būd</i> <i>šēp amēli imqut</i> ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	If a snake falls on the arch of a man's foot – ditto.
§22.80'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana UGU</i> NA E ₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-šú i-šag-gi-is-su	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli</i> <i>īli amēlu šū šāgišu išaggissu</i>	If a snake climbs up on top of a man – a murderer will kill that man.

§22.81' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GÌR NA E ₁₁ TIL <i>u₄-mi</i> NA BI DUGUD- <i>ma e-ki-a-am še-</i> <i>am lut-bu-uk e-ki-a-am e-ki-</i> <i>a-am KÙ.BABBAR GAR-</i> <i>un GÛ-si</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp</i> <i>amēli īli qīt ūmī amēlu šū</i> <i>ikabbitma ēkī'am še'am</i> <i>lutbuk ēkī'am kaspa luškun</i> <i>issi</i>	If a snake climbs up on top of a man's foot – end of days, that man will become so rich and will cry, "Where shall I store the grain, where shall I put the silver?"
§22.82'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ke-e ŠUB-ma ú-</i> <i>gal-lit-su</i> TUR.DIŠ BI DINGIR TUK-ši TI-uṭ	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri</i> <i>lakê imqutma ugallissu šerru</i> <i>šū ila irašši iballuṭ</i>	If a snake falls on top of a suckling baby and scares it – that baby will have a (personal) god, it will survive.
§22.83' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ke-e NÁ-iš NA</i> BI <i>lu</i> NITA <i>lu</i> MUNUS MU TUK-ši NÍG.TUK : AD-šú <i>u AMA-šú Á.TUK</i> IGI.MEŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri</i> <i>lakê irbiš amēlu šū lū zikru</i> <i>lū sinnišu šuma irašši išarru</i> <i>: abūšu u ummašu nēmela</i> <i>immarū</i>	If a snake lies down on top of a suckling baby – that baby (lit. that man), whether male or female, will acquire fame, he/she will be wealthy : his father and mother will see profit.
§22.84' (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ki-i ŠUB-ma</i> NÁ-iš <i>ú-gal-lit-su</i> TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI-šú	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri</i> <i>lakê imqutma irbiš ugallissu</i> <i>šerru šū nakru ileqqīšu</i>	If a snake falls on top of a suckling baby and lies down (and) scares it – an enemy will take that baby.
§22.85'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA- <i>ma</i> TI-uṭ	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši</i> <i>imqut murussu irrikma</i> <i>iballuṭ</i>	If a snake falls on top of an ill man – his illness will be long, but he will survive.
§22.86'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> SAG GIG ŠUB-ut <i>ina u₄-mi</i> UR ₅ -ta ÚŠ	<i>šumma šēru ana qaqqad</i> <i>marši imqut ina ūmi šuāti</i> <i>imât</i>	If a snake falls on an ill man's head – he will die that same day.

§22.87'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIG šá GIG-su GÍD.DA ŠUB-ut GIG-su TAG ₄ -šú	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši</i> <i>ša murussu irriku imqut</i> <i>murussu izzibšu</i>	If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness has been dragging on – his illness will leave him.
§22.88'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIG šá UD.MEŠ <i>ma-</i> 'a-du-ti GIG ŠUB-ut GIG BI TIL.LA- <i>ma</i> TIL.LA <i>ur-rak</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši</i> <i>ša ūmī ma'dūti marši imqut</i> <i>maršu šū iballuṭma balāṭa</i> <i>urrak</i>	If a snake falls on top of an ill man who has been ill for many days – that ill man will recover and attain a long life.
§22.89'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIG šá GIG-su DUGUD ŠUB-ut GIG BI GIG-su <i>ina</i> SU-šú DU ₈ - <i>ma i-pa-áš-šaḥ</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši</i> <i>ša murussu kabtu imqut</i> <i>maršu šū murussu ina</i> <i>zumrišu ippaṭṭarma ipaššaḥ</i>	If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness is difficult – that ill man's illness will be removed from his body and he will calm down.
§22.90'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> SAG GIG <i>ana</i> 150 GUB.MEŠ-az NA BI AZAG [DINGIR-šú <i>u</i> DINGIR] URU-šú GU ₇	<i>šumma šēru ina qaqqad</i> <i>marši ana šumēli ittanazzaz</i> <i>amēlu šū asak [ilišu u ili]</i> <i>ālišu ikkal</i>	If a snake is always standing upright to the left on a ill man's head – that man will breach the taboo [of his god and] his city's [god].
§22.91'	DIŠ MUŠ [<i>ina</i> S]AG GIG <i>ana</i> 15 GUB.MEŠ-az a-ra- an-šú DU ₈ i-te-eb-bi	<i>šumma šēru [ina q]aqqad</i> <i>marši ana imitti ittanazzaz</i> <i>arānšu ippaṭṭar itebbi</i>	If a man is always standing upright to the right [on] a ill man's [h]ead – his sin will be dispelled, he will get up.

Tablet 23

§23.1 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU NA šá <i>di-na ge-ru-ú</i> ŠUB-ut di-in- šú GÍD.DA-ik	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli</i> <i>ša dīna gerû imqut dīnšu</i> irrik	If a snake falls on top of a man who is litigating – his lawsuit will be long.
§23.2 (var.)	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>a-na</i> UGU N]A <i>šá di-na ge-[ru-ú-m]a di-in- šú GÍD.DA ŠUB-[ut di-in- šú]</i> i-gam-mar	[<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi</i> <i>am]ēli ša dīna ge[rûm]a</i> <i>dīnšu īriku imq[ut dīnšu]</i> iggammar	[If a snake] fal[ls on top of a m]an who is lit[igating, bu]t his lawsuit is already dragging on – [his lawsuit] will be settled.
§23.3	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iṣ-bur-ma ana</i> UGU NA šá <i>di-na ge-ru-ú</i> ŠUB-ut EN INIM-šú uš-te- me-eq-šú	<i>šumma šēru iṣburma ana</i> <i>muḥḥi amēli ša dīna gerû</i> <i>imqut bēl dabābišu</i> uštēmeqšu	If a snake hisses and falls on top of a man who is litigating – his adversary will supplicate him.
§23.4 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU NA šá <i>ina ki-li</i> ŠUB-ú ŠUB-ut NA BI ina ki-li È [NA BI kár- šu]ʔ SILIMʔ	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli</i> <i>ša ina kīli nadû imqut amēlu</i> <i>šû ina kīli uṣṣi [amēlu šû</i> <i>karšu]ʔ isallimʔ</i>	If a snake falls on top of a man who is being thrown into prison – that man will come out of prison, [that man's mind]ʔ will be at peaceʔ.
§23.5 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ LÚ šá <i>di-na gi-ru- ú iṣ-šu-uk</i> [EN INIM-šú uš-te-mē]-eq-šú	<i>šumma šēru amēla ša dīna</i> <i>gerû iššuk [bēl dabābišu</i> <i>uštēm]eqšu</i>	If a snake bites a man who is litigating – [his adversary will supplic]ate him.
§23.6	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iṣ-bur-ma</i> NA šá <i>di-na gi-ru-ú i[š]-šu-uk</i> ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma šēru iṣburma amēla</i> <i>ša dīna gerû i[š]šuk</i> ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	If a snake hisses and b[i]tes a man who is litigating – ditto.
§23.7	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iṣ-bur-ma</i> NA <i>ú-gal-lit</i> GIG DAB-s[u (...) N]A BI ŠU KUR-su	<i>šumma šēru iṣburma amēla</i> <i>ugallit muršu iṣabbass[u (...)</i> <i>amē]lu šû qātu ikaššassu</i>	If a snake hisses and frightens a man – illness will afflict hi[m (...)], the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of that [ma]n.

§23.8	DIŠ MUŠ NA <i>ina u₄-mi ri-qí</i> IGI <i>na-za-qu</i> NU DÙG.GA UZU <i>ana LÚ [...]</i> ... [...]	<i>šumma šēru amēla ina ūmi</i> <i>rīqi īmur nazāqu lā tūb šīri</i> <i>ana amēli [...]</i> ... [...]	If a snake stares at a man on an empty day (i.e. a moonless day) – (there will be) grief (and) unhappiness for the man [...] ... [...].
§23.9	DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI- <i>ma</i> GAZ- šú NA BI <i>a-di-ra-tu-šú</i> NU TE.MEŠ-šú MUŠ BI ḪUL- šu <i>it-bal</i>	<i>šumma šēru amēla īmurma</i> <i>idūkšu amēlu šū adirātušu ul</i> <i>iṭeḫḫāšu šēru šū lumunšu</i> <i>itbal</i>	If a snake stares at a man and he kills it – that man's fears will not come true, that snake took his misery away.
§23.10 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI- <i>ma</i> ú-gal- <i>lit-su-ma</i> SAG.DU- <i>su</i> ik-bu- <i>us-ma i-ta-dar</i> ZI.GA ŠE.AM NA BI dAMAR.UTU <i>ú-šal-la-ma</i> SIG ₅ - <i>iq</i> SIG ₅ IGI	<i>šumma šēru amēla īmurma</i> <i>ugallissuma rēssu ikbusma</i> <i>ītadar šīt še'im amēlu šū</i> <i>Marduk ušallamma</i> <i>idammīq damīqta immar</i>	If a snake stares at a man and scares him, so that (the man) tramples on its head and is afraid (of the snake) – loss of grain, (but) that man should appease Marduk and he will be well, he will experience good fortune.
§23.11 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ TA AN.TA- <i>nu</i> <i>ana</i> PAP.ḪAL NA ŠUB- <i>ut</i> <i>ina É</i> NA ÚŠ ÚŠ EN É BI NÍG.GIG IGI- <i>ma</i> ÚŠ	<i>šumma šēru ištu elēnu ana</i> <i>purīd amēli imqut ina bīt</i> <i>amēli mītu imât bēl bīti šuāti</i> <i>marušta immarma imât</i>	If a snake falls from above onto a man's leg – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house, the master of that house will experience illness and (then) he will die.
§23.12 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>gi-na-a</i> DÙ.A.BI <i>ana</i> IGI NA <i>ip-ta-na-rik</i> SÁ.DUG ₄ -šú LAL- <i>ti</i>	<i>šumma šēru ginâ kalâma ana</i> <i>pān amēli iptanarrik</i> <i>šattukkašu imaṭṭi</i>	If a snake constantly and continually obstructs a man's path – his regular offerings will lessen.
§23.13	DIŠ MUŠ <i>in-na-dir-ma</i> NA NIGIN NA BI DINGIR-šú <i>ana</i> SIG ₅ - <i>tì</i> UŠ.MEŠ-šú	<i>šumma šēru innadirma amēla</i> <i>ilmi amēlu šū ilšu ana</i> <i>damiqti irteneddīšu</i>	If a snake goes wild and circles around a man – that man's god will always lead him to good fortune.

§23.14	DIŠ MUŠ NA ú- <i>ḥab-ba-ab</i> Ḥ[U]L- <i>ma</i> SÁ.SÁ	<i>šumma šēru amēla uḥabbab</i> <i>il[emm]enma ikaššad</i>	If a snake hisses at a man – ev[il will man]ifest itself and will afflict (him).
§23.15 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> NA KÚR.KÚR- <i>ma</i> DAB- <i>su-ma</i> <i>iš-šuk-šú</i> NA BI <i>ina</i> BAD ₄ EN INIM-šú KUR- <i>ád</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana amēli</i> <i>ittakkirma iṣbassuma iššukšu</i> <i>amēlu šū ina dannati bēl</i> <i>dabābišu ikaššad</i>	If a snake becomes very hostile towards a man, attacks him and bites him – (though finding himself) in dire straits, that man will overcome his adversary.
§23.16	DIŠ MUŠ TA 15 NA <i>ana</i> 150 NA DIB- <i>iq</i> MU MUNUS.SIG ₅ - <i>ū</i> TUK- <i>ši</i>	<i>šumma šēru ištu imitti amēli</i> <i>ana šumēl amēli itiq šum</i> <i>damiqti irašši</i>	If a snake crosses from a man’s right to the man’s left – he will have a good reputation.
§23.17	DIŠ MUŠ TA 150 NA <i>ana</i> 15 NA DIB- <i>iq</i> MU-šú <i>ina</i> MUNUS.ḤUL DU ₈ - <i>ár</i>	<i>šumma šēru ištu šumēl amēli</i> <i>ana imitti amēli itiq šumšu</i> <i>ina lemutti ippaṭṭar</i>	If a snake crosses from a man’s left to a man’s right – his reputation will be cleared of evil.
§23.18 (var.)	DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA <i>ik-</i> <i>bu-us-ma ana</i> 15 NIGIN- <i>úr</i> MU 3-KÁM <i>ina</i> K[I.ŠÚ] ŠUB [DINGI]R ú- <i>saḥ-ḥar-ma</i> TI- <i>uṭ</i>	<i>šumma qaqqad šēri amēlu</i> <i>ikbusma ana imitti iṣḥur</i> MU 3-KÁM <i>ina kīli innaddi</i> <i>[il]a usaḥḥarma iballuṭ</i>	If a man tramples on a snake’s head and it turns to the right – he will be thrown into prison for three years, (but) he should make (his) [g]od turn back (to him) and he will survive.
	[K]I.MIN KI.ŠÚ NÍG.GIG <i>ana</i> IGI NA GIB ^d AMA[R.UTU iš]- <i>t[e-né-’e-</i> <i>ma</i> GIZKIM-š]u DIB- <i>iq-šú</i>	[K]I.MIN <i>kīl marušti ana</i> <i>pān amēli iparrik Mar[duk</i> <i>iš]t[ene’’ēma ittaš]u ittiqšu</i>	[Dit]to – hard imprisonment will obstruct the man’s path (but) [he should continually seek out] Mar[duk and hi]s [omen] will pass him by.

§23.19 (var.)	DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA ik- bu-us-ma ana 1[50] NIGIN- úr ina PAP.ḪAL u BAD ₄ [i- na]-pu-uš MUNUS.SIG ₅ IGI-mar	šumma qaqqad šēri amēlu ikbusma ana šum[ēli] isḫur ina pušqi u dannati [ina]ppuš damiqta immar	If a man tramples on a snake's head and it turns to the le[ft] – he [will be able to bre]ath freely (being delivered) from misery and hardship, he will experience good fortune.
§23.20	DIŠ MUŠ ina ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit u MUŠ is-[si] NA BI ŠU ḪUL-ti ₅ KUR-su	šumma šēru ina maqātišu amēla ugallit u šēru is[si] amēlu šū qāt lemutti ikaššassu	If a snake frightens a man by falling and (then) the snake cri[es o]ut – (the disease) “hand of evil” will take hold of that man.
§23.21	DIŠ MUŠ ina ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit-ma NU is-si [KUR]- ád Á.ÁŠ	šumma šēru ina maqātišu amēla ugallitma ul issi [kaš]ād šibûti	If a snake frightens a man by falling, but it (the snake) does not cry out – (he will be) [grant]ed a wish.
§23.22	DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG NA ik-nun-ma NÁ-iš GAR-un G[Ú-m]i NA BI ÚŠ	šumma šēru ina reš amēli iknunma rabiš šukun ri[gm]i amēlu šū imât	If a snake coils on a man's head and lies down – (there will be) wa[il]ing, that man will die.
§23.23	DIŠ MUŠ ra-man-šú ik-kal GAR-un GÙ-mi NA [BI] TI	šumma šēru ramānšu ikkal šukun riḡmi amēlu [šū] iballuṭ	If a snake eats itself – (there will be) wailing, (but) [that] man will survive.
§23.24	[DIŠ] MUŠ KUN-su ina KA- šú na-ši DAM NA NITA Ù.TU	[šumma] šēru zibbassu ina pîšu naši aššat amēli zikra ullad	[If] a snake holds its tail in its mouth – the wife of the man will give birth to a boy.

§23.25	DIŠ MUŠ KUN-su ina KA- šú na-ši-ma MUŠ MAN-ma ina UGU NÁ-iš [S]U.GU ₇ ina KUR GÁL-ši [D]AM? ÚŠ-ma É BI BIR-aḥ	šumma šēru zibbassu ina pīšu našīma šēru šanūma ina muḥḥi rabiš [ḥu]šaḥḥu ina māti ibbašši [ašš]atu? imātma bītu šū issappaḥ	If a snake holds its tail in its mouth and a second snake lies down on top (of it) – there will be [fa]mine in the land, [the wi]fe (of the man)? will die and that house will be dispersed.
§23.26	DIŠ MUŠ rit-ti GAR-ma GIM UR.MAḤ i-ram-mu-um ka-šú-šú ina KUR GÁL-ši	šumma šēru rittī šakinma kīma nēši irammum kašūšu ina māti ibašši	If a snake has paws (like a lion) and roars like a lion – there will be a catastrophe in the land.
§23.27 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ ana bi-rit NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut lu ina ... [...] lu ina ze-nu-ti TAR.MEŠ	šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqut lū ... [...] lū ina zenūti ipparrasū	If a snake falls between a man and a woman – they will part either in ... [...] or in hate.
§23.28	DIŠ MUŠ ana bi-rit NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma NU È- ma GAZ-šú ḤUL-šú DU ₈ -ir	šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqutma lā ūšīma idukkūšu lumunšu paṭir	If a snake falls between a man and a woman but it does not get out and they kill it – his misery will be dispelled.
§23.29	DIŠ MUŠ ana MURUB ₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB tap-pu-ú i-zu-zu DAM u DAM TAG ₄ .ME ÚŠ.ÚŠ	šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqut tappū izuzzū mutu u aššatu innezzibū imuttū	If a snake falls between husband and wife – partners will divide (their assets), husband and wife will leave each other (and) die.
§23.30	DIŠ MUŠ ana MURUB ₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB-ut-ma NU È [...] ... DU ₈ SILIM-mi GAR-šú	šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqutma lā ūši [...] ... piṭir salīmi iššakkanšu	If a snake falls between husband and wife and it does not go away [...] – ... an interruption of (his) peace will be his lot.

§23.31 (var.)	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>a-šar</i> NITA <i>u</i> MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ <i>lu</i> GUB.MEŠ [<i>ana</i>] <i>bi-ri-šú-nu</i> ŠUB- <i>ut-ma</i> IGI.MEŠ-šú TAG ₄ .MEŠ- <i>ma</i> NITA TI- <i>uṭ</i>	[šumma] <i>šēru ašar zikru u</i> <i>sinništu ašbū lū izzazzū</i> [<i>ana</i>] <i>birīšunu imqutma īmurūšu</i> <i>innezzibūma zikru iballuṭ</i>	[If] a snake falls between a man and a woman where they are sitting or standing and they look at it – they will leave each other and the man will survive.
§23.32	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>a-šar</i> NITA <i>u</i> MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ- <i>ma</i> SAG.[U]Š- <i>nu i-dab-bu-bu</i> IGI.MEŠ- <i>ma ik-tár-ru</i> TAG ₄ .ME	[šumma <i>šēr</i>] <i>u ašar zikru u</i> <i>sinništu ašbūma kayy[ā]nu</i> <i>idabbubū ittanmarma iktarrū</i> <i>innezzibū</i>	[If a snak]e is continuously seen where a man and a woman are sitting and constantly talking and they feel constantly oppressed – they will leave each other.
§23.33	[DIŠ MUŠ] <i>a-šar</i> NITA <i>u</i> MUNUS GUB- <i>zu ŠUB-ut-</i> <i>ma</i> IGI.MEŠ-šú TAG ₄ .ME[Š] NITA TI- <i>uṭ</i>	[šumma <i>šēru</i>] <i>ašar zikru u</i> <i>sinništu izzazzū imqutma</i> <i>īmurūšu</i> <i>innezzibū zikru</i> <i>iballuṭ</i>	[If a snake] falls where a man and a woman are standing and they look at it – they will leave each other (and) the man will survive.
§23.34	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>a-šar</i> NIT]A <i>u</i> MUNUS TUŠ.MEŠ- <i>ma i-</i> <i>dab-bu-bu</i> IGI NITA <i>u</i> MUNUS TAR.MEŠ TAG ₄ .MEŠ	[šumma <i>šēru ašar zik</i>] <i>ru u</i> <i>sinništu ašbūma idabbubū</i> <i>innamir zikru u sinništu</i> <i>ipparrasū innezzibū</i>	[If a snake] is seen [where a ma]n and a woman are sitting and talking – the man and the woman will split up and leave each other.
§23.35	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>a-šar</i> EN É NIN É DUMU.MEŠ É ÌR <i>u</i> GÉME NIGIN.MEŠ- <i>ma ana</i> <i>bi-ri-šú-nu</i> ŠUB- <i>ut</i> EN É ÚŠ- <i>ma</i> É BIR- <i>aḥ</i>	[šumma <i>šēr</i>] <i>u ašar bēl bīti</i> <i>bēlet bīti mārū bīti ardu u</i> <i>amtu ipḥurūma ana birīšunu</i> <i>imqut</i> <i>bēl bīti imâtma bītu</i> <i>issappaḥ</i>	[If a snak]e falls between the master of the house, the lady of the house, the children of the house, the male and female servants where they are gathered – the master of the house will die and the house will be dispersed.

§23.36 (var.)	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU MUNUS.U]Š.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB- <i>ma</i> ú-dal-liḥ-ši-na-ti TÚG BI NU KUD.ME[Š]	[šumma šēru <i>ana muḥḥi</i> <i>išpar</i>]āti imqutma udalliḥšināti šubātu šū ul uttakk[as]	[If a snake] falls [on top of female weav]ers and gets them agitated – that garment will not be tor[n].
	[KI].MIN ² TÚG BI ² <i>ina</i> NU DÙG- <i>ub</i> ŠÀ- <i>bi</i> ut-ta-ka-as	[KI].MIN ² šubātu šū² <i>ina</i> lā ṭūb libbi uttakkas	[Dit]to ² – that² garment will be torn out of unhappiness.
§23.37 (var.)	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>ana</i> UGU MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB- <i>ut-ma</i> <i>ana</i> ŠÀ GU- <i>e</i> KU ₄ MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ši-na <i>ana</i> ITI 3-KÁM ÚŠ.ÚŠ	[šumma šē]ru <i>ana muḥḥi</i> <i>išpar</i> āti imqutma <i>ana libbi qē</i> īrub išparātu šina <i>ana</i> ITI 3- KÁM imuttū	[If a sna]ke falls on top of female weavers and enters inside of the thread – those female weavers will die within three months.
	[K]I.MIN ZI-<i>bu</i> dan-nu TÚG BI <i>ina</i> NU DÙG-<i>ub</i> ŠÀ-<i>bi</i> ut-ta-ka-as	[K]I.MIN tību dannu šubātu šū <i>ina</i> lā ṭūb libbi uttakkas	[Di]tto – a strong attack (will occur), that garment will be torn out of unhappiness.
§23.38	[DIŠ M]UŠ <i>ana</i> UGU MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB- <i>ut</i> <i>ana</i> ŠÀ TÚG šú- <i>a-</i> <i>tu</i> ₄ KU ₄ <i>ina</i> ITI BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA	[šumma šē]ru <i>ana muḥḥi</i> <i>išpar</i> āti imqut <i>ana libbi</i> <i>šubāti šuāti</i> īrub <i>ina arḥi</i> šuāti libbašu iṭāb	If a snakes falls on top of female weavers (and) enters into that garment – their hearts will be happy in that month.
§23.39	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>ina</i> UGU ^{giš} GU.ZA NA <i>be-ri-šu-nu</i> ² ŠUB- <i>ma</i> NÁ-iš EN TÉŠ.BI SAG.TUK <i>ba-lá-ṭi</i> TUK-ši	[šumma] šēru <i>ina muḥḥi</i> <i>kussi amēli bērišunu</i> ² <i>imqutma rabiš bēlu ištēniš</i> ² <i>mukīl rēš balāṭi irašši</i>	[If] a snake falls on top of a man's [ch]air between them ² and lie[s] down (on it) – the master will have a life- giving spirit in every circumstance.²
§23.40	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>ina</i> É L[Ú] <i>ma-</i> <i>gal</i> ŠUB.ŠUB <i>ina</i> É LÚ ÚŠ ÚŠ	[šumma] šēru <i>ina bīt amēli</i> <i>magal imtaqqut ina bīt amēli</i> <i>mītu imāt</i>	[If] a snake falls very often in a ma[n's] house – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.

§23.41	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ DU.DU-ak ŠUB-e [É]	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ittallak nadê [bīti]	[If] a snake slithers around in a man's house – abandonment of the [house].
§23.42	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ ana IGI NA GIB NA BI ina ḥa- ṭi-ti [?] MU [?] -šú n[a-di] [?]	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ana pān amēli iprik amēlu šū ina ḥaṭīti [?] šumšu [?] n[adi] [?]	[If] a snake obstructs a man's path in a man's house – his offspring[?] will be re[jected][?] owing to sin[?].
§23.43	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ LÚ.MEŠ ina KI.TUŠ-šú-nu ú-gal-lit ina ŠÀ-šú-nu [x.M]EŠ [...]	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli amēli ina šubtišunu ugallit ina libbišunu [...] ... [...]	[If] a snake frightens people in a man's house where they are sitting – among them [...] ... [...].
§23.44 (var.)	[DIŠ M]UŠ ina É LÚ GUB.MEŠ-az LÚ BI NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su	[šumma š]ēru ina bīt amēli ittanazzaz amēlu šū māmītu iṣabbassu	[If a sn]ake repeatedly appears in an upright position in a man's house – a curse will seize that man.
	šum ₄ -ma ŠU DINGIR-šu L[Ú KUR-su] [?]	šumma qāt ilišu am[ēla ikaššassu] [?]	Same protasis – (the disease) “hand of his god” [will take hold of the man][?].
§23.45	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ É.GAR ₈ E ₁₁ ù ur-rad É BI BIR-aḥ lu-ú [?] [...]	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli igāra illi u urrad bītu šū issappaḥ lū [?] [...]	[If] a snake goes up and down a wall in a man's house – that house will be dispersed or[?] [...].
§23.46 (var.)	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É.GAR ₈ É qer-bé-nu E ₁₁ ù ur-rad-ma [...] ... [...] ...	[šumma] šēru ina igār bīti qerbēnu illi u urradma [...] ... [...] [...] ...	[If] a snake goes up and down on the wall of a house and [...] ... [...] ...
§23.47	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É NA ŠUB- ut-ma DU.DU-ak [NA B]I ÚŠ	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli imqutma ittanallak [amēlu š]ū imât	[If] a snake falls in a man's house and slithers around – th[at man] will die.

§23.48	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ mim- ma uš-te-né-eš-ši [...] È	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli mimma uštenešši [...] ušši	[If] a snake repeatedly takes something out of a man's house – [...] will go out.
§23.49	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ ka-bu- us-su id-di ... [...] ... NU SI.SÁ	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli kabūssu iddi ... [...] ... ul iššir	If a snake defecates in a man's house ... [...] ... will not prosper.
§23.50	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ GIG il- bu DA[M LÚ] it-ta-na-a-a- ku	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli maršiš ilbu ašš[at amēli] ittanayyakū	If a snake sickly hisses in a man's house – they will continually have sexual intercourse with the [man's] wi[fe].
§23.51	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ GÙ-si BÚN-uḥ ÚŠ ina É LÚ ÚŠ É BI BIR-aḥ	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli issi ippuḥ mītu ina bīt amēli imât bītu šū issappaḥ	If a snake cries out (and) hisses in a man's house – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house, that house will be dispersed.
§23.52	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ i-be-eš GÙ.GÙ-si ŠUB-e É	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ibēš ištassi nadê bīti	If a snake goes away from a man's house (and) repeatedly cries out – abandonment of the house.
§23.53	DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA U ₄ 6- KÁM U ₄ 7-KÁM GÙ.GÙ-si ZI.GA ana LÚ-ma' ni-ziq-tu ₄	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli U ₄ 6-KÁM U ₄ 7-KÁM ištassi tību ana amēlima' niziqtu	If a snake repeatedly cries out in a man's house for six (or) seven days – an attack (will occur) against the man and' (there will be) grief.
§23.54	DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA u ₄ -mi- šam GÙ.GÙ-si É BI ana kiš- šá-ti KÚR [Š]ID-nu	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ūmišam ištassi bītu šū ana kiššāt nakri [im]mannu	If a snake repeatedly cries out in a man's house every day – that house will be [deli]vered to an enemy as indemnity.

§23.55	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>up-ta-nar-rad</i> É BI ŠUB-di lu in-na-qar	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli uptanarrad bītu šū innaddi lū innaqqar</i>	If a snake repeatedly causes fear in a man's house – that house will be abandoned or demolished.
§23.56	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>ik-nun</i> IBILA LÚ BA.Ú[Š]	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli iknun apil amēli im[ât]</i>	If a snake coils in a man's house – the man's heir will die.
§23.56a	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>qin-na iq-nun</i> IBILA NA ÚŠ	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli qinna iqnun apil amēli imât</i>	If a snake makes a nest in a man's house – the man's heir will die.
§23.57	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA ^{giš} IG ^{giš} SAG.KUL NIGIN- <i>ma ana</i> BAD- <i>ti</i> NU SUM- <i>in</i> É BI DAGAL-iš	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli dalta sikkūra ilmīma ana petī lā iddin bītu šū irappiš</i>	If a snake circles around the door (and) the bolt in a man's house and does not allow (him) to open (them) – that house will expand.
	KI.MIN ŠUB- <i>ut</i>	KI.MIN <i>imaqqut</i>	Ditto – it will fall.
§23.58	DIŠ [MU]Š MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA GAZ- <i>ma</i> GU ₇ ŠUB- <i>tì</i> EN INIM-š[u]	<i>šumma [šēr]u šēra ina bīt amēli idūkma īkul miqitti bēl dabābiš[u]</i>	If a snake kills and eats (another) snake in a man's house – downfall of h[is] adversary.
§23.59	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA DUMU.MEŠ-šú GU ₇ É BI BIR-aḥ	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli mārīšu īkul bītu šū issappaḥ</i>	If a snake eats its offspring in a man's house – that house will be dispersed.
§23.60	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA SA.A GAZ-[š]ú ZI.GA IDIM ina É LÚ È	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli šurānu idūk[š]u šītu kabtu ina bīt amēli uṣṣi</i>	If a cat kills a snake in a man's house – extreme loss will be incurred in the man's house.
§23.61	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA GÍR.TAB GA[Z-šú] NA BI DUMU.MEŠ-[šú] GAZ-šú	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli zuqaqīpu idū[kšu] amēlu šū mārū[šu] idukkūšu</i>	If a scorpion kil[ls] a snake in a man's house – the man's sons will kill him.

	KI.MIN ÚŠ.M[EŠ]	KI.MIN <i>imutt[ū]</i>	Ditto – they will di[e].
§23.62	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina É NA</i> ^d NIN.KILIM GAZ-šú ZI.GA ŠE u KÙ.[BABBAR]	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli</i> <i>sikkû idūkšu šīt še'im u</i> <i>kas[pi]</i>	If a mongoose kills a snake in a man's house – loss of grain and si[lver].
§23.63	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina É NA</i> ^d [IN [?] .KIL]IM [?] GAZ-šú- <i>ma</i> <i>ana KÁ È-šú ÚŠ ina É LÚ</i> ÚŠ	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli</i> <i>s[ikk]û[?] idūksuma ana bābi</i> <i>ušēšišu mītu ina bīt amēli</i> imât	If a m[ongoose] ^e kills a snake in a [m]an's house and takes it out of the door – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.
§23.64	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>i[na] É [LÚ hu-</i> <i>um-ši-r]a[?] GAZ-ma ana ŠÀ</i> ŠUB-šu hab-ba[?]-tu BIR É : SU.GU₇ É LÚ	<i>[šumma] šēru i[na] bīt [amēli</i> <i>ḥumšīr]a[?] idūkma ana libbi</i> <i>iddīšu ḥabbātū[?] sapāḥ bīti :</i> <i>ḥušaḥḥi bīt amēli</i>	[If] a snake kills a [ra]t [?] i[n] a [man]'s house and throws it toward the <i>inner part</i> (of the house) [?] – (there will be) robbers[?], dispersal of the house : famine in the man's house.
§23.65	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ... <i>ana[?] ...</i> ŠUB-šu EN É BI ÚŠ	<i>[šumma šēru ...] ... ana[?] ...</i> <i>iddīšu bēl bīti šuāti imât</i>	[If a snake ...] ... throws it into ... – the master of the house will die.
§23.66	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] <i>ana IGI NA</i> ŠUB ŠUB-at EN INIM-šu IGI-mar	<i>[šumma šēru ...] ana pān</i> <i>amēli imqut maqāt bēl</i> <i>dabābišu immar</i>	[If a snake ...] falls in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.
§23.67	[DIŠ MUŠ ... T]A É <i>ana KÁ</i> <i>È-šú TA KÁ ana É KU₄-am</i> ZI.GA[?] NÍG.ŠU LUGAL TI-qé	<i>[šumma šēru ... iš]tu bīti ana</i> <i>dalti ušēšišu ištu dalti ana</i> <i>bīti īrubam šītu[?] būša šarru</i> ileqqe	[If a snake ...] takes it [ou]t [fr]om the house to the door (and) enters from the door into the house (again) – (he will suffer) a loss[?], the king will take (his) property away.

§23.68	[DIŠ MUŠ ... T]A SILA ana É KU ₄ -am EN É BI SIG ₅	[šumma šēru ... iš]tu sūqi ana bīti īrubam bēl bīti šuāti idammīq	[If a snake ...] enters [fr]om the street into the [hou]se (again) – the master of that house will be well.
§23.69	[DIŠ MUŠ ... ina É] [?] LÚ ᵈNIN.KILIM [G]AZ É BI BIR-a[h]	[šumma šēru ... ina bīt] [?] amēli sikkā [id]ūk bītu šū issappa[h]	[If a snake ... ki]lls a mongoose [in] [?] a man's [?] [house] [?] – that house will be dispers[ed].
§23.70	[DIŠ MUŠ ... ina] É LÚ ᵈNIN.[KI]LIM GAZ-ma GU ₇ ÚŠ [ÚŠ] [?]	[šumma šēru ... ina] bīt amēli si[k]kâ idūkma īkul mītu [imât][?]	[If a snake ...] kills and eats a mo[ng]oose [in] a man's house – a mortally ill person [will die][?].
§23.71	[DIŠ MUŠ ... ᵈNIN.KI]LIM GAZ-ma ana É KU ₄ É BI SIG ₅ IG[I-mar]	[šumma šēru ... sik]kâ idūkma ana bīti īrub bītu šū damiqta im[mar]	[If a snake ...] kills a [mongo]ose and enters into the house – that house will experi[ence] good fortune.
§23.72	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ᵈNIN.KILIM GAZ NA BI ŠÀ.ḪUL IGI : na-zaq [É][?]	[šumma šēru ...] sikkâ idūk amēlu šū lumun libbi immar : nazāq [bīti][?]	[If a snake ...] kills a mongoose – that man will experience grief : (there will be) grief [in the house][?].
§23.73	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ...	[šumma šēru ...] ...	[If a snake ...] ...
§23.74	[DIŠ MUŠ ... É B]I BIR- a[h]	[šumma šēru ... bītu šū issappa[h]	[If a snake ... th]at [house] will be disperse[d].
§23.75	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] EN INIM- š[u]	[šumma šēru ...] bēl dabābiš[u]	[If a snake ...] hi[s] advers[ary].
§23.76	DIŠ MUŠ ina É [NA ...] MUŠEN lu-ú x DAB [...] É LÚ È	šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli ...] iššūra lū ... išbat [...] bīt amēli ušši	If a snake catches a [...] bird or ... in a [man]'s house – [...] will go out [of] the man's house.

§23.77	DIŠ MUŠ ina É [NA ...] ... DÙ-uš ŠUB-e É : NA È	šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli ...] ... īpuš <i>nadê bīti : amēlu uṣṣi</i>	If a snake makes [...] in a [man]’s house [...] ... – abandonment of the house : the man will leave.
§23.78	DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA bu-ú-ra DÙ-uš ŠUB-e É	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli bu’ura īpuš <i>nadê bīti</i>	If a snake goes hunting in a man’s house – abandonment of the house.
§23.79	DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA ana UGU NA ŠUB šum ₄ -ma NÍG.TUK ÚKU-in šum ₄ -ma MAŠ.EN.GAG i-šár-rù	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ana muḥḥi amēli imqut šumma šarû ilappin šumma muškēnu išarru	If a snake falls on top of a man in a man’s house – if he is a rich man, he will become poor, if he is a commoner, he will become rich.
§23.80	DIŠ MUŠ ina É N[A N]Á?- iṣ ² ... i-tab-bal	šumma šēru ina bīt am[ēli rab]iṣ ² ... itabbal	If a snake [li]es ² down in a m[an]’s house – ... will carry away ...
	šum ₄ -ma EN É BI ÚŠ	šumma <i>bēl bīti šuāti imât</i>	Same protasis – the master of that house will die.
§23.81 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA i-dam- mu-um NA BI <i>dul-la i-ma- al-la</i>	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli idammum <i>amēlu šū dulla imalla</i>	If a snake wails in a man’s house – that man will be filled with misery.
§23.82	DIŠ MUŠ ina É [NA] ina la ma-ḥa-ši im-tu-ut GIZKIM IGI ÚŠ ÚŠ	šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli] ina lā maḥāši imtūt ittu innammar mītu imât	If a snake dies in a [man]’s house, but not because of a blow – an omen will be seen, a mortally ill person will die.
§23.83 (var.)	[DIŠ] MU[Š n]am-maš-ti É NA id-da-na-ak [É BI] ŠUB- di : ŠUK TAG ₄ -šú	[šumma] šēr[u n]ammaštī bīt amēli iddanāk [<i>bītu šū</i>] innaddi : kurummatu izzibšu	[If] a snak[e] repeatedly kills [the p]ests of a man’s house – [that house will be ab]andoned : the food rations will leave it.

§23.84	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>gi-nam-ma</i>] ² <i>ip-ta-na-[r]ik</i> NA BI NÍG.GIG IGI-mar	[šumma šēru <i>ina</i> bīt <i>amēli ginâmma</i>] ² <i>iptana[rr]ik amēlu šū marušta immar</i>	[If a snake is always lying cross]wise [in a man's house] ² – that man will experience illness.
§23.85	[DIŠ MUŠ ... <i>ina</i>] É NA IGI- <i>[ir]</i> ² [(...)] <i>sa-da-ru</i>	[šumma šēru ... <i>ina</i>] <i>bīt amēli innam[ir] [(...)] sadāru</i>	[If a ... snake] is see[n in] a man's house [(...)] (there will be) order?
§23.86	DIŠ MU[Š ... <i>ina</i>] É NA IGI- <i>ir</i> <i>i-dir-tu₄</i>	<i>šumma šēr[u ... ina] bīt amēli innamir idirtu</i>	If a sna[ke ...] is seen [in] a man's house – (there will be) calamity.
§23.87	DIŠ MUŠ SA ₅ <i>ina</i> É LÚ IGI- <i>ir</i> LÚ BI <i>i-šár-rù</i>	<i>šumma šēru sāmu ina bīt amēli innamir amēlu šū išarru</i>	If a red snake is seen in a man's house – that man will become rich.
§23.88	DIŠ MUŠ 7 SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú <i>ina</i> É NA IGI EN É BI SAG.KAL-ta ₅ DU-ak	<i>šumma šēru 7 qaqqadūšu ina bīt amēli innamir bēl bīti šuāti ašaredūta illak</i>	If a seven-headed snake is seen in a man's house – the master of that house will achieve the highest rank.
§23.89	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É LÚ ŠUB-i Û.TU É BI TUŠ-ab	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadî ulid bīta šuāti uššab</i>	If a snake gives birth in a man's abandoned house – he will inhabit that house (again).
§23.90	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> É LÚ ŠUB-i IGI-ir ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadî innamir ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM</i>	If a snake is seen in a man's abandoned house – ditto.
§23.91	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i>] É LÚ ŠUB-i KU ₄ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	[šumma šēru <i>ina</i>] <i>bīt amēli nadî īrub ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM</i>	[If a snake] enters a man's abandoned house – ditto.
§23.92	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i>] É NA NA GAZ NA BI <i>in-na-dar</i>	[šumma šēru <i>ina</i>] <i>bīt amēli amēla idūk amēlu šū innaddar</i>	[If a snake] kills a man [in] a man's house – that man will flee.
	KI.MIN <i>du-us-su</i> KAR-er	KI.MIN <i>dūssu innetter</i>	Ditto – his potency will be taken away.

§23.93	[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ i-mu-ut EN É BI ÚŠ	[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli imūt bēl bīti šuāti imât	[If a snake] dies [in] a man's [ho]use – the master of that house will die.
§23.94	[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ AN.TA-šú i-lu-ut É BI BIR- aḥ ŠU KUR-su É.GAL UŠ- šú	[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli tappāšu ilut bītu šū issappaḥ qātu ikaššassu ekallu ireddīšu	[If a snake] swallows its companion [in] a man's house – that house will be dispersed, the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of it, the palace will confiscate it.
§23.95	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ AN.TA- šú GAZ KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu idūk kašād šibûti	If a snake kills its companion in a man's house – (he will be) granted a wish.
§23.96 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ AN.TA- šú GU ₇ ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar	šumma šēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu ikul maqāt bēl dabābišu immar	If a snake eats its companion in a man's house – he will see the downfall of his adversary.
§23.97	[DIŠ MUŠ] ina É LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri Û.TU É BI BIR-aḥ	[šumma šēru] ina bīt amēli ina ḥarūri ulid bītu šū issappaḥ	[If a snake] gives birth in a man's house in the ḥarūru- part of the mill – that house will be dispersed.
§23.98	[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri NÁ-iṣ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ina ḥarūri rabiṣ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	[If] a snake is lying in a man's house in the ḥarūru- part of the mill – ditto.
§23.99	[DIŠ M]UŠ ina a-sur-re-e É NA Û.TU ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	[šumma šē]ru ina asurrê bīt amēli ulid ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	If a snake gives birth in the sewer of a man's house – ditto.
§23.100	DIŠ MUŠ ina a-sur-re-e É NA NÁ-iṣ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	šumma šēru ina asurrê bīt amēli rabiṣ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM	If a snake is lying in the sewer of a man's house – ditto.

§23.101	DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS <i>ina</i> <i>a-sur-re-e ina la mu-de-e</i> DAB-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK- ši	<i>šumma šēru sinništu ina</i> <i>asurrê ina lā mūdê</i> <i>išbassuma umaššeršu</i> <i>sinništu šī ila irašši</i>	If a woman catches a snake in the sewer inadvertently and (then) she lets it go – that woman will have a protective god.
§23.102	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana É NA KU₄-ma</i> (var.) <i>ú-gal-lit-su-ma iš-šuk-šú É</i> BI AL.BIR	<i>šumma šēru ana bīt amēli</i> <i>īrubma ugallissuma iššukšu</i> <i>bītu šū issappaḥ</i>	If a snake enters a man's house, frightens him and (then) bites him – that house will be dispersed.
	<i>šum₄-ma ÚKU TUK-ši</i>	<i>šumma lapnu irašši</i>	Same protasis – a poor man will get (it).
§23.103	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>ana É LÚ KU₄ É</i> BI ŠUB-di	[<i>šumma</i>] <i>šēru ana bīt amēli</i> <i>īrub bītu šū innaddi</i>	[If] a snake enters a man's house – that house will be abandoned.
§23.104	[DIŠ] MU[Š <i>ina</i>] É LÚ ŠUB? ... [É BI]? BIR : UŠ-ut É LÚ UŠ-de-e?	[<i>šumma</i>] <i>šēr[u ina] bīt amēli</i> <i>imqut ... [bītu šū]? issappaḥ :</i> <i>ridât bīt amēli irredde</i>	[If] a sna[ke] falls? in a man's house ... – [that house]? will be dispersed : the estate of the house of the man will be confiscated.?
§23.105	DIŠ MUŠ ... ZI-ib MUNUS.ḪUL ZI.G[A-š]ú	<i>šumma šēru ... tīb lemutti</i> <i>itebbīšu</i>	If a snake ... – an uprising of evil will attack him.
§23.106	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ir-pis-su ina-an- ziq</i>	<i>šumma šēru irpissu inazziq</i>	If a snake strikes him – he will worry.
§23.107	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina UGU^{giš} NÁ</i> (var.) <i>NA NÁ-iš NA BI DINGIR- šú MU TUK-šú</i>	<i>šumma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš</i> <i>amēli rabiš amēlu šū ilšu</i> <i>šuma ušaršāšu</i>	If a snake lies down on top of a man's bed – his god will grant that man offspring.

- §23.108 DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ šumma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš If a snake falls on top of the
NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut **ZI-** zikri u sinništi imqut **tīb** bed of a man and a woman –
ib ḪUL-ti **ZI-šú : KI.TUŠ-** **lemutti itebbīšu : šubassu** **an uprising of evil will**
su KÚR-ir **inakkir** **attack him : he will go into**
exile.
- §23.109 DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU NITA u šumma šēru ina muḥḥi zikri u If a snake falls on top of a
MUNUS ŠUB-ut **NITA u** sinništi imqut **zikru u** man and a woman – **the man**
MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ **sinništu innezzibū** **and the woman will leave**
each other.
- §23.110 DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NITA u šumma šēru ana muḥḥi zikri If a snake falls on top of a
MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma ú-par- u sinništi imqutma man and woman and
ri-ir-šú-nu-ti **ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM** uparriršunūti **ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM** (thereby) drives them apart –
ditto.
- §23.111 DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NITA u šumma šēru ana muḥḥi zikri If a snake is thrown on top of
MUNUS ŠUB-ma ú-par-ri- u sinništi innadīma a man and a woman and
ir-šú-nu-ti **NITA u MUNUS** uparriršunūti **zikru u** (thereby) drives them apart –
TAG₄.MEŠ **sinništu innezzibū** **the man and the woman**
will leave each other.
- §23.112 DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NITA u šumma šēru ana muḥḥi zikri If a snake falls on top of a
MUNUS ŠUB-ut **NITA u** u sinništi imqut **zikru u** man and a woman – **the man**
MUNUS TAR.MEŠ **sinništu ipparrasū** **and the woman will**
separate.
- §23.113 DIŠ MUŠ ina kal u₄-mi ana šumma šēru ina kal ūmi ana If a snake falls on top of a
UGU NITA u MUNUS TUŠ- muḥḥi zikri u sinništi man and a woman *sitting*
su-nu ŠUB-ma ú-par-ri-ir- ašbūssunu[?] imqutma *together[?] all day* and
šú-nu-ti **TAR.MEŠ** uparriršunūti **ipparrasū** (thereby) drives them apart –
they will separate.

§23.114	DIŠ MUŠ <i>a-šar</i> NITA <i>u</i>	<i>šumma šēru ašar zikru u</i>	If a snake falls behind a man
	MUNUS <i>tap-pu-ú áš-bu ana</i>	<i>sinništu tappû ašbû ana</i>	and a woman where they are
	EGIR-šú-nu ŠUB- <i>ma</i>	<i>arkišunu imqutma imurūšu</i>	sitting as companions and
	IGI.MEŠ-šú NITA <i>u</i>	<i>zikru u sinništu tappû</i>	they look at it – the man and
	MUNUS <i>tap-pu-ú</i>	<i>ipparrasū</i>	the woman, who are
	TAR.MEŠ		companions, will separate.

Tablet 24

- §24.1 [DI]Š MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šum]ma šēru *ina muḥḥi ereš* [I]f a snake lies on top of a
NA NÁ-iš **DAM LÚ** *amēli rabiš aššat amēli* man's bed – **the man's wife**
IGI.MEŠ-šá GUR.MEŠ-ma *pānīša utārma mārīša ana* **will turn away her face and**
DUMU.MEŠ-šá ana *kaspi inaddin* **give her children away for**
KÙ.BABBAR SUM-in **silver.**
- §24.2 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šumma š]ēru *ina muḥḥi ereš* [If a sn]ake hangs down on
NA LAL-la **KI.MIN** *amēli ilula KI.MIN* top of a man's bed – **ditto.**
- §24.3 [DI]Š MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šum]ma šēru *ina muḥḥi ereš* [I]f a snake lies down on top
NA it-til **NA BI DINGIR-šú** *amēli ittīl amēlu šū ilšu* of a man's bed – **his god will**
MU TUK-šú *šuma ušaršāšu* **grant that man offspring.**
- §24.4 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šumma šēr]u *ina muḥḥi ereš* [If a sna]ke falls on top of a
NA ŠUB-ut **NA BI ZI.GA** *amēli imqut amēlu šū tīb* man's bed – **an uprising of**
MUNUS.ḪUL ZI-šú *lemutti itebbīšu* **evil will attack that man.**
- §24.5 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šumma šēr]u *ina muḥḥi ereš* [If a sna]ke falls on top of a
NITA u MUNUS DAM u *zikri u sinništi imqut mutu u* man and woman's bed –
DAM TAG₄.MEŠ *aššatu innezzibū* **husband and wife will leave**
each other.
- §24.6 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šumma šēr]u *ina muḥḥi ereš* [If a sna]ke [dr]ops its egg on
NA NUNUZ-šú [ŠU]B-di *amēli pelašu [id]di bēl bīti* top of a man's bed – **the**
EN É BI Ú[Š É] BI BIR-aḥ *šūāti im[ât bītu] šū issappaḥ* **master of that house will**
[...] DINGIR G[U₇]? *[...] ilu ik[kal]?* **d[ie], that [house] will be**
dispersed, [...] the god (i.e.
Nergal)? will rav[age]?.
- §24.7 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ [šumma] šēru *ina muḥḥi erši* [If] a snake dro[ps] its scute¹
^{giš}GU.ZA e-ma LÚ TUŠ i¹- *kussī ēma amēlu ašbu irātišu¹* on top of a bed (or) chair
ra¹-ti-šú ŠUB-[di ...] *idd[i ...] ilu amēla ireddīma* wherever a man happens to
DINGIR LÚ UŠ-ma ... [...] *... [...]* be sitting – **[...] the god will**
lead the man and ... [...].

§24.8	DIŠ MU[Š <i>ina</i> U]GU gišGU.ZA ŠUB-ut gišGU.ZA KI TUŠ ZI-ib ² [...] ... [...]	<i>šumma šē[ru ina mu]ḥḥi</i> <i>kussî imqut kussû ašar ašbu</i> <i>īb² ... [...] ... [...]</i>	If a sna[ke] falls [on t]op of a chair (which is) the chair where he (the man) is sitting – an uprising² of² [...] ... [...].
§24.9	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU gišGU.ZA LÚ TA AN.TA-nu ŠUB ² U ₄ 1-KÁM U ₄ 2 - KÁM <i>is-sal-la- 'a</i> [...] T]UK- <i>ma TI-uṭ</i>	<i>šumma šēru ana muḥḥi kussî</i> <i>amēli ištu elēnu imqut² U₄ 1-</i> <i>KÁM U₄ 2 -KÁM issalla 'a</i> <i>[... iraš]šīma iballuṭ</i>	If a snake falls ² from above on top of a man's chair – he will be very ill for one, two days, he will ge[t ...] and he will survive.
§24.10	DIŠ MU[Š <i>ana</i> UGU gišGU.ZA ŠUB] ² -ut ² -ma MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU-šú <i>iq-qa-ri²-ir²</i> [<i>ana</i>] ² IGI ² ŠUB-ut [NA] BI <i>ina ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ</i>	<i>šumma šēr[u ana muḥḥi kussî</i> <i>imq]utma² šēru ana muḥḥišu</i> <i>iqqarir² [ana]² pāni² imqut</i> <i>[amēlu] šū ina libbi šatti</i> <i>šuāti imât</i>	If a sna[ke fa]lls ² [on top of a chair] ² and the snake rolls ² on top of it (and then) falls [in] ² front ² (of it) – that [man] will die within that year.
§24.11	DI[Š MUŠ <i>ina</i> UGU] ² gišGU.ZA NA N[UN]ZU-šú ŠUB EN É ÚŠ- <i>ma</i> É BI B[I]R	<i>šum[ma šēru ina muḥḥi]²</i> <i>k]ussi amēli p[el]ašu iddi bēl</i> <i>bīti imâtma bītu šū</i> <i>issa[pp]aḥ</i>	I[f a snake] drops its e[g]g [on top of] ² a man's chair – the master of the house will die and that house will be dis[per]sed.
§24.12	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> ²] Á.<ŠU>.GÌR NA <i>iš-lu-uṭ-ma</i> <i>ana</i> É NA KU ₄ EN É B[I] Ú]Š	[<i>šumma šēru ina</i> ²] <i>mešrêt</i> <i>amēli išluṭma ana bīt amēli</i> <i>īrub bēl bīti šu[āti im]ât</i>	[If a snake] <i>cuts [into</i> ²] a man's extremities ² and enters a man's house – the master of th[at] house will [di]e.
§24.13	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> ²] GÌR.MEŠ <i>iš-lu-uṭ-ma ana</i> É NA KU ₄ EN É <i>ina-kir</i>	[<i>šumma šēru ina</i> ²] <i>šēpī</i> <i>išluṭma ana bīt amēli īrub bēl</i> <i>bīti inakkir</i>	[If a snake] <i>cuts [into</i> ²] (a man's) feet and enters a man's house – the master of the house will change (residence²).

§24.14	[DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA <i>ana</i> KÁ È-a NÍG.TUK ÚKU-in MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG ₅	[šumma šēru iš]tu bīt amēli <i>ana dalti ūṣâ šarû ilappin</i> <i>muškēnu idammīq</i>	[If a snake] goes out [fr]om a man's house towards the door – a rich man will become poor, a commoner will be well.
§24.15	[DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA <i>mim-ma ana</i> KÁ È ZI.[G]A ina É NA È ÚŠ ina É NA ÚŠ	[šumma šēru iš]tu bīt amēli <i>mimma ana dalti uṣēši šītu</i> <i>ina bīt amēli uṣṣi mītu ina</i> <i>bīt amēli imât</i>	[If a snake] takes something out [fr]om a man's house towards the door – loss will be incurred in the man's house, a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.
§24.16	[DIŠ MUŠ T]A KÁ <i>mim-ma</i> ÍL-ma <i>ana</i> É NA KU ₄ ir-bu ana É NA KU ₄	[šumma šēru iš]tu dalti <i>mimma iššīma ana bīt amēli</i> <i>īrub irbu ana bīt amēli irrub</i>	[If a snake] takes something up [fr]om the door and enters a man's house – income will enter the man's house.
§24.17 (var.)	[DIŠ M]UŠ <i>mim-ma ina</i> KA-šú n[a]-ši-[ma an]a É [NA] KU ₄ ḥa-liq-ta-šú UŠ-[šú]	[šumma š]ēru <i>mimma ina</i> <i>pīšu n[a]šī[ma an]a bīt</i> <i>[amēli] īrub ḥaliqtašu</i> <i>ireddī[šu]</i>	[If a sn]ake ho[ld]s something in its mouth [and e]nters a man's house – he will regain[n] his lost property.
§24.18	[DIŠ] MUŠ MUŠ MAN-ma <i>ina</i> KA-šú na-ši-ma <i>ana</i> É [N]A KU ₄ ir-bu ana É NA KU ₄	[šumma š]ēru šēra šanâma <i>ina pīšu našīma ana bīt</i> <i>[am]ēli īrub irbu ana bīt</i> <i>amēli irrub</i>	[If] a snake holds a second snake in its mouth and enters a [ma]n's house – income will enter the man's house.

§24.19 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ šá BAR-šú GU ₇ ina KA SÚR.DÙ ^{mušen} LAL-[ma] ^{KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú} ^{na-ši} [ana É NA ŠUB] EN É BI ÚŠ É BI BIR-ah ka-šad- s[u] É BI UŠ-su É.GÁL U[Š-di]	šumma šēru mītu ša mišilšu aklu ina pē surdî šuqallul[ma] ^{KI.MIN iṣṣūru ina pišu} ^{naši} [ana bīt amēli imqut] bēl bīti šuāti imâtma bītu šū issappaḥ kašāss[u] bītu šū ridûssu ekallu ire[ddi]	If a dead snake, of which half is eaten, is hangig from a falcon's mouth ditto ("If a dead snake, of which half is eaten, is hangig from a falcon's mouth" means), the bird carries (it) in its mouth [and it falls onto a man's house] – the master of that house will die, that house will be dispersed, it[s] sacking? (will occur), the palace will con[fiscate] the estate of that house.
§24.20 (var.)	DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DÙ ^{mušen} LAL-ma TA A[N.TA-n]u? ŠUB-ut? É NA? BIR?-[ah]? [...] É-su TAG ₄ -šú	šumma šēru surdû šuqallulma ištu el[ēnu] imqut? bīt amēli issapp[ah]? [...] ... [...] bīssu izzibšu	If a snake is <i>hanging from</i> ? a falcon and falls? from ab[ove] – the man's house will be disper[ed]? [...] he will leave his house.
§24.21	[DIŠ] SAG.DU MUŠ GU ₇ MUŠEN ÍL [... ana?] ... NA KU ₄ ŠUB? [...] ... É BI BIR- ah	[šumma] qaqqad šēri akli iṣṣūru naši [... ana?] ... amēli īrub imqut? [...] ... bītu šū issappaḥ	[If] the head of an eaten snake is carried by a bird, [...] enters [into]? a man's ... (and then) falls? [...] ... that house will be dispersed.
§24.22	DIŠ MUŠ ana ÚR LÚ KU ₄ DUMU.MEŠ TUK-ši U ₄ .MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ	šumma šēru ana sūn amēli īrub mārī irašši ūmūšu ikarrû	If a snake goes into a man's lap – he will have children, his days will become short.
§24.23	DIŠ MUŠ SAG.DU-su ina ḤABRUD.DA KUN-su [...] MURUB ₄ .M[EŠ-šú? x].MEŠ NA BI me-se-ra IGI-mar	šumma šēru qaqqassu ina ḥurri zibbassu [...] qabl[ūšu? ...] ū amēlu šū mēsera immar	If a snake's head is in a hole, its tail [...], [its]? midd[le part ...]? ... – that man will experience imprisonment.
§24.24	DIŠ MUŠ 2 ti-iṣ-bu-tu-ma SAG.DU-su [...] GÁL-ši	šumma šēru 2 tiṣbutūma qaqqassu [...] ibašši	If a snake is double, they are joined together and its head [...] – there will be [...].

§24.25	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> ŠÀ UDUN lúBÁḤAR <i>im-me-l[il[?] É BI]</i> [?] BIR-aḥ	<i>šumma šēru ana libbi utūn</i> <i>paḥāri immel[il[?] bītu šū]</i> [?] issappaḥ	If a snake goes play[fully] [?] into a potter's kiln – [that house][?] will be dispersed.
§24.26	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> ŠÀ UDUN lúBÁḤAR [...] ...	<i>šumma šēru ana libbi utūn</i> <i>paḥāri [...] ...</i>	If a snake [...] into a potter's kiln [...]
§24.27	DIŠ MUŠ <i>e-nu-ma ka-la-šu-</i> <i>nu UKKIN GAL ŠUB ... [...</i> É[?] BI ŠUB-di	<i>šumma šēru enūma kalašunu</i> <i>puḥru rabū imqut ... [... bītu[?]</i> š]ū innaddi	If a snake, while all of them are at the great assembly, falls ... [... th]at [house][?] will be abandoned.
§24.28	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina É NA lu ana</i> dugÚTUL <i>lu ana</i> URUDU.ŠEN ŠUB- <i>ma ...</i> [...]	<i>šumma šēru ina bīt amēli lū</i> <i>ana diqāri lū ana ruqqi</i> <i>imqutma ... [...]</i>	If a snake falls either onto a tureen or onto a cauldron in a man's house and ... [...].
§24.29	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i>] ŠÀ DUG KAŠ <i>maš-ti-ti LÚ ŠUB-ut</i> [...]	[<i>šumma šēru ana</i>] <i>libbi</i> <i>karpat šikar mašītī amēli</i> <i>imqut [...]</i>	[If a snake] falls [in]side a man's beer mug from which he drinks [...].
§24.30	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>lu ana</i>] <i>mut-tab-</i> <i>bil-ti KAŠ lu ana DUG nam-</i> <i>ḥa-ri šá A [...]</i>	[<i>šumma šēru lū ana</i>] <i>muttabbilti šikari lū ana</i> <i>karpat namḥari ša mē [...]</i>	[If a snake ... either into] a beer vessel or into a water bin [...].
§24.31	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU] gišGAN šá lúKÚRUN.NA ŠUB- <i>ut NA BI si-bu-us-su</i> [...]	[<i>šumma šēru ana muḥ]</i> ḥi <i>kanni ša sābī imqut amēlu šū</i> sibūssu [...]	[If a snake] falls [on t]op of a brewer's vessel-stand – that man's brewing [...].
§24.32	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU] gišBANŠUR NA ŠUB- <i>ut EN</i> É [...]	[<i>šumma šēru ana m]</i> uḥḥi <i>paššūr amēli imqut bēl bīti</i> [...]	[If a snake] falls [on] top of a man's table – the master of the house [...].
§24.33	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>lu GÚ]</i> [?] dugŠAB Ì <i>lu GÚ</i> dugA.TIN.NA NIGIN É B[I ...]	[<i>šumma šēru lū aḥ]</i> [?] šap <i>šamni lū aḥ karpat tābāti ilmi</i> bītu š[ū ...]	[If a snake] circles around [either the neck] [?] of an oil jar or the neck of a vinegar vessel – th[at] house [...].

§24.34	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> PI]SAN NINDA KU ₄ - <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> DAM [...]	[šumma šēru <i>ana</i> [?] <i>pi</i>]san <i>akli</i> <i>īrubma rabiš aššat</i> [?] [...]	[If a snake] enters [into] [?] a bread [b]ox and lies down – the wife[?] of[?] [...].
§24.35	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> PISA]N šá SÍG KU ₄ - <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> É B[I ...]	[šumma šēru <i>ana</i> <i>pisa</i>]n ša <i>šipāri īrubma rabiš bītu š[ū</i> <i>...]</i>	[If a snake] enters [into] a bo]x of wool and lies down – th[at] house [...].
§24.36	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> ...] NA KU ₄ - <i>ma</i> NÁ-[<i>iš</i> ...]	[šumma šēru <i>ana</i> ...] <i>amēli</i> <i>īrubma rab[iš ...]</i>	[If a snake] enters [into] a man's [...] and lies do[wn ...].
§24.37	[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ... <i>ana</i> [?] UGU ... [...]	[šumma šēru ...] ... <i>ana</i> [?] <i>muḥḥi</i> ... [...]	[If a snake ...] ... on [?] top of ... [...].
§24.38	[...] ... [...]	[...] ... [...]	[...] ... [...].

Scores and philological commentary

Tablet 22

§ 22.1

- A⁽²²⁾ 1-4 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM NA *la-am* TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GAR-*nu* MUŠ 'TA' H[AB-
RUD.DA È-ma] / *la-am ma-am-man* IGI LÚ IGI LÚ BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI Ú[Š] /
šum₄-ma LÚ BI TI.LA *ha-šiḫ* SAG.DU *ú-ḫar-ra-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-g[a-lab]* / ITI 3-KÁM *uš-ta-*
pa-šaq-ma TI-*uṭ*
- B⁽²²⁾ 1-4 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM NA *la-am* T[A ...] / MUŠ TA H[ABRUD.DA È-m[a ...] / LÚ BI *ina*
ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ *šum₄-m[a ...]* / TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* ITI [...]
- C 1-4 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM NA *la-am* TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GA[R-*nu* ...] / È-ma *la-am ma-*
am-man IGI LÚ IGI LÚ B[I ...] / *šum₄-ma* LÚ BI TI.LA *ha-šiḫ* SAG.D[U ...] / TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-*
lab ITI 3-KÁM *uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma* TI-*uṭ*
- E₂ 1-3 [...] U₄ 1-KÁM NA [*la*]-*am* [...] / [...] *m[a-am-man* IGI-šú 'NA'?' IGI'?' [...] / [...] 'SAG'-*su* *ú-ḫar-*
'ra'-'ár ...]
- Ex5 1'-3' [...] 'x' / [...] 'È' / [...] *uš-ta-p[a-šaq-ma* TI-*uṭ*
- Ex7 1'-4' [...] 'x' 'x' [...] / [...] BI ÚŠ *šum₄-m[a ...]* / [...] *ú-ḫar-ra-ár* T[E.MEŠ-šú ...] / [...] *uš-ta-pa-šaq-*
ma [TI-*uṭ*]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM NA *la-am* TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GAR-*nu* MUŠ TA H[ABRUD.DA È-
ma la-am ma-am-man IGI LÚ IGI LÚ BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ
šum₄-ma LÚ BI TI.LA *ha-šiḫ* SAG.DU *ú-ḫar-ra-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* ITI 3-KÁM *uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma*
TI-*uṭ*

šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM *amēlu lām ištu erši šēpšu ana erṣeti iškunu šēru ištu ḫurri ūṣīma lām*
mamman īmuru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt

šumma amēlu šū balāṭa ḫašiḫ qaqqada uḫarrar lētišu ugallab ITI 3-KÁM *uštapaššaqma iballuṭ*

If, on the first day of Nisannu, before a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before anybody sees (it), it stares at the man – that man will die within that year.

If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for three months he will suffer, but he will survive.

Variant E

[DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA] U₄ 1-KÁM NA [*la*]-*am* [TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GAR-*nu* MUŠ TA H[ABRUD.DA È-
ma la-am m[a-am-man IGI-šú N[A IGI NA BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ]

[*šum₄-ma* LÚ BI TI.LA *ha-šiḫ*] SAG-*su* *ú-ḫar-r[a-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* ITI 3-KÁM *uš-ta-pa-šaq-*
ma TI-*uṭ*]

[*šumma ina Nisannu*] U₄ 1-KÁM *amēlu [lā]m [ištu erši šēpšu ana erṣeti iškunu šēru ištu ḫurri ūṣīma*
lām m]amman īmurušu am[ēla īmur amēlu šū ina šatti šuāti imāt]

[*šumma amēlu šū balāṭu ḫašiḫ*] *qaqqassu uḫarr[ar lētišu ugallab* ITI 3-KÁM *uštapaššaqma iballuṭ*]

[If, on the first of Nisannu], [be]fore [a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before any]body sees it, [it stares at] the m[an – that man will die within that year.]

[If that man wishes to live], he should make inci[sions in] his head, [he should shave his cheeks – for three months he will suffer, but he will survive.]

- a) The syntax of this omen, especially of the first protasis, is complicated, as noted by Freedman, “It is not certain whether the snake or the man is the subject of the verb IGI, ‘sees,’ in these and the following omens. Word order favors the snake as subject” (*If a City* 2, p. 8, n. 1-4). Compare Freedman’s translation,

“If, on the first of Nisannu, before a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before any one sees it, the snake sees the man, he will die within that year; if that man wishes to live, he should ... his head, shave his cheeks, (and) he will be suffering for three months, but he will live” (*If a City* 2, pp. 8-9).

Compare also the translation by Pientka-Hinz (2010, p. 193, “Var.:

 in brackets in line 12’ to ms. V3, ll. 11’-15’ = KAL 1, no. 10, see §22.21),

“Wenn am 1. Nisannu, noch bevor ein Mann seinen Fuß aus dem Bett heraus auf den Boden gesetzt hat, eine Schlange aus einem Loch erhauskommt, und bevor irgend jemand (es) sieht, sie (bereits den Mann anschaut: dieser Mann wird (noch) im Verlauf des selbigen Jahres sterben.”

- b) After the first apodosis, a conditional clause with an instruction to an apotropaic ritual is inserted before a second apodosis: “If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks.” Despite the differences to typical *namburbû*-rituals, which usually have the verb in the second person (see e.g. §22.36), the passage should be discussed with them in mind. Maul (1994, pp. 291-293) includes this passage in his book on *namburbû*-rituals.

- c) The noun *hurru* “hole” in the protasis of §22.1 is semantically and phonetically associated with *uḥarrar* in the ritual instruction. The interpretation of *uḥarrar* (D-stem of *ḥarāru*) is discussed in the following paragraphs:

- (i) The G-stem of *ḥarāru* can be translated as “to dig (with a hoe), to groove” (CAD H, p. 91, *ḥarāru* A), “to dig, to hollow out” (*graben, aushöhlen*, AHW I, p. 323), “to dig furrows” (*Furchen graben*, GAG §101, 2b). The CAD lists the D-stem *hurruru* separately under *ḥarāru* B “mng. uncertain:” *hurruru* “uncert. mng., referring to some expression or act of mortification,” and quotes our passage from §22.1 (CAD H, pp. 91-92, CT 38 34: 21 = ms. A⁽²²⁾ 3). The AHW lists the D-stem under *ḥarāru* “to dig,” giving the translation “to burrow/bury” (*eingraben*) for *hurruru*; the passage from §22.1 is translated as “den Kopf, sich selbst *ú-ḥar-ra-ar* schneidet er ein” (AHW I, p. 323, CT 38, 33/4, l. 21f.). The *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* has the translation “to make incisions in something” for the D-stem, “of part of body, stat. ‘is hollowed out’; ‘make incisions in’ s.th.” (*Concise Dictionary*, p. 107).
- (ii) The edition of §22.1 in *If a City* 2 leaves *uḥarrar* untranslated (*If a City* 2, p. 9, *22.1), but lists the above-cited references from the CAD and the AHW (see *If a City* 2, p. 8, n. 1-4).
- (iii) The ancient commentary §22-C1 (see below) comments on *uḥarrar*, but unfortunately most of the commentary is broken. In his edition of the commentary, Jiménez (2014 = CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 1-2) translates *uḥarrar* as “He should hollow out his head.”

- (iv) The verb *ḥurruru* appears in a snake omen from BM 78960, a manuscript associated with Tablets 25-26 of *Šumma ālu* (see *If a City* 2, pp. 84-87, text 7, and pp. 94-97, text 4):²¹⁵

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina* E₂ NA] SA.A *u₂-ḥar-ri-is-su-ma ana* IGI NA ŠUB-š_{u₂} x [...]

“[If] a cat gashes [a snake in a man’s house (?)] and drops it in front of the man [...]” (*If a City* 2, pp. 94-95, text 4, l. r. 2’).

Freedman’s “gashes” seems a good translation for *ḥurruru* in this context. The omen has a parallel in an Assur text, VAT 10116+ (KAL 1, no. 13), but Heeßel leaves *uḥarrissu* untranslated:

[DIŠ *ina*] ‘É’ NA MUŠ SA.A ‘ú’-‘ḥar’-ri-su É BI DINGIR.BI IGI-su [0]

“[Wenn im] Haus eines Mannes eine Schlange eine Katze ...: Dieses Haus wird sein Gott (gnädig) ansehen” (KAL 1, no. 13, pp. 54, 56, l. 21).

Note that Heeßel seems to interpret the snake as the subject of the verb.

- (v) For *qaqqada uḥarrar* in §22.1. (var. E: *qaqqassu uḥarrar*) we suggest a meaning closer to the following *lētīšu ugallab* “he should shave his cheeks.” As the CAD (H, p. 92) points out, “[t]he interchange of *qaqqadu* and *ramānu* [as we find it in §22.22] indicates that *ḥurruru* refers to some form of self mortification,” which also fits the context of the ritual instruction.

Mediae geminate roots of Akkadian verbs describe durative actions and processes, which consist of short identical movements, which von Soden terms “Kettendurative” in GAG §101, 2b (see there for a number of such mediae geminatae verbs with chain-durative meaning, including *ḥarāru*). This continuous movement is also reflected in the shaving of the cheeks (*lētīšu ugallab*).

Because “to hollow out the head” is not easy to understand in English, we lean towards the translation given in the *Concise Dictionary* (p. 107), “to make incisions.” Perhaps this action of self-mortification was performed with a razor blade, as would be done in shaving the cheeks.

- (vi) An idea to be further investigated in this context, is the possible practice of trepanation, i.e. drilling or scraping of holes into a patient’s skull, which is known to have been a medical practice in many prehistoric, ancient, and medieval cultures.²¹⁶ According to Biggs, there is no evidence for trepanation in Mesopotamia.²¹⁷ There is, however, archaeological evidence from third-millennium eastern Iran²¹⁸ and Van Laere suggests the possibility, that “opening the temple” in §218 of the Code of Hammurabi may describe trepanation or bloodletting.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Freedman (*If a City* 2, pp. 84-87, text 7, and pp. 94-97, text 4) indicates obverse and reverse of BM 78960 opposite from Heeßel, who lists lines from BM 78960 as parallels to snake omens in manuscripts from Assur (KAL 1, no. 9 (ms. X), text 12 (VAT 13812+), and no. 13; for the parallels, see KAL 1, pp. 33, 71, 57, n. 17-18). We quote the abovementioned omen (BM 78960 r. 2’) following Freedman’s system, as hers is the only publication of the manuscript to date. However, collation of BM 78960 at the British Museum in February 2020 has suggested that Heeßel is probably right, as the side he designates as the obverse is more convex than the other. A new edition of BM 78960 is currently being prepared for the digital database *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*. So far parallels suggest that the obverse, following Heeßel, has snake omens preceding those on the reverse.

²¹⁶ See e.g. Nerlich et al. 2003 on trepanation in Ancient Egypt, and Martin 2003, pp. 336-337, for a very descriptive account of the technique, as well as other contributions in that volume.

²¹⁷ Biggs 2005, p. 15.

²¹⁸ See Van Laere 2018, p. 70.

²¹⁹ Van Laere 2018, p. 69.

The meaning of *hurruru* as “to make holes” would fit the technique of drilling holes into the skull; a repeated durative meaning like “to scratch” would fit the technique of scratching off the layers of the skull. In *qaqqassu uḥarrar*, the person is said to perform the act themselves, though self-trepanation is not unheard of.²²⁰ Perhaps some form of self-trepanation was practiced in Mesopotamia as an act of self-mortification.²²¹

- d) The commentary text ms. W1 quotes the incipit of Tablet 22 in the colophon: <DIŠ> *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1.KÁM *la-⁷am* / LÚ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GAR-*nu* (W1 r. 22b-23a), see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 52-53.
- e) The incipit of Tablet 22 is quoted in the catchline of the standard manuscript BM 40469 of Tablet 21 (see *If a City* 1, pp. 307, 329; KAL 1, p. 7, n. 66), DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM <NA> *la-am* TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI [GAR-*nu* ...] (BM 40469, r. 14).
- f) In *If a City* 2 (p. 20, *22.1), the transliteration of line Ex7 3^(sic) (our Ex7 4') only reads, [...] *ta-pa-aš₂-šaq-ma* [...]. Collation has shown that the sign -áš is not on the manuscript, that *uš-* has to be reconstructed in the left-side break. Note that there are two broken signs above the line interpreted as the first line of this manuscript in *If a City* 2. The upper edge of the manuscript is broken.

§ 22-C1 (Ancient commentary on §22.1)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 1-3)

W1 1-3 SAG.DU-*su* *ú-ḥar-ra-ár* : ‘x’ [...] ‘SAG’.‘DU’ [...] ‘x’ [...] ‘x’ / [TE].MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* : TE.MIN¹_(A)-šú ‘KI’².‘MIN’² [:]² *le-e-tu* ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘:’ ‘3’ [ITI].‘MEŠ’ *uš-[ta-pa-áš-šaq]* / ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘MEŠ’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’-‘lu’²-*ma pu-uš-qí im-‘šú’²-‘x’* [...] ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘:’ [...]

qaqqassu uḥarrar : ... [...] *qaqqadu* [...] ... [...] ... [*lēt*]īš*u ugallab* : *usukkīš*u** KI².MIN² [:]² *lētu* ... : 3 [*arḥ*]ī *uš[ta-paššaq]* ... -*lūma*² *pušqi imš*u**²-... [...] ... : [...]

He should make incisions in his head (means) ... [...] head [...] ... [...] ... he should shave his [cheek]s (means) ditto² (i.e. he shaves) both his cheeks [:]² cheek ... : For three [month]s he will su[ffer] ... of hardship ... [...] ... : [...].

- a) Jiménez (2014, l. 1) translates *qaqqassu uḥarrar* as “He should hollow out his head.” See §22.1, comment (c) for a discussion of the phrase.

§ 22.2

A 5 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ : *uš-ta-pa-áš-šaq-ma* TI

B 5 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI [...]

C 5 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI Ú[Š ...]

E₂ 4 [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA] ‘U₄’ ‘1’-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI *ina* ŠÀ M[U ...]

²²⁰ See André 2017.

²²¹ I thank Frank Simons for suggesting trepanation as a meaning of *qaqqassu uḥarrar*, and for bringing my attention to Emmy Van Laere’s dissertation (2018).

DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI ina ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ : uš-ta-pa-áš-šaq-ma TI

šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM šēru amēla īmur ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt : uštapaššaqma iballuṭ

If, on the first day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – he will die in the middle of that year : he will suffer, but he will survive.

a) The *Glossenkeil* denotes two alternative apodoses.

b) Manuscripts Ex5 and Ex7 omit this and some of the following omens.

c) Ms. Ex8 is a small fragment preserving seven lines. Freedman places Ex8 1' in *22.2, Ex8 2'-3' in *22.3, Ex8 4' in *22.7, Ex8 5' in *22.8, Ex8 6' in *22.9, and Ex8 7' in *22.10 (see *If a City* 2, pp. 20-22, there Ex(8) 1 etc. without apostrophe for marking the broken upper edge). There are traces of another line above the first, but we keep with Freedman's numbering to avoid confusion.

The placing of most of these lines is difficult, apart from lines Ex 8 2'-3', which can be placed in §22.3 (see below), with the variant U₄ 30-KÁM (also in ms. C) instead of U₄ 10-KÁM (in ms. A). Possibly, line Ex8 4' could be placed in §22.4, line Ex8 5' in §22.7, line Ex8 6' in §22.8, and line Ex8 7' in §22.9 (see comments there).

For an overview, see the transliteration of the fragment here:

Ex8 1' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}B]ÁRA 'U₄' [...]
Ex8 2'-3' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁ]RA T[A U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM ...]² / [I].BÍ.ZA [...]
Ex8 4' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}]BÁRA KI.MIN M[UŠ ...]
Ex8 5' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}]BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ 'ana'[?] [...]
Ex8 6' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁR]A KI.MIN 'MUŠ' ana I[GI ...]
Ex8 7' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA] 'KI'.'MIN' 'MUŠ' 'ana' 'x' [...]

§22.3

A 6-7 DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 10-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI / U₄.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ I.BÍ.ZA IGI

C 6-7 DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MU[Š ...] / I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar

E₂ 5 [DIŠ ina ⁱ]BÁRA TA 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ NA 'IGI' [...]

Ex8 2'-3' [DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁ]RA T[A U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM ...]² / [I].BÍ.ZA [...]

DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI [NA BI U₄.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ] I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar

šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru amēla īmur [amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrû] ibissâ immar

If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – [that man's days will shorten], he will suffer losses.

Variant A

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 10-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI U₄.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ
I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar

*šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 10-KÁM šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrû ibissâ
immar*

If, between the first and the tenth day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, he will suffer losses.

- a) We take U₄ 10-KÁM in ms. A as a variant, mss. C and E₂ have U₄ 30-KÁM.
- b) Ms. B omits this omen.
- c) Freedman marks ms. E₂ as omitting this omen (*If a City* 2, p. 20, *22.3, e₂ omits), but line E₂ 5, which she places in *22.4 (p. 21), can be placed in §22.3, and instead, line E₂ 6, which Freedman places in *22.6 (*If a City* 2, p. 21), can be placed in §22.4 (see below).

§22.4

A 8-9	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI U ₄ .MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA / NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su
B 6-7	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 30-KÁM [...] / NAM.ÉRIM [DAB-su]
E ₂ 6	[DIŠ <i>ina</i>] ^{iti} BÁRA TA 1-KÁM EN U ₄ [30-K]ÁM MUŠ LÚ 'IGI' [...]
Ex5 4'-5'	[...] U ₄ .MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ / [NAM.ÉRI]M [?] DAB-su

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ LÚ IGI LÚ BI U₄.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA
NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su

*šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrû māmītu
iṣabbassu*

If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, a curse will seize him.

- a) Ms. C omits this omen.
- b) Line Ex8 4', which Freedman places in *22.7 (*If a City* 2, p. 21), might actually belong here in §22.4. It reads: [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}]BÁRA KI.MIN M[UŠ ...]. See §22.2, comment (c) above for the transliteration of the whole fragment.
- c) *If a City* 2 wrongly places line Ex5 5' with omen *22.6.

§22.5

A 10	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut LÚ BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ
B 8	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UG[U ...]
C 8	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut L[Ú ...]
E ₂ 7	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> ʾUGUʾʾ ʾNAʾʾ ʾŠUBʾʾ [...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM MUŠ *ana* UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut LÚ BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ

šumma ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât

If, on the first day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – that man will die within that year.

a) Ms. E₂ omits this omen.

b) The final three signs of line E₂ 7 have been read from a photo and require collation.

§ 22-C2 (§§22.5-10)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 4)

W1 4 ʾxʾ ʾxʾ ʾxʾ [...] ʾNAʾ ŠUB šá it-ti MUŠ.SAG.[KAL ...] ʾxʾ ŠÀ an [x (x)]

... [*ana*[?] ...] *amēli imqut* ša itti šarš[ari ...] ... libbi ... [...]

It falls [on[?] ...] of a man (refers to the snake) who together with a šarš[ari-snake ...] ... [...]

a) Because the quoted apodosis is broken in ms. W1, the commentary §22-C2 could comment on seven different omens (§§22.5-12).²²² §§22.5-7 have *ana muḥḥi amēli imqut*, §22.8 has *ana pān amēli imqut*, §§22.9-10 have *ana arki amēli imqut*, and §22.11 and §22.12 have *ana imitti amēli imqut* and *ana šumēl amēli imqut* respectively. As the next commentary, §22-C3, can be related to §22.11, §22-C2 probably does not comment on §22.11 or §22.12.

§22.6

A 11-12	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut / lu GIG lu KI.ŠÚ <i>dan-na</i> DAB-su
B 9	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 15-KÁ[M ...]
C 9-10	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 1[5-KÁM ...] / lu GIG lu KI.ŠÚ <i>dan-na</i> DAB-su
E ₂ 8	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA TA 1-KÁM EN ʾU ₄ ʾ ʾ15ʾʾ-ʾKÁMʾ [...] <i>dan</i> [?] - <i>na</i> [?] x [...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ *ana* UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut lu GIG lu KI.ŠÚ *dan-na* DAB-su

šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 15-KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut lū muršu lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu

²²² We quote only §22.5 as an example, but see also §§22.6-12 above.

If, between the first and the fifteenth day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – either illness or hard imprisonment will seize him.

- a) *If a City 2* (p. 21, *22.6) places line Ex5 5' here, but it belongs with §22.4.
- b) Compare KI.ŠÚ NÍG.GIG “hard imprisonment” in §23.18, and *me-se-ra* in §24.23.
- c) The final three signs of line E₂ 8 have been read from a photo and require collation.

§ 22.7

A 13 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ *ana* UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
 B 10 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM [...]
 C 11 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN [...]
 E₂ 9 [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁR]A TA 1-KÁM 'EN' U₄ 30 [...] LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.[AŠ.ÀM]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ *ana* UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (*lu* GIG *lu* KI.ŠÚ *dan-na* DAB-su)

šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (lū murṣu lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu)

If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake falls on top of a man – ditto (either illness or hard imprisonment will seize him).

- a) Line Ex8 5', which Freedman places in *22.8 (*If a City 2*, p. 21), might actually belong here in §22.7. It reads: [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}]BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ 'ana'?. See §22.2, comment (c) above for the transliteration of the whole fragment.

§ 22.8

A 14 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ *ana* IGI LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
 B 11 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM [...]
 C 12 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN [...]
 E₂ 10 [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA T]A U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 3[0-KÁM] MUŠ *ana* IGI LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.[AŠ.ÀM]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM MUŠ *ana* IGI LÚ ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (*lu* GIG *lu* KI.ŠÚ *dan-na* DAB-su)

šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM šēru ana pān amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (lū murṣu lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu)

If, between the first and the thirtieth day of Nisannu, a snake falls in front of a man – ditto (either illness or hard imprisonment will reach him).

- a) This and the previous omen are almost identical, except for the signs UGU or IGI in the protasis: MUŠ *ana* UGU LÚ ŠUB-*ut* (§22.7) and MUŠ *ana* IGI LÚ ŠUB-*ut* (§22.8). The apodoses of both omens spell ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM, referring back to §22.6.
- b) Line Ex8 6', which Freedman places in *22.9 (*If a City* 2, p. 21), might actually belong here in §22.8. It reads: [DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁR]A KI.MIN 'MUŠ' *ana* I[GI ...]. See §22.2, comment (b) above for the transliteration of the whole fragment.
- c) The time-span TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM “from the first day to the thirtieth day” of Nisannu spelled out here is indicated by KI.MIN “ditto” in the following omens, §§22.9-20.

§22.9

- A 15 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* EGIR LÚ ŠUB-*ut* EN SILIM-*mi-šú ana* EN ḪUL-šú GUR-šú
- B 12 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* EGIR N[A ...]
- C 13 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MU[Š ...]
- E₂ 11 [...] 'x' 'x' 'x' [...] LÚ ŠUB-*ut* EN SILIM-*mi-šú ana* EN Ḫ[UL...]

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* EGIR LÚ ŠUB-*ut* EN SILIM-*mi-šú ana* EN ḪUL-šú GUR-šú

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana arki amēli imqut bēl šulmišu ana bēl lemuttišu itâršu

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls behind a man – his well-wisher will turn into his ill-wisher.

- a) The translation of the apodosis follows *If a City* 2 (p. 9, *22.9).
- b) Freedman places line Ex8 7' in *22.10. Instead, we place it here in §22.9: [DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA] 'KI'.'MIN' 'MUŠ' 'ana' 'x' [...]. Note however, that the traces of the sign after *ana*, as read from a photo, do not exactly fit EGIR. Nevertheless, we follow the sequence of the preceding lines, we tentatively associate line Ex8 7' with §22.9. For the full transliteration of the fragment Ex8 see §22.2, comment (b).
- c) The unread signs in line E₂ 11 need to be collated.

§22.10

- A 16-17 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* EGIR LÚ ŠUB-*ut-ma* NU IGI *ana* NÍG.TUK SIG₅ *ana* MAŠ.EN.GAG *ina* NU URU-šú ÚŠ
- B 13 [DIŠ] *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* EGIR N[A ...]
- C 14 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN M[UŠ ...]
- E₂ 12 [...] 'x' LÚ ŠUB-*ma* NU IGI *ana* NÍG.TUK SIG₅ *ana* MAŠ.[EN.GAG ...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* EGIR LÚ ŠUB-*ut-ma* NU IGI
ana NÍG.TUK SIG₅ *ana* MAŠ.EN.GAG *ina* NU URU-šú ÚŠ

*šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana arki amēli imqutma lā imur ana
 šarī idammiq ana muškēnu ina lā ālišu imât*

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls behind a man and he does not look at (it) – regarding a rich man, he will be well, regarding a commoner, he will die in a city not his own.

§22.11

A 18-19 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* ZAG LÚ ŠUB-*ut* NA BI GIZKIM ^{giš}NÁ DAB-*su-ma* / É BI BIR-*aḥ*

B 14 [DIŠ *ina*] ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* ZAG N[A ...]

C 15 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN [...]

E₂ 13 [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana*] ZAG 'LÚ' ŠUB-*ut* NA BI 'GIZKIM' ^{giš}NÁ D[AB ...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* ZAG LÚ ŠUB-*ut* NA BI GIZKIM
^{giš}NÁ DAB-*su-ma* É BI BIR-*aḥ*

*šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana imitti amēli imqut amēlu šū itti
 erši išabbassuma bītu šū issappah*

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls to a man's right – that man will become bedridden and that house will be dispersed.

a) We translate the the first protasis *amēlu šū itti erši išabbassuma*, which literally means “that man: the sign of the bed will seize him” as “that man will become bedridden” based on the CAD E, p. 318, *eršu* d 2’.

A similar apodosis is found in an hemerological text, which, however, does not include GIZKIM: KIMIN *ina*¹ ŠÀ¹ GIŠ.NÁ NA DAB₅-*at* (Casaburi 2003, p. 73, §168, A v. I 29’),²²³ i.e. KI.MIN *ina libbi erši amēlu iššabbat* “Ditto – (that) man will be trapped (lit. seized) inside (his) bed.”

Our omen is mentioned in the commentary §22-C3 (see below).

§ 22-C3 (§22.11)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 5)

W1 5a [... NA] 'BI' GISKIM ^{giš}NÁ : *ina* ^{giš}'NÁ' ? [DAB[?] ...]

[... *amēlu*] *šū itti erši* : *ina erši*[?] [*iššabbat*[?] ...]

[...] that [man], the sign of the bed (means) [he will be trapped][?] inside the bed[?] [...].

²²³ Ms. A in Casaburi 2003 is VAT 10564 (KAR 178). The CAD seems to reference the same line, but as KAR 178 r. vi 29 (sic) and with a different reading: ŠUB GIŠ.NÁ NA *išabbat* “confinement to bed will befall (this man)” (CAD E, p. 318, *eršu* d 2’).

- a) Most of the commentary is broken. However, we can see that “the sign of the bed” is connected to being inside the bed (*ina erši*). Perhaps the broken commentary even quoted from the above-cited hemerology in KAR 178 i 29, and said *ina* ^{giš}NÁ [DAB ...] or the like.

§22.12

A 20-21	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> GÙB LÚ ŠUB- <i>ut</i> NÍG.TUK ÚKU / MAŠ.EN.GAG <i>ina la-li-šú</i> ÚŠ
B 15	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> GÙB NA [...]
C 16	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN [...]
E ₂ 14	[...] ‘ <i>ana</i> ’ ‘GÙB’ LÚ ‘ŠUB’- <i>ut</i> NÍG.TUK ÚKU MAŠ.EN.GAG <i>ina</i> l[a...]
V3 1’	[... ÚK]U MAŠ.EN.GAG [...] (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* GÙB LÚ ŠUB-*ut* NÍG.TUK ÚKU MAŠ.EN.GAG *ina la-li-šú* ÚŠ

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana šumēl amēli imqut šarû ilappin muškēnu ina lališu imât

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls to a man’s left – a rich man will become poor, a commoner will die in his prime.

- a) The translation follows Freedman (*If a City* 2, p. 9, *22.12).
- b) At the end of line V3 1’, Heeßel reconstructs MAŠ.EN.GAG [*išarru*] “ein Armer [wird reich werden]” (KAL 1, no. 10, pp. 42-43, l. Vs. 1’). The hand copy of ms. V3 (KAL 1, p. 160) suggests that the apodosis attested by the other manuscripts, *ina la-li-šú* ÚŠ, could fit on the rest of the line too.

§22.13

A 22	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> MURUB ₄ DAM <i>u</i> DAM ŠUB TAR.MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ É BI GAZ
B 16	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA K]I.MIN MUŠ <i>ana</i> MURUB ₄ DA[M ...]
C 17	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA [...]
E ₂ 15	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN] MUŠ <i>ana</i> MURUB ₄ DAM <i>u</i> DAM ŠUB KUD.MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ É BI [GAZ]
V3 2’	[... T]I.MEŠ É BI [GAZ] (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM *u* DAM ŠUB TAR.MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ É BI GAZ

*šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana birīt muti *u* aššati imqut ippar-rasū ul iballuṭū bītu šū iḥḥepi*

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls between husband and wife – they will separate, they will not survive, that house will be destroyed.

§ 22-C4 (§22.13)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 5-6)

W1 5b-6 [:] MURUB₄ [DAM u DAM] / MURUB₄ [... KUD].MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ : 'ip'-[par-ra-su-ma] ul i-bal-lu-tu

qabal [mūti u aššati] qabal [... KUD].MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ : ip[parrasūma] ul iballuṭū

Between [husband and wife], between [...] (the signs) **KUD].MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ** (stand for) [they] will be sep[arated and] they will not live.

§22.14

A 23 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN ŠUB UKKIN AL.GAZ NU SI.SÁ
 B 17 [...] MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN [...]
 C 18 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁR[A ...]
 E₂ 16 [DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ] *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN ŠUB UKKIN BI A[L.GAZ] NU SI.[SÁ]
 V3 3' [...] AL.BIR NU SI.S[Á] (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN ŠUB UKKIN AL.GAZ NU SI.SÁ

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana qabal puḫri imqut puḫru iḫeppi ul iššir

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls between an assembly – the assembly will break up, it will not prosper.

Variant V3

[DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN ŠUB UKKIN] AL.BIR NU SI.S[Á]

[*šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ana qabal puḫri imqut puḫru] is-appaḫ ul išši[r]*

[If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake falls between an assembly – the assembly] will disperse, it will not prosp[er].

a) See also the apodosis *ul iššir* “... will not prosper” in §23.49.

b) Ms. V3 has a semantic variant AL.BIR instead of AL.GAZ. Note that in the next omen, §22.15, ms. V3 seems to have the variant É BI GAZ² instead of É BI BIR-*aḫ* as in the other manuscripts. Thus the semantic sequence is *die* – *disperse* in the main variant and *disperse* – *die* in variant V3.

c) Ms. E₂ has a small variant UKKIN BI “that assembly” instead of only UKKIN.

W1 7a UKKIN ʿALʿ.[GAZ : *pu-uh-ru* x x] ʿxʿ-kuʿ : GAZ : *he-pu-ú*

UKKIN ʿALʿ.[GAZ : *puḥru* ...] ... : GAZ : *hepû*

(The signs) UKKIN AL.[GAZ (mean) [“an assembly ...],” ... (since) GAZ means “to break.”

§ 22.15

A 24-25 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ina* É LÚ IGI ŠU ^dAMAR.UTU *ár-ḫiṣ* KUR-su / É BI BIR-*aḥ*

B 18 [...]

C 19 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}B[ÁRA ...]

E₂ 17 [DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN] MUŠ *ina* É LÚ IGI ŠU ʿ^dAMAR.UTU ʿárʿ-ʿ*ḫiṣ*ʿ ʿKURʿ-ʿsuʿ É BI [BIR-*aḥ*]

Ex5 6 [...] É BI BIR-*aḥ*

V3 4ʿ [...] KUR-su É BI GAZʿ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ina* É LÚ IGI ŠU ^dAMAR.UTU *ár-ḫiṣ* KUR-su É BI BIR-*aḥ*

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) ṣēru ina bīt amēli innamir qāt Marduk arḫiṣ ikaššassu bītu šū issappaḥ

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake is seen in a man’s house – (the disease) “hand of Marduk” will reach him promptly, that house will be dispersed.

Variant V3

[DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ina* É LÚ IGI ŠU ^dAMAR.UTU *ár-ḫiṣ*] KUR-su É BI GAZʿ

[*šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) ṣēru ina bīt amēli innamir qāt Marduk arḫiṣ*] *ikaššassu bītu šū iḥḥeppi*ʿ

[If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake is seen in a man’s house – (the disease) “hand of Marduk”] will reach him [promptly], that house will be destroyed.ʿ

- a) Heeßel suggests the reading GAZ for the verb in the second apodosis of ms. V3 (KAL 1, no. 10, l. 4ʿ). GAZ is primarily read as *dâku* “to kill, to murder,” though lexical lists also equate it with *hepû* “to smash, destroy” (CAD H, pp. 170-171) and *paʿāṣu* “to break, to crush” (ga-za GAZ = *da-a-ku*, *he-pu-u* (S^b II 205f.), referenced in CAD D, p. 35).

Following Heeßel, who translates GAZ as “wird zerstört werden” (KAL 1, no. 10, l. 4ʿ), we read GAZ in var. V3 as a N-stem of *hepû*.

- b) A typical apodosis in the snake omens of the form *qātu ikaššassu* “the hand will take hold of him” or *qāt DN ikaššassu* “the hand of DN will take hold of him” (see also §23.7, §23.20, §23.44, §23.94) refers to a disease or, in general, a calamity (see CAD Q, pp. 186-187, bʿ; Koch 2015, pp. 105, 261).

c) The broken signs in line E₂ 17 need to be collated.

§ 22.16

A 26-27	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ ina SILA LÚ IGI šum ₄ -ma GIG / šum ₄ -ma is-sal-la- 'a-ma ÚŠ
B 19	[...]
C 20	DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA ...]
E ₂ 18	[DIŠ ina ^{iti} BÁRA KI.MIN] 'MUŠ' 'ina' 'SILA' LÚ IGI šum ₄ -ma GIG' [šum ₄]- 'ma' 'is'- 'sal'- la- '[a-ma ÚŠ]
Ex5 7	[... is-sal]-la- 'a-ma ÚŠ
V3 5'	[... šum ₄ -ma GI]G šum ₄ -ma is-sa-láḫ-ma 'BA'. 'ÚŠ' (ruling)

DIŠ ina ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) ina SILA LÚ IGI šum₄-ma GIG šum₄-ma is-sal-la- 'a-ma ÚŠ

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ina sūqi amēla imur šumma imarruṣ
šumma issalla 'āma imât

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake stares at a man in the street – he will either fall ill or he will enter a critical stage of illness and die.

a) In this omen, *marāṣu* “to fall ill, to have a disease” (CAD M/1, p. 296) and *salā'u* “to become ill, to enter a critical stage of illness” (CAD S, p. 96) are each used in separate, alternative apodoses. *šalā'u* is equated with *marāṣu* in the main commentary text to Tablet 1 of *Šumma izbu: ul-ta-aš-šá-aš : is-sal-la-a' / is-sal-la-a' : i-mar-ra-aš* (De Zorzi 2014, p. 340, ll. 26-27).²²⁴ For a detailed analysis of *salā'u*, including parallels in other texts, see De Zorzi 2014, p. 381, §56.

In the apodoses of §22.16, *salā'u* and *marāṣu* might be true synonyms, the difference in meaning depending on the man also dying in the second apodosis. However, the semantic difference between *marāṣu* and *salā'u* could be found in the intensity of illness they describe, as *marāṣu* seems to be less associated with death, *salā'u* also means “to enter a critical stage of illness.” This would fit with the result of *issallā'ma* being the man's death. Thus the two verbs, describing a worsening situation, create a climactic, narrative arc.

b) The uncertain signs in line E₂ 18 require collation.

§ 22-C6 (§22.16)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 7-8)

W1 7b-8a : šum₄-ma GIG šum₄-ma is-sal-la- 'a / 'GIG' [: (x x) sa-la- 'a]-ú : is-sal-la- 'a : i-mar-ru-uṣ

: šumma imarruṣ šumma issalla 'a / GIG [: (...) salā 'u : issalla 'a : imarruṣ

²²⁴ *Šumma izbu*, Tablet 1, omen 56 is: *šumma sinništū akā ūlīd bīt amēli ultaššaš* “If a woman gives birth to an invalid – (the inhabitants of) the man's home will suffer” (De Zorzi 2014, pp. 354-355, §56).

In “he will either fall ill or he will enter a critical stage of illness,” GIG [(means) ... “to sicken”]; “he will enter a critical stage of illness” (also means) “he will fall ill.”

§22.17

- A 28-29 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ina* SILA TA ZAG LÚ *ana* GÙB LÚ *is-ḥur* / LÚ BI *ina* KUR KÚR-šú *du-lu₄* GIG TÙM
- B 20 [... MU]Š *ina* SILA TA 15 NA *ana* 150 N[A ... LÚ] BI [*ina*] KUR KÚR-šú [...]
- C 21-22 DIŠ *ina* ⁱ[ⁱBÁRA ... *is-ḥ*]ur / [... T]ÙM
- E₂ 19 [...] ‘x’ ‘x’ LÚ *ana* GÙB L[Ú *is-ḥur*] ‘LÚ’ ‘BI’ ‘*ina*’ KUR KÚR-šú *d[du-lu₄ GIG TÙM]*
- V3 6’ [... LÚ BI *in*]a KUR KÚR *dul-l[um]* ‘GIG’ *ú-za-bal* (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ina* SILA TA ZAG LÚ *ana* GÙB LÚ *is-ḥur* LÚ BI *ina* KUR KÚR-šú *du-lu₄* GIG TÙM

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ina sūqi istu imitti amēli ana šumēl amēli iṣḥur amēlu šū ina māt nakrišu dulla marša ubbal

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake turns in the street from a man’s right to a man’s left – that man will have to bear insufferable labour in his enemy’s country.

- a) The verb *ú-za-bal* (*zabālu*) in ms. V3 is a variant to TÙM (*abālu*) in mss. A and C.
- b) We base our translation *dulla marša ubbal* on Atraḥasis I, l. 2: *ub-lu du-ul-la iz-bi-lu šu-up-ši-[i]k-ka* “[they] bore the work and suffered the toil” (Lambert and Millard 1999, pp. 42-43).

The adjective *maršu* “sick, diseased” can also mean “difficult, inaccessible” (CAD M/1, p. 293), hence the translation “insufferable.” Perhaps there is a connection between the logogram GIG here and GIG in the previous omen (§22.16), where it means *marāšu* “to be(come) ill.”

Note that we translate *dullu* as “hardship” to differentiate it from PAP.ḪAL (*pušqu*) “misery.”

Compare Freedman’s translation of the apodosis, “harsh misery will carry that man off in the land of his enemy” (*If a City* 2, p. 11, *22.17).

- c) The reading of line E₂ 19 from a photo is uncertain, the signs need to be collated.

§ 22-C7 (§22.17)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 8-11)

- W1 8b-11a : DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA TA U₄ 1-KAM / [EN U₄ 30-KAM] ‘MUŠ’ *ina* SILA TA¹ ZAG LÚ *ana* GÙB LÚ *is-ḥur* LÚ BI *ina* KUR KÚR-šú *du-lu₄* GIG ‘TÙM’ / [(*is-ḥur*) : GIŠ].‘ḪUR’ : *e-še-ri šá-niš i-ti-iq šal-šiš il-lik* : GIŠ^{gi-iš.ḥa-āš}ḪUR : *ḥa-‘x’-(x)-‘x’ : a-la-[ku]² / [du-lu₄ :] bi-kí-tu₄*

šumma ina Nisanni ištu U₄ 1-KAM [adi U₄ 30-KAM] šēru ina sūqi istu¹ imitti amēli ana šumēl amēli iṣḥur amēlu šū ina māt nakrišu dulla marša ubbal [(*iṣḥur*) : GIŠ].‘ḪUR’ : *eṣēri šanīš ittiq šalšiš illik* : GIŠ^{gi-iš.ḥa-āš}ḪUR : *ḥa-‘x’-(x)-‘x’ : alā[ku]² / [dullu :] bikītu*

In “If, in Nisannu, between the first [and the thirtieth day, a snake turns in the street from a man’s right to a man’s left –that man will have to bear insufferable labour in his enemy’s country,” [“It turns” (is

written with the sign) 𒄩UR (which can also mean) “to draw;” alternatively, (it can mean) “it crosses;” thirdly, (it can mean) “it goes,” since GIŠ.𒄩UR, (read) /gišhaš/, (means) ..., (which means) “to g[o.]” [“Hardship”] (means) “weeping.”

- a) For the reading 𒄩UR in GIŠ^{gi-iš ha-áš} 𒄩UR see Jiménez (2014), *pace* Freedman’s NE? (2006b, p. 150, l. 10).

§22.18

- A 30-31 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ina* SILA TA GÙB LÚ *ana* ZAG LÚ *is-ḫur* / *šum₄-ma ina ni-kip* GU₄ *šum₄-ma ina zi-qit* GÍR.TAB ÚŠ
- B 21 [... M]UŠ *ina* SILA TA 150 NA *ana* 15 NA *is-ḫur* *šum₄-ma ina ni-kip* GU₄ *šum₄-ma ina* [...]
- C 23-24 DIŠ *ina* [...] / [...]
- E₂ 20 [...] TA GÙB ‘LÚ’ *ana* ZA[G ...] x x [...]
- V3 7’ [...] *šum₄-ma ina ni-kip* ‘GU₄’ [*šum₄-m*]a *ina zi-qit* GÍR.TAB ÚŠ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ina* SILA TA GÙB LÚ *ana* ZAG LÚ *is-ḫur* *šum₄-ma ina ni-kip* GU₄ *šum₄-ma ina zi-qit* GÍR.TAB ÚŠ

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ina sūqi ištu šumēl amēli ana imitti amēli isḫur šumma ina nikip alpi šumma ina ziqit zuqīqīpi imât

If, in Nisannu ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake turns in the street from a man’s left to a man’s right – he will die either from the goring of an ox or the sting of a scorpion.

- a) Line V3 7’ is placed with certainty here, only lines V3 11’-15’ can be placed in §22.21. Lines V3 8’-10’ (see KAL 1, no. 10, p. 42, ll. Vs. 8’-10’) are very fragmentary and do not obviously fit either §22.19 or §22.20:

- V3 8’ [...] ur šú ù [...] x šú ti (ruling) [...] ... [...] ...
- V3 9’ [...] -šú LÚGUD.DA sag x x x [x x x] x.MEŠ *ina* [...] his [...] will become short ... [...] ... [will die] ŠĀ MU B[I ÚŠ] (ruling) in the middle of th[at] year.
- V3 10’ [...] (blank) [(x)] É ‘x’ [x] (ruling) [...] house ... [...].”

§22.19

- A 32-33 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN MUŠ *ina* SILA u[š-te-e]š-bi-šú-ma TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú / SIG₅
- B 22 [... KI].MIN MUŠ *ina* SILA uš-te-eš-bi-šú-ma TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú S[IG₅]
- C 25 DIŠ *ina* [...]
- E₂ 21 [...] *ina* SILA uš-t[e-eš-bi-šú-ma ...] x x [...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ *ina* SILA uš-te-eš-bi-šú-ma TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú S[IG₅]

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) šēru ina sūqi uštešbišuma bāltašu iṭṭeršu idammiq

If, in Nisannu, ditto (between the first and the thirtieth day), a snake stares fixedly at him in the street, so that it deprives him of his potency – he will be well.

a) The meaning of the verb *uštešbīšuma* is uncertain according to Freedman (*If a City* 2, p. 10, n. 19, with reference to CAD S, p. 227). The commentary §22-C8 (see below) tries to explain *uštešbīšuma* by adding *ša amēlu umandū īmurma šēra lā iglut* “(the snake) that a man spots and looks at, but does not fear the snake,” but it is unclear what the connection to the verb *uštešbīšuma* was to the ancient commentator, who perhaps did not understand it. Jiménez (2014 = CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 11) translates *uštešbīšuma* as “stares fixedly at him,” probably from *šubbû* “to look upon.” We follow Jiménez for this translation.

b) Freedman translates the whole omen as, “If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake ... him in the street and deprives him of his dignity, it is favorable” (*If a City* 2, p. 11, *21.19). The phrase *bāltašu iṭṭeršu* clearly belongs to the protasis, but its meaning is up for interpretation. Compare the second apodosis of §23.92, *dūssu inneṭṭer* “his potency will be taken away.” TÉŠ is the logographic spelling of *bāštu/bāltu*, which has various meanings (see Steinert 2012, pp. 405-509), but is also equated with *dūtu* “male potency” in lexical lists (Steinert 2012, p. 408). The ancient commentary §22-C8 (see below) equates TÉŠ.BI with *bal-tu₄* (i.e. *bāštu/bāltu*) and *būnu*, which Steinert (2012, pp. 412-413, with ref. to BM 129092 = ms. W1) interprets in this context as “(good) looks” (Ger. (*gutes*) *Aussehen*); Jiménez (2014, see §22-C8 below) also translates *būnu* as “appearance.”

Our suggestion for the protasis of §22.19 is to interpret the snake staring at the man as having an misfortunate result on him, namely him being deprived of his potency. In discussing the protasis of §22.1 (see above), Pientka-Hinz (2010, pp. 173-174, nn. 14, 19) mentions that the snake looking at the man has the element of “magic at first sight” (*Magie des Erstblicks*). Assuming that the snake has the magical ability to deprive a man of his potency, we can now understand the content of the protasis.

Most interestingly, the apodosis of §22.19 is positive. Perhaps the two negative elements in the protasis, first the snake’s stare and then the deprivation of potency, result in a positive apodosis.

c) The last two signs in line E₂ 21 need collation.

§ 22-C8 (§22.19)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 11-13)

W1 11b-13a : MUŠ *ina* SILA *uš-te-eṣ-bi-šú* : šá LÚ *ú-man-du* IGI-*ma* MUŠ *la ig-lu-ut* / šu TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú :
TÉŠ.BI : *bal-tu₄* : *bal-tu₄* : *bu-nu* : KAR : *e-zeb šá-niš šu* TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú / šá E-ú *ina řup-pi ul šá-lim*

šēru ina sūqi uštešbīšu : *ša amēlu umandū īmurma šēra lā iglut* / *šū bāltašu iṭṭeršu* : TÉŠ.BI : *bāltu* :
bāltu : *būnu* : KAR : *ezēb šanīš šū bāltašu iṭṭeršu ša ...* *ina tuppi ul šalim*

“(If) a snake in the street *stares fixedly at him*” (refers to the snake) that a man spots and looks at, but does not fear the snake. (In) “It deprives him of his dignity,” TÉŠ.BI (means) “dignity,” “dignity” (means) “appearance,” KAR (means) “to abandon.” Alternatively, what it says, “He is deprived of his dignity,” (means) ... (gloss:) it is not preserved on the tablet).

- a) The verb *umandû* is the D-stem of *edû* “to know” (Jiménez 2014, n. 3), translated by Jiménez (2014, l. 11) as “to spot.”

§ 22.20

A 34	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ BÁRA KI.MIN [MUŠ.MEŠ <i>ina</i> É] LÚ <i>ik-tap-pi-lu</i> EN É BI ÚŠ
B 23	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ BÁ]RA KI.MIN MUŠ.MEŠ <i>ina</i> É NA <i>ik-tap-lu</i> EN É BI [ÚŠ]
C 26	DIŠ [...]
E ₂ 22	[... MUŠ].MEŠ <i>ina</i> É L[Ú ...]

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA KI.MIN (TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 30-KÁM) MUŠ.MEŠ *ina* É LÚ *ik-tap-pi-lu* EN É BI ÚŠ

šumma ina Nisanni KI.MIN (ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 30-KÁM) šērū ina bīt amēli iktapilū bēl bīti šuāti imāt

If, in Nisannu, ditto (from the first to the thirtieth day), snakes are entwined in a man’s house – the master of that house will die.

§ 22-C9 (§ 22.20)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 13-14)

W1 13b-14a : *ik-tap-pi-lu* <:> GÚ.Īⁱ_(MIN).AK.A : *kit-pu-lu* : šá GÚ *it-ti-qu* / šá-niš 2 MUŠ.MEŠ *aš-šum ša-al-tu*

iktappilū <:> GÚ.Īⁱ_(MIN).AK.A : *kitpulu* : *ša kišāda ittiqu šanīš 2 šērū aššum šāltu*

(It says) “(snakes) are entwined” (since) GÚ.Ī.AK.A means “to intertwine,” (it refers to the snake) that crosses the neck; alternatively, (it refers to) two snakes, on account of the quarrel.

- a) Jiménez (2014, n. 4) has identified GÚ.Īⁱ_(MIN).AK.A = *kitpulu* as a quotation from Ḥar-ra = *hubullu*, Tablet II, 288 (gú-(i)-ak-a = *kitpulu*). Furthermore, the equation ak.ÀKA = *itqu*, “fleece” prompted, in the opinion of Jiménez, the explanation *ša kišād ittiqu* (Jiménez 2014, n. 4).

§ 22.21

A 35-41	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ZAG.MUK <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ GU ₄ U ₄ 1-KÁM <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> kal u ₄ -mi <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> kal GE ₆ MUŠ NA IGI LÚ BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI BA.ÚŠ / <i>šum₄-ma</i> NA BI TI.LA <i>ḥa-šiḥ</i> SAG.DU <i>ú-ḥar-ra-ár</i> / TE.MEŠ-šú <i>ú-gal-lab</i> 3 ITI.MEŠ <i>šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma</i> TI-uṭ / KI.MIN <i>ti-bu kaš-du</i> NA BI <i>ina</i> Á.GÚ.ZI.GA <i>ana</i> ^d AMAR.UTU / <i>ú-še-di-ma</i> SIG ₅ KI.MIN KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI / NA BI ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ú-še-’e-ú-ma</i> ḤUL-šú DU ₈ / LÚ BI <i>ina</i> PAP.ḤAL <i>u</i> KI.KAL È
B 24-29	[DIŠ <i>ina</i>] ZAG.MUK <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ BÁRA U ₄ 1-KÁM <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ GU ₄ U ₄ 1-KÁM <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> kal u ₄ -mi <i>lu</i> <i>ina</i> kal GE ₆ MU[Š ...] / NA BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI BA.ÚŠ <i>šum₄-ma</i> NA BI TI <i>ḥa-šiḥ</i> SAG.DU <i>ú-ḥar-ra-ár</i> / TE.MEŠ-šú <i>ú-gal-lab</i> 3 ITI.MEŠ <i>šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma</i> TI-uṭ / : ZI-bu <i>kaš-du</i> NA BI <i>ina</i> Á.GÚ.ZI.GA <i>ana</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ú-še-di-ma</i> / SIG ₅ : KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI NA BI ^d AMAR.UTU <i>i-še-’e-ú-ma</i> ḤUL-šú DU ₈ / : NA BI <i>ina</i> PAP.ḤAL <i>u</i> KI.KAL È
E ₂ 23-24 (+)	[...] x <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ [...] / [...] x [...] / [... <i>ú-gal-lab</i>] <i>lab</i> 3 [...] / [...] <i>kaš-du</i> NA BI <i>ina</i> Á.[GÚ.ZI.GA ...] / [...
E ₁ 1’-3’	NJA BI ^d AMAR.UTU <i>i-bi-pí ešⁱ-šú</i> ḤUL [...]

Ex7 5'-12' [... ^{iti}BÁ]RA U₄ 1-KÁM *lu ina* ^{iti}GU₄ [...] / [...] MUŠ NA IGI NA BI [...] / [...] TI.LA *ḥa-šiḥ* / SA[G.DU ...] / [...] *ú-gal*]-lab 3 ITI.MEŠ [...] *uš-ta-pa-ša*q]-ma TI-*uṭ* : Z[I ...] / [Á.GÚ.Z]I.GA *ana* ^dAMAR.U[TU ...] / [...] IGI NA BI ^dAM[AR.UTU ...] / *ina* PAP.Ḥ[AL ...]

V3 11'-15' [...] U₄ 1-KÁ]M *lu ina* *ka-`la`* u₄-m[i l]u *ina* [ka-la GE₆] / [MUŠ NA IGI L]Ú BI *ina* Š[À] 'MU' BI Ú[Š] (ruling) / [...] *ú-ḥar-ra-a*]r TE.[M]EŠ-šú *ú-gal-la*[b] U₄ 1-KÁM *ul-ta-nap-šá-a*[q-ma TI-*uṭ*] / [...] SI]G₅ KI.MIN 'KI'.Š[Ú] 'GIG' IGI / [...] LÚ] 'BI' *ina* PAP.ḤA[L] u MUNUS.KALA.GA È (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ZAG.MUK *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM *lu ina* ^{iti}GU₄ U₄ 1-KÁM *lu ina* kal u₄-mi *lu ina* kal GE₆ MUŠ NA IGI LÚ BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI BA.ÚŠ

šum₄-ma NA BI TI.LA *ḥa-šiḥ* SAG.DU *ú-ḥar-ra-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* 3 ITI.MEŠ *šú-nu-ti* *uš-ta-pa-ša*q-ma TI-*uṭ*

KI.MIN ZI-*bu kaš-du* NA BI *ina* Á.GÚ.ZI.GA *ana* ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-še-di-ma* SIG₅

KI.MIN KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-še-`e-ú-ma* ḤUL-šú DU₈ LÚ BI *ina* PAP.ḤAL u KI.KAL È

šumma ina zagmukki ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM *lū ina Ayyāri* U₄ 1-KÁM *lū ina* kal *ūmi lū ina* kal *mūši šēru amēla imur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât*

*šumma amēlu šū balāṭa ḥašiḥ qaqqada uḥarrar lētišu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti uštapašša*qma *iballuṭ*

KI.MIN *tību kašdu amēlu šū ina šēri ana Marduk ušeddīma idammīq*

KI.MIN *kīla marša immar amēlu šū Marduk uše`ūma lumunšu ippaṭṭar amēlu šū ina pušqi u kīli ušši*

If, on the New Year's Festival, on the first day of Nisannu, or on the first day of Ayyāru, either all day or all night, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will suffer, but he will survive.

Ditto – a heavy attack (will occur), (but) in the morning, that man should let Marduk know and he will be well.

Ditto – he will experience hard imprisonment, (but) that man should seek out Marduk and his evil will be released, that man will escape from misery and imprisonment.

Variant B

[DIŠ *ina*] ZAG.MUK *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM *lu ina* ^{iti}GU₄ U₄ 1-KÁM *lu ina* kal u₄-mi *lu ina* kal GE₆ MU[Š NA IGI] NA BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI BA.ÚŠ

šum₄-ma NA BI TI *ḥa-šiḥ* SAG.DU *ú-ḥar-ra-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* 3 ITI.MEŠ *šú-nu-ti* *uš-ta-pa-ša*q-ma TI-*uṭ* : ZI-*bu kaš-du* NA BI *ina* Á.GÚ.ZI.GA *ana* ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-še-di-ma* SIG₅ : KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *i-še-`e-ú-ma* ḤUL-šú DU₈ : NA BI *ina* PAP.ḤAL u KI.KAL È

[*šumma ina*] *zagmukki ina Nisanni* U₄ 1-KÁM *lū ina Ayyāri* U₄ 1-KÁM *lū ina* kal *ūmi lū ina* kal *mūši šēr[u amēla imur] amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât*

šumma amēlu šū balāta haših qaqqada uḥarrar lētīšu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti uštapaššaqla iballuṭ : tību kašdu amēlu šū ina šēri ana Marduk ušeddīma idammīq : kīla marša immar amēlu šū Marduk iše' 'ūma lumunšu ippaṭṭar : amēlu šū ina pušqi u kīli ušši

[If, on] the New Year's Festival, on the first day of Nisannu, or on the first day of Ayyāru, either all day or all night, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

If that man wishes to live, he should make incisions in (his) head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will suffer, but he will survive : a heavy attack (will occur), (but) in the morning, that man should let Marduk know and he will be well : he will experience hard imprisonment, (but) that man should seek out Marduk and his evil will be released : that man will escape from misery and imprisonment.

Variant V3

[DIŠ ina ZAG.MUK ina ^{iti}BĀRA U₄ 1-KĀM lu ina ^{iti}GU₄ U₄ 1-KĀ]M lu ina ka-la u₄-m[i l]u ina [ka-la GE₆ MUŠ NA IGI L]Ú BI ina Š[Ā] MU BI Ú[Š]

[šum₄-ma NA BI TI.LA ḥa-ših SAG.DU ú-ḥar-ra-a]r TE.[M]EŠ-šú ú-gal-la[b] U₄ 1-KĀM ul-ta-nap-šá-a[q-ma TI-uṭ]

[KI.MIN ZI-bu kaš-du NA BI ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA ana ^dAMAR.UTU ú-še-di-ma SI]G₅

KI.MIN KI.Š[Ú] GIG IGI [NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU ú-še- 'e-ú-ma ḤUL-šú DU₈ LÚ] BI ina PAP.ḤA[L] u MUNUS.KALA.GA È

[šumma ina zagmukki ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KĀM lū ina Ayyāri U₄ 1-KĀ]M lū ina kala ūm[i l]ū ina [kala mūši šēru amēla īmur amē]lu šū ina lib[bi] šatti šuāti im[āt]

[šumma amēlu šū balāta haših qaqqada uḥarra]r lētī[ī]šu ugalla[b] U₄ 1-KĀM ultanapša[qma iballuṭ]

[KI.MIN tību kašdu amēlu šū ina šēri ana Marduk ušeddīma idamm]iq

KI.MIN kī[lu] maršu immar [amēlu šū Marduk uše' 'ūma lumunšu ippaṭṭar amēlu] šū ina puš[qi] u dan-nati ušši

[If, on the New Year's Festival, on the first day of Nisannu, or on the first day of Ayyāru,] either all day or all night, a snake stares at a man] – that [ma]n will di[e] wit[hin] that year.

[If that man wishes to live, he should make incision]s [in (his) head,] he should shave his cheek[s] – for one day he will suff[er, but he will survive.]

[Ditto – a heavy attack (will occur), (but) in the morning, that man should let Marduk know and he will be we]ll.

Ditto – he will experience hard imprison[ment], [(but) that man should seek out Marduk and his evil will be released], that [man] escape from mise[ry] and hardship.

a) This omen mirrors §22.1 closely. See there for a discussion of *uḥarrar* and its translation.

b) The phrases translated as “(but) that man should let Marduk know” and “(but) that man should seek out Marduk” follow the translations of the D-stem duratives *uḥarrar* and *ugallab* in the conditional

ritual in this omen, also found in §22.1, where the omen offers the option to avert a negative prediction under the condition of the client performing a specific ritual or, as in *ana Marduk ušeddīma* and *Marduk uše''ûma*, a prayer to Marduk (see also §23.10, §23.18).

- c) The non-physical joins ms. E₂ and ms. E₁ both have lines from this omen: The last two lines on the obverse of ms. E₂ and then after a break the first three lines on the obverse of ms. E₁.
- d) Variant B has the G-stem of *še'û* instead of the D-stem as in ms. A. Note, however, that the D-stem of *še'û* is rare: there are some Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian attestations (CAD Š/2, p. 362, mng. 6).
- Furthermore, in ms. B the various apodoses are not divided by KI.MIN as in ms. A, but by *Glossenkeile*.
- e) Ms. V3 describes a shorter period of time in the first alternative apodosis: “for one day he will suffer” instead of “for three months he will suffer.” The variant spelling *ul-ta-ṣā-aq-ma* is an Assyrianism (see KAL 1, no. 10, p. 44, n. 13'). At the end of the omen, ms. V3 has the semantic variant MUNUS.KALA.GA “hardship” for KI.KAL “imprisonment” in the main variant.
- f) Mss. A and V3 use KI.MIN for introducing the alternative apodoses, while mss. B and Ex7 use *Glossenkeile*.
- g) Heeßel reconstructs SAG.DU-su in the left-side break of line V3 13' (KAL 1, no. 10, p. 42, l. Vs. 13'), but none of the other manuscripts have the possessive suffix.
- h) Typos in the score of *If a City 2* (p. 23, *22.21) are: Ex(8)4 and Ex(8)6 should be Ex(7)4 and Ex(7)6. The line change between lines Ex(7)7-8 is not marked.
- i) A similar omen is found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127):

DIŠ ina ZAG.MUK ina ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA U₄ 1-KÁM lu ina ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ U₄ 1-KÁM / lu ina kal u₄-mi lu ina kal GE₆ MUŠ NA IGI / NA BI ina ŠĀ MU BI ÚŠ

šumma ina zagmukki ina Nisanni U₄ 1-KÁM lū ina Ayyāri U₄ 1-KÁM lū ina kal ūmi lū ina kal mūši šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt

If, on the New Year's Festival, on the first day of Nisannu or on the first day of Ayyāru, either all day or all night, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

(KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 8-10)

§ 22-C10 (§22.21)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 14-16)

W1 14b-16a : 3 ITI šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma : ina ITI šá ana 'da'-li-'x' 'ta'-a-bi / šá i-bir-ru-ú u i-ša-am-mu-ú šu-ú šup-šu-qu : ú-še-di-ma : ú-šá-am-de-e-ma / ú-še-e'-ú-ma : KIN.KIN : šī-te-e'-ú : bu-u'-ú

W2 1'-3a' [...] 'ina' ITI šá ana da-li-'x' [x x] / [...] : ú-še-di]-ma : ú-šá-am-de-e-ma / 'ú'-[še-'e-ú-ma : KIN.KIN :] šī-te-'e-'ú' [: bu]-'u-ú

3 arḫī šunūti uštapaššaqlma : ina arḫi ša ana ... ṭābi / ša ibirrū u iṣammū šū šupšuqu : ušeddīma : ušamdēma / uše''ûma : KIN.KIN : šite''û : bu''û

“He will suffer for those three months” (means) “in the month that is good for ...” He who is hungry and thirsty is the suffering one. “He will inform” (means) “he will inform.” “He will seek out,” (the logogram) KIN.KIN (means) “to seek out constantly” (i.e.) “to look for.”

- a) Jiménez (2014, n.5) observes that *ana dalīli* is a possible reading for the signs *ana da-li-x* in both ms. W1 and ms. W2, but also that the traces in W1 do not support the reading.

§22.22

A r. 1-3	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ B]ÁRA <i>lu ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ G[U ₄ ...] ÚŠ / [<i>ana</i>] TI-šú SAG.DU-su ú-[<i>har-ra-ar</i> TE.MEŠ-šú <i>ú-gal</i>]-lab / [3] ʾITI.ʾMEŠ ʾšúʾ-ʾnuʾ-ʾtiʾ ʾraʾ-m[anʾ-šúʾ ... TI]-uʾ?
B 30-32	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ BÁRA <i>lu ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ GU ₄ MUŠ NA IGI NA BI <i>ina</i> ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ / <i>ana</i> TI.LA-šú SAG.DU-su ú- <i>har-ra-ar</i> TE.MEŠ-šú <i>ú-gal-lab</i> / 3 ITI.MEŠ šú-nu-ti <i>ra-man-šú ú-har-ra-ar-ma</i> TI-uʾ
E ₁ 4'-5'	[... ⁱ]GU ₄ MUŠ NA IGI [...] / 3 ITI.MEŠ šú-nu-t[i ...]
Ex7 13	[...] ŠÀ MU [...]

DIŠ *ina*ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA *lu ina*ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ MUŠ NA IGI NA BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ

ana TI.LA-šú SAG.DU-su ú-*har-ra-ar* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* 3 ITI.MEŠ šú-nu-ti *ra-man-šú ú-har-ra-ar-ma* TI-uʾ

*šumma šēru ina Nisanni lū ina Ayyāri šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imāt
ana balāṭišu qaqqassu uḥarrar lētišu ugallab 3 arḫī šunūti ramānšu uḥarrarma iballuʾ*

If, in Nisannu or in Ayyāru, a snake stares at a man – that man will die within that year.

For (preserving) his life he should make incisions in his head, he should shave his cheeks – for those three months he will make incisions in himself and he will survive.

- a) The unread signs in line A r. 3 are very broken and hard to read from the CDLI photo. The manuscript needs collation. In *If a City* 2, the first four lines of the reverse of ms. A have been placed in *22.22, while line A r.5 (our A r. 4) is placed in *22.23 (see *If a City* 2, p. 24). A large break in this part of ms. A makes it difficult to count and place the lines, see also §22.25, comment (b).

§22.23

A r. 4	[... IGI]-mar ²
B 33	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ GU ₄ TA U ₄ 1-KÁM EN U ₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI NA BI U ₄ .ME-šú LÚGUD.ME I.BÍ.ZA IGI-[mar]
E ₁ 6'-7'	[...] UD 15-KÁM KI.MIN [...] / [... LUGUD ²].DA.MEŠ [...]

DIŠ *ina*ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI NA BI U₄.MEŠ-šú LUGUD.MEŠ I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar

šumma ina Ayyāri ištu U₄ 1-KÁM adi U₄ 15-KÁM šēru amēla īmur amēlu šū ūmūšu ikarrû ibissâ immar

If, between the first and the fifteenth day of Ayyāru, a snake stares at a man – that man's days will shorten, he will suffer losses.

- a) See §22.3 for the same apodosis.

b) The KI.MIN in line E₁ 6' probably refers to MUŠ NA IGI in line E₁ 4' (§22.22).

c) A parallel can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ TA U₄ 1-KÁM EN U₄ 15-KÁM MUŠ NA IGI / NA BI U₄.MEŠ-šú LUGUD.MEŠ I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 11-12).

§22.24

A r. 5	[...] 'x'
B 34	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ GU ₄ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU NA ŠUB-ut <i>lu</i> GIG <i>lu</i> KI.ŠÚ <i>dan-nu</i> [...]
E ₁ 8'	[...] <i>ana</i> UGU LÚ ŠUB-ut <i>lu</i> [...]
Ex5 8	[... <i>da</i>]n-nu DAB-su
V3 16'	[... <i>lu</i>]u GIG <i>lu-ú</i> KI.ŠÚ KALA.GA DAB-su (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA ŠUB-ut *lu* GIG *lu* KI.ŠÚ *dan-nu* DAB-su

šumma ina Ayyāri šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut lū imarruṣ lū kīlu dannu iṣabbassu

If in Ayyāru a snake falls on top of a man – either he will fall ill or hard imprisonment will seize him.

§22.25

A r. 6	[...] 'x'
B 35	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ SIG ₄ MUŠ <i>lu ana</i> IGI NA <i>lu ana</i> EGIR NA ŠUB-ut <i>ni</i> -[zīq-tu ₄]
E ₁ 9'	[...] MUŠ <i>lu ana</i> IGI NA <i>lu ana</i> EG[IR ...]
V3 17'	[... ŠUB-u]t <i>ni</i> ₅ -zīq-tu ₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ MUŠ *lu ana* IGI NA *lu ana* EGIR NA ŠUB-ut *ni*₅-zīq-tu₄

šumma ina Simāni šēru lū ana pān amēli lū ana arki amēli imqut niziqtu

If in Simānu a snake falls either in front of a man or behind a man – (there will be) grief.

a) In ms. A, after A r. 6, a large break makes it difficult to establish how many lines are missing. The first readable line (in our score A r. 7') after the break can be placed with §22.30, the following line (A r. 8') begins with DIŠ *ina* [ⁱⁱⁱG]AN and can thereby be placed with §22.31.

b) A parallel can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ MUŠ *lu ana* IGI NA *lu ana* EGIR NA ŠUB-ut *ni*-zīq-tú (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 13).

§22.26

A	[...]
B 36	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ ŠU IGI [...]
E ₁ 10'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ⁱⁱⁱ ŠU MUŠ NA IGI [...]
V3 18'	[...] <i>ni</i> ₅ -zīq-tu ₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ŠU MUŠ NA IGI *ni*₅-*zíq-tu*₄

šumma ina Du'ūzi šēru amēla īmur niziqtu

If in Du'ūzu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.

a) Ms. B omits MUŠ NA before IGI in the protasis on lines B 36-42 (§§22.26-32). We do not count this as a genuine variant but an abbreviated notation style. A variant is found in ms. Z3, where subject and object are inversed as NA MUŠ.

b) A variant can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127), where subject and object are inverted, i.e. NA MUŠ instead MUŠ NA: DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}[Š]U NA MUŠ IGI *ni-zíq-tú* (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 14).

§22.27

A [...]

B 37 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}NE IGI [...]

E₁ 11' DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}NE MUŠ NA IGI [...]

V3 19' [...] *ni*₅-*zíq-tu*₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}NE MUŠ NA IGI *ni*₅-*zíq-tu*₄

šumma ina Abi šēru amēla īmur niziqtu

If in Abu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.

a) A parallel in an abbreviated form (using MIN and KI.MIN) can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}SIG₄ MUŠ *lu ana* IGI NA *lu ana* EGIR NA ŠUB-ut *ni-zíq-tú* (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 15).

§22.28

A [...]

B 38 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}KIN IGI [...]

E₁ 12' DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}KIN MUŠ NA IGI [...]

V3 20' [...] *ni*₅-*zíq-tu*₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}KIN MUŠ NA IGI *ni*₅-*zíq-tu*₄

šumma ina Ulūli šēru amēla īmur niziqtu

If in Ulūlu a snake stares at a man – (there will be) grief.

a) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}KIN MIN KI.MIN (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 16).

§22.29

A	[...]
B 39	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} DUL IGI [...]
E ₁ 13'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} DUL MUŠ NA IGI [...]
V3 21'	[... <i>ni</i>] ₅ - <i>zíq-tu</i> ₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}DUL MUŠ NA IGI [*ni*]₅-*zíq-tu*₄

šumma ina Tašrīti šēru amēla īmur [*ni*]*ziqtu*

If in Tašrītu a snake stares at a man– (there will be) [g]rief.

a) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}DUL MIN KI.MIN (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 17).

§22.30

A r. 7'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> [...]
B 40	DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} APIN IGI [...]
E ₁ 14'	[DIŠ <i>ina</i>] ^{iti} [APIN MUŠ NA] IGI [...]
V3 22'	[... <i>ni</i> ₅ - <i>z</i>] <i>íq-tu</i> ₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}APIN [MUŠ NA] IGI [*ni*₅-*z*]*íq-tu*₄

šumma ina Araḥšamni [*šēru amēla*] *īmur* [*niz*]*iqtu*

If in Araḥšamnu [a snake] stares [at a man]– (there will be) [gr]ief.

a) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}APIN MIN KI.MIN (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 18).

§22.31

A r. 8'	DIŠ <i>ina</i> [^{iti} G]AN [...]
B 41	(10) DIŠ <i>ina</i> ^{iti} GAN IGI [...]
E ₁ 15'	[...]
V3 23'	[... <i>ni</i> ₅ - <i>zíq-t</i>] _u ₄ (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}GAN [MUŠ NA] IGI [*ni*₅-*zíq-t*]_u₄

šumma ina Kislimmi [*šēru amēla*] *īmur* [*niziqt*]_u

If in Kislimmu [a snake] stares [at a man]– (there will be) [grie]f.

- a) “(10)” at the beginning of line B 41 stands for the wedge mark of the sign U with the numeral reading 10, used by the scribe to indicate the count of every tenth omen. As ms. B omits §22.3, §22.31 is the thirtieth omen on the manuscript. For §22.11 (the tenth omen of ms. B) and §22.21 (the twentieth), the left edge is slightly broken, but we can assume that there the scribe made 10-marks as well.
- b) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}GAN MIN KI.MIN (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 19).
- c) Another similar omen can be found in another manuscript of *Iqqur īpuš* (KAR 329 = VAT 10163, l. 29, see Labat 1965, pp. 226-233; note that Labat interprets obverse and reverse opposite from Ebeling, KAR 392):²²⁵

DIŠ MUŠ IGI *ni-zíq-tu₄*

šumma šēru innamir niziqtu

If a snake is seen – worry (will be present).

According to Labat’s reconstruction, the colophon of VAT 10163 (l. 31) should designate the manuscript as belonging to the months ^{iti}GAN (Kislimmu) (Labat 1965, pp. 232-233). Therefore, despite the snake omen in VAT 10163, l. 29 not mentioning the month like §22.31 of *Šumma ālu*, the two can be associated.

§22.32

A r. 9’ DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}AB MUŠ N[A IGI *ni-zíq-tu₄*]

B 42 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}AB IGI [...]

E₁ 16’ DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}[AB ...]

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}AB MUŠ N[A IGI *ni-zíq-tu₄*]

šumma ina Ṭebēti šēru amē[la īmur niziqtu]

If in Ṭebētu a snake stares at a ma[n – (there will be) grief].

- a) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127): DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}AB MIN KI.MIN (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 20).

§22.33

A r. 10’-11’ DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA N[A ...] / UN.ME DUMU.ME-ši-na NÍG.ŠU-š[i-na ...]

B 43 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA NA MUŠ *ina* SILA.DAG[AL.LA ...]

E₁ 17’-18’ DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.[NA ...] / [...] DUMU.MEŠ-si-na NÍG.ŠU-ši-na [...]

X₁ i 1’-2’ [... *ina*] ‘SILA’ ‘DAGAL’ ‘LA’ ‘IGI’ / [...] NÍG.ŠU]-ši-na *ana* KI.LAM È-a

V3 24’ [...] ‘È’-a (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA NA MUŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA IGI UN.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ši-na NÍG.ŠU-ši-na *ana* KI.LAM È-a

²²⁵ Note that Labat interprets obverse and reverse opposite from Ebeling (KAR 392).

šumma ina Šabāṭi ina qereb kuṣṣi amēlu šēra ina rebīti īmur nišū mārīšina būšīšina ana maḥīri uṣṣā

If in Šabāṭu, in the middle of winter, a man sees a snake in a square – the people will sell their children (and) their property under market value.

a) Ms. V3 breaks off after this omen and the reverse is too fragmentary for translation (see KAL 1, p. 43).

b) A variant to this omen can be found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58 (see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127):

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱZÍZ *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA / NA MUŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA 'IGI' / UN.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ši-na NÍG.ŠU-ši-na ana 'KÙ'. 'BABBAR' ? B[ÚR.MEŠ] ?

šumma ina Šabāṭi ina qereb kuṣṣi amēlu šēra ina rebīti īmur nišū mārīšina būšīšina ana karspi² ip[aššarā]²

If, in Šabāṭu, in the middle of winter, a man sees a snake in a square – the people will exchange their children and their property for silver (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 21-23).

The reading of the last three damaged signs is based on Labat (1965, p. 126, §58, l. 16). The KAR copy suggests that there is no space for more than two or three signs at the end of the line.

c) See also the apodosis of §24.1, [šum]ma šēru ina muḥḥi ereš amēli rabiš aššat amēli pānīša utārma mārīša ana kaspi inaddin “[I]f a snake lies on a man’s bed – the man’s wife will turn away her face and give her children away for silver.”

§ 22-C11 (§22.33)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 16)

W1 16b : *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA : *dan-na-tú* : *ku-šu*

W2 3b' : *ina qé-reb* EN.TE.NA : *dan-na-tú* : *ku¹-šu*

ina qereb kuṣṣi : dannatu : kūšu

“In the middle of the winter” (means) “(in the middle of) hardship,” (which means) “(in the middle of) the cold.”

§22.34

A r. 12' DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱŠE NA MUŠ IGI [...] (ruling)

B 44 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱŠE NA MUŠ IGI [...] (ruling)

E₁ 19' DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱŠE NA MUŠ IGI [...] (ruling)

X₁ i 3' [...] *e*]k-let nam-rat (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱŠE NA MUŠ IGI [*e*]k-let nam-rat

šumma ina Addari amēlu šēra īmur [*e*]klet namrat

If, in Addaru, a man sees a snake – (first) it will be dark, (but then) it will become bright.

a) All the manuscripts for this omen have a ruling marking the end of the section with the list of months in the protasis.

- b) A parallel omen found in *Iqqur īpuš* §58: DIŠ ina ⁱⁱⁱŠE NA MUŠ IGI *ek-let nam-rat* (ruling) (KAR 212 = VAT 10147 iii 24, see Labat 1965, pp. 124-127).
- c) The commentary §22-C12 (see below) quotes *eklet namrat*, which is also partially preserved in the extended protasis of §22.35.
- d) There is no obvious translation of *eklet namrat*. It is composed of two stative feminine forms, of *ekēlu* “to be dark” (CAD E, p. 64) and *namāru* “to dawn, to shine brightly” (CAD N/1, p. 211). The form *eklet namrat* appears in various omen apodoses (see CAD E, p. 64, 4’ for references). A nominal reading of *eklet* is found in Freedman, “darkness will become light” (*If a City* 2, p. 13, *22.34), and Heeßel, “Die Dunkelheit wird sich aufhellen” (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 37, l. 1 3’), while Jiménez translates, “It is dark, it is bright” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, l. 17, see §22-C12 below). The CAD does not list a meaning for *eklet namrat* (“mng. unkn.”, see CAD E, p. 64, 4’), the AHw offers “aB *e-ki-il* es ist finster (...), dazu jB Omendeutung *ek-let/le-et namrat* (ist freundlich)” (AHw I, p. 193).

In the Great Hymn to Nabû, the line *a-šar ek-let nam-rat še-zu-zu ta-a-[a-ar]* is translated by von Soden as, “wo es einmal finster, einmal freundlich aussieht, ist der schwer Erzürnte vergebungs[be-reit]” (von Soden 1971, pp. 58-59, l. 184). This translation suggests that *eklet namrat* refers to a state sometimes dark and sometimes light, in no particular order. Rahmouni and Levine (2016, p. 239, §3) offer a new translation of the same line, “What was once gloomy, is bright; what was once anger is forgiven,” describing in *eklet namrat* a situation first dark, then changing to being bright. In fact, this is also reflected in Labat’s reading of this apodosis in the parallel omen in *Iqqur īpuš* §58, 16, where he translates “(c’)était sombre, (c’)est lumineux” (Labat 1965, p. 127, §58, l. 16), using the *imparfait* and the *présent* tenses respectively. Furthermore, the meaning of *namāru* “to dawn” (CAD N/1, p. 211) describes a transition from dark to light over time.

Apodoses sometimes describe a development over time, creating a narrative, as for example in “he will suffer, but he will survive” (see §§22.1-2, §22.21). These apodoses are exemplary of the more complex predictions that go beyond merely the positive or negative. Compare also the apodosis of §23.15, *amēlu šū ina dannati bēl dabābišu ikaššad*, which we translate as, “(though finding himself) in dire straits, that man will overcome his adversary.”

Interpreting *eklet namrat* as a narrative of “first it was dark, but then it became bright” is reminiscent of our idiom “there is light at the end of the tunnel,” which expresses a hopeful outlook in a difficult situation. In accordance with our future tense translations of apododes, we translate *eklet namrat* also in the future tense, “(first) it will be dark, (but then) it will become bright.”

§ 22-C12 (§§22.34-35)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 17)

W1 17a *ek-let nam-rat : a-na muš-ke-ni qa-bi*

W2 4a’ *ek-let nam-rat : [a-na muš]-ke-ni qa-bi*

eklet namrat : ana muškēni qabi

“It will be dark, it will be light” is spoken of a commoner.

- a) In the snake omens themselves, *muškēnu* is always spelled logographically MAŠ.EN.GAG.

§22.35

- A r. 13' DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma ig-lut ek-[let ...]*
 B 45-46 DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma ig-lu[t ...] / na-za-qu EGIR [...]*
 E₁ 20' DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma ig-lut ek-let na[m-rat ...]*
 X₁ i 4'-5' [... N]U ŠE.GA *ina* NU DÙG. GA¹ UZU¹ / [...] 'x' hu : SIG₅

DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma ig-lut ek-let na[m-rat ...] na-za-qu EGIR [... N]U ŠE.GA ina* NU DÙG.GA UZU [...]
 ... : SIG₅

šumma amēlu šēra īmurma iglut eklet na[mrat ...] nazāqu arki [... l]ā māgīru ina lā tūb šīri [...] ... : idammiq

If a man sees a snake and he trembles – (first) it will be dark, (but then) it will become bright [...], to grieve², behind [... an u]nwilling one, in unhappiness [...] ... : he will be well.

- a) There is phonetic word-play between *iglut* and *eklet* in this omen.
 b) Heeßel's translation interprets the *Glossenkeil* in line X₁ i 5' as introducing an alternative apodosis: "alternativ: günstig" (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 37, ll. Vs. I 4'-5').
 c) Compare §23.8, *šumma šēru amēla ina ūmi rīqi īmur nazāqu lā tūb šīri ana amēli [...]* ... [...] "If a snake stares at a man on an empty day (i.e. a moonless day) – (there will be) grief (and) unhappiness for the man [...] ... [...]."

§22.36

- B 47-50 DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú [...] / A PÚ šá É^d AMAR.UTU [...] / ^{giš}ŠIN[IG [...]] / 'x' [...]
 D 1'-5' [...] 'x' 'x' [...] / [...] šá-lu[m-mat L]Ú² it-[tab-bal [...]] / [...] n]am-ḫa-ra SA₅-ma KÙ.BABBAR 'KÙ'.GI¹ / [...] ^uIN.NU.UŠ^{giš} GIŠIMMAR.TUR.TUR GI.ŠUL.ḪI / [...] tuš-bat ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA TU₅-ma NAM.BÚR.BI
 E₁ 21'-24' DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú ḪUL IGI [...] / ina É^d AMAR.UTU nam-ḫa-^{ra}? [...] / ^{giš}ŠINIG ^uIN.NU.UŠ^{giš} [GIŠIMMAR.TUR.TUR [...] / 'ina' 'MUL' tuš-bat ina Á.G[Ú].ZI.GA [...] (ruling)
 X₁ i 6'-10' [...] še šá-lum-^{mat} LÚ i-tab-bal / [...] A PÚ šá É^d AMAR.UTU ^{du}gnam-ḫa-ru SA₅-ma / [KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI [...] 'A' ÍD^{giš} ŠINIG ^uIN.NU.UŠ / [...] ^{sim}L]I NAGA.SI ana ŠÀ ŠUB-ma / [ina MUL tuš-bat ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA TU₅-ma NAM.BÚR.BI

DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú ḪUL IGI [...] ... šá-lum-mat LÚ i-tab-bal [...]

A PÚ šá É^d AMAR.UTU ^{du}gnam-ḫa-ra SA₅-ma KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI [...] A ÍD^{giš} ŠINIG ^uIN.NU.UŠ^{giš} GIŠIMMAR.TUR.TUR GI.ŠUL.ḪI [...] ^{sim}LI NAGA.SI ana ŠÀ ŠUB-ma ina MUL tuš-bat ina Á.GÚ.ZI.GA TU₅-ma NAM.BÚR.BI

šumma amēlu šēra īmurma idūkšu lumna immar [...] ... šalummat amēli ittabbal [...]

mê būrti ša bīt Marduk namḫāra tamallīma kaspā ḫurāša [...] mê nāri bīna maštakkal sissinna šeḫra qan šalāti [...] burāša uḫūla ana libbi taddinma ina kakkabī tušbat ina šērti tarammukma namburbū

If a man sees a snake and kills it – he will experience evil [...] ... the man’s radiance will be taken away [...].

You fill a *namḥaru*-vessel with well water from the Marduk-temple and silver, gold [...], you throw river water, tamarisk wood, soapwort, young datewood, *qan šalāti*-can, [...] juniper, horned alkali into (it) and you place it under the stars. In the morning you wash yourself (with it) and (that is) the *namburbû*-ritual.

- a) Heeßel reconstructs *ina* MUL *tuš-bat* in the break of line X₁ i 10’ (see KAL 1, no. 9, ll. I 6’-10 and our score). We suggest, upon collation, to read [... *tu*]š-*bat* in line D 5’ (compare [... -*m*]a BAD in *If a City* 2, p. 25, *22.36, D5’), and ‘*ina*’ ‘MUL’ *tuš-bat* in line E₁ 24’ (compare TI-*ma* BAD in *If a City* 2, p. 25, *22.36, e₁ 24’).

Heeßel reads še šá-lum-‘*mat*’ in line X₁ i 6’ (KAL 1, no. 9, I 6’), where Freedman reads x ša₂ SIG₄ (*If a City* 2, p. 25, *22.36, X₁ i 6’). In line D 2’, Freedman reads ša₂ ŠU₂-a[*p* ...]. Instead, these signs can now be understood as a slightly broken šá- and the beginning of -*lum*. The two signs in the same line after the break (x id in *If a City* 2) are probably LÚ, followed by *it*-, as part of *it-tab-bal*. Furthermore, the two signs left unread by Freedman (*If a City* 2, p. 25) after KÙ.BABBAR at the end of line D 3’ could be identified upon collation with KÙ.GI.

- b) We have collated the last two signs in line E₁ 21’ as 𒄩UL IGI. Freedman reads *u*₃ x (*If a City* 2, p. 25, *22.36, e₁ 21’).
- c) Line B 50 only has a trace of one sign right at the beginning. After this line, ms. B has a large gap. Judging from the spacing of the other lines of ms. B, the gap contained about twelve lines, in total containing about five to twelve omens.

Ms. E breaks off after §22.36 as well.

The omen sequence continues on mss. D and X for six more omens. None of them can be associated with the omens found on ms. B after the break. The line count of ms. B is continued after the break, an apostrophe marking the gap: B 47-50 is §22.36, B 51’ is §22.44’ (see also the scores thereafter).

§ 22-C13 (§22.36)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 17-18)

W1 17b-18 : šá-lum-mat : bal-tu₄ : du-ú-tu₄ : bal-tu₄ / ‘du’-ú-tu₄ : bu-nu : nam-ḥa-ra SA₅-ma : ki-ma
^{dug}A.GÚB.BA tu-ka-ni-ma

W2 4b’-5’ : šá-lum-mat : bal-tu₄ : du-ú-tu₄ : bal-tu₄ / ‘du’-ú-tu₄ : bu-nu : nam-ḥa-ra SA₅-ma : ki-ma
^{dug}A.GÚB.BA tu-ka-ni-ma

šalummat : bāltu : dūtu : bāltu / dūtu : būnu : **namḥāra tamallīma** : kīma agubbī tukannīma

“Radiance” (means) “dignity;” “virility” (means) “dignity,” (since) “virility” (means) “appearance.”
 “You fill a *namḥaru*-vessel” (means) “you set it up like a holy water vessel.”

§ 22.37

D 6’ [... G]ABA.RI NU¹ TUK¹-ši¹ lu¹ MAŠ.EN.GAG 𒄩UL-šú DU₈

X₁ i 11’-12’ [... 𒄩AB]RUD.DA KU₄ lu DUGUD GABA.RI NU TUK-ši / [lu MAŠ.EN.GAG] 𒄩UL-šú DU₈

[DIŠ NA[?] MUŠ GAZ-*ma* TI-*ma* *ana* ŠÀ ҲAB]RUD.DA KU₄ *lu* DUGUD GABA.RI NU TUK-*ši* *lu* MAŠ.EN.GAG ҲUL-šú DU₈

[*šumma amēlu*[?] *šēra idukma ilqīma ana libbi Ҳur*]ri *ušēreb lū kabtu gabarâ ul iši lū muškēnu lumunšu ippaṭṭar*

[If a man kills a snake, takes (the corpse) and] makes (it) enter [in a hol]e – either an important man will not have a rival or a commoner will have his evil released.

- a) The reconstruction of the protasis is based on the commentary §22-C14. The commentary tries to clarify the ambiguity of the logogram TI which can be read either *leqû* “to take” or *balātu* “to live.” (see §22-C14 below).
- b) In *If a City 2*, the protasis is reconstructed as follows: [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* ҲAB]RUD.DA TU “[If ... a snake] enters a [ho]le” (*If a City 2* pp. 12-13, *22.37).

Heeßel bases the reconstruction of the beginning of the protasis on the commentary §22-C14 (see KAL 1, no. 9, p. 40, n. I 11’-12’). However, note that Heeßel’s reading of the commentary does not have NA at the beginning, which Jiménez (2014) reads with a question mark; he also omits *ana* ŠÀ from his reading of the protasis - DIŠ MUŠ GAZ-*ma* TI-*ma* *ana* ҲABRUD.DA KU₄ (see KAL 1 no. 9, p. 33, l. Vs. I 11’) – which, however, is present in the commentary text.

The phrase MUŠ *ina* ŠÀ ҲABRUD, including ŠÀ, also appears two omens below in §22.40.

- c) The translation of *kabtu* in the apodosis as “an important man” aligns with Heeßel’s translation “ein wichtiger Mann” (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 37, l. Vs. I 11’). Freedman translates “a prominent man” (*If a City 2*, p. 13, *22.37). Who exactly an “important man” is in Mesopotamian society, compared to the “rich man” (*šarû*) usually juxtaposed to the “commoner” (*muškēnu*) in alternative apodoses (see e.g. §23.79), is up for debate. Indeed, we interpret the more neutral word *amēlu* “man” used for the client of the omens as a private citizen with a higher status than most members of society.
- d) The transliteration of line D 6’ follows KAL 1 (no. 9, p. 40, n. I 11’-12’).

§ 22-C14 (§22.37)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 19-20)

W1 19-20a ‘DIŠ’ ‘NA’[?] MUŠ GAZ-*ma* TI-*ma* *ana* ŠÀ ҲABRUD KU₄ : šá MUŠ *i-du-ku-ma iš-šu-ú iq-bi-ri* : TI : *la-qu-u* / [x x] ‘ib’-*luṭ-ma ana* ŠÀ ҲABRUD’ KU₄ : TI : *ba-la-tu*

W2 6’-7a’ ‘DIŠ’ ‘NA’[?] MUŠ GAZ¹-*ma* TI-*ma* *ana* ŠÀ ҲABRUD KU₄¹ : šá MUŠ *i-du-ku-ma iš-šu-ú iq-bi-ri* : TI : *la-qu-u* / ‘šá’-‘niš’¹ [ib]-*luṭ-ma ana* ŠÀ ҲABRUD’ KU₄ : TI : *ba-la-tu*

šumma amēlu*[?] *šēra idukma ilqīma ana libbi Ҳurri ušēreb* : ša *šēra idūkuma iššû iqbiri* : TI : *laqû* / *šanîš*¹ *ibluṭma ana libbi Ҳurri irub* : TI : *balātu

If a man[?] kills a snake and takes (the corpse) and makes (it) enter inside a hole (refers to a man) who kills a snake and carries it and buries it (since) TI (means) “to take”. Alternatively, (a man tries to kill it,) it survives and slips into a hole (since) TI (means) to live.

- a) The commentary offers two different interpretations of the omen based on the ambiguous reading of the logogram TI, either as *leqû* “to take” or *balātu* “to live.” In the option with *leqû*, the man succeeds

in killing the snake and buries it in a hole. The option with *balātu* is placed in a scenario where the snake is attempted to be killed, but lives, and gets away.

A man overcoming a snake, an evil omen, by killing it entails a positive apodosis, like in §23.9, “If a snake stares at a man and he kills it – his fears will not touch that man, that snake took its evil away.”

§ 22.38

(see *If a City 2*, p. 13, n. 37)

D 7' [DIŠ MUŠ ...] NA IGI A.RA.ZU ŠE.GA *qí-bit-su mag-rat*

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] NA IGI A.RA.ZU ŠE.GA *qí-bit-su mag-rat*

[šumma šēru ...] *amēla² īmur² teslītu magrat qibīssu magrat*

[If a snake ...] stares at a man² – (his) prayer will find acceptance, his command will be obeyed.

a) Ms. X omits this omen.

b) *If a City 2* does not include line D 7' in the score (p. 26), but refers to it on p. 13, n. 37. We count this omen as one belonging to the standard sequence, therefore our omen count diverges from the one in *If a City 2*. For reference, the corresponding omen number in *If a City 2* is added to the heading of our omens.

c) Freedman does not translate this line, but there is a parallel apodosis in VAT 10116+ (different protasis), where she translates, “his prayer will be heard, his word will be accepted” (*If a City 2*, p. 117, related text 6, l. 13^(sic)). Heeßel translates the same protasis as, “Das Gebet ist günstig, sein Ausspruch ist wohlwollend” (KAL 1, no. 13, p. 55, l. 13).

The parallel in VAT 10116+, l. 13 has a slightly variant orthography: A.RA.ZU ŠE.GA-*at qí-bit-su ma-ag-rat* (KAL 1, no. 13, p. 53, l. 13).

d) The protasis in VAT 10116+, l. 13 involves the kings, therefore *qibīssu* “his command” likely relates to the king there. Whether *qibīssu* relates to the man in §22.38 cannot be said for certain, as the protasis is mostly broken. We have added an interpretative “(his)” to “prayer,” which fits the context.

§ 22.39

(see *If a City 2*, *22.38)

D 8'-9' [DIŠ ... MUŠ] *ana KI.TA LÚ iḫ-lu-um-ma NÁ-[iṣ ...] / [(0)]² KI.MIN NÍG.ŠU-šú TÙM KI.MIN NINDA nap-šá G[U]₇*

X₁ i 13'-15' [DIŠ ... *ina U*]₄ *ut-nen-nu MUŠ ana KI.TA NA / [iḫ-lu-um-ma ... N]ÍG.ŠU-šú TAG₄-šú : iq-qir-šú šú / [KI.MIN NÍG.ŠU-šú TÙM] KI.MIN NINDA nap-šá G[U]₇*

[DIŠ ... *ina U*]₄ *ut-nen-nu MUŠ ana KI.TA NA iḫ-lu-um-ma NÁ-[iṣ ... N]ÍG.ŠU-šú TAG₄-šú : iq-qir-šú*

KI.MIN NÍG.ŠU-šú TÙM

KI.MIN NINDA *nap-šá G[U]₇*

[šumma ... ina ūm]i utnennu šēru ana šapal amēli iḥlumma irb[iš ... b]ūšušu izzibšu : iqqiršu

KI.MIN būšušu ittabbal

KI.MIN akla napša ik[k]al

[If ... on th da]y, on which he prays, a snake slithers below a man and (then) lies dow[n ...] – his [pr]operty will abandon him : it will become scarce for him.

Ditto – his property will be carried off.

Ditto – he will e[a]t plenty of bread.

a) Freedman's reconstruction is based on a wrong reading of lines in ms. X (see *If a City 2*, pp. 26). We follow the reading suggested by Heeßel (KAL 1, no. 9, ll. I 13'-14'), except for Heeßel's interpretation of NÁ as NÁ-al (*nālu*) instead of NÁ-iš (*rabāšu*).

§ 22-C15 (§22.39)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 20-21)

W1 20b-21 : NÍG.ŠU-šu DÙ-šú KI.MIN <NÍG.ŠU-šu> DÙ-šú DUMU-šú GU₇ : NÍG.ŠU-šú DÙ-šú : / [iz]-zib'-šú : iz-zib-šú : DÙ : e-ze-bu : DUMU-šú GU₇ : bu-šu-šú ik-kal : DUMU : bu-šu-ú

W2 7b'-8' : NÍG.ŠU-šu DÙ-šú KI.MIN DÙ-šú DUMU-šú GU₇ : NÍG.ŠU-šú DÙ-šú : / iz-zib-šú : iz-zib-šú : DÙ : e-ze-bu : DUMU-šú GU₇ : bu-šu-šú ik-kal : DUMU : bu-šu-ú

NÍG.ŠU-šu DÙ-šú KI.MIN <NÍG.ŠU-šu> DÙ-šú DUMU-šú GU₇ : NÍG.ŠU-šú DÙ-šú : izzibšu : izzibšu : DÙ : ezēbu : DUMU-šú GU₇ : būšišu ikkal : DUMU : būšū

In “NÍG.ŠU-šu DÙ-šú or <NÍG.ŠU-šu> DÙ-šú DUMU-šú GU₇” : NÍG.ŠU-šú DÙ-šú means izzibšu, i.e. (his property) will abandon him; since DÙ means “to abandon” (*ezēbu*); DUMU-šú GU₇ means “he will eat his possessions”, since DUMU means “possession” (*būšū*)."

a) The translation follows Jiménez (2014, 20-21).

b) Jiménez (2014, n. 8) notes that DÙ for *ezēbu* and DUMU for *būšu* are otherwise unknown.

§ 22.40

(see *If a City 2*, *22.39)

D 10' [... ḪAB]RUD.DA KA-šú 'x' 'DA'?. 'MEŠ'?' [...] (ruling)

X i 16'-17' [DIŠ ... ina a-šar KÀŠ i]š-tin-nu MUŠ ina ŠÀ ḪABRUD KA-[š]u / [... B]I MU NU TUK-'ši'

[DIŠ ... ina a-šar KÀŠ i]š-tin-nu MUŠ ina ŠÀ ḪABRUD.DA KA-šu ... [... NA B]I MU NU TUK-ši

[šumma ... ina ašar šīnāti i]štinnu šēru ina libbi ḥurri pīšu ... [... amēlu š]ū šuma ul irašši

[If ... in the place where he urin]ated, a snake, inside a hole, its mouth ... [...] – [th]at [man] will not have progeny.?

- a) Before [i]š-tin-nu in line X i 16', Heeßel reconstructs *ina a-šar KÁŠ* in parallel with an omen in K 10390, l. 4': DIŠ MIN (= UZU.DIR EDIN) *ina a-šar KÁŠ iš-tin-nu* I[GI ...] (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 41, n. I 16', see Tablet 13 of *Šumma ālu* in *If a City 1*, p. 207). The protasis of §22.36 is translated by Heeßel as follows: "[... an dem Ort, an dem] er urinierte" (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 37, l. Vs. I 16').
- b) The last three signs in line D 10' before it breaks off are damaged. In *If a City 2*, the signs remain unread. The third sign could be MEŠ, but this does not further the understanding of this section of the protasis, which would also need a verb at the end to complete it.

§22.41

(see *If a City 2*, *22.40)

X i 18' [DIŠ ... ZI-b]u kaš-du

[DIŠ ... ZI-b]u kaš-du

[šumma ... tīb]u kašdu

[If ... a] heavy [atta]ck (will occur).

- a) The reconstruction of the broken signs [ZI-b]u is based on a parallel apodosis in §22.1. It is not clear if *tību kašdu* is the complete apodosis of this omen or whether it was preceded by something else.

§22.42

(see *If a City 2*, *22.41)

X i 19' [DIŠ ...] 'x' IGI-šú

[DIŠ ...] ... IGI-šú

[šumma ...] ... *immaršu*?

[If ...] ... will see? him.?

- a) The interpretation of the two signs remaining of the apodosis is uncertain.

§22.43

(see *If a City 2*, *22.42)

X i 20' [... L]Ú

[DIŠ ... L]Ú

[šumma ... am]eli?

[If ... of? the m]an.

- a) This is the last omen on col. i of ms. X included in this omen sequence. Lines X₁ i 21'-23' are too fragmentary: [... b]u / [...] 'x' / [...] 'x'. In *If a City 2*, these lines are counted as *22.43 (X₁ i 21') and *22.44 (X₁ i 22'-23').
- b) After this omen, there is a gap in the sequence of Tablet 22.

§ 22-C16 (unplaced)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 22)

W1 22a [x] : *še-rì : lem-nu*

W2 9a' 'GABA' : *še-rì : lem-nu*

... : *šerri : lemnu*

... “enemy” (means) “evil one.”

a) This commentary might belong to one of the omens lost in the break, as it cannot be placed with any of the omens preserved in this sequence.

b) Perhaps this is a case of word-play between *šēru* “snake” and *šerru* “enemy.”

(gap) -----

§ 22.44'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.45)

B 51' [...] x-šú EN INIM-šú [...]

[DIŠ ...] ...-šú EN INIM-šú [...]

[šumma ...] ...šu *bēl dabābišu* [...]

[If ...] ... him?, his adversary [...].

a) EN INIM-šu often appears as a nomen rectum in association with ŠUB-tì or ŠUB-at, i.e. *miqitti bēl dabābišu* or *maqāt bēl dabābišu* “downfall of his adversary.” Another possibility would be the apodosis *bēl dabābišu uštēmeqšu* “his adversary will supplicate him” (see §23.3).

b) One unreadable sign is partially visible on the broken line above B 51'.

c) Compare this omen with an unplaced line from ms. Ex4, [DIŠ MUŠ *ana U*]GU NA ŠUB-*ma ana IGI ik-nun-ma* [...] NU GAZ EN INIM-šú *uš-te-me-eq-šú* (Ex4₂ 7' + Ex4₁ 5', see *If a City 2*, p. 14, n. 44). Ms. Ex4 has omens from Tablet 22 and 23, see §§22.71ff.

§ 22.45'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.46)

B 52' [DIŠ MUŠ *lu*] ŠU NA *lu* GÌR NA NIGIN-*mi* ŠU x [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *lu*] ŠU NA *lu* GÌR NA NIGIN-*mi* ŠU ... [...]

[šumma *šēru lū*] *qāt amēli lū šēp amēli ilmi qātu* ... [...].

[If a snake] surrounds [either] a man's hand or a man's foot – the hand ... [...].

a) Through the repetition of ŠU, an association between protasis and apodosis is created. The apodosis might be of the form *qātu ikaššasu* “the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of him” or *qāt ili ikaššassu* “(the disease) ‘hand of the god’ will take hold of him” (see §22.15, comment (b)). However, from the CDLI photo of ms. B⁽²²⁾, the sign x near the right broken edge cannot be read for certain and requires collation.

b) Freedman does not reconstruct *lu* before ŠU in the apodosis (*If a City 2*, p. 14, *22.46).

§ 22.46'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.47)

B 53' -54' [DIŠ MUŠ] GÌR NA NIGIN-*ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-[iḫ-ma DU₈-ma]*? / MUŠ UR₅-*ta GAZ-šú NA BI ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL-š[i-šú]*

E₁ r. 1' DIŠ MUŠ 'GÌR' N[A? ...]

[DIŠ MUŠ] GÌR NA NIGIN-*ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-[iḫ-ma DU₈-ma]*? MUŠ UR₅-*ta GAZ-šú NA BI ki-mil-ti DINGIR-šú GÁL-š[i-šú]*

[šumma šēru] šēp amēli ilmīma iknunma uštāni[ḫma ipturma] šēra šuāta idūkšu amēlu šū kimilti ilišu ibašš[išu]

[If a snake] encircles a man's foot, coils (around it) and persist[s, but (then) withdraws]? (and) he (= the man) kills that snake – there will b[e] the wrath of his god [for] that man.

a) The end of line B 53' is reconstructed in parallel to line B 55' (see §22.47'), because §22.46' and §22.47' form a pair of opposites. Freedman only reconstructs *uš-ta-ni-[iḫ-ma]* (see *If a City 2*, p. 26, *22.47, ll. B53-54).

b) The meaning of *uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* is uncertain. The commentary §22-C17 (see below) cites a similar form, *uštāḫma*, and equates it with *uštīḫma*: both are forms of *šāḫu* "to grow." Jiménez translates the commentary as, "It has been made to grow (means) it increased" (Jiménez 2014, l. 22). *Šāḫu* is said of animals and means both to grow in size and to mature in age (CAD Š/1, pp. 106-107). On the other hand, *uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* in our omen cannot be a form of *šāḫu*. Freedman writes that the meaning of *uštāniḫ* is unclear (*If a City 2*, p. 15, n. 47-48) and suggests a possible derivation from *anāḫu* A (CAD A/2, p. 105) or *nāḫu* (CAD N/1, p. 150). We suggest a derivation from *anāḫu* with the meaning "to last."

§ 22-C17 (§§22.46'-47')

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 22)

W1 22b : *uš-ta-aḫ-ma* : *ú-ši-iḫ-ma*

W2 9b' : *uš^l-ta-aḫ-ma* : *ú-ši-iḫ-ma*

uštāḫma : *uštīḫma*

"It has been made to grow" (means) "it increased."

a) §§22.46'-47' have *uštāniḫma*, the commentaries have *uštāḫma*.

b) Translation follows Jiménez (2014).

§22.47'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.48)

- B 55'-56' [DIŠ M]UŠ GÌR NA NIGIN-*ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* DU₈ MUŠ [UR₅-*ta* NU GAZ-šú ...] / NA BI *ina* te² na x ti DINGIR ŠU-*su* NU ub k[u²/lu² ...]
- E₁ r. 2'-3' DIŠ MUŠ <GÌR NA NIGIN-*ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* DU₈ MUŠ> UR₅-*ta* NU GAZ-šú [...] / LÚ BI *ina* ki [...]

DIŠ MUŠ GÌR NA NIGIN-*ma ik-nun-ma uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* DU₈-*ma* MUŠ UR₅-*ta* NU GAZ-šú [...] NA BI *ina* ... DINGIR ŠU-*su* NU ... [...]

šumma šēru šēp amēli ilmīma iknunma uštāniḫma ipṭurma šēra šuāta ul idūkšu [...] amēlu šū ina ... ilu qāssu ul ... [...]

If a snake encircles a man's foot, coils (around it) and persists, but (then) withdraws? (and) he (= the man) does not kill that snake – that man ... the god, his hand, not ... [...].

- Ms. E has an abbreviated version of the protasis.
- The unread signs in the lines of ms. B need to be collated with the original manuscript.
- On the verbs *uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* and DU₈ see the commentaries on §22.46' above.
- ilu qāssu* in the apodosis might be a variant of the apodosis *qāt ili ikaššassu* “(the disease) ‘hand of the god’ will take hold of him” (see §22.15, comment (b)).

§ 22-C18 (§22.47')

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 22)

- W1 22c : UR₅-*ta* : šu-*a-tú*
- W2 9c' : 'UR₅'-*ta* <:> šu-*a-tú*

UR₅-*ta* : šuātu

(The signs) UR₅-*ta* (mean) “that.”

§22.48'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.49)

- B 57' [DIŠ MUŠ] GÚ NA NIGIN-*ma ina* KI.KAL DU₈-šú NA B[I ...]
- E₁ r. 4' DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN-*ma ina* K[I.KAL ...]
- Ex2₂ 1' [... G]Ú [...]

DIŠ MUŠ GÚ NA NIGIN-*ma ina* KI.KAL DU₈-šú NA B[I ...]

šumma šēru kišād amēli ilmīma ina dannati ipṭuršu amēlū š[ū ...]

If a snake encircles a man's neck and he gets rid of it with difficulty – th[at] man [...].

- The translation of *ina dannati ipṭuršu* follows Jiménez's (2014) translation of the commentary §22-C19 (see below). Freedman translates “releases him with difficulty” (*If a City 2*, p. 15, *22.49).

W1 22d-23a : *ina* KI.KAL DU₈-šú / [aš-šum] šá ma-diš *ina muḥ-ḥi-šú i-ku-šú*

W2 9d'-10a' : *ina* KI.KAL DU₈-[šú] / [aš]-šum šá ma-diš *ina muḥ-ḥi-šú i-ku-šú*

ina dannati ipṭuršu / [aš]šum ša mādiš *ina muḥḥišu ikūšu*

“He gets rid of it (the snake) with difficulty” (is said) on account of (the snake) that lingers for a long time on top of him.

§ 22.49'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.50)

B 58'-59' [DIŠ MUŠ] *ina* UGU NA GAR-*ma* NU ZU *iq-bu-šum-m[a ...]* / [0] 'ana' ḤABRUD ŠUB NA GAZ-šú NA BI *ina* ka [...]

E₁ r. 5'-6' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU NA GAR-*'ma'* NU [...] / *ana* ḤABRUD ŠUB-*ma* GAZ-šú LÚ B[I ...]

Ex2₂ 2'-3' [DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] UGU NA / [... G]AZ-šú NA BI [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ] *ina* UGU NA GAR-*ma* NU ZU *iq-bu-šum-ma [...]* *ana* ḤABRUD ŠUB NA GAZ-šú NA BI *ina ... [...]*

[šumma šēru] *ina muḥḥi amēli šakinma lā īdi iqbûšumma [...]* *ana ḥurri imqut amēlu idūkšu amēlu šū ina ... [...]*

[If a snake] is placed on top of a man and he does not know (about it), but they tell him [...], it falls into a hole (and) the man kills it – that man [...] in ... [...].

Variant E

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU NA GAR-*ma* NU [ZU *iq-bu-šum-ma ...]* *ana* ḤABRUD ŠUB-*ma* GAZ-šú LÚ B[I *ina ...]*

šumma šēru ina muḥḥi amēli šakinma lā [īdi iqbûšumma ...] *ana ḥurri imqutma idūkšu amēlu š[ū ina ...]*

If a snake is placed on top of a man and he does not [know (about it), but they tell him ...], it falls into a hole and he kills it – th[at] man [... in ...].

a) This is the last omen on the obverse of ms. B (lower edge preserved).

b) We have collated the signs *iq-bu-šum-m[a ...]* at the end of line B 58', where Freedman reads *iq-bu-qu?* x, and we have collated the signs 'ana' ḤABRUD ŠUB in the beginning of line B 59', where Freedman reads x ŠUB (see *If a City* 2, p. 26, *22.50, B58-59).

§22.50'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.51)

- B r. 1-2 [... ḪABRUD].DA *ra-man-šú* [...] / [(...) DINGIR] u LUGAL *ana* MUNUS.SI[G₅ ...] (ruling)
 E₁ r. 7'-8' DIŠ MUŠ TA ḪABRUD.DA *ra-m[an-šú ...]* / (erasure)? [S]AG.DU-*su ra-bat* [...]
 F i 1'-2' [...] ka SAG.DU-s[u ...] / [...] *ana* SIG₅-tì ù NÍG.TUK UŠ.M[EŠ]
 Ex2₂ 4'-5' DIŠ MUŠ TA ḪABRUD *ra-man-[šú ...]* / DINGIR u LUGAL *ana* [...]

DIŠ MUŠ TA ḪABRUD.DA *ra-man-[šú ...]* ... SAG.DU-*su ra-bat* DINGIR u LUGAL *ana* SIG₅-tì ù NÍG.TUK UŠ.M[EŠ]

šumma šēru ištu ḫurri ramān[šu ...] ... qaqqassu rabât ilu u šarru ana damiqtu u būši irredd[û]

If a snake [...] itself[f] from a hole [...] ... its head is big – god and king will be led to well-being and property.

a) Freedman translates the apodosis differently: “god and king will persistently pursue him for goods and wealth” (*If a City 2*, p. 13, *22.51).

§22.51'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.52)

- B r. 3 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-mu-ut* [...]
 E₁ r. 9' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* 'IGI' NA 'i'-*mu-ut* Š[UB-at ...]
 F i 3' [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* IGI NA *i-mut* ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar
 Ex2₂ 6' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI *i-[mu-ut ...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-mu-ut* ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar

šumma šēru ana pān amēli imūt maqāt bēl dabābišu immar

If a snake dies in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

§22.52'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.53)

- B r. 4 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *it-ta-pa-[aš ...]*
 E₁ r. 10' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* 'IGI' NA *it-ta-pa-aš* EN INIM-[šú ...]
 F i 4' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA *it-ta-pa-aš* EN INIM-šú GAZ-ak
 Ex2₂ 7' [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *it-[ta-pa-aš ...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *it-ta-pa-aš* EN INIM-šú GAZ-ak

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ittapas bēl dabābišu idāk

If a snake is pushed down in front of a man – he will kill his adversary.

a) The verb in the apodosis could also be interpreted as a passive, *bēl dabābišu iddāk* “his adversary will be killed.”

§22.53'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.54)

B r. 5 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA i[z-qu-up ...]
 F i 5' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA iz-qu-up mi-lúm u ki-šit-ti ŠU
 Ex22 8' [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* IGI NA iz-q[u-up ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA iz-qu-up mi-lúm u ki-šit-ti ŠU

šumma šēru ana pān amēli izqup mīlum u kišitti qāti

If a snake rears up in front of a man – (there will be) flooding and conquest.

a) Ms. E₁ omits this omen.

b) It does not seem necessary to argue that *mi-lúm u ki-šit-ti* ŠU in ms. F is a scribal mistake for the idiom *lītu u kišitti qāti* “victory and booty” (CAD L, pp. 221-22), influenced by *mi-lúm ana* KUR in the following line of ms. F, line F i 6' (§22.36) (see *If a City 2*, p. 16, n. 54-55; see DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA iz-qu-up lit!-ti!(*mi-lum*₂) u ki-šit-ti ŠU, *If a City 2*, p. 27, *22.54).

For *kišitti qāti*, see also §22.49 below which has the apodosis KUR-ti ŠU LUGAL, *kišitti qāt šarri*.

§22.54'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.55)

B r. 6 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA D[U.ME]Š? [...]
 E₁ r. 11' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA DU.DU mi-lúm ana K[UR]
 F i 6' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA DU.DU mi-lúm

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA DU.DU mi-lúm

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ittallak mīlum

If a snake crawls around in front of a man – flooding.

Variant E

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA DU.DU mi-lúm ana K[UR]

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ittallak mīlum ana m[āti]

If a snake crawls around in front of a man – (there will be) flooding for the I[and].

a) Traces of a sign are visible in line B r. 6 before it breaks: they could be the horizontal wedges of MEŠ.

b) Ms. F is chosen as the main variant over ms. E, because the latter shows many inconsistencies with respect to the other manuscripts.

§22.55'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.56)

B r. 7 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA K[AŠ₄-um KUR-ád] Á.Á[Š]
 F i 7' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA KAŠ₄-um KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ
 Ex22 9' [... IG]I NA KAŠ₄ [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA KAŠ₄-um KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ilsum kašād šibûti

If a snake is speeding in front of a man – (he will be) granted a wish.

a) Ms. E omits this omen.

b) The head of a vertical wedge is visible within the lacuna in line B r. 7, but it cannot be associated with any sign.

c) The apodosis *kašād šibûti* literally translates to “attainment of a wish.” Konjugated forms of *kašādu* with *šibûtu* mean “to obtain a wish” (CAD K, p. 278-279, f), on which we base our translation of the status constructus with the genitive there is no English translation for *kašād šibûti* in CAD S, p. 170, where it is listed.

§22.56'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.57)

B r. 8 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [GUB-iz KUR-t]i ŠU LUGAL

E₁ r. 12' DIŠ 'MUŠ' *ana* IGI NA GUB-iz KUR-ti ŠU LU[GAL]

F i 8' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA GUB-iz KUR'-ti'_(copy: MUŠ) ŠU 'LUGAL'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA GUB-iz KUR-ti ŠU LUGAL

šumma šēru ana pān amēli izziz kišitti qāt šarri

If a snake stands in front of a man – (there will be) a conquest by the king's hand.

a) The sign KUR in line F i 8' was confused by Gurney and Hulin (1964) in the STT copy for the first part of MUŠ, the sign TI for the second part, as the signs are very similar. See *If a City* 2, p. 27, *22.57.

§22.57'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.58)

B r. 9 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [im-šur t]e-šu-ú

E₁ r. 13' 'DIŠ' 'MUŠ' *ana* IGI NA im-šur te-šú-[ú]

F i 9' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA im-šur te-šu-ú

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA im-šur te-šu-ú

šumma šēru ana pān amēli imšur tēšû

If a snake strides about in front of a man – (there will be) chaos.

a) The commentary §22-C20 (see below) equates *imšur* with *imšur* and *illik*.

W1 23b : *im-šur : im-šur : il-lik*W2 10b' : *im-šur : im-šur : il-lik**imšur : imšur : illik*

“It strides about” (means) “it drags (across the ground)” (which means) “it walks.”

§22.57a'

E₁ r. 14' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *ip-ta-na-[rik² ...]*DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *ip-ta-na-[rik² ...]**šumma šēru ana pān amēli iptana[rrik² ...]*If a snake continually obstr[ucts² a man's path² ...].

- a) Ms. E has an additional omen between §22.57' and §22.58' (see *If a City 2*, p. 16, n. 58, where Freedman reads DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *ip-ta-na-[...]*, no translation). Based on parallels, we reconstruct the verb of the protasis as *iptanarrik* (see e.g. §23.12).

§22.58'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.59)B r. 10 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [GIL.MEŠ] DU₁₄ UŠ.MEŠ-šúE₁ r. 15' DIŠ MUŠ.MEŠ [*ana*] 'IGI' NA GIL.MEŠ DU₁₄ U[Š.MEŠ-šú]F i 10' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA GIL.MEŠ DU₁₄ UŠ.MEŠ-šúEx2₂ 10' [...] *ana* IGI NA GI[L.MEŠ ...]DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA GIL.MEŠ DU₁₄ UŠ.MEŠ-šú*šumma šēru ana pān amēli itegger šāltu irteneddīšu*

If a snake repeatedly intertwines in front of a man – strife will constantly pursue him.

Variant EDIŠ MUŠ.MEŠ [*ana*] IGI NA GIL.MEŠ DU₁₄ U[Š.MEŠ-šú]*šumma šērū [ana] pān amēli itgurū šāltu irteneddīšu*

If snakes intertwine [in] front of a man – strife will constantly pursue him.

- a) The main variant of the protasis has a singular subject *šēru* and a Gtn-verb marked by the plural marker MEŠ, *itegger* (GIL.MEŠ). The same verbal form is used in ms. E, but the subject is plural, *šērū* “snakes” (MUŠ.MEŠ).

- b) Ms. E₁ has several blank lines after this omen in the sequence, omitting §§22.59'-63'.

§ 22.59'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.60)

B r. 11 [... *kit-pu*]-*lu ina-an-zīq*
F i 11' [...] *ana IGI NA kit-pu-lu ina-an-zīq*
Ex2₂ 11' [...] NA [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ] *ana IGI NA kit-pu-lu ina-an-zīq*

[*šumma šērū*] *ana pān amēli kitpulū inazziq*

[If snakes] are entwined in front of a man – he will worry.

§ 22.60'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.61)

B r. 12 [...] NA *i-t[ak]-kal ZI-bu kaš-du*
F i 12' [...] *ana IGI NA i-tak-kal [Z]I-bu kaš-du*

[DIŠ MUŠ] *ana IGI NA i-tak-kal ZI-bu kaš-du*

[*šumma šēru*] *ana pān amēli itakkal tību kašdu*

[If a snake] eats itself in front of a man – an heavy attack (will occur).

a) In §23.23, the protasis “If a snake eats itself” is expressed by *šumma šēru ramānšu ikkal*.

§ 22-C21 (§22.60')

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 23-24)

W1 23c-24a : *i-tak-kal* : DU.DU : *it-ku-lu* / [DU]. 'DU' : *mit-ḥu-šu*
W2 10c'-11a' : *i-tak-kal* : DU.DU : *it-ku-lu* / DU.DU : *mit-ḥu-šu*

itakkal : DU.DU : *itkulu* / DU.DU : *mitḥušu*

“It eats itself” (can be written) DU.DU (which means) “to eat oneself,” DU.DU (also means) “to fight with each other.”

§ 22.61'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.62)

B r. 13 [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana IGI NA iz-zi-iq LÚ BI NÍG.GA-šú GU₇*
F i 13' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana IG[I N]A [iz]-zi-[iq LÚ BI NÍG.G]A-šú GU₇*

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana IGI NA iz-zi-iq LÚ BI NÍG.GA-šú GU₇*

[*šumma*] *šēru ana pān amēli izziq amēlu šū makkūršu ikkal*

[If] a snake hisses in front of a man – that man will consume his property.

§ 22.62'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.63)

B r. 14 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *il-pu-ta mim-ma ma-la i-kap-pu-du i-man-gar*
 F i 14' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i[l-pu-ta mim-ma ma-la i-ka]p-pu-du i-man-gar*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *il-pu-ta mim-ma ma-la i-kap-pu-du i-man-gar*

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ilputa mimma mala ikappudu imaggar

If a snake strikes in front of a man – whatever he is planning will work out.

- a) For the interpretation of *il-pu-ta*, we follow *If a City 2*, p. 17, *22.63.
- b) This omen display a phonetic association between *ilputa* in the protasis and *ikappudu* in the apodosis. Furthermore, there is a phonetic association between *imaggar* in the apodosis of this omen and *igam-mar* in the apodosis of the next omen, §22.63'. It can also be argued that §22.61' and §22.63' are tied together by having *makkūršu* in the apodosis and the phonetically associated *ikkal – illak* as the verbs of the apodosis.

§ 22.63'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.64)

B r. 15 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *sa-dir* NA BI NÍG.GA-šú *i-gam-mar ina* NU DÙG *lib-bi* DU.MEŠ
 F i 15' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *sa-[dir ... i-gam]-mar ina* NU DÙG ŠÀ DU.MEŠ

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *sa-dir* NA BI NÍG.GA-šú *i-gam-mar ina* NU DÙG *lib-bi* DU.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana pān amēli sadir amēlu šū makkūršu iggammar ina lā tūb libbi ittanallak

If a snake continuously appears in front of a man – that man's property will be diminished, he will continuously suffer from unhappiness.

- a) The translation of the protasis follows Freedman, "If a snake regularly appears in front of a man" (*If a City 2*, p. 17, *22.64). Compare the translation in the CAD, "If a snake continuously appears in front of a man" (CAD S, p. 13, *sadāru* 1b 4').
- b) The second apodosis *ina lā tūb libbi ittanallak* also appears in §22.69'. There the Gtn-stem is written with the double writing DU.DU rather than the plural marker DU.MEŠ.

§ 22.64'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.65)

B r. 16 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-li* NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gis-su*
 C r. 1' [... N]A *i-li* NA BI šá-[gi-šú ...]
 E₁ r. 16' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [i]-li NA BI [...]
 F i 16' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-[li* NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gis-[su]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-li* NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gis-su*

šumma šēru ana pān amēli īli amēlu šū šāgišu išaggissu

If a snake goes up in front of a man – that man will be killed by a murderer.

- a) The upper edge of ms. C is broken. In *If a City 2* (p. 28, *22.65, l. C r.1), the line number is not marked with an apostrophe.

§ 22.65'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.66)

B r. 17 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI

C r. 2' [... N]A ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú [IGI]

E₁ r. 17' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* I[GI NA Š]UB-ut ŠUB-[at ...]

F i 17' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [ŠUB-ut ŠUB-a]t [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI

šumma šēru ana pān amēli imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu immar

If a snake falls in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

§ 22.66'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.67)

B r. 18 [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* IGI NA *i-kaš-ša-aš ú-nap-pa-aḥ* NA BI *ina* ̄HĪ.GAR DIB-bat

C r. 3' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-kaš-ša-aš ú-nap-pa-aḥ* NA BI *ina* ̄HĪ.GAR DIB-bat

E₁ r. 18' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA [i]-kaš-ša-a[š ...]

F i 18' [... i]-kaš-ša-a[š ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *i-kaš-ša-aš ú-nap-pa-aḥ* NA BI *ina* ̄HĪ.GAR DAB-bat

šumma šēru ana pān amēli ikaššaš unappaḥ amēlu šū ina bārti iššabbat

If a snake bares its fangs (and) hisses in front of a man – that man will be seized in a rebellion.

- a) The translation follows *If a City 2* (p. 17, *22.67).

§ 22.67'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.68)

B r. 19 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana*] IGI NA GIM MUŠEN URU.̄HUL.A.MUŠEN GÙ-si BALA ̄U.GUR ZI-bu KUR.MEŠ
̄HUL IGI.MEŠ

C r. 4' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA GIM MUŠEN URU.̄HUL.A.MUŠEN GÙ-si BALA ̄U.GUR ZI-bu KUR.MEŠ
̄HUL IGI.MEŠ

E₁ r. 19' 'DIŠ' [MUŠ ... UR]U.̄HUL.[A.MUŠEN ...]

F i 19' [... MU]ŠEN URU.̄HUL.[A.MUŠEN ...] ̄HUL IGI.M[EŠ]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA GIM MUŠEN URU.ḪUL.A^{mušen} GÙ-si BALA ^dU.GUR ZI-bu KUR.MEŠ ḪUL
IGI.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana pān amēli kīma iṣṣūri qadī issi palē Nergal tību mātātu lemutta immarā

If a snake cries out like a bird (or) an owl – reign of Nergal, an attack (will occur), the lands will experience evil.

a) “Reign of Nergal” might be a metaphor for the plague, Nergal being the plague god (see Wiggermann 1998-2001a).

b) The translation of the protasis in *If a City* does not take into account the first mušen (*If a City* 2, p. 17, *22.68).

§ 22.68'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.69)

B r. 20 [DIŠ MUŠ *a*]na IGI NA *in-na-dir-ma i-ram-mu-um u* EME-šú È.MEŠ-*a* NA BI DAB-bat-ma GAZ
C r. 5' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *in-na-dir-ma i-ram-mu-um u* EME-šú È.MEŠ-*a* NA BI DAB-bat-ma GAZ
F i 20' [... *in*]-*na-d*[*ir-ma i-ram-mu-u*]*m u* EME-šú È.MEŠ NA BI DAB-ma GAZ
Ex2₁ 1'-2' [DIŠ MUŠ *an*]a I[GI [...] / [...] 'x' [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI NA *in-na-dir-ma i-ram-mu-um u* EME-šú È.MEŠ-*a* NA BI DAB-bat-ma GAZ

šumma šēru ana pān amēli innadirma irammum u lišānīšu uštēneṣṣā amēlu šū iṣṣabbatma iddāk

If a snake goes wild in front of a man and roars and continuously lets its tongues shoot out – that man will be seized and killed.

§ 22.69'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.70)

B r. 21 [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* IGI 15 NA ŠUB-*ut* ŠUB-*at* EN INIM-šú *ina* NU DÙG-*ub lib-bi* DU.DU
C r. 6' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI 15 NA ŠUB-*ut* ŠUB-*at* EN INIM-šú *ina* NU DÙG *lib-bi* DU.DU
F i 21' [... ŠUB]-*at* EN INIM-šú *ina* NU DÙG-*ub* UZU DU.MEŠ
Ex2₁ 3' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI [...] 'x' [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI 15 NA ŠUB-*ut* ŠUB-*at* EN INIM-šú *ina* NU DÙG-*ub lib-bi* DU.DU

šumma šēru ana pān imitti amēli imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu ina lā tūb libbi ittanallak

If a snake falls in front of a man's right side – downfall of his adversary, he will continuously suffer from unhappiness.

Variant F

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI 15 NA ŠUB-*ut* ŠUB]-*at* EN INIM-šú *ina* NU DÙG-*ub* UZU DU.MEŠ

[šumma šēru ana pān imitti amēli imqut maq]āt bēl dabābišu ina lā tūb šīri ittanallak

[If a snake falls in front of a man's right side – downfal]l of his adversary, he will continuously suffer from bad health.

§22.70'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.71)

B r. 22	[DIŠ MUŠ] <i>ana</i> IGI 150 NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
C r. 7'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> IGI 150 NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
F i 22'	[...] KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
Ex2 ₁ 4'	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>ana</i> IGI [...] 'x' [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* IGI 150 NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ

šumma šēru ana pān šumēl amēli imqut kašād šibūti

If a snake falls in front of a man's left side – (he will be) granted a wish.

§22.71'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.72)

B r. 23	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
C r. 8'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> EGIR NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
F i 23'	[...] ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
Ex2 ₁ 5'	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>ana</i> IGI [...] 'x' [...]
Ex4 ₂ 1'	[...] EGIR NA ŠUB-ut [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* EGIR NA ŠUB-ut KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ

šumma šēru ana arki amēli imqut kašād šibūti

If a snake falls onto a man's back – (he will be) granted a wish.

§22.72'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.73)

B r. 24	DIŠ MUŠ [<i>ana</i>] <i>bu-di</i> NA ŠUB-ut <i>mu-kil ku-tal</i> LÚ BA.ÚŠ
C r. 9'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana bu-di</i> NA ŠUB-ut <i>mu-kil ku-tal</i> LÚ BA.ÚŠ
F i 24'	[... N]A ŠUB-ut <i>mu-kil ku-tal-li</i> LÚ ÚŠ
Ex2 ₁ 6'	[DIŠ M]UŠ <i>ana bu-d[i ...]</i>
Ex4 ₂ 2'	[... b] <i>u-di</i> NA ŠUB-ut [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana bu-di* NA ŠUB-ut *mu-kil ku-tal* LÚ BA.ÚŠ

šumma šēru ana būdi amēli imqut mukīl kutal amēli imât

If a snake falls onto a man's shoulder – the man's supporter will die.

- a) There is an associative connection between the mention of the man's shoulder in the protasis and the reference to his supporter in the apodosis. The commentary §22-C22 (see below) also elaborates on this connection.

W1 : DIŠ MUŠ *ana bu-di* NA ŠUB-ut *mu-kil ku-tál-li* NA ÚŠ : *bu-di : ku-tal-la / [mu]-'kil' ku-tál-li* NA : *ku-tal* : MUŠ : ^dMUŠ : *ni-ra-ḫu* : MUŠ ŠU.MIN NU GAR *ma-gal ár-ki*
24b-
25

W2 : DIŠ MUŠ *ana bu-di* NA ŠUB-ut *mu-kil ku-tál-li* NA ÚŠ : *bu-di : ku-tal-la / 'GÚ'. 'ḤAŠ' ' : ' ku-tál-li* NA
11b'- : *ku-tal* MUŠ : ^dMUŠ : *ni-ra-ḫu* : MUŠ ŠU.MIN NU GAR *ma-gal ár-'ki*
12

šumma šēru ana būdi amēli imqut mukīl kutalli amēli imât : būdi : kutalla / [mu]kīl kutalli amēli : kutał : šēru : ^dšēru : *nirāḫu* : *šēru qātī lā šakin magal arki*

(In) “If a snake falls onto a man’s shoulder – the man’s supporter will die,” the “shoulder” (in the protasis) (is connected with) the “back” (in the apodosis). (In) “he who backs up a man,” (the word) “back” (*ku-tal*, understood as *ši₉-ri*) (means) “divine snake” (which is) a “little snake,” (meaning) a snake without hands. There is much after (this).

a) Jiménez (2014, n. 12) cites Ḫar-ra=*hubullu* XIV 9 for the equation MUŠ.^dMUŠ = *nirāḫu*.

b) On *magal arki*, Jiménez (2014, n. 12) notes,

“The last two words could also be considered part of the commentary, and not a paratextual note, as von Weiher’s edition and U. Gabbay (personal communication) propose. It would then mean ‘a thin snake that is very long’ (MUŠ *qāt-nu šá ma-gal ár-ki*).”

This is a very good point as the specification of the snake’s appearance is the main focus of commentary §22-C22.

On the other hand, *magal arki* meaning “there is much after (this omen)” is logical, as §22-C22 is the last commentary on an omen from Tablet 22, for which we, however, can reconstruct nineteen more omens (§§22.73’-91’).

The following lines contain a colophon: 22 DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in* NU AL.TIL (W1 26) // 21 DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in* NU AL.TIL (W2 13’). Note that ms. W1 designates the omens as coming from Tablet 22, ms. W2 from Tablet 21.

B r. 25 DIŠ MUŠ *ana bur-ki* NA ŠUB-ut DUMU.MEŠ-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ
C r. 10’ DIŠ MUŠ *ana bur-ki* NA ŠUB-ut DUMU.MEŠ-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ
F i 25’ [... *bur-k*]i NA ŠUB-ut DUMU.MEŠ-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ
Ex2₁ 7’ [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana bur-k*[i ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana bur-ki* NA ŠUB-ut DUMU.MEŠ-šú ÚŠ.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana burki amēli imqut mārūšu imuttū

If a snake falls onto a man’s knees – his children will die.

§22.74'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.75)

- B r. 26 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA ŠUB-ut lu NÍG.TUK ÚKU lu MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG₅ NA BI is-sal-la- 'a
- C r. 11' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA ŠUB-ut lu NÍG.TUK ÚKU lu MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG₅ NA BI is-sal-la- 'a
- F i 26' [... N]A ŠUB-ut mu-kil ku-tal LÚ ÚŠ
- Ex2₁ 8'-9' [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* UGU [...] / [...] N]A B[I ...]
- Ex4₂ 3' + [... U]GU NA ŠUB-ut lu NÍG.TUK [... is]-sal-la- 'a
- Ex4₁ 1'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA ŠUB-ut lu NÍG.TUK ÚKU lu MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG₅ NA BI is-sal-la- 'a

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli imqut lū šarū ilappin lū muškēnu idammiq amēlu šū issalla 'a

If a snake falls on top of a man – either a rich man will get poor or a commoner will be well, that man will be very ill.

§22.75'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.76)

- B r. 27 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA GU₄.UD-am-ma *ana* KI ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
- C r. 12' [... UG]U NA GU₄.UD-ma *ana* KI ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
- F i 27' [... UG]U NA GU₄.UD-ma *ana* KI ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA GU₄.UD-am-ma *ana* KI ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (lu NÍG.TUK ÚKU lu MAŠ.EN.GAG SIG₅ NA BI is-sal-la- 'a)

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli išḫuṭamma ana erṣeti imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (lū šarū ilappin lū muškēnu idammiq amēlu šū issalla 'a)

If a snake jumps on top of a man and (then) falls to the ground – ditto (either a rich man will get poor or a commoner will be well, that man will be very ill).

§22.76'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.77)

- B r. 28 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU 15 NA ŠUB-ut ZI-bu kaš-du
- C r. 13' [... UG]U 15 NA ŠUB-ut ZI-bu kaš-du
- F i 28' [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* U[GU 15 N]A [ŠU]B-ut ZI-bu kaš-du
- Ex4₂ 4' + [... U]GU 15 NA ŠUB-ut Z[I-bu k]aš-du
- Ex4₁ 2'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU 15 NA ŠUB-ut ZI-bu kaš-du

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi imitti amēli imqut tību kašdu

If a snake falls on top of a man's right side – a heavy attack (will occur).

§22.77'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.78)

- B r. 29 (10) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU 150 NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar
 C r. 14' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU 150 NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar
 F i 29' [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* UG[U 150 NA ŠUB-u]t ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar
 Ex2₁ 10' [DIŠ MU]Š 'ana' 'UGU' '150' NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at 'EN' I[NIM-šú IGI-mar]
 Ex4₂ 5' + [... U]GU 150 NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-[at EN INIM-šú] IGI-mar
 Ex4₁ 3'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU 150 NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šumēl amēli imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu immar

If a snake falls on top of a man's left side – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

§22.78'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.79)

- B r. 30 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-ti ÌR u GÉME
 C r. 15' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-ti ÌR u GÉME
 D r. 1' [... Š]UB-ti [ÌR u GÉ]ME
 E₂ r. 1' [...] x x [...]
 F i 30' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU [GÌR NA ŠUB-u]t ŠUB-ti ÌR u [GÉME]
 Ex2₁ 11' 'DIŠ' 'MUŠ' *ana* 'GÌR' NA [ŠU]B-ut ŠUB-ti Ì[R u GÉME]
 Ex4₂ 6' + [... *ana* U]GU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-[ti Ì]R u GÉME
 Ex4₁ 4'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠUB-ti ÌR u GÉME

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp amēli imqut miqitti ardi u amti

If a snake falls on top of a man's foot – downfall of the male servant and the female servant.

a) Ms. Ex2 omits UGU as a minor variant.

§22.79'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.80)

- B r. 31 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MURGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
 C r. 16' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MURGU GÌR NA ŠUB-ut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
 D r. 2' [... Š]U.BI.AŠ.ÀM
 E₂ r. 2' [... Š]UB-ut ŠU.[BI.AŠ.ÀM]
 F i 31' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU [... ŠU.BI.AŠ.À]M
 Ex4₂ 9' + [... MUR]GU GÌR NA E₁₁ [ŠUB-ti Ì]R u GÉME (ruling)
 Ex4₁ 7'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MURGU GÌR NA ŠUB-*ut* ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (ŠUB-*tì* ÌR *u* GÉME)

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi būd šēp amēli imqut ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (*miqitti ardi u amti*)

If a snake falls on the arch of a man's foot – ditto (downfall of the male servant and the female servant).

a) Freedman suggests reading the sign SIG₄ as MURGU “shoulder.” *būd šēpi* would mean “shoulder of the foot,” referring to the arch of the foot (*If a City* 2, p. 18, n. 80, with reference to CAD Š/2, p. 303, “parts of the foot”).

b) On ms. Ex4, §22.79' is followed by a ruling, after which the manuscript has omens from Tablet 23 (see below). Ex4₂ 8' + Ex4₁ 6' has §22. 80' (see below). Two lines on the left edge of ms. Ex4 (i.e. Ex4₂) are unplaced: [...] ERIM.MEŠ *ana* NA *ik*-[...] / [...] erim LÚ UŠ DIŠ' [...] (Ex4₂ left ed. 1-2). Freedman reads, [...] *gar* MEŠ *ana* NA *ik*-[...] / [...] erim LU₂ *uš*-[...] (*If a City* 2, p. 18, n. 80).

§22.80'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.81)

B r. 32 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA E₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

C r. 17' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA E₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

D r. 3' [... šá-g]i-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

E₂ r. 3' [...] NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-ša*[g-gi-is-su]

F i 32' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA E₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

Ex2₁ 12' 'DIŠ' [MUŠ] 'ana' UG[U NA] E₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-[š]u *i-šag-gi-is-su*

Ex4₂ 8' + [... U]GU NA E₁₁ NA BI [šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

Ex4₁ 6'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NA E₁₁ NA BI šá-gi-šú *i-šag-gi-is-su*

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli īli amēlu šū šāgišu išaggissu

If a snake climbs up on top of a man – a murderer will kill that man.

§22.81'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.82)

B r. 33-34 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA E₁₁ TIL *u₄-mi* NA BI DUGUD-*ma e-ki-a-am še-am lut-bu-uk / e-ki-a-am še-am lut-bu-uk e-ki-a-am* KÙ.BABBAR GAR-un GÛ-si

C r. 18'-19' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA E₁₁ TIL *u₄-mi* NA BI DUGUD-*ma / e-ki-a-am še-am lut-bu-uk / e-ki-a-am še-am lut-bu-uk e-ki-a-am* KÙ.BABBAR GAR-un GÛ-si

D r. 4' [... *u₄-m*]i NA BI DUGUD-[*ma ...*]

E₂ r. 4' [...] E₁₁TIL *u₄-mi* DUGUD-*ma e-ki-a-a*[*m ...*]

F ii 1-2 [... DUGUD-*m*]a *e-ki-a-a*[*am ...*] / [...] K]Ù.BABBAR GAR-un G[Û.G]Û-si

Ex2₁ 13'-14' 'DIŠ' [MU]Š [*ana* UGU G]ÌR NA E₁₁ TIL *u₄-mi* NA BI DUGUD-*ma e-ki-a-a*[*m ...*] / [...] KÙ.BABBAR GAR-un G[Û-si]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA E₁₁ TIL *u₄-mi* NA BI DUGUD-*ma e-ki-a-am še-am lut-bu-uk e-ki-a-am e-ki-a-am* KÙ.BABBAR GAR-un GÙ-*si*

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp amēli īli qīt ūmī amēlu šū ikabbitma ēkī'am še'am lutbuk ēkī'am kaspaluškun issi

If a snake climbs up on top of a man's foot – end of days, that man will become so rich and will cry, "Where shall I store the grain, where shall I put the silver?"

Variant F

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GÌR NA E₁₁ TIL *u₄-mi* NA BI DUGUD-*m*]a *e-ki-a-[am še-am lut-bu-uk e-ki-a-am e-ki-a-am* K]Ù.BABBAR GAR-un G[Ù.G]Ù-*si*

[*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šēp amēli īli qīt ūmī amēlu šū ikabbitm*]a *ēkī'a[m še'am lutbuk ēkī'am k]*aspa luškun iš[*tan*]assi

If a snake climbs up on top of a man's foot – end of days, that man will become so rich and will continuously cry, "Where shall I store the grain, where shall I put the silver?"

§ 22.82'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.83)

B r. 35 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* ŠUB-*ma ú-gal-lit-su* TUR.DIŠ BI DINGIR TUK-*ši TI-uṭ*

C r. 20' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* ŠUB-*ma ú-gal-lit-su* TUR.DIŠ BI DINGIR TUK-*ši TI-uṭ*

E₂ r. 5' [... TU]R.[DI]Š *la-ki-i* ŠUB-*ma ú-gal-lit-su* TUR.DIŠ B[I ...]

F ii 3 [... *la-ke*]-*e* ŠUB-*ma ú-gal-lit-s[u ... T]*I-*uṭ*

Ex₂₁ 15' [DIŠ MU]Š '*ana*' 'UGU' T[UR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* ŠU]B-*ma ú-gal-lit-su* 'TUR'. 'DIŠ' BI DINGIR [TUK TI-*uṭ*]

Ex₄₂ 13' (+) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* ŠUB-[*ma ... TU*]K-*ši TI-uṭ*
Ex₄₁ 11'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* ŠUB-*ma ú-gal-lit-su* TUR.DIŠ BI DINGIR TUK-*ši TI-uṭ*

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri lakê imqutma ugallissu šerru šū ila irašši iballuṭ

If a snake falls on top of a suckling baby and scares it – that baby will have a (personal) god, it will survive.

§ 22.83'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.84)

- B r. 36-37 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK-ši NÍG.TUK / : AD-šú *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK IGI.MEŠ
- C r. 21' DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK-ši NÍG.TUK : AD-šú *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK IGI.MEŠ
- E₂ r. 6' [... TU]R.DIŠ *la-ki-i* NÁ-*iš* *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK NÍG.TUK KI.MIN A[D ...]
- F ii 4-5 [... *la-k*]i-i NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA [...] / [...]AMA-šú Á.TUK [IGI].MEŠ
- Ex₂₁ r. 1-2 'DIŠ' MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ [*la*]-*ki-i* NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK-ši / KI.MIN AD-[šú] *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK-šú IGI.[MEŠ]
- Ex₄₂ 14' (+) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* U[G]U TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* N[Á-*iš* ...] AD-šú *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK IGI.MEŠ
Ex₄₁ 12'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ke-e* NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK-ši NÍG.TUK : AD-šú *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK IGI.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri lakê irbiš amēlu šū lū zikru lū sinnišu šuma irašši išarru : abūšu u ummašu nēmela immarū

If a snake lies down on top of a suckling baby – that baby (lit. that man), whether male or female, will acquire fame, he/she will be wealthy : his father and mother will see profit.

Variant E

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TU]R.DIŠ *la-ki-i* NÁ-*iš* *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK NÍG.TUK
KI.MIN A[D-šú *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK IGI.MEŠ]

[*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri*] *lakê irbiš lū zikru lū sinnišu šuma irašši*

KI.MIN *ab[ūšu u ummašu nēmela immarū]*

[If a snake lies down on top of] a suckling [ba]by – whether male or female, he/she will acquire fame.

Ditto – his father and mother will see profit.

Variant Ex2

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ [*la*]-*ki-i* NÁ-*iš* NA BI *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS MU TUK-ši
KI.MIN AD-[šú] *u* AMA-šú Á.TUK-šú IGI.[MEŠ]

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri [*la*]*kê irbiš amēlu šū lū zikru lū sinnišu šuma irašši*

KI.MIN *abū[šu] u ummašu nēmelašu immar[ū]*

If a snake lies down on top of a [su]ckling baby – that baby (lit. that man), whether male or female, will acquire fame.

Ditto – his father and mother will see profit.

- a) The protasis describes a baby's encounter with a snake, but the apodosis's subject is "that man." On the other hand, the apodoses of §22.82' and §22.84' have *šerru šū* "that baby." We generally assume that "that man" stands for a male private citizen. This attestation in §22.83', however, contradicts this idea, as a baby of either gender is not a "male citizen." Muller (2016, p. 431) suggests that *amēlu* in divinatory texts stands for "somebody, anybody," meaning it is a generic masculinum, and women are only specified when it does *not* apply to men. She bases this interpretation on the therapeutic texts, which use the generic *awīlum* for general pathologies (which also women can be affected by), but *sinništu* for gynaecological problems. Freedman (*If a City* 2, p. 18, n. 84) also argues that, at least in this omen, NA BI refers to a person in general. An additional explanation, especially in the light of the apodoses in the following omens starting with *šerru šū*, could be that the scribe of the omen was so used to introducing the apodoses by NA BI that he overlooked the specific context of this omen. The variant in ms. E₂ of §22.83' omits NA BI altogether.
- b) The main variant has a double apodosis divided by a *Glossenkeil*; Ex2 has two separate apodoses divided by KI.MIN. Furthermore, the first apodosis in ms. Ex2 omits NÍG.TUK, the second apodosis has Á.TUK-šú instead of Á.TUK.
- c) Ms. E₂ also has KI.MIN instead of a *Glossenkeil*. Furthermore, ms. E₂ omits NA BI and has a small orthographic variant (MU TUK instead of MU TUK-ši).
- d) Not the variants *la-ke-e* (§22.82'; §22.83', mss. B, C, Ex4), *la-ki-i* (§22.83', mss. F, Ex2; §22.84', mss. B, C, F), and *la-a'-i* (§22.84', ms. Ex2).

§22.84'

(see *If a City* 2, *22.85)

B r. 38	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ki-i</i> ŠUB- <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> ú- <i>gal-lit-su</i> TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI-šú
C r. 22'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ki-i</i> ŠUB- <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> ú- <i>gal-lit-su</i> TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI-šú
E ₂ r. 7'	[...] <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ki-i</i> ŠUB- <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> ú- <i>gal-li</i> [<i>t-su</i> ...] (ruling)
F ii 6-7	[...] UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-ki-i</i> ŠUB- <i>ma</i> [NÁ- <i>iš</i> / [ú- <i>gal-lit-s</i>]u TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI- <i>qí</i>
Ex2 ₁ r. 3-4	DIŠ MUŠ <<AN MUŠ>>' <i>ana</i> UGU TUR.DIŠ <i>la-a'-i</i> ŠUB- <i>ma</i> NÁ- <i>iš</i> ú- <i>gal-lit-su</i> / TUR.DIŠ 'BI' KÚR T[I- <i>qí</i>] (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ki-i* ŠUB-*ma* NÁ-*iš* ú-*gal-lit-su* TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI-šú

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi šerri lakî imqutma irbiš ugallissu šerru šū nakru ileqqīšu

If a snake falls on top of a suckling baby and lies down (and) scares it – an enemy will take that baby.

Variant F/Ex2

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana*] UGU TUR.DIŠ *la-ki-i* ŠUB-*ma* [NÁ-*iš* [ú-*gal-lit-s*]u TUR.DIŠ BI KÚR TI-*qí*

[*šumma šēru ana*] *muḥḥi šerri lakî imqutma* [irb]i_š [ugalliss]u *šerru šū nakru ileqqe*

[If a snake falls on] top of a suckling baby and [lie]s down (and) [scares i]t – an enemy will take that baby.

- a) The signs AN MUŠ in ms. Ex2 are superfluous according to the parallels.

- B r. 39 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA-ma TI-ut
 C r. 23' [... G]IG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA-ma TI-ut
 E₂ r. 8' [...] GIG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA-ma TI-[ut]
 F ii 8 [...] GIG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA TI-ut
 Ex2₁ r. 5 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UG[U GI]G ŠUB-ut GIG-su G[ÍD.DA-ma TI-ut]
 Ex4₂ 15' (+) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG ŠUB-u[t ...] TI-ut
 Ex4₁ 13'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD.DA-ma TI-ut

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši imqut murussu irrikma iballuṭ

If a snake falls on top of an ill man – his illness will be long, but he will survive.

- a) A 3439 (ms. A in Heeßel 2001/2002), BM 76022 (ms. B in *ibid.*), and BM 68460+ (ms. E in *ibid.*) are manuscripts of the diagnostic series *sakikkû* (SA.GIG) “symptoms,” also known as *Enūma ana bīt marši āšipu illaku* “When an exorcist enters a sick man’s house.”²²⁶ Tablet 2 contains several animal omens,²²⁷ among them twelve snake omens (SA.GIG, Tablet 2, omens 19-30)²²⁸ with parallels in Tablet 22 of *Šumma ālu*. A number of them are close parallels:

SA GIG, Tablet 2

- 19 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU ^{giš}NÁ GIG ŠUB-ut GIG BI AL.TI
šumma šēru ana muḥḥi erši marši imqut maršu šū iballuṭ
 If a snake falls on top of an ill man’s bed – that ill man will survive.
- 20 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG ŠUB-ut *ana* U₄ 3-KÁM BA.ÚŠ
šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši imqut ana U₄ 3-KÁM imât
 If a snake falls on top of an ill man – he will die after three days.
- 21 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG ŠUB.ŠUB-ut GIG-su GÍD-ma AL.TI²²⁹ // §22.85'
šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši imtaqqut murussu irrikma iballuṭ
 If a snake continuously falls on top of an ill man – his illness will be long, but he will survive.
- 22 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-su GÍD.DA ŠUB-ut GIG-su ŠUB-šú // §22.87'
šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša murussu irriku imqut murussu inaddišu
 If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness has been dragging on – his illness will throw him down.²³⁰
- 23 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá u₄-mi ma-a'-du-ti GIG ŠUB GIG BI TI-ma TI GIG²³¹ // §22.88'
šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša ūmī ma 'dūti marši imqut maršu šū iballuṭma balṭu imarruṣ

²²⁶ Editions in Labat 1951; Heeßel 2000; Heeßel 2001/2002.

²²⁷ See Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 25 for a list of the animals.

²²⁸ Heeßel 2001/2002, pp. 31 (scores), 38 (translation), 42 (comments); Labat 1951, pp. 8-11.

²²⁹ BM 76022 has a variant in the apodosis, GIG-su GÍD-ma TIN (see §22.85'; Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 31, l. B 21).

²³⁰ The apodosis is different in the parallel, compare *murussu izzibšu* „his illness will leave him“ in §22.87'.

²³¹ BM 76022 has a variant in the apodosis, GIG BI TI-ma TIN GIG (see Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 31, l. B 23).

If a snake falls on top of an ill man who has been ill for many days – that ill man will survive, but as a survivor he will fall ill.²³²

- 24 DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU GIG šá GIG-su DUGUD ŠUB-ut GIG BI GIG ina SU-šú DU₈-ma // §22.89’
i-pa-áš-šaḥ²³³

*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša murussu kabtu imqut maršu šū murussu ina zumrišu
ippaṭṭarma ipaššaḥ*

If a snake falls on top of an ill man whose illness is difficult – that ill man’s illness will be removed from his body and he will calm down.

- 25 DIŠ MUŠ ana SAG GIG ŠUB-ut ina U₄ UR₅-ta BA.ÚŠ // §22.86’

šumma šēru ana qaqqad marši imqut ina ūmi šuāti imât

If a snake falls on an ill man’s head – he will die on that day.

: DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG GIG GUB.ME-az AZAG DINGIR-šú u DINGIR URU-šú GU₇ MU-ma
ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina qaqqad marši ittanazzaz asak ilišu u ili ālišu ikkal šattamma imât

If a snake is always standing upright on an ill man’s head – he will breach the taboo of his god and his city’s god, he will die in that year.

- 26 DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG GIG ina 15 GUB.ME-az a-ra-an-šú DU₈ ZI-bi // §22.91’

šumma šēru ina qaqqad marši ina imitti ittanazzaz arānšu ippaṭṭar itebbi

If a snake is always standing upright to the right on an ill man’s head – his sin will be dispelled, he will get up.

- 27 DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG GIG ina 150 GUB.ME-az AZAG DINGIR-šú u DINGIR URU-šú Ì.GU₇ // §22.90’

šumma šēru ina qaqqad marši ina šumēli ittanazzaz asak ilišu u ili ālišu ikkal

If a snake is always standing upright to the left on an ill man’s head – he will breach the taboo of his god and his city’s god.

- 28 DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG ^{giš}NÁ-šu ŠUB-ma ana BÙR-ši KU₄-ub BA.ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina qaqqad eršišu imqutma ana pilši īrub imât

If a snake falls on his bed’s head end and enters into a breach – he will die.

- 29 DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG-šú iṣ-lal AZAG DINGIR-šú u DINGIR URU-šú Ì.GU₇

šumma šēru ina qaqqassu iṣlal asak ilišu u ili ālišu ikkal

If a snake sleeps on his head – he will breach the taboo of his god and his city’s god.²³⁴

- 30 DIŠ MUŠ ina ÚR-šú iṣ-lal BA.ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina sūnšu iṣlal imât

If a snake sleeps in his lap – he will die.

: DIŠ MUŠ ZÚ.KUD-šú BA.ÚŠ (ruling)

šumma šēru iššikšu imât

If a snake bites him – he will die.

²³² The apodosis in §22.88’ is different.

²³³ BM 76022 has an orthographic variant, SED for i-pa-áš-šaḥ (see Heeßel 2001-2002b, p. 31, l. B 24).

²³⁴ Heeßel translates the protasis differently, “Wenn eine Schlange ihm gegenüber schläft” (Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 38, l. 29). We interpret the sequence as §28 specifying the place as the head end of the bed, §29 associating the head end with the head of the man, specifying the man’s head, though without reference to the man himself – it could also be that the protasis specifies that the snake sleeps (instead of falls) on the bed’s head end –, but §30 specifies the man’s lap as the bodypart where the snake is sleeping.

- b) On the variant of ŠUB.ŠUB-*ut* for ŠUB-*ut*, Heeßel (2001-2002b, p. 42, n. 35) cites Kouwenberg 1997, pp. 84-85, and Heeßel 2000, p. 23, n. 28.
- c) Ms. F has a small variant, omitting the conjunction -*ma* in the apodosis.

§22.86'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.87)

B r. 40 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* SAG GIG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-mi UR₅-ta* ÚŠ
 C r. 24' [... G]IG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-mi UR₅-ta* Ú[Š]
 E₂ r. 9' [...] GIG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-mi UR₅-ta* [ÚŠ]
 F ii 9 [...] GIG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-[mi U]R₅-ta* BA.ÚŠ
 Ex2₁ r. 6 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* SAG GIG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-[mi ...]*
 Ex4₂ 16' (+) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* SAG GI[G ... UR₅-t]a ÚŠ
 Ex4₁ 14'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* SAG GIG ŠUB-*ut ina u₄-mi UR₅-ta* ÚŠ

šumma šēru ana qaqqad marši imqut ina ūmi šuāti imât

If a snake falls on an sick man's head – he will die that same day.

§22.87'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.88)

B r. 41 (10) DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-*su GÍD.DA* [ŠUB]-*ut GIG-su TAG₄-šú*
 C r. 25' [... G]IG šá GIG-*su GÍD.DA* ŠUB-*ut GIG-su* [TAG₄-šú]
 E₂ r. 10' [...] 'GIG' 'šá' GIG-*su GÍD.DA* ŠUB-*ut GIG-su* TAG₄-[šú]
 F ii 10 [...] GIG šá GIG-*su GÍD.DA* ŠUB-*ut GIG-su* TAG₄-šú
 Ex4₂ 17' (+) [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* [... T]AG₄-šú
 Ex4₁ 15'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-*su GÍD.DA* ŠUB-*ut GIG-su* TAG₄-šú

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša marussu irriku imqut murussu izzibšu

If a snake falls on top of a sick man whose illness has been dragging on – his sickness will leave him.

- a) Line E₂ 10' has been newly placed. The edition of *If a City 2* did not include the new join to ms. E₂. From ms. E₂, Freedman places [... U]GU G[IG ...] (*If a City 2*, p. 32, *22.88, e₂ r.1) in this omen.
- b) §22.87' parallels SA.GIG Tablet 2, 22 (Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 31, see above).

Note the similarity between §22.87' // SA.GIG Tablet 2, 22 and our §23.3, [*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi am*]ēli ša dīna ge[rûm]a dīnšu īriku imqut dīnšu iggammar "[If a snake falls on top of a m]an who is lit[igating, bu]t his lawsuit is already dragging on – [his lawsuit] will be settled." In fact the whole sequence of §§22.85'-87' can be compared to §§23.1-3.

Heeßel translates the apodosis of SA.GIG Tablet 2, 22 (§22.87'), GIG-*su* ŠUB-šú, as "Seine Krankheit wird ihn niederwerfen" (Heeßel 2001/2002, p. 38, l. 22). In concordance with the apodosis of

§22.87', "his sickness will leave him," an interpretation of *murussu innaddīšu* as "his sickness will be thrown (away) from him" is also possible.

§22.88'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.89)

- B r. 42-43 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá UD.MEŠ *ma- 'a-du-ti* [GI]G ŠUB-ut / GIG BI [T]I.LA-*ma* TI.LA *ur-rak*
 C r. 26' [... U]D.MEŠ *ma- 'a-du-ti* GIG ŠUB-ut / GIG B[I ...]
 E₂ r. 11' [... U]GU GI[G ...] *ma- 'a-du-ti* GIG ŠUB-ut GIG BI T[I.LA-*ma* ...]
 F ii 11-12 [...] GIG šá UD.MEŠ *ma-a-du-ti* GIG ŠUB-[ut] / [GIG BI] TI-*ma* TI.LA [*ur-rak*]
 Ex2₁ r. 7-8 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá UD.MEŠ *ma- 'a-[du-ti ...]* / GIG BI TI-*ma* [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá UD.MEŠ *ma- 'a-du-ti* GIG ŠUB-ut GIG BI TI.LA-*ma* TI.LA *ur-rak*

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša ūmī ma 'dūti maršu imqut maršu šū iballuṭma balāṭa urrak

If a snake falls on top of a sick man who has been sick for many days – that sick person will recover and he will attain a long life.

§22.89'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.90)

- B r. 44-45 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-su D[UG]UD ŠUB-ut / GIG BI GIG-[su] *ina* SU-šú DU₈-*ma i-pa-áš-šaḥ*
 C r. 27' [... GIG-s]u DUGUD ŠUB-ut GIG BI GIG-su [...]
 E₂ r. 12' [... U]GU GI[G ...] (traces) GIG-[su] *ina* SU-šú D[U₈-*ma* ...]
 F ii 13-14 [...] GIG šá GIG-su DU[GUD ...] / [...] DU₈-*ma* [...]
 Ex2₁ r. 9-10 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-su D[UGUD ...] / GIG-s[u] *ina* SU-šú DU₈-*ma* [...]
 Ex4₁ 16' [... ŠU]-šú DU₈-*ma i-pa-áš-šaḥ*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU GIG šá GIG-su DUGUD ŠUB-ut GIG BI GIG-su *ina* SU-šú DU₈-*ma i-pa-áš-šaḥ*

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi marši ša murussu kabtu imqut maršu šū murussu ina zumrišu ippaṭṭarma ipaššaḥ

If a snake falls on top of a sick man whose sickness is difficult – that sick man's sickness will be removed from his body and he will calm down.

§22.90'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.91)

B r. 46	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> SAG GIG <i>ana</i> 150 [GUB.MEŠ]- <i>az</i> NA BI AZAG [...] URU-šú G[U ₇]
C r. 28'	[... GUB.MEŠ]- <i>az</i> NA BI [...]
E ₂ r. 14'	[... S]AG GIG <i>ana</i> GÙ[B...] (ruling)
F ii 16	[... SA]G ² GIG < <i>ana</i> > GÙB GUB.[MEŠ- <i>az</i> ...] x
Ex2 ₁ r. 11	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> [SAG G]IG <i>ana</i> GÙB GUB.MEŠ- <i>az</i> NA [...]
Ex4 ₁ 17'	[... URU]-šú GU ₇

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* SAG GIG *ana* 150 GUB.MEŠ-*az* NA BI AZAG [DINGIR-šú u DINGIR] URU-šú GU₇

šumma šēru ina qaqqad marši ana šumēli ittanazzaz amēlu šū asak [ilišu u ili] ālišu ikkal

If a snake is always standing upright to the left on an ill man's head – that man will breach the taboo [of his god and] his city's [god].

a) §§22.90'-91' form a pair, but there are variant sequences.

In ms. B (which aligns here with mss. C, Ex2, and Ex4), the first omen (line B r. 46 = §22.90') has *ana šumēli* "to the left" and the second omen (line B r. 47 = §22.91') has *ana imitti* "to the right."

In mss. E and F, the first omen (lines E₂ r. 13' // F ii 15 = §22.91') has *ana imitti* "to the right" and the second omen (lines E₂ r. 14' // F ii 16 = §22.90') has *ana šumēli* "to the left."

The parallel omens in SA.GIG Tablet 2, 26-27 (see above) have the same sequence as mss. E and F, i.e. "to the right" – "to the left". From other pairs of omens alternating "right" and "left," we would expect "right" to come first and "left" to come second, see e.g. §§22.17-18, §§22.69'-70', §§22.76'-77', §§23.16-17, §§23.18-19.

Ms. B has a ruling after §22.91': it indicates that this is the last omen of Tablet 22; ms. E has a ruling after §22.90' as the last omen of Tablet 22.

For this reason, §22.90' and §22.91' are marked as variants in the reconstruction.

b) On GUB.MEŠ-*az*, see AHw, 410a. Heeßel (2001-2002b, p. 42, n. 25) translates GUB.ME-*az* as "immer wieder aufrichten." Freedman translates "is standing" (see *If a City 2*, p. 19, *22.91, *22.92). We translate the Gtn-stem of *izizzu* "to stand" as "continuously stands upright."

c) In line F ii 16, as well as in F ii 15 (§22.91'), the STT copy has a sign where SAG should be which does not look like SAG. However, the STT copy is not always reliable and no photo of the manuscript is available. Lines F ii 15-16 also omit *ana* before ZAG and GÙB respectively.

§22.91'

(see *If a City 2*, *22.92)

B r. 47	[DIŠ] MU[Š <i>ina</i> S]AG GIG <i>ana</i> 15 GU[B.MEŠ- <i>a</i>]z <i>a-ra-an-šú</i> DU ₈ <i>i-[te-eb-bi]</i> (ruling)
E ₂ r. 13'	[...] SAG GIG <i>ana</i> ZA[G ... B]I AZAG DINGIR [...]
F ii 15	[... S]AG ² GIG < <i>ana</i> > ZAG [...]
Ex2 ₁ r. 12	DIŠ M[UŠ <i>ina</i> SAG G]IG <i>ana</i> ZAG GUB.MEŠ- <i>az</i> <i>a-ra-[an-šú ...]</i>
Ex4 ₁ 18'	[...] <i>i-te-eb-bi</i> (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ [*ina S*]AG GIG *ana* 15 GUB.MEŠ-*az a-ra-an-šú* DU₈ *i-te-eb-bi*

šumma šēru [*ina q*]aqqad *marši ana imitti ittanazzaz arānšu ippaṭṭar itebbi*

If a man is always standing upright to the right [on] an ill man's [h]ead – his sin will be dispelled, he will get up.

- a) This is the last omen which can be attributed to Tablet 22. Mss. B and E have catchlines (see *If a City* 2, p. 18, colophons). We include them in the score to §23.1 (see below).

Tablet 23

§23.1

A ⁽²³⁾ 1	[... N]A šá di-na g[e-ru-ú ...]
F ii 17	[...] 'x' [... G]ÍD-ik
Ex2 ₁ r. 13	[...] di-nam ge-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šú GÍD.D[A-ik]
Ex4 ₁ 18'	[...] GÍD.DA-ik
V1 ₂ ii 1	'DIŠ' 'MUŠ' 'a' -[na UGU LÚ ša di-na ge-r]u-ú ŠUB-ut DI.BI [0] GÍD.DA.MEŠ (ruling)
B ⁽²²⁾ r. 48 (colophon)	[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NA šá di-na g]e-r[u-ú ŠUB-ut d]i-in-šú GÍD.D[A-ik]
E ₂ r. 5b (colophon)	[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU] LÚ šá di-nam-šú g[e-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šú GÍD.DA-ik]

DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NA šá di-na ge-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šú GÍD.DA-ik

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli ša dīna gerû imqut dīnšu irrik

If a snake falls on top of a man who is litigating – his lawsuit will be long.

Variant V1

DIŠ MUŠ a-[na UGU LÚ ša di-na ge-r]u-ú ŠUB-ut DI.BI GÍD.DA.MEŠ

šumma šēru a[na muḥḥi amēli ša dīna ger]û imqut dīnušu ītanarrik

If a snake falls o[n top of a man who is litigat]ing – his lawsuit will be extremely protracted.

Variant E

[DIŠ MUŠ ana] LÚ šá di-nam-šú g[e-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šú GÍD.DA-ik]

[šumma šēru ana] amēli ša dīnamšu g[erû imqut dīnšu irrik]

[If a snake falls on] a man who is c[arrying] his lawsuit – [his lawsuit will be long.]

a) Compare the reconstruction of this omen proposed in *If a City 2*,

[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU N]A ša₂ di-na gi-ru-u₂ ŠUB-ut di-in-šú₂ GID₂.DA GAL₂ “[If a snake] falls [on top of a m]an who is engaged in a lawsuit, his lawsuit will be long” (*If a City 2*, pp. 36-37, *23.1).

If a City 2 correctly translates the apodosis “his lawsuit will be long,” not “there will be a long lawsuit” which would be the literal translation of her reading of the apodosis (GÁL, bašû; *If a City 2* *23.1, F ii 17, Ex(4)₁ 18'). We interpret the final sign as the phonetic complement -ik.

b) Colophons quoting the incipit of Tablet 23 are found on two standard manuscripts of Tablet 22, mss. B⁽²²⁾ and E⁽²²⁾ (see score above), and twice in the commentary texts mss. W1 // W2 (lines W1 27a //

W2 14a’).²³⁵ *If a City 2* (p. 18) reads GAL₂ where the colophons of ms. B⁽²²⁾ and ms. E⁽²²⁾ quote the incipit of Tablet 23.

- c) In the commentary texts mss. W1 // W2, after an intermediary colophon naming the commentaries as belonging to Tablet 22 of *Šumma ālu* (Tablet 21 according to ms. W2, see lines W1 26 // W2 13’), the incipit of of Tablet 23 is quoted: [DIŠ] ‘MUŠ’ *ana* UGU NA šá *di-na ge-ru-ú* ŠUB-*ut di-in-šu* GÍD.DA-*ik* (W1 27a) // ‘DIŠ’ [MUŠ *ana*] ‘UGU’ NA šá *di-na ge-ru-ú* ŠUB-*ut di-in-šu* GÍD.DA-*ik* (W2 14a’).

Jiménez reads GÁL instead of -*ik* (see CCP 3.5.22.A.a-b, 27 = Jiménez 2014, 2015).

- d) The forerunner manuscript V1 (edited as KAL 1, no. 14) is not included in the score of *If a City 2*. It is a Middle Assyrian text from Assur with snake omens. The text is divided into section for each omen by horizontal rulings.

Line V1₂ ii 1 has a variant apodosis: GÍD.DA.MEŠ instead of GÍD/GÍD.DA-*ik*. The plural marker MEŠ after the verb has been interpreted here as an iterative Gtn-stem. Parallel to the main variant, we interpret DI.BI as *dīnšu* “his lawsuit,” contrary to the translation “dieser Rechtsstreit” for DI BI (*dīnu šū*) in KAL 1 (see KAL 1, no. 14, l. ii 1).

§23.2

A 2	[... N]A šá <i>di-na ge-[ru-ú ...]</i>
Ex2 ₁ r. 14-15	[... d]i-na[m <i>ge-ru-ú-m</i>]a <i>di-in-šú</i> GÍD.DA ŠUB-[<i>ut ...</i>] / <i>i-gam-[mar]</i>
Ex4 ₁ 19’	[... i]g-gam-mar
V1 ₂ ii 2	DIŠ MUŠ <i>a-na</i> UGU LÚ ša <i>di-na</i> GÍD.DA.ME ŠUB- <i>ut</i> DI BI TIL-ár (ruling)

[DIŠ MUŠ *a-na* UGU N]A šá *di-na ge-[ru-ú-m]*a *di-in-šú* GÍD.DA ŠUB-[*ut di-in-šú*] *i-gam-mar*

[*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi am*]ēli ša *dīna ge[rûm]*a *dīnšu īriku imq[ut dīnšu]* *iggammar*

[If a snake] fal[ls on top of a m]an who is lit[igating, bu]t his lawsuit is already dragging on – [his lawsuit] will be settled.

Variant V1

DIŠ MUŠ *a-na* UGU LÚ ša *di-na* GÍD.DA.ME ŠUB-*ut* DI.BI TIL-ár

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli ša dīna ītarriku imqut dīnšu iggammar

If a snake falls onto a man who has been engaged in a protracted lawsuit – his lawsuit will be settled.

- a) Ms. F omits this omen.

- b) Collation has provided a new reading of lines Ex2₁ r. 14-15. The last sign visible on line Ex2₁ r. 14 is ŠUB (*maqātu*), not NA (*amēlu*), as read in *If a City 2*,

²³⁵ See CCP 3.5.22.A.b = Jiménez 2014; see §23-C29 below.

[... d]i-na[m ... -m]a di-in-šu₂ GID₂.DA NA [...] / i-gam-mar (*If a City 2*, *23.2, p. 50, *23.2, Ex(2)₁ r. 14-15)

If a City 2 reconstructed the verb within the break in the middle of the line:

[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU N]A ša₂ di-na gi-r[u-u₂ ŠUB-ut-m]a di-in-šu₂ GID₂.DA NA [...] i-gam-mar “[If a snake falls on top of a man]n who is engaged in a lawsuit and his lawsuit is long, the man [...] will be used up” (*If a City 2*, pp. 36-37, *23.2).

- c) The new reading is confirmed by the recently published ms. V1₂ ii 2 (KAL 1, no. 14), which, however, has a slightly “reduced” protasis without *gerû* and with GÍD.DA.MEŠ instead of GÍD.DA, the plural marker presumably standing for the iterative stem (see also GÍD.DA.MEŠ in §23.1, V1₂ ii 1). Comparing this variant to the main variant represented by the other manuscripts leads to the conclusion that *di-na* is the subject of the verb *gerû*. We read a Gtn-preterite *itarrik*.

Our new reading of Ex2₁ r. 14-15 and the addition of the recently published parallel V1₂ ii 2 allow a new reconstruction of the apodosis, with *dīnu* “lawsuit” as the subject of *iggammar*. The subject of the apodosis of the main variant, in accordance with §23.1, has been reconstructed as *di-in-šú*, despite DI BI in the variant in ms. V1.

- d) Ms. Ex2 uses a defective spelling *i-gam-[mar]* for *gamāru* in the N-stem, in which the verb usually appears.

§23.3

A 3	[...] ana UGU NA ša di-n[a ...]
F ii 18-19	[... ge]-ru-ú ŠUB-ut / [... uš]-te-mé-eq-[šú]
X ₁ ii 1'-2'	D[IŠ ...] / [...]
Ex2 ₁ r. 16-17	[...] 'ana' 'UGU' NA ša di-nam ge-ru-ú Š[UB-ut] / [EN INIM]-šú uš-te-mé-e[q-šú]
Ex4 ₁ 20'	[... uš-t]e-me-'eq'-šú
V1 ₂ ii 3	DIŠ MUŠ iṣ-bur-ma a-na UGU NA ša DI ge-ru-ú ŠUB-ut EN INIM-šú uš-te-me-eq-šú (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ iṣ-bur-ma ana UGU NA ša di-na ge-ru-ú ŠUB-ut EN INIM-šú uš-te-me-eq-šú

šumma šēru iṣburma ana muḥḥi amēli ša dīna gerû imqut bēl dabābišu uštēmeqšu

If a snake hisses and falls on top of a man who is litigating – his adversary will supplicate him.

- a) Ms. V1 is a Middle Assyrian text published as KAL 1, no. 14. Line V1₂ ii 3 seems to run parallel to the other manuscripts for this line, at least the second half of the protasis and the apodosis correspond. This allows us to reconstruct *iṣbur* as the first verb of the protasis. As ms. V1₂ was published after the publication of *If a City 2*, it could not be included by Freedman in her reconstruction. In *If a City 2* (p. 36) the protasis is reconstructed as follows: DIŠ [MUŠ] ana UGU NA ša₂ di-na gi-ru-u₂ ŠUB-ut- [...]. The idea was that part of the protasis had gone missing in the break after ŠUB-ut.

V1₂ ii 3 also allows us to reconstruct the subject of the apodosis EN INIM-šú. The reading is corroborated by the remains on mss. F, Ex2₁ and Ex4₁, as well as by the fact that the phrase belongs to the standard repertoire of *Šumma ālu* apodoses.

The sequence of the omens on ms. V1 differs from the “standard” omen sequence documented by the other manuscripts, i.e. V1₂ ii 3 (= §23.3), 6 (= §23.4), 4 (= §23.5), 5 (= §23.6). After §23.6, ms. V1 omits §§23.7-8. Line V1₂ ii 7 corresponds to §23.9.

- b) The verb *išburma* probably refers to the sound made by the snake, i.e. hissing. The commentary §23-C1 (see below) correlates the verb with the sound made by a bird.

šabāru and ZI.ZI seem to be onomatopoeic words referring to the twittering or chirping of a bird. In association with snakes, *šabāru* must have sounded odd to the late commentators (mss. W1 // W2 are Late Babylonian). For this reason, a relatively exhaustive entry explaining the meaning of the verb was produced.

šabāru also appears in bird-omens, e.g. *šumma surdû u āribu itti aḫāmeš ištānassû iṣṣanundû u iṣṣanaburû* “If a falcon and a raven caw, whirl around and call each other” (CT 39 30: 34; CAD S, p. 3).²³⁶

Geller notes on Udug-ḫul, chapter 4, l. 6, *e-liš i-šag-gu-mu šap-liš i-šab-bu-ru šú-nu*,

“The demons who shout ‘above’ (in the heavens) engage in sedate speech (‘prattle’) in the Netherworld, as explained by Akk. *šabāru*, which can refer to animal sounds (e.g. birds or snakes), water, the rumbling of a storm, or the movement of lips. Hence, the reference to ‘above’ and ‘below’ in these lines is intended to contrast the more obtrusive demonic activities on earth – gnashing their teeth and shouting – while in the Netherworld they mourn and speak softly like birds” (Geller 2016, p. 176, n. 4-6).

išburma is also used in the protases of §§23.6-7. It can also be found on the unpublished fragment ms. K 9549: [...] *iš-bur-ma ana UGU NA* [...] (K 9549, l. 1’).²³⁷ It is unclear whether the fragment contains snake omens or omens from other animals, e.g. birds, as the first two signs on the left edge of the tablet are broken. The combination of *šabāru* with, possibly, an animal falling (?) in front of a man (*ana muḫḫi amēli [imqut]?*) at least suggests a connection to snakes.

šabāru can also have the meaning “to sway” (CAD S, p. 3),²³⁸ which would lead to a translation “If a snake sways.” Based on the commentator’s interpretation however, we translate “If a snake hisses.”

See also the verb *ḫabābu* “to hiss” in the protasis of §23.14, *šumma šēru amēla uḫabbab il[emm]enma ikaššad* “If a snake hisses at a man – ev[il will man]ifest itself and will affect (him)” (§23.14), and the related commentary §23-C6 (see below).

- c) In line F ii 19, three signs, [... uš]-**te-mé-eq**-[šú], are visible. *If a City 2* only reads [...]**iq**-[...] (*If a City 2* *23.3, F ii 19).
- d) The upper right corner of X₁ col. ii (here X₁ ii 1’-2’) is broken, but the head of DIŠ is visible. The line below probably contains the apodosis, as in F ii 18-19 and Ex2₁ r. 16-17. See also §23.4, X₁ ii 3’-4’.

§ 23-C1 (§23.3, §23.6, §23.7)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 27)

W1 27b-28a : *iš-bur-ma : is-si-ma / ZI.ZI : ša-bar šá iṣ-ṣur : MUŠEN ZI.ZI : ši-si-tú šá iṣ-ṣur*

W2 14b’-15a’ : *iš-bur-ma : is-si-ma / ZI.ZI : ša-bar šá iṣ-ṣur : MUŠEN ZI.ZI : ši-si-tú šá iṣ-ṣur*

²³⁶ On falcon omens see also De Zorzi 2009.

²³⁷ I owe thanks to Rachel Lerculeur for calling this manuscript to my attention.

²³⁸ Reference in Freedman 2006b: 159, ll. 27b-28a.

išburma : issima ZI.ZI : šabār ša iššūr : iššūru ZI.ZI : šisītu ša iššūr

(If a snake) **hisses-and** (means) shouts-and, because ZI.ZI (means) the chirping of a bird (and) a bird (which makes the sound) ZI.ZI (means) the cry of a bird.

- a) Jiménez (2014) thinks that *ša-bar šá iš-šur* is a quotation from Nabnītu IX 48 or 49, and that MUŠEN ZI.ZI : šī-sī-tú šá iš-šur is a quotation from an unknown source (see CCP 3.5.22.A.b: 27).

§23.4

A 4	[... N]A šá ina ki-li ŠUB-ú Š[UB-ut ...]
F ii 20-21	[...] NA BI ina ki-li È / [...] -'x' -[x] SILIM [?] _(copy: KI)
X ₁ ii 3'-4'	DIŠ 'MUŠ' 'ana' 'UGU' [...] / NA BI ina ki-l[i ...]
Ex2 ₁ r. 18	[...] ki-li ŠUB-ú Š[UB-ut ...]
V1 ₂ ii 6	DIŠ MUŠ a-na UGU LÚ šá ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB ŠUB-ut LÚ BI ina KI.ŠÚ-šu È-ma LÚ kár-šu SILIM (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NA šá ina ki-li ŠUB-ú ŠUB-ut NA BI ina ki-li È [NA BI kár-šu][?] SILIM[?]

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli ša ina kīli nadû imqut amēlu šū ina kīli uṣṣi [amēlu šū karšu][?] isallim[?]

If a snake falls on top of a man who is being thrown into prison – that man will come out of prison, [that man's mind][?] will be at peace[?].

Variant V1

DIŠ MUŠ a-na UGU LÚ šá ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB ŠUB-ut LÚ BI ina KI.ŠÚ-šu È-ma LÚ kár-šu SILIM

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi amēli ša ina kīli nadû imqut amēlu šū ina kīlišu uṣṣīma amēlu karšu isallim

If a snake falls on top of a man who is being thrown into prison – that man will come out of his prison and the mind of (that) man will be at peace.

- a) This omen has a double apodosis, two asyndetic apodoses in the main variant, two apodoses connected by the conjunction *-ma* in var. V1. Both apodoses are thematically related to each other and do not form an opposition (as do alternative apodoses, e.g. §22.2). Asyndetic double apodoses are sometimes split with inserted KI.MIN or *šum₄-ma* as argued in §23.18, comment (a).

- b) *If a City 2* places line F ii 20 with *23.4 and line F ii 21 with *23.5 (*If a City 2*, p. 50). However, we argue that both lines belong with §23.4:

The last sign on line F ii 21 looks like KI on Gurney and Hulin's copy (STT 321-322). *If a City 2* (p. 50, *23.5, F ii 21) transliterates [...] -**ki**. However, the STT copy of ms. F is problematic.

Since line V1₂ ii 6 clearly duplicates line F ii 20, it seems reasonable to suggest a correspondence between the broken F ii 21 and the second half of the apodosis of V1₂ ii 6 as well. The last sign on V1₂ ii 6 is DI (read SILIM), which is close in form to KI. All this is suggestive for a modern copyist's mistake, which caused an original DI to be copied as KI. F ii 21 could therefore be read as [...] -'x' -**[x]** SILIM[?]_(copy: KI) and both lines F ii 20-21 could be placed with §23.4. This has repercussions also on the following omens (see below).

The reconstruction of *23.4 proposed in *If a City 2* is as follows:

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU LU₂ *ša₂ ina ki-li ŠUB-u₂ ŠUB-ut NA BI ina ki-li* E[₃] “If a snake falls on top of a man who has been thrown in prison, that man will go [out] from prison” (*If a City 2*, pp. 36-37, *23.4).

As already mentioned above, this is based on the assumption that F ii 21 ([...]-**ki**) is not part of *23.4, but rather of *23.5, DIŠ MUŠ LU₂ *ša₂ di-na gi-ru-u₂ iš-šu-uk* [...] *ki* (*If a City 2*, p. 36, *23.5).

If our suggestion is correct, the second half of the apodosis of F ii 20-21 is slightly different from the one of V1₂ ii 6 because F ii 20 ends with È, while V1₂ ii 6 has È-*ma*. The break at the beginning of F ii 21 might contain three to four signs (see F ii 18-19 above), which would allow accommodating [NA BI *kár-šu*]. As an independent clause, the second apodosis of ms. F might contain a demonstrative BI which ms. V1 does not have. According to Gurney’s copy, there seems to be traces of one, possibly two – at this stage – unreadable signs before SILIM²³⁹. *Karšu* means “his stomach,” here translated *his mind*.²³⁹

c) For the variant sequence on ms. V1 see §23.3, comment (a).

§23.5

A 5	[...] <i>di-na ge-ru-ú iš-šu</i> [<i>k ...</i>]
F ii 22	[... EN INIM-šú <i>uš-te-mé</i>]- <i>eq-šú</i>
X ₁ ii 5’	DIŠ MUŠ LÚ <i>ša di-na ge</i> -[<i>ru-ú ...</i>]
V1 ₂ ii 4	DIŠ LÚ <i>ša DI gi-ru-ú MUŠ iš-šu-uk-šu ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM</i> (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ LÚ *ša di-na gi-ru-ú iš-šu-uk* [EN INIM-šú *uš-te-mé*]-*eq-šú*

šumma šēru amēla ša dīna gerû iššuk [*bēl dabābišu uštēm*]*eqšu*

If a snake bites a man who is litigating – [his adversary will supplic]ate him.

Variant V1

DIŠ LÚ *ša DI gi-ru-ú MUŠ iš-šu-uk-šu ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM* (EN INIM-šú *uš-te-me-eq-šú*)

šumma amēlu ša dīna gerû šēru iššukšu ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (*bēl dabābišu uštēmeqšu*)

If (this happens to) a man who is litigating: a snake bites him – ditto (his adversary will supplicate him).

a) *If a City 2* places F ii 22 with *23.6 (*If a City 2*, p. 50). See on this §23.4 comment (b).

b) Line F ii 22 has been read in *If a City 2* as [...] GAL₂-š_u₂ (p. 50). Our reconstruction of the apodosis is based on the hypothesis that V1₂ ii 4 represents a parallel to mss. A, F and X₁, notwithstanding the slightly different protasis and the fact that the sequence of the omens on V1₂ is different from the one attested on the other manuscripts. ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM “ditto” indicates that V1₂ ii 4 has the same apodosis as V1₂ ii 3, which is EN INIM-šú *uš-te-me-eq-šú*. This allows us to correct [...] GAL₂-š_u₂ in *If a City 2* (p. 50, F ii 22) and read instead [... EN INIM-šú *uš-te-mé*]-*eq-šú*.

²³⁹ On Ancient Mesopotamian conceptions of *mind* or *soul* and their relation to human body parts, see Steinert 2012.

§23.6

A 6	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>iš-bu</i>]r-ma NA šá di-na ge-ru-ú i[š-šuk ...]
F ii 23	[... iš]-'šuk' ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM
X ₁ ii 6'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iš-bur-ma</i> LÚ šá di-n[a ...]
V1 ₂ ii 5	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iš-bur-ma</i> KI.MIN ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ *iš-bur-ma* NA šá di-na gi-ru-ú i[š]-šu-uk ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (EN INIM-šú *uš-te-me-eq-šú*)
šumma šēru iṣburma amēla ša dīna gerū i[š]šuk ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bēl dabābišu uštēmeqšu)

If a snake hisses and b[i]tes a man who is litigating – ditto (his adversary will supplicate him).

- a) On *ṣabāru* see §23.3, comment (a), and §23-C1.
- b) In line V1₂ ii 5, KI.MIN probably stands for LÚ šá DI *gi-ru-ú iš-šu-uk*, see V1₂ ii 4 (§23.5). This supports the arguments made in comments (c) and (d) below.
- c) *If a City 2* reconstructs the omen as:

DIŠ MUŠ *iš-bur-ma* NA ša₂ di-na gi-ru-u₂ x [...] GAL₂-š_u₂ (*If a City 2*, p. 36, *23.6)

The signs GAL₂-š_u₂ is reconstructed at the end of the apodosis because *If a City 2* misplaces the lines of ms. F, see §23.4, comment (b). According to our different reconstruction of the sequence, this omen is preserved by F ii 23, which *If a City 2* places instead with *23.7 and reads as follows: [...] x ŠU.BI.DIL.AM₃ (*If a City 2*, p. 50, *23.7, F ii 23).

ŠU.BI.DIL.AM₃ “ditto” can now be interpreted as referring to EN INIM-šú *uš-te-me-eq-šú* (see §23.5). The STT copy of ms. F is problematic, see §23.1, (a) and §23.4, (b). The first sign after the break in line F ii 23 is ŠUK.

- d) Collation has shown that the last sign visible on the line A 6 is IŠ (*i[š-šuk ...]*). Compare our updated reading (score) with the score in *If a City 2*, [... -b]ur-ma NA ša₂ di-na gi-ru-u₂ x [...] (*If a City 2*, p. 50, *23.6, l. a6).

§23.7

A 7	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>iš-bu</i>]r-ma NA ú-gal-lit GIG DAB-s[u ...] (ruling)
F ii 24	[... N]A BI ŠU KUR-su
X ₁ ii 7'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>iš-bur-ma</i> <NA> ú-gal-li[t ...] (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ *iš-bur-ma* NA ú-gal-lit GIG DAB-s[u (...)]A BI ŠU KUR-su
šumma šēru iṣburma amēla ugallit muršu iṣabbass[u (...)] amēlu šū qātu ikaššassu

If a snake hisses and frightens a man – illness will afflict hi[m (...)], the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of that [ma]n.

- a) On *ṣabāru* see §23.3, comment (a), and §23-C1.

- b) On the interpretation of *qātu* as a disease, see §22.15, comment (b). This interpretation of *qātu ikaššassu* also creates lexical cohesion with *muršu iṣabbassu* “illness will afflict him” in the first part of the apodosis.
- c) *If a City 2* (p. 50) places line F ii 24 with *23.8. For the new sequence, see above §23.4, comment (b). There is a break between the two apodoses which may or may not have contained signs. If no signs are missing, this is an asyndetic double apodosis as are the apodoses of §§23.8-11.
- d) The integration of <NA> in line X₁ ii 7’ is based on KAL 1, no. 9, l. ii 7’ (p. 34). *If a City 2* (p. 50, *23.7) does not integrate NA.

§23.8

A 8	[... u] ₄ -mi ri-qí IGI na-za-qu NU DÙG.GA UZ[U ...]
F ii 25	[...] UZU a ² _(copy: KI) -na ² _(copy: ŠU) L[Ú ² ...]
G 1	[DIŠ MU]Š ‘NA’ ‘ina’ ‘u ₄ ’-[mi] ‘ri’-q[í IGI n]a-za-‘qu’ ‘NU’ ‘DÙG’.’GA’ UZU ana ‘LÚ’ [x] ‘x’ [x]
X ₁ ii 8’	DIŠ MUŠ NA ina u ₄ -mi ri-qí I[GI ...]

DIŠ MUŠ NA ina u₄-mi ri-qí IGI na-za-qu NU DÙG.GA UZU ana LÚ [...] ... [...]

šumma šēru amēla ina ūmi rīqi īmur nazāqu lā tūb šīri ana amēli [...] ... [...]

If a snake stares at a man on an empty day (i.e. a moonless day) – (there will be) grief (and) unhappiness for the man [...] ... [...].

- a) *ina ūmi rīqi* means literally “on an empty day.” *If a City 2* translates “on a holiday,” citing CAD R, p. 373, *rīqu* (c) “work-free day, holiday” (*If a City 2*, p. 36, n. 8). “Empty day” means in this context a day empty/free (of work). KAL 1 also translates “[Wenn eine Schlange] einen Mann an einem arbeitsfreien Tag anschaut” (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 1 = G 1).

The CAD cites the solar omen *šumma* (Šamaš) *ina UD ri-qí adir* “if the sun is eclipsed on a holiday” (ACh Šamaš 13:19 = K 3599,²⁴⁰ see CAD R, p. 373). Van Soldt (1995, pp. 62-63) translates DIŠ MAN *ina UD ri-qí MIN-ma* “If the sun ditto on a moonless day and ...” (Tablet 25 (26) III 65-68a).²⁴¹ Hence, “empty day” is interpreted by van Soldt as “moonless day.” Weidner translates [*i-n*]a *ûme^{me} ra-a-qi* from a statute of Adad-nārāri I as, “[a]n einem Leer-Tage” and lists several possible translations. He favours Jensen’s translation “am Leertag (= Neumondstag), concluding, “Mit *ûmu rêqu* ist wohl der eigentliche Neumondstag gemeint (...).”²⁴²

²⁴⁰ ACh Šamaš = Virolleaud 1908.

²⁴¹ Lines A 13’-14’, B 39’- 42’, C r. 1’-2’, D ii 10’-13’; mss. A = Sm 707, B = K 2221+, C = K 5787+, D = K 4025, see van Soldt 1995, p. 51.

²⁴² Weidner 1954-1956, p. 272, l. 23.

The interpretation “moonless” suggested by van Soldt is supported by the commentary §23-C2 (see below),

ūmi rīqi : *ūmu* 29-KÁM [*ūmu*] *ša Sîn lā uššuzzû*

Empty day (means) the 29th day, [the day] on which the moon does not appear.

ina ūmi rīqi also appears in Old Babylonian extispicy omens as an indicator for an alternative apodosis, translated by Winitzer as “for an uncertain date.” According to Winitzer, a meaning “moonless day” is not possible for these instances.²⁴³

b) *If a City 2* reconstructs the omen differently:

*23.8. DIŠ MUŠ NA *ina* *u₄-mi ri-qi₂* IGI *na-za-qu* NU DUG₃.GA NA BI ŠU KUR-su “If a snake sees a man on a holiday – trouble; it will not be happy; [...] for the man; the hand (of a god) will affect that man” (*If a City 2*, pp. 36-37).

c) The reading of line G 1 in our score follows KAL 1, no. 11. *If a City 2* reads, [...] NA *ina* [...] *ri-q*[*i₂* ... *n*[*a-za-q*[*u* ...] x [...] x *ana* LU₂ [...] (*23.8, G1’). Note that the upper edge of ms. G is in fact preserved.

d) *If a City 2* (p. 50) incorrectly places line F ii 24 ([... N]A BI ŠU KUR-su) here, while F ii 25 together with F ii 26 are mistakenly associated with *23.9. *If a City 2* reads F ii 25 as [...] *uzu ki šu t*[*u*?] (p. 50, *23.9). Gurney’s STT copy has already proven to be unreliable, see §23.1 (a), §23.4 (b). We have therefore tentatively suggested a new reading of the signs following UZU on F ii 25 based on the version documented by line A 8 and, especially, line G 1.

e) The last sign in line A 8 is read N[A ...] by *If a City 2* (*23.8, a8). Collation has shown that a broken UZU, which fits the version of F ii 25 and G 1, is possible.

§ 23-C2 (§23.8)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 28)

W1 28b-29a : *u₄-mi ri-qi* : UD 29-KÁM / [*u₄-mu*] ‘šá’ d30 *la ú-šu-uz-zu*

W2 15b’-16a’ : *u₄-mi ri-qi* : UD 29-KÁM / [...] *ú-šu-uz-zu*

ūmi rīqi : *ūmu* 29-KÁM [*ūmu*] *ša Sîn lā uššuzzû*

Empty day (means) the 29th day, [the day] on which the moon is not visible.

§23.9

A 9 [DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*m*]a GAZ-šú NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU T[E.MEŠ-šú ...]

F ii 26 [... *a-di-ra-tu-š*]ú NU TE¹_(copy: KUR).MEŠ-šú MUŠ BI 𒄩UL-[šú *it*?-‘bal’?

G 2 [DIŠ M]U[Š N]A [IG]I-*ma* GAZ-šú [NA BI *a*]-*a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU TE.MEŠ-šú MUŠ BI ‘𒄩UL’-‘šú’
‘it’?-‘bal’?

X₁ ii 9’ DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú NA BI *a-d*[*i-ra-tu-šú* NU TE-šú MUŠ BI 𒄩UL-‘šú’ *i*[*t-bal*]

Ex2₂ r. 1-2 [DIŠ] MUŠ [...] / MUŠ B[I ...]

²⁴³ See Winitzer 2017, pp. 81-83.

V1₂ ii 7 DIŠ MUŠ LÚ IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú LÚ BI *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU TE-šú MUŠ BI ḪUL-šú *it-bal* (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU TE.MEŠ-šú MUŠ BI ḪUL-šu *it-bal*

šumma šēru amēla īmurma idūkšu amēlu šū adirātušu ul iṭeḥḥâšu šēru šū lumunšu itbal

If a snake stares at a man and he kills it – that man’s fears will not come true, that snake took his misery away.

a) Compare the reconstruction of this omen in *If a City 2*,

DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-šu₂ NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šu₂* NU TE.MEŠ-šu₂ MUŠ BI ḪUL [...] x “If a snake sees a man and he kills it, misfortunes will not approach that man; that snake, evil [...]” (*If a City 2*, pp. 36-37, *23.9).

Freedman (*If a City 2*, p. 50, *23.9) does not transliterate the signs visible at the end of line X₁ ii 9’ after the break. They have been read as *i[t-bal]* in KAL 1, no. 9, l. ii 9’. The signs at the end of line G 2’ have been read in KAL 1, no. 11, l. 2 as ‘*it*’-‘*bal*’?. The sequence ḪUL-šú *it-bal* is now also attested by V1₂ ii 7. Ms. V1 (KAL 1, no. 14) and was not included in the score of *If a City 2*. This new material allows us to reconstruct accordingly the ending of F ii 26.

b) The literal translation of the apodosis is, “that man: his fears will not touch him, that snake took his evil away.” We follow Heeßel’s translation, “Diesem Mann werden sich seine Befürchtungen nicht erfüllen, diese Schlange trug sein Unheil davon” (KAL 1, no. 14, p. 63, l. Vs. ii 7 // KAL 1, no. 9, p. 37, l. Vs. II 9’). He interprets *lumunšu* as the man’s misery in life, which the snake, by being killed, removes. Alternatively, *lumunšu* could also refer to “its (the snake’s) evil,” i.e. the evil sign of a snake.

§ 23-C3 (§23.9)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 29)

W1 29b-30 : DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU TE.MEŠ-šú / [ina u₄-mi šá a-na] ‘da’-a-ku ṭa-a-bu IGI-*ma* i-duk : aš-šum U₄ 20-KÁM šá ⁱⁱⁱGU₄

W2 16b’-17’ : DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-šú NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU TE-MEŠ-šú / [ina u₄-mi] ‘šá’? ‘a’-‘na’ da-a-ku ṭa-a-bu IGI-*ma* i-‘duk’ : aš-šum U₄ 20-KÁM šá ⁱⁱⁱGU₄

šumma šēru amēla īmurma idūkšu adirātušu ul iṭeḥḥâšu [ina ūmi ša ana] dâku ṭâbu īmurma idūk : aššum ūmi 20-KÁM ša Ayyāri

If a snake stares at a man and he kills it – his fears will not touch that man: (If that is) [on the day which] is propitious [for] killing he sees it and kills it, (that is) on account of the 20th day of Ayyāru.

a) The commentary quotes the Babylonian Almanac, as shown by Jiménez (2014, n. 15). The base-text in the Babylonian Almanac is,

20 šēra lidūk ašarēdūta illak

“The 20th day: he should kill a snake, then he will achieve preeminence” (Jiménez 2016, p. 219, 222, l. iv 6).

b) Jiménez (2014) has collated *da'-a-ku* in line W1 30; compare Freedman, [...] *-na-a-ku* (2006b, p. 152, l. 30).

§23.10

- A 10-11 [... IGI]-*ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma* SAG.DU'-*su ik-bu-[us-ma ...]* / [... N]A BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-šal-la-ma* SIG₅-*iq* [SIG₅ IGI]
- F ii 27-28 [...] *ik-bu-us-ma i-ta-[dar]* / [...] *ú-šal-la-ma* SIG₅-*iq* SIG₅ IGI
- G 3-4 [DIŠ M]UŠ NA IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma* SAG.DU-s[u] *'ik'-bu-us-ma i-ta'-dar* / ZI.GA ŠE.AM NA B[I] ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-šal-la-[ma]* SIG₅-*iq* 'SIG₅' IGI
- X₁ ii 10'-11' DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su-[ma]* SAG.DU-*su ik-bu-us-ma* *ú-ta-dar* ZI.[GA ŠE.AM] / NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-ša[l-la-ma]* SIG₅-*iq* SIG₅ I[GI]
- V1₂ ii 8-9 [D]IŠ MUŠ LÚ IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su ú-lu* SAG.DU-*su ik-bu-us-ma i-ta'-dar* ZI.GA *še-im* / LÚ BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-šal-la-ma* SIG₅ IGI (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma* SAG.DU-*su ik-bu-us-ma i-ta-dar* ZI.GA ŠE.AM NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-šal-la-ma* SIG₅-*iq* SIG₅ IGI

šumma šēru amēla imurma ugallissuma rēssu ikbusma itadar šīt še'im amēlu šū Marduk ušallamma idammīq damīqta immar

If a snake stares at a man and scares him, so that (the man) tramples on its head and is afraid (of the snake) – loss of grain, (but) that man should appease Marduk and he will be well, he will experience good fortune.

Variant X

DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su-[ma]* SAG.DU-*su ik-bu-us-ma* *ú-ta-dar* ZI.[GA ŠE.AM] NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-ša[l-la-ma]* SIG₅-*iq* SIG₅ I[GI]

šumma šēru amēla imurma ugallissu[ma rēssu ikbusma] utaddar šīt[še'im] amēlu šū Marduk ušal[lamma idamm]iq damīqta im[mar]

If a snake stares at a man and scares him, [so that (the man) tramples on its head and] is very afraid (of the snake) – loss of grain (but) that man should appease Marduk [and he will be well], he will experience good fortune.

Variant V1

[D]IŠ MUŠ LÚ IGI-*ma ú-gal-lit-su ú-lu* SAG.DU-*su ik-bu-us-ma i-ta'-dar* ZI.GA *še-im* LÚ BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-šal-la-ma* SIG₅ IGI

[šū]mma *šēru amēla imurma ugallissuma ulū rēssu ikbusma itadar šīt še'im amēlu šū Marduk ušallamma damīqta immar*

[I]f a snake stares at a man and scares him, or he tramples on its head and is afraid (of the snake) – loss of grain (but) that man will appease Marduk and he will experience good fortune.

a) Manuscripts X₁ and V1₂ have variants requiring different translations.

- b) *If a City* 2 and KAL 1 incorrectly interpret Marduk as the subject of *ušallama*; Freedman translates, “Marduk will care for that man” (p. 37, *23.10); Heeßel translates “diesen Mann wird Marduk gesund sein lassen” (KAL 1, no. 11, ll. 3-4 // KAL 1, no. 9, ll. 10’-11’).

The translation “that man will appease Marduk” is based on the commentary §23-C4 (see below) as interpreted by Jiménez (see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 31), which explains that the man will recite a *namburbû* prayer. The first apodosis in §23.10 seems to imply that a negative situation is turned into a positive one by appealing to Marduk.

§ 23-C4 (§23.10)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 31)

W1 r. 1-2a	[...] x : šī-gu-ú DUG ₄ -si-ma NAM.‘BÚR’.‘BI’ ‘DUG ₄ ’-‘si’ / [...]
W2 r. 1-2a	i-ta-dar : ip-ta-làh ^l _(DIR) ‘:’ ‘šá’ [... šī-gu]-‘ú’ DUG ₄ -si-ma ‘NAM’. [BÚR.BI] / ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘ka’? ‘x’ ‘kur’? x x

ītadar : iptalah : ša [...] ... : šigû issīma namburbû issi? [...] ...

He is afraid (means) he is terrified, it refers (to the snake) that [...] [That man will appease Marduk] (means) that he will recite aloud a *šigû* prayer and will recite² a *namburbû* prayer [...] ...

- a) This commentary comments on both the verb in the protasis, *ītadar*, and the first part of the apodosis, *amēlu šū Marduk ušallamma*. The translation is based on Jiménez 2014.
- b) Ms. W2 is only available as a copy by E. von Weiher (see the images on CCP 3.5.22.A.b).
- c) NAM.‘BÚR’.‘BI’ in lines W1 r. 1-2a has been collated by Jiménez (2014); compare Freedman (2006b, p. 152, l. rev. 1), NAM.TAR x [...] x x.

§23.11

A 12	[DIŠ MUŠ TA A]N.TA ana PAP.ḪAL NA ŠUB-ut ina É NA ÚŠ ÚŠ EN ‘É’ [...]
F ii 29	[...] ÚŠ EN É BI NÍG.GI[G ...]
G 5	‘DIŠ’ MUŠ TA AN-e ana PAP.ḪAL ‘NA’ ŠUB-ut ina É NA BI [ÚŠ ÚŠ E]N É NÍG.‘GIG’ IGI-ma Ú[Š]
X ₁ ii 12’-13’	DIŠ MUŠ TA AN.TA-nu ana PAP.ḪAL ‘NA’ [ŠUB-ut ina] É NA ÚŠ [Ú]Š / EN É BI NÍ[G.GIG IGI]-ma ÚŠ
Ex2 ₂ r. 3-4	DIŠ MUŠ T[A ...] / ina É [...]
V2 i 1’	[... NÍG.GI]G ‘IGI’-‘ma’ ÚŠ

DIŠ MUŠ TA AN.TA-nu ana PAP.ḪAL NA ŠUB-ut ina É NA ÚŠ ÚŠ EN É BI NÍG.GIG IGI-ma ÚŠ
šumma šēru ištu elēnu ana purīd amēli imqut ina bīt amēli mītu imât bēl bīti šuāti marušta immarma imât

If a snake falls from above onto a man’s leg – a mortally ill person will die in the man’s house, the master of that house will experience illness and (then) he will die.

Variant G

DIŠ MUŠ TA AN-*e* ana PAP.ḪAL 'NA' ŠUB-*ut* ina É NA BI [ÚŠ ÚŠ E]N É NÍG.GIG IGI-*ma* Ú[Š]
šumma šēru ištu šamê ana purīd amēli imqut ina bīt amēli šuāti [mītu imât bē]l bīti marušta immarma
im[ât]

If a snake falls from above onto a man's leg – [a mortally ill person will die] in that man's house, [the master of the house will experience illness and (then) he will die].

- a) This protasis is notable for the close body-contact of the man and the snake that falls onto his leg. See also §24.22, *šumma šēru ana sūn amēli īrub mārī irašši ūmūšu ikarrū* "If a snake goes into a man's lap – he will have children, his days will become short."

ÚR could also be read *pēmu/pēnu* "(upper) thigh." The apodosis of §24.22 mentioning the birth of children suggests, however, that the genital area is intended.

A similar omen is found on Tablet 84 of *Šumma ālu*, which deals with sleep omens, DIŠ NA ina ÚR-šú MUŠ IGI 'x' [...] "If a man sees a snake on his thigh/lap ... [...]" (K 4134+, l. 12').²⁴⁴ See also the lizard omen, "If a lizard enters into a woman's lap, that woman will die and mour[ning ...]" (*If a City* 2, p. 173, Tablet 32, Assur Tradition, *32.9').²⁴⁵

- b) Line G 5 has the variant AN-*e* (*šamê*) instead of AN.TA-*nu* (*elēnu*), which, however, does not affect the translation. In line A 12, the phonetic complement -*nu* is missing (pace *If a City* 2, p. 51, *23.11, a12, AN.TA-*nu*).
- c) At the end of line A 12, before it breaks off, *If a City* 2 transliterates EN [...], but another sign is visible, probably a broken É.
- d) Contrast the reading of line G 5 in *If a City*,

DIŠ MUŠ TA AN-*e* ana PAP.ḪAL NA ŠUB-*ut* ina E₂ NA BI [...] EN E₂ NIG₂.GIG IGI-*mar* (*If a City* 2, p. 51, *23.11, G5')

KAL 1, no. 11 has a different reading for the end of the apodosis: IGI-*ma* Ú[Š] (G 5) instead of IGI-*mar*. The reading IGI-*ma* Ú[Š] is supported by the parallels on line X₁ ii 13', which is only partially transliterated in *If a City* 2 (EN E₂ BI NI[G₂. ...]), and on line V2 1'. The latter has been only recently published as KAL 1, no. 15 and was therefore not available to Freedman.

§23.12

- A 13 [DIŠ MUŠ *gi-n*]a-a DÙ.A.BI ana IGI NA *ip-ta-na-rik* 'SÁ'.DUG₄-šú² [...]
 F ii 30 [... *ip-ta-na-r*]ik SÁ.DUG₄-š[u² ...]
 G 6 DIŠ MUŠ *gi-na*-a DÙ.A.BI ana IGI NA *ip-t[a-na-rik]* SÁ.DUG₄-šú LAL-*ti*

²⁴⁴ K 4134 + K 6759 + K 14548 (Lerculeur, forthcoming dissertation). According to Rachel Lerculeur, this might be a waking-up omen because the omens preceding it before a ruling are clearly sleep-omens. It can, however, not be ruled out that this is a dream-omen.

²⁴⁵ An updated edition of the lizard omens in *Šumma ālu* is being prepared for the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* by Nicole Lundeen, see also Lundeen, forthcoming master's thesis.

X₁ ii 14' DIŠ MUŠ *gi-na-a* DÙ.A.BI *ana* IGI N[A *ip-ta-na-rik* S]Á.DUG₄-šú [L]AL
V₁₂ ii 10 [DIŠ M]UŠ *gi-na-a ka-la-šu ana* IGI LÚ *ip-ta-na-rik* SAG-tuk NA LAL-ti (ruling)
V₂ i 2' [... SÁ.DUG₄-š]ú LAL¹-ti

DIŠ MUŠ *gi-na-a* DÙ.A.BI *ana* IGI NA *ip-ta-na-rik* SÁ.DUG₄-šú LAL-ti

šumma šēru ginâ kalâma ana pān amēli iptanarrik šattukkašu imaṭṭi

If a snake constantly and continually obstructs a man's path – his regular offerings will lessen.

Variant V1

[DIŠ M]UŠ *gi-na-a ka-la-šu ana* IGI LÚ *ip-ta-na-rik* SAG-tuk NA LAL-ti

[*šumma šē*]ru *ginâ kalâma ana pān amēli iptanarrik šattuk amēli imaṭṭi*

[If a sna]ke constantly and continually obstructs a man's path – the man's regular offerings will lessen.

a) The commentary §23-C5 explainss *ginâ kalâma* as follows: “[... Const]antly and continually (means) all day long, while the sun is shining” (§23-C5, see below).

b) Compare the different readings of lines A 13, F ii 30, and G 6 in *If a City 2* (p. 51, *23.12),

a13. [... -n]a-a DU₃.A.BI <ana> IGI NA *ip-ta-na-rik* **di KA**-[...]

F ii 30. [... -r]ik **di KA**-š[u ...]

G6'. DIŠ MUŠ *gi-na-a* DU₃.A.BI *ana* IGI NA *ip-t*[a- ... **d**]i **KA-šu**₂ LAL-ti

KAL 1, no. 11 (= ms. G) reads SÁ.DUG₄-šú in line G 6 for di KA-šu₂. The same reading is adopted here for line F ii 30. The translation of the omen in *If a City 2*, “If a snake constantly and everywhere is lying crosswise in front of man, ... he will be humbled” (*If a City 2*, p. 37, *23.12), should now be dismissed.

In line A 13, *ana* before IGI NA is visible, pace *If a City 2*, <ana>.

§ 23-C5 (§23.12)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 32)

W1 r. 2b-3a [... gi]-‘na’-a DÙ.A.BI : u₄-mu ma-la ^dUTU nap-ḫi / [...]

W2 r. 2b-3a [...] ‘DÙ.A’.BI : [u₄-mu] ‘ma’-la ^dUTU nap-ḫi / [ip]-ta-‘na’-[rik : ...]

[... **gi**]nâ **kalâma** : ūmu mala Šamaš napḫi / [ip]tana[rrik : ...]

[... **Const**]antly and continually (means) all day long, while the sun is shining, (the snake) lies across.

§23.12. *šumma šēru ginâ kalâma ana pān amēli iptanarrik šattukkašu imaṭṭi*

If a snake constantly and continually obstructs a man's path – his regular offerings will lessen.

- a) This first part of the commentary is an example of temporal specification, by limiting the implicitly endless or otherwise vague time period.²⁴⁶ The second part comments on the verb *iptanarrik* of the protasis, but the commentary is broken. The verb, translated “lies across,” is isolated here. In the base-text, it is part of the clause *ana pān amēli iptanarrik*, translated, “obstructs a man’s path” (see §23.12).
- b) Compare the translation by Jiménez, “[‘Const]antly all the time’ (Šumma Ālu 23 12) means during the day, while the sun is out. ‘(The snake) constantly lies across’ [...]” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, l. 31); and by Gabbay, “[‘constant]ly all the time’ – (at) day, as long as the sun is shining” (Gabbay 2019, p. 351).

§23.13

A 14	[DIŠ MUŠ <i>in-n</i>]a-dir-ma NA NIGIN NA BI DINGIR-šú <ana> MUNUS.S[IG ₅] UŠ.[MEŠ-šú]
F ii 31	[...] ‘SIG ₅ -tì [...]’
G 7	DIŠ MUŠ <i>in-’na’-dir-ma</i> ‘LÚ’ NIGIN L[Ú BI] DINGIR-šú ana SIG ₅ -tì UŠ.MEŠ-šú
X ₁ ii 15’	DIŠ MUŠ <i>in-na-dir-ma</i> NA N[IGIN ... UŠ].‘MEŠ’-[š]ú
V2 i 3’	[...] UŠ.UŠ-šú

DIŠ MUŠ *in-na-dir-ma* NA NIGIN NA BI DINGIR-šú ana SIG₅-tì UŠ.MEŠ-šú

šumma šēru innaddirma amēla ilmi amēlu šū ilšu ana damiqti irteneddīšu

If a snake goes wild and circles around a man – that man’s god will always lead him to good fortune.

- a) Compare the translation of the apodosis in *If a City 2*, “that man’s god will follow him with good fortune” (*If a City 2*, p. 37, *23.13). The verb *redû* can mean “to guide” and “to follow” among many other meanings (CAD R p. 226). Our translation aims to convey the directive meaning of *ana* and the habituitive meaning of the Gtn-stem (“always”).
- b) *In a City 2* reads SIG₅-tì at the end of line A 14 (*If a City 2*, *23.13, a14), following F ii 31 and G 7. However, upon collation, the partially broken signs on this line have been read MUNUS.S[IG₅].

§23.14

A 15	[DIŠ MUŠ NA] ‘ú’-ḥab-ba-ab Ḥ[U]L ² -ma ‘x’ [...]
G 8	DIŠ MUŠ NA ú-ḥab-ba-ab Ḥ[UL-ma] SÁ.SÁ
X ₁ ii 16’	DIŠ MUŠ NA ú-ḥab-ba-a[b ³ ...]
V2 i 4’	[... ḤU]L-ma SÁ.SÁ

DIŠ MUŠ NA ú-ḥab-ba-ab Ḥ[U]L-ma SÁ.SÁ

šumma šēru amēla uḥabbab il[emm]enma ikaššad

²⁴⁶ Gabbay 2019, p. 351.

If a snake hisses at a man – ev[il will man]ifest itself and will afflict (him).

- a) Our reading H[U]L²-*ma* in line A 15 is based on H[UL]-*ma* in line G 8 (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 8) and [... H[U]L]-*ma* in line V2 i 4' (see KAL 1, no. 15, l. 4'). Compare *If a City 2*, *u₃ ma* (*23.14, l. a15), and *u₃ ...* (*23.14, l. G8').

The new reading allows a full reconstruction of the apodosis: compare *If a City 2*, “If a snake caresses a man and [...] will rival [...]” (*If a City 2*, p. 37, *23.14).

- b) The commentary §23-C6 explains *uḥabbab* as follows: [u]ḥabbab : ḥabābu : ḥaṣānu : ḥabābu : našāqa / [...] ... naškun rigim “[It h]isses (means) to hiss (means) to take care; to hiss (means) to kiss. [...] ... noise was made” (§23-C6).

§ 23-C6 (§23.14)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 33)

W1 r. 3b-4a [... ú]-ḥab⁷-ba-ab : ḥa-ba-bu : ḥa-ṣa-nu : ḥa-ba-bu : na-šá-qa / [x] x x mi na-áš-kun ri-gim

W2 r. 3b-4a [...] ḥa⁷-ba⁷-bu⁷ : ḥa-ṣa-nu : ḥa-ba-bu : na-šá-qa / [...]

[... **u**]ḥabbab : ḥabābu : ḥaṣānu : ḥabābu : našāqu / [...] ... naškun rigim

[... (If a snake) h]isses (means) to hiss (means) to take care; to hiss (means also) to kiss. [...] ... noise was made.

§23.14. *šumma šēru amēla uḥabbab il[emm]enma ikaššad*

If a snake hisses at a man – ev[il will man]ifest itself and will affect (him).

- a) We follow Jiménez’s translation, “[... ‘(If a snake)] hisses’ (Šumma Ālu 23 14), ‘to hiss’ means ‘to take care,’ hence ‘to hiss’ also means ‘to kiss.’ [...] noise was made” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, l. 33).
- b) See also commentary §23-C1 (§23.3, §23.6, §23.7) on the verb *ṣabāru*, also translated as “to hiss.”

§23.15

A 16 [... HUL.H]UL-*ma* DAB-su-*ma* iš-šuk-šú NA BI ina BAD₄ EN INIM⁷-šú K[UR-ád]

G 9 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* NA KÚR.KÚR-*ma* DAB-su-*ma* iš-šuk-[šú NA BI ina] BAD₄ EN INIM-šú KUR-ád

X₁ ii 17’ DIŠ MUŠ *ana* NA KÚR.KÚR-*ma* DAB-su-*ma* iš-šuk-[šú ...]

V2 i 5’-6’ [... NA] BI ina MUNUS.KALA.GA / [EN INIM-šú] KUR-ád

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* NA KÚR.KÚR-*ma* DAB-su-*ma* iš-šuk-šú NA BI ina BAD₄ EN INIM-šú KUR-ád

šumma šēru ana amēli ittakirma iṣbassuma iššukšu amēlu šū ina dannati bēl dabābišu ikaššad

If a snake becomes very hostile towards a man, attacks him and bites him – (though finding himself) in dire straits, that man will overcome his adversary.

Variant A⁽²³⁾

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* NA 𒄩UL.𒄩]UL-*ma* DAB-*su-ma* iš-šuk-šú NA BI *ina* BAD₄ EN INIM-šú K[UR-ád]

[šumma šēru *ana amēli ilte*]mminma išbassuma iššukšu amēlu šū *ina dannati bēl dabābišu ik*[aššad]

[If a snake becomes very aggress]ive [towards a man], attacks him and bites him – (though finding himself) in dire straits, that man will ov[ercome] his adversary.

a) Ms. A has a semantic variant, *iltemmin* (*lemēnu* “to be(come) bad”) instead of *ittakkir* (*nakāru* “to be(come) hostile”) in ms. G and ms. X.

b) The double logogram writing KÚR.KÚR to express the Gtn-stem *ittakkir* was imitated in the reconstruction of line A 16 as [... 𒄩UL.𒄩]UL (Gtn *iltemmin*). The Gtn-stem was translated “becomes very hostile” (*ittakkir*) and “very aggressive” (*iltemmin*).

§23.16

A 17 [DIŠ MUŠ TA 1]5 NA *ana* 150 NA DIB-*iq* MU MUNUS.SIG₅-tì TUK-ši

G 10 [DIŠ] MUŠ TA 15 NA *ana* 150 NA DIB-*iq* MU MUNUS.S[I]G₅-tì TUK-ši

X₁ ii 18’ DIŠ MUŠ TA 15 NA *ana* 150 NA D[IB-*iq* ...]

V2 i 7’ [... SI]G₅.GA TUK-ši

DIŠ MUŠ TA 15 NA *ana* 150 NA DIB-*iq* MU MUNUS.SIG₅-tì TUK-ši

šumma šēru ištu imitti amēli *ana šumēl amēli ītiq šum damiqti irašši*

If a snake crosses from a man’s right to the man’s left – he will have a good reputation.

a) §§23.16-17 form a pair of opposites. See comments for §23.17 below.

§23.17

A 18 [DIŠ MUŠ TA 1]50 NA *ana* 15 NA DIB-*iq* MU-šú *ina* MUNUS.𒄩UL DU₈-ár

G 11 [DIŠ M]UŠ TA GÙB NA *ana* ZAG NA DIB-*iq* MU-šú [*ina*] ‘MUNUS’.‘𒄩UL’ DU₈-ár

X₁ ii 19’ DIŠ MUŠ TA 150 NA *ana* 15 NA [...]

V2 i 8’ [...] MUNUS.𒄩UL DU₈-ár (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ TA 150 NA *ana* 15 NA DIB-*iq* MU-šú *ina* MUNUS.𒄩UL DU₈-ár

šumma šēru ištu šumēl amēli *ana imitti amēli ītiq šumšu ina lemutti ippaṭṭar*

If a snake crosses from a man’s left to a man’s right – his reputation will be cleared of evil.

a) §§23.16-17 form a pair of opposites, right to left and left to right. In omens, the right side is associated with the positive, the left side with the negative; two positives make a positive apodosis, two negatives make a positive apodosis, and a positive and a negative make a negative apodosis.²⁴⁷ The

²⁴⁷ See e.g. Guinan 1996, Brown 2006.

apodoses of both §23.16 and §23.17 are positive, an analysis of the parameters in the protasis confirms the reasoning of right-left association.

- b) Compare the reconstruction of §23.17 in *If a City* 2, DIŠ MUŠ TA 150 NA ana 15 NA DIB-iq MU-šu₂ ina SAL.ḪUL TUK-ši, which has resulted in the interpretation of the apodosis as being negative, “he will acquire his reputation for evil” (pp. 38-39, *23.17). Freedman’s reading TUK-ši (*bašû* “to have”) at the end of line G 11 has been corrected in KAL 1 to DU₈-ár (*paṭāru* “to release”) (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 11). Discussing the omen in an article, Guinan also reads TUK-ši and translates “he will have a bad name” (Guinan 1996, p. 9).

We have collated the end of line A 18 according to G 11. Compare *If a City* 2, l. a18, [... 1]50 NA ana 15 NA DIB-iq MU-šu₂ ina SAL.ḪUL ina še di (p. 51, *23.17).

§23.18

- A 19-20 [DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ] NA *ik-bu-us-ma ana* [1]5 NIGIN-úr MU 3-KÁM ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB.ŠUB-ma DINGIR *i-saḥ-ḫur-’ma’* [TI-uṭ][?] / [KI.MIN KI.ŠÚ N]ÍG.GIG ana IGI NA GIB ^dAMAR[?].’UTU[?] [iš]-te[?]-né-’e-e-ma GIZKIM-šú DIB-iq-šú
- G 12-13 [DIŠ S]AG.DU MUŠ NA *ik-bu-us-ma ana* 15 NIGIN-úr MU 3-K[ÁM ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB DINGI]R *ú-saḥ-ḫar-ma TI-uṭ* / [K]I.MIN KI.ŠÚ NÍG.GIG ana IGI NA GIB ^dAMA[R.UTU iš]-t[e-né-’e-ma GIZKIM-š]u DIB-iq-šú
- X₁ ii 20’-21’ DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA *ik-bu-us-m[a ...]* / *’ú-’-’saḥ-’-’ḫar-’-ma TI-uṭ* : [...]
- V₁₂ iii 8’-9’ [...] ’NIGIN’ ’LÚ’ BI MU 3-KÁM ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB-di DINGIR NIGIN-ma TI-uṭ / [LÚ B]I[?] ^dA-MAR.UTU *i-še*_(KUR)[!]-ú[!]-ma GIZKIM KI.ŠÚ <DIB>-iq-šú
- V₂ i 9’-11’ [... MU] 3-KÁM ina K[I.ŠÚ] ’ŠUB’ / [DINGIR NIGIN-ma] ’TI’[!]-’uṭ’ / [... GIZKIM-š]u DIB’[!]-’iq’-šú

DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA *ik-bu-us-ma ana* 15 NIGIN-úr MU 3-KÁM ina K[I.ŠÚ] ŠUB [DINGI]R *ú-saḥ-ḫar-ma TI-uṭ*

[K]I.MIN KI.ŠÚ NÍG.GIG ana IGI NA GIB ^dAMA[R.UTU iš]-t[e-né-’e-ma GIZKIM-š]u DIB-iq-šú

šumma qaqqad šēri amēlu ikbusma ana imitti isḫur MU 3-KÁM ina kīli innaddi [il]a usaḥḫarma iballuṭ

[K]I.MIN *kīl marušti ana pān amēli iparrik Mar*[duk iš]t[ene’ēma ittaš]u ittiqšu

If a man tramples on a snake’s head and it turns to the right – he will be thrown into prison for three years, (but) he should (his) [g]od turn back (to him) and he will survive.

[Dit]to – hard imprisonment will obstruct the man’s path, (but) [he should continually seek out] Mar[duk and hi]s [omen] will pass him by.

Variant A⁽²³⁾

[DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ] NA *ik-bu-us-ma ana* [1]5 NIGIN-úr MU 3-KÁM ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB.ŠUB-ma DINGIR *i-saḥ-ḫur-’ma’* [TI-uṭ][?]

[KI.MIN KI.ŠÚ N]ÍG.GIG ana IGI NA GIB ^dAMAR[?].’UTU[?] [iš]-te[?]-né-’e-e-ma GIZKIM-šú DIB-iq-šú

[šumma qaqqad šēri] amēlu ikbusma ana [imi]tti iṣhur MU 3-KÁM ina kīli ittanaddīma ila isahḫurma
[iballuṭ

KI.MIN kīl mar]uṣti ana pān amēli iparrik [Mar]duk [iṣ]tene' ēma ittaṣu ittiqṣu

[If] a man tramples [on a snake's head] and it turns to the [rig]ht – he will be thrown into prison for three years, but (his) god will turn back (to him) and [he will survive]?

Ditto – [har]d [imprisonment] will obstruct the man's path, (but) he should continually [se]ek out [Mard]uk and his omen will pass him by.

Variant V1/V2

[DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA ik-bu-us-ma ana 15]² NIGIN LÚ BI MU 3-KÁM ina KI.ŠÚ ŠUB-di DINGIR
NIGIN-ma TI-uṭ [LÚ BI]² AMAR.UTU i-še_(KUR)-ú'-ma GIZKIM KI.ŠÚ DIB-iq-šú

[šumma qaqqad šēri amēlu ikbusma ana imitti]² iṣhur amēlu šū MU 3-KÁM ina kīli innaddi ila
usahḫarma iballuṭ [amēlu š]ū² Marduk iše'ūma itti kīli <itt>iqṣu

[If a man tramples on a snake's head and]² it turns [to the right]² – that man will be thrown into prison for three years, but he should make (his) god turn back (to him) and he will survive; [tha]t² [man] should seek out Marduk and the omen of prison will <pas>s him by.

a) The forerunner manuscripts V1 and V2 do not have KI.MIN but display an asyndetic double apodosis. This is, for instance, also the case in §23.37. It seems to me that the apodosis preceding KI.MIN and the one following it are very similar in meaning: prison – god pleading – survival. The variant V1/V2 seems repetitive, the later variant inserts a KI.MIN to resolve this problem.

b) The subject of iṣhur in the protasis could be the same as the subject of ikbus, the man, as it is suggested by Freedman, “If a man tramples a snake's head and turns to the right” (*If a City 2*, p. 39, *22.18). Alternatively, as we suggest, the ominous sign is the snake's head being trampled and then turning to the right (or to the left, see §23.19 below). A third option is that the subject of iṣhur in the snake itself, “the snake turns to the right.”

c) We follow KAL 1, no. 9 for the reading of lines X₁ ii 20'-21' (see KAL 1, p. 34). Compare the reading in *If a City 2* (corrected signs marked bold),

DIŠ SAG MUŠ NA ik-bu-us-šu₂-m[a ...] / x x x-ma TI-uṭ (*If a City 2*, p. 52, *23.18, l. X₁ ii 20'-21')

d) We follow KAL 1, no. 11 for the reading of lines G 12-13 (see KAL 1, p. 44). Compare *If a City 2* (corrected signs marked bold),

[...] SAG.DU MUŠ NA ik-bu-us-ma ana 15 NIGIN MU.3.KA[M₂ ...] x u₂-saḫ-ḫar-ma / **lu** KI.ŠU₂
NIG₂.GIG ana IGI NA GIB x [...] DIG-iq-šu₂ (*If a City 2*, p. 52, *23.18 G12'-13')

e) Line A 20 has been collated on the basis of mss. X and G; compare *If a City 2* (corrected signs marked bold),

[...] NA ik-bu-us-ma ana [1]5 NIGIN-ur₂ MU.3.KAM₂ ina KI-**šu₂** ŠUB.ŠUB-ma DINGIR i-saḫ-ḫur?-**ma?**
/ [... **N**]IG₂.GIG ana IGI NA GIB x x **uš-ni-i'-e-ma** u GISKIM-šu₂ DIB-iq-šu₂ (*If a City 2* *23.18 a19-20)

§23.19

A 21	[...] NIGIN-úr <i>ina</i> PAP.ḪAL <i>u</i> BAD ₄ [<i>i-na</i>]- <i>pu-uš</i> MUNUS.SIG ₅ IGI- <i>mar</i>
G 14	DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA <i>ik-bu-us-ma ana</i> 1[50 ... MUNUS.SI]G ₅ IGI- <i>mar</i>
X ₁ ii 22'	[...] 'x' [...]
V ₁₂ iii 10'	[... NI]GIN LÚ BI <i>ina pú-uš-qí u</i> MUNUS.KALA.GA È- <i>ši</i>
V ₂ i 12'	[...] 'È' (ruling)

DIŠ SAG.DU MUŠ NA *ik-bu-us-ma ana* 1[50] NIGIN-úr *ina* PAP.ḪAL *u* BAD₄ [*i-na*]-*pu-uš* MUNUS.SIG₅ IGI-*mar*

šumma qaqqad šēri amēlu ikbusma ana šum[ēli] isḫur ina pušqi u dannati [ina]ppuš damiqta immar

If a man tramples on a snake's head and it turns to the le[ft] – he [will be able to bre]ath freely (being delivered) from misery and hardship, he will experience good fortune.

Variant V1

[DIŠ SAG.DU[?] MUŠ[?] NA[?] *ik-bu-us-ma[?] ana[?]* 150[?] NI]GIN LÚ BI *ina pú-uš-qí u* MUNUS.KALA.GA È-*ši*

[*šumma qaqqad[?] šēri[?] amēlu[?] ikbusma[?] ana[?] šumēli[?] is*]ḫur *amēlu šū ina pušqi u dannati ušši*

[If a man[?] tramples[?] on a snake's head[?] and[?] it tu]rns [to the left][?] – that man will escape from misery and hardship.

- On our interpretation of the snake or the snake's head as the subject of *isḫur* in the protasis, see §23.18, comment (b).
- The attribution of ms. V1 iii 10' to this omen is somewhat speculative, but it is based on the fact that V1 iii 8'-9' clearly corresponds to omen §23.18. Also, the apodosis of V1 iii 10' is very similar to the one attested by A and G.
- The transliteration of line V2 i 12' in KAL 1 is [...] 'x' du (KAL 1, p. 66, no. 15, l. i 12'). The edition does not offer a handcopy of ms. V2, but perhaps the broken sign before DU is UD and thus UD.DU, read together as È, would be parallel to the apodosis È-*ši* in ms. V1.
Col. ii of ms. V2 is too fragmentary for a translation. For the transliteration of the few signs visible on the left edge, see KAL 1, p. 67.
- The 'x' sign in line X₁ ii 22' remains unread. This is the last omen on ms. X₁ before it breaks off: the rest of the omen sequence follows on the non-physical join X₂ in §23.75 (line X₂ iii 1').

§23.20

A 22	[... N]A <i>ú-gal-lit-ma</i> ù MUŠ <i>is-[si]</i> NA BI ŠU ḪUL-ti ₅ KUR- <i>su</i>
F ii 33	[...] 'x' 'x' <i>ú-gal-lit u</i> MU[Š ...]
G 15	DIŠ MUŠ <i>ina</i> ŠUB-šú NA <i>ú-gal-lit u</i> [...] 'KUR' ¹ - <i>su</i>

DIŠ MUŠ ina ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit u MUŠ is-[si] NA BI ŠU ḪUL-ti₅ KUR-su

šumma šēru ina maqātišu amēla ugallit u šēru is[si] amēlu šū qāt lemutti ikaššassu

If a snake frightens a man by falling and (then) the snake cri[es o]ut – (the disease) “hand of evil” will take hold of that man.

a) Note the repeated conjunction in line A 22, *ú-gal-lit-ma ù*. The same phenomenon appears in §23.25, line A 26.

b) The interpretation of *qāt lemutti* as a disease is based on similar apodoses of the form *qāt DN ikaššassu* or *qātu ikaššassu*, which have been interpreted as specific diseases (see §22.15, comment (b)).

§23.21

A 23 DIŠ MUŠ KI.[MIN ...] NU is-si [KUR]-ád Á.ÁŠ

F ii 34 [... i]na ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit-ma NU [...]

G 16 DIŠ MUŠ ina ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit-ma NU [... Á].ÁŠ

DIŠ MUŠ ina ŠUB-šú NA ú-gal-lit-ma NU is-si [KUR]-ád Á.ÁŠ

šumma šēru ina maqātišu amēla ugallitma ul issi [kaš]ād šibûti

If a snake frightens a man by falling, but it (the snake) does not cry out – (he will be) [grant]ed a wish.

a) The verb *issi* could also refer to the man, i.e. “but he (the man) does not cry out,” but in parallel with the protasis of the preceding omen, §23.20, “and (then) the snake cr[ies o]ut,” where the snake (MUŠ) is clearly written, we interpret the subject of *issi* in §23.21 as the snake as well. The translation in *If a City 2* (p. 39, *23.21) has, “but does cry out,” which is probably a typo.

b) In *If a City 2* (p. 52, *22.21), the line in ms. F containing this omen is F ii 39^(sic), but according to the STT handcopy, it is F ii 34. The reading is the same.

c) The reconstruction of the apodosis is based on possible parallels in §22.55’, §§22.70’-71’, §23.95.

§23.22

A 24 DIŠ MUŠ ina S[AG] NA ik-nun-ma NÁ-iš GAR-un G[Ú-m]i NA BI ÚŠ

F ii 35 [DIŠ MUŠ] ina SAG NA ik-nun-ma NÁ-iš [...]

G 17 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina SAG NA ‘ik’-nun-ma NÁ-[i₅ ...] ‘ÚŠ’

DIŠ MUŠ ina SAG NA ik-nun-ma NÁ-iš GAR-un G[Ú-m]i NA BI ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina reš amēli iknunma rabiš šukun ri[gm]i amēlu šū imât

If a snake coils on a man’s head and lies down – (there will be) wa[il]ing, that man will die.

- a) In *If a City 2* (p. 52, *23.22), the line in ms. F containing this omen is F ii 40^(sic), but according to the STT handcopy, it is F ii 35. The reading is the same.

§23.23

A 25a	DIŠ MUŠ <i>r[a-man]-šú ik-kal GAR-un GÜ-mi NA [BI TI]</i>
F ii 36	[DIŠ MU]Š <i>ra-man-š[ú] 'i'-kal GAR-un [...]</i>
G 18	[DIŠ] MUŠ <i>ra-man-šú [i]k-kal [...]</i> TI

DIŠ MUŠ *ra-man-šú ik-kal GAR-un GÜ-mi NA [BI] TI*

šumma šēru ramānšu ikkal šukun rigmi amēlu [šū] iballuṭ

If a snake eats itself – (there will be) wailing, (but) [that] man will survive.

- a) Our F ii 36 (following the copy in STT) corresponds to F ii 41^(sic) in *If a City 2* (p. 52). The reading is the same.
- b) Line A 25 has two omens, a and b; *If a City 2* (p. 52) did not see this and associated the line with a single omen, *23.23, DIŠ MUŠ *ra-man-šu₂ ik-kal GAR-un ka mi na [...]* ina KA-šu₂ DAM NA NITA U₃.TU “If a snake eats itself – establishment of ... [...] in his mouth; the man’s wife will bear a male child” (*If a City 2*, pp. 38-39).

§23.24

(see *If a City 2*, *23.23, *23.25)²⁴⁸

A 25b	[DIŠ MUŠ] <i>'KUN'-su' ina KA-šú na-ši DAM NA NITA Û.TU</i>
G 19	[DIŠ] MUŠ KUN- <i>'su'</i> ina K[A]-šú na-š[i ...] Û.TU
F ii 37	[DIŠ MU]Š KUN- <i>su</i> ina KA-šú na-ši DAM [...]

[DIŠ] MUŠ KUN-*su* ina KA-šú na-ši DAM NA NITA Û.TU

[šumma] šēru zibbassu ina pīšu naši aššat amēli zikra ullad

[If] a snake holds its tail in its mouth – the wife of the man will give birth to a boy.

- a) The score in *If a City 2* notes that ms. A⁽²³⁾ omit this omen. However, collation has shown that this omen is written on the second half of line A 25, i.e. A 25b (A25a belongs to §23.23, see above). The end of A25a is followed by a break containing the beginning of the new omen [DIŠ MUŠ]. After the break, KUN-*su* can be read (pace *If a City 2*, p. 52, *23.23, a 25, [...] *ina KA-šu₂ DAM NA NITA U₃.TU*).

²⁴⁸ From this omen onward, the sequence and omen numbering diverges from the sequence and numbering established by Freedman (2006a), *If a City 2*, on which also later studies of the snake omens are based, e.g. CCP 3.5.22.A.b (Jiménez 2014), Gabbay 2019, Muller 2016. For this reason, the numbering in *If a City 2* is added in the heading to each score.

b) In *If a City 2* (score), lines G 20-21 are interpreted as parallel to line A 26 (*23.24); line G 19 is interpreted as parallel to line F ii 37 (mistakenly designated F ii 42, same reading). On these lines see §23.23, comment (c) and KAL 1, p. 50, nn. 18-19.

§23.25

(see *If a City 2*, *23.24, *23.26)

A 26 DIŠ MUŠ KI.MIN-*ma* ù MUŠ MAN-*ma* *ina* UGU N[Á-*iš* S]U.GU₇ *ina* KUR G[ÁL-*ši*? D]AM?
ÚŠ-*ma* É BI BIR

F ii 38-39 [DIŠ M]UŠ KUN-*su* *ina* KA-šú *na-ši-ma* [...] / 'SU'.GU₇ *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši* [...]

G 20-21 [DIŠ M]UŠ 'KUN-*su* *ina* KA'-šú *na-ši-ma* [...] NÁ-*iš* / [S]U.G[U]₇ *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši* [DAM ÚŠ]?-
'*ma*' [É B]I BIR-*aḥ*

DIŠ MUŠ KUN-*su* *ina* KA-šú *na-ši-ma* MUŠ MAN-*ma* *ina* UGU NÁ-*iš* [S]U.GU₇ *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši*
[D]AM? ÚŠ-*ma* É BI BIR-*aḥ*

šumma šēru zibbassu ina pišu našīma šēru šanūma ina muḥḥi rabiš [ḥu]šaḥḥu ina māti ibbašši [ašš]atu?
imātma bītu šū issappaḥ

If a snake holds its tail in its mouth and a second snake lies down on top (of it) – there will be [fa]mine in the land, [the wi]fe (of the man)? will die and that house will be dispersed.

a) Another example of a double conjunction -*ma* ù is found in line A 22 (§23.20).

b) In the handcopy of ms. G in KAR 386, two fragments have been joined in the wrong place. Since Freedman's edition of ms. G is based on KAR 386, protases and apodoses are mismatched there. Starting with §23.26 below, the reconstructions in *If a City 2* based on the KAR copy are reproduced for comparison (see the comments on §23.26-37).

c) The score for *23.24 (*If a City 2*, p. 52) notes "C omits," probably a typo for "F omits." However, according to the new sequence we have established, lines F ii 38-39 can be placed here.

§23.26

(see *If a City 2*, *23.26, *23.27)

A 27 DIŠ MUŠ *rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM UR.MA[Ḥ *i-ram-mu-um*] *ka-šú-šú* i[*na* KU]R GÁL

F ii 40 [DIŠ MU]Š *rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM U[R.MAḤ ...]

G 22 [DIŠ MU]Š *rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM UR.MAḤ *i-ra*[*m-mu-u*]m *ka-šú-šú* [šú *ina* KUR?] GÁL-*ši*

DIŠ MUŠ *rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM UR.MAḤ *i-ram-mu-um* *ka-šú-šú* *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši*

šumma šēru rittī šakinma kīma nēši irammum kašūšu ina māti ibašši

If a snake has paws (like a lion) and roars like a lion – there will be a catastrophe in the land.

- a) The interpretation of *rit-ti* in the protasis created some difficulty in antiquity. The ancient commentators tried to explain the word in §23-C7 as homophonous to an otherwise unknown noun *riṭtu*, which in turn is explained by *rigim* “noise.” For *riṭtu*, see the ancient commentary §23-C7 below.²⁴⁹
- b) Line F ii 40 is counted as F ii 45 in *If a City 2* and is associated with *23.27.
- c) Since two fragments of ms. G have been wrongly joined in the handcopy of KAR 386, on which the edition in *If a City 2* is based (see §23.25, comment b), line G 22 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*. The signs actually belonging to line G 22 (see score) are marked bold.

*23.26, G22'-23'. [... M]UŠ KUN-su ina KA-šu₂ na-ši-ma [...] BIR-aḥ / [S]U.KU₂ ina KUR GAL₂-ši **ka-šu₂-šu₂ GAL₂-ši**

*23.27, G24'. [... M]UŠ [...] **-ti GAR-ma GIM UR.MAḥ i-ram-**[...] DIB-su TIL[A]

§ 23-C7 (§23.26)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 34)

W1 r. 4b-5a : MUŠ *rit-ti* GAR-ma GIM UR.MAḥ i-ram-mu-um / *ri-gim* <<:>> šá-kin-ma : *ri-iṭ-tu* : *ri-gim*

W2 r. 4b-5a [... i]-*ram*-mu-um : *ri-gim* šá-kin-ma / [...]

ṣēru rittī šakinma kīma nēši irammum / *rigim šakinma* : *riṭtu* : *rigim*

(If) a snake has paws (like a lion) and roars like a lion / (It refers to the snake that) makes noise, (since)*riṭtu* (means) noise.

- a) This commentary first quotes the protasis of §23.26 (without DIŠ), then substitutes the phrase *rittī šakinma* with *rigim šakinma* and explains this by equating the homophonous *riṭtu*, an otherwise unknown word, with *rigim* “noise.”

Gabbay interprets this comment as an example for a commentary trying to solve a problem in verisimilitude in an omen text by “[dealing] with the impossible reality of a snake having claws, and through a lexical homophonic alteration contextualizes the omen with the roaring mentioned in the second part of the omen’s protasis” (Gabbay 2019, 347, n. 8).

- b) Jiménez believes that the source of *riṭtu* “noise” must be an unknown lexical list (Jiménez 2014, n. 19); Gabbay suggests that *riṭtu* might be related to or a corruption of the Aramaic ריטנא, which maybe means “murmur” (see Gabbay 2019, p. 347, n. 8).

§23.27

(see *If a City 2*, *23.27, *23.28)

A 28 DIŠ MUŠ ana *bi*’-*rit*’ NITA u MUNUS ŠU[B-ut² ... z]e-nu-ti TAR.MEŠ

F ii 41 [DIŠ MU]Š ana *bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS [...]

G 23 [DIŠ MU]Š ana *bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut [lu] ina bu² [x] lu ina *ze*’-[nu]-ti TAR.MEŠ

V12 ii 11 [DIŠ MU]Š a-na *bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut lu i-na ÚŠ lu ina *ze-nu-ti* TAR.MEŠ (ruling)

²⁴⁹ See also Gabbay 2019, p. 347, n. 8, and Jiménez 2014, n. 19

DIŠ MUŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut lu ina ... [...] lu ina ze-nu-ti TAR.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqut lū ... [...] lū ina zenûti ipparrasū

If a snake falls between a man and a woman – they will part either in ... [...] or in hate.

Variant V1

[DIŠ MU]Š *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut lu i+na-bīt lu ina ze-nu-ti TAR.MEŠ

[*šumma šēr*]u *ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqut lū innabit lū ina zenûti ipparrasū*

[If a snak]e falls between a man and a woman – either he will *flee* or they will part in hate.

- a) The apodosis of the main variant (ms. G) is too fragmentary for a translation. The visible traces do not seem to be compatible with the apodosis in the forerunner text ms. V1, in which the apodosis is fully preserved. We follow KAL 1, where the reading of the the apodosis in ms. V1 is read *lu i+na-bīt lu ina ze-nu-ti* TAR.MEŠ “Entweder er wird *fliehen* oder sie werden sich in Haß trennen” (KAL 1, no. 14, l. II 11; KAL 1, p. 63).
- b) We translate NITA *zikru* as “man,” like *amēlu*, but the meaning of *zikru* is “a male” and *amēlu* refers to a “citizen” (as opposed to a commoner, *muškēnu*). *zikru* here is used as neutral word for a male person next to *sinništu*, “woman,” for a female person.
- c) Line G 23 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*; the signs which actually belong to §23.27 are marked bold,

*23.27, G24'. [...] M]UŠ [...] -ti GAR-ma GIM UR.MAH i-ram-[...] **DIB-su TIL[A]**

*23.28, G25'. [...] M]UŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ma [...] -šu₂-ma [x] GAZ *ana* IGI x za x x

§ 23.28

(see *If a City 2*, *23.28, *23.28a, *23.29)

A 29 DIŠ MUŠ KI.[MIN]-ma NU 'È' [...] H]UL-šú DU₈¹(GAZ)-[ir]²

F ii 42 [DIŠ MU]Š *ana bi-rit* NITA [...]

G 24 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ma NU 'È'-ma 'GAZ'-šú H[U]L-šú 'DU₈'-i[r]

Ex4₂ 12'+Ex4₁ 10' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma [...] HUL]-šú DU₈ (ruling)

V1₂ ii 12 [DIŠ MUŠ] *a-na bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma NU È GAZ-šú HUL-šu DU₈-ir (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma NU È-ma GAZ-šú HUL-šú DU₈-ir

šumma šēru ana birīt zikri u sinništi imqutma lā ūšīma idukkūšu lumunšu paṭir

If a snake falls between a man and a woman but it does not get out and they kill it – his misery will be dispelled.

- a) The apodosis could also be understood as “its (the snake’s) evil is released.” For *lumnu* “misery,” see also §23.9. The protasis of “23.28 speaks of a man and a woman, but as the client of an omen is primarily the “man,” the apodosis might just as well only affect him and not both people mentioned in the protasis.

b) A problem caused by the mismatched KAR copy of ms. G and the resulting disruption of the omen sequence (see above) is the incorrect placement of A 29 (a29) in *If a City 2*. According to Freedman, this line represents an omen *23.28a inserted between *23.28 and *23.29. This is unnecessary. Line A 29 has been collated and a new reading has been proposed (see score). Compare *If a City 2*, DIŠ MUŠ KI[MIN]-ma NU E₃ [...] x šú GAZ? [x] (*23.28a, a29).

c) Line F ii 42 is counted F ii 47 in *If a City 2* and is associated with *23.29.

d) Line G 24 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*, the signs which actually belong to §23.28 are marked bold. Note that several readings have been collated (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 24),

*23.28, G25'. [...] M]UŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ma [...] -šu₂-ma [x] GAZ *ana* IGI x za x x

*23.29, G26'. [...] M]UŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ma ŠUB-ma x [...] -u]z-zu DAM [...] x x x

e) E4₂+E4₁ is an excerpt text consisting of two non-physical joins preserving, respectively, the left and right edges of the manuscript. Some lines are preserved on both fragments. *If a City 2* calls the left fragment Ex(4)₂ and the right one Ex(4)₁. These sigla have been adopted here too. However, in the present score, the siglum Ex4₂ (left side) appears before Ex4₁ (right side).

If a City 2 mistakenly associates Ex4₂ 12'+Ex4₁ 10' with *23.31 and Ex4₂ 8'+Ex4₁ 10' with *23.29 (see *If a City 2*, p. 53). Note that only the left half of *23.31 is underlined by a ruling, which of course goes over both fragments. Importantly, DU₈ in *23.29 has been corrected (see §23.29).

*23.29, Ex(4)₁ 8+Ex(4)₂ 10. [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* MURU₂ DAM u DAM ŠUB-ut **DU**₈ [...] DAM TAG₄.ME UG₇.UG₇

*23.30, Ex(4)₁ 9+Ex(4)₂ 11. [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* MU[RU₂] DAM u DAM ŠUB-ut-ma [...] x DU₈ SILIM GAR-šu₂

*23.31, Ex(4)₁ 10+Ex(4)₂ 12. [...] MUŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma [...] -šu₂ DU₈

§23.29

(see *If a City 2*, *23.29, *23.30)

A 30 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* [MUR]UB₄ [...] i-z]u-uz-zu DAM u DAM TAG₄.ME Ú[Š.ÚŠ]

F ii 43 [DIŠ MUŠ *an*]a MURUB₄ [...]

G 25 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB *tap-pu-ú* i-[z]u-zu DA[M u DA]M 'TAG₄'. [M]E [ÚŠ.ÚŠ]

Ex4₂ 10' [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB *tap-pu-ú* [...] DAM TAG₄.ME ÚŠ.ÚŠ
+Ex4₁ 8'

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB *tap-pu-ú* i-zu-zu DAM u DAM TAG₄.ME ÚŠ.ÚŠ

šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqut tappû izuzzû mutu u aššatu innezzibû imuttû

If a snake falls between husband and wife – partners will divide (their assets), husband and wife will leave each other (and) die.

a) According to our reconstruction, *izzuzzû* is G present 3. masc. pl. of *zâzu* “to divide” and forms the first part of the double apodosis. *If a City 2* (p. 39) interprets *izzuzzû* as part of the protasis, husband and wife being the subject. The glossary to KAL 1 puts this line under *zâzu(m)* “teilen” (see KAL 6, p. 29), but how the translation “sich hasen” (KAL 1, no. 11, p. 47, l. 25) is reached, is unclear.

b) Ms. E4 has a variant sequence: §23.29 (lines 8+10), §23.30 (lines 9+11), §23.28 (lines 10+12). For the problems with the omen sequence in *If a City 2*, see §23.28, comment (d). The signs **tap-pu-ú** on line Ex4₂ 10'+Ex4₁ 8' have been collated. Compare the reading DU₈ in *If a City 2* (*23.29, Ex(4)₁ 8 + Ex(4)₂ 10, see above).

c) Line G 25 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*, the signs which actually belong to §23.29 are marked bold. Note that several signs have been collated (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 25).

*23.29, G26'. [... M]UŠ *ana bi-rit* NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-*ma* ŠUB-*ma* x [...-u]z-zu DAM [...] x x x

*23.30, G27'. [... M]UŠ *ana* MURU₂ DAM u DAM ŠUB bi su x i [...] GAL₂-šu₂ [...]

§23.30

(see *If a City 2*, *23.30, *23.31)

A 31 DIŠ MUŠ KI.[MIN ...] DU₈ SILIM-*mi* GA[R-šú]

F ii 43 [...] 'ana' MURUB₄ [...]

G 26 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB-*ma* NU È [x] x-šú? [... SILIM-*m*]i? GAR-[šú]

Ex4₂ 11'
+Ex4₁ 9' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* MU[RUB₄] DAM u DAM ŠUB-*ut-ma* [...]-šú? DU₈ SILIM-*mi* GAR-šú

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u DAM ŠUB-*ut-ma* NU È [...] ... DU₈ SILIM-*mi* GAR-šú

šumma šēru ana qabal muti u aššati imqutma lā ūši [...] ... *piṭir salīmi iššakkanšu*

If a snake falls between husband and wife and it does not go away [...] – ... an interruption of (his) peace will be his lot.

a) *piṭru* literally means “split”, here translated “interruption.”

b) SILIM (DI) is interpreted as *salīmu* “peace(fulness)” (see CAD S, p. 101, b). *If a City 2* (p. 39) translates “goodwill,” but she does not understand the apodosis (“there will be goodwill for him ...”). For *salīmu* “peace,” see also *Enūma Anu Enlil*, Tablet 24 (25),²⁵⁰

AŠ.ME *ina* ŠÀ-[š]a KI.MIN *ana* IGI-ša ^dKab-ta KI.MIN ^dDil-bat GUB NAM.KÚR SILIM-*mi* GAR “If Kabta, variant: Venus stands within, variant: in front of a disk: enmity will turn to peace” (Tablet 24 (25) III 11).²⁵¹

c) Line A 23 has been collated. Compare the different reading in *If a City 2*, DIŠ MUŠ KI[MIN ...] DU₈ SILIM.MI GA[L₂ ...] (*If a City 2*, *23.30, a31).

f) Line G 26 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*, the signs which actually belong to §23.30 are marked bold.

*23.30, G27'. [... M]UŠ *ana* MURU₂ DAM u DAM ŠUB bi su x i [...] GAL₂-šu₂ [...]

*23.31, G28'. [...] MUŠ *ana* MURU₂ DAM u DAM ŠUB-*ma* *ina* GU.DU [...] b]i-ri-šu₂-nu ŠUB-*ma* [...] x x x

²⁵⁰ van Soldt 1995, pp. 16ff.

²⁵¹ van Soldt 1995, p. 24, III 11. See also ibd. n. 2, explaining that the passage is unclear and that the translation follows an enmedation of *ana*, i.e. NAM.KÚR <*ana*> SILIM-*mi* GAR.

Compare also our reading of line G 26 with the one proposed in KAL 1, no. 11 (relevant signs marked bold),

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM *u* DAM ŠUB-*ma* NU È **[x]** **duk**²-šú [...] **x** šá **[x]** (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 26)

§23.31

(see *If a City* 2, *23.31, *23.32)

- A 32 [...] *bi-ri-šú-nu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.ME-šú TAG₄.ME-*ma* NI[TA TI-*u*]
- G 27 [DIŠ] MUŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ *lu* GUB.ME[Š *ana b*]i-ri-šú-nu ŠUB-*ma* I[GI.MEŠ-šú TAG₄].ME[Š NI]TA TI-*u*
- H 1' [...] 'u' 'MUNUS' [KI].TUŠ.M[EŠ ...]
- V1₂ ii 13 [DIŠ MUŠ *a-ša*]r [N]ITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ *ù-lu* GUB.MEŠ *ana bi-ri-šú-nu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.MEŠ NITA *u* MUNUS TAG₄ NITA <TI>²-*u*? (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ *lu* GUB.MEŠ [*ana*] *bi-ri-šú-nu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.MEŠ-šú TAG₄.MEŠ-*ma* NITA TI-*u*

[šumma] šēru *ašar zikru u sinništu ašbū lū izzazzū* [*ana*] *birīšunu imqutma imurūšu innezzibūma zikru iballu*

[If] a snake falls between a man and a woman where they are sitting or standing and they look at it – they will leave each other and the man will survive.

Variant V1

[DIŠ MUŠ *a-ša*]r [N]ITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ *ù-lu* GUB.MEŠ *ana bi-ri-šú-nu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.MEŠ NITA *u* MUNUS TAG₄ NITA <TI>²-*u*?

[šumma] šēru *aša*]r [zi]kru *u sinništu ašbū ūlū izzazzū ana birīšunu imqutma imurūšu zikru u sinništu innezzibūma zikru* <iball>*u*?

[If a snake] falls between a [m]an and a woman [whe]re they are sitting or standing and they look at it – husband and wife will leave each other and the man will <sur>vive.

- a) Line H 1' is placed with *23.32 in *If a City* 2, where this line is transliterated as follows:
[...].DUR₂.MEŠ [...].
- b) Line A 32 has been collated, compare *If a City* 2, [...] *bi-ri-šu₂-nu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.ME-š₂ TAG₄.ME-*ma* **x** (*23.31, a32).
- c) Line G 27 is split over two omens in *If a City* 2, the signs which actually belong to §23.31 are marked bold. Several readings have been collated and corrected (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 27).

*23.31, G28'. [...] MUŠ *ana* MURU₂ DAM *u* DAM ŠUB-*ma* *ina* GU.DU [... **b**]i-ri-š₂-*nu* ŠUB-*ma* [...]
x x x

*23.32, G29'. [...] MUŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.DUR₂.MEŠ *lu* GUB.MEŠ [...]mi-š₂-*nu* i-dab-bu-bu IGI.[...] *ig-d[ar?]- ...*] TAG₄[...]

§ 23.32

(see *If a City 2*, *23.28, *23.32, *23.33)

- A 33 [... *i-dab*]-*bu-bu* IGI.MEŠ-*ma* *ik-tár-ru* TAG₄.ME]
 G 28 [DIŠ MU]Š *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ-*ma* SAG.[U]Š-*nu i-dab-bu-bu* IGI.[MEŠ-*ma*
i]k-tá[r-r]u TAG₄.ME
 H 2' [... NI]TA *u* MUNUS [K]I.TUŠ.MEŠ-*[ma ...]*

[DIŠ MU]Š *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.TUŠ.MEŠ-*ma* SAG.[U]Š-*nu i-dab-bu-bu* IGI.MEŠ-*ma* *ik-tár-ru* TAG₄.ME

[šumma šēr]u *ašar zikru u sinništu ašbūma kayy[ā]nu idabbubū ittanmarma iktarrū innezzibū*

[If a snake] is continuously seen where a man and a woman are sitting and constantly talking and they feel constantly oppressed – they will leave each other.

- a) Line F ii 41 is counted as F ii 46 in *If a City 2* and is associated with *23.28.
 b) Line G 28 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*, the signs which actually belong to §23.32 are marked bold. Several readings have been collated and corrected (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 28).

*23.32, G29'. [...] MUŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.DUR₂.MEŠ *lu* GUB.MEŠ [...] ***-mi-šu-nu i-dab-bu-bu***
IGI.[...] *ig-d[ar? - ...]* TAG₄.[...]

*23.33, G30'. [...] M]UŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.DUR₂.MEŠ-*ma* x x ***-ma*** IGI.MEŠ-*šu*₂
TAG₄.M[EŠ- ...] NITA TI-*q[i₂]*

§ 23.33

(see *If a City 2*, *23.33, *23.34)

- A 34 [...] ***-ma*** NITA TI-*u[i]*
 G 29 [DIŠ MUŠ] 'a'-*šar*' NITA *u* MUNUS GUB-*zu* [ŠU]B-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šú* TAG₄.ME[Š] NITA TI-*u[š]*
 H 3' [... GUB].MEŠ Š[U]B-*ut-ma* IGI.[MEŠ ...]

[DIŠ MUŠ] *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS GUB-*zu* ŠUB-*ut-ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šú* TAG₄.ME[Š] NITA TI-*u[š]*

[šumma šēru] *ašar zikru u sinništu izzazzū imqutma imurūšu innezzibū zikru iballu[š]*

[If a snake] falls where a man and a woman are standing and they look at it – they will leave each other (and) the man will survive.

- a) Line H 3' has been placed (left unplaced in *If a City 2*).
 b) Line G 29 is split over two omens in *If a City 2*, the signs which actually belong to §23.33 are marked bold. Several readings have been collated and corrected (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 29).

*23.33, G30'. [...] M]UŠ *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS KI.DUR₂.MEŠ-*ma* x x ***-ma*** IGI.MEŠ-*šu*₂ TAG₄.M[EŠ- ...]
NITA TI-*q[i₂]*

*23.34, G31'. [...] *a-šar* NITA *u* MUNUS **GUB-*zu*** *i-dab-bu-bu!* IGI NITA *u* MUNUS [...] **MEŠ**
TAG₄.MEŠ

§23.34

(see *If a City* 2, *23.34, *23.35)

A 35 [...] TAR.MEŠ TAG₄.M[EŠ]
 G 30 [... NIT]A u MUNUS TUŠ.MEŠ-^{ma} i-dab-bu-bu IGI NITA u MUNUS 'TAR'.MEŠ TAG₄.MEŠ
 H 4' [DIŠ MUŠ] KI.[MIN TUŠ.M]EŠ-^{ma} i-dab-bu-b[u ...]

[DIŠ MUŠ a-šar NIT]A u MUNUS TUŠ.MEŠ-^{ma} i-dab-bu-bu IGI NITA u MUNUS TAR.MEŠ TAG₄.MEŠ

[šumma šēru ašar zik]ru u sinništu ašbūma idabbubū innamir zikru u sinništu ipparrasū innezzibū

[If a snake] is seen [where a ma]n and a woman are sitting and talking – the man and the woman will split up and leave each other.

a) ašar is reconstructed on the basis of previous omens.

b) Line G 30 is split over two omens in *If a City* 2, the signs which actually belong to §23.34 are marked bold. Several readings have been collated and corrected (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 30).

*23.34, G31'. [...] a-šar NITA u MUNUS GUB-zu **i-dab-bu-bu!** IGI NITA u MUNUS [...]MEŠ TAG₄.MEŠ

*23.35, G32'-33'. [...] u MUNUS DUR₂.MEŠ-^{ma} DUMU.MEŠ E₂ ARAD u GEME₂ NIGIN.MEŠ-^{ma} ana bi-ri-šu-nu ŠUB-ut / [...] u E₂ BI BIR-aḥ

§23.35

(see *If a City* 2, *23.35)

A 36 [...] u GÉME NIGIN.ME-^{ma} ana bi-ri-šú-nu ŠUB-ut EN É ÚŠ-^{ma} É B[IR]
 G 31-32 [...] 'É' DUMU.MEŠ É ÌR u GÉME NIGIN.MEŠ-^{ma} ana 'bi'-ri-šú-nu ŠUB-ut / [...] É BI BIR-aḥ
 H 5'-6' [DIŠ MUŠ] a'_(E)-šar' EN 'É' 'NIN' É [...] / [(indent)]? 'EN' É ÚŠ-^{ma} [...]
 V1₂ ii 14 [DIŠ MUŠ a-ša]_r EN É NIN É' DUMU.MEŠ É ÌR u GÉME NIGIN.MEŠ-^{ma} ana bi-ri-šú-nu ŠUB-ut EN É ÚŠ-^{ma} É BIR (ruling)

[DIŠ MUŠ] a-šar EN É NIN É DUMU.MEŠ É ÌR u GÉME NIGIN.MEŠ-^{ma} ana bi-ri-šú-nu ŠUB-ut EN É ÚŠ-^{ma} É BIR-aḥ

[šumma šēr]u ašar bēl bīti bēlet bīti mārū bīti ardu u amtu ipḥurūma ana birīšunu imqut bēl bīti imâtma bītu issappaḥ

[If a snak]e falls between the master of the house, the lady of the house, the children of the house, the male and female servants where they are gathered – the master of the house will die and the house will be dispersed.

a) Lines H 5'-6' have been collated. Compare the reading in *If a City*, [...] e x x EN x x E₂ [...] / [...] EN E₂ UG₇-^{ma} [...] (p. 54, *23.35).

b) The last sign on line A 36 goes over the edge and is broken.

c) The beginning of line G 30 (see §23.34) is seen as part of the lines belonging to the present omen in *If a City 2*. However, only the lines marked bold below belong with §23.35.

*23.35, G32'-33'. [...] u MUNUS DUR₂.MEŠ-*ma* **DUMU.MEŠ E₂ ARAD u GEME₂ NIGIN.MEŠ-*ma*
ana bi-ri-šu-nu ŠUB-ut / [...] u E₂ BI BIR-aḥ**

§23.36

(see *If a City 2*, *23.36, *23.37)

G 33-34 [...] ŠUB-*ma* ú-dal_(HU)-liḥ-ši-na-ti TÚG 'BI' NU KUD.ME[Š] / [KI].MIN' TÚG BI' ina NU
DÙG-ub ŠÀ-bi ut-ta-ka-as

H 7' [... MUNUS.UŠ.BAR].MEŠ ŠU[B]-u[t ...]

V1₂ ii 15 [...] MUNUS.U]Š.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-ut-*ma* ú-dal-li-iḥ-ši-na-ti TÚG BI ina ŠÀ-bi NU DUG.GA
ut-ta-ka-as (ruling)

[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU MUNUS.U]Š.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ma* ú-dal-li-iḥ-ši-na-ti TÚG BI NU KUD.ME[Š]
[KI].MIN' TÚG BI' ina NU DÙG-ub ŠÀ-bi ut-ta-ka-as

[šumma šēru ana muḥḥi išpar]āti imqutma udalliḥšināti šubātu šū ul uttakk[as]

[KI].MIN' šubātu šū' ina lā tūb libbi uttakkas

[If a snake] falls [on top of female weav]ers and gets them agitated – that garment will not be tor[n].

[Dit]to' – that' garment will be torn out of unhappiness.

Variant V1

[DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU MUNUS.U]Š.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-ut-*ma* ú-dal-li-iḥ-ši-na-ti TÚG BI ina ŠÀ-bi NU
DUG.GA ut-ta-ka-as

[šumma šēru ana muḥḥi išpar]āti imqutma udalliḥšināti šubātu šū ina libbi lā tūb uttakkas

[If a snake] falls [on top of female weav]ers and gets them agitated – that garment will be torn out of unhappiness.

a) Ms. A omits this omen.

b) Line H 7' has been placed here with a new reading. In *If a City 2* (p. 40, n. 35), the line is read [...] x
x].MEŠ ŠA₃ [...] (sic!).

c) *If a City 2* (p. 54) divides the lines on ms. G over two omens,

*23.36, G34'. [...] x-*ma* u₂-dal!(ḥu)-liḥ-ši-na-ti DUR₂ BI KUD.KUD.MEŠ

*23.37, G35'. [...] KIMIN ana x x x x ub? ŠA₃ BI ut-ta-ka-as

The omens are translated (p. 41),

*23.36. "[If a snake ...] and disturb them, its inhabitants will be cut off."

*23.37. "[If a snake ...] to [...], his heart will be cut out."

§23.37

(see *If a City* 2, *23.38, *23.39)

- A 37-38 [... MUNUS].UŠ.BAR.MEŠ *ši-na ana* ITI 3-KÁM ÚŠ.ÚŠ / [... *ut*]-*ta-ka-as*
- G 35-36 [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* U[G]U MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.ME[Š ŠUB]-*ma ana ŠÀ GU-e* KU₄
MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.ME[Š] *ši-na ana* ITI 3-KÁM ÚŠ.M[EŠ] / [K]I.MIN ZI-*bu dan-nu TÚG BI ina*
NU DÙG-*ub ŠÀ-bi ut-ta-ka-as*
- H 8' [... MUNUS.UŠ.BAR].ME[Š ...]
- V1₂ ii 16-17 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.B]AR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut-ma ana ŠÀ GU-e iḫ-lu-úp*
MUNUS.UŠ.<BAR>.MEŠ *ši-na ana* 2 ITI BA.ÚŠ.ME *ti-bu dan-nu* / [TÚG BI] *ina ŠÀ-bi NU*
DÙG.GA KUD.KUD (ruling)

[DIŠ MU]Š *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut-ma ana ŠÀ GU-e* KU₄ MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ
ši-na ana ITI 3-KÁM ÚŠ.ÚŠ

[K]I.MIN ZI-*bu dan-nu TÚG BI ina* NU DÙG-*ub ŠÀ-bi ut-ta-ka-as*

[*šumma šē*]ru *ana muḫḫi išparāti imqutma ana libbi qē īrub išparātu šina ana* ITI 3-KÁM *imuttū*

[K]I.MIN *tību dannu šubātu šū ina lā tūb libbi uttakkas*

[If a snake] falls on top of female weavers and enters inside of the thread – those female weavers will die within three months.

[Di]tto – a strong attack (will occur), that garment will be torn out of unhappiness.

Variant V1

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.B]AR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut-ma ana ŠÀ GU-e iḫ-lu-úp* MU-
NUS.UŠ.<BAR>.MEŠ *ši-na ana* 2 ITI BA.ÚŠ.ME *ti-bu dan-nu* [TÚG BI] *ina ŠÀ-bi NU* DÙG.GA
KUD.KUD

[*šumma šēru ana muḫḫi iška*]rāti *imqutma ana libbi qē iḫlup išarātu šina ana* 2 arḫī *imuttū tību dannu*
[*šubātu šū*] *ina libbi lā tūb*

[If a snake] falls [on top of female weav]ers and slips into the thread – those female weavers will die within two months, a strong attack (will occur), that garment will be torn out of unhappiness.

a) Line H 8' has been placed with a new reading.

b) The commentary §23-C8 has the variant *ana libbi šubāti* (see below).

c) The second verb of the protasis in ms. V1 (KAL 1, no. 14) is *iḫ-lu-úp* (*halāpu* “to slip into”). The reading proposed in KAL 1, no. 14, *iḫ-lu-qú* (*halāqu* “to be lost”, transl. “sich hineinschlängeln”), is problematic because of the final -*qú*. We suggest reading KU as *úp*. The phrase in question is highlighted bold,

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.B]AR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut-ma ana ŠÀ GU-e iḫ-lu-qú* MU-
NUS.UŠ.<BAR>.MEŠ *ši-na ana* 2 ITI BA.ÚŠ.ME *ti-bu dan-nu* / [TÚG BI] *ina ŠÀ BI NU*
DÙG.GA KUD.KUD

“[Wenn eine Schln]ge auf Weberinnen [fällt] und **sich in den (Web)faden hinenschlängelt**: Diese Weberinnen werden innerhalb von zwei Monaten sterben, starker Angriff, [dieses Gewand] wird bei schlechter Gemütsverfassung zerschnitten” (KAL 1, no. 14, ll. ii 16-17, pp. 59, 63).

d) *If a City 2* (p. 54, *23.38-*23.39) divides the lines from ms. G over two omens, collated signs are marked bold (see KAL 1, no. 11, ll. 35-36).

*23.38, G36'. [...] MUŠ *ana* [...] SAL.UŠ.BAR.ME[Š ...]-*ma ana* ŠA₃ x e TU SAL.UŠ.BAR.ME[Š] *ši-na ana* ITI.3.KAM₂ UG₇.MEŠ

*23.39, G39. [...] MIN ZI-bu x nu [...] DUR₂ BI x x x ŠA₃? BI *ut-ta-ka-as*

§ 23-C8 (§23.37)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 35)

W1 r. 5b-6a : *ana* ŠÀ TÚG KU₄ : *a-na* ŠÀ *mé-eḫ-ši šá-niš* <<‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’ ‘x’>> / [a]-šar *ši-si-ti šak-na-ti*

W2 r. 5b [...] / [a]-šar *šiⁱ_(RA)-siⁱ_(RA)-ti šak-na-ti*

ana libbi šubāti īrub : *ana libbi meḫši šanîš* / [a]šar *šisīti šaknati*

Enters into a garment (means) into a textile, alternatively (it means) the place where the wrist is.

a) The reconstructed base-text in §23.37 has a different variant, *ana libbi qê īrub* “enters inside of the thread.” This commentary refers to a variant *ana libbi šubāti* in a different base-text and explains it with the synonym *meḫšu* “blow,” but also “textile.”

b) The translation of the second, alternative (*šanîš*) explanation, “the place where the wrist is,” follows Jiménez (2014, l. 35). The meaning of *šisītu* is uncertain, maybe “joint;” *šisīt ritti* means “wrist” (CAD Š/3 p. 124, *šisītu* B). Maybe the commentator imagined the snake entering into the garment at the place where the weaver is holding it or where the thread is wrapped around her wrist.

From the verb *šasû* “to cry, shout,” the noun *šisītu* means “shout, cry, loud noise” (CAD Š/3, p. 122, *šisītu* A). A translation “where a cry is placed,” for instance for the shocked reaction of a weaver discovering a snake, might have a connection to the second of the additional apodoses to the omen, “that garment will be torn out of unhappiness.”

§23.38

(see *If a City 2*, *23.40)

A 39 [...] *a]na* ITI BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA

G 37 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut ana* ŠÀ TÚG šú-a-tu₄ KU₄ *ina* [ITI] ‘BI’ ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA

[DIŠ M]UŠ *ana* UGU MUNUS.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ŠUB-*ut ana* ŠÀ TÚG šú-a-tu₄ KU₄ *ina* ITI BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA

[šumma šē]ru *ana muḫḫi išparāti imqut ana libbi šubāti šuāti īrub ina arḫi šuāti libbašu iṭāb*

If a snakes falls onto female weavers (and) enters into that garment – their hearts will be happy in that month.

- a) ŠĀ.BI DUG.GA is the (masculine) singular *libbašu iṭâb* “his heart will be happy,” but we translate “their hearts will be happy” to reference the female weavers in the protasis. The apodosis might refer to an unmentioned *amēlu*, but the apodosis of §23.37 clearly talks about the weavers.
- b) Line G 37 has been collated (see KAL 1, no. 11, l. 37); compare the reading in *If a City 2* (p. 54, *23.40),

[...] MUŠ *ana* UGU SAL.UŠ NA ŠUB-*ut ana* ŠA₃ DUR₂ *šu₂-a-tu₄* TU *ana* [...] BI ŠA₃.BI DUG₃.GA

§23.39

(see *If a City 2*, *23.41)

- A 40 [...] EN T]ÉŠ.BI SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ṭi* TUK-[?]-š[i][?]
- G 38 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA NA *be-ri-šu-nu*[?] ŠUB-*ma* NÁ-*iš* EN TÉŠ.BI SAG.TUK *ba-l[a²-ṭi]* TUK-*ši* (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA NA *be-ri-šu-nu*[?] ŠUB-*ma* NÁ-*iš* EN TÉŠ.BI SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ṭi* TUK-*ši*

[šumma] *šēru ina muḥḥi kussi amēli bērišunu*[?] *imqutma rabiš bēlu ištēniš*[?] *mukīl rēš balāṭi irašši*

[If] a snake falls on top of a man's [ch]air between them[?] and lie[s] down (on it) – the master will have a life-giving spirit *in every circumstance*.[?]

- a) Line G 38 is read differently in *If a City 2* and KAL 1, no. 11, l. 38,

[...] MUŠ *ana* UGU GIŠ[...].ZA NA *be x du bi* ŠUB-*ma* NA₂-[...] EN!.DIB! *ana* SAG TUK *ba*-[...] “[If] a snake falls onto a man's chair ... and lies down, there will be a life-giving spirit” (*If a City 2*, p. 41, *23.41, G39’).

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA NA *be-ri-šu-nu*[?] ŠUB-*ma* NÁ-*iš* EN.UR.BI SAG.TUK *ba-l[a²-ṭi]* TUK-*ši* “[Wenn] eine Schlange auf den Stuhl eines Mannes *zwischen* sie fällt und sich (dort) lagert: Er wird einen Schutzgeist haben” (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 38).

It is unclear how EN.UR.BI is interpreted in KAL 1, as EN.UR.BI is not listed in the glossary, but TÉŠ.BI = *ištēniš* “zusammen, miteinander” is listed, though not with a reference to ms. G (= KAL 1, no. 11) (see KAL 6, pp. 7, 15).

- b) The passage created some difficulty also in antiquity. The commentary §23-C9 (see below) cites the apodosis of this omen but EN UR BI has become EN KU BI; the latter read by Jiménez (2014) as EN UMUŠ BI “that reporter” (*bēl ṭēmi šū*)

EN UMUŠ BI SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ṭi* TUK-*ši* : *mu-kil re-eš ba-la-ṭu* TUK-*ši* ““That reporter will have a SAG.TUK” (Šumma Ālu 23 41)²⁵² means “he will have a life-granting spirit” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b: 35-36).

Jiménez notes on this line,

“The line is probably corrupt. The preserved exemplars of the text read EN UR.BI at this point (see Heeßel KAL 1 [2007] p. 38 and 50 ad loc.), an expression of uncertain meaning. The interpretation EN DIB¹, proposed by Geller apud Freedman Fs Leichty (2006) p. 161, is an emendation (the sign is clearly KU).

²⁵² Referring to *23.41 in *If a City 2*, §23.39 in the new sequence.

Moreover, Geller's statement (ibid.) that 'EN.DIB is used for *mukīlu* in magical texts' could not be confirmed."²⁵³ (Jiménez 2014, n. 20).

Jiménez's reading EN UMUŠ BI "that reporter" (*bēl tēmi šū*) seems unlikely. One possible solution for the commentary is to read EN KU BI as EN DÚR BI "the owner of that chair," which would make sense also from a semantical point of view due to the mention of ^{giš}GU.ZA in the protasis. In the omen, we have opted for a literal translation: EN =*bēlu* and UR.BI/TÉŠ.BI = *ištēniš*. But the reading remains dubious.

- c) It is unclear to what or whom *bērišunu* "between them" refers.
- d) The reading of SAG.TUK is uncertain, but the commentary §23-C9 seems to suggest it corresponds to *mu-kil re-eš ba-la-tu*.²⁵⁴
- e) The last sign in line A 40 goes over the edge and breaks off.

§ 23-C9 (§23.39)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 36)

W1 r. 6b : EN DÚR BI SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ti* TUK-ši : *mu-kil re-eš ba-la-tu* TUK-ši
W2 r. 6a [...]

bēl kussī šuāti SAG.TUK balāṭi irašši : mukīl rēš balāṭi irašši

The owner of that chair **will have a life-giving SAG.TUK** (means) he will have a life-giving spirit.

§23.39. [šumma] *šēru ina muḥḥi kussī amēli bērišunu inqutma rabiš bēlu ištēniš*[?] ***mukīl rēš balāṭi irašši***

[If] a snake falls between them on a man's [ch]air and lie[s] down (on it) – the owner (of the chair)[?] will have a life-giving spirit *in every circumstance*.[?]

- a) This commentary explains the logograms SAG.TUK by providing a syllabic spelling of it; the commentary has been used to reconstruct §23.9, see the score above.
- b) We interpret EN KU BI as EN DÚR BI "the owner of that chair;" *pace* Freedman (2006b, p. 153, l. 6), EN.DIB.BI (untranslated), and Jiménez (2014, ll. 35-36), EN UMUŠ BI "that reporter" (*bēl tēmi šū*).

§ 23.40

(see *If a City* 2, *23.42)

A 41 [... Ú]Š 'ÚŠ'
G 39 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É L[Ú] ma-gal ŠUB.ŠUB ina [É] LÚ ÚŠ ÚŠ [0]*
V1₂ ii 18 [... ŠU]B.[Š]UB *ina É LÚ ÚŠ BA.ÚŠ* (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É L[Ú] ma-gal ŠUB.ŠUB ina É LÚ ÚŠ ÚŠ*

[šumma] *šēru ina bīt amēli magal imtaqqut ina bīt amēli mītu imât*

²⁵³ Freedman quotes Geller without reference (Freedman 2006b, 161), perhaps from personal correspondence.

²⁵⁴ The spelling *-tu*, suggesting a nominative, instead of *-ti* as in the base-text, probably stems from the late date of the commentary text (Late Babylonian), when case markers were less consequently applied. On *mukīl rēši* written SAG.TUK see also George 2011, p. 112, ref. in Jiménez 2014, n. 20.

[If] a snake falls very often in a ma[n's] house – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.

a) The reading in *If a City 2* of line G 39 (p. 54, *23.42, G40'), [...] MUŠ ina E₂ LU₂ iz x ŠUB.ŠUB ina E₂ LU₂ UŠ₂ U[G₇], was revised according to KAL 1, no. 11, l. 39 (p. 45).

b) This is the last omen on the obverse of ms. A before it breaks off.

§23.41

(see *If a City 2*, *23.43)

G 40 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ DU.DU-ak ŠUB-e [É]

V1₂ ii 19 [...] É BI [Š]UB-di (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ DU.DU-ak ŠUB-e [É]

[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ittallak nadê [bītī]

[If] a snake slithers around in a man's house – abandonment of the [house].

Variant V1

[DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ DU.DU-ak][?] É BI ŠUB-di

[šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ittallak][?] bītu šū innaddi

[If a snake slithers around in a man's house][?] – that house will be abandoned.

a) The placing of the line from ms. V1 here is hypothetical based on the preceding line in §23.41.

§23.42

(see *If a City 2*, *23.44)

G 41 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ ana IGI NA GIB NA BI ina ḥa-ṭi-ti[?] MU[?]-šú n[a-di][?]

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ ana IGI NA GIB NA BI ina ḥa-ṭi-ti[?] MU[?]-šú n[a-di][?]

[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ana pān amēli iprik amēlu šū ina ḥaṭīti[?] šumšu[?] n[adi][?]

[If] a snake obstructs a man's path in a man's house – his offspring[?] will be re[jected][?] owing to sin[?].

a) Our reading of the apodosis – ina ḥa-ṭi-ti[?] MU[?]-šú n[a-di][?] – is different from those proposed in previous editions: ina ḥa-di-e MU-šū₂ (*If a City 2*, p. 54, *23.44, G42') and ḥa-di 'x' mu[?]-šú N[A ...] (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 41, p. 45). The reading ḥa-ṭi-ti is based on commentary §23-C10, which explains ḥa-ṭi-ti / 'le'-mut-tú "sin (means) evil" (see below). Jiménez (2014, n. 21) also thinks that the sign after ḥa-di/ṭi, unread in KAL 1, no. 11, could be TIM(ti) according to the new KAL copy.

KAL 1 (p. 48) does not translate the apodosis. *If a City 2* (p. 41, *23.44) translates, "[If] a snake lies crosswise in front of a man in a man's house, that man's name will [...] in joy."

b) At the end of the apodosis, which is broken, the alternative n[asih] "torn out" (meaning he will have no offspring) instead of n[adi] is possible. The translation remains problematic.

- c) The verb in the protasis is *parāku*, see also §23.12, where it appears in the Gtn-stem durative: *šumma šēru ginā kalāma ana pān amēli iptanarrīk šattukkašu imaṭṭi* “If a snake constantly and continually obstructs a man’s path – his regular offerings will lessen.”

§ 23-C10 (§23.42)

W1 r. 6c-7a : *ḥa-ṭi-ti / 'le'-mut-tú* : 𒄩𒄪𒄭 UZU.MEŠ *ḥa-ṭu-tu₄ pár-du-tú* 𒄩𒄪𒄭 MEŠ NU DÙG.GA.MEŠ
W2 r. 6b-7a [... *ḥa-ṭi*]-*'ti'* : *le-mut-tú* / [...]

ḥaṭṭi : *lemuttu* : *lumun šīrī ḥaṭṭu pardūtu lemnūtu lā ṭābūtu*

Sin (means) evil; evil of the entrails, disastrous, frightening, dire and unauspicious.

- a) The translation of §23-C10 is based on Jiménez 2014, l. 36.

- b) Jiménez (2014, l. 36) identifies the second part of the commentary as a possible quotation from the prayer “Marduk 24,”

𒄩𒄪𒄭 Á.MEŠ GISKIM.MEŠ 𒄩𒄪𒄭 MEŠ NU DU₁₀.GA.MEŠ UZU *ḥa-ṭu-te pár-du-te* 𒄩𒄪𒄭 MEŠ NU DU₁₀.GA.MEŠ

lumun idāte ittāte lemnēte lā ṭābāte šīrē ḥaṭṭe pardūte lemnūte lā ṭābūte

“Wegen des Übels schlechter (und) gar nicht guter Vorzeichen und Anzeichen, fehlerhafter, erschreckender, schlechter (und) gar nicht guter Eingeweidebefunde” (KAR 26, l. 41).²⁵⁵

§23.43

(see *If a City* 2, *23.45)

G 42 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ LÚ.MEŠ ina KI.TUŠ-šú-nu ú-gal-lit ina ŠÀ-šú-nu* [x.M]EŠ [...]
Ex6 1 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina É NA L[Ú ...]*

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ LÚ.MEŠ ina KI.TUŠ-šú-nu ú-gal-lit ina ŠÀ-šú-nu* [x.M]EŠ [...]

[*šumma*] *šēru ina bīt amēli amēli ina šubtišunu ugallit ina libbišunu* [...] ... [...]

[If] a snake frightens people in a man’s house where they are sitting – among them [...] ... [...].

§23.44

(see *If a City* 2, *23.46)

G 43 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina É LÚ GUB.MEŠ-az LÚ BI NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su šum₄-ma ŠU DINGIR-šu* L[Ú x (x)]?
V1₂ ii 20 [...] LÚ BI NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su (ruling)

[DIŠ M]UŠ *ina É LÚ GUB.MEŠ-az LÚ BI NAM.ÉRIM DAB-su*

šum₄-ma ŠU DINGIR-šu L[Ú KUR-su]?

[*šumma* *šēru*] *ina bīt amēli ittanzaz amēlu šū māmītu iṣabbassu*

šumma qāt ilišu am[ēla ikaššassu]?

²⁵⁵ See Mayer 1999, pp. 151, 157, l. 41.

[If a sn]ake repeatedly appears in an upright position in a man's house – a curse will seize that man.
Same protasis – (the disease) “hand of his god” [will take hold of the man].

Variant V1

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ GUB.MEŠ-*az*][?] LÚ BI NAM.ÉRIM DAB-*su*

[*šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ittanazzaz*][?] *amēlu šū māmītu iṣabbassu*

[If a snake repeatedly appears in an upright position in a man's house][?] – an oath will seize that man.

- a) On the interpretation of *qāt ilišu* as a disease in the apodosis of the main variant, see §22.15, comment (b).
- b) The literal translation the Gtn-stem durative *ittanazzaz* (from *izuzzu* “to stand”) with the subject *šēru* would be “continuously stands,” translated here “repeatedly appears in an upright position.” This is how a snake lifting its head and upper part of the body could be described. *If a City 2* (p. 41, *23.46), translates “repeatedly stands upright.”
- c) The commentary §23-C11 comments on a (maybe Babylonian)²⁵⁶ variant GUB-GUB-*az*: *ittanazzaz* : *ša ušuzzūma lā zakkū* “In an upright position (refers to the snake that) is made standing and is *not free*” (§23-C11, see below). Jiménez sees in the commentary an alternative meaning given to the apodosis of §23.44 (Jiménez 2014, n. 21). In *If a City 2* (p. 41, n. 46), the translation of §23-C11 is, “He will repeatedly stand, which (means) he will stand until he is cleared,” but without further comment.
- d) Ms. V1 lacks the second apodosis. This might indicate that the second apodosis in the main variant, following *šumma* “same protasis”, was a secondary addition. It was reconstructed *qāt ilišu am[ēla ikaššassu]*[?] In parallel to the apodosis of §23.20, *amēlu šū qāt lemutti ikaššassu* “the hand of evil will take hold of that man”, and to the second apodosis of §23.7, [*amē*]lu šū *qātu ikaššassu* the “hand (of evil/of his god)[?] will take hold of that [ma]n.”

The previous line on ms. V1 (ii 19) appears in §23.41. The next line from ms. V1 placed in Tablet 23 is line V1₂ ii 24 (see §23.49), but only the last three signs are coherent with this omen. Therefore, lines V₂ ii 21-30 (after which col. ii of ms. V1 breaks off) are edited together with cols. iii and iv among the manuscripts related to Tablets 25-26, as parallels to other manuscripts with omen from Tablets 25-26 can be found on ms. V1, cols. iii-iv.

- e) Compare the reconstruction in *If a City 2* (pp. 40-41, *23.46), based only on an incomplete reading of line G 43 (p. 55, *23.46, G44’),

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* E₂ GUB.MEŠ-*az* LU₂ BI NAM.ERIM₂ DIB-*su* u x šu TI-*qi₂-ma* az [...]

“[If] a snake repeatedly stands upright in a man's house, an oath will affect that man and [...] will take and [...].”

²⁵⁶ The Late Babylonian commentary texts mss. W1 // W2 might have a specifically Babylonian tradition as their base-text, see §23.51 with §23-C14.

W1 r. 7b : GUB.GUB-az : šá ú-šu-uz-zu-ma la zak-ku-ú

W2 r. 7b [...]

ittanazzaz : ša ušuzzūma lā zakkû

In an upright position (refers to the snake that) is made standing and is *not free*?

- a) Jiménez (2014, n. 21) interprets *ušuzzūma lā zakkû* as legal terms giving an alternative meaning to the apodosis, “an oath will grab that man.” Jiménez translates as follows “Continuously stands refers to (the man) who is enrolled into service and not exempted” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, l. 36).

Another option could be that *ušuzzūma* is meant to explain *ittanazzaz*, literally “continuously stands,” translated here “appears in an upright position,” in the protasis.

§ 23.45

(see *If a City 2*, *23.47)

B⁽²³⁾ 1' [...] É.GAR₈ E₁₁ ...]

G 44 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ É.GAR₈ E₁₁ ù ur-rad É BI BIR-aḥ lu-ú[?] [x x]

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ É.GAR₈ E₁₁ ù ur-rad É BI BIR-aḥ lu-ú[?] [...]

[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli igāra illi u urrad bītu šū issappaḥ lū[?] [...]

[If] a snake goes up and down a wall in a man's house – that house will be dispersed or? [...].

- a) Ms. B⁽²³⁾, a Babylonian tablet from Sippar, is only available as a working handcopy by Geers, which was never meant to be published (see Geers Ac49). For this reason, it is not possible produce a conclusive transliteration of ms. B and many questions regarding the omens in this sequence remain unanswered.

- b) At the end of line G 44, only about two signs are broken. The variant apodosis, introduced by *lū* (though the reading is not completely certain), would be very short. Compare *If a City 2* (p. 55, *23.47, G45') and KAL 1, no. 11, l. 44 (p. 45),

[...] MUŠ ina E₂ LU₂ E₂.SIG₄ E₁₁ u₃ ur-rad E₂ BI i iḥ lu x [x x] (*If a City 2*, G45')

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ É.GAR₈ E₁₁ ù ur-rad É BI BIR-aḥ lu 'x' [...] (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 44)

§ 23.46

(see *If a City 2*, *23.48)

B 2' [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' NA É.GAR₈ qer-bé-nu [...]

G 45 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É.GAR₈^(GÉME) É qer-bé-nu E₁₁ ù ur-'rad'-ma [...] x qar ku x [...] 'ni'

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É.GAR₈ É qer-bé-nu E₁₁ ù ur-rad-ma [...] ... [...] ...

[šumma] šēru ina igār bīti qerbēnu illi u urradma [...] ... [...] ...

[If] a snake goes up and down on the wall of a house and [...] ... [...] ...

Variant B⁽²³⁾

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] ‘É’ NA É.GAR₈ *qer-bé-nu* [E₁₁ ù *ur-rad-ma* ...]²

[šumma] *šēru ina bīt amēli igāra qerbēnu* [illi u *urradma* ...]²

[If] a snake [goes up and down]² on the wall of a man’s house [and² ...].

a) The omens on ms. B (*ina bīt amēli igāra*) and ms. G (*ina igār bīti*) are variants.

b) The apodosis of this omen is not preserved. The signs at the end of line G 45 could not be interpreted.

c) The reconstruction proposed in *If a City 2* could be revised,

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* E₂ MUNUS x E₂.SIG₄ *qir-bi-nu* E₁₁ u₃ *ur-rad* x x x x [x] x

“[If] a snake climbs up and down the inner wall in a woman’s house, ...” (*If a City 2*, pp. 40-41, *23.48).

On line G 45, there is a scribal mistake GÉME for GAR₈. *If a City 2* (p. 55, *23.48) interprets the line differently and adapts the reading of line B 2’ accordingly, thereby interpreting NA in line B 2’ as a variant of MUNUS in line G 45 (*G46’), but does not indicate it in the reconstruction.

G46’. [...] MUŠ *ina* É MUNUS x É.<SIG₄> *qir-bi-nu* E₁₁ u₃ *ur-rad* x x x x [x] x

B2’. [... E]₂ NA E₂.SIG₄ *qir-bi-nu* [...]

The collation of the protasis has implications for a reference by Muller, who quotes “If a snake climbs up and down the inner wall in a woman’s house” (Muller 2016, p. 432). The article highlights women in divinatory texts. Unfortunately, §23.49 (quoted as *Šumma ālu* 23: 48, i.e. *23.48) cannot be included in that study.

§23.47

(see *If a City 2*, *23.49)

B 3’ [DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] É NA ŠUB-*ut-ma* DU.[DU ...]

G 46 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É L[Ú] ŠUB-*ma* DU.DU-*ak* [NA B]I [0] ÚŠ

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É NA ŠUB-*ut-ma* DU.DU-*ak* [NA B]I ÚŠ

[šumma] *šēru ina bīt amēli imqutma ittallak* [*amēlu š*]ū *imât*

[If] a snake falls in a man’s house and slithers around – th[at man] will die.

a) Compare the reading of line G 46 in *If a City 2*, [...] MUŠ *ina* E₂ **BARA**₂ ŠUB-... *ma* DU.DU-*ak* [...] BI UG₇ (*If a City 2*, *23.49, G47’^(sic)).

b) See the commentary §23-C12 below on the meaning of the protasis.

§ 23-C12 (§23.47)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 38)

W1 r. 8a [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É LÚ ŠUB-*ma* DU.DU-*ak* : šá *a-na* ḤABRUD.MEŠ u É.MEŠ *la ir-ru-bu*

W2 r. 7c-8a [... ŠUB]-*ma* DU.DU-*ak* / [...]

[šumma] *šēru ina bīt amēli imqutma ittallak* : ša *ana ḥurrī u bītī lā irbû*

[If] a snake falls in a man's house and slithers around (refers to the snake) that does not enter holes or houses.

- a) Jiménez translates, “(the snake) which does not enter the holes or the houses” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, l. 38a), and notes that interpreting interpreting *ana ħurri u bīt* as hendiadys, “holes and houses” meaning “the holes of the house” would make sense, but does not fit the language used for omens.

What the commentary tries to explain, either way, is that a snake “slithering around” is one that stays in view constantly as opposed to one disappearing, as in the protases of other snake omens.

§23.48

(see *If a City 2*, *23.50)

B 4' [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina É NA mim-ma uš-te-né-eš-ši [...]*
G 47 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ mim-ma uš-te-né-eš-ši [...]* 'È'

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ mim-ma uš-te-né-eš-ši [...]* È
[šumma] šēru *ina bīt amēli mimma uštenešši [...]* ušši

[If] a snake repeatedly takes something out of a man's house – [...] will go out.

- a) The reading of line G 47 follows *If a City 2* (*23.50, G48'); compare KAL 1, [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ mim-ma uš-te-né-eš-ši [...]* 'x' **du** (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 47).

§23.49

(see *If a City 2*, *23.51)

B 5' DIŠ MUŠ *ina É LÚ ka-bu-us-su [...]*
G 48 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ ka-bu-us-su id-di 'x' [...]* NU SI.SÁ
V1₂ ii 24 [...] ti zi šú NU SI.SÁ (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ *ina É LÚ ka-bu-us-su id-di ... [...]* ... NU SI.SÁ
šumma šēru *ina bīt amēli kabūssu iddi ... [...]* ... ul iššir

If a snake defecates in a man's house ... [...] ... will not prosper.

- a) The commentary §23-C13 below probably comments on a variant version of §23.49, which instead of *kabūssu iddi*, lit. “drops its feces,” had *pelâ ištakna* “lays an egg.” See also §24.6, [šumma šēr]u *ina muḥḥi ereš amēli pelâšu [id]di* “[If a sna]ke [dr]ops its egg on a man's bed.”
- b) The signs ti zi šú in ms. V1 remain uninterpreted. The placement of the line in §23.49 is not certain, as the previous lines cannot be placed in Tablet 23 and the following columns belong to Tablets 25-26, see §23.44, comment (d).

§ 23-C13 (variant of §23.49?)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 38)

W1 r. 8b-9a : NUNUZ *iš-tak-na* : 'šá' *ina É LÚ ul-la-du*

***pelâšu ištakna* : ša ina bīt amēli ulladu**

Places its eggs (refers to the snake) that gives birth in a man's house.

§23.49. *šumma šēru ina bīt amēli kabūssu iddi ... [...] ... ul iššir*

If a snake defecates in a man's house – ... [...] ... will not prosper.

a) Following the sequence of Tablet 23, this commentary could relate to a variant of §23.49, which instead of *kabūssu iddi* had *pelāšu ištakna*, explained by *ša ulladu* “(the snake) that gives birth.”

b) For the reading NUNUZ see Jiménez (2014, l. 38), pace Freedman, *e-zib* (2006b, p. 153, l. 8).

§23.50

(see *If a City 2*, *23.52)

B 6' DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA mar-ši-iš i[l²-bu' ...]

G 49 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ GIG il-bu DA[M LÚ i]t-ta-na-a'-a'-a-ku (ruling)

Ex6 2 [DIŠ MU]Š ina É NA GIG [...]

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ GIG il-bu DA[M LÚ] it-ta-na-a-a-ku

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli maršiš ilbu ašš[at amēli] ittanayyakū

If a snake sickly hisses in a man's house – they will continually have sexual intercourse with the [man's] wife[fe].

a) The reading of line B 6' was collated on the basis of the reading of G 49 in KAL 1, no. 11. Compare the reading in *If a City 2* (*23.52),

*G50'. [...] MUŠ ina E₂ LU₂ GIG il-pu-t[a ...] it-ta-na-a-a-a-[k]

*B6'. DIŠ MUŠ ina E₂ NA mar-ši-iš i-b[i-...]

§23.51

(see *If a City 2*, *23.53)

B 7' DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA GÙ.GÙ-si : BÚN.BÚ[N ...]

G 50 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina É 'LÚ' GÙ-si BÚN-uḥ ÚŠ ina 'É' 'LÚ' ÚŠ 'É' BI BIR-aḥ

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ GÙ-si BÚN-uḥ ÚŠ ina É LÚ ÚŠ É BI BIR-aḥ

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli issi ippuḥ mītu ina bīt amēli imât bītu šū issappah

If a snake cries out (and) hisses in a man's house – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house, that house will be dispersed.

Variant B⁽²³⁾

DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA GÙ.GÙ-si : BÚN.BÚ[N-aḥ ...]

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ištassi : unapp[aḥ ...]

If a snake repeatedly cries out : hiss[es] in a man's house – [...]

a) *napāḥu* (BÚN) primarily means “to blow,” but also “to hiss” (CAD N/1, p. 264, 1c).

b) There might be a phonetic wordplay between *issi ippuḥ* “it hisses” in the protasis and *issappaḥ* “it will be dispersed” in the apodosis.

c) In ms. B, the logograms for *šašû* (GÚ) and *napāḥu* (BÚN) are duplicated: both have been interpreted as an iterative stem. The two verbs are divided by a *Glossenkeil*. This might indicate that the two verbs are understood as alternatives. In the main variant, the two verbs are asyndetic synonyms making up the protasis.

On BÚN.BÚN-*aḥ* (broken, but reconstructable with Geers’s copy), see also the commentary §23-C14 below.

§ 23-C14 (§23.51)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 39)

W1 r. 9b : BÚN.BÚN-*aḥ* : ú-*nap-pa-aḥ*

BÚN.BÚN-*aḥ* : unappaḥ

(The signs) BÚN.BÚN-*aḥ* (mean) it hisses.

a) As reconstructed by Freedman (see *If a City 2*, p. 55, *23.53, B7’), the handcopy by Geers (Ac49) suggests that ms. B had BÚN.BÚ[N-*aḥ*] as opposed to the main variant with a single BÚN (see §23.51). Therefore, this commentary relates to a variant only attested in ms. B. Note that ms. W1 and ms. B are both of Babylonian provenance.

§ 23.52

(see *If a City 2*, *23.54)

B 8’ DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA *i-bé-eš* GÙ.GÙ-*si* [...]

G 51 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É ‘LÚ’ ‘*i*’-*be-eš* GÙ.GÙ-*si* ŠUB-*e* [0] É

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ *i-be-eš* GÙ.GÙ-*si* ŠUB-*e* É

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ibēš ištassi nadê bīti

If a snake goes away from a man’s house (and) repeatedly cries out – abandonment of the house.

a) The verb *ibēš* in the apodosis comes from *bēšu* “to go away,” see KAL 1, “[Wenn] eine Schlange sich aus dem Haus eines Mannes entfernt” (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 51).

The scribe of the commentary §23-C15 misinterpreted the verb *ibēš* written on his Vorlage *i-BE-eš* as *i-ziz-eš*, a by-form of *ezēziš* “by being furious” (see the chapter “Ancient Commentaries on Tablets 22-23” below).

In *If a City 2*, DIŠ MUŠ *ina* E₂ NA ***i-bi-iš*** GU₃.GU₃-*si* (l. B8’) // [...] MUŠ *ina* E₂ LU₂ ***ib-be-eš*** GU₃.GU₃-*si* (l. G52’^(sic)) was translated “If a snake repeatedly cries out **wrathfully(?)** in a man’s house” (*If a City 2*, pp. 42, 55, *23.54).

b) Their might be an associative connection between *ibēš* “it goes away” in the protasis and the *abandonment* of the house in the apodosis.

W1 r. 9c-10a *i-ziz-eš* : *e-ze-zi-iš* / 'šá' *ez-zi-iš i-šá-as-su-ú šá-niš šá šá-qí-iš i-šá-as-su-ú*

i-ziz-eš: *ezēziš* / *ša ezziš išassû šanîš ša šaqîš išassû*

(The form) *i-ziz-eš* (means) by being furious, (referring to the snake) that shouts angrily; alternatively, that shouts loudly.

- a) The verb *ibēš* in the apodosis of §23.52 comes from *bēšu* “to go away,” but the commentator misinterpreted the signs *i-BE-eš* on his Vorlage as *i-ziz-eš*, a by-form of *ezēziš* “by being furious” (see Jiménez 2014, n. 23)

§ 23.53

(see *If a City 2*, *23.55)

B 9' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA U₄ 6-KÁM U₄ 7-KÁM GÙ.GÙ-si ZI.[GA ...]

G 52 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É 'LÚ' U₄ 6-KÁM 'U₄' 7-KÁM GÙ.GÙ-si ZI.GA *ana* LÚ-'ma'[?] *ni-ziq-tu₄*

Ex6 3 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina* É NA U₄ 6-K[ÁM ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA U₄ 6-KÁM U₄ 7-KÁM GÙ.GÙ-si ZI.GA *ana* LÚ-'ma'[?] *ni-ziq-tu₄*

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli U₄ 6-KÁM U₄ 7-KÁM *ištassi tību ana amēlima'[?] niziqtu*

If a snake repeatedly cries out in a man's house for six (or) seven days –an attack (will occur) against the man and[?] (there will be) grief.

- a) *If a City 2* and KAL 1 interpret ZI.GA in the apodosis as “losses”/“Verlust” rather than *tību* “attack,”

“If a snake repeatedly cries out on the sixth (or) seventh day in a man's house – losses for the man and trouble” (*If a City 2*, p. 43, *23.55).

“[Wenn] eine Schlange im Haus eines Mannes sechs Tage (oder) sieben Tage lang schreit: Verlust; für den ... Mann Ärger” (KAL 1, no. 11, p. 48, l. 52).

- b) A new reading *-ma* is proposed for the sign following LÚ on line G 52; compare the readings in *If a City 2* and KAL 1,

[...] MUŠ *ina* E₂ LU₂ UD.6.KAM₂ UD.7.KAM₂ GU₃.GU₃-si ZI.GA *ana* LU₂ u₃ *ni-ziq-tu₄* (*If a City 2*, p. 55, *23.55, l. G53'^(sic))

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É 'LÚ' U₄ 6-KÁM 'U₄' 7-KÁM GÙ.GÙ-si ZI.GA *ana* LÚ 'x' *ni-ziq-tu₄* (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 52)

§ 23.54

(see *If a City 2*, *23.56)

B 10' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA u₄-mi-šam GÙ.GÙ-si [...]

G 53 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É 'LÚ' u₄-me-šam GÙ.GÙ-si É BI *ana kiš-šá-ti KÚR [Š]ID-nu*

Ex6 4 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina* É NA u₄-mi-[šam ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA u₄-mi-šam GÙ.GÙ-si É BI *ana kiš-šá-ti KÚR [Š]ID-nu*

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ūmišam ištassi bītu šū ana kiššāt nakri [im]mannu

If a snake repeatedly cries out in a man's house every day – that house will be [deli]vered to an enemy as indemnity.

- a) The commentary §23-C16 explains *ana kiššāti* in the apodosis as *ana sār̄ti* “As indemnity (means) as a compensation” (see below).
- b) For *manû* “to deliver persons or objects to the responsibility of another person”, see CAD M/1, p. 225-226, 7.

§ 23-C16 (§23.54)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 40)

W1 r. 10b : *ana kiš-šá-tu₄ : ana sa-ár-tú*

ana kiššāti : ana sār̄ti

As indemnity (means) as a compensation.

§ 23.55

(see *If a City* 2, *23.57)

B 11' DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA up-ta-[nar]-rad É BI ŠUB-d[i ...]*

G 54 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina 'É' 'LÚ' up-ta-nar-rad É BI ŠUB-di lu in-na-^rqar'*

Ex6 5 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina É NA up-t[a-nar-rad ...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA up-ta-nar-rad É BI ŠUB-di lu in-na-qar*

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli uptanarrad bītu šū innaddi lū innaqqar

If a snake repeatedly causes fear in a man's house – that house will be abandoned or demolished.

§ 23-C17 (§23.55)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 41)

W1 r. 11-12a *'up'-ta-nar-rad : šá^{lú}ÉRIN^l.MEŠ ina bi-ri a-ḥa-meš ú-par-ra-du aš-šum ga-la-tu₄ šá^{lú}ÉRIN^l.MEŠ / [šá-niš] 'up'-ta-nar-rad : up-ta-na-al-làḥ*

uptanarrad : *ša ummānī ina bīri aḥāmeš uparradu aššum galātu ša ummānī [šanīš] uptanarrad : uptanallaḥ*

Repeatedly causes fear (refers to the snake) that frightens a whole army, as in (line from a lexical list?) “to be afraid, said of soldiers.” [Alternatively,] repeatedly causes fear (means) repeatedly terrifies.

- a) Jiménez supposes that *galātu ša ummānī*, which he translates as “to be afraid, said of soldiers,” might come from an unknown lexical list. By introducing this new association, namely that with the army, the scribe took the initiative of adding a new, creative association. Maybe he imagined that something enormously frightening could intimidate an entire army, or he may have understood fear as an element of soldiering because of the occupational risk. Whether the commentator made use of a lexical list or drew from his own imagination, or even from a figure of speech (“scared like a soldier?”), cannot be said for sure.

- b) See also §23-C4, *ītadar : iptallaḥ*.

§23.56

(see *If a City 2*, *23.58)

B 12' DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA ik-nun* IBILA [...]
G 55 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina É 'LÚ' ik-nun* IBILA LÚ BA.Ú[Š]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA ik-nun* IBILA LÚ BA.Ú[Š]

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli iknun apil amēli im[ât]

If a snake coils in a man's house – the man's heir will die.

- a) *If a City 2* (p. 43, n. 58) notes that the verb of the protasis could either be *iknun* (*kanānu* “to coil”) or *iqnun* (*qanānu* “to make a nest”). The first option is more probable, considering the appearance of the homophonous *qinna iqnun* in the next line.

§23.56a

(see *If a City 2*, *23.58a)

B 13a' DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA qin-na iq-nun* IBILA NA ÚŠ

DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA qin-na iq-nun* IBILA NA ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli qinna iqnun apil amēli imât

If a snake makes a nest in a man's house – the man's heir will die.

- a) The verb *iknun* in the protasis §23.56 seems to have inspired the adding of another omen in ms. B: the homophonous verb *iqnun* appears in cognate accusative/polypoton *qinna iqnun*. The polypoton *qinna iqnun* is a fixed phrase in connection with the nest-building of birds and other animals (see CAD Q, pp. 80a-81b).
- b) There is a clear association between *nest* in the protasis and *offspring* in the apodosis. This can also be found in §24.46', [*šumma šēr*]u *ina gušūrī qinna iqnunma rabiš aššat amēli zikra ullad*.

§23.56b

B 13b' : 'DIŠ' [...]

DIŠ' [...]

šumma' [...]

If' [...]

- a) A *Glossenkeil* and likely a broken DIŠ are visible in line B 13' before it breaks off. It seems that another additional omen, after §23.56a, was inscribed there.

§23.57

(see *If a City 2*, *23.59)

B 14' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.KUL NIGIN-*ma ana* BAD-*e* NU SUM-*in* É BI DAGAL-*iš* [...]
G 56 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* É 'LÚ' ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.K[U]L NIGIN-*ma ana* BAD-*ti* NU SUM-*in* É BI DAGAL-*iš*
KI.MIN ŠUB-*ut*

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.KUL NIGIN-*ma ana* BAD-*ti* NU SUM-*in* É BI DAGAL-*iš*
KI.MIN ŠUB-*ut*

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli dalta sikkūra ilmīma ana petī lā iddin bītu šū irappiš
KI.MIN *imaqqut*

If a snake circles around the door (and) the bolt in a man's house and does not allow (him) to open (them) – that house will expand.

Ditto – it will fall.

a) In the commentary §23-C18, the first apodosis is assigned to a noble man (*kabtu*), the second one to a commoner (*muškēnu*).

b) The translation is based on Jiménez (2014, l. 42). Compare the translations in *If a City 2* and KAL 1. The translation in *If a City 2*, “(the snake) does not allow it to open,” is misleading, as the man is clearly the implied agent in *ana petī lā iddin*.

“If a snake circles the door (or) latch in a man's house and does not allow it to open, that house will expand; alternatively, it will be abandoned” (*If a City 2*, *23.59).

“[Wenn eine Schlange sich im Haus eines Mannes um die Tür (und) den Riegel windet und nicht erlaubt, (sie) zu öffnen: Dieses Haus wird anwachsen, dito: einstürzen” (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 56).

§ 23-C18 (§23.57)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 42)

W1 r. 12b-14a : DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.KUL NIGIN-*ma* / [a]-^{na}? BAD-*e* NU SUM-*in* É BI DAGAL-*iš* KI.MIN <É> BI ŠUB-*di* : *ana kab-tu dum-qí ana* MAŠ.EN.GAG lum-*nu* / 'aš'-
šum šu-tuk-ku dan-nu-tu₄ šá ^dNIN.GÍR.ZI.DA : *šu-tuk-ku* : *sik-kát*

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli dalta sikkūra ilmīma [a]na[?] petē lā iddin bītu šū irappiš KI.MIN <bītu> šū imaqquṭ : ana kabti dumqu ana muškēni lumnu aššum šutukkū dannūtu ša Ningirzida : šutukku : sikkat

If a snake circles around the door (and) the bolt in a man's house and does not allow (him) to open (them) – that house will expand. Ditto – that <house> will fall. (This means that) for the noble man this is good, for the commoner it is bad because (in) “the strong circles of Ningirzida,” circle (means) peg.

a) This commentary quotes the full omen, makes a social specification to the two alternative apodoses, and quotes an unrelated text, in which “peg” perhaps refers to the door in the protasis.

b) Jiménez (2014, l. 42) identifies the quotation “strong magic circles of Ningirzida” as coming from K 10380 8' // BM 35321 11'. K 10380 (see CDLI, no. P398655) is a small fragment; BM 35321 has an unidentified incantation on lines 1'-14' (l. 11' does not fit the quotation, see Geller 2016, p. 14),

separated by a ruling from an excerpt taken from Udug-ḫul, Tablet 9 (see Geller 2016, pp. 315-317, ms. gg; ibid. pl. 74; photo on the website of the British Museum).

§ 23-C19 (unplaced)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 44)

W1 r. 14b : DIŠ MUŠ.MEŠ GIL.MEŠ : 'it'-gu-ru-tú

šumma šerū GIL.MEŠ : itgurūtu

If snakes are GIL.MEŠ (means) they are intertwined.

a) The previous commentary §23-C18 comments on §23.57. The following commentary, §23-C20, has been tentatively assigned to §§23.64, but this is not certain, see above the comments on §23.63. Jiménez (2014, see l. 44) suggests that §23-C19 relates to “Šumma Ālu 23 75?-78?,” i.e. §§23.72-75, of which the protases are broken.

b) While this commentary cannot be placed in Tablet 23, compare §22.58', *šumma šerū [ana] pān amēli itgurū(GIL.MEŠ) šāltu ... [...]* “If snakes are intertwined [in] front of a man – combat ... [...].”

§ 23.58

(see *If a City 2*, *23.60)

B 15' DIŠ MUŠ <MUŠ>? ina É NA GAZ-ma GU₇ ŠUB-tì EN [...]

G 57 [DIŠ MU]Š 'MUŠ' ina 'É' L[Ú] GAZ-ma GU₇ ŠUB-tì EN INIM-š[u]

DIŠ [MU]Š MUŠ ina É NA GAZ-ma GU₇ ŠUB-tì EN INIM-š[u]

šumma [šēr]u šēra ina bīt amēli idūkma īkul miqitti bēl dabābiš[u]

If a snake kills and eats (another) snake in a man's house – downfall of h[is] adversary.

a) In line B 15', <MUŠ> was integrated on the basis of G 57. Also the first MUŠ is missing from Geers's copy (see Geers Ac49). It is either a modern or an ancient copyist mistake. An object for *idūk* is expected and the mention of an animal, in this case another snake, is supported by the fact that the following omens share the same topic.

§ 23.59

(see *If a City 2*, *23.61)

B 16' DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA DUMU.MEŠ-šú GU₇ É BI [...]

G 58 [DIŠ MU]Š ina É 'LÚ' 'DUMU'.MEŠ-šú 'GU₇' É BI BIR-'aḥ'

DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA DUMU.MEŠ-šú GU₇ É BI BIR-aḥ'

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli mārīšu īkul bītu šū issappaḥ

If a snake eats its offspring in a man's house – that house will be dispersed.

§23.60

(see *If a City 2*, *23.62)

B 17' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA SA.A GAZ-[šú] ZI.GA IDIM *ina* É [...]
G 59 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina* É [LÚ] 'SA'.A GAZ-[šú] ZI.GA IDIM *ina* É 'LÚ' 'È'

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA SA.A GAZ-[šú] ZI.GA IDIM *ina* É LÚ È

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli šurānu idūk[š]u šītu kabtu ina bīt amēli ušši

If a cat kills a snake in a man's house – extreme loss will be incurred in the man's house.

§23.61

(see *If a City 2*, *23.63)

B 18' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA GÍR.TA[B] G[AZ-šú] NA BI DUMU.MEŠ GAZ [...]
G 60 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* 'É' [LÚ G]ÍR.TAB GA[Z-šú] NA BI DUMU.MEŠ-[šú] 'GAZ'-'šú' KI.MIN ÚŠ.M[EŠ]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA GÍR.TAB GA[Z-šú] NA BI DUMU.MEŠ-[šú] GAZ-šú
KI.MIN ÚŠ.M[EŠ]

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli zuqaqīpu idū[kšu] amēlu šū mārū[šu] idukkūšu

KI.MIN *imutt[ū]*

If a scorpion kill[s] a snake in a man's house – the man's sons will kill him.

Ditto – they will di[e].

a) At the end of line G 60, we reconstruct ÚŠ.M[EŠ] as a G-stem with the “man's sons” as the subject, contra KAL 1 reconstructing ÚŠ.M[EŠ-šú] (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 60) as a Š-stem “Sie werden [ihn] töten [lassen]”. Since the first apodosis already describes the man's sons killing him, it seems unlikely that the two apodoses would repeat themselves. It is more probable that they would rather express two alternatives or even opposites, see e.g. §23.57, §23.102.

b) *If a City 2* (*23.63, G 61') does not read the last sign on line G 60.

c) For scorpion omens in *Šumma ālu* (Tablets 29-31), see *If a City 2*, pp. 132-159.

§23.62

(see *If a City 2*, *23.64)

B 19' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^dNIN.KILIM GAZ-šú ZI.GA [...]
G 61 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* 'É' [LÚ ^dNIN.KILIM G[AZ]-šú ZI.GA ŠE u KÙ].[BABBAR]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^dNIN.KILIM GAZ-šú ZI.GA ŠE u KÙ].[BABBAR]

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli sikkū idūkšu šīt še'im u kas[pi]

If a mongoose kills a snake in a man's house – loss of grain and si[lver].

§23.63

(see *If a City 2*, *23.65)

B 20' DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ^dN[IN[?].KIL]IM[?] GAZ-šú-*ma ana* KÁ 'È'-[šú ...]

G 62 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina 'É' [LÚ ... GAZ]-šú ana KÁ È-šú ÚŠ ina É LÚ ÚŠ

DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA ^dN[IN[?].KIL]IM[?] GAZ-šú-ma ana KÁ È-šú ÚŠ ina É LÚ ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli s[ikk]ū[?] idūkšuma ana bābi ušēšišu mītu ina bīt amēli imāt

If a m[ongoos]e[?] kills a snake in a [m]an's house and takes it out of the door – a mortally ill person will die in the man's house.

a) Ms. B⁽²³⁾ is only accessible as a working handcopy made by Geers (see Geers Ac49), which was also used by Freedman in *If a City 2*, [...] MUŠ ina E[₂N]A x GAZ-šú-ma ana MURU₂ E₃ [...] (*23.65, B20'). Note that the reading MURU₂ has now been revised to KÁ (see the parallel line G 62, KAL 1, no. 11, p. 50, n. 62).

From Geers's handcopy, it is possible to place the broken signs ^dN[IN[?].KIL]IM[?] before GAZ. This also makes sense as the protasis of §23.63 would be an extension of the protasis of §23.62 with the addition of *ana KÁ È-šú*.

§23.64

(see *If a City 2*, *23.66)

G 63 [DIŠ] MUŠ i[na] 'É' [LÚ *hu-um-ši-r*]^{a?} GAZ-ma 'ana' 'ŠÀ' ŠUB-šu *hab-ba[?]-tu* BIR É : SU.GU₇ É LÚ

[DIŠ] MUŠ i[na] É [LÚ *hu-um-ši-r*]^{a?} GAZ-ma ana ŠÀ ŠUB-šu *hab-ba[?]-tu* BIR É : SU.GU₇ É LÚ

[*šumma*] *šēru i[na] bīt [amēli *humšīr*]^{a?} idūkma ana libbi iddīšu habbātū[?] sapāḥ bīti : hušahḥi bīt amēli*

[If] a snake kills a [ra]t[?] i[n] a [man]'s house and throws it toward the *inner part* (of the house)[?] – (there will be) robbers[?], dispersal of the house : famine in the man's house.

a) We suggest two updates on the latest edition of this omen in KAL 1, [DIŠ] MUŠ i[na] 'É' [LÚ ...] 'x' GAZ-ma 'ana' 'ŠÀ' ŠUB-šu **hab na tu** BIR É : SU.GU₇ É LÚ (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 63).

(i) 'x': The traces of 'x' in line G 63, two parallel vertical wedges, could represent the end of RA. We have therefore suggested [*hu-um-ši-r*]^{a?} "(If a snake kills) a rat" as a possible reading, i.e. *humšīru* "mouse, rat" (CAD H, p. 236, wr. *hu-um-ši-ru*, but with many variant spellings).

A section of the commentary §23-C20 might comment on this protasis by offering the logographic reading of the victim's name: PÉŠ : *hu-si-ri* "PÉŠ (means) mouse" (see the chapter "Ancient Commentaries on Tablets 22-23" below). However, the line preceding this one in the commentary, §23-C19, is unplaced: *šumma šērū GIL.MEŠ : itgurūtu* "If snakes lie across each other (means) they are intertwined" (§23-C19).²⁵⁷ Jiménez (2014) suggests a possible connection of this line with one of the broken omens §§23.73-75 (§23-C21 clearly comments on §23.78). If correct, it would make the connection between §23-C20 and §23.64 unlikely.

²⁵⁷ GIL.MEŠ in a snake omen has only been found in §22.58', *šumma šērū [ana] pān amēli itgurūtu*(GIL.MEŠ) *šāltu ...* [...] "If snakes are intertwined [in] front of a man – combat ... [...]."

Nevertheless, [*hu-um-ši-r*]^a in §23.64 is a possibility. Note that PÉŠ and KILIM are the same sign, so it would make sense to have *humšīru* (PÉŠ) after a sequence of omens dealing with ^dNIN.KILIM.

The image of a snake killing a rat finds a parallel in the protasis of §23.83, in which a snake is said to kill the household pests (*nammaštī*).

- (ii) The signs read *hab na tu* in KAL 1 (no. 11, l. 63) have been tentatively re-interpreted as *hab-ba²-tu*.

b) Compare the reconstruction in *If a City 2* (pp. 45, 56, *23.66, G64'),

[...] MUŠ [... M]UŠ GAL₂-*ma ana* ŠA₃ NI₂-šū NIGIN₂-*ma* TU BIR E₂ SU.KU₂ E₂ KU₂ “[If] a snake has a [...] snake and it circles inside itself and goes in – dispersal of the house; a famine will consume the household.”

The reading GAL₂ for GAZ in *If a City 2* is due to a mistake in the KAR copy (see KAL 1, no. 11, p. 50, n. 63).

§ 23-C20 (§23.64?)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 45)

W1 r. 15a PÉŠ : *hu-si-ri*

PÉŠ: *husīri*

PÉŠ (means) mouse.

- a) This commentary has only tentatively been placed with §23.64 (see comments on the score). Otherwise §23-C20 would remain unplaced.

§ 23.65

(see *If a City 2*, *23.67)

G 64 [DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ][?] ‘x’ kù gi *ana²* ‘x’ ŠUB-šū EN É BI ÚŠ

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ... *ana²* ... ŠUB-šū EN É BI ÚŠ

[*šumma šēru* ...] ... *ana²* ... *iddīšu bēl bīti šuāti imât*

[If a snake ...] ... throws it into ... – the master of the house will die.

- a) Compare the readings of line G 64 in *If a City 2* and KAL 1 respectively (relevant signs marked bold),

[...] *ana* **15 GI.GIB** ŠUB-šū EN E₂ BI UG₇ (*If a City 2*, *23.67, l. G65’^(sic))

[...] ‘x’ KÙ.GI x ŠUB-šū EN É BI ÚŠ (KAL 1, no. 11, l. 63)

KAL 1 reads KÙ.GI *hurāšu* “gold” and translates “[... ...] Gold ... ihn wirft” (KAL 1, no. 11, p. 48, l. 64. We have decided to leave the signs unread because the context in which this omen appears suggests that this section should contain the name of the snake’s victim. “Gold” does not make much sense in the context of this protasis.

§23.66

(see *If a City 2*, *23.68)

G 65 [DIŠ MUŠ ...] *ana* IGI NA ŠUB ŠUB-*at* EN INIM-šu IGI-*mar*

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] *ana* IGI NA ŠUB ŠUB-*at* EN INIM-šu IGI-*mar*

[šumma šēru ...] *ana pān amēli imqut maqāt bēl dabābišu immar*

[If a snake ...] falls in front of a man – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

§23.67

(see *If a City 2*, *23.69, *23.70)

G 66-67 [DIŠ MUŠ ... T]A É *ana* KÁ È-šú TA KÁ *ana* É KU₄-*am* / [(0)][?] ZI. GA[?] NÍG.ŠU LUGAL TI-*qé*

[DIŠ MUŠ ... T]A É *ana* KÁ È-šú TA KÁ *ana* É KU₄-*am* ZI.GA[?] NÍG.ŠU LUGAL TI-*qé*

[šumma šēru ... iš]tu bīti *ana dalti ušēšišu ištu dalti ana bīti īrubam šītu[?] būša šarru ileqqe*

[If a snake ...] takes it [ou]t [fr]om the house to the door (and) enters from the door into the house (again) – (he will suffer) a loss[?], the king will take (his) property away.

a) The omens preceding §23.67, as well as those following it deal with the topic of snakes killing other animals (see §§23.60-64, §§23.69-72). It is reasonable to suggest that the same topic was treated in this omen too, the object of *ušēši* would then be the snake's victim.

b) The reading LUGAL in the apodosis is new. Compare KAL 1, no. 11,

[... T]A É *ana* KÁ È-šú TA KÁ *ana* É KU₄-*am* / [...] ZI. GA[?] NÍG.ŠU-*e* TI-*qé* “[... .. er die Schlange vo]m Haus zur Tür hinaustreibt und sie sich vom Tor (wieder) ins Haus hineinschlängelt: / [(0) Verlust, der Besitz ... wird ihm angenommen werden” (KAL 1, no. 11, ll. 66-67).

c) *If a City 2* assigns lines G 66-67 (there G67', G68') to two different omens. Several signs have been collated and corrected.

*23.69, G67'. [...] *ana* KA E₃-š_u₂ DUMU *ina*!(*ana*) E₂ BA.UG₇

*23.70, G68'. [...] zi x NIG₂.ŠU x TI-*qi*₂

§23.68

(see *If a City 2*, *23.71)

G 68 [... T]A SILA *ana* É KU₄-*am* EN É BI SIG₅

[DIŠ MUŠ ... T]A SILA *ana* É KU₄-*am* EN É BI SIG₅

[šumma šēru ... iš]tu sūqi *ana bīti īrubam bēl bīti šuāti idammīq*

[If a snake ...] enters [fr]om the street into the [hou]se (again) – the master of that house will be well.

§23.69

(see *If a City 2*, *23.72)

G 69 [DIŠ MUŠ ... *ina* É][?] LÚ[?] NIN.KILIM [G]AZ É BI BIR-*a*[h]

[DIŠ MUŠ ... *ina* É][?] LÚ[?] NIN.KILIM [G]AZ É BI BIR-*a*[h]

[šumma šēru ... ina bīt][?] amēli sikkâ [id]ūk bītu šū issappa[h]

[If a snake ... kills a mongoose [in][?] a man's[?] [house][?] – that house will be dispers[ed].

a) §§23.69-72 is a group of four omens dealing with the interaction between a snake and a mongoose, two animals famous for being bitter – and coequal – enemies.

b) In the present interpretation, the snake is the subject of [id]ūk; the sign LÚ is interpreted as part of ina É LÚ, which appears throughout the protases in this sequence of omens (see also the handcopy of ms. G in KAL 1, no. 11). The context in which this omen appears make it less likely that the man could be the subject of [id]ūk.

§23.70

(see *If a City 2*, *23.73)

G 70 [DIŠ MUŠ ...] 'É' LÚ ^dNIN.[KI]LIM GAZ-*ma* GU₇ 'ÚŠ' [ÚŠ][?]

[DIŠ MUŠ ... ina] É LÚ ^dNIN.[KI]LIM GAZ-*ma* GU₇ ÚŠ [ÚŠ][?]

[šumma šēru ... ina] bīt amēli si[k]kâ idūkma īkul mītu [imât][?]

[If a snake ...] kills and eats a mo[ng]oose [in] a man's house – a mortally ill person [will die][?]

§23.71

(see *If a City 2*, *23.74)

G 71 [DIŠ MUŠ ... ^dNIN.KI]LIM GAZ-*ma* ana É KU₄ É BI SIG₅ IG[I-mar]

[DIŠ MUŠ ... ^dNIN.KI]LIM GAZ-*ma* ana É KU₄ É BI SIG₅ IG[I-mar]

[šumma šēru ... sik]kâ idūkma ana bīti īrub bītu šū damiqta im[mar]

[If a snake ...] kills a [mongo]ose and enters into the house – that house will experi[ence] good fortune.

§23.72

(see *If a City 2*, *23.75)

G 72 [...] ^dNIN.KILIM GAZ NA BI ŠÀ.ḪUL IGI : na-zaq [x]

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ^dNIN.KILIM GAZ NA BI ŠÀ.ḪUL IGI : na-zaq [É][?]

[šumma šēru ...] sikkâ idūk amēlu šū lumun libbi immar : nazāq [bīti][?]

[If a snake ...] kills a mongoose – that man will experience grief : (there will be) grief [in the house][?]

§23.73

(see *If a City 2*, *23.76)

G r. 1 [...] 'x' 'x'

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ...

[šumma šēru ...] ...

[If a snake ...] ...

- a) *If a City 2* reads line G r. 1 as [...] x ERIN₂ x (*23.76, G r. 1), but her reading could not be corroborated. KAL 1, no. 11 leaves the signs unread.

§23.74

(see *If a City 2*, *23.77)

G r. 2 [...] É B]I BIR-a[h]

[DIŠ MUŠ ... É B]I BIR-a[h]

[šumma šēru ... bītu š]ū issappa[h]

[If a snake ... th]at [house] will be disperse[d].

§23.75

(see *If a City 2*, *23.78)

G r. 3 [...] 'EN' INIM-š[u]

X₂ iii 1' [...] 'x'

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] EN INIM-š[u]

[šumma šēru ...] bēl dabābiš[u]

[If a snake ...] hi[s] advers[ary].

- a) *If a City 2* reads X₂ iii 1' as [...] -š_u (p. 57, *23.78), KAL 1 reads [... š]i. (KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 1')
Here, the broken sign remains unread.

§23.76

(see *If a City 2*, *23.79)

G r. 4 [...] 'É' LÚ 'È'

X₂ iii 2' DIŠ 'MUŠ' 'ina' 'É' [NA ...] MUŠEN 'lu'-'ú'-'x' 'DAB' [... É LÚ] 'È'

Ex1 1' [...] 'x' 'x' 'x' [(x)]

DIŠ MUŠ ina É [NA ...] MUŠEN lu-ú x DAB [...] É LÚ È

šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli ...] iṣṣūra lū ... iṣbat [...] bīt amēli uṣṣi

If a snake catches a [...] bird or ... in a [man]'s house – [...] will go out [of] the man's house.

- a) The first line on ms. Ex1 (upper edge broken) is difficult to read from the photo, though an elongated vertical wedge is visible near the the right edge (preserved). The manuscript has yet to be collated.
b) Compare the reading of line X₂ iii 2' in *If a City 2* and in KAL 1. The present reading x DAB instead of ŠUB-e (KAL 1, no. 9) is based on the context which suggests the snake is catching something (see §23.78 below).

DIŠ MUŠ ina E₂ [...] MUŠEN DIB ina IGI ŠUB x x [...] E₃ (*23.79, X₂ iii 2')

DIŠ 'MUŠ' 'ina' 'É' [NA ...] ḫu 'lu'-'x' 'ŠUB'-'e' [...] 'È' "Wenn eine Schlange im Haus eines [Mannes ...] Aufgeben [...] wird herausgehen" (KAL 1, no. 9, l. iii 2').

c) See also §24.19, *šumma šēru mītu ša mišilšu aklu ina pê surdî šuqallul[m]a* ^{KI.MIN iṣṣūru ina pīšu naši} *ana bīt amēli imqut bēl bīti šuāti imātma bītu šū issappaḥ kašāss[u] bītu šū ridūssu ekallu ired[d]i* “If a dead snake, of which half is eaten, is hangig from a falcon’s mouth ^{gloss: ditto, the bird carries (it) in its mouth} the master of that house will die, that house will be dispersed; it[s] *sacking*?; the palace will con[fis]cate the estate of that house.”

§23.77

(see *If a City 2*, *23.80)

G r. 5 [...] ‘È’?
X₂ iii 3’ DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É [NA? (x)] ‘x’ DÛ-uš ŠUB-e É ‘:’ [NA]? È
Ex1 2’ [...] ‘x’ É NA È

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É [NA ...] ... DÛ-uš ŠUB-e É : NA È

šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli ...] ... īpuš nadê bīti : amēlu uṣṣi

If a snake makes [...] in a [man]’s house [...] ... – abandonment of the house : the man will leave.

- a) The reconstruction of line X₂ iii 3’ is based on KAL 1, no. 9. The *Glossenkeil* on this line is a triple-*Winkelhaken*. KAL 1 interprets it as introducing an alternative apodosis, “Wenn eine Schlange im Haus eines [Mannes ...] ... : Aufgeben des Hauses, alternativ: [der Mann] wird herausgehen” (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 38, l. III 3’). In the case of §23.77, the *Glossenkeil* could also introduce a gloss explaining the meaning of the apodosis, because both parts have the same sence: “Abandonment of the house (means) the man will leave.” This can be also found in the protasis of ..., where two synonyms are separated by a *Glossenkeil*. On the other hand, sometimes this does not work ...
- b) Hardly anything is visible of the broken sign before DÛ-uš in line X₂ iii 3’. In the break before it and after *ina* É, there would be space for NA and no more than one sign. It seems that this omen could form a couplet with §23.78, where the protasis has *ina* É NA *bu-ú-ra* DÛ-uš. Note that the two omens also share a similar apodosis.
- c) Compare the reading of line G r. 5 in *If a City 2*, [...] E[₃] (p. 57, *23.80), and in KAL 1 [...] ‘x’ (KAL 1, no. 11, l. Rs. 5).
- d) The ‘x’ on line Ex1 2’, but has yet to be collated.

§23.78

(see *If a City 2*, *23.81, *23.83)

A⁽²³⁾ r. 1’ [... N]A? *bu-’u’-’ú’-[ra? ...]*
G r. 6 [...] ‘x’
X₂ iii 4’ DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA ‘*bu-’ú-ra* DÛ-uš ŠUB-e É
Ex1 3’ [... DÛ]-uš ŠUB-e É

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA *bu-ú-ra* DÛ-uš ŠUB-e É

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli bu-’ura īpuš nadê bīti

If a snake goes hunting in a man’s house – abandonment of the house.

- a) In *If a City 2*, lines A r. 1' is placed with *23.83 (§23.80), but it remains unread, [... N]A x x x [...]
(*If a City 2*, p. 57, *23.83, l. a r. 1'). Collation has shown that the line likely belongs with this omen.

§ 23-C21 (§23.78)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 45)

W1 r. 15b : DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ bu- 'u-ra DÙ-uš : šá mim-ma šá kap-pi sag-[x x x]-ru

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli bu ' 'ura īpuš : ša mimma šā kappī sag[...]ru

If a snake goes hunting in a man's house (refers to the snake) whose wings ... [...] ...

- a) The commentary adds a phantastical element to the description of the snake, creating a problematic verisimilitude. See also §23-C24 below.

§23.79

(see *If a City 2*, *23.82)

G r. 7 [... MAŠ].EN.GAG i-šár-[r]ù

X₂ iii 5' DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA ana UGU NA ŠUB šum₄-ma NÍG.TUK 'ÚKU'-in šum₄-ma MAŠ.EN.GAG i-šár-rù

Ex1 4'- [... N]A ŠUB šum₄-ma NÍG.TUK ÚKU-in / [... MAŠ.EN].GAG i-šár-rù
5'

DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA ana UGU NA ŠUB šum₄-ma NÍG.TUK ÚKU-in šum₄-ma MAŠ.EN.GAG i-šár-rù
šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ana muḥḥi amēli imqut šumma šarû ilappin šumma muškēnu išarru

If a snake falls on top of a man in a man's house – if he is a rich man, he will become poor, if he is a commoner, he will become rich.

- a) This omen apodosis is an example for social specification (see Gabbay 2019, p. 355), i.e., when the omen has different apodoses depending on the social status of the client. The dichotomy poor man / rich man is a topos found throughout the snake omens, see also §22.11, §23.102, §24.14.
- b) In *If a City 2*, ms. A is said to omit this and the following omen, §§23.79-80 (*23.82, *23.83). However, as it becomes clear from omen §23.86 onwards, ms. A presents the possibility of two omens on the same line. In this case, the right side of the tablet is broken. Perhaps one of the two omens §§23.79-80 would fit on the second part of line A r. 1'. Otherwise, ms. A omits §§23.79-80, as it notably does §23.84.

§23.80

(see *If a City 2*, *23.83)

G r. 8 [... šum₄]-ma EN É BI ÚŠ

X₂ iii 6' DIŠ MUŠ ina É N[A N]Á[?]-i[?] x 'x' 'x' 'i'-tab-bal šum₄-ma EN É ÚŠ

DIŠ MUŠ ina É N[A N]Á[?]-i[?] ... i-tab-bal
šum₄-ma EN É BI ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina bīt am[ēli rab]i[?] ... itabbal
šumma bēl bīti šuāti imât

If a snake [li]es² down in a m[an]'s house – ... will carry away ...

Same protasis – the master of that house will die.

- a) Based on Heeßel's handcopy of ms. X (= KAL 1, no. 9), see KAL 1, p. 157, we have tentatively reconstructed NÁ-iš as the verb of the protasis. Compare *If a City 2* and KAL 1, no. 9,

DIŠ MUŠ ina E₂ NA [x]-x-ma KA₂ E₂ [DU₃].A.BI i-tab-bal šum₄-ma EN E₂ BI UG₇ (*If a City 2*, p. 44, *23.83)

DIŠ MUŠ ina É N[A] x x x 'x' 'x' 'x' 'i'-tab-bal šum₄-ma EN É ÚŠ (KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 6')

Freedman suggests reconstructing this omen as follows: DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA [gi-n]am-ma KÁ É [DÚ].A.BI i-tab-ba- šum₄-ma EN É BI UG₇ (Freedman 2006b, p. 163, n. 17a). The reconstruction is based on a commentary passage: *gi-nam-ma : ka-a-a-ni-iš* (§23-C23).

Heeßel notes that this reconstruction is not possible (KAL 1, p. 41, n. III 6'). Furthermore, the commentary *gi-nam-ma : ka-a-a-ni-iš* (§23-C23) does not relate to omen *23.83, but to *23.87, i.e. §23.84 (see below).

- b) Ms. A probably omits this omen, but, since the second half of line A r. 1' is broken, maybe it was written there: see §23.79 (c).

§23.81

(see *If a City 2*, *23.84)

A r. 2' [... N]A i-dam-mu-u[m ...]

G r. 9 [... dul-l]a i-ma-al-la

X₂ iii 7' DIŠ MUŠ ina 'É' [N]A 'i'-dam-mu-um N[A] BI [du]l-la i-ma-al-la

Ex1 6' [... i-d]am-mu-um NA BI dul-la i-ma-al-la

V1₂ iii 22' DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ i-dam-mu-um É BI dul-la SA₅

DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA i-dam-mu-um NA BI dul-la i-ma-al-la

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli idammum amēlu šū dulla imalla

If a snake wails in a man's house – that man will be filled with misery.

Variant X

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ i-dam-mu-um É BI dul-la SA₅

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli idammum bītu šū dulla imalla

If a snake wails in a man's house – that house will be filled with misery.

§ 23-C22 (§23.81)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 46)

W1 r. 16 i-dam-mu-um : šá ši-si-ti <<>> ma-a-du : dul-la : bi-ki-tu₄ : dul-la : ta-né-ḫi

idammum : ša šisīti mādu : dulla : bikītu : dulla : tānēḫi

(If the snake) **wails** (means) of loud screaming; hardship (means) weep, hardship (also means) moaning.

- a) The commentary comments both on the verb in the protasis and on the central noun in the apodosis. The two words belong to the same semantic field.
- b) See also *ašar šisīti šaknati* in commentary §23-C8 (§23.37) above.

§23.82

(see *If a City 2*, *23.85)

A r. 3'	[...] <i>ina la ma-ḥa-ši i[m-tu-ut ...]</i>
G r. 10	[... GIZKIM]IM IGI ÚŠ ÚŠ
H r. 1'	[... <i>ma-ḥa</i>]- <i>ṣi</i> i[m-tu-ut ...]
X ₂ iii 8'	DIŠ MUŠ <i>'ina</i> <i>'É</i> [NA <i>ina</i>] <i>'la</i> <i>ma-ḥa-ši</i> <i>'im</i> -tu-ut GIZKIM IGI ÚŠ Ú[Š]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* *É* [NA] *ina la ma-ḥa-ši im-tu-ut* GIZKIM IGI ÚŠ ÚŠ

šumma šēru ina bīt [amēli] ina lā maḥāši imtūt ittu innammar mītu imāt

If a snake dies in a [man]'s house, but not because of a blow – an omen will be seen, a mortally ill person will die.

- a) Line H r. 1' has been collated and placed with this omen; compare *If a City 2*, * [... -s]u, (p. 46, n. 88).
- b) *If a City 2* interprets the beginning of the apodosis as GISKIM *ši* instead of GIZKIM IGI (*23.85, G r.10, X₂ iii 8').
- c) KAL 1 also offers a different interpretation of the beginning of the apodosis, “Wenn eine Schlange im Haus eines [Mannes o]hne (Drauf-)Schlagen stirbt: Ein Vorzeichen wird er erfahren, ein Tod(ge-weihter) wird sterben” (KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 8'). In this interpretation, the man mentioned in the protasis is the implied subject of IGI and GIZKIM is the object.

§23.83

(see *If a City 2*, *23.86)

A r. 4'	[... n]am-maš-tu ₄ <i>É</i> NA GAZ [...]
G r. 11	[... Š]UB : ŠUK TAG ₄ -šú
H r. 2'	[...] <i>É</i> NA i[d-da-na-ak ...]
X ₂ iii 9'	[DIŠ] MU[Š <i>nam-maš-ti</i>]i <i>'É</i> NA <i>'id</i> -da-na-ak <i>É</i> ? BI? ŠUB : ^{!(KAM)} ŠE.PAD TAG ₄ -š[ú]
Ex1 7'-8'	[... n]am-maš-ti <i>É</i> NA <i>id-da-na-ak</i> / [... Š]UB-di : ŠUK TAG ₄ -šú

[DIŠ] MU[Š *n*]am-maš-ti *É* NA *id-da-na-ak* [*É* BI] ŠUB-di : ŠUK TAG₄-šú

[*šumma*] *šēr*[u *n*]ammaštī bīt amēli iddanāk [*bītu šū*] innaddi : kurummatu izzibšu

[If] a snak[e] repeatedly kills [the] pests of a man's house – [that house will be ab]andoned : the food rations will leave it.

Variant X

[DIŠ] MU[Š *nam-maš-ti*]i *É* NA *id-da-na-ak* *É*? BI? ŠUB : ŠE.PAD TAG₄-š[ú]

[šumma] šēr[u nammaš]tī bīt amēli iddanâk bītu[?] šū[?] innaddi : še[?]u izzibš[u]

[If] a snak[e] repeatedly kills [the pes]ts of a man's house – that[?] house[?] will be abandoned : food will leave i[t].

- a) The verbal form *iddanâk* is an otherwise unknown Gtn-stem of *dâku* “to kill” (KAL 1, p. 41, n. III 9’).
- b) Line H r. 2’ has been collated and placed with this omen; *If a City 2* (p. 46, n. 88) reads *[...] x E₂ NA [...].
- c) The signs *nam-maš-ti* are clearly visible on the KAR copy of ms. X, but today the signs are broken (KAL 1, p. 41, n. III 9’). They can be only reconstructed based the parallel line Ex1 7’. The noun *nammaštu* means “herds of (wild) animals” (CAD N/1, p. 234). KAL 1 translates “das Getier” (KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 9’). Our translation “pests” refers to mice and other “wild” animals intruding into the house. See also §23.64, where a mouse/rat killed by a snake was suggested to play a role in the protasis.

While we would expect a snake getting rid of pests to entail a positive apodosis, this apodosis with food *leaving* the house might reflect the snake *taking out* the animals from the house. Apart from §23.71 and §23.95, all apodoses of protases where snakes kill or are killed by other animals are negative. In §23.9 and §23.28 the apodoses are positive because the clients kill the snake.

- d) In the main variant, there might be phonetic wordplay *iddanâk* in the protasis and *innaddi kurum-matu* in the apodosis with the repetition of the consonants *d-n-k* (*iddanâk*) and *n-d-k* (*innaddi+k-*).
- e) Our reading of lines G r. 11 and X₂ iii 9’ follows KAL 1, no. 9 and no. 11; Ex1 7’-8’ has been collated accordingly. Compare the reading of the same lines in *If a City 2* (p. 57, *23.86),

G r. 11. [...] x PAD TAG₄-š_u₂

X₂ iii 9’ (23.86*). DIŠ MUŠ ina E₂ [...] n]am-maš-ti E₂ NA id-da-na-ak x x še PAD TAG₄-[...]

Ex(1) 7’-8’. [...] n]am-maš-ti E₂ NA id-da-na-ak / [...] x š_u₂ x še PAD TAG₄-š_u₂

§23.84

(see *If a City 2*, *23.87)

G r. 12 [...] NÍG.G]IG IGI

H r. 3’ [...] ip-ta-na-[rik ...]

X₂ iii 10’ [...] ip-ta-na-r]ik NA BI NÍG.GIG IGI-mar

[DIŠ MUŠ ina É NA gi-nam-ma][?] ip-ta-na-[r]ik NA BI NÍG.GIG IGI-mar

[šumma šēru ina bīt amēli ginâmma][?] iptana[rr]ik amēlu šū marušta immar

[If a snake is always lying cross]wise [in a man's house][?] – that man will experience illness.

- a) The protasis was tentatively reconstructed on the basis of commentary §23-C23 (see also KAL 1, p. 41, n. III 6’): *gi-nam-ma* : *ka-a-a-ni-iš* (see below).

- b) A similar protasis also appears in §23.12, *šumma šēru ginâ kalâma ana pân amēli iptanarrik šattuk-kašu imatṭi* “If a snake constantly and continually obstructs a man’s path – his regular offerings will lessen.”
- c) Ms. A probably omits this omen which is too long to fit into the broken part of the previous line next to §23.83.
- d) Line H r. 3’ has been collated and placed with this omen (unplaced in *If a City 2*, p. 46, n. 88). Our reading of line X₂ iii 10’ follows KAL 1, no. 9, compare *If a City 2*, [...] x x [...] x-na-diš NA BI NIG₂.GIG IGI-mar (p. 57, *23.87).

§ 23-C23 (§23.84)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 47)

W1 r. 17a *gi-nam-ma : ka-a-a-ni-iš*

ginâmma : *kayyāniš*

Always (means) constantly.

- a) Jiménez (2014, l. 46, see n. 27), following KAL 1 (p. 41, n. III 6’), relates this commentary to §23.84 (Jiménez follows *If a City 2*, *23.87). The commentary was used for reconstructing the protasis of §23.84. See also the protasis of §23.12.

§23.85

(see *If a City 2*, *23.88)

A r. 5’ [...] ‘É’? NA IGI[-ir’? ...]

G r. 13 [... *sa-d*]a-ru

H r. 4’ [...] *sa-da*-[ru]

X₂ iii 11’ [...] *sa-da-ru*

[DIŠ MUŠ ... *ina*] É NA IGI-[ir]’? [...] *sa-da-ru*

[*šumma šēru ... ina*] *bīt amēli innam*[ir] [...] *sadāru*

[If a ... snake] is see[n in] a man’s house [...] (there will be) order’?

- a) This omen possibly forms a pair with §23.86. It is unclear how much is missing from the apodosis in §23.85, but if *sadāru* is a single-word apodosis as is *idirtu* in §23.86,²⁵⁸ it would probably indicate that a minor variant in the respective protases of the two omens, unfortunately broken in both omens, triggered the opposite apodoses:

§23.85. [*šumma šēru ... ina*] *bīt amēli innam*[ir] *sadāru* (positive)

§23.86. *šumma šēr*[u ... *ina*] *bīt amēli innamir* *idirtu* (negative)

One possibility is that the two omens §§23.85-86 dealt with the sighting of two different types of snakes: note that §23.87 deals with the sighting of a red snake in the man’s house; the following omen, §23.88, speaks of a seven-headed snake.

²⁵⁸ Compare e.g. the single-word apodosis *niziqtu* “grief” in §§22.25-32, or *tēšû* “chaos” in §22.57’.

Sadāru in the stative also appears together with words from the semantic field evil, misfortune (CAD S, p. 12, *sadāru* 3'), e.g. the apodoses *šēlētum sadrāššum* "quarrels will be a regular occurrence for him" (YOS 10 54, le. e. 3, OB physiogn.), *niziqtu sadrat* "grief will be a regular occurrence" (CT 39 35: 49, *Šumma ālu*, both after CAD S, p. 12).

See also §22.63' for *sadāru* in the protasis.

- b) The snake in the apodosis of this omen is possibly commented on in a section of the commentary §23-C24 (see below),

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli innamir : ša šēpāšu ušeššâ

"If a snake is seen in a man's house (refers to the snake) whose legs grow out" (§23-C24/I)

The quoted base text does not include a specification, but this does not necessarily mean that it was not present in the base text. Commentaries generally want to solve problems of verisimilitude in omens (see Gabbay 2019: 348-349). I therefore suggest that the broken protasis of §23.85 dealt with a type of snake which the commentator interpreted as a snake equipped with "legs," (so, possibly, not a snake at all, but another reptile).

- c) The second part of commentary §23-C24 possibly addresses the apodosis of this omen (translation following CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 46),

sadāru : kânu "To do regularly (means) to be permanent" (§23-C24/II).

Commentaries often comment on a single word taken from an omen apodosis, but we argue that *sadāru* could be a one-word apodosis, as is *idirtu* in §23.86. *Sadāru* means "to do/occur/arrive regularly" (CAD S p. 11). The root in the same noun-pattern as *idirtu*, i.e. *sidirtu*, means "row, battle line" (CAD S p. 233), belonging in the semantic field of *order, regularity, accuracy*. One possible meaning of the noun *sidru* or *sadru* is "regular offering," which is also the meaning of the word *šattukku*, found in the protasis of §23.12, *šattukkašu imaṭṭi* "his regular offerings will lessen."

If §23.85 and §23.86 do form a couplet, *sadāru* could be interpreted as a noun with a positive connotation like "order," "regularity," "permanence" (as understood in the commentary §23-C24), as opposed to *idirtu* "calamity" in §23.86.

- d) Lines H r. 1'-3' were not placed in *If a City 2* (p. 46, n. 88), H r. 4' is placed with *23.88 (*If a City 2*, p. 57).

§ 23-C24 (§§23.85-86)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 47)

W1 r. 17b-18a DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ IGI : šá GÌR.MEŠ-šú ú-še-eš-ša-a / sa-da-ru : ka-a-a-nu

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli innamir : ša šēpāšu ušeššâ / sadāru : kânu

If a snake is seen in a man's house (refers to the snake) whose legs grow out; **to do regularly** (means) to be permanent.

§23.86

(see *If a City 2*, *23.89)

A r. 6a' [...] É NA IGI i-dir-tu₄

G r. 14 [... i]-dir-tu₄
H r. 5' DIŠ MU[Š ...] IGI-ir [...]
X₂ iii 12' [... i]-dir-t[u]
Ex1 9' [...] É NA IGI-ir i-dir-tu₄

DIŠ MU[Š ... ina] É NA IGI-ir i-dir-tu₄

šumma šēr[u ... ina] bīt amēli innamir idirtu

If a snake [...] is seen [in] a man's house – (there will be) calamity.

a) See the comments on §23.85.

§23.87

(see *If a City* 2, *23.90)

A r. 6b' : DIŠ M[UŠ ...]
G r. 15 [...] i-šár-rù
H r. 6' DIŠ MUŠ SA₅ ina É LÚ IGI-ir [...]
X₂ iii 13' [...] NA BI i-š[ar-rù]
Ex1 10' [...] É NA IGI NA BI i-šár-rù

DIŠ MUŠ SA₅ ina É LÚ IGI-ir LÚ BI i-šár-rù

šumma šēru sāmu ina bīt amēli innamir amēlu šū išarru

If a red snake is seen in a man's house – that man will become rich.

a) This omen is probably part of a sequence of omens (§§23.85-88) whose protases deal with the sighting of various types of snakes in a man's house (see above); the next omen, §23.88, features a seven-headed snake.

§23.88

(see *If a City* 2, *23.91)

A r. 7a' [... SA]G.DU.MEŠ ina É NA IGI [...]
G r. 16 [... a-šá-ri]-du-ta₅ DU-ak
H r. 7' DIŠ MUŠ 7 SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú ina É IGI-ir E[N ...]
X₂ iii 14' [...] 'É' 'BI' [SAG.KAL-ta₅ DU-ak]
Ex1 11' [... SAG.DU.MEŠ]-šú ina É NA IGI 'EN' 'É' 'BI' SAG.KAL-ta₅ D[U]¹

DIŠ MUŠ 7 SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú ina É NA IGI EN É BI SAG.KAL-ta₅ DU-ak

šumma šēru 7 qaqqadūšu ina bīt amēli innamir bēl bīti šuāti ašaredūta illak

If a seven-headed snake is seen in a man's house – the master of that house will achieve the highest rank.

a) The last two signs on line Ex1 11' were interpreted differently in *If a City 2* (*23.91),

Ex(1) 11'. [...] -š_u2 ina E₂ NA IGI EN E₂ BI <ina> SAG.KAL E₃!(du)

b) Note that Ms. H has *ina É IGI-ir* instead of *ina É NA IGI-ir*.

§23.89

(see *If a City 2*, *23.92)

G r. 17 [...] 'É' BI TUŠ-ab

H r. 8' DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ ŠUB-i Û.TU [...]

X₂ iii 15' [...]

Ex1 12' [...] 'x' 'Û'.TU [É BI]' 'x' 'x'

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ ŠUB-i Û.TU É BI TUŠ-ab

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadī ulid bīta šuāti uššab

If a snake gives birth in a man's abandoned house – he will inhabit that house (again).

a) This omen is probably omitted by ms. A. Because it is quote short, it might have been written on the right half of the line, which is broken.

b) Only two signs are clearly identifiable on line Ex1 12'. Compare *If a City 2*, [...] U₃.TU E₂ BI [...] x [...] (*23.92, Ex(1) 12').

§23.90

(see *If a City 2*, *23.93)

A r. 8a' [...] NA ŠUB-i <<i>> 'IGI'?'-ir [...]

G r. 18 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' [LÚ] 'ŠUB'-'i' 'IGI' ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

H r. 9' [DIŠ M]UŠ ina É LÚ ŠUB-i IGI-ir ŠU.[BI.AŠ.ÀM]

X₂ iii 16' [... ŠUB]-'i' 'IGI'-'i[r ...]

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ ŠUB-i IGI-ir ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (É BI TUŠ-ab)

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli nadī innamir ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bīta šuāti uššab)

If a snake is seen in a man's abandoned house – ditto (he will inhabit that house (again)).

a) The beginning of line H r. 9' is not marked as broken in *If a City 2* (p. 58). Compare also the different reading of line A r. 8a' in *If a City 2* (*23.93, *a r.8a'), [...] NA ŠUB-i i x [...].

§23.91

(see *If a City 2*, *23.94)

A r. 8b' [...]

G r. 19 [...] É LÚ ŠUB-i KU₄ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

H r. 10' [DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ ŠUB-i KU₄ ŠU.[BI.AŠ.ÀM]

X₂ iii 17' [... ŠU]B[?] KU₄ [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ ŠUB-i KU₄ ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (É BI TUŠ-ab)

[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli nadī īrub ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bīta šuāti uššab)

[If a snake] enters a man's abandoned house – ditto (he will inhabit that house (again)).

- a) The broken sign before KU₄ on line X₂ iii 17' is probably ŠUB (unread in *If a City 2*, p. 58). Also, the beginning of line H r. 10' is not marked as broken in *If a City 2* (p. 58).

§ 23.92

(see *If a City 2*, *23.95)

A r. 9' [... N]A NA GAZ NA BI in-na-dar KI.MIN du-u[s-su KAR-er]

G r. 20 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' LÚ LÚ GAZ NA BI in-na-dar^(s) KI.MIN du-us-su KAR-er

H r. 11' [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' LÚ LÚ GAZ NA BI in-na-[dar ...]

X₂ iii 18' [...] GAZ NA BI in-na-dar KI.MIN d[u]-u[s-su KAR-er]

[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É NA NA GAZ NA BI in-na-dar

KI.MIN du-us-su KAR-er

[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli amēla idūk amēlu šū innaddar

KI.MIN dūssu innetter

[If a snake] kills a man [in] a man's house – that man will flee.

Ditto – his potency will be taken away.

- a) There is phonetic parallelism between *innaddar* and *innetter*.
- b) Compare *If a City 2*, reading the verb *in-na-bit* (instead of *in-na-dar*), translating, “that man will be destroyed” (see *If a City 2*, pp. 47, 58, *23.95), but we follow Heeßel's collation of ms. G (see KAL 1, no. 11). Steinert (2012, p. 413) follows Freedman's reading, “dieser Mann wird ruiniert werden.”
- c) The noun *dūtu*, generally interpreted as “male potency,” is discussed alongside the partly synonymous *bāštu* (see also §22.19) in Steinert 2012, pp. 405-509. See also §22.19, comment (b), and the commentaries §22-C8 and §22-C13.

§ 23.93

(see *If a City 2*, *23.96)

A r. 10' [...] 'i'-mu-ut EN [É BI ÚŠ]

G r. 21 [...] 'É' LÚ i-mu-ut EN É BI ÚŠ

H r. 12' [...] LÚ i-mu-ut EN É [BI ÚŠ]

X₂ iii 19' [...] 'i'-mu-ut EN É BI [ÚŠ]

[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ i-mu-ut EN É BI ÚŠ

[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli imūt bēl bīti šuāti imât

[If a snake] dies [in] a man's [ho]use – the master of that house will die.

§23.94

(see *If a City 2*, *23.97)

G r. 22 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' 'LÚ' AN.TA-šú i-lu-ut É BI BIR-aḥ ŠU KUR-su É.GAL UŠ-šú'

H r. 13' [... L]Ú 'AN'.TA-šú i-lu-ut É B[I ...]

X₂ iii 20' [... N]A AN.TA-šú i-lu-ut É BI BIR-aḥ ŠU KUR-su É.GA[L UŠ-šú]

Ex1 r. 1'-2' [...] AN.TA-šú i-[lu-ut] / [...] ŠU KUR-su É.GAL [UŠ-šú]

[DIŠ MUŠ ina] É LÚ AN.TA-šú i-lu-ut É BI BIR-aḥ ŠU KUR-su É.GAL UŠ-šú

[šumma šēru ina] bīt amēli tappāšu īlut bītu šū issappaḥ qātu ikaššassu ekallu iredḏīšu

[If a snake] swallows its companion [in] a man's house – that house will be dispersed, the hand (i.e. a disease) will take hold of it, the palace will confiscate it.

a) Ms. A omits this omen.

b) Note the phonetic parallel of *imūt* in §23.93 and *īlut* in §23.94.

c) The commentary §23-C25 explains the signs AN.TA in the protasis as a spelling for *tappû* “companion.”

d) On the interpretation of *qātu ikaššassu* as a disease taking hold is based on similar apodoses (see §22.15, comment (b)). Usually the object expressed by the enclitic pronoun is “the man” in the protasis, cataphoric cohesion in this triple apodosis, however, suggests that the disease befalls the whole house(hold). Alternatively, “the hand” could refer not to a disease but to an institution confiscating the house, as the final part of the apodosis speaks of the palace confiscating the house.

e) KAL 1 reconstructs É.GA[L UŠ-šú] at the end of line X₂ iii 20' (see KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 20', p. 35), translating “der Palas[t wird es konfisizieren]” (ibid. p. 38), but reads the parallel in line G r. 22, É.GAL UŠ-d[i] (KAL 1, no. 11, p. 46, l. Rs. 22,), though with the same translation. From the copy, UŠ-šú' (slightly broken) is possible.

Our reading of the signs ŠU KUR-su É.GAL follows KAL 1, whereas *If a City 2* reads šu-bat-su E₂.GAL UŠ-d[i] “the palace will abandon its residential area” (see pp. 46-47, 59, *23.97).

§ 23-C25 (§23.94, §23.95, §23.96)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 48)

W1 r. 18b : AN.TA : tap-pu-ú

AN.TA : *tappû*

AN.TA (means) companion.

§23.95

(see *If a City 2*, *23.98)

- A r. 11a' [... A]N.TA-šú GAZ KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ
 G r. 23 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' LÚ AN.TA-šú GAZ KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ
 X₂ iii 21' [...] NA AN.TA-šú GAZ KUR-ád 'Á'?,[ÁŠ]
 V1₂ iii 19' DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ tap-pa-šú GAZ KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ AN.TA-šú GAZ KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu idūk kašād šibūti

If a snake kills its companion in a man's house – (he will be) granted a wish.

§23.96

(see *If a City 2*, *23.99)

- A r. 11b' : DIŠ MUŠ KI.MIN AN.T[A]-šú GU₇ ŠUB-at E[N ...]
 G r. 24 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' LÚ AN.TA-šú GU₇ ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar
 X₂ iii 22' [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' NA AN.TA-šú GU₇ ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-[mar]
 V1₂ iii 20' DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ tap-pa-šú GU₇ ŠUB-ti EN INIM-šú

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ AN.TA-šú GU₇ ŠUB-at EN INIM-šú IGI-mar

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu īkul maqāt bēl dabābišu immar

If a snake eats its companion in a man's house – he will see the downfall of his adversary.

Variant V1

DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ tap-pa-šú GU₇ ŠUB-ti EN INIM-šú
šumma šēru ina bīt amēli tappāšu īkul miqitti bēl dabābišu

If a snake eats its companion in a man's house – downfall of his adversary.

a) After the break in the middle of line A r. 11b', there is a broken šú, pace *If a City 2* (p. 59, *23.99)

DIŠ MUŠ KIMIN AN.T[A ...] KU₂ ŠUB-at E[N...].

§23.97

(see *If a City 2*, *23.100)

- A r. 12a' [...]
 G r. 25 [DIŠ MUŠ ina] 'É' LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri Û.TU É BI BIR-aḥ
 X₂ iii 23' [DIŠ MUŠ] ina É NA ina ḥa-ru-ri Û.TU É BI BIR-[a]ḥ
 Ex1 r. 3'-4' [...] ḥa-ru-ri 'Û'.[TU] / [...] BIR-[aḥ]

[DIŠ MUŠ] ina É LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri Û.TU É BI BIR-aḥ

[šumma šēru] ina bīt amēli ina ḥarūri ulid bītu šū issappaḥ

[If a snake] gives birth in a man's house in the ḥarūru-part of the mill – that house will be dispersed.

a) §§23.97-100 (*23.100-103) form a thematic group.

b) *If a City 2* (p. 59, *23.100) argues that ms. A omits the first omen of the group, §23.97 (*23.100), while only §23.98 (*23.101) is written on line A r. 12' and §§23.99-100 (*23.102-*23.103) are written on line A r. 13' (13a' and 13b'). However, perhaps all four omens were present on ms. A, but §23.97, which was written on the first part of line A r. 12' (12a'), is lost is the break on the left-hand side of the tablet. Ms. A has a series of two omens written one on one line and separated from one another by a *Glossenkeil* (see also line A r. 11').

§23.98

(see *If a City 2*, *23.101)

A r. 12b' [... *ḥ*]a-ru-ri NÁ-iš É 'BI' BIR-aḥ

G r. 26 [DIŠ] 'MUŠ' ina [É] LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri NÁ-iš ŠU.[B]I.AŠ.ÀM

X₂ iii 24' [DIŠ MU]Š ina É NA ina ḥa-ru-ri NÁ-iš ŠU.BI.AŠ.'ÀM'

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina É LÚ ina ḥa-ru-ri NÁ-iš ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (É BI BIR-aḥ)

[šumma] šēru ina bīt amēli ina ḥarūri rabiš ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bītu šū issappaḥ)

[If] a snake is lying in a man's house in the *ḥarūru*-part of the mill – ditto (that house will be dispersed).

§23.99

(see *If a City 2*, *23.102)

A r. 13a' [DIŠ MUŠ ina] a-sur-re-e É NA ú-lid É BI BIR

G r. 27 [DIŠ M]UŠ in[a a-sur-re]-e É LÚ Û.TU Š[U.B]I.AŠ.ÀM

X₂ iii 25' [DIŠ M]UŠ <<ina É NA>> ina a-sur-re-e É NA Û.TU ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

[DIŠ M]UŠ ina a-sur-re-e É NA Û.TU ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (É BI BIR-aḥ)

[šumma] šēru ina asurrê bīt amēli ulid ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bītu šū issappaḥ)

If a snake gives birth in the sewer of a man's house – ditto (that house will be dispersed).

a) In omens, incantations, and medical texts, the Akkadian *asurrû* usually refers to a sewer (George 2015, p. 102, see exx. 25-27 on p. 93, of which ex. 25 is §§23.99-101). Freedman translates *asurrû* as "base court of masonry" (*If a City 2*, p. 47, *23.102-104). See George (2015, p. 76) for previous translations of *asurrû* in the CAD, AHW, and *Concise Dictionary*.

§23.100

(see *If a City 2*, *23.103)

A r. 13b' : DIŠ MUŠ ina a-sur-re-e É NA NÁ-iš [...]

G r. 28 [DIŠ M]UŠ ina 'a'-'[sur-re]-e 'É' 'NA' NÁ-iš [Š]U.BI.AŠ.ÀM

X₂ iii 26' [DIŠ] MUŠ <<ina É NA>> ina a-sur-re-e É LÚ NÁ-iš ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

DIŠ MUŠ ina a-sur-re-e É NA NÁ-iš ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (É BI BIR-aḥ)

šumma šēru ina asurrê bīt amēli rabiš ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (bītu šū issappaḥ)

If a snake is lying in the sewer of a man's house – ditto (that house will be dispersed).

- a) The scribe of ms. X unnecessarily inserted <<ina É NA>>, maybe out of confusion or because the scribe was copying from a different *Vorlage*.

§23.101

(see *If a City 2*, *23.104)

- A r. 14' [... a]-sur-re-e ina la mu-de-e DAB-su-m[a BAR]-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši (ruling)
- G r. 29 [DIŠ M]UŠ MUNUS ina 'a'-sur-r[e-e ina la m]u-d[e-e DAB]-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši (ruling)
- X₂ iii 27'-28' DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-sur-re-e <ina> la mu-de-e DAB-su-ma BAR.MEŠ-šú / MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši (ruling)
- Ex1 r. 5'-6' [... a-sur-r]e-e ina la mu-de-e DAB-su-ma [BAR-šú]² / [...] DINGIR TU[K-ši] (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-sur-re-e ina la mu-de-e DAB-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši
šumma šēru sinništu ina asurrê ina lā mūdê išbassuma umaššeršu sinništu šī ila irašši

If a woman catches a snake in the sewer inadvertently and (then) she lets it go – that woman will have a protective god.

- a) Our reading of line G r. 29, in particular TUK-ši, follows KAL 1, no. 11; more signs are visible than those that have been transliterated in *If a City 2*, [...] MUNUS ina a-su[r-...-d]i[...]su-ma BAR-šú₂ MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK!(na) (p. 59, *23.104, G r.29).
- b) Following KAL 1, no. 9, on line X₂ iii 26', ina is in fact not visible, pace *If a City 2*, *DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-sur-ri-e ina la mu-di-e DAB-su-ma BAR-šú₂ / MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši (p. 59, *23.104, X₂ iii 26'-27').
- c) The commentary §23-C26 quotes the full omen and it has been included in this score (ll. W1 r. 18b-19a), but note the variant *ina lā edê* there as opposed to *ina lā mūdê* in the main variant. Nevertheless, we follow Jiménez's translation of *ina lā edê* in the commentary, "inadvertently," (see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 48), though *ina lā mūdê* could also mean "without anyone knowing."
- d) A close parallel to §23.101 can be found in the Middle Babylonian snake omen text CBS 4799 (copies in Ellis 1979, text 2; edition in *If a City 2*, pp. 104-113, related text 4):
 DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-su-ur-re ina mu-ši ina la i-du-ú ka-[aš-da-su]² / MUNUS ši-i DINGIR TUK-ši
šum-ma dan-nu Á.TUK TUK-ši ... (CBS 4799, ll. iii 9'-10')²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ We have slightly revised the reading from *If a City 2*, which is: DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-su-ur-ri ina mu-ši ina la i-du-u₂ ka-[aš-dat?] / MUNUS ši-i DINGIR TUK-ši *šum-ma dan-nu* A₂.TUK TUK-ši [...] "If a snake at[tacks(?)] a woman in the base course of masonry at night unwittingly, that woman will be fortunate; if it is an influential person, he will acquire profit [...]" (pp. 108-109, CBS 4799 iii 9'-10'). Note that like in *23.102-104 (*If a City 2*, p. 47), Freedman translates *asurrû* as "base course of masonry."

W1 r. 18c-19 : DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS *ina a-sur-re-e ina la e-de-e* / DAB-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR
TUK-ši šá E-ú aš-šum MUŠ u MUNUS *ud-dim-šú-nu*

*šumma šēru sinništu ina asurrê ina lā edê iṣbassuma umaššeršu sinništu šī ila irašši ša qabû aššum
šēru u sinništu uddimšunu*

If a woman catches a snake in the latrine without anyone knowing and (then) she lets it go – that woman will have a protective god: this is said because the woman and the snake *are distressed*⁷.

- a) The translation of *uddimšunu* is difficult. It might be a corrupted spelling of *ūdašunu* “their distress,” from *ūdu* “distress.” It might then be a specification of the protasis and the reason why the woman lets the snake go.

Jiménez (2014) does not translate *uddimšunu*,

(In) “If a woman catches a snake inadvertently in a waterspout and then lets go of it, that woman will have luck,” (Šumma Ālu 23 105) what it is said, (this is) because the snake and the woman, their ... (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 48).

§ 23.102

(see *If a City* 2, *23.105)

A r. 15' - [... K]U₄-ma *ú-gal-lit-su-ma iš-šu[k-šú]* 'É' BI AL.BIR *šum₄-ma ÚKU* TUK-[ši]
16a'

G r. 30 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana É LÚ KU₄-m[a ú-gal-lit]-su-ma iš-šuk-šú* É BI AL.B[I]R *šum₄-ma ÚKU* T[UK-ši]
X₂ iii 29' DIŠ MUŠ *ana É NA KU₄-ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma iš-šuk-šú* É BI BIR-*aḫ* *šum₄-ma MAŠ.ÉN.ĜAG*
'TUK'-ši

DIŠ MUŠ *ana É NA KU₄-ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma iš-šuk-šú* É BI AL.BIR
šum₄-ma ÚKU TUK-ši

šumma šēru ana bīt amēli īrubma ugallissuma iššukšu bītu šū issappah
šumma lapnu irašši

If a snake enters a man's house, frightens him and (then) bites him – that house will be dispersed.
Same protasis – a poor man will get (it).

Variant X

DIŠ MUŠ *ana É NA KU₄-ma ú-gal-lit-su -ma iš-šuk-šú* É BI BIR-*aḫ*
šum₄-ma MAŠ.ÉN.GAG TUK-ši

šumma šēru ana bīt amēli īrubma ugallissuma iššukšu bītu šū issappah
šumma muškēnu irašši

If a snake enters a man's house, frightens him and bites him – that house will be dispersed.
Same protasis: a commoner will get (it).

- a) *If a City* 2 (p. 59, *23.105) forgot the phonetic complement of BIR-*aḫ* on line X₂ iii 28' (*29').

W1 r. 20 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* É LÚ KU₄ šá *ina* UKKIN UN.MEŠ *ana* É LÚ *i-ru-bu* : MUD-su : *ú-gal-lit-su*

šumma šēru ana bīt amēli īrub ša *ina puḥur ništ ana bīt amēli īrubu* : **MUD-su** : *ugallissu*

If a snake enters a man's house (means the snake) that enters a man's house during a people's assembly; **MUD-su** (means) it frightens him.

a) §23.102 is preserved on three manuscripts, all of which spell *ú-gal-lit-su*. §23-C27 seems to comment on a variant which had MUD-su for *ú-gal-lit-su*.

b) Compare the CCP's translation, "(In) 'If a snake enters a man's house' (Šumma Ālu 23 105) refers to (the snake) which enters a man's house while he is with a group of people. 'MUD-su' (ibid.) means "startles him." (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 50).

§23.103

(see *If a City* 2, *23.106)

A r. 16b' [... K]U₄ É BI ŠUB-*di*

G r. 31 [DIŠ] MUŠ [*ana*] É LÚ K[U₄] É BI ŠUB-*di*

X₂ iii 30' [DIŠ] 'MUŠ' *ana* 'É' 'NA' 'KU₄' É BI ŠUB-*di*

Ex1 r. 7' [...] É NA KU₄ É BI ŠUB (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* É LÚ KU₄ É BI ŠUB-*di*

[*šumma*] *šēru ana bīt amēli īrub bītu šū innaddi*

[If] a snake enters a man's house – that house will be abandoned.

§23.104

(see *If a City* 2, *23.107)

A r. 17' [...] 'ŠUB' 'x' 'x' 'x' [... UŠ'-*ut* É [...]

G r. 32 [DIŠ] MU[Š *ina*] 'É' 'LÚ' [ŠUB' ... É BI]' BIR : 'UŠ'-*ut* É LÚ UŠ-*de-e*'

X₂ iii 31' [... d]i BIR-*a[h]*

[DIŠ] MU[Š *ina*] É LÚ ŠUB' ... [É BI]' BIR : UŠ-*ut* É LÚ UŠ-*de-e*'

[*šumma*] *šēr[u in] bīt amēli imqut' ... [bītu šū]' issappaḥ : ridūt bīt amēli irredde*

[If] a sna[ke] falls[?] in a man's house ... – [that house][?] will be dispersed : the estate of the house of the man will be confiscated.[?]

a) Freedman reads A r 17': [...] ŠUB x x x [...] x E₂ (*If a City* 2, p. 60, *23.107, a r.17'). The first sign could be ŠUB, but the reading is uncertain. The first sign after the large middle break looks like UD: we argue it represents the end of UŠ-*ut* in parallel to UŠ-*ut* in line G r. 32. After É, line A r. 17' is broken. If our reconstruction is correct, the text continues on the tablet's edge.

b) Heeßel proposes a new reading of line G r. 32, [DIŠ] MU[Š *ina*] 'É' 'LÚ' [NÁ-*iš* É BI] BIR : 'UŠ'-*ut* É LÚ UŠ-*de-e*'[?] (KAL 1, no. 11, l. Rs. 32), which differs from *If a City* 2, [...] MUŠ [...] E]₂ LU₂

ŠU[B]-ut BIR x ana E₂ LU₂ UŠ-di-šu₂ (p. 60, *23.107, G r.32). It not clear why Heeßel integrates NÁ-iš as verb of the protasis, as the traces left on A r. 17' are not compatible with the reading NÁ-iš. See also the translation in KAL 1, "[Wenn] eine Schlan[ge sich im] Haus eines Mannes [lagert: Dieses Haus wird] zerstreut werden, alternativ: Den Nachlaß des Haus des Mannes wird man wegnehmen" (KAL 1, no. 11, l. Rs. 32).

- c) *If a City 2* does not include ms. X₂ (= KAL 1, no. 9) in §23.104 (*23.107). KAL 1 transliterates [... UŠ-ut É LÚ UŠ-d]i BIR-a[h] (KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 31'), but this would mean that the two apodoses from ms. G are switched. There is also not enough space on line X₂ iii 31' for the protases and two apodoses. The line must have a variant, but because of it's fragmentary state no conclusion can be made.

§23.105

(see *If a City 2*, *23.108)

A r. 18' [...] MUNUS.ḪUL ZI-šú
 G r. 33 [DIŠ] MU[Š ...] 'x' [...] ZI-ib MUNUS.ḪUL ZI.G[A-šú]
 X₂ iv 1 DIŠ MUŠ ri x (x) ZI-ib [MUNUS].Ḫ[UL ZI-š]ú

DIŠ MUŠ ... ZI-ib MUNUS.ḪUL ZI.G[A-š]ú

šumma šēru ... tīb lemutti itebbīšu

If a snake ... – an uprising of evil will attack him.

- a) Regarding the unread signs on line X₂ iv 1, Heeßel notes,

"Gegen Ebelings Kopie in KAR 389, S. 351 [ms. X] ist am Anfang der Kolumne die erste Zeile nicht abgerieben, sondern die Kolumne beginnt mit Ebelings 2. Zeile. Die Ergänzung der Apodose richtet sich nach dem Duplikat K 2925+ [ms. A⁽²³⁾] Rs. 18'" (KAL 1, p. 41, n. IV 1).

If a City 2, which transliterates the line DIŠ MUŠ x-su ZI-ib SA[L].[...] (p. 60, *23.108, X₂ iv 1), notes

"KAR 389 [ms. X] shows a sign that looks like RI and traces that might be IT, with a handwritten note below indicating 'rit,' but it is difficult to see how this could be correct. Syntactically, the omen needs a verb here, giving a structure 'If a snake ...s him' (*If a City 2*, p. 47, n. 108).²⁶⁰

- b) Regarding line G r. 33, compare *If a City 2*'s reading [...] MUŠ [...] ZI-ib SAL.ḪUL ZI-šu₂ (p. 60, *23.108, G r. 33).

§23.106

(see *If a City 2*, *23.109)

A r. 19' [... ina]-an-ziq
 G r. 34 [DIŠ] MU[Š ir]-'pis'-[su] ina-an-ziq
 X₂ iv 2 DIŠ MUŠ ir-pis-su ina-an-[zi]q

²⁶⁰ In *If a City 2*, p. 47, a typo has occurred: the translation is labelled 109 instead of *23.108.

DIŠ MUŠ *ir-pis-su ina-an-zīq*

šumma šēru irpissu inazziq

If a snake strikes him – he will worry.

- a) The present reading follows KAL 1, no. 9, l. IV 2 // KAL 1, no. 11, l. Rs. 34. Compare the reading of line X₂ iv 2 in *If a City 2*, DIŠ MUŠ *uš-pis-su ina-an-zīq* (p. 60, *23.109). The translation, “If a snake ..., he will have trouble,” (p. 47, *23.109) leaves *uš-pis-su* untranslated (see *If a City 2*, p. 47, n. 109, “The signs are clear, but I do not understand them”).

§ 23.107

(see *If a City 2*, *23.110)

A r. 20' [... M]U TUK-ši

G r. 35 [DIŠ] MUŠ [...] ‘LÚ’ NÁ-iš LÚ BI DINGIR-šú MU TUK-š[ú]

X₂ iv 3 DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA NÁ-iš NA BI DINGIR-šú M[U TUK-š]ú

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA NÁ-iš NA BI DINGIR-šú MU TUK-šú

šumma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli rabiš amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu

If a snake lies down on top of a man’s bed – his god will grant that man offspring.

Variant A⁽²³⁾

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA NÁ-iš NA BI M]U TUK-ši

[*šumma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli rabiš amēlu šū šu*]ma irašši

[If a snake lies down on a man’s bed – that man] will acquire [offsp]ring.

- a) Between the meanings “name,” “fame,” and “offspring” of *šumu*, the association between “lying on a bed” in the protasis and “offspring” in the apodosis is most fitting. Freedman interprets the verb TUK-šú in the G-stem and *ilšu* as the subject of the intransitive verb, “If a snake lies on top of a man’s bed, that man’s god will acquire fame” (*If a City 2*, p. 49, *23.110).

§ 23-C28 (§23.107)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 51)

W1 r. 21a DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ LÚ NÁ-iš : šá *ir-bi-šu-ma la it-bu-ú*

šumma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli rabiš : ša irbišuma lā itbū

If a snake lies down on a man’s bed (means) that which lay down did not rise up.

§ 23.108

(see *If a City 2*, *23.111, *23.113)

A r. 22' [... KI.TUŠ-s]u ‘KÚR’-ir’

G r. 36 [DIŠ] ‘MUŠ’ [...] N]ITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut ZI ḪUL ZI-šú [:] KI.TUŠ-su KÚ[R-ir]

X₂ iv 4 DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NITA u MUNUS ŠUB ZI-ib ḪUL-ti ZI-šú : KI.TUŠ-su KÚR-ir

DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut ZI-ib ḪUL-tì ZI-šú : KI.TUŠ-su KÚR-ir

šumma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš zikri u sinništi imqut tīb lemutti itebbīšu : šubassu inakkir

If a snake falls on top of the bed of a man and a woman – an uprising of will attack him : he will go into exile.

a) On ms. A, the sequence of the two omens §23.108 and §23.109 is switched, line A r. 22' is §23.108 and line A r. 21' is §23.109. *If a City 2* does not read line A r. 22', [...] x x [...] (*23.113, l. a r.22').

b) The translation of the double apodosis in KAL 1 is, “Unglück wird ihn befallen, er wird seinen Wohnort verlegen” (X₂ iv 4 = KAL 1, no. 9, l. IV 4 // G r. 36 = KAL 1, no. 11, l. Rs. 36).

§23.109

(see *If a City 2*, *23.112)

A r. 21' [... T]AG₄.MEŠ

G r. 37 [... MUN]US ŠUB-ut NITA u MUNUS TAG₄.[MEŠ]

X₂ iv 5 DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU NITA u MUNUS ŠUB NITA u MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ

DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut NITA u MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ

šumma šēru ina muḫḫi zikri u sinništi imqut zikru u sinništu innezzibū

If a snake falls on top of a man and a woman – the man and the woman will leave each other.

a) §23.109 and §23.111 (*šumma šēru ana muḫḫi zikri u sinništi imqut zikru u sinništu ipparrasū*) have the same protases but different apodoses, though both *innezzibū* (§23.109) and *ipparrasū* (§23.111) belong to the same semantic field.

b) On ms. A, the sequence of the two omens §23.108 and §23.109 is switched, line A r. 22' is §23.108 and line A r. 21' is §23.109.

§23.110

(see *If a City 2*, *23.113)

G r. 38 [... ŠUB-ut-m]a ú-par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti ŠU.BI.[AŠ.ÀM]

X₂ iv 6 DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma ú-^ˈpar^ˈ-^ˈri^ˈ-ir-šú-nu-ti ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM

DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-ut-ma ú-par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (NITA u MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ)

šumma šēru ana muḫḫi zikri u sinništi imqutma uparriršunūti ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM (zikru u sinništu innezzibū)

If a snake falls on top of a man and woman and (thereby) drives them apart – ditto (the man and woman will leave each other).

§23.111

(see *If a City 2*, *23.113)

X₂ iv 7 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS ŠUB-*ma* ú-*par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti* NITA *u* MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS ŠUB-*ma* ú-*par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti* NITA *u* MUNUS TAG₄.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi zikri u sinništi innadīma uparriršunūti zikru u sinništu innezzibū

If a snake is thrown on top of a man and a woman and (thereby) drives them apart – the man and the woman will leave each other.

- a) The protases of §23.110 and §23.111 are almost identical, but for the verb preceding *uparriršunūti*, which is *maqātu* in §23.110 and *nadū* in §23.111.

§23.111 only appears on ms. X. Perhaps it was an addition of a scribe inspired by the preceding §23.110, leading to a divergent tradition from ms. G.

§23.112

(see *If a City 2*, *23.114)

G r. 39 [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* U[GU NITA *u*] MUNUS 'ŠUB' 'NITA' *u* 'MUNUS' TAR.[MEŠ]

X₂ iv 8 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS ŠUB-*ut* NITA *u* MUNUS TAR.MEŠ

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS ŠUB-*ut* NITA *u* MUNUS TAR.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi zikri u sinništi imqut zikru u sinništu ipparrasū

If a snake falls on top of a man and a woman – the man and the woman will separate.

§23.113

(see *If a City 2*, *23.115)

G r. 40 [DIŠ] M[UŠ *ina*] 'ka'-*la* *u*[₄-*mi* *ana* UGU] NITA *u* MUNUS áš-*bu*-[*su*²-*nu*² ŠUB]-*ma* ú-*par-ri-ir-šú-nu*-[*ti* ...]

X₂ iv 9 DIŠ MUŠ *ina* *kal* *u*₄-*mi* *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS TUŠ-*su-nu* ŠUB-*ma* ú-*par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti* TAR.MEŠ

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* *kal* *u*₄-*mi* *ana* UGU NITA *u* MUNUS TUŠ-*su-nu* ŠUB-*ma* ú-*par-ri-ir-šú-nu-ti* TAR.MEŠ

šumma šēru ina kal ūmi ana muḥḥi zikri u sinništi ašbūssunu² imqutma uparriršunūti ipparrasū

If a snake falls on top of a man and a woman *sitting together*² *all day* and (thereby) drives them apart – they will separate.

- a) The reading of the first verb of the protasis creates some difficulties. In line G r. 40, our reading áš-*bu*-[*su*²-*nu*² ŠUB]-*ma* is new; compare KAL 1, áš-*bu* [x x (x) ŠUB]-*ma* (KAL 1, no. 11, p. 46, Rs. 40); *If a City 2* DUR₂!-[...].

In the parallel line X₂ iv 9, KAL 1, no. 9 leaves TUŠ-*su-nu* untranslated and comments, “Nach NITA *u* MUNUS erwartet man eine Form von *wašābu* wie in der folgenden Zeile oder ein vergleichbares Attribut; die Zeichen lassen sich hier jedoch nicht sinnvoll deuten” (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 41, n. IV 9). *If a City 2* reads DUR₂-*su-nu*!(*ina*). M. Jursa (personal communication) suggests reading TUŠ-*su-nu*

as *ašbūssunu* following G r. 40, but its meaning is not clear. A form of *wašābu* “to sit” is expected: the closest match is *ašbūtu* “presence” (CAD A/2, p. 426), which in the context of this omen might come with the previously unattested meaning “sitting place,” i.e. the place where the man and the woman are sitting. However, even if this suggestion should turn out to be correct, the syntax of the protasis remains problematic.

§ 23-C29 (§23.112)

(see CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 51)

W1 r. 21b : TUŠ-su-nu : aš-¹bu¹_(KUR)-¹su¹-¹nu¹

TUŠ-sunu : *ašbūssunu*?

Their TUŠ (means) their sitting place? (lit. their presence).

- a) We have suggested reading *ašbūssunu* in the protasis of §23.113 above. This commentary also provides *ašbūssunu*, if we assume that the sign written KUR is in fact a scribal mistake for BU. Jiménez (2014) reads it as a broken KUR and interprets the passage as follows: ÉŠ-su-nu : áš-¹lat¹-¹su¹-¹nu¹ “ÉŠ-sunu (*Šumma Ālu* 23 115 [§23.112]) means ‘their mooring rope’” (CCP 3.5.22.A.b, 51). Freedman does not read the sign, transliterating: KU-su-nu : áš x [x] (2006b, p. 154, l. rev. 21).
- b) This is the last commentary on an omen from Tablet 23 preserved on ms. W1. The manuscript concludes with a colophon, containing the incipits of *Šumma ālu*, Tablets 22, 23, 1, and 24.

W1 52 *ša-a-tú šu-ut pi-i u maš-a-a-al-tú šá KA um-man-nu šá ŠÀ <DIŠ> ina ^{iti}BÁRA UD 1-KÁM la-am*
 53 LÚ GÌR-šú ana KI GAR-nu ù DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NA šá di-na ge-ru-ú ŠUB¹-[ut]
 54 23 mál-su-ut DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR-in NU AL.TIL DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NA¹?¹NA¹? [NA NÁ-iš]

§ 23.114

(see *If a City* 2, *23.116)

G r. 41 [DIŠ] MU[Š] ¹a¹-šar NITA u MUNUS [ap-p]u-¹ú¹ áš-bu ana EGIR-š[ú]-nu ŠUB-ma IGI.MEŠ-šú¹ N[ITA ...] (double ruling)

X₂ iv 10-11 DIŠ MUŠ a-šar NITA u MUNUS tap-pu-ú áš-bu ana EGIR-šú-nu ŠUB-ma / IGI.MEŠ-šú NITA u MUNUS tap-pu-ú TAR.MEŠ (ruling)

DIŠ MUŠ a-šar NITA u MUNUS tap-pu-ú áš-bu ana EGIR-šú-nu ŠUB-ma IGI.MEŠ-šú NITA u MUNUS tap-pu-ú TAR.MEŠ

šumma šēru ašar zikru u sinništu tappû ašbû ana arkišunu imqutma imurûšu zikru u sinništu tappû ipparrasû

If a snake falls behind a man and a woman where they are sitting as companions and they look at it – the man and the woman, who are companions, will separate.

- a) This is the last omen of Tablet 23 and the last omen on ms. G. Ms. G includes a long colophon after a double ruling (see KAL 1, no. 11, ll. 42-50; KAL 1, pp. 46-47, 50, nn. 43, 50 with ref. to Hunger 1968, nos. 237, 240).

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] UGU ^{gi}NÁ NA N[Á]-i₅ DAM NA IGI.MEŠ-šá GUR.MEŠ-*ma* DUMU.MEŠ-šá *ana* 'KÙ'.BAB[BAR] SUM

[DUJB '24'-K[ÁM DI]Š U[RU *ina* S]UKUD-^re^r 'GAR^r 'ina^r GIM *la-bi-ri-šú šà-ṭir* IGI.KÁR

[DUB][?] ^rm^r *Mu^r-še-z[ib][?]-^d[x^lúša[m]-lu-ú še-^reh^r-ru*

[ša] *ana* ^dAG ù ^dTaš-me-tum [(0)] ^rtak^r-l[u₄]

[...] x.MEŠ [DUJB.[S]AR BAL.TIL^k[i]

ša [DUB UR₅-ta₅ *i-tab-ba-lu* ^dÉ-a u] ^dDam^r-ki-na IGI.II.MEŠ-šú

[*lit-ba-lu*] ^rx^r 'x^r 'x^r ba šu-mì šaṭ-ru 'la^r ta-pa-šiṭ

[ša] *ina* [šur-q]í *i-šar-[r]i-qu ina da[n-n]a-ni e-kim-[mu]*

[šá *e-ri-šú ú-šam*]-šu-u *ina* ŠU ^dAG^r *ḥa-an-tiš* BA.[ÚŠ]

“‘[If a snake] li[es] on a man’s bed – the man’s wife will turn away her face and give her children away for sil[ver].’ [Ta]blet 24 of ‘[I]f a c[ity] is set [on a h]eight.’ Written and checked (to be) like the original. [Tablet of][?] Mušēzib-..., the young [sc]ribal apprentice, [who] tru[sts] Nabû and Tašmētu, [...] ... of the Assyrian [scr]ibe. Whoever [takes away this tablet, Ea and] Damkina [may take away] his eyesight ... Do not obliterate my written name! [Whoever] st[ea]ls (it) in a robbery (or) takes it by force” (G r. 42-50 = KAL 1, no. 11, ll. 42-50).

- b) The colophon for X₂ in line iv 12 indicates that it is taken from Tablet 21 of *Šumma ālu*:

DUB 21-KÁM.MA DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR 1 UŠ 54-ÀM MU.BI.IM (ruling) “21st Tablet of ‘If a City is Set on a Height’, 114 entries” (X₂ iv 12; see KAL 1, no. 9, pp. 35, 39, and Landsberger 1934, p. 50).

The colophon mentions that this Tablet has 114 entries, as does our reconstruction of Tablet 23. Compare *If a City* 2, p. 60, where the last omen to Tablet 23 is the 116th omen.

Tablet 24

§24.1

A ⁽²⁴⁾ 1	[...] IGI [?] [...]
G r. 42 (catchline)	[...] UGU ^{giš} NÁ NA NÁ-iš DAM LÚ IGI.MEŠ-ša GUR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-ša ana KÙ.BAB[BAR] SUM
X ₂ iv 13	[DI]Š MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš} NÁ NA NÁ-iš DAM LÚ IGI.MEŠ-ša GUR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-ša ana KÙ.BABBAR SUM-in
Ex1 r. 8-9	[... U]GU ^{giš} NÁ NA NÁ-iš DAM LÚ IGI.M[EŠ-ša] / [G]UR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-ša ana KÙ.BABBAR SUM-i[n]

[DI]Š MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA NÁ-iš DAM LÚ IGI.MEŠ-ša GUR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-ša ana
KÙ.BABBAR SUM-in

[šum]ma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli rabiš aššat amēli pānīša utārma mārīša ana kaspi inaddin

[I]f a snake lies on top of a man's bed – the man's wife will turn away her face and give her children away for silver.

- a) The first line of ms. A⁽²⁴⁾ (upper edge preserved) is very damaged. *If a City 2* (p. 68, *24.1, A1) reads the signs copied by Gadd in CT 38 32, [... in]a UGU GIŠ[...] DAM LU₂ IGI.
- b) Line G r. 43 is the catchline from ms. G of Tablet 23.
- c) The incipit of Tablet 24 also appears in the colophon of the commentary text ms. W1, see §23-C29 above.
- d) Line X₂ iv 13 is line X₂ iv 14^(sic) in *If a City 2* (p. 68, *24.1) and consequitively off by one line as well, because Freedman follows the line numbering in Ebeling's copy (KAR 389). However, Heeßel has collated the manuscript; we follow his line numbers (see KAL 1, no. 9, pp. 33-41). The different numbering in *If a City 2* is also off by 1 in the following lines.
- e) *If a City 2* has a slightly different translation of the beginning of the apodosis (significant passage in bold font): "If a snake lies on a man's bed, **that man's wife will be distracted** and sell her children for money" (*If a City 2*, p. 62, *24.1).

CAD (T 274b-275) cites this apodosis without translation ("mng. unc."). A similar passage appears in the letter ABL 292, in which *tāru* in the D-stem is also used together with *pānū*, *pānīša* ana *muḫḫiya tutīrma* (ABL 292, ll. 8b-9a) "it [lit. she, the land] turned its (lit. her) face once again towards me and (...)." ²⁶¹

²⁶¹ ABL 292 = K 938, see Harper 1896, pp. 299-300. Translation adapted from Ito 2013, p. 23.

§24.2

A 2 [DIŠ MUŠ i]na UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA [...]

X₂ iv 14 [DIŠ M]UŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA LAL-la KI.MIN

[DIŠ M]UŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA LAL-la KI.MIN (DAM LÚ IGI.MEŠ-šá GUR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-šá ana KÙ.BABBAR SUM-in)

[šumma š]ēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli īlula KI.MIN (*aššat amēli pānīša utārma mārīša ana kaspi inaddin*)

[If a snake hangs down on top of a man's bed – ditto (his wife will turn away her face and give her children away for silver).

- a) After the break in line A 2 there is enough space for [LAL-la KI.MIN], but not for the repetition of the whole apodosis of the first omen.
- b) In omens, *hanging* (here LAL-la) and *madness* sometimes appear in association with each other, often in connection with the breakdown of family relations (George 2013, pp. 245-246, n. 42).
- c) The present translation is based on KAL 1, “[Wenn eine Sc]hlange **über** dem Bett eines Mannes **hängt**: dito” (KAL 1, no. 9, l. IV 14 = X₂ iv 14), as opposed to *If a City 2*, “If a snake **hangs down on top** of a man's bed – ditto” (p. 63, *24.2).

§24.3

A 3 [DIŠ MUŠ] ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA [...]

X₂ iv 15 [DI]Š MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA it-til NA BI DINGIR-šú MU TUK-šú

[DI]Š MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA it-til NA BI DINGIR-šú MU TUK-šú

[šum]ma šēru ina muḫḫi ereš amēli ittīl amēlu šū ilšu šuma ušaršāšu

[I]f a snake lies down on top of a man's bed – his god will grant that man offspring.

- a) Freedman (*If a City 2*) reads TUK-ši in the reconstruction, while in the score TUK-š_{u2} in line *X₂ iv 16 (actually iv 15) is read correctly. Our reading of the verb in the protasis as *it-til* follows KAL 1, no. 9. The reading in *If a City 2* is *it-be* “(if a snake) rears up.” The interpretation of the apodosis is completely different (see below), the same translation mistake occurs in §23.107 (*23.110), “that man's god will acquire fame” (*If a City 2*, p. 49, *23.110). Revised readings and translation are marked bold:

DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NA₂ NA *it-be* NA BI DINGIR-š_{u2} MU TUK-š_i “If a snake **rears up** on top of a man's bed, that **man's god will be famous**” (*If a City 2*, p. 62, *24.3)

The interpretative mistake here depends on the mistaken reading of the verb TUK-š_i. As MU can also mean “fame,” a translation of *šūma irašši* (G-stem) as “he will acquire fame” would be possible.

- b) *ittīl* (*utūlu*) is phonetically related to the verb of the protasis in the previous omen §24.2, *īlula* (*alālu*). *utūlu* can have sexual connotations, possibly explaining the association with offspring in the apodosis. Likewise in §24.1, there is an association between *bed* in the protasis and *wife* in the apodosis. Also in §23.107, the snake lying on a man's bed is associated with reproduction (*šuma ušaršāšu*).

§24.4

- A 4 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA [...]
 X₂ iv 16 [... UG]U ^{giš}NÁ NA ŠUB-*ut* NA BI ZI.GA MUNUS.ḪUL ZI-šú
 Ex3₁ 1' [...] ^{giš}N[Á ...]

[DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA ŠUB-*ut* NA BI ZI.GA MUNUS.ḪUL ZI-šú

[*šumma šēr*]u *ina muḫḫi ereš amēli imqut amēlu šū tīb lemutti itebbīšu*

[If a snake] falls on top of a man's bed – an uprising of evil will attack that man.

- a) Since omens §§24.1-4 all deal with the actions of snakes in association with a man's bed, line Ex3₁ 1', on which only the signs ^{giš}N[Á] are visible, might belong to any of the previous omens. Since the upper edge of ms. Ex3₁ is broken, we assume that this line might belong here and not with the two previous omens. Except texts usually have the first omen of any Tablet as their first line.
- b) Line Ex3₁ 2' preserves the sign N[ITA] and is certainly placed with §24.5.

§24.5

- A 5 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NITA u MUNUS [ŠUB-*ut* ...]
 X₂ iv 17 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UG]U ^{giš}NÁ 'NITA' u MUNUS ŠUB-*ut* DAM u DAM TAG₄.MEŠ
 Ex1 r. 10 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UG]U ^{giš}NÁ NITA u MUNUS ŠUB-*ut* DAM u DAM TA[G₄.MEŠ]
 Ex3₁ 2' [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UG]U ^{giš}NÁ NI[TA ...]

[DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NITA u MUNUS DAM u DAM TAG₄.MEŠ

[*šumma šēr*]u *ina muḫḫi ereš zikri u sinništi imqut mutu u aššatu innezzibū*

[If a snake] falls on top of a man and woman's bed – husband and wife will leave each other.

- a) If a City 2 by mistake reads the slightly broken sign NITA as NA in line X₂ iv 17: [...].NA₂ NA u MUNUS ŠUB-*ut* DAM u DAM TAG₄.MEŠ (If a City 2, p. 68, *24.5, X₂ iv 18).

§24.6

- A 6 [DIŠ MU]Š *ina* UGU ^{giš}NÁ NA NUNUZ-šú [...]
 X₂ iv 18-19 [... ŠU]B-*di* EN É BI Ú[Š] / [... BIR²-a]ḫ² [...] DINGIR G[U₇]²
 Ex3₁ 3'-4' [... UG]U ^{giš}NÁ NA [...] / [(0)² É]² BI BIR-a[ḫ ...]

[DIŠ MU]Š ina UGU ^{giš}NA NA NUNUZ-šú [ŠU]B-di EN É BI Ú[Š É] BI BIR-ah [...] DINGIR G[U₇][?]

[šumma šēr]u ina muḥḥi ereš amēli pelašu [id]di bēl bīti šuāti im[ât bītu] šū issappaḥ [...] ilu ik[kal][?]

[If a snake] drops its egg on top of a man's bed – the master of that house will die, the house will be dispersed, [...] the god (i.e. Nergal)[?] will rav[age][?].

a) KAL 1 translates *pelašu iddi* (NUNUZ-šú ŠUB-di) as “ihr Gelege ablegt” (KAL 1, no. 9, ll. iv 18-19 = X₂ iv 18-19). In KAL 1, all instances of Û.TU are translated into German as “ein Gelege ablegt” (§23.89 = KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 15'; §23.97 = KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 23'; §23.99 = KAL 1, no. 9, l. III 25').

b) In KAL 1 the two broken signs in line X₂ iv 19 remain unread: [...] 'x' [...] DINGIR 'x' (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 19); *If a City 2* provides a more complete reading which leads to the reconstruction

[DIŠ MU]Š ina UGU GIŠ.NA₂ NUNUZ-šu₂ [Š]UB-di EN BI UG₇ [E]₂ BI BIR-ah [...] DINGIR K[Ú[?]]

“[If a snake] drops its egg onto a bed, the owner of that house will die, the house will be dispersed, [...] a god will consume(?) ...” (*If a City 2*, pp. 62-63, *24.6).

Akālū said of gods means “pestilence” (CAD A/1, p. 253, 5a), as in *ilu ina māt nakri ikkal* “the god (i.e. pestilence) will ravage in the enemy's land” (CT 20 33: 100). Jeyes (1980, p. 109; 1989, p. 100, l. 17') even specifies that *ilu ikkal* is a variant to *Nergal ikkal* “Nergal will ravage.” Nergal being the god of pestilence and the plague, the phrase is a metaphor for an outbreak of pestilence.

c) *If a City 2* is missing the sign NA in the transliteration of line A 6, [... MU]Š ina UGU GIŠ.NA₂ NUNUZ-šu₂ [...] (*If a City 2*, p. *24.6, A 6).

§24.7

A 7 [DIŠ] MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NA ^{giš}GU.ZA e-ma LÚ TUŠ i'-ra'-[ti-šú ...]

X₂ iv 20-21 [... ^{giš}GU.ZA e-ma LÚ TUŠ i'-[ra]-'ti'-šú' ŠUB-[di] / [...] DINGIR LÚ UŠ-ma 'x' [...]

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NA ^{giš}GU.ZA e-ma LÚ TUŠ i'-ra'-ti-šú ŠUB-[di ...] DINGIR LÚ UŠ-ma ... [...]

[šumma] šēru ina muḥḥi erši kussī ēma amēlu ašbu irātišu¹ idd[i ...] ilu amēla iredḏīma ... [...]

[If] a snake drops its scutes¹ on top of a bed (or) chair wherever a man happens to be sitting – [...] the god will lead the man and ... [...].

a) In the CT copy of A 7 the damaged section before the line breaks off includes part of the head of a vertical wedge, followed by a slightly broken *i* and slightly broken *ta*. Ms A has not been available to us for collation. *If a City 2*, following the CT copy, transliterates

[DIŠ] MUŠ ina UGU ^{giš}NA ^{giš}GU.ZA e-ma [...] i-ta[...] (*If a City 2*, p. 68, *24.7, A7).

The corresponding, also damaged, remains on ms. X₂ read *mu*[?]-[x]-'ti'-šú' (following KAL 1, no. 9). If we trust the respective copies of the two manuscripts, for the version represented by A, a reconstruction *i-ta-[ti-šú]* “(if the snake drops) its sides/edges?” might be considered. For the version represented by X₂, *mu-[ta?]-ti-šú* from *muttatu* “half”, i.e. “(if the snake drops) its halves?” could represent a possible interpretation of the damaged remains, which is also semantically related to the

version represented by ms. A. Both are, however, unconvincing. In our reconstruction, we therefore suggest emending both texts in order to accommodate the plural of *irtu* “scute,” which fits both the context and most of the surviving signs.

The reading in KAL 1 is

[... ^{giš}GU].ZA *e-ma* LÚ ‘TUŠ’ *mu*²-[x]-‘ti’-‘šú’ ‘ŠUB’-[*ma*] / [...] DINGIR LÚ UŠ-*ma* x [...], translated to “[Wenn eine Schlange auf dem Bett, dem Stuhl], wo immer der Mann sitzt ihren ... fallen läßt [und] / [... ...] der Gott wird den Mann führen und ... [... ...]” (KAL 1, no. 9, pp. 35, 39, ll. IV 20-21 = X₂ iv 20-21).

- b) For the meaning of *redû* in the apodosis, we follow the translation of KAL 1: “der Gott wird den Mann führen und ...” (KAL 1, no. 9, l. 21 = X₂ iv 21). *If a City 2* translates “pursue”: “[If] a snake falls onto a bed (or) a chair where a man [...] his [...], a god will **pursue** the man and [...]” (*If a City 2*, p. 63, *24.7).

§24.8

A 8 DIŠ MUŠ ‘x’ ‘x’ [...] ‘x’ ‘x’ [...]

X₂ iv 22 [...] ŠUB-*ut* ^{giš}GU.ZA KI TUŠ ZI-*ib*² [...]

Ex3₁ 5’-6’ [... *ina* U]GU ^{giš}GU.ZA ŠUB-*ut* ^{giš}GU.ZA [...] / (indent) nu ‘x’² [...]

DIŠ MU[Š *ina* U]GU ^{giš}GU.ZA ŠUB-*ut* ^{giš}GU.ZA KI TUŠ ZI-*ib*² [...] ... [...]

šumma šē[ru ina mu]ḥḥi kussî imqut kussû ašar ašbu tīb² ... [...] ... [...]

If a sna[ke] falls [ont]o a chair (which is) the chair where he (the man) is sitting – an uprising² of² [...] ... [...].

- a) The translation of the protasis of this omen is uncertain. The interpretation in *If a City 2* (pp. 62-63, *24.8) seems to take *šubtu* (KI.DÚR) “dwelling place” as an apposition to “chair,” while leaving ZI untranslated:

DIŠ MU[Š *ina* UG]U GIŠ.GU.ZA ŠUB-*ut* GIŠ.GU.ZA KI.DUR₂ zi [...] nu [...]

“If a sna[ke] falls [ont]o a chair, the chair, dwelling place [...]”

In KAL 1, KI TUŠ is similarly interpreted as the logographic reading for *šubtu* “Ort”. The sign ZI after TUŠ is interpreted as a verbal form, i.e. as the stative *tebi* of *tebû* with the meaning “aufstehen” and the snake as its subject: “[Wenn eine Schlange] fällt, er vom Stuhl (oder) dem Ort, auf dem er sitzt, aufsteht ... [... ...]” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 22).

The main problem with this interpretation is the absence of the expected preposition before *kussû* and *šubtu*. We tentatively suggest that ^{giš}GU.ZA KI TUŠ as an associated relative clause, even though we would expect the verb *imqut* to come at the end of the protasis. It is possible that this is the beginning of the apodosis, compare the apodosis of §23.105, ZI-*ib* MUNUS.ḪUL ZI.G[A-š]u “an uprising of evil will attack him.”

§24.9

(see *If a City 2*, *24.9, *24.10)

A 9 DIŠ MU[Š ...]

X₂ iv 23-24 [...] TA AN.TA-*nu* ŠUB[?] U₄ 1-KÁM 'U₄' '2' -KÁM 'is' -[sal-la-']a / [... T]UK-*ma* TI-^ˈuṭ^ˈ

Ex3₁ 7'-8' [DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA LÚ TA AN.T[A x (x)] / U₄ 1-KÁM U₄ 2 -KÁM *is-sal-la-*'a [...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA LÚ TA AN.TA-*nu* ŠUB[?] U₄ 1-KÁM U₄ 2 -KÁM *is-sal-la-*'a [... T]UK-*ma* TI-^ˈuṭ^ˈ

šumma šēru ana muḥḥi kussî amēli ištu elēnu imqut[?] U₄ 1-KÁM U₄ 2 -KÁM issalla'a [... iraš]šīma iballuṭ

If a snake falls[?] from above on top of a man's chair – he will be very ill for one, two days, he will ge[t ...] and he will survive.

- a) KAL 1 counts X₂ iv 23-24 to the same omen, whereas *If a City 2* associates line 23 (X₂ iv 24^(sic)) with omen *24.9 and line 24 (25^(sic)) with *24.10, which she mistakenly reads: [... DAM u] DAM TA[G₄.M]EŠ. For the new corrected reading, [... T]UK-*ma* TI-^ˈuṭ^ˈ, we follow KAL 1.

This mistake influences the order of the subsequent omens: *If a City 2* associates lines A 10 and X₂ iv 24 (25^(sic)) with omen *24.10. In the new reconstruction, line A 10 and both lines X₂ iv 25-26 (26-27^(sic)) belong with §24.10.

As a result of this mistake, Freedman is missing the second part of the apodosis in her reconstruction of *24.9, “If a snake [falls] onto a man's chair from above, [...] will be critically ill for one or two days” (*If a City 2*, p. 62-63, *24.9).

- b) The sign in X₂ iv 23 unread by KAL 1 (marked bold) might be ŠUB. The sign is also not read by *If a City 2* (p. 68).

[...] TA AN.TA-*nu* x U₄ 1-KÁM 'U₄' '2' -KÁM 'is' -[sal-la-']a / [... T]UK-*ma* (0) TI-^ˈuṭ^ˈ

“[Wenn eine Schlange auf den Stuhl eines Mannes] von oben ... : Einen Tag, zwei Tage wird er [schwer kra]nk sein, / [... ... be]kommt er und wird gesunden” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ 23-24).

- c) For *iballuṭ* in the apodosis see §23.23.

§24.10

(see *If a City 2*, *24.10, *24.11)

A 10 (10) DIŠ MU[Š ...] ŠUB[?]-ut[?] NA[?] BI [...]

X₂ iv 25-26 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA ŠUB][?]-ut[?]-*ma* MUŠ[?] *ana* UGU-šú iq-qa-^ˈri^ˈ-^ˈir^ˈ? [ana][?] IGI[?] ŠUB-ut / [(indent)[?] NA] BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ

DIŠ MU[Š *ana* UGU ^{giš}GU.ZA ŠUB][?]-ut[?]-*ma* MUŠ[?] *ana* UGU-šú iq-qa-^ˈri^ˈ-^ˈir^ˈ? [ana][?] IGI[?] ŠUB-ut [NA] BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ

šumma šēr[u ana muḥḥi kussî imq]utma[?] šēru ana muḥḥišu iqqarir[?] [ana][?] pāni[?] imqut [amēlu] šū ina libbi šatti šuāti imât

If a sna[ke fa]lls[?] [on top of a chair][?] and the snake rolls[?] on top of it (and then) falls [in][?] front[?] (of it) – that [man] will die within that year.

a) §§24.9-10 form a pair: In §24.9 the man falls ill for a day or two, but lives. In §24.10 the opposite occurs – he dies within that year (see also §22.1). Note the opposition of *day* in the apodosis of §24.9 and *year* in the apodosis of §24.10.

b) Ms. A marks the line no. 10 with the sign U on the left edge, here transliterated “(10)”.

c) A new reading of lines X₂ iv 25-26 is presented in our score. Compare the transliteration of these lines and the corresponding translation in *If a City 2* (unread sign highlighted bold),

[...] **x**-ma MUŠ ana UGU-šu₂ iq-qa-[...] **x** x ŠUB-ut / [...] BI ina ŠA₃ MU BI UG₇ (*If a City 2*, p. 69, *24.11, *X₂ iv 26-27 = X₂ iv 25-26) “If a snake [...] and a snake [...] onto him ... falls, [...] of that house will die within that year” (*If a City 2*, p. 63, *24.11).

Compare also the transliteration and translation offered in KAL 1

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] **x**-ma ‘MUŠ’ ana UGU-šu₂ iq-qa-‘ri’[?]-‘ru’[?] [x] ‘x’ ŠUB-ut / [(x) NA] BI ina ŠÀ MU BI ÚŠ
 “[Wenn eine Schlange ...] und die Schlange sich auf ihn herabschlängelt ... fällt: / [(...)] dieser [Mann] wird noch im selben Jahr sterben” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 25-26).

Note that the transliteration of X₂ in *If a City 2* (pp. 68-69) mistakenly combines different lines: see §23.9 (a). What makes up §24.10 in our reconstruction is a combination of the first half of *24.10 in *If a City 2* (from line A 10) plus the full omen *24.11 in *If a City 2* (lines X₂ iv 26-27^(sic), i.e. X₂ iv 25-26).

Line A 10 has a large break in the middle. *If a City 2* reads the visible sign traces in line A 10 as, (10) DIŠ MU[Š ...] **x** x [...] (*If a City 2*, p. 68, A10). We have collated the text and suggested a possible interpretation of the unread signs (see score). Line 10 on ms. A is long enough to fit the whole omen, whereas in ms. X the omen goes over two lines.

d) The reading of the second verbal form in the protasis is difficult. Following KAL 1, we read it as *qrr/grr* which can be used to describe the movement of snakes, “to roll”, also in the N-Stem (CAD G, p. 48); for the N-stem preterite 3rd person sg. one would expect *iqqarir* rather than *iqqariru*: maybe the broken sign after -ri[?] is not *ru*, but *ir*. For the two broken signs before the final ŠUB-ut we tentatively suggest [ana] followed by a broken IGI, referring to where with respect to the chair the snake falls.

§24.11

(see *If a City 2*, *24.11, *24.12)

A 11 DI[Š ...] É BI [BIR]

X₂ iv 27 [... ^g]GU.ZA NA N[UN]ZU-šu ŠUB EN É ÚŠ-ma É BI B[IR]

DI[Š MUŠ ina UGU[?] ^g]GU.ZA NA N[UN]ZU-šu ŠUB EN É ÚŠ-ma É BI B[IR]

šum[ma šēru ina muḥḥi[?] k]ussi amēli p[el]ašu iddi bēl bīti imâtma bītu šū issa[pp]aḥ

If a snake] drops its e[lg]g [on top of][?] a man’s chair – the master of the house will die and that house will be dis[per]sed.

a) This omen is similar to §24.6, except for *kussû* “chair” instead of *eršu* “bed” (§24.6); the respective apodoses are also similar.

§24.6. [šumma šēr]u ina muḥḥi ereš amēli pelašu [id]di bēl bīti šuāti im[ât (...)][?] bītu šū issappaḥ [...] ilu ik[kal][?]

§24.11. *šum[ma šēru ina muḥḫi? k]ussi amēli p[el]ašu iddi bēl bīti imātma bītu šū issa[pp]aḥ*

b) *If a City 2* (p. 69, *24.12) transliterates BIR-*aḥ* at the end of line X₂ iv 27 (28^(sic)) when in fact the last sign is only a broken BIR (see KAL 1, no. 9, l. IV 27).

§24.12

(see *If a City 2*, *24.12, *24.13)

A 12 [...] EN É BI [ÚŠ]

X₂ iv 28 [DIŠ MUŠ ina?] ‘Á’.<ŠU>.GÌR NA iš-lu-uṭ-ma ana É NA KU₄ EN É B[I Ú]Š

[DIŠ MUŠ ina?] Á.<ŠU>.GÌR NA iš-lu-uṭ-ma ana É NA KU₄ EN É B[I Ú]Š

[šumma šēru ina?] mešrēt amēli išluṭma ana bīt amēli īrub bēl bīti šu[āti im]ât

[If a snake] cuts [into?] a man’s extremities? and enters a man’s house – the master of th[at] house will [di]e.

a) The reconstruction of Á.<ŠU>.GÌR (*mešrētu*, “extremities”) follows KAL 1 (9: iv 28). The corresponding translation in KAL 1 is, “[Wenn eine Schlange die Ex]tremität eines Mannes einschneidet und sich in das Haus eines Mannes hineinschlängelt: Der Herr dieses Hauses wird sterben” (KAL 1, no. 9 iv 28 = X₂ iv 28).

The exact meaning of *šalātu* (CAD Š/1, p. 240b, AHW 1147a “einschneiden”) in this omen remains problematic, see KAL 1, p. 41, n. iv 28-29.

If a City 2 does not insert <ŠU> between Á and GÌR and reads line X₂ iv 28 as [...].A₂ GIR₃ NA iš-lu-uṭ-ma ana E₂ NA TU EN E₂ BI UG₇ (*If a City 2*, p. 69, *24.13, X₂ iv 29^(sic) = X₂ iv 28). In her translation Freedman takes “foot” as the nomen rectum following a status constructus: “[If a snake ...] ... [the ...] of a man’s foot and enters the man’s house, the owner of that house will die” (*If a City 2*, p. 63, *24.13).

§24.13

(see *If a City 2*, *24.13, *24.14)

A 13 [...] EN É [...]

X₂ iv 29 [DIŠ MUŠ ina?] GÌR.MEŠ iš-lu-uṭ-‘ma’ ana É NA KU₄ EN É ina-kir

[DIŠ MUŠ ina?] GÌR.MEŠ iš-lu-uṭ-ma ana É NA KU₄ EN É ina-kir

[šumma šēru ina?] šēpī išluṭma ana bīt amēli īrub bēl bīti inakkir

[If a snake] cuts [into?] (a man’s) feet and enters a man’s house – the master of the house will change (residence?).

a) §§24.12-13 form a pair. The expected NA after GÌR.MEŠ, *šēpī amēli*, might have been implied through the connection with the previous omen.

b) In order to match up the lines from mss. A and X again (see above), in *If a City 2* line X₂ iv 29 (*If a City 2*, X₂ iv 30^(sic)) is associated with omen *24.14. A note suggests that ms. A omits this omen (see

If a City 2, p. 69, *24.14). However, upon collation, it has been possible to revise the the line matching between these two manuscripts and to placeline A 13, together with line X₂ iv 29, here.

- c) The interpretation of the apodosis *bēl bīti inakkir* “the master of the house will change (residence³)” is uncertain; it is possibly related in meaning to the similar apodosis of §23.108, *šubassu inakkir* “he will go into exile.”

KAL 1 translates the apodosis of §24.13 as “[Wenn eine Schlange] die Füße einschneidet und sich in das Haus eines Mannes hineinschlängelt: Der Herr dieses Hauses wird wegziehen” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 29) and the apodosis of §23.108 as “er wird seinen Wohnort verlegen” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 4 // KAL 1, no. 11 = G r. 36). *If a City 2* translates “the owner of that house will change” (*If a City 2*, p. 63, *24.14), which implies that the house will have a new owner.

§24.14

(see *If a City 2*, *24.15)

A 14 [...] È-a NÍG.TUK ÚKU-i[n ...]

X₂ iv 30 [DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA *ana* KÁ È NÍG.T[U]K ÚKU-in MAŠ .EN.GAG SIG₅

[DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA *ana* KÁ È-a NÍG.TUK ÚKU-in MAŠ .EN.GAG SIG₅

[*šumma šēru iš*]tu *bīt amēli ana dalti ūšā šarū ilappin muškēnu idammīq*

[If a snake] goes out [fr]om a man’s house towards the door – a rich man will become poor, a commoner will be well.

- a) For a similar apodosis, though with inserted *šumma*, see e.g. in §23.79.

§24.15

(see *If a City 2*, *24.16)

A 15 [...] È ZI : *ina* É N[A ...]

X₂ iv 31 [DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA *mim-ma* ‘*ana*’ ‘KÁ’ ‘È’ ‘ZI’.[G]A *ina* É NA È ÚŠ *ina* É NA ÚŠ

[DIŠ MUŠ T]A É NA *mim-ma ana* KÁ È ZI.[G]A *ina* É NA È ÚŠ *ina* É NA ÚŠ

[*šumma šēru iš*]tu *bīt amēli mimma ana dalti ušēši šītu ina bīt amēli ušši mītu ina bīt amēli imāt*

[If a snake] takes something out [fr]om a man’s house towards the door – loss will be incurred in the man’s house, a mortally ill person will die in the man’s house.

- a) In ms. A, a *Glossenkeil* divides the two parts of the double apodosis as a minor variant, suggesting the variant reading of the double apodosis as an alternative apodosis.
- b) §§24.15-19 specifically concern the financial situation of the man’s household; §§24.15-16 form a pair of opposites: loss will be incurred – income will enter the house.

§24.16

(see *If a City 2*, *24.17)

A 16 [...] KU₄ *ir-bu* [...]

X₂ iv 32 [DIŠ MUŠ T]A KÁ *mim-ma* 'ÍL'-*ma* *ana* É 'NA' KU₄ *ir-bu* *ana* É NA KU₄

[DIŠ MUŠ T]A KÁ *mim-ma* ÍL-*ma* *ana* É NA KU₄ *ir-bu* *ana* É NA KU₄

[*šumma šēru iš*]tu dalti *mimma iššīma* *ana* bīt *amēli īrub irbu* *ana* bīt *amēli irrub*

[If a snake] takes something up [fr]om the door and enters a man's house – income will enter the man's house.

§24.17

(see *If a City 2*, *24.18)

A 17 [...] KU₄ NA BI 'ZÁĤ'-šú ut x [...]

X₂ iv 33 [DIŠ MUŠ m]im-*ma* *ina* KA-šú n[a]-*ši*-[*ma an*]a 'É' [NA] KU₄ *ha-liq-ta-šú* UŠ-[šú]

Ex3₁ 9' [DIŠ M]UŠ *mim-ma* *ina* KA-šú ÍL-*ma* *ana* É NA K[U₄ ...]

[DIŠ M]UŠ *mim-ma* *ina* KA-šú n[a]-*ši*-[*ma an*]a 'É' [NA] KU₄ *ha-liq-ta-šú* UŠ-[šú]

[*šumma šēru mimma* *ina* pīšu n[a]šī[*ma an*]a bīt [amēli] īrub *haliqtašu iredđišu*]

[If a snake] holds something in its mouth [and e]nters a man's house – he will *regai[n]* his lost property.

Variant A⁽²⁴⁾

[DIŠ M]UŠ *mim-ma* *ina* KA-šú ÍL-*ma* *ana* É NA KU₄ NA BI ZÁĤ-šú ut x [...]

[*šumma šēru mimma* *ina* pīšu *našima* *ana* bīt *amēli īrub amēlu šū haliqtašu ...* [...]]

[If a snake] holds something in its mouth and enters a man's house – his lost property [will] ... [...].

a) Upon collation, we read ZÁĤ-šú in line A 17 instead of ZÁĤ šī (*If a City 2*, p. 69, *24.18, l. A17).

For the last two signs in line A 17 a reading UŠ-[šú] is unlikely. A clear UD is visible, followed by another sign of which only two parallel horizontal wedges and possibly three parallel vertical wedges remain; the CT copy of ms. A does not have this section.

b) The integration for the verb (*haliqtašu iredđišu*) at the end of line X₂ iv 33 follows KAL 1, no. 9, which translates “[Wenn eine Schlange e]twas in ihrem Mund trägt und sich in das Haus eines Mannes hineinschlängelt: Sein Verlorenes wird [ihm] folgen” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 33).

The protasis speaks of something entering the house, therefore the apodosis of X probably speaks of something lost being brought back into the house: “that man will *regain* his lost propert[y].”

Not distinguishing between the two variants, *If a City 2* translates, “[If a snake] carrying something in its mouth enters a man's house, his lost property will follow(?) [him]” (*If a City 2*, p. 63, *24.18), as does CAD H, p. 42, KAR 389 ii 34^(sic) (= X₂ iv 33) “his lost property will follow him.” CAD H does not indicate that šú is broken, but it is probably a mistake.

§24.18

(see *If a City 2*, *24.19)

A 18 [... N]A 'KU₄' *ir-bu ana [...]*

X₂ iv 34 [DIŠ MUŠ M]UŠ MAN-*ma ina KA-šú na-ši-ma ana É* [N]A KU₄ *ir-bu ana É* NA 'KU₄'

Ex3₁ 10'-11' [DIŠ] MUŠ MUŠ MAN-*ma ina KA-šú Í[L ...]* / (indent) *ir-bu ana É* NA [KU₄]

[DIŠ] MUŠ MUŠ MAN-*ma ina KA-šú na-ši-ma ana É* [N]A KU₄ *ir-bu ana É* NA KU₄

[šumma š]ēru šēra šanāma *ina pīšu našīma ana bīt [am]ēli īrub irbu ana bīt amēli irrub*

[If] a snake holds a second snake in its mouth and enters a [ma]n's house, income will enter the man's house.

§24.19

(see *If a City 2*, *24.20, *24.21)

A 19 [DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ šá BAR-šú GU₇ *ina KA SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-ma*] ^{KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú [na-ši]} [ana É NA ŠUB EN] É BI ÚŠ É BI BIR-*aḥ ka-šad-s[u É BI UŠ-su]* É.GÁL U[š-di]

X₂ iv 35-37 [DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ] šá BAR-šú GU₇ *ina KA SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-m*a ana É NA ŠUB / [NA B]I ÚŠ É BI BIR *ka-šad-s[u KI.MI]N[?] MUŠEN ina KA-šú na-ši* / [É] BI UŠ-su 'É'.[GA]L 'UŠ'-[d]i

Ex3₁ 12'-14' DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ šá BAR-šú GU₇ *ina KA SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-[ma]* ^{KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú na-ši [(0)]} [ana É NA ŠUB] / (indent) EN É BI ÚŠ-'ma' É BI BIR-a[*ḥ ka-šad-su*][?] / (indent) É BI UŠ-su É.[GÁL UŠ-di]

DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ šá BAR-šú GU₇ *ina KA SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-[ma]* ^{KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú na-ši} [ana É NA ŠUB] EN É BI ÚŠ É BI BIR-*aḥ ka-šad-s[u]* É BI UŠ-su É.GÁL U[š-di]

šumma šēru mītu ša mišilšu *aklu ina pê surdî šuqallul[ma]* ^{KI.MIN iṣṣūru ina pīšu naši} [ana bīt amēli imqut] bēl bīti šuāti imātma bītu šū issappaḥ *kašāss[u]* bītu šū ridūssu *ekallu ire[ddi]*

If a dead snake, of which half is eaten, is hangig from a falcon's mouth ditto ("If a dead snake, of which half is eaten, is hangig from a falcon's mouth" means), the bird carries (it) in its mouth [and it falls onto a man's house] – the master of that house will die, that house will be dispersed, it[s] *sacking*[?] (will occur), the palace will con[fiscate] the estate of that house.

Variant X

[DIŠ MUŠ ÚŠ] šá BAR-šú GU₇ *ina KA SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-m*a ana É NA ŠUB [NA[?] B]I ÚŠ É BI BIR *ka-šad-s[u]*

[KI.MI]N[?] MUŠEN *ina KA-šú na-ši* [É] BI UŠ-su É.[GA]L UŠ-[d]i

[šumma šēru mītu] ša mišilšu *aklu ina pê surd[î šuqallulm]a ana bīt amēli imqut [amēlu š]ū imātma bītu šū issappaḥ kašāss[u]*

[KI.MI]N[?] iṣṣūru *ina pīšu naši [bītu] šū ridūssu e[kal]lu ired[d]i*

[If a dead snake], of which half is eaten, [is hanging] from a falc[on's] mouth [a]nd falls onto a man's house – [the master[?] of th]at [house] will die, that house will be dispersed, it[s] *sacking*[?] (will occur).

[Ditt]o[?], a bird carries (it) in its mouth – the pal[lac]e will con[fis]cate the estate of that [house].

- a) This omen has two variants, the main one is preserved on ms. A and ms. Ex3, the other on ms. X.
- b) *If a City 2* reconstructs omen *24.20 (actually §24.19) by combining the two variants. Freedman's reading mistakes are highlighted in bold font:

DIŠ MUŠ **IDIM** ša₂ MUŠEN KU₂ ina KA SUR₂.DU₃.MUŠEN LA₂-ma (gloss: **[SUR₂.D]U₃.MUŠEN** ina KA-šu₂ na-ši) ana E₂ NA ŠUB [EN E]₂ BI UG₇ E₂ BI BIR-a_h ka-šad-su [...] E₂ BI UŠ-su E[₂.G]AL UŠ.**[MEŠ]**-di

“If a powerful snake eating a bird is lifted up in the mouth of a falcon (gloss: a falcon carries (it) in its mouth) and it falls into a man's house, [the owner of the ho]use will die, the house will be dispersed; its defeat [...]; the palace will take over that house's inheritance” (*If a City 2*, p. 62-63, *24.20).

- c) Our reading of ms. X follows KAL 1 (no. 9, p. 35, ll. IV 35-37). Compare the translation,

“[Wenn eine tote Schlange], deren eine Hälfte (schon) gefressen ist, im Maul eines Falken [baumelt un]d (er sie) am Haus eines Mannes hinwirft:
[Die]ser [Mann] wird sterben, dieses Haus wird zerstreut werden, sein Gelingen [... (Wenn) dit]o, (er) einen Vogel im Maul trägt:
Das Erbe dieses [Hauses] wird der Pal[as]t konfiszieren” (KAL 1, no. 9, p. 35, ll. IV 35-37).

- d) Both line A 19 and line Ex3₁ 12' have a section written in small script, i.e. KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú na-ši, which is a gloss explaining the meaning of the verb *šuqallulu*. On ms. A, the signs of the gloss are larger than on Ex3₁ 12' and start close to the left edge, wherefore they were mistaken for the next, indented line/omen in the CT copy of ms. A and in *If a City 2* (line A20^(sic)), where they are mistaken for the protasis of the next omen, *24.21 (<DIŠ> KIMIN MUŠEN ina KA-šu₂ [...]), and associated with the apodosis written on the actual line A 20 (see §24.20).

The tiny signs of the gloss on Ex3 are cramped between lines 12' and 13' close to the right edge. There is a sign before MUŠEN which is probably KI.MIN (not read in *If a City 2*).

- e) On ms. X, the sequence KI.MIN MUŠEN ina KA-šú na-ši does not look like a gloss – the signs are written in the same size as the rest. They seem to introduce another alternative protasis. The translation of this section in KAL 1, “(Wenn) dito (er) einen Vogel im Maul trägt,” takes the previously mentioned falcon as the agent carrying another bird (*iššūru*) in its mouth, but a falcon omen in a series of snake omens seems unlikely. The sequence is an anacoluthon.

At the beginning of line X₂ iv 36, which is the beginning of the first apodosis, there does not seem to be enough space for the sequence EN É BI attested in the other two ms.; as this manuscript regularly makes use of indentation, we kept with the reconstruction proposed in KAL 1, which has NA BI as a variant for EN É BI.

- f) KAL 1 interprets *ka-šad-su* as the infinitive of *kašādu* with possessive suffix and translates “sein Gelingen ...” (the three dots indicate the possibility of something missing, but there seems to be no space on the tablet for more than KI.MIN); *If a City 2* translates *ka-šad-su* as “its defeat.” The semantic chain in the apodosis points to a negative apodosis: we tentatively suggest “its sacking (will occur)”.
- g) For the last part of the apodoses, *bītu šū ridūssu ekallu ireddi*, see §23.94 *ekallu ireddišu* and §23.104 *ridūt bīt amēli irreddi*.

§24.20

(see *If a City 2*, *24.22)

A 20 DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-*ma* TA A[N.TA-n]u[?] ŠUB-ut[?] É 'NA' 'BIR'-[*aḥ*][?] [...] 'É'-su
'TAG₄'-šú

X₂ iv 38- [DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DÙ^{mu}]^{šen} ÍL-*ma* TA AN.[TA-nu Š]UB[?]-ut[?] É N[A BI]R[?] / [...] 'x' [x (x)] 'É'-su
39 [TAG₄-šú]

DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DÙ^{mušen} LAL-*ma* TA A[N.TA-n]u[?] ŠUB-ut[?] É NA[?] BIR[?]-[*aḥ*][?] [...] É-su TAG₄-šú

šumma šēru surdû šuqallulma ištu el[ēnu] imqut[?] bīt amēli issapp[aḥ][?] [...] ... [...] bīssu izzibšu

If a snake is *hanging from*[?] a falcon and falls[?] from ab[ove] – the man's house will be disper[ed][?], [...] he will leave his house.

Variant X

[DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DÙ^{mu}]^{šen} ÍL-*ma* TA AN.[TA-nu Š]UB[?]-ut[?] É N[A BI]R[?] / [...] x [x (x)] 'É'-su [TAG₄-šú]

[*šumma šēru sur*]dû *našima ištu el[ēnu im]qut[?] bīt am[ēli[?] issapp[aḥ][?] [...] ... [...] bīssu izzibšu*

[If a snake: a fal]con carries (it) and (the snake[?]) falls[?] from above – the man's house will be disper[ed][?], [...] ... [...] [he] will leave his house.

a) This is the last omen on ms. X₂ col. iv before it breaks off. *If a City 2* places lines X₂ v 1'-17' at the end of Tablet 24 (omens *24.46'-*24.60', see *If a City 2*, p. 71) and lines X₃ v 18'-27', X₃ iv 1'-24' as text (8) in Tablet 25 (see *If a City 2*, pp. 86-88). As of now, we are not clear on whether lines X₂ v 1'-17' actually belong to Tablet 24, but see the edition in KAL 1, no. 9.

b) Ms. A and ms. X have different versions of this omen. In both manuscripts, *surdû* is the subject of respectively LAL-*ma* and ÍL-*ma*; *našima* for ÍL-*ma* is a stative with active meaning. The verb LAL in line A 20 might be a scribal mistake for ÍL, which is found in ms. X, maybe because LAL appears in the previous omen. LAL as *šuqallulu* means "to be suspended" and would normally require a preposition. CAD Š/3, p. 331b, citing this passage, leaves LAL untranslated ("...-ing"). *If a City 2* translates "If a snake is lifted up by a falcon," (p. 65, *24.22) possibly because of the ÍL-parallel.

c) In the reconstruction of A 20, *If a City 2* combines the gloss from §24.19 with the apodosis of §24.20 (see above). The actual protasis of this omen was placed with *24.22.

*24.21. <DIŠ> KIMIN MUŠEN ina KA-š_{u2} IL₂-*ma* TA AN-[...] ŠUB-ut E₂ [... E]₂-su TAG-š_{u2}

"<If> ditto carrying a bird in its mouth [falls] from the sky, the house [...] of his house will leave it" (*If a City 2*, pp. 64-65, *24.21).

*24.21, A20. <DIŠ> KIMIN MUŠEN ina KA-š_{u2} [...] ŠUB-ut E₂ EN? [... E]₂-su TAG₄-š_{u2}

*24.21, X₂ iv 39-40. [... K]A-š_{u2} IL₂-*ma* TA AN-[...] x x E₂ x [...] x / [...] x [E]₂-su [...] -š_{u2}

*24.22, A21. DIŠ MUŠ SUR₂.DU₃.MUŠEN LA₂-*ma* in-na-[...] x-na-ad-ru [...] x E₂ BI BIR-aḥ
(*If a City 2*, p. 69)

- d) KAL 1 does not read three signs (marked bold) on ms. X, for which new readings have been proposed (see score):

[DIŠ MUŠ SÚR.DU^{mu}]^{sen} ÍL-*ma* TA AN.[TA-*nu* ...] **x a šá** É N[A ŠU]B / [...] 'x' [...] 'É'-su [...]

“[Wenn eine Schlange von einem Falken] weggetragen wird und er (sie) von ob[en ...] ... Haus des Man[n]es wir[ft]: / [...] ... sein Haus [...]” (KAL 1, no. 9 = X₂ iv 38-39).

§ 24.21

(see *If a City 2*, *24.22, *24.23)

A 21 [DIŠ] SAG.DU MUŠ GU₇ MUŠEN ÍL [... *ana*?] 'x' NA KU₄¹(AD) ŠUB? [...] x É BI BIR-*ah*

[DIŠ] SAG.DU MUŠ GU₇ MUŠEN ÍL [... *ana*?] ... NA KU₄ ŠUB? [...] ... É BI BIR-*ah*

[šumma] *qaqqad šēri akli iṣṣūru naši* [... *ana*?] ... *amēli trub imquṭ*? [...] ... *bītu šū issappaḥ*

[If] the head of an eaten snake is carried by a bird, [...] enters [into]? a man's ... (and then) falls? [...] ... that house will be dispersed.

- It is unclear where the protasis of this omen ends and the apodosis starts; the omen could have had a longer apodosis.
- While we reconstruct *qaqqad šēri akli* in the protasis, another possibility would be *qaqqad šēri aklu*, the adjective referring to the snake's eaten head.
- The lines of ms. A are mismatched on the CT copy and in *If a City 2* (p. 70, *24.23). While the protasis is transliterated the same as here, *If a City 2* translates “If a bird carries the head of a snake eating,” and combines it with the apodosis of §24.22 (see below).
- The signs read here 'x' NA KU₄¹(AD) ŠUB? are read *x-na-ad-ru* in *If a City 2*, omen *24.22, line A21 (see §24.20, comment c). The sign before NA does not look like É; the suggestion NA KU₄¹(AD) is based on line A 22 (§24.22).

§ 24.22

(see *If a City 2*, *24.23, *24.24)

A 22 DIŠ MUŠ *ana* ÚR LÚ KU₄¹(AD) [DUMU.MEŠ]Š? [TUK-ši U₄.M]EŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ

Ex3₁ 15' [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* ÚR LÚ KU₄ DUMU.MEŠ TUK-ši U₄.M[EŠ-šú ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ana* ÚR LÚ KU₄ DUMU.MEŠ TUK-ši U₄.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ

šumma šēru ana sūn amēli trub mārī irašši ūmūšu ikarrū

If a snake goes into a man's lap – he will have children, his days will become short.

- a) See also DIŠ MUŠ *ana* ÚR LÚ ŠUB KU₄-ub [...] (*If a City 2*, pp. 108-109, related text (4) = CBS 4799, l. ii 19'), and the sleep omen DIŠ NA *ina* ÚR-šú MUŠ IGI 'x' [...] (K 4134+ f. 12')²⁶² from *Šumma ālu*, Tablet 84.
- b) The apodosis *ūmūšu ikarrû* is rare in snake omens, but see *Šumma izbu* for apodoses like *ūmū rubê arkûl/gamrû/išûtu* (De Zorzi 2014, p. 93).
- c) The translation of this omen in *If a City 2* (p. 65, *24.23, *24.24) should be dismissed because it combines different omens together (see above).

§24.23

(see *If a City 2*, *24.24, *24.25)

A 23 DIŠ MUŠ SAG.DU-su *ina* ḪABRUD.DA KUN-su [x x x x (x x) NA BI][?] *me-se-ra* IGI-mar
 B⁽²⁴⁾ 1' [(indent)][?] 'MURUB₄'[?] [...]
 Ex3₁ 16'-17' 'DIŠ' MUŠ SAG.DU-'su' *ina* ḪABRUD.DA KUN-su [...] / MURUB₄.M[EŠ-šú[?] x].MEŠ NA BI
 [*me-se-ra* IGI-mar][?]

DIŠ MUŠ SAG.DU-su *ina* ḪABRUD.DA KUN-su [...] MURUB₄.M[EŠ-šú[?] x].MEŠ NA BI *me-se-ra*
 IGI-mar

šumma šēru qaqqassu ina ḫurri zibbassu [...] qabl[ūšu[?] ...]ū amēlu šū mēsera immar

If a snake's head is in a hole, its tail [...], [its][?] midd[le parts ...][?] ... – that man will experience imprisonment.

- a) The line we read as B 1' here is not read in *If a City 2*; our B 2' (see §24.24) is B1' in *If a City 2*, where it is placed in *24.26 (*If a City 2*, p. 70). The broken sign in line B 1' is here tentatively interpreted as MURUB₄, which could parallel MURUB₄ in line Ex3₁ 17'.

§ 24.24

(see *If a City 2*, *24.25, *24.26)

A 24 DIŠ MUŠ 2 *ti-iš-bu-tu-ma* SAG.DU-su [...] GÁL-ši
 B 2' DIŠ MUŠ 2 'DAB'.D[AB[?] ...]

DIŠ MUŠ 2 *ti-iš-bu-tu-ma* SAG.DU-su [...] GÁL-ši

šumma šēru 2 tišbutūma qaqqassu [...] ibašši

If a snake is double, they are joined together and its head [...] – there will be [...].

- a) We tentatively read the two broken signs after the numeral on ms. B (unread in *If a City 2*) as DAB.DAB. Only a large head of a horizontal wedge is visible before the broken right edge of the fragment.

²⁶² K 4134 + K 6759 + K 14548, transliteration by Rachel Lerculeur (forthcoming dissertation, University of Geneva). According to Lerculeur, this might be a waking-up omen, meaning i.e. the scene is might be set in reality rather than in a dream.

§ 24.25

(see *If a City 2*, *24.26, *24.27)

- A 25 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ana ŠÀ UDUN* ^{lu}BÁḤAR *im-me-l[il[?] É BI][?] BIR-aḥ*
 B 3' DIŠ MUŠ *ana ŠÀ [...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana ŠÀ UDUN* ^{lu}BÁḤAR *im-me-l[il[?] É BI][?] BIR-aḥ*

šumma šēru ana libbi utūn paḥāri immel[il[?] bītu šū][?] issappaḥ

If a snake *goes play[fully][?]* into a potter's kiln – [that house][?] will be dispersed.

- a) The reconstruction of *mēlulu* “to play” as the verb of the protasis is uncertain; for comparison see the following lizard omen from *Šumma ālu*,

šumma MIN (šurāru) ina bīt amēli 2 ūmē 5 ūmē 6 ūmē 7 ūmē ūmē / immelilma ina bīt amēli išḫiṭ šeḥa / irašši bīt šū ul eššir

“If ditto (= a lizard) plays in a man's house two days, three days, four days, five days, six days, seven days, (many) days and jumps in a man's house – he will experience an attack; the house won't be alright” (VAT 9906 ii 15-17).²⁶³

§ 24.26

(see *If a City 2*, *24.27, *24.28)

- A 26 DIŠ MUŠ *ana ŠÀ UDUN* ^{lu}BÁḤAR [...] bi
 B 4' DIŠ MUŠ *ana ŠÀ [...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *ana ŠÀ UDUN* ^{lu}BÁḤAR [...] ...

šumma šēru ana libbi utūn paḥāri [...] ...

If a snake [...] into a potter's kiln [...]

§ 24.27

(see *If a City 2*, *24.28, *24.29)

- A 27 DIŠ MUŠ *e-nu-ma ka-la-šu-nu UKKIN GAL ŠUB-x x x [... BI] ŠUB-di*
 B 5' DIŠ MUŠ *e-[nu-ma ...]*

DIŠ MUŠ *e-nu-ma ka-la-šu-nu UKKIN GAL ŠUB ... [... É[?] BI] ŠUB-di*

šumma šēru enūma kalašunu puḥru rabū imqut ... [... bītu[?] š]ū innaddi

If a snake, while all of them are at the great assembly, falls ... [... th]at [house][?] will be abandoned.

§ 24.28

(see *If a City 2*, *24.30)

- A 28 [DIŠ M]UŠ *ina É NA lu ana* ^{du}ĜUTUL *lu ana URUDU.ŠEN ŠUB-‘ma’ x [...]*
 B 6' DIŠ MU[Š ...]

DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA lu ana* ^{du}ĜUTUL *lu ana URUDU.ŠEN ŠUB-ma ... [...]*

²⁶³ See N. Lundeen-Kaulfus, forthcoming Master's thesis.

šumma šēru ina bīt amēli lū ana diqāri lū ana ruqqi imqutma ... [...]

If a snake falls either onto a tureen or onto a cauldron in a man's house and ... [...].

§24.29

(see *If a City 2*, *24.31)

A 29 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana*] ŠÀ DUG KAŠ *maš-ti-ti* LÚ ŠUB-ut [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana*] ŠÀ DUG KAŠ *maš-ti-ti* LÚ ŠUB-ut [...]

[*šumma šēru ana*] *libbi karpāt šikar maštīti amēli imqut* [...]

[If a snake] falls [in]side a man's beer mug from which he drinks [...].

§24.30

(see *If a City 2*, *24.32)

A 30 [DIŠ MUŠ *lu ana*] *mut-tab-bil-ti* KAŠ *lu ana* ^{dug}*nam-ḥa-ri šá* A [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *lu ana*] *mut-tab-bil-ti* KAŠ *lu ana* ^{dug}*nam-ḥa-ri šá* A [...]

[*šumma šēru lū ana*] *muttabbilti šikari lū ana namḥari ša mē* [...]

[If a snake ... either into] a beer vessel or into a water bin [...].

§24.31

(see *If a City 2*, *24.33)

A 31 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UG]U ^{giš}GAN šá ^{lú}KÚRUN.NA ŠUB-ut NA BI *si-bu-us-su* [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UG]U ^{giš}GAN šá ^{lú}KÚRUN.NA ŠUB-ut NA BI *si-bu-us-su* [...]

[*šumma šēru ana muḥḥi*] *kanni ša sābī imqut amēlu šū sibūssu* [...]

[If a snake] falls [on t]op of a brewer's vessel-stand – that man's brewing [...].

a) It can be speculated that the snake falling onto a brewer's vessel-stand – a negative sign – indicates negative repercussions on the brewer's work, i.e. that “his brewing” will not lead to a good result. Generally, animals falling into vessels are negative omens, as can be seen, for example, in the lizard omens (Lundeen, forthcoming Master's thesis).

b) Freedman reads *si-bu-us-su* (*If a City 2*, p. 64, *24.33), as the manuscript has SI, but translates “that man's desire” (*If a City 2*, p. 65, *24.33). The Akkadian for “desire” or “wish” would be *šibūtu*, as in the common apodosis *kašād šibūti* “attainment of a wish” which is written logographically KUR-ád Á.ÁŠ see e.g. §22.55', §§22.70'-71', §23.95.

§24.32

(see *If a City 2*, *24.34)

A 32 [DIŠ MUŠ *ana* U]GU ^{giš}BANŠUR NA ŠUB-ut EN É [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* U]GU ^{giš}BANŠUR NA ŠUB-ut EN É [...]

[*šumma šēru ana m*] *uḥḥi paššūr amēli imqut bēl bīti* [...]

[If a snake] falls [on] top of a man's table – the master of the house [...].

§ 24.33

(see *If a City 2*, *24.35)

A 33 [DIŠ MUŠ *lu* GÚ][?] ^{dug}ŠAB Ì *lu* GÚ ^{dug}A.TIN.NA NIGIN É B[I ...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *lu* GÚ][?] ^{dug}ŠAB Ì *lu* GÚ ^{dug}A.TIN.NA NIGIN É B[I ...]

[šumma šēru *lū aḥ*][?] šap šamni *lū aḥ* karpāt ṭābāti ilmi bītu š[ū ...]

[If a snake] circles around [either the neck][?] of an oil jar or the neck of a vinegar vessel – th[at] house [...].

§ 24.34

(see *If a City 2*, *24.36)

A 34 [... PI]SAN NINDA KU₄-ma NÁ-iš DAM [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* PI]SAN NINDA KU₄-ma NÁ-iš DAM [...]

[šumma šēru *ana*[?] *pi*]san akli ṭrubma rabiš aššat[?] [...]

[If a snake] enters [into][?] a bread [b]ox and lies down – the wife[?] of[?] [...].

a) The reconstruction of the protasis with DIŠ MUŠ *ana* + vessel is based on §§23-25-26.

b) From the logogram DAM at the end of the line it is not possible to say if the apodosis begins with *aššat amēli* “the man's wife” (DAM NA) or *mūtu u aššatu* “husband and wife” (DAM *u* DAM), both standard staples of apodoses in snake omens.

§ 24.35

(see *If a City 2*, *24.37)

A 35 [... PISA]N šá SÍG KU₄-ma NÁ-iš É B[I ...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* PISA]N šá SÍG KU₄-ma NÁ-iš É B[I ...]

[šumma šēru *ana pisa*]n ša šipāri ṭrubma rabiš bītu š[ū ...]

[If a snake] enters [into a bo]x of wool and lies down – th[at] house [...].

§ 24.36

(see *If a City 2*, *24.38)

A 36 [...] NA KU₄-ma NÁ-[i]š [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* ...] NA KU₄-ma NÁ-[i]š [...]

[šumma šēru *ana* ...] *amēli* ṭrubma rab[i]š [...]

[If a snake] enters [into] a man's [...] and lies do[wn] [...].

§24.37

(see *If a City 2*, *24.39)

A 37 [...] ud *ana*²_(copy: MIN) UGU ku [...]

[DIŠ MUŠ ...] ... *ana*² UGU ... [...]

[*šumma šēru* ...] ... *ana*² *muḥḥi* ... [...]

[If a snake ...] ... on² top of ... [...].

- a) The signs in this line are hard to read. Freedman transliterates [...] ud MIN UGU ku [...] as copied on the CT copy (*If a City 2*, p. 70, *24.39, l. A 38^(sic)).

§24.38

A 38 [...] 'x' 'x' [...]

- a) The two signs visible on the last preserved line of ms. A have yet to be collated. This line is not counted in *If a City 2*: line A38^(sic) (actually A 37) in *24.39 is the last one there. In *If a City 2* (see pp. 70-71), after ms. A breaks off (“gap”), twelve lines from ms. Ex3₂ are placed (omens *24.40’- *24.45’), followed by another “(gap)” and seventeen lines taken from ms. X₂ (omens *24.46’- *24.60’ = X₂ v 1’-17’). This reconstruction is based on the position of X₂ v 1’-17’ within the six-column tablet, but it is highly hypothetical, as Freedman herself admits (see *If a City 2*, p. 65-66, note to omen 46’-60’). Some omens are duplicated on manuscripts possibly belonging to Tablets 25-26.

Freedman also notes that, “Ex(3)₂ looks like the same tablet as Ex(3)₁, but its lines are unplaced. They may belong to Tablet 25 or 26” (*If a City 2*, p. 61).

- b) The reverse of ms. A has a colophon (see *If a City 2*, pp. 66-67).

A⁽²⁴⁾ r. 1’ [...] K]Á.GAL *ina* ‘x’ [...]
 r. 2’ DUB 22-KAM DIŠ URU [*ina* SUKUD-*e* GAR-*in*]
 r. 3’ LIBIR.RA.GI[M AB.SAR.ÀM BA].AN.È
 r. 4’ *ṭup-pi* ^{md}[NÀ-zu-qu-u]p-GI.NA DUMU ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-BA-šá [^{lu}]DUB.SAR
 r. 5’ ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^{mga}[b-b]i-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-KAM-eš ^{lu}GAL [DU]B.SAR.MEŠ
 r. 6’ ^{ur}kal-ḥa ^{iti}BÁRA UD [2]4²-KAM *li-mu* ^{md}UTU-ú-paḥ-ḥír ^{lu}šá-kìn [^{kur}ḥab-ru-ri]
 r. 7’ MU 14-KAM ^mLUGAL-GI.[NA] EGIR-ú LUGAL KUR [*aš-šur*^{ki} ù]
 r. 8’ [MU] 11-KÁM LU[GAL TIN.TIR^{ki}]

A⁽²⁴⁾ r. 1’ [...] *a*]bulli *ina* ... [...]
 r. 2’ *ṭuppu* 22-KAM *šumma ālu* [*ina mēlē šakin*]
 r. 3’ *kī*[ma] *labirīšu* [šāṭir ba]ri
 r. 4’ *ṭuppi* [Nabû-zuqu]p-kēna mār Marduk-šuma-iqīša [ṭ]upšarri
 r. 5’ *līp Ga*[bb]i-ilāni-ēreš rab *ṭupšarri*
 r. 6’ *Kalaḥ Nisannu ūmu* [2]4²-KAM *limmu Šamaš-upaḥḥir šakin* [Ḥabrūri]
 r. 7’ *šattu* 14-KAM Šarru-kīn *warkū šar māt* [Aššur u]
 r. 8’ [šattu] 11-KÁM ša[r Bābili]

[... ci]tygate in ... [...]

Tablet 22 of *If a City [Is Set on a Height]*, [written (and) check]ed accor[ding] to its original. Tablet of [Nabû-zuqu]p-kēnu, son of Marduk-šuma-iqīša, [the s]cribe, descendant of Ga[bb]i-ilāni-ēreš, the chief of the scribes.

Kalaḥ, the [2]4th² of Nisannu, eponym of Šamaš-upaḥḥir, governor of [Ḥabruri]. Year 14 of Sargon II (“Sargon the latter”), king of the land [Aššur and year] 11 (as) ki[ng of Babylon].

The eight lines of the colophon are widely spaced out on the tablet to cover the whole surface of the reverse, as do the thirty-eight lines on the obverse.

The breaks in the colophon can be reconstructed with a parallel in a colophon to a Gilgameš manuscript (see George 2003, pp. 737-738, MS N, pl. 146, our translation follows George).

Note that the day when ms. A⁽²⁴⁾ was completed could, instead of [2]4-KAM, also be [1]4-KAM. The year *limmu Šamaš-upaḥḥir* is 708 BCE (Millard 1994, p. 119; *If a City* 2, p. 67, n. “Colophon”), which fits year 14 of Sargon II. The colophon to ms. A⁽³⁰⁾, i.e. the main manuscript used in *If a City* 2 for Tablet 30 of *Šumma ālu* (scorpions), has the same eponym year (see *If a City* 2, p. 142).

Freedman (*If a City* 2, p. 67, n. “Colophon”), points out that KÁ.GAL *ina* x in line A r. 1’ does not correlate with the “standard” catchline to Tablet 25, but could be parallel to the first lines of ms. K 8038 (*If a City* 2, pp. 80-83, text 3), and ms. K 11668 (see *If a City* 2, pp. 82-83, text 4). The incipit of Tablet 25 is usually assumed to be DIŠ MUŠ.SI *ina* É NA IGI “If a horned snake is seen in a man’s house” (as e.g. in K 3674, l. 1, *If a City* 2, pp. 76-77, text 1). It can probably be assumed that two variants were common as incipits of Tablet 25.

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Abstract (English and German)

This master's thesis deals with the snake omens from three chapter-tablets of the Mesopotamian divinatory series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* "If a city is set on a height" (Tablets 22-24). The first part of the thesis is an introduction to the topic with a historical overview of Mesopotamian divination and its sources. In addition, the series *Šumma ālu*, its contents, and structure are considered. The second part of the thesis deals with the snake omens as primary sources using a literary-critical and linguistic methodology. A discussion of several structural and stylistic elements serves as the basis for a model explaining the multidimensionality of omen lists. Finally, the third part of the master's thesis offers a new and improved edition of Tablets 22-24. As part of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum: Tieromina im Alten Mesopotamien* (University of Vienna/Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, 2018-2021) the animal omens from *Šumma ālu* are currently being prepared for an online database, which also resulted in this edition.

Diese Masterarbeit beschäftigt sich mit den Schlangenomina aus drei Tafeln der mesopotamischen divinatorischen Serie *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* "Wenn eine Stadt auf einer Anhöhe liegt" (Tafeln 22-24). Der erste Teil der Masterarbeit ist eine Einführung in das Thema mit einem geschichtlichen Überblick mesopotamischer Divination und ihrer Quellen. Zusätzlich wird speziell auf die Serie *Šumma ālu*, ihre Inhalte und ihre Struktur eingegangen. Der zweite Teil behandelt die Primärquellen der Schlangenomina mithilfe von literaturkritischen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Methoden. Mehrere strukturelle und stilistische Elemente werden beleuchtet und in einem Modell zusammengefasst. Schließlich bietet der dritte Teil der Masterarbeit eine neue und verbesserte Edition der Tafeln 22-24. Im Rahmen des Projekts *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum: Tieromina im Alten Mesopotamien* (Universität Wien/Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, 2018-2021) werden die Tieromina aus *Šumma ālu* derzeit für eine Online-Datenbank neu bearbeitet, wodurch auch diese Edition zustande kam.