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SIGNS FROM LIVESTOCK

TABLETS 41-43 OF THE DIVINATION SERIES *ŠUMMA ĀLU*

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INTRODUCTION

During the Old Babylonian period (1894-1595 BCE), the first list of terrestrial omens appeared in Mesopotamia (BM 1139151; KD 27; VAT 7525; CUSAS 18 n. 6; BM 109228; BM 108874). Like several other omen genres that appeared in the written record of second- and first-millennium Mesopotamia, the creative development of these omens culminated during the Neo-Assyrian period (911-609 BCE) in the largest corpus of terrestrial omens in history. By the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period, the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê* šakin "If a city is set on a height" (henceforth *Šumma ālu*) contained an estimated 120 Tablets, consisting of an approximate 10,000 omens.[1] Most of these texts come from Assur, Nineveh, and Babylon, and were written during the first millennium BCE.

Šumma ālu is a series containing omens taken from random occurrences observed by people during their day to day. These omens observe a wide range of phenomenon like peculiar looking mold on walls, ghosts, the unusual behavior of various animals, and more.[2] This series is a part of a larger corpus of divination literature meant to interpret divine communications to humankind. Animals played a key role in divination. The animal omens in *Šumma ālu* (Tablets 22-26, 29-49, and 63-79) are one of the larger sections of the series and contain one of the largest assortment of animals in divination literature. First published in the late 1920's by Friedrich Nötscher, *Šumma ālu* wasn't exhaustively explored until Sally M. Freedman's three-volume series *If a City is Set on a Height: The Akkadian Omen series Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin* (1998-2017). Thanks to Freedman's work, Assyriologists have continued to discover and reconstruct Tablets from *Šumma ālu*. Preliminary editions of Tablets 83-85, 87-90, 94, 103, 104, and 120 have been published by Catherine Mittermayer and Kaira Boddy as part of the project "Edition of the Omen Series Šumma Alu," and a new edition of *Šumma ālu* 80 was recently published in the journal *Orientalia* (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021). Today there are at least 74 Tablets of

[1] These Tablets can be thought of as chapters within the series but are not to be confused with the lowercase "tablet," which refers to the clay manuscript these texts are written on. This confusing choice of terminology where Tablet, with a capital T, must be constantly distinguished from the lower-case "tablet" comes originally from the scribes themselves who used the word *ṭuppu* "tablet" to mean both a clay tablet and a division, like a chapter, within a literary work or scholastic series. Assyriologist know full well that this confusion could be simplified by writing "chapter" instead of "Tablet," but these conventions remain in place for the sake of uniformity within the field.
[2] For a summary of these topics and broader introduction to *Šumma ālu,* see *If a City* 1 (17-23).

Šumma ālu which are fully or partially reconstructed. This reconstruction is still underway as previously published Tablets continue to be expanded and new texts are published.

Drawing on Freedman's edition of *Šumma ālu*, I have reexamined *Šumma ālu* 41-43 here, creating the first score of these Tablets. This new edition includes new omens from newly discovered manuscripts and previously overlooked text. In particular, I have been able to place previously unplaced omens and to harmonize the manuscripts far more completely than was previously the case.

Šumma ālu 41-43 list terrestrial omens of sheep and goats (henceforth "caprine"), bovine, and equine. These are referred to as livestock omens here, as these three Tablets reference domestic animals of economic and social significance.[3] The animals these Tablets describe are living, moving, and interacting with human agents, being neither mythical creatures in a story nor simply a number on an administrative list. For these reasons, these Tablets have a special relevance to historians and animal-studies specialists alike, as they document animal-human relations in ways unique from all other literature at the time.

This thesis was created within the framework of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*, led by Dr. Nicla De Zorzi at the University of Vienna, in collaboration with the Austrian Center for Digital Humanities, and funded by the Austrian Science Fund. The project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* pioneered a digital edition of the animal Tablets of *Šumma ālu* for a wider audience of scholars both inside and outside Assyriology. The project ended in March 2022, and these editions are now available online (tieromina.acdh-dev.oeaw.ac.at). My part in this project has been to create a new edition of the livestock Tablets, which can now be found on the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* website as well as within this thesis.

Despite my attempt to make this work approachable by experts outside the field of Assyriology, certain amount of terminology must be defined for the sake of clarity. Below is a list of these terms and their meaning within this work. These terms are discussed in respect to each edition in the introductions to Tablets 41-43. The terms used follow Ulla Koch's terminology laid out in her 2015 book *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*:

- Omen: a two-part conditional sentence, "If x happens – then y will happen."
- Protasis: The "if" clause of an omen.
- Apodosis: The "then" clause of an omen.

- Tablet: a numbered division, like a chapter, within a work of Akkadian literature.
- Manuscript or tablet: the physical object, usually a clay tablet in Assyriology, on which an inscription is written.
- Recension or Tradition: a group of manuscripts, usually from the same geographic location, which varies significantly from another group of manuscripts sharing the same composition.
- Composition: A text which was already identified in ancient times as a single work consisting of several manuscripts and being referred to by a specific name.
- Standard version: a composition's original and set version which is followed by most manuscripts that are not clearly excerpt texts.
- Excerpt texts: omen manuscripts which cite sections of the standard versions which are only in part and almost always out of order alongside other Tablets or compositions.
- Parallel text: a text inherently disconnected from but similar to that with which it is being compared.

This thesis expands the online editions of *Šumma ālu* 41-43 by discussing their relation to divinatory traditions, their links to other omen series, the relevance of the animals mentioned and the trends and themes that are present therein.

My goal was to create an edition that is both historically and philologically relevant to those within the field of Assyriology and without. With this goal in mind, chapter one introduces the *Šumma ālu*, discussing the modern editions of the series and explaining its place in divinatory literature. Caprine, bovine, and equine animals are the primary subjects of these chapters which make it necessary to discuss the philological background of these animals found within the lexical series Ura = *ḫubullu* because it contains several similarities to the animal order found in *Šumma ālu* 41-43. Chapters two, three, and four of this thesis contain introductions, translations, and the score of *Šumma ālu* 41-43. The commentary within the score expounds on philological issues and the hermeneutical understanding of these animal omens. This commentary can be quite exhaustive making it difficult to find the omen translations without sifting through pages of commentary. For this reason, we have placed a simple English translation of the Tablets before every score for simplicity and accessibility. The design of these translations is meant to reflect the original layout used in the cuneiform texts of each Tablet. All these Tablets are puzzled together from broken fragments with many sections still missing. This design reflects our

fundamental understanding of the Tablet's makeup but is open to change should new fragments be discovered. There are gaps within the omen sequence, which are marked in the translation. Chapter five addresses the themes that appear consistently in each Tablet and parallel themes that seeped into these livestock omens from trends in other Tablets. The final chapter summarizes the new discoveries, which justify the new edition of these Tablets.

CHAPTER 1

ŠUMMA ĀLU: CONTENT, STRUCTURE, AND INTERPRETATION

Tucked away in a secluded corner of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, the "Oriental collection" of the imperial museum attracts few viewers. Artifacts from Babylon, Assyria, Hattusa, and Persia sit, as they have for the past 80 years, inside two display cases in the back corner of Saal VIa. Most of these artifacts, sturdier than the fragile mummies and wooden coffins from the Egyptian collection, receive little focus from conservationists because they are made of stone or fired clay. A casual reading of the display tags gives a mundane feel to the contents of the clay tablets, with the labels providing a bare minimum of information.

Yet the letter SEM 1218, on a tablet roughly the length of an index finger, describes a marvelous scene within its 36 lines. This letter dates to the sixth century BCE and was addressed to Bēl-eṭēru from his brother, who seems stressed about a trip he was taking to Babylon (Hackl 2012). Before imploring his brother to meet him and travel at least a little bit of the way with him, he informs Bēl-eṭēru,

> *a-mur ultu* U$_4$.2.KAM *šá* ^{iti}AB ^{Id}EN.TIN-*iṭ a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki} *i-te-re-eb ù* 3 ME ^{mušen}UZ.TUR *it-ti-šú at-ta di-lip ù a-na* ^{Id}EN.TIN-*su*-E *a-na muḫ-ḫi-šú qí-bi*
>
> (Hackl 2012, 46)
>
> Look! Since the second day of Ṭebētu, Bēl-uballiṭ has entered Babylon and he has 300 ducks with him. Don't you sleep until you have talked to Bēl-balāssu-iqbi about this![4]

The letter does not, unfortunately, state what Bēl-eṭēru and the 300 ducks Bēl-uballiṭ brought to Babylon have to do with each other, or why this is of concern to his brother. However, the author's tone is undoubtedly one of consternation as he commands his brother again at the end of his letter, ^{Id}EN.TIN-*su*-E *a-na muḫ-ḫi-šú qí-bi* "Talk to Bēl-balāssu-iqbi about it (the ducks)!" Hackl suggests Bēl-eṭēru may have been responsible for the acquisition of the 300 ducks of Babylon for temple sacrifice (2012, 45). Regardless of what may have caused the author's

[4] This translation and all other translations are this author's unless otherwise stated. This was translated from Hackl's transliteration in "Keilschrifttexte im Kunsthistorischen Museum, Teil I: Ein spätbabylonischer Privatbrief" (2012).

frustration, SEM 1218 gives us the delightful image of 300 ducks waddling down the grand streets of Babylon, perhaps clogging up traffic in Ištar's gate.

Herding 300 ducks through the metropolitan capital of the Neo-Babylonian empire could not have been an easy task, but it was likely not an unusual one. Birds were fattened with barley and sent to temples along with other animals for daily sacrifices (Tarasewicz 2009). This candid glimpse that SEM 1218 gives of life in Mesopotamia is a lively one, and one filled with animals.

Animals held an indispensable place in Mesopotamian culture. They were part of the economic backbone of society, as wool production and the temple economy depended on the products that came from these animals (Breniquet and Michel 2013). The *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* explores these interconnections between animals and humans in *Šumma ālu,* the cultural assumptions, judgments, and conceptualizations of these animals with the "bestiary" *Šumma ālu*, and how these writings reflected the Mesopotamian concept of nature (De Zorzi et al., forthcoming). Outside of administrative and agricultural documents, there is no better textual evidence from the first millennium BCE in Mesopotamia for the diversity of animal life and their interactions with humans than the omen series *Šumma ālu*.

The series *Šumma ālu* consists of terrestrial omens concerning phenomena taken from everyday life and is so comprehensive Koch and Freedman suggest it acts as a sort of encyclopedia for everyday life in Mesopotamia to modern scholars (2015, 233; *If a City* 1, 2). However, *Šumma ālu* is one of several omen series. As mentioned in the introduction, omens were intended to interpret communications between the gods and man (*If a City* 1, 2). The various omen series are separated into two categories based on the role of the human actors in this communication (Koch 2015). Extispicy omens are a part of instigated a communication with the gods through sacrifice and the reading of the liver. Several forms of interactive divination fit within this category as well, such as lecanomancy and libanomancy. The second category consists of what Erica Reiner calls "unsolicited omens," where the humans inactively receive communications from the gods through signs in nature (2010). This category consists of three large omen series: the celestial omens of *Enuma Anu Enlil*, the teratological omens of *Šumma izbu,* and the terrestrial omens of *Šumma ālu*. The livestock omens *Šumma ālu* are the focus of this thesis.

Šumma ālu consists of an estimated 120 Tablets filled with omens arranged by topic.[5] The numerous topics found within *Šumma ālu* can sometimes appear abstracted, but as a hermeneutical approach to divination literature has developed, these topics appear more and more concrete and interconnected. The full title of the series, *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* "If a city is set on a height," is taken from the first omen of the first Tablet in the series; this first Tablet focuses on omens taken within and around a city. The topics of the Tablets within *Šumma ālu* range widely, documenting phenomena which occur in and around human habitation in general. As animals were a large part of Mesopotamian society, they occupy an important part of the series. Fifty-eight Tablets of *Šumma ālu* focus on animals.

Each animal Tablet of *Šumma ālu* either focuses on one kind of animal or a subdivision of animals. These appear in *Šumma ālu* in the following order:

Snake omens – Tablets 22-26

Scorpion omens – Tablets 29-31

Lizard omens – Tablets 32-33

Mongoose omens – Tablet 34

Rodent omens – Tablets 35-36

Ant omens – Tablet 37

Vermin and pest omens – Tablets 38-40

Caprine omens – Tablet 41

Bovine omens – Tablet 42

Equine omens – Tablet 43

Wild animal omens – Tablet 44

Cat omens – Tablet 45

Dog omens – Tablets 46-48

Pig omens – Tablet 49[6]

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[5] For an extensive overview of the modern publication history before the 2000s, see *If a City* 1, 3-5. This publication will need to be updated when the work of the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* and its sister project at the Université de Genève, the SNSF project "Edition of the Omen Series Šumma ālu," are complete. This sister project has published preliminary editions of *Šumma ālu* 83-85, 87-88, 90, 94, 103-104, and 120, while Tablet 80 was independently published by Kaira Boddy and Catherine Mittermayer (2021).

[6] *Šumma ālu* 49 (pigs) has been excluded from the category of livestock for multiple reasons. The ancient Near Eastern approach to pigs seems to have been generally different from their approach to other livestock (Veldhuis 2006). *Šumma ālu* even excludes them from this group of livestock Tablets and places the pig omens after the dog omens (Tablets 46-48). The pig omens of *Šumma ālu*, Tablet 49, have been edited by Freedman (*If a City* 3, 71-89)

Fish and amphibian omens – Tablet 63

Bird omens – Tablets 64-79[7]

Within these Tablets, a variety of topics appear: animal behavior in and outside of homes, animal sexual behavior, animals eating non-food items like excrement or a sandal, to name a few.

Most of the omens within *Šumma ālu* fall within the realm of unusual but realistic phenomena. However, the founding principle of these omens aren't cause and effect, rather a hermeneutical link between the protasis, the "if" clause, and the apodosis, the "then" clause. This means omens could include fantastical phenomena since the "causality" was based on the association between these two omen parts. This link between protasis and apodosis was most often based off wordplay, symbolism, or a straightforward one-to-one association (for example, the appearance of an enemy in the protasis usually results in a negative outcome unless something negative is occurring to the enemy). Omens at times do include impossible phenomena within nature, but this should not be surprising, as they were understood as a form of supernatural intervention (Koch 2011, 453). Animals were used as mediums of divination throughout Mesopotamian history, but *Šumma ālu* represents the largest assortment of animals within divination literature.

Most earlier editions of the animal omen Tablets take a generic approach to translating the animal names. For example, *If a City* 3 uses gender neutral terms like "sheep" when "ram" or "ewe" was intended. The original authors of *Šumma ālu* were specific about the kind of creatures of which they wrote, something that is quite evident in the snake Tablets 25 and 26 (Rinderer 2021, 9). This attention to detail is also evident in the insect Tablets, where several obscure insects are only now being identified (Simons, forthcoming). The scope of this work cannot, unfortunately, include an exhaustive review of the taxonomic diversity of animals appearing in *Šumma ālu*. However, our understanding of ancient Mesopotamian life would undoubtedly benefit from such an analysis of *Šumma ālu*. In lieu of this, I will briefly discuss one important aspect of the complex lexicographic background of caprine, bovine, and equine.

Though not every animal Tablet in *Šumma ālu* contains as much taxonomic complexity as the insect Tablets, the taxonomy of the other animals was not categorically simplistic. The

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and have been re-edited by Dr. Judith Pfitzner, Dr. Nicla De Zorzi, and Dr. Francis Simons and are pending publication on the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* website (De Zorzi, forthcoming).

[7] For a more detailed breakdown of these Tablets, see *If a City* 1, 17-20; Koch 2015, 242-256; Rinderer 2021, 8.

fauna Tablets of the lexical series Ura = *ḫubullu*, Tablets 13, 14, and 15, point to a complex understanding of animal taxonomy, especially pertaining to livestock animals (Landsberger 1960-62). Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 is a list of caprine, bovine, and equine animals, which follows the same order of animals as *Šumma ālu* 41-43 according to the Nineveh recension: sheep–goats–oxen–donkeys–horses.

Ura = *ḫubullu* is a Sumero-Akkadian lexicon consisting of 24 Tablets of bilingual text. It was disseminated across Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period and was one of the many lexical texts copied in scribal schools from this period into the first millennium BCE (Van De Mieroop 2016a, 48-49). These 24 Tablets contain roughly 9700 entries and span a broad array of topics ranging from professions, city names, names of inanimate objects, animal, fish, bird, and plant names (2016, 64). Each Sumerogram has one or more translations into Akkadian, and each translation was entered on a new line; this formatting greatly contributed to the length of the series. However, animals generally have a one-to-one translation (Landsberger 1960-62, vol. 1). The list of animals in Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 does not just contain a list of various species; it combines animals that had specific functions with animals of varying physical appearances. That is to say, both biological makeup and functional purposes of animals were combined in Ura = *ḫubullu*. It contains no fewer than 279 entries for caprine, 74 bovine entries, and 28 equine entries (1960-62, vol. 1). The enormity of the caprine section can be seen as reflective of wider utility, larger population sizes, and a greater diversity that caprine had from their larger, slower-reproducing counterparts. While the authors of *Šumma ālu* were aware of Ura = *ḫubullu*, the animals listed within *Šumma ālu* 41-43 are limited to domestic animals and only vary by gender and age within their perspective species—that is, if they vary at all. Unlike *Šumma ālu* 45, where domestic cat omens are mixed with wild cat omens, *Šumma ālu* 41-43 do not contain omens from their feral counterparts.[8] However, just as Ura = *ḫubullu* follows the same order of animals in Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 as *Šumma ālu* 41-43, it also follows the same gendered order.

Analysis of Tablets 41 and 43 reveals that gender played a role in the sequencing of these omens. The beginning omens of these two Tablets discuss gender-generic omens and then proceed to male, and then female, animals. Age is also specified at times within the male and

[8] The feral counterparts of goats, oxen, and dogs do appear in *Šumma ālu* 44, which focuses primarily on wild animal omens. This Tablet is extremely fragmentary, so little parallelism can be drawn between Tablets 41-43 and Tablet 44. Perhaps there are thematic similarities, but the order of wild animals in Tablet 44 is still unsure.

female omens. Ura = *ḫubullu* follows this same gender-generic–male–female order in Tablet 13 (1960-62, vol. 1). These similarities between *Šumma ālu* 41-43 and Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 may seem insignificant, but these connections and shared parallelism hold epistemological value.

In his book *Before Philosophy*, Marc Van De Mieroop discusses the significance of lexical traditions in Mesopotamia. He describes the purpose behind lexical texts, saying, "...Babylonian lexicography was a scientific activity intended to foster understanding of the world" (2017, 41). He expounds on this, pointing out that bilingualism was the foundation of early scholarly practices. By existing in two languages with written exercises focused on creating order between the two, scholars engaged in an epistemological act (2017, 9-14; Crisostomo 2019; Veldhuis 2014). By growing and expanding lexical texts, scholars were enlarging their reality (2017, 64). Omen texts like *Šumma ālu* engaged in the same epistemological exercise, expanding their reality through association and analogy (2017, 88; Rochberg 2010). The connections and parallelism between Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 and *Šumma ālu* 41-43 further prove this shared epistemological endeavor. This not only helps us understand the purpose behind these texts, but also provides information as to how we should analyze them.

Several methods of analyzing omen texts have arisen in the past decades that have departed from earlier approaches. Earlier theories began from a basis of implied empiricism, which assumed omens were conceived originally from empirical observations (Finkelstein 1963; Gadd 1966; Bottéro 1973; Hunger 1992; Brown 2000). Slowly, theories with an empirical foundation have been refuted and passed over for a hermeneutical approach since it became clear omens held a logic of their own. This logic contained formulas, like left (= negative) and right (= positive), above (= negative) and below (= positive), and other basic schemata dealing with color, time of day or year, and other temporal criteria. The appearance of something to the left or action of something involving the left side resulted in a negative outcome. *Šumma ālu* 44.52' and 53' exemplify the left-right formula:

§44.52' If a fox on the road crosses from [a man's right] to a man's left, that man will attain his wish.

§41.53' If a fox on the road crosses from a man's left to a man's right, that man will not attain his wish. (*If a City* 3, 36)

Omens also used a large amount of symbolism which depended on the subject, for example lions and bulls were often associated with royalty (Koch 2015, 235), or the logograms used. The sign

NU is an excellent example of the latter, since it is the verb negation *la* "not," as in "he will not..." but also has the meaning *nakru* "enemy." The appearance of this logogram in the protasis often results in a negative apodosis and is an example of a protasis-apodosis bilingual connection, where the Sumerian sign NU is associated with the Akkadian word for enemy, *nakru*. Lexical texts, like those mentioned earlier, as well as omens in divinatory literature attempted to interpret the world through linguistic connections, which were facilitated using bilingualism similar the example NU above. They also used analogical links between the subject of the protasis and the apodosis. In light of this, it becomes clear that these texts were built on hermeneutical principles, defining reality through association and analogy (Koch 2015; Rochberg 2010). Omen texts more specifically engaged on a deeper level than lexical texts since they were based of a more complex foundation, the "If x – then y" form. Abraham Wintzer describes three frameworks within omen texts: technical, hermeneutical, and organizational (2017, 451). The organizational principles, like that used to order the animals in Ura = *ḫubullu* and *Šumma ālu* 41-43, have been briefly discussed but will be readdressed in the 'Themes and patterns' section at the beginning of each Tablet edition. The hermeneutical framework of the omens, the meaning of the omens and their protasis-apodosis connection, will be addressed in the philological commentary to each individual omen where one is recognizable. Finally, the technical framework, the arrangement of sections within the Tablets, will be discussed in chapter five, which centers on the recurring themes which involve technical formulae.

CHAPTER 2

ŠUMMA ĀLU 41

This Tablet of *Šumma ālu* contains omens regarding the unusual behavior of sheep, *ovis aries* (Armstrong 2016) and goats, *capra hircus* (Zeder and Hesse 2000). These can be referred to by their shared subfamily "caprine" (Myers et al. 2022). This Tablet is closely related to the other *Šumma ālu* farm animal Tablets, 42 "Bovine," and 43 "Equine." This new edition of Tablet 41 contains 56 preserved omens, 47 of which are fully restored. It has been puzzled together from six different manuscripts, the majority of which only contain omens from this Tablet. The subject of these omens is UDU "sheep," UDU.NÍTA "ram," U_8 "ewe," ÙZ "goat," and U_8.UDU.ḪI.A "the flock." Although there have been no new manuscripts discovered since Freedman's 2017 edition of this Tablet in *If a City* 3 (3-9),[9] we have fully restored 16 omens which were previously only partially restored. Four new omens have also been added to this Tablet. These new discoveries and further analyses of the thematic elements in this Tablet are unique to this new edition and are discussed in detail in the commentaries within the scores. A preliminary introduction to the themes, patterns, and sources of this Tablet are offered below.

THEMES AND PATTERNS

Despite Tablet 41 not being fully restored, there are clear divisions that appear within it that are at times grouped by subjects and themes in the protases or apodoses. The main thematic groupings are discussed extensively in chapter five. There is one large division that occurs in the center of this Tablet, and that is the division between sheep and goat omens.

Most divisions observed in Tablet 41 are clearly marked in standard texts by rulings—horizontal lines that extend all the way across the tablet serving as a division marker. Standard manuscripts place their rulings between the same omens in the standard sequence unless they are from different recensions. This is evident where Rm 0083 overlaps with K 04079a. These are both manuscripts representing the Nineveh recension and display rulings in the same places in the omen sequence (see score 41.32' and 41.36'). These rulings are marked in the translation below by a horizontal line extending across the page just as it appears in the manuscripts; in the

[9] All in-text references to Freedman's editions will from here on be referred to by their name and volume number (i.e. *If a City* 1). These volumes were published 1998 (*If a City* 1), 2006 (*If a City* 2), and 2017 (*If a City* 3) and are found in the bibliography.

score they are annotated by "(ruling)" after the transliteration. While thematic divisions in Tablet 41, based on the contents of the omens, often align with the placement of rulings, this is not always the case. As is shown in Table 1 below, sometimes the reasoning behind separating sections by rulings is not always clear.

Horn omens 41.1-8	ruling	These omens are clearly linked by the subject of the protasis clauses, horns.
Unclear 41.9-11'	gap, no preserved ruling	The first two omens before the break deal with the eyes of a sheep and could be a continuation of omens concerning a sheep's physical appearance. It is common within divination to have sequences beginning with the top and progressing downwards (Winitzer 2011). This omen would seem to fit that model, since it follows omens regarding the top of the head (i.e. horns). 41.12'-16' could also be seen as a continuation of this top-down order but restoring 41.11' disconnects those five omens from 41.9-10.
Consumption omens 41.12'-16'	ruling	These omens have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 94, but several apodoses are different. These involve the ingestion of various clothing items by animals (see section on recurring themes in chapter five, pages 181-184).
Lactation omen 41.17'	ruling	This omen is singled out for reasons that are unclear. It's topic, lactation, is similar to 41.39' and 43'. The primary difference between this omen and these other two is the use of gender. While the sheep's gender is specified in 41.39' and 43', it is not specified in 41.17'. It is possible this omen is not intentionally marked off, but rather wedged between the two clearly thematized sections of consumption omens and sexual omens.
Cross-species sexual omens 41.18'-21'	ruling	These omens have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80 and involve sexual interactions between sheep and other species (dogs and pigs).
Inter-species sexual omens 41.22'-23'	ruling	These two sexual omens do not appear in the parallel sequence in *Šumma ālu* 80 and are divided from the other sexual omens here because they deal with inter-species sexual encounters. The subjects of these two omens also differ from 41.18'-21'. Omen 41.22' deals with a white sheep, while 41.23' concerns rams (UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ).
Ram omens 41.24'-25'	ruling	Both omens are linked by their common subject, rams. Omen 41.23' is the first ram omen and may have functioned as a segue from sheep to ram omens, which this section then fully introduces.
Penned ram omens 41.26'-28'	ruling	These omens all take place within the rams' pen, and all the apodoses are the same ("that pen will be scatter[ed]"). The subject of the apodoses, like the protases, is the rams' pen.
Miscellaneous 41.29'-32'	ruling	The first two omens are related to each other by a KI.MIN in 41.30, and all three omens, 41.29'-30', are ram omens. However, the last concerns a sacrificial sheep which has already been slaughtered, a *Šumma immeru* omen. There is no clear thematic relation between all these omens.
Ewe omens 41.33'-36'	ruling	41.33' marks the beginning of the ewe (U_8) omens, and the subject of each protasis is U_8.
Interconnected ewe omens 41.37'-43'	ruling	While these omens are placed within the same division by the ruling, there is no single theme that connects these omens to one another. Rather, this section is

		divided into two subsections, which are connected through a logogram and a double entendre. The first subdivision of omens, 41.37'-39', link to one another through what seem to be escalating apodoses. The apodoses of these omens get sequentially worse; first the man's children are taken, then his entire household, and then "slaughter [...]" in 41.39'. The final omen of this subdivision concerns a theave lactating, which is followed by 41.40' and its protasis, concerning a ewe lying down in a man's house. These two protases both have sexual connotations: the logogram for theave is GÌŠ.NU.ZU "knows not a penis," and the verb *irbis* in 41.40' is likely a double entendre meaning "she/he lay down" (i.e. "she/he has sex"). This may seem like a weak connection, but it is strengthened by 41.41', which continues the association with sex when it references "the man's bed." The second subdivision, 41.40'-43', contains references to Ištar in the apodosis. Unfortunately, the apodosis of 41.43' is not fully preserved, but it contains a KI.MIN, which likely references back to Ištar in 41.42'. This omen can also be linked to 41.40'-42' by the pattern in 41.37'-39'. The subdivision 41.37-39' is concluded by 41.39', which has a protasis regarding a theave lactating. Similarly, 41.43's protasis concerns a hogget lactating.
Unclear goat omens 41.44'-49'	gap, no preserved ruling	These omens are poorly preserved.
Goat consumption omens 41.50'-54'	gap, no preserved ruling but likely existed	These goat omens are restored from 41.12'-16' and have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 94.
Flock omens 41.55'-56'	ruling, colophon	These omens are very poorly preserved, but they are clearly the concluding omens of Tablet 41 because they are followed by a colophon.

TABLE 1

There are 11 clear and intentional divisions that appear in this reconstructed Tablet, but there must have been a minimum of 13 divisions. The two questionable divisions appear before the first gap (41.9-11') and after the last gap (41.55'-56). Out of the 11 fully reconstructed divisions, six contain obvious themes that appear in the protasis: horns 41.1-8 (If a sheep's horns ...), consumption omens 41.12'-16' (If a sheep eats ...), sexual omens 41.18'-21' (If a sheep approaches (sexually) ...), the rams' pen 41.26'-28' (If rams in their pen ... – that pen will be scattered), ewe omens 41.33'-36' (If a ewe ...), and goat consumption omens 41.50'-54' (If a goat eats ...). The two consumption omen sections (41.12'-16'; 41.50'-54') and the sexual omens (41.18'-21') are found as parallels in Tablets 94 and 80, both in an identical and a differing sequence (see "Recurring themes" in chapter five, pages 174-184), but this does not occur in any other sections within this Tablet. It is important to note these divisions and to understand how

they were divided, but it is clear in Table 1 that not all divisions contain omens regarding the same subject or theme. Perhaps these omens were divided from the rest for this exact reason, but perhaps within the linear flow of standardizing this Tablet, the scribes grouped certain omens together, while leaving others independent of context within the ruled system. Regardless, some divisions exist outside the system of rulings.

As discussed in chapter one, Tablets 41 and 43 are separated into two groups by species. Tablet 41 contains only sheep omens on its obverse, placing the goat and flock omens on its reverse. This is clear throughout the standard version of the texts, which preserve the bottom edge of the manuscript (see Sources below). Sheep are subdivided into gender-generic—male—female omens. This pattern is repeated in Tablet 43 and is discussed in more detail in chapter six (see page 190).

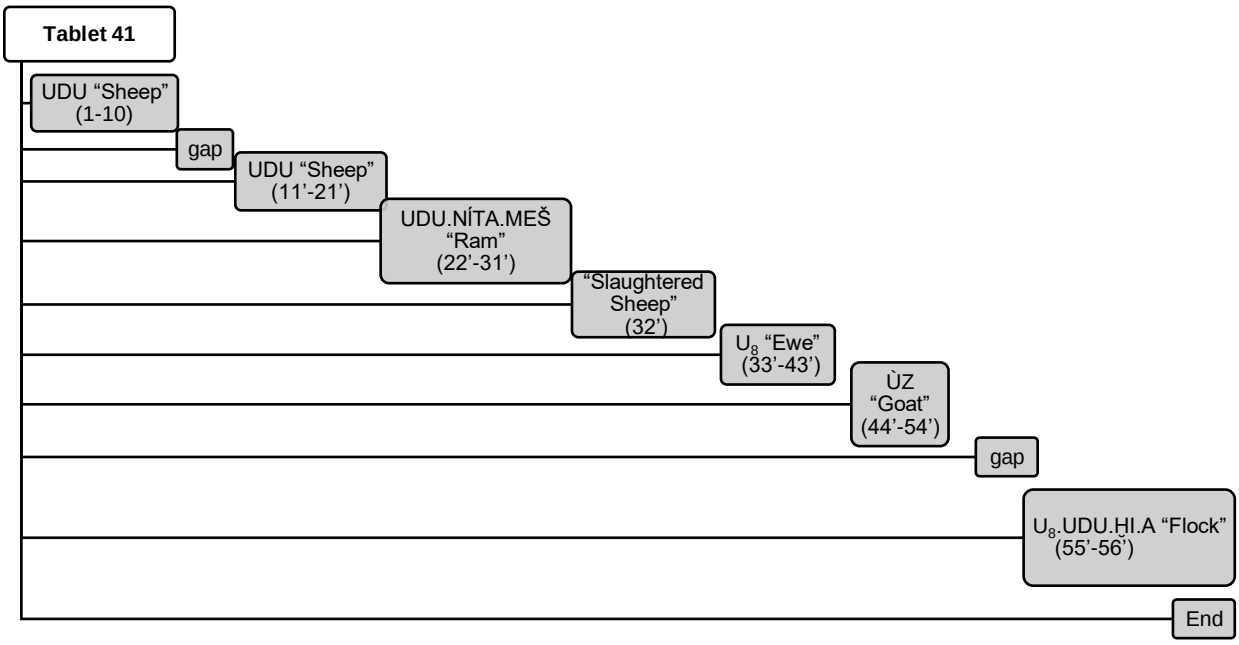

TABLE 2

SOURCES

For Tablet 41, the philological reconstruction provides 56 partially preserved omens. Based on the dimensions of the standard texts we have, there were anywhere between 85-100 omens total in this Tablet. The estimated 50% of the Tablet that survives is reconstructed from six manuscripts, the majority of which are Neo-Assyrian texts from Nineveh (K 04079a; K

11063; Rm 0083; Sm 0919), except for two from Babylon in its late period (BM 038763; BM 035215). The largest of these manuscripts preserves 26 omens (Rm 0083), while the smallest contains ten (Sm 0919). Four of the six are standard texts (BM 038763; K 04079a; K 11063; Rm 0083), and the rest are excerpt texts (BM 035215; Sm 0919).

The beginning of the Tablet is preserved on K 11063 (omens 1-10) and the end is preserved on BM 038763 (omens 55'-56'; colophon), both of which are standard texts. The catchline of this Tablet is known from three different catalogues which originated in Assur (VAT 9438+), Babylon (BM 069437), and Nineveh (K 4094b), and is also the first omen from this Tablet in the excerpt text Sm 0919. While the reverse of K 11063 is not preserved, we would expect the end of the Tablet and the colophon on its reverse. Most of the middle portion of Tablet 41 is preserved on the standard text Rm 0083, which contains 26 omens (12'-37') and is the largest preserved manuscript from this Tablet— yet it too is missing the reverse. In *If a City* 3, manuscripts K 04079a and Rm 0083 were considered excerpt texts and not standard texts as we define them.

Freedman considered these two manuscripts excerpt texts for reasons that are unclear. Perhaps the gaps in the omen sequence that appear before the first line of Rm 0083 and after the last line of K 04079a convinced her it would be assuming too much to call these standard texts. However, there are three objections to assuming these are merely excerpt texts. First, these two manuscripts only contain sheep omens that follow a consistent order. If these were excerpt texts, we would expect omens from other Tablets to be cited and for the format to differ from that found in standard texts. Occasionally there are excerpt texts featuring omens from only one Tablet, but these are usually very small or are taken from larger Tablets. Scribes also formatted excerpt texts differently, moving or removing rulings and even writing landscape on the manuscript rather than using the normal portrait orientation. K 04079a fits neither of these criteria. The second objection to the idea that these are excerpt texts is the perfect overlap of K 04079a and Rm 0083 in omens 30'-37'. These overlap perfectly and share rulings in the same places. From a philological point of view, considering K 04079a and Rm 0083 as standard texts provides a more grounded understanding of Tablet 41 as a whole; whereas if they are assumed to be excerpt texts, this leaves many unsolved problems. Rm 0083 contains the largest number of omens from Tablet 41 on only one side, with the reverse missing. Its dimensions point to it being a typically sized *Šumma ālu* text, having a standard 50-65 lines per side. K 04079a preserves the

bottom edge of the manuscript and several omens on its reverse, which enables us to reconstruct how this Tablet was divided on its front and back—sheep on the obverse and goats and miscellaneous omens on the reverse. *Šumma ālu* manuscripts typically contain a maximum of 65 lines per side,[10] and assuming that these two manuscripts are standard texts, there are ca. 50 omens preserved on the obverse. For these reasons, we have chosen to view these two manuscripts as standard texts. Despite the relevant extent to which K 04079a and Rm 0083 restore Tablet 41, there are still three gaps within the sequence of omens, leaving 35-45 unknown omens.

There are three gaps within the reconstruction of the overall omen sequence of Tablet 41. The first gap appears between omens 10 and 12', where the two standard texts K 11063 and BM 038763 end and Rm 0083 begins. Based on the length of Rm 0083 and its overlap with K 04079a, there are approximately seven omens missing in this gap. This assumption is based off the general rule that *Šumma ālu* manuscripts do not extend more than 65 lines per side. Rm 0083 and K 4079a show that at least 43 omens were preserved on the obverse side of a standard text from this Tablet. Omen 11' is only preserved on the excerpt text Sm 0919 and is inserted into the gap in this new reconstruction because it fits the context of the surrounding omens. After the first gap, there is a continuous sequence of 37 omens before the second gap between 41.49' and 41.50'. This second gap appears within the goat omens (41.44'-54') and is the result of the broken state of the reverse side of the available manuscripts for Tablet 41, primarily K 04079a. If BM 035215 turns out not to be an excerpt text as we and *If a City* 3 assume, 41.50'-54' would be the same as 41.44'-48', which would abolish this gap altogether. However, it is unlikely that this is the case, since the make-up of BM 035215 does not resemble that of a standard text due to its strange format; this is discussed below. The final gap appears between 41.55' and 41.56' and is undisputable. BM 038763 preserves the last two omens of this Tablet and a colophon which no other manuscripts preserve. The catchline contains a reference to the wood-beetles Tablet, which

[10] Evidence for this is found in the few fully preserved manuscripts from *Šumma ālu,* like K 00190+ from Tablet One (obverse: 60 lines, 58 omens; reverse: 65 lines, 68[?] omens; Tablet Six), K 02312+ (obverse: 49 lines, 50 omens; reverse uninscribed; Tablet 17), and K 03698+ (obverse: 42 lines, 42 omens; reverse: 20 lines, 11 omens; Tablet 20). There are more examples of this that can be drawn from fragmentary manuscripts, but to cite them effectively here would require an extensive explanation of the background of these tablets. For this reason, the above list of fully preserved manuscripts has been chosen.

suggests this manuscript follows the Assur tradition.[11] The last two manuscripts not yet discussed are excerpt texts.

Sm 0919 is a four-column manuscript, containing omens from *Šumma ālu* 38, 39, 40, and 41. This indisputably designates it as an excerpt text. *Šumma ālu* 38 and 39 are currently being reconstructed by colleagues in the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*. There are a few signs preserved on column one of Sm 0919 which belong to Tablet 38, and one line preserved above the first sheep omen, which belongs to Tablet 39. This manuscript contains four sheep omens on column two, and four on the reverse column three. Due to the citing of 41.53' in this excerpt text, an omen that appears towards the end of Tablet 41, it is likely that between one and five sheep omens are missing from this excerpt text. The second excerpt text is a Late Babylonian manuscript.

Time has preserved only the left edge of one side of BM 035215, which contains sheep and goat omens. Unlike K 04079a, omens 41.43' and 44' appear on the same side of this manuscript. The rulings are also different from those on the standard texts. BM 035215 places rulings after every line, while K 04079a contains intermittent rulings after thematic shifts. It is possible these rulings were simply scribal aids common in Late Babylonian manuscripts; despite this, we posit that BM 035215 is an excerpt text on the variability of Late Babylonian texts. *If a City* 3 assumed that 41.44'-48' (K 04079a, r. 1-4) were the same as 41.50'-54' (BM 035215, 9'-13'), ignoring the different formats and provenance of these two texts. It was also assumed on this same basis that K 04079a and BM 035215 share the same omen sequence from 41.36' to 41.43'. The greatest evidence that these manuscripts differ after 41.43' is gleaned from a thematic observation. The omens 41.50'-54' are goat consumption omens. These resemble the sheep (41.12-16), donkey (43.20-24), and horse (43.65'-69') consumption omens, which are all ruled off in a thematic grouping. In each of these instances, this thematic grouping appears only after the primary subject is introduced (i.e. sheep, donkeys, or horses). If 41.44' is the first goat omen of this Tablet and if it was equivalent to 41.50', this would introduce the subject, goats, with consumption omens. This is possible, but unlikely based on the aforementioned comparison

[11] Due to the scope of this work, it was not possible to include a summary of the various recensions. This vast undertaking will not be fully finished until the catalogue texts are more fully restored. The three main catalogue texts VAT 09438+ (Assur), K 04094b (Nineveh), and BM 068437 (Babylon) exist. Editions of these are found in *If a City* 1, 322-25 and AfO 48/49, 235 (Heeßel 2002).

with Tablets 41 and 43. BM 038763 preserves the last two omens of Tablet 41, omens of the flock, but only fragmentarily.

BM 038763 is the only manuscript that can be properly dated since it is the only manuscript with a colophon. Within its colophon is the date formula, "28th da[y], 20th year of ^{d}Nabu-kud[urri-uṣur]." This is the middle period of Nebuchadnezzar's 43-year reign in Babylon, roughly around 584 BCE. This dates the manuscript to shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE, during the integration of the Jewish diaspora in Babylon (Van De Mieroop 2016b). All the other manuscripts for Tablet 41 are older than BM 038763, since they come from the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh, which fell to the Medes and the Babylonians in 617 BCE. The only potential exception to this is BM 035215, the only other manuscript of Tablet 41 from Babylon, but this remains unclear until the colophon of BM 035215 is restored.

TABLE OF SOURCES 41

Siglum	Provenance	Script	State of publication	Type of manuscript (Tablets)	Omens attested
BM 035215	Babylon	Late Babylonian	*If a City* 3, Tablet 41, ms. Ex(4)	Excerpt text (41)	36’-43’; 50’-54’
BM 038763	Babylon	Late Babylonian	*If a City* 3,Tablet 41, ms. B	Standard text	5-10; 55’-56’; Colophon
BM 068437	Babylon	Late Babylonian	Heeßel 2002, 235	Catalogue, Assur (37-44)	1
K 04079a	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	CT 28 38; *If a City* 3, Tablet 41, ms. Ex(1)	Standard text	30’-49’
K 04094b	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 1, Nineveh Catalogue, *K 9094b, 324-325	Catalogue, Nineveh (30-44; 48-56)	1
K 11063	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 3, Tablet 41, ms. A	Standard text	1-10
Rm 0083	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	Bezold 1896; CT 41 11; *If a City* 3, Tablet 41, ms. Ex(2)	Standard text	12’-37’
Sm 0919	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 3, Tablet 41, ms. Ex(3)	Excerpt text (38$^{?}$, 39$^{?}$, 41)	1,7, 8, 11’, 18’, 38’, 39, 50’, 53’
VAT 09438+	Assur	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 1, Assur Catalogue, 322-323	Catalogue, Assur (1-26; 33-62)	1

TRANSLATION

§ 41.1	If a sheep's horns grow out of its forehead – [that animal pen will be scattered].
§ 41.2	[If a sheep]'s horns are like the horn of a gazel[le ...]
§ 41.3	[If a sheep]'s horns are jo[ined together] toward its forehead – [that animal pen will increase].
§ 41.4	[If a sheep]'s horns are jo[ined together] toward its back – [that animal pen will be scattered].
§ 41.5	[If a sheep]'s horns are like the horn of a mounta[in goat – its master will acquire something that is not his].
§ 41.6	[If a sheep]'s ho[rn]s are like the horn of an ox – [success; strengthening for the man].
§ 41.7	If a sheep's horns are broken towards its front – that animal pen [will be scattered].
§ 41.8	If a sheep's horns are broken towards its back – [that] animal pen [will be scattered].
§ 41.9	[If a sheep] looks at a man's [...] and its eyes ar[e se]t to the right side [...]
§ 41.10	[If a sheep] looks at [a man's ...] and its eyes ar[e se]t to the left side [...]
	(GAP)
§ 41.11'	If a sheep dances in front of a man – he wi[ll be happy].
	(GAP)
§ 41.12'	[If a sheep] eats a man's [garment – that man will become sick but will live].
§ 41.13'	[If a sheep] eats a man's [cloak] – los[ses will go out of the man's house].
§ 41.14'	[If a sheep] eats a man's [belt] – scatt[ering of the man's house].
§ 41.15'	[If a sheep] eats a man's [sandal – he will experience severe] sickness.
§ 41.16'	[If a sheep] eats his (i.e. the man's) h[air] – death of [the livestock].
§ 41.17'	[If a sheep]'s udd[er] lactates – an infan[t ...]
§ 41.18'	If a sheep approaches a dog (sexually) – [an enemy will take] half of the land.
§ 41.19'	If a sheep rubs itself (sexually) against a dog – spoils [for the man].
§ 41.20'	If a sheep approaches a pig (sexually) – scattering of [the man's house].

§ 41.21’	If a sheep rubs itself (sexually) against a pig – [the abandonment of the house will] occur.
§ 41.22’	[If] a white sheep (sexually) mounts a doeling – discord in the land.
§ 41.23’	If rams are ceaselessly mating – he will be ha[ppy].
§ 41.24’	[I]f rams are persistently skipping –the city [will] be happy.
§ 41.25’	[I]f rams are chewing (their) wool – famine for the livestock.
§ 41.26’	[I]f rams are moaning in their pen – that pen will be scatter[ed].
§ 41.27’	[I]f rams are butting each other in the[ir] pen – that pen will be scattere[d].
§ 41.28’	[I]f rams are constantly nervous in their pen – that pen will be scatte[red].
§ 41.29’	[I]f rams are constantly agitated in their sheepfold – he [will n]ot [suff]er a personal loss.
§ 41.30’	[If r]ams ditto (= are constantly agitated) and are running around ditto (= in their sheepfold) – that animal pen will be scattere[d].
§ 41.31’	If rams eat each other’s dung – the livestock will experience famine.
§ 41.32’	If one slaughters a sheep and its severed head stares at his (= the diviner’s) bowl – a request of the god ...
§ 41.33’	If a ewe eats her lamb – an enemy [will] e[at] the goods of the land.
§ 41.34’	If a ewe is weeping – the mistress of the house [will weep?].
§ 41.35’	If a ewe is braying (*like a horse*) – that animal pen will be taken over by the enemy; death of the [livestock].
§ 41.36’	If a ewe is constantly agitated – that animal pen will be scat[tered].
§ 41.37’	If a ewe wails like a man in the pen – the children of the house [will be taken] as plu[nder and their mother] w[ill wail for them].
§ 41.38’	If a ewe is wailing in a man’s house – another will ta[ke] the man’s house, the mistress of the house wi[ll wail].
§ 41.39’	If a theave’s udder lactates – a slaughter [...]

§ 41.40’	If a ewe lies down in a man’s house – Ištar wi[ll ...] the sea[?] in the man’s house.
§ 41.41’	If a ewe disc[harges] feces or urine on a man’s bed – Ištar, Lilû ... [...] in the man’s house[?].
§ 41.42’	If ewes butt each other and continually *separa*[*te*] – Ištar will change (her attitude) and *di*[*vert*] water (by making a breach in the dam).
§ 41.43’	If a hogget’s udder lactates – for a month ... [...] ditto: a command [...]
§ 41.44’	If a go[at ...]
§ 41.45’	If a go[at ...]
§ 41.46’	If a go[at ...]
§ 41.47’	If a go[at ...]
§ 41.48’	If a go[at ...]
§ 41.49’	If [...]
	(GAP)
§ 41.50’	If a goat eats a man’s garment – [need : there will be a break-in at the house by a man].
§ 41.51’	If a goat eats a man’s cloak – [the face of evil : misery of heart will be his].
§ 41.52’	If a goat eats a man’s belt – [the man’s wife will experience hardship].
§ 41.53’	[If a goat] eats a man’s sandal – [scattering of the man’s house].
§ 41.54’	[If a goat] ea[ts a man]’s ha[ir – he will experience severe sickness].
	(GAP)
§ 41.55’	[If ...] ... there is a ewe[?] in front of the flock [...]
§ 41.56’	[If ...] is at the top of the flock ... [...]

SCORE AND COMMENTARY: ŠUMMA ĀLU 41

§ 41.1

BM 068437	*i 4'*	[... SAG.K]I-*šú* SI.MEŠ-*šú* È.MEŠ
K 04094	*ii 13'*	DIŠ UDU *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-[*šú* ...]
K 11063	*1*	[DIŠ UD]U *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-[*šú* ...]
Sm 0919	*ii 3'*	[DIŠ] UDU *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-*šú* ˹È˺.[MEŠ-*ni* ...]
VAT 09438+	*iii 8'*	DIŠ UDU *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-*šú* È.MEŠ-*ni*

DIŠ UDU *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-*šú* È.MEŠ-*ni* [TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*]

***šumma immeru ina pūtišu qarnāšu ūṣâni* [*tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*]**

If a sheep's horns grow out of its forehead – [that animal pen will be scattered].

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* Tablet 18 omen 7, which does not have the ventive -*ni* attached to È.MEŠ (De Zorzi 2014, 766). È.MEŠ-*ni* is nominalized as third-person plural preterite feminine because *qarnu* is a feminine noun. It is possible to nominalize È.MEŠ as a stative for those readings which do not include the ventive -*ni*, but I have chosen the preterite form due to the presence of the ventive in the best-preserved manuscript documenting this omen (VAT 09438+). The verb *sapāḫu* appears quite often in omen protases. The word *sapāḫu* can be used as an agricultural term for the scattering of seed, but it also has a more generic meaning 'to disperse' (CAD S, 151a, s.v. *sapāḫu*). The verb "scatter" in English carries both generic and agricultural aspects like *sapāḫu*, and since livestock handling is closely related to agriculture, we have chosen to translate *issappaḫ* as "to scatter" throughout this edition, rather than "to disperse."

Omens 41.1-8 deal with the unusual formation of sheep horns. Sheep are usually polled, meaning they lack the gene to develop horns. However, when they are not polled, their horns are homogenous and symmetrical. There are rare exceptions to this which are usually common to specific breeds (Jacob Sheep, for example, who have four horns which do not grow out homogenously). The unusual "horns" of sheep, goats, and cattle are usually not horns at all, but rather scurs. Scurs are hereditary horn-like growths which are only partially attached to the skull

or not attached at all. The latter is more common, but like horns, scurs are also made up of bone coated in keratin with blood vessels supplying the necessary blood for growth. As far as we know, there is no differentiation between scurs and horns in Akkadian; this is unsurprising since they are materially similar to horns. Scurs are asymmetrical, do not grow in pairs, and are not limited to any specific area on the animal's skull. In this omen, the roots of the horns are unusual, since most breeds' horns grow behind the forehead. The excerpt text Sm 0919 contains sheep and goat omens from Tablet 41, and presumably several lines from Tablet 39, spider omens, or Tablet 40, wood-beetle omens.

§ 41.2

K 11063 *2* [DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú* GIM SI MAŠ.D[À ...]

[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú* GIM SI MAŠ.D[À ...]

[*šumma immeru*] *qarnāšu kīma qaran ṣabī*[*ti ...*]

[If a sheep]'s horns are like the horn of a gazel[le ...]

Comments

Gazelle horns have very pronounced rivets, are pincer-shaped, and point upwards, but sheep horns usually have a corkscrew shape growing down and curling back up with less pronounced rivets than gazelle horns. Only one breed of sheep, the Jacob breed, has a hereditary horn growth similar to gazelle horns. However, this is not a breed-related issue since it was unusual enough to be recorded by the diviners.

§ 41.3

K 11063 *3* [DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* SAG.KI-*šú i-*ˈ*te*ˌ-[*en-mi-da* TÙR BI *ú-ta-tar*]

[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* SAG.KI-*šú i-te*-[*en-mi-da* TÙR BI *ú-ta-tar*]

[*šumma immeru*] *qarnāšu ana pūtišu itt*[*enmidā tarbaṣu šū ūtattar*]

[If a sheep]'s horns are jo[ined together] toward its forehead – [that animal pen will increase].

Comments

This omen is restored based on a similar *Šumma izbu* omen (De Zorzi 2014, 766 Tablet 18 omen 9). Similar to this omen are several *Enūma Anu Enlil* omens regarding the horns of the moon (Rochberg 1988, 177). Occasionally, the horns of the moon "meet," but the verb used in these omens is *edēru*, "to embrace" (Virolleaud 1909, 3:35).

This unusual horn-growth is likely due to scurs (see the commentary to omen 41.1 for more on scurs). The observed "joining" of the horns likely refers to the roots of the horns rather than the tips of the horns, but it is not altogether clear what is being described.

§ 41.4

BM 038763 *1'* [DIŠ UDU SI].M[EŠ]-*š*[*u* ...

K 11063 *4* [DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* EGIR-*šú i-t*[*e-en-mi-da* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*]

[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* EGIR-*šú i-t*[*e-en-mi-da* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*]

[*šumma immeru*] *qarnāšu ana arkišu itt*[*enmidā tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*]

[If a sheep]'s horns are jo[ined together] toward its back – [that animal pen will be scattered].

Comments

This omen is restored based on a similar *Šumma izbu* omen (De Zorzi 2014, 766, Tablet 18 omen 10).

§ 41.5

BM 038763 *2'* [DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šu* ˹GIM˺ SI DÀ[RA EN-*šu* ...]

K 11063 *5* [DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú* GIM DÀRA E[N-*šú* ...]

[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šu* GIM SI DÀ[RA EN-*šú mim-ma* NU UR$_5$-*ta*$_5$ ŠU-*su* KUR-*ád*]

[*šumma immeru*] *qarnāšu kīma qaran tur*[*āḫi bēlšu mimma lā šatta qāssu ikaššad*]

[If a sheep]'s horns are like the horn of a mounta[in goat – its master will acquire something that is not his].

Comments

This omen is restored on the basis of *Šumma izbu* 18.11 (De Zorzi 2014, 766). Mountain goat horns are smooth, grow upward and curve at the edge towards the back of the neck, and may differ slightly according to breed. As mentioned in omen 41.3, sheep horns grow downward and curve back up and around in a corkscrew shape.

§ 41.6

BM 038763	*3'*	[DIŠ UDU SI].MEŠ-*šu* ˹GIM˺ SI GU$_4$ [...]
K 11063	*6*	[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú* GIM GU$_4$ [...]

[DIŠ UDU SI].MEŠ-*šu* GIM SI GU$_4$ [*mi-li-e* GABA KAL-*an* LÚ]

[*šumma immeru qar*]*nāšu kīma qaran alpi* [*mīli irti danān amēli*]

[If a sheep]'s ho[rn]s are like the horn of an ox – [success; strengthening for the man].

Comments

The phrase *mīli irti* is literally translated, "fullness of chest," which carries the connotation of pride and haughtiness; nevertheless, it is mostly used in reference to success. The apodosis is restored from *Šumma izbu* 18.12, since they both contain the same protasis (De Zorzi 2014, 767).

Bovine horns vary drastically according to breed. If the author of this omen was referring to an aurochs, their horns grow out perpendicular to the skull, stretching forward parallel to the nose, and up. This would be a very unusual horn growth to be observed on sheep.

§ 41.7

BM 038763	*4'*	[DIŠ UDU SI].MEŠ-*šu ana* IGI-˹*šu*˺ *ḫaṣ-ṣa* [...]
K 11063	*7*	[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* IGI-*šú ḫ*[*aṣ-ṣa* ...]
Sm 0919	*ii 4'*	DIŠ UDU SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* IGI-*šú ḫaṣ-ṣa* ˹TÙR˺ ˹BI˺ [BIR-*aḫ*]

DIŠ UDU SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* IGI-*šú ḫaṣ-ṣa* TÙR BI [BIR-*aḫ*]

***šumma immeru qarnāšu ana pānišu ḫaṣṣā tarbaṣu šū* [*issappaḫ*]**

If a sheep's horns are broken towards its front – that animal pen [will be scattered].

Comments

The apodosis could be restored as [BIR-*aḫ*] or [DAGAL-*iš*] "that pen will expand," since both exist in similar omens in *Šumma izbu*. However, BIR-*aḫ* is most likely, since *Šumma izbu* only preserves one apodosis with the positive DAGAL-*iš* (De Zorzi 2014, 767, Tablet 18 omen 13). The negative apodosis BIR-*aḫ* appears more frequently in *Šumma izbu* as well as in *Šumma ālu*, and likely is what appeared in the break.

The "front" does not refer to horns, but rather to the sheep itself. The word *appu* is most commonly used to refer to the tip of a horn (see Leichty and Guinan 2013). It is worth noting that horns and scurs both contain blood vessels within their bone cores that are attached to the skull. Horns are attached to the cornual artery, which means that intense bleeding occurs when horns are broken (Nasoori 2020).

§ 41.8

BM 038763	*5'*	[DIŠ UDU SI.ME]Š-*šu ana* ˹EGIR˺-*šu ḫaṣ-ṣa* [TÙR ...] (ruling)
K 11063	*8*	[DIŠ UDU] SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* EGIR-[*šú* ...] (ruling)
Sm 0919	*ii 5'*	DIŠ UDU SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* EGIR-*šú ḫaṣ-ṣa* TÙR [...]

DIŠ UDU SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* EGIR-*šú ḫaṣ-ṣa* TÙR [BI BIR-*aḫ*]

***šumma immeru qarnāšu ana arkīšu ḫaṣṣā tarbaṣu* [*šū issappaḫ*]**

If a sheep's horns are broken towards its back – [that] animal pen [will be scattered].

Comments

Like omens 41.3 and 41.4, omens 41.7 and 41.8 form a pair. It is worth noting that omens 41.3 and 41.4 similarly deal with the position of a sheep's horns: omen 41.3 has a positive apodosis when the horns are joined at the front, and omen 41.4 has a negative apodosis when they are joined at the back. The difference between omens 41.7-8 and 41.3-4 is the state of the horns – the latter deal with "joined" horns (see omen 41.3 for a discussion on this) and the former with broken horns.

As in the previous omen, the "back" must refer to the back of the sheep and not to the

horns. The word *qarnu* is feminine, and in order for EGIR-*šú* to be referring to the horns, it would require the feminine plural possessive -*šina.*

§ 41.9

BM 038763 *6'* [... LÚ IGI]-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šu ana* ZAG GAR.[MEŠ ...]

K 11063 *9* [DIŠ UDU ...] LÚ IGI-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šú* [...]

[DIŠ UDU ...] LÚ IGI-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šú ana* ZAG GAR.[MEŠ ...]

[*šumma immeru ...*] *amēli īmurma īnāšu ana imitti šak*[*nā ...*]

[If a sheep] looks at a man's [...] and its eyes ar[e se]t to the right side [...]

Comments

This and the next omen are the only two within this Tablet regarding the eyes of the sheep, but omen 41.32' deals similarly with the gaze of a sheep. These are vaguely similar to several *Šumma immeru* omens in which the severed head of a sheep is observed gazing at the censer (§50) or at the sacrifice and the cultic statue (§51; Cohen 2020, 160). Of the omens within this Tablet, these three omens, 41.9, 10, and 32', bear the closest resemblance to *Šumma immeru* omens.

§ 41.10

BM 038763 *7'* [... IGI]-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šu ana* GÙB GAR.[MEŠ ...]

K 11063 *10* [DIŠ UDU ... LÚ] IGI-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*š*[*ú ana* ...]

[DIŠ UDU ... LÚ] IGI-*ma* IGI.MEŠ-*šu ana* GÙB GAR.[MEŠ ...]

[*šumma immeru ... amēli*] *īmurma īnāšu ana šumēli šak*[*nā ...*]

[If a sheep] looks at [a man's ...] and its eyes ar[e se]t to the left side [...]

Comments

BM 038763 and K 11063 break off after this omen and there is a gap with a maximum of eight omens missing. Sm 0919 ii 6' is inserted into this gap because the only other gap in this Tablet contains goat omens.

(GAP)

§ 41.11’

Sm 0919 *ii 6’* DIŠ UDU *ana* IGI NA *ir-qu-ud* ŠÀ.[BI DÙG.GA] (ruling)

DIŠ UDU *ana* IGI NA *ir-qu-ud* ŠÀ.[BI DÙG.GA]

***šumma immeru ana pān amēli irqud libba*[*šu iṭâb*]**

If a sheep dances in front of a man – he wi[ll be happy].

Comments

Since the sign ŠÀ is preserved, this apodosis is probably similar to 41.23’ (ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA) and 41.24’ (ŠÀ URU BI DÙG.GA); very few apodoses begin with this sign. This omen has been placed within the gap after 41.10 because there are no other gaps in which it would fit. The only other gap within the text follows the goat omens towards the end of the Tablet. It is unlikely this omen would have been placed separately from all the other sheep omens, since the authors of these texts tended to group animals together within the Tablets.

(GAP)

§ 41.12’

Rm 0083 *1’* [... L]Ú GU_7 [...]

[DIŠ UDU TÚG L]Ú GU_7 [LÚ BI TU.RA-*ma* TI-uṭ]

[*šumma immeru ṣubāt am*]*ēli īkul* [*amēlu šū imarraṣma iballuṭ*]

[If a sheep] eats a man’s [garment – that man will become sick but will live].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.4 (Boddy 2021, 6), and is the first of a sequence of “consumption” omens that extends from 41.12’ to 41.16’. *Šumma ālu* 94 contains consumption omens, followed by several miscellaneous omens that seem unrelated to one

another. Though *Šumma ālu* 94 consists of a variety of omen themes, only the consumption omens it contains are related to Tablet 41. Similar parallelism takes place in *Šumma ālu* 80, where sexual omens from Tablets 41, 42 and 43 appear together with dog and pig sexual omens (see chapter five for more on sexual and consumption omens, pages 174-184). The sheep and goat consumption omens as well as the horse and donkey consumption omens of Tablet 43 follow a consistent pattern: consumption of

1. a garment (*ṣubāt* 41.50'; 43.20, 65'; 94.4)
2. a cloak (*naḫlapti* 41.51'; 43.21, 66'; 94.5)
3. a belt (*nēbeḫ* 41.52'; 43.22, 67'; 94.6)
4. a sandal (*šēn* 41.53'; 43.23, 68'; 94.30)
5. the man's hair (*šārat* 41.54'; 43.24, 69'; 94.23).

Similar consumption omens likely existed for Tablets 42 (oxen), 46 (dogs), 47 (dogs), and 49 (pigs), but they are not preserved. This pattern is more fully discussed in chapter five.

The parallelism between this sheep sequence in Tablet 94 and 41.12'-16' was partially noted by Freedman (*If a City* 3, 8, n. 12'-16'), who still decided against restoring 41.12'-16' accordingly. This is likely due to the fact the only edition of Tablet 94 was published in 2021 by Kaira Boddy, after Freedman's work. Furthermore, W 22554/0 (SBTU 3 97) is a complex excerpt text with omens from Tablets 94-105.[12] Freedman may also have decided against restoring these omens from W 22554/0 because of the different formulation of the protasis (the Uruk text has UDU.NÍTA for "sheep" rather than UDU) and the fact that the apodoses of the two sequences do not seem to coincide. However, collation has shown that 41.13' represents a parallel to W 22554/0 line 5, with both apodoses beginning with ZI.GA. The apodosis of 41.12' is completely broken away. It is entirely possible that it coincided with the apodosis preserved on W 22554/0, which corresponds to 94.4; we have restored it here accordingly.

The case of 41.14'-16', which concern a sheep eating a man's belt, sandal, and hair, is more difficult because the apodoses of these omens don't coincide with the apodoses of the corresponding sheep consumption omens in 94.5, 6, 30, and 23. However, a closer examination reveals that two apodoses are the same in both Tablet 41 and Tablet 94, but are attached to

[12] W 22554/0 contains the most Tablets referenced within an excerpt text. It is labeled the 71st, 72nd, and 73rd *nisḫu* text. The nature of *nisḫu* excerpt texts is more fully discussed on page and includes a list of all known *nisḫu* texts (page 117).

different protases: the apodosis BIR-*aḫ* É LÚ "dispersal of the man's house" pairs with the protasis concerning a sheep eating a man's belt in 41.14', while in Tablet 94, it pairs with the protasis concerning a sheep eating a man's sandal (94.30). The apodosis GIG *dan-na* IGI "he will experience severe sickness" pairs with the protasis concerning a sheep eating a man's sandal in 41.15', while in Tablet 94, it pairs with the protasis concerning a sheep eating a man's hair, (94.23). It seems that the authors of both texts were fishing from the same pool of material, but with different results.

Rm 0083 is classified by *If a City* 3 as an excerpt text, but it is most likely a standard text due to its size and the fact that it contains only caprine omens. This is discussed in more detail in the introduction to this chapter.

§ 41.13'

Rm 0083 *2'* [...] LÚ GU$_7$ Z[I.GA ...]

[DIŠ UDU ^{túg}GÚ.È] LÚ GU$_7$ Z[I.GA *ina* É LÚ È]

[*šumma immeru naḫlapti*] *amēli īkul ṣ*[*ītu ina bīt amēli uṣṣi*]

[If a sheep] eats a man's [cloak] – los[ses will go out of the man's house].

Comments

This omen is restored from 94.5 (Boddy 2021, 6). For more information on this restoration and the restoration of 41.12'-16', see the philological commentary to omen 41.12' as well as the section on consumption omens. According to this reconstruction, the protasis of this omen is similar to 41.51', where the subject is a goat, *enzu*.

The restoration of this omen from 94.5 reveals an incidence of wordplay. The protasis and the apodosis both contain the logogram È. This logogram appears once in the protasis as a part of the word for "cloak," ^{túg}GÚ.È, and again in the apodosis as the verb *uṣṣi*, written È. It is possible that the commercial loss incurred is linked to the cloak, which may also have had a function in business interactions.

The exact meaning of this apodosis is not altogether clear. ZI.GA or *ṣītu* has several other meanings but usually carries the meaning "expenditure," "debt," or "loss" when it is used with the verb *aṣû*, as is the case in this omen. The above translation is the most literal translation, but

the alternate translations “expenses will go out of the man’s house,” or “debt will be incurred in the man’s house” are also acceptable. The general meaning of the apodosis is that some sort of loss of property, be it money, real estate, or chattel, will occur.

§ 41.14’

Rm 0083 *3’* [...] LÚ GU$_7$ BIR-[*aḫ* ...]

[DIŠ UDU ^{túg}ÍB.LAL] LÚ GU$_7$ BIR-[*aḫ* É LÚ]

[*šumma immeru nēbeḫ*] *amēli īkul sap*[*āḫ bīt amēli*]

[If a sheep] eats a man’s [belt] – scatt[ering of the man’s house].

Comments

The protasis is restored from omen 41.52’ and 94.6 (Boddy 2021, 6). For more information on this restoration and the restoration of omens 41.12’-16’, see the philological commentary to omen 41.12’ as well as the section on consumption omens. The apodosis of omen 94.6 is different from that of this omen: DIŠ UDU ^{túg}ÍB.LÁ NA GU$_7$ DAM LÚ *in-nak* BA.ÚŠ “If a sheep eats a man’s belt: the man’s wife will have illicit intercourse, she will die” (Boddy 2021, 6). This restoration of the apodosis is from omen 94.23, which contains a similar protasis of 41.16’.

§ 41.15’

Rm 0083 *4’* [... LÚ GU$_7$ GIG [...]

[DIŠ UDU ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR] LÚ GU$_7$ GIG [*dan-na* IGI]

[*šumma immeru šēn*] *amēli īkul murṣa* [*danna immar*]

[If a sheep] eats a man’s [sandal – he will experience severe] sickness.

Comments

The protasis of this omen is restored from omens 94.30 and 41.53’. The apodosis of this omen, however, differs from these two parallels. The more exact parallel, 94.30, which is a sheep omen, reads DIŠ ^{kuš}E.SÍR NA UDU.NÍTA GU$_7$ BIR-*aḫ* É LÚ “If a male sheep eats a man's

sandal: dispersal of the man's house" (Boddy 2021, 11). The protasis of omen 41.15' is similar to omens 94.22-24, which are ox, sheep, and goat omens regarding the consumption of a man's hair. For more information on this restoration and the restoration of omens 41.12'-16', see the philological commentary to omen 41.12' as well as the section on consumption omens (see pages 181-184).

§ 41.16'

Rm 0083 *5'* [DIŠ UDU SÍ]G-*šú* (erasure) GU$_7$ ŠUB-*ti* [...] (ruling)

[DIŠ UDU SÍ]G-*šú* GU$_7$ ŠUB-*ti* [MÁŠ.ANŠE]

[*šumma immeru šārā*]*tišu īkul miqitti* [*būli*]

[If a sheep] eats his (i.e. the man's) h[air] – death of [the livestock].

Comments

The protasis is restored from omen 41.54', although the formulation of the parallel goat omen is slightly different: DIŠ ÙZ SÍG LÚ GU7 "If a goat eats a man's hair." It is plausible to assume that the sign erased by the scribe before GU$_7$ was in fact LÚ or NA. The sign SÍG was not read by Freedman in *If a City* 3 (6 and 238), but the reading could be confirmed by collation. This is the one instance in Tablets 41 and 43 where a consumption omen differs in the protasis and the apodosis from its counterpart in Tablet 94. *Šumma ālu* 94 has DIŠ SÍG NA UDU.NÍTA GU$_7$ GIG *dan-na* IGI "If a sheep eats a man's wool: he will suffer a severe illness" (Boddy 2021, 6, omen 23). Boddy translates SÍG "wool" instead of "hair" because SÍG means both. SÍG and the nature of these consumption omens are more fully discussed in chapter five (see pages, 181-184).

§ 41.17'

Rm 0083 *6'* [DIŠ UDU *ina* U]BUR-*šú* GA DU *te-ni-i-q*[*u* ...] (ruling)

[DIŠ UDU *ina* U]BUR-*šú* GA DU *te-ni-i-q*[*u* ...]

[*šumma immeru ina t*]*ulêšu šizbu illik tēnīq*[*u ...*]

[If a sheep]'s udd[er] lactates – an infan[t ...]

Comments

The word *tēnīqu* appears in Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, and Standard Babylonian sources (CAD T, 343b-344a s.v. *tēnīqu*), and it is clear that *-qu* is the most likely reconstruction of the half-broken sign at the end of this line. *If a City* 3 reads these signs *te ni* i(?) x [...], translating the omen "If milk flows in a sheep's udder, ... [...]" (5). There is space for a maximum of four signs after the break, but these unfortunately cannot be reconstructed, as no parallels to this omen exist.

§ 41.18'

Rm 0083	*7'*	DIŠ UDU *ana* UR.GI$_7$ TE-*ḫe ba-ma-at* KUR [...]
Sm 0919	*ii 7'*	DIŠ UDU *ana* UR.GI$_7$ TE *ba-ma-*[*at* ...]

DIŠ UDU *ana* UR.GI$_7$ TE *ba-ma-at* KUR [KÚR DAB-*bat*]

***šumma immeru ana kalbi iṭḫe bāmat māti* [*nakru iṣabbat*]**

If a sheep approaches a dog (sexually) – [an enemy will take] half of the land.

Comments

If a City 3 interprets *ba-ma-at* as the bound form of *bamātu* "open-country, plain" (6), but a more common word with the bound form is *bāmtu* "half." Boddy and Mittermayer translate a similar omen with the same apodosis: "an enemy will seize half of the land" (2021, 326, omen 16). This omen was restored from BM 047938 (*If a City* 3, 8, n. 1'-21'), which belongs to *Šumma ālu* 80 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 358). At the time of Freedman's restorations in *If a City* 3, Tablet 80 had not yet been fully reconstructed, so the parallels between the sexual omens in Tablet 41 and 43 to Tablet 80 were missed; this also caused Freedman to mislabel BM 047938 as belonging to Tablet 72. Tablet 80 contains omens regarding the unusual sexual activity of animals (dogs, pigs, sheep, oxen, donkeys, horses, foxes, lions$^?$/wolves$^?$, humans). The sexual activity of sheep is the subject of 41.18'-23'. This is discussed more at length in the section on sexual omens (see pages 174-181), but it should again be noted that omens 80.16-19 are an exact replication of omens 41.18'-21', with one minute variation in 80.17 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 362) with respect to 41.19' (see below).

§ 41.19’

Rm 0083	*8’*	DIŠ UDU *ana* UR.GI$_7$ *ú-ḫa-ni-iṣ* NAM.RA [...]
Sm 0919	*ii 8’*	[DIŠ U]DU [...]

DIŠ UDU *ana* UR.GI$_7$ *ú-ḫa-ni-iṣ* NAM.RA [*ana* LÚ]

***šumma immeru ana kalbi uḫanniṣ šallatu* [*ana amēli*]**

If a sheep rubs itself (sexually) against a dog – spoils [for the man].

Comments

This omen was restored by Freedman from BM 047938 (*If a City* 3, 8, n. 18’-21’), which was later identified as a manuscript of Tablet 80 (see commentary to omen 41.18’ and the section on sexual omens in chapter five for more on *Šumma ālu* 80). The parallel omen, 80.17, contains two apodoses, ŠUB-*e* É : NAM.RA *a-na* LÚ “Abandonment of the house (or) [plund]er [fo]r the man” (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 362). We chose not to restore ŠUB-*e* É after NAM.RA [*ana* LÚ] because Rm 0083 clearly lacked sufficient room on the edge of the manuscript for the inclusion of these three signs. However, it should be noted that all the sexual omens of Tablet 80 have negative apodoses except for this positive variation. This omen and omen 80.17 are similar to 80.13, in which a pig rubs itself sexually against a dog. For more on this, see chapter five as well as the commentary to omen 41.18’.

§ 41.20’

Rm 0083	*9′*	[DIŠ] ˹UDU˺ *ana* ŠAḪ TE-*ḫe* BIR-*aḫ* [...]

DIŠ UDU *ana* ŠAḪ TE-*ḫe* BIR-*aḫ* [É NA]

***šumma immeru ana šaḫê iṭḫe sapāḫ* [*bīt amēli*]**

If a sheep approaches a pig (sexually) – scattering of [the man’s house].

Comments

This omen is restored from BM 047938 (*If a City* 3, 8, n. 18’-21’), which belongs to *Šumma ālu* 80 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 362, omen 18). The connection between Tablet 80

and omens 41.18-22’ is more fully discussed in the section on sexual omens and in the commentary to 41.18’. This omen and its Tablet 80 counterpart, omen 80.18, are similar to omen 80.3, in which a dog approaches a pig sexually (see chapter five, pages 174-181).

§ 41.21’

Rm 0083 *10’* [DIŠ] ˹UDU˺ *ana* ŠAḪ *ú-ḫa-ni-iṣ* ŠUB-*e* [...] (ruling)

DIŠ UDU *ana* ŠAḪ *ú-ḫa-ni-iṣ* ŠUB-*e* [É NA GÁL-*ši*]

***šumma immeru ana šaḫê uḫanniṣ nadê* [*bīt amēli ibbašši*]**

If a sheep rubs itself (sexually) against a pig – [the abandonment of the house will] occur.

Comments

This omen is restored from BM 047938 (*If a City* 3, 8, n. 18’-21’), which belongs to *Šumma ālu* 80 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 362, omen 19). These two omens, 41.21’ and 80.19, are similar to omen 80.4, in which a dog rubs itself against a pig (see chapter five, page 178).

§ 41.22’

Rm 0083 *11’* [DIŠ] UDU BABBAR MUNUS.EŠGAR *ir-kab la mit-gur-tu₄ ina* ˹KUR˺ [0]

[DIŠ] UDU BABBAR MUNUS.EŠGAR *ir-kab la mit-gur-tu₄ ina* KUR [0]

[*šumma*] *immeru peṣû unīqa irkab lā mitgurtu ina māti* [0]

[If] a white sheep (sexually) mounts a doeling – discord in the land.

Comments

If a City 3, 6 translates SAL.AŠ$_2$.GAR$_3$ (also read MUNUS.EŠGAR) as “she-goat.” However, a she-goat is matured, whereas *unīqu*, the Akkadian equivalent of MUNUS.EŠGAR, refers to a female kid, or doeling. This is an important difference, as it is the reason for the negative apodosis. There are many possible reasons why this would have been perceived

negatively, but all except one of the animal sex omens preserved in Tablet 80 have negative apodoses (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021). The apodosis in the present omen appears often in *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 422 Tablet 3 omen 67, 551 Tablet 6 omen 29', 572 Tablet 8 omen 56', 582 Tablet 8 omen 100').

This omen and the following omen were both omitted from the sexual omens regarding animals in Tablet 80. There are two likely explanations for this. Firstly, these omens did not follow the same *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* formulation that omens 41.18'-21 follow (see chapter five for more on this, page 175). Secondly, these two omens can be seen as interspecies sexual omens, since goats and sheep are often paired together in lexical texts (see chapter one, pages 12-13). This is different from omens 41.18'-21' which deal only with cross-species encounters. Cross-species sexual interactions is the focus of *Šumma ālu* 80. Given that sheep and goats were seen as the same kind of animal in that they were grouped together and that this sexual encounter is between a sheep and a goat, it becomes clear why this omen was excluded from *Šumma ālu* 80.

§ 41.23'

Rm 0083 *12'* DIŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ U_5.U_5 ŠÀ.BI D[ÙG.GA] (ruling)

DIŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ U_5.U_5 ŠÀ.BI D[ÙG.GA]

šumma immerū irtanakkabū libbašu i[ṭâb]

If rams are ceaselessly mating – he will be ha[ppy].

Comments

UDU.NÍTA refers to a male sheep according to many lexical texts including Ura = *ḫubullu*. These lexicons do not give a specific Akkadian word for ram. Most simply write UDU.NÍTA : *zi-ka-ru* "ram = male" (Landsberger 1960-62, 1:7). This seems to indicate that unlike Sumerian, there was no Akkadian word for "ram;" rather, *immeru* referred to both sheep in a generic sense and rams. Akkadian did, however, have a specific word for ewe (see omen 41.43').

As mentioned in the commentary to omen 41.22', this omen, along with 41.22', is omitted from the sexual omens involving animals in Tablet 80. *Šumma ālu* 80 and omens 41.18'-21' deal with cross-species sexual relations, while this omen and 41.21' seem to deal with

interspecies relations. It is important to note that in writing the verb logographically, there is ambiguity as to how it can be read.

The verb in the protasis could be read in two ways. It could be interpreted as the Gtn-stem, as we have chosen to do, but it could also be nominalized as the Gt-stem perfect *irtakkabū* with the reflexive meaning, "are mating with one another." This gives an entirely different meaning to the apodosis, as this would not only involve interspecies but also same-sex sexual activity. Unfortunately, it is not possible to flesh out the ambiguity behind this logographic writing of the verb. Both forms remain a possibility, but the Gtn-stem form has been chosen over the latter option because of its appearance within the next verb. Note the similarities in verbal stems used in 41.23' and 41.24': *irtanakkabū* (r k b) and *irtanaqqudū* (r q d). This was likely intentional.

§ 41.24'

Rm 0083 *13'* [D]IŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ir-ta-na-qú-du*{*ud*} ŠÀ URU BI DÙG.G[A]

[D]IŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ir-ta-na-qú-du* ŠÀ URU BI DÙG.G[A]

[šu]mma immerū irtanaqqudū libbi āli šuāti iṭâ[b]

[I]f rams are persistently skipping –the city [will] be happy.

Comments

As in the previous omen, the translation of UDU.NÍTA as "rams" instead of "sheep" is due to the distinction between UDU and UDU.NÍTA within lexical texts as well as in this manuscript. This distinction appears in the later lines of Rm 0083 when the scribe uses UDU once more in omen 41.32' before writing U_8 in 41.33'-44', which refers specifically to ewes.

§ 41.25'

Rm 0083 *14'* [DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ ˹SÍG˺.˹ḪI˺.˹A˺ ˹*i*˺-˹*lam*˺-*ma-mu* $SU.GU_7$ *bu-lim* (ruling)

[DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ SÍG.ḪI.A *i-lam-ma-mu* $SU.GU_7$ *bu-lim*

[šum]ma immerū šipāta ilammamū ḫušaḫ būlim

[I]f rams are chewing (their) wool – famine for the livestock.

Comments

The link between the protasis and apodosis is clear. The protasis paints an unusual picture which involves eating. This autocannibalism results in the misfortune of famine. It is tempting to assume that the rams devoured their wool because they were already starving. However, the link between the two clauses revolves instead around analogism. While it might seem as if this omen would fit into the division of autocannibalism omens, there is more going on here. This same phenomenon of sheep eating their wool is described in a newspaper entry from 1873 regarding sheep care which sheds light on what might have been taking place zoologically.

> Instances of sheep eating their own wool are quite common, especially during the latter part of the winter and early in the spring. Some have thought the habit resulted from the presence of small parasites, as minute as the red spider of some flowering plants, which produce an irritation, and to allay this the sheep acquired the habit of biting its own skin, and thereby eating its own wool. It is generally believed, however, that the habit is analogous to that of hens eating their own shells, and the abnormal appetite of cows for old bones, woolen rags, etc., and is caused by an exhaustion of the phosphate in the soil (Pacific Rural Press 1873, 395).

These sheep could also have been struggling with the seasonal process of molting, but regardless of the cause, this was indeed a common occurrence observed by sheep owners throughout the ages and is not the result of starvation. Why might it have been perceived as causative by an ancient diviner? This is perhaps due to the desperation inherent in cannibalistic acts, where one otherwise would not eat one's offspring, let alone a portion of one's own body. One example from a nearby ancient civilization can be found in 2 Kings 6:29, where a king grieves the destruction of his people by dramatically tearing his clothes after encountering a woman driven to the desperate act of eating her own child during the siege of Samaria. It is worth noticing here that one even eats ones' child before one would consider eating oneself. This is perhaps the logic the diviner employed.

§ 41.26'

Rm 0083 *15'* [DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* ˹TÙR˺-˹*šu*˺-˹*nu*˺ ˹*i*˺-*da-mu-mu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]

[DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* TÙR-*šu-nu i-da-mu-mu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]
[*šumm*]*a immerū ina tarbaṣišunu idammumū tarbaṣu šū issappa*[*ḫ*]
[I]f rams are moaning in their pen – that pen will be scatter[ed].

Comments

This is the first mention of a sheep's location. Two types of pens are referenced within Tablet 41, *tarbaṣu* and *rubṣu*. The former is the most common type, appearing the most often in *Šumma ālu*, and is a generic term for an enclosure. The latter has several nuanced meanings like "litter," "lair," "dung," or "womb" (CAD R, 395a, s.v. *rubṣu*). The words *tarbaṣu*, *narbāṣu,* and *rubṣu* are all synonyms, according to several lexical texts (CAD T, 217b, s.v. *tarbaṣu*). Omens 41.26'-31' are similar to *Šumma izbu* 18.15-20 (De Zorzi 2014, 767-768).

§ 41.27'

Rm 0083 *16'* [DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* TÙR-*šu*-[*nu*] *it-tak-ki-pu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]

[DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* TÙR-*šu*-[*nu*] *it-tak-ki-pu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]
[*šumm*]*a immerū ina tarbaṣišu*[nu] *ittakkipū tarbaṣu šū issappa*[*ḫ*]
[I]f rams are butting each other in the[ir] pen – that pen will be scattere[d].

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* 18.16 (De Zorzi 2014, 767).

§ 41.28'

Rm 0083 *17'* [DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* TÙR-˹*šu*˺-˹*nu*˺ ˹*ig*˺-*da-na-lu-tu*$_4$ TÙR BI BI[R] (ruling)

[DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina* TÙR-*šu-nu* ˹*ig*˺-*da-na-lu-tu*$_4$ TÙR BI BI[R]
[*šumm*]*a immerū ina tarbaṣišunu igdanallutū tarbaṣu šū issap*[*paḫ*]

[I]f rams are constantly nervous in their pen – that pen will be scatte[red].

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* 18.17 (De Zorzi 2014, 767).

§ 41.29’

Rm 0083 *18’* [DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina ru-ub-ṣi-šu-nu it-ta-na-ar-ra-ru* ŠUB SU-*šú* N[U GÁL]

[DI]Š UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ *ina ru-ub-ṣi-šu-nu it-ta-na-ar-ra-ru* ŠUB SU-*šú* N[U GÁL]

[*šumm*]*a immerū ina rubṣišunu ittanarrarū miqitti ramānišu u*[*l ibbašši*]

[I]f rams are constantly agitated in their sheepfold – he [will n]ot [suff]er a personal loss.

Comments

On page nine, *If a City* 3 restores the apodosis on the basis of *Šumma izbu* 18.18 (De Zorzi 2014, 768). There are two difficulties in translating this omen. The first is the word *rubṣu,* translated “bedding,” “den,” or “lair.” It may be different from *tarbaṣu*, possibly referring more specifically to the sheep’s resting place, which could be located within the pen or could be an entirely different type of shelter. The nuances of *rubṣu* are not clear. As is mentioned in the commentary to 41.26’, *tarbaṣu* and *rubṣu* are synonyms, but it is possible *rubṣu* is used here to draw attention to the difference of the rams’ location from that of the previous omens. The second difficulty is with the apodosis: *If a City 3* offers a more literal translation of the apodosis: “If sheep in their fold are agitated, [there will be] no defeat for himself” (7).

Another peculiarity is found in a verb similar to *arāru*. While *arāru* does in fact mean “to be agitated” or “to be beset with fear,” and is written in the Gtn-stem in the protasis (CAD A/II, 236a, s.v. *arāru* B), another verb *arāru*, which is phonetically similar, means “to curse” (CAD A/II, 234b, s.v. *arāru* A). The phonetic similarities between these two verbs may have been cause for paronomasia within this omen. “Homophonic play,” as Francesca Rochberg calls it,

often creates a link between the apodosis and the protasis (2010, 21). A similar occurrence may be taking place here.

§ 41.30’

K 04079a	*1’*	D[IŠ ...]
Rm 0083	*19’*	[DIŠ U]DU.NÍTA.MEŠ KI.MIN KI.MIN *u il-ta-na-su-mu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]

[DIŠ U]DU.NÍTA.MEŠ KI.MIN (*ina ru-ub-ṣi-šu-nu*) KI.MIN (*it-ta-na-ar-ra-ru*) *u il-ta-na-su-mu* TÙR BI BIR-*a*[*ḫ*]

[*šumma im*]*merū* KI.MIN *(ina rubṣišunu)* KI.MIN *(ittanarrarū) u iltanassumū tarbaṣu šū issappa*[*ḫ*]

[If r]ams ditto (= are constantly agitated) and are running around ditto (= in their sheepfold) – that animal pen will be scattere[d].

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* 18.19 (De Zorzi 2014, 768), and is linked to omen 41.29’ by KI.MIN.

§ 41.31’

K 04079a	*2’*	DIŠ UDU.[NÍTA.MEŠ ...]
Rm 0083	*20’*	[DIŠ U]DU.NÍTA.MEŠ ŠEŠ A.GAR.GAR ŠEŠ GU_7.MEŠ MÁŠ.ANŠE SU.GU_7 IGI-*m*[*ar*]

DIŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ ŠEŠ A.GAR.GAR ŠEŠ GU_7.MEŠ MÁŠ.ANŠE SU.GU_7 IGI-*m*[*ar*]

***šumma immerū aḫu piqqanni aḫi īkulū būlu ḫušaḫḫa imm*[*ar*]**

If rams eat each other’s dung – the livestock will experience famine.

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* 18.20 (De Zorzi 2014, 768). The verb in the protasis could also be interpreted as a G-stem present-form verb, rather than the expected preterite form, as the present-tense verb form also occurs in the previous omen. However, this is not clear from the logographic writing GU$_7$.MEŠ.

§ 41.32’

K 04079a	*3’*	DIŠ UDU *iṭ-b*[*u-uḫ-ma* ...] (ruling)
Rm 0083	*21’*	[DIŠ UD]U *iṭ-bu-uḫ-ma qá-qá-su* KUD-*su* KAM-*šú ú-bal-la-aṣ* *22'* *i-riš-ti* DINGIR ˹x˺ [0]$^{?}$ (ruling)
		DIŠ UDU *iṭ-bu-uḫ-ma qá-qá-su* KUD-*su* KAM-*šú ú-bal-la-aṣ i-riš-ti* DINGIR x [0]$^{?}$
		šumma immera iṭbuḫma qaqqassu naksu diqārašu uballaṣ erišti ili ...

If one slaughters a sheep and its severed head stares at his (= the diviner’s) bowl – a request of the god ...

Comments

After discussing this omen with Dr. De Zorzi, reading KAM = *diqāru* “bowl” for the sign read by *If a City* 3 as GAN seemed the most plausible interpretation of this sign. Freedman restored the line as follows: DIŠ UDU *iṭ-bu-uḫ-ma qa$_2$-qa$_2$-su* KUD-*su* GAN-*šu$_2$ u$_2$-bal-la-aṣ / i-riš-ti* DINGIR x [...] (*If a City* 3, 7). The sign KAM is the same sign as ÚTUL (ḪIxBAD), and is also the logographic reading of the word *erištu*, which appears in the apodosis. This link between KAM in the protasis and *erištu* in the apodosis may be an example of wordplay which connects the protasis to the apodosis. This omen’s presence seems strange within this sequence, as it concerns the sacrifice of the sheep and is similar to omens in the series *Šumma immeru* (Cohen 2020, 257), but there is no clear indication that this omen was taken from *Šumma immeru*.

It is unclear whether the sign DINGIR in the apodosis is meant as a determinative or simply as the word “god,” since the beginning of the last sign is broken. However, the lines in Rm 0083 are nearly completely preserved and it is unlikely that more than two signs were written after DINGIR.

§ 41.33’

K 04079a *4’* DIŠ ˹U$_8$˺ SILA$_4$-[*sà* ...]

Rm 0083 *23’* [DIŠ] U$_8$ SILA$_4$-*sà* GU$_7$ NÍG.ŠU KUR-*ka* KÚR G[U$_7$]

DIŠ U$_8$ SILA$_4$-*sà* GU$_7$ NÍG.ŠU KUR-*ka* KÚR G[U$_7$]

***šumma laḫru puḫāssa īkul būš mātika nakru ik*[kal]**

If a ewe eats her lamb – an enemy [will] e[at] the goods of the land.

Comments

The last sign of the apodosis is reconstructed on the basis of a similar sheep omen in *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 765, Tablet 18 omen 1). This is the first ewe omen in this Tablet.

Even though Akkadian does not distinguish sheep (*immeru*) from rams (also *immeru*), it does distinguish ewe (*laḫru*) from sheep. This word appears in several lexical texts including Ea A = *nâqu* (YBC 02176, r i 15) and was likely in Ura = *ḫubullu*, but the corresponding passage is unfortunately not preserved (Landsberger 1960-62, 26, 1:183). Omens 41.33’-43’ comprise the only ewe omens within Tablet 41.

§ 41.34’

K 04079a *5’* DIŠ U$_8$ *i*-[*bak-ki* ...]

Rm 0083 *24’* [DIŠ] U$_8$ *i-bak-ki* NIN É [...]

DIŠ U$_8$ *i-bak-ki* NIN É [*i-bak-ki*]$^?$

***šumma laḫru ibakki bēlet bīti* [*ibakki*]$^?$**

If a ewe is weeping – the mistress of the house [will weep$^?$].

Comments

In the earlier edition of this Tablet, Freedman placed Sm 0919 iii 1’-2’ with this omen (*If a City* 3, 244). However, collation of Sm 0919 has revealed that it contains more signs than previously suggested, showing that those two lines belong to omen 41.38’ (see below).

The suggested restoration of the apodosis is based on recurring parallels made between a ewe and the mistress of the house in 41.37’ and 38’. In these omens, a ewe that *idammum* “is

wailing" means that the mistress will also wail. Similarly, in Tablet 46 the actions of the man's dog coincide with the shameful behavior of the man's wife. Omen 46.51 for example, "[If a] dog digs up dirt in front of a man and lies down - his wife will have (illicit) sex." This subject will be discussed in a forthcoming work by Dr. De Zorzi.

§ 41.35'

K 04079a	*6'*	DIŠ U$_8$ *i-na-ʿag*ˀ-[*gu-ug* ...]
Rm 0083	*25'*	[DI]Š ʿU$_8$ˀ *i-na-gu-ug* TÙR BI KÚR KUR-*su* ŠUB-*ti* [MÁŠ.ANŠE]

DIŠ U$_8$ *i-na-gu-ug* TÙR BI KÚR KUR-*su* ŠUB-*ti* [MÁŠ.ANŠE]

***šumma laḫru inaggug tarbaṣu šū nakru ikaššassu miqitti* [*būli*]**

If a ewe is braying (*like a horse*) – that animal pen will be taken over by the enemy; death of the [livestock].

Comments

The verb *nagāgu* is more often used in reference to the bray of a donkey or horse but can also refer to atypical sounds made by cattle and sheep in omens (CAD N/1, 105b-106a s.v. *nagāgu*). Occasionally it is used in omens of comparison like, "If a bull brays like a donkey..." (De Zorzi 2014, 806, Tablet 19 omen 110'). Despite their being no clearly stated comparison in Omen 41.35', it is possible that an implied comparison is taking place if the author intended the nuanced meaning of *nagāgu* "to bray." According to this explanation, the sheep is making an atypical noise sounding like that of another animal, most likely that of an equid, as if another animal foreign to the flock was mixed amongst the sheep. The apodosis, in which the enemy, a foreign entity, takes over the flock, is therefore a logical association. The last two signs of this omen are reconstructed from *Šumma ālu* 41.16'.

§ 41.36'

BM 035215	*1'*	[DIŠ] ʿU$_8$ˀ *i-t*[*a*$^{?}$*-na-ra-ar* ...] (ruling)
K 04079a	*7'*	DIŠ U$_8$ *i-ta-na-ra*-[*ar* ...] (ruling)
Rm 0083	*26'*	[DI]Š ʿU$_8$ˀ *i-ta-na-ar-ra-ar* TÙR BI B[IR-*aḫ*] (ruling)

DIŠ U$_8$ *i-ta-na-ar-ra-ar* TÙR BI B[IR-*aḫ*]

***šumma laḫru ītanarrar tarbaṣu šu iss*[*appaḫ*]**

If a ewe is constantly agitated – that animal pen will be scat[tered].

Comments

The verb in the protasis appears also in 41.29', but there it is a Ntn-stem verb and not a Gtn-stem as it is here. Despite this difference, however, the meaning is the same (De Zorzi 2014, 783-784, n. 340).

Manuscript BM 035215 is poorly preserved, but it is likely that each line contains a ruling. These rulings are not noted in the reconstruction of the Tablet's translation, since they do not reflect the same pattern followed by the rulings of the other standard texts. The purpose of these rulings in BM 035215 is also different; they served as a writing aid for scribes to help keep their lines straight and homogenous, instead of as a means of categorizing omens.

§ 41.37'

BM 035215	*2'*	DIŠ ˹U$_8$˺ *ina* TÙR GIM ˹LÚ˺ ˹*id*˺-[*mu-u*]*m* DUMU.MEŠ É [...]
K 04079a	*8'*	DIŠ U$_8$ *ina* TÙR GIM LÚ *id-mu-um* DUMU.MEŠ [É ...]
Rm 0083	*27'*	[... GIM] ˹LÚ˺ ˹*id*˺-*mu-um* DUMU.MEŠ É *šal-l*[*a-ta* TI-*ma* AMA-*šú-nu*] *28'* [UGU-*šú-nu*] ˹*i*˺-[*dam-mu-um*]

DIŠ U$_8$ *ina* TÙR GIM LÚ *id-mu-um* DUMU.MEŠ É *šal-l*[*a-ta* TI-*ma* AMA-*šú-nu* UGU-*šú-nu*] *i*-[*dam-mu-um*]

***šumma laḫru ina tarbaṣi kīma amēli idmum mārū bīti šall*[*ata illeqqûma ummašunu elišunu*] *i*[*dammum*]**

If a ewe wails like a man in the pen – the children of the house [will be taken] as plu[nder and their mother] w[ill wail for them].

Comments

There is obvious parallelism between the protasis and the apodosis: the ewe wails, *idmum*, just as the mother will soon wail, *idammum*, for her children. *If a City* 3 reconstructs this omen on the basis of *Šumma izbu* 18.5 (7). In the earlier edition of this Tablet, Rm 0083 lines

27’-28’ were assumed to be two separate omens (*If a City* 3, 238, omens 37’ and 38’). However, this is unlikely since this rather long omen would not have fit on just one line. *If a City* 3 recognized the similarities between this omen and the next and assumed the *i-* at the beginning of line 28’ belonged to the protasis of 41.38’. This cannot be the case, however, because of the length of this omen and the placement of *i-* towards the beginning of line 27’.

§ 41.38’

BM 035215	*3’*	DIŠ ˹U$_8$˺ *ina* É LÚ *i-dam-mu-um* ˹É˺ LÚ ˹*ša*˺-˹*nu*˺-[*ú-ma* ...] (ruling)
K 04079a	*9’*	DIŠ U$_8$ *ina* É NA *i-dam-mu-um* É ˹LÚ˺ MAN-*ma* TI-*q*[*í* ...]
Sm 0919	*iii 1’*	[DIŠ] U$_8$ ˹*ina*˺ ˹É˺ ˹NA˺ ˹*i*˺-[*dam-mu-um* ...] *iii 2'* ˹NIN˺ É ˹*i*˺-*d*[*am-mu-um*]

DIŠ U$_8$ *ina* É NA *i-dam-mu-um* É LÚ MAN-ma TI-*q*[*í*] NIN É *i-d*[*am-mu-um*]

***šumma laḫru ina bīt amēli idammum bīt amēli šanûmma ileqq*[*i*] *bēlet bīti id*[*ammum*]**

If a ewe is wailing in a man’s house – another will ta[ke] the man’s house, the mistress of the house wi[ll wail].

Comments

If a City 3 restores this omen from *Šumma izbu* 18.6 (De Zorzi 2014, 766) and incorrectly places Sm 0919 iii 1’-2’ with omen 41.34’ (see *If a City* 3, 9 and 244). There are illegible traces of a line at the bottom of Rm 0083 which may belong to this omen.

§ 41.39’

BM 035215	*4’*	DIŠ U$_8$ GÌŠ.˹NU˺.ZU *ina* UBUR-*šú* GA DU [...] (ruling)
K 04079a	*10’*	DIŠ U$_8$ GÌŠ.NU.ZU *ina* UBUR-*šá* GA DU *šá-ga-áš-ti* [...]
Sm 0919	*iii 3’*	[DIŠ ˹U$_8$˺ ˹GÌŠ˺.NU.ZU *ina* ˹UBUR˺-*šú* [...] *iii 4'* [0] *šá-ga-áš-ti* [...]

DIŠ U$_8$ GÌŠ.NU.ZU *ina* UBUR-*šú* GA DU *šá-ga-áš-ti* [...]

***šumma laḫru lā petītu ina tulêšu šizbu illik šaggašti* [...]**

If a theave's udder lactates – a slaughter [...]

Comments

A theave is young ewe that has not yet given birth to its first lamb. The term theave is colloquial, but it is the closest translation to U_8 GÌŠ.NU.ZU. This Sumerian term translates literally to "ewe that knows not a penis," and its Akkadian equivalent *laḫru lā petītu* is an "unmated ewe." Most terms for sheep in the modern English vernacular focus on the age of the sheep versus whether it has been bred. Another appropriate translation would be "a virgin ewe." The sign GÌŠ "penis," connects this omen through association with omen 40.40' (see the commentary below).

§ 41.40'

BM 035215	*5'*	DIŠ U_8 *ina* É LÚ *ir-bi-*ʿ*iṣ*ʾ [...]
K 04079a	*11'*	DIŠ U_8 *ina* É NA *ir-bi-iṣ* ^{d}U.DAR A.AB.BA-*ta ina* É LÚ *ú*-[...]

DIŠ U_8 *ina* É NA *ir-bi-iṣ* ^{d}U.DAR A.AB.BA-*ta ina* É LÚ *ú*-[...]

šumma laḫru ina bīt amēli irbiṣ Ištar tâmta ina bīt amēli ... [...]

If a ewe lies down in a man's house – Ištar wi[ll ...] the sea[?] in the man's house.

Comments

The verb *rabaṣu* means "to lie" but also carries a sexual connotation. The 27th love incantation in *Akkadian Love Literature of the Third and Second Millennium BCE* uses the metaphors of a dog "lying" and a boar "lying" to symbolize a penis, which is then invited to "lie" between the woman's thighs (Wasserman 2016, f. 21-22). This association can account for this omen's connection to omen 41.39' based on the logographic writing of "theave," which contains the sign GÌŠ "penis." This verb is also associated with the bed, which appears in the next omen.

Based on the size of these two manuscripts, there is enough space for three signs to have been written after the break at the end of the line. The last three signs of the apodosis could be *ú*-[*še-ṣé-šu*]. The verb appears with Ištar as a subject in a divinatory text containing gallbladder omens from Tigunānu wherein ^{d}*Ištar i-na pí-i-šu ú-še-ṣé-šu*, "Ištar expels a man from her mouth" (George 2013, 299, line 12). A.AB.BA-*ta* has been interpreted in *If a City* 3 as a

geographic element attached to Ištar's name, *tâmtu,* meaning "Ištar of the sea" (7). This name appears in An = *anum* IV 129 as a synonym of Ayyabītum, which means "the Sealander" (Simons 2019, 61). However, the accusative *-ta* ending is unusual and may suggest A.AB.BA was the object of the verb and not an epithet attached to Ištar's name.

If the verb is indeed *ú-*[*še-ṣé-šu*] and A.AB.BA was intended as the direct object thereof, a potential interpretation is, "Ištar w[ill expel] the sea from the man's house." While this is grammatically plausible, it does not shed light on the meaning behind A.AB.BA with the Akkadian reading *tâmtu*. The word *tâmtu* is most often used as a noun denoting a sea or lake. In a more general sense, it can refer to a large body of water, but is never used in reference to flooding. This does not exclude the possibility that the authors are being poetic, but there are other alternatives.

The word *tâmtu* is also the name for the primordial being that Marduk battles in *Enūma Eliš,* Tiāmtu (Heffron and Worthington 2011). It is possible that A.AB.BA is a reference to Tiāmtu or another deity of the same name, but the absence of the determinative DINGIR makes this unlikely. However, if A.AB.BA were indeed referring to a deity, it would parallel the following omen 41.41', in which Ištar appears side by side with another being, namely the demon Lilû. Lilû is not written using the determinative DINGIR here either, which might explain the absence of the determinative before A.AB.BA. However, this cannot be backed by any parallels found in or outside of *Šumma ālu*. Finally, it should be mentioned that the sea is often associated with the underworld. This is the case in AO 6487 where "The Apsû is the sea (*tâmti*), the sea (*tâmti*) is Ereškigal" (Neugebauer 1955, 18), with Ereškigal being the goddess of the underworld. However, suggesting *tâmtu* here is a metaphor for death is speculative.

§ 41.41'

BM 035215	*6'*	DIŠ U_8 *ina* ^{giš}NÁ ˹NA˺ ˹*lu*˺ A.˹GAR˺.˹GAR˺ ˹*lu*˺ ˹KÀŠ˺ ˹*it*˺-˹*bu*˺-*u*[*k* ...] (ruling)
K 04079a	*12'*	DIŠ U_8 *ina* ^{giš}NÁ NA *lu* A.GAR.GAR *lu* ˹KÀŠ˺ *it-*˹*bu*˺-[*uk*] *13'* ^{d}U.DAR LÍL.LÁ *ina* ˹É˺? NA *i-*[...]
		DIŠ U_8 *ina* ^{giš}NÁ NA *lu* A.GAR.GAR *lu* KÀŠ *it-bu-u*[*k*] ^{d}U.DAR LÍL.LÁ *ina* É? NA *i-*[...]

***šumma laḫru ina ereš amēli lū piqqanna lū šīnāti itbu*[k] *Ištar lilâ ina bīt*[?] *amēli ...* [...]**

If a ewe disc[harges] feces or urine on a man's bed – Ištar, Lilû ... [...] in the man's house[?].

Comments

Lilû is the phantom of an unwed man who died before ever having intercourse. This apparition, with its more aggressive female counterpart, haunts the living and attempts to satisfy its needs (Wiggermann 2011, 311). The bed in the protasis may be the point of association from which the apodosis is concluded since beds were commonly associated with sex and family. The protasis of this omen is used to restore omen 42.31', but the apodoses of these two omens differ.

§ 41.42'

BM 035215 *7'* DIŠ U_8.MEŠ *˹it˺-˹ta˺-˹ki˺-pa ù it-ta-na-˹ap˺-ra-s*[*a*[?] ...] (ruling)

K 04079a *14'* DIŠ U_8.MEŠ *it-tak-ki-pa u ˹it˺-ta-na-a*[*p-ra-sa*][?] *15'* ^{d}U.DAR MAN-*ma bi-˹it˺-qí ˹i˺*[?]-[*bat-taq*][?]

DIŠ U_8.MEŠ *it-tak-ki-pa u it-ta-na-ap-ra-s*[*a*][?] ^{d}U.DAR MAN-*ma bi-it-qí i*[?]-[*bat-taq*][?]

***šumma laḫrātu ittakkipā u ittanapras*[*ā*][?] *Ištar išannīma bitqī i*[*battaq*][?]**

If ewes butt each other and continually *separa*[*te*] – Ištar will change (her attitude) and *di*[*vert*] water (by making a breach in the dam).

Comments

The verb in the apodosis is tentatively restored from the verb *batāqu* based off the relative frequency with which *bitqu* is paired with *batāqu* (CAD B, 163a s.v. *batāqu* and 278a, s.v. *bitqu*). This reading is supported by the appearance of the similarly sounding *ittakkipā* in the protasis, meaning the connection between the protasis and the apodosis could have been based on the assonance between *ittakkipā* and *ibattaq*. A similar occurrence may take place in 41.41' where the protasis verb *itbuk*, similar to the consonants *b t q* in *ibattaq*, may have shared assonance with its apodosis. However, the apodosis in 41.41' is lost. In omen 41.42' there is a

stronger metaphorical link which is drawn between the protasis and apodosis than ; both apodosis and protasis contain two parts. The rams act as a metaphor in the protasis, butting and then separating, to Ištar in apodosis who is seen changing and then diverting waters. This metaphor which links the protasis to the apodosis is stronger than the assonance between *ittakkipā* and *ibattaq*.

§ 41.43’

BM 035215 *8’* DIŠ MUNUS.EŠGAR GÌŠ.NU.Z[U *ina* UB]UR-*šá* GA DU ITI.1.K[AM ...] (ruling)

K 04079a *16’* DIŠ MUNUS.EŠGAR GÌŠ.NU.ZU *ina* UBUR-*šá* GA DU ITI.1.KAM ˹x˺ [...] *17’* KI.MIN *qí-bi-a* [...] (ruling)

DIŠ MUNUS.EŠGAR GÌŠ.NU.ZU *ina* UBUR-*šá* GA DU ITI.1.KAM x [...] KI.MIN *qí-bi-a* [...]

***šumma unīqu lā petītu ina tulêša šizbu illik* ITI.1.KAM ... [...] KI.MIN *qibâ* [...]**

If a hogget’s udder lactates – for a month ... [...] ditto: a command [...]

Comments

This omen is similar to omen 41.17’, but here, a hogget rather than a full-grown sheep begins to lactate. This would be odd, since a hogget is a young ewe that has not yet yeaned, and therefore has no physiological cause to be lactating. The apodosis is mostly broken, but the KI.MIN may be linked to 40.42’. If this is true, omens 41.40’-43’ equally reference Ištar in their respective apodoses.

Up to this point, all of the omens restored to Tablet 41 in this edition have aligned with *If a City* 3’s edition, but due to discrepancies in that earlier edition which are explained in the following commentaries, this omen sequence changes after 41.43’.

§ 41.44’

K 04079a *r. 1* DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

***šumma en*[zu ...]**

If a go[at ...]

Comments

K 04079a lines r. 1-6 was previously linked to BM 035215 lines 9'-13' in *If a City* 3 under the assumption that they were both excerpt texts (216 and 253). However, it is most probable that K 04079a is a standard text, which means K 0479a line r. 1 represents the beginning of the goat omens. Lines 9'-13' of BM 035215 contain consumption omens that are also recorded in *Šumma ālu* 94. While it is possible these lines match with lines r. 1-6 of K 04079a, consumption omens seem to regularly appear in the middle of an animal section and never at the beginning. Examples of this are the consumption omens 41.12'-16' and 43.20-24. For this reason, we have decided to keep these two manuscripts separated. For more on standard texts, see the introduction to Tablet 41 (pages 18-22).

§ 41.45'

K 04079a *r. 2* DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

***šumma en*[zu ...]**

If a go[at ...]

§ 41.46'

K 04079a *r. 3* DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

***šumma en*[zu ...]**

If a go[at ...]

§ 41.47'

K 04079a *r. 4* DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

***šumma en*[*zu ...*]**

If a go[at ...]

§ 41.48’

K 04079a *r. 5* DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

DIŠ Ù[Z ...]

***šumma en*[*zu ...*]**

If a go[at ...]

§ 41.49’

K 04079a *r. 6* DIŠ [...]

DIŠ [...]

***šumma* [...]**

If [...]

(GAP)

§ 41.50’

BM 035215 *9’* DIŠ ÙZ TÚG LÚ GU$_7$ [...] (ruling)

Sm 0919 *iii 5’* [DIŠ Ù]Z TÚG NA G[U$_7$ ...]

DIŠ ÙZ TÚG LÚ GU$_7$ [*ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti* : *ḫi-pit* LÚ *ina* É GÁL-*ši*]

***šumma enzu ṣubāt amēli īkul* [*ḫišiḫti : ḫipit amēli ina bīti ibbašši*]**

If a goat eats a man’s garment – [need : there will be a break-in at the house by a man].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.7 (Boddy 2021, 6). This omen has the same protasis as 41.12’ and is a part of a section of goat consumption omens. These consumption omens follow a specific pattern which is discussed in the commentary to omen 41.12’ and in the section on consumption omens (pages 181-184).

It was previously assumed in *If a City* 3 that Sm 0919 iii 5’ contained U_8, but upon closer inspection, it seems clear that this broken sign is the end of ÙZ. This removes the additional omen 44’ in *If a City* 3, which was read DIŠ U_8 TUG_2 LU_2 KU_2 [...] (7).

§ 41.51’

BM 035215 *10’* DIŠ ˹ÙZ˺ túgGÚ.˹È˺ ˹NA˺ GU_7 [...] (ruling)

DIŠ ÙZ túgGÚ.È NA GU_7 [*pa-an* ḪUL-*tim* : ḪUL ŠÀ *ana* NA GÁL-*ši*]
***šumma enzu naḫlapti amēli īkul* [*pān lemutti : lumun libbi ana amēli ibbašši*]**

If a goat eats a man’s cloak – [the face of evil : misery of heart will be his].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.8 (Boddy 2021, 7).

§ 41.52’

BM 035215 *11’* DIŠ ˹ÙZ˺ túg˹ÍB˺.LÁ LÚ GU_7 [...] (ruling)

DIŠ ÙZ túgÍB.LÁ LÚ GU_7 [DAM LÚ NÍG.GIG IGI-*mar*]
***šumma enzu nēbeḫ amēli īkul* [*aššat amēli marušta immar*]**

If a goat eats a man’s belt – [the man’s wife will experience hardship].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.9 (Boddy 2021, 7).

§ 41.53’

BM 035215 *12'* [DIŠ ÙZ] ^{kuš}ʿEʾ.ŠÍR LÚ GU$_7$ [...] (ruling)

Sm 0919 *iii 6'* [... ^{kuš}]ʿEʾ.Š[ÍR ...]

[DIŠ ÙZ] ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR LÚ GU$_7$ [BIR-*aḫ* É LÚ]

[*šumma enzu*] *šēn amēli īkul* [*sapāḫ bīt amēli*]

[If a goat] eats a man's sandal – [scattering of the man's house].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.24 (Boddy 2021, 7).

§ 41.54'

BM 035215 *13'* [DIŠ ÙZ S]ÍG [L]Ú GU[$_7$ ...]

[DIŠ ÙZ S]ÍG [L]Ú GU[$_7$ GIG *dan-na* IGI]

[*šumma enzu šā*]*rat* [*amē*]*li īk*[*ul murṣa danna immar*]

[If a goat] ea[ts a man]'s ha[ir – he will experience severe sickness].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.31 (Boddy 2021, 7).

(GAP)

§ 41.55'

BM 038763 *r. 1'* [DIŠ ...] x U$_8$[?] *ana* IGI ʿU$_8$ʾ.UDU.ḪI.A ʿGÁLʾ [...]

[DIŠ ...] x U$_8$[?] *ana* IGI U$_8$.UDU.ḪI.A GÁL [...]

[*šumma ...*] ... ***laḫru*[?] *ana pān ṣēni ittabši* [...]**

[If ...] ... there is a ewe[?] in front of the flock [...]

§ 41.56'

BM 038763 *r. 2'* [DIŠ ...]-*šú ina* UGU U$_8$.UDU.ḪI.A GÁL ʿxʾ [...] (ruling)

[DIŠ ...]-*šú ina* UGU U_8.UDU.ḪI.A GÁL x [...]

[*šumma ...*]*šu ina muḫḫi ṣēni ittabši ...* [...]

[If ...] is at the top of the flock ... [...]

Comments

BM 038763 is followed by a broken colophon after r. 2'.

Colophon

BM 038763

r. 3′ [DIŠ *bu-ul-ṭ*]*i-it-tu₄ ina* É.DINGIR G[ÁL ...] (ruling)

r. 4′ [DUB] ˹39˺.KÁM DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR NU AL.TIL ˹x˺ [...]

r. 5′ [...] ˹x˺ GABA.RI KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} [...]

r. 6′ [...] ˹x˺ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *ib-ru-ú* [...]

r. 7′ [... U]$_4$.28˹KÁM˺ MU.20.KÁM ^{d}AG-NÍG.[DU-PAP]

[If] there i[s a wood bee]tle in a temple [...]

[Tablet] 39 of "If a city is set on a height" not complete ... [...]

[...] ... copy from Babylon [...]

[...] ... observed (in) Babylon ... [...]

[...] 28th da[y], 20th year of ^{d}Nabu-kud[urri-uṣur].

This catchline indicates that this manuscript follows the Assur catalogue of the series, in which the wood-beetle incipit occurs after the sheep incipit.[13] *If a City* 3 has generally arranged the *Šumma ālu* Tablets according to the Assur catalogue but makes an exception for Tablet 41. Tablet 41 is arranged according to the Nineveh catalogue, in which the sheep incipit follows the beetle incipit. *If a City* 3 places the sheep tablet in the sequence of the Nineveh catalogue because the Nineveh catalogue has a clear separation between the Tablets regarding insects and those regarding quadrupeds; Tablets 39 and 40 contain omens concerning beetles and spiders, and Tablets 42 and 43 are concerning oxen, horses, and donkeys. Nonetheless, this distinction

[13] *If a City* 1 contains editions of the Assur and Nineveh catalogues (322-325).

was clearly not crucial to the compilers of the Assur recension, and this reorder of recensions is only due to modern sensibilities.

CHAPTER 3

ŠUMMA ĀLU 42

Šumma ālu 42 is the second of the three livestock Tablets of the existing collection and contains the smallest number of omens, centering around domestic cattle. Unlike the subjects of Tablet 41 and 43, it is not possible to say much about the cattle discussed in *Šumma ālu* 42, except that they were domestic cattle of an unknown breed. Two species of cattle existed in Mesopotamia from the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age, *bos tarus* and *bos indicus* (Verdugo et al., 2019), but it is unclear to which variety these omens refer.

Fifty omens have been reconstructed from *Šumma ālu* 42 in all, 15 of which are fully restored; this leaves three quarters of the omens only partially restored. The difficulty in restoring this Tablet lies in the piecemeal state of the individual manuscripts. Like *Šumma ālu* 41, six fragmentary manuscripts contain omens from this Tablet, but these are smaller and even more broken than those on *Šumma ālu* 41. Despite these difficulties, this edition fully restored six omens (42.5, 20, 22, 23, 44’ and 50’) only partially restored in *If a City* 3 and discovered a previously unknown gap. Compared with *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43, less can be observed about the themes and patterns of this Tablet.

THEMES AND PATTERNS

Clear themes and patterns appear in *Šumma ālu* 42, some of which are unique to this Tablet. The sexual omens and, if my assumptions are correct, the consumption omens copied from 41 and 43 into Tablet 80 and 94 were likewise present in this Tablet. Chapter five discusses the consumption omens and sexual omens (42.36’-39’) of Tablet 42 in more detail (see pages 174-184).

Fewer rulings appear in Tablet 42 than in 43 because of its shorter length. However, despite its brevity, just as many themes occur. Some of these must be artificially restored, and this is done by using a rule of three. When three omens with similar subjects in the protasis or apodosis appear, these are considered a group. These supplementary groupings are useful since it is clear from 42.35’ and 42.39’ that not all standard texts shared as many rulings. This does not replace the ruling system and is marked as supplementary by ‘no ruling’ in Table 3.

Oxen in the thoroughfare 42.1-5	no ruling	These omens are all linked by the location of the oxen within the protasis (SILA.DAGAL.LA). Few similarities exist elsewhere among these omens, but one can be noted: 42.3 and 4 both involve oxen chewing on unusual things, which similarly affects the city. However, the verb "to chew" in the protases of these omens is based off a restoration.
Unclear 42.6-10	no ruling	These omens are barely preserved. The first three signs are preserved in each line, but not much else survives. GU_4.MEŠ "oxen," like 42.1-5, is shared as the subject of these protases. 42.6 and 7 both take place *ina* SILA "in the street." This distinguishes these from 42.1-5, which take place *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA "in the thoroughfare." 42.10 involves a king in the protasis, which is similar to 42.12-13.
An ox and offerings 42.11-17	no ruling	The first three omens take place during the offering. The following 42.14-15 are very broken but likely also involve an offering since they are flanked by omens with this theme. 42.16-17 mention EN SÍSKUR "master of the offering," which suggests SÍSKUR is also a part of the protasis as it is in 42.11-13. The omens 42.12-13 mention a king's offering which may link this omen to 42.10.
Miscellaneous 42.18-20	no ruling	Little to no thematic coherency exists within these omens due to their fragmentary state.
A raging ox 42.21-23	no ruling	These omens share similarities in their protases and apodoses. All involve a raging ox and result in an invasion by the enemy in some form or another.
Miscellaneous 42.24-29'	gap after 42.28, ruling after 42.29'	Omens 42.24' and 25' both involve oxen drinking, but no further connection between these omens emerges from these fragmentary lines. The gap between 42.28 and 29' may hold added rulings, since it is likely that the consumption omens from Tablet 94 fit within this gap.
An ox in a house 42.30'-35'	no ruling	While the standard text K 02937+ does contain a ruling after 42.35', both BM 039216 and the excerpt K 08013+ have rulings after 42.35'. These omens all deal with an ox entering, defecating, bellowing, and more in a man's house. Similar in theme are omens 41.38', 40'-41, and 43.6, 15-18, 32', 51', 58'-64'.
Ox sexual omens 42.36'-39'	ruling	This section is also nicely cordoned off by rulings. These omens have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80. They involve an assortment of sexual interactions between an ox and various other animal species.
Fate of the animal pen 42.40'-45'	no ruling	These omens all detail the fate of the animal pen in their apodosis. The first two omens have the same apodosis: "the master of the pen will die." 42.42' is likewise negative: "the ox's pen will be scattered." Omen 42.43' has a broken apodosis but is linked to the two surrounding omens by the theme in its protasis. Omen 42.44' has the one

		positive apodosis involving the pen, "the pen will expand," while 42.45' says, "the pen will not thrive." Omens 42.41'-45' all involve movements or aspects of the body in the protasis.
Birth omens 42.46'-47'	no ruling	Both these omens involve birth. 42.46' is unfortunately very broken, so there are no further similarities between these two omens.
The soil 42.48'-50'	end ruling	All three of these involve *qaqqaru* "the ground," but no further similarities between all three can be found due to the manuscripts' fragmentary state. In 42.48'-49' the ox gashes the soil first with its right horn (42.48') and then with its left horn (42.49'). The last omen of this group and of this Tablet depicts an ox weeping and scattering its tears across the ground.

TABLE 3

An analysis of Tablet 42 reveals eight thematic divisions: oxen in the thoroughfare (42.1-5), ox and offering omens (42.11-17), raging ox omens (42.21-23), ox and the house omens (42.30'-35'), ox sexual omens (42.36'-39'), omens which detail the fate of the pen (42.40'-45'), birth omens (42.47-48'), and omens involving soil (42.48'-50'). Unlike Tablet 41, *Šumma ālu* 42 has fewer rulings that are used less regularly to divide thematic sections. Several themes are grouped together within rulings, such as the house and sexual omens, which are cordoned off by a ruling before the house omens and after the sexual omens. Most of the divisions seen in Table 3 are linked by themes but not grouped by rulings. The arrangement of this Tablet suggests there were no firm rules applied to these texts when it comes to rulings. One group that is missing from this Tablet is the collection of consumption omens.

The consumption omens, like those in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 42, could be restored to the gap between 42.28 and 29'. They have not been restored in this new edition, but evidence suggests they were a part of this Tablet somehow. The commentary text K 02919+ hints at a consumption omen in line 16 (see chapter five, page 181 n. 42). However, because it is not clear whether these omens were the same as those in *Šumma ālu* 41, 43 and 94, we have chosen to exclude these from the reconstruction of this Tablet, while discussing them in chapter five. The diminished number of thematic divisions by rulings coincides with several other missing elements that appear in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 but are absent from *Šumma ālu* 42.

Tablet 42 differs most notably from Tablets 41 and 43 in its lack of variation in gender, age, and species of the animals. The scribes who wrote *Šumma ālu* 42 did not differentiate between bulls and heifers in the way they differentiated rams from ewe and jacks from jenny

donkeys in the omens from *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43.[14] These distinctions exist: GU$_4$, Akkadian *alpu*, means steer or oxen in general and ÁB with the Akkadian equivalents *arḫu*, *littu*, or *būrtu*, means heifer or cow in general.[15] This differentiation also appears in literary texts from this same period. In *Ištar's Descent into the Underworld*, for example, the words for heifer and bull appear side by side.

> a-na bur-ti GU$_4$ ul i-šaḫ-ḫi-iṭ ANŠE MUNUS.ANŠE ul ú-šá-ra
>
> *ana būrti alpu ul išaḫḫiṭ imēru atāna ul ušāra*
>
> The bull would not mount the cow, the donkey would not impregnate the she-donkey.
>
> (Lapinkivi 2010, 27)

For unclear reasons, the gender of the bovine is ignored in *Šumma ālu* 42. Likewise, the age and species in question are not differentiated.

Age-based terminology used throughout Mesopotamian history for cattle five years and younger varied widely (Weszeli 2007). The authors of *Šumma ālu* 42 did not lack the linguistic capabilities to distinguish bovine age. Rather, it seems that they chose to ignore these age distinctions.

Species distinctions may have been handled differently. The archeological record verifies that typical cattle, descendants from *bos tarus*, lived alongside zebu, also known as humped cattle, from the second millennium B.C.E. onwards (Verdugo et al., 2019). However, there does not appear to be a distinction between zebu and regular domestic cattle in Akkadian.[16] Other terms existed for various types of cattle like *alpu mê*, *alpu nāri*, *alpu kīši,* which all resemble the term "water buffalo," *alpu šadê* "mountain ox," and *rīmu* "wild ox," to name a few.[17] However, these seem to be terms describing wild bovine species. It is possible that the Akkadian language did not draw a contrast between the two and thus labeled both *alpu*. One pattern does appear within *Šumma ālu* 42 that also appears in other Tablets.

The incipit to Tablet 42 begins DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ, with the opening ten omens having a

[14] It is possible stallions exist alongside mares in the horse omens of Tablet 43, but the Tablet breaks off at this point (see 43.73').
[15] For more bovine terminology, see Weszeli 2007.
[16] The term "hump," *asqubbītu*, is used in references to both camels and oxen, but rarely (see CAD A/II, 339b, s.v. *asqubbītu*).
[17] Ura = *ḫubullu* 13 has the most extensive Sumerian-Akkadian list of bovine terminology (Landsberger 1960-62, vol. 1).

plural subject, oxen. Similarly, the *Šumma ālu* animal Tablets 37, 38, 43, 46, 48, and 49 also begin with the subjects in plural.

SOURCES

Six manuscripts contain omens from Tablet 42. While most are poorly preserved, the Tablet as a whole is fairly intact and consists of 50-60 omens in total. Out of the 50 omens that have been reconstructed, only 29 protases and 19 apodoses could be fully restored from these. Three of the six manuscripts are standard texts (K 02937+; 2NT 418; BM 039216).

The largest manuscript, K 02937+, contains 42 partially preserved omens. Luckily, this manuscript's obverse and reverse are mostly intact, preserving the first and last omens of this Tablet (42.1-28 and 42.47-50'). The final omens in K 02937+ are especially significant because they corroborate that 2NT 418 is a standard text as it also contains some of these final omens (see 42.47'-48').[18] All three standard texts overlap at 42.38', leaving the only gap in the sequence between the two non-physical joins of K 02937+.

In 1976, the author of *If a City* 3 joined two fragments to K 02937+, namely K 12532 with K 02937 + 08903 (Nineveh Tablet Collection 2018). It was later discovered by conservators that these two fragments did not join with the rest, despite them clearly being a part of the same manuscript (British Museum 2010); this is what is called a non-physical join. This non-physical join is indicated by the .1 and .2 that appear after the museum siglum, which are written in the score "K 02937+ .1" and "K 02937+ .2". The top half of this non-physical join, K 02937+ .1, contains omens 42.1-28 and consists of fragments K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853. The bottom half, labeled K 02937+ .2, has fragments K 02937 + K 08903 + K 18888 and contains omens 42.29'-38' and 47'-colophon. This new discovery introduces a gap between 42.28 and 29' that does not appear in the earlier edition of this Tablet (*If a City* 3, 13). Most variations between this edition and *If a City* 3 come from this newly discovered gap. This gap separated omen 27 of *If a City* 3 into three omens because it was assumed that the final two lines of K 02937+ .1 and the first two lines of K 02937+ .2 were a part of the same two-line omens. In addition, this gap separated the two-line omen 27 of *If a City* 3 into four lines. These four lines created three different omens, 42.27, 28, and 29', as it became no longer clear that

[18] Unfortunately, 2NT 418 (IM57993) has not been located as of this time. Our only knowledge of this manuscript comes from the transliteration in *If a City* 3 (268).

these two lines belonged to the same omen. There are three omens within these four lines, because omen 42.29' is a two-line omen. This meant that omen 28 of *If a City* 3 became 42.30' in this new edition. A further complication in *If a City* 3's edition appears in its omen 29, when two one-line omens are combined into one two-line omen. I identified this two-line omen, omen 29 of *If a City* 3, as two separate omens by collating these lines with VAT 10504+ and comparing the protasis to *Šumma ālu* 41.41'. Therefore, omen 29 of *If a City* 3 became 42.31' and 32' in this new edition. Omen numbers in this edition are offset by two in *If a City* 3 after the gap (e.g. the new 42.34' = *If a* City 3 42.31, the new 42.35' = *If a City* 3 42.32, etc.). This is made clearer in the commentaries to omens 42.27-32'. This gap caused a number of complications in *If a City* 3, but it also answers a number of problems left unsolved in the former edition.

The gap between 42.28 and 29' is the only gap within Tablet 42, and it may account for the missing consumption omens regarding oxen that appear in *Šumma ālu* 94. Similar consumption omens also included in *Šumma ālu* 94 appear in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43. It stands to reason, given Tablet 94 contains ox consumption omens, that these would have also been included in Tablet 42 just as they were in Tablets 41 and 43. According to the previous edition, it had to be assumed these consumption omens were not a part of this Tablet. An estimated four to ten omens may be missing in the gap between K 02937+ .1 and K 02937+ .2, an estimate based on the four consumption omens from *Šumma ālu* 94 which are likely missing in Tablet 42 and the approximate 50 lines per side that are typical to *Šumma ālu* texts. This means that *Šumma ālu* 42 held between 50 to 60 omens total, which is relatively short for a *Šumma ālu* Tablet. Further evidence suggesting the small size of this Tablet comes from the reverse of K 02937+ .1 and .2.

K 02937+ .2, the disconnected mid-lower half of the manuscript, contains the only colophon from Tablet 42 currently known on its reverse. This colophon appears to be incomplete, because only two lines of the colophon appear; typical colophons from *Šumma ālu* range from three to nine lines.[19] According to 2NT 418, another standard text which preserves omens missing from K 02937+ .1 and 2., 16-18 lines of text were written above this colophon. This means that the colophon was written on the mid-upper half of the reverse, since, as already

[19] In reviewing the colophons from earlier chapters, several exceptions to this seem to appear. Two colophons in Tablet 19 seem to be shorter than three lines(*If a City* 1, 284-5). One in Tablet 22, (Rinderer 2021, 160, a), Tablet 23 (Rinderer 2021, 236b), and Tablet 32 (Lundeen-Kaulfus, forthcoming) are also apparently shorter than three lines. However, further inspection of these manuscripts show that none of these preserve the entire colophon.

mentioned above, a standard text of Tablet 42 probably had anywhere between 50-65 lines per side. One or more lines of this broken colophon must fall within the gap caused by the break in the middle of K 02937+ .1 and 2. No further lines appear after this gap on the reverse of K 02937+ .1, which indicates that the majority of the reverse was uninscribed. The fact a minimum of 15 omens from *Šumma ālu* 42 were written on the reverse of K 02937+ .1 and .2 serves as further evidence for the Tablet's relative shortness.

The second standard text 2NT 418 is unavailable for collation, so the transliteration provided in *If a City* 3 has been used to reconstruct this manuscript to this edition (*If a City* 3, 268). The transliteration of 2NT 418 in *If a City* 3 suggests the top edge and part of both side edges remain intact, but the obverse is completely lost. With the lower half missing, the final two omens of this Tablet are also lost on this reverse fragment. The manuscript bridges a gap between the broken lower obverse of K 02937+ .2 with the finial omens of this Tablet on its reverse. Luckily, this restores the entire reverse of the standard version, since the first omen of 2NT 418 aligns with the last omen on the obverse of K 02937+ .2 (see omen 42.38'). This means the one largest observable difference between 2NT 418 and K 02937+ .1 and 2. comes from which side of the tablet omen 42.38' is written on. This minimal difference is likely due to a difference in manuscript size, but it does not suggest there were more or fewer omens on either manuscript.

K 08013 is an excerpt text that preserves the lower-left edge of the tablet, and it is written both on the obverse and the reverse. In the previous edition of Tablet 42, Freedman considered K 08013 a standard text. However, based on the new omen sequence of *Šumma ālu* 42, it is clear that K 08013 excludes omen 41.32'. For this reason, we suggest that K 08013 is an excerpt text. This manuscript contains 14 omens total, with five on the obverse (41.31', 33'-36') and nine on the reverse (41.37'-45').

K 08013 and K 02937+ share omens 42.31'-38'. They also overlap with 2NT 418 in omens 42.38'-45'. The manuscript K 08013 is split vertically in half with pieces from the left edge missing. Despite the poor preservation of K 08013, the lines in the manuscript are clearly short (see 42.34'). Two causes can be suggested to account for these short lines: either K 08013 was merely a narrow tablet, or K 08013 was a two-column manuscript. The former hypothesis needs no detailed explanation, but in order for the latter to be true, the final line preserved on K 08013 must be broken shortly before the bottom edge. If K 08013 is a two-column tablet, these

bovine omens can only have been written on columns two and three in order for them to appear on the same fragment on both the obverse and reverse.[20] The manuscript would also have to have been a part of the bottom edge, as there are no omens lost between the obverse and the reverse of K 08013. With only five omens remaining in the Tablet after the final omen on K 08013's reverse, we can conclude that a maximum of 15 lines could have been written on the reverse of this text.

In the earlier edition of this Tablet, Freedman labeled BM 039216 as an excerpt text saying, "This text has section rulings like an excerpt text, but not enough is preserved to be certain" (*If a City* 3, 10). However, this manuscript shares the same rulings as K 08013, which she considered a standard text. By Freedman's reasoning, both manuscripts must either be excerpt texts or standard texts. Her confusion as to the nature of BM 039216 likely came from problems with omen 42.31', which she combined with 42.32'. BM 039216 preserves 42.32', though K 08013, a standard version in *If a City* 3, does not. BM 039216 is most likely a standard version, but this is sadly not as definite as we would like. BM 039216 does not deviate from the standard sequence found in K 02937+ and 2NT 218, nor do the omens in this manuscript vary from the standard texts. BM 039216 also contains only ox omens. This compounding evidence suggests that BM 039216 is a standard text.

BM 039216 preserves the bottom-left edge of the manuscript with omens on both the obverse and reverse. There are eight lines on its obverse, preserving 42.29'-34' and nine on its reverse, 42.35'-43'. BM 039216 overlaps with K 02937+ .2 until K 02937+ .2 breaks off. It also overlaps with 2NT 418 until it breaks off after 42.43'. BM 039216 must have been a wider manuscript than the latter two because it preserves 42.42' on one line while all the other manuscripts write it on two. Following this same line of reasoning, it must have been a shorter manuscript than all the others, as the final omen on its obverse is 42.34', while most others end

[20] The reason for this is not apparent to those unfamiliar to how cuneiform tablets were oriented, so it is necessary to point out that tablets were written with the first column on the left and the second column on the right of the obverse. In turning the tablet to the reverse one would flip it bottom over top—this is opposed to turning it over by the side like one would a book—and then write the third column on the right side of the reverse and the fourth column on the left. This orientation means that if a tablet is broken directly in half, like I hypothesize K 08013 was, the left half would contain column one on the obverse and four on the reverse, and the right broken half would contain column two on the obverse and three on the reverse. K 08013 preserves text on the obverse and reverse of its right half, which suggests that if this were a two-column excerpt text, omens form different Tablets, namely Tablets 41 and 43, may appear on columns one and four. However, the left half is not preserved.

with 42.36’ or 42.37’. All of this is further evidence that BM 039216, contrary to *If a City* 3, is a standard text.

Aside from the three standard texts and the excerpt text K 08013, two other texts cite omens from this Tablet. The excerpt texts K 05657 and the parallel text VAT 10504+ both contain omen extracts from *Šumma ālu*. K 05657 is a small fragment which only contains omens from Tablet 42. This manuscript, a small fragment containing 12 lines, skips two omens intermittently and all omens cited match with omens preserved on standard texts (see Table of sources 42, page 72). Unlike K 05657, VAT 10504+ has omens from various other Tablets.

If a City 3 does not include VAT 10504+ in its edition of this Tablet but places it with the “Related texts,” which were not added to its reconstruction (*If a City* 3, 11). The reasons for excluding VAT 10504+ is because this unique text comes from the Middle Assyrian period. Nils Heeßel offers the most recent edition of this manuscript in *Divinatorische Texte I,* where he relates several of the omens therein to parallels in *Šumma ālu* 5, 19, and 80 (2007, 26-30). Like *If a City* 3, Boddy mentions this text but excludes this manuscript from her edition of Tablet 80 (2021, 356-357). However, Boddy does not mention that col. iv lines 6’-17’ in VAT 10504+ could account for the missing omens 80.35-46 and 30-32. These omens in VAT 10504+ cannot be placed with any other known Tablet and fit the genre of sexual omens which appear at the beginning of *Šumma ālu* 80.

VAT 10504+ is much older than all other manuscripts from *Šumma ālu* 42. While Freedman and Boddy did not state this explicitly, it cannot be assumed to be an excerpt text like those of the Neo-Assyrian period. This would assume Middle Assyrian excerpt texts fulfill the same criteria as those of the Neo-Assyrian period. Neo-Assyrian excerpt texts typically cite omens in the same order as the standard version of a Tablet, skipping omens here and there, and if multiple Tablets are cited on a single excerpt text these follow the same general order (i.e. in an excerpt text *Šumma ālu* 42 omens can be cited before *Šumma ālu* 43 or higher but never before *Šumma ālu* 41 or lower). VAT 10504+ has excerpt omens from *Šumma ālu* 42 followed by omens from *Šumma ālu* 19.

Little is known about the older Middle Assyrian versions of *Šumma ālu,* which is why the full nature of VAT 10504+ is unclear. Heeßel points out that it is possible the reason ox omens were included in this manuscript is due to the ghost omens which come before the ox omens (Heeßel 2007, 29, n. IV 28’-30’). The ox omens were likely associated with ghost omens

because the logogram for ox, GU_4, is also the logogram for ghost. Only speculations can be given regarding the nature of VAT 10504+. We have included this manuscript in the score, restoring omens from it when possible, but have labeled it as a parallel text. The sexual omens in VAT 10504+ appear in *Šumma ālu* 80.3, 5, 7, 12, 24, and 26 with parallels to 43.37' and 71'. The colophon of VAT 10504+ notes that it was written by a scribal apprentice (Heeßel 2007, 26). K 05657 and K 08013 are the only known excerpt texts of Tablet 42, but it is possible the *nisḫu* excerpt series cited omens from *Šumma ālu* 42 as well.[21]

[21] DT 298 is identified as the 13th *nisḫu* and contains omens presumably from *Šumma ālu* 43 on its reverse. The introduction to *Šumma ālu* 43 discusses this text more in detail, but it likely contained omens from Tablet 42 on its obverse side, which is no longer preserved. If the 13th *nisḫu* cites three Tablets like most *nisḫu* excerpts do, then DT 298 most definitely contains omens from Tablet 42.

TABLE OF SOURCES 42

Siglum	Museum numbers	Provenance	Script	State of publication	Type of manuscript (Tablets)	Omens attested
BM 039216		Babylon	Late Babylonian	*If a City* 3, 254	Standard text	29'-43'
BM 068437		Babylon	Late Babylonian	Heeßel 2002, 235	Catalogue, Assur (37-44)	1
K 02937+ .1 & 2.	K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853 (+) K 02937 + K 08903 + K 18888	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	CT 40 30; *If a City* 3, 198; Nötscher 1930	Standard text	1-28, 29'-38', 47'-colophon
K 04094		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 1, Nineveh Catalogue, *K 9094b, 324-325	Catalogue, Nineveh (30-44; 48-56)	1
K 05657		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	CT 40 31; *If a City* 3, 216	Excerpt text (42)	30'-32', 34', 36'-37', 40', 42'
K 08013		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	CT 40 31; *If a City* 3, 222	Excerpt text (42)	31'-45'
2NT 418	IM57993			*If a City* 3, 268	Standard text	38'-45'
VAT 09438+	VAT 09438 + 10324 + 09775	Assur	Neo-Assyrian	Gurney et al., 1936-37, 360-361; *If a City* 1, Assur Catalogue, 322-323	Catalogue, Assur (1-26; 33-62)	1
VAT 10504+	VAT 10504 + 10543a + 10763 + 10800	Assur	Middle Assyrian	Heeßel 2007, 26-30, no. 6	Excerpt text (5, 19, 42, 43, 44$^{?}$, 46$^{?}$, 49$^{?}$, 80)	30'-34'

TRANSLATION

§ 42.1	If oxen are persistently dancing in the thoroughfare – [...]
§ 42.2	If oxen are [constantly agitated] in the thoroughfare [...]
§ 42.3	If oxen g[naw on] pottery in the thoroughfare [...]
§ 42.4	If oxen [chew] the soil in the thoroughfare [...] – the pīḫu will fall and Adad [will trample] the land.
§ 42.5	If oxen [are constantly acting w]ild in the thoroughfare – [scattering of the city].
§ 42.6	If oxen r[aise] their tails in the street [...]
§ 42.7	If oxen [...] in the st[reet ...]
§ 42.8	If oxen ... [...] ... a c[ity ...]
§ 42.9	If oxen are [*che*]*wing* [...] in [...]
§ 42.10	If ox[en ar]e constantly agitat[ed ...] ... of the king [...]
§ 42.11	If an o[x] is constantly afraid [during an o]ffering [...]
§ 42.12	If an o[x] is constantly afraid [during] a king's offering [...]
§ 42.13	If an ox *go*[*es around*] the king's offer[ing and (then) ru]ns away – the son of the k[ing ...]
§ 42.14	If an ox [...] its hea[d ...] – that city's foundation ... [...]
§ 42.15	If an ox [...]
§ 42.16	If an ox [... an offering ...] is lost in the country – the owner of the offering [...]
§ 42.17	If an o[x ... an offering ...] – the owner of that offering [...] the own[er...].
§ 42.18	If an o[x] is crushing [...] ... – famine [...]
§ 42.19	If an [o]x in the canal [... – downs]tream[?] the causeway for the water of the canal will *col*[*lapse*].
§ 42.20	If [an o]x like a man [*wanders*] (around) the city – that city [will be seized] by distress.
§ 42.21	[If an o]x becomes wild a[nd ...] ... a man – an enemy [will conquer] that city.

§ 42.22 [If an o]x becomes wild and ta[kes] a man away – [an enemy will take] that city's border.

§ 42.23 [If an o]x bec[omes wild an]d gores a man – [an enemy will take your] border town.

§ 42.24 [If an ox] sees [...] and drinks – an enemy: an adversar[y ...]

§ 42.25 [If an ox] drinks [... o]r urine –the are[a ...]

§ 42.26 [If an ox ...] ... – his land [will experience] famine [...].

§ 42.27 [If an ox ...] ... in its center ... [...]

§ 42.28 [If an ox ...] – that [c]ity ... [...]

§ 42.29' If an o[x...] *a man* [...] – for his ox *the man* [...]

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§ 42.30' If an o[x] enters a man's house – [the man's house will be deserted].

§ 42.31' If an ox enters a man's house and [*discharges* his] feces [*in a man's bed*] – the bed of the man[?] ... [...]

§ 42.32' If an ox ... in the man's house [...]

§ 42.33' If an ox enters a man's house and bellows [...]

§ 42.34' If an ox enters a man's house and [...] with its horn [and] kick[s up] dust with its hind legs – the lord of the house, his possessions ... [...]

§ 42.35' If an ox's eyes ... [...] in a man's house [...]

(ruling missing from K 02937+ .2)

§ 42.36' If an ox approaches a donkey (sexually) – the yoke [of the land will be strengthened ...]

§ 42.37' If an ox rubs against a donkey (sexually) – [desertion : an enemy assault on the man].

§ 42.38' If an ox approaches a horse (sexually) – the ki[ng will die and his land will become small : scattering of the man's house].

§ 42.39' If an ox rubs against a horse (sexually) – [defeat of the enemy : desertion of the man's house].

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§ 42.40’	[I]f oxen are lowing in the pen – the master of that pen will die.
§ 42.41’	If oxen are repeatedly raising their tails – the master of the pen will die.
§ 42.42’	If an ox’s right eye is runny out of its eyelid – that ox’s pen will be scattered.
§ 42.43’	If the hair on an ox’s haunch is curly – break.
§ 42.44’	[If an] ox, ... runs in his right eye (and) the hair is curly on his left (eye) – that animal pen will expand.
§ 42.45’	[If an o]x’s body is dyed full of white spots – the animal pen of the household will not thrive.
§ 42.46’	[If an ox ...] is born ... head [...]
§ 42.47’	If *aft*[*er*] an ox has given bir[th] and they opened its insides, it gets up and ... [...] – no one will take his property and ... [...]
§ 42.48’	If an ox gas[hes] the soil with its right horn [and ...] it repeatedly but[ts ...]
§ 42.49’	If an ox [gashes the soil with] its [left] horn [and] he repeatedly bu[tts] – the master of the bull will be lost[?], a god[?] ... he will die and ... [...]
§ 42.50’	If [*while crying* an ox] scatters its *t*[*ears*] (on) the ground [– the master of that bull *will die*].

SCORE AND COMMENTARY: ŠUMMA ĀLU 42

§ 42.1

BM 068437	*i 6'*	[... SILA.DAGA]L.LA *ir-ta-na-qú-ud*
K 02937+ .1	*1*	DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *ir-*[*ta-na-qu-du* ...]
K 04094	*ii 14'*	DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAG[AL.LA ...]
VAT 09438+	*iii 10'*	DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *ir-ta-na-qu-du*

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *ir-ta-na-qu-du* [...]

***šumma alpū ina rebīti irtanaqqudū* [...]**

If oxen are persistently dancing in the thoroughfare – [...]

Comments

A slight variation found within the catalogue BM 068437 is worth noting. While the Assur catalogue contains the verb *irtanaqqudū*, a plural form which fits with the plural subject GU$_4$.MEŠ, BM 068437 uses the singular verb *irtanaqqud*. It cannot be assumed that this singular verb indicates the subject is likewise singular, because the beginning of this line is broken away. However, *-ud* is undoubtedly the last sign of the line, as column one of BM 068437 ends immediately after it (Heeßel 2002, 235).

§ 42.2

K 02937+ .1	*2*	DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *i-t*[*a-na-ra-ru* ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *i-t*[*a-na-ra-ru* ...]

***šumma alpū ina rebīti it*[*tanarrarū*]**

If oxen are [constantly agitated] in the thoroughfare [...]

Comments

Our edition restores the protasis' verb from *arāru* "to be agitated," which appears in 41.29' and 30. As mentioned in the commentary of 41.29', this word is similar to the verb *arāru* "to curse." Unfortunately, no speculation can be offered as to the nature of this omen's apodosis.

§ 42.3

K 02937+ .1 *3* DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.ˈLAˈ ŠIKA.MEŠ ˹*i*˺-[*ku-su-su* ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.ˈLAˈ ŠIKA.MEŠ *i*-[*ku-su-su* ...]

***šumma alpū ina rebīti ḫaṣbī i*[*kassusū* ...]**

If oxen g[naw on] pottery in the thoroughfare [...]

Comments

The protasis of this omen is restored from the *Šumma izbu* omen 139' of Tablet 19 (De Zorzi 2014, 809), an omen that is equally fragmented, ending with *u iš-ḫi-il-ṣa i-ka-su-su* [...] "and chews a potsherd [...]." For the relation between ŠIKA (*ḫaṣbu*) and ŠIKA.KUD.DA (*išḫilṣa*) in omens, see De Zorzi 2019, 822, comment on *Šumma izbu* 19.139'.

§ 42.4

K 02937+ .1 *4* DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA SAḪAR.ḪI.A ˹*i*˺-[*ka-su-su* ...] *5 pi-ḫu-ú* ŠUB-*ma* ^{d}IM KUR [RA-*iṣ*]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA SAḪAR.ḪI.A *i*-[*ka-su-su* ...] *pi-ḫu-ú* ŠUB-*ma* ^{d}IM KUR [RA-*iṣ*]

***šumma alpū ina rebīti eprī i*[*kassusū* ...] *pīḫu imaqqutma* ^{d}*Adad māta* [*iraḫḫiṣ*]**

If oxen [chew] the soil in the thoroughfare [...] – the pīḫu will fall and Adad [will trample] the land.

Comments

This omen is similar to omen 136' of Tablet 19 in *Šumma izbu*, in which a bull chews dirt in the thoroughfare (De Zorzi 2014, 809). *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* translates *pi-ḫu-ú* ŠUB-*ma*, "the value of the *p*. will fall" (CAD P, 371a s.v. *pīḫu*). The word *pīḫu* refers to a type of measurement usually used for liquids but is also associated with the seah. It most often refers to the standard-capacity jug used for beer, and I have chosen to follow the translation found in

the CAD (P, 371a s.v. *pīḫu*). Deviating from CAD's translation, *If a City* 3 assumes *pi-hu-ú* was derived from the verb *peḫû* "to block," and translates this part of the apodosis, "an obstruction(?) will occur" (12). However, the translation *imaqqutma* as "will occur" is unattested (CAD M, 240b, s.v. *maqātu*), nor does the clause form any logical statement if the infinitive *peḫû* was intended. The CAD's translation makes better sense of the clause by translating *pīḫu* as a noun. However, it remains unclear how the decline of the *pīḫu* is correlated with the the second half of the apodosis. The second verb of the apodosis is restored based on a connection made by Andrew George between Adad and the verb *iraḫḫiṣ* in CUSAS 18.

Amidst the monstrous birth omens of MS 3000, there is an omen with an apodosis similar to the second half of 42.4. This Old Babylonian omen reads:

> DIŠ *iz-bu-um iš-tu li-bi um-mi-šu er-bé-ta-šu ki-ma ṣú-pu-ur i-me-ri-im* ^{d}*IM i-ra-ḫi-iṣ*
> If a miscarried fetus straight from its mother's womb, all four of its (hooves) are like a donkey's hoof: Adad will devastate (George 2013, 56).

In his commentary to this omen, Georges connects it to *Sagig* I 26, in which the trampling of donkeys is associated with the storm god Adad trampling the crops of the land (2013, 62-63). The same association is probably used in 42.4. The end of the protasis could be restored SAḪAR.ḪI.A *i-*[*ka-su-su-ma* RA-*ṣu*] "(If they) chew and trample the soil," based of this parallelism, but this remains mostly speculative.

This omen and 42.48'-49' are the only preserved omens in *Šumma ālu* 42 dealing with an ox's interactions with the ground. There are several omens in *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 802, Tablet 19 omens 82'-86') and also several in a ritual to obtain a *purussû* (Butler 1998, 371, lines 135-138) which involve an ox pawing or stirring up dust with their horns. We might expect there to be several more of these kinds of omens within Tablet 42 that are possibly lost in the gap between 42.28 and 29'.

§ 42.5

K 02937+ .1 *6* DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *it-*ˈ*ta*ˈ-[*na-a'-da-ru* BIR-*aḫ* URU]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *it-*ˈ*ta*ˈ-[*na-a'-da-ru* BIR-*aḫ* URU]
***šumma alpū ina rebīti itta*[*naddarū sapāḫ āli*]**

If oxen [are constantly acting w]ild in the thoroughfare – [scattering of the city].

Comments

This omen is restored from 43.5. Alternatively, it could also be partially restored from a similar *Šumma izbu* omen. This *Šumma izbu* 19.134' proceeds BE GU$_4$.ḪI.A *ina* TÙR-*šú-nu it-ta-na-az-ba-bu* É EN [GU$_4$ BI ...], "If bulls are extremely agitated in their pens – the house of the [bull's] master [...]" (De Zorzi 2014, 809). While the location mentioned in these two omens is different, the apodosis' verb in 42.5 could be *it-ta-*[*na-az-ba-bu*], the same as this *Šumma izbu* omen. This would change the apodosis to "If oxen are extremely agitated in the thoroughfare..." This a possibility given that the following omen, 42.6, parallels *Šumma izbu* 19.133'.

§ 42.6

K 02937+ .1 *7* ˹DIŠ˺ ˹GU$_4$˺.MEŠ *ina* SILA KUN-*šú-*˹*nu*˺ Í[L.MEŠ ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SILA KUN-*šú-nu* Í[L.MEŠ ...]

šumma alpū ina sūqi zibbātišunu i[naššû ...]

If oxen r[aise] their tails in the street [...]

Comments

If a City 3 compares this omen to *Šumma izbu* 19.133', but only marks the fragmentary sign Í[L] with "x" (12). There is no reason this protasis should not be fully restored from *Šumma izbu* 19.133' given the fact the first half of ÍL is visible. The protasis of this omen is similar in every way, excluding the writing of DIŠ instead of BE, to *Šumma izbu* 19.133' (De Zorzi 2014, 809). However, the apodosis cannot be restored from its parallel in *Šumma izbu* because of how widely apodoses differ from parallels in other Tablets and series.

§ 42.7

K 02937+ .1 *8* DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SI[LA ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* SI[LA ...]

šumma alpū ina sū[qi ...]

If oxen [...] in the st[reet ...]

§ 42.8

K 02937+ .1 *9* DIŠ GU4.MEŠ ˹x˺ [...] ˹x˺ U[RU ...]

DIŠ GU4.MEŠ x [...] x U[RU ...]

šumma alpū ... [...] ... ā[lu ...]

If oxen ... [...] ... a c[ity ...]

Comments

The earlier edition of this Tablet in *If a City* 3 confuses omens 8 and 9, swapping the two omens for each other. That edition also excludes the signs x [...] x U[RU ...] from its reconstruction, writing instead DIŠ GU4.[MEŠ ...] 'If oxen [...]' (*If a City* 3, 12). While the first two signs cannot be read, the final sign must be U[RU].

§ 42.9

K 02937+ .1 *10* DIŠ GU4.MEŠ ˹*ina*˺ [... *i?-lam?*]-*ma-mu* [...]

DIŠ GU4.˹MEŠ˺ *ina* [... *i?-lam?*]-*ma-mu* [...]

***šumma alpū ina* [... *ilam*]*mamū?* [...]**

If oxen are [*che*]*wing* [...] in [...]

Comments

If a City 3 confuses omen 8 and 9, swapping the two omens for each other. The verb *ilammamū* is restored from *Šumma ālu* 41.25'.

§ 42.10

K 02937+ .1 *11* DIŠ GU4.M[EŠ ...] ˹x˺ LUGAL *i-ta-nar-ra-˹ar˺*-[*ru* ...]

DIŠ GU4.M[EŠ ...] x LUGAL *i-ta-nar-ra-ar*-[*ru* ...]

***šumma alp*[*ū* ...] ... *šarri ītanarra*[*rū*...]**

If ox[en ar]e constantly agitat[ed ...] ... of the king [...]

Comments

If a City 3 restores this omen DIŠ GU$_4$.M[EŠ ... E]$_2$ LUGAL *it-ta-nar-ra-a*[*r-ru* ...] 'If oxen in the palace are persistently agitated [...]' (12). The translation of this reconstruction ignores the missing preposition as well as the unusual writing of É LUGAL. It's possible that the scribe wrote É LUGAL as a more poetic term for palace. Palace, *ekallu* in Akkadian, is rarely written É.LUGAL, and this form hardly ever appears outside of proper nouns (CAD E, 376b, s.v. *ekallu*). Regardless, the sign is too broken to be confidently restored as ˹É˺. Based on the surrounding omens, the preposition *ina* likely appears in the break. One possible reconstruction of these broken signs is DIŠ GU$_4$.M[EŠ *ina* IG]I LUGAL *i-ta-nar-ra-ar*-[*ru* ...] "If oxen are constantly agitat[ed before] the king [...]."

§ 42.11

K 02937+ .1 *12* DIŠ G[U$_4$ *ina* S]ÍSKUR *ip-ta-ru-ud* [...]

DIŠ G[U$_4$ *ina* S]ÍSKUR *ip-ta-ru-ud* [...]
***šumma a*[*lpu ina n*]*īqi iptarrud* [...]**

If an o[x] is constantly afraid [during an o]ffering [...]

Comments

Cow sacrifices are mentioned in several rituals like the *Ritual für das Bespannen der Kesselpauke* (Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987, 234-236) and in the Akītu festival (Debourse 2020, 286). This omen is like the sacrificial omens in *Šumma immeru,* which record observations made of sheep before and during a sacrifice. This omen is similar to an Old Babylonian *Šumma immeru* (Cohen 2020, 52 omen 34) in which a sheep quivers before it is sacrificed.

§ 42.12

K 02937+ .1 *13* DIŠ G[U$_4$ *ina*] SÍSKUR LUGAL *ip-ta-ru*-[*ud* ...] ˹x˺ x [...]

DIŠ G[U$_4$ *ina*] SÍSKUR LUGAL *ip-ta-ru*-[*ud* ...] ... [...]

šumma a[lpu ina] nīq šarri iptarr[ud ...] ... [...]

If an o[x] is constantly afraid [during] a king's offering [...]

Comments

The remnants of the last two signs are too broken to read.

§ 42.13

K 02937+ .1 *14* DIŠ GU$_4$ [*ina* SÍSKU]R LUGAL *in-nin-g*[*i-iš*$^{?}$*-ma*$^{?}$ *in-n*]*e-ru-*<*ub*>
DUMU LU[GAL ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ [*ina* SÍSKU]R LUGAL *in-nin-g*[*i-iš*$^{?}$*-ma*$^{?}$ *in-n*]*e-ru-*<*ub*>
DUMU LU[GAL ...]
šumma alpū [ina nī]q šarri inning[išma*$^{?}$ *inn*]*erru<b> mār ša[rri ...]

If an ox *go*[*es around*] the king's offer[ing and (then) ru]ns away – the son of the k[ing ...]

Comments

If a City 3 compares this omen to omen 141' of Tablet 19 in *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi, 809) without restoring from this parallel, but it is appropriate to fully restore this omen from *Šumma izbu*, since both halves of the two verbs in the protasis are preserved; both verbs parallel the *Šumma izbu* omen. This is the only omen in *Šumma izbu* 19 which takes place *ina* SÍSKUR "during the sacrifice."

There are multiple omens that contain DUMU LUGAL in their apodosis, but they vary too widely from one another to provide enough information to reconstruct this apodosis. The apodosis could be DUMU LUGAL *ina* URU *aš-bu* [ÚŠ?] "The son of the king [will die] in the city where he lives" (De Zorzi 2014, 583, Tablet 8 omen 111'); DUMU LUGAL AD-*šú i-bar* "The son of the king will rebel against his father" (De Zorzi 2014, 598, Tablet 9 omen 1); or DUMU LUGAL *šá* KUR KÚR ^{giš}GU.ZA AD-*šú* DAB-*ba*[*t*] "The son of a king of the enemy land will take the throne of his father" (De Zorzi 2014, 613, Tablet 10 omen 29). There are more variations to this apodosis, but most of them remain within the realm of a prince dying or taking the throne.

§ 42.14

K 02937+ .1 *15* DIŠ GU$_4$ [... SA]G.ˈDUˀ-ˈ*su*ˀ [... SUḪ]UŠ URU BI ˈxˀ [...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ [... SA]G.DU-*su* [... SUḪ]UŠ URU BI x [...]

***šumma alpu* [... *qaq*]*qassu* [... *iš*]*id āli šuāti* ... [...]**

If an ox [...] its hea[d ...] – that city's foundation ... [...]

§ 42.15

K 02937+ .1 *16* DIŠ GU$_4$ [...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ [...]

***šumma alpu* [...]**

If an ox [...]

§ 42.16

K 02937+ .1 *17* DIŠ GU$_4$ [...] *ina* KUR ZÁḪ EN SÍSK[UR ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ [... SÍSKUR ...] *ina* KUR ZÁḪ EN SÍSK[UR ...]

***šumma alpu* [... *nīqi* ...] *ina māti iḫliq bēl nīq*[*i* ...]**

If an ox [... an offering ...] is lost in the country – the owner of the offering [...]

Comments

It is possible that the phrase *ina* KUR ZÁḪ belongs to part of the apodosis. *If a City* 3 interprets it this way, reconstructing the omen DIŠ GU$_4$ [*ina* SIZKUR$_2$ ...] *ina* KUR ZAḪ$_2$ EN SIZK[UR$_2$ ...] "If an ox [during an offering ...] in the land will be lost, the owner of the offe[ring ...]" (12). However, seeing how *ina* KUR ZÁḪ aligns with the verb *ú-ḫaš-šal* in the protasis of 42.18 on this manuscript, it is just as likely that these signs belong in the protasis. The statement of the clause also fits logically with the protasis, which is why I have chosen to attribute it to the first part of this omen rather than the apodosis. *If a City* 3 assumes this omen and the next similarly involve oxen during an offering, as do 42.11-13, restoring [*ina* SIZKUR$_2$ ...] within the break.

If a City 3 rightly assumes that SÍSKUR plays a part in the protasis of this omen and the next, since the apodoses to these refer to *bēl nīqi* "the master of the offering." However, we cannot assume based solely on the similar reference to SÍSKUR that this omen and the next are exactly the same as 42.11-13. For this reason, it is necessary to omit the preposition *ina*, only restoring SÍSKUR to the break.

§ 42.17

K 02937+ .1 *18* DIŠ G[U$_4$ ...] EN SÍSKUR BI E[N ...]

DIŠ G[U$_4$ ... SÍSKUR ...] EN SÍSKUR BI E[N ...]

***šumma al*[*pu ... nīqi ...*] *bēl nīqi šuāti bē*[*l ...*]**

If an o[x ... an offering ...] – the owner of that offering [...] the own[er...].

Comments

If a City 3 restores [*ina* SÍSKUR] to the apodosis of this omen, just as in 42.16, for reasons explained in the previous omen's comments. It likely contained some reference to an offering in the protasis as *If a City* 3 suggests, but it is unclear how it relates to the actions of the bull. This requires the omission of the preposition *ina* from the restoration, as this implies more than should be assumed.

§ 42.18

K 02937+ .1 *19* DIŠ G[U$_4$ ...] ˹x˺ ZA *ú-ḫaš-šal* SU.GU$_7$ [...]

DIŠ G[U$_4$ ...] x ZA *ú-ḫaš-šal* SU.GU$_7$ [...]

***šumma a*[*lpu ...*] *... uḫaššal ḫušaḫḫu* [*...*]**

If an o[x] is crushing [...] ... – famine [...]

Comments

The meaning of the first two signs after the break are unclear, but the reading of the second as ZA is definite. The first sign appears to be broken in half and cannot be identified. The

direct object of the protasis must remain undetermined until these signs can be identified by a restoration of the broken center fragment.

§ 42.19

K 02937+ .1 *20* DIŠ [G]U$_4$ *ina* ˹ÍD˺ [... *šap*$^?$]-*liš*$^?$ *ap-pí* A ÍD *i-ma-q*[*u*$^?$-*ut*$^?$ ...]

DIŠ [G]U$_4$ *ina* ÍD [... *šap*$^?$]-*liš*$^?$ *ap-pí* A ÍD *i-ma-q*[*u*$^?$-*ut*$^?$...]

***šumma* [*al*]*pu ina nāri* [... *šap*]*liš*$^?$ *appi mê nāri imaq*[*qut*$^?$...]**

If an [o]x in the canal [... – downs]tream$^?$ the causeway for the water of the canal will *col*[*lapse*].

Comments

If a City 3 compares this omen to omen 140’ from Tablet 19 in *Šumma izbu* (14, n. 19). However, the apodosis of the *Šumma izbu* omen is different: BE GU$_4$.ḪI.A *ina* ÍD A.MEŠ ˹*ina*˺ ˹x˺ [x x] ˹x˺ ˹x˺ *ap-pí* ÍD BI ŠUB : *ina* ÉR [...] “If an ox in a canal [...] ... the causeway of that canal will fall into disuse; with weeping [...]” (De Zorzi 2014, 809). It is possible the final word is not *i-ma-q*[*u-ut*] but *i-ma-a*[*l-la*], meaning “it will fill”, however this differs from the ŠUB in *Šumma izbu* 19.140’. The verb *maqātu* does not take a direct object which fits better here because the first four words of the apodosis seem to be genitive construct. If the reading [*šap*]-*liš* is incorrect, then *If a City* 3’s translation of the apodosis may be the correct interpretation of this omen. *If a City* 3 reconstructions omen 42.19, DIŠ GU$_4$ *ina* ID$_2$ [A.MEŠ ...] x *ap-pi*$_2$ A ID$_2$ *i-ma-a*[*l*? ...], translating it, “If an ox in a river [...] the water of the river will fi]ll(?)...] the causeway [...]” (12). The translation in *If a City* 3 is based off the assumption that *appi* is a genitive noun, attached to a direct object which is missing from the beginning of the apodosis according to *If a City* 3’s reconstruction.

§ 42.20

K 02937+ .1 *21* DIŠ [G]U$_4$ GIM LÚ UR[U ...] URU BI MUNUS.KALA.GA [DAB-*su*]

DIŠ [G]U$_4$ GIM LÚ UR[U *i*$^?$-*da*$^?$-*al*$^?$] URU BI MUNUS.KALA.GA [DAB-*su*]

***šumma* [*al*]*pu kīma amēli āl*[*a ...*] *ālu šū dannata* [*iṣabbassu*]**

If [an o]x like a man [*wanders*] (around) the city – that city [will be seized] by distress.

Comments

It is possible that the verb of the protasis is something other than "wanders," but the theme of wandering quadrupeds is a motif that appears multiple times in *Šumma ālu* (See 43.52', 44.5', 44.46', and an unplaced chariot omen). This is the one occasion where the movement of livestock is compared to a human in movement.

§ 42.21

K 02937+ .1 *22* [DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-še-gi-m*[*a* ...] LÚ *i-di-id*$^?$ URU BI KÚR [KUR-*ad*]

[DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-še-gi-m*[*a* ...] LÚ *i-di-id*$^?$ URU BI KÚR [KUR-*ad*]

[*šumma alp*]*u iššegīm*[*a ...*] *amēla īdid*$^?$ *āla šuāti nakru* [*ikaššad*]

[If an o]x becomes wild a[nd ...] ... a man – an enemy [will conquer] that city.

Comments

The present author restored the apodosis from *Šumma ālu* 13.14 (*If a City* 1, 208). The previous edition of Tablet 42 in *If a City* 3 restored this omen, [DIŠ] GU$_4$ *iš-še-gi-ma* LU$_2$ *i-di-ša.*(?) URU BI KUR$_2$ [...] "[If] an ox goes wild ... a man, an enemy [will ...] that city" (12). However, collation with K 02937+ found a break between *iš-š-gi-m*[*a*] and LÚ and found the reading *i-di-ša* to be incorrect. Unfortunately, the verb *i-di-id* cannot be identified at this time. While creating this new edition, it was originally concluded that the sign *di* was in fact *ki,* creating the verb *i-ki-id* which was identified with *ekēdu* "to behave aggressive" (AHw, 193b, s.v. *ekēdu*). This meaning would have fit nicely with the beginning of the protasis, but *ekēdu* only has the meaning "to behave aggressively" in the D-stem (CAD U/W, 56a, s.v. *ukkudu*). After addressing the problem, Dr. De Zorzi suggested that the sign was in fact *di* and that no verb could be linked to this form at the present time. This omen and the following two omens deal with an ox acting wild around a man.

§ 42.22

K 02937+ .1 *23* [DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-še-*ˈ*gi*ˌ*-ma* LÚ *i-ṭ*[*i*]*-ir* URU BI ZAG-*šú* [KÚR TI-*qé*]

[DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-še-gi-ma* LÚ *i-ṭ*[*i*]-*ir* URU BI ZAG-*šú* [KÚR TI-*qé*]

[*šumma alp*]*u iššegīma amēla īṭ*[*i*]*r ālu šū pāṭšu* [*nakru ileqqe*]

[If an o]x becomes wild and ta[kes] a man away – [an enemy will take] that city's border.

Comments

The protasis of this omen seems to connect to the apodosis through the synonymity between the verbs *īṭir* and *ileqqe*. This was suggested to me by Dr. De Zorzi after discussing the possible reading of *i*-[*már*]-*ir* instead of *i-ṭ*[*i*]-*ir*. The verb *marāru* "to break in (a field)" (i.e. to plow), was a possibility I explored, but it would have been a hapax legomena in this context since it has never appeared in an omen text nor has it taken LÚ as a direct object (CAD M/I, 268b, s.v. *marāru* B). If the scribes intended to use *marāru* in this way, it could have been a poetic way of saying the ox trampled the man. In English, "plow" has this double meaning, implying both an agricultural action and the act of running over something. Although this reading has been dismissed, the very broken commentary text to *Šumma ālu* 42, K 02919+, hints at a reference to a ^{giš}APIN "plow" in line 21 which has not been connected with any omen in Tablet so far (see *If a City* 3, 11 for a partial edition of this commentary text). It may be connected to omen 42.36' which contains *ni-ir* "yoke" in its apodosis, but it remains unclear whether the apodosis of this omen is restored from *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 551, Tablet 7 omen 158').

§ 42.23

K 02937+ .1 *24* [DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-š*[*e-gi-m*]*a* LÚ *ik-kip* ˹URU˺ ZAG-*k*[*a* KÚR TI-*qé*]

[DIŠ GU]$_4$ *iš-š*[*e-gi-m*]*a* LÚ *ik-kip* URU ZAG-*k*[*a* KÚR TI-*qé*]

[*šumma alp*]*u išš*[*egīm*]*a amēla ikkip āl pāṭik*[*a nakru ileqqe*]

[If an o]x bec[omes wild an]d gores a man – [an enemy will take your] border town.

Comments

The apodosis of this omen is restored from *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 552, Tablet 7 omen 167').

§ 42.24

K 02937+ .1 *25* [... *i*]-*mur-ma iš-*˹*ti*˺ ˹KÚR˺ ˹:˺ *lum-n*[*u* ...]

[DIŠ GU$_4$ ... *i*]-*mur-ma iš-ti* KÚR : *lum-n*[*u* ...]

[*šumma alpu ... ī*]*murma išti nakru* : *lumn*[*u ...*]

[If an ox] sees [...] and drinks – an enemy: an adversar[y ...]

§ 42.25

K 02937+ .1 *26* [... *l*]*u* KÀŠ *iš-ti* K[I ...]

[DIŠ GU$_4$ ... *l*]*u* KÀŠ *iš-ti* K[I ...]

[*šumma alpu ... l*]*ū šīnāta išti ašr*[*u ...*]

[If an ox] drinks [... o]r urine –the are[a ...]

§ 42.26

K 02937+ .1 *27* [DIŠ GU$_4$ ...] ˹x˺-*am* SU.GU$_7$ KUR-*su* [...]

[DIŠ GU$_4$ ...] x-*am* SU.GU$_7$ KUR-*su* [IGI ...]

[*šumma alpu ...*] ... *ḫušaḫḫa māssu* [*immar ...*]

[If an ox ...] ... – his land [will experience] famine [...].

Comments

In apodoses involving famine, it is commonly people or a place that experience a famine. The verbs used are usually GÁL-*ši* "he/she will have" a famine, DAB-*bat* "he/she will be taken" by famine, or IGI "he/she will experience" a famine. IGI or GÁL-*ši* are the more likely endings to this apodosis, as their signs would fit within the remaining space on the line; there is not enough space for DAB-*bat* to be written. IGI is inserted here, since out of these three possibilities it takes up the least amount of space on the line.

§ 42.27

K 02937+ .1 *28* [DIŠ GU$_4$ ...] x-*ma ina* ŠÀ-*šú* ˹x˺ [...]

[DIŠ GU$_4$ ...] x-*ma ina* ŠÀ-*šú* x [...]

[*šumma alpu* ...] ... *ina libbišu* ... [...]

[If an ox ...] ... in its center ... [...]

Comments

In 1976 Sally Moren-Freedman joined K 02937 + K 08903 to the bottom of K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853. However, this was later deemed a false join after the edition of K 18888 to K 08903 by W.G. Lambert. The conservators at the British Museum who identified this false join separated K 02937 + K 08903 + K 18888 from the bottom half of K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853 (see pages 66-67). K 02937 + K 08903 + K 18888 are part of the same manuscript as K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853, but they do not physically join. These two halves are labeled K 02937+ .1 (= K 06136 + K 10173 + K 12101 + K 12214 + K 12532 + K 12853) and K 02937+ .2 (= K 02937 + K 08903 + K 18888). This false join changes the omen and line numbering of this manuscript from that of *If a City* 3. Misled by the false join, *If a City* 3 incorrectly assumes that lines 28-29 of K 02937+ .1, the last two lines on the joined fragment K 12532, joined K 02937+.2 line 1-2, which are the first two lines on fragment K 08903; K 08903 preserves the left-hand part of the lower half of the manuscript K 02937+ .2 with the beginning of the omens. Since the remnant of a blank line is visible right below the first attested omen on K 08903, *If a City* 3 erroneously assumes that it contained the beginning of an indented apodosis, of which K 02937+ .1 29' contained the middle section of *If a City* 3's omen 27. Due to this misunderstanding, *If a City* 3 reconstructed omen 27, DIŠ G[U$_4$ ...]-*ma ina* ŠA$_3$-*šu$_2$* [...] URU BI [...] "If an ox [...] and inside it [...], that [ci]ty [...]" (13). After removing the false join, it remains unclear whether line 28 and line 29 of K 02937+.1 are a part of the same omen. Thus omen 27 which consisted of two lines according to *If a City* 3, a combination of the last two lines of K 02937+ .1 and the first two lines of K 02937+ .2, has been separated here into three different omens: 27, 28, and 29'. Omens 27 and 28 correspond to the last two lines of K 02937+ .1, which are lines 28 and 29. Omen 29' corresponds to the first and second lines of K 02937+ .2, which are labeled lines 30' and 31' for the sake of showing K 02937+ .2 is a continuation of K

02937+ .1. This non-physical join creates a gap in the omen sequence that is not included in *If a City* 3, and further complications to the omen numbering of *Šumma ālu* 42 arise from this gap. The omen numbering in the present edition thus differs from *If a City* 3 after omen 27.

§ 42.28

K 02937+ .1 *29* [DIŠ GU$_4$ ... U]RU BI ˹x˺ [...]

[DIŠ GU$_4$ ... U]RU BI x [...]

[*šumma alpu ... ā*]*lu šū* ... [...]

[If an ox ...] – that [c]ity ... [...]

Comments

See the philological commentary to 42.27 for an explanation of the deviation from *If a City* 3, 13, Tablet 42 omen 27. Because the tablet is broken, it is unclear whether lines 27 and 28 of K 02937+ consist of one omen. For the time being until further joins are made, they should be kept separated. It is possible that the first line of the excerpt text K 05657 belongs with this omen, but the line is too broken to be certain.

The gap after this omen is a new discovery, but very few omens are missing in this gap. Given the large size of K 02973+ .1 and .2, 14.8cm long, it is likely that there are no more than five lines missing in this gap. The colophon closes this Tablet on the reverse side of K 02937+ .2 r. 6', which is why the reverse of K 02937+ .1 is blank. Therefore, the gap only exists on the obverse, which is more evidence that this is a small gap (see pages 67-68 for more on the colophon in K 02937+ .2). The five lines missing could be the five consumption omens regarding oxen that appear in *Šumma ālu* 94 (Boddy 2021, omens 1-3, 22, and 29). See pages 181-184 for more on consumption omens.

(GAP)

§ 42.29'

BM 039216 *1'* [...] ˹LÚ˺? *diš*? *la*? [...] *2'* ˹*ana*˺ GU$_4$-*šu* ˹LÚ?˺ [...] (ruling)

K 02937+ .2 *30'* DIŠ G[U$_4$ ...] *31'* [...] (ruling)

DIŠ G[U$_{4...}$] LÚ$^{?}$ *diš$^{?}$ la* [...] *ana* GU$_4$-*šu* LÚ$^{?}$ [...]

šumma a[lpu...] amēli$^{?}$ ... [...] ana alpišu amēlu$^{?}$ [...]

If an o[x...] *a man* [...] – for his ox *the man* [...]

Comments

See the philological commentary to 42.27 for an explanation of the deviation from *If a City* 3's edition. This is the beginning of K 08903, which joins K 02937 + K 18888 and are labeled K 02937+ .2. These three fragments are a non-physical join to K 02937+ .1. There is a large enough space between line 30' and the ruling for a second line to exist, which would likely be a continuation of omen 29'. This matches with BM 039216 which also has this omen written on two lines. The ruling in K 02937+ .2 marks the beginning of a sequence of five omens starting with 42.30' that contain the protasis DIŠ *ana* É NA GU$_4$, respectively.

§ 42.30'

BM 039216	*3'*	DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-[*ub* ...]
K 02937+ .2	*32'*	DIŠ *ana* ˹É˺ [...]
K 05657	*4'*	[D]IŠ *ana* É NA G[U$_4$ ...]

Parallel text:

VAT 10504+	*r. iv 28'*	[DIŠ G]U$_4$ *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ub* ŠUB-˹*e*˺ [...]

DIŠ *ana* É NA GU$_4$ KU$_4$-[*ub* ŠUB-*e* É NA GÁL-*ši*]

***šumma ana bīt amēli alpu īrub nadê* [*bīt amēli ibbašši*]**

If an o[x] enters a man's house – [the man's house will be deserted].

Comments

The apodosis of this omen is tentatively restored from *Šumma ālu* 41.21 (see page 40). This is the first omen in a sequence of omens involving an ox and a man's house, omens 42.30-35. More specifically, the first five omens of the sequence involve an ox entering the house and the last deals with an ox already within the house. The excerpt text K 05657 cites omens 42.30'-32' and 34' from this sequence. *If a City* 3 attempted to place lines 4'-9' of K 05657 within

42.30-35 (216), failing to make the parallel between K 05657 line 6’ and K 08013 line 1’. This is further discussed in the next omen commentary.

The parallel omens of VAT 10504+ are house omens taken from various Tablets. These ox omens come directly after ghost omens, probably because the sign for ox, GU$_4$, can also be read *eṭemmu*, “ghost” (Heeßel 2007, 29, n. IV 28’-30’). See the introduction to *Šumma ālu* 42, pages 70-71, for more on VAT 10504+.

§ 42.31’

BM 039216	*4’*	DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹ŠURUN˺-[*su* ...]	
K 02937+ .2	*33’*	˹DIŠ˺ ˹*ana*˺ ˹É˺ [...]	
K 05657	*5’*	DIŠ *ana* É NA G[U$_4$ ...]	*6’* (indent) giš N[Á ...]
K 08013	*1’*	˹NA˺? x x [...]	[... giš]NÁ

Parallel text:

VAT 10504+	*r. iv 29’*	[DIŠ G]U$_4$ *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* ŠURUN-*su* [...]

DIŠ *ana* É NA GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma* ŠURUN-[*su ina* giš NÁ NA *it-bu-uk*] giš NÁ NA? ... [...]

***šumma ana bīt amēli alpu īrubma kabīs*[*su ina ereš amēli itbuk*] *ereš amēli*?... [...]**

If an ox enters a man’s house and [*discharges* his] feces [*in a man’s bed*] – the bed of the man? ... [...]

Comments

If a City 3 reads lines 31 and 32 of K 02937+ .2, which are numbered 33’ and 34’ here, as one omen: 31-32 DIŠ *ana* E$_2$ [...] / E$_2$ L[U$_2$ ...] (198). However, it is unlikely that these two lines belong to the same omen. Even though the signs É LÚ regularly appear in the apodosis of *Šumma ālu* omens, these two signs consistently appear in the protasis of omens 42.30’-35’. The only evidence that suggests these two lines might belong together is found in the two excerpt texts which have written this omen on two lines. However, these excerpt texts, particularly K 08013, have shorter lines than the standard texts K 02937+ .2 and BM 039216. This is evident in

omen 42.42’ which was written on one line in BM 039216 but written on two lines in K 05657 and K 08013. The fact these excerpt texts were shorter than the standard texts is particularly true of K 08013 because omen 42.34’ is written on three lines in this manuscript when it is written on only two in all other manuscripts. This means that it is inconclusive to say that this omen was written on two lines in K 02937+ .2 based on the fact the excerpt texts K 05657 and K 08013 have written it on two lines. Further evidence that suggests these two lines are two separate omens in K 02937+ .2 is apparent in the only preserved signs of line 34’ of K 02937+ .2. Only the bottom halves of É LÚ are visible and there is a break before the beginning of this line. This means DIŠ *ana* could have easily been written in the break before É LÚ. This compiling evidence, that K 05657 and K 08013 do not provide evidence that this omen was written on two lines and that DIŠ *ana* could have been written in the break before É LÚ in line 34’, suggests line 34’ of K 02937+ .2 is actually a part of the protasis for omen 42.32’ and not a part of the apodosis of 42.31’.

The transliteration of K 08013 in *If a City* 3 differs here from my transliteration. *If a City* 3 reads K 08013 line 1’, [...] GIG BI NA [...] (216). The signs GIG and NÁ are similar, and with the poorly preserved nature of K 08013, either reading seems possible. However, the sign more closely resembles NÁ, a reading which is reinforced by its parallel in the excerpt text K 05657. This mistaken reading of K 08013 line 1’ led *If a City* 3 to reconstruct this omen as 42.29a: DIŠ *ana* E_2 LU_2 GU_4 *u₂-ši-ir* [...] GIG BI NA [...] “ If an ox goes straight(?) to a man’s house [...] that sickness, the man [...]” (*If a City* 3, 13). Since collation of K 08013 and K 05657, what were once omens 42.29 and 42.29a in *If a City* 3 are now the same omen, 42.30’. The missing part of the protasis of this omen has been restored from a similar omen, *Šumma ālu* 41.41’, where a sheep discharges its feces in a man’s bed (pages 53-54).

While restoring this omen, I originally concluded that ^{giš}NÁ was part of the protasis based on similarities between this omen and 41.41’. However, after further investigation it became clear that K 05657, an excerpt text, writes this omen on two lines. The signs ^{giš}NÁ appear on the second line and come after an indentation—something similar may also occur in K 08013 but this text is not as well preserved. This suggests that ^{giš}NÁ is in fact part of the apodosis of this omen. This does not discount the restoration of [^{giš}NÁ] to the protasis on the basis of its similarity to 41.41’, however. On the contrary, the appearance of ^{giš}NÁ in the

apodosis reinforces the reconstruction of the protasis from omen 41.41' because it forms a connection between the protasis and the apodosis.

This omen may be referenced in the commentary text to *Šumma ālu* 42, K 02919+ (see *If a City* 3, 11, for a partial edition of this commentary text). The only signs preserved in line 19 of K 02919+ are *zi-e* "excrement." This could mean that this line refers to 42.31' or another omen involving feces which is not preserved in *Šumma ālu* 42.

§ 42.32'

BM 039216	*5'*	DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ *ú-ši-ir* [...]
K 02937+ .2	*34'*	[DIŠ *an*]*a* ˹É˺ L[Ú ...]
K 05657	*7'*	˹DIŠ˺ *ana* É NA GU[$_4$ ...]

DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ *ú-ši-ir* [...]

***šumma ana bīt amēli alpu uššir* [...]**

If an ox ... in the man's house [...]

Comments

If a City 3's reads omens 42.31' and 32', lines 33' and 34', as one omen in the score to K 02937+ .2 (198). Evidence suggests that this is not the case, and this is fully discussed in the first paragraph of the commentary to 42.31'. *If a City* 3 also assumes K 08013 is a standard text and places line 2' with omen 30, here omen 33', and line 1' with omen 29, here omen 32', but as discussed in the introduction to this Tablet and in the philological commentary of omen 31', this manuscript is an excerpt text not containing omen 32'.

BM 039216 is the only manuscript which preserves the protasis' verb. *If a City* 3 tentatively assumed the verb comes from *ešēru* "to go straight towards," translating the verb as a Št-stem, "goes straight(?)" (13). However, the Št-stem form of *ešēru* in omen 42.32' is unattested, and elsewhere the Št-stem form is written *uš-te-ši-ir* (CAD E, 358b, s.v. *ešēru*). This suggests an entirely different verb was intended. One alternative verb that fits the form *ú-ši-ir* comes from *uššuru,* "to set free" or "to leave," which is written *ú-ši-ir* or *uš-ši-ir* in the third-person preterite singular (CAD U/W, 310b, and 313b, s.v. *uššuru*). However, the reconstruction of *uššuru* has several difficulties.

The verb *uššuru* does not appear without a direct object which means it is a transitive verb. In omens 42.30'-31' and 33'-35', *ana* É LÚ is a genitive construct which does act as a direct object. If *ú-ši-ir* is interpreted as a transitive third-person preterite verb, LÚ must act either as a direct object or as the subject of the clause. This would change the structure of the *ana* É LÚ in the clause to either *šumma ana bīti amēla alpu uššir* "If an ox leaves a man towards the house" or *šumma ana bīti amēlu alpa uššir* "If a man releases an ox in the house." If *ana* É LÚ is assumed to be a genitive construct in 42.32' like it is in the surrounding omens, then an unnamed subject must be involved. The clause would then be *šumma ana bīt amēli alpa uššir* "If (someone) released an ox in a man's house." However, the most plausible explaniation is that this verb is either incomplete or a clue to its analysis lies in the break. Dr. De Zorzi tentatively suggested the verb could be restored *uš-še-er*-[*re-eb*], but she submitted that similar problems as those discussed regarding *uššuru* arise from this restoration.

§ 42.33'

BM 039216	*6'*	DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹*is*˺-[*si* ...]
K 02937+ .2	*35'*	DIŠ *ana* É L[Ú ...]
K 08013	*2'*	[DIŠ *ana* É] ˹NA˺ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma is-si* [...]

Parallel text:

VAT 10504+	*r. iv 30'*	[DIŠ G]U$_4$ *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* GÙ-*s*[*i* ...]

DIŠ *ana* É NA GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma is-si* [...]

***šumma ana bīt amēli alpu īrubma issi* [...]**

If an ox enters a man's house and bellows [...]

Comments

This omen is one of the several sound omens from Tablets 41-43. The sound omens are discussed in the latter half of chapter five with the other heterogenous omens from these Tablets (see pages 184-187).

If a City 3 omits the final sign of this omen from the score of BM 039216. This sign, *is*, is key in placing this omen with 42.33' as it restores half of the protasis' verb. This sign enabled

me to deduce that BM 039216, an excerpt text in *If a City* 3, is in fact a standard text.

§ 42.34’

BM 039216	*7’*	˹DIŠ˺ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma ina* ˹SI˺ [...]
	8’	(indent) ˹SAḪAR˺.ḪI.˹A˺ *i-šal*-[*la* ...]
K 02937+ .2	*36’*	DIŠ *ana* É ˹LÚ˺ [...]
	37’	SAḪAR.[ḪI.A ...]
K 05657	*8’*	[DIŠ *ana*] ˹É˺ NA GU[$_4$ ...]
		9’ [...] EN É [...] (ruling)
K 08013	*3’*	[DIŠ *ana*] ˹É˺ ˹NA˺ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma ina* SI-˹*šú*˺ ˹x˺ [...] *4’* (indent) *ina* GÌR.II-*šú* EGIR.MEŠ ˹x˺ [...] *5’* (indent) EN É NÍG.ŠU-*šú* ˹x˺ [...]

Parallel text:

VAT 10504+	*r. iv 31’*	[DIŠ GU]$_4$ *ana* É NA KU$_4$ *ina* SI-*š*[*ú* ...] *r. iv 32’* [*i*]-˹*na*˺ GÌR.MEŠ-*šú* EG[IR.MEŠ ...]

DIŠ *ana* É LÚ GU$_4$ KU$_4$-*ma ina* SI-*šu* x [...] *ina* GÌR.MEŠ-*šú* EGIR.MEŠ SAḪAR.ḪI.A *i-šal*-[*la*] EN É NÍG.ŠU-*šú* x [...]

šumma ana bīt amēli alpu īrubma ina qarnīšu ... [...] ina šēpīšu arkāti eprī išal[la] bēl bīti būšašu ... [...]

If an ox enters a man’s house and [...] with its horn [and] kick[s up] dust with its hind legs – the lord of the house, his possessions ... [...]

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* 19.84’ and 85’ (De Zorzi 2014). These two omens are a left-right construct where the bull *ina* SI.[MEŠ]-*šú ki-la-tan* KI *i-ge-eš ina* GÌR-*šú ša* 15/150 SAḪA[R.ḪI.A *i-šal-la*] “dishevels the earth with its horn[s] (and) [throws up] di[rt] with its right/left foot” (De Zorzi 2014, 802). It is possible that the broken sign at the end of line 3’ in K 08013 is KI, which would suggest both parts of the protasis under discussion are similar to these two *Šumma izbu* omens.

If a City 3 assumed this omen is two separate omens, numbered omen 31 and 32 in *If a City* 3’s edition. This assumption was based off the belief that K 08013 is a standard text when it

is in fact an excerpt text (see pages 68-69 of the introduction to *Šumma ālu* 42). This omen was typically written on two lines, but K 08013 has it written on three lines. There are two possible explanations for this: this manuscript was either narrower than the others or it consisted of two columns instead of one (see page 68 for a further discussion on this). Either way, this manuscript was only slightly smaller than K 05657 as they both write 42.31' on two lines while all the other manuscripts have it on one. The indentation barely visible in lines 4' and 5' of K 08013 suggest as much since the indentations are only needed if the omen barely extends beyond two lines. *If a City* 3, assuming these three lines were two separate omens, transcribed line 3', [...] E_2 NA GU_4 TU-*ma ina* SI-*šu₂* [...], and lines 4'-5' [...] GIR_3.2-*šu₂* EGIR.MEŠ x [...] / EN E_2 NIG_2.ŠU-*šu₂* [...] (222). *If a City* 3 placed line 3' with omen 31, here omen 34', and lines 4'-5' with omen 32, here omen 35'. However, if lines 4'-5' belonged to omen 35', *If a City* 3 failed to account for lack of space for the first five signs which it restored to the beginning of line 4': [DIŠ *ina* E_2 LU_2 *ina*] GIR_3.2-*šu₂* EGIR.MEŠ [...] EN E_2 NIG_2.ŠU-*šu₂* [...] (*If a City 3*, 13, omen 32). It is clear the indentation at the beginning of line 4' left no space for the five signs [DIŠ *ina* E_2 LU_2 *ina*]. *If a City* 3 also omits the last line of BM 039216, line 8', from its transliterations, suggesting the "(traces)" of that line belong to omen 32 (254). In fact, this line belonged to this two-line omen, 42.34'.

If a City 3 restored omen 42.34', DIŠ *ana* E_2 LU_2 GU_4 TU-*ma* SI-*šu₂* [...] *iš*-[...] (13, omen 31). This restoration was based off of *If a City* 3's transliteration of K 02937+ .2 lines 36'-37'. However, after collation of K 02937+ .2, it became clear that the only sign preserved on line 37' was not *iš* but SAḪAR. After discussing this with Dr. De Zorzi, she suggested a new reading of VAT 10504+ which led to the discoveries regarding K 08013 already discussed.

The parallel text VAT 10504+ is a Middle Assyrian manuscript. Nils Heeßel originally read the first sign of line *r. iv 32'* as NA for *amēlu* (2007, 29), but Middle Assyrian texts customarily wrote *ina* phonetically, *i-na*. This was brought to my attention by Dr. De Zorzi, who suggested this is a second line of a two-line omen, which makes it a parallel to 42.34'. After line *r. iv 32'*, VAT 10504+ breaks off making this the last preserved parallel omen to *Šumma ālu* 42 in this Middle Assyrian text.

§ 42.35'

BM 039216 *r. 1* DIŠ *ina* É LÚ *šá* GU_4 IGI.II-⌜*šú*⌝ [...] (ruling)

K 02937+ .2 *38'* DIŠ *ina* É L[Ú ...]
K 08013 *6'* DIŠ *ina* É NA *ša* GU$_4$ IGI.II-*šú* ˹x˺ [...] (ruling)

DIŠ *ina* É LÚ *ša* GU$_4$ IGI.II-*šú* x [...]
***šumma ina bīt amēli ša alpi īnāšu ...* [...]**

If an ox's eyes ... [...] in a man's house [...]

Comments

The rulings of BM 039216 and K 08013 differ from the standard text K 02937+ .2. Because it is an excerpt text, K 08013 naturally differs, but it is unclear why BM 039216 has this extra ruling. *If a City* 3 assumes K 08013 was a standard text (10), but this is unlikely for the reasons discussed in the introduction to *Šumma ālu* 42.

§ 42.36'
BM 039216 *r. 2* DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE TE *ni-˹ir˺* [...]
K 02937+ .2 *39'* DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* [...]
K 05657 *2'* ˹DIŠ˺ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE [...]
K 08013 *7'* DIŠ GU$_4$ ˹*ana*˺ ˹ANŠE˺ ˹TE˺ ˹*ni*˺-[*ir* ...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE TE *ni-ir* [KUR *i-dan-nin* ...]
***šumma alpu ana imēri iṭḫi nīr*[*māti idannin ...*]**

If an ox approaches a donkey (sexually) – the yoke [of the land will be strengthened ...]

Comments

This omen begins a four-omen sequence of sexual omens until 42.39'. It is partially restored from *Šumma ālu* 80.20 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021), but was likely not exactly the same. *Šumma ālu* 80 contains omens regarding the unusual sexual activity of animals and is more fully discussed in context to omens 42.36'-39' in chapter five (see pages 174-181). Omen 42.36' isn't fully restored from 80.20 because 80.20 is longer and would have been necessarily written on two lines here due to its additional length. The full reconstruction of 80.20 is

> DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE TE *ni-ir* [KUR *i-dan-nin* KI.MIN (ŠUB-*e* É NA GÁL-*ši*) BIR-*aḫ* É LÚ : LUGAL KUR x x KUR-*ád*
>
> If a bull approaches a donkey (for sex): the yoke of the land will become strong. Ditto, dispersal of the man's house (or) the king of the land will reach/be defeated [...] ...
>
> (2021, 363)

While it is only written on one line in the manuscripts that restore 80.20, it cannot be assumed that KI.MIN could have been used in 42.36', since the omen preceding 80.20 differs from 42.35'.

If a City 3 reads *i$_3$-li$_2$* instead of *ni-ir*. These are not different signs, *i$_3$-li$_2$* and *ni-ir* are different interpretation of the same signs. However, Boddy's suggestion is more plausible given the context is regarding oxen, which were plow animals. This omen may be referenced in the very broken commentary text to *Šumma ālu* 42, K 02919+, which references a ^{giš}APIN "plow" in line 21. This line cannot be firmly connected with any omen in this Tablet (see *If a City* 3, 11 for a partial edition of this commentary text), but this omen or 42.22 are its most likely connection.

§ 42.37'

BM 039216	*r. 3*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* ˹x˺ [...]
K 02937+ .2	*40'*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* [...]
K 05657	*3'*	˹DIŠ˺ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE [...] (ruling)
K 08013	*r. 1*	[DIŠ GU$_4$] *ana* ANŠE *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* [...]

DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* [ŠUB : ZI-*ut* KÚR *ana* NA]

***šumma alpu ana imēri uḫanniṣ* [*nadê : tibût nakri ana amēli*]**

If an ox rubs against a donkey (sexually) – [desertion : an enemy assault on the man].

<u>Comments</u>

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 80.21 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 363). The parallel sexual omens that appear in Tablets 42 and 80 are more fully discussed in chapter five. Just as in Tablet 80, omens 42.36'-39' follow a pattern *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ–iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* in the protasis (see pages 175-176).

§ 42.38’

BM 039216	*r. 4*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA ˹TE˺-˹*ḫi*˺ [...]
K 02937+ .2	*41’*	˹DIŠ˺ [GU]$_4$ [...]
K 08013	*r. 2*	[DIŠ GU$_4$] *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA TE LUG[AL ...]
2NT 418	*1*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE. [...] (*If a City* 3, 268)

DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA TE LUG[AL ÚŠ-*ma* KUR-*su* TUR-*ir* : BIR É NA]

***šumma alpu ana sisî iṭḫi šar*[*ru imâtma māssu iṣeḫḫir* : *sapāḫ bīt amēli*]**

If an ox approaches a horse (sexually) – the ki[ng will die and his land will become small : scattering of the man’s house].

Comments

The manuscript 2NT 418 is unavailable for collation. The transliteration of this line is taken from Freedman’s edition of this Tablet (*If a City* 3, 268), and the omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 80.22 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 363). The parallel sexual omens that appear in Tablets 42 and 80 are more fully discussed in chapter five (see pages 174-181).

§ 42.39’

BM 039216	*r. 5*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ú-ḫa-*˹*an*˺*-n*[*i-iṣ* ...] (ruling)
K 08013	*r. 3*	[DIŠ G]U$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* [...] (ruling)
2NT 418	*2*	DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA [...] x x x x (*If a City* 3, 268)

DIŠ GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* [SÁ.SÁ ^{lú}KÚR : ŠUB-*e* É NA]

***šumma alpu ana sisî uḫanniṣ* [*kašād nakri* : *nadê bīt amēli*]**

If an ox rubs against a horse (sexually) – [defeat of the enemy : desertion of the man’s house].

Comments

Omens 42.36’-39 are restored from *Šumma ālu* 80.20-23 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 363). This omen has been reconstructed from omen 80.23. Remnants of several signs from the

apodosis of this omen exist on 2NT 418, but this manuscript is unavailable for collation at this time. Despite this, the sexual omens in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 very closely resemble those in *Šumma ālu* 80. Based on the similarities to *Šumma ālu* 80 in these two other Tablets, this omen can be restored from 80.23 with a matter of confidence.

§ 42.40’

BM 039216	*r. 6*	*šum-ma* GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* ˹TÙR˺ *i-*˹*nam*˺*-*[*ga-gu* ...]
K 05657	*12‘*	[*šum-ma* G]U$_4$ *ina* TÙR [...]
K 08013	*r. 4*	[*šu*]*m-ma* ˹GU$_4$˺.MEŠ *ina* TÙR *i-nam-ga-gu* E[N ...]
2NT 418	*3*	[... G]U$_4$.MEŠ *ina* TUR$_3$ *i-nam-ga-gu* EN TUR$_3$ BA.UG$_7$
		(*If a City* 3, 268)

[*šu*]*m-ma* GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* TÙR *i-nam-ga-gu* EN TÙR BA.ÚŠ

[šu]mma alpū ina tarbaṣi inaggagū bēl tarbaṣi imât

[I]f oxen are lowing in the pen – the master of that pen will die.

Comments

The variation included in *If a City* 3’s reconstruction of the protasis (*ina* E$_2$ NA “in a man’s house”) is based on a mistaken reading of manuscript BM 039216 (254). After collation of the manuscript BM 039216, it is clear the signs that *If a City* 3 reads as *ina* E$_2$ NA are, in fact, *ina* TÙR. A similar mistake occurs in the next omen.

§ 42.41’

BM 039216	*r. 7*	*šum-ma* GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* TÙR KUN.˹MEŠ˺-[*šu-nu* ...]
K 08013	*r. 5*	˹*šum*˺-˹*ma*˺ ˹GU$_4$˺.MEŠ KUN.MEŠ-*šu-nu it-ta-na-áš-šu-*˹*ú*˺ [...]
2NT 418	*4*	[... G]U$_4$.MEŠ KUN-*šu$_2$-nu it-ta-na-aš$_2$-šu-u$_2$* EN TUR$_3$ BA.UG$_7$
		(*If a City* 3, 268)

šum-ma GU$_4$.MEŠ KUN.MEŠ-*šu-nu it-ta-na-áš-šu-ú* EN TÙR BA.ÚŠ

šumma alpū zibbātišunu ittanaššû bēl tarbaṣi imât

If oxen are repeatedly raising their tails – the master of the pen will die.

Variation BM 039216 *šum-ma* GU$_4$.MEŠ KUN.MEŠ-[*šu-nu it-ta-na-áš-šu-ú*]

***šumma ina tarbaṣi alpū zibbāti*[*šunu ittanaššû ...*]**

If oxen [are repeatedly raising their] tails in the pen [...]

Comments

If a City 3 mistakenly reads the variation *ina* TÙR in BM 039216 as *ina* IGI NA (*If a City* 3, 13). A similar mistake occurs in the line above as mentioned in the previous commentary to 42.40'. Collation of the manuscript BM 039216 has revealed that these signs are actually *ina* TÙR KUN.MEŠ.

§ 42.42'

BM 039216	*r. 8*	*šum-ma* GU$_4$ *ina* ˹IGI˺-˹*šu*˺ [*šá* ZAG] *ana* UGU [...]
K 05657	*10'*	[*šu*]*m-ma* GU$_4$ *ina* IGI-*šu* [...]
	11'	GU$_4$ BI [...]
K 08013	*r. 6*	[*šu*]*m-ma* GU$_4$ *ina* IGI-*šu šá* ZAG *ana* UGU *kap-pi* IGI-*š*[*u* ...] *r. 7* [...]
		GU$_4$ BI TÙR-*su* [BIR-*aḫ*]
2NT 418	*5-6*	[... I]GI-*šu ša*$_2$ ZAG *ana* UGU *kap-pi* IGI-*šu* IR$_2$ DU
		GU$_4$ BI TUR$_3$-*su* BIR-*aḫ* (*If a City* 3, 268)

šum-ma GU$_4$ *ina* IGI-*šu šá* ZAG *ana* UGU *kap-pi* IGI-*šu* ÍR DU

GU$_4$ BI TÙR-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

šumma alpu ina īnīšu ša imitti ana muḫḫi kappi īnīšu dimtu illik alpu šū tarbaṣu issappaḫ

If an ox's right eye is runny out of its eyelid – that ox's pen will be scattered.

Comments

This omen is similar to several *Šumma izbu* omens from Tablet 19, which observe tears spilling from an ox's eyes (De Zorzi 2014, 804, omens 98'-102'). This omen is possibly cited in the commentary text K 02919+ in line 22, where the only word preserved is *di-im-ti* "tear" (see *If a City* 3, 11, for a partial edition of this commentary text). The discharge mentioned in the apodosis is common among cattle as the result of a bacterial infection.

§ 42.43’

BM 039216 *r. 9* *šum-ma* ˹GU$_4$˺ [...] ˹*ra*˺-[*pa-áš-ti-šú* ...]

K 08013 *r. 8* [*šum-m*]*a* GU$_4$ *ša-*^{ra}*rat ra-pa-áš-ti-*[*šú* ...]

2NT 418 *7* [...]-*rat ra-pa-aš$_2$-ti-šu$_2$ ša-aḫ-rat ḫi-pí* (*If a City* 3, 268)

šum-ma GU$_4$ *ša-rat ra-pa-áš-ti-šú sa-aḫ-rat ḫi-pí*

šumma alpu šārat rapaštišu saḫrat ḫīpi

If the hair on an ox’s haunch is curly – break.

Comments

In K 08013 the scribe writes *ra* after *ša* as a gloss, which was meant to explain that the reading of the next sign should be *rat.*

§ 42.44’

K 08013 *r. 9* [*šum-ma* G]U$_4$ *ina* IGI ZAG-*šú* LA DU *in*[*a* ...]

2NT 418 *8-9* [... Z]AG-*ša$_2$ la* DU *ina* GUB$_3$-*šu šar-tu$_4$ šaḫ-rat* / TÙR BI DAGAL-*iš* (*If a City* 3, 268)

[*šum-ma* G]U$_4$ *ina* IGI ZAG-*šú* LA DU *ina* GÙB-*šu šar-tu$_4$ saḫ-rat* TÙR BI DAGAL-*iš*

[*šumma a*]*lpu ina ini imittišu ... illik ina šumēlišu šārtu saḫrat tarbaṣu šū irappiš*

[If an] ox, ... runs in his right eye (and) the hair is curly on his left (eye) – that animal pen will expand.

Comments

If a City 3 restores this omen, [*šum-ma* G]U$_4$ *ina* IGI ZAG-*šu$_2$* la/li du *ina* GUB$_3$-*šu šar-tu$_4$ šaḫ-rat* TUR$_3$ BI DAGAL-*iš* [...] [*sic*] “[If a o]x, in front of the right ... and on his left the hair goes backward, that pen will expand” (13, omen 42). It is clear from this new translation and that

of *If a City* 3 that the apodosis is not entirely clear. Dr. De Zorzi suggested the reading of IGI as *inu* "eye" rather than *pān* "front," which is how *If a City* 3 interpreted IGI. After collation of K 08013, it became clear that the sign after ZAG-*šú* is LA. However, this sign cannot be interpreted at this time. LA is the logogram for *lalû*, but despite the various meanings of *lalû* none fit the context of this protasis (see CAD L, 49a, s.v. *lalû*). LA cannot be interpreted as a verb negation because this creates a non-sensical clause, "[If an o]x does not go to its right eye." The spelling *šaḫ-rat* for the word *saḫāru* is not attested to elsewhere but appears twice in the manuscript 2NT 418 (see omen 43'). This confusing left-right omen has a positive apodosis for reasons not entirely clear. The positive apodosis could be drawn from the left-right combination, but the positive result could also be due to an auspicious word association: *šārtu* in the protasis is phonetically similar to *šarû*, which means "wealth." This purely speculative, however.

§ 42.45'

K 08013 *r. 10* [... G]U$_4$ *ṣí-ir-pa pe-ṣa-*[*a* ...] *r. 11* ˹TÙR˺ ˹É˺ [...]

2NT 418 *10* [... *p*]*i-ṣa-a zu-mur-šu$_2$ ma-li* TUR$_3$ NA NU SI.SA$_2$ (*If a City* 3, 268)

[*šum-ma* G]U$_4$ *ṣí-ir-pa pe-ṣa-a zu-mur-šú ma-li* TÙR É NU SI.SÁ

[*šumma al*]*pu ṣirpa peṣâ zumuršu mali tarbaṣ bīti ul iššir*

[If an o]x's body is dyed full of white spots – the animal pen of the household will not thrive.

§ 42.46'

2NT 418 *11* [...] SAG MIN *it-ta-a'-la-ad*-x i' ra x [... (*If a City* 3, 268)

[*šum-ma* GU$_4$ ...] SAG MIN *it-ta-a'-la-ad* x x x [...]

[*šumma alpu* ...] *rēšu* MIN *itta'lad* ... [...]

[If an ox ...] is born ... head [...]

Comments

Unfortunately, 2NT 418 is not available for collation at this time which leaves this omen too broken to reconstruct. It is possible that MIN is intended to be read "ditto;" only to what it

would be referring to in the previous omen is unclear. It could also have the meaning "two," as in "...is born [with] two heads." *If a City* 3 suggests as much in its commentary to this omen (15, n. 40). This omen may be reference in the commentary text to *Šumma ālu* 42, K 02919+, in line 23 (see *If a City* 3, 11, for a partial reconstruction of this commentary text). This line contains the signs [...] *bu-ur* 2 SAG.DU.MEŠ-*šú* "[...] his two headed calf." However, until this omen can be fully reconstructed, the interpretation of MIN remains open.

§ 42.47'

K 02937+ .2 *r. 1'* *šum-ma* GU$_4$ *iš-t*[*u*$^?$ ...] *r. 2'* *ma-am-man mim-ma-*⌜*šú*⌝ [...]

2NT 418 *12-13* [...].TU *u*$_3$ ŠA$_3$-*šu*$_2$ *ip-tu-u*$_2$ *it-bi-ma it*-x-[...] / *ma-am-man mim-ma-šu ul i-leq-qi*$_2$ *u* NIG$_2$.BAR x [...] (*If a City* 3, 268)

šum-ma GU$_4$ *iš-t*[*u*$^?$ Ù].TU *ù* ŠÀ-*šú ip-tu-ú it-bi-ma it*-x [...] *ma-am-man mim-ma-šu ul i-leq-qí u šá* BAR x [...]

***šumma alpu išt*[*u*$^?$ *ū*]*ldu u libbašu iptû itbīma* ... [...] *mamman mimmašu ul ileqqi u ša* ... [...]**

If *aft*[*er*] an ox has given bir[th] and they opened its insides, it gets up and ... [...] – no one will take his property and ... [...]

Comments

Unlike Tablets 41 and 43, Tablet 42 does not detail whether the oxen in question are male or female. This omen is the one occasion upon which we would expect the term cow ÁB, *arḫu* or *littu*, to be used, but the authors continue to refer to oxen in a generic sense. It is unclear how the last two signs from 2NT 418 should be read. *If a City* 3 reads these NÍG.BAR "that which," but this interpretation is unclear (13).

§ 42.48'

K 02937+ .2 *r. 3'* *šum-ma* GU$_4$ *ina* SI-*šú šá* Z[AG ...] *r. 4'* *it-ta-na-an-k*[*-ip* ...]

2NT 418 *14-15* [...-*š*]*u*$_2$ *ša*$_2$ ZAG *qa*$_3$-[...]-*ra i-gi*-[...] / [...] x x [...] (*If a City* 3, 268)

šum-ma GU$_4$ *ina* SI-*šú šá* ZAG *qà*-[*aq-qa*]-*ra i-ge*-[*eš-ma* ...] *it-ta-na-an-k*[*i-ip* ...]

***šumma alpu ina qarnīšu ša imitti qaqqara igê*[*šma* ...] *ittanakk*[*ip* ...]**

If an ox gas[hes] the soil with its right horn [and ...] it repeatedly but[ts ...]

Comments

The Gtn form of the verb *nakāpu* is only ever attested to in this omen and the next (CAD N, 157b s.v. *nakāpu*). This omen may be referenced in the commentary text K 02919+. Lines 24 and 25 reference the verb *nakāpu* in different forms. Line 24 uses *ú-nak-kap* and 25 uses *nu-uk-ku$_{13}$-pu* (see *If a City* 3, 11 for a partial edition of this commentary text).

§ 42.49'

K 02937+ .2 *r. 5'* *šum-ma* GU$_4$ *ina* SI-*šú* [...] *r. 6'* *it-ta-na-an-k*[*i-ip*] EN GU$_4$ ˹ZÁḪ˺? ˹DINGIR?˺ ˹x˺ ˹x˺ ˹x˺ ÚŠ-*ma* ˹x˺ [...]

šum-ma GU$_4$ *ina* SI-*šú* [*šá* GÙB *qà-aq-qa-ra i-ge-eš-ma* ...] *it-ta-na-an-k*[*i-ip*] EN GU$_4$ ZÁḪ DINGIR x x x ÚŠ-*ma* x [...]

***šumma alpu ina qarnīšu* [*ša šumēli qaqqara igêšma* ...] *ittanakk*[*ip*] *bēl alpi iḫalliq? ilu? ... imâtma* [...]**

If an ox [gashes the soil with] its [left] horn [and] he repeatedly bu[tts] – the master of the bull will be lost?, a god? ... he will die and ... [...]

Comments

I have restored the omen on the basis that the previous omen deals with the right horn, and therefore this omen must logically deal with the left horn according to the natural flow of omens dealing with lefts and rights.

§ 42.50'

K 02937+ .2 *r. 7'* *šum-˹ma˺* [GU$_4$ *ina* ÉR-*šú di-ma*]?-*ti-šú qà-aq-qa-ra is-ru-uq* [...]

(ruling)

šum-ma [GU$_4$ *ina* ÉR-*šú di-ma*]$^{?}$-*ti-šú qà-aq-qa-ra is-ru-uq* [EN GU$_4$ BI BA.ÚŠ]$^{?}$

***šumma* [*alpu ina bakîšu dimā*]*tišu*$^{?}$ *qaqqara isruq* [*bēl alpi šuāti imât*]$^{?}$**

If [*while crying* an ox] scatters its *t*[*ears*] (on) the ground [– the master of that bull *will die*].

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma izbu* 19.102 (De Zorzi, 804), but it is a tentative restoration. One small difference *Šumma izbu* 19.102 uses the verb *isallaḫ*, which is a synonym of *sarāqu*. It is difficult to conclusively tell if the apodosis parallels that of *Šumma izbu,* since omen 50' is not part of any topical sequence within *Šumma ālu* 42 that might be able to present appropriate context. However, knowing that the two visible signs *ti-šú* rarely appear together preceding *qaqqara* in *Šumma izbu* or *Šumma ālu*, it is plausible to assume the omens have similar protases. It seems unusual *qaqqara* is not written with a preposition like *ina*, but similar instances appear in the CAD where a preposition is omitted; these instances have with obscure contexts and the translations are uncertain (CAD S, 174a, s.v. *sarāqu*). The apodosis is solely restored from *Šumma izbu* and should be seen as speculative, although this is similar to the apodosis of 42.49'.

The last two lines of K 02937+ .2 contain the incipit of Tablet 43. Below is a transliteration and translation of these last two lines:

Colophon

K 02937+

r. 8′ DIŠ ANŠE.ME[Š *it*]-*ta-na-az-ba-bu* BIR-*aḫ* [URU.KI]

r. 9′ [DUB.43 ...] DIŠ URU *ina* [*me-le-e* GAR ...]

If donkey[s ar]e extremely agitated – [the city] will be scattered.

[Tablet 43 ...] "If a City is set on a height" [...]

CHAPTER 4

ŠUMMA ĀLU 43

This Tablet is not as straightforward as *Šumma ālu* 41 and 42. There are more available manuscripts containing equine omens, which is why there are more omens preserved in this Tablet than in the earlier two. However, these manuscripts are from different provenances and periods, so they vary slightly from one another in size and order. Two recensions appear in the manuscripts that have so far been discovered: the Nineveh and the Uruk recensions. The first recension appears in manuscripts from Nineveh, which vary in different degrees to the corresponding Assur recension in other Tablets. However, the Assur recension is not represented in *Šumma ālu* 43. The second recension which appears in *Šumma ālu* 43 is the much younger Uruk recension, which varies from the Nineveh recension to degrees we are not able to fully understand. So far, 73 omens have been restored to this Tablet, but further omens may still be missing from its final lines. The difficulty lies in comprehending the size of this Tablet, partially owing to the fact that the contents of the last omen of this Tablet are as of yet unclear.

The omens from Tablet 43 deal with equine, but more specifically domestic equine of the family *equus asinus* (donkeys)and *equus caballus* (horses). Three species of equid existed in Mesopotamia at that time: the two former and *equus hemiones* (onagers). Of these three, only two were domesticated (Zarins 2014). Tablet 43 only addresses omens of domesticated donkeys and horses.[22]

THEMES AND PATTERNS

Several difficulties arise when considering the themes and patterns of *Šumma ālu* 43. The first problem comes from the two recensions represented in this Tablet, the Nineveh and the Uruk recension. The first 30 omens of this Tablet are only preserved in the Uruk manuscript A 3449+, which does not have any visible rulings except for one before the colophon after 43.73'. Because of this, the thematic divisions which appear before 43.30 are identified based on shared

[22] Strangely enough, wild onager, donkeys, and horses do not appear in the wild animals Tablet of *Šumma ālu,* Tablet 44. However, this Tablet is not fully restored.

themes and the repetition of key words or signs in the protases or apodoses. However, this is mostly true for the entire Tablet even after 43.30. Standard texts from Nineveh have more rulings than the Uruk tablets; Uruk AO 6490 does not have a ruling at 43.48', while Nineveh K 03886+ does. However, it is clear that both recensions had very few rulings, with a total of four preserved in the standard texts from Nineveh. These come after 43.48', 53', 64', and 73'. Applying a rule of three, pairing omens together with similarities that follow in sequence results in 15 thematic divisions. These divisions are labeled, while groups of unconnected omens are marked as unclear in Table 4.

Agitated donkeys 43.1-6	no ruling	While the protases of these are not preserved, each apodosis except for 43.4 involves a negative outcome for the city. We assume these omens are linked to each other via their unpreserved protases because the three preserved protases depict an upset donkey.
Death 43.7-9	no ruling	The protases of these three omens are fully lost, but ÙŠ meaning "he will die," links these together, since it appears in all three apodoses. Like 43.1-6, these are likely linked by to each other through their unpreserved protases. The apodosis of omen 43.9 may also be linked to 43.10 since both contain É LÚ. This suggests 43.10-11 may also be a part of the 43.7-9 omen group.
Unclear 43.10-11	no ruling	These are very poorly preserved, and no correlation can be seen amidst the preserved bits of the apodosis.
Donkey tails/scattered pen 43.12-14	no ruling	These omens are clearly linked by the shared apodosis "that pen will be scattered." 43.12 is mostly broken, but possibly contains a protasis regarding a donkey's tail. This would create a tripartite section about donkey tails, since 43.13-14 deal with donkey tails.
Donkeys in the house 43.16-19	no ruling	The central axis to these protases is the house. A donkey enters, cries out, leaves, and glares at the house in these omens. Like most of the omens in this Tablet, these are negative portents.
Donkey consumption omens 43.20-24	no ruling	These omens have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 94 and involve the consumption of various clothing objects by animals (see chapter five, pages 181-184). The apodoses of 43.20, 43.23, and 43.24 differ from those in *Šumma ālu* 94. This section is similar to the horse consumption omens that appear later in this Tablet (43.65'-69').
Excited donkeys 43.25-27	no ruling	The verb *iššir* "to go straight" or "to charge" appears in each protasis of these three omens. The omens 43.26 and 43.27 also share the same apodosis, *ṣulum pāni* "wrath," and similarly involve donkeys in motion in the protasis.
Donkeys in front of him 43.28-30	no ruling	Each of these omens occurs *ana panīšu* "in front of him," and involves donkeys opening their ears and rearing up. 43.28 and 43.29 share the same apodosis "(he will) not be granted a wish," but 43.30 has "[...] will die."
Miscellaneous 43.31-34'	gap, no preserved ruling	There are no similarities between these omens. Omen 41.31 is completely broken and 43.32'-34' offer no parallelisms. Omen 43.32' pertains to a donkey entering a house with an assembled doorframe. Omen 43. 33' involves a donkey kicking, and 43.34' deals with a donkey braying.

Jack sexual omens 43.35'-38'	no ruling	The first two omens involve jacks mounting a man and then other donkeys, and the second two involve jacks sexually interacting with an ox. The latter two, 43.37' and 43.38' have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80. These are 80.24 and 80.25, with only slight variation in the apodoses (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021). These are further discussed in chapter five (see pages 174-181).
Jenny omens 43.39'-43'	no ruling	In these four omens, female donkeys (jennies) become wild, biting people, eating their young, and eating a foal's placenta. 43.39', 43.42', and 43.43' both involve a man's wife in their apodoses. In mentioning the man's wife, we were able to restore MUNUS to the protasis of 43.40'-43', since the gender link between the protasis and apodosis appears in other similar texts (see commentary to 43.39', page 145-146).
Šumma izbu-like omens 43.44'-48'	no ruling	These omens contain parallels in *Šumma izbu* 19.144'-147', 149' (De Zorzi 2014, 810). Omen 43.48' is similar to *Šumma izbu* 19.149', which was likely taken from a manuscript with a *Šumma immeru* incipit. Except for 43.48', these omens are a continuation of the jenny omens that begin in 43.39'. Omen 43.48' may act as a pivot omen, since the subject shifts from jenny omens in 43.39-47' to foal omens in 43.49'-53'.
Donkey foals 43.49'-53'	ruling	These involve donkey foals, ANŠE.NÍTA or *mūru*, braying, wailing, wondering about aimlessly, and striking. This section can be seen as a division of juvenile donkey omens. Omen 43.53' does not preserve ANŠE.NÍTA in the protasis. It may actually be a horse omen, which would mean that this omen belongs to the next grouping of omens and acts as a kind of pivot omen, like 43.48'.
Frenzied horses 43.54'-57'	no ruling	These four omens are linked by synonyms in the protasis, *šegû* "to be(come) wild" and *zabābu* "to be(come) frenzied." The first two of this division have the same apodosis, "that man will die and his house will be scattered." Omens 43.55' and 43.57' are unique to *Šumma ālu* and involve rare self-cannibalistic elements, similarly to 41.25'.
Horse in a house 43.58'-64'	ruling	These omens deal with a horse entering and exiting a house. Omens 43.58' and 43.64' involve the horse simply entering and exiting, while the others entail a horse entering and biting or kicking. These are similar to 42.30'-35', but no discharge of feces or bellowing takes place within 43.58-64'.
Horse consumption omens 43.65'-69'	no ruling	These omens have exact parallels in *Šumma ālu* 94 and involve the consumption of various clothing objects by animals (see chapter five, pages 181-184).
Miscellaneous 43.70'	no ruling	Whether this omen should be viewed as isolated is up for debate. It fits neither with the consumption omens that precede it nor with the two sexual omens that follow it. The omen concerns a horse entering a new house with a constructed door frame. It is unclear why this would have been separated from the house omens in 43.58'-64', but perhaps the differences between a house and a newly constructed house are enough reason for the distinction.
Horse sexual omens 43.71'-72'	no ruling	While there are only two omens in this section which break from the rule of three, these have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80 (see chapter five, 174-181). Most sections involving sexual omens consist of more than two omens, but it does not appear as though more horse sexual omens existed. Why there are fewer of these is

		unclear. This omen is similar to 41.32', which also falls between the consumption omens in 41.20-24 and the sexual omens in 43.35'-38'.
Mare omen 43.73'	ruling, gap and end	The last of the omens preserved from Tablet 43, this omen deals with a mare consuming its young. It is similar to 43.41', which is related to the series *Šumma izbu*.

TABLE 4

SOURCES

Šumma ālu 43 is currently preserved on eight manuscripts. Of the 73 omens placed within this Tablet, 58 have been fully restored; the remaining 15 preserve only half an omen with the rest preserving even less. Out of the eight manuscripts, four are standard manuscripts. Two of these are from Uruk (A 3449+; AO 6490) and belong to the Uruk recension, while the other two are from Nineveh (K 02052; K 03886+) representing the Nineveh recension. The four other manuscripts are excerpt texts from Nineveh and Uruk (K 06865+; Rm 2, 145; W 20030/116; 1879-07-08, 128). These two recensions differ in ways that are not fully understood, and these differences have caused difficulty in reconstructing this Tablet.

The opening lines of *Šumma ālu* 43 are preserved on A 3449+, which contains a total of 38 omens. This manuscript has been mislabeled in *If a City* 3 which gives it the museum siglum A 3447+ (16). After months of searching for this manuscript to collate it, this manuscript was discovered in the Oriental Institute by myself under the museum siglum A 3449+. This is the only standard text preserving the first 30 omens of this chapter; these are written on its obverse while the last eight omens (43.66'-73') are written on its reverse. The newly discovered excerpt text K 06865+ is the only other manuscript citing omens from the opening 30 omens of *Šumma ālu* 43; it cites omens 43.15, 16, and 18. A 3449+ is well preserved and is only missing two significant sections. The protases of omens 43.1-12 are completely missing because the top-left corner of the manuscript is broken off. This affects the reverse in that it chops off part of the colophon's left half. Despite this break, A 3449+ contains the only colophon preserved from *Šumma ālu* 43 among all existing manuscripts, naming Anu-bēlšunu as its scribe.[23] The bottom edge is also missing from this manuscript, leaving an unknown number of omens missing from

[23] Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nadintu-Anu, is known from other colophons from this period (Hunger 1968, 35), and was a scribe from the Seleucid period. *If a City* 3 mistakenly reads the name of his father Nadintu-Anu as Kidin-Anu, which is further discussed, along with the identity of Anu-bēlšunu, at the end of the score of this edition.

the gap this creates. If we assume the number of inscriptions listed in the colophon is correct, only two omens are missing from this manuscript (see the philological commentary to the colophon on pages 170-173). However, assuming this would make it impossible for A 3449+ to be a standard text as it would exclude omens 43.32'-65' which were included in AO 6490, a standard text from the same Uruk recension as A 3449+. Looking at the colophon, it is clear that this text cannot be conclusively proven to be a standard text given the number of inscriptions listed in the colophon and the phrase NU *up-puš* (see commentary to the colophon on page 172). However, until it is proven otherwise, it should still be categorized as a standard text because it is the only manuscript preserving the first 30 omens of this Tablet. The gap that comes from the broken lower half of A 3449+ appears between 43.30 and 31', where the standard texts from the Nineveh recension begin.

The standard text K 03886+ has the top half broken off, making it impossible to find any overlap with the beginning of A 3449+. This Nineveh manuscript begins the omen sequence after the gap with omen 43.31', preserving a total of 42 omens. This is the largest and most fully preserved manuscript of Tablet 43. On its obverse, it contains omens 43.31'-47', 18 lines, and its reverse contains omens 43.48'-73', 32 lines. Line 33, the final line of this manuscript, which is preceded by the ruling after 43.73', cannot be placed at this time because the only sign preserved on this line is DIŠ. *If a City* 3 suggests this line belongs with a 75th omen, believing it overlapped with the first preserved omen on the excerpt tablet DT 298, which *If a City* 3 included as a manuscript of *Šumma ālu* 43 (210).[24] The primary reason *If a City* 3 believed line 33 overlapped with DT 298 was because DT 298 contained the incipit to *Šumma ālu* 44 at the end of the manuscript. However, despite the incipit to Tablet 44, this manuscript should not be restored to the end of *Šumma ālu* 43 because it cites the so-called "chariot omens" and not the equine omens of *Šumma ālu* 43.[25] DT 298 and the omens it contains are further discussed at the end of this section.

[24] It is counted as the 75th omen and not a 74th omen because *If a City* 3 includes one extra omen, which we have since removed. The omen two-line omen 43.48' was believed by *If a City* to be two one-line omen, hence the extra omen.

[25] What are commonly identified as "chariot omens" from in manuscripts DT 298, K 02700+, K 03836+, K 03944, and K 06649 appear in Freedman's edition of Tablet 43 disconnected from the primary equine omens of the Tablet (*If a City* 3, 26-31). However, these omens have a different common theme, which is not immediately apparent; nor is it best described by the misleading heading "chariot omens." Below is a summary of the omens within that section:

- Chariot accidents involving the king or prince (omens 1-40)
- Horses escaping the stables and running to or in the palace (41-51)

A 3449+ ends with omen 43.73', the last omen before the unplaceable line 33 of K 03886+. This suggests 43.73' may be the final omen from this Tablet, making line 33 in K 3886+ the incipit to the following Tablet. It is unclear what Tablet follows *Šumma ālu* 43 according to the Nineveh and Uruk recensions. There is no known catalogue listing the *Šumma ālu* Tablets from the Uruk, and unfortunately the Nineveh catalogue, K 04094b, preserving a list of Tablets in order is broken after the incipit to *Šumma ālu* 43 in line 15.[26] The incipit to each Tablet does not differ from recension to recension. There are Tablets which were omitted from recensions. Tablets 10 and 11, for example, were omitted from the Nineveh recension possibly because of their similarities to Tablets 7 and 8.[27] When recensions contain parallel Tablets, the incipit is the same in each recension. For example, the incipit to *Šumma ālu* 41 (see omen 41.1, page 27) and 42 (see omen 42.1, page 76) are the same in the Assur catalogue, VAT 09438+, and the Nineveh catalogue, K 04094b. However, it is not clear whether every recension ends with the same omen. This being the case, we cannot suggest 43.73' is the concluding omen of the Nineveh version of *Šumma ālu* 43 because it is the concluding omen of the Tablet 43 of the Uruk version. It is highly probable, however, that this is true based on evidence from the excerpt text 1879-07-08, 128 which suggests that 43.73' is the final omen of the Nineveh recension. This evidence must be discussed after the analysis of 1879-07-08, 128 (see page 116). It suffices to say, there would be little confusion as to whether 43.73' is the last omen of this Tablet if the gap between 43.30 and 43.31' could be bridged; bridging this gap prove whether the Uruk and Nineveh recensions were identical enough to assume 43.73' is the final omen of both these recensions. Despite the gap after omen 43.30 in A 3449+, K 03886+ establishes a clear order of

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- Horses within temples (52'-54)
- Horses going wild and biting (55'-59')
- Horses pulling cultic statues (60'-65')

Seeing how over two-thirds of these omens deal with horses from the royal stables, a better label for these is "royal and cultic horse omens" and not simply "chariot omens."

[26] A transliteration of the Nineveh catalogue appears in *If a City* 1, 324-325. However, it must be noted that Freedman restored line 16 of K 04094b as the incipit to *Šumma ālu* 44 according to the Assur catalogue. The Nineveh catalogue breaks off after line 16, making it unclear whether this is a correct restoration. At the time of Freedman restoration of line 16, she had not considered the unplaced royal and cultic horse omens. This is because she had not yet created an edition of *Šumma ālu* 43 and 44; Freedman made an edition of these two Tablets in 2017, having published *If a City* 1 in 1998. Freedman's restoration does not rectify the royal and cultic horse omens which come before *Šumma ālu* 44 according to DT 298, a manuscript which follows the Nineveh recension. This suggests the possibility that an extra Tablet containing the royal and cultic horse omens appeared after *Šumma ālu* 43 in the Nineveh recension, which could be proven by joins fully restoring line 16 of K 04094b.

[27] This idea is not my own. Dr. Francis Simons brought the omission of these Tablets from the Nineveh recension to my attention in a conversation, and he suggested they were likely omitted based on similarities to Tablets 7 and 8.

omens from 41.31’ to 43.73’. All other standard texts align within this established omen sequence.

The second manuscript from Uruk, AO 6490, contains 17 omens on its obverse and 17 on its reverse. This large fragment has partially preserved left and right edges, but the top and bottom edges are broken away. The first omen on its reverse is equivalent to the second line of K 03886+ (43.32’). The obverse breaks off after 43.48’ and the first line of the reverse picks up with 43.50’, which indicates that only one omen is missing from its bottom edge. The large blank space at the bottom of the obverse indicates that this bottom edge was uninscribed. This means the missing omen from the breakage, 43.49’, must have been broken off from the fractured top edge of AO 6490’s reverse. The reverse preserves omens 43.50’-66’. It is clear that more omens were lost from AO 6490’s obverse top half because the reverse lacks only eight omens.

Our edition differs most from *If a City* 3 in relation to AO 6490 at omen 43.48’. The earlier edition in *If a City* 3 mistook the two-line omen 43.48’ for two one-line omens, thus creating a non-existent additional omen. This occurs on line 18’ and 19’ of AO 6490 and r. 1 and r. 2 of K 03889+. Omen 49 of *If a City* 3 has been reappropriated to 43.48’ and omen 43.49’ of this edition is called omen 50 in *If a City* 3 (29). Omen numbering differs by one from *If a City* 3 after 43.48’ (e.g. the new 43.50’ = *If a* City 3 43.49’, the new 43.51’ = *If a City* 3 43.50’, etc.). Omens from AO 6490 differ only slightly from those on the Nineveh tablets.

The differences between shared omens of the Uruk and Nineveh recensions are limited to slight grammatical variations. The Uruk recension often substitutes É-*su* for É BI, using the demonstrative BI instead of the possessive pronoun -*su* (see 43.54’ and 55’ for examples). The Nineveh recension consistently uses the possessive pronoun in the apodoses until 43.61’, after which it too uses the demonstrative BI. AO 6490 breaks off after 43.66’, leaving eight omens plus a colophon missing from the reverse.[28] The fourth standard text, K 02052, coheres to 43.58’-63’, which is preserved on the reverse of K 03886+ and AO 6490.

K 02052 is the smallest standard text preserved. It contains only seven lines of text and has no preserved edges. It is likely part of the reverse, since 43.58’-63’ appear on the reverse of all other standard texts. Nothing unique stands out regarding this manuscript because of its

[28] A 3449+ has a 14-line colophon plus a large blank section that is broken off. For this reason, it is not possible to estimate the number of omens missing from the top half of AO 6490’s obverse based off the number of omens missing from its lower reverse. If the obverse and reverse of A 3449+ were to be completely restored, then this would become possible.

limited content. Some excerpt texts (W 20030/116; 1879-07-08, 128) are roughly this length as well.

Four excerpt texts contain omens from Tablet 43 (K 06865+; Rm 2, 145; W 20030/116; 1879-07-08, 128). Two were identified by *If a City* 3 (Rm 2, 145; 1879-07-08, 128). *If a City* 3 also included DT 298 as an excerpt text, which has already been discussed (see above). This previous edition also labeled W 20030/116 as a standard text, which is impossible. W 20030/116 is a fragment preserving the bottom edge of the obverse and part of the reverse. It is clear this text skips 43.48'. For it to be a standard text, it must cohere to the standard omen sequence and by skipping 43.38', it proves that it does not.[29] It is a very small fragment preserving a maximum of four signs in a line; most lines in W 20030/116 only have two to three signs. This is the shortest excerpt text, but the largest is Rm 2, 145, which contains 22 omens.

Rm 2, 145 comes from Nineveh and only contains omens from Tablet 43. Omens from other Tablets may have existed on this manuscript, but none have survived the test of time. This manuscript preserves the right edge of the reverse but no other edges. The obverse is very fragmentary, containing a few signs from eight lines which appear to correspond to those in 43.32'-34', 37'-38', and 49'-50'. Four of these omens, 43.37'-38', 49' and 52', are part of divisions delineated in Table 4. Unfortunately, however, it's clear from the reverse that the selection of omens added to this text is random and without perceivable method. One oddity worth mentioning is the complete absence of rulings in this text. Perhaps this indicates that it contained only excerpts from this Tablet, but this is speculative. Like Rm 2, 145, K 06865+ intermittently skips omens, preserving omens only from this Tablet.

K 06865+ is a new addition to this *Šumma ālu* 43. It was published by the Electronic Babylonian Corpus and subsequently referred to this edition by Dr. Francis Simons (Peterson 2021). It is a center fragment, preserving omens from the obverse. As the only excerpt text which cites omens from the beginning of this Tablet, it confirms that the Nineveh recension contained parallel omens that are so far only preserved in the Uruk text A 3449+. This manuscript has 18 lines, citing 13 omens from this Tablet. The first four lines cannot be placed at this time, as the

[29] This manuscript comes from Uruk. One alternative hypothesis is that the Uruk recension skips 43.48' altogether, since it is not preserved on AO 6490. This would open up the possibility of W 20030/116 being a standard text. However, as already discussed, it is more likely this omen is broken off from the top edge of AO 6490's reverse.

protases are completely missing. These four unplaced lines must belong to omens before 43.15, as line 5' is placed with 43.15.[30]

The final excerpt text is 1879-07-08, 128 from Nineveh, which is oriented differently than all the other excerpt texts of Tablets 41-43. The scribes wrote in landscape rather than portrait orientation on this manuscript, but this is not uncommon for excerpt texts. 1879-07-08, 128 has omens from *Šumma ālu* 43 on its obverse and omens from *Šumma ālu* 44 (wild animal omens) on its reverse. C.J. Gadd combined this excerpt in a composite text with K 03886+, which shows how 1879-07-08, 128 omits several omens from Tablet 43 that were present in the standard text (1927, CT 40 34). 1879-07-08, 128 contains omens from the end of Tablet 43 and likely held more in the upper half of its obverse. It cannot be discerned whether omens from *Šumma ālu* 42 were present on its obverse or omens from *Šumma ālu* 45 on its reverse, but these are possibilities. The last omen from Tablet 43 on this excerpt text is 43.73'. This further suggests omen 43.73' was indeed the final omen of this Tablet, which means the final line of K 03886+, line 33, contained the incipit to next Tablet. However, this does not solve the problem regarding the royal and cultic horse omens, which are linked to *Šumma ālu* 43 by DT 298, labeled as 14th *nisḫu* in the colophon.

The *nisḫu* excerpt texts preserve omens from various Tablets. Presently there 12 known *nisḫu* manuscripts from *Šumma ālu.* These are the known *nisḫu* manuscripts and their corresponding chapters: 2nd *nisḫu* (K 06715+) = Tablets 6-8; 3rd *nisḫu* (K 02192+) = Tablets 9-11; 9th *nisḫu* (K 03974+) = Tablets 29?-31; Xth *nisḫu* (K 03726+) = Tablets 37?-39; 14th *nisḫu* (DT 298) = Tablet 43?, the royal and cultic horse omens, and Tablet 44; 15th *nisḫu* (K 04038) = Tablets 44-46; 18th? *nisḫu* (K 02319+) = Tablets 54-55; 19th? *nisḫu* (K 12810) = Tablets 56?-58; 21st *nisḫu* (W 22729/10) = unclear; 33rd *nisḫu* (W 22307/22) = unclear; 43rd *nisḫu* (W 22650) =

[30] Excerpt texts almost always cite omens in order, which is why this is the case. These four lines proceed as follows:

1' [...] x [...]
2' [...] ˹LÚ˺ ˹GU$_7$˺ É BI ina ki-rim-mi [...]
3' [...] x li-li-da É-šú in-˹na˺-[...] 4' [...] (indentation) É BI BIR-[aḫ?]

Unfortunately, nothing can be done with line two, since the protases of the 43.1-12 is poorly preserved or not preserved at all. Line three contains the word *lillida* "offspring," which appears in the commentary text K 02919+. Unfortunately, this commentary text is very broken and only preserves this word on line r. 1. It is highly probable that lines 3' and 4' belong to a two-line omen. The reason for this is that most protases are at least partially preserved for these first 12 omens and none bear similarity to line 3', but several apodoses are not fully preserved. This suggests that these two lines belong to an omen with multiple parts in the apodosis. 43.8-12 have broken apodoses, so this line must belong to one of these omens.

Tablets 89[?], 90, and 91[?]; 71st, 72nd, and 73rd *nisḫu* (W 22554/0) = Tablets 94-105. Most *nisḫu* excerpt texts contain omens from three Tablets, but some only contain two, citing a third Tablet's incipit in the colophon. W 22554/0 is a rare exception to this, citing omens from 12 different Tablets. It was previously believed that the 14th *nisḫu* (DT 298) was the only *nisḫu* citing Tablet 44. The 14th *nisḫu* only cites the incipit of Tablet 44, however, which suggests the 15th *nisḫu* begins with the continuation of omens from Tablet 44. The 15th *nisḫu* was previously unidentified, but during collation of manuscripts from Tablet 44 for the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*, the label "15th *nisḫu*" was discovered in the colophon to K 04038, line *r.* 17 (Harris, forthcoming) .[31] K 04038 contains omens from *Šumma ālu* 44 (wild animal omens) and 45 (cat omens), and cites the incipit to Tablet 46 (dog omens) in its colophon. This new discovery allows us to better understand the connection the royal and cultic horse omens in DT 298 have to the equine omens of Tablet 43, since it is clear that these royal and cultic horse omens are undoubtedly followed by wild animal omens. Further study beyond the scope of this thesis is needed to adequately reconstruct the royal and cultic horse omens, but it is the opinion of this author that these omens belong to an additional Tablet which appears between Tablet 43 and the wild animal omens Tablet. This additional Tablet could have only appeared in Nineveh recension since it is not included in the Assur catalogue (see *If a City* 1, 322-323, for a transcription of the Assur catalogue). This hypothesis suggests line 17 of the Nineveh catalogue, K 04094b, does not contain the incipit to the wild animal omens, the assumption *If a City* 1 takes when it restores this line DIŠ [AM *ina* IGI KA_2.GAL IGI] (325). Instead, this line contains the as of yet unknown incipit to a royal and cultic horse omens Tablet.

[31] *If a City* 3 misread this line "14th *nisḫu,*" an impossible reading given this is the label in the colophon of DT 298, and mistakenly placed this line with a non-existent manuscript K 03028+ in the colophons of Tablet 44 (see *If a City* 3, 47).

TABLE OF SOURCES 43

Siglum	Museum numbers	Provenance	Script	State of publication	Type of manuscript (Tablets)	Omens attested
A 3449+	A 3449 + 3640	Uruk	Standard Babylonian	*If a City* 3, 262	Standard Text	1-30, 66'-73'
AO 6490		Uruk	Standard Babylonian	*If a City* 3, 264	Standard Text	32'-48', 50'-66'
BM 068437		Babylon	Late Babylonian	Heeßel 2002, 235	Catalogue, Assur (37-44)	1
K 02052		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 3, 183	Standard Text	58'-63'
K 03886+	K 03886 + 06819	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 3, 209	Standard Text	31'-73', catchline?
K 04094b		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	*If a City* 1, Nineveh Catalogue, *K 9094b, 324-325	Catalogue, Nineveh (30-44; 48-56)	1
K 06865+	K 06865 + 11059	Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	Peterson 2021	Excerpt Text (43)	15, 16, 18, 33', 35'-37', 39'-41', 44'-46'
Rm 2, 145		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	Bezold 1896; *If a City* 3, 240	Excerpt Text (43)	32'-34', 37'-38', 49', 52', 54', 56'-58', 60', 62', 64'-69', 71'-73'
VAT 09438+	VAT 09438 + 10324 + 09775	Assur	Neo-Assyrian	Gurney et al., 1936-37, 360-361; *If a City* 1, Assur Catalogue, 322-323	Catalogue, Assur (1-26; 33-62)	1
W 20030/116		Uruk	Standard Babylonian	Mayer 1980, Tafel 31; *If a City* 3, 270	Excerpt Text (43)	44'-47', 49'-52'
1879-07-08, 128		Nineveh	Neo-Assyrian	Gadd 1927, CT 40 41; *If a City* 3, 247	Excerpt Text (43-44)	61'-65', 67'-68', 70'-71', 73'

TRANSLATION

§ 43.1	[If donkeys are extremely] agitated – scattering of the city.
§ 43.2	[If donkeys ...] – that city will see an enemy of all.
§ 43.3	[If donkeys ... go wi]ld[?] – trouble for the city.
§ 43.4	[If donkeys ...] ... – a dying man will die in the man's house.
§ 43.5	[If in the thoroughfare] donkeys are constantly acting wild – scattering of the city.
§ 43.6	[If donkeys and X]s enter a man's house and they mount each other (sexually) – [...] ... his female companion will approach him.
§ 43.7	[If a donkey ...] ... – that man will die and that house will be scattered.
§ 43.8	[If a donkey ...] – his [...] ... will die.
§ 43.9	[If a donkey ... – he] will die and that house will be scattered.
§ 43.10	[If a donkey ... – ...] the man's house.
§ 43.11	[If a donkey ...] – [...] of his will be lost.
§ 43.12	If a d[onkey ...] – that [...] will be scattered.
§ 43.13	If a donkey fli[cks] its tail to the right [– that pen will be scattered].
§ 43.14	[If a don]key flicks its tail to the left – ditto (= that pen will be scattered).
§ 43.15	If a donkey enters a man's house – hostility (and) pain, change of residence. (var. K 06865+)
§ 43.16	If a donkey enters a man's house and cries out – that house will be deserted.
§ 43.17	If a donkey enters a man's house and is constantly roaring – the master of that house will have a word of *constraint*.
§ 43.18	If a donkey goes out from a man's house – the hand of Adad; the property of the master of that house will be sold according to his word. (var. K 06865+)
§ 43.19	If a donkey fixes its eyes on the man's house – the master of that house will die in his prime : before his time.
§ 43.20	If a donkey eats a man's garment – the man will experience severe hunger.

§ 43.21 If a donkey eats a man's cloak – the man will go forth into the open country.

§ 43.22 If a donkey eats a man's belt – that house will be scattered.

§ 43.23 If a donkey eats a man's sandal – he will dwell in a city not his own.

§ 43.24 If a donkey eats a man's hair – his important possessions will vanish.

§ 43.25 If the donkey's mane straightens up before a man – (he will) not be granted a wish.

§ 43.26 If a donkey that is carrying equipment charges forward at him – wrath.

§ 43.27 If the donkey of a *persecutor* charges at him – wrath.

§ 43.28 If a donkey opens its ears in front of a man – (he will) not be granted a wish.

§ 43.29 If a donkey is raising high in front of him – (he will) not be granted a wish.

§ 43.30 If a donkey ... [...] in front of him – [...] will die.

(GAP)

§ 43.31' If a do[nkey ...]

§ 43.32' If a donkey enters a man's house [whose] doorframe is assembled – the son of that man [will die].

§ 43.33' If a donkey does not kick[?] his feet and is repeatedly lying down – the mistress will weep. (var. K 06865+)

§ 43.34' If a donkey is braying – that pen will be scattered.

§ 43.35' If a jack mounts a man – that man will be sold for silver or distress will seize him. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.36' If a jack mounts (another) jack – distress [will seize] his master. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.37' [If] a jack approaches an ox (sexually) – destruction of the pen; ditto (= same protasis): a mighty one in the city will be lost.

§ 43.38' [If] a jack rubs itself against an ox (sexually) – the herd will shrink.

§ 43.39' If a jenny goes wild and bites people – the pen of the man's house will be scattered. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.40' [If a jenn]y goes wild and kills her foal – the man's wife will die.

§ 43.41' [If a jenn]y goes wil[d and] eats *its* foal or her placenta – the land of the king will rebel against him, that man's household will be scattered from him. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.42’ [If a jenny] goes wild and e[ats *its* placenta] – that man will die and his house will be scattered. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.43’ [If a jenn]y continually wai[ls – th]e enemy will take *its* owner and his wife will wail.

§ 43.44’ [If a je]nny gives birth and (her foal) has two heads – the throne will change.

§ 43.45’ [If] a jenny gives birth and it (the foal) has no head – there will be destruction in the land.

§ 43.46’ If a jenny births two – the land will become deranged.

§ 43.47’ [If] a jenny gives birth and his testicles are hanging – that pen will be lost.

§ 43.48’ If donkey’s snouts face the pen – there will be [an attack] on themselves.

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§ 43.49’ [If] a foal brays like an *agālu*-donkey – that pen will be scattered. (var. Rm 2, 145)

§ 43.50’ [If] a foal brays [in] the pen – the [m]an will die.

§ 43.51’ [If] a foal wails i[n] a man’s house – his master will receive ill tidings.

§ 43.52’ [If] a foal aimlessly wanders [from[?]] the gate of the man’s house – that pen will be scattered.

§ 43.53’ [If a foal] strikes its owner – the master of the house will be weakened.

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§ 43.54’ [If a hors]e goes wild and bites its companion or people – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.55’ [If a h]orse goes wild and eats its testicles or its penis – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.56’ [If a h]orse is in a frenzy – the land will become deranged.

§ 43.57’ [If a h]orse is in a frenzy and eats (at) its skin – the king will call out bitterly against this house.

§ 43.58’ If a horse enter into a man’s house – *taqrirtu*; change of dwelling; the palace will seize the man’s house : termination; grief; end of days. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.59’ If a horse enters into a [man’s] house and bites either a donkey or a man – the man will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.60’ If [a h]orse enters a man’s house and either he strikes or he bites – the master of the house will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.61’ If a ho[rs]e enters a man’s house and either strikes a jenny or bites her – that house will be scattered.

§ 43.62’ If a horse enters a man’s house, and it either bites or kicks its master – end of days. (var. AO 6490)

§ 43.63’ If a horse, his owner *becomes deranged* – that house will go into exile, the man’s heir will die.

§ 43.64’ If a horse goes out of a man’s house – hand of Adad; Adad will flood the country field.

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§ 43.65’ If a horse eats a man’s garment – the hand will capture that man.

§ 43.66’ If a horse e[ats] the outer garment of a man – that man will go forth in the peace of his house.

§ 43.67’ If a horse eats a man’s belt – the man’s wife will be seized with another man and she will die.

§ 43.68’ If a horse eats a man’s sandal – he [will fall i]ll but he will live.

§ 43.69’ [If] a horse eats a man’s hair – his important possessions will vanish.

§ 43.70’ If a horse enters a new house whose doorframe is constructed – the wife of the man will die.

§ 43.71’ If a horse approaches an ox (sexually) – trouble for the man’s house.

§ 43.72’ If a horse rubs itself against an ox (sexually) – reduction of the pen, the herd will be consumed.

§ 43.73’ If a mare eats her foal or the placenta – the hand (of a god) will seize that city, that house will be scattered.

SCORE AND COMMENTARY: ŠUMMA ĀLU 43

§ 43.1

A 3449+	*1*	[... *it-ta-na-az-b*]*a-bu* BIR-*aḫ* URU^{ki}
BM 068437	*7'*	[... *it-t*]*a-na-az-ba-bu*
K 02937+ .2	*r. 8'*	DIŠ ANŠE.ME[Š *it*]-*ta-na-az-ba-bu* BIR-*aḫ* [URU^{ki}]
K 04094	*ii 15'*	DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ [...]
VAT 09438+	*iii 11'*	DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *it-ta-na-az-ba-bu*

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *it-ta-na-az-b*]*a-bu* BIR-*aḫ* URU^{ki}

[*šumma imērū ittanazb*]*abū sapāḫ āli*

[If donkeys are extremely] agitated – scattering of the city.

Comments

This omen is restored from the colophon of Tablet 42 in K 02937+ .2 as well as from the Assur Catalog, both of which are included in the score of 43.1.

§ 43.2

A 3449+	*2*	[...] ˹URU˺ BI ^{lú}KÚR KIŠ IGI

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ...] URU BI ^{lú}KÚR KIŠ IGI

[*šumma imērū ...*] *ālu šū nakir kiššati immar*

[If donkeys ...] – that city will see an enemy of all.

Comments

The word *kiššatu* has a politico-religious meaning, "entire inhabited world," and a simpler meaning, "all" (CAD K, 457a, s.v. *kiššatu*). We have chosen to translate it, "the enemy of all," which differs from *If a City* 3's translation. Freedman translates ^{lú}KÚR KIŠ "an all-powerful enemy," which is a plausible translation of *nakir kiššati* given the meaning behind *kiššatu* was at times confused with *kiššūtu* (CAD K, 463a, s.v. *kiššūtu*). However, the above

translation has been chosen on the grounds of CAD's translation of *šar kiššati* "king of the world" (CAD K, 458a, s.v. *kiššatu*).

§ 43.3

A 3449+ *3* [... *iš-še*]-˹*gu*$^{?}$˺ *na-zaq* (erasure) URU^{ki}

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ... *iš-še*]-*gu*$^{?}$ *na-zaq* URU^{ki}

[šumma imērū … iššе]gū$^{?}$ nazāq āli

[If donkeys ... go wi]ld$^{?}$ – trouble for the city.

Comments

The protasis verb *iššegū* appears in several omens from this Tablet (43.39'-42', 54'-55'). It has been restored to this omen based on its frequent appearance in this Tablet, and its similar theme to 43.1 which deals with agitated donkeys. One alternative to [*iššе*]*gū* is [*inagga*]*gū* "they are lowing," which appears in 42.40'. *If a City* 3 reconstructed this line with uncertainty: [DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ...] x *na-zaq* URU.KI "[If donkeys ...]—trouble for the city" (19).

There were several signs that the scribed erased by pressing the signs with a finger, but this did not completely erase the signs. Between *-zaq* and URU, the scribe erased "NU x" and one illegible sign between URU and KI which the scribe must have erased with the stylus.

§ 43.4

A 3449+ *4* [...] x ÚŠ *ina* É LÚ ÚŠ

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ...] ˹x˺ ÚŠ *ina* É LÚ ÚŠ

[šumma imērū ...]... mītu ina bīt amēli imât

[If donkeys ...] ... – a dying man will die in the man's house.

Comments

We expect the first sign of line four to be part of the protasis' verb, since the apodosis begins with the sign ÚŠ which comes right after the first sign of the line. The broken half of the first sign contains what looks like the last bit of the sign BI, but it is too broken to be sure.

§ 43.5

A 3449+ *5* [...] ˹ANŠE˺.˹MEŠ˺ *it-ta-na-a'-da-ru* BIR-*aḫ* URU

[DIŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA] ANŠE.MEŠ *it-ta-na-a'-da-ru* BIR-*aḫ* URU

[*šumma ina rebīti*] *imērū ittanaddarū sapāḫ āli*

[If in the thoroughfare] donkeys are constantly acting wild – scattering of the city.

Comments

The first half of the protasis is tentatively restored on from 42.5, as they share the same verb in the protasis and are both placed as the fifth omen in the chapter. It is a tentative translation, since their parallel placement is not conclusive evidence, and the verb in the protasis of 42.5 is restored from this omen, because it only preserves the first two signs *it-ta*-[...].

§ 43.6

A 3449+ *6* [… x].MEŠ *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$.MEŠ-*ma ir-˹tak˺-˹ka˺-bu 7* [...]
˹x˺ *ḫa? ru-˹-ta-šú i-˹qer˺-rib-šú*

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *ú* x].MEŠ *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$.MEŠ-*ma ir-tak-ka-bu* [...]
x *ḫa ru-˹-ta-šú i-qer-rib-šú*
[*šumma imērū u*] *... ana bīt amēli īrubūma irtakkabū* [...] *... ru˹tašu iqerribšu*

[If donkeys and X]s enter a man's house and they mount each other (sexually) – [...] ... his female companion will approach him (sexually).

Comments

This omen belongs to the category of sexual omens. However, like 41.22' and 23' this omen is different from the animal sexual omens which appear in *Šumma ālu* 80. This omen has no parallel in Tablet 80 (see chapter five for more on *Šumma ālu* 80, page 174)

It is not clear whether the first sign, MEŠ, should be restored as a part of [ANŠE].MEŠ. This MEŠ appears in the middle of the line so it cannot belong to the [ANŠE.MEŠ] which

appears at the beginning of the protasis but is not preserved. ANŠE.MEŠ could have appeared more than once in this line, but in a similar omen the subject only appears once when male animals are continually mating (see 41.23'). The same verb *rakābu* also appears in 41.23', but it is written logographically $U_5.U_5$. There are between six and eleven signs missing before MEŠ. One plausible reconstruction of the protasis is [DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *ú* MUNUS.ANŠE].MEŠ *ana* É LÚ KU_4.MEŠ-*ma ir-tak-ka-bu* "If jacks (male donkeys) and jennies (female donkeys) enter a man's house and they mount each other ..." If this restoration is correct, this omen is even more similar to 41.22' and 23' than previously thought—this omen would fit also within the category of interspecies sexual omens—but there aren't any omens like this that could be used to confirm this restoration. Like the protasis, the beginning of the apodosis is broken, and *If a City* 3 restores the apodosis of this omen differently than the above restoration.

The apodosis of omen 43.6 in *If a City* 3 is restored [... *ip?*]-*taḫ-ḫa-ru* x-*ta-šu₂ i-qer-rib-šu₂* "[... ga]ther together(?) ... will approach him" (19). Freedman attempts to resolve the two signs by restoring them to the verb *paḫāru* "to gather together." However, after collation of A 3449+, it is not clear whether the first sign of this line is *taḫ* since it is broken in half; it may just as easily be the signs *gu* or *lum*. It is also questionable whether the second sign is *ḫa* because it seems as if the final crooked cune belonging to *ḫa* belongs to the following sign *ru*. *If a City* 3 could not read the sign which followed *ru*.[32] After collation of this manuscript from photos, the sign marked "x" in *If a City* 3's x-*ta-šu₂* was discovered to be the sign -ʹ. This new reading established that the sign *ru-* belonged to *ru-ʹ-ta-šú*, a rare form of the word *ruʹtu* meaning "female companion" (CAD R, 343a, s.v. *ruttu*). This discovery fits with the verb, *qerēbu*, which also has a sexual connotation.

The protasis and apodosis are linked through phonologically, sharing the same syllabic count (*ir-tak-ka-bu* and *i-qer-rib-šú*), but they both have a sexual meaning as well. The verb *rakābu* is regularly used to mean "to have intercourse" (see discussion of its secondary meaning on page 177), and *qerēbu* also has the meaning "to approach sexually" (CAD Q, 233a, s.v. *qerēbu*). The latter rarely appears in omen likely because the synonym *teḫû* is used. It is possible

[32]In an email correspondence, Dr. Sally Freedman explained to me that her transcription of A 3449+ (mislabeled A 3447+ in *If a City* 3) came from a squeeze of the manuscript, which she received from the Oriental Institute. The signs on this squeeze were nearly illegible, which accounts for the several signs which were illegible to Dr. Freedman. I was also not able to adequately collate this manuscript from photos of this squeeze until I received photos of the manuscript itself. I am greatly indebted to Professor Susanne Paulus of the Oriental Institute for photos of this manuscript, without these A 3449+ could not have been adequately collated to Tablet 43 in this edition.

qerēbu was used instead of *teḫû* in omen 43.6 to create the symbiotic verbal forms in the protasis and apodosis.

§ 43.7

A 3449+ *8* [... -a]z-*za*-*ak* LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É BI BIR

[DIŠ ANŠE ... -a]z-*za*-*ak* LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É BI BIR

[*šumma imēru ...*] *... amēlu šū imâtma bītu šū issappaḫ*

[If a donkey ...] ... – that man will die and that house will be scattered.

§ 43.8

A 3449+ *9* [...] ˹x˺-*šú* BA.ÚŠ

[DIŠ ANŠE ...] x-*šú* BA.ÚŠ

[*šumma imēru ...*] *...šu imât*

[If a donkey ...] – his [...] ... will die.

Comments

Unfortunately, not enough of the first sign on this broken line is preserved to offer a plausible reconstruction of this omen's apodosis.

§ 43.9

A 3449+ *10* [... Ú]Š-*ma* É BI BIR-*aḫ*

[DIŠ ANŠE ... Ú]Š-*ma* É BI BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma imēru ... im*]*âtma bītu šū issappaḫ*

[If a donkey ... – he] will die and that house will be scattered.

§ 43.10

A 3449+ *11* [...] É LÚ

[DIŠ ANŠE ...] É LÚ

[*šumma imēru ...*] *bīt amēli*

[If a donkey ... – ...] the man's house.

§ 43.11

A 3449+ *12* [...] ˹x˺-*mi-šu* ZÁḪ

[DIŠ ANŠE ...] ˹x˺-*mi-šu* ZÁḪ

[*šumma imēru ...*]*mišu iḫalliq*

[If a donkey ...] – [...] of his will be lost.

Comments

The first word of this omen is broken in half. It is clear the noun has a masculine possessive suffix, and that it is in the genitive. However, the meaning of this word cannot be deduced from these two signs.

§ 43.12

A 3449+ *13* ˹DIŠ˺ A[NŠE ... B]I BIR-*aḫ*

DIŠ A[NŠE ... B]I BIR-*aḫ*

šumma i*[*mēru ... š*]*ū issappaḫ

If a d[onkey ...] – that [...] will be scattered.

§ 43.13

A 3449+ *14a* DIŠ ANŠE ˹KUN˺-˹*su*˺ *ana* ˹15˺ ˹*ik*˺-[*ta-na-an* TÙR BI BIR]

DIŠ ANŠE KUN-*su ana* 15 *ik*-[*ta-na-an* TÙR BI BIR]

***šumma imēru zibbassu ana imitti ik*[*tannan tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*]**

If a donkey fli[cks] its tail to the right [– that pen will be scattered].

Comments

Line 14 contains two omens probably separated by a *Glossenkeil* and separated here as 14a and 14b. Both omens deal with the swishing of a donkey's tail to the right and then to the left, and both contain the same apodosis. The apodosis is restored from *Šumma izbu* 19.106' (De Zorzi 2014, 805), but an alternative reading could be TÙR BI *i-ra-piš* "that pen will expand" (See De Zorzi 2014, omen 105' Tablet 19, 805). Since a large majority of apodoses have negative outcomes, I have suggested the negative apodosis. However, it is unusual that both right and left omens should contain the same apodosis, so it could have been an auspicious sign.

§ 43.14

A 3449+ *14b* [: DIŠ AN]ŠE KUN-*su ana* 150 *ik-˹ta˺-˹na˺-an* MIN

[DIŠ AN]ŠE KUN-*su ana* 150 *ik-˹ta˺-˹na˺-an* MIN (TÙR BI BIR)
[***šumma im***]***ēru zibbassu ana šumēli iktannan*** **MIN** ***(tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ)***

[If a don]key flicks its tail to the left – ditto (= that pen will be scattered).

Comments

See commentary to omen 13.

§ 43.15

A 3449+ *15* DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$ *ni-ziq-˹tu$_4$˺ ˹si˺-˹ḫi˺-˹il˺* [UZ]U ˹*nu˺-˹kúr˺* ˹KI˺.˹TUŠ˺

K 06865+ *5'* [... *n*]*i-ziq-tu$_4$ si-˹ḫi˺-il* UZU KI.MIN *nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$ *ni-ziq-˹tu$_4$˺ si-ḫi-il* UZU *nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ
šumma imēru ana bīt amēli īrub niziqtu siḫil šīri nukur šubti

If a donkey enters a man's house – hostility (and) pain, change of residence.

Variation K 06865+ [DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$ *n]i-ziq-˹tu$_4$˺ si-ḫi-il* UZU KI.MIN *nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ

[šumma imēru ana bīt amēli īrub n]iziqtu siḫil šīri nukur šubti

If a donkey enters a man's house – hostility (and) pain, ditto (= same protasis), change of residence.

Comments

A 3449+ was broken in half and the break split directly in the middle of this line making the final five signs almost entirely illegible. However, these five signs are preserved in the newly identified excerpt text K 06865+, which contains a small. The KI.MIN in the apodosis of K 06865+ line 5' refers back to the protasis of the omen; this sign does not appear in A 3449+ line 15. It seems that the first sign in A 3449+ after the break is in fact UZU, which confirms this reading. This new reading differs from the previous edition of *Šumma ālu* 43.

Previously, *If a City* 3 restored this omen DIŠ ANŠE *ana* E_2 LU [*sic*] TU *ni-ziq-tu*$_4$ [...] "If a donkey enters a man's house–trouble [...]" (19). This restoration differs from *If a City* 3's transcription of this line on page 262, which reads DIŠ ANŠE *ana* E_2 LU [*sic*] TU *ni-ziq-tu*$_4$ x x [...] x x. It is unclear why the four illegible signs in *If a City* 3's transcription were omitted from the restoration of this omen. At the time *If a City* 3 was published, K 06865+ had not yet been identified as an excerpt text belonging to *Šumma ālu* 43. This excerpt text was first identified by A.C. Heinrich in 2019 and is available on the Electronic Babylonian Corpus (Peterson 2021; see page 115).

There are three unplaced omens on K 06865. These must belong to omens preceding omen 43.15, but due to the poor preservation of the protases in 43.1-12 these lines are difficult to place.

1' [...] x [...]

2' [...] ˹LÚ˺ ˹GU_7˺ É BI ina ki-rim-mi [...]

3' [...] x li-li-da É-šú in-˹na˺-[...] 4' [...] (indentation) É BI BIR-[aḫ?]

As mentioned in footnote 30 (page 116), line three contains the word *lillida* "offspring," a word that appears in the commentary text K 02919+ (see *If a City* 3, 17-18, for a partial transcription of this manuscript). This extremely broken commentary text yields little insight as to the nature of the omen on lines 3'-4', leaving this omen unplaced. Lines 3' and 4' probably belong to a two-line omen because of the indentation at the beginning of the line, and probably fits with one of the omens with a broken apodosis (43.8-12).

§ 43.16

A 3449+ *16* DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹*is*˺-˹*si*˺ É BI ŠUB

K 06865+ *6'* [... KU$_4$]-*ma is-si* É BI ŠUB-˹*di*˺

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$-*ma is-si* É BI ŠUB

šumma imēru ana bīt amēli īrubma issi bītu šū innaddi

If a donkey enters a man's house and cries out – that house will be deserted.

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma ālu* 42.32'.

§ 43.17

A 3449+ *17* DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹GÙ˺.˹DÉ˺.DÉ EN É BI INIM *pi-<qí>* TUK-*ši*

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹GÙ˺.˹DÉ˺.DÉ EN É BI INIM *pi-<qí>* TUK-*ši*

šumma imēru ana bīt amēli īrubma ištassi bēl bīti šuāti amat pī<qi> irašši

If a donkey enters a man's house and is constantly roaring – the master of that house will have a word of *constraint*.

Comments

The commentary text K 02919+ seems to comment on the verb of this omen as it equates the logogram GÙ.DÉ to the verb *šagāgu*: GÙ.DÉ : *šá-ga-mu* (*If a City* 3, line 28, 17). However, the verb *šagāgu* is nearly always written phonetically (CAD Š/I, 63-65, s.v. *šagāgu*) and it is only associated once with the logogram GÙ.DÉ, which is in K 02919+. It is likely that the commentator was merely trying to expound on the meaning of GÙ.DÉ, which was read as *šasû* (CAD Š/II, 147b, s.v. *šasû*). The apodosis of this omen is similar to *Šumma ālu* 49.80, which also appears in a commentary text BM 092683 (see Jiménez 2016, lines 29-30).

The commentary to *Šumma ālu* 49.80 states, INIM$^{a\text{-}mat}$ pi-qí^{qa} TUKU^{ši} : ˹x˺ INIM$^{a\text{-}mat}$ TUKU^{ši} "'He will have a word of constraint' means he will have a ˹x˺ word" (Jiménez 2016). The missing sign in the commentary is the most essential in translating this apodosis. However, this could be referring to a kind of sickness—the translation *amat pīqi* would be better translated "narrow mouth" in this case—based off its connection to the hand of Adad in the next omen; the hand of a god is commonly referred to in medical texts and was seen as the cause of various sicknesses (Heeßel 2018, 135).

§ 43.18

A 3449+	*18*	DIŠ ANŠE *ina* É LÚ È ŠU ^{d}IM EN É BI NÍG.GÁL-*šú ana* KA-*šú* BÚR
K 06865+	*7'*	[...] ŠU ^{d}IM É BI NÍG.ŠU-*šú ana* KA-*šú* ˹BÚR˺

DIŠ ANŠE *ina* É LÚ È ŠU ^{d}IM EN É BI NÍG.ŠU-*šú ana* KA-*šú* BÚR
šumma imēru ina bīt amēli ūṣi qāt Adad bēl bīti šuāti bušašu ana pîšu ippaššar

If a donkey goes out from a man's house – the hand of Adad; the property of the master of that house will be sold according to his word.

Variation K 06865+ [DIŠ ANŠE *ina* É LÚ È] ŠU ^{d}IM É BI NÍG.ŠU-*šú ana* KA-*šú* BÚR
šumma imēru ina bīt amēli ūṣi qāt Adad bīti šuāti bušašu ana pîšu ippaššar

If a donkey goes out from a man's house – the hand of Adad; the property of that house will be sold according to his word.

Comments

If a City 3 mistook BÚR for two separate signs, gáp-šat and interpreted this as an auxiliary sentence, restoring the apodosis of this omen ŠU ^{d}IM EN E$_2$ BI NIG$_2$.GAL$_2$-*šu$_2$ ana* x *šu$_2$ gab$_2$-šat* "Hand of Adad; the property of that house's owner ... will be substantial" (19). For reasons that are unclear, *If a City* 3 chose to omit KA-*šu$_2$* from its reconstruction of this omen

while having included it in its transcription of A 3449+ (262). Adad is occasionally associated metaphorically with donkeys (see the commentary to 42.4, pages 77-78 for more on this).

§ 43.19

A 3449+ *19* DIŠ ANŠE *ina* É LÚ IGI.MEŠ-*šú* GUB-*za* EN É BI *ina la-li-šú* : *la* U$_4$-*mi-šú* BA.ÚŠ

DIŠ ANŠE *ina* É LÚ IGI.MEŠ-*šú* GUB-*za* EN É BI *ina la-li-šú* : *la* U$_4$-*mi-šú* BA.ÚŠ

šumma imēru ina bīt amēli īnāšu izzizā bēl bīti šuāti ina lalîšu : lā ūmīšu imât

If a donkey fixes its eyes on the man's house – the master of that house will die in his prime : before his time.

Comments

If a City 3 does not translate the verb GUB-*za* in its reconstruction but inserts an ellipses in its stead (19). The reason for this must be due to the unique nature of the verb *uzuzzu* especially in the third-person feminine plural. It is clear, however, that the verb *uzuzzu* was intended through the *-za* placed after logogram. There are examples of this G-stem verb used with the feminine noun *īnu*, "eye," in CAD U, 375b, s.v. *uzuzzu.*

§ 43.20

A 3449+ *20* DIŠ ANŠE TÚG (erasure) LÚ GU$_7$ LÚ *be-ri dan-nu* IGI-*mar*

DIŠ ANŠE TÚG LÚ GU$_7$ LÚ *be-ri dan-nu* IGI-*mar*

šumma imēru ṣubāt amēli īkul amēlu berî dannu immar

If a donkey eats a man's garment – the man will experience severe hunger.

Comments

This omen is the beginning of the donkey consumption omens section, which consist of omens 43.20-24. The protasis of this omen is the same as 41.12', 41.50', 43.65', and has a

parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94.13 (Boddy 2021, 7). These consumption omens are discussed in detail in chapter five (pages 181-184).

§ 43.21

A 3449+ *21* DIŠ ANŠE ^{túg}GÚ.È LÚ GU$_7$ LÚ *ana ki-di* È

DIŠ ANŠE ^{túg}GÚ.È LÚ GU$_7$ LÚ *ana ki-di* È

šumma imēru naḫlapti amēli īkul amēlu ana kīdi uṣṣi

If a donkey eats a man's cloak – the man will go forth into the open country.

Comments

This omen is the same as *Šumma ālu* 94.14 (Boddy 2021, 8) and is similar to 41.13', 41.51', and 43.66'. These consumption omens are discussed in detail in chapter five (pages 181-184).

§ 43.22

A 3449+ *22* DIŠ ANŠE ^{túg}ÍB.LAL LÚ GU$_7$ É BI AL.BIR.RI

DIŠ ANŠE ^{túg}ÍB.LAL LÚ GU$_7$ É BI AL.BIR.RI

šumma imēru nēbeḫ amēli īkul bītu šū issappaḫ

If a donkey eats a man's belt – that house will be scattered.

Comments

This protasis is similar to 41.14', 41.52', 43.67', and has a parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94.15 (Boddy 2021, 8). These consumption omens are more fully discussed in chapter five (pages 181-184).

§ 43.23

A 3449+ *23* DIŠ ANŠE ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR GU$_7$ *ina* NU URU BI DÚR-*ab*

DIŠ ANŠE ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR GU$_7$ *ina* NU URU BI DÚR-*ab*

šumma imēru šēn īkul ina lā āli šuāti uššab

If a donkey eats a man's sandal – he will dwell in a city not his own.

Comments

This omen is similar to 41.15', 41.53', and 43.68', and it has a parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94.33 (Boddy 2021, 12). These are discussed in detail in chapter five (pages 181-184).

§ 43.24

A 3449+ *24* DIŠ ANŠE ˹SÍG˺ (erasure) LÚ GU$_7$ *mim-mu-šú* (erasure) ˹DUGUD˺ (erasure) È

DIŠ ANŠE ˹SÍG˺ LÚ GU$_7$ *mim-mu-šú* DUGUD È

šumma imēru šārat amēli īkul mimmûšu kabtu uṣṣi

If a donkey eats a man's hair – his important possessions will vanish.

Comments

After the sign GU$_7$ until the finial sign È, most of the signs are nearly illegible, and there seem to be remnants of erasures before and after DUGUD. *Šumma ālu* 94.26 is a parallel to this omen with the apodosis *mim-mu-šú* DUGUD È (Boddy 2021, 10); this same apodosis appears in 43.69'. The protasis of this omen is also similar to 41.16', 41.54', and 43.69'. This omen is a part of the division of consumption omens which appear in *Šumma ālu* 94 (see chapter five for more on this division).

Boddy translates parallel apodoses in 94.26 and 27, "his important possessions will disappear(?)" (2021, 365). Boddy adds the question mark at the end because she is uncertain the verbal form of *aṣû*, which the logogram È leaves ambiguous. This translation of the apodosis transliterates È as the G-stem present form, *uṣṣi* (CAD A/II, 369b, s.v. *aṣû* 3.). However, an alternative transliteration, the Š-stem form *ušeṣṣe* is also a possibility. This transliteration gives the verb a causative meaning and the sentence would be restructured to, "(someone) important will send his possessions away" (CAD A/II, 373a, s.v. *aṣû* 6.). The problem with the latter alternative is the absence of the third-person single or plural suffix *-šu* or *-šunu*; a suffix is to be

expected because of the causative Š-stem. After discussing the verb *aṣû* with Dr. De Zorzi, it was decided that the G-stem present was the best transliteration of the È here.

After collation of A 3449+, it became clear that *If a City* 3 replaced DUGUD with E_2 in its reconstruction of this omen: DIŠ ANŠE SIG_2 *ša₂* LU_2 KU_2 *mim-mu-šu₂* E_2 E_3 "If a donkey eats a man's hair, his assets will go out of the house (19). It is unclear why *If a City* 3 made this replacement since it read DUGUD instead of E_2 in the transcription to this line on page 262.

§ 43.25

A 3449+ *25* DIŠ ANŠE *za-ap-pu ana* ˹IGI˺ LÚ *i-˹ši˺-ir* ˹NU˺ ˹KUR˺-˹*ad*˺ Á.ÁŠ

DIŠ ANŠE *za-ap-pu ana* IGI LÚ *i-ši-ir* NU KUR-*ad* Á.ÁŠ

šumma imēru zappu ana pān amēli iššir lā kašād ṣibûti

If the donkey's mane straightens up before a man – (he will) not be granted a wish.

Comments

If a City 3 interprets *zappu* as an adjective from *zabābu* meaning "frenzied," describing the donkey, suggesting this word might instead be referring to a donkey's bristles (*If a City* 3, 24, n. 26 [*sic*]). Both are unlikely as the adjective is not otherwise attested—the verb *zabābu* only appears within chapter 43 of *Šumma ālu* according to the CAD (CAD Z, 1a, s.v. *zabābu*), but it also appears in *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014, 819, n. 40')—and the word *zappu* appears most often in reference to a horse's mane rarely having the meaning "bristles" or "whiskers" when horses are being referenced (CAD Z, 50a, s.v. *zappu*). Interpreting *zappu* as "mane" makes thematic sense as this omen immediately follows an omen regarding a man's hair, 43.24. It is logical that the scribe would place omens regarding hair next to each other. The verb *ešēru* can have the meaning "to straighten up," "to charge," and "to thrive" among other meanings (CAD E, 352b, s.v. *ešēru*). In the context of 43.35, "to straighten up" is the most likely meaning.

§ 43.26

A 3449+ *26* DIŠ ANŠE *šá ú-da-a* ˹*na*˺*-šu-ú ana* IGI-*šú i-ši-*˹*ir*˺ GE_6 IGI

DIŠ ANŠE *šá ú-da-a na-šu-ú ana* IGI-*šú i-ši-ir* GE_6 IGI

šumma imēru ša udâ našû ana pānišu iššir ṣulum pāni

If a donkey that is carrying equipment charges forward at him – wrath.

Comments

This omen is mentioned in lines r. 8-9 of the commentary text K 02919+ (If a City 3, 24, n. 26). Unfortunately, these two lines do not preserve much: [...] ˹x˺ ANŠE *šá ú-du-ú na-šú-ú* / [...] *ú-du-ú* "[...] a donkey that is carrying equipment / [...] equipment." *If a City* 3 translates ANŠE *šá ú-da-a na-šu-ú,* "a donkey carrying a harness" (20). This is not entirely incorrect as *udê imēri* refers to a donkey's harness, but as *udû* usually has a more general meaning when not combined with other words, it is best to translate this phrase less specific. Another difference between this edition and *If a City* 3 in the protasis comes from the verb *ešēru.*

The previous edition of this omen in *If a City* 3 translated it, "If a donkey that is carrying a container rears up in front of him, he will experience darkness" (20). The verb *ešēru* can mean "to straighten up," but there are no references of it used regarding a horse rearing up or straightening up (CAD E, 353a, s.v. *ešēru*). Out of the two alternative translations, it is unclear whether the scribe intended the milder "to go straight towards" or the more aggressive meaning "to charge." We have chosen to translate this "to charge" as it coincides with the blunt severity of the apodosis and the aggressive nature of donkeys observed in the omens of *Šumma ālu* 43. The apodosis of this omen has also been translated differently from *If a City* 3.

The sign IGI has both the reading *amāru* "to see" or "to experience" and *pānu,* "front" or "face." *If a City* 3 interprets IGI as the verb *amāru* in the apodosis, but seeing that IGI has the meaning *pānu* in the protasis, it likely has the same meaning in the apodosis as this forms a link between the protasis and apodosis. The Old Assyrian phrase *sulum pāni* means "anger" and translates literally, "a darkened face" (CAD Ṣ, 241a, s.v. *ṣalmu*), and it is likely what the scribes meant when they wrote GE_6 IGI as the apodosis.

§ 43.27

A 3449+ *27* DIŠ ANŠE *šá ṭa-ri-it-tu₄ ana* IGI-*šú i-ši-ir* GE_6 IGI

DIŠ ANŠE *šá ṭa-ri-it-tu₄ ana* IGI-*šú i-ši-ir* GE_6 IGI

šumma imēru ša ṭāritti ana pānišu iššir ṣulum pāni

If the donkey of a *persecutor* charges at him – wrath.

Comments

The translation of *ṭāritti* is uncertain because of its grammatical form and the meaning of the word. While the word should be written *ṭa-ri-it-ti* since it follows the genitive marker *šá*, the scribes wrote *ṭa-ri-it-tu*$_4$ which is a nominal form of the noun. More unusual is the fact that the word *ṭārittu* is the name of a sickness (CAD Ṭ, 62a, s.v. *ṭārittu*). *If a City* 3 avoids translating *ṭa-ri-it-ti* in its translation because "persecutor (sickness)" does not make immediate sense in the context of this protasis. The commentary text K 02919+ likely elucidated the meaning of this omen, but only the right edge of the manuscript is preserved. Line r. 11 on K 02919+ might comment on this omen since it has the word *ra-da-du* "to pursue" preserved, which could be referencing the verb *iššir* "he charges" (see *If a City* 3, 17-18, for a partial transcription of this manuscript).

§ 43.28

A 3449+ *28* DIŠ ANŠE GEŠTU.GEŠTU-*šu ana* IGI-*šú ip-te-e-šú* NU KUR-*ad* Á.ÁŠ

DIŠ ANŠE GEŠTU.GEŠTU-*šu ana* IGI-*šú ip-te-e-šú* NU KUR-*ad* Á.ÁŠ

šumma imēru uznīšu ana pānišu iptēšu lā kašād ṣibûti

If a donkey opens its ears in front of a man – (he will) not be granted a wish.

Comments

The repetition of GEŠTU is to indicate that the dual form is intended here which must be in the accusative.

§ 43.29

A 3449+ *29* DIŠ ANŠE *ana* IGI-*šú ú-*ˀ*zaq*ˀ*-qár* NU KUR-*ad* Á.ÁŠ

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* IGI-*šú ú-zaq-qár* NU KUR-*ad* Á.ÁŠ

šumma imēru ana pānišu uzaqqar lā kašād ṣibûti

If a donkey is raising high in front of him – (he will) not be granted a wish.

Comments

There is no occasion in the CAD where the verb *zaqāru* appears in the context of an animal (CAD Z, 55-56, s.v. *zaqāru*), and it has three different meanings. The first two meanings, "to build high" and "to raise high" are very similar and appear in accounts where construction is discussed. The third meaning, "to protrude," occasionally appears in extispicy texts. It is not clear whether there is a special meaning behind the D-stem *uzaqqar*, so the most common translation of the verb "to raise high" has been used to translate this omen.

§ 43.30

A 3449+ *30* DIŠ ANŠE *ana* IGI-*šú* ˹x˺ ˹x˺ ˹x˺ ˹x˺-*du-ut* *31* [...] ˹x˺ BA.ÚŠ

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* IGI-*šú* x x x x-*du-ut* [...] x BA.ÚŠ

šumma imēru ana pānišu ... [...] … imât

If a donkey ... [...] in front of him – [...] will die.

Comments

It is not clear how man lines are missing from this manuscript. This chapter consists of 73 preserved omens with an unknown number of omens missing from this gap. If there were only a few missing in this gap, then there are between 18 and 30 lines missing from the bottom of this tablet.

(GAP)

§ 43.31'

K 03886+ *1'* DIŠ AN[ŠE ...]

DIŠ AN[ŠE ...]

šumma imē[ru ...]

If a do[nkey ...]

§ 43.32’

AO 6490	*1’*	DIŠ ˹ANŠE˺ [...] ZAG.[DU$_8$] ˹*kaṣ*˺-*ru* KU$_4$ DUMU.˹NITA˺ ˹LÚ˺ [...]
K 03886+	*2’*	DIŠ ˹ANŠE˺ *ana* É ˹LÚ˺ [...]
Rm 2, 145	*1’*	[... *kaṣ-r*]*u* ˹KU$_4$˺ [...]

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* É LÚ [*šá*] ZAG.[DU$_8$] *kaṣ-ru* KU$_4$ DUMU.NITA LÚ [ÚŠ]

***šumma imēru ana bīt amēli ša sippu kaṣru īrub mār amēli* [imât]**

If a donkey enters a man’s house [whose] doorframe is assembled – the son of that man [will die].

Comments

This omen restored from *Šumma ālu* 5.53 (*If a City* 1, 92). *Šumma ālu* 5 involves omens observed during the construction of houses and is a part of a sequence of omens within Tablet 5 that deal with various animals entering the ZAG.DU$_8$ *kaṣ-ru*. Despite defining AO 6490 as a standard text, *If a City* 3 previously assumed that line 1’ of this manuscript was a part of 43.71’. However, this would make AO 6490 an excerpt text. Omen 43.71’ is very similar to 43.32’, it too observes an animal entering a house with an assembled doorframe, but the subject of 43.71’ is a horse not a donkey. Aside from their similar protasis, there is also no clear reason to think that this line of AO 6490 belongs to 43.71’. This omen is similar to 45.90’ which reads [DIŠ SA.A.RI *ana* É *šá*] ZAG.DU$_8$ *kaṣ-ru* TU É BI ŠUB-*di* “[If a wildcat] enters [a house whose] doorframe is assembled, that house will be abandoned” (*If a City* 3, 46).

The obverse of Rm 2,145 is very poorly preserved, but it is clear from the reverse that this is an excerpt text.

§ 43.33’

AO 6490	*2’*	DIŠ ANŠE *še-pí-šu* NU *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ ir-ta-na-bi-iṣ* NIN ÉR
K 03886+	*3’*	[DIŠ] ANŠE.MEŠ *še-pí-šu* NU *ú-š*[*ar-* ...]
K 06865+	*8’*	[... *še-pí-šu* N]U *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ ir-ta-na-bi-iṣ* er[iš$^?$]-ti$^?$ e-˹x˺
Rm 2, 145	*2’*	[...] ˹*ú*˺-[*šar-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu* ...]

DIŠ ANŠE *še-pí-šu* NU *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ ir-ta-na-bi-iṣ* NIN ÉR

šumma imēru šēpīšu lā ušarḫiṣ irtanabbiṣ bēltu ibakki

If a donkey does not kick[?] his feet and is repeatedly lying down – the mistress will weep.

Variation K 06865+ DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *še-pí-šu* NU *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ ir-ta-na-bi-iṣ er*[*iš*[?]]-*ti*[?] *e*-x

šumma imēru šēpīšu lā ušarḫiṣ irtanabbiṣ er[*iš*]*ti*[?] ...

If a donkey does not kick[?] his feet and is repeatedly lying down – desire[?] of[?] ...

Comments

As observed in *If a City* 3, this omen is transcribed in CAD R *šumma imēru ṣe-bi-šu ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ* (CAD R, 73b, s.v. *raḫāṣu* B). The only comment offered in the CAD is that this is obscure, and it is suggested *raḫāṣu* here means "to soak." Freedman suggests this verb is likely "an Š form of *raḫāṣu* A, which has a meaning "trample" or "kick" (although no Š form is attested)" (*If a City* 3, 24, n. 33'). The verb *If a City* 3 is referencing is found in CAD R, 70a, s.v. *raḫāṣu* A. This leads *If a City* 3 to reconstruct 43.33', DIŠ ANŠE *še-pi*$_2$*-šu-nu u*$_2$*-šar-ḫi-iṣ-*<*ṣu*> *ir-ta-na-bi-is-ṣu(?)* IR$_2$ "If a donkey(s) make their feet kick(?), persistently lie down—weeping" (20). After discussing this verb with Dr. De Zorzi, no other alternative translation for *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ* from that of *If a City* 3 is apparent at this time. However, the reconstruction in this edition differs from the above reconstruction in *If a City* 3 in several other aspects.

It was difficult to justify the third-person plural suffix *-šu-nu* attached to *še-pí-šu-nu*. However, Dr. De Zorzi suggested the sign *nu* is in fact the logogram NU, meant as the negation *lā* to the verb *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ*. This differs from *If a City* 3, which tries to justify the third-person plural suffix by restoring -<*ṣu*> to *ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ-*<*ṣu*>, which makes the verb a third-person plural. This is not necessary if *nu* is read as a logogram. The apodosis in the Nineveh excerpt text K 06865+ differs from the Uruk text AO 6490.

The last four signs on K 06865+ are difficult to decipher, but it is clear they differ from the final signs found on AO 6490. This new edition follows the Electronic Babylonian Corpus' transcription of this line (Peterson 2021), but not without reservation. The sign *-ti* has a very unusual form and may be an altogether different sign. The sign *eriš* seems plausible, but half the sign is missing. Finally, the last visible traces of this omen on K 06865+ cannot be deciphered.

§ 43.34’

AO 6490	*3’*	DIŠ ANŠE *i-na-ga-ag* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*
K 03886+	*4’*	[DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺ *i-nam-ga-ag* [...]
Rm 2, 145	*3’*	[...] ˹x˺ ˹x˺ ˹x˺ [...]

DIŠ ANŠE *i-na-ga-ag* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*

šumma imēru inaggag tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ

If a donkey is braying – that pen will be scattered.

Comments

The obverse side of Rm 2, 145 is very poorly preserved, but *If a City* 3 places line 3’ with this omen based off of the previous line belonging to omen 34’ (*If a City* 3, 240). This explanation is highly probable despite Rm 2, 145’s poor state of preservation.

§ 43.35’

AO 6490	*4’*	DIŠ ANŠE LÚ *ir-kab ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM *ù-lu-ú* MUNUS.KALAG.GA DIB-*su*
K 03886+	*5’*	˹DIŠ˺ ˹ANŠE˺ LÚ *ir-*[*kab*] NA BI *ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*in ú-lu* MUNUS.KAL[AG.GA DIB-*su*]
K 06865+	*9’*	[... *ir-k*]*ab* LÚ BI *ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*in ú-lu* MUNUS.KALAG.GA DIB-˹*su*˺

DIŠ ANŠE LÚ *ir-kab* NA BI *ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*in ù-lu* MUNUS.KAL[AG.GA DIB-*su*]

***šumma imēru amēla irkab amēlu šū ana kaspi inaddin ūlū dann*[*atu iṣabbassu*]**

If a jack mounts a man – that man will be sold for silver or distress will seize him.

Variation AO 6490	DIŠ ANŠE LÚ *ir-kab ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM *ù-lu-ú* MUNUS.KALAG.GA DIB-*su*

šumma imēru amēla irkab ana kaspi inaddin ūlū dannatu iṣabbassu

If a jack mounts a man – he will be sold for silver or distress will seize him.

Comments

A male donkey is commonly referred to as a jack and the female as a jenny in the farming and veterinarian worlds. These are used here to delineate the specific genders referred to in these omens. Since jenny donkeys are usually differentiated from jacks logographically (MUNUS.ANŠE) and mounting involves the act of penetration, it is likely that *imēru* here is referring to a jack.

This is the first of a sequence of donkey sexual omen within *Šumma ālu* 43 (43.35'-38'). Out of these four omens, the two omens 43.37' and 38' have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80. One poorly preserved parallel to omen 43.35' is found in *Šumma izbu* 19.155', which has [BE AN]ŠE LÚ *ir-kab* LÚ B[I ...] "If a jack mounts a man – th[at] man [...]" (De Zorzi 2014, 811). There are also similar omens to 43.35' in *Šumma ālu* 80, but these mostly involve a smaller animal, a dog or a pig, approaching a woman sexually (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021). Outside of the animal-to-human sexual omens in Tablet 80 and this omen 43.35', there are no other animal-to-human sexual omens within *Šumma ālu*. There are, however, human-to-animal sexual omens, which also appear in Tablet 80, but these are very poorly preserved (2021). *Šumma ālu* 80 is discussed in more detail in chapter five (page 174).

§ 43.36'

AO 6490	*5'*	DIŠ ANŠE ANŠE *ir-kab* EN É [B]AD$_4$ DIB-*su*
K 03886+	*6'*	DIŠ ANŠE *ana* ANŠE ˹*ir*˺-*ka-ab* EN-*šú* MUNUS.KALAG.GA [...]
K 06865+	*10'*	[... *ir-k*]*a-ab* EN-*šú* [MUNUS].KALAG.GA DIB-˹*su*˺

DIŠ ANŠE *ana* ANŠE ˹*ir*˺-*ka-ab* EN-*šú* MUNUS.KALAG.GA DIB-*su*

***šumma imēru ana imēri irkab bēlšu dannatu* [*iṣabbassu*]**

If a jack mounts (another) jack – distress [will seize] his master.

Variation AO 6490 DIŠ ANŠE ANŠE *ir-kab* EN É [B]AD$_4$ DIB-*su*

šumma imēru imēra irkab bēl bīti* [*da*]*nnatu iṣabbassu

If a jack mounts (another) jack – [dis]tress will seize the master's house.

Comments

Given the previous and following omens deal with sexual omens regarding jack donkeys, it can be assumed that ANŠE *ana* ANŠE refers to two jack donkeys. It is possible, however, that this was meant to be gender generic as *If a City* 3 translates it: "If a donkey mounts (another) donkey, hardship will afflict its owner" (20). This omen is somewhat similar to 41.23' "If rams are ceaselessly mating...", but 41.23' state with whom the animals are mating as 43.36' does. This omen does not appear in *Šumma ālu* 80, which contains animal sexual omens.

§ 43.37'

AO 6490	*6'*	[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ TE-*ḫe* ZÁḪ ˹TÙR˺ ˹KI.MIN˺ *dan-nu ina* URU ZÁḪ-*iq*
K 03886+	*7'*	[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ TE-*ḫe* ZÁḪ TÙR KI.MIN *dan-nu ina* URU BI [...]
K 06865+	*11'*	[...] ZÁḪ TÙR KI.MIN *dan-nu ina* URU BI ˹ZÁḪ˺ (ruling)
Rm 2, 145	*4'*	[... TÙ]R KI.MIN *dan-nu* [...]

[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ TE-*ḫe* ZÁḪ TÙR KI.MIN *dan-nu ina* URU ZÁḪ-*iq*

[*šumma*] *imēru ana alpi iṭḫe ḫalāq tarbaṣi* KI.MIN *dannu ina āli iḫalliq*

[If] a jack approaches an ox (sexually) – destruction of the pen; ditto (= same protasis): a mighty one in the city will be lost.

Comments

This omen is similar to 43.71' just as the following omen is similar to 43.72' These four omens in *Šumma ālu* 43 have parallels in *Šumma ālu* 80. However, the apodosis of 43.37' differs from its parallel in *Šumma ālu* 80, omen 24, which has the apodosis "worry (for the house of the man) (or) a despotic person will appear in the land; destruction of [the land]" (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 363). *Šumma ālu* 80 and its relationship to Tablets 41-43 is discussed in chapter five (pages 174-181).

A metaphor seems to be taking place within this omen. It may be that the sexual domination of the ox by the jack is representative of the "mighty one" being lost (i.e. the ox represents the "mighty one" who is lost because the ox is dominated sexually by the donkey). This is not abundantly clear, but it seems likely.

§ 43.38'

AO 6490	*7'*	[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* AMAŠ TUR-*ir*
K 03886+	*8'*	[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* AMAŠ [...]
Rm 2, 145	*5'*	[*ú-ḫa-an-ni*]-*iṣ* AMAŠ [...]

[DIŠ] ANŠE *ana* GU$_4$ *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* AMAŠ TUR-*ir*

[*šumma*] *imēru ana alpi uḫanniṣ supūru iṣeḫḫir*

[If] a jack rubs itself against an ox (sexually) – the herd will shrink.

Comments

This omen is similar to 43.72' and has a parallel in *Šumma ālu* 80.25. The apodosis in omen 80.25 differs slightly from 43.38': TUR-*er* TÙR : TUR-*er* AMA[Š x x] "decline of the cattle pen (or) decline of the sheep fo[ld...]" (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 363). *Šumma ālu* 80 is discussed in chapter five. This is the last donkey sexual omen within this *Šumma ālu* 43. It is unclear why *If a City* 3 restores the final verb as TIL rather than TUR-*ir*. *If a City* 3 transcribes line 7' of AO 6490 just as we have on page 264, but writes TIL in the reconstruction instead of TUR-*ir* as the final verb in the apodosis (20).

§ 43.39'

AO 6490	*8'*	˹DIŠ˺ ˹MUNUS˺.ANŠE *iš-še-gu-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-aš-qu*$^{!}$ TÙR LÚ BI BIR-*aḫ*
K 03886+	*9'*	[DIŠ MUNUS.AN]ŠE *iš-še-gu-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak* TÙR É LÚ BIR-*aḫ*
K 06865+	*12'*	[... *iš-še-gu-m*]*a* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak* ˹TÙR˺ ˹É˺ LÚ BIR-*aḫ*

[DIŠ MUNUS.AN]ŠE *iš-še-gu-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak* TÙR É LÚ BIR-*aḫ*

[šumma atā]nu iššegūma amēlī unaššak tarbaṣ bīt amēli issappaḫ

If a jenny goes wild and bites people – the pen of the man's house will be scattered.

Variation AO 6490 ˹DIŠ˺ ˹MUNUS˺.ANŠE *iš-še-gu-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-aš-qu*ˡ TÙR LÚ BI BIR-*aḫ*

šumma atānu iššegūma amēlī unašqū*ˡ *tarbaṣ bīt amēli issappaḫ

If a jenny goes wild and bitesˡ people – the pen of that man will be scattered.

Comments

The remnants of the sign MUNUS appear in AO 6490 but is not preserved on the other two manuscripts, K 03886+ and K 06865+. This seems to mark the beginning of several jenny omens from 43.39' to 43.47', but only a few preserve the opening DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE.

It is inconclusive whether of omens 43.39'-43' focus on jenny donkeys since the DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE is not preserved on these omens. There is, however, more evidence that suggest jennies are in fact their subject. First, it would be unusual for there to be a standalone jenny omen, separated from the larger group of jenny omens which comes shortly after it. 43.39' would have to be interpreted as a standalone omen, or AO 6490 would need to be seen as a variation to the other standard texts of 43.39'; K 03887+ and K 06865+ would need to be restored [DIŠ ANŠE] rather than [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE] if this is the case. Both are possible, but evidence suggests 43.40' involves a jenny omen as it contains a female element in the apodosis. It is typical for omens like 43.40' and 43' which involve the man's wife in the apodosis to have a female element within the protasis, as this connects the protasis to the apodosis. Omens 41.34' and 38' are an example of this in that they associate a weeping ewe in the protasis with the man's weeping wife in the apodosis (see pages 48 and 51). Other indicators suggesting 43.39'-43' are jenny omens appear in 43.41' and 42', which contain female elements within their protases. Both 43.41' and 42' involve a placenta and have in the protasis the male possessive suffix *-šu* attached to the word ARḪUŠ. Omen 43.41' strangely has both male and female possessive suffixes in the protasis, but it is unclear why. Despite the masculine possessive suffix which consistently appear in both 43.41' and 42', the word ARḪUŠ to whom this suffix is attached is the word for placenta, an inherently female object. Not only is ARḪUŠ naturally associated with jennies rather than jacks, the consumption of the placenta, also known as placentophagia, is "a nearly ubiquitous behavior among mammalian peripartum females" (Kristal, DiPirro, and Thomson

2012, 178). Placentophagia is shown to increase the mother's post-birth contact with her young, with whom the mother would otherwise avoid until clean. The driving mechanism behind placentophagia is not entirely clear, a multitude of factors come in to play, but a hunger mechanism induced by birth may be responsible (2012, 179). That is to say, it is far less likely 43.41' and 42' refer to a jack consuming the placenta as placentophagia is a common part of the female postpartum clean up (2012).

For the reason discussed above, this interpreted as the beginning of a group of jenny omens. Just as chapter 41 has a section of omens regarding female sheep, chapter 43 has two groups of female equine omens, jenny 43.39'-47' and mare omens 73'-gap. It is possible that this section begins with omen 43.44', but as discussed above, it more likely begins in 43.37' due to the various female elements with omens 43.37'-43'. This omen, 43.37', contains a scribal mistake in one of the manuscripts.

The scribe of AO 6490 mistakenly wrote the plural form of *našāku*, even misspelling it in the process; it should be *unaššikū*. The singular appears in all other manuscripts, so we assume that this was a scribal mistake. AO 6490 also differs from the other two manuscripts in the apodosis, omitting the sign É from the apodosis and replacing it with the sign BI. This is a minor variation.

§ 43.40'

AO 6490	*9'*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu-ma* DÙR-*ša* ˹GAZ˺ [DA]M LÚ BA.ÚŠ
K 03886+	*10'*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu*-[*ma*] DÙR-*šu* GAZ DAM LÚ ÚŠ
K 06865+	*13'*	[...] ˹DÙR˺-˹*šu*˺ ˹GAZ˺ [DAM LÚ] BA.˹ÚŠ˺

[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu*-[*ma*] DÙR-*ša* GAZ DAM LÚ ÚŠ

[*šumma atā*]*nu iššegū*[*ma*] *mūrša idūk aššat amēli imât*

[If a jenn]y goes wild and kills her foal – the man's wife will die.

Comments

K 03886+ and K 06865+ has the masculine possessive suffix -*šu* associated with DÙR instead of the female possessive suffix -*ša* which AO 6490 uses. This could be viewed as evidence that K 03886+ and K 06865+ contain the masculine subject ANŠE as apposed the the

female MUNUS.ANŠE. However, both manuscripts AO 6490 and K 03886+ in omen 43.41’ have two different possessive suffixes within a single protasis. This seems to indicate there was either a confusion or lack of precision when it came to identifying the gender of the subject to whom the possessive suffix belonged. It may also be that MUNUS.ANŠE was not the subject of the protasis, rather the more general term ANŠE “donkey,” which could explain the confusion of gendered possessive suffixes. We follow the assumption that a lack of consideration of the possessive suffix gender consistently appears 43.40’-43’ for reasons explained in the commentary to 43.39’.

§ 43.41’

AO 6490 *10’* [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu-ma* ANŠE ˹DÙR˺-˹*ša*˺ *lu* ARḪUŠ-*su* GU$_7$ LUGAL *11’* KUR-*su* BAL-*su* LÚ BI É.BI BIR

K 03886+ *11’* [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-g*[*u-ma*] DÙR-*šu ù-lu* ARḪUŠ-*sà* GU$_7$ *12’* LUGAL KUR-˹*su*˺ ˹BAL˺-*su* NA BI É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

K 06865+ *14’* [... BA]L-*su* LÚ BI É-*s*[*u* BIR-*aḫ*]

[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-g*[*u-ma*] DÙR-*šu ù-lu* ARḪUŠ-*sà* GU$_7$ LUGAL KUR-*su* BAL-*su* NA BI É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

[šumma atān]u iššeg[ūma] mūršu ūlū silīssa īkul šarru māssu ibbalakissu amēlu šū bīssu issappaḫ

[If a jenn]y goes wil[d and] eats *its* foal or her placenta – the land of the king will rebel against him, that man’s household will be scattered from him.

Variation AO 6490 [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu-ma* ANŠE ˹DÙR˺-˹*ša*˺ *lu* ARḪUŠ-*su* GU$_7$ LUGAL KUR-*su* BAL-*su* LÚ BI É.BI BIR

[šumma atān]u iššegūma imēru mūrša lu silīssu īkul šarru māssu ibbalakissu amēlu šū bīssu issappaḫ

[If a jenn]y goes wild and the *jack* eats her foal or *its* placenta – the land of the king will rebel against him, that man’s household will be scattered.

<u>Comments</u>

The fragmentary state of the beginning of this omen in both attested manuscripts make it difficult to fully reconstruct this omen. The manuscript AO 6490 varies from the other two manuscripts since it contains an added ANŠE before DÙR. This could be seen as a repetition of the protasis subject, the introduction of a secondary subject, or a scribal mistake. If the first option is the cases, this omen should be translated "If a jack goes wild and the jack eats her foal and its placenta" or "If a donkey goes wild and the donkey eats her foal and its placenta." It is possible this added ANŠE was a scribal mistake since the scribe could have accidentally written a second ANŠE before the sign DÙR, which is written ANŠE.NÍTA. The second option of those listed above has been chosen to restore this omen, but all three are equally as plausible.

It is strange ARḪUŠ-*su* in AO 6490 has a masculine possessive suffix. This is an odd occurrence since ARḪUŠ-*su*, "his uterus" or "his placenta," is at first glance an oxymoron since male biology does not allow for a uterus or the production of a placenta. For this reason, it must refer to the placenta of a young male foal whose afterbirth the adult donkey ate. We chose to translate this masculine possessive suffix in 43.41' and 42' "*its*" in order to highlight this difference. A similar omen appears in *Šumma izbu* where a ewe eats ARḪUŠ-*su* "his placenta" (De Zorzi 2014, 764, Tablet 18 omen 1). Several omens in both *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu* have similarities to this where an adult animal eats either its young or its placenta. It is possible the confusing usage of masculine possessive pronouns were intended to highlight the gender of the foal, but it is also possible the scribe gave little attention to the gender of these possessive suffixes. This is discussed in the commentary to omens 43.40' and 39'.

§ 43.42'

AO 6490	*12'*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu-ma* ARḪUŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É.BI BIR-*aḫ*
K 03886+	*13'*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE] *iš-še-gu-*ˈ*ma*ˈ [ARḪUŠ-*su* GU]$_7$ NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*
		[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE] *iš-še-gu-ma* [ARḪUŠ-*su* GU]$_7$ NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma atānu*] *iššegūma* [*silīssu īku*]*l amēlu šū imâtma bīssu issappaḫ*

[If a jenny] goes wild and e[ats *its* placenta] – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

Variation AO 6490 [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E *iš-še-gu-ma* ARḪUŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É.BI BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma atān*]*u iššegūma silīssu īkul amēlu šū imâtma bīssu issappaḫ*

[If a jenn]y goes wild and eats *its* placenta – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

Comments

The unusual use of the masculine possessive suffix at the end of ARḪUŠ-*su*, which we have translated "*its*," is discussed in 43.41'. Strangely, AO 6490 writes this suffix -*šú* rather than -*su*, which is expected. This may be a scribal mistake, which was due to a lack of consideration for the assimilation of *silītu* and -*šu* to *silīssu*.

§ 43.43'

AO 6490 *13'* [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E ˹*id*˺-*da-na-am-ma*-[*am* E]N-*šú* KÚR TI-*qé-ma* DAM-*su id-da-nam-ma*-˹*am*˺

K 03886+ *14'* [... *id-d*]*a-nam*-[*ma-am* ... TI-*qé*]-*ma* DAM-*su id-da-nam-ma-am*

[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E ˹*id*˺-*da-na-am-ma*-[*am* E]N-*šú* KÚR TI-*qé-ma* DAM-*su id-da-nam-ma-am*

[*šumma atān*]*u iddanamm*[*am bē*]*lšu nakru ileqqēma aššassu iddanammam*

[If a jenn]y continually wai[ls – th]e enemy will take *its* owner and his wife will wail.

Comments

De Zorzi offers a score of these two manuscripts from omens 43.43' to omen 54' (2014, 812-813, comment to Edition Parallels 1). The verb *damāmu* is also used in 41.26', 34', 37' and 38', but 41.34' and 38' have similar contexts to 43.43'.

The first three signs of this omen are not preserved, but they are restored based on this omen's similarity to 41.34' and 38'. As mentioned in the commentary to 43.39', omens like

43.40’ and 43’ which involve a woman in the apodosis refers to some female element connecting the protasis to the apodosis. This protasis-apodosis connection appears in the sheep omens 41.34’ and 38’ where they associate a weeping ewe in the protasis with the man’s weeping wife in the apodosis (see page 48). Based off this connect which also occurs elsewhere in *Šumma ālu*, it is appropriate to restore a female subject (i.e. jenny) to the protasis of 43.43’.

§ 43.44’

AO 6490	*14’*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠ]E Ù.TU-˹*ma*˺ 2 SAG.DU-˹*šú*˺ AŠ.TE KÚR-*ir*
K 03886+	*15’*	[... Ù.TU]-*ma* [...] ^{giš}GU.ZA KÚR-*ir*
K 06865+	*15’*	[...] KÚR-˹*ir*˺
W 20030/116	*1’*	[DIŠ MUNUS].˹ANŠE˺ [...]

DIŠ MUNUS].ANŠE Ù.TU-*ma* 2 SAG.DU-*šú* AŠ.TE KÚR-*ir*

[*šumma at*]*ānu ūlidma 2 qaqqadātušu kussû inakkir*

[If a je]nny gives birth and (her foal) has two heads – the throne will change.

Comments

If a City 3 places the four lines of obverse W 20030/116 with omens 43.46’-49’ assuming that W 20030/116 is a standard text. It is, however, an excerpt text. This badly broken fragment only contains four lines on the obverse and four lines on the reverse with only a maximum of four signs per line remaining. The ruling at the bottom of the obverse side is only preserved in this manuscript and marks the end of a section of *Šumma ālu* birth omens which have parallels in *Šumma izbu* 19.144’-147’ (De Zorzi 2014, 810). When *If a City* 3 assumes this is a standard text it confuses the reading of omens 43.48’ and 49’ which have different subjects in the protasis; 43.48’ opens DIŠ ANŠE, “If a donkey,” while 43.49’ opens DIŠ DÙR, “If a foal.” Shifting W 20030/116 lines 1’-4’ from 43.46’-49’ to omens 43.44’-47’ fixes this problem, aligning W 20030/116 with the section of birth omens. It should also be noted that *Šumma ālu* 43.44’-51’ runs parallel to *Šumma izbu* 19.144’-151’.

One minor variation exists between the AO 6490 and K 03886+. The logographic writing of *kussû* differs in these two manuscripts. AO 6490 writes AŠ.TE while K 03886+ writes ^{giš}GU.ZA, but both have the meaning *kussû* “throne.” There may be a metaphor within the

protasis that creates the association with this apodosis. Two cannot occupy the place of one (i.e. two heads on one shoulder or two kings on one throne), thus the throne will change (see De Zorzi 2014, 284, for a discussion on the symbolic link between the head and the king).

§ 43.45’

AO 6490	*15’*	[DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE] Ù.TU-*ma* SAG.DU NU GÁL-*ši*
		NÍG.ḪA.LAM.<MA> *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši*
K 03886+	*16’*	[Ù.TU]-*ma* SAG.DU NU G[ÁL]
		NÍG.ḪA.LAM.MA *ina* KUR GÁL
K 06865+	*16’*	[...] KUR GÁL-˹*ši*˺
W 20030/116	*2’*	[DIŠ] ˹MUNUS˺.ANŠE [...]

[DIŠ] MUNUS.ANŠE Ù.TU-*ma* SAG.DU NU GÁL-*ši*
NÍG.ḪA.LAM.MA *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši*
[*šumma*] *atānu ūlidma qaqqadu lā ibši šaḫluqtu ina māti ibbašši*

[If] a jenny gives birth and it (the foal) has no head – there will be destruction in the land.

Comments

Omen 45’ belongs to a section of *Šumma izbu*-like omens and has an exact parallel in *Šumma izbu* Tablet 19 omen 145’ (De Zorzi 2014, 810). For more on this, see the commentary to 43.44’. It is also similar to *Šumma izbu* Tablet 20 omen 43’ (831) and Tablet 22 omen 52 (866), but the apodoses are different.

Just like the head is representative of the throne in 43.44’ in that two cannot occupy the same throne, the heedlessness of the foal may represent a kingless throne. The loss of the king, the head of the governing body, results in anarchy and destruction (see De Zorzi 2014, 284).

§ 43.46’

AO 6490	*16’*	[...] 2 Ù.TU UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*
K 03886+	*17’*	[Ù.T]U UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*
K 06865+	*17’*	[...] MAN-*ni* (ruling)
W 20030/116	*3’*	˹DIŠ˺ ˹MUNUS˺.ANŠE ˹x˺ [...]

DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE 2 Ù.TU UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*

šumma atānu 2 ūlid ṭēm māti išanni

If a jenny births two – the land will become deranged.

Comments

Omen 46' belongs to a section of *Šumma izbu*-like omens and has a parallel in *Šumma izbu* 19.145' (De Zorzi 2014, 810). For more on this, see the commentary to 43.44'. The word *ṭēmu* has the special meaning "derangement" and "insanity" with the verb *šanû* (CAD Ṭ, 95b s.v. *ṭēmu*).

§ 43.47'

AO 6490 *17'* [...] Ù.TU-*ma* ˹ŠIR˺.[II-*šú*] *iš-qá-lal-la* TÙR BI ZÁḪ

K 03886+ *18'* [...] ˹ŠIR˺.˹II˺-*šú iš-qá-lal-la* TÙR BI ZÁḪ

W 20030/116 *4'* ˹DIŠ˺ MUNUS.ANŠE ˹Ù.˺[TU-*ma* ...] (ruling)

[DIŠ] MUNUS.ANŠE Ù.TU-*ma* ŠIR.II-*šú iš-qá-lal-la* TÙR BI ZÁḪ

[*šumma*] *atānu ūlidma iškāšu išqallalā tarbaṣu šū iḫalliq*

[If] a jenny gives birth and his testicles are hanging – that pen will be lost.

Comments

This belongs to a section of *Šumma izbu*-like omens and it has a parallel in *Šumma izbu* 19.147' (De Zorzi 2014, 810). For more on this, see the commentary to 43.44'. The testicles of foals descend between 30 days before the birth to 10 days after its birth (McCue 2009, 1). When the testicles do not descend, a syndrome known as cryptorchidism, the foal can be infertile in its adulthood.

§ 43.48'

AO 6490 *18'* [...] IGI ˹KÁ˺ ˹IGI˺.˹2˺ -˹*šú*˺-˹*nu*˺ TÙ[R ...]

K 03886+ *r. 1* [... IGI].MEŠ

r. 2 [...] *ra-ma-ni-*[*šú*]*-nu* (ruling)

[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *ana*] IGI KÁ IGI.MEŠ-*šu-nu* TÙ[R] IGI.MEŠ [ZI.GA] *ra-ma-ni-*[*šu*]*-nu*

[*šumma imērū ana*] *pān bābi pānâtušunu tarbaṣa inaṭṭalā* [*tīb*] *ramāni*[*šu*]*nu*

If donkey's snouts face the pen – there will be [an attack] on themselves.

Comments

If a City 3 mistakenly split this omen in two, labeled omens 48' and 49', for reasons that are not entirely clear. Our restoration of 43.48' most closely resembles omen 43.49' in *If a City* 3, while omen 48' in *If a City* 3 was restored [DIŠ] SAL.ANSE *id-*[*da-na-ma-am* EN-*ša-*$_2$ ...].MEŠ "[If] a female donkey per[sistently moans,] her owner [...]" [*sic*] (21). The latter closely resembles *Šumma izbu* 19.148', which is likely where Freedman came up with the restoration of 43.48' (De Zorzi 2014, 810). In a footnote on this omen, *If a City* 3 comments, "See also Izbu T.19:144'-153', which provide partial restorations" (24, n. 44'-53'), but does not expound on how partial these restorations from *Šumma izbu* are. None of the *Šumma ālu* manuscripts which preserve the surrounding omens contain something similar *If a City* 3's omen 48'. *If a City* 3 claims this omen appears in its transcriptions of AO 6490 (see page 264), K 03886+ (see 209), and W 20030/116 (270). However, the sign *id-* does not appear in any of these transcriptions. Knowing this, it is most likely that *If a City* 3 inserted the omen [DIŠ] SAL.ANSE *id-*[*da-na-ma-am* EN-*ša*$_2$ ...].MEŠ as 43.48' on the sole basis of its appearance in *Šumma izbu* 19.148'. This *Šumma izbu* omen appears before an omen similar to 43.47' and after the omen *If a City* 3 labels as omen 49'. Our omen sequence differs from *If a City* 3 from here on, as omen 48' in *If a City* 3 does not actually exist, making *If a City* 3's omen 49' the equivalent of our omen 43.48'.

This omen was difficult to restore, and it could not have been done without the help of Dr. De Zorzi who suggested the majority of the changes. *If a City* 3 makes its restoration of this omen on the basis of *Šumma izbu* 19.149', which was subsequently restored from two

manuscripts, VAT 14586 (LKU 124) and its duplicate BM 38854+ (De Zorzi 2014, E.2 r. 14', 815 and E.3a 8', 816). *Šumma izbu* 19.149' is reconstructed,

> [BE] ANŠE.MEŠ *ana* IGI KÁ EGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu* IGI.MEŠ-*š*[*ú-nu* TÙR IGI.MEŠ ZI.GA]
> [If] the backs of the donkeys (are turned) toward the gate and t[heir] snouts [look at the pen – there will be an attack against themselves] (De Zorzi 2014, 810).

It is also clear that this long omen would not have fit on a single line in AO 6490 and K 3886+.

§ 43.49'

K 03886+	*r. 3*	[... *a-g*]*a-li i-na-ga-ag* TÙR ˹BI˺ ˹BIR˺-*aḫ*
Rm 2, 145	*6'*	[...] *i-nam-gu-˹ug˺* TÙR ˹BI˺ [BIR-*aḫ*]
W 20030/116	*r. 1*	[DIŠ] DÙR GIM *a*-[*ga-li* ...]

[DIŠ] DÙR GIM [*a-g*]*a-li i-na-ga-ag* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma*] *mūru kīma agāli inaggag tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*

[If] a foal brays like an *agālu*-donkey – that pen will be scattered.

Variation Rm 2, 145 [DIŠ DÙR GIM *a-ga-li*] *i-nam-gu-ug* TÙR BI [BIR-*aḫ*]

[*šumma mūru kīma agāli*] *inamgug tarbaṣu šū* [*issappaḫ*]

[If a foal] brays [like an *agālu*-donkey] – that pen [will be scattered].

Comments

This omen is nearly the same as *Šumma izbu* Tablet 19 omen 150', but the apodosis is missing from the *Šumma izbu* omen (De Zorzi 2014, 810). *If a City* 3 translates *agālu* as "mule," but this is not entirely correct. The word *agālu* could refer to a donkey hybrid as the word is placed between *imēru* and *parû* in the lexical series ḪAR.RA (Landsberger 1960, 50, Hh. XIII line 354-356), but the word most commonly used for a donkey-horse hybrid is *parû*. An *agālu* donkey appears to be an animal of traction with a distinction between early and later uses of the word. For this distinction see CAD A 1, 141b, s.v. *agālu*. For further discussion of *agālu* see van Koppen 2002. The verb *nagāgu* appears in *Šumma ālu* 41.35' and 42.38' and refers to the atypical sounds made by sheep, cattle, or donkeys (CAD N/I, 105b, s.v. *nagāgu*).

Omen 43.49’-51’ involve a foal braying or weeping. These are a part of the larger thematic section foal omens, 43.49’-53’. This omen and the following contain the verb *nagāgu*, while 43.41’ has *damāmu*.

§ 43.50’

AO 6490	*r. 1’*	[... *i*]-˹*na*˺-*ag*-[*ga-ag* ...]
K 03886+	*r. 4*	[... *i-n*]*a-ag-ga-ag* [N]A BA.ÚŠ
W 20030/116	*r. 2*	[DIŠ] DÙR [...]

[DIŠ] DÙR [*ina*] TÙR [*i*]-*na-ag-ga-ag* [N]A BA.ÚŠ

[*šumma*] *mūru* [*ina*] *tarbaṣi* [*i*]*naggag* [*am*]*ēlu imât*

[If] a foal brays [in] the pen – the [m]an will die.

Comments

For more on *nagāgu*, see the commentary to 43.49’.

§ 43.51’

AO 6490	*r. 2’*	[... *i-da*]*m*-˹*mu*˺-˹*um*˺ EN ˹INIM˺ [...]
K 03886+	*r.*	[...] É LÚ ˹*i*˺-˹*dam*˺-*mu-um* EN-*šú* INIM NÍG.GIG KUR-*su*
W 20030/116	*r. 3*	[DIŠ] DÙR ˹*i*˺-[*na* ...]

[DIŠ] DÙR *i*[*na*] É LÚ *i-dam-mu-um* EN-*šú* INIM NÍG.GIG KUR-*su*

[*šumma*] *mūru i*[*na*] *bīt amēli idammum bēlšu amāt marušti ikaššassu*

[If] a foal wails i[n] a man’s house – his master will receive ill tidings.

Comments

This omen is very similar to omens 41.34’, 38’ and 43.43’, but the apodosis of 43.51’ differ from these. All the other omens listed reference the man’s wife in the apodosis, while the master himself is referenced here. The reason for this is likely due to the gendered association that is taking place between the protasis and apodosis in 41.34’, 38’, and 43.43’. This is discussed in the commentary to 43.43’, which is partially restored from 41.34’ and 38’.

§ 43.52’

AO 6490	*r. 3’*	[...] TÙR B[I BIR-*aḫ*]
K 03886+	*r. 6*	[...] ˹KÁ˺ É LÚ ˹*i*˺-˹*da*˺-˹*al*˺ TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*
Rm 2, 145	*7’*	[...] ˹TÙR˺ [...]
W 20030/116	*r. 4*	[DIŠ] ˹DÙR˺ [...]

[DIŠ] DÙR [TA?] KÁ É LÚ *i-da-al* TÙR BI BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma*] *mūru* [*ištu*?] *bāb bīt amēli idâl tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*

[If] a foal aimlessly wanders [from?] the gate of the man’s house – that pen will be scattered.

Comments

The preposition *ištu* is only a suggestion, which this edition shares with *If a City* 3 (21). However, it could very well be *ana* or *ina* (CAD D, 58-59, s.v. *dâlu*).

§ 43.53’

AO 6490	*r. 4’*	[... *i*]*t-ru-*˹*uk*˺ EN ˹É˺ [*i*]-˹*qal*˺*-lil* (ruling)
K 03886+	*r. 7*	[...] EN-*šú it-*˹*ru*˺*-uk* EN É *i-qal-lil* (ruling)

[DIŠ DÙR] EN-*šú it-*˹*ru*˺*-uk* EN É *i-qal-lil*

[***šumma mūru***] ***bēlšu itruk bēl bīti iqallil***

[If a foal] strikes its owner – the master of the house will be weakened.

Comments

The subject of the protasis could just as easily be ANŠE or following the subject of the previous omens ANŠE.NÍTA. However, it is just as plausible this omen is the beginning of the tablets section on ANŠE.KUR.RA, the horse, since the following omen contains [ANŠE.KUR].RA. The verb *qalālu* has various nuanced meanings given appropriate context; it can mean “to lose status,” “to be ridiculed,” or “to become little.” Since there is not much context given, the verb is translated with its most general meaning. It maybe that the weaking in

the apodosis is due to the fact it is a foal who strikes the owner. As a younger animal striking an older human animal, this could be seen as a metaphor of a coming loss of face.

§ 43.54’

AO 6490 *r. 5’* [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A ˹*iš*˺-˹*še*˺-˹*gu*˺-*ma lu tap-*˹*pa*˺-*šu lu* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak* LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É.˹BI˺ BIR

K 03886+ *r. 8* [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR].RA *iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-a-šú lu* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak r. 9’* NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

Rm 2, 145 *r. 1* [... *l*]*u* ˹LÚ˺.ME[Š ...]

r. 2 [...] É-˹*su*˺ B[IR]

[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR].RA *iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-a-šú lu* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-na-šak* NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

[šumma sīs]û iššegūma lū tappâšu lū amēlī unaššak amēlu šū imâtma bīssu issappaḫ

[If a hors]e goes wild and bites its companion or people – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

Comments

The variation that *If a City* 3 cites for this omen has been dismissed after collation of AO 6490. This omen in AO 6490 was transliterate by *If a City* 3, [... L]U$_2$ *iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-šu lu* LU$_2$.MEŠ *u$_2$-na-šak* (264), and it is unclear why the final seven signs were omitted from the transcription. The supposed [L]U$_2$ *If a City* 3 reads at the beginning of this line is likely the end of RA in [ANŠE.KUR.R]A. As is seen in K 03886+, this omen is long and can take up two lines; this is the case in manuscript Rm 2, 145 which writes this omen on lines r. 1-2. However, *If a City* 3 mistakes line r. 2 as a separate omen and restores it to omen 43.55’ (240).

§ 43.55’

AO 6490 *r. 6’* [... *iš-še-gu*]-˹*ma*˺ ŠIR.2-*šú u* GÌŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ LÚ BI ÚŠ-*ma* É.BI BIR-*aḫ*

K 03886+ *r. 10* [DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA MIN ŠIR.2-*šú u* GÌŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

[DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA MIN (*iš-še-gu-ma*) ŠIR.2-*šú u* GÌŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ NA BI ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR-*aḫ*

[*šumma s*]*īsû iššegūma iškīšu u išaršu īkul amēlu šū imâtma bīssu issappaḫ*

[If a h]orse goes wild and eats its testicles or its penis – that man will die and his house will be scattered.

Comments

This shocking omen is one of the rare autocannibalism omens within *Šumma ālu*. The only parallel it has is with 43.57', where a horse eats its own skin. It's possible to interpret this as self-harm and not self-cannibalism since *akālu* can also be interpreted as "to bite." However, if the scribes intended this to be interpreted as "to bite," they could have just as easily used the verb *našāku,* "to bite," as they did the previous 43.54'. For this reason, *īkul* in 43.55' and 57' have been translated as "to eat."

§ 43.56'

AO 6490 *r. 7'* [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA] ˹*iz*˺-˹*za*˺-˹*bi*˺-<*ib*> UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*

K 03886+ *r. 11* [DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA *iz-za-bi-ib* UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*

Rm 2, 145 *r. 3* [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *iz*]-*za-bi-ib* UMUŠ KUR [...]

[DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA *iz-za-bi-ib* UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni*

[*šumma s*]*īsû izzabib tēm māti išanni*

[If a h]orse is in a frenzy – the land will become deranged.

Comments

This omen has the same apodosis as *Šumma ālu* 43.46' and is the same as *Šumma izbu* Tablet 20 omen 5 (De Zorzi 2014, 835). The Late Babylonian scribe from Uruk who wrote AO 6490, omitted the final *ib* in *iz-za-bi-ib*. This was not for a lack of space.

§ 43.57’

AO 6490 *r. 8’* [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR].˹RA˺ ˹MIN˺-ˈ*ma*˺ ˹KUŠ˺.˹MEŠ˺-ˈ*šú*˺ GU$_7$ LUGAL ˹UGU˺ ˹É˺ *šú-a-tu$_4$* GIG-*iš* GÙ-*si*

K 03886+ *r. 12* [DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA *iz-za-bi-*ˈ*ib*˺*-ma* ˹KUŠ˺.MEŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ LUGAL UGU É *šú-a-tu$_4$* *r. 13’* GIG-*iš* GÙ-*si*

Rm 2, 145 *r. 4* [... *i*]*z-za-bi-ib-ma* KUŠ.MEŠ-*šú* [...]

r. 5 [... U]GU É *šu-a-*ˈ*tu$_4$*˺ GIG-*iš* G[Ù-*si*]

[DIŠ ANŠE].KUR.RA *iz-za-bi-ib-ma* KUŠ.MEŠ-*šú* GU$_7$ LUGAL UGU É *šú-a-tu$_4$* GIG-*iš* GÙ-*si*

[*šumma s*]*īsû izzabibma maškīšu īkul šarru eli bīti šuāti marṣiš išassi*

[If a h]orse is in a frenzy and eats (at) its skin – the king will call out bitterly against this house.

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* Tablet 20 omen 6, but the apodosis of the *Šumma izbu* omen is missing (De Zorzi 2014, 835). This omen is also similar to 43.55’, both of which are autocannibalism omens.

§ 43.58’

AO 6490 *r. 9’* [...] É LÚ ˹KU$_4$˺ ˹*taq*˺-*ri-ir-tu$_4$* *nu-*ˈ*kúr*˺ ˹KI˺.˹TUŠ˺ É.GAL *ga-mi-ir-tu$_4$* *r. 10’* É LÚ UŠ-*di* *ni-ziq-tu$_4$* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

K 02052 *1’* [...] ˹*taq*˺-*ri-i*[*r-tu$_4$* ...]

K 03886+ *r. 14* DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É NA KU$_4$ *taq-ri-ir-tu$_4$* *nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ

r. 15’ É.GAL É NA UŠ-*di* : *ga-mi-ir-tu$_4$* *ni-ziq-tu$_4$* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

Rm 2, 145 *r. 6* [...] ˹É˺ NA KU$_4$ ˹*taq*˺-ˈ*ri*˺-*ir-tu$_4$* *nu-kúr* KI.˹TUŠ˺

r. 7’ [...] NA UŠ-*di* : *ga-mi-ir-tu$_4$* *ni-ziq-tu$_4$* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É NA KU$_4$ *taq-ri-ir-tu$_4$* *nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ É.GAL É NA UŠ-*di* : *ga-mi-ir-tu$_4$* *ni-ziq-tu$_4$* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

šumma sīsû ana bīt amēli īrub taqrirtu nukkur šubti ekallu bīt amēli ireddi : gamīrtu niziqtu qīt ūmī

If a horse enters into a man's house – *taqrirtu*; change of dwelling; the palace will seize the man's house : termination; grief; end of days.

Variation AO 6490 [DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana*] É LÚ KU$_4$ *taq-ri-ir-tu$_4$ nu-kúr* KI.TUŠ É.GAL *ga-mi-ir-tu$_4$* É LÚ UŠ-*di ni-ziq-tu* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

[*šumma sīsû ana*] *bīt amēli īrub taqrirtu nukkur šubti ekallu gamīrti bīt amēli ireddi niziqtu qīt ūmī*

[If a horse] enters [into] a man's house – *taqrirtu*; change of dwelling; the palace will seize the entirety of the man's house; grief; end of days.

Comments

The word *taqiritu* has as of yet an unknown meaning but appears more than this once in omen literature (CAD T, 201b s.v. *taqiritu*). *If a City* 3 suggests the word means something similar to "inundation" relating it to the verb *qarāru* "to overflow, to pour" (*If a City* 3, 25, n. 59'). The variation between AO 6490 and the other manuscripts is slight. AO 6490 adds *gamīrti* to the apodosis making it "The palace will seize the entirety of the man's house" as opposed to "The palace will seize the man's house." However, this is simply a rewording as the other manuscripts include *gamīrtu* after a *Glossenkeil*.

§ 43.59'

AO 6490 *r. 11'* ˹DIŠ˺ ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ É LÚ KU$_4$-*ma lu* ANŠE *lu* LÚ *iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ É BI BIR

K 02052 *2'* [... KU]$_4$-*ma lu* ANŠE [...]

K 03886+ *r. 16* DIŠ ˹ANŠE˺.KUR.RA *ana* É [NA] ˹KU$_4$˺-*ma lu* ANŠE *lu* LÚ *iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É [NA] KU$_4$-*ma lu* ANŠE *lu* LÚ *iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR

šumma sīsû ana bīt* [*amēli*] *īrubma lū imēra lū amēla iššuk bēl bīti imâtma bīssu issappaḫ

If a horse enters into a [man's] house and bites either a donkey or a man – the man will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.60'

AO 6490 *r. 12'* [DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ [*ana*] ˹É˺ LÚ KU$_4$-*ma* ˹*lu*˺ *im-ḫaṣ lu iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ É BI BIR

K 02052 *3'* [... K]U$_4$-*ma lu im-ḫaṣ* ˹*lu*˺ [...]

K 03886+ *r. 17* DIŠ [AN]ŠE.KUR.RA *ana* ˹É˺ [NA] KU$_4$-*ma lu im-ḫaṣ lu iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR

Rm 2, 145 r. 8 [... N]A KU$_4$-*ma lu im-ḫaṣ lu iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR

DIŠ [AN]ŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É [NA] KU$_4$-*ma lu im-ḫaṣ lu iš-šuk* EN É ÚŠ-*ma* É-*su* BIR

šumma* [*sī*]*sû ana bīt amēli īrubma lū imḫaṣ lū iššuk bēl bīti imâtma bīssu issappaḫ

If [a h]orse enters a man's house and either he strikes or he bites – the master of the house will die and his house will be scattered.

§ 43.61'

AO 6490 *r. 13'* [DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ [*ana*] ˹É˺ LÚ KU$_4$-˹*ma*˺ MUNUS.ANŠE *lu* ˹*im*˺-*ḫaṣ* ˹*lu*˺ ˹*iš*˺-*šuk* ˹É˺ ˹BI˺ BIR

K 02052 *4'* [...] ˹KU$_4$˺-*ma* MUNUS.ANŠE *lu* <*im-ḫaṣ lu*> *iš*-[*šuk-ši* ...]

K 03886+ *r. 18* DIŠ A[NŠE.KU]R.˹RA˺ *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* MUNUS.ANŠE *lu-ma*$^{?}$ <*im-ḫaṣ lu*> *iš-šuk-ši* É BI BIR

1879-07-08, 128 *1'* ˹DIŠ˺ ˹ANŠE˺.[KUR.RA ...] *2'* [...]

DIŠ AN[ŠE.KU]R. RA *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* MUNUS.ANŠE *lu im-ḫaṣ lu iš-šuk-ši* É BI BIR

šumma s*[*īs*]*û ana bīt amēli īrubma atānu īrubma lū imḫaṣ lū iššukši bītu šū issappaḫ

If a ho[rs]e enters a man's house and either strikes a jenny or bites her – that house will be scattered.

Comments

The apodosis is similar to the royal horse omen 57' (*If a City* 3, 29). *If a City* 3 places lines 1'-2' of 1879-07-08, 128 with this omen, but this is merely speculative since this manuscript is an excerpt text and none of the preserved signs link it conclusively to 43.61'.

§ 43.62'

AO 6490	*r. 14'*	[DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ ˹*ana*˺ ˹É˺ ˹KU$_4$˺-˹*ma*˺ *iš-šu-uk* ˹*lu*˺ ˹*ir*˺-*ḫ*[*i-i*]*ṣ* TIL ˹U$_4$˺-*mì*
K 02052	*5'*	[...] *lu iš-šuk lu i*[*r-ḫi-iṣ* ...]
K 03886+	*r. 19*	DIŠ ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.[RA] *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* E[N-*šú* ... *i*]*r*-˹*ḫi*˺-˹*iṣ*˺ TIL U$_4$-*mi*
Rm 2, 145	*r. 9*	[... K]U$_4$-*ma* EN-*šú lu iš-šuk lu ir-hi-iṣ* TIL U$_4$-mi
1879-07-08, 128	*3'*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* [...]

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É NA KU$_4$-*ma* EN-*šú lu iš-šuk lu ir-hi-iṣ* TIL U$_4$-*mi*

šumma sīsû ana bīt amēli īrubma bēlšu lū iššuk lū irḫiṣ qīt ūmī

If a horse enters a man's house, and it either bites or kicks its master – end of days.

Variation AO 6490 [DIŠ] ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É KU$_4$-*ma iš-šu-uk lu ir-ḫ*[*i-i*]*ṣ* TIL U$_4$-*mì*

[*šumma*] *sīsû ana bīti īrubma iššuk lū irḫ*[*i*]*ṣ qīt ūmī*

[If] a horse enters a house, and it bites or ki[ck]s – end of days.

Comments

This omen is similar to *Šumma izbu* Tablet 20 omen 21' (De Zorzi 2014, 837). *Šumma ālu* 80 has a similar omen as well to 43.62': DIŠ NA *ana* ANŠE.KUR.RA *lu ir-ḫi-is-su lu iš-šuk-*

šú [TIL] U$_4$-*mi* “If a man, a horse either tramples him or bites him: [en]d of days” (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 365).

§ 43.63’

AO 6490	*r. 15’*	[DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ EN-[*šu*] ˹*iš*˺-[*ni*] É BI *ṭa*-˹*ri*˺-[*du-ta*]$_5$ ˹DU˺-˹*ak*˺ DUMU.NITA LÚ ÚŠ
K 02052	*6’*	[...] *iš-ni* É BI *ṭa-ri-du-ta*$_5$ DU-[*ak* ...]
K 03886+	*r. 20*	DIŠ ANŠE.˹KUR˺.[RA] EN-*šú iš-ni* [... DU]-*ak* *r. 21’* [DUMU].NITA LÚ [ÚŠ]
1879-07-08, 128	*4’*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA EN-*šu* [...]
		DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA EN-*šú iš-ni* É BI *ṭa*-˹*ri*˺-[*du-ta*]$_5$ DU-*ak* DUMU.NITA LÚ ÚŠ
		šumma sīsû bēlšu išni bītu šū ṭarīdūta illak apil amēli imât

If a horse, his owner *becomes deranged* – that house will go into exile, the man’s heir will die.

Comments

The translation of *išni* is not entirely certain. After struggling with the grammatical difficulties this verb causes, it was suggested to me by Dr. De Zorzi that the only sensical formulation of the protasis can center around *bēlšu* and not *sīsû.* There are two verbs written *šanû*, one means “to do again” (CAD Š/II, 399, s.v. *šanû* A) and the other “to change” or “to become deranged” (CAD Š/II, 405a, s.v. *šanû* B). The former is dismissed as it requires a direct object. This new reconstruction differs from *If a City* 3.

This omen is reconstructed and translated in *If a City 3*, DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA EN-*šu*$_2$ *iš*-x-[...] E$_2$ BI *ṭa-ri-du-ta*$_5$ DU-*ak* DUMU.NITA LU$_2$ UG$_7$ “If a horse [...] its owner, that house will go into exile; the man’s son will die” (22). Collation of K 03886+ restored the protasis verb to *iš-ni*, which was missing from *If a City* 3’s reconstruction.

§ 43.64’

AO 6490	*r. 16’*	[DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ *ina* ˹É˺ LÚ ˹È˺ ˹ŠU˺ ^{d}IM A.ŠÀ *ša* EDIN ^{d}IM RA-*iṣ* (ruling)

K 03886+ *r. 22* DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ina* É NA È [...] (ruling)
Rm 2, 145 *r. 10* [...] ˹È˺ ŠU ^{d}IM A.ŠÀ *šá* EDIN ^{d}IM RA-*iṣ*
1879-07-08, 128 *5'* ˹DIŠ˺ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ina* É L[Ú ...] (ruling)

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ina* É LÚ È ŠU ^{d}IM A.ŠÀ *ša* EDIN ^{d}IM RA-*iṣ*
šumma sīsû ina bīt amēli ūṣi qāt Adad eqla ša ṣēri Adad iraḫḫis
If a horse goes out of a man's house – hand of Adad; Adad will flood the country field.

Comments

The apodosis of this omen is similar to *Šumma ālu* 21.67'.

§ 43.65'

AO 6490 *r. 17'* [DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ ˹TÚG˺ [LÚ] ˹GU$_7$˺ ˹LÚ˺ BI ŠU ˹SÁ˺.SÁ
K 03886+ *r. 23* DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA TÚG LÚ G[U$_7$ ...]
Rm 2, 145 *r. 11* [... GU]$_7$ NA BI ŠU SÁ.SÁ
1879-07-08, 128 *6'* DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA TÚG LÚ GU[$_7$ ...]

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA TÚG LÚ GU$_7$ LÚ BI ŠU SÁ.SÁ
šumma sīsû ṣubāt amēli īkul amēla šuāti qātu ikaššad
If a horse eats a man's garment – the hand will capture that man.

Comments

Omens 65'-72' are similar to K 08011 (Gadd 1927, pl. 33-34, n. 23-29), a *Šumma izbu* text that is unplaced but related to *Šumma izbu* 20 (De Zorzi 2014, 834-835). The hand referred to in the apodosis is the hand of a god, but it does not specify which god it is referring to. However, it is most likely the hand of Adad since the storm god was the subject of the previous apodosis. The sign of the hand of a deity is always a very ominous sign (Heeßel 2018). This omen has a parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94.16 (Boddy 2021, 8). This omen and the next three are more fully discussed in chapter five.

§ 43.66'

A 3449+	*r. 1'*	[DIŠ ANŠ]E.[KUR.R]A [^{túg}G]Ú.ˊÈˀ ˊLÚˀ G[U$_7$ L]Ú [... É]-ˊ*šu*ˀ È
AO 6490	*r. 18'*	[... ^{túg}GÚ].È ˊLÚˀ [...]
K 03886+	*r. 24*	DIŠ AN[ŠE.KUR.RA] ^{túg}GÚ.È [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 12*	[...] NA BI *ina* DÙG.GA É-*šu* È

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{túg}GÚ.È LÚ G[U$_7$] NA BI *ina* DÙG.GA É-*šu* È

šumma sīsû naḫlapti amēli ī[kul] amēlu šū ina ṭūbi bītišu uṣṣi

If a horse e[ats] the outer garment of a man – that man will go forth in the peace of his house.

Comments

I interpret this omen in context of the two previous apodoses, which discuss the inauspicious will of a god. This apodosis likely refers "goodness" in general, but it can also be understood as "peace" between the client and the god. This omen is the same as 94.17 (Boddy 2021, 8).

§ 43.67'

A 3449+	*r. 2'*	[DIŠ AN]ŠE.ˊKURˀ.ˊRAˀ [...] LÚ GU$_7$ ˊDAMˀ [... NÍT]A MAN-*ma* DIB-<*ma*> ÚŠ
K 03886+	*r. 25*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{túg}ÍB.LAL [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 13*	[...] NA KI NÍTA MAN-*ma* DIB-*ma* ÚŠ
1879-07-08, 128	*7'*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{túg}ÍB.LAL LÚ ˊGU$_7$ˀ [...]

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{túg}ÍB.LAL LÚ GU$_7$ DAM NA KI NÍTA MAN-*ma* DIB-*ma* ÚŠ

šumma sīsû nēbeḫ amēli īkul aššat amēli itti zikari šanîmma iṣabbatma imât

If a horse eats a man's belt – the man's wife will be seized with another man and she will die.

Comments

This omen is restored from *Šumma ālu* 94.18 (Boddy 2021, 8). The sign ÚŠ in A 3449+ can also be read *bat*, which could be meant as a phonetic complement to DIB, *iṣabbat*. However, the majority of manuscripts including this omen's parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94, have both DIB and ÚŠ, so it is most probable that it was meant to be read ÚŠ, not *bat*. The *ma* after DIB was mistakenly omitted from A 3449+. *If a City* 3 reads the sign NÍTA as ARAD; these are the same sign.

The commentary text K 02919+ may elaborate on this omen in line 17 (see *If a City* 3, 18, for a partial restoration of this manuscript). However, this cannot be fully confirmed because the only signs preserved on this line of K 02919+ are *zi-ka-ru*.

§ 43.68'

A 3449+	*r. 3'*	[DIŠ AN]ŠE.KUR.RA ˹^{kuš}E˺.˹ŠÍR˺ LÚ GU$_7$ [TU.RA-*ma*] TI-*uṭ*
K 03886+	*r. 26*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 14*	[... TU.R]A-*ma* TI-*uṭ*
1879-07-08, 128	*8'*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR LÚ GU$_7$ T[U.RA-*ma* T]I

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{kuš}E.ŠÍR LÚ GU$_7$ T[U.R]A-*ma* TI-*uṭ*

šumma sīsû šēn amēli īkul imarrasma iballuṭ

If a horse eats a man's sandal – he [will fall i]ll but he will live.

Comments

This omen is the same as 94.34 (Boddy 2021, 12). *If a City* 3 mistakes the end of RA for the end of DIB, and restores it based off *If a City* 3's reading of 43.63'.

§ 43.69'

A 3449+	*r. 4'*	[DIŠ ANŠ]E.[KUR.RA] ˹SÍG˺ LÚ GU$_7$ ˹*mim*˺-[*mu-šú*] ˹DUGUD˺ È
K 03886+	*r. 27*	[DIŠ] ANŠE.[KUR.RA] SÍG [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 15*	[... *mim-mu-š*]*ú*$^{?}$ DUGUD È

[DIŠ] ANŠE.KUR.RA SÍG LÚ GU$_7$ *mim*-[*mu-šú*] DUGUD È

[*šumma*] *sīsû šārat amēli īkul mimmûšu kabtu uṣṣi*

[If] a horse eats a man's hair – his important possessions will vanish.

Comments

This omen is the same as 94.27 (Boddy 2021, 10) and has the same apodosis as 43.24. Boddy's translation of this apodosis differs from ours. This is discussed in the commentary to 43.24 (page 135).

§ 43.70'

A 3449+	*r. 5'*	[DIŠ] ANŠE.[KUR.RA] *ana* É GIBIL *šá* ˹ZAG˺.˹DU$_8$˺ ˹*kaṣ*˺*-ru* KU$_4$ DAM LÚ ÚŠ
K 03886+	*r. 28*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É GIBIL [...]
1879-07-08, 128	*9'*	DIŠ ANŠE.˹KUR˺.RA *ana* É GIBIL *ša* ZAG.DU$_8$ *kaṣ-ru* KU$_4$ ˹DAM˺ ˹LÚ˺ BA.[ÚŠ]

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* É GIBIL *ša* ZAG.DU$_8$ *kaṣ-ru* KU$_4$ DAM LÚ ÚŠ

šumma sīsû ana bīti edēši ša sippu kaṣru īrub aššat amēli imât

If a horse enters a new house whose doorframe is constructed – the wife of the man will die.

Comments

This omen has a parallel omen in *If a City 1*, 95, Tablet 5 omen 52', which is a series of omens centering around the doorjamb. See also 43.32'.

§ 43.71'

A 3449+	*r. 6'*	˹DIŠ˺ ˹ANŠE˺.K[UR.R]A *ana* GU$_4$ ˹TE˺-˹*ḫe*˺ *na*-˹*zaq*˺ É LÚ
K 03886+	*r. 29*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* GU$_4$ [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 16*	[...] É LÚ
1879-07-08, 128	*10'*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* GU$_4$ TE *na-zaq* É L[Ú]

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* GU$_4$ TE-*ḫe na-zaq* É LÚ

šumma sīsû ana alpi iṭḫe nazāq bīt amēli

If a horse approaches an ox (sexually) – trouble for the man's house.

Comments

The protasis of this omen is similar to 43.37’ as well as *Šumma ālu* 80.26 (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021). The similarities between this omen and the animal sexual omens in Tablet 80 are discussed in more detail in chapter five. The apodosis 80.26 differs from the apodosis here, as it contains an additional element. Boddy and Mittermayer translate this apodosis “worry for the house (or) perishing of the cattle [pen]” (2021, 363).

§ 43.72’

A 3449+	*r. 7’*	[DIŠ] ˹ANŠE˺.˹KUR˺.˹RA˺ *ana* GU$_4$ *ú-˹ḫa˺-an-ni-iṣ* TUR ˹TÙR˺ AMAŠ GU$_7$
K 03886+	*r. 30*	DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* [...]
Rm 2, 145	*r. 17*	[... *ú-ḫ*]*a-an-nì-*[*iṣ* ...] *r. 18* [...] ˹GU$_7$˺

DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* GU$_4$ *ú-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* TUR TÙR AMAŠ GU$_7$

šumma sīsû ana alpi uḫanniṣ seḫēr tarbaṣi supūru innakkal

If a horse rubs itself against an ox (sexually) – reduction of the pen, the herd will be consumed.

Comments

This omen is similar to 43.38’ and contains a parallel in *Šumma ālu* 80. However, the apodosis in *Šumma ālu* 80.27 is restored from *Šumma alu* 43.38’ as AMAŠ [TIL] “the sheep fold [will perish]” (Boddy and Mittermayer 2021, 364, n. 30). However, seeing how 43.72’ clearly preserves AMAŠ GU$_7$ in A 3449+ and that both these omens share the same subject, horses, *Šumma ālu* 80.27 would be better restored AMAŠ GU$_7$. *If a City* 3 reconstructs this omen, DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana* GU$_4$ *u$_2$-ḫa-an-ni-iṣ* TUR-*ir* TUR$_3$ x x “If a horse rubs against an ox (sexually—diminishment of the pen ...” (22). Collation of A 3449+ from photos provided by Professor Susanne Paulus restored the missing signs to this apodosis.

§ 43.73’

A 3449+	*r. 8’*	DIŠ <<MUNUS>>.ANŠE.KUR.RA DÙR-*ša ù-lu-ú* ARḪU[Š] ˹GU$_7$˺ URU BI ˹ŠU˺ ˹KUR˺-˹*ád*˺ É BI BIR (ruling)

K 03886+ *r. 31* DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE.<<ANŠE>>.KUR.[RA ...] *r. 32* [...] URU B[I ...] (ruling)

Rm 2, 145 *r. 19* [...] ˹BI˺ [...]

1879-07-08, 128 *11'* DIŠ <<MUNUS>>.ANŠE.KUR.RA DÙR-*ša ù-lu* ARḪUŠ GU_7 URU BI ŠU KUR-*ad* É BI BIR-˹*aḫ*˺ (ruling)

DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE.KUR.RA DÙR-*ša ù-lu-ú* ARḪUŠ GU_7 URU BI ŠU KUR-*ád* É BI BIR

šumma urītu mūrša ūlū silīta īkul āla šuātu qātu ikaššad bītu šū issappaḫ

If a mare eats her foal or the placenta – the hand (of a god) will seize that city, that house will be scattered.

Comments

This omen is similar to 43.41'. It is clear the scribes of A 3449+ and 1879-07-08, 128 omitted MUNUS before ANŠE.KUR.RA, however they included the female possessive pronoun *ša* in DÙR-*ša*. This means that even though they omitted MUNUS, these scribes intended the subject of this omen to be a "mare" while still using the generic logogram for horse. Since this is highly likely and there are no other variations between these manuscripts, this omen has been restored using MUNUS.ANŠE.KUR.RA to specify the gender of the horse which was intended in each manuscript. This means the same pattern that appears at the beginning of this chapter and in chapter 41 of placing female animal omens after male animals appears also within the horse omens.

Colophon

A 3449+

r. 9' ^{im}SAR 40-*bí*? (ruling)

r. 10' DIŠ ˹AM˺ *ina* IGI ABUL IGI-*ir* KÚR URU^{ki} NIGIN-*mi*

r. 11' NU *up-puš*$_4$

r. 12' ˹IM˺.˹DUB˺ ^{Id}60-EN-*šú-nu* ˹A˺ *šá* $^{I˹}$NÍG.SUM˺-*ti*-^{d}60 A *šá* ^{Id}60-EN-*šú-nu* ˹ŠÀ˺.BAL.BAL

r. 13' ^{I}É.KUR-*za-kir* ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{d}60 *u an-tu*$_4$ ŠEŠ.GAL-*iá šá* É-*re-eš* ^{lú}UMBISAG

r. 14' [U$_4$ ^{d}60 ^{d}EN.LÍL.LA ...] (illegible)

r. 15' [... ŠÀ.BA]L.BAL ^{I}É.KUR-*za-kir*

r. 16' [...] ˹*šá*˺ É-*re-eš* ^{lú}UMBISAG U$_4$ ^{d}60 ^{d}EN.LÍL.LA

r. 17' [... *ina*] ˹UNUG˺^{ki} É-*re-eš* ÉŠ.GAL

r. 18' [...] *kun-nu* SUḪUŠ-*a-a* SAR-*ma ú-kin*

r. 19' [...] (illegible)

r. 20' [...] ˹x˺ ^{d}IM ^{d}*ša-la u* EN DINGIR.MEŠ

r. 21' [...] *šá* TÙM-*šú* NUMUN *ina a-mat* ^{d}60 *u* ^{d}*an-tu*$_4$ NU TUK-*ši*

Inscribed 40

If a wild ox is seen in front of the city gate – the enemy will surround the city.

Not finished

Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nadintu-Anu, son of Anu-bšlšunu, the descendant of Ekur-zakir, the *āšipu* of Anu and Antu, the high priest of the Bīt-rēš, the scribe

[of *Enūma Anu Enlil* ...] (illegible)

[... descen]dant of Ekur-zakir.

[...] Bīt-rēš, scribe of *Enūma Anu Enlil*,

[... in] Uruk, the Bīt-rēš of the Ešgal

[... for] strengthening the foundations, he wrote and deposited (it).

[...] (illegible)

[...] ... Adad, Šala, and the lord of the great gods

[...] whosoever removes it, may he have no seed by the command of Anu and Antu.

If a City 3 transliterated and translated this colophon, but there are several errors that have led to major false assumptions regarding this manuscript. The first arises from the translation of NU *up-puš*$_4$ in line r. 11'. *If a City* 3 translates this line "Not checked" (23). This translation must have arisen from a confusion of *epēšu* with *barû* 'to check' which often appears in colophons. However, the meaning of *epēšu* is different.

The verb *epēšu* is widely used and has several nuanced meanings. The CAD suggests

epēšu means “to copy” occasionally when used before or in a colophon (1958 E, 232b, s.v. *epēšu*), but this is contested by Hunger ten years after the E volume of CAD was published. Hunger argues,

> Eine Übersetzung "to copy" ist unwahrscheinlich, weil *uppušu* meistens auf *šaṭāru* folgt; dann wäre aber zweimal gesagt, daß die Tafel abgeschrieben worden sei. Für den Vorschlag "mit Kolophon abschließen" spricht die Stelle Nr. 113, wo *uppuš* nach dem Text und vor dem Kolophon steht. Parallel dazu findet sich auch *qati* "zu Ende" zwischen Text und Kolophon. Der Gebrauch des D-Stammes wäre bei einer derartigen Bedeutung "(vollständig) machen" > "abschließen" durchaus angebracht, vgl. GAG § 88 f. (1968, 3).

As Hunger mentions, *uppuš* often follows *šaṭāru*, which is the case in the colophon of A 3449+. Hunger must not have had an example of a colophon with NU *up-puš*$_4$, as he would sure have mentioned the peculiarity of writing ‘not copied’ in a colophon of a text that was clearly copied from older texts. This example in the colophon of A 3449+ confirms Hunger’s suggestion that *uppuš* has the meaning “(vollständig) machen.” However, it cannot mean “mit Kolophon abschließen” as he suggests because the line states clearly NU *up-puš*$_4$ “not completed,” which is then followed by a colophon. This must mean that the manuscript is incomplete, which explains the next problem

The colophon of A 3449+ writes that there were 40 inscriptions written on this manuscript. 38 of these inscriptions survived (43.1-30, 66’-73’). If only 40 omens were written on this manuscript that would mean only two omens are broken off the bottom half. This would mean that the manuscript is incomplete, which seems to be what NU *up-puš*$_4$ explains. However, this does not explain why the omen sequence parallels that of 2NT 318 and K 03886+ in omens 43.66’-73’. If this were an excerpt text, have no reason to be in order. Not only that, the omens from the beginning of the chapter which are missing from all other standard texts appear on the obverse of this text as if it were a standard text. It can be suggested the number 40 in the colophon is incorrect, but this cannot be adequately proved. Despite the confusion this colophon sheds on the nature of this manuscript, other issues arise in identifying the authors of this manuscript.

The names in line r. 11 of this edition differ from *If a City* 3. *If a City* 3 transliterated and translated this line,

IM.DUB ^{md}60-EN-šu$_2$-nu A-šu$_2$ ša$_2$ ^{m}ki-din-^{d}60 A-ša$_2$ ^{md}60-EN-šu$_2$-nu ŠA$_3$.BAL.BAL

Tablet of Anu-belšunu, son of Kidin-Anu, son of Anu-belšunu, descendant of... (23-24)

This earlier edition mistook Nadintu-Anu for Kidin-Anu, which made it impossible to locate the writer of this manuscript within the many known scribal families in Uruk at this time. There multiple scribes named Kidin-Anu from Uruk, but none are the son of and father to an Anu-bēlšunu. This is not the case for Nadintu-Anu, whose name appears in many texts from the Seleucid period. He appears in (Hunger 1968, 39).

The final sign of r. 14' is difficult to read. The manuscript is cracked directly in the middle of this last sign or last two signs. It could be the sign MÁŠ, as we have suggested, but it may also be MAŠ.MAŠ or SUR. The former already appears once in line r. 13', but it has the demonstrative LÚ written before it suggesting this is not the signs in r. 14' as LÚ is absent. It is possible the sign is SUR for *eṭēru* as we would expect a verb at the end of this line, but no examples of this verb appear in other colophons (see Hunger 1968). We have chosen to tentatively restore this broken sign to MÀŠ and restoring the verb *ú-bi-il* to the beginning of r. 15' as it appears in colophon no. 107 in *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (1968, 46).

Unfortunately, lines 14' and 19' are illegible. It is likely line 19' contains a date formula and the name of a ruler. Despite these missing pieces, it remains likely that this was written during the Seleucid period.

CHAPTER 5

INNER STRUCTURE: RECURRING THEMES

The purpose of this section is to observe the recurring themes within *Šumma ālu* 41-43 that are shared across Tablets and appear in an observable schema. Ann Guinan argues that omen texts were "produced in a series of contiguous associations" (2002, 28). The contiguity of themes and patterns vividly manifests in Tablets 41-43 in the sexual and consumption omens, as well as in a few miscellaneous themes and patterns that are less clear. These will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

SEXUAL OMENS

Omens regarding unusual sexual encounters between animals appear in Tablets 41-44 and 80 of *Šumma ālu*.[33] The first 47 omens on the obverse of *Šumma ālu* 80 are animal sexual omens, making up the largest number of such omens for one Tablet. An excellent first edition of Tablet 80 was published by Boddy and Mittermayer in the journal *Orientalia* (2021). Table 5 gives an overview of the divisions within Tablet 80 omens 1-47.

***Šumma ālu* 80**	
Animal to human/animal sexual omens 80.1-32	*iṭḫe* "to approach (sexually)." *uḫanniṣ* "to rub (sexually) against."
Dog sexual omens 80.1-9 ruling	with a woman 80.1-2; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a pig 80.3-4; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a fox 80.5-6; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a sheep 80.7-8; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a wolf 80.9; *iṭḫe*
Pig sexual omens 80.10-15 ruling	with a woman 80.10-11; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a dog 80.12-13; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a sheep 80.14-15; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Sheep sexual omens 80.16-19 ruling	with a dog 80.16-17; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a pig 80.18-19; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Ox sexual omens 80.20-23 ruling	with a donkey 80.20-21; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a horse 80.22-23; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Equine sexual omens 80.24-27 ruling	donkey with an ox 80.24-25; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* horse with an ox 80.26-27; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Fox sexual omens 80.28-29 ruling	with a ram 80.28-29; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Lion/wolf sexual omens 80.30-32 ruling	unclear; *iṭḫe–ʿiṭḫeʾ*–[*iṭḫe*]
Human-to-animal sexual omens 80.33-47	
Women-to-animal sexual omen 80.33 ruling	unclear; *iṭḫe*
Man-to-animal sexual omens 80.34 ruling	unclear; *iṭḫe*
Generic human-to-animal sexual omens 80.35-47 ruling	unclear; broken

TABLE 5

The obverse of Tablet 80 can be divided into two sections: animal-to-human/animal and human-to-animal sexual omens. The latter is unfortunately very broken but seems to have been subdivided into woman-to-animal, man-to-animal, and gender-

[33] Based off the recurrence of the sexual omens from Tablets 41-44 in Tablet 80, it is possible that dog and pig sexual omens appeared in Tablets 46-47 (dogs) and 49 (pigs), which were lost in lacunae.

generic human-to-animal sexual omens. The animal-to-human/animal omens are well preserved, with clearly ruled-off sections divided by animal: dog–pig–sheep–ox–equine–fox–lion/wolf. These divisions partially follow the general overall Tablet sequence of *Šumma ālu* where the sheep Tablet (41) is followed by Tablets for oxen (42), equids (43), and wild animals (44). The latter includes, among other wild animals, foxes, lions, and wolves. In *Šumma ālu* 80, the dog and pig omens are "out of place" according to this general order of the Tablets, appearing first in the omen sequence. Within the Tablet sequence, dog and pig omens come after the cat Tablet (45), but pigs (49) also follow the Tablet regarding dogs (47), just as the pig section follows the dog section in Tablet 80. Curiously, there are no goat omens within the animal-to-human/animal section of *Šumma ālu* 80 nor in *Šumma ālu* 41. There is, however, a namburbi ritual written in the middle of 80 meant to ward off the evil portents which come if a man has relations with a goat.[34]

***Šumma ālu* 41-43**	
Sheep sexual omens	with a dog 41.18'-19'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a pig 41.20'-21'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Ox sexual omens	with a donkey 42.36'-37'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* with a horse 42.38'-39'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*
Equine sexual omens	(donkey) with an ox 43.37'-38'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* (horse) with an ox 43.71'-72'; *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*

TABLE 6

In addition to the pattern of animals *Šumma ālu* 80 follows, there are several other noteworthy patterns within the animal-to-human/animal section. The animal-to-human/animal omens do not vary beyond two types of protasis within *Šumma ālu* 80. Animals either *iṭḫe* "approach (sexually)" or *uḫanniṣ* "rub (sexually)" against the other creature. These two verbs always appear in the order *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ*, and if *iṭḫe* appears then it is always followed by the protasis *uḫanniṣ* in instances where the manuscript is preserved; when the sequence seems to deviate from this pattern in Table 5 it is because the reading is either unclear or there is a lacuna. Table 6 demonstrates the same *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* pattern appearing in *Šumma ālu* 41-43.The sexual omens in *Šumma ālu* 44 are poorly preserved, but it appears as though the fox sexual omens, 44.50'-51', are an exception to the *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* pattern (*If a City* 3, 36; *iṭḫe–iṭḫe*).[35] The excerpt

[34] This *namburbi* ritual is written on the reverse of manuscripts from *Šumma ālu* 80. This ritual is recorded in Stefan Maul's *Zukunftsbewältigung* (1994, 415-20). The rest of the reverse contains miscellaneous animal omens which mostly involve birds with the exception of one horse and one mongoose omen. The dividing a manuscript by theme on the obverse and reverse is something that also occurs in *Šumma ālu* 41, where sheep omens are written on the obverse while goat and flock omens are written on the reverse.

[35] Three more wild animal sexual omens appear on the unusual VAT 10504+ (see Sources, pages 70-71). Tablet 44 does not preserve these three omens.

r iv 15' DIŠ UR.BAR.RA *ana* MAŠ.DÀ TE-*ḫe* E[N? ...]

text VAT 10504+ preserves animal sex omens as well, but these only have *iṭḫe* protases; Boddy and Mittermayer discuss *Šumma ālu* 80's relationship to this text on page 356 (2021).

There are only five other known animal sexual omens within the livestock omens of *Šumma ālu*, which are also exceptions to the previously discussed *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* pattern. Tablets 41 and 43 preserve these five sexual omens:

§41.22' [DIŠ] UDU BABBAR MUNUS.EŠGAR *ir-kab la mit-gur-tu*$_4$ *ina* KUR [0]
[If] a white sheep (sexually) mounts a doeling – discord in the land [0].

§41.23' DIŠ UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ U$_5$.U$_5$ ŠÀ.BI D[ÙG.GA]
If rams are ceaselessly mating – he will be ha[ppy].

§43.6 [DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *ú* x].MEŠ *ana* É LÚ KU$_4$.MEŠ-*ma ir-tak-ka-bu* [...] x *ḫa ru-ʾ-ta-šú i-qer-rib-šú*
[If donkeys and X]s enter a man's house and they mount each other (sexually) – [...] ... his female companion will approach him (sexually).

§43.35' DIŠ ANŠE LÚ *ir-kab* NA BI *ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*in ù-lu* MUNUS.KAL[AG.GA DIB-*su*]
If a jack mounts a man – that man will be sold for silver or distress will seize him.

§43.36' DIŠ ANŠE *ana* ANŠE *ʿir*ʾ*-ka-ab* EN-*šú* MUNUS.KALAG.GA DIB-*su*
If a jack mounts (another) jack – distress [will seize] his master.

Though an observation of these omens yields few concrete conclusions, each of these omens uses the verb *rakābu* in the protasis. The protasis of 41.22' seems to play off BABBAR's positive association with "day/light" (Thavapalan 2020, 21), but it lacks a clear connection to the "discord in the land" found in the apodosis.

The verb *rakābu* is logographically written U$_5$.U$_5$ in omen 41.23' instead of syllabically. This is not unusual, but one can speculate that it was written logographically through an unclear aspect of the sign U$_5$, which is written MUŠEN.SI. Regardless of the purpose behind writing it logographically, the doubling of the logogram, U$_5$.U$_5$, indicates a Gtn- or Gt-stem verb, which

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r iv 16' DIŠ UR.MAḪ *ana* UR.BAR.RA TE-*ḫe* URU [...]
r iv 17' DIŠ UR.BAR.RA *ana* UR.MAḪ TE-*ḫe nu-kúr* [...]

If a wolf approaches a gazelle (sexually) – the ma[ster$^{?}$ ...]
If a lion approaches a wolf (sexually) – the city [...]
If a wolf approaches a lion (sexually) – change of [...]

A full translation of VAT 10504+ is available in German in KAL 1, 6 (Heeßel 2007, 26-30).

complicates the translation of this protasis since each bear two different implications. The omen has been restored from the Gtn-stem of *rakābu* "to mate without ceasing," and is likely positive because it reflects a typical and beneficial occurrence amongst the flock. However, if U_5.U_5 is read as the Gt-stem *irtakkabū*, the verb takes on a reflexive meaning: "they mate (with each other)". The reduplication of a logogram usually indicates a Gtn-stem, but occasionally the reflexive Gt-stem is implied (Streck 2003, 98). The verb *rakābu* is written phonetically in omen 43.6 as a Gt-stem verb, which offers an excellent example from the same context as omen 41.23'. If the Gt-stem was intended in 41.23', this omen specifies that the rams are mating with one another, making this the first homosexual omen within the animal sexual omens.[36] However, as will soon be discussed, omen 43.36' is likely a homosexual omen as well. The verb *rakābu* has a double meaning and it is likely that omen 43.6 plays off this.

While *rakābu* means "to mate," it also has the meaning "to ride," and it is often used in the context of horseback riding. Like the Akkadian *rakābu,* the English verb "to ride" can also mean "to have sexual intercourse" and is often used as a double entendre. The verb is clearly intended to mean "to mount each other" in omen 43.6, but understanding the double meaning of the word offers the alternative translation "If jacks and Xs enter a man's house and they are riding each other..." The creators of this omen likely did not intend to create this ironic picture of horses riding atop horses since *rakābu* is used in other animal omens, but the irony is worth noting. The creator of this omen likely wrote *rakābu* in the Gt-stem form *ir-tak-ka-bu* to match the syllabic count of *i-qer-rib-šú* which appears in the apodosis (see commentary to 43.6).

Omen 43.35' is not the only animal-to-human sexual omen in existence, as far as I know, but it is the only animal-to-man sexual omen. *Šumma ālu* 80.1-2 and 10-11 are animal-to-woman sexual omens and involve smaller animals (dogs and pigs). Not only is *Šumma ālu* 43.35' the only animal-to-man sexual omen, it is also the only large-to-small sexual omen, that is to say it exceeds the physiological limitations which are otherwise considered in all animal sexual omens. All animal sexual omens, with the exception of 43.35', consider the physiological restrictions of animal-to-animal encounters, since large animals like horses and oxen do not have encounters with smaller

[36] Like most of the omens in chapter 41-43, this is not outside the realm of possibility in nature. Sheep owners often observe homosexual interactions between sheep (Armstrong 2016, 40-43).

Sexual omens Protasis	Apodoses[37]
with woman (*ana šinništi*)	
iṭḫe-	-[end of the reign : anxiety (or) pestilence for the land]. (dog 80.1)
uḫanniṣ-	broken (dog 80.2)
iṭḫe-	-abandonment of the house [...] ... (pig 80.10)
uḫanniṣ-	-famine (of the land) (or) of the herd of cattle ... (pig 80.11)
with dog (*ana kalbi*)	
iṭḫe-	-[an enemy will take] half of the land. (sheep 41.18' & 80.16)
uḫanniṣ-	-spoils [for the man]. (sheep 41.19')
	-abandonment of the house (or) [spoi]ls [fo]r the man. (sheep 80.17)
iṭḫe-	-the great will become small; the ruler of that city will leave[?] his city. (pig 80.12)
uḫanniṣ-	-famine (or) famines of the people will occur. (pig 80.13)
with pig (*ana šaḫê*)	
iṭḫe-	-scattering of [the man's house]. (sheep 41.20' & 80.18)
uḫanniṣ-	-abandonment of the house of the man will occur. (sheep 41.21' & 80.19)
iṭḫe-	broken (dog 80.3)
uḫanniṣ-	-the property of the city god (will diminish) : decline of [...] (dog 80.4)
with sheep (*ana immeri*)	
iṭḫe-	-decline of the cattle pen; dispersal of the house [of the man]. (dog 80.7)
uḫanniṣ-	-a raging : famine of Erra will occur in the land ... (dog 80.8)
iṭḫe-	-Adad [will] devastate the herd of cattle of the land. (pig 80.14)
uḫanniṣ-	-death among the h[erd] of cattle. (pig 80.15)
iṭḫe-	-scattering (or) perishing of the people [...] (fox 80.28)
uḫanniṣ-	-the city [will ... the fi]eld of its arable land. (fox 80.29)
iṭḫe[?]-	broken (a person 80.36[?])
with ox (*ana alpi*)	
iṭḫe-	-destruction of the pen ditto (= distress will seize his master's house), the mighty in the city will be lost. (donkey 43.37')
	-worry (for the house of the man) (or) a despotic person will appear in the land; destruction of [the land]. (donkey 80.24)
uḫanniṣ-	-the herd will shrink. (donkey 43.38')
	-shrinking of the cattle pen (or) shrinking of the he[rd...] (donkey 80.25)
iṭḫe-	-trouble for the man's house. (horse 43.71')
	-trouble for the house (or) perishing of the cattle [pen]. (horse 80.26)
uḫanniṣ-	-it will shrink, the herd will be consumed. (horse 43.72')
	-the herd [will be consumed]. (horse 80.27)[38]
with donkey (*ana imēri*)	
iṭḫe-	-the yoke of the land will become strong, ditto (= the man's house will be deserted), the man's house will be scattered : the king of the land will be defeated [...]. (ox 42.36' & 80.20)
uḫanniṣ-	-desertion : an enemy assault on the man. (ox 42.37'* & 80.21)
with horse (*ana sisî*)	
iṭḫe-	-the ki[ng will die and the land will become small : scattering of the man's house]. (ox 42.38' & 80.22)
	-enemy defeat : desertion of the man's house. (ox 42.39'* & 80.23)
uḫanniṣ-	
with fox (*ana šēlebi*)	
iṭḫe-	-for three years commercial activity will [diminish]. (dog 80.5)
uḫanniṣ-	-abandonment of the field of the arable land; [...] (dog 80.6)
with wolf (*ana barbari*)	
iṭḫe-	the owner of the arable land will change; th[at] city [...] (dog 80.9)
	*These omens were fully restored from their counterpart in Tablet 80.

TABLE 7

[37] A few changes have been made to Boddy's translations to aid in coherence. "Decline" has been changed to "shrinking," "dispersal" has been changed to "scattering," "plunder" has been changed to "spoils," and "worry" has been changed to "trouble." The Akkadian of these words is the same and simple nuances cause the difference in translation. However, these are mostly the same.

[38] Boddy restores this apodosis AMAŠ [TIL]. This restoration is from 43.38' based off the incomplete reconstruction in *If a City* 3 (Boddy 2021, 364, n. 30). Omen 43.72' was not yet fully restored, which is why Boddy used the donkey omen 43.38' to restore it. The apodosis of 43.72' has now been fully restored TUR-ir AMAŠ GU_7. Since 80.27 coheres to 43.72', the apodosis of 80.27 should be restored AMAŠ [GU_7]. The translation here reflects this new restoration.

animals due to the difficulty of mounting, and vice versa.[39] Large animals (horses, donkeys, oxen) only have sexual encounters with other large animals within these sexual omens, while the smaller animals (foxes, dogs, sheep, pigs) only have encounters with small animals. Women were only approached by the smaller animals, and assuming that men, like women, were place in the category of smaller animals, omen 43.35' clearly breaks from the pattern of small-to-small and large-to-large animal sexual omens. Equally unique is omen 43.36'.

We would except a homosexual animal omen to appear within these sexual omens not because it is unusual, but because it is rather common (Kamath, et al. 2019). At first, it may seem that 43.36' is referring to donkeys in general, but seeing that this section is followed by a group of jenny omens and that they could not use NÍTA to specify these were males without writing DÙR (written ANŠE.NÍTA), it must be assumed that these are referring to male donkeys—both omens also refer to "his" master in the apodosis which could be a point of connection, but it is fairly common to mention the animals master in the apodosis. Unfortunately, not much else can be said regarding this omen as the protasis-to-apodosis connection is unclear as it is in 43.35'. However, it should be mentioned that both omens write MUNUS.KALAG.GA for *dannatu* "distress." Perhaps the connection between the protasis and the apodosis rests in the gendered element within this logogram, MUNUS, which could represent the emasculation of the man. The concept of emasculation is observed in the teratomantic omens from Tigunānum where the emasculated enemy is associated by Sargon with women (De Zorzi 2017, 144).

All five of these omens can be considered interspecies interactions. Omen 43.6 could be the one exception to this, but seeing how it is likely [DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ú MUNUS.ANŠE].MEŠ ... "[If jacks and jenni]es ...," it too fits the category of interspecies sexual omens. While omens were often created outside the realm of possibility (Rochburg 2010), these sexual omens should not be solely viewed as such. Cross-species sexual encounters are not impossible, although some physiological limitations do exist. These physiological considerations in the animal-to-human/animal sexual omens, that smaller species had relations with animals of equal size and larger species with larger animals, were likely considered in the human-to-animal

[39] A few years ago, this author had the privilege of spending the winter at a home where cattle were kept. One of the many equids kept on the premises, a miniature donkey named Pip, was sexually interested in a full-grown mule. Unfortunately, Pip's interest was ill-fated; he frequently tried to mount the mule, to her irritation, but was physically unable. This goes to show that, while smaller animals may in fact prove to desire relations with larger animals, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.

sexual omens as well. These human-to-animal sexual omens are not preserved in *Šumma ālu* 80. This is reflected in the *namburbû* ritual that is included in *Šumma ālu* 80. This ritual is intended to ward of the evil portent that follows when one has had intercourse with a goat.

Conclusions regarding links between the apodoses and protases of these animal sexual omens seem speculative at best. While most of omens are strongly linked to one another by theme and pattern, the protasis-apodosis connection is not fully understood in the animal-to-human/animal sexual omens. As seen in Table 7, most apodoses of omens with *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* protases are negative—the one exception being 41.19', which has a negative apodosis in 80.17. All sexual omens shared between Tablets 41-44 and Tablet 80 have the same protases, and while some variations within the apodoses exist (see 80.17, 24-27), the meanings remain mostly the same. Despite this uniformity, the animal-to-human/animal combinations do not follow any other clear pattern. The associations connecting these protases with their apodoses must hinge on implied relations between the animals and the apodosis or the animal-to-human/animal combination. Further insight into the perception of animals by Mesopotamians is required for these inferences to be detectable. In the meantime, a few instances of animal-to-animal sexual omens outside *Šumma ālu* exist and shed some light on the significance of these omens.

During the Neo-Assyrian period, a curious text belonging to Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (760-680 B.C.E.) appeared in the scholar's collection in Kalaḫ. This text, dubbed *Prodigies of the Fall of Akkad* by Guinan, is a collection of "Prodigies (literally: strange signs) presaging the fall of the land of Akkad" (2002, 7). Guinan posits that the text was copied during the reign of Sargon II, and might have associated the fall of the Akkad with the fall of Babylon.[40] Three of these *ittātu aḫâtu* "strange signs" are animal-to-animal sexual omens. These three omens appear on a single line, each contain the verb *iṭḫe*, and all appear as *Šumma ālu* protases.

Rm 0155 *15* GU$_4$ *ana* ANŠE TE KA$_5$.A *ana* UR.GI$_7$ TE UR.GI$_7$ *ana* ŠAḪ TE

An ox approached a donkey (sexually), a fox approached a pig (sexually), a dog approached a pig (sexually).

[40] It is unclear whether this association lay in the ousting of Merodoch-Baladan from Babylon by Sargon II (ca. 710 B.C.E.) or in the destruction of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I several centuries before Nabû-zuqup-kēnu. Either are a possibility, but Guinan convincingly argues that this text could not have been affiliated with the destruction of Babylon by Sennacharib (689 B.C.E.), as this came after the scholastic life of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu (2002, 8).

These signs are a continuation of the three preceding omens in which a man sleeps with his mother, sister and daughter. Relations similar to these were strictly taboo in Mesopotamia and are likely the reason they appear as "strange signs." Placing the animal-to-animal sexual omens after these human omens emphasizes the unusual and foreboding nature of these occurrences in the eyes of the Mesopotamians. Their association with the catastrophic fall of Akkad highlights the particular momentousness of sexual omens.

CONSUMPTION OMENS

Occasionally within the series *Šumma ālu*, animals are observed consuming human clothing. These are labeled here as "consumption omens." While the term "consumption" could also be used to identify cannibalism omens, these are excluded from this grouping—cannibalism omens appear occasionally in *Šumma ālu* but remains mostly the topic of the teratological omens of *Šumma izbu* (De Zorzi 2014). Both cannibalism and omens dealing with the eating of clothes involve consumption, but the few cannibalism and autocannibalism omens that appear in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 are not paired with clothing consumption omens (see 41.33'; 43.41', 55', 57' and 73').[41] This indicates that these were seen as separate. Omens dealing with the consumption of clothing by animals appear in several Tablets in *Šumma ālu*.

***Šumma ālu* 94** Consumption omens	
Ox eating 94.1-3	garment–cloak–belt
Ram eating 94.4-6	garment–cloak–belt
Goat eating 94.7-9	garment–cloak–belt
Pig eating 94.10-12	garment–cloak–belt
Donkey eating 94.13-15	garment–cloak–belt
Horse eating 94.16-18	garment–cloak–belt
Dog eating 94.19-21 **ruling**	garment–cloak–belt
94.22-28 Ox–ram–goat–pig–donkey–horse–dog **ruling**	eating hair
94.29-34a Ox–ram–goat–pig–donkey–horse–dog **ruling**	eating a sandal

TABLE 8

Like the sexual omens of 41-43, which are assembled together in *Šumma ālu* 80, consumption omens appear in Tablets 41 and 43 and are amassed at the beginning of *Šumma ālu* 94. Tablet 42 does not contain any consumption omens, but several consumption omens involving oxen appear in Tablet 94, suggesting that these were perhaps lost in the gap between 42.28 and 29'[42]. The same may be true for the dog consumption omens.

The consumption omens in *Šumma ālu* 94 follow a specific pattern that differs from the pattern of consumption omens preserved in Tablets 41 and 43. Two patterns occur

[41] Self-cannibalism is even more rare than cannibalism omens in *Šumma ālu* and is limited to 43.55' and 57' within chapters 41-43.
[42] The commentary text to Tablet 42 K 02919+ also references the consumption of cloth in line 16 (*If a City* 3, 11).

simultaneously in *Šumma ālu* 94 and are outlined in Table 8. The Tablet follows a sequential order of animals, ox–ram–goat–pig–donkey–horse–dog. The first series of omens has three omens per animal, which consistently examine the portents of eating a garment, a cloak, and then a belt. These end at 94.21, after which appears a ruling. From this point on, these omens only examine the consumption of one object per section. First, there is the consumption of the man's hair, and finally the consumption of the man's sandal. This pattern differs slightly in Tablets 41 and 43 and is illustrated in Table 9. The order of ingested objects (garment–cloak–belt–hair–sandal) follow a top-down arrangement in Tablet 94.[43]

***Šumma ālu* 41 & 43** Consumption omens	
Sheep eating 41.12'-16'	garment–cloak–belt–sandal–hair
Donkeys eating 43.20-24	garment–cloak–belt–sandal–hair
Horses eating 43.65'-69'	garment–cloak–belt–sandal–hair

TABLE 9

In addition to this difference between the protases of Tablets 41 and 43 from Tablet 94, a further syntactical difference in the otherwise similar protases is noteworthy. *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 are the only Tablets that preserve parallel consumption omens similar to those in *Šumma ālu* 94. The syntax of the protases in Tablets 41 and 43 begin with the subject, the animal, and then list the object consumed by that animal. The syntax in Tablet 94, however, lists the object consumed first and then the animal. However, despite this difference in syntax, the meaning of these protases remains and translates the same.

The apodoses from Tablets 41 and 43 differ from those in Tablet 80, with the similarities and disparities among the apodoses of these Tablets illustrated by Table 10. This table groups together apodoses by the object consumed in the protasis. Certain similarities are visible, but the majority of apodoses differ from animal to animal. While the meanings of apodoses in *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 and their prospective parallels in *Šumma ālu* 94 remain generally similar, these omens do not contain patterns within their apodoses like the patterns found in their protases.

While these apodoses cover a broad range of outcomes, further analysis yields a few worthwhile observations. Notably, none of the apodoses from consumption omens are positive. The reason for their negative outcomes may rest in the preposterousness of animals eating clothes, which would elicit shock. Not only should these animals not be eating clothing, but their doing so transgresses the hierarchical boundary of humans as masters over these creatures. It is not explicitly stated in the omens whether these are imaginary or real-life occurrences, both are

[43] *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43 deviate from the arrangement in *Šumma ālu* 94 by placing sandal omens before hair omens.

Consumption omens Protasis	Apodoses
eating a garment (*ṣubāt*)	that man will become sick but will live. (sheep 41.12'* & 94.4) dispersal of the house. (var.) need : there will be a break-in at the house by a man. (goat 41.50'* & 94.7) this man will have worries. (ox 94.1) the man will experience severe hunger. (donkey 43.20) this man will experience imprisonment in his (own) house. (donkey 94.13) the hand will capture that man. (horse 43.65' & 94.16) diminishing of the exchange rate, abandonment of the man's house. (dog 94.19)
eating a cloak (*nahlapti*)	losses will go out of the man's house. (sheep 41.13'* & 94.5) evil face or sorrow will arise against the man. (goat 41.51'* & 94.8) the man's wife will die. (ox 94.2) the man will go forth into the open country. (donkey 43.21 & 94.14) that man will depart from the peace of his house. (horse 43.66' & 94.17) there will be famine in the land; this man, captivity will seize him; this man, (he will continuously eat) human flesh. (dog 94.20)
eating a belt (*nēbeh*)	scattering of the man's house. (sheep 41.14') the man's wife will have illicit intercourse, she will die. (sheep 94.6) the man's wife will experience trouble. (goat 41.52'* & 94.9) the man's wife will die. (ox 94.3) that house will be scattered. (donkey 43.22 & 94.15) the man's wife will be attacked by another man and she will die. (horse 43.67' & 94.18) there will be hard times for him; he will continuously eat human flesh. (dog 94.21)
eating a sandal (*šēn*)	he will experience severe sickness. (sheep 41.15') scattering of the man's house. (sheep 94.30) scattering of the man's house (goat 41.53'* & 94.31) confusion will be brought about in the land, this man [will] die. (ox 94.29) he will dwell in a city not his own. (donkey 43.23) he will be caught in an affair that is not his. (donkey 94.33) he is sick, but he will live. (horse 41.68' & 94.34) an attack, friendliness will leave the house of the man. (dog 94.34a)
eating hair (*šīpāt*)	death of the livestock. (sheep 41.16') he will suffer a severe illness. (sheep 94.23) he will suffer a severe illness. (goat 41.54'* & 94.24) this man will suffer a severe illness. (ox 94.22) his important possessions will vanish. (donkey 43.24 & 94.26) his important possessions will vanish. (horse 43.69' & 94.27) fire will [flare up(?)] in the man's house. (dog 94.28)
	*These omens were fully restored from their counterpart in Tablet 94.

TABLE 10

possible, but speculating this was an observation in reality, it is unclear where these items lay when they were consumed by the animals. It stands to reason they were most accessible while being worn.[44] This would indeed be surprising, and the absurdity of these tableaux lends these omens their slight humor. They proceed in order and grow in extremity, beginning with the outer garments, and slowly undressing the man until finally even the hair is eaten from his body. First the animal consumes the outer garment. They move on to the cloak and work their way towards the belt. Once the belt is eaten away, the client risks exposure—nudity being the "absolute low in a person's relative status" within Mesopotamian society (Vogelzang and van Bekkum, 1986,

[44] It is possible that garments became accessible to animals during the laundering process, but the laundry process used by ancient Mesopotamians isn't altogether clear. It would have to first be assumed that this laundry was placed in proximity of these animals or that these animals entered into the home. The latter is definitely possible, as several omens observe animals in houses. However, it is likely that the consumption omens would have mentioned the presence of animals in houses if that was intended. For more on laundry, see Waerzeggers 2006.

265)—but the omens continue. The sandals are eaten from the feet, risking the consumption of a few toes in the process, and finally, the hair—the man's final covering before complete nudity—is eaten from the man's body. Boddy chose to translate SÍG "wool" instead of "hair" since SÍG is somewhat ambiguous and can mean both (2021). Clothes do become accessible to the animal when removed for bathing, but as mentioned above this is all based off the speculation that these omens were based in reality. Whether this speculation is true or not, whether this was humorous or, neither take away from the fact that every step in the process would be seen as negative. Clothes are to be worn, not eaten.

Furthermore, the process of disrobing is a significant literary motif in Mesopotamian mythology.[45] In the Sumerian myth *Inanna's Descent into the Underworld* and also within its later Akkadian equivalent, *Ištar's Descent into the Underworld*, the gatekeeper of the netherworld forces the goddess to remove her clothes at each gate into underworld. M.E. Vogelzang and W.J. van Bekkum point out that scenes like this where clothes are used as a transitional device appear in various forms throughout Mesopotamian literature (1986). Mesopotamians used clothes to mark special occasions. Certain rituals required specific clothing, and during times of mourning, clothes were used to symbolize a person's state of grief (Scurlock 1995, 95-107). Since clothes symbolized status and were used for ceremonial purposes, these consumption omens hold a deeper meaning than appears at face value. One clear example of this comes from *nēbeḫ* "the belt" which often has a sexual connotation to it. This connotation plays a role in the apodoses of omens 43.22 43.67', 94.6, 94.15, and 94.18, which predict a wife's infidelity or sexual violence on her after the belt is eaten. The consumption omens and animal sexual omens, unique in form, appear to be the most pronounced thematic division within *Šumma ālu* 41-43; there are other smaller patterns and themes existing throughout *Šumma ālu* 41-43, but the sex and consumption omens remain consistent, appearing with the same wording and order, with the only change being the animal in question.

HETEROGENOUS THEMES

[45] While this bears no great significance to our understanding of these consumption omens, two myths contain scenes vaguely similar to those found in these omens. In the *Myth of Anzû*, the Anzû bird steals the tablets of destiny from Enlil after he has undressed to bathe. Similarly, a serpent steals the magic plant from Gilgamesh while he bathes in Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic. While neither Anzû nor the serpent consumed their clothes, these are instances of animal-like beings interacting with the clothing of men and gods.

Although omen themes other than those of sex and consumption within these Tablets do not seem to be placed in a specific order, several additional thematic elements appear in *Šumma ālu* 41-43. The rest of these omens focus on locations, noises, and other behaviors of animals. These occasionally exist as groupings within one of the livestock Tablets, as in the case of location and sound, but none carry over into the other Tablets as a unit. This sets them apart from the sexual and consumption omens, since those were carried over homogeneously. These heterogenous themes from the livestock Tablets appear as primary themes elsewhere.

In many of the earlier Tablets of *Šumma ālu*, the heterogenous theme of location plays a vital role within the omens. Tablet One of the series centers around omens within the city; hence the title of the series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, which was taken from the first line of the first Tablet. The importance of the first omen of the series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* "If a city is set on a height" lies in the city's placement *ina mēlê* "on a height." Others, like Tablets 5, 7, 15, 19, and 21, likewise center around spatiality.[46] Spatial groupings do exist in *Šumma ālu* 41-43.

Each of the livestock Tablets contains groupings of spatial omens as well as spatial omens outside of any clear context. The majority of these center on animals *ina bīt amēli* "in the man's house" and *ina tarbaṣišunu* "in their pen," but some take place *ina rebīti* "in the thoroughfare" (42.1-5), and *ina sūqi* "in the street" (42.6-7). Many of these have parallels in each of the livestock Tablets. For example, ewes, oxen, and donkeys appear within the man's house doing the same action, crying (41.38', 42.32', and 43.51'). However, none of these are placed within a comparable context within the Tablets. In other words, none of these are placed within a group of spatial omens despite such groups existing. The groups of spatial omens, such as 41.26'-28', 42.1-5, 30'-35', 43.16-9, and 58-64', cannot be seen as homogenous within the livestock omens—although as previously mentioned, spatial omens make up a recurrent theme throughout the entire series—because they do not conform to the same rigid structure as the sexual and consumption omens. On one hand, sheep, oxen, donkeys, and horses all appear interacting inside or outside of the man's house, but on the other hand, none of these interactions are consistently the same. Only sheep and oxen enter a house and defecate (41.41' and 42.31'), while only horses bite and kick within the house (43.59'-63'). One surprising difference is that *Šumma ālu* 42 and 43 lack omens which take place *ina tarbaṣišunu* "in their pen." We could

[46] This conclusion is from the work of Nicole Lundeen-Kaulfus, who further discusses the theoretical implications of spatiality amongst *Šumma ālu* omens in her forthcoming work.

expect these different animals to be housed in different places, but neither oxen nor horses appear within enclosures specifically designed to house them.

Sound is another heterogenous theme appearing within the livestock Tablets of *Šumma ālu*. Each of the livestock omens observe animals making sounds. As already mentioned, sheep, oxen, and donkeys all *idmum* "wail" (41.37', 38' and 43.43', 51') or *issi* "bellow" (42.32'), all of which are negative portents. The apodosis of omen 42.32' is not preserved, but clear parallelism occurs in 41.37'-38' and 43.43'. These three omens observe female animals wailing, and each echoes the verb in the apodosis such as in the instance of *aššassu iddanammam* "his wife will wail" (43.43'). Other female characters, not just the wife, appear in these omens. Omen 41.37' has *mārū bīti šallata illeqqûma ummašunu elišunu idammum* "The children of the house will be taken as plunder and their mother will wail for them," and omen 41.38' has *bēlet bīti idammum* "the lady of the house will wail." All but 43.51' affect a female character in the apodosis, and the reason for this rests on the gender of the animal. Ewes weep in 41.37' and 38', and the restoration of 43.43' [DIŠ MUNUS.ANŠE] "If a jenny," is highly probable (see commentary to 43.43', page 150). Omen 43.51' clearly involves DÙR, which is ANŠE.NÍTA, *mūru* "a foal." While it is not clear whether the reading *mūru* refers only to male foals or to foals in general, this omen labels the foal "he" through a masculine possessive pronoun in the apodosis; NÍTA is also clearly a masculine element to the sign DÙR. Just as 43.37'-38' and 43.43' specify female gender in their respective protases and apodoses, the apodosis of 43.51' affects a man: *bēlšu amāti maruštu ikkaššassu "*his master will receive ill tidings." It could be suggested that ancient Mesopotamian scribes perceived certain sounds with a gendered element, that is to say the sound of an ewe brought to their minds a woman's cry. However, it is more likely that in understanding that the creator of the sound was a female sheep brought to mind an association with a female human independent of any similarities that existed between the noises a ewe and a woman make. The 43.43' and 51' are good examples of how a gendered analogy is taking place rather than one centered around sound. Despite the likelihood that gender rather than sound provided the source of analogy in these particular omens, sound association remains a key method of linking omen protases with apodoses in other parts of *Šumma ālu.*

Sound is a prime example of how Mesopotamians used analogy and association as a hermeneutical device. Most omens dealing with sound use analogous connection. Omen 41.37' associates the ewe's cry to that of a man's:

> *šumma laḫru ina tarbaṣi kīma amēli idmum mārū bīti šallata illeqqûma ummašunu elišunu idammum*
>
> If a ewe wails like a man in the pen – the children of the house will be taken as plunder and their mother will wail for them (page 50).

Omen 43.49' does the same:

> *šumma mūru kīma agāli inaggag tarbaṣu šū issappaḫ*
>
> If a foal brays like an *agālu*-donkey – that pen will be scattered (page 155).

Many more examples of sound analogies exist (see De Zorzi 2011). Anne Rendu-Loisel propounds this theory, saying that the study of sound and the senses sheds light on "the inner cultural concepts linked to the perception of the environment of daily life in the civilizations of the ancient Near East" (2016, 306). Humans have always sought to use the senses available to them to try and discern a deeper reality beyond what they sense on the surface. These omens show us what they were regularly hearing around them and help us reconstruct the elements of a world and worldview in many ways different and in many ways similar to our own.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Tablets 41-43 of *Šumma ālu* depict livestock in ways dissimilar from all other known Akkadian literary works. Most if not all the omens from these Tablets fall within the realm of realistic phenomena, as we have shown, even though they are abnormal to some degree and thus noteworthy. This presents Assyriologists with a unique opportunity to investigate the creative process utilized to generate these omens. The new editions of *Šumma ālu* 41-43 presented in this thesis explore and expound on this process through its expansion of these Tablets.

The renewed investigation of these Tablets has yielded several new discoveries. The size and length of Tablets 41 and 42 can be adequately estimated after several new discoveries were made and the gaps within the Tablets were analyzed. After extensive research of the *Šumma ālu* 41 manuscripts and the discovery of four new omens from this Tablet, the length and size of a standard version from Tablet 41 has been approximated. The gaps between the 56 preserved omens on this Tablet suggest an approximate 85-100 omens were written in *Šumma ālu* 41 (see page 19). Not only is the size of this Tablet clear, but several new readings were also discovered in this Tablet during collation of the manuscripts. *Šumma ālu* 42 also yielded several new discoveries.

Previously, it was believed *Šumma ālu* 42 was mostly preserved, but the discovery of a false join during this research has proved otherwise. The false join of K 02937+ .1 and K 02937+ .2 helped conclude that *Šumma ālu* 42 was one of the smallest *Šumma ālu* Tablets, preserving an approximate total of 50-60 omens. Many of the omens within this Tablet were unintelligible because of this false join and required updated transcriptions and translations. This new edition of *Šumma ālu* 41-43 contains the first score of these Tablets, which was created from photographs of the manuscript.

The equine omens of *Šumma ālu* 43, the largest of the livestock Tablets, consisted of two recensions: the Uruk and Nineveh recension. It is not fully clear how the omen sequence of these two recensions relate to each other, but it is clear the omens remained relatively unchanged. These two recensions were written several centuries apart, and the uniformity of their omens was uncertain until the discovery of the excerpt text K 06865+. During the process of creating the score of Tablet 43, several new readings were discovered through collation. The size of Tablet

43 remains unknown due to its uncertain relation to the royal and cultic horse omens which have not yet been place. However, during the process of creating the score, it became clear that *If a City* 3 added 13 omens which cannot be included in Tablet 43 until its relation to the royal and cultic horse omens is firmly established. Thanks to the many new readings found while creating the new scores, we can more clearly hypothesize regarding the innerworkings of these omens.

As pointed out in chapter five, the creative process used to make these omens involved structured patterns, like the *iṭḫe–uḫanniṣ* system within the sexual omens from *Šumma ālu* 41-44 and 80, which follow the same pattern in each of these Tablets. These structures change from topic to topic, but once an existing structure is identified, additional omens that conform to it become apparent. However, large systematic groups do not always follow schematic patterns like those of the sexual and consumption omens.

More often than not the omen groupings in these Tablets are built on associations of elements including word and sign associations on the horizontal and vertical axis; this also occurs in other omen series (Rochberg 2010). Some worthwhile examples of this are found in omens 41.37'-43' (Tablet 1, pages 16-17). Most omen groups are woven together using a complex pattern. Some use a pattern involving escalating calamity (see 41.37'-40' in Table 1), while others connect to each other through sexual references (see 41.40' and 41', Table 1). These are just two examples, yet the interwoven nature of these groups is mostly undetectable to a cursory surface observation. Assuming these omens were built on association and analogism as Rochberg suggests, it becomes apparent how they are built on top of each other (2010). Rochberg argues that observable homophonic play between an omen's protasis and apodosis presupposes a "sensitivity to orthographic play."

The groups discussed in chapter five as well as other groups within these new editions of *Šumma ālu* 41-43 suggest a vertical movement of association through which omens are placed below or above one another This vertical movement created thematically coherent sections within the Tablets. It is not possible to say whether these omens originated independently or within their respective thematic groups, but some larger groupings within Tablets 41 and 43 may shed some light on this. As mentioned in the introductions to *Šumma ālu* 41 and 43, the scribes separated species, gender-generic, and gender-specific omens in these Tablets. The beginning of Tablet 41 focuses on sheep, first dealing with them generically, then moving into specifically male and then female subcategories. Little differentiation between age or status seem to occur

within these divisions: some lamb omens appear among the ewe omens and a sacrificial sheep appears within a division of ram omens. These small exceptions do not alter the pattern, which progresses in this way: species/gender generic—male—female—species/gender generic—male—female. Table 2 demonstrates this in part for Tablet 41 (page 18). This pattern is even more clear in Tablet 43, which proceeds in this fashion: donkey—jack—jenny—horse—x—mare omens. This pattern appears most acutely within these two Tablets, but the dog Tablets are similarly separated into gender-generic/male (*Šumma ālu* 46 and 47) and female (*Šumma ālu* 48) Tablets. This pattern of grouping suggests that the smaller divisions, like 41.37'-43', were created or adapted to connect with one another on a larger scale.

All this analysis of patterning and structures amid *Šumma ālu* can seem like meaningless pedantry, but it serves vital purpose. Given the writing system and language died out several millennium ago, piecing together written manuscripts that have been in part or fully shattered is furthered through textual analysis like ours. Due to difficulties that come with fragmentary manuscripts, having a broader structural overview, as well as collating information on any additional minutiae, such as groupings and ruling patterns, is important foundational work for the complex deductive process that philologists will continue to follow as new manuscripts and shattered fragments emerge and the science and body of knowledge develop. Any observable patterns help fill in lacunae and give analysts starting points to make more accurate educated guesses and deductions. The more textual indications we have, the closer we move toward historical accuracy.

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ABSTRACT

English:

The Mesopotamian omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* has the largest collection of terrestrial omens known and includes several sections regarding animal behavioral omens. This master's thesis offers a new edition of the livestock omens from *Šumma ālu*, Tablets 41-43, with a hermeneutical approach to the omens therein. These Tablets, a term synonymous with "chapter" within Assyriology, are especially relevant because they depict interactions with domestic livestock, which held both economic and religious significance in ancient Near Eastern societies, in the context of human habitation. Several new discoveries within these Tablets call for a new edition, with updated translations and commentary. These new editions yield further insight into the structure and logic of the livestock omen Tablets.

Deutsch:

Die mesopotamische Omenserie *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* ist die größte bekannte Sammlung terrestrischer Omina und enthält mehrere Abschnitte von Tierverhaltensomina. Diese Masterarbeit bietet eine Überarbeitung der Viehomina aus *Šumma ālu*, Tafeln 41-43, und die erste Partitur dieser Tafeln. Die Tafeln, die in der Assyriologie als Synonym für „Kapitel" gelten, sind von besonderer Bedeutung, weil sie die Interaktionen mit dem domestizierten Vieh, das in den Gesellschaften des Alten Orients sowohl eine wirtschaftliche als auch eine religiöse Bedeutung hatte, im Kontext der menschlichen Besiedlung darstellen. Während der Erstellung der neuen Fassung von *Šumma ālu* 41-43 wurden neue Manuskripte gefunden und neue Erkenntnisse über bestehende Manuskripte gewonnen. Die Überarbeitungen geben Einblicke in die Struktur und Logik dieser Viehominatafeln.