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NEWS ON *ENŪMA ANU ENLIL* 47 AND ITS NUZI FORERUNNER

Nicla De Zorzi¹

The fragment K 2280 (CDLI: P394317), which I publish here for the first time, is a new manuscript of *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 47.² It joins K 3535 + K 6265 + K 17366 + K 17481 + K 19476, which is manuscript D in Gehlken's excellent edition of Tablet 47 (2012, 122-162; plate 28). The fragment represents the upper section of K 3535+. Unfortunately, (as of 10/2018) a plaster added by Museum conservation to support the join between K 3535 and K 6265 precludes executing the physical join. On the obverse, the new fragment documents – and improves the reading of – omens 20-34(a), which deal with lightning phenomena (*birqu*).

The topic of the omens on the reverse of K 2280 is earthquakes. On three lines, two omens are placed on the same line, divided by a 'Glossenkeil'. A similar structure is displayed by K 2326 + BM 99185 (Gehlken 2012, 134 ms. C) rev. 2'-5', which, while quite damaged, duplicates some of the omens from the reverse of K 2280. In Gehlken's edition, these omens are 27'-38' (Gehlken 2012, 148-150), but the material available hitherto did not allow Gehlken to establish a definitive sequence and many gaps could not be filled. The new text resolves these open questions, and we can also arrive at an improved omen count. In addition, Tablet 47 can now be shown to follow quite closely the 'forerunner' from Nuzi (Lacheman 1937; Gehlken's Ms. "V"), a tablet which contains i.a. two sequences of earth omens for the months of the year. Both these sequences were taken up in *Enūma Anu Enlil*; the second (according to the Nuzi text) corresponds to omens 27'-40' (according to the

1. This article results from research conducted under the auspices of the project REPAC "Repetition, Parallelism and Creativity: an Inquiry into the Construction of Meaning in Ancient Mesopotamian Literature and Erudition" (2019-2024, University of Vienna) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 803060). The trustees of the British Museum, London, are thanked for permission to publish K 2280. I owe thanks to Michael Jursa (University of Vienna) who has read a final version of this paper and helped improving it. Needless to say, I am responsible for the ideas presented in this article and any shortcomings are only my own.
2. For a recent overview of the content and state of edition of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, see Koch 2015, 163-178.

new omen count), which can now be largely restored based on K 2280.³ The correspondences and variants between the Nuzi text and the ‘late’ (first millennium, Nineveh) version possibly shed some light on the redaction process; these matters are discussed in the commentary. First, a score edition is given for the omens in question, to establish with maximum clarity the text as it presents itself.

Edition

Note: normalization is only given for ms. D (K 3535+), which includes the new fragment, K 2280. New text provided by the join is indicated in bold face; new readings in known mss., especially in ms. C (K 2326+), are marked with an asterisk. The translation is that of the *textus compositus*, but the indication of restorations in it reflects the state of preservation of ms. D, our main text.

Obverse

22

D o3²⁴ [*šumma*(DIŠ) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *šá kīma*(GIM) *išāti*(IZI) *illikam*(DU-*kam*) *la i-kal-la adad*(^dIŠKUR)
UD.TA *ezziš*(ŠÚR-*iš*) ***irab*** ***hiš***([R]A)

C o18² [DIŠ NIM.GÍR *šá* G]M IZI DU-*kam* *la i-kal-la* ^dIŠKUR UD.TA ŠÚR-*iš* [RA(-*iš*)]
[If lightning which came like fire does not cease (burning) – Adad will str]ike [furiously *for a(n entire) day*.]

23

D o4⁷ [DIŠ NIM.GÍR ...-*ma* 7]-^ršú¹ ^rib¹-^ríq *adad*(^dIŠKUR)] ***išassi***(^rGÙ¹) ***zunnu***(^rŠÈG¹)
mé(^rA¹.[ME]Š) ***izannun***(ŠUR)

C o19⁷ [DIŠ NIM.GÍR ...]-^rx¹-*ma* 7-šú *ib-ríq* ^dIŠKUR GÙ ŠÈG A Š[UR]*
[If lightning ... and] flashes [seven] times – [Adad] will shout, there will be normal rain.

24

D o5⁷ [*šumma*(DIŠ) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *ištu*(TA)² *šūti*(IM.U18.LU) *ana šadé*(IM.KUR) *ib-ríq zunnu*(ŠÈG) *u m*
ilū([A].^rKAL¹.ME) ***illakūni***(DU.ME-*ní*)

C o20⁷ [DIŠ NIM.GÍR TA I]M.U18.LU IM.KUR *ib-ríq* ŠÈG *u* A.KAL DU.ME-*ní*
[If lightning flashes from² the south to the east – rain and f]loods will come.

25

D o6⁷ [*šumma*(DIŠ) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *ištu*(TA)² *iltāni*(IM.SI.SÁ)] *ana šadé*(^rIM¹.^rKUR¹) *ib-r*[*íq mīlu*(A.KAL)]
illakam(^rDU¹-*kam*) (ruling)

C o21⁷ [DIŠ NIM.GÍR TA² I]M.SI.SÁ *ana* IM.KUR.RA *ib-ríq* A.KAL DU-*kam* (ruling)
[If lightning] flas[hes from² the north] to the east – [a flood] will come.

3. The first sequence, according to the Nuzi count, begins in omen 44⁷ (which is Gehlken 2012, 150 omen 39⁷).
4. Lines 1⁷ and 2⁷ of our text (which probably correspond to omens 20 and 21) contain illegible traces only.

26

- D o7' [*šumma*(DIŠ)...] 'x' 'x' *šadé*(IM.KUR) <u> *amurri*(IM.MAR) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *adi*(EN) '7'-[šú *ib-ríq*] **Adad**(^dIŠKUR) **ištanassi**(GÙ.GÙ)
- D o8' [1-šú 2-šú 3-šú 4-šú 5-šú 6-šú u 7-šú *kīma*(GIM) *šikin*(GAR) *a-ra-du ur-[dam-ma eṣetu*(KI)] **ka-liš i-nu-uš a-bu-bu iššakkan**(GAR)
- C o22' [DIŠ ...] 'x' IM.KUR u IM.MAR NIM.GÍR EN 7-šú *ib-ríq* ^dIŠKUR GÙ.GÙ 1-šú 2-šú 3-šú 4-šú 5-šú 6-šú u 7-šú
- C o23' [GIM GAR *a-ra-du*] *ur-dam-ma* KI *ka-liš i-nu-uš a-bu-bu* GAR
[If ...] ... east and west, lightning [flashes] up to seven times – Adad will roar again and again, he will come d[own either once, twice, three, four], five, six or seven times as if he were a wild ass [and if the earth] quakes everywhere – a deluge will come.

27

- D o9' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] 'x' BAR-*ma birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *adi*(EN) '7'-šú *ib-ríq* [z] **unnu**([I]M.ŠÈG) **iššakkan**(GÁN)
- C o24' [DIŠ ... m]a NIM.GÍR EN 7-šú *ib-ríq* IM.ŠÈG GÁN
[If ...] ... and lightning flashes up to seven times – [r]ain will occur.

28

- D o10' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ... am]urri([IM.M]AR) *ina erpeti*(IM.DIR) *pešú*(BABBAR) u *arqú*(SIG7) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *adi*(EN) 7-šú i[b-ríq] 'U4'. '2'.KAM **zunnu**(IM.ŠÈG) **iššakkan**(GÁN)
- C o25' [DIŠ ... IM.MA]R.TU *ina* IM.DIR BABBAR u SIG7 NIM.GÍR EN 7-šú *ib-ríq* UD.2. KAM IM.ŠÈG GÁN
[If ... we]st, lightning fla[shes] up to seven times in white and greenish clouds – for two days rain will occur.

29

- D o11' [DIŠ ...-k]un-*ma birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *ib-ríq* **muṣṣu**(GIG) **ibbašši**(GÁL)
- C o26' [DIŠ ...] NIM.GÍR *ib-ríq* 'GIG' Ì.GÁL
[If ...] ... and lightning flashes – there will be illness.

30

- D o12' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] 'x'-*ma birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *ibtarriq*(HI.HI) *šamú*(AN) *zunna*(Š[ÈG]) **išakkanū**(GÁN)
- C o27' [DIŠ ... NIM.GÍ]R 'HI.HI' [A]N 'ŠÈG' GÁN
[If ...] ... and lightning repeatedly flashes – the sky will make it rain.

31

- D o13' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] (erasure) *birqu*(NIM.GÍR) *ib-ríq* **adad**(^dIŠKUR) **irahhiš**(RA)
- C o32' [... NIM].GÍR *ib-ríq* ^dIŠKUR [...]
[If ...] lightning flashes – Adad will strike.

32

D o14' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] 'x' 'x' *ana* IM.4.BA *ib-ri-qu adad*(^dIŠKUR) *ina qabal*(MURUB₄) *šamē*(AN-'e') [*e-l*]- 'iš' ***i-ra-mu-um*** *zunu*(ŠÈG) *izannun*(ŠUR)

C o28' [...] 'i'-*ram**-*mu-um* IM.ŠÈG G[ÁN]

[If ...] ... flash toward all four points of the compass – Adad will roar [high u]p in the middle of the sky, rain will fall.

33

D o15' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] *ib-riq-ma rigimšu*(GÛ-šú) *i-piq adad*(^dIŠKUR) *irahbiš*(RA)

C o29' [... *ib-riq-m*]*^a 'GÛ*-šú* i*-piq*^a [^dIŠKUR [RA]

[If ...] flashes and its hiss is *massive* – Adad will strike.

34

D o16' [*šumma*(DIŠ) ...] *ib-riq-ma rigimšu*(GÛ-šú) *iddi*(ŠUB-'d^a*) *adad*(^dIŠKUR) *irahbiš*(RA)

C o30' [...] 'x' GÛ-šú ŠUB-d^a*^dIŠKUR [RA]

[If ...] flashes and its hiss is audible – Adad will strike.

34a

C o31' [DIŠ ... IG]I-*ir* KU₆.ĤI.A MUŠEN.ĤI.A NÍG.Z[I.G]ÁL.EDEN.NA.GIŠ² [...]

[If ... is see]n, fish, birds and beasts of the steppe ... [...].

(hereafter, D and C continue as given by Gehlken 2012, 135ff. omen 35ff.)

Reverse

27'

D r29' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ri-bu ina nisāni*(^{ti}BÁRA) *i-ru-ub* ***rubû***(^fNUN¹) *māssu*(^fKUR¹-*su*) *ibbalak**kassu*(BAL-*su*)-*ma ana ekallišu*(É.GAL-šú) *išātu*(IZI) *imaqqut*(ŠUB-*ut*)

C r2' [... B]AL-*su-ma ana É* [...] (after a ruling)

V 30 [DIŠ] *ri-bu ina* ^{ti}BÁRA.[ZA]G.GAR *i-ru-ub* NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su*

[If there is an earthqua]ke [in Nisānu – the prince's land will revolt against him and a fire will break out in his palace.]

28'

D r30' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina ayyāri*(^{ti}GU₄) ***na*** ***mû***([A. 'DAM']) ***šá*** ***mātí***(KUR) ***šūatí***(BI) *i-ḥar-ru-ub*

C r3'a [... *i-ḥar-ru*]-*bu* :

V 31 [DIŠ] *ri-bu ina* ^{ti}GU₄ *i-ru-ub* A.DAM *šá* KUR BI *i-ḥar-ru-bu*

[If (there is an earthquake) in Ayyāru – the past]ure land of that land will lie waste.

29'

D r31' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina simāni*(^{ti}SIG₄) *šarru*(LUGAL) ***iš*** ***tí***([K]I) ***kabtūtíšu***(IDIM.MEŠ-'šú') *i-qal-lil*

C r3'b DIŠ *ina* ^{ti}SIG₄ LU[GAL KI IDIM.MEŠ ...]

V 32 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ^{ti}SIG₄ *i-ru-ub* LUGAL KI IDIM.MEŠ *ma-gal i-qal-lil*

[If (there is an earthquake) in Simānu – the king] will suffer a loss of face with his noblemen.

30'

D r32'a [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina du²ūzī*(ⁱⁱⁱŠU) **šū**] **mu**(M)U) **šū**(BI) **šumšu**(MU.NE) :

C r4'a [...]

V 33 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ITI.ŠU [*i-ru*]-*ub* KI.MIN[If (there is an earthquake) in Du²ūzu] – this entry is (equal to) its (the preceding omen's) wording.

31'

D r32'b **šumma**(DIŠ) **ina Abi**(ⁱⁱⁱNE) MIN *ú-ru-ba-ti iššakkanā*(GAR.MEŠ)C r4'b [... DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱN]E *ú-ru-ba-a-tu₄* GAR.M[*EŠ* ...]V 34 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ⁱⁱⁱNE *i-ru-ub ne-ru-ba-tu₄* GÁL.MEŠ

If (there is an earthquake) in Abu – cries of woe will occur.

32'

D r33'a [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina ulūli*(ⁱⁱⁱKIN) **še**] **r'u**([AB].[']SÍN[']) **bilassa**(GÚ.UN-*sa*) **inašši**(ÍL) :

C r4'c [...]

V 35 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ⁱⁱⁱKIN *i-ru-ub* AB.SÍN GÚ.UN-*sa ú-ša-ad-dá*

[If (there is an earthquake) in Ulūlu – the fur]row will produce its (expected) yield.

33'

D r33'b **šumma**(DIŠ) **ina ūmi**(U₄) **šamū**(AN) **īrupū**(ŠÚ)-*ma* MIN **ebūr**(BURU₁₄) **māti**(KUR) *iššir*(SI.SÁ)

C r5'a [...]

V 36 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ⁱⁱⁱDU₆ *i-ru-ub* BURU₁₄ KUR SI.SÁIf one day (of Ulūlu²) the sky clouds over and ditto (= there is an earthquake) – the harvest of the land will prosper.

34'

D r34'a [DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱDU₆] **šarru**(LUGAL) **ana šarrī**(LUGAL) **nukurta**([']MÍ['].[']KÚR[']-[']tu₄[']) **išappar**(KIN-ár) :C r5'b [... LUGA]L *ana* LUGAL MÍ.KÚR KIN-á[r ...]V 37 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ⁱⁱⁱAPIN *i-ru-ub* LUGAL *ana* LUGAL MÍ.KÚR-*ta₅* KIN-šú

[If (there is an earthquake) in Tašrītu] – a king will send hostile messages to (another) king.

35'

D r34'b **šumma**(DIŠ) **ina Araḥsamni**(ⁱⁱⁱAPIN) **šarru**(LUGAL) **ekallašu**(É.GAL-šú) **innaddīma**(ŠUB-*ma*) **'ka¹ -'ma¹ -'tiš² -'šū² uššab**(DÚR-*ab*)

C r5'c [...]

V 38 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ⁱⁱⁱGAN *i-ru-ub* LUGAL É.GAL-šú ŠUB-*ma i+na* URU.BAR*.RA DÚR.A

If (there is an earthquake) in Araḥsamnu – the king's palace will be abandoned and he will take residence outside of it.

36'

D r35' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina kislīmi*(^{iti}GAN) KI.M]IN *šarru*(LUGAL) *ina āl*(^rURU¹) *mārišu*(^rDUMU¹-šū)
 'KI'. 'MIN' 'ina' āl(URU) *nakrišu*(KÚR-šū) *uššab*(DÚR-ab)

C r6'a [...]

[If (there is an earthquake) in Kislīmu – di]tto (= the king's palace will be abandoned and the king will take residence in his son's city, or, in his enemy's city.

37'

D r36'a [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina ṭebēti*(^{iti}AB) KI.MIN]

C r6'b [... *ki-a-am šu*]-*ma* :V 39 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ^{iti}AB *i-ru-ub ki-a-am šu-ma*

[If (there is an earthquake) in Ṭebētu – ditto (= the king's palace will be abandoned and the king will take residence in his son's city, or, in his enemy's city).]

38'

D r36'b [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina šabāti*(^{iti}ZÍZ)] *šer'u*(AB.SÍN) *bilassa*(GÚ.UN-sà) *inaššī*(ÍL) : *umatta*(LAL-
 ta) *ḥarrānāt*(KASKAL.MEŠ) *nakri*(KÚR) *ibbaššā*(GÁL.ME)

C r6'c DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ' [...]V 40 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *i-ru-ub* AB.SÍN GÚ.UN-sa LAL-ta

If (there is an earthquake) in Šabātu] - the furrow will produce : decrease its yield, there will be enemy campaigns.

39'

D r37' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina addāri*(^{iti}ŠE)] (empty space) ŠU.BI.AŠ.ĀM

V 41 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ^{iti}ŠE *i-ru-ub* AB.SÍN GÚ.UN-sà *ú-maṭ-ta*

[If (there is an earthquake) in Addāru] – the same.

40'

D r38' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ina addāri arka*(^{iti}DIRI.ŠE) *mūṭānu* ([ÚŠ]. 'MEŠ') *ina māti*(KUR)
ibbaššū(GÁL.MEŠ) *šer'u*(AB.SÍN) <<ab>> *bilassa*(GÚ.UN-sà) *umatta*(LAL-ta) *šū*(UZU)
amīlūtī(NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU) *innakkal*(GU₇) (ruling)

V 42-43 DIŠ *ri-bu ina* ^{iti}DIRI.ŠE *i-ru-ub* N[AM].ÚŠ.MEŠ *ina* KUR GÁL.MEŠ-*ma* / *um-ma-an* NUN *i-ma-aq-qú-ut*V 15-16 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}DIRI.ŠE *i-ru-ub* ... UZU NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU <<KU>> GU₇.MEŠ

[If (there is an earthquake) in an intercalary Addāru – death will stalk the land, the furrow will decrease its yield, people will eat human flesh.

41'

D r39' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *ri-bu šá eršetī*(KI) *elī*(UGU) *mā*]-'na'-*tī-šú* 'ī'-'ru'²-'ub'² '1'-šú 2-šú 3-šú *uš-tar-dī-*
ma

D r40' [...] 'x' 'gál' [...] 'x'-šú *ana maḥīri*(KIL.LAM) *ušeššī*(È)

V 17-18 DIŠ *ri-bu ša* KI UGU *mi-na-ti-šu i-ru-ur*⁵ 1-*šú* 2-*šú* 3-*šú* UŠ.UŠ / *ḏnè-eri₁₁-gal ina* KUR GU₇ *ka-šú*-šú*¹⁶ KUR *ana* KI-*šu i-bar-ru-ub*.

[If there is an earthquake and it is unusually persistent, with one or two or three (repetitions) [...] ... will sell his ... cheaply.

42'

D r41' [...]MEŠ *ina mātī*(KUR) *ibbaššú*(GÁL.MEŠ)
[...] will occur in the land.

43'

D r42' [...*aḫu*(ŠEŠ) *ana*] *aḫī*(ŠEŠ)-*šú ur¹-nu-úš* (ruling)

C r10' [...] ŠUB ŠEŠ *ana* ŠEŠ-*šú* 'x' [...]

[...will be abandoned.] Everyone will be too weakened for (assisting) their fellow.

44' (= Gehlken's n. 39')

D r43' [*šumma*(DIŠ) *eršetu*(KI) *ina nisāni*(^{ti}BÁRA) *i-ru-ub rubú*(NUN) *mā*] *ssu*([KU]R-'*su*'
ibbalakkassu(^{ti}BAL'-*su*)

C r12'a [...BA]L-*su* :

V1 DIŠ KI *i-na* ^{ti}BÁRA.ZAG.GAR *i-ru-ub* NUN KUR-*su* BAL-*su*

[If there is an earthquake in Nisānu - the prince's land will revolt against him.

Comments on the obverse

22: for unclear UD TA, see Gehlken 2012, 132 note 11. He does not offer an explanation. Given the context, I would suggest taking UD as “day” and UD.TA as something like “for a day,” but this is a conjecture.

23: lit. “rain of water will fall” – ‘just rain’ probably in contrast to “rain and floods” in the following omen. In D, the sign A is heavily damaged and the surface of the tablet to the right of the sign is just sufficiently abraded to allow restoring a small sign, but C argues against introducing a qualification of “water” in this way. At the end of C 19', only a horizontal wedge is visible at the very edge of the tablet, this can only be š[UR], there is no space for anything else.

26: for the word play *kīma*(GIM) *šikin*(GAR) *a-ra-du ur-dam-ma* “(Adad) comes down ... as if he were a wild ass”, see De Zorzi 2015, 255.

27, 28, 30: GÁN in IM.ŠÈG GÁN “the rain ...” and AN ŠÈG GÁN “the sky ... rain” is left untranslated by Gehlken, as the sign yields no sense in this context. I tentatively suggest to take it as a scribal error or, perhaps better, a graphic variant for GÁ, Akkadian *šakānu*, which is connected to ŠÈG in the fragment K 18437 i 4' (Gehlken 2012, 234).⁷

5. The verb was forgotten in Lacheman's transliteration (1937, 6: 17), but it is present in the copy.

6. Not read thus by Lacheman (1937, 6: 18).

7. Note that CAD R, 116b reads GÁ, not GÁN, in omen 32.

After 30, there are some discrepancies between Ms. C (K 2326+) and D (K 2280+). However, the join and collations allowed solving most of the coordination problems between the two manuscripts that are highlighted by Gehlken (2012, 134-135) and we now have a clear picture.

31: in ms. C, this omen does not follow after 30, but after 33.

32: the traces at the beginning of the line in ms. D do not support Gehlken's reading of NIM.G]ÍR. The restoration [e-]iś is the most likely solution, but other adverbs might also be conceivable here. Note, furthermore, the variant ŠUR instead of GÁN (or GÁ) for the final verb of the apodosis in C.

33: without the parallel, the traces in ms. C are difficult to interpret, but they do fit what we can expect based on ms. D.

34a: the text given by C o31', which was placed by Gehlken under 33, where it does not belong, is definitely missing in ms. D and must be considered an addition of ms. C. I have assigned the omen an 'a' number to maintain the numbering as established by Gehlken. The triad of categories of huntable wild animals – birds, fish, beasts of the open country – that is mentioned here appears also elsewhere in the omen corpus (e.g., CAD N/1, 233b). A possible restoration of the end of the line would be supposing a syllabic spelling of *ṣabāru* “diminish in number”, e.g., *iṣ-[se-ne-eb-ḫe-ru]*.

Comments on the reverse

27'ff.: these omens correspond to a sequence of Nuzi earthquake omens as published by Lacheman 1937, 7: 30-42. This was seen by Gehlken, but only now, with the join, can the correspondences (and differences) be evaluated in detail.

27': the second part of the apodosis (“and fire ...”) is lacking in the Nuzi ms. and must be considered a ‘midrashic’ extension of the general idea expressed by the omen.

29': the adverb *maḡal* did not make it into the late version.

30': our ms.'s slightly gnomic phrasing for “same apodosis” with MU.NE corresponds to simple KL.MIN in the Nuzi text.

31': the Nuzi text's “flights” (*nērubātu*) are replaced by “wailing” (*urubātu*) in the late version (which also has GAR.MEŠ instead of GÁL.MEŠ). Both words appear elsewhere in first millennium omen apodoses, and it is not obvious what prompted the shift – which in any case would have been facilitated by the partial orthographic/phonetic overlap between the two words.

32': in comparison to our text, the Nuzi text has another verb (*uṣadda*) and therefore offers a negative rather than a positive prediction (“will cause to throw off ...”). In 38', a similar substitution was made (*muttū* in Nuzi, *našū* in the late version – however, with *muttū* offered as a variant – the text was clearly fluid). It is in fact the positive apodosis that is surprising, in a sequence of overwhelmingly negative omens, the earthquake being a negative sign. This is best discussed in connection with omen

33': here, the sequence of months is interrupted in the late version, leading to an ‘asynchronic’ taking-over of the forerunner's omens (with Nuzi-omens for month n now being assigned to month n-1 in the late version) until, by essentially using the Nuzi omen for Kislīmu (IX) twice (with a variant), for Araḫsamnu (VIII; 35') and Kislīmu (36'), synchronicity of the two series is re-established. In the late version, omen 33' does not give a month, but adds, against the logic of the sequence, *ina ūmi šamū irupū-ma* before the earthquake report (*(riḫu) irūb*). This is the only omen in

the sequence with such an expanded protasis. It is also the only omen in the Nuzi sequence which is unambiguously positive.⁸ Whatever prompted this ‘positive’ outlier in the forerunner, it is likely that at one point in the text’s development a compiler found this omen difficult and eliminated the problem by interpolating the additional information “(if) on one day the sky clouds over and” – the wording (*irupū*) being almost certainly supported by assonance with subsequent *irūb*. This interpolation added a negative sign to another and thereby motivated the positive apodosis.⁹ Either this interpolation directly substituted the indication of the month or the latter was dropped at a later stage. In any case, the result was that the omen attached itself as a variant or expansion to the preceding 32’. Whether the latter’s positive prediction in the Nineveh version was in the end prompted by this pairing is unknowable.

34’: Tašrītu must be restored here, as the next omen has definitely Araḥsamnu.

35’ and 36’: the corresponding omens in the Nuzi text, for earthquakes in months Kislīmu and Ṭebētu, have the apodoses, respectively “the king’s palace will be abandoned (ŠUB-*ma*, *immaddīma*) and he will live in an outlying city”, and “same prediction”. The standard series has expanded this base text by adding two variants to the theme, allowing the sequence of months in the late version to catch up with that of the forerunner (see above on 33’).

For 35’, Lacheman read the final signs of his text as ...-*ma i-na* URU.KÚR:RA.... A comparison of the sign before RA with clear instances of KÚR, e.g. in lines 36 and 14, reveal that the sign is rather BAR URU.BAR.RA is thus probably to be read *ālu kamū*, an ‘outlying city’. The late version – unfortunately not easy to read as the break between the two fragments (K 2280 and K 3535) runs right through these signs while (as of 10/2018) a plaster support added by Museum conservation precludes executing the physical join – has ‘*ka-ma-tiš-šú*.’ This must have the literal adverbial meaning of “him being outside”.

38’: the late tradition offers two alternatives here, positive and negative; the Nuzi text only has the second, the negative (*muttū*). Also, it lacks the second part of the apodosis about the enemy’s campaigns. At this point, there is a gap in ms. C (lines r7’-9’), the source resumes with 43’ (C r10’).

40’: the relevant Nuzi text has *mūtānu ina māti ibbaššū* (line 42) and *umman rubī imaqqut* (line 43). The expansion of the theme in our text suggests that *mūtānu* (literally: “(many) deaths”) is understood here, not as “pestilence” or “plague”, as usual, but as a famine. A ruling separates this sequence from what follows. The anthropophagy topos may have been taken from lines 15-16 of the Nuzi forerunner, which is the earthquake omen for the intercalary Addāru in the first sequence of omens per month contained in that text. I also cite those parts of the (damaged) omen for the intercalary Addar in the first section of the Nuzi text (V 15-16) that reappear in the late version.

8. The Tašrītu omen is also positive (with the same apodosis) in the first sequence of ‘earthquake-months’ in the Nuzi text (which is taken up in *Enūma Anu Enlil* 47: 44’ff. (according to our new omen count); Lacheman 1937, 5: 8-9. However, here an entirely negative alternative is also offered: *nukurātu ina māti ibbaššá babbalātu u šaggašātu ina māti ibbaššá*.
9. See De Zorzi 2014, 127 note 465 for a list of seminal studies of divinatory ‘binary logic’ in which these matters are discussed.

43': the final signs after the second šEŠ are actually "TAB-ZA" NU BAD; reading "... will not die/kill" leaves both *abu ana abišu* and the antepenultimate cluster of wedges unexplained.¹⁰ I have therefore tentatively emended TAB-ZA to UN (a 'Babylonian' UN, as it were). The reading of BAD as *uš* is not unknown in texts from the Assurbanipal library (see von Soden – Röllig 1991 n. 42).

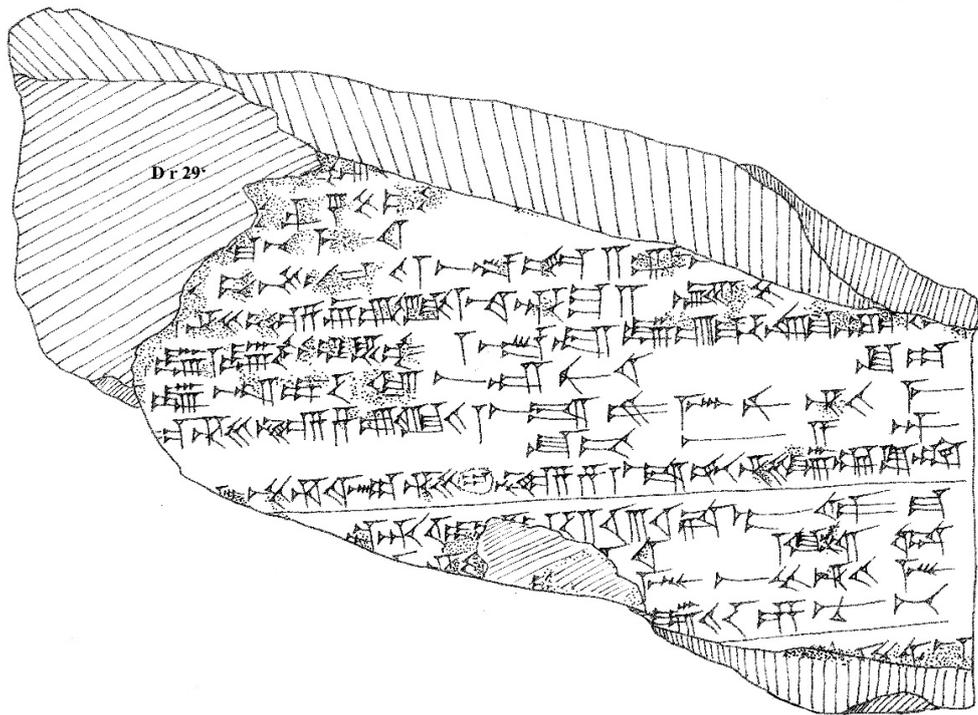
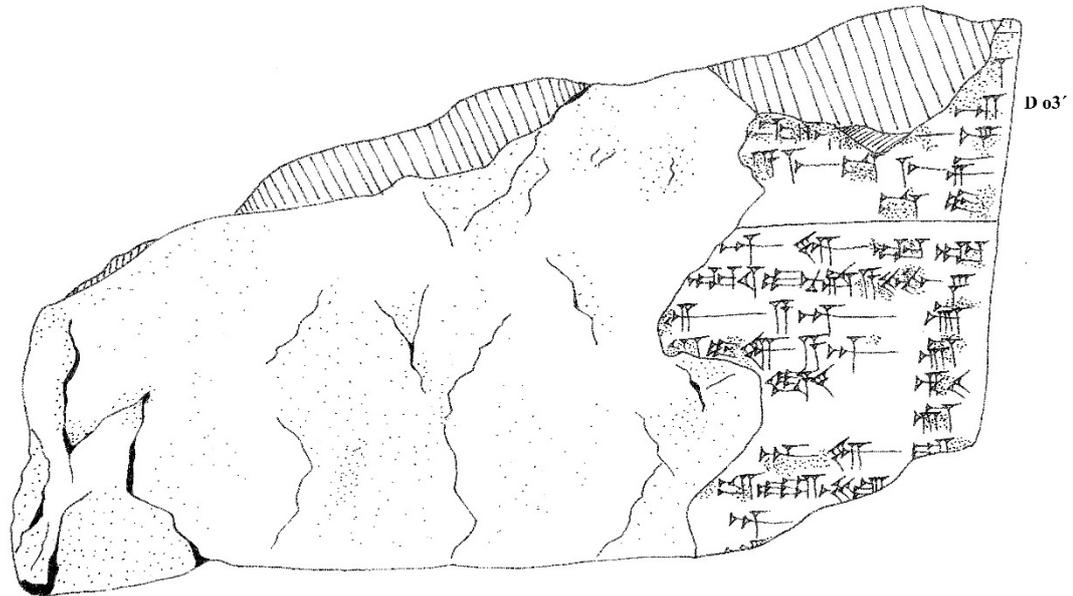
44': here begins another 'sequence of months,' corresponding to Lacheman 1937, 4: 1ff.; Gehlken 2012, 150 39'ff. For the following omens, no improvements are to be had from the new join.

In conclusion, K 2280 allows establishing an improved text for over 30 omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil* 47. Beyond this contribution to the reconstruction of the 'canonical' version of the composition, the main interest of K 2280 lies in the light it sheds on the relation between the later version and one Late Bronze-Age forerunner and, possibly, on some of the processes of text-compilation and expansion that led to the variants in the Nineveh redaction.

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10. Obviously, *ana* cannot be considered a nota accusativi (*"one man will kill ... his fellow") in a Standard Babylonian text.



K 2280: obverse (above) and reverse (below)