Akkadian Omens from Hattuša and Emar:
The *šumma immeru* and *šumma ālu* Omens

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This article presents editions of KBo. 36, 47 and KBo. 42, 116, both fragments of Akkadian omens found in Ḫattuša. KBo. 42, 116 is identified as a fragment of *šumma immeru* omens. KBo. 36, 47 obverse is demonstrated to be an Akkadian *šumma immeru* omen text almost identical to the Emar *šumma immeru* recension. Its reverse is proven to be an Akkadian recension of *šumma ālu* omens that can be identified with Tablet 41 of the canonical *šumma ālu* series. This invites us to discuss the textual history of these omen genres and their transmission to the so-called Western Periphery.

In the volume The Tablet and the Scroll dedicated to W. W. Hallo, Hoffner (1993) confirmed what had been formerly only vaguely appreciated: that the so-called Hittite *šašt*(*a*)- oracles, different and unique as they were, traced their origin back to Akkadian *šumma immeru* omens, sometimes called in the literature "omens relating to the behaviour of the sacrificial sheep or lamb."* Both the Akkadian omens and the Hittite oracles recorded the observation of the sacrificial sheep at the time of and after its slaughter, offering predictions on the basis of the sheep's behaviour. Neither the Hittite *šašt*(*a*)- oracles nor the Akkadian *šumma immeru* omens have been as yet collected and studied systematically, but a useful supplement to Hoffner's study is the contribution by Leichty (1993). It offers a few observations on the Akkadian genre, while listing the published sources:[1] Old Babylonian manuscripts whose provenance is mostly unknown,[2] a few

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[1] Nils Heeßel informs me that there are a few additional manuscripts of *šumma immeru* omens as yet unpublished; here only the published materials are dealt with.

[2] The Old Babylonian manuscripts are YOS 10 47, 48 and 49; VAT 9518 edited by Ebeling (1931) in his Tod und Leben (i.e., TuL), no. 9, pp. 41–44, although found in Assur (Weidner 1953, 200, w), exhibits compositional and orthographical traits which are common

copies from Emar,[3] and first millennium recensions from Nineveh and Uruk, some of which have been edited by Meissner (1933–34).[4] To these sources, two additional Akkadian fragments from Ḫattuša can be added. The first fragment was published as no. 47 in an autograph form in KBo. 36, and its obverse was identified by Wilhelm (1991, v–vi) to be an omen text of the behaviour of the sacrificial sheep, i.e., a *šumma immeru* omen text; Wilhelm also offered a partial transliteration and translation of the obverse, which is followed in the edition given below. The reverse of the tablet, which is considerably less well-preserved, contains omens that are identified by the present author as Akkadian *šumma ālu* omens. The second fragment, much smaller, was published in KBo. 42 as no. 116 by Otten, Neu and Rüster (2001), who classified it as an omen text. As will be seen here, it is to be identified as a fragment of Akkadian *šumma immeru* omens. This article will present editions of both of these fragments and offer comments on their time of composition, character, and relationship to the Emar manuscripts and other sources. It will demonstrate that KBo. 36, 47 obverse is almost virtually identical to the Emar recension, and hence, as will be elaborated upon, composed, edited, and thereupon transmitted roughly at the same period.

A. Text Editions

In order to avoid a lengthy commentary, following the edition and translation of KBo. 36, 47, the corresponding lines from the Emar *šumma immeru* recension are provided. They prove without doubt that KBo. 36, 47 obverse and the Emar recension are practically the same text, with minor orthographic variations. And, on this ground, the restoration of the Ḫattuša fragment on the basis of the Emar recension, and vice-versa, the restoration of the Emar recension where broken with the help of the Ḫattuša fragment, can be deemed secure, with as much warranty, of course, as can be given in the case of missing lines or broken portions.

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to the Old Babylonian manuscripts. Von Soden's (1934, 416 and 1936, 253–254) reviews and subsequent correction of Ebeling's edition have since become proverbial.

[3] The manuscripts from Emar are treated in note 5; they were edited in a conflated edition by Arnaud as Emar 698 and 699.

[4] The first millennium manuscripts, edited in a conflated edition by Meissner (1933–34), are CT 28, 14 (K. 9166); CT 30, 48 (K. 8044); CT 31, 30–33 (83-1-18, 410): 1–22; CT 41, 9a (K. 959); TCL 6, 7; and LKU 124; these are near-duplicates. Additional manuscripts, identified by Leichty (1993, 240), are CT 31, 30–33 (83-1-18, 410): 23–36, rev. 1′–29′; CT 41, 10a (K. 6983 + 8345); CT 41, 10b (K. 4106); and CT 41, 12 (K. 4125); see further below.

1. KBo. 36, 47

Obverse (col. ii)

1′ [BE UDU SAG.DU-sú a-na EGI]R ˹ZAG˺-šú ú-s[a₂₀-aḫ-ḫi-ir …]

2′ [BE UDU SAG.DU-sú] ˹a˺-na EGIR GÙB-šú ú-s[a₂₀-aḫ-ḫi-ir …]

3′ [BE UDU GÌR ZAG-š]ú! ú-na-aš-ša-ak ti-bi L[Ú.KÚR …]

4′ [BE UDU GÌR GÙ]B-šu ú-na-aš-ša-ak ˹ti˺-bi É[RIN-(ia) a-na KUR LÚ.KÚR …]

5′ [BE UDU ba]-ma-at ZAG-˹šu˺ i-il-lak TUŠ [ÉRIN-(ia) …]

6′ [BE UDU b]a-ma-at GÙB-˹šu˺ i-il-lak TUŠ L[Ú.KÚR-(ia) …]

7′ [BE SAG.DU UD]U a-na na-ka-si₁₇-ka ÚŠ NU TUKU a-n[a …]

8′ [o-o-o]x ÉRIN SU.MU i-ṣa-bat BE ina GUR […]

9′ [BE SAG.DU UD]U ÚŠ-šu ša-bu-lu SU.GU₇ la x[…]

10′ [BE SAG.D]U UDU ÚŠ-šu a-na ZAG DU.DU-ku x[…]

11′ [BE SAG.D]U UDU ÚŠ-šu a-na GÙB DU.DU-ku x[…]

12′ [BE SAG.D]U UDU ÚŠ-šu BÁBBAR ˹lum?˺-[nu? …]

13′ [BE SAG.D]U UDU ÚŠ-šu SIG₇.SIG₇ AN.TA.LÙ x[…]

14′ [BE SAG.D]U UDU ÚŠ-šu du-uʾ-ʾu₅-mu RI.RI.GA ÉRIN-a! […]

15′ [BE SAG].DU UDU ÚŠ-šu a-na me-e i-tu-ru GIG x[…]

16′ [BE SA]G.DU UDU ÚŠ-šu GIM ŠU.SI A.ZA.LU.LU x[…]

17′ [BE SA]G.DU UDU ÚŠ-šu a-na Ì.UDU i-tu-ru x x […]

18′ [e-nu-ma UD]U ˹ta˺-ak-ki-is-sú x x […]
                                    Break

Reverse (col. iii)

1′ […]

2′ […] ŠU+NÍGIN 60+20¦+4 ‹MU›.ŠID.BI

3′ […]x ina me-e i-šal-lu x[…]

4′ […] ˹LÚ˺ i-lík-ma NÍTA it-bé-a-ma a-na ZAG-šu ir!-[qú-ud …]

5′ […] ˹LÚ˺ i-lík-ma NÍTA it-bé-a-ma a-na GÙB-šu i[r-qú-ud …]

6′ [… ZAG] ˹su˺.GU₇ ina KUR KÚR GÙB ina URU^ki URU ˹NUN˺ a-na IGI-š[u …]

7′ [… L]Ú! i-lík-ma NÍTA a-na IGI-šu ir-qú-ud GURUN ˹i-za?-a˺-[…]

8′ […] mi-lum DU.DU-ma BURU₁₄ KUR x[…]

9′ [… NÍTA] ˹a-na˺ EGIR LÚ-lim ir-qú-ud ti-bu KALA.[(GA) …]

10′ [… SA]G.DU-*šu* GÌR-*šu* x[…]
11′ […] x ni x […]
12′ […] x […]

Break

Translation

Obverse

1′ [If a sheep] tu[rns] [its head bac]k to its right-side […]
2′ [If a sheep] tu[rns] [its head] back to its left-side […]
3′ [If a sheep] bites its [right foot] – attack of the en[emy …].
4′ [If a sheep] bites its [lef]t [foot] – attack of (my) a[rmy against the enemy's land].
5′ [If a sheep], its right-side [rib]-cage becomes displaced (*vel sim.*) – the camp/ambush [of my army].

6′ [If a sheep], its left-side [r]ib cage becomes displaced (*vel sim.*) – the camp/ambush of (my) en[emy].
7′ [If the head of the shee]p, upon your slaughtering, has no blood, to … […]
8′ […] the army will capture my corpse/corps. Alternatively: upon the return … […]
9′ [If (from) the head of the shee]p its blood is dried out – a non-x[…] famine.
10′ [If (from) the he]ad of the sheep its blood goes to the right … […]
11′ [If (from) the he]ad of the sheep its blood goes to the left … […]
12′ [If (from) the he]ad of the sheep its blood is white – ⌜*mis*⌝[*fortune* …]
13′ [If (from) the he]ad of the sheep its blood is yellow – eclipse … […]
14′ [If (from) the he]ad of the sheep its blood is dark red – the fall of my! army … […]
15′ [If (from) the h]ead of the sheep its blood turns into water – illness … […]
16′ [If (from) the h]ead of the sheep its blood is like the "finger" of a living thing … […]

17′ [If (from) the h]ead of the sheep its blood turns into fat … […]
18′ [When y]ou have cut off [the shee]p's (head) … […]

Break

Reverse

1′   […] (lost)

2′   […] its total is 84 numbered ‹lines›.

3′   […] *sprinkles/tosses* in the water … […]

4′   [… If]ꜰa manꜰ walked by and a ram showed up and pr[anced] to his right […]

5′   [… If]ꜰa manꜰ walked by and a ram showed up and p[ranced] to his left […]

6′   [*something* on the right:] hunger in the land of the enemy; on the left: (hunger) in the city, the city of the prince; in front of h[im …] / i[t …]

7′   [… If a ma]n walked by and a ram pranced in front of him – the "fruit" will be *an*[*gry?* …]

8′   [… (*rain and?*)] flood will flow and the harvest of the land [will succeed (*vel sim.*)].

9′   [… (a ram)] pranced ꜰatꜰ the back of a man – *strong* attack […]

10′ […] its [he]ad, its foot … […]

11′ […] ? […]

12′ […] ? […]

Break

2. Emar 698: 39–55′+5[5]

Obverse i (Copy A): the numbers in brackets are the corresponding lines from KBo 36, 47 (obv ii).

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[5] The six Emar *šumma immeru* manuscripts (copies A [+] F, B, C, D, and E) were edited in a conflated edition as Emar 698 by Arnaud. Copy A (Msk 731077a+b, pp. 153–4) is the longest. It is a two-column tablet with obv. i complete; obv. ii has only some twelve lines. The reverse is almost totally lost, with only the end and colophon of rev. iii preserved. The colophon identifies the copyist as Baʿal-mālik of the Zū-Baʿla family. It is not clear from Arnaud's autographs if col. iv survived, but it was, at any rate, uninscribed, because the colophon, marking the end of the composition, is found on rev. iii. Copy F (Msk 74261c, p. 581) is an indirect join to Copy A, obv. ii (Arnaud already noticed that it belongs to Copy A, but its place remained undetermined); see more below. Copy B (Msk 74104c, p. 260) partially preserves lines 1–10, and Copy C (Msk 74212, p. 519) partially preserves lines 1–25 and rev. 58′–67′. Copy D (Msk 74101w, p. 246) has two lines corresponding to 46–47, and Copy E (Msk 74203a, p. 500) has the first signs of 36–51. Its omens open with ʙᴇ and not ᴅɪš, as in the main copy. Both Copies D and E, unlike A, do not have separation

(1′)   39   DIŠ UDU SAG.DU-*sú ana* EGIR ZAG-*šú ú-sa₂₀-aḫ-ḫi-ir*
       40   [DINGI]R [KI].ZA SILIM-*im*

(2′)   41   [DIŠ] UDU SAG.DU-*sú ana* EGIR GÙB-*šú* MIN DINGIR KI.ZA
            ŠÀ.DIB

(3′)   42   DIŠ UDU GÌR ZAG-*šú ú-na-aš-ša-ak ti-bi* LÚ.KÚR
       43   : *sa-ad-ru ana* KUR-*ia*

(4′)   44   DIŠ UDU GÌR GÙB-*šú* MIN *ti-bi um-ma-ni-ia ana* KUR LÚ.K[ÚR
            sa-ad-ru]

Obverse ii (Copies A [+] F, and D)
(5′)   45   DIŠ UDU *ba-ma-at* ZAG-*š*[*ú*] ⸢*i*⸣-[*il-lak* KI.TUŠ *um-ma-ni-ia*][6]
(6′)   46   DIŠ UDU *ba-ma-at* GÙB-*šú* MIN [KI].TUŠ LÚ.KÚR-*ia*[7]

(7′)   47   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU *ina na-ka-si-k*[*a* …]
       48   : A!.ZI.GA *ina* IDIM TAR BE SA[G.DU …]

(9′)   49   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ša-b*[*u-lu* …]
(10′) 50   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ana* Z[AG-*šú* …]
(11′) 51   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ana* [GÙB-*šú* …]

(12′) 52   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN ÚŠ.MEŠ-⸢*šú*⸣ […]
(13′) 53   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN Ú[Š.MEŠ-*šú* …]
(14′) 54   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU [MIN ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* …]
       55   : *ina* x[…][8]

(16′) 55+ 1′   [DIŠ SAG.D]U UDU MIN […]
       55+ 2′   : GAR DINGIR-*lim um-ma*-[*ni-(ia)* …]

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lines between the omens. Emar 699 (Msk 74132e, p. 337) is probably also a *šumma immeru*
omen. We add Emar 701 (Msk 731075z, p. 150), as Arnaud suggests, which repeats apo-
doses uniquely found in Emar 698: 18–22, and perhaps should join either Copy B or C.

[6] The verb is almost totally gone in Copy A, and hence restored according to the Ḫat-
tuša fragment. Arnaud, Emar 698: 45, restores *l*[*a-ap-ta-at*].

[7] Copies A and D (of which only two lines are preserved) are duplicates that meet at this
particular line, and whose conflated results are given here; the end of the line is resto-
red according to Copy D.

[8] Copy F joins in after a gap of no more than one to three lines.

(17′) 55+ 3′   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN Ú[š!.MEŠ-*šú* …]
(15′) 55+ 4′   DIŠ SAG.DU UDU MIN Ú[š.MEŠ-*šú* …]
      55+ 5′   [*ana me*]-*e i*-[*tu-ru* …]

Break

Translation

Obverse i

(1′)   39   If a sheep turns its head back to its right-side –
       40   [the go]d will be reconciled [with] you.

(2′)   41   [If] a sheep *ditto* (turns) its head back to its left-side – the
            god will be angry with you.

(3′)   42   If a sheep bites its right hoof – the attack of the enemy
       43   : regularly upon my country.

(4′)   44   If a sheep *ditto* (bites) its left hoof – the attack of my army
            against the land of the en[emy regularly].

Obverse ii
(5′)   45   If a sheep, i[ts] right-sided rib-cage [becomes displaced – the
            camp/ambush of my army].
(6′)   46   If a sheep, its left-sided rib-cage *ditto* (becomes displaced) –
            the [c]amp/[a]mbush of my enemy.

(7′)   47   If the head of the sheep, upon yo[ur] chopping (it) … […]
       48   : the flood will be cut off at the sources. Alternatively: *the
            h*[*ead* …]

(9′)   49   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off), its blood dr[ies out
            …]
(10′) 50   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off), its blood [goes] to its
            ri[ght …]
(11′) 51   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off), its blood [goes] to
            [its left …]

(12′) 52   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off), its blood … […]
(13′) 53   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off), [its] bl[ood …]

(14′) 54   If the head of the sheep [*ditto* (is cut off), its blood …]
       55   … in … […]

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(16′) 55+1′   [If the he]ad of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off) … […]
       55+2′) : *appointing by the god* (my) arm[y …]

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(17′) 55+3′   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off) [its] bl[ood …]
(15′) 55+4′   If the head of the sheep *ditto* (is cut off) [its] bl[ood …]
       55+5′   (Its blood) will t[urn into wa]ter … […]

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Break

3. KBo. 42, 116

   This very small fragment preserves the opening of fifteen protases
all beginning BE UDU 'If a sheep'. The organs enumerated are the sheep's
eyes (IGI.MEŠ-*šu*) and tongue (EME-*šu*) – a sequence found also in Emar
698: 19–26. More than that, however, is not preserved. Because of this
poor preservation a translation is not warranted.

Obverse
1′   B[E …]
2′   BE U[DU …]
3′   BE UDU IGI-ME[Š …]
4′   BE UDU IGI.MEŠ-*šu* […]
5′   BE UDU IGI.MEŠ-*šu* […]
6′   BE UDU IGI.MEŠ-*šu* […]

Lower Edge
7′   ⌜BE⌝ UDU EME-*šu* […]
8′   BE UDU EME-*šu* […]
9′   BE UDU EM[E-*šu* …]

Reverse
10′ BE UDU E[ME-*šu* …]
11′ BE UDU x[…]
12′ BE UDU […]
13′ BE UDU […]
14′ BE […]
15′ B[E …]

B. Commentary (line count follows KBo. 36, 47)

Obverse

1′: The opening of the protases was restored as BE on account of KBo. 42, 116. The Emar copies have either DIŠ (Copy A) or BE (Copy E). The YOS manuscripts open with DIŠ, whereas Ebeling, TuL no. 9 and the first millennium recensions open with BE.

1′–2′: Compare Emar 698: 39. As in the Emar recension, /sa/ was written in the Boğazköy text with the ŠA sign.

3′–4′: Compare Emar 698: 42–43.

5′–6′: These protases, partly broken, describe the state of the sheep's rib-cage, either on its right or left side; see CAD B, 78–79 sub *bamtu* B; for *alāku* in the sense of 'displaced', 'loose', see CAD A/I, 310. The apodoses, although broken off almost completely, preserve TUŠ = *šubtu* (see CAD Š/III, 184 and Jeyes 1989, 182), so as to allow a comparison with, and partial restoration of, Emar 698 A and D: 46. Emar 698 B: 1′ gives the syllabic spelling of (KI).TUŠ: *šu-ub¹-tu₄*. KBo. 36, 47: 4′: É[RIN] and 6′: L[Ú], are restored on the base of the Emar manuscript.

7′: Note the confusion of the Ḫattuša scribe between *ana* and *ina*. Compare Emar 698: 47 (with Copy A, p. 153) and Emar 699: 2′, 4′ and 5′:

… *ina na-ka-si-ka*
'… upon your slaughtering'

Compare also Ebeling, TuL no. 9: 11:

i-na ka-ra-bi-ka
'upon your offering'

And somewhat differently, CT 41, 12 (K. 4125): 16:

BE UDU *ina na-ka-si-šú*
'If a sheep – upon its slaughtering'

And YOS 10, 47: 22:

DIŠ [UDU] *i-na ṭa-ba-ḫi-šu*
'If [a sheep] – upon its slaughtering'

8′: Alternative omens in the Ḫattuša–Emar recension are introduced by BE; see, for example, Emar 698: 4–5. Compare the end of the line with Emar 698: 11:

… *ina* GUR-*ri* KI.TUŠ
'… upon the return, ambush/camping.'

9′–17′: Comparison is merited with CT 41, 10b (K. 4106): 11–21, of which the entire protases are preserved, with the apodoses, however,

broken away. See also the discussion below about the genre's development.

11′ [B]E UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* GIM Ú.NÍNDA SA₅.MEŠ *ina* ŠÀ UDU X[…]⁹
12′ [B]E UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR.MEŠ […]
13′ [B]E UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* SIG₇.MEŠ […]
14′ [BE] UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ana* A GUR.MEŠ […]
15′ [BE] UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ana* UZU Ì.UDU GUR.MEŠ
16′ [BE] UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú ana* UGU GUR.MEŠ […]
17′ [BE] UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR *ina* UDU Ú X[…]
18′ [B]E UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR *u* SA₅ BAL-*k*[*u-tu* …]
19′ [B]E UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR *u* GE₆ BAL-*k*[*u-tu* …]
20′ BE UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* NU GÁL.MEŠ […]
21′ BE UDU ŠUM-*ma* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR NÍG/*šá ú-taš-ši-ra* […]

11′ [I]f a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is red like a red flower, in the sheep's inside x[…]
12′ [I]f a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is white … […]
13′ [I]f a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is yellow … […]
14′ [If] a sheep is slaughtered and its blood will turn into water … […]
15′ [If] a sheep is slaughtered and its blood will turn into fat … […]
16′ [If] a sheep is slaughtered and its blood will turn back to the top … […]
17′ [If] a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is white *in the sheep* … […]
18′ [I]f a sheep is slaughtered and its blood changes from / is intermixed with white and red … […]
19′ [I]f a sheep is slaughtered and its blood changes from / is intermixed with white and black … […]
20′ If a sheep is slaughtered and there is no blood … […]
21′ If a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is white *something/which was left over* … […]

14′: The last sign looks like -*a*, stuck to ÉRIN, although -*ia* would be preferred.

18′: The verb is analyzed here as a subjunctive, written with a doubled third radical (*ta-ak-ki-is-sú* for *takkisu*). Compare Emar 699: 3′ and Emar 698: 1 respectively:

[*e-nu-ma*] SAG.DU *ta-na-ka-su*
'[When] you chop off (its) head' ("incorrect" thematic vowel /a/ instead of /i/)

DIŠ UDU *e-nu-ma ta-kar-ra-bu*
'If a sheep, when you offer (it)'

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⁹ Compare Ebeling, TuL no. 9: 7 and 9: *da-mu-šu ki-ma il-lu-ri sa-a-mu* 'its blood is red like a red flower'.

Reverse:

r. 2′–12′: Not more than two to three signs are missing from the broken left edge of the reverse.

r. 2′: A digital enhancement of the photograph reveals that possibly in the line-count after the DIŠ, there are two *winkelhaken*, not one, as copied by Wilhelm. This gives the total of 60+20+4 = 84 lines. MU 'line(s)', which in colophons and line-counts is always to precede ŠID 'counted', is for some reason omitted.[10] The colophon of the Old Babylonian *šumma im-meru* omen YOS 10, 48 gives as its total 48 lines (ŠU.NÍGIN 48 MU.BI.IM).

r. 3′: The verb is either *šalû* A ('to sprinkle', 'toss' CAD Š/I, 272) or, less likely, *šalû* B ('to submerge oneself'; CAD Š/I, 273).

r. 4′–10′: These lines can be identified as omens corresponding to the *šumma ālu* omen series; see below, r. 7′ and discussion. The few preserved omens are concerned with the appearance and behaviour of a sheep upon its encounter with a passer-by. The animal raising and prancing in front of the approaching man is a NÍTA 'male', an abbreviated writing for UDU.NÍTA 'ram'. As discussed below (p. 247), abbreviated logographic writings are common to omens from the periphery. For a case in point, notice that Hoffner (1993, 117) concluded that in the Hittite *šašt(a)*- oracles, the writing UDU-*iš* (and not the regular UDU-*uš*) is a shortened form of UDU.ŠIR-*iš*, that specifies the sex of the sacrificial sheep as male, i.e., a ram.

r. 4′: The reading *lík* (LAK) in *i-lík-ma* is required for the preterite of the protasis; this value, according to von Soden, Syllabar, no. 167, is common to the Assurbanipal texts of the first millennium, but in learned texts of the second millennium, this sign value and other "late" values should not be considered as a surprise. Consider, for example, AŠ = *ina* in *ina-aṭ-ṭal* (Emar 698: 12; cf. Ebeling, TuL no. 9: 11: *i-na-ṭa-al*).[11]

r. 7′: Compare CT 41, 9b (Sm. 919): rev. 6′, identified as *šumma ālu*, Tablet 41:

DIŠ UDU *ana* IGI NA *ir-qú-ud*
'If a sheep pranced in front of a man'.

The signs following GURUN are not clear. Possibly take the signs to be the beginning of a verb: GURUN *i-Za-a-*[…] 'the "fruit" will be *an*[*gry* …]'. The "fruit" can refer to the moon in omen texts; see CAD I, 146; the verb is possibly an imprecise or abnormal rendering of *zenû* 'to be angry'; compare the omen apodoses cited in CAD Z, 85.

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[10] See Hunger (1968, 2–3, and 177).

[11] See von Soden, Syllabar, no. 1; the sign AŠ = *ina* as a word-initial syllable is also found in the Middle Babylonian *padānu* compendium, Dalley/Teissier (1992) no. 7: 6 and 18.

r. 8′: If DU.DU-*ma* is taken as a Pl. verb, either supply another subject in the break (like *zunnu* or *šamû* 'rain') or take *mi-lu₄* for *mīlū* 'floods'; see CAD M/II, 70–71. Otherwise, consider the doubling of the logogram an indication of the Gtn stem. Compare the Old Babylonian *šumma immeru* omen, YOS 10, 47: 17:

DIŠ UDU *ú-pa-ṭù-šu i-la-a-ka-a mi-lum i-la-ka-*[*am*]
'If a sheep, its mucus is runny – the flood will arrive.'

For the rest of the apodosis, see CAD E, 18.

C. Discussion

In this part we will discuss the format and content of the Ḫattuša and Emar omens and their compositional and structural traits. We will try to evaluate the time of their composition, editing, and transmission.

As Parts A and B have made clear, the comparison between the Ḫattuša fragment KBo. 36, 47 obverse and Emar 698 reveals that the two texts are close enough to the extent that in fact one can talk about an identical or very similar recension of *šumma immeru* omens. Because of this situation, in spite of the poor preservation of KBo. 36, 47, it can be understood to some degree how it looked like originally and for how long it stretched.

Emar 698 A, the main manuscript of the Emar recension, has twenty-nine omens (or DIŠ entries) in its only fully preserved column i. Given that the fragmentary columns ii and rev. iii would have had the same number of omens, a total of less than ninety omens can be reconstructed for the tablet.[12] This number of omens closely corresponds to the line-count of the *šumma immeru* omens found on the reverse of KBo. 36, 47: it gives a total of eighty-four omens. The correspondence between the number of omens receives additional support when individual sections of both texts are compared: each section shows the same numer of omens.[13] Hence, it is to be understood that both KBo. 36, 47 and Emar 698 would have contained approximately the same number of omens. According to this conclusion, KBo. 36, 47 can be tentatively reconstructed. Originally, it can be imagined that it was a two-column tablet, its left part now totally missing.

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[12] As the autograph of Copy A (p. 153–154) shows, col. iii was not inscribed until the very end of the tablet, hence it probably contained even less omens than col. i. Because the colophon in col iii marked the end of the composition, col. iv (lost) would have been uninscribed.

[13] In both tablets we have two omens each for the head, feet, and rib cage, and nine omens (at the least) for the dripping blood.

What has remained of the tablet is a fragment of the upper obverse col. ii with the *šumma immeru* omens and its back – lower reverse col. iii, with the line-count of the omens, followed by the *šumma ālu* omens. The lost obverse col. i would have been the beginning of the *šumma immeru* omens, while its reverse, col. iv, would have continued with the collection of the *šumma ālu* omens. Would the Ḫattuša and Emar tablets had not been so broken, a clearer view of their layout could have been provided, hence the picture offered here is of course open to modification.[14]

The fragment KBo. 36, 47 preserves eighteen incomplete lines on its obverse and some ten lines equally incomplete on its reverse. It begins with the description of the sheep's actions prior to its slaughter (1′–6′) and then continues until the break with the behaviour of its organs after its sacrifice (7′–18′).[15] If the order of animal organs of the Emar omens is followed, what would have preceded the Ḫattuša fragment's description of the head and rib cage prior to the sacrifice, would have been signs regarding the sheep's mouth, tears, ears, eyes, neck, tongue, and windpipe. As said, the composition would have continued onto KBo. 36, 47 rev., of which only its line-count has been preserved.

After the line-count come partly preserved *šumma ālu* omens (rev. 3′–11′).[16] The omens describe a ram's behaviour – how it rises and prances about with the approach of someone, presumably the client for which the omens were interpreted. The lines can be identified as belonging to the *šumma ālu* omens on account of a distinctive line (rev. 7′) parallel with line 6′ of CT 41, 9b (Sm. 919). This first millennium Neo-Assyrian tablet, in spite of its poor preservation, has been identified, in turn, as belonging to the *šumma ālu* omens because its first line was given as the incipit of the 41st tablet of the canonical *šumma ālu* series in two Assyrian catalogues.[17] This is the only Akkadian *šumma ālu* text identified so far in Ḫattuša, although, forerunners of the canonical recensions

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[14] An accountable difference between the Ḫattuša and Emar tablets is their inner line division. Emar 698 A seems to be more intent on providing a line division for each body part, a feature with which the Ḫattuša tablet is more lax. Indeed, Emar 698 D and E are missing line divisions altogether. What determined if and how to divide the text remains unclear, but this apparently bore no consequence on the content of the text.

[15] Compare the sequence of events in Ebeling, TuL no. 9; see Leichty (1993, 240).

[16] For an introduction to the *šumma ālu* omens and their relation to the Physiognomic omens (discussed presently), see Maul (2003, 58–62 and 66–68), and Freedman (1998).

[17] Freedman (1998, 322–323) 'The Assur Catalogue' iii 8 and (1998: 324–325) 'The Nineveh Catalogue' 13, 1: DIŠ UDU *ina* SAG.KI-*šú* SI.MEŠ-*šú* È.MEŠ-*ni* 'If a sheep, from its head its horns protrude'. Most sources of the 41st tablet are as yet unpublished; see Freedman (1998, 333). Some of the omens with the same incipit have found their way to the *šumma izbu* omen series, Tablet 17; see Leichty (1970, 171–172, ll. 87′–93′).
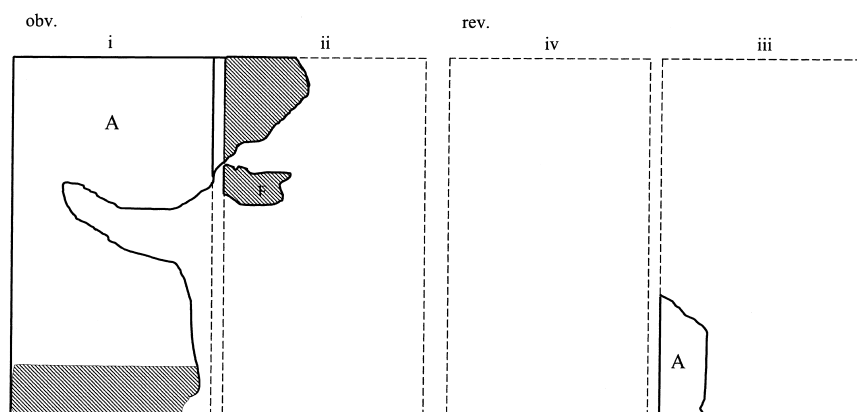
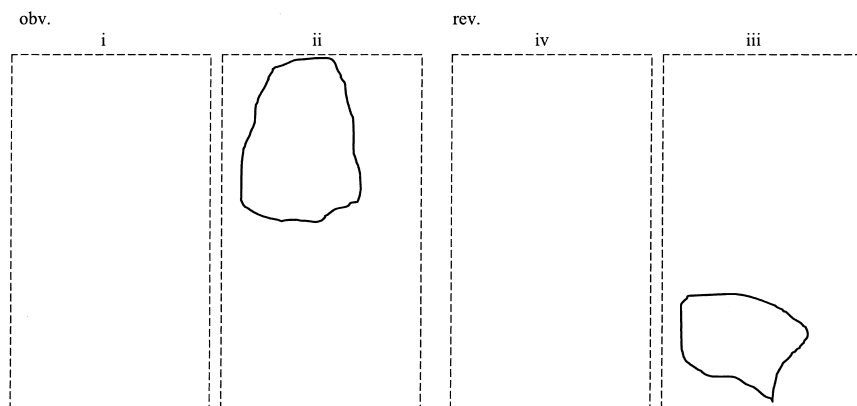*Fig. 1a:* Emar 698 A (+) F (hatched area = corresponding lines with KBo. 36, 47)

Fig. 1b: KBo. 36, 47

were found in Hittite adaptations.[18] As far as could be seen, however, no parallel to KBo. 36, 47 reverse is to be found.[19] There is some evidence

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[18] The *šumma ālu* omens can be found in CTH 536. Related omens are the Physiognomic omens (CTH 543) and the Animal Behaviour omens (CTH 544); see Riemschneider (2004, *passim*) and Güterbock (1957–58). Most among these are Hittite fragments; small Akkadian fragments are Bo 6263 = Kraus (1939) no. 65; see Riemschneider (2004, 160); HT 41 = Riemschneider (2004, 13); and KUB 37, 210 = Riemschneider (2004, 135) and Böck (2000, 9). They are identified as Physiognomic omens. The relationship between these disparate omens is yet to be studied; see Böck (2000, 9–14).

[19] The closest Hittite adaptation of omens similar to those of KBo. 36, 47 rev. is KUB 34, 22 i 1′–3′ = Riemschneider (2004, 125–126; Animal Behaviour omens): [*tá*]*k-ku-wa-*

that *šumma ālu* omens were also known in Emar, although the remains are very fragmentary.[20]

KBo. 36, 47 and the Emar manuscripts are based on compositions which were edited or copied after the Old Babylonian period, although vestiges of Old Babylonian scribal traditions can be noticed. These speak of the earlier origin of the text. In the Ḫattuša fragment, the spelling convention *i-il-lak* (5′–6′) is typical Old Babylonian,[21] as is the spelling of alephs with ḫV signs, such as in *du-uʾ-ḫu-mu* (or *du-uʾ-ʾuₓ-mu*) for *duʾʾumu* 'dark red' (14′). Such spelling conventions are reflected also in the Emar recension, a fact which strengthens even more the bond between the two texts. Notice, for example, typical Old Babylonian defectively spelled forms, such as *i-ma-ḫaṣ* (Emar 698: 3) or *a-ṣa-bat* and *i-ṣa-bat* (Emar 698: 32–33; cf. KBo. 36, 47: 8′: *i-ṣa-bat*).[22] And spelling alephs with ḫV signs are also not absent from the Emar recension. Observe *ḫu-ur-ḫu-us-su* (Emar 698: 37) for *urʾudu* 'windpipe'.[23] In spite of these Old Babylonian traces, Post-Old Babylonian phonological features (at least in the better preserved Emar manuscripts) can give us an idea when the text was put in the form which reached Ḫattuša and Emar. Observe *muš-šir* (Emar 698: 12; cf. Ebeling, TuL no. 9: 5–6: *uššer*),[24] or *ul-te-ni-iṣ-ṣi* (Emar 698: 31). In addition, as typical of Post-Old Babylonian omens, there is a mixture of syllabic and logographic writings,[25] some of which, however, are different than what is customary in the Babylonian omens. Some logograms in the Ḫattuša fragment were written in an abbreviated or truncated form. Consider: UŠ for UŠ.MEŠ, TUŠ for KI.TUŠ, and NÍTA for UDU.NÍTA. Full syllabic writings occur in the protases, where in the first

aš-ta É-*ir-za* [… *pa-ra-a*] / *pa-iz-zi na-aš-ta a-aš-k*[*u-e-eš*] / *pa-ra-a ḫa-an-ti wa-at-ku-an-zi* '[I]f (a man) goes [out] of the house and the *ašku*- animals prance in front of (him).'; cf. KBo. 34, 165 = Riemschneider (2004, 163–164) and see also the note below. For the *ašku*- animals, see HED A, 215–216 and HW² I, 424.

[20] The fragments are Emar 685 and 705; see Böck (2000, 9). Consider also Emar 700, as suggested by Maul (2003, 59). Its seven protases, barely preserved, all begin BE GU₄.ḪI.A 'If oxen', an opening comparable with the incipit of the *šumma ālu* canonical recension, Tablet 42 = Freedman (1998, 20): DIŠ GU₄.MEŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA *ir-ta-na-qu-du* 'If oxen prance about in a wide street'. Arnaud (Yon/Arnaud 2001, 334–335) edited a fragment from Ugarit he designated as *šumma ālu* omens. The omens bear no similarity to the Ḫattuša and Emar texts.

[21] See Wilhelm (1971).

[22] Compare Joannès (1994, 310), who discusses such spelling in an Old Babylonian *šumma ālu* forerunner text.

[23] See AHw. 1436.

[24] AHw. 1485.

[25] See Jeyes (1989, 5–6 and 12–14), characterizing the Late Old Babylonian omens.

millennium standardized texts logograms are more systematically em-
ployed. Compare *a-na* vs. *ana*, *i-tu-ru* vs. GUR.MEŠ, or *ummānīa* vs. ÉRIN
(the last example only in the Emar manuscripts); and, in addition, com-
pare the collocations *enūma takkisu/tanakkisu* or *ina nakāsika* vs. TA ŠUM
(*ultu ṭabḫu*) or TA KUD (*ultu naksu*), typical (but not exclusively) of the
first millennium texts.

Although the organization, or standardization, of the Old Babylonian
versions was already underway, as their colophons indicate,[26] the expan-
sion of the protases reveal that the Ḫattuša–Emar recension was already
somewhat removed from the older versions we have available, showing
stronger affinities with the first millennium manuscripts.[27] This can
be observed notably in the 'blood' section of KBo. 36, 47: 9′–17′ (= Emar
698: 47–55+4′), which includes at least nine entries. They are close
enough to be comparable with the eleven entries of the 'blood' section of
the first millennium recension, CT 41, 10b (K. 4106): 11′–21′.[28] Ultimately,
of course, the 'blood' section of both the Ḫattuša–Emar recension and
the first millennium versions may have depended on an Old Babylonian
recension, as yet not recovered. Nonetheless, based on the evidence
we have, the organization of the protases around the colour spectrum
(white – yellow – red, not necessarily in this order), and liquids (oil and
water) was not seen in the Old Babylonian omens, although they do list
various organs of the slaughtered sheep, including its blood.

The argument outlined here does not mean to suggest a linear devel-
opment of the genre leading from the Old Babylonian period through the
second half of the second millennium to its standardization in the first,
but rather to highlight the editorial processes it went through. It allows us

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[26] Jeyes (1989, 9).

[27] Compare the textual history of the *šumma izbu* omens in Leichty (1970, 23–26).

[28] See page 242. The expansion of the protases around the sheep's cut head (but not the
'blood' section) is found also in CT 31, 30–33 (83-1-18, 410): rev. 23–37 = CT 41, 10
(K. 6983 + 8345): 1′–19′. Other first millennium texts, which were identified as
belonging to the genre, and which were edited as one composition by Meissner
(1933–34), deal, at least in the parts preserved, with the outwardly look of the sacrifi-
cial sheep, rather than with its behaviour. Indeed, the observation of the sheep's frame,
limbs, snout, horns, or hair, and their resemblance to those of other animals, such as
deer, fat-tailed sheep, or dogs, betrays an influence by, or an association with, the
šumma izbu and the *šumma ālu* omens; see Meissner (1933–34, 118–119). One manu-
script among Meissner's texts – CT 31, 30 (83-1-18, 410) – commences with such
observations, duplicating to a large extent what is found in the other manuscripts.
Starting from line 23 of its observe, throughout its reverse, the text (not edited by
Meissner) deals with the behaviour of the sheep itself at and after the slaughter, and
then according to its body parts, as discussed above.

to conclude, that as far as can be discerned, the Ḫattuša–Emar recension, while dependent on Old Babylonian versions, hints at the standardization processes associated generally with the Middle Babylonian period, which led ultimately to the standard versions we have of the first millennium.

Having discussed the period in which this recension was edited and what its structural traits are, can its time of copying in Ḫattuša and Emar be determined? At least for Emar the answer is in the positive. The colophon of Emar 698 A reads:

ŠU ᵐᵈIŠKUR-[ma-lik DUMU ᵈIŠKUR-UR.SAG]
LÚ.DUB.ŠAR LÚ.[ḪAL *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ ᵘʳᵘ*E-mar*]

The hand of Baʿal-[mālik, the son of Baʿal-qarrād],
scribe, the div[iner of the gods of the city of Emar]

The copyist of the tablet is Baʿal-mālik of the Zū-Baʿla family who lived around the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 12th century.[29] Although this identification does not provide an exact dating, it does give a fair understanding of when this text was transmitted to the city. Seeing that the Ḫattuša fragment is a very close recension, we can understand that it too was probably transmitted and copied at the same period, by which is meant roughly the 14th–13th centuries BC.

It has been demonstrated that Akkadian *šumma immeru* omens were known at Ḫattuša and Emar, and, moreover, that they are to be treated as the same composition. Lack of evidence prohibits us from concluding the same regarding the *šumma ālu* omens in these scribal centers, but the least that can be said is that they were present, and in Ḫattuša, found on the reverse of the *šumma immeru* omens. The compositions' time of transmission to and copying in these cities was discussed, as was their relation to their textual predecessors and the later canonical manuscripts, to which they exhibited some closeness. The Ḫattuša and Emar omens, hence, represent compositions edited or put to form in the Middle Babylonian period and transmitted thereupon.[30] However, it seems at this stage of research that these omens were not the direct origin from which sprang the Hittite *šašt*(*a*)- oracles.[31] These, with their Hurrian *termini technici*, rely perhaps on older prototypes, arriving through Hurrian mediation. In

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[29] Emar 698 C has a partly preserved colophon reading: […] LÚ.ḪAL '[…] the diviner', proving that it too was a product of one of the diviners of the Zū-Baʿla family. For the dating of Baʿal-mālik, see Cohen (2004, 95–97).
[30] See also the discussion in Heeßel (2000, 103), regarding the textual history of the diagnostic omens in Ḫattuša and Emar.
[31]

a sense, this brings to mind the situation of the *šumma izbu* omens in Ḫat-tuša. The fragmentary Akkadian *šumma izbu* omens parallel to some degree tablets I–IV of the late canonical series.[32] They exhibit Middle Babylonian traits,[33] and might even have originated in Babylon.[34] Hittite adaptations of the *šumma izbu* omens no doubt depended ultimately on Babylonian prototypes. However, no clear parallels have been pointed out. Moreover, the Hittite adaptations were written in the Old Hittite ductus, hence possibly indicating an earlier transmission. In addition, they introduced a formula *takku šagaiš* 'If (something) of a sign', which remains unparalleled in the Akkadian *šumma izbu* omens, and whose origin may stem from Hurrian versions of the omens.[35] Naturally, further investigation is needed to unravel the complexities of the transmission and reception of Mesopotamian omen literature in Ḫattuša, Emar, and the so-called Western Periphery.

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[32] CTH 538–540; see Leichty (1970, 207–210) and Riemschneider (1970).

[33] Riemschneider (1970, 3–4).

[34] Consider the colophon of KUB 4, 67 ii 9–10 (= Leichty 1970, 208–209): … DUB 1.KAM *iz-*[*bu* …] / […]URU[ki] *iz-bu an-nu-tu₄ la-a dam-qú-*[*tu₄ ša* KÁ.DINGIR].RA[ki] 'The first tablet of *iz*[*bu* (omens) …] / […]city. These are the inauspicious *izbu* (omens) [from Bab]ylon.'

[35] Riemschneider (1970, 4–7) and Laroche (1972, 47). There is one bilingual Akkadian-Hurrian *šumma izbu* exemplar, which is very poorly preserved; see de Martino (1992, 99) and Kammenhuber (1976, 153–155).

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