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# The Catalogues of Enūma Anu Enlil

Without lists those in charge of information struggle in vain against disorder, imprecision, uncertainty, and chaos. If a common human drive to arrange and organize lies behind ancient scholarly text catalogues in a general sense, consideration of the specifics of actual examples can take us deeper into the historical moment and the cultural context of such examples. Catalogues can have a multiplicity of functions, and can serve more than one function at a time. Cuneiform text catalogues did indeed bring order to scholarly collections, arrange tablets in series in ways that suited a certain community of scribes, and present the contents of useful corpora, whether those contents referred to the diverse holdings of a particular collection or more broadly to a complete, or ideal, repertoire for education or reference.

Perhaps it could be said that cuneiform scholarly catalogues are indicative of a particular kind of textual culture, one built upon the authority and value of certain kinds of texts, here divinatory (concerning signs), lexical (concerning orthographies and language), medical (concerning diagnostics and therapeutics), and magical (incantations). Catalogues are an entry point into the way scribes from various regions and periods defined their corpora and established the contents and character of "knowledge" (which would have come under the rubric *tupšarrūtu* "scribal knowledge," also "knowledge of skills, both intellectual and technical," or even *nēmequ* "wisdom") and thus the terms of their textual culture, or cultures. Cuneiform textual cultures formed a constant in Mesopotamian intellectual history, and as such were able to have an impact on traditions of textual knowledge beyond its borders among Hittites, Elamites, Egyptians, and Greeks.

The celestial omen series <code>Enūma Anu Enlil</code> (henceforth EAE) is the subject of two extant catalogues, one from 7th century BCE Assur and the other from 3td century BCE Uruk.¹ The Uruk catalogue gives the incipits for EAE Tablets 1-26. The Assur Catalogue contains incipits for EAE Tablets 39-59 and "29 single-column <code>ahû</code> tablets (IM.GÍD.DA.MEŠ BAR. MEŠ)". It follows these with incipits for the series <code>Šumma ālu</code> Tablets 1-26 and 33-62, while column iv of the reverse has fragmentary ends of lines that do not resemble <code>Šumma ālu</code> and thus may possibly represent other divinatory material. Sally M. Freedman said the "tablet contained catalogs of several omen series"², but did not elaborate on that observation. The significance of the combination of the celestial and the terrestrial (and perhaps other omen types) in one and the same catalogue has, therefore, not been discussed in any detail to date, nor has the text been edited as a whole before, neither by Freedman (1998) nor Fincke (2001). The combination of the celestial with the terrestrial (or even other omen series [on rev. iv]) may be an important factor to take into account in analyzing the Assur catalogue, as it could reflect upon the purpose of that catalogue and how the scribes classified its contents. The combination of disparate scholarly series together in a single catalogue (such as diagnostic and physiognomic omens³) could shed some light on the practice in general and whether the Assur catalogue of EAE and <code>Šumma ālu</code> (and perhaps a third series) is unusual or not. The similar pattern of incipits of celestial and terrestrial omens given in the Diviner's Manual (Oppenheim 1974) do not come from EAE or <code>Šumma ālu</code> and so that text remains an exceptional case.

Our grasp of the contents and structure of many individual compositions and compendia of cuneiform scribal scholarship owes much to the preservation of text catalogues that list the incipits of such works. Ancient catalogues have been instrumental in the modern reconstruction of cuneiform scholarly text corpora, but they vary both in their presentation and purpose. Old Babylonian text catalogues have been read as inventories of the holdings of particular collections (Delnero 2010), or as an ordering system for use in a scribal school curriculum (Tinney 2011). First millennium (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian) catalogues seem to be aimed either at a particular genre of texts (Šuilas, incantations) or at tablets within discrete serialized compendia, such as  $En\bar{u}ma$  Anu Enlil or Summa  $\bar{a}lu$ . The problem of interpretation, as Delnero identified it, lies in what we may infer from these lists as to their purpose beyond the archival utility of a list of holdings. As he said with regard to the inventories of Sumerian literary compositions, those catalogues seem to be "for the purpose of recording individual tablets, and not for grouping compositions according to their content or function," and that there was "little doubt that the lists belonging to this group were recorded for reasons

<sup>1</sup> Other scholars who have discussed these catalogues are Weidner 1941-44; 1968; Koch-Westenholz 1995: 80; Fincke 2001; Freedman 1998: 5-6 and 322-23; Rochberg-Halton 1987: 320-330; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 18; van Soldt 1995: 2, 17, 68-69; Gehlken 2012: 2; Koch 2015: 165-166, 178-179, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Freedman 1998: 6. Note also that the Assur Catalogue incipits are abbreviated from those preserved in sources from the series.

**<sup>3</sup>** CTN 4, 71; Finkel 1988. See also the edition and discussion of the *Sakikkû* catalogue in this volume.

associated specifically with the storage and retrieval of tablets, and not for didactic purposes". 4 He interpreted catalogues, therefore, as practical, not ideal, lists, which referred only to those texts contained in a particular collection.

Features of the organization of these early literary catalogues carry over into first millennium scholarly inventories of omen texts: the sequences of thematically grouped texts, the use of subscripts to identify the type of text catalogued, the variable inclusion of different text types within a single catalogue. As Delnero observed, these are indications of inventories, that is, they refer to the actual texts contained in a collection rather than to some ideal list of materials. Principles of classification of the texts catalogued, however, are also built into the preparation of an inventory, as he noted as well. For this reason, the manner in which omen series are combined, or not combined, in catalogues raises questions as to another layer of classification, and also touches upon the question of canonicity in cuneiform textual culture.

Unsurprisingly, as they are separated by roughly four hundred years, the two EAE catalogues, one from 7th century Assur and the other from Hellenistic Uruk (dated 26 Šabatu year 117 S.E. = 24/25 February 194 BCE), display a number of differences. The Assur catalogue provides tablet numbers where the Uruk catalogue does not. The Uruk catalogue gives a tally of the number of lines per tablet where the Assur catalogue does not. Differences in the sequence of tablets between the Assur catalogue and what is preserved on exemplars or in catchlines from Nineveh poses another difficult problem for understanding the Assur catalogue. The evidence suggests that tablet numbering was tied more to the local needs of the scribes than to any sense for what we would call a canonical text to be transmitted in a fixed, standardized, certainly not invariant, form across its many exemplars. Instead there is considerable variability in the numbers assigned to tablets in catalogs, subscripts, and catchlines. As an example of the variation in the numbering systems, Weidner provided the following correspondence:

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Tablet 39 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 44 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 40 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 45 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 46 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 52 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 47 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 53 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 48 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 55 (51)<sup>5</sup> (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 50 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 56 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 51 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 57 (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 55 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 62(?) (Nineveh reconstruction)
Tablet 58 (Assur catalogue) = Tablet 61 (Nineveh reconstruction)<sup>6</sup>
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The most useful discussion of the problem of tablet numbering in EAE, in my view, is that of Erlend Gehlken. In particular he argues against the notion of a defined system attached to the specific locations given by Weidner (and followed by Fincke), namely Babylon-Borsippa, Assur, Kalhu, Nineveh, and Uruk.8 Gehlken presents a cogent argument against the proposal to fix the tablet numberings to a system of "schools", and illustrates with EAE "33", which has sources using four different tablet numbers (33, 34, 35, and 36) that do not correspond to such local schools. Ulla Koch-Westenholz also noted the "rough" nature of EAE's systematization and the "many inconsistencies, both in the numbering of

<sup>4</sup> Delnero 2010: 48-49.

<sup>5</sup> The assignment of two Nineveh tablet numbers to the Assur Catalogue Tablet 48 was given originally in Weidner 1941-44: 185, where, we should note, he said these correlations stood "auf sehr schwachen Füssen." He returned to this problem in Weidner 1968: 74, where he said, "wenn man den Katalog aus Assur vergleicht, so ist dort von den Anfängen der Tafeln 43-45, 47, 49 nichts erhalten. Für die Tafel 46 liegt ...]. IGI.MEŠ, für Tafel 48 i]t-tan-mar vor. Es könnte sich, wie in AfO 14, S.184, vermutetet, um die Tafeln handeln, die sonst die Nummern 52 und 51 bzw. 55 tragen." As Reiner and Pingree (1981) pointed out in their edition, the contents of Tablet 51 (as of Tablet 50) are not confidently identified. Their identification of the "assumed" Tablet 51 is to be found as Texts IX-XIII of their edition (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 52-54). A connection between the Assumed Tablet 50 and Tablet 55 can be found in their Text II 12d-II 12h, which they assume are omens derived from Tablet 55 omens 78-84 (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 30, n. 5). Also, one of the miscellaneous texts in their edition of the assumed Tablet 50/51 is Text XVIII, which has lines at the end of the reverse that contain the end of EAE 55 (Reiner and Pingree 1981: 71).

<sup>6</sup> Weidner 1941-44: 185; mentioned also in Koch-Westenholz 1995: 80, Fincke 2001: 23, and Gehlken 2012: 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Gehlken 2005: 252-54, and especially 252 note 81.

**<sup>8</sup>** Weidner 1941-44: 181-82, 184 and passim in that article. See also Fincke 2001: 20-22.

<sup>9</sup> See already Weidner 1968: 68.

individual tablets within the series and in the particular omen content different copies of the same tablet contain and in what order".10

Given the foregoing observations of so many discrepancies in the formatting of these scholarly texts, catalogues do not appear to be the most direct or uncomplicated evidence for canonicity in cuneiform, that is, if we want to define canonicity in terms of the existence of a fixed textus receptus. 11

Neither do the sources for *Šumma ālu*, when compared against the Assur catalogue, support the idea of a canonical numbering system. Freedman noted that "there are indications of more than one 'official' edition of Šumma Alu. Sometimes different copies of the same tablet preserve different tablet numbers ... In only one case is the discrepancy really significant: According to the Assur Catalog, the incipit that represents Tablet 27 is an omen taken from a reptile, while a cat omen represents the incipit to Tablet 45; however, the one extant tablet numbered 27 contains cat omens. There is at present no way of knowing whether this discrepancy is due to a random error or to an established variant numbering system". 12 She further notes that "this sort of discrepancy is not unique to Summa Alu; a similar situation occurs with the series Enuma Ana Bit Marsi Ašipu Illiku [i.e. the series of diagnostic omens  $Sakikk\hat{u}$ ], where the numbering of the series as preserved in individual colophons conflicts with the numbering preserved in the one extant catalog". <sup>13</sup> This evidence underscores the necessity of defining canonicity in cuneiform scholarship on a separate basis from that which applies to the biblical model. This is not to say that cuneiform texts did not utilize an idea and function of canonical texts in its own way (Rochberg 2015). The existence of the native terminology of iškāru "series", ahû "other/extraneous", and ša pī ummâni "oral tradition" (literally, "from the mouth of the scholar") shows that the nature of sources, and a taxonomy to represent it, was already of concern in organizing scholarly materials.

In terms of the taxonomy of text types, an important aspect of the canonicity question which has previously been addressed in the scholarship on the Assur catalogue is how to understand the meaning of the term  $ah\hat{u}$  (obv. ii 5'), when applied to tablets (or omens) in a series such as EAE. The Assur catalogue is the only catalogue known to collect and designate tablets as  $ah\hat{u}$ , providing an opportunity to consider the relationship between these tablets and those classified as belonging to the ÉŠ.GÀR (obv. ii 6). If the measure of canonicity can be separated from the particulars of textual characteristics, the meaning of canonical and non-canonical in our context can be refocused. By now it is well accepted that  $ah\hat{u}$  in this context does not correspond to "non-canonical" in the sense of the texts not being authoritative or valid.  $^{14}$  Gehlken said of the  $ah\hat{u}$  tablets incorporated into the Assur catalogue that they "are not to be understood as a secondary, but rather as an additional, tradition, likewise organized as a series".  $^{15}$  Koch-Westenholz also translates  $ah\hat{u}$ as "additional", and said that "all three categories [iškāru, ahû and ša pī ummâni] seem to have been considered equally authoritative."16 But, again, it has become well accepted that if we separate the notion of what is canonical from the requirements of certain textual characteristics (the order of content in particular), we can see that the nature of these texts stemming from a tradition "outside" that of the iškāru, were in a certain way "non-canonical", but nonetheless still authoritative.

The literature on canonicity in cuneiform scholarship has traditionally focused on textual characteristics, primarily in the form of tablet numberings and the standardization of the texts' contents. But the idea of a fixed received tradition was already challenged by W. G. Lambert in reference to the Gilgamesh Epic. 17 A lack of rigorous standardization, however, need not compromise the idea that the Babylonian scholarly texts may have functioned as a canonical corpus in the sense of its representing the beliefs or ideas or texts of a certain group of scribes. Thus the canon represents some

<sup>10</sup> Koch-Westenholz 1995: 79.

<sup>11</sup> For discussion of canonicity in the cuneiform scholarly tradition that does not define the canon solely in terms of textual characteristics, see Rochberg 2015. For a summary of the scholarly debate in terms of pro- and contra-camps in reference to canonicity in the cuneiform tradition, see Wainer 2016: ch. 3, where he, however, places Rochberg-Halton 1984 firmly in the contra-group. What the 1984 paper argued, however, was that a cuneiform canon could not (or should not) be defined in terms of the characteristics and function of the biblical canon, which had a wholly different motivation, goal, and history. My 2015 paper clarifies the ways in which I see the legitimate use of the term canon with respect to cuneiform texts, and consistent with the previous paper (and in Rochberg-Halton 1987), its usage cannot be understood on the basis of the biblical model.

<sup>12</sup> Freedman 1998: 7.

<sup>13</sup> Freedman 1998: 7, note 14. See also Schmidtchen (infra) for discussion of the diagnostic omen series.

<sup>14</sup> Rochberg-Halton 1984: 144; Rochberg-Halton 1987 [2010]; Rochberg 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Gehlken 2012: 2.

<sup>16</sup> Koch-Westenholz 1995: 76.

<sup>17</sup> Lambert 1967: 9.

accepted meaning or value in the texts conceived of as embodying those ideas and thus being important to collect, copy, store, consult, and interpret. In addition to their archival function for recording the contents of a particular library holding, catalogues may be a reflection of such canonical considerations. As noted, this status would have applied as well to the  $ah\hat{u}$  tablets, which belonged to the corpus but had their own characteristics (Rochberg-Halton 1987). The inclusion of  $ah\hat{u}$  tablets in the Assur catalogue shows that this is the case.

In laying out a basis for discussing the genre of commentary and its relation to canonicity, Aaron Hughes referred to J. Z. Smith's idea that "the concept of a canon must be understood against the backdrop of lists (Listenwissenschaft) which are, in turn, broken down into catalogs." 18 Quoting Smith, he says, "when lists exhibit relatively clear principles of order, we may begin to term them catalogs... The catalog, in principle, is open.' [Smith 1982: 45] When such a catalog is closed (or, perhaps even semi-closed) it becomes a canon" (Hughes 2003: 152). Hughes, therefore, defines a canon as "any closed or semi-closed system that is capable of subsequent manipulation by a hermeneute" (Hughes 2003: 152). This definition is meant to serve cross-culturally, to apply to the Bible, the Quran, the Vedas and "the diviner's basket among the Ndembu." Cuneiform literary or scholarly catalogues can be considered in this sense as well, i.e., as historical reflections of a corpus considered at a given time as useful and worthy of preservation and transmission. In the case of omen texts it is clear that the divine messages represented by ominous signs elevated the value of those texts, which then represented two central cultural commitments, first to the idea of divine decree (as expressed in the Uruk catalogue lines 23-24: EŠ.BAR AN.G[E,] u HAR.MEŠ šá d30 "decision[s] of eclipse[s] and ominous portents ([it: decrees] of the moon") and second to the well-ordered world.

In the remainder of this paper the two EAE catalogues are given in transliteration and translation. Minimal notes accompany this edition, so as not to repeat the work of others (such as Fincke or Gehlken).

## The Assur Catalogue (EAE and Šumma ālu)

Fragments: VAT 9438 + 10324 (obv.); VAT 9775 (rev.)

Copies: Weidner 1941-44: Tf. III, KAR 407 (= VAT 10324); KAR 394 (= VAT 9775); Plate 18-19

Editions: Weidner 1936-37: 359-360 (col. ii of obv.); Weidner 1941-44: 184-186; Fincke 2001: 24 (EAE part); Freedman 1998: 361-363 (Šumma ālu part)

### Obv. Col. i

- 1') [DIŠ dIŠKUR ina KUR dUTU GÙ]- šú ŠUB DUB 397.KÁM
- 2') [DIŠ dIŠKUR ina MURUB, dIMIN.BI G]Ù-šú ŠUB DUB 40.KÁM
- 3') [......] x DUB 41.KÁM
- 4') [DIŠ ri-i-bu ina itiBÁRA i-ru-u]b DUB 42.KÁM
- 5') [(DIŠ ina itiBÁRA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU) D]U DUB 43.KÁM
- 1') [If Adad thun]ders [at sunrise]. Tablet 39.
- 2') [If Adad t]hunders [in the middle of the Pleiades]. Tablet 40.
- 3') [......]. Tablet 41.
- 4') [If an earthquake shak]es [in Nisannu.] Tablet 42.
- 5') [If in Nisannu the south wind blo]ws. Tablet 43.

Line 1') See Fincke, 2001: 26 for the restoration of the incipit. Weidner noted that Tablet 39 at Assur corresponded to Tablet 44 at Nineveh.

Line 2') See Fincke, 2001: 26. Weidner noted that Tablet 40 at Assur corresponded to Tablet 45 at Nineveh.

Line 3') See Fincke, 2001: 26.

Line 4') See Fincke, 2001: 26-27.

Line 5') See Fincke, 2001: 27. Note that Tablet 43 at Assur corresponds to Tablet 49 at Nineveh.

- 6') [DIŠ mulMAR.GÍD.DA ana AN.G]E, DUB 44.KÁM
- 7') [DIŠ mulAŠ.GÁN ina itiBÁRA IGI-m]ar DUB 45.KÁM
- 8') [DIŠ ina itiBÁRA mulAŠ.GÁN u MUL.MU]L IGI.MEŠ DUB 46.KÁM
- 9') [DIŠ MUL.MUL mulŠUDUN KUR-u]d DUB 47.KÁM
- 10') [(DIŠ mulŠUDUN...) i]t-rtan-mar DUB 487.KÁM
- 11') [DIŠ mulŠUDUN ina È-šú ...-ma MÚ.(MÚ)/nap]- ha DUB 49.KÁM
- 12') [DIŠ ina itiBÁRA mulUDU.IDIM IGI-i]r DUB 50.KÁM
- 13') [DIŠ mulUGU.MUŠEN KASKAL dUTU KU]R-ud DUB 51.KÁM
- 14') [(DIŠ mul Dili-bat ina itiBÁRA IGI-ir)] DUB 52.KÁM
- 15') [(DIŠ mul Dili-bat şir-ha im-šuh)] DUB 53.KÁM
- 16') [DIŠ mul Dili-bat ina itiBÁRA SU, za]q-na-at DUB 5'4.KÁM'
- 17') [DIŠ mul Dili-bat mul Šul-pà-e i]k-šu-dam-ma DUB 55.KÂM
- 18') [(DIŠ mul Dili-bat) TA UD 1.KÁM] EN UD 30.KÁM DUB 56.KÁM
- 6') [If the Wagon Star (is visible) for an ecl]ipse. Tablet 44.
- 7') [If the Field (y Pegasi) is vis]ible [in Nisannu]. Tablet 45.
- 8') [If the Field and the Stars/Bri]stle (Pleiades) are visible [in Nisannu]. Tablet 46.
- 9') [If the Stars/Bristle re]ach [the Yoke (Boötes)]. Tablet 47.
- 10') [If the Yoke (Boötes) ... is s]een. Tablet 48.
- 11') [If the Yoke (Boötes) in its rising ... and fl]ares. Tablet 49.
- 12') [If in Nisannu a planet becomes visi]ble. Tablet 50.
- 13') [If the Raven (Corvus) rea] ches [the path of the sun]. Tablet 51.
- 14') [If Venus becomes visible in Nisannu]. Tablet 52.
- 15') [If Venus flares with sudden luminosity]. Tablet 53.
- 16') [If Venus in Nisannu we]ars [a beard]. Tablet 54.
- 17') [If Venus r]eaches [Jupiter (Šulpae)]. Tablet 55.
- 18') [If Venus from the first] to the 30th day. Tablet 56.
- Line 6') Fincke (2001: 25) takes this to mean that the Wagon Star's visibility indicates the occurrence of an eclipse, which seems difficult to reconcile with the fact that the Wagon (Big Dipper) is a circumpolar constellation and thus is always visible. She restores the incipit in the note to line 6' (see 2001: 27-28), and notes that Assur Tablet 44 corresponds to Nineveh Tablet 50.
- Line 7') IGI =  $am\bar{a}ru$  can be used as a technical term for the specific star phase or stellar synodic appearance of heliacal rising. Indeed,  $Ik\hat{u}$ (The Field = y Pegasi) is the first star of the Astrolabe, whose heliacal rising is attached to Nisannu in the Path of Ea, thus marking the beginning of the year. For this reason it seems to me that the heliacal phenomenon is referred to in this omen, thus it is visible for the first time (just after sunset) following its period of invisibility due to conjunction with the sun. See Horowitz 2014: 1-2. For restoration of the incipit, see Fincke 2001: 28. Tablet 45 at Assur corresponds to Tablet 51 at Nineveh.
- Line 8') Restored by Fincke 2001: 28. The correspondence of Tablet 46 at Assur to Tablet 52 at Nineveh was noted by Weidner.
- Line 9') See Fincke 2001: 28 for the restoration of the incipit. The correspondence of Assur Tablet 47 to Nineveh Tablet 53 was noted by Weidner.
- Line 10') See Fincke 2001: 28-29 for discussion.
- Line 11') Too poorly preserved for a sure identification, but see Fincke 2001: 29.
- Line 12') See Fincke 2001: 29 and for further discussion of the identification of sources for EAE 50, see Reiner-Pingree 1981: 28-30.
- Line 13') See Fincke 2001: 30 for discussion, and of the correspondence of Assur Catalogue EAE 51 to Nineveh EAE 57 and a version from Nineveh in Babylonian script ductus that assigns to the tablet the number 58.
- Line 14') See Fincke 2001: 30 for restoration of the incipit and for the correspondence of EAE Tablet 52 at Assur to Tablet 58 at Nineveh, and Tablet 59 at Nineveh in Babylonian script.
- Line 15') Restored from a commentary, as given in Fincke 2001: 30. She notes the correspondence of Assur Tablet 53 to Nineveh Tablet 59, and notes Reiner and Pingree's identification of "Group B" with Tablets 59-60.
- Line 16') See Fincke for notes on the restoration of the incipit in 2001: 31. The corresponding tablet numbers at Nineveh to Assur Tablet 54 are the Assyrian recension Tablet 60, but the Babylonian recension Tablet 61.
- Line 17') For restoration of the incipit, see Fincke 2001: 31. Weidner was unsure of the correspondence between Assur EAE 55 and Nineveh 62; Fincke (2001: 31) suggests Nineveh's Assyrian recension Tablet 61.
- Line 18') Fincke 2001: 31-32.

- 19') [DIŠ ina itiZÍZ UD 15.KÁM dNin-s]i,-an!-na
- 20') [ina dUTU.ŠÚ.A it-bal] DUB 57.KÁM
- 21') [DIŠ mulSAG.ME.GAR ina še-er-ti ik-t]u-un DUB 58.KÁM
- 22') [(DIŠ mulSAG.ME.GAR ana mulÁ.MUŠEN)] DUB 59.KÁM
- 23') [......] x x [...] x [...]

- 19'-20') [If on the 15th day of Šabatu Ve]nus [disappears (heliacally sets) in the west]. Tablet 57.
- 21') [If Jupiter becolmes sta[ble in the morning]. Tablet 58.
- 22') [If Jupiter comes near to the Eagle]. Tablet 59.
- 23') traces

Remainder broken

- Line 19'-20') Fincke 2001: 32. Tabālu meaning "to enter a period of invisibility, to disappear" is used in astronomical contexts for the disappearance of an inner planet in the west, the so-called "Evening Last" phenomenon, where the inner planet (Venus or Mercury) sets in the west before inferior conjunction.
- Line 21') See Fincke 2001: 32-33, also Reiner and Pingree 2005: 1 where BM 35045+ rev. 16'-17' ("Group A" Jupiter omens), a Parthian period source, is labelled as EAE 63. Also divergent is the catchline to the Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa, usually thought of as EAE 63, and which has this omen as its catchline, thus seemingly to be identified as EAE 64.
- Line 22') Fincke 2001: 33. This incipit, found as the catchline of the Late Babylonian source BM 35045+, corresponds to EAE 64 of the Babylonian recension, EAE 65 of the Assyrian recension and 59 at Assur.
- Line 23') See Fincke 2001: 33 for discussion of the end of EAE with Tablets 69 and 70 according to the numbering at Nineveh.

#### Obv. Col. ii

- 1') [DIŠ (mulSAG.ME.GAR) ú]-qa(?)-rib¬-ma [a-šar dU]TU
- 2') [u]š-rtap-pa-a GUB-iz
- 3') DIŠ 30 ina itiBÁRA UD 12.KÁM ih-mu-ţam-ma
- 4') ba-ra-ri it-ta-a'-dir na-an-mur-šú GIM IZI [K]I.A. ÍD
- 5') PAP 29 DUB.MEŠ IM.GÍD.DA.MEŠ BAR.MEŠ
- 7') DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR (Tablet 1)
- 1') [If (Jupiter)] approaches the [place]
- 2') where the sun becomes visible and stands.
- 3') If on the 12th day of Nisannu the moon is early and
- 4') becomes dark in the evening; his features are like sulphur fire.

6') DUB SAG.MEŠ ša DIŠ URU ina SUKUD-e GAR ÉŠ.GÀR 'MU'.NE [...]

- 5') Total of 29 Tablets, one-column ahû tablets.
- 6') Tablet of incipits of (the series) 'If a city is situated on high ground'. Their names [...]
- 7') If a city is situated on high ground.

Lines 1'-2') For parallels to this omen, see Weidner 1936-37: 360 and 1941-44: 185.

Lines 3'-4') The 29th ahû tablet, K. 3563+: 1 has DIŠ ina it BÁRA UD 12.KÁM d30 TAB-ma b[a-...]. . See Rochberg-Halton 1987: 337.

Line 7') See Freedman 1998: 19-23 for a list of all the incipits to Šumma ālu, and p. 46 for the sources of Šumma ālu Tablet 1.

8') DIŠ ina tak-kap KÁ.GAL URU	(Tablet 2)
9') DIŠ Ù.ŠUB <i>zi-qip</i> <sup>giš</sup> MAR	(Tablet 3)
10') DIŠ É ina na-qá-ri-šú	(Tablet 4)
11') DIŠ É APIN-šú UD 16.KÁM ŠUB-u	(Tablet 5)
12') DIŠ É ši-kin-šú ana ki-da-ni GAR- <sup>-</sup> in(?)	(Tablet 6)
13') ʿDIŠ x x x x x x x x x <sup>-ti</sup> šá šá []	(Tablet 7)
14') [DIŠ] is $\lceil x \rceil$ [] KUR' $x \mid x \mid$	(Tablet 8)
15') DIŠ <sup>urudu</sup> GAG¹ NÍG.G[AG.TI]	(Tablet 9)
16') DIŠ ina <sup>iti</sup> BÁRA []	(Tablet 10)
17') DIŠ ina <sup>iti</sup> BÁRA LU[GAL]	(Tablet 11)
18') DIŠ KA.TAR [BABBAR ina] É [NA GÁL-ši/ittabši]	(Tablet 12)
19') DIŠ UZU.DIR ˈina¬ SILA.DAGAL.LA [GÁL-ši]	(Tablet 13)
20') DIŠ HABRUD.MEŠ ina É.MEŠ URU.MEŠ BAD.MEŠ	(Tablet 14)
21') DIŠ A.MEŠ ina KÁ É NA tab-ku-ma	(Tablet 15)
22') DIŠ NA ina KI.MAH DÙ ana! ŠÀ-šú ú-mi-šam DU <sub>11</sub> ,DU <sub>11</sub>	(Tablet 16)

- 8') If in the observation hole of the city gate.
- 9') If a brick mold (or) blade of a spade.
- 10') If during the destruction of his house.
- 11') If the foundation of his house was laid on the 16th day.
- 12') If the house, its orientation is toward the outside.
- 13') If ...
- 14') [If] ...
- 15') If the peg of the key ...
- 16' If in Nisannu ...
- 17') If in Nisannu the king.
- 18') If [white] lichen [appears in] the house [of a man].
- 19') If fungus [appears] in the city square.
- 20') If holes open up in houses and cities.
- 21') If water is spilled at the door of a man's house.
- 22') If a man thinks every day about making his grave.

Line 8') See Freedman 1998: 72 for the complete incipit and textual sources of Tablet 2.

Line 9') See Freedman 1998: 78 for the complete incipit and textual sources of Tablet 3.

Line 10') See Freedman 1998: 80 (catchline) and 84 for the incipit of Tablet 4.

Line 11') See Freedman 1998: 100 for the incipit of Tablet 5.

Line 12') See Freedman 1998: 98 (catchline) and 122 for the incipit of Tablet 6.

Line 13') Cf. the incipit of the supposed Tablet 7 in Freedman 1998: 130: [DIŠ ina É NA h]i-da-a-ti GAR.MEŠ-na [...] "[If] there is joy [in a man's house ...]".

Line 14') No sources for Šumma ālu Tablet 8 have been identified to date, the incipit remains uncertain.

Line 15') See Freedman 1998: 148. The only source for the incipit of Tablet 9 is the Assur Catalogue. The expression sikkat namzaqi is translated "peg of the key" in CAD s.v. namzaqu, though here the "peg" looks to be made of copper.

Line 16'-17') The incipits of Tablets 10 and 11 are not preserved in any source text.

Line 18') See also Freedman 1998: 200, for the sources preserving the incipit of Tablet 12.

Line 19') The restoration follows the source texts, see Freedman 1998: 217.

Line 20') Apart from the Assur Catalogue, the incipit of Tablet 14 is also known as catchline from a Nineveh manuscript of Tablet 13, which adds the apodosis, cf. Freedman 1998: 214 Colophon Text A, 224 note 1.

Line 21') The incipit of Tablet 15 corresponds to the Nineveh source text, see Freedman 1998: 236.

Line 22') The catalogue allows restoration of the fragmentary incipit of the source text, cf. Freedman 1998: 240 and 248.

23') DIŠ NA ina MURUB, É-šú PÚ BAD-te	(Tablet 17)
24') DIŠ NA É i-šam	(Tablet 18)
25') DIŠ ina É NA MAŠKÍM GIM ÙZ IGI	(Tablet 19)
26') DIŠ ina É NA bir- <sup>-</sup> ṣuʾ IGI	(Tablet 20)
27') DIŠ ina É NA UG, GIM TI IGI	(Tablet 21)
28') [DIŠ ina <sup>iti</sup> BÁR]A TA UD 1.KÁM NA la-am GÌR-šú	(Tablet 22)
29') [ana KI] GAR-nu MUŠ IGI	
30') [DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU N]A šá di-na ge-ru-u ŠUB-ut	(Tablet 23)
31') [DIŠ MUŠ <i>ana</i> UGU GIŠ].NÁ NA NÁ-[( <i>i</i> ș)]	(Tablet 24)
32') [DIŠ MUŠ SI ina É] NA IGI-[(ir)]	(Tablet 25)
33') [DIŠ MUŠ.HUŠ ] IGI-[( <i>ir</i> )]	(Tablet 26)
Remainder broken	

- 23') If a man opens a well in the middle of his house.
- 24') If a man buys a house.
- 25') If a goat-like demon is seen in a man's house.
- 26') If a flash of light is seen in a man's house.
- 27') If a dead man like a living one is seen in a man's house.
- 28') [If] on the first day [in the month Nisannu] a man, before he even puts his foot (out of bed)
- 29') [onto the ground] sees a snake.
- 30') [If a snake] falls [on a man] who is bringing a lawsuit.
- 31') [If a snake] lies [on] a man's bed.
- 32') [If a horned snake] is seen [in a] man's [house].
- 33') [If a serpent] is seen.

Line 23') The incipit corresponds with the source texts, see Freedman 1998: 262.

Line 24') The incipit is also preserved as catchline in manuscripts of Tablet 17, cf. Freedman 1998: 260-262 (colophons Texts B, e, f) and 273. Line 25') The incipit matches the Nineveh source texts, see Freedman 1998: 286.

Line 26') The incipit is also attested as catchline in manuscripts of Tablet 19 (Freedman 1998: 284) and in a Nineveh manuscript of Tablet 20 (Freedman 1998: 302).

Line 27') The incipit matches the catchline of Tablet 20 (Freedman 1998: 302 Colophon Text b), although only partially preserved in witnesses of Tablet 21 (Freedman 1998: 316; Heeßel 2007: 32 No. 8 obv. 1).

Lines 28'-29') The catalogue incipit of Tablet 22 can be restored from the source texts, but the catalogue presents the incipit in abbreviated form, cf. Freedman 1998: 316 (catchline Tablet 21, Colophon Text c) and Freedman 2006: 20.

Line 30') The incipit of Tablet 23 is only partially preserved in the witnesses, but has been restored from the context, cf. Freedman 2006: 18 (catchline in colophons of Text B and e) and 50 (sources from Nineveh and Assur). Cf. Šumma ālu Tablet 30 for the same omen said of a lizard (EME.DIR).

Line 31') The incipit of Tablet 24 can be restored from textual sources, see Freedman 2006: 48 Colophon G rev. 42' (catchline) and 68; Heeßel 2007: No. 9 rev. iv 13 and No. 11 rev. 42.

Line 32') The incipit of Tablet 25 can be restored with the help of a commentary (Funck 2) and a source text (excerpt) from Nineveh (Freedman 2006: 72-73, 76).

Line 33') The restoration of the incipit of Tablet 26 is not entirely certain. Freedman (1998): 323 suggests the reading [DIŠ MUŠ.HUŠ] IGI-ir "If a mušhuššu is seen" in the catalogue, because this line occurs in a commentary on Tablet 25 (Funck 2) as catchline (see also Freedman 2006: 72, 75 rev. 19). This line also occurs in CT 40, 23 rev. 1 (Freedman 2006: 102 excerpt to Tablets 25-26). Compare further CT 40, 24: 1 (Freedman 2006: 88 with note (1)).

#### Rev. col. iii

1') [DIŠ KUN.D]AR ina É []	(Tablet 33
2') [DIŠ dNIN.KILI]M ina a-sur-[re-e KÁ.GAL Ù.TU]	(Tablet 34
3') [DIŠ PÉŠ.GIŠ.Ù]R! BABBAR ina É NA [IGI]	(Tablet 35
4') [DIŠ PÉŠ] ina É NA G[ÁL]	(Tablet 36
5') DIŠ KIŠI <sub>a</sub> .MEŠ ina ne-reb KÁ.GAL it-ta[b-šú]	(Tablet 37
6') DIŠ UR.MEŠ ina É NA IGI.MEŠ	(Tablet 38
7') DIŠ AŠ KÁ ti-[nu]-ri a-pa-ti	(Tablet 39
8') DIŠ UDU ina SAG.KI-šú SI.MEŠ-šú È.MEŠ-ni	(Tablet 41
9') DIŠ bu-ul-ṭi-tú ina É DINGIR GÁL	(Tablet 40
10') DIŠ GU <sub>4</sub> . MEŠ ina SILA.DAGAL.LA ir-ta-na-qu-du	(Tablet 42
11') DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ it-ta-na-az-ba-bu	(Tablet 43
12') DIŠ AM ina IGI KÁ.GAL IGI	(Tablet 44
13') DIŠ SA.A ina É NA ib-ki	(Tablet 45
14') DIŠ UR.GI, MEŠ it-te-ne-eš-gu	(Tablet 46
15') DIŠ UR.GI <sub>7</sub> la šú-ú ú-ra-a[m-šú]	(Tablet 47

- 1') [If a sk]ink ... in the house [...].
- 2') [If a mongoo]se [gives birth] in the lower cour[se of the city gate].
- 3') [If a] white [dormo]use [appears] in a man's house.
- 4') [If there is a mou]se in a man's house.
- 5') If there are ants in the entrance of the city gate.
- 6') If moths appear in a man's house.
- 7') If spider(s) (lie across) the opening of an oven (or across) windows.
- 8') If a sheep's horns come out from his forehead.
- 9') If a beetle (wood-eating insect) is found in a temple.
- 10') If oxen run around in the city square.
- 11') If donkeys are in a frenzy.
- 12') If a wild bull is seen in front of the city gate.
- 13') If a wild cat cries in a man's house.
- 14') If dogs become rabid.
- 15') If a dog not his (the man's) own shows him affection.

Line 1') The incipit of Tablet 33 varies in the source texts, cf. Freedman 2006: 214, where the Nineveh texts offer instead DIŠ MUŠ.DÍM. GURUN.NA ina É NA GI[M ...] "If a gecko li[ke ...] in a man's house". Entries matching the fragmentary catalogue incipit are found later on in Tablet 33, cf. Freedman 2006: 202 and 221: 103'ff. For the incipits of Tablets 33-44 compare also the fragmentary Nineveh catalogue of Šumma ālu (K. 9094b, Freedman 1998: 324-325).

Line 2') The incipit of Tablet 34 can be restored from the source texts, see Freedman 2006: 212 (catchline in the colophon of Text b rev. 39) and 228: 1 (excerpt).

Line 3') Cf. Freedman 2006: 232: 1 for a parallel entry in an excerpt text.

Line 4') See Freedman 2006: 236: 1 with a parallel entry in an excerpt text.

Line 5') The incipit corresponds to the sources, see Freedman 2006: 240 (catchline in colophon text B rev. 1') and 258: 1 (incipit); Heeßel 2007: 80 No. 21 obv. 1 (incipit).

Line 6') For parallel source texts see also Freedman 2006: 256 (catchline in colophon of text E rev. 40') and 282: 1; Heeßel 2007: 83 No. 21 rev. 82 (catchline).

Line 7') For the complete incipit see Freedman 2006: 280 (catchline Text a rev. 9' and Ex(1) iv 25) and the sources listed in Freedman 2006: 290 note 1, which allows the reconstruction DIŠ AŠ.(AŠ) KÁ ti-nu-ri a-pa-ti É.SIG, MEŠ É.MEŠ URU pur-ru-ka-ma a-mur-ru i-mur "If spiders lie across the opening of an oven (or across) the windows (and) walls of houses in the city and an observer observes it".

Line 8'-9') See also Freedman 2006: 292. Note that Tablets 40 and 41 appear to be in a reversed order in the Nineveh sources, cf. Freedman 1998: 333 and 324 (Nineveh catalogue K. 9094b: 12-13).

Lines 10'-18') For an overview of the sources for the incipits of Tablets 42-50, see Freedman 1998: 334-336. For the incipit of Tablets 45 and 46 see also Heeßel 2007: No. 22 obv. 1 and rev. 33 (catchline).

16') DIŠ <sup>munus</sup> UR.MEŠ ina KÁ.GAL ú-nam-b[a-ha]	(Tablet 48)
17') DIŠ SAH.MEŠ it-ta-na-da-[ru]	(Tablet 49)
18') DIŠ IZI ina URU ŠUB	(Tablet 50)
19') DIŠ IZI ina KUR IGI	(Tablet 51)
20') DIŠ IZI <i>ina</i> KI.IZI LUGAL GIŠ.MEŠ HÁD.MEŠ	(Tablet 52)
21') DIŠ LUGAL ana di-nim i-qul	(Tablet 53)
22') DIŠ NA ana ŠÀ URU ki-šub-ba-a Š[ÀM]	(Tablet 54)
23') DIŠ ina A.ŠÀ ŠÀ URU GIŠ.NIM BABBAR	(Tablet 55)
24') DIŠ TA za-qap <sup>giš</sup> GIŠIMMAR	(Tablet 56)
25') DIŠ NA gišKIRI, ina ŠÀ URU iz-[qup]	(Tablet 57)
26') DIŠ NA <i>ina</i> gišKIRI <sub>s</sub> ŠÀ URU gišGIŠIMMAR x [x]	(Tablet 58)
27') DIŠ SAR.MEŠ ma-a-du <sup>giš</sup> HAB ma-gal []	(Tablet 59)
28') DIŠ KI KUR LÀL <i>i-hi-[il</i> ]	(Tablet 60)
29') DIŠ <i>ina</i> <sup>iti</sup> BÁRA []	(Tablet 61)
30') DIŠ GI GI <sub>6</sub> []	(Tablet 62)
31') traces	
Remainder broken	

- 16') If bitches bark in the city gate.
- 17') If pigs are restless.
- 18') If fire falls on a city.
- 19') If fire is seen in the land.
- 20') If fire in the king's brazier (makes) dry wood (smoke).
- 21') If the king respects the law.
- 22') If a man buys fallow land inside the city.
- 23') If a white thornbush (is seen) in a field inside the city.
- 24') If after the planting of a datepalm.
- 25') If a man pla[nts] a grove in the midst of a city.
- 26') If a man [...] a datepalm inside the city grove [...].
- 27') If vegetables are plentiful (and) the madder [thrives] very much.
- 28') If the soil of the land exud[es] honey.
- 29') If in Nisannu [...].
- 30') If a black reed [...].
- 31') tops of signs

Lines 10'-18') For an overview of the sources for the incipits of Tablets 42-50, see Freedman 1998: 334-336. For the incipit of Tablets 45 and 46 see also Heeßel 2007: No. 22 obv. 1 and rev. 33 (catchline).

Line 19') The Assur catalogue presents the only source for the incipit of Tablet 51 currently known.

Line 20') For the full incipit see Freedman 1998: 336.

Lines 21'-22') See Freedman 1998: 337.

Line 23') For the complete incipit see Freedman 1998: 337.

Line 24') No other source is currently known for the incipit of Tablet 56.

Line 25'-26') See also Freedman 1998: 337-338. The end of line 26' cannot be restored vet.

Line 27') For the full incipit see the sources in Freedman 1998: 338, allowing the restoration DIŠ SAR.MEŠ ma-a-du giš HAB ma-gal SI.SÁ ŠE.GIŠ.Ì SI.SÁ "If vegetables are plentiful (and) the madder thrives very much, there will (also) be a good crop of sesame."

Line 28') For the complete incipit see Freedman 1998: 338.

Line 29') The incipit of Tablet 61 can be restored from textual sources, see Freedman 1998: 338, reading DIŠ ina it BÁRA ILLU DU-ma ÍD GIM MÚD şa-rip "If resin flows in the month Nisannu and the river is dyed red like blood (there will be death in the land)".

Line 30') The incipit of Tablet 62 can possibly be restored from a text parallel (Freedman 1998: 339), reading DIŠ GI GI, ina GIŠ.GI it-tan-mar "If a black reed is repeatedly discovered in a reed thicket (a lion will go on a rampage)".

### Rev. col. iv 1') [...... k[a(?) .......] 2') [...... AN(?) [...] 3') [...... 4') [......e]-li-šú ŠUB 5') [.....]-na ú-lid 6') [...... t]i(?)-ib ŠUB 7') [......] ina(?) KU-šú 8') [.....] È-ma 9') [...... m]a(?)-du-ka šu-u 10') [.....] 'x' i KU 11') [......] ŠUB-ut 12') [......] DIŠ KI.MIN ŠUB-su 13') [.....]x si ú-šab-ri 14') [.....]x bu uš li 15') [......] AD.HAL AN-e 16') [......] GISKIM HUL 17') [......] NA GAR 18') [......] NA IGI 19') [......] GISKIM IGI 20') [......]-bi TAR 21') [......]x GAL-tu 23') [.....] URU ŠUB.MEŠ 24') [......] uz-ni 25') [......] LÁ.A 26') [...... KIN 27') [......] x 28') [...] Remainder broken

Too fragmentary for translation

### The Uruk Catalogue (EAE)

Fragments: VAT 7814 + AO 6470

Copies: Weidner 1941-44: Tf. I-II, TU 15 (AO 6470); Plate 20-21

Edition: Weidner 1941-44: 186-187

Upper edge: ina a-mat d60 u An-tum liš-lim

#### Obv.

- 1) 1 UŠ 48-ÀM DIŠ UD d60 dEN.LÍL.LÁ
- 2) 2 UŠ 12-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI.LÁ-šú e-ki[l]
- 3) 2 UŠ 19-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI.LÁ-šú AGA a-p[ir]
- 4) 2 UŠ 22-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI.LÁ-šú a-di[r]
- 5) 2 UŠ 11-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI,LÁ-šú a-dir-ma SI 15-šú ke-pat SI 2,30-šú ed-de-e[t]
- 6) 1 UŠ 56-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI.LÁ-šú MUL.MUL ina Á-šú GUB-i[z]
- 7) 57-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina itiBÁRA UD 1.KÁM ina IGI.LÁ-šú SI 15-šú AN-e te-rat
- 8) [1(?) U]Š 23-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina itiDU, UD 1.KÁM ina IGI.LÁ-šú TÙR NÍGIN

Upper edge: By the command of Anu and Antum may it go well!

- 1) 108 (lines) Entry: When Anu and Enlil
- 2) 132 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance.
- 3) 139 (lines) If the moon wears a crown at his appearance.
- 4) 142 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance.
- 5) 131 (lines) If the moon is dark at his appearance and his right horn is blunt, his left horn is pointed.
- 6) 116 (lines) If at the moon's appearance the Pleiades stand by his side.
- 7) 57 (lines) If at the moon's appearance on the first day of Nisannu his right horn pierces the sky.
- 8) 83(?) (lines) If on the first day of Tašrītu in its appearance the moon is surrounded by a halo.

Line 1) The reconstruction for the beginning of EAE Tablet 1 was outlined in Weidner 1941-44: 193, and is also found in Verderame 2002a: 9. See also Verderame 2002b: 448, note 14.

Line 2) The incipit for EAE 2 is not preserved in extant exemplars. See Weidner 1941-44: 194 for discussion. Verderame cites the Uruk Catalogue entry in 2002a: 51. Ekēlu is both to be dark and to be gloomy, which evokes the same metaphoric semantic force as the verb adāru, which is used to mean the celestial body is eclipsed, i.e., it is dark, but it also said of moods, thus "worried" or perhaps "mournful", as in line 4 below (see Rochberg 2018). However, ekēlu is not used in eclipse terminology so we assume it is reserved as a description of the darkening, or dimness, of luminosity rather than as descriptive of an astronomical eclipse phenomenon as such. Surely the degree of brightness of the major luminary of the night sky was of great ominous significance, thus taking its place as the first theme in the organization of lunar omens following EAE Tablet 1. The tablet continues with omens for the moon's being dark (adir) in the region of fixed stars.

Line 3) The incipit for EAE 3 is not preserved in extant exemplars, but it is clearly a tablet devoted to the theme of the AGA (agû "crown"). For a list of the exemplars to Tablet 3, see Verderame 2002a: 59.

Line 4) The incipit of EAE 4 is preserved on a late commentary from Uruk and correlates well with the incipit given in the Uruk Catalogue. See Verderame 2002a: 106 text c obv. 1.

Line 5) For this incipit partly preserved in a number of sources for EAE 5, see Verderame 2002a: 111, 127 and 129.

Line 6) This line accords with the incipit preserved on sources for EAE 6, as reconstructed in Verderame 2002a: 170. For the edition, see pp.

Line 7) The first line of EAE 7 is preserved in the catchline to EAE 6, for which see Verderame 2002a: 185, line 7'.

Line 8) EAE 8 is the first of three EAE Tablets (EAE 8, 9, and 10) having to do with the halo around the moon (TÙR/tarbaṣu or AMAŠ/supūru). These tablets have not been edited, but see discussion in Verderame 2002b: 449-50.

- 9) [1(?) U]Š 30-ÀM DIŠ 30 ina IGI.LÁ-šú TÙR NÍGIN-ma ka-bar u šu-par-ru-ur
- 10) 1 UŠ 26-ÀM DIŠ ina itiBÁRA 30 ina TÙR NÍGIN-ma KÁ NU TUK-ši
- 11) 1 UŠ 29-ÀM DIŠ<sup>he-pí</sup> [ana ŠÀ 30 KU,]
- 12) 1 UŠ 30-ÀM DIŠ MUL *ina* ŠÀ SI 15 30 GUB : 1 UŠ 15-ÀM DIŠ 30 x x [ ]
- 13) 1 UŠ 32-ÀM DIŠ 30 UD 1.KÁM 3,45 GUB
- 14) ŠU.NIGIN 14 tup-pi.MEŠ 26 UŠ 354 MU.ŠID.BI IGI.DU<sub>s</sub>.A.ME šá 30
- 15) 2 UŠ 36-ÀM DIŠ 30 TAB-ma ba-ra-ar it-t[a-']-dar
- 16) 1 UŠ 35-ÀM DIŠ AN.GE, GAR-an-ma UD ŠÚ
- 17) 1 UŠ 32-ÀM DIŠ ina itiBÁRA UD 14.KÁM ina EN.NUN.ÚSAN AN.GE, GAR-ma  $[SA_r]$
- 18) 1 UŠ 42-ÀM DIŠ ina iti DU, AN.GE, ina EN.NUN.ÚSAN [GAR]
- 19) 1 UŠ 30-ÀM DIŠ AN.GE, ina EN.NUN.ÚSAN a-dir EN.NUN ig-mur u IM.S[I.SÁ DU]
- 20) 20 UŠ-ÀM DIŠ ina iiBÁRA UD 15.KÁM AN.GE, GAR-ma dDili-bat [ana ŠÀ-šú KU,(?)]
- 9) 90(?) (lines) If the moon in his appearance is surrounded by a halo and it (the halo) is thick and spread out.
- 10) 86 (lines) If in Nisannu the moon is surrounded by a halo and it (the halo) does not have an opening (lit.: gate).
- 11) 89 (lines) If broken [enters inside the moon].
- 12) 90 (lines) If a star stands inside the right horn of the moon. 75 (lines) If the moon ... [...].
- 13) 92 (lines) If the moon stands on the first day (for) 3,45 (units duration).
- 14) Total of 14 tablets, 1914 is its line count: Appearances of the moon.
- 15) 156 (lines) If the moon is early and is eclipsed in the evening watch.
- 16) 95 (lines) If an eclipse occurs and the day is dark.
- 17) 92 (lines) If on the 14th of Nisannu in the evening watch an eclipse occurs and [is red].
- 18) 102 (lines) If in Tašrītu an eclipse [occurs] in the evening watch.
- 19) 90 (lines) If an eclipse darkens in the evening watch, finishes the watch, and the north win[d blows].
- 20) 20 (lines) If on the 15th of Nisannu an eclipse occurs and Venus [enters (is occulted) within him (i.e., the eclipsed moon)].

Line 9) This incipit is found on the Seleucid commentary to lunar halo omens, TCL 6, 17 rev. 41 (as catchline).

Line 10) See Wainer 2016: 270 for a few remarks on EAE 10, which has not been edited, but a source has been identified by Erica Reiner, as noted by Wainer in note 418.

Line 12) This line contains two incipits, the first, for EAE 12, which has not been edited or discussed, and the second, for EAE 13, which Wainer discusses (2016: 271).

Line 13) The incipit to EAE 14 states the duration of visibility on the first day of the lunar month between sunset and moon set. For the sources to EAE 14, see Al-Rawi and George 1991-92: 54, and the incipit on pages 55 and 64. And for a discussion of the line count for EAE 14, see pp. 53-54.

Line 15) The incipit of EAE 15 is not preserved in exemplars of the series, but is found as the catchline to EAE 14, see Al-Rawi and George 1991-92: 59 and note 17, also p. 66. The same omen protasis is found in EAE 2, in source e (K. 11309), see Verderame 2002b: 57 and Rochberg-Halton 1988: 67. This omen is also found in the series Sîn ina tāmartīšu Tablet 1 omen 23, see Wainer 2016: 61, 77 (translation) and 88 (commentary). It may also be found as the catchline to the series Sîn ina tāmartīšu Tablet 2, see Wainer 2016: 105.

Line 16) The first line of EAE 16 is not preserved in exemplars from the series proper, but can be inferred from the EAE excerpt text STT 329, which agrees with the incipit in the Uruk Catalogue. See the discussion in Rochberg-Halton 1988: 83-84, and STT 329: 5' transliterated there.

Line 17) The first line of EAE 17 is partly preserved in the series, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 115.

Line 18) For EAE 18, for which only Source G (VAT 14578) offers an incipit, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 138.

Line 19) For this incipit, see the catchline in EAE 18, edited Rochberg-Halton 1988: 154, Source B rev. 10' and further discussion of EAE 19 on pp. 156-158.

Line 20) Note the discrepancy between the Uruk Catalogue incipit giving the 15th day and the preserved exemplars for EAE 20 that give the 14th. See Rochberg-Halton 1988: 180 (Recension A) and 182 (Recension B).

- 21) 1 UŠ-ÀM DIŠ ina  $^{\mathrm{iti}}$ BÁRA UD 15.KÁM AN.GE, GAR-ma ina IM.U $_{\mathrm{18}}$ .LU SAR-ma ina [IM... *iz-ku*(?)]
- 22) 1 UŠ 8-ÀM DIŠ TA SAG MU TA itiBÁRA UD 14.KÁM AN.TA.LÙ dEN.ZU [GAR]
- 23) ŠU.NIGIN 22 tup-pi.MEŠ 34 UŠ 25 MU.ŠID.BI IGI.DU A.MEŠ AN.GE MEŠ EŠ.BAR AN.G[E]
- 24) u HAR.MEŠ šá d30 ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.Š[È]

- 25) 1 UŠ 11-ÀM DIŠ 20 ina iiBÁRA UD 1.KÁM GIM di-pa-ri S[A<sub>c</sub>]
- 26) 1 UŠ 36-ÀM DIŠ AŠ.ME šá gi-na-a IGI.MEŠ-šú 「MURUB<sub>a</sub>- šú<sup>¬</sup> [kàt-mu]
- 27) [.....] DIŠ 20 ina GE, È-ma KUR DIŠ-niš 'È-[su IGI]
- 28) [...... DIŠ 20] 「SAG.UЬ ina GU, UD-šú [ša-pu]

- 21) 60 (lines) If on the 15th of Nisannu an eclipse occurs and begins in the south and [clears in the ...].
- 22) 68 (lines) If in the beginning of the year on the 14th of Nisannu an eclipse of Sîn [occurs].
- 23) Total of 22 tablets, 2065 is its line count: Appearances, eclipses, (and) decision(s) of eclipse(s)
- 24) and ominous portents (lit: decrees) of the moon. Completed to its fullest extent.

- 25) 71 (lines) If the Sun on the first day of Nisannu is red like a torch.
- 26) 96 (lines) If the face of the regular solar disk [is covered] in the middle (of the sky).
- 27) [...] If the sun comes out at night and the land sees its rising everywhere.
- 28) [...] If the normal [sun] [flickers(?)] when it rises.

Remainder broken

Line 21) See Rochberg-Halton 1988: 217 for some fragmentary remains of the catchline on EAE 20. For the incipit preserved on an extant exemplar of EAE 21, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 233. Note also the same discrepancy as in the previous incipit, between the Uruk Catalogue's 15th day and the EAE exemplars' 14th day.

Line 22) For the incipit preserved on an exemplar of EAE 22, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 253.

Line 23) It is worth noting that this summary line gives a cumulative total of 22 tablets for the whole EAE section concerned with the moon, including the first 14 tablets, which are separated from tablets 15-22 by an additional summary line in obv. 14 of the catalogue.

Line 24) Weidner (1941-44: 187 n. 76) suggested têrētu for HAR, less likely, KI (qaqqaru) "regions".

Line 25) This is the incipit to EAE 23 (24), see van Soldt 1995: 4.

Line 26) This is the incipit to EAE 24 (25), see van Soldt 1995: 17. Cf. the protasis from Šumma ālu, šumma ālu IGI.MEŠ-šú katmu cited in CAD K sub katāmu mng. 1b 2' and translated "if (the people in) a city have drawn faces" (CT 38, 1: 20). The idiom is katāmu with IGI, meaning either to close the eyes or to veil the face. It seems possible that here too the face (of the sun, or solar disk [šamšatu]) is meant, i.e., "if the face of the solar disk is covered". MURUB, as referring to the location in the sky was suggested by van Soldt (1995: 17-18 note 3) because the following lines of the tablet refer to the winds, or directions. In any case, the meaning of the protasis is not clear, as van Soldt indicated.

Line 27) This is the incipit to EAE 25 (26), see van Soldt 1995: 52.

Line 28) This is the incipit to EAE 26 (27), see van Soldt 1995: 69. Ina šihtīšu is unproblematic as "in its rising", or "when it rises", as in CAD \$/3 s.v. šihţu A mng. 3, but šapû is difficult. Perhaps it is related to the passages cited in CAD sub šapû A mng. 1-2'c where in the Gtn-stem it is said of celestial bodies, but it remains untranslated there. Otherwise  $\check{s}ap\hat{u}$  can mean "to flicker", which seems possible here as a description of the appearance of the sun's light at rising.

### Rev.

- 1') DIŠ UD d60 dEN.LÍL
- 2') IM <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-SUM A *šá* <sup>m</sup>NÍG.MU-<<sup>d</sup>60> A *šá* DINGIR.EN-*šú-nu* <sup>lú</sup>ŠÀ.BAL.BAL <sup>m</sup>É.KUR-*za-kir*
- 3') LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ d60 u An-tum lúŠEŠ.GU.LA šá É re-eš
- 4') [qàt <sup>md</sup>60- ŠEŠ-ŠUM A šá <sup>m</sup>Ina-qi-bit-<sup>d</sup>Anu A šá <sup>d</sup>Anu- TIN-iṭ <sup>lú</sup>ŠÀ.BAL.BAL <sup>m</sup>É.KUR-za-kir]
- 5') [<sup>lú</sup>] MAŠ.MAŠ d60 u An-tum lúŠEŠ.GU.LA šá É re-eš lúŠID DIŠ UD d60 dEN.LÍL.LÁ a-na a-ha-zi-šú
- 6') GÍD.DA UD.MEŠ-šú DIN ZI-šú NU GÁL GIG.MEŠ-šú u pa-làh dEN-ti-šú! SAR-ma ina UNUGki erasure ú-kin
- 7') pa-lìh d<br/>60 u An-tum NU TÙM-šú UNUG. KI d'ZÍZ UD 26. KÁM MU 1. ME 17 <br/>  $^{\rm md}$ An-ti-'u-[ku-su LU]GAL LUGAL. MEŠ

Written around the edge at rev. 3': [...] šá KA UM.ME.A.MEŠ IGI šá-ṭir

- 1') Entry: When Anu and Enlil.
- 2') Tablet of Anu-aha-iddin, son of Nidintu-<Anu>, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendent of Ekur-zakir,
- 3') Exorcist of Anu and Antum, Elder Brother of the Bīt Rēš,
- 4') [Hand of Anu-aha-ušabši, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, descendent of Ekur-zakir],
- 5') Exorcist of Anu and Antum, Elder Brother of the Bīt Rēš, scribe of Enūma Anu Enlil. Written for his learning,
- 6') (for) his longevity, the preservation of his life, that he will have no illness, and to revere his lordship he placed (it) in Uruk.
- 7') Whosoever reveres Anu and Antum, may he not remove it (the tablet); Uruk, the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Šabaţu, Year 117 Antiochus, Kilng of Kings.

(Written around the edge at rev. 3') Written according to the oral tradition of the original masters.

Lines 1'-7') For this colophon, see Hunger 1968: 40 No. 93. Written around the edge at rev. 3':  $IGI = mahr\hat{u}$  "first" or "original" (?).

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