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Five Lands of the Four Corners: The Typesetting and Reception of Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu in 1st Millennium Divination
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Citation

Ridder, A. de. (2022). *Five Lands of the Four Corners: The Typesetting and Reception of Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu in 1st Millennium Divination*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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The Five Lands of the Four Regions

The Typecasting and Reception of Akkad,
Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu in 1st Millennium
Divination

Research Master thesis Classics and Ancient Civilizations

Leiden University

15-8-2022

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Contents

1. Introduction.....	5
2. Divination.....	5
Universalist description	5
The Role of Divination in Mesopotamia	6
Interpretative strategies of the scholars.....	7
Divination in Emic Terms	8
Omen Formation	10
Description of the Omen Series.....	11
Enūma Anu Enlil.....	12
Bārûtu	13
Šumma ālu	15
Šumma izbu	16
Other forms of divination	16
The Five Lands.....	17
3. Methodology.....	21
4 Corpus	22
5. Enūma Anu Enlil	23
Akkad.....	25
Amurru	27
Elam.....	31
Guti	34
Subartu	35
Breaches of Pattern	36
Statistics.....	39
6. Non-Enūma Anu Enlil Omen Compendia.....	40
Šumma ālu	40
Bārûtu	41
Šumma izbu	42
Characterization in the compendia.....	44
7. Daily practice: the astrological reports	44
Corpus.....	44
Description	45
Proportion good/bad	46
Comparison to Enūma Anu Enlil	49

8. Conclusion.....	52
Bibliography	54
Appendices	59
Akkad.....	59
Good fortune.....	59
Bad fortune, decline, fall.....	60
Disease	61
Divine action	61
War and destruction	62
King	62
Varia.....	64
Amurru	64
Good Fortune.....	64
Bad fortune, decline and fall.....	65
Disease	66
Divine action	66
War and destruction	66
King	67
Varia.....	68
Elam.....	69
Good fortune.....	69
Bad fortune, decline and fall.....	69
Disease	70
Divine action	70
War and Destruction	70
King	71
Varia.....	72
Guti	73
Good Fortune.....	73
Bad Fortune, Decline, Fall.....	73
Disease	73
Divine action	73
Warfare	73
King	74
Varia.....	74

Subartu	75
Good Fortune	75
Bad Fortune, Decline, fall	75
Disease	75
Divine action	75
Warfare	75
King	76
Varia	76

1. Introduction

The Mesopotamian omen compendia are old, long and multifaceted texts that bewilder modern scholars to no end. The task of understanding these texts is important though, since they can shed light on the incubation and evolution of early scientific thinking, methods of textual transmission, living religion of the Mesopotamians, social norms and historiography throughout various periods and regions. The difficulty of these texts lie in their sheer size, abundance, repetitiveness and the seeming meaninglessness and randomness of the organization of the omnia. Reading through the omens without questions or methods in mind will not reward the reader with a beautiful story, a touching poem or exciting exploits of kings. Instead, the reader is bombarded with astrological phenomena, extispical minutiae and an overwhelming number of possibilities the scribes envisioned for the future.

It is in these possible futures I seek an answer to the question what futures were envisioned for the different lands that can be the objects of omens in these compendia? In Mesopotamian thought, the terrestrial, lunar and solar surfaces could be divided into four quarters, associated with and named after five lands: Akkad, the land of the diviners, and Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu, foreign lands that could relate themselves to Akkad in different ways. What were the things predicted for these lands in the omnia? Did the relationships of the Mesopotamians with these foreign lands influence what was thought possible to happen in the future? And were those possibilities the same in practical divination, as evidenced in astrological reports, as in the theory as laid out by the compendia? And what is the situation in the non-astrological compendia?

This relates to the question of the social circumstances of the creation of the omnia. As people always have biases and certain thoughts on certain subjects, so would the scribes putting the omens to writing. The question of which cultural background these men belonged to can be easily inferred from what we know of scribal traditions. However, rarely do people investigate this cultural background of the omens, and no publication has looked at its effects on the apodoses of the five lands yet.

As it turns, out, there are differences in what is often predicted for the different lands, and these differences do map onto ideas about these lands known from other texts in the scribal curriculum. Moreover, in the daily use of these omens, these differences were transformed to fit completely into current political situations.

Let us first discuss some preliminaries: what is divination, and how did it function in Mesopotamia? I will present and shortly explain the main types of divination. Then, we will ask what the five lands that will be studied in this paper are, and what they represent in the divinatory corpus. After this preliminary introduction, the reader should have a sufficient understanding to analyze this in depth.

2. Divination

Universalist description

In its most universal form, divination is a socially defined and structured way of exploring the unknown and gaining knowledge from what are considered to be

extra-human sources.¹ In the Mesopotamian context, these ways are often described as “communicating with the divine”² in order to gain knowledge about the future, though in most societies, divination can just as easily be used to illuminate the present and even the past³.

Divination can take many forms. There are two common sub-types in the procedures found throughout the world, all of which are attested in Mesopotamia. The first type is the manic divination of prophets, which operates on charisma and free-form interpretation. The second is deductive divination, which used set rules for the interpretation of the preferred signs. Those signs can be either provoked by the diviner in a ritual setting, such as in extispicy, or be observed unprovoked in nature as freely given knowledge by the supernatural, such as astrology-astronomy and terrestrial omens.⁴

Deductive divination-in its most basic form, requires an experiment, an exemplar text, a set of written or oral rules for interpretation and an ad hoc interpretation by the specialist. The specialist then uses the exemplar text, his knowledge of the tradition, and his creative thinking and authority to interpret the omen specifically for his client so that the client would deem the result meaningful.⁵

The Role of Divination in Mesopotamia

In Mesopotamia, as elsewhere, there were different “experiments” a diviner could use for the divination. These different kinds of divination are often aimed at different types of people. In our sources, this divide is particularly visible with regards to class: astronomy was mainly for the king, and because of the high price of sheep, sheep extispicy was used mainly for rich people. In modern societies using divination, gender and even age can play a role.⁶ In Mesopotamia, our understanding of divination is limited by our sources, which come from a mainly male, elite, and scholarly environment. Still, we see in the apodoses that different types of omnia focus on different types of people. The terrestrial omnia of *Šumma ālu* regularly predict for the local and personal sphere of the person who witnessed the phenomenon described, while the astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*

¹ This is a composite definition based on Frederick H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment A Socio-Historical Investigation*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 142 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1994), 121-122, and Barbara Tedlock, “Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualisation, Narrative, and Interpretation,” *Folklore (London)* 112, no. 2 (2001): 189-97.

² For instance, see Cyril J. Gadd, “Some Babylonian Divinatory Methods and Their Inter-Relations,” in *La Divination En Mésopotamie Ancienne et Dans Les Régions Voisines. XVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Strasbourg, 2-6 Juillet 1965)*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 21-34, 22.

³ For instance, the Azande people use divination to detect evil magic that was cast on them in the past. Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

⁴ Jean Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 106.

⁵ Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, “On Divination: An Exercise in Comparative Method,” in *Approaching Religion Part 1*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck, vol. 1, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 17 (Åbo: The Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History, 1999), 181-88.

⁶ See Cryer’s description of Azande divination for another example based on Evans-Pritchard, Cryer, *Divination*, 104-108.

concerns the larger social units of countries and more specifically, the top layers of political power like the armies and kings. The experiment largely depended on what was available at the time and what was wanted of the diviner. Unprovoked ominous phenomena were less susceptible to class-divide (although the unprovoked astrological omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil* did largely concern the social upper class), but liver-extispicy and oil-in-water divination would be available in different measures to different people. “Non-professional” diviners are, to my knowledge, unattested outside of prophets and prophetesses. These came from a range of social backgrounds, and seemed to require no formal instruction in their craft, as their “official” counterparts would.⁷ Professional diviners, who often had ties to the clergy, used omen compendia. The large quantities of compendia found in libraries attest to their perceived importance. Of course, the orally transmitted rules behind interpretation of the experiments have been lost, but the Neo-Assyrian omen reports do shed some light on common hermeneutical and interpretative strategies.

Interpretative strategies of the scholars

Now is a good time to discuss the role of divinatory sciences at the Neo-Assyrian court for propagandistic and ideological purposes. The Assyrian king took his counsel from two groups. The diviner-scholars formed one group and the magnates the second.⁸ Although some skepticism towards divination is attested, divination was seen as a reliable source of knowledge. The authority of the scholars was based on three factors: the social factor of the perception of divination as a religiously true system of communicating with the divine, the psychological factor of the antiquity of the knowledge and traditions employed, and the political maintaining of divination as a credible source of knowledge.⁹ “Creative” hermeneutical strategies to decide omens in the favor of the patron the king did not diminish this perception of divination as credible. One well-known example is a letter by diviner Bēl-ušeziḫ in which he explains to Esarhaddon why the omen he witnessed was not unfavourable to Assyria, but to Mannea. The omen in question entailed “evil for the land”. Normally “the land” would refer to the domain of the king. However, as Assyria recently invaded Mannea, this interpretation was reversed. Thus, all the bad luck would fall on Mannea: “Wherever an enemy attacks a country, the country will carry this evil portent”¹⁰. Bēl-ušeziḫ then added that Esarhaddon should return to Mannea to plunder it completely, for if he did not, Assyria would revert back to being “the land”, and receive misfortune.¹¹ Here we see the manipulation of portents combine with advisory statements concerning the wars

⁷ Martti Nissinen, “Prophecy and Omen Divination: Two Sides of the Same Coin,” in *Prophetic Divination: Essays in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc, 2019), 75–85.

⁸ Karen Radner, “Royal Decision-Making: Kings, Magnates, and Scholars,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, Ed. Radner and Robson (Oxford University Press, 2011), 358–79.

⁹ Cynthia Jean, “Divination and Oracles at the Neo-Assyrian Palace: The Importance of Signs in Royal Ideology,” in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010), 267–75.

¹⁰ Simo Parpola and Julian Reade, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, State Archives of Assyria 10 (Helsinki: University Press, 1993), SAA 10 112, 7.

¹¹ G. B. Lanfranchi, “Scholars and Scholarly Traditions in Neo-Assyrian Times,” *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 3 (1989): 99–114.

Esarhaddon was involved in, so at least diviners thought it their place to comment on these matters. Divination was also used for propaganda in royal inscriptions: portents and planets that would usually be inauspicious, such as Mars appearing bright, were instead denied their ominous interpretation and used to claim good fortune for the king and his land.¹² Similarly, scholars were inclined to keep bad portents hidden from their patron at times, but this was considered undesirable:

*“In the reign of your royal father, Kalbu the son of Nabû-etir, without the knowledge of your royal father made a pact [with] the scribes and haruspices, saying: “If an untoward sign occurs, we shall [tell] the king that an obscure sign has occurred.” For a year he censored all [...s], if a sign untoward to him [occurred], and that was anything but good.”*¹³

The diviners often took an active role in interpreting ominous phenomena in a positive manner for their patron. They could take considerable freedom in this pursuit, to the point that omens could be presented as meaning the opposite as what would traditionally have been the case. Overt misrepresentation or deflection of negative signs was frowned upon.

Divination in Emic Terms

Diviners took their craft seriously. That brings us to the question what their intellectual discourse on divination was. In the first millennium, there is quite a bit of meditation to be found on divination by scholars. *Enūma Anu Enlil* opens with the establishment of the world by the gods, which included the observations of heavenly phenomena by humans:

*“That is: When An, Enlil and Ea, the great gods, by means of their unchangeable counsel, established the plans of heaven and earth (and) assigned them to the great gods, the creation of the day, the renewal of the month and related things to the observations - (which) humanity saw (thanks to) the rising of the sun from within (its) door, these became immutably manifest in the midst of heaven and earth.”*¹⁴

The Diviner’s Manual posits that the material world is one large, coherent system, used for the expression of portents by the gods: “Sky and earth both produce portents, though appearing separately, they are not separate (because) sky and earth are related.”¹⁵

¹² Jeffrey L Cooley, “Propaganda, Prognostication, and Planets,” in *Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empires*, ed. Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stökl, Ancient Near Eastern Monographs 7 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 7–31.

¹³ SAA 10 109 - ABL 1216, Bel-ušeziḫ to Esarhaddon, rev. 1-6.

¹⁴ L. Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, Nisaba 2 (Rome: Di.Sc.A.M., 2002), 13, *Enūma Anu Enlil* o.b, Akkadian version of the introduction.

¹⁵ Lines 39-40, A. Leo Oppenheim, “A Babylonian Diviner’s Manual,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (1974): 197–220, 203-204.

Gods were believed to write down portents in the physical world: “Oh Šamaš ..., you who write down the oracles and indicate the divinatory decisions in the entrails of the sheep!”¹⁶

Though early modern scholars thought that the Mesopotamians believed the heavenly bodies to *be* the associated divinity (ie., the Moon *was* Sîn), it is recognized now that the use of anthropomorphic language was used merely to describe meteorological phenomena.¹⁷ This means that the gods influenced, or even instigated, the ominous phenomena, but were not seen as literally “present” in those phenomena.

The information, the knowledge how to interpret these phenomena, is not explicitly stated in cuneiform texts to have come from the gods, but the story, as found in Berossos, that the sage Oannes came from the sea to teach the Chaldeans how to perform divination, is not implausible, since many texts are attributed to divine revelation¹⁸ (Erra and Išum being one prominent example¹⁹). The key to understanding the phenomena caused by the gods was, then, a plethora of manuals delivered to humans by the gods. Considerable learning was required to be attributed the authority to interpret phenomena, and this learning was held in high regard at court.²⁰

This learning-based authority makes the ancient scholars comparable to modern scientists. Indeed, the empirical element, the abstract study of phenomena, and the critical attitudes held by practitioners and clients are the main basis for the argument that divination should be classified as the pre-cursor to modern science.²¹ However, although it is good to ponder the origins of our own traditions, we must keep in mind that divination, especially before the mathematical turn of the second half of the first millennium²², Mesopotamian divination functioned as a magic system, and was very much a part of the magico-religious universe of the Mesopotamians.²³

By extension, the omnia, especially the apodoses, must be seen as the work of the minds of the Mesopotamians, who worked within this cultural system. To them, the gods, and divination, were, for the most part, but not exclusively, concerned with

¹⁶ E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie “Handerhebung,”* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), 48.

¹⁷ Francesca Rochberg, “Personifications and Metaphors in Babylonian Celestial Omina,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1996, 475–85.

¹⁸ Gerald Verbrugge, *Berosos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 44.

¹⁹ Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 311, Erra and Išum tablet 5.

²⁰ Jean, “Divination and Oracles at the Neo-Assyrian Palace: The Importance of Signs in Royal Ideology.”

²¹ See Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 7 (the Classification of Mesopotamian Celestial Inquiry as Science, 237-286), and Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, chapter 8 (Divination and the Scientific Spirit, 125-137).

²² David Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, Cuneiform Monographs 18 (Groningen: Styx, 2000).

²³ Cryer, *Divination*.

the lands and cities between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Gods were thought to be willing to communicate with people outside the strictly Mesopotamian sphere: “(As for) Gyges, the king of the land Lydia — a region on the opposite shore of the sea, a remote place, the mention of whose name none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard — (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, made him see in a dream the mention of my name, saying: “Grasp the feet of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and conquer your enemies through the mention of his name.””²⁴ To the Mesopotamians, divination was part of a universal religious system. Whatever was predicted by natural phenomena was because a god willed it to happen, both the predicting phenomenon and the predicted outcome, at least in principle. It stands, then, that whatever was thought possible to be predicted in nature, ie. the content of the omen compendia, was a possible outcome of the will of the gods.

And here we circle back to the thesis of this paper. What was thought to be able to happen under the divine was of course a human judgement. That the omens are mainly human intellectual creations, as opposed to empirical observations coupled with unusual events, is key to my work in this paper. One would expect to see cultural conceptions of geographical units influence the outcome of the omens in a detectable manner, as the humans making the omens operate in their own cultural environment.

Omen Formation

But why can we say that the omens are not based on observations, linked with remarkable occurrences? What exactly the relationship between protasis and apodosis is, depends in part on one’s view on the origin of the earliest omens. Some academics assume that the earliest omens were observations made right before something remarkable happened, after which it got recorded, with the assumption that the two were somehow linked: if not on a causative basis, then surely on a correlative basis. This causation, or correlation, would have been thought to be assured by the gods, who knew everything about the universe and were willing to communicate some of that knowledge to humans, in the form of ominous phenomena.

It is problematic to assume that all omens are based purely on observations, as earlier scholars sometimes thought²⁵: many omens, across all series, are impossible in a world bound to physics as we know it. For instance, a famous example of an impossible omen is an eclipse on the 21st day of the lunar month: since the lunar month is based on the cycle of the moon, and an eclipse can only happen when the sun and the moon are in opposition, around the 14th day of the lunar month, or halfway through the month, it is impossible to see an eclipse on the 21st

²⁴ Jamie R. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etal-Ilāni (630-627 BC), and Šin-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria*, ed. Joshua Jeffers, *Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 5* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Eisenbrauns, 2018), Asb 11 ii 95-99.

²⁵ For instance, Arthur Ungnad, *Subartu: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkunde Vorderasiens* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1936).

day of the lunar month.²⁶ Why, then, does the omen exist anyway? Moreover, why is an eclipse on the 21st day not an isolated occurrence, but is it mentioned in protases multiple times throughout *Enūma Anu Enlil*? The most common answer is that these impossible omens were added out of a type of intellectual perfectionism in an attempt to expand the previously existing omens into all conceivable possibilities. This increase happened along lines of opposition and expansion of already existing elements of omen protases: if an existing omen mentions a phenomenon on the left side, a conceivable future phenomenon can happen on the right side, with closely associated, but different, or opposing, effects. Well-known types of opposition used to expand the apodoses are along horizontal and vertical axes: up-down, high-low, left-right; in colours: red, white, black, green and yellow; in time: early, middle and late watches; numbers: in dates, number of phenomena: mainly seen in terrestrial and extispical omens; and regions of the sky, such as the regions of Anu, Enlil and Ea.²⁷ Semantic and phonetic similarities between elements many protases and apodoses, as well as visual puns based on the multiplicity of the cuneiform script are all attested widely.²⁸

The effects this systematic expansion has on the apodoses vary, and are not systematic in many cases. Often, opposition between protases means opposition between apodoses, but just as likely, there can be systematic regularities between opposing sets: for instance, across omens, the Paths of Anu, Enlil and Ea are associated with Akkad, Amurru and Elam. In protases where only the Path differs, the only expected difference in the apodosis is the land it applies to. The different Paths are linked to specific geographical units, but phenomena that happen in the Path determine what was thought to happen to the land associated with that Path. For instance, if Venus is seen in a Path, it would mean that the king associated with that Path would have no rival, but if Venus rises in that Path, there would be prosperity for that land.

The system of omen creation is founded on a basis of semantic, phonological, or visual similarities between an event and an effect. This basic scheme is expanded by using regular expansion. This shows that there was an intellectual effort to create new omens, which means that the connection between protasis and apodosis could be purely intellectual.

Description of the Omen Series

In the Mesopotamian worldview, the gods created and maintained the world, and divination was often considered as “communication with the divine”. Humans

²⁶ Francesca Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil*,” *Archiv Für Orientforschung. Beiheft*, no. 22 (1988): 1–296.

²⁷ Ann K. Guinan, “Left/Right Symbolism in Mesopotamian Divination,” *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (1996): 5–10, and Abraham Winitzer, *Early Mesopotamian Divination Literature: Its Organizational Framework and Generative and Paradigmatic Characteristics* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

²⁸ Francesca Rochberg, “Observing and Describing The World Through Divination and Astronomy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Eleanor Robson and Karen Radner, 2011, 623-624, as well as Reka Maria Esztari, “*Secrets from the Deep: Internal Structure and Systems of Interpretation in the Omen Series Šumma Izbu*” (Budapest, Pázmány Péter Catholic University Faculty of Arts, 2018).

could only rarely communicate directly with the gods, and only in specific circumstances. There were a number of ways for mortals to induce an indirect conversation with the gods: starting a fire and observing the smoke, pouring oil into water and watching for patterns, and sacrificing an animal and interpreting marks on its innards are some examples.²⁹ Extispicy is the best attested out of the types of provoked divination, and there are long compendia of omens preserved.

The gods themselves had more ways of opening communication: they could send prophetic dreams, or inspire prophets, and, as they were the masters of the universe, they could place signs in the physical world which only specialists could recognize and interpret correctly³⁰. The Mesopotamians themselves likened divination to the cuneiform writing system, calling the universe the “tablet of the gods”, on which the gods wrote their messages, for diviners to read.³¹ Astrological omina from the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, terrestrial omina from *Šumma ālu*, and birth-defect omina from *Šumma izbu* are the main examples of omen-compendia of unprovoked divination.

Enūma Anu Enlil

The astrological series of *Enūma Anu Enlil* will be the focus of this paper. Stargazing in Mesopotamia has a long history. There is evidence for some form of astrology in the third millennium B.C.E. already, but there is a lot less documentation of these early stages.³² It is unknown if the Sumerian variant of astrology inspired the Akkadian variant, or if they belonged to different traditions altogether. What is certain is that by the Old Babylonian period, scholars had started compiling lists of celestial omina. These lists would later transform into the monumental composition *Enūma Anu Enlil*, named after its Akkadian incipit.

²⁹ Ulla Susanne Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts: Conversing with the Gods. Sources from the First Millennium BCE*, Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record (GMTR) 7 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015), see relevant chapters.

³⁰ Stefan M. Maul, “Divination Culture and the Handling of the Future,” in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 361–72.

³¹ Jean Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, 133–134.

³² Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, pg. 147–163. Editions of parts of *Enūma Anu Enlil* are L. Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, Nisaba 2 (Rome: Di.Sc.A.M., 2002), F.N.H. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, “Enuma Anu Enlil Tablet 14 and Other Early Astronomical Tables,” *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 38–39 (92 1991): 52–73, Francesca Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enuma Anu Enlil,” *Archiv Für Orientforschung. Beiheft*, no. 22 (1988): 1–296, Wilfred Hugo van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil: Tablets 23 (24)-29 (30)*, Uitgaven van Het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul 73 (Istanbul : Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut ; Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), Erlend Gehlken, “Die Adad-Taflen Der Omenserie Enuma Anu Enlil. Teil 2: Die Ersten Beiden Donnertafeln (EAE 42 Und EAE 43),” *Zeitschrift Fur Orient-Archäologie*, 256–314, 1 (2008), Erlend Gehlken, *Weather Omens of Enūma Anu Enlil: Thunderstorms, Wind and Rain (Tablets 44-49)*, Cuneiform Monographs 43 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2012), Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Enūma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50-51*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 2 (Malibu, California: Undena Publications, 1981), Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 3.*, Cuneiform Monographs 11 (Groningen: Styx, 1998), Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4.*, Cuneiform Monographs 30 (Leiden : Boston: Brill ; STYX, 2005), Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 63, the Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 1 (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1975), and R. Largement, “Contribution a l’Etude Des Astres Errants Dans l’Astrologie Chaldeenne,” *Zeitschrift Für Assyriologie Und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 52 (1957): 235–64.

Evidence from Mari and Ugarit shows, however, that the omens observed were not interpreted according to the later tradition of *Enūma Anu Enlil*.³³ The sparsity of textual evidence in the second millennium means that we cannot reconstruct a history of this composition until more evidence is found, but the exemplars in the first millennium are so numerous that we can form some preliminary conclusions. The first is that by the first millennium, the composition had crystallized into a more or less stable tradition, exemplified by the majority of the exemplars in the Assyrian library of Assurbanipal. On the other hand, variations in orthography and the order of omens are consistent enough in certain groups of texts that we can be certain that there were numerous regional traditions of the *Enūma Anu Enlil*.³⁴ Thirdly, scholarly letters reference learned oral traditions, the *ša pî ummânî*, and extraneous traditions, the *ahû*, which might have encompassed these regional variants.

The ordering principle of the series is the main planetary body observed in the protases: the first tablets are about the moon, and subsequent tablets are about the sun, the weather, Venus, Jupiter and Mars.

Unlike extispicy, the astrological omens were used *in se*: the skies gave no answers to specific questions, but provided a tablet for the gods to write their messages on. In the Neo-Assyrian period, nightly watches were posted throughout the empire. The diviners wrote reports to the king with their observations and the predictions they made based off those observations. The abridged series, *Šumma Sin ina tamartišu*, was used alongside *Enūma Anu Enlil*. This abridged compendium has slightly different foci in places, such as the date of eclipses: in *Enūma Anu Enlil* the dates used are generally the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 21st, while in *Šumma Sin* they often include the 12th and 13th.³⁵ Only portions of this composition have been edited, but between this composition and *Enūma Anu Enlil*, it is possible to form an understanding of the processes of celestial divination on the basis of the astrological reports.

The scale of the astrological omens is usually quite large: the affected units are often people from the royal family, cities, or whole lands. This makes many omens international in scale. Omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil* often mention the five lands under investigation in this paper. In fact, those five lands were an often used element in apodoses. For this reason is *Enūma Anu Enlil* a very important text in my research.

Bārûtu

The provocation of omens by sacrificing an animal to a god and investigating its intestines is a well-attested practice throughout Mesopotamian history. Though extispicy is attested since the third millennium, and it must have older roots, it is only starting in the second millennium B.C.E. that we can learn anything about the

³³ Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 149.

³⁴ Jeanette C. Fincke, “Der Assur-Katalog Der Serie Enūma Anu Enlil (EAE),” *Orientalia* 70, no. 1 (2001): 19–39.

³⁵ Zackary Wainer, “Traditions of Mesopotamian Celestial-Divinary Schemes and the 4th Tablet of *Šumma Sin Ina Tāmartišu*,” in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, ed. John M. Steele (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016), 55–82.

practice of everyday divination³⁶. Extispicy is the most prevalent form of divination in our second millennium B.C.E. sources. In Old Babylonian letters there are numerous references to extispicies, it was very popular in Ebla, and in Mari there have even been found liver models, probably used in the education of young diviners.

37

In the first millennium B.C.E. extispicy was still important, but it seems to have become relatively exclusive to the rich upper class of society³⁸. The sacrifice of a sheep was an expensive act in any period, but in the first millennium there are so far no attestations of extispicies performed for private persons. The reports all relate to royal circles, to the king, his court, and (international) politics. The knowledge itself was also made quite obscure, and very specialized. It is from the first millennium B.C.E. that we have the standardized *bārûtu* series.³⁹

Extispicy focusses on marks on the organs of a sacrificial animal. These marks form due to the slight pressure organs exert on others. Due to its impressionable nature, the liver is very prone to display these sorts of marks, and therefore the liver was one of the main organs used for extispicy. The marks, bearing names like “Weapon”, “Foot”, or “Path”, had specific chapters dedicated to them in the divinatory series *bārûtu*. The series as a whole consists of these chapters on marks, with the commentary *multabiltu* added at the end. The liver was divided into sections, and the place of the marks in this system of sections and the appearance of other marks near them, dictated the protasis. One form of individual scholarly judgement was passed here, in deciding which marks belonged where, and which marks, among the myriads of them, were to be focused on, which were the ones to pay attention and credence to. The apodoses can be very detailed, but in practice the only thing the diviners looked for was whether the apodosis was “positive” or “negative”. The question, whispered into the ear of the animal, moments before its sacrificing, was to be answered by a “yes” or “no” answer, which depended on the numerical majority of positive or negative apodoses found on the liver. In the reports we can see this by the listing of the omens found in the entrails, followed, not by a synthesis of the apodoses, but by a yes or no answer.⁴⁰

³⁶ Adam Falkenstein, “«Wahrsagung» in Der Sumerischen Überlieferung,” in *La Divination En Mésopotamie Ancienne et Dans Les Régions Voisines. XIVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Strasbourg, 2–6 Juillet 1965)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), and C. Jay Crisostomo, “Sumerian Divination,” in *The Scaffolding of Our Thoughts*, ed. C. Jay Crisostomo et al. (Leiden : Boston: Brill, 2018), 148–68.

³⁷ Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 67-76.

³⁸ Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 67.

³⁹ Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 76. Editions of the liver omens are Ulla Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens: The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān Tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series Mainly from Aššurbanipal’s Library*, CNI Publications, 25 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2000), and Ulla Susanne Koch, *Secrets of Extispicy: The Chapter Multābiltu of the Babylonian Extispicy Series and Niširti Bārûti Texts Mainly from Assurbanipal’s Library* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005).

⁴⁰ Nils P. Heeßel, “The Hermeneutics of Mesopotamian Extispicy: Theory vs. Practice,” in *Mediating Between Heaven and Earth: Communication with the Divine in the Ancient Near East*, ed. C.L. Crouch, Jonathan Stockl, and Anna Elise Zerneck, Library of Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament Studies 566 (London ; New York: T & T Clark, 2012), 16–35.

The scale of the outcome can differ, but the omens often concern the king and his affairs. International affairs are mentioned often when certain marks, most notably the “Weapon”, which is connected to warfare, are present. “The land” and “the enemy” are the most common geographical indications, but most of the five lands occur in some capacity.

Šumma ālu

Though in general only the specialists were trained to interpret omina, there were also classes of signs which the general population could recognize as being significant or at least possibly interesting. These categories of omens are the terrestrial omens of *šumma ālu* and the birth-defect omens of *šumma izbu*.

Šumma ālu is an omen compendium that focusses on unusual phenomena in the sphere of ordinary life. *Šumma ālu*'s principles, that anything in the material world can contain a message from the gods, were already attested in the Old Babylonian period. In Mari it was a widely attested practice, but elsewhere it is rarely attested.⁴¹ In the first millennium the large omen series of *Šumma ālu* had crystallized, but it was outdone in significance by *Enūma Anu Enlil* in the Assyrian scholarly reports. Its omens doubled as social expectations/norms, sometimes containing universal truths and life advice: building a large house would lead to downfall, which contains the maxim not to brag, and to be humble. The effects were usually for the person witnessing the sign, or the house or city in which it occurred. Only very rarely do the signs refer to larger political units, and even more rarely to foreign political units.

This composition is the longest of the known divinatory series, sitting at an almost mind-boggling 120 tablets. The ordering principle is according to subject: happenings around a city, the condition of houses, the occurrence of certain natural phenomena, the behaviour of animals, and the like are ordered together. Associated phenomena are placed on adjacent tablets: omens concerning snakes (tablets 22-26), scorpions (30-31), lizards (32), and geckoes (33) are placed on consecutive tablets (nothing is known about 27-29). These are then followed by tablets about mongooses (34): possibly because mongooses eat reptiles. The mongooses are then followed by mice and small rodents, who are then followed by ants: presumably because they are small animals.

The object of the omens were usually the city where the omen was observed, or the human associated with the phenomenon: such as the owner of a house or animal exhibiting the feature mentioned in the protasis, or, alternatively, the human

⁴¹ Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 233-261. Editions are Sally M. Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height: The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu Ina Mēlē Šakin. Vol. 1: Tablets 1-21*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 17 (Philadelphia, Pa.: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 1998), Sally M. Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height: The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu Ina Mēlē Šakin. Vol. 2: Tablets 22-40*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 19 (Philadelphia, Pa.: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 2006), Sally M. author Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height: The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu Ina Mele Šakin. Vol. 3: Tablets 41-63*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 20 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2017), and Walther Sallaberger, “Das Erscheinen Marduks Als Vorzeichen: Kultstatue Und Neujahrsfest in Der Omenserie Shumma Alu,” *Zeitschrift Für Assyriologie Und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 90 (2000): 227–62.

themselves could be the object exhibiting the mentioned feature. The scale in these omens is often local, smaller communities, though, especially in omens taking place in and around the royal court, some omens could concern larger national or international happenings.

Šumma izbu

Šumma izbu concerns recently born animals or humans with zoomorphic features, or missing, surplus, deformed or misplaced body parts. These malformed specimens are then brought to a specialist, who interprets the sign. *Šumma izbu*'s earliest sources date from the Old Babylonian period, mainly Mari.⁴² The malformed births omens usually concern the whole land, the king, or the person in whose household the infant was born.

The occurrence of malformed births wholly depended on chance, so this series was not used as often as *Enūma Anu Enlil* or the *bārûtu*, for instance. However, the malformed births were certainly of interest to diviners of all periods, and in letters it is stated that malformed births could be preserved in salt in order to make the journey from countryside, where they were born, to the capital, in order to be examined.⁴³

The ordering principle is the animal giving birth. The first five tablets are about malformed human births, and subsequent tablets treat animal births like sheep's, lions', and so on.

Other forms of divination

These series are far from the only types of divination that existed. Some of those are supposed to have come from abroad, like haruspicy, for others we lack the extensive lists we have for celestial, terrestrial and liver omens. Those include flour omens, oil-in-water omens, and much more. Prophesizing is also widely attested. Gods, in the Neo Assyrian period usually Ištar of Arbela and Mullissu, would communicate directly with humans through other people. In the Neo Assyrian period the prophecies we know of usually concerned the king, and predicted his military victory, and declared the goddesses' aid in his life.⁴⁴

The focus of my paper is on foreign lands in the omen series. Therefore, series that focus more on foreign affairs and series that mention foreign lands by name often will be more important for this work than series that do not. As discussed, *Enūma Anu Enlil* has the largest focus on foreign lands: this compendium will

⁴² Nicla De Zorzi, *La Serie Teratomantica Šumma Izbu: Testo, Tradizione, Orizzonti Culturali II*, History of the Ancient Near East. Monographs 15 (Padova: SARGON Editrice e Libreria, 2014), and Koch, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts*, 262-273. Editions are Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 4 (Locust Valley, N.Y.: Augustin, 1970), and Nicla De Zorzi, *La Serie Teratomantica Šumma Izbu: Testo, Tradizione, Orizzonti Culturali I; II*, History of the Ancient Near East. Monographs 15 (Padova: SARGON Editrice e Libreria, 2014).

⁴³ Hermann Hunger, Julian Reade, and Simo Parpola, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*, State Archives of Assyria 8 (Helsinki: University Press, 1992), SAA 8 287, 5- r3.

⁴⁴ See Simo Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies*, State Archives of Assyria 9 (Helsinki: University Press, 1997).

therefore be most important to my research. The other series will all make an appearance, but they have less to say on foreign lands.

The Five Lands

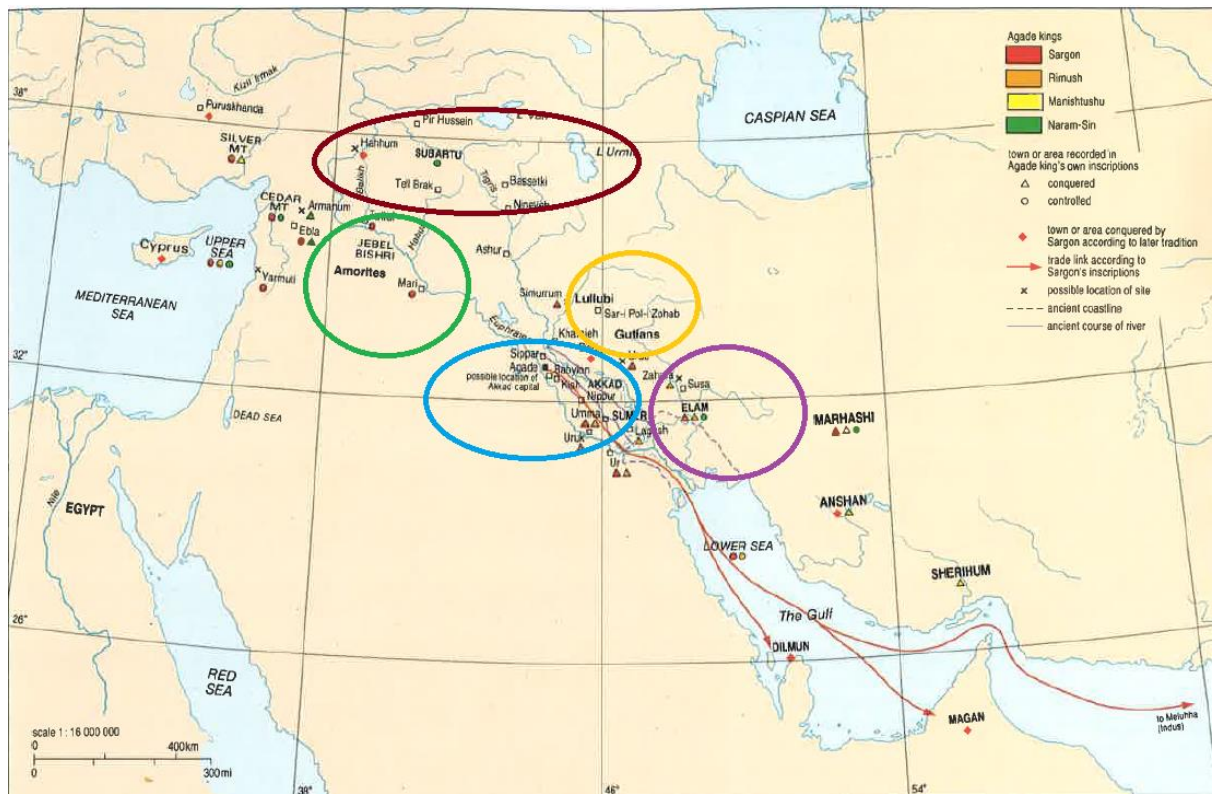


Figure 1 Map of the campaigns of the Old Akkadian kings, taken from Roaf Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia, pg. 97, with the general areas of each land circled.

The lands under investigation in this paper are Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu, but to what . They are all political entities of some sort that are known from the late third-early second millennium. Akkad refers to the southern part of Iraq, encompassing Sumer and the region to its north. Amurru is the area to the west of Akkad. It is mentioned starting in the third millennium, and was home of semi-nomadic tribal groups speaking a West-Semitic language. The use of the term “land of Amurru” in the omnia is somewhat problematic, as this region was never unified in the manner that this phrase implies, or its sister-phrase “king of Amurru”, which also occurs frequently in the omnia. In the first millennium, this area was typically called Hatti, after the Neo-Hittite kingdoms that made up the political landscape of that area in the first millennium B.C.E.⁴⁵ Elam is a relatively stable entity to the south-east of Akkad, centered on the low-lands of western Iran. The Elamites had well-documented relations with Mesopotamians, either in war or trade. The history of Elam and the Mesopotamian states is fraught with conflict, much of it expanded in literary works, like the Lament over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur⁴⁶ and the

⁴⁵ Robert M. Whiting, “Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia,” *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East 2* (1995): 1231–42.

⁴⁶ Piotr Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

Marduk Prophecy⁴⁷. The Elamites were at war with the Assyrians for most of the first half of the seventh century B.C.E., until Assurbanipal defeated them and destroyed Susa in 647.⁴⁸ Gutu is thought to have been a land to the north of Elam, in the Zagros mountains. Mentions of Gutians first appear in Sargonic times, but the bulk of their presence in Mesopotamian literary sources is as the invading villains who caused the fall of the Akkadian empire.⁴⁹ In the Sumerian King List, the Gutians are said to have had kingship in the period after the fall of the Akkadian empire, until they were driven out by Utu-hegal of Uruk.⁵⁰ Gutu was still the designation of a region to the north of Elam in the first millennium, though it is unlikely that was anything more than an archaic name.⁵¹ Things are not much better for Subartu: one of the few mentions of this land is that Naram-Sîn claimed to have defeated it in two of his royal inscriptions and a yearname.⁵² It is believed that Subartu is a region to the north of Mesopotamia, in a Hurrian-speaking area. Subartu became a literary designation of Assyria in the first millennium.⁵³

In essence, the names of the five lands in the omens do not need to refer to the political entity of that name. Sufficient proof is the use of archaic Subartu in the 1st millennium, since that land did not have a major presence after the 3rd millennium B.C.E., and it is in fact stated that Subartu refers to Assyria⁵⁴. Instead, like the entities of *mātu* and *nakru*, “the land” and “the enemy”, it is most likely that they were relative indicators of direction. “The land” was used to denote the domain of the king, and “the enemy” was whatever threatened that domain at the time.⁵⁵ The five lands were often expressions of direction, related to the four cardinal directions. The regions were areas of 90 degrees, with the middle of each quarter pointing to either the absolute north, east, south, or west.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Rykle Borger, “Gott Marduk Und Gott-Konig Sulgi Als Propheten: Zwei Prophetische Texte,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28 (1973): 3–24.

⁴⁸ Daniel T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*, Second, Cambridge World Archaeology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 253–282.

⁴⁹ “Narām-Sin destroyed the living creatures of Babylon and twice (Marduk) raised the army of Gutu against him: (the latter) goaded on his people. He entrusted his kingship to the army of the Gutians.” Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, Writings From the Ancient World 19 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), Chronicle of the Esagila (38), or Weidner Chronicle, 266–67, line 62–63.

⁵⁰ Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, Chronicle of the Single Monarchy (1), or Sumerian King List, 122–125, line vii 27–viii 8.

⁵¹ W. Rollig, “Gutium,” in *Reallexikon Der Assyriologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1957).

⁵² Douglas Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2234–2113 BC)*, vol. 2, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), E2.1.4.1, E2.1.4.25 (Naram-Sin as commander of Subartu (lines 1–16 and 33–40)) and E2.1.4.30 (Naram-Sin, who smashed the weapon of Subartu (lines I 8’–11’)), and yearname q (“the year in which Naram-Sin was victorious over Subartu at Azuhinnu and captured Tahiš-atili”).

⁵³ Cecile Michel, “Subartu,” in *Reallexikon Der Assyriologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

⁵⁴ SAA 8 60, 4: “We are Subartu”.

⁵⁵ Cooley, “Propaganda, Prognostication, and Planets.”, 25.

⁵⁶ Ernst F. Weidner, “Astrologische Geographie Im Alten Orient,” *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 20 (1963): 117–21.

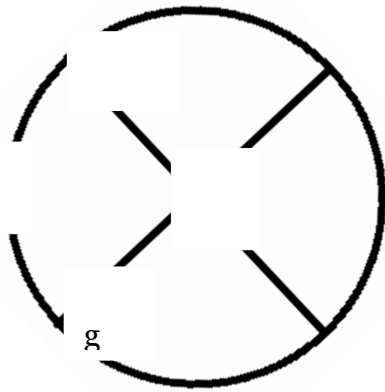


Figure 2 Regions of the world, based on Rochberg 1988 ABCD pg. 53-54.

Other lands can be mentioned in the omen series. Examples are Hatti, Anšan and the “land of the Kassites”⁵⁷. These occur very rarely, and are not tied to specific elements in protases, and will not be discussed in this paper.

In different parts of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the lands of Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu could be associated with different directions. What the criteria are for when which scheme was used does not seem clear. One common scheme was based somewhat on real-life directions: north was Akkad, south Elam, west Amurru and east Subartu. The same scheme is used for the directions from which the wind could come during eclipses. In the Old Babylonian period, Elam was often left out of the fourpartite scheme, in favor for another instance of Akkad or Subartu⁵⁸. Sometimes, Gutu is explicitly included with Subartu, other times Gutu is simply left out of the scheme altogether.

The lands were also associated with specific months, days and planets in the omina, though the presence of one of those months, days, or planets in the protasis does not mean that the corresponding land will be present in the apodosis. Instead, all these “schemes” should be considered more like hermeneutical shorthands, interpretative frameworks that *could* be, but did not *need* to be, applied.

Just as the associated phenomena need not result in the presence of a land in the apodosis, so too can the lands appear in apodoses without clear prompt in the protasis. There are many examples in the omina of a land in the apodosis without a clear corresponding “particle” in the protasis.

When discussed, focus is placed on the schematic occurrences, the fourpartite omens of solar and lunar eclipses. In these omens, equal differences in the protases result in equal differences in apodoses. For many academics, this seems to be the end

⁵⁷ Hatti: EAE 21 V.4, Anšan: EAE 21 X.1, land of the Kassites: EAE 48 rec. II 81’ and EAE 56 91. The most common other localities are specific cities, like Ešnunna, that can appear sporadically.

⁵⁸ Rochberg-Halton, “*Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination*”, 24.

of the story: the four lands are more or less equal components of the diviner's toolkit. It is usually recognized that "historical" omens exist, throughout the divination series, in which the lands are presented as historical regions, and the phenomena of the past can precede previously attested historical occurrences. These historical omens mention incidents from earlier history, usually from the late third millennium B.C.E. The lands also appear in omens that do not consist of four parts; they can appear randomly in the compositions, without a clear reason for their occurrence in that particular spot.

In later periods, the lands in the divination series were explicitly equated with their political counterparts. In a Hellenistic calendar treatise, omens concerning invasions by Elam and Subartu are linked to the myth of Tiamat's defeat by Marduk.⁵⁹ The mythical Tiamat was equated with historical Elam, and Qingu with Subartu, and reference was made to invasions by those lands by Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria in 1225 B.C.E. and Kutir-Nahhunte in 1155 B.C.E. . Apotropaic rituals, meant to protect from invasions by Elam, are incorporated in this text. This shows that, at least in some periods, the connection between the Elam and Subartu from the divinatory series, and the historical Elam and Subartu was made by users of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and comparable series. This complicates the position that the lands should only be seen as names for the cardinal directions.⁶⁰ I think the most logical understanding of this problem allows for some flexibility in the use of these names by the ancient scholars, who operated in a complex framework of inherited history and contemporary geographical situations. Those frameworks rarely lined up nicely; the use of Subartu in itself could be called "anachronistic". In the astrological reports at least, we see that the use of the lands was taken seriously to some extent. I have no doubt that oral explanations of the omens to the kings was common, and that there could be a case-to-case difference in the explanation of the name of a land as being for the political entity or for the cardinal direction. However, we do see that Subartu being identified with Assyria is given weight, and that Elam is positioned as the enemy: "*On the 14th day the moon will make an eclipse. It (predicts) evil for Elam and the Westland, good for the king my lord. Let the king my lord be happy.*"⁶¹ I believe the phrase "let the king my lord be happy" here not only refers to his own good fortune, but also to the prospect of bad fortune for his enemies in Elam. The use of Akkad, Subartu and "the land" for Assyria meant that the scholars could pick prognoses from a variety of omens to suit the occasion. This flexibility of interpretation made divination a suitable tool for decision-making, as suitable omens could be found for any situation, and any situation was suitable for an explanation by the omens.

⁵⁹ Frances Reynolds, *A Babylon Calendar Treatise: Scholars and Invaders in the Late First Millennium BC* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁶⁰ Rochberg-Halton, "Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination," 53-55.

⁶¹ SAA 8 388, 1.

3. Methodology

In his sketch for a comparative framework for the study of divination, Sørensen identified three basic steps all inductive systems of divination seem to share. Those steps are the experiment, the exemplar text, and the ad hoc interpretation by the diviner⁶². In this paper I will work with the last two, as that is where personal biases and cultural conditioning come into play. In Mesopotamian celestial divination, the experiment is the celestial phenomenon being observed. These are subject to the laws of nature and physics, and will not be my main focus in this paper. The main exemplar text I will work with is the long scholarly series of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, though I include three other large series as well where the experiment consists of observing marks on intestines and unusual occurrences in daily life and malformed births. The ad hoc interpretation is done by the Neo-Assyrian scholars, some of whose reports to the Assyrian king are still extant. These reports are collected in the SAA 8 volume⁶³.

The first step of my research is to collect all omens from these series mentioning any of the five main lands under discussion in this paper: Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu. This approach has the drawback that it does not include “the land” or “the enemy (land)”, probably the two most frequently occurring localities of omens. The effect of the omen on the land it mentions will be described as “positive”, if the effect on the land is good, “negative”, if the effect is bad, or “neutral”, if the omen does not have an effect on that land. In cases of “neutral”, the mentioned land is often an actor, and the effect is on another party, or the effect is impossible to classify as either “positive” or “negative” (for instance, what is “light rain”?). With these three categories, a percentual good-bad outcome ratio for each land can be established.

This approach is based on a method used by Jean-Jaques Glassner.⁶⁴ He used a ten-part system, where omens were categorized on two axes: whether it was good or bad, and who the omen applied to (“us” or “another”). This system is very useful when understanding the omens, and looks like this:

1. good for me- bad for me
2. good for another - bad for another
3. good for me - bad for another
4. good for another - bad for me
5. bad for me - bad for another
6. good for me - good for another
7. good for me - good for me

⁶² Sørensen, “On Divination.”

⁶³ Hunger, Reade and Parpola, *Astrological Reports*.

⁶⁴ Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Le Devin Historien En Mésopotamie*, Ancient Magic and Divination 16 (Leiden : Boston: Brill, 2019), 151.

8. good for another - good for another
9. bad for me - bad for me
10. bad for another - bad for another

To adapt this model for the study of particular regions, some modifications were required. I make use of three values of omnia, good, bad, and neutral, and always apply them from the point of view of the country mentioned in the omen. The neutral category is used mostly for actions by a land that affect another land, like “attack of GN”. Presumably, this was not positive or negative to the country performing the raid, only to the country undergoing it. If multiple lands appear in the omen, it is taken as one instance in both lands. Ie, “bad luck for Akkad and Amurru” is a bad omen for both Akkad and Amurru, so one omen produces two datapoints. “Attack of Akkad on Amurru” is neutral for Akkad and bad for Amurru. This way, I can compare the outcome for each omen directly, without the cumbersome elements Glassner’s method would bring. For instance, Akkad would need to be filed under the “us” category, while the other four lands are all “other”. And although there is some value in a split category for omens containing both good and bad predictions, I found it not to be crucial to understanding my corpus.

Second, the apodoses of the omnia are abstracted and placed into categories: like “attack of GN”, “fall of GN”, “abundance for GN”, and the like. The number of instances each of these abstracted omens occurs for each land will be counted, and it will be attempted to demonstrate that not all omens occur at the same rate for each land. These data can be found in the Appendixes.

Thirdly, I will move on to the last step of Sorensen’s framework: the personal interpretation by the diviner. To this end, I will collect mentions of those lands in the corpus of the Neo-Assyrian astrological reports to investigate how the omens collected for the earlier steps are used on the “ground”, in the contemporary scholarly practices. I will repeat the same steps outlined above: the percentile ratio of positive and negative outcomes, and the counting of instances of the apodosis categories, and compare those to the outcomes of the earlier chapters. Next, I will detail how and where differences arose in these corpora. This will be done by comparing the omens and principles used in the reports with the corresponding omens in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, if there are corresponding omens at all.

4 Corpus

In this chapter I will present my corpus. The corpus consists of all omens mentioning “Akkad”, “Amurru”, “Elam”, “Guti” or “Subartu” in its protasis or apodosis from the series of *Šumma ālu*, *Šumma izbu*, the extispicy series, and *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Of these series, only *Šumma izbu* has been edited fully. Akkad, Amurru, Elam and Subartu are the four lands usually associated with the four cardinal directions. I include Guti in my research because it is often used as a “fifth land of the four cardinal directions”: it often replaces Subartu, and is used regularly as a secondary land in apodoses.

As I hope the reader has gathered from the notes about the scale of the series already, not all series would typically be thought to include mentions of foreign

lands. Indeed, omens about local affairs, such as those gathered in *Šumma ālu*, rarely contain omens about the five lands I wish to study. On the other hand, in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, all five occur quite frequently, due to the almost universal nature of the omens. With this being the case, there is indeed a large difference in the number of omens I was able to collect in every composition. However, I found some omens for every series, and, though the bulk of this paper will be about *Enūma Anu Enlil*, I believe there are a number of interesting observations to be made about the omens from the other series.

As said before, I collected all omens from the text editions of these series mentioning the lands of Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu. I have opted not to include individual articles containing an edition of (part of) an omen text, mainly to keep the chance of counting an omen double by accident to a minimum, and to keep the work manageable. This does mean that numerous of the text-editions I used are some decades old now, and very probably outdated to some extent. However, I reckon the tradeoff is worth it, since I have been able to analyze a large portion of the available omen series, and I believe that what has been edited so far is able to answer the research questions I have for this paper. Later research can expand the corpus to further answer the questions brought forth by this paper.

Especially in the later tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, there is deep uncertainty about the numbering of the tablets, and many text-editions of the later tablets, concerned with planetary bodies, use “groups” of tablets, who agree in content. Even if content overlaps on tablets belonging to the same group, the content is not presented as one whole, but rather as editions of single tablets. In later tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, in other words, I can not simply copy all instances of an omen, but need to be careful to use only one of those omens doubled in my analyses, since all other omens are presented as one instance. This is especially tricky when an omen appears in multiple “groups”, since the different neighbouring omens can have implications for the interpretation of the sequence of omens as a whole. Even then, I have opted to strike those doubled omens, and adhere to “one omen should count only once”, even if the context of the omen may be different from other instances of that same omen.

I did collect broken omens, but, naturally, only used those omens that were not too broken to make out the general content. I have been quite conservative in this regard: if it looks like a land is associated with one sentence, but the break prevents me from confirming it, I did not use that omen in my analysis. This is one of the problems that could use some new text-editions to solve, but that is a task for future researchers.

5. *Enūma Anu Enlil*

Here I will treat the omens collected from *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Since there are a lot of them, it is impossible to present all individual omens in detail here. Instead, I will provide the apodoses in a more general manner. In the appendix, I will add the lists of attested apodoses with the instances when they appear. After presenting the apodoses that can occur for each land, I will calculate the ratio of good-bad omens per land, and discuss the interesting features present in the omens.

The apodoses for the lands are all largely similar. The omens can affect the land, the king, or the people of the land. The apodoses are mainly about “larger effects”, such as warfare, illness on a large scale, prosperity, or lack thereof, for a land, and the fate of the king. As noted before, this is in contrast to apodoses in a series such as *Šumma ālu* with phenomena concerning individuals and more neighbourly areas, where the predictions are more in line with the expectations of daily life.

Most omens have what can be described as a “standard” apodosis. Simple outcomes that can be applied to all lands, and many other subjects throughout the omen series. They can be combined to form longer apodoses. The use of these re-occurring apodoses makes the omen compendia feel boring and overwhelming, as the use of these standard outcomes can obscure the individuality of the lands in how these apodoses are utilised for them. In the table below, I counted how often a certain standard apodosis occurred in *Enūma Anu Enlil* for the five lands.

Prediction	ad	Akk	Amu	El	G	Suba
		rru	am	uti	rtu	
Abundance	4	3	4	0	1	
Prosperity, good fortune	11	8	8	1	1	
Land and people will be well	3	1	0	0	1	
Good trade	1	2	0	0	1	
Decline/ Fall	14	15	38	0	1	13
Attack of GN/ weapon of GN/ army of GN	1	2	6	5	2	
Misfortune	3	9	11	6	0	
Crop/Cultiv ated land will prosper	4	4	1	1	1	
Famine/ Cultivated land will not prosper	9	7	9	0	4	
Plague	5	6	2	0	3	
Will be conquered/ defeated	14	2	6	7	1	
Will be victorious	2	1	1	0	1	
Internal Revolt	7	4	3	1	1	
King will die	40	35	20	3	6	

King will be strong+ have no rivals	13	6	11	0	0
King will conquer / rule another land / attain totality	5	1	12	2	2
Bad luck for the king	1	0	0	2	1
Battle in GN	1	0	2	0	0
Enemy will hit/ devour GN	11	5	6	6	1
King will be well/ see joy	5	2	3	0	3
King will fall ill	3	1	3	0	2
God will devastate/flood/ be angry	11	10	8	1	5
Gods will be reconciled / happy /help	10	11	6	0	0

Table 1 List of common predictions from all over EAE

As we can see, not all apodoses occur equally frequently for all the lands. It is my thesis that these differences point to the existence of stereotypes of these lands.

I will discuss the apodoses per land, and attempt to show how all of the apodoses contribute to forming a specific picture of each land.

Akkad

For Akkad, we see many omens, both propitious and inauspicious, and they can affect all manner of objects: the people, trade, the king, and, very often, the land as a whole. Auspicious omens predict good fortune, abundance, and thriving crops. One omen even states that “the heart of Akkad will be healed”.⁶⁵ On the other hand, reduction and downfall omens are numerous as well (counting fourteen instances), anarchy and chaos can occur (four times), as well as famine (nine times), and trade reductions (twelve instances). There are many gods attested in omens about Akkad: Adad is associated with flood and crops (three instances), Enlil causes leprosy and epilepsy (once), Nergal will ravage the land (once) and devour cattle (once). Erra, Lamaštu and Šamaš causes people to be sick and die, and nameless “gods” can be gracious, angry, or reconciled, and they can even “descend to Akkad with evil intent”⁶⁶. There is a lot more variety of divine actions, and divinities, predicted for Akkad than for any other land. Akkad is described to be at war with Elam, Amurru and the Umman-Manda, and to prevail over Elam and Amurru. The king can be

⁶⁵ Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4.*, Cuneiform Monographs 30 (Leiden : Boston: Brill ; STYX, 2005), K.2341+ rev.ii 13-14.

⁶⁶ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, *Enūma Anu Enlil* 28 105.

fettered (once), become strong, or fall ill. The king dies a lot of times: forty times total. In case of a revolt, the king can be killed, or killed by his sons who take over the throne. The throne can even be occupied by no-one⁶⁷, or by an untrue son of the king⁶⁸.

It is clear from the omens that Akkad is the intended “home” region. It has relatively many omens, and a large variety of them, throughout *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Though there are more omens predicting good fortune, abundance and prosperity for Akkad than for the other lands (fifteen, against eleven and twelve for Amurru and Elam, and one and two respectively for Gutu and Subartu), it is not a disproportional amount more. Instead, the central concern of the Akkad omens seem to be the death of the king and the conquest of the land of Akkad. Internal revolts are important as well, as there are even some unique situations concerning the throne of Akkad: “an untrue son of the king will take the throne”⁶⁹ and: “the throne of Akkad will be occupied by no-one”⁷⁰. The omens about conquest of the “home-region”, revolts and the death of the king display a wish of diviners to know about the stability of the rule of their patron the king. The omens about the death of the king would be followed by a ritual involving the so-called “substitute king”, who would be sacrificed to avert the fate of death from the real king.⁷¹ The performance of the king is also a main concern. The prediction that “the king will be strong and have no rivals” occurs especially frequently for the king of Akkad: thirteen times, against Elam’s eleven and Amurru’s six. The Akkadian king comes second when it comes to conquering lands, with five predictions of that type, against Elam’s twelve.

Though the omens predicting good fortune occur at an average rate, omens directly predicting misfortune occur relatively rarely. Against eleven instances of good fortune for Akkad stand only three instances of misfortune. Only Gutu’s rate is more askew: one omen predicting good luck against six for bad luck. The other lands have a more balanced ratio: Amurru has eight to nine, Elam has eight to eleven, and Subartu one to zero. We see a tendency for positive outcomes for Akkad here, whereas for most of the other lands misfortune is more common.

The delicate balance between an optimistic tendency to predict good and nice things for Akkad, and the more realism-minded negative omens is clearly visible in what I call the “unique omens”. These are long omens that only occur for one land, or specific combination of lands. Only the ones mentioning Akkad are ever explicitly positive:

“(If Jupiter) is very bright, its looks are red, its rising is as perfect as the rising of the sun: the angry gods will become reconciled with Akkad, copious rains and regular floods will be in Akkad, barley and flax will become plentiful in Akkad,

⁶⁷ CTN 4, 006; <http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P363421>; *Enūma Anu Enlil* 35 I 2.

⁶⁸ Rochberg-Halton, “*Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination*,” *Enūma Anu Enlil* 18 xi 7.

⁶⁹ Rochberg-Halton, “*Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination*,” *Enūma Anu Enlil* 18 xi 7

⁷⁰ CTN 4, 006; <http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P363421>, *Enūma Anu Enlil* 35 I 2

⁷¹ Bottéro, *Mesopotamia*, chapter 9, The Substitute King and his Fate, 140-143.

the equivalent of (only) one liter will be given for one gur, the gods will stand in their (proper) position, their sanctuaries will see plenty".⁷²

*"If the moon, when it becomes visible on day 1 of month VII, wears a crown, its horns are pointed: the 'heart' of Akkad will become healed."*⁷³

Here, Akkad is explicitly associated with positive things; abundance, gods in their proper position, and a "healed heart". However, predicting negative things is possibly safer for diviners: if the prediction is correct, the diviner was right, and if the prediction did not come true, the people involved must have done something right to avert the anger of the gods⁷⁴. We can see a similar safeguarding principle in the following unique omen:

*"If an eclipse occurs on the 14th day of Nisannu and it begins in the south and clears in the [...], it begins in the evening watch and clears in the middle watch. You observe his eclipse and you bear in mind the south. The prediction is given for the king of Akkad: the king of Akkad will die. If the eclipse does not affect the king: there will be destruction and famine. The people will send their children out to the market (to be sold). The great country will go to the small country for food."*⁷⁵

The two parts of this omen are both undesirable, but the two possible outcomes make for plausible deniability for the diviner. Another unique omen includes the instruction to observe for the well-being of the king, which would change the outcome of the bad eclipse:

*"If an eclipse occurs from the 1st to the 30th, var. not at its calculated time, the eclipse is for the king of Akkad, there will be famine and brother will consume brother, the land will diminish, if you perform the observation for the wellbeing of the king, the city and his people, it will be propitious, there will be diminution of the population, var. it will occur."*⁷⁶

The new prognosis is not completely positive, but the outcome is much more vague; a decrease in population is not nearly as eye-catching as a famine. Akkad is the only region where these longer omens are this lenient. This makes sense if we take into account the position of Akkad in the textual history of *Enūma Anu Enlil*: it was of course the region where the authors would identify themselves coming from. People are generally more positive about regions and people they identify themselves with. Outsider groups are evaluated more negatively. The positive biases in these omens are therefore not unexpected.

Amurru

In Amurru explicitly good things occur less often than for Akkad. There can be abundance (three times), good fortune (eight times) and an expanding market

⁷² Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4*, Group K K.2341+ 13'-15'.

⁷³ Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4*, Group L, K.2916+, 13-14.

⁷⁴ Erle Leichty, "Teratological Omens," in *La Divination En Mesopotamie Ancienne et Dans Les Regions Voisines* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 131-39, 133.

⁷⁵ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enūma Anu Enlil*, EAE 21 I 1, and 21.VI 1.

⁷⁶ Rochberg-Halton, "Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination," EAE 17 II source D 10-11 and source E rev. 11-12.

(twice). Dispersal, wailing, chaos, decreasing trade and diminution also occur. Sickness, also at the behest of Lamaštu and Šamaš, occurs eight times, but the only specific disease is the *rapādu*-disease that is predicted often for every land. There are six predictions in which Adad influences Amurru, either for good or for bad, sometimes together with Erra, but no other named deities occur. Amurru is often the victim of enemy attacks (five times), but in one prediction Amurru is the one to start hostilities, with Subartu and Akkad. Two curious predictions are that “from the throne of your relief troops the king of Amurru will rebel” and “the laid-down weapons of the king of Amurru will arise”. In another omen, it is said that “the king of Amurru will rebel”. He can also be revolted against, but there are only three omens in which it is made clear the revolt is against the king of Amurru. The king can also die a “neutral” death (eighteen times). His reign can be long, destructive, or it can end. In three omens he is predicted to “get up from his throne”, which is a phrase not used for other kings.

Amurru stands out for its revolutionary activity. Internal revolts do not happen disproportionately, but, unlike any other land, Amurru is sometimes predicted to rebel against another country: “the king of Amurru will rebel”⁷⁷. Another states that “from the throne of your relief troops the king of Amurru will rebel, variant, he will take the throne”⁷⁸. Other omens also point to the possibility of rebellion from the west: “the laid down weapons of the king of Amurru will arise”⁷⁹, and “the king of Amurru will get up from his throne”⁸⁰. Against who would the king of Amurru rebel if not against the client of the diviner, who would identify himself most with Akkad? Possibly, the references to wars between Amurru and Akkad also point to this type of rebellion: “the king of Akkad and the king of Amurru will be hostile to each other”⁸¹ and “the king of Amurru will make war against the king of Akkad”⁸². Some of these omens imply that Amurru was subservient to Akkad at the time of the rebellion, with the references to relief troops and laid down weapons, in other omens this is not necessarily the case. In all cases the existence of a “king of Amurru” is assumed, which is historically questionable. The rebellion of the king against Akkad seems to be a theme specific to Amurru, as the apodoses are not matched by the other lands. The only exception is Hatti, which is described in its only omen that “a king of a ruined land, var. the king of Hatti will rise up and seize the throne”⁸³, though Amurru and Hatti are both common descriptions of the same region in the first millennium B.C.E. Other omens, such as EAE 28 96⁸⁴, mention fights between the king of Amurru and “the country”, ie. Babylonia: “the king of Amurru will become stronger in the country and he will get hold of his enemy”. The omens about the rebellious Amorite king seem to be quite widespread

⁷⁷ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, Enūma Anu Enlil 29 Ia 8.

⁷⁸ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, Enūma Anu Enlil 24 III 31.

⁷⁹ Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4, Group K K.2341+ rev. 18*, and Group L K.2916+ 33'-34'.

⁸⁰ Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination,” EAE 17 I.II 7, 17 I.II E rev. 8-9, and 22 II 4.

⁸¹ Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 6 26.

⁸² Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 6 20.

⁸³ Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination,” EAE 21 V 4.

⁸⁴ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*.

throughout *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but despite their omnipresence, the Amorite king always stands alone. Two instances are clustered together in EAE 6 (numbers 20 and 26). There, both omens preceding number 20 and 26, describe a revolt against the king of Elam in which he is killed:

19: “If Sirius stands by the right horn of the moon: the king of Elam will be killed by his servants in a revolt,

20: “If Sirius stands by the left horn of the moon: the king of Amurru will make war against the king of Akkade.”

25: “If Scorpio stands by the right horn of the moon: in this year the locusts will attack and devour the crop of the country, variant: in this year they will kill the king of Elam,

26: “If Scorpio is near the left horn of the moon: in this year the grasshoppers will attack and devour the palms, (p: variant: in the left part of the country x, variant :) the king of Akkade and the king of [Amurru] will be hostile to each other, variant: (due) to clashes and battles [(their borders) will narrow?].”⁸⁵

The revolt against the king of Elam is associated with Sirius standing by or near the right horn of the moon, and the war of Amurru and Akkad is associated with Sirius standing by or near the left horn. Though the protases are mirrored, the apodoses are very distinct in their phrasing, though the throughline of “rebellion” can be assumed in some form even for the omens predicting war between Amurru and Akkad.

The omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil* 17 and 22 surrounding the predictions about the rising from the throne of the king of Amurru are not paralleled either. *Enūma Anu Enlil* 17 has two traditions, both have the rebellion from Amurru omen. Though their preceding omens differ, the omen after the rebellion of Amurru omens is the same in both traditions: “the sea will dry up and its bounty will be destroyed”⁸⁶. The omen in *Enūma Anu Enlil* 28 is surrounded by other omens predicting economic or agricultural decline or violent episodes, such as *Enūma Anu Enlil* 28 94: “the king’s palace will fall into ruin”.

The two omens found in Reiner and Pingree’s BPO 4 are probably from the same tradition, though they are reconstructed into different groups. The surrounding omens are the same, and the one from Group K is even reconstructed on the basis of the one from Group L. The omens surrounding them form more of a coherent group than was the case with the other omens discussed before. The omens before and after the ones about Amurru’s king concern other types of hostile relations: “all lands together will experience massacre”⁸⁷, “the king of Elam will fall by a strong

⁸⁵ Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*. EAE tablet 6.

⁸⁶ Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination,” EAE 17 I.II E rev. 10 and 17 I.II.8.

⁸⁷ Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 4*, Group L K.2341+ 16.

weapon”⁸⁸, “the Seven gods will destroy the land”⁸⁹, and “king will send messages of hostility to king”⁹⁰. In conclusion, there are many types of violence with which these rebellion-omens are associated in the divinatory compendium. Both natural disasters and political unrest are associated with the rebellion of Amurru. None of the other omens are quite alike though, focusing on different types of violence, or with different actors, making the rebellious king of Amurru stand alone in this regard.

The “end of the dynasty/reign of the king of Amurru” predictions are typical of Amurru as well. I counted eight instances of this type, which differ in their focus and wording from other omens: the death of the king of Amurru is left ambiguous, and he could have gone into exile. The two other instances of a change in dynasty are for Subartu and Akkad, but there it is made clear the king dies. The “end of the reign” omens are only seen for Amurru, and once for an anonymous “king of the world”⁹¹. There is a real concern for the stability of rule in Amurru in the omens. The death of the king, predicted in thirty-five instances, is less often predicted than it is for Akkad, but it is still done often enough to see the concern the scribes had for the political make-up of Amurru. The threat the creators of the omens saw of a rebellion from Amurru also points to this concern. But it is important to note that the death of the king of Amurru and the end of his dynasty are separate matters in these omens, suggesting a certain indifference to the precise mechanisms of power in this region. The military situation, on the other hand, is left relatively undiscussed. Amurran forays into other territories are the subject of a number of apodoses, once with Subartu as partner⁹², once against Subartu⁹³. But where Akkad counts twelve omens in which it will be conquered or defeated, and Gutu comes second at seven, Amurru only has two. Omens in which the king will conquer, rule another land, or attain totality, of which Elam has twelve, and Akkad five, Amurru only has one. The well-being of the king is also rarely of concern: an illness is predicted for him once, he is twice predicted to see joy, and only six omens state that the king of Amurru will be strong and without rival. For other lands these predictions occur about two or three times more often.

The predilection for omens about the tempestuous political situation is nicely exemplified in this unique omen:

“(If) on 14th Addaru (the moon god) [brings about] an eclipse [and] in his eclipse the god becomes dark [on the side north] above and clear on the side east below, a west and an east wind (blow), in the dawn watch he brings (the eclipse) to an end, (and) his cusps cannot [be seen] when he rises but can be seen when he sets: observe his eclipse and keep in mind the west and east winds. Prediction is given for the land of Amurru: the land of Amurru, from its top (down), [will fall] into chaos; the gods of the land are accursed, the desertion of cities is at hand, nation [will] devour nation, cities will be sacked; wherever a city is flattened, a prince will be

⁸⁸ Idem, K.2341+ 17.

⁸⁹ Idem, K.2341+ 19.

⁹⁰ Idem, K.2341+ 20.

⁹¹ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 29 III 24.

⁹² Reiner and Pingree, *Enūma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50-51*, XII K.11096, 20.

⁹³ Idem, XII K.11096, 12.

established. (If) Papsukkal rises and stands present with the sun, downfall of humans (! tablet: kingship) (and) wild animals, [cattle (or sheep)] will often (be heard) braying, the land will fall into panic, the posterity of the people will die. God completed the dawn watch while eclipsed."⁹⁴

The fall into chaos, the cities that are on the cusp of desertion, and the establishment of princes left and right all fit this theme of political instability in Amurru. Another theme, of sacking of wealth and the removal of divine protection, is heavily featured in the other long unique omen about Amurru:

*"(If) Mars approaches Persee, there will be hostility in the land of Amurru, they will devour each other, the palace of the prince will be destroyed, the treasure of the country will be delivered to another country, the national emblems will be overthrown, his gods will abandon him and turn away from him; rains and high water will be held back."*⁹⁵

This omen is disastrous in many regards, but the focus on the destruction of the palace and the carrying off of booty to another land is rare. As we will see, this theme is featured heavily in the Neo-Assyrian astrological reports. As it stands, the omens in *Enūma Anu Enlil* seem to be interested in the political situation as it relates to the most general sense: there is little interest evidenced for the king's health and fate, and all the more for the *presence* of a king, and his relation to Akkad.

Concluding: The sense we get is that Amurru is being characterised as an unstable, subservient region to Akkad, where Akkad should have full control but doesn't. The king of Amurru is an important actor only in his relation to the king of Akkad, as there are very few omens about the health and life of the king of Amurru in comparison to the kings of the other lands.

Elam

Enūma Anu Enlil has a wide variety of omen apodoses for Elam. The apodoses can concern the land of Elam, its people, its army or its king. Many of these apodoses relate to war and violence, such as "attack of Elam", which occurs six times, "(great) battle in Elam", which occurs two times, "defeat for Elam", which occurs three times, and "Elam will be victorious", which occurs once. General bad fortune is also common: "(down)fall of Elam" occurs twelve times, "famine in Elam" occurs five times, and "misfortune in Elam" occurs three times. Good things can also happen to Elam: "Elam will see plenty", which occurs three times, "good (fortune) for Elam", which occurs four times, and "Elam will eat fine food", which occurs once. There are four apodoses relating to disease in Elam, such as epilepsy, the *rapādu*-disease and general "pestilence", as well as sick and dead people on behalf of Lamaštu or Šamaš. These are standard and also occur all for the other lands. There are six other apodoses that relate to divine actions against Elam. Enlil will look angrily at Elam (occurs once), Erra and Adad will ravage the people of Elam (occurs twice), Adad will beat Elam down (occurs once), and "the gods will be reconciled with Elam", which

⁹⁴ Rochberg-Halton, "Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination," EAE 20, XII 54.

⁹⁵ Largement, "Contribution a l'Etude Des Astres Errants Dans l'Astrologie Chaldeenne," EAE 56, 107-108.

occurs six times. The king of Elam figures in many apodoses in other categories as well, but in fourteen apodoses-types he is the main focus. He can fall ill and die (twice), die or be killed in a revolt (fourteen instances), or he can be strong and conquer foreign lands (seventeen instances, spread out over seven different apodoses). In the case of famine in Elam the king can even provide aid, which occurs twice. Other apodoses concern meteorological events, such as rain (once) and eclipses for Elam (four times), or concern the market (twice).

Whereas Amurru was mainly a threat to Akkad by means of rebelling against Akkad, Elam is a more traditional enemy. The “attack of Elam” apodosis occurs often, more for Elam than for any other region by a slim margin. I have counted six instances of this omen in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, with Guti coming in at second place with five instances. The king is perceived as a threat, as the omens predicting that the king of Elam will conquer, rule, or attain totality occur twelve times, with Akkad’s five as runner-up. The king is a credible threat as well, as there are eleven omens predicting that “the king of Elam will be strong and have no rival”. This number is comparable to the thirteen of the king of Akkad. The death of the king of Elam is relatively rare, as I counted only twenty omens in which his death is predicted. The fall of Elam, on the other hand, is predicted a lot. With its thirty-eight instances it is more than twice the number of Akkad or Amurru, who have fourteen and fifteen instances respectively. The conquest of Elam is predicted six times, which places it between Akkad and Amurru in this regard. We see that Elam is a typical enemy because of the many “attack” apodoses, and the strength of the king. The common occurrence of the “fall of Elam” apodoses shows us that the scribes had a tendency to predict this specific negative thing for Elam.

One theme that a number of Elam’s apodoses show is the “hemming in” of the king or the land of Elam. This happens a number of short, abridged apodoses, and in a long apodosis where it is connected with all kinds of bad things, presumably all predicted for Elam:

“If Venus enters into the moon and outlasts the watch: the people of [Elam ...] there will be orphan girls, troubled things, confused things, not good things in the land, people [...], people will sell their children for silver, a large country will go to a small country for livelihood, the king of [Elam] will be hemmed in [in his palace] and seized, they will kill him in his lair like a snake, ruin of [Elam and its people], fortresses will be destroyed, the market of Elam will diminish, [there will be] famine of barley and straw, [dogs will become rabid and will bite] men, [cattle, sheep, donkeys] in Elam, whatever they bite will not recover.”⁹⁶

There are a few instances where “the land” is hemmed in as well⁹⁷, so it is not exclusive to Elam. It does occur more often and more elaborately for Elam, though, and I have not found any instances of “hemming in” for the other named lands. The verb used is *esērum*, “to enclose, confine”. It is used in extispicy omens when one feature “surrounds” another, and in general usage it is often said of a besieged enemy. Of particular interest to us here is the use of this same expression in certain

⁹⁶ Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 3*, Group B K.3111+10672 14.

⁹⁷ Idem, Group A BM 40111 5’.

Assyrian royal inscriptions. Both Tiglat-pileser III and Sennacherib use it at some point in their inscriptions when referring to a besieged king in his city, and note that they “confined him, like a bird in a cage”:

Tiglath-pileser III: “*For forty-five days I set up my camp [aro]und his (Raḫiānu’s) city and confined him (there) like a bird in a cage.*”⁹⁸

Sennacherib: “*As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage.*”⁹⁹

The comparison with an animal is interesting, as the same is done in the long versions of the “hemmed in” omens. Those state that “the king of Elam will be hemmed in in his palace and seized, they will kill him in his lair like a snake”. Though the animal is different, this construction does not seem to occur much, if at all outside the royal inscriptions and these omens. The use of a snake instead of a bird raises the possibility that this is a rare reference to an actual Elamite cultural element. The snake is a distinctive iconographic element in Elamite rock- and cylinder seal art, with attestations starting from the fourth millennium on pottery, with its peak in the second millennium. One possible form of this snake-iconography was the snake-throne for deities.

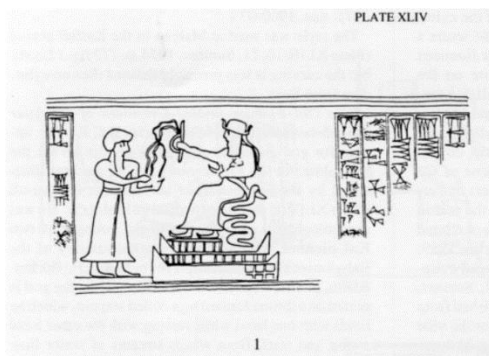


Figure 2 Cylinder seal of Tan-uli (ca. 1700-1600 BCE), P. de Miroschedji, “*Le dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes,*” *Iranica antiqua* 16 (1981): 1–36, plate XLIV 1.

Though it could be coincidental, the association of a snake-throne and the Elamite palace is a tempting explanation for the use of the image of a snake, instead of the bird we see in the royal inscriptions. Snakes do not have the overt negative connotation in Mesopotamia like they have in, for instance, Zoroastrianism¹⁰⁰. Even

⁹⁸ Hayim Tadmor, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), Tiglath-pileser III 20, 10’-11’.

⁹⁹ A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie Robert Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC). Pt. 1.*, vol. 1, *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2012), Sennacherib 17 iii 52.

¹⁰⁰ The snake in the tale of Etana is the victim of a crime by an eagle, and in the epic of Gilgamesh, the serpent does not steal the plant of rejuvenation out of malice, but out a primal instinct to eat pleasant-smelling plants (Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*).

without an obvious negative connotation in literary works, they should still be considered dangerous animals, and the likening of the Elamite king with a trapped snake would be a powerful image indeed.

The focus on attacks from Elam, the power of its king, and the bad luck it has add to the image of Elam as a foreign threat to be reckoned with. Comparing the king of Elam to a snake adds to his dangerousness in the world of the omnia. This dangerousness is also stated, though not in an explicitly negative connotation, in the omnia where the king of Elam “will be strong and have no rival”, or those in which he will conquer the land or the world. The propensity of Elam to attack frames Elam as explicitly aggressive, more so than any other land. However, Elam is predicted to fall, or experience terribly bad luck, more often than the other lands. In the long omen comparing the king of Elam to a snake, the ruin of Elam, famine and the selling of children for silver out of despair was predicted. I interpret this as a combination of reinforcing a negative frame of Elam, which exists in literature such as the Marduk Prophecy, and wish-ful thinking, in which the decline of Elam is added to omnia in the hopes that it comes to pass.

Guti

Since GUTI is often used as an alternative for another land, usually Subartu, there are less omens concerning it than for the previous three lands. The same is necessarily true of Subartu, which will be discussed below.

Omens about GUTI can concern the land of GUTI, the army, and the king: not its people. GUTI has only one properly “good” prediction: that the crop will prosper. Misfortune (six times), the destruction or downfall of GUTI (ten times) or military defeat (thirteen times) are much more common. Curious is the frequent occurrence of “an enemy will devour GUTI for three years”, which occurs six times. As for the king, he can conquer (twice), die (twice), experience bad luck or darkness (twice), be revolted against (once), or his reign will change (once).

Given the limited amount of omens, the focus in theme they display is remarkable. The majority of the omens are about warfare or GUTI’s military position. Though GUTI numerically has the least “fall/decline of GN” omens out of all the lands, the ten that are present is the most frequent occurrence of any apodosis of omens about GUTI. The next highest number of omens is in the category of “defeat of GN”, in which GUTI counts seven, the second highest number of all the lands after Akkad. The third highest number is in the “misfortune for GN” omen category, where GUTI has six. There are five omens predicting an “attack of GUTI”, which is the second highest number after Elam’s six. Another frequent omen is that “the enemy will devour the land of GUTI for three years”, which occurs six times. Conversely, it is predicted that “GUTI will devour the land” once. There are not many omens concerning the king: twice it is said he will conquer, twice that he will die, and darkness, misfortune, a revolt against him and a change of reign all occur once. Other than the omens where the king conquers the land, the only positive omen for GUTI is one, in which it is predicted that “GUTI’s crop will prosper”. GUTI only has a small selection of omens with divine figures in them: once the enigmatic “the Twin Gods will lie”, and once “Adad will devastate the land of GUTI”.

The tendencies of the omens to predict negative things for Guti, and to focus on military matters is clear. This typecasting seems to be based on Guti's role in historical narratives about the end of the Old Akkadian empire. Akkad's defeat was thought to have been caused by invading Gutians. After they had ruled in Akkad for some time, they in turn were defeated by king Utu-hegal of Uruk. Note the inherent violence and barbarism attributed to the Gutians in the Sumerian King List, where the kingship is not taken to a city of Gutium, or to "the land of Gutium", but to "the army of Gutium"¹⁰¹. The Weidner Chronicle also calls them "the army of the Gutians"¹⁰². In the Weidner Chronicle, the Gutians are such savages they do not know the proper rites and reverences for the gods, and Marduk, who initially raised the Gutian army against Naram-Sin, removed their army to make place for a "proper" king, Utu-hegal of Uruk. Since Guti, or the people called the Gutians, were no longer of any significance from the late second millennium on, it is very likely that all recollection of these peoples came from textual sources and literary traditions. This literary frame of the Gutians, as aggressive barbarians, was also applied to the Gutians of the omen compendia.

Subartu

For Subartu, there are some omens on crops: one where the crops prosper, three where there is famine or diminution. There are relatively few instances of divine actions in the omens. There are the usual sick people on behest of Lamaštu and Šamaš, but other than that only three omens where Adad, Adad and Erra, or an anonymous god will devastate Subartu. There are many omens on warfare, but only once does Subartu achieve victory. More often, Subartu or its army fall (some thirteen times). Twice there is a revolt of sorts: one against the lord of Subartu, another time "troops that are not his will install the king of Subartu in the country"¹⁰³. As for the king, he can be victorious (twice), make peace (once), fall ill (twice), and die (six times).

Unlike Guti, plenty of good things can happen to Subartu. Abundance, a healthy king, and victory in battle are all attested in multiple omens. In some respects, the omens concerning Subartu are the exact opposite of Guti's: where Guti counts six instances of "misfortune", Subartu has none, and where Subartu has four instances of a famine, Guti has none. This pattern does not persist throughout all apodoses, however: they have a similar amount of "decline/fall" omens. Since the two lands seem to be interchangeable when in a systematic series of omens, maybe these opposite sets of apodoses should be seen as an attempt to associate one of the lands more with certain outcomes than the other. Since the focus in Guti's apodoses is placed so strongly on misfortune and warfare, perhaps the more positive apodoses were attributed to Subartu. However, the types of outcome with the most attestations for Subartu are negative ones. Decline of Subartu, death of the king and devastation by the gods are the most numerous. Below them, the three most numerous predictions are for plague, famine, and joy for the king, which occurs three times and is the only positive prediction to exceed two instances. The downfall of the army and

¹⁰¹ Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 124-125: vii 27.

¹⁰² Idem, 266, line 63.

¹⁰³ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 29 III 62.

death of the king in battle are included in these numbers, so there is a lot of military activity, but unlike Guti, Subartu is rarely portrayed as the active party in military conflict, nor is Subartu ever fully defeated. Many of Subartu's predictions are instead of a "force of nature" like type misfortune: plague, famine and devastation by the gods occur relatively frequently for Subartu but are rare for Guti. Regular "misfortune", on the other hand, is predicted six times for Guti and never for Subartu, making this characterization not airtight.

One remarkable omen is the one predicting that the "troops that are not his will install the king of Subartu in the country, the head [...] ... and the ruler's palace will go to ruin ... [...] the ruler will go outside the country [...]"¹⁰⁴. This omen seems to point to the practice of placing puppet kings on the throne, a practice well attested for the Assyrians themselves in the late second millennium. However, in their case, it was never the Assyrian king that was placed on the throne of Babylonia by someone else's troops: it were local people placed on Babylonia's throne by the Assyrians. Assur-uballiṭ and Tukulti-Ninurta I, who both meddled extensively in Babylonian politics, come to mind¹⁰⁵. Likewise, in the little information we have on the historical entity of Subartu, I have not been able to find anything resembling this omen¹⁰⁶. The old king's exile is also mentioned, which may be an important detail.

There are relatively few omens for Subartu, and they do not point in a very specific direction. The most numerous are negative, but not in a directly militaristic way like Guti's omens. Rather, they are a general, "force of nature" misfortune: famine, plague, and a nondescript "fall of Subartu".

Breaches of Pattern

When describing omens and their patterns, the usual examples scholars give are of four-part omens in which the four regions of the lunar surface are tied to the four lands in the apodosis. The examples used display a perfect regularity in these apodoses, so the difference in region on the moon corresponds directly to a difference in region on earth. However, this is far from universal in the astrological omnia.

I count three ways in which this regularity is broken: opposition of effect, different apodosis, and an irregular association of world regions to cardinal directions.

The first is perhaps the least surprising, as it still operates on a foundation of opposition. Take, for instance, these omens from tablet 24:

I 4: *"If {the eyes of the solar disk are closed}, and it rides the east wind: the weapons of the Gutians will ravage for a year and destroy the herds, variant; attack of the Elamites."*

¹⁰⁴ Idem, EAE 29 (30) III 62.

¹⁰⁵ Marc Van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323 BC* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 186-187.

¹⁰⁶ Cecile Michel, "Subartu," in *Reallexikon Der Assyriologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

I 5: “*If ditto, and it rides the west wind: the weapon of the Gutians will be broken.*”¹⁰⁷

Here, the primary opposition in the protasis is the direction of the wind: the options are west and east. In most omens, an opposition in direction in the protasis manifests itself as an opposition in regions in the apodosis. Not here, though: the opposition manifests in the outcome of Guti’s assault: in the first omen Guti succeeds and raids the land, in the second they are defeated.

This type of irregularity does not occur often in my corpus, and it is arguably a sub-set of the next type: a completely different apodosis associated with mirroring protases. Consider this set:

19 “*If Sirius stands by the right horn of the moon: the king of Elam will be killed by his servants in a revolt.*”

20 “*If Sirius stands by the left horn of the moon: the king of Amurru will make war against the king of Akkade.*”¹⁰⁸

Here we see, again, a mirrored protasis, the difference being at which lunar horn Sirius was observed. However, unlike the omens from the last example, the apodoses differ in more than one respect. Not only is the region different, which would be enough difference in most sequences of omina, but the prediction for the two lands differ a lot from each other. Though they both concern a king, Amurru’s king will wage war, while Elam’s will be killed in a revolt. There are no additional differences in the protasis to intuitively explain the difference.

The third type is that of irregular association of cardinal directions and world regions. This one happens quite often and in many configurations. Consider this example from *Enūma Anu Enlil* 15 col.III:

6.1 “*If an eclipse begins in the south and the south wind blows: destruction of Elam and Guti: the king of Elam will die,*

6.2 *If an eclipse begins in the south and the north wind blows: destruction of Elam and Guti, it will not approach Akkad,*

6.3 *If an eclipse begins in the south and the east wind blows: destruction of Elam and Guti, [... the king of A]kkad will die, Adad will trample, there will be pestilence,*

6.4 *If an eclipse begins in the south and the west wind blows: destruction of Elam and Guti, the king of Amurru will die.*”¹⁰⁹

The beginning of the eclipse in the south always means the destruction of Elam will follow. The direction of the wind is then associated with the death of a king in a certain region: except in 6.2, where the north wind, which should spell the end for the king of Akkad, instead is considered to be beneficial to Akkad. Then, in 6.3,

¹⁰⁷ Van Soldt, *Solar Omens of Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 24 (25) I 4 and 5.

¹⁰⁸ Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 6 19-20.

¹⁰⁹ Rochberg-Halton, “*Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination*,” EAE 15 col. III 6.1-6.4.

the east wind, which in the scheme used here would be expected to apply to Subartu, is instead associated with Akkad, and now does portend the death of its king! Not only that, it even predicts destruction by Adad and pestilence, something that does not occur in any of the other omens of this set.

This can manifest in ways which seem to un-arbitrarily favor one region over another:

10: *“If lightning flashes at night in the south, Adad will wreak destruction,*

11 *“If lightning flashes at night in the north, Adad will devastate the land of the Gutians,*

12 *“If lightning flashes at night in the east, Adad will devastate Elam,*

13 *“If ditto west - Adad will devastate Amurru.”*¹¹⁰

Here, all regions except Akkad are mentioned. The omen in which one would expect Akkad, number 10, which concerns the south wind, is instead ambiguous, and refers to a general “destruction”. The fact the diviners left out Akkad implies some form of “magical protection” on that land: in the world of the omina, there is no reason to leave out impossible phenomena, as long as they can be conceptually true. In the religious context of the omens, they were the expressions of intent by the gods, so, in a somewhat exorbitant manner of speaking, whatever is present in the omen compendia is *what the gods were thought to be able to decide would happen*. In that framework, the leaving out of Akkad here is especially relevant, as the gods were thought to be somewhat sympathetic to Akkad, shielding it from direct harm by not mentioning it by name in this set of omens.

The opposite of this leaving out also happens: in one set of omens, Elam is added in the apodoses of omens about the other lands, in a negative way.

14 *“If Venus rises in the path of Ea: Amurru will prosper, Elam will come to ruin,*

15 *“If Venus rises in the path of Anu: prosperity of Elam,*

16 *“If Venus rises in the path of Enlil: Akkad will prosper, Elam will come to ruin.”*¹¹¹

By contrast, here is what we would normally expect to happen:

17 *“If Venus for six months follows the path of Ea and stops: the gods will become reconciled with Amurru,*

18 *“If Venus six for months follows the path of Anu and stops: the gods will become reconciled with Elam,*

¹¹⁰ Gehlken, *Weather Omens of Enūma Anu Enlil*, EAE 47 10-13.

¹¹¹ Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Pt. 3*, Group D Sm. 781, 14-16.

19 “If Venus for six months follows the path of Enlil and stops: the gods will become reconciled with Akkad.”¹¹²

In the second set, which follows the first directly, the three Paths are associated with one region each: the Path of Ea with Amurru, Anu with Elam, and Enlil with Akkad. The apodoses mention only the one land associated with the specific Path in the protasis.

The first set, however, adds the ruin of Elam to the protases on the prosperity of the other lands. No such thing is done for Akkad or Amurru: for those lands, this set of omens is purely beneficial. If we take the same religious logic we applied to the omens where Akkad was left out: here we see that, in a religious sense, the gods are more likely to want to bring ruin to Elam than to the other lands. Furthermore, the happiness of Akkad and Amurru is contraposed with Elam’s ruin, suggesting that the preferred state of happiness for Akkad and Amurru was accompanied by weakness on Elam’s part. A comparable contraposition is observed in tablet 19:

8 “If an eclipse occurs on the 14th, 15th, 16th, or 20th day of Abu and sets during its eclipse: [...] rains in the sky and floods in the river will come, the crops of the land will flourish, the king of Elam will die.

10 “If an eclipse occurs on the 14th, 15th, 16th or 20th day of Ululu and sets during its eclipse, the Samanu-pest will ravage the fields, the eclipse signifies the king of Akkad, the king of Akkad will die.”¹¹³

Here, the death of the king of Akkad is preceded by disease, suggesting that nature mourns for the death of the true king. On the other hand, the death of the king of Elam is accompanied by rains and flourishing crops in the land.¹¹⁴

In conclusion, the irregular outcomes of sequences of omnia are one way in which the prejudices of the diviners are made clear: whether the irregularities were made consciously or not, they do point in the same direction as the apodoses as a whole: that not all the regions, supposedly equal in the omens, were actually treated equally in the compendia.

Statistics

After all the talk in the previous sections on how differently the lands are presented in the omen series, it must be pointed out that on the most basic level of outcome, there is very little difference between the lands. Below is a table with the calculated percentages of good-bad-neutral omen apodoses for all the lands, across the series. The good-bad-neutral distinctions are made from the point of view of the main land of the apodosis, so an “attack of GN” prediction is neutral.

	Good	Bad	Neither
<i>Akkad</i> (226)	29% (66)	67% (152)	14% (8)

¹¹² Idem, Group D Sm. 781, 17-19.

¹¹³ Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination,” EAE 19 III 8 and 10.

¹¹⁴ Compare this to the Disney movie *Lion King* (1994), in which this is depicted as happening quite literally.

<i>Amurru</i> (179)	22% (40)	69% (123)	9% (16)
<i>Elam</i> (191)	23% (44)	67% (128)	10% (19)
<i>Guti</i> (57)	5% (3)	75% (43)	19% (11)
Subartu (73)	18% (13)	68% (50)	14% (10)

Table 2 Ratio good-bad-neither omen instances per land in omens from all the divinatory series, with absolute numbers and percentages

The outcomes for each land are roughly comparable: all, except GUTI, have a rate of around 68% “bad” predictions for them, and around 20% “good” predictions. GUTI is an obvious outlier here, as it has 75% “bad” predictions, and only 5% “good” outcomes. Akkad has the highest percentage of good outcomes, with 29%. Though the percentages of “good” or “bad” omens are comparable, the omen outcomes themselves show considerable variety, as we saw earlier.

This tells us that there is no bias in the omen compendia when it comes to the vaguest effect of the omens. All lands, except GUTI, are statistically about as likely as all others to receive a portentous omen.

6. Non-Enūma Anu Enlil Omen Compendia

In this chapter, we will investigate whether the typecasting seen in the omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil* is also found in the omens from the other three large compendia.

Šumma ālu

We do not find a lot of references to other lands in *Šumma ālu*. Instead, vague references, like “the land” and “an enemy” are the norm.¹¹⁵ These most likely refer to the land of the diviners themselves, and to any enemy of that land, respectively. The precise details of which land is meant is part of the interpretative toolkit of the diviners. Akkad, Amurru, Elam, GUTI and Subartu all occur at least once, though.

On the first tablet is a section where a number of lands are treated in succession. Numbers 175 to 181 read “If, before the daises of my city, a dog yelps and a X answers it, the king of GUTI/Subartu/Akkad/Lullubu/Hanu/Amurru will die”.¹¹⁶ Elam is notable in its absence here, and Akkad occurs twice (number 177 and 180). In the rest of *Šumma ālu*, Subartu, Amurru, and even Akkad are not present at all, except on tablet 120, in which Akkad, Amurru, Elam and Subartu occur schematically.¹¹⁷ Elam is the subject of the apodoses of 49.161’ and 61.128.¹¹⁸ 49.161’ is thought to have originated in another omen series, *Šumma izbu*, where Elam figures more often. This omen, “If a sow [gives birth to] a monkey - [uprising of Elam; the land will experience famine,]” also occurs verbatim in *Šumma izbu*¹¹⁹, and it is likely to have originated there, since the protasis contains an irregular birth. The

¹¹⁵ In Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height vol 3*, “the land” occurs 216 times, and “enemy” 61 times, against 2 mentions of our five lands: Elam in both cases.

¹¹⁶ Freedman, *If A City Is Set on a Height vol. 1*, 40.

¹¹⁷ Sallaberger “Das Erscheinen Marduks”.

¹¹⁸ Freedman, *If a City Is Set on a Height Vol. 3*.

¹¹⁹ De Zorzi, *La Serie Teratomantica Šumma Izbu*, 22.80.

second one, 61.128, (“If the river carries away water that is like blood—bloodshed; the troops of Elam will fall by a weapon; famine will afflict the land / an enemy and his troops will fall in warfare”) fits in its tablet about waterways, but the other omens do not mention wars or other lands.

In Tablet 120, Akkad, Amurru, Elam and Subartu occur in methodically ordered sets of omina. The omens concern how the statue of Marduk in the Esagil temple looks at different moments, and if it is bent in a particular direction, that means that something will happen to the land associated with that direction. Elam is associated with the left side, and the south. Right and north is Akkad, Subartu is front and east, and Amurru is back and west. These directions match with the position of the cella holding the statue, which faced the rising sun in the east. The priest recording the state of the statue would be facing the statue, so he would be facing the west when assessing the statue. These omens use the same distribution of direction-to-region as in the lunar/celestial omens¹²⁰. There are two sets of systematic omens for all four land: 120.2-5 has Akkad, Amurru, Elam and Subartu spared by their gods, and 120.29-32 states that the foundations of the four lands will be firm. 120.27-28 only concern Akkad and Elam, and predicts that the land of Akkad/Elam will be angry.

Outside the omens from tablet 120, the predictions for the lands in *Šumma ālu* are all negative. The king dies, and Elam rises up or falls by a weapon (though this is negative for two different groups of people!). Given the scarcity of mentions, however, there is not much that can be said about these omens on their own. Outside of tablet 1 and 120, there are no sequences of omens in which the lands figure in consecutive apodoses.

Bārûtu

In the corpus of extispicy omens edited thus far, Elam occurs the most out of all the lands. In the editions of Ulla Koch, we find a total of fourteen omens concerning Elam, and two mentions of Elam in the descriptive part of historical omina (“omen of king PN who marched on Elam”). Since their apodoses do not concern Elam, they will not feature in this section anymore, though it is worth pointing out that the framing of Elam in these cases is that of an enemy in a war-like setting. Of the remaining fourteen, four have the apodosis “attack of Elam”. Two of those have an alternative interpretation of “attack of locusts”, and one specifies “if the land is gathered in the stronghold and the land of the king will suffer famine, the city elders will hand over the city and its land”. The remaining ten omens are variations on the apodosis that “Elam will rise against me”. Depending on the state of the rest of the liver, Elam will succeed in its attempt to invade the land, or fail along the way. Whether Elam succeeds or not is based on the intuitive interpretation of signs:

57.35: if a Foot rises from the rear of the Narrow Place of the Dyeing Vat at the right side of the Path and it reaches the Path: Elam will rise against me and invade the land.

¹²⁰ Sallaberger “Das Erscheinen Marduks”, 246-248.

57.36: *if a Foot rises from the rear of the Narrow Place of the Dyeing Vat at the right side of the Path but does not reach the Path: Elam will rise against me but will not be able to invade the land.*

57.37: *if a Foot rises from the rear of the Narrow Place of the Dyeing Vat at the right side of the Path and it reaches the Path and a Hole is placed on its tip: Elam will rise against me but will fall in the land.*¹²¹

The 'Foot'-mark on the right side of the 'Path'-mark means Elam will rise, and whether and how the 'Foot'-mark reaches the 'Path'-mark determines the success of Elam's campaign. If the two marks connect, Elam succeeds, if they do not connect, Elam will fail to invade the land, and if a 'Hole'-mark is located at the "end" of the Path, Elam will succeed to invade the land, but fall while there.

The other lands do not appear as much as Elam. Out of the four other lands, Subartu appears the most, and has a similar role to Elam: for example: 56.130+131: "... Subartu will devour the enemy land" and 57.61: "If the Dyeing Vat is twisted like a goat's horn: attack of Subartu".¹²² 'Attack of Subartu' occurs six times, 'Subartu will devour the (enemy) land' occurs three times. Akkad and Amurru are only mentioned in so-called historical omens: only once is the land involved in the apodosis at all: 26.19: "... Omen of Šarkališarri: destruction of Akkad. The enemy will attack your area, for a campaign: the leader of my army will not return"¹²³. In the other instances, all found on the same tablet, the lands are mentioned in the historical section of the omen, and the apodoses are not written at all. This tablet, Multābiltu tablet 14-15, is a list of historical omens of Sargon and Naram-Šîn of Akkad. It is closely related to the Chronicles of Early Kings, which shares most of its factoids and their order.¹²⁴ Elam and Amurru figure in this tablet as opponents of Sargon and Naram-Šîn, and Akkad is a locale in which Sargon operates: "... in front of Akkad he built a city and called it [Babylon ...]" (no.3), and "... Omen of Sargon, against whom by this omen all the land rebelled in his old age and besieged him in Akkad ..." (no.10).

In the *bārūtu*, then, only Elam and Subartu have any sort of presence. Their framing is very negative, since all that they can do is rise up or attack the region of the diviner. Akkad and Amurru mainly figure as locales of historical episodes, not as objects for divination, and Gutu does not appear at all.

Šumma izbu

Again, *Šumma izbu* does not contain many omens concerning the five lands. The most omens for any land are for Elam, which has eight omens. Seven of these predict an "attack of Elam", the other one states that "the king of Elam will rise up, he will plunder the land, and he will be killed"¹²⁵. The predictions in *Šumma izbu* are

¹²¹ Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 301.

¹²² Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 292 and 306.

¹²³ Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 26.19.

¹²⁴ A. K. Grayson, "Divination and the Babylonian Chronicles," in *La Divination En Mesopotamie Ancienne et Dans Les Regions Voisines* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 69–76.

¹²⁵ De Zorzi, *La Serie Teratomantica Šumma Izbu*, 21.42'.

very similar to those in the extispicy omnia, though there the “uprising” apodosis was most common, whereas in *Šumma izbu* the “attack” apodosis occurs the most.

The other lands do not occur much in this series. Akkad is placed in the role of a victim:

-2.19 “*an enemy will chase the land of Akkad, and plunder one tenth of it*”

-7.69’ “*destruction of Akkad*”

- 20.3 “*an enemy land will rise up and cause the land of Akkad to fall*”

The omens containing Amurru focus on the king of Amurru:

-12.28 “*the king of Amurru will seize the throne*”

-17.1 “*the king of Amurru will kill the king of Akkad*”

-17.20 “*the king of Amurru will die a death of his god*”

The only omen mentioning Subartu is 16.113, “attack of Subartu”, and Guti does not appear here either.

Compared to Elam, these omens are few in number, but they do display a wider variety of possible outcomes. Subartu shares the “attack” apodosis of Elam, but Akkad and Amurru show variety both in content and in wording: similar predictions, such as “destruction of Akkad” are phrased differently each time. It should be noted that the type of predictions for Akkad and Amurru display the same anxieties we found in the omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The fear for the destruction of Akkad was already prominent in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but in *Šumma izbu* it is the only concern. The rebellious streak Amurru has in the astrological omnia is retained in *Šumma izbu*, with two omens describing the king turning on Akkad and seizing its kingship. The prediction that “the king will die a death of his god” is also not unheard of in the light of *Enūma Anu Enlil*: in that series, the king of Amurru was predicted to die thirty-five times. The antagonistic framing of Elam is also present here. Elam is like in *Enūma Anu Enlil* warlike, but with little specificity.

To sum up, there are not all that many omens concerning the five lands in these compendia. However, regardless of the geographical focus of the compendium, they are still mentioned at times. Even in *Šumma ālu*, the series where the focus of the predictions lies most heavily on the local, the lands are mentioned occasionally.

Of the lands, Elam is mentioned most, usually in a prediction concerning an “attack of Elam”, or a “rising up” of Elam. Subartu has about half as many omens in these series as Elam, which means Subartu occurs much more frequently in these compendia than in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, relatively speaking. They both figure mainly in apodoses predicting an “attack” or a “rising up” of Elam or Subartu. The frequency of this prediction suggests that this apodosis is a staple of omen-production, an apodosis that the diviner-scribes could fall back on when creating new omens. Interestingly, Guti, which was very antagonistic in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, does not figure much at all in these compendia, though it would fit right in with these “attack” omens.

Akkad and Amurru occur less frequently still, but they have a more diverse selection of apodoses. In *Šumma izbu*, the three omens they get are remarkably similar to omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The typecasting of Akkad as a land under attack, and Amurru as a rebellious region is seen there as well. This suggests some intertextual communication between the two series.

Characterization in the compendia

Despite the likelihood of the lands receiving a positive prognosis is about equal for the lands, we have seen in this chapter that there are marked differences in the types of predictions recorded for the lands. Sometimes a land has certain omens or themes that are only seen for that land, such as Amurru's rebellious king, and sometimes a common omen occurs much more frequently for one land than for others, like the "fall of Elam" omens.

And, though the omen series often present themselves as "scientific" and regular, breaches in seemingly regular sets of omens do occur. These breaches can place a land in a set where no other lands are present, or cause a different outcome for different lands. We have seen that on multiple occasions, omens that should logically predict a negative thing to happen in Akkad's future, the omen is changed to either be positive for Akkad, or to leave out Akkad altogether. Conversely, Elam is added in omens where it should not logically be present, where its future was negative.

This distinction between the lands may not come as a surprise. Akkad is, after all, the home region of these omens, and Elam, Gutu and Subartu are traditional enemies. However, nothing in the omen compendia themselves indicates explicitly that this is the case. The gods are claimed to have made the destinies, and unless close attention is paid to all instances of regular omen sequences, their irregularity is hard to notice. However, I hope to have provided enough compelling evidence here to persuade the reader that there is an element of subconscious bias regarding these lands in the omen series. Most omens occur in the compendium of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but very comparable biases also appear in other omen series, most notably *Šumma izbu*.

7. Daily practice: the astrological reports

Corpus

In this chapter I will discuss the Neo-Assyrian astrological reports as collected in SAA 8¹²⁶. I have collected reports mentioning Akkad, Amurru, Gutu, Elam and Subartu. In spite of the political situation of the time, Urartu and Hatti are not mentioned by (that) name. Instead, we should seek their presence in the form of predictions for Subartu and Amurru. Elam does still exist in roughly the same form as was the case when the omen series were composed, as Elam was a relatively constant actor to the east of Mesopotamia. The 'self' must be assumed to usually be represented by Akkad, though Babylonia, the original 'self' region of the omens, was considered to be a different region from Assyria, and not always a part of the empire.

¹²⁶ Hermann Hunger, Julian Reade, and Simo Parpola, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*, State Archives of Assyria 8 (Helsinki: University Press, 1992).

A number of times, Assyria is also equated with Subartu; “ [If the moon becomes visible in] Nisan (I) on the 30th day: [Su]bartu [will devour] the Ahlamû; a foreigner will rule the Westland. (4) We are Subartu”¹²⁷. It is likely the contents of the predictions were discussed and applied to the current situation of the empire in person, by a council of high-ranking scholars, military officials and the king¹²⁸.

Description

I have collected the mentions of the five lands in these reports, and made a list of their outcomes. For Akkad, the outcomes are generally positive. ‘Good things’ are predicted for Akkad fifteen times, ‘bad things’ eight times. Dispersal occurs five times, the fall of Akkad only once. ‘The king will extend the life’ occurs fifteen times, ‘the king will not have a rival’ nine times, ‘the king will rule GN/the world’ occurs thirteen times. Negative things are relatively rare: it is only once made explicit the king of Akkad will die, he will experience confinement once, not reach his goal once, and be shut up five times. Longer predictions exist: ‘angry gods will be reconciled with Akkad; there will be copious rain and regular floods in Akkad; barley and sesame will increase, and the equivalent of (only) 1 litre will (have to) be paid for 1 kor; the gods in the sky will stand in their (appropriate) positions; their shrines will see wealth’ occurs three times, and ‘reliable speech; the land will become happy; the gods will remember Akkad favourably; there will be joy among people: the king will become happy; the cattle of Akkad will lie in the steppe undisturbed’ occurs no less than fifty times, with minor variations.

For Amurru, a good fortune is predicted once, against twenty-two times a prediction for a bad or evil fate. The harvest yield of Amurru is also a concern: it is predicted twice that the harvest will prosper, twice that there will be famine, twelve times that Amurru will diminish, and seventeen times that the Ahlamû will ‘devour the wealth’ of Amurru. This fits with Syria’s subordinate position in the Assyrian empire. Military matters are also of interest: it is predicted that there will be an attack of Amurru five times, that the king will fall in battle three times, that the Westland will fall three times, that the king will rule the world twice, and that a foreigner will rule the Westland ten times.

The predictions on Elam are overwhelmingly negative. The fall of Elam is predicted fifteen times, ‘bad’ or ‘evil’ things another fifteen times, death of the king seven times, and destruction, famine, an attack by Elam, and dispersal all occur once. Only once is a phenomenon ‘good for Elam’.

Guti does not figure much in these reports: only four predictions are made for it, and they are all negative: twice it is predicted that Gutu will be conquered, and twice the fall of Gutu is predicted.

Subartu is a mixed bag: both good things and bad things happen in about equal measure. Good omens are the general ‘good for Subartu’ omens, which occur

¹²⁷ SAA 8 60, 4.

¹²⁸ Stefan M. Maul, *The Art of Divination in the Ancient Near East: Reading the Signs of Heaven and Earth*, trans. Brian McNeil and Alexander Johannes Edmonds (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2018), chapter 9.

three times, ‘the king will be strong (and have no rival)’, which occurs six times, ‘the king will exercise world rule’, which occurs twice, and it is predicted once that ‘in Subartu speech will become reliable, the land will be happy’. On the other hand, the Ahlamû are predicted to devour Subartu nine times, while the opposite happens only once, and Amurru is predicted to defeat Subartu in battle twice. The king is predicted to die twice, a revolt and dispersal are predicted both once, and the generic ‘bad for Subartu’ is predicted once. An attack by Subartu is predicted to occur five times.

Proportion good/bad

	<i>Ak</i> <i>kad</i>	<i>Amu</i> <i>rru</i>	<i>El</i> <i>am</i>	<i>G</i> <i>uti</i>	<i>Sub</i> <i>artu</i>
<i>abundance</i>	1				
<i>ahlamu will devour GN</i>					9
<i>ahlamu will devour wealth of GN</i>		17			
<i>angry gods will be reconciled</i>	3				
<i>Attack of GN, battle/military campaign</i>	3	5	1		5
<i>bad</i>	8	22	15		1
<i>brightness</i>	1				
<i>destruction</i>			1		
<i>devastation</i>	1				1
<i>dispersal</i>	5		1		
<i>evil</i>		4	3		
<i>fall</i>	1	3	15	1	
<i>fall of the king and the land</i>				1	
<i>famine</i>		2	1		
<i>foreigner will rule GN</i>		10			
<i>GN will be conquered</i>				2	
<i>GN will be diminished</i>		10			
<i>GN will become smaller</i>		2			
<i>GN will defeat GN in battle</i>					2 (Westland - Sub.)
<i>GN will devour ahlamu</i>					1
<i>gods will remember favourably</i>	50				
<i>good</i>	15	1	1		3

<i>good for the king</i>	2				
<i>Harvest/cultivated fields will prosper</i>	1	2			
<i>king of a 100 days</i>	1				
<i>king will be shut up</i>	5				
<i>king will become strong</i>	9				
<i>king will die</i>	1		7		2
<i>king will exercise world rule</i>		2			2
<i>king will experience confinement</i>	1				
<i>king will extend the life</i>	15				
<i>king will fall in battle</i>		3			
<i>king will have no rival</i>	9				6
<i>king will not reach goal</i>	1				
<i>king will reach goal</i>	1				
<i>king will rule</i>	13				
<i>recovery from illness</i>	2				
<i>revolt</i>		2			1
<i>weapons will be raised/attack</i>	4				

Table 3 Outcomes of predictions mentioning the five lands in the reports of SAA 8

	Good for GN	Bad for GN	Neither
Akkad (135)	77.0% (104)	17.0% (23)	5.9% (8)
Amurru (80)	7.0% (5)	88.8% (71)	5.0% (4)
Elam (42)	2.4% (1)	95.2% (40)	2.4% (1)
Guti (4)	0	100% (4)	0
Subartu (35)	37.1% (13)	48.6 (17)	14.3 (5)

Table 4 Proportion of outcomes good-bad for the land the prediction applies to in the reports of SAA 8

Together, the two tables show us an interesting picture. Let us discuss the second one first. There are stark differences in the ratio of “good” and “bad” predictions for the lands. Elam, Amurru, and Gutu all have a predisposition for a negative outcome for them. Akkad’s predictions are largely positive, and Subartu’s

are almost equally distributed. This outcome is hardly surprising: Akkad and Subartu were after all equated with Assyria and Babylonia, the heartland, or traditional domain, of Assyrian kingship. Amurru, on the other hand, while part of the Assyrian empire, was considered to be a peripheral region. Elam and Gutu are both traditional enemies, with Elam also being an actual enemy for a large part of Neo-Assyrian history. The negative predictions for these regions make sense, then, from a political perspective: one would like to see bad omens for the enemy, and good omens for oneself.

But I want to look at the predictions with more detail, like I did in the previous part with the omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Because, like with the omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, there are some interesting findings. Later on, I will compare the predictions of the astrological reports to the omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil*. For this second part, we will look at the first table. There are only a few categories where most lands are present in the table. Only four predictions have four lands, none have five. Those four outcomes are “attack of GN”, “bad for GN”, “fall of GN”, and “good for GN”. These predictions are very basic, and occur a lot in *Enūma Anu Enlil* and other omen series as well.

In Akkad, we see a massive number of positive predictions. The main one is a prediction occurring fifty times, in the form of “If on the 14th day the moon and sun are seen together: reliable speech; the land will become happy; the gods will remember Akkad favourably; joy among the troops; the king will become happy; the cattle of Akkad will lie in the steppe undisturbed.”¹²⁹ “Good for Akkad” occurs fifteen times, and positive things are predicted for the king as well. For Amurru, “Bad for Amurru” occurs often, as do omens predicting an invasion from outside: an attack by the Ahlamu, or a conquest by a foreign king. Amurru’s diminution is predicted ten times, a prediction not attested for any other land. These predictions show a concern for the material wealth and political welfare of the Westland. Compare the “Ahlamu” prediction of Amurru with the “Ahlamu”-omen of Subartu: for Subartu, it is predicted that the Ahlamu will “devour Subartu”, while on the other hand they “devour the wealth of Amurru”. This prediction is also telling: “If Leo is dark: for three years, lions and wolves will kill people and cut off traffic with the Westland”¹³⁰. Here the concern of the diviner is for the availability of the road network, which are necessary for the transportation of goods, people, and the armies to keep the region in check. Famine and a prosperous harvest are not very common predictions in the reports, but they occur most frequently for Amurru: twice for both predictions; a prosperous harvest is only ever prognosed again once for Akkad, and the famine only once for Elam. There are almost no predictions concerning the king of Amurru: two predictions that the “king will exercise world domination”, and three predictions that he “will fall in battle”. Compare this to the predisposition these reports have for the welfare of the king of Akkad, and it is clear that the king of Amurru was not thought of as relevant. These apodoses fit very well in the larger political framework of the Assyrian empire, where the Westland was a conquered province for most of the duration of the empire. The Assyrians mainly used the region to extract wealth and

¹²⁹ SAA 8 151, 1.

¹³⁰ SAA 8 324, 3.

funnel that to the Assyrian heartland.¹³¹ Of course the main concern policy-makers have for the Westland would be whether the region was flourishing economically, and reliably under Assyrian control.

Most of Elam's predictions are very negative in a general way: "bad for Elam" is common, as is "fall of Elam" and "death of the king of Elam". Some predictions are more specific: "If Adad thunders at the gate of the moon: there will be a fall of the army of Elam in battle; the possessions of its land will be collected into another land"¹³². Here, Elam is presented as a land where wealth is still to be found, almost in contrast to Amurru, where the wealth must be protected and maintained against outsiders. The wording of the prediction is ambiguous as to who the enemy is who would collect Elam's wealth: *šanītimma* could refer to either a different country from Assyria and Elam, or to a country different from Elam, which would include Assyria, making this omen attractive to Assyria's king. Another report references the presence of other enemies of Elam: "If a star flares up and sets like a torch from west to east: the enemy will conquer a border town of mine in Elam; (fall) of the army of Elam"¹³³. Elam is a land, surrounded by enemies, literally doomed to fall.

Similarly to *Enūma Anu Enlil*, there are less predictions concerning Gutu and Subartu than the other lands. Gutu is only mentioned four times, and with a negative prognosis always. There are few stand-out predictions for Subartu. Most numerous attested is "the Ahlamu will devour Subartu", which occurs nine times, the six times that "the king will be strong and have no rival", and the five "attack of Subartu"-s. Most other presages occur only once or twice. This weak focus on Subartu is surprising, as it is often identified as Assyria. Presumably, the bulk of omens I did not include in my dataset, the ones mentioning just "the land" or "the king", were about Assyria. Subartu would not really need to be named in this system, as omens about "the land" are more numerous in omen compendia than omens about Subartu. The omens that do mention Subartu by name suggest a somewhat militant character: the attack by Subartu, or the attack by the Ahlamu. The "king without rival" omens are reserved for Akkad and Subartu, which does make sense, as it would take a stronger scholar than most to tell the king another is stronger than him.

Comparison to *Enūma Anu Enlil*

When we compare the profiling of the omens from *Enūma Anu Enlil* to the predictions found in the astrological reports, we see that they tend to agree with one another in an interesting way.

For Akkad, we saw in the previous chapter that many of the long omen apodoses associated with Akkad had a tendency to be propitious for Akkad. The same can be said of the astronomical reports, where almost half of the total predictions for Akkad are a variation on one long and positive apodosis ("reliable speech, the land

¹³¹ Avraham Faust, "Settlement, Economy, and Demography under Assyrian Rule in the West: The Territories of the Former Kingdom of Israel as a Test Case," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135, no. 4 (2015): 765–89, and Avraham Faust, "The Southern Levant under the Neo-Assyrian Empire: A Comparative Perspective," in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, ed. Tyson and Hermann (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 97–127.

¹³² SAA 8 119, 5.

¹³³ SAA 8 303, r.2.

will become happy. The gods will remember Akkad favorably; joy among the troops; the king will become happy; the cattle of Akkad will lie in the steppe undisturbed”¹³⁴). This omen does not occur in *Enūma Anu Enlil* as it is known now,... Though the positive bias for omens about Akkad was present in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, bad things were still being predicted regularly, and the proportion of good-bad omens was about the same for Akkad as for the other lands. That is completely missing here: Akkad has a majority of positive omens, and is much more likely to receive them than the other lands.

Amurru in *Enūma Anu Enlil* had the portraiture of a rebellious province. The characterization as a province is still very present in the reports, but instead of rebellious, the Westland is seen as almost volatile: the wealth it produces is easily diminished or stolen away by nomads. The prediction for a revolt does occur twice, though, so this aspect is not completely lost. These revolts are both internal, however. Take, for instance: “If Mars comes close to the Old Man star (Perseus): there will be a revolution in the Westland, and brother will kill brother; the emblems of the lands will be overthrown; a secret of the land will go to another land; the gods will leave it (and) will turn away from it”¹³⁵. This omen could be taken directly from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, as it is found in a copy of the 56th tablet of that series on a copy from Anu-muballit, son of Anu-belshunu, from Uruk, year 97 of the Seleucid era¹³⁶. In *Enūma Anu Enlil*, omens about Amurru rebelling against the land, or against Akkad, occur only twice, but some more omens reference some type of uprising in Amurru, such as “Amurru’s laid down arms will rise”. Omens for an internal revolt occur four times, so its inclusion in the reports is not unusual, but the lack of predictions for a revolt against another land, a theme not less frequent in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, is remarkable.

Elam is presented in both corpora as an entity that is antagonistic to the “self”-region. In *Enūma Anu Enlil* we saw that that encompassed a militant inclination with the “attack of Elam” apodoses, a strong king with a similar militant inclination. Death of the king did occur, but not as frequently as for Akkad and Amurru, though the fall of Elam was predicted often. In the astrological reports, we see that the fall of Elam did carry over from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but the strong, militant character has all but disappeared. Only once is an “attack of Elam” predicted, and the king of Elam is predicted to die seven times, outclassing Subartu and Akkad, the only other lands with this prediction, by a wide margin. The king is not said to be strong either: those apodoses are now reserved only for the king of Akkad and Subartu; in other words, the Assyrian king himself. A “good” prediction is made only once, against the fifteen times the stars were “bad” for Elam. The narrative is clear: Elam has the gods against it, it will fall and the king will die. The proportion of good-bad omens between *Enūma Anu Enlil* and the astrological reports, is, like with Akkad, completely different between the two corpora. Whereas Elam in *Enūma Anu Enlil* sat at a comfortable 67% bad omens, which was roughly

¹³⁴ SAA 8 15, 6.

¹³⁵ SAA 8 400, 5.

¹³⁶ Largement, “Contribution a l’Etude Des Astres Errants Dans l’Astrologie Chaldeenne.”

the same percentage as the other lands, in the reports, that percentage is raised to 95%.

Guti occurs very sparsely in the reports: only four times, and in those four times only negative things are predicted for it. Like in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the predictions are of a military nature: fall and conquest of GUTI and its king. This corresponds nicely to the most frequent *Enūma Anu Enlil* omens on GUTI: “fall of GUTI” occurred ten times, “conquest” seven, and the death of the king three times.

There are some stark differences between the two corpora with regards to Subartu, however. The Ahlamu are not mentioned in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, them probably not being a force of note in the time the omens were composed, but the nine omens predicting that they will “devour” Subartu are unmatched in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, where the closest one gets is the single omen predicting that “an enemy will devour the crops of Subartu”¹³⁷. The protasis is similar to *Enūma Anu Enlil* 1’s “If the moon is visible on day 30: the enemy will not interrupt his victorious advance into the land of Akkad and the enemy’s troops will strike the land”¹³⁸, as in the SAA corpus it is always about the visibility of the moon on the 30th day of the months of Nisan (I), Ab (V) and Tebet (X). The omen used in the astrological reports is therefore likely a later addition to the professional literature, on account of its novel subject material and more explicit protasis. In two of the occasions it was invoked, the scholar mentions the *Šumma Sin* tradition that “Tebet means Elam”¹³⁹. In these reports they do not further elaborate on this claim, but it is likely meant as a way of indicating that the evil of the omen is not (necessarily) meant for Subartu, but that it could be passed on to the enemy Elam. Another difference between the astrological reports and *Enūma Anu Enlil* is the presence in the reports of the prediction that “the king of Subartu will be strong and have no rivals”. In the compendia, this prediction is not unusual, but it occurs only for Akkad, Amurru and Elam. In the astrological reports, it only occurs for Akkad and Subartu. The protasis, “if the moon and the sun are visible on the 16th day” (sometimes without the sun, sometimes on the 15th day), does not occur in my *Enūma Anu Enlil* corpus. It would not be extraordinary to think that this, like the Ahlamu, was an addition specific to the political situation of the 1st millennium. As Assyria grew more important, and Subartu became a new “us” region to the scholars, the existing sublime-king omens were deemed insufficient without the Assyrian king’s inclusion, and therefore it was added.

These differences cause Subartu to look fundamentally different in these corpora. Whereas it was a region plagued by misfortune in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, in the astrological reports, it is a second “us” region, so there is more focus on the strength of the king and invading neighbours. The presence of five “attack of Subartu” predictions in the reports also separates the reports from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, as in *Enūma Anu Enlil* the “attack” apodosis occurs only once, and Subartu is less inclined to aggressive actions than other lands, most notably GUTI and Elam.

¹³⁷ Rochberg-Halton, “*Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination*,” EAE 15 8.1.

¹³⁸ Verderame, *Le Tavole I-VI Della Serie Astrologica Enuma Anu Enlil*, EAE 1 §1b 7.

¹³⁹ Bulluṭu in SAA 8 120 and Bel-upahhir in SAA 8 472.

Though Subartu and Akkad are both representatives of the “us” region in one way or another, Akkad is referenced more often than Subartu, and sees a larger percentage of positive outcomes. The king of Akkad is also referenced more often: this may be because omens about him occur more often in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and perhaps also because scholars preferred the neutral “king” for their liege, and pulled most omens from that pool, instead of the corpus I look at here. We see that Akkad keeps the same “us” characterization from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and intensifies the positive tendencies found in those omens, while Subartu gains this characterization, and the omens for that land are adapted for this new role.

8. Conclusion

I started this paper with a description of how Mesopotamian divination functions in the cultural and religious world of the Mesopotamians. It is fundamentally tied to their religion, as they envisioned the gods to influence the world directly to enable divination. The discipline of extispicy is also directly involved with the gods, as the questions at the centre of entrail-divination are posed to the gods Šamaš and Adad. The omen compendia were the dictionaries of this conversation, and they were thought, in some way, to have originated with the gods themselves. They contained all possible phenomena in the world, as well as the effect those phenomena would have on that world. The conversion from phenomenon to its effect was facilitated and ensured by the powers of the gods, who were willing to change their verdict on what was to happen in the mortal world if persuaded adequately by mortal pleas and rituals. Viewed in this way, the omen compendia contained all that the Mesopotamians thought the gods were willing to let pass. As such, the omens contain what the Mesopotamians thought was probable and natural to happen.

We see this happen in the omnia with regards to the commonly used geographical regions of Akkad, Amurru, Elam, Gutu and Subartu. One feature of the omen compendia is that instances of fourpartite schemes can often be very regular. This creates the illusion that all the lands are treated equally in the divinatory series. Instead of similar predictions in the apodoses, there are marked differences that manifest in several ways. Not all lands have the same amount of standard apodoses. Standouts are Akkad, which has many “the king will die” omens, and Elam, which has many “fall of Elam” and “diminution of Elam” omens. The strongest effect this sorts is in the omens for Gutu, which are almost exclusively bad for Gutu, or militaristic in nature. This paints a strong picture of Gutu as a belliferous region. Many omens are also only attested for one land. These unique omens can carry themes that are not seen elsewhere in the omen compendia, too. Many omens for Elam mention its “hemming in”, sometimes in very long, inauspicious omens. Amurru has many omens that predict it will rebel against Akkad. Akkad itself is the only region that sees good predictions in these unique omens, such as in “the heart of Akkad will be glad”.

The other way in which the regular schemes are misleading, is that they are not always regular at all. There are instances in *Enūma Anu Enlil* where one would expect a ominous prediction for Akkad, but instead we find no geographical specification there at all. The following omens do specify the other, foreign, lands.

Alternatively, Elam has been shown to be added to predictions primarily about other lands.

Throughout the omens, we see that different lands get different treatment. The same is true for the non-astrological series, though there are markedly fewer instances of the lands in those series. Akkad is clearly the home-region. It has the most positive outcomes, and even gets left out of schematic sequences where the effect on Akkad would be bad. The standard omens focus on the death of the king, and on the possibility of invasion in the region. Amurru is a rebellious subordinate, and Elam is a generally hostile region, with many unpropitious omens, with a powerful and military successful king. This is exasperated in the omen series outside of *Enūma Anu Enlil*: there the omens for Elam are either negative, or of the “attack of Elam” type, painting Elam in a very bad light. Gutu is often involved in wars, but with less success than Elam: its defeat is often predicted. Subartu has more positive predictions in *Enūma Anu Enlil* than Gutu, but it is often afflicted by natural disasters. In the other omen series, Subartu shares Elam’s position as a stereotypical villain, with many “attack of Subartu” omens, mainly in the *Bārûtu*.

The scholars writing the astrological reports in the Neo-Assyrian period clearly had their biases with regards to the five regions. Akkad and Subartu, being usually equated with Assyria, get many more positive predictions in the reports than Elam or Amurru. The proportion good to bad in the reports is very different from what one would expect based on the omen compendia, where the outcomes for the different regions are roughly comparable. This is not the only transformation the predictions have undergone in their transfer to daily practice: the focus of the predictions also changed slightly. For Akkad, the tendency towards positive predictions is amplified. Amurru is still portrayed as a province of the diviner’s client (which it largely was in this period), but the predictions of rebellions against Akkad are gone: now Amurru is threatened by nomads, and in danger of loss of its resources. Elam is very much still an enemy, but the strength and success it could have in the omen compendia are gone. Instead, most predictions in the reports state that Elam will fall, or experience bad luck. Gutu does not occur much in the reports, but the militaristic tendency is maintained: all four omens predict a fall or conquest for Gutu or its king. The biggest change was for Subartu: the proportion good to bad omens is now roughly 50-50, and new omens about the strength of the king were added to accommodate Subartu’s newly interpreted identification with Assyria.

The Assyrian scholars have creatively adapted the existing biases of the omens for their own purposes and situations. The negative and militaristic image Elam had in the omen compendia was employed to predict almost solely bad things for the political enemy of the Assyrian kings. The position of Amurru in the Assyrian empire as a province used for its wealth found a match in the omen’s characterization of Amurru as a rebellious province. The new anxieties about the volatility of Amurru’s wealth, and its vulnerability to raiders, informs many of the predictions about this region. Akkad and Subartu were identified as Assyria, and as such received the most positive predictions. Gone are the worries of an attack on Akkad, the picture painted by the scholars to the king is very confident of the strength, stability and divine favour of Akkad. The addition of omens about the strength of the king to Subartu,

which is unattested in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, is telling as well: the scholars did readjust the omens to some extent to suit the needs and wants of the king.

The limitations of this study are many. This study is a first venture into the problem of the lands in omen compendia. More publications of tablets could enable a further sophistication of the different characterizations. Especially tantalizing with new publications is the possibility for more detailed descriptions of local and temporal differences. Would local sensibilities, for instance in the region of “Amurru”, have an influence on apodoses? And how do local traditions make the transition from theory to practice in this regard? The question of the *mātu* and the *nakru* could also be explored along similar lines. The material for those two was too much for this paper, but I would expect a certain characterisation to be visible in the apodoses there as well. And since those two occur much more frequently in non-*Enūma Au Enlil* compendia than the five lands studied here, there might be more variety visible between the series.

This study has shown that the Mesopotamian omen compendia are not neutral documents, free of judgement of the different lands, as is often imagined. They have their biases and characterizations, which play into convenient political narratives in the Neo-Assyrian reports. It is vital for our understanding of the omen compendia to be mindful of the fact that the authors brought their own biases and cultural knowledge into the omens.

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Appendices

Akkad

Good fortune

Abundance/plenty: 3 (EAE I 17 4.2 ; EAE 18 iv 16-17 ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ 10')

Abundance of fish: 1 (EAE 5 man. f 8')

Akkad will become strong, scattered herds will gather: 1 (EAE 29 III 21)

Akkad will prosper: 3 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 16 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 3 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 3)

Country will dwell in security: 1 (EAE 28 108)

Crop/harvest will thrive/prosper: 3 (BPO 4 D VAT 9818 13' ; BPO 4 G K.8097 12' ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev.ii 4-5)

Cultivated land will prosper: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 19)

Future is propitious/good: 2 (EAE 20 1.1 A ; EAE 20 1.1 B)

Good fortune: 5 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 10 ; BPO 3 F D.T. 47 1 ; BPO 3 F K.2346+ 2 ; BPO 3 F K.2346+ 55 ; BPO 3 81-2-4,239 6)

Heart of Akkad will become healed: 1 (BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev.ii 13-14)

Land and people will be well: 1 (EAE 18 iv 16-17)

People will be well: 2 (EAE 20 1.1 A ; EAE 20 1.1 B)

Trade will flourish: 1 (EAE 5 man. v 3)

Bad fortune, decline, fall

Akkad will diminish/be reduced: 5 (EAE 15 7.1 ; EAE 19 7'-9' ; BPO 4 G K.8097 8' ; BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 41 ; BPO 3 F K.2204 9)

Akkad will experience weakness: 1 (EAE 16 ix 6)

Akkad will wail: 1 (BPO 3 K.3708 10)

Anarchy: 2 (EAE 20 1.1 A ; EAE 20 1.1 B)

Barley shortage/famine: 3 (EAE 15 7.2 ; EAE I 17 1.2 ; 3.2 ; EAE 18 IV 8-9)

Catastrophe in Akkad: 1 (EAE 29 Ia 2)

Crop will be blasted by wind: 1 (BPO 4 D VAT 9818 13')

Chaos in Akkad: 2 (EAE 29 Ia 3 ; EAE 29 Ib 4)

Cultivated land will not prosper: 2) (BPO 2 XII K.11096+Rm.95 1; 17)

Destruction and famine: 1 (EAE 21 I.1)

Downfall of Akkad: 5 (EAE 15 3.1 ; 3.2 ; 3.3 ; 3.4 ; EAE 49 22')

Downfall of the army: 3 (EAE 15 1.1 ; 1.2 ; EAE I 17 2.2)

Downfall of the king: 1 (EAE 19 10")

Evil/bad/misfortune for Akkad: 3 (BPO 3 B K.6021+8611, 12' ; BPO 3 F K.2346+ 24 ; EAE 5 man. a 11)

False oaths will be made: 1 (EAE 5 man. q 25')

Famine: 2 (EAE 17 II 1.4 ; EAE II E rev. 11-12)

Flood will carry away the land: 1 (EAE 22 XI.4)

Market of one gur will become one seah: 3 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 20 ; BPO 4 E K.12264+16322 7' ; BPO 4 F K.4052 rev.13')

Market of one-half sila will become one shekel: 3 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 21 ; BPO 4 E K.12264+16322 8' ; BPO 4 F K.4052 rev.14')

Market price will fall, field will not bear yield: 1 (BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev. 1-3)

Market will be halved: 3 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 19 ; BPO 4 E K.12264+16322 6' ; BPO 4 F K.4052 rev. 11'-12')

People will answer each other/say worthless things: 3 (BPO 4 D BM 47688 24' ; BPO 4 D BM 35122 r.2' ; EAE 5 man. i ii 8')

People will sell their children: 1 (EAE 21 I.1)

Property will be plundered: 1 (EAE 20 1.2 A)

Trade in Akkad and Elam will decrease: 1 (EAE 5 man. q 20')

Trade will decrease: 2 (EAE 5 man. f 13' ; EAE 5 man. v 15-16)

Violence and murder (in Akkad and Subartu): 1 (EAE 47 rev. 22')

Disease

Continuous epidemics: 1 (EAE 6 5)

Plague/epidemic/pestilence: 4 (BPO 4 I K.5961+ 12' ; BPO 4 I K.2126 6' ; EAE I 17 2.2 ; EAE 18 iv 25-26)

Rapadu-disease: 8 (BPO 4 I K.2126 rev. 1' ; 2' ; BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 7;8;9 ; BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 26;27;28)

Divine action

Adad will devastate Akkad: 1 (EAE 49 26')

Adad will flood the crop of Akkad: 1 (EAE 5 man. u rev. 13'-15')

Adad will make the crop of Akkad prosper: 1 (EAE 5 man. u rev. 10'-12')

Angry gods will be reconciled, copious rains and floods, barley and flax will be plentiful: 1 (BPO 4 K K.2341+ 13'-15')

Enlil will cause leprosy and epilepsy: 1 (BPO 2 IV K.6997+79-7-8,210, IV 2a)

Gods will be gracious: 1 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 41)

Gods will become angry with Akkad: 1 (BPO 3 K.3708 6)

Gods will become reconciled with Akkad: 8 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 19; BPO 3 F K.7936 6 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 6 ; BPO 3 F 81-2-4,229 2 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 6 ; BPO 3 F ND 4362 11 ; BPO 3 K.3708 1 ; BPO 3 K.3708 5)

Gods will descend to Akkad with evil intent: 1 (EAE 28 105)

In Elam and Akkad, Erra and Adad will ravage for five years: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 15)

Nergal will devour the cattle: 1 (BPO 2 IV K.6997+79-7-8,210, IV 2a)

Nergal will ravage the land: 1 (EAE 21 V.3)

Plague at command of Erra (will not affect cattle): 1 (BPO 2 XIII K.4510, 5)

Sick people, children will die at the behest of Lamashtu: 1 (EAE 44 II S1)

Sick people, men and young women will die at the behest of Shamash: 1 (EAE 44 II S2)

Twin Gods will lie: 2 (BPO 4 A K.5889 10' ; BPO 4 J K.6098 10')

War and destruction

Akkad will be conquered by a strong weapon: 4 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 2 ; BPO 4 A K.2080+3767 4-5 ; BPO 4 A K.6457+ 2 ; BPO 4 A BM 36315 5')

Akkad will be crushed: 1 (EAE 56 106)

Akkad will be victorious: 1 (EAE 16 iii.12)

Akkad will gather in the fortress: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 20')

Akkad's leader arises, defeats Elam and its leader: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 13)

All lands will bring tribute to Akkad: 2 (BPO 4 L K.3091 5 ; 6)

Attack against an enemy nation: 1 (EAE 56 90b)

Attack of Umman-manda against Akkad: 1 (EAE 6 28)

Battle: 1 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 rev.16)

Borders of Akkad and Amurru will be reduced by wars and battles for three years: 2 (EAE 5 man. f 17' ; EAE 6 26)

Defeat of Akkad 5 (BPO 3 B K.3632, 23 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 rev.29 ; BPO 3 F ND 4362 21 ; BPO 3 F K.2346+ 31 ; EAE 5 man. u rev. 13'-15')

Enemy will advance into Akkad, enemy troops will strike the land: 1 (EAE 1 7)

Enemy will conquer Akkad: 5 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 7 ; 8 ; 9 ; BPO 4 A K.6457+ 8 ; 9)

Enemy will consume the crops: 1 (EAE 15 8.2)

Enemy will devour the land of Akkad: 1 (EAE 5 man. m 27'-28')

Enemy will hit Akkad: 1 (EAE 56 45)

Enemy will ravage Akkad: 1 (EAE 28 108a)

Rebellion in Akkad: 3 (EAE 29 III 31 ; EAE 21 VI.1 ; EAE 5 man. i i 32')

King

King of Akkad and the king of Amurru will be hostile to each other: 1 (EAE 6 26)

King of Akkad will achieve overpowering strength: 1 (BPO 4 M K.3780 5)

King of Akkad will be killed by his sons (son will/won't take the throne): 1 (BPO 3 C IV.20)

King of Akkad will be strong and have no rivals: 2 (BPO 3 A BM 75228, 15 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 16)

King will have no rival: 5 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 22 ; BPO 3 F K.7936 9 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 9 ; BPO 3 F 81-2-4,229 2 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 9)

King will become important and strong/powerful: 3 (BPO 3 B K.2226, 37 ; BPO 3 F K.7936 13 ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev.ii 10)

King will become strong (and have a profit): 2 (BPO 2 XV K.230, 15 ; BPO 4 A BM 36315 2')

King of Akkad will fall ill and not recover: 1 (BPO 3 C II.14)

King of Akkad will perish/fall: 4 (BPO 3 C IV.2 ; EAE 5 man. n2 6'-7' ; EAE 5 man. u 4' ; 16')

King of Akkad will prevail over X : 1 (EAE 6 man. l-o 20)

King of Akkad will rise up and rule the land of Amurru: 1 (EAE 25 I 19)

King of Akkad will rule the land: 1 (EAE 5 man. v 1)

King of Akkad's reign will be long-lasting: 1 (EAE 29 III 18)

King will attain totality: 2 (EAE 5 man. n2 8'-9' ; EAE 5 man. u 17')

King will be fettered: 1 (BPO 4 I K.5961+ 10')

King will be killed in a revolt: 4 (EAE 5 f 28'-29' ; EAE 5 man. i i 36'-37' ; EAE 35 i 5-6 ; EAE 35 i 7)

King will be well: 2 (EAE I 17 1.2 ; 2.2)

King will bring peace: 1 (EAE 20 VI A)

King will conquer: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 3')

King will die: 27 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 36 ; 56 ; BPO 3 A K.148, 23 ; BPO 3 B K.2226, 3 ; BPO 4 B 80-7-19,90 5 ; 6 ; BPO 4 I K.5961+ 17' ; BPO 4 I K.2126 11' ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ 2' ; EAE 24 III 58 ; 64 ; EAE 56 106 ; EAE 15 6.3 ; 7.1 ; 7.4 ; EAE 17 II 1.4 ; EAE 18 iv 15-16 ; EAE 18 xi.7 ; xi.9 ; EAE 19 III 10 ; EAE 20 1.1 A ; EAE 21 I.1 ; EAE 21 V.3 ; EAE 21 XII.4 ; EAE 22 XI.4 ; EAE 35 i 4 ; EAE 35 i 5-6)

King will establish hostility: 1 (EAE 20 VI B)

King will experience joy: 2 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 13 ; BPO 3 F D.T. 47 5)

King will fall ill: 1 (EAE I 17 3.2)

King will fall ill and die: 1 (EAE 18 IV 8-9)

King will not achieve his goal: 1 (EAE 56 45)

King will provide food: 3 (BPO 3 F K.2346+ 40 ; EAE 18 IV 8-9 ; EAE I 17 3.2)

King will see rejoicing: 1 (BPO 3 B K.2226, 27)

King will strike wherever he wants: 1 (EAE 5 man. o 6')

Throne of Akkad will be occupied by no-one: 1 (EAE 35 i 2)

Untrue son of the king will take the throne: 1 (EAE 18 xi.7)

Varia

Eclipse will not approach Akkad: 4 (EAE 15 2.2 ; 4.2 ; 5.2 ; 6.2)

Heat in Akkad: 1 (EAE 29 III 36)

Rains, floods in the source will cease: 1 (EAE 21 VI.1)

Regular rain: 1 (EAE 47 rev. 22')

Amurru

Good Fortune

Abundance: 2 (EAE I 17 4.1 ; EAE 18 iv 14-15)

Abundance of fish: 1 (EAE 5 man. f 7')

Amurru will prosper: 3 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 13, BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 1 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 1)

Country of Amurru will dwell in security: 1 (EAE 28 108)

Crop will succeed/prosper: 4 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 14 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 11 ; BPO 4 G K.8097 14' ; EAE 16 E ii 12')

Good fortune: 4 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 12 ; BPO 3 F D.T. 47 3 ; BPO 3 F K.2346+ 5 ; BPO 3 81-2-4,239 8)

In Subartu and Amurru the market will expand: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 18)

Land and people will be well: 1 (EAE 18 iv 14-15)

Trade will flourish: 1 (EAE 5 man. v 2)

Bad fortune, decline and fall
Amurru will disperse: 1 (EAE 29 III 65)

Amurru will experience weakness: 1 (EAE 16 ix 7')

Amurru will go to ruin: 1 (EAE 5 man. t 5')

Amurru will wail: 1 (BPO 3 K.3708 9)

(Barley) famine: 6 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 16 ; BPO 3 F ND 4362 rev. i 12' ; BPO 4 B 80-7-19,90 12 ; BPO 4 I K.5961+ 22' ; BPO 4 I K.2126 17' ; EAE I 17 1.1 ; 3.1)

Catastrophe in Amurru: 1 (EAE 29 III 102)

Cattle will die: 1 (EAE 56 65a)

Cultivated land will not prosper: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 4)

Diminution in Amurru: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 10')

Downfall of Amurru: 6 (EAE 15 5.1 ; 5.2 ; 5.3 ; 5.4 ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev.ii 9 ; EAE 49 20')

Downfall of the army: 2 (EAE 15 1.4 ; EAE I 17 2.1)

Downfall of the king in battle: 1 (EAE 21 XI.1)

Dynasty of Amurru, brother will become hostile to brother: 1 (BPO 3 B K.2226 2)

Evil fate: 1 (BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev.ii 16-17)

Exchanges will decrease: 1 (EAE 5 man. q 17'-18')

False oaths will be made: 1 (EAE 5 man. q 24')

Land will be reduced/diminish: 3 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 40 ; BPO 3 F K.2204 8 ; EAE 19 4"-6")

Misfortune in Amurru: 8 (EAE 28 106 ; EAE 29 37 ; EAE 1 3 ; 4 ; 6 ; BPO 3 E K.229 rev.29 ; 30 ; 31)

People will say false things: 1 (EAE 5 man. i ii 7')

Trade will decrease: 1 (EAE 5 man. v 17-20)

Violence and murder (in Amurru and Elam): 1 (EAE 47 rev. 23')

Will fall into chaos: 1 (EAE 20 XII 54)

Disease

Continuous epidemics: 1 (EAE 6 4)

Plague/epidemic/pestilence: 5 (BPO 4 I K.5961+ 13' ; BPO 4 I K.2126 7' ; EAE I 17 2.1 ; EAE 18 iv 22-24 ; EAE 56 23b)

Rapadu-disease: 9 (BPO 4 I K.2126 6' ; 7' ; 8' ; BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 16 ; 17 ; 18 ; BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 32 ; 33 ; 34)

Divine action

Adad will devastate Amurru: 2 (EAE 47 13 ; EAE 49 27')

Adad will flood Amurru: 2 (EAE 29 III 20 ; EAE 5 man. v 17-20)

Adad will flood the crop of Amurru: 1 (EAE 5 man. u rev. 10'-12')

Adad will make the crop of Amurru prosper: 1 (EAE 5 man. u rev. 13'-15')

Gods will be angry: 2 (BPO 3 F D.T. 47 16 ; BPO 3 K.3708 8)

Gods will be gracious: 1 (BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 42)

Gods will become reconciled with Amurru: 9 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 17 ; BPO 3 F K.7936 4 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 4 ; BPO 3 F 81-2-4,229 3 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 4 ; BPO 3 F D.T. 47 15 ; BPO 3 F ND 4362 12 ; BPO 3 K.3708 2 ; BPO 3 K.3708 7)

In Subartu and Amurru, Erra and Adad will rage for five years: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 14)

Sick people, children will die at behest of Lamaštu: 1 (EAE 44 II W1)

Sick people, men and women will die at behest of Šamaš: 1 (EAE 44 II W2)

Twin Gods will lie: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 13')

War and destruction

Amurru will be conquered by a strong weapon: 2 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 5 ; BPO 4 A K.6457+ 5)

Amurru will be victorious: 1 (EAE 16 iii.14)

Amurru will gather into the fortress: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 22')

Attack of Amurru: 2 (EAE 56 92 ; EAE 1 6)

Borders of Akkad and Amurru will be reduced by wars and battles (for three years): 2 (EAE 5 man. f 17' ; EAE 6 26)

Enemy will consume the crop/abundance: 1 (EAE 16 viii 7)

Enemy will devour the land of Amurru for three years: 3 (EAE 1 21 ; EAE 5 man. q 16' ; EAE 6 man. a1 8')

Fierce attack in Amurru: 1 (EAE 29 III 34)

From the throne of your relief troops the king of Amurru will rebel: 1 (EAE 24 III 31)

Hostility in Amurru: 1 (EAE 56 107-108)

Laid down/reclining weapons of the king of Amurru will arise: 2 (BPO 4 K K.2341+ rev. 18 ; BPO 4 L K.2916+ 33'-34')

Revolt will occur: 1 (EAE 5 man. i i 30'-31')

Start hostilities with Subartu, plunder Subartu for 7 years: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 12)

King

End of the dynasty of the king/of Amurru: 6 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218, 59 ; BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 11 ; 12 ; BPO 4 A K.6457+ 11 ; 12)

End of the reign of the king of Amurru: 2 (BPO 3 A BM 75228, 4 ; EAE 28 107)

King of Akkad and the king of Amurru will be hostile to each other: 1 (EAE 6 26)

King of Amurru will be killed in a revolt: 2 (EAE 25 I 16 ; EAE 5 man. i i 34'-35')

King of Amurru will make war against the king of Akkad: 1 (EAE 6 20)

King of Amurru will rebel: 1 (EAE 29 Ia 8)

King of Amurru will take the throne: 1 (EAE 24 III 31)

King of Amurru's reign will be long-lasting: 1 (EAE 29 III 18)

King of Amurru's reign will end: 1 (EAE 29 III 24)

King will be/is well: 2 (EAE I 17 1.1 ; 2.1)

King will become strong (and get a hold of his enemy): 1 (EAE 28 96)

King will conquer: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 6')

King will die: 18 (BPO 4 B 80-7-19,90 5 ; 6 ' BPO 4 I K.5961+ 16' ; 17 ; BPO 4 I K.2126 10' ; 11' ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ 2' ; EAE 15 6.4 ; 7.4 ; EAE I 17 3.1 ; EAE I 17 Sm.944 1-3 ; 4-6 ; 7-9 ; EAE 17 II II.5 ; II.6 ; EAE 18 iv 22-24 ; EAE 19 4"-6" ; EAE 35 i 9-12 ; 14)

King will experience bad luck: 1 (EAE 18 xi.3)

King will fall: 3 (EAE 5 man. n2 4'-5' ; EAE 5 man. u 5' ; 15')

King will fall ill: 1 (EAE I 17 3.1)

King will fall in war/battle: 2 (BPO 2 XV K.230, 27 ; EAE 22 II.3)

King will get up from his throne: 3 (EAE 17 §I E rev. 8-9 ; §.II.7 ; EAE 22 I.II.4)

King will have no rival: 5 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 20 ; BPO 3 F K.7936 7 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 7 ; BPO 3 F 81-2-4,229 3 ; BPO 3 F K.2816 7)

King will not return from his expedition: 1 (EAE 29 III 60)

King will provide the land with food: 1 (EAE I 17 3.1)

Kings of Subartu and Amurru will plunder: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 20)

Reign of destruction concerning the king of Amurru: 2 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218 54 ; BPO 3 A K.3144 2)

Revolt against the king: 1 (EAE 17 II.5)

Varia

Cold: 1 (EAE 47 rev. 23')

Eclipse will not approach Amurru: 3 (EAE 15 2.4 ; 3.4 ; 4.4)

In Subartu and Amurru for three years, rains from the sky, high floods: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 16)

Elam

Good fortune

Abundance in Elam: 1 (EAE 18 A iv 20-21)

Crop in Elam will prosper: 1 (Reiner and Pingree 2005 ; Group G K.8097 i 13')

Elam will see plenty: 3 (BPO 3 C ii.10 ; F ND 4362 rev.ii 23' ; BPO 4 K K.2341+r.1-2)

Good for Elam: 2 (BPO 3 B K.6021+8611 5 ; F D.T. 47 2)

Good fortune for Elam: 2 (BPO 3 F K.3601 11 ; F K.2816 10)

Prosperity for Elam: 4 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 15 ; F K.7936+11331 2 ; F K.3601 2 ; F K.2816 2)

Elam will eat fine food: 1 (EAE 50-51 xiii 8)

Bad fortune, decline and fall

Decline of Elam: 1 (EAE 48 S 88')

Diminution of Elam: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 i 9')

Destruction (and the king of Elam will die): 5 (EAE 15 6.1 ; 6.2 ; 6.3 ; 6.4 ; EAE 19 sect. 1 9',)

Downfall of Elam (and Guti): 10 (EAE 15 2.1 ; 2.2 ; 2.3 ; 2.4, EAE 16.iii 15 ; EAE 16 iv 20 ; EAE 17 A iv.3-4 ; EAE 19 1 8'-9' ; EAE 21 vii 1 ; BPO 3 v.3)

Fall of Elam: 2 (EAE 46.60' ; EAE 49.23')

Ruin of Elam: 8 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 14 ; 16 ; F K.7936+11331 1 ; 3 ; F K.3601 1 ; 3 ; F K.2816 1 ; 3)

Evil for Elam: 1 (BPO 3 C 11)

Famine in Elam: 5 (EAE 16. iii 16 ; EAE 17 1.4 ; EAE 17. 3.4 ; EAE 18 A iv 12-13 ; BPO 4 H K.2876 rev.i 4)

Hard times for Elam: 1 (BPO 3 C 12)

Hardship for Elam: 1 (BPO 3 E K.229 rev.25)

Misfortune for Elam: 3 (EAE 1.1a ; 1b ; BPO 3 E K.229 rev.24)

Weakness in Elam: 1 (EAE 16 ix 8)

Cultivated land of Elam and Akkad will (not) prosper (for 5 years): 3 (Reiner and Pingree 1981 50-51, Text xii 3, 17, and 19)

In Elam cultivated land will not prosper, people will live of the price of their children: 1 (EAE 50-51 text xii 3)

Orphan girls, troubled things, confused things, not good things in the land (of Elam?), people will sell their children for silver, a large country will go to a small country, the king of Elam will be hemmed in in his palace and seized and killed, ruin of Elam, the market of Elam will diminish, famine of barley and straw, animals will bite: 3 (BPO 3 B K.3111+10672 14, B K.7169+7223 4, BPO 3 D Sm.781 13)

People of Elam will answer each other worthless things ... complaints, cattle...: 1 (BPO 4 D BM 35122 r.4)

Revolt of Elam: 1 (BPO 3 F K.2346 36)

Rebellion in the land of Elam: 1 (EAE 5.n1 05)

Disease

Pestilence in Elam: 2 (EAE 17 2.4 ; EAE 18 A iv 3-4)

Rapadu-disease will seize the head/middle/foundations of Elam: 9 (BPO 4 I K.2126 r.3' ; 4' ; 5' ; J K.2076+3562 10 ; 11 ; 12 ; 29 ; 30 ; 31)

In Elam: sick people, children will die at the behest of Lamaštu, young men and women will not survive on behest of Šamaš: 2 (EAE 44.ii O1 ; EAE 44.ii O2)

Epilepsy (and Nergal) in Elam: 1 (BPO 4 D BM 35122 r.9'-10')

Divine action

Adad will devastate Elam: 2 (EAE 47 12 ; EAE 49 24')

Enlil will look at Elam angrily: 1 (BPO 3 D.T. 47 no.8)

Erra and Adad will ravage the people of Subartu and Amurru, var. Elam (and Akkad): 2 (EAE 50-51 xii 14 ; EAE 50-51 xii 15)

Gods will become reconciled with Elam: 6 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 18 ; F K.7936+11331 5 ; F K.3601 5 ; F K.2816 5 ; F 81-2-4, 229 1 ; F ND 4362 13)

Upon divine order Elam will perish: 2 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218 no.35 ; A K.8686 22)

Empty talk, untruth, unsuccessful revolt in Elam, Adad will beat Elam down: 1 (BPO 4 D BM 35122 r.19')

War and Destruction

Acts of violence and murder in Elam and Amurru: 1 (EAE 47 rev. 23')

Attack of Elam: 6 (EAE 18 B-F ix.5 ; EAE 21.viii.3-5 ; EAE 24 1.4 ; 1.6 ; EAE 56.74 ; 90a)

Attack of locusts on the land, variant: Elam: 3 (EAE 5 a 03 ; EAE 6 25 ; EAE 21.viii 3-5)

Battle in Elam: 2 (Reiner and Pingree 1988, Group B K3632 no.21 ; Group F K 3601 rev. no 15)

Convoy soldier will not be able to return to his people (in Elam): 2 (EAE 21 ii ; vii)

Defeat for Elam: 3 (EAE 28.34 ; EAE 50-51 Text xii.13 ; Reiner and Pingree 1998 K.3601 no.20)

Downfall of great armies of Elam, Subartu and Akkad: 1 (EAE 15.1)

Downfall of the army of Elam: 3 (EAE 17. 2.4 ; EAE 18. A iv 3-4 ; BPO 3 v.3)

Downfall of the king of Elam: 4 (EAE 19 1 8'-9' ; EAE 21 ii ; vii ; EAE 21 ix 1)

Elam will be conquered by a strong weapon: 3 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 3 ; K.2080+3767 6-11 ; K.6457+12416(+)+14934+15241+Rm.497 3)

Elam will be plundered (until it becomes a ruin heap): 1 (EAE 20 1.2 Rec B 1-9)

Elam will be torn down: 1 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218)

Elam will perish: 1 (EAE 16.iii 10)

Elam will experience hemming in: 1 (BPO 3 E K.229 rev.22)

Enemy will consume the crops/lands of Elam and Gutu: 3 (EAE 6.a1 rev.5 ; EAE 6.a1 rev.8 ; EAE 15.8.1)

Enemy will devour Elam: 1 (EAE 1.22)

Elam will be victorious: 1 (EAE 16. iii 11)

Elam will destroy one of my border towns: 2 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218 43 ; BPO 3 B K.3111+10672 10)

Elam will gather in the fortress: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 i 21')

Throne of Anšan and Subartu will be destroyed: 1 (EAE 21 x 1)

Elam will plunder Akkad for five years, in the fifth year Akkad will arise and defeat Elam: 1 (EAE 50-51 xii 3)

King will be hostile on king: 3 (BPO 3 C ii.15 ; C ii.16 ; C iii.3)

King

King of Elam will be ill: 1 (EAE 17. 3.4)

King of Elam will fall ill and not recover: 2 (EAE 18 A iv 12-13 ; BPO 3 C ii.13)

King of Elam will be killed/die (in a revolt): 14 (EAE 6.19 ; 6.25 ; EAE 19 sect iii 8 ; EAE 28.87 ; EAE 35 o i 5-6 ; EAE 56.85b ; 56.105 ; BPO 3 C iii.2 ; F K.3708 15 ; BPO 4 B 80-7-19 rev.i 2 ; 18 ; I K.5961+7955+15543+16311 16' ; 22' ; 28')

King of Elam will be strong: 1 (EAE 56.46)

King of Elam will be well: 3 (EAE 17. 1.4 ; 2.4 ; EAE 18 A iv 3-4 ; 18 A iv 20-21)

King of Elam will become important and powerful and rule the lands and receive tribute: 6 (BPO 3 A VAT 10218 70 ; A BM 75228 14 ; B K.2226 36 ; E K.229 rev.ii.8 ; F K.7936+11331 12 ; F K.3601 15)

King of Elam will conquer a foreign land: 3 (EAE 19 sect iii 1 ; BPO 3 F K.3708 11 ; BPO 4 J K.6098 4')

King of Elam wherever he goes he will conquer: 1 (BPO 3 F K.7936+11331 10)

King of Elam will conquer, the land of Elam will live in peace: 1 (BPO 3 F K.3601 13)

King of Elam will exercise world domination: 1 (BPO 3 B K.2226 36 42)

King of Elam will have no rival: 4 (BPO 3 D Sm.781 21 ; F K.7936+11331 8 ; F K.3601 8 ; F K.2816 8)

King of Elam will experience hemming in: 2 (BPO 3 C ii.9 ; F ND 4362 rev. ii 21'-22')

King of Elam will fall by weapon: 4 (EAE 46.42' ; EAE 46.66' ; BPO 4 K K.2341+ r.17 ; L K.2916+ 31'-32')

King of Elam will provide food for the people of Elam: 2 (EAE 17. 3.4 ; EAE 18 A iv 12-13)

Varia

(Regular) rain in Elam: 1 (EAE 47 rev. 23')

Eclipse for Elam: 4 (EAE 1.8 ; EAE 20 1.1 ; rec.B 2 ; EAE 56 82)

Eclipse will not approach Elam: 3 (EAE 15 3.1 ; EAE 15 4.1 ; EAE 15 5.1)

Market of one gur will become one seah in Elam, market will decrease: 2 (EAE 5.q 0.19' ; BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 24)

Guti

Good Fortune

Crop will prosper: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 16')

Bad Fortune, Decline, Fall

Destruction/(down)fall of GUTI: 10 (EAE 15 6.1 ; 6.2 ; 6.3 ; 6.4 ; EAE 16 iii.15 ; 18 ; EAE 17 II IV.8 ; BPO 3 C IV.17 ; BPO 3 F K.3601+Rm.103 rev.27 ; BPO 3 F ND 4362 19)

Downfall of the king (and his country): 1 (EAE 19 8"-9")

Guti will experience bad times/misfortune: 5 (BPO 3 C IV.5;6 ; BPO 3 E K.229 rev. 26;27;28)

Guti will experience weakness: 1 (EAE 16 ix 10)

Misfortune: 1 (EAE 1 5)

Disease

Rapadu-disease: 3 (BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 13;14;15)

Divine action

Adad will devastate the land of GUTI: 1 (EAE 47 11)

Twin Gods will lie: 2 (BPO 4 J K.6098 12')

Warfare

Attack by GUTI: 2 (EAE 1 5 ; EAE 56 90a)

Attack of Gutian weapons: 2 (EAE 24 I 7 ; 8)

Attack of the Gutian army: 1 (EAE 24 I 6)

Defeat: 1 (EAE 29 III 87)

Downfall in battle: 1 (EAE 21 IV.1)

Guti will be captured: 1 (EAE 20 X 33)

Guti will be conquered by a strong weapon: 3 (BPO 4 A BM 35045+46236 4 ; BPO 4 A K.6457+ 4 ; BPO 4 A BM 36315 6')

Guti will gather into the fortress: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 24')

Weapon of the Gutians will be broken: 1 (EAE 24 I 5)

Weapons of the gutians will ravage for a year and destroy the herds: 1 (EAE 24 I 4)

Enemy will devour Guti for three years: 6 (EAE 1 19 ; EAE 5 man. f 18' ; EAE 5 man. q 14' ; 15' ; EAE 6 man. a1 5' ; 8')

Guti will devour the land for three years: 1 (EAE 6 man. a1 9')

King

Darkness for the king: 1 (EAE 18 xi.4)

King will conquer: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 5')

King will conquer the land: 1 (EAE 20 X 33)

King will die: 2 (EAE 28 88 ; BPO 4 E K.2568+ 3')

King will experience bad luck: 1 (EAE 18 xi.3)

Reign of the king of Guti will change: 1 (BPO 3 C IV.3)

Revolt against the king of Guti: 1 (BPO 3 A K.148, 17)

Varia

Eclipse will not approach Guti: 4 (EAE 15 3.1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1 ; EAE 16 iii.3)

Subartu

Good Fortune

Abundance: 1 (EAE 18 iv 18-19)

Crop will prosper: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 15')

In Subartu and Amurru the market will expand: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096, 18)

Land and people will be well: (EAE 18 iv 18-19)

Bad Fortune, Decline, fall

(Barley) famine: 3 (EAE I 17 1.3 ; 3.3 ; EAE 18 iv 10-11)

Cultivated land will not prosper: (BPO 2 XII K.11096 2)

Diminution in Subartu: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 11')

Diminution of barley: 1 (EAE 17 II.5)

Violence and murder (in Akkad and Subartu): 1 (EAE 47 rev. 22')

Disease

Pestilence: 3 (EAE I 17 2.3 ; EAE 18 iv 1-2 ; EAE 18 27-28)

Rapadu-disease: 9 (BPO 4 D BM 47688 r.1; r.2; r.3 ; BPO 4 I K.2126 9'; 10'; 11'
; BPO 4 J K.2076+3562 35; 36; 37)

Divine action

Adad will devastate Subartu: 1 (EAE 49 25')

God will ravage Subartu (EAE 15 7.3)

In Subartu and Amurru, Erra and Adad will rage for five years: 1 (BPO 2 XII
K.11096 14)

Sick people, children will die at behest of Lamaštu: 1 (EAE 44 II N1)

Sick people, men and women will die at behest of Šamaš: 1 (EAE 44 II N2)

Twin Gods will lie: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 12')

Warfare

Attack of Subartu: 2 (EAE 56 91 ; 92)

Downfall of the army: 5 (EAE 15 1.1; 1.3; 1.4; EAE I 17 2.3 ; EAE 18 iv 1-2)

Downfall/destruction of Subartu: 7 (EAE 15 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; EAE 16 iii.18 ;
EAE 44 35 ; EAE 49 21')

Enemy will consume the crops: 1 (EAE 15 8.1)

Revolt against its lord: 1 (BPO 4 B 80-7-19,90 12)
 Start hostilities with Amurru: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 12)
 Subartu will be captured: 1 (EAE 20 X 33)
 Subartu will be victorious: 1 (EAE 16 iii.13)
 Subartu will experience weakness: 1 (EAE 16 ix 9)
 Subartu will gather into the fortress: 1 (BPO 4 G K.8097 23')
 Troops that are not his will install the king of Subartu in the country: 1 (EAE 29 III 62)
 King
 King will be well: 3 (EAE I 17 1.3 ; 2.3 ; EAE 18 iv 1-2)
 King will conquer: 1 (BPO 4 J K.6098 5')
 King will conquer the land: 1 (EAE 20 X 33)
 King will die (his dynasty will end): 5 (EAE 28 91 ; EAE 18 iv 27-28 ; EAE 35 i 7 ; 8 ; 9-12)
 King will fall ill: 1 (EAE I 17 3.3)
 King will fall ill and die: 1 (EAE 18 iv 10-11)
 King will make peace: 1 (EAE 20 X A+B)
 King will provide his land with food: 2 (EAE I 17 3.3 ; EAE 18 iv 10-11)
 King will see misery: 1 (BPO 2 XV K.230 26)
 Kings of Subartu and Amurru will plunder: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 20)
 Varia
 Cold: 1 (EAE 47 rev. 22')
 Eclipse will not approach Subartu: 4 (EAE 15 2.3 ; 3.3 ; 5.3 ; EAE 16 iii.3)
 In Subartu and Amurru for three years, rains from the sky, high floods: 1 (BPO 2 XII K.11096 16)