

AN OMEN SCHOOL TEXT

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The better knowledge that we now have of the remarkable collection made by King Ašurbanapal (668–626 B. C.) in his royal palace at Nineveh, thanks largely to Bezold's monumental work,¹ has brought out the significant fact that a considerable proportion of the specifically Babylonian section² consists of texts that formed part of the equipment of the temple schools of Babylonia and more particularly of the school attached to Marduk's temple in Babylon.³ This applies not merely to the distinctively school texts, such as sign lists, syllabaries, word lists, grammatical and lexicographical exercises,⁴ but also to the literary productions and practice tablets based on such productions;⁵ to the ritual texts which served as a means of instructing the young aspirants to the priesthood in the complicated ritual⁶ for the various occasions when the services of the priests were required, and to the collections of omens of all kinds—constituting one of the largest sections in the royal library. Such texts, while they may also be regarded as guides and reference works for full-fledged priests in the interpretation of omens observed, appear to have been prepared primarily for the purposes of the temple schools.⁷ The same is true of the mathematical and metrological tablets, and it is probably

¹ *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (5 vols., London, 1889–99).

² On the Assyrian section of the library which is more extensive than generally supposed, see the writer's paper "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" *JAOS*, XXVII, pp. 175 ff.

³ Jastrow, *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴ Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, pp. 2093–98.

⁵ See the examples of such commentaries and practice tablets in King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I, pp. 157–81; Jastrow, "A Babylonian Parallel to Job," *JSBL*, XXV, p. 144; Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, pp. 2099–2100; and Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, pp. 294–96.

⁶ Specimens in Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Vol. II, "Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger." The Samaš-Adad series of ritualistic texts of which Zimmern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 190–219, gives some specimens belong to the same general category. See Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, p. 2153.

⁷ On these omen-texts and collections registered by Bezold in his Index under "Forecasts," pp. 2011–30, and "Omens," pp. 2139–49, see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Vol. II, pp. 203–13, and the literature there referred to.

an accident that among the fragments of the Nineveh collection this section is not more largely represented.⁸ One is inclined to place in the category of school texts also the bilingual literary texts in Ašurbanapal's library, such as the numerous prayers and myths, hymns and incantations, including both those in which the Sumerian represents the original, and those in which the Sumerian is a translation from the Semitic original. In the former case,

⁸ E. g., IV R. 37, and Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, p. 2111. Specimens of Babylonian originals of mathematical calculations also in *CT*, IX, 8-13 and 14-15. See Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 298. See, however, Pinches, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 707, from which it would appear that the British Museum has among its unpublished treasures more tablets of this class. At Sippar, Scheil found quite a number of such metrological and mathematical tablets (*Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, Cairo, 1903) which are treated by him in chap. iii of his work under the proper designation of "L'École à Sippar" (pp. 30-54). At Nippur, Peters and Haynes found exactly the same kind of mathematical and metrological tablets, only in larger numbers, so that our knowledge of this subdivision of the Babylonian school texts is considerably increased through the recent publication of forty-six tablets and fragments by Hilprecht. The title of the publication, however, *Mathematical, Metrological and Chronological Tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1906) is a misnomer. A glance at the texts in this volume suffices to show that *all* except the last—a chronological list that may have formed part of a private archive or of a temple business archive—are *school texts pure and simple*. Three of them, for example, contain on the one side syllabaries (Nos. 23, 24, 37) and on the other multiplication tables and measures of capacity—the certain ear-marks of school exercises. Again, on one (No. 20) the exercise is written in one column by the teacher and in a second repeated by the pupil. Mixed and repeated exercises appear on some (e. g., Nos. 20, 21, rev.), while practice strokes are to be seen on others (e. g., Nos. 10, 32, 40). Hilprecht is obliged to admit (p. x) that these are "textbooks," but converts them into "temple library" texts by the assertion that they were "*afterwards* deposited in the Temple Library"! When "*afterwards*"? Apart from the fact that there is not a particle of evidence for this gratuitous supposition, it assumes the existence of a sufficient number of distinctively "literary" texts to warrant us in speaking of a "temple library." Since, however, the evidence for this assumption hitherto presented turns out to be elusive—being based on tablets that were *not* excavated at Nippur, and such objects as were *not* found on the site of the supposed "temple library"—an earnest protest must be entered against the unwarranted use of the words "temple library" in the title of the volume in question which is calculated only to make scholars more determined in their uncompromising attitude toward methods that involve, as has recently been said, "a disregard of the simplest ethical standards." Before scholars can be convinced that the temple at Nippur harbored a great library collection comparable to that which Ašurbanapal gathered in his palace—*not in a temple*—unimpeachable evidence must be furnished for the existence of a *sufficient* number of hymns, prayers, incantations, omens, and myths, as well as medical and astronomical texts—and such as are not school texts—to justify the use of so well-defined a term as "library." If, however, after waiting patiently for more than seven years nothing but school texts and administrative archives, valuable though these are, are laid before us, the question must perforce be raised whether the temple at Nippur ever possessed extensive literary treasures. As a working hypothesis we are forced to assume that the temple archives in Babylonia were limited as a rule to collections of business records and to school texts of a miscellaneous character, among which we should of course expect to find the ritual texts used in connection with the cult—not, however, a large collection gathered as was Ašurbanapal's library from a *variety* of sources. See—in addition to the writer's paper "Did the Babylonian Temple have Libraries?"—Bezold's remarks in the *Literarisches Centralbl.*, 1907, p. 483, for additional reasons against regarding the tablets found by Peters and Haynes at Nippur as a "temple library" and also Ungnad's strictures on the term "Temple Library" in the *Zeits. d. Deutsch. morg. Gesell.*, Vol. 61, pp. 705-06.

the Semitic translation is added to initiate the pupil into an understanding of the older sacred tongue; in the latter, the Semitic original is added to insure the correct understanding of the Sumerian translation. The medical texts of which specimens have recently been published by Kùchler⁹ may also have been prepared for purposes of instruction in prescribing the remedies to be applied in connection with the incantation rites for releasing sufferers from the grasp of the demons who were regarded as the ultimate source of physical suffering, though, at the same time, these texts no doubt served, like the collections of omens, as guides for those who, as priests in active service, were called upon to administer to the sick. Further investigation of this class of texts will probably show that we must distinguish between medical handbooks and medical school texts based on these handbooks, just as in the case of omens, we have, as will be shown presently, "official" as well as "school" editions of the collections of omens compiled by *bārū*-priests.

The school texts in the royal library at Nineveh, reverting to originals that once formed part of the equipment of the schools attached to the temples in the south,¹⁰ thus assume large dimensions. They throw an interesting light on the pedagogical methods pursued in Babylonia, which no doubt were closely followed in Assyria, and we must be prepared to find all manner of helps that were devised to facilitate the understanding of the various branches of the religious literature of Babylonia—and that literature is largely, if not almost exclusively, religious—by means of which the temple pupils were enabled to penetrate into the intricacies of the cult, and into the very essence of the lore which was an outcome of the religious beliefs and tendencies prevailing in the Euphrates valley. Already, we may distinguish a considerable variety of such helps among the textbook division of *Ašurbanapal's* library. The grammatical and phrase exercises appear to have been prepared chiefly for training pupils in draw-

⁹ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*, Leipzig, 1904.

¹⁰ A proof of the continued existence of these schools at Borsippa, Babylon, and Sippar to very late days is furnished by syllabaries and lexicographical lists dated in the reigns of Persian kings (e. g., *CT*, XII, 3, 7, 9, 17, 37) and by such a collection as Reisner's *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen aus griechischer Zeit*. See Jastrow's *Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?* p. 167.

ing up business and legal documents.¹¹ The list of gods and stars were drawn, presumably, as helps for the study of astronomy in connection with omen-texts; the elaborate lists of names of plants^{12a} may have been prepared in connection with the study of incantations and medical remedies, and so forth, for other branches of study. For the elucidation of literary texts, we have, besides the bilinguals,¹³ commentaries arranged on the principle of picking out difficult terms and phrases and explaining them by such as were in more common use.¹⁴ In the case of the commentaries to the story of creation, King has found no less than three different kinds.¹⁵ Again, at times glosses were merely introduced into the texts themselves.¹⁶ All this warrants the conclusion that the helps varied according to the class of texts selected for study. Correspondingly, for each class certain kinds of helps were developed that were best adapted for the character of the class and for the purpose or purposes aimed at.

The interpretation of omens constituting one of the most important functions of the priests, it is not surprising that a variety of devices were developed, which were calculated to illustrate both the method followed in the interpretation of omens and the two fundamental theses underlying the science of divination, namely (1) that occurrences on earth were paralleled by accompanying phenomena in the heavens, leading to omens based on the observation of the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and (2) that through the liver of the sacrificial animal—usually a sheep—as the seat of the soul—and therefore as the divine organ—coming events could be divined, leading to an elaborate system of hepatoscopy.¹⁷

¹¹ See Weber, *loc. cit.*, pp. 291, 292.

¹² E. g., II R. 49 and 54-59; III R. 67-69; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, Index, pp. 2094-95.

^{12a} CT, XIV, 18-49.

¹³ Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 292, n. 1, properly calls attention to "bilinguals" arranged in parallel columns as II R. 17, 18 as certainly prepared for school purposes, and I believe this to be the case also with the other class of bilinguals arranged in interlinear form.

¹⁴ V R. 47 to the text IV R. 60*.

¹⁵ King, *loc. cit.*, and Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁶ So, e. g., in omen collections CT, XX, 14, 25, 27, 48. For the latter see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts," *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 109 ff.

¹⁷ For details the reader is referred to the writer's *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* (referred to in this article as Jastrow, *Religion*), chap. xx (Lieferungen 10, 11, and 12). I exclude the large class of "signs and portents" (birth-portents, dreams, all kinds of unusual occurrences, accidents, and so forth) which should be differentiated from "omens" proper.

Confining ourselves to the second class of omens, attention has already been drawn¹⁸ to glosses in the text which show distinctly that they were drawn up primarily for instruction and elucidation in the temple schools. A second device was the use of illustrations of parts of the liver introduced in the texts, or of phenomena on the liver.¹⁹ Of these quite a number are known and of special significance is the clay model of a sheep's liver (*CT*, VI, 1) showing the chief parts of the liver and covered with omens designed to illustrate the system followed in the interpretation. A third species of helps is represented by an interesting text that might be designated as an "Introduction to the study of the principles of Hepatoscopy," since its main purpose is to illustrate the connection between the signs observed on the liver of a sacrificial animal and the interpretation assigned to it.

The general character of this text as a help in the elucidation of the methods followed in the interpretation of omens was recognized many years ago by Delitzsch,²⁰ though it was not possible for him, because of the imperfect state of our knowledge of this branch of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, to determine at the time what is now clear, that the omens referred to are specifically such as are derived from the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. Moreover, Delitzsch had at his disposal merely a fragment of the text²¹ and he was naturally misled into regarding Cols. I and II as containing synonyms. It was equally natural that he was followed in this view by Muss-Arnolt who in his invaluable *Assyrian Dictionary* (1905) enters the words of these two columns, as Delitzsch did in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896), as synonyms.²² A duplicate fragment of the text was pub-

¹⁸ See above, p. 284, n. 16.

¹⁹ Thus *CT*, XX, 28 obv. and rev. we have illustrations (1) of the hepatic duct (GIB = niptū) with its subsidiary branches and (2) of "splits" within the hepatic duct. Again Boissier, *Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination Assyro-babylonienne*, Vol. I, pp. 139-43; also pp. 118 and 153 furnish the various forms assumed by a certain species of markings on the liver known as zibē. "clubs," on which see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103 ff.). In the same way a tablet published by Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Présages*, pp. 36-40 (with plate), contains illustrations of the *processus pyramidalis*, etc. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 218, n. 3.

²⁰ *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (1890), p. 481 (n. 8). ²¹ K. 4416 published II R. 43, No. 1.

²² E. g., Muss-Arnolt, p. 46a (aliktum), 122a (uššurtum), 367a (kabartu) corresponding to Delitzsch, pp. 69a, 312b, and 315a, and so throughout the text. Meisener in his *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* does the same, e. g., 54b (larū), 47 (ku-ultum), where instead of II R. he has accidentally written V. R., etc., etc.

lished in 1894 by Boissier²³ but it was not until 1904 that by a combination of six fragments representing at least three independent copies, a more complete edition of this important text was issued through which it was possible to determine definitely its more precise character.²⁴

Unfortunately, the text is still far from complete. It consisted originally of six columns, three on the obverse, and three on the reverse; those on the obverse consisting of some forty lines each and those on the reverse of thirty-two lines each, so that in its complete form the tablet covered at least two hundred and twenty lines, and probably close to two hundred and fifty lines. According to the colophon attached to one of the fragments,²⁵ the tablet is the first of a series known as *šumma multabiltum*.²⁶ We are fortunate in possessing a list of the opening lines of the seventeen tablets of which the series consisted and which show that the entire series was devoted to hepatoscopy. Parts of the second, third, fourth, twelfth, and thirteenth tablets of this series have also been published by Mr. R. C. Thompson,²⁷ and from these it follows that

²³ K. 2235 in *Documents Assyriens*, pp. 80-82.

²⁴ *CT*, XX, 39-42 (KK. 2235, 4416, and 4585; Rm. 2, 466 and Bu. 89-4-26, 168). Bezold's supposition (*Catalogue*, p. 427) that K. 2263 may form part of the tablet in question to which K. 2235 belongs can now be corrected, since it turns out that the tablet belongs to another series. A fragment of a neo-Babylonian duplicate (K. 4432) is also included in *CT*.

²⁵ Bu. 89-4-26, 168.

²⁶ The line probably to be completed according to K. 3837 (Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 45, 1) of which KK. 2434, 7628, and 8289 are duplicates (cf. also K. 4013) and KK. 1999 (Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 37) and 2089 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 118) as follows: *šumma multabiltum ušurati zibē ušibi ana pāni-ka*, i. e., 'when the designs of the clubs and the edges(?) are brought to thee.' From other sources we know that the markings on the liver were drawn on a tablet and brought to the *baru* or 'diviner' for interpretation. In order to account for the discrepancy between the name of the series and the fact that the first line of the first tablet does not, as is customary, begin with these words (cf. *CT*, XX, 1, 15) we must assume that the list of seventeen tablets indicated on K. 1352 (*CT*, XX, 1, 15-32) represents not the text itself, but the commentary to it drawn up for school purposes, or, as we might also put it, the "school edition" of the text, which, in accordance with the purpose served by it, does not follow the plan of the text and presumably does not furnish the whole of it. The existence of two distinct editions of the series is also shown by the other fragments belonging to the series. See the following note.

²⁷ KK. 3945 and 3951 (*CT*, XX, 43-48) forming Tablets 2 and 3 of the series. The colophon at the bottom of the of Pl. 48 states that this is the end of the third tablet of the series *multabiltum* and furnishes the opening line of the fourth tablet in agreement with *CT*, XX, 1, 18. The third tablet is therefore included and it is clear from a comparison of Pl. 45, 21 and 46, rev. 5 with *CT*, XX, 1, 17 that the school edition of the second tablet ends with Pl. 45, 20. According to Bezold (*Catalogue*, p. 579) K. 3951 is a duplicate of K. 3945 and K. 3986 belongs to K. 3945. Portions of the second and third tablets are also represented by KK. 10681, 10960, 11713, and 12315, and 82, 3-23, 5215 which together with K. 6297 have been "joined" to K. 3945 (Bezold, *loc. cit.*; Vol. IV, p. viii). K. 10805 (*CT*, XX, 50) appears to furnish the colophon also

the series covered a wide range, extending, indeed, to every part of the liver which had a significance in divination, and furnishing the interpretation for an almost endless number of variations observed in the character of the different parts and of their relation to one another, as well as of the markings and other signs noted on the liver surface.²⁸

Confining ourselves to the school edition of the first tablet of the series, mention should be made of an attempted translation of the text by Dr. Stephen H. Langdon²⁹ which, however, because of the author's failure to recognize the fundamental principle underlying divination through the sacrificial animal, namely, that the one organ on which the attention of the diviner was concentrated was the liver, was not successful. Since the correct interpretation and understanding of the text rest upon this thesis, Langdon's rendering is erroneous throughout and it is needless, therefore, to stop at every point and to indicate wherein the translation here given differs from that of Langdon. Credit is due to Langdon, however, for having correctly determined that Cols. I and II of the text are not synonymous.³⁰ He has also seen that the words in Col. I furnish what he calls the "salient feature" of the "condi-

for the third tablet of the series and would thus represent another copy. The tenth tablet is represented by K. 3983 published in *CT*, XX, 49, the opening line of which is to be completed according to *CT*, XX, 1, 25 and it is to be noted that K. 5151 (*CT*, XX, 7) also represents the beginning of this tablet. While both copies are unfortunately badly preserved, it seems quite clear that the two texts are not duplicates and the question again arises whether the one (K. 5151) may not represent a portion of the "official" edition and the other belong to the "school" edition. The thirteenth tablet is represented by 83, 1-18, 411 published *CT*, XX, 50, but the fact that the colophon and the opening line of the thirteenth tablet (*CT*, XX, 1, 28) appear within this text (obv. 7, 8) shows that here also two tablets (the twelfth and thirteenth) have been combined. That this text merely represents an extract from these two tablets may perhaps be concluded from the statement in connection with the colophon that fifty-three "signs" are noted. At all events an indication of this kind, taken together with the unusual circumstance of a colophon within a text and as a heading to what follows, may be regarded as satisfactory evidence that Ašurbanapal's scribes have, in this instance certainly, copied a school text and perhaps merely a school exercise based on the twelfth and thirteenth tablets of the *multabilum* series. Portions of the seventh tablet of the series, finally, are represented by the unpublished fragment K. 6292, according to the indications in Bezold's *Catalogue*, p. 777, and by D.T. 49 (with the colophon of the eighth tablet) published by Boissier, *Documents*, pp. 248-50, and the same author's *Choix de Textes*, pp. 65-70 with attempted translation. Langdon (*JAOS*, XXVII, p. 83) apparently does not know of Boissier's two editions of this text.

²⁸For details and the general character of Babylonian hepatoscopy the reader is referred to the exposition of the subject in the writer's *Religion*, chap. xx, and to an article by the writer "The Liver in Babylonian Divination" to be published in Vol. XXVIII of *JAOS*.

²⁹"An Assyrian Grammatical Treatise on an Omen Tablet," *JAOS*, XXVII, pp. 88-103.

³⁰*Loc. cit.*, p. 88.

tional clause" in Col. III, and the words in Col. II the "salient feature" of the "result clause." The text, however, does not embody, as he supposes, a series of "rules" for the interpretation of omens nor does the third column furnish the "whole rule" from which the scribe, as Langdon supposes, has made an extract or an abbreviated copy. The purpose of the tablet is, as already intimated, to illustrate the principles and the method followed in the interpretation of omens derived from an inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. To this end, the text is divided into three parallel columns. The third column furnishes the sign noted on the liver and the interpretation given to it. In the first column the "catch-word" of the sign is entered, which forms the basis of the interpretation, while in the second, the "catch-word" or "catch-words" of the interpretation are added to *illustrate the connection between the sign and the meaning given to it*. The real difficulty in the text to be overcome is the determination of the terms introduced, which according to the thesis here maintained, all describe parts of the liver or phenomena to be observed on the liver. While some of the terms are still obscure, I believe that I am justified in thinking that most of them have been correctly determined by my investigations. The final test rests naturally in the ability to give a satisfactory meaning to both the signs observed and to the interpretation based on the signs.

In order to assist the reader in following the rendition of the text, a diagram of a sheep's liver is added to this article on which the chief parts are indicated by letters and elucidated by the addition (*a*) of the Latin names, and (*b*) of the equivalent terms used in the Babylonian omen texts (cf. p. 326). It is impossible in this article to enter into a discussion of *all* details and for our purposes it suffices to recall the general theory on which Babylonian hepatoscopy is based, namely, that the liver was regarded as the center of life and the seat of the soul, and that therefore, in the case of the sacrificial animal, the liver was the organ through which the will and intention of the gods as the givers and source of all life could be ascertained. The two deities more specifically associated with divination in general are Šamaš and Adad, who are known as *bêlê bîri*, "lords of inspection," and

who in the omen tablets in Ašurbanapal's library are invariably mentioned instead of Nebo and Tašmit of the other classes of the collection.³¹ The striking character of the organ in question, so much more complicated than, e. g., the heart and lungs, was no doubt a factor in the association of the liver with the seat of life. On opening an animal the liver is seen as the most prominent organ. To its peculiar appearance is added the fact that it is filled with blood—naturally associated even by primitive man with life.³² The phenomena that it presents through the gall-bladder terminating in a long duct (*ductus cysticus*) which again passes into a duct running across the liver (*ductus hepaticus*) that sends its branches into the various lobes of the liver (*lobus dexter*, *lobus sinister*, *lobus quadratus*, and *lobus caudatus*) are rendered still more striking by the large portal or hepatic vein (*vena portae*) which, like the hepatic duct, sends its offshoots, as subsidiary veins throughout the entire liver. To the layman, the markings of various kinds appearing as lines, indentures, and curves on the liver surface, due largely to the traces of the subsidiary hepatic and vein ducts, furnish another feature that arrests attention, and since no two livers are exactly alike in respect of these markings—as little as the marking on two leaves of a tree—it will be seen that a wide field over which fanciful imagination may roam at will is thus opened up. Lastly, there is besides the large vein (*vena cava* or *vena cava caudalis*), the transverse fissure or liver gate (*porta hepatis*) separating the upper lobe (*lobus caudatus*) from the three lower lobes. At one end of the pyramidal lobe is a finger-shaped appendix, known as the *processus pyramidalis* constantly varying in form, and presenting all manner of curious features. This lobe plays so significant a rôle in Greek and Roman hepatoscopy—based on the older Etruscan rites³³—that it was called by the Greeks ὁ λοβός, i. e., the lobe *par excellence*, and by the Romans *caput jecoris*, “head of the liver.”³⁴ At the

³¹ Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 226, n. 1.

³² About one-sixth of the blood of the animal is in the liver.

³³ See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 210 ff., and 320, n. 3, and Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II (die Haruspicia), (Göteborg, 1906), pp. 3-10 and 50-54.

³⁴ Thulin, *loc. cit.*, p. 30 ff. The Septuagint correctly renders the Hebrew expression יִיחָרַח עַל הַכֶּבֶד (Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:4; 8:16, etc.) for the *lobus pyramidalis* by ὁ λοβός; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 231, and the reference there to Moore's important article in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, pp. 761 ff.

other end of the pyramidal lobe, there is a second appendix known as the *processus papillaris*, which varying in size and at times extremely small, also plays a part in hepatoscopy though a much less prominent one than the *processus pyramidalis*.³⁵

To all these parts and phenomena of the liver the attention of the *barû* priests was directed; and by the application chiefly of two principles, one based on the association of ideas, the other on the association of words, an elaborate and complicated system of interpretation was developed, the influence of which may be gauged when it is considered that the system furnished a guide to the rulers and individuals of Babylonia and Assyria from before the days of Sargon (*ca.* 3000 B. C.) to the days of Nabonidus—the last king of the neo-Babylonian empire (555–539 B. C.).³⁶ No expedition was undertaken, no battle was risked, no building begun and no important official act entered upon without calling in the aid of the *barû* priests to examine the sacrificial animal—generally a sheep and frequently more than one—and on the basis of a report on the condition of the liver to render a decision that was regarded as indicative of the divine will or intent.

The task thus cut out both for the full-fledged priest on whom the obligation rested to interpret the omens derived from the inspection of the liver, as well as for those who were being trained for the service, was clearly defined. The position and character of all the various parts of the liver had to be carefully noted, all peculiarities recorded and the form of the markings, their number, and outlines closely observed. It would appear that all these phenomena were written down on memoranda tablets; and in an actual record of a liver inspection from the days of Nabonidus, taken on an occasion when the king wished to restore the statue of Sin and other gods to the rebuilt temple of the moon-god at Harran, no less than seventeen signs are set down and the meaning of each defined.³⁷ It was for the purpose of securing a correct interpretation of the signs observed that the collections of omens,

³⁵ For further details regarding the anatomy of the liver, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 220, 221.

³⁶ For examples of omen-texts from the days of Sargon to Nabonidus see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 224–320.

³⁷ Messerschmidt, *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naida* (Berlin, 1896), Col. XI. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 266–71.

based no doubt in part on past experience and in part on the application of the principles developed by the priests in the unfolding of their system, were made, and which, deposited in the temple archives or more probably in the schools attached to the temples could be consulted as guides and reference works. The occasions on which recourse was had to divination through the liver being primarily of an official and public character, the interpretations generally bear on affairs of state and on public events—war, conquest, crops, the army, the rulers, and the royal household. It is only occasionally that matters of concern to the ordinary individual are introduced. It was, however, a comparatively simple matter to extend the application to more personal affairs. The main object was to determine whether a particular sign was favorable or unfavorable. If the former, the interpretation was not limited to the particular case set down, but could be applied to any other situation that arose.³⁸ Hence in the omens introduced into the inscriptions of Nabonidus as well as in the earlier documents and in official reports of various periods, the interpretations attached to the omens, copied evidently from some collection serving as a guide, do not necessarily bear upon the question to be answered through the liver inspection.³⁹ The interpretation is added, primarily, as an indication whether the sign is favorable or unfavorable. In other words, the interpretation serves merely as an example illustrative of the favorable or unfavorable character of the sign in question. With this determined, the answer to the inquiry depended either upon the summary of all the signs noted or upon the application of the illustrative interpretation of the specific case under consideration. These same collections of omens with the interpretations also served as the basis of instruction in the temple schools, but in addition, as already suggested, special school editions of the collections in whole or in part were prepared, adapted for illustrating the method to be followed in the system of interpretation and containing all manner of explanations to facilitate the task of instructing the pupils in the science of hepatoscopy.

³⁸ Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 246, 247 for details and illustrations.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

Our text furnishes a particularly valuable example of the pedagogical plan adopted, and, both for this reason and because of its intrinsic value, justifies detailed treatment. As already pointed out, it consists of three columns on each side, the third containing the omen noted with the interpretation, while the first and second are added in order to illustrate the connection between the sign and the interpretation. The proper method of treating the text is, therefore, first to set down the entry in the third column, and then to take up the remaining two.

The first line of the third column reads:

šumma NA⁴⁰ erik⁴¹-ma niptû⁴² [ikru]⁴³ rubû ina ħarrani illiku⁴⁴ ikašad.⁴⁵

"If the biliary duct is long and the hepatic duct is short, the ruler in the expedition which he undertakes will conquer."

To this omen the first and second columns read:

a-rik-tum
"length"

ka-šit-tum
"conquest"

which means that the 'length' of the biliary duct forms the basis for the interpretation of the sign as 'conquest.' No special reference is made to the 'shortness' of the hepatic duct, the favorable character of this sign being either assumed as known or regarded as of secondary consideration. From other sources we know that a long cystic duct was a favorable sign, e. g., V R. 63, II, 10 and 23, where it is interpreted as pointing to the 'long life' of the ruler.⁴⁶

⁴⁰For NA=biliary duct (*ductus cysticus*), see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 234, n. 13. The phonetic reading is unknown.

⁴¹Written GID-DA. Cf. Brunnow, Nos. 7511 and 7562.

⁴²GIR to be read niptû, — the sign for the hepatic duct (*ductus hepaticus*). See Jastrow, *ibid.* and p. 242, n. 1.

⁴³Read GUD-DA to be interpreted as ikru, for which compare CT, XX, 1, 23 where GID-DA and GUDDA occur in contrast, while the phonetic reading ik-ru for the latter is shown by CT, XX, 31, 13, 14 where GIDDA and ik-ru are contrasted. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 6, and Langdon, *JAOs*, XXVIII, p. 147, n. 2.

⁴⁴Written DU with the phonetic complement ku.

⁴⁵KUR(ad) to be read therefore ikašad. Cf. Brunnow, No. 7393.

⁴⁶Other examples, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 252, n. 3.

The second line reads:

šumma irru sahirūti⁴⁷ al-ku-[u]^{47a} kašittum.⁴⁸

"If the 'network' is continuous—conquest."

To this omen—briefly expressed—the first and second columns read:

a-lik-tum
"course"

ka-šit-tum
"conquest"

i. e., the 'continuous' course of the network of markings on the liver is the basis of the interpretation as 'conquest.' The term translated 'network' refers to the grouping of markings more specifically on the left lobe of the liver, where the traces of the subsidiary hepatic and vein ducts produce a varying number of little curves and lines, forming all manner of patterns.⁴⁹ The peculiar nature of the sign here noted seems to be that the markings either form a continuous series, suggestive, therefore, of an unbroken course of victory, or that they all run in one direction, pointing to the continuous onward march of the king's army. The third line, presenting both in the sign noted and in the interpretation a more complicated character, reads:

šumma martu⁵⁰ ištu imitti ana šumeli dakšat⁵¹-ma di-ki-[is]-sa⁵² uššur⁵³ bēl limutti⁵⁴-ka ša idku⁵⁵ kāt-ka ikašad.⁵⁶

"If the gall-bladder is pierced from the right to left and its 'split' is loose, thy hand will overcome thy enemy who advances (against thee)."

⁴⁷ SA-NIGIN. For the reading and interpretation see Jastrow, II, p. 256, n. 4.

^{47a} Cf. la al-kam 'not continuous.' i. e., broken up and divided (Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, No. 107, rev. 16), and šalhu 'torn,' i. e., 'broken up' (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 293, n. 5), the contrast to alku.

⁴⁸ KUR(tum)=kašittum. For many examples of omens thus briefly indicated see Jastrow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 258, 259.

⁴⁹ See Boissier, *Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination*, pp. 89 and 93 and CT, XX, 46, 54-56; 48, 30, etc., where the network is put down as consisting of from six to seventeen distinct bits.

⁵⁰ ŠI=mar tu 'gall-bladder.' Cf. Brünnow, No. 4196 and Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 229, n. 3.

⁵¹ The phonetic reading for IT-KU (šat) is furnished by the parallel line K. 134, 1 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 78). See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 11 for a fuller discussion of the term and of other passages in which it occurs.

⁵² Di-ki-sa in text, but probably an error for di-ki-is-sa as throughout K. 134. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 1.

⁵³ BAR(ur)=uššur (Brünnow, No. 1814). For the meaning 'loose' or 'detached' cf. Haupt, *ASKT*, 85, 40 where uššuru is used of a woman whose womb has prolapsed, i. e., become detached. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 305, n. 6. Note the synonyms in the lexicographical list II R. 39, No. 1, obv. 4-5 pū pitu "open mouth" and pū uššuru 'loosened mouth' for both of which phrases the signs are KA-BAR(RA).

⁵⁴ Cf. Brünnow, No. 10958.

⁵⁵ ZI(ku)=idku (Brünnow, No. 2308) (with overlapping vowel) from dikū—the common verb to indicate the advance of an army. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, pp. 245b f.

⁵⁶ KUR(ad)=ikašad as in the first line.

Cols. I and II read:

uš-šur-tum
"looseness"

ka-šit-tum
"conquest"

i. e., the fact that the pierced gall-bladder is detached or 'loose' points in this case again to 'conquest.' The 'split' runs to the left, and the 'looseness' is therefore a bad sign for the enemy's host.⁵⁷

L. 4 reads:

šumma ina kap-pi⁵⁸ kabitti⁵⁹ ša imitti padanu⁶⁰ ina kap-pi kabitti ša šumēli napṭartu⁶¹ šu-šur⁶² pū⁶³ nipti ina eli šibi⁶⁴(?) illik, nakru-ka itti ili⁶⁵ ka-mi u suḥ-ḥur.

⁵⁷ See above p. 291.

⁵⁸ We have here in the word kappu 'wing' the very appropriate term for a liver 'lobe,' and it is interesting to note that the right and left lobe (*lobus dexter, lobus sinister*) were distinguished precisely as in modern anatomical nomenclature. A special designation is also found for the *lobus caudatus* namely UR-MURUB = kabittu ḳabittu (or perhaps ḳabal kabitti) 'the middle liver'—which is likewise appropriate since the *lobus caudatus* lies approximately in the middle of the liver; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 231. Whether the right lobe was still further divided into two sections, as in modern nomenclature, by the groove in which the gall-bladder rests into (a) *lobus quadratus* to the left and (b) *lobus dexter* to the right I have not yet been able to determine, though the groove itself was distinguished. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 325, n. 5.

⁵⁹ For UR (= kabittu), the most common sign of the liver, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 213, n. 2; for other names and signs, see the writer's article, "Signs and Names of the Liver in Babylonia" (*ZA*, XX, pp. 105-29). It is possible that in omen texts ḳašū as in the omen report (Jastrow, II, p. 276, n. 7) was the designation of the liver and not kabittu.

⁶⁰ GRX = padanu (Brünnow, No. 9191) 'road,' the designation of a certain kind of markings on the liver. The term padanu (see the phonetic writing pa-da-na-am, *CT*, IV, 34, obv. 2) indicates that it had the form of a continuous line; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237 (note) and p. 275, n. 2.

⁶¹ GAB, the common meaning of which is paṭaru 'open' (Brünnow, No. 4488), and which is of very frequent occurrence in omen texts as a verb, e. g., GAB (a t) = paṭrat (*CT*, XX, 1, 6, and 14, 6, or without a phonetic complement, ll. 8, 27 of Pl. I: Pl. 7 (K. 5151), 4-11; 15, 2-39; 26 rev. and 28 rev., with plural sign, Pl. 14, 13, but also as a noun, Pl. 48, 19. In our passage the noun is evidently intended, hence the suggested reading. Under 'splits' the fissures frequently to be observed on the surface of the liver or on such parts as the gall-bladder, the cystic duct, and the hepatic duct, etc., are meant. In the Sargon omens (IV R. 34, No. 1) as many as seven such fissures in the gall-bladder are instanced; cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 238. The phonetic reading su-šur suggests that the combination GAB-uš, which is also of frequent occurrence, e. g., *CT*, XX, 1, 17, with the phonetic complement tum (also Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 57, 59) and with the plural sign (*CT*, XX, 45, 21) is to be explained as GAB = 'split' and uš (Brünnow, No. 5033) = 'straight' while the phonetic ending tum suggests the reading napṭartum. GAB-uš would therefore be a fuller form for the noun to indicate, as in our text, 'a straight fissure;' see further, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 337, n. 9.

⁶² III, I, from a šaru 'to be straight;' cf. su-šur in the interpretation of an omen in an inscription of Nabonidus (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 2).

⁶³ Written KA. The 'mouth' of the hepatic duct is the one end of this part.

⁶⁴ Tu appears to be one of the designations for the 'edge of the liver.' For the reading šibi offered tentatively see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 240 (note), and p. 325, n. 5. I take it that the sign is intended to represent the case in which the hepatic duct is unusually long so that it appears to fall over the liver edge.

⁶⁵ For itti ili in the sense of 'with the help of a god' see V R. 63, II, 11 (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253).

"If on the right lobe of the liver there is a 'road,' on the left lobe a straight fissure (and) the mouth of the hepatic extends over the edge(?), thy enemy with the help of a god will be captured and surrounded."

To this omen, the adjoining two columns read:

šu-šur-tum	sa-kap nakri
"straightness"	"overthrow of the enemy"

i. e., the 'straightness' of the fissure and of the 'road' (the straightness of which is implied in the term used) forms the basis for the interpretation that the ruler will proceed directly against the enemy and subjugate him. The secondary sign of the extent of the hepatic duct is not specifically referred to, its favorable character, being again assumed as known or not calling for any special comment.

L. 5:

šumma KAK-TI⁶⁶ ša imitti ištēnit⁶⁷ at-rat ummani šum damiḫti⁶⁸ ileḫi.⁶⁹

"If of the KAK-TI, the one to the right is abnormal, my army will acquire a good name."

To this sign, the two columns read:

a-tar-tum	za-kar šu-mu ⁷⁰
"excessive"	"fame"

i. e., the abnormally large character of the KAK-TI suggests by a natural association of ideas great renown.

L. 6:

šumma reš NA ZU-ḫur⁷¹ MU-SAG⁷² rubi⁷³ ummāni šum damiḫti ileḫi.

"If the top of the biliary duct is elevated, supremacy of the ruler, my army will acquire renown."

⁶⁶ Perhaps to be read sikkatu 'plug'—a term of frequent occurrence (e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 103; *CT*, XX, 14, 17, etc.), the meaning of which I have not been able as yet to determine. For a further discussion, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 233, n. 7.

⁶⁷ Giš (it) = ištēnit, though from the list V R. 12, No. 3, 32 it might appear that the combination can also stand for the masculine. In our case the feminine of the following verb speaks in favor of the feminine noun.

⁶⁸ ŠAL-SIG (Brunnow, No. 10955)—the contrast to ŠAL-HUL (l. 3). For the reading and other passages see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 11.

⁶⁹ Ti (ki) = ileḫi (Brunnow, No. 1700).

⁷⁰ Cf. the proper name En-lil-za-kar-šu-mi (V R. 44, III, 41).

⁷¹ Variant: zuḫ-ḫur II, 1, from zaḫaru 'to be high.' See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 327, n. 9.

⁷² MU-SAG, i. e., MU = niš (*CT*, XII, 8, 8a) and SAG = rešu, literally therefore, 'raising of head,' for which see Hunger, *Becherwahrnehmung*, Text A, 69. A parallel expression is discussed, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 355, n. 12.

⁷³ NUN = rubā.

Cols. I and II read:

zuḫ-kuṛ-tum	za-kaṛ su-mu
“elevation”	“renown”

The ‘elevated’ biliary duct points to the heightening of the fame of the ruler and of his army. Note the play between zuḫḫur and zakar šumi.

L. 7:

šummu elanu⁷⁴ dānni⁷⁵ širu kima sikkati⁷⁶ izziz⁷⁷ zibu^{77a} šarri kenu⁷⁸ umman šarri maḫira⁷⁹ la ibaši.⁸⁰

“If above the portal vein, the flesh stands out like a plug, the king’s ‘club’ (or weapon) will endure, the army of the king will be without a rival.”

The first two columns read:

sik-ka-tum	li-ki-e li-ti
“plug”	“acquiring glory”

i. e., the fact that the flesh at the point indicated stands out like a plug, barring, as it were, the progress of the enemy, is the basis for the interpretation that the arms and army of the king will stand firm against all attacks.

L. 8:

šumma šapal⁸¹ marti ka-bar maru⁸² eli abi-šu ikabit.⁸³

“If the base of the gall-bladder is swollen, the son will be mightier than his father.”

⁷⁴ Similarly we read, *CT*, XX, 37, 9, ‘if the liver gate above the hepatic duct (ana elāni nip ti) is depressed,’ etc.

⁷⁵ DAN probably to be read dānu ‘strong’ and the designation for the *vena portae* or great vein of the liver lying at the side of the hepatic duct. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 240, n. 2.

⁷⁶ (Giš) KAK = sikkatu (Brünnow, No. 5267) — a reading that is confirmed by the word sik-ka-tum in the first column.

⁷⁷ GUB (iz) = izziz; cf. Brünnow, No. 4893.

^{77a} For the reading zibu of the sign (giš) KUB in the omen texts instead of kakku and the meaning ‘club’ assigned to zibu see below, p. 312, n. 161.

⁷⁸ GI-NA.

⁷⁹ GAḆ(ri) = maḫiru (Brünnow, No. 4502), or to be read phonetically gab-ri.

⁸⁰ TUK(ši) = ibaši (cf. Brünnow, No. 11237).

⁸¹ ŠIG (Brünnow, No. 11873) contrasted in 79, 7-8, 129, ll. 4-5 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 43) to SAḠ = kaḫḫadu ‘head’ of the gall-bladder. It is therefore a synonym of the usual SUḪ = išdu (Brünnow, No. 4811) used in the omen texts for the ‘base,’ or what we should call the upper portion of any of the parts of the liver, only that as ll. 1-3 of the text just quoted show, it represents the extreme end of the gall-bladder, whereas SUḪ can be used with the plural sign in the general sense of ‘lower parts.’ Although I have adopted the reading šaplu it is possible that the sign is to be read išdu just like suḫ.

⁸² TUR-NITAḪ.

⁸³ DUUD(it) = ikabit (Brünnow, No. 9228). Cf. *CT*, XX, 31, 19-20 i-ka-bu-ut.

To which line the adjoining columns read:

ka-bar-tum
"swelling"

e-mu-ku
"power"

i. e., the 'swelling' of the lower part of the gall-bladder points to 'power,' while the fact that the swelling is 'below' indicates that the one who is 'lower'—therefore a son in contrast to a father—will be the mightier. The parts of the liver are always reckoned from below. Thus of the three divisions into which any part is divided (see Jastrow, II, p. 254, n. 3) the 'head' is the lowest and the 'base' is at what we would call the upper end. The gall-bladder is generally thicker at the 'head' and grows thinner as we reach the 'base' or 'lower' part. If, therefore, a liver shows the reverse order, it is an indication that the natural order will be reversed—the son will be stronger than his father.

L. 9:

šumma kirbannu⁸⁴ imitti pû-šu ki-ma kur-sin-ni⁸⁵ rapîš⁸⁶
zibu šarri kënu umman šarri i-dan-nin-ma maḥira la ibaši.

"If the mouth of the inner surface to the right is broad like an ankle-bone, the 'club' (or weapon) of the king will be firm, the king's host will be strong and without a rival."

To this sign Cols. I and II read:

ra-pa-aš-tum
"breadth"

me-til-lu-tum⁸⁷
"sovereignty"

The association of ideas between 'breadth' and 'extension' of rulership is obvious. The double interpretation—not infrequent in omen texts⁸⁸—represents an alternative as in ll. 6–7, so that the sign in question may be interpreted with reference to the ruler or to his army according to the occasion of the inquiry.

⁸⁴LAG = kirbannu (Brünnow, No. 5951). This reading is suggested by the phonetic reading ki-ri-ba-a-o-na 'the inner part' (CT, XX, 15, 27 and Pl. 48, 17). Another LAG with the plural sign added occurs in connection with the hepatic duct (CT, XX, 45, 26), the portal vein (l. 31), the gall-bladder (l. 36) and the 'net-work' (Pl. 46, 57) and is to be read minātu (Brünnow, No. 5973). The part in question is larger (rabî) than 'its interior surface.' See Jastrow, II, p. 298, n. 12 for a full discussion of both terms.

⁸⁵Cf. CT, XX, 25, 18; 27, 5; 29, 6.

⁸⁶DAMAL (iš) – irapîš (Brünnow, No. 545). See Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 223, 22–27, etc.

⁸⁷See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 623.

⁸⁸See examples in Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 4.

L. 10:

šumma MAŠ⁸⁹ ma-la ubani im-ta-ši⁹⁰ ardu ma-la beli-šu
i-ma-aš-ši u-lu amtu beli-ša i-ram-ši-ma ma-la belti-ša
i-ma-aš-ši.

"If the papillary appendix in comparison with the pyramidal appendix is large, the servant in comparison with his master will be large, or in the case of a maid, her master will love her, and in comparison with her mistress she will be large."

The first two columns read:

ra-bu-u
"large"

ma-šu-u
"broad"⁹¹

The papillary appendix figured on the picture of a liver, CT, VI, 1, it will be observed, is quite small in comparison with the finger-shaped pyramidal appendix. At times, indeed, the form is so tiny as to be scarcely visible, and not infrequently on sheep's livers that I have seen it appeared to be entirely wanting. The circumstance of its being 'large' is therefore unusual, and it is consequently taken as a sign that the one who is small will become great. The contrast between the 'servant' and the 'master,' or the maid and her mistress represents the contrast between

⁸⁹ The sign MAŠ (Brunnow, No. 2024) designates the *processus papillaris*—the smaller appendix attached to the caudate lobe. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 255, n. 4, where the reading NIR (corrected p. 267, n. 3) is an error for MAŠ (see Streck, *Oriental. Literaturzeit.*, Vol. X, Sp. 72). Niru which at one time I took to be the phonetic reading turns out to be the reading for ME-NI 'the common bile duct' (*ductus choletochus*). See Jastrow, II, p. 326, n. 5.

⁹⁰ For ma šû in the sense of 'large,' 'broad,' 'compressed,' and the like (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 570b) not to be confused with another ma šû (or a ma šû [?]) (Muss-Arnolt, pp. 59 and 570) which on the contrary means 'narrow,' 'small,' etc.

⁹¹ The juxtaposition of rabû with ma šû is at first sight somewhat puzzling because of the apparently double meaning attached to ma šû as either 'small' or 'large' (see preceding note). That a contrast is intended between the appearance of the usually very small *processus papillaris* and the ordinarily much larger *processus pyramidalis* is of course obvious, the former being represented as more fully developed than usual in comparison with the latter; and since the verb ma šû is used to express this idea, it follows that this verb must also be intended in the second column, and not ma šû 'small.' The two terms rabû and ma šû are therefore meant to explain this condition, prognosticating the 'fulness' of the servant and maid as against the master and mistress. The word rabû in the first column is introduced as a synonym of ma šû in order to show the justification of interpreting the omen as pointing to breadth or enlargement. The pupil is in this way taught that the fact that the ordinarily small papillary appendix is 'large' is the basis for the interpretation that servant and maid—instead of the master and mistress—are to be 'large,' or in other words the topsy-turvy character of the two appendices points to a reversion of the natural order—the small will be large and the large will become small. For the preposition mala or mal used to express a comparison see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 540b.

the two appendices, and the unusual condition of the larger appendix being compressed is looked upon as a confirmation of the interpretation that the inferior shall assert himself (or herself) against the superior.

L. 12:

šumma šumēli marti ṣa-mid šepu-ka sa-ad nakri.⁹²

"If the left side of the gall-bladder is firm, through thee, destruction of the enemy."

The two explanatory columns read:

ṣa-mit-tum
"firmness"

išdan⁹³ kināti⁹⁴
"secure bases"

i. e., the 'firmness' of the left side of the gall-bladder points to 'security' and the fact that it is the left side of the gall-bladder which is 'firm' is a bad omen for the enemy, who is always represented by the left side in contrast to the ruler or to the ruler's army, symbolized by the right side as the lucky or favored side.

L. 13:

šumma kabittu imittu ub-bu-uk⁹⁵ išd-a-an kināti.⁹⁶

"If the liver to the right is secure—secure bases."

⁹² A complete parallel to this line is found in one of the omens attached to an inscription of Nabouidus (V R. 63, II, 28) which may be taken as a proof that the interpretations of the omens in a report such as the priests of the king furnished, are taken from collections like ours, compiled as reference works and as guides. See for the line Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 261, n. 5. On sa-ad from ṣadu 'destroy' see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 747a.

⁹³ Written $\text{su}x = \text{iš-du}$ (Brünnow, No. 4811) with the complement a-an to indicate the plural or possibly the dual (see Ungnad, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 22) and Lajciak, *Plural- und Dualendungen an semitische Nomen* [Leipzig, 1903], pp. 48-55). The use of iš-du 'support,' 'foundation' is introduced in view of šepu 'foot' in the interpretation, and if išdan be taken as a dual, the reference would be to the legs as 'supports,' just as in the Targum to I Kings 10:19 the same word אֲרָצֹת 'supports' is the rendering for אֲרָצֹת.

⁹⁴ GI-NA with the plural sign.

⁹⁵ II, 1 from abaku which is another Assyrian verb that like mašû (see above, p. 298, n. 90) has two meanings the one contrary to the other (1) 'endure,' 'cling to,' etc. (cf. Arabic عَبَدَ) and (2) 'throw off,' 'overthrow,' etc. The context—by the association with išdan

kināti—shows clearly that the former sense is here meant, whereas in other passages it is found in the sense of 'remove, misplaced': ub-bu-ka-t (CT, XX, 32, 77, 78) šu-ta-ba-ka (Clay, *Cassite Archives*, XIV, No. 4, 6, etc.). See Jastrow, II, p. 280, n. 8. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1774 (81, 2-4, 227) šumma kabittu imittu e-bi-ik furnishes a parallel to our passage. Delitzsch (*HWB*, p. 115a) is hardly justified in assuming a stem עָבַק , but at the most עָבַק by the side of עָבַק —though the two are probably identical as Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 6a, regards them.

⁹⁶ Written as in the second column of the preceding line.

The first two columns read:

e-pi-ik-tum
"security"

išd-a-an kināti
"secure bases"

The association of ideas is obvious and the circumstance that it is the right side of the liver which exhibits compactness adds to the favorable character of the sign.

L. 14:

šumma māš [e-]ba-at⁹⁷ ebūr māti išir.⁹⁸

"If the papillary appendix is inclosed, the produce of the land will thrive."

The explanatory columns read:

e-bi-tum
"inclosure"

šubtu⁹⁹ ne-eh-tum
"peaceful dwelling"

The interpretation of good crops as 'security' is an interesting association of ideas. In times of disturbance, the even course of things is interfered with and vice-versa, bad crops lead to internal disorders.

L. 15 reads:

šumma martu panātu-ša¹⁰⁰ ana imitti šakuu ta-a-a-rat ili ana ameli šarru mat-su i-ram-ma.

"If the edges of the gall-bladder lie toward the right, reconciliation of god with man, the king will be gracious to his land."¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ The restoration is indicated by the word in the first column. The underlying stem is the same from which we obtain uppu 'inclosure' (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 78b) and the same verb (II, 1) is found as ub-bu-u IV R. 26, No. 2, 4 i-mat zu-ka-ki-pu a-me-lam la ub-bu-u 'the spittle of a scorpion does not inclose a man;' cf. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 13b, and also see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 305, n. 7.

⁹⁸ ŠL-DI(ir) = išir from išāru (Brünnow, No. 3461). The phrase occurs frequently in astrological omens, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 57, obv. 4; 60 (K. 3002), 11-16; 10 (la išir); 68, obv. 9, etc., etc.

⁹⁹ KI-KU = šubtu (Brünnow, No. 9824). The phrase is of frequent occurrence in historical texts (see the passages in Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, pp. 662b ff.) as well as in omen texts, e. g., CT, XX, 4 (K. 6689), 11; 34, 6 subtu ne-eh-ti išab, etc. Cf. Jastrow, II, p. 260, n. 7.

¹⁰⁰ IGI(MES)—the points or edges of the gall-bladder, perhaps to be read ameruti. See below, p. 301, n. 101a.

¹⁰¹ Literally 'will love.' The two interpretations are to be regarded as alternatives according to prevailing conditions or to the nature of the inquiry.

Unfortunately the first column to this line is injured.^{101a} The second column reads:

ta-a-a-ra-tum "reconciliation"

We are therefore left in doubt as to the exact feature of the sign noted which suggests the return of god to man, and the love of the king for his land, which is likewise viewed as a reconciliation on his part. A fuller form of such an interpretation is found in the omens attached to a text of Nabonidus.¹⁰² A parallel to the sign noted is found in this inscription (Col. XI, 23) where it is interpreted as piḳittu 'appointment,' i. e., pointing to a favorable answer to the inquiry whether such and such a one is to be intrusted with some official service.¹⁰³

L. 16:

šumma ḳaḳḳad NA ka-bi-is ummani-ka ina reš ʔkli-šu namra¹⁰⁴ ikkal.¹⁰⁵

"If the head of the biliary duct is depressed, thy army will, out of the best of his (sc. the enemy's) land, acquire glory."

The two explanatory columns read:

[ki-ib]su¹⁰⁶
"depression"

a-ka-l nam-ra¹⁰⁷
"acquiring glory"

^{101a} Perhaps to be restored a [me-ru-ti] in the sense of 'edges,' corresponding to IGI(MEŠ) in Col. III (Brunnow, Nos. 9267 and 9325). See Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 10a and IV R. 2 I*, Col. III, 1-2. IGI-GAB-A(MEŠ)=a-me-ru-ti.

¹⁰² *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naiids* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 14-21. "Those who hated will love (ir-ta-a-mu same verb as in our passage). In a land of hostility there will be reconciliation (su-lu-m-ma-a), Sin, and Samaš will walk at my army's side and overthrow the enemy, the angered gods will be at peace (šalmu) with man." Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 268.

¹⁰³ On the custom of consulting omens through a liver inspection in the case of appointments to office, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 268, n. 10 and the references there given.

¹⁰⁴ 𒀠A-LA=zittu or namru. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 100 ff.) where this passage and parallels are fully treated.

¹⁰⁵ 𒀠C=a kálu (Brunnow, No. 882). On akálu as a synonym of kašadu and the phrase here used see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 254, n. 8, as well as the article quoted in the preceding note.

¹⁰⁶ The correct restoration suggested by Hunger, *Becherwahrung bei den Babyloniern*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Two words suggest the reading namru for 𒀠A-LA in the third column and ikkal for 𒀠C. Instead of namra, however, zittam as a synonym is possible. See for the interpretation of this line with a full discussion of numerous parallel passages, Jastrow "Notes on Omen Texts," *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 97-103.

The fact that the biliary duct is deeply set points to the firm footing that the king's army will secure in the enemy's territory.

L. 17:

šumma NA kima azkari¹⁰⁸ ana šaplānu¹⁰⁹ mat nakri ḡal-ta¹¹⁰ ilamī.¹¹¹

"If the biliary duct is like a crescent at the lower end, the enemy's land will be surrounded with hostility."

The two explanatory columns read:

šap-liš ka-na-šu¹¹²
"bent below"

kašitti¹¹³ ḡata
"conquest"

i. e., the circumstance that the 'lower' part of the biliary duct is curved so as to resemble a crescent, points to the 'humiliation' of the enemy's land or, in other words, to its conquest. It will be observed that the sign involves a twofold association of ideas—the 'curving' and the fact that the curving is 'below'—both suggesting a lowering and a bending to superior power.

L. 18:

šumma MU reš kabitti¹¹⁴ ša imitti ul-lu-uṣ¹¹⁵ ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummāni.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸UD-SAR=azkaru 'new-moon' and then the crescent of the moon as so frequently depicted on seal cylinders (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 26a). The biliary duct appears as crescent-shaped, e. g., on the clay model of a liver (CT, VI, 1).

¹⁰⁹KI-TA(u)=šaplānu (Brunnow, No. 9673)—the contrast to eīanu in l. 7. The direction of the parts of the liver being, as already indicated (see above p. 297), from below upward or from right to left, the 'lower end' of the biliary duct refers to what we would call the 'upper' or 'left' end.

¹¹⁰Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 11; CT, XX, 12 (K. 9213), 7, etc.

¹¹¹NI-GIN(mi)=ilamī (cf. Brunnow, No. 10334).

¹¹²The contrast e-liš ka-na-šu with the explanation u-ṣur-tum 'defeat' is found in the lexicographical list Rm. 131, 7 (Meissner, *Supplement Texts*, p. 20), which appears to be likewise devoted to an explanation of terms occurring in divination texts, arranged on the same principle as ours. See below p. 310, n. 147.

¹¹³KUR(ti)=kašitti.

¹¹⁴MU-SAG-UR frequently used in association with U-SAG-UR, e. g., CT, XX, 1, obv. 4-5, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 38, col. I, rev. 14, etc. Inasmuch as in Roman hepatoscopy the 'head of the liver' *caput jecoris* (see above p. 289) is the designation of the *processus pyramidalis*, I am inclined to take SAG-UR=reš kabitti 'head of the Liver' as the point of this appendix. Therefore MU-SAG-UR=the 'upper' surface of the point and U-SAG-UR the 'under' surface. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 229, n. 1. U-SAG-UR is to be read kubsu (Brunnow, No. 5864), the reading of MU-SAG is still unknown. The element UR is often omitted in the case of both of these designations, e. g., CT, XX, 14, 12; 15, 28, etc.

¹¹⁵II, 1 of alaṣu, the context suggests 'enlarge' as the fundamental meaning of alaṣu.

¹¹⁶For other examples of this phrase, see CT, XX, 31, 13, 14; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 8, rev. 12 and 14, etc., and in the complete parallel to our line in the *Inscription der Stele Nabu'nuids* (Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 38. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 271.

"If the upper part of the liver to the right is enlarged, rejoicing of heart of my army."

To this line, the adjoining two columns read:

ul-šu
"enlargement"

ul-šu-um-ma
"rejoicing"

Here we have, as in the following line, the direct play upon words as the basis for the association of ideas, the 'enlargment' of the point of the *processus pyramidalis* suggesting the 'enlargement' of the spirits of the army.

L. 19:

šumma gi-biṣ imitti marti uktabir¹¹⁷ gi-biṣ ummanī ana mat nakri.

"If the bag of the gall-bladder to the right is swollen, (advance of) my forces to the enemy's country."

The two explanatory columns read:

gi-ib-šu
"swelling"

gi-ib-šum-ma
"amassing"

As in the previous line, the word to the right indicates the verbal noun, and to the left the substantive form proper—distinguished by the emphatic ending *m*.

L. 20:

šumma ina imitti marti zibu¹¹⁸ šakin¹¹⁹-ma šapliš immar¹²⁰ zibu ma-ag-ša-ru zibu Šamaš.¹²¹

"If to the right of the gall-bladder there is a 'club' seen below, the club (or weapon) will be powerful—it is the club of Šamaš."¹²¹

¹¹⁷ 𒌷-sr=uktabir. See Jastrow, II, p. 269, n. 3.

¹¹⁸ (G18) 𒌷 to be read as above p. 296, n. 77^a, pointed out to be *zi-bu*, when used to designate some phenomenon on the liver, is of very frequent—indeed constant—occurrence in divination texts. It is the name given to certain markings on the liver that were fantastically viewed as 'weapons' and associated with the weapons of various gods, according to their varying forms. These markings are particularly prominent in the case of livers of sheep raised in marshy districts and are in part at least pathological in character. See Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II, pp. 38, 39. For a full discussion of these markings see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (II. "The Weapon of the Gods"), *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103-5.

¹¹⁹ GAR to be read *šakin*, the phonetic complement *in* being frequently added, e. g., *CT*, XX, 31, 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, etc., or for the plural *nu* as above, p. 300. l. 15.

¹²⁰ IGI to be read *im-mar* as passages with the phonetic complement *mar* added show, e. g., *CT*, XX, 32, 77; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, pp. 52, 17; 69, 12.

¹²¹ An explanatory note added to specify the particular kind of marking meant. See Jastrow, *AJSL*, XXIII, 113.

The two explanatory columns read:

mag-ša-ru
"power"

da-na-nu
"strong"

The underlying stem *gašaru* signifying 'to be strong,' the meaning of the noun form cannot be doubtful; its explanation as *dananu* 'strong' is a further aid to the determination of its meaning. In this case, there is a deviation from the principles to be observed in the relationship of the two explanatory columns to each other, inasmuch as *dananu* does not actually occur in the interpretation, but is added as an explanation of *magšaru*. For this reason, as well as because of other considerations set forth elsewhere, I take *magšaru* as the actual designation of the club (or weapon) of the sun-god with which the particular form of 'club' observed is compared. The interpretation, concisely put, is intended to suggest that since the 'club' is a *magšaru*, the sign points to the 'strength' of the weapons of the ruler.

L. 21:

šumma iṣ-ri¹²² imitti inammir¹²³ ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummani.

"If the border to the right is resplendent, rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The two explanatory columns read:

nu-um-ru
"brilliancy."

ḥu-ud lib-bi
"joy of the heart"

i. e., the 'brilliancy' of the border of the liver suggests the 'joy' of the army. The word in the first column thus offers a confirmation of the reading *inammir*, while the second column furnishes a synonym to *ulluṣ libbi*.

L. 22:

šumma kabittu imitti atar¹²⁴ dannu¹²⁵ ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummani.

¹²² Iṣ-ri is clearly the designation of the border (or circumference) of the liver.

¹²³ Written *LAG(ir) = inammir* (cf. Brünnow, No. 3145). On the color of the liver see below p. 306.

¹²⁴ DIRIG = *ataru* (Brünnow, No. 3729).

¹²⁵ Written *GAR-KALAG* according to Brünnow (No. 12088), like *KALAG* (Brünnow, No. 6194) alone. The reading of the first column *atar nam-ru* suggests that *GAR-KALAG* may be read *namru*. On the basis of this passage alone, however, it is hazardous to assume this value, since the first column frequently suggests a synonym in preference to the word used in the omen. At all events the meaning is perfectly clear and the difference between *dannu* and *namru* is not of any moment in this instance.

"If the liver to the right is very firm, rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The explanatory columns read:

atar nam-ru	ḥu-ud lib-bi
"very shining"	"joy of heart"

The interesting text from this point on is unfortunately defective, and while some of the lines can be partially restored, we are unable to carry on the analysis for the rest of the text in the same complete manner as we have done hitherto. However, even in its defective condition, the text furnishes some further elucidations of the principles of Babylonian hepatoscopy and of the application of these principles to specific signs observed on the liver. It is worth while, therefore, to attempt an interpretation.

L. 24 reads:

šumma KAK-TI¹²⁶ ša imitti u[šumēli ḥalkā(?)¹²⁷] šī-lim-tum.¹²⁸
 "If the KAK-TI to the right and [left are destroyed], annihilation."

The two explanatory columns read:

ummanate ma'dūti ¹²⁹	zu-ḫu-ru-ti ašaridi ¹³⁰
"numerous hosts"	"supremacy of my general"

The connection between the first column and the sign observed is obscure, and must remain so till the reading and exact meaning of KAK(ti) can be determined.

L. 25 reads:

šumma ina kaḫḫad marti di-ḫu nadi-ma [ḥud lib-bi
 zanān šamē].

"If at the head of the gall-bladder there is a hole and
 [joy of heart, plentiful rain]."

The explanatory columns enabling us to restore the end of the line from the faint traces read:

¹²⁶ See above p. 295, n. 66.

¹²⁷ Read ḤA-A (with plural sign) = ḥalkā, like CT, XX, 45, 18. Cf. also Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 298, n. 7.

¹²⁸ Of frequent occurrence in omen texts, e.g., CT, XX, 2, rev. 6; 6, 9-11; 7, 19-21; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 15; 12, 16, etc. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 299, n. 14.

¹²⁹ ERIM with plural sign (Brünnow, No. 8170) followed by ZUN with plural sign (Brünnow, No. 8623). Read, therefore, ummanate ma'dūti.

¹³⁰ SAG-KALAG with MU as suffix of first person = ašaridi (Brünnow, No. 3819).

di-ḥu lib-bu
"hole inside"

ḥu-ud lib-bi zanān¹³¹ šamē
"joy of heart, plentiful rain"

L. 25:

šumma kabittu imitti i-haš-[ši-šu¹³² ul-lu-uš lib-bi um-māni].

"If the liver to the right [is resplendent, rejoicing of the heart of my army]."

The explanatory columns read:

ḥi-iš-ša-tum
"resplendency"

ul-lu-uš lib-bi
"rejoicing of the heart"

The association of ideas is the same as in ll. 21–22, and also in the following line, where the 'brilliant,' 'shining' color of the part of the liver singled out suggests enlargement and success. The color of the liver, as is well known, varies considerably according to pathological conditions in the sacrificial animal, and it is interesting to note that in Greek and Roman hepatoscopy likewise the color of the liver enters into the interpretation of the signs observed. Aeschylus,¹³³ for example, in describing the benefits conferred on mankind by Prometheus includes therein his teaching mankind to derive omens from the inspection of the entrails,¹³⁴ specifying the doctrine as follows:

"The smoothness of the entrails, having what color would be pleasing to the deities, the well-formed and variegated character of the gall-bladder and lobe."

¹³¹ SUR (an) = zanān; cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 59, 7, where we find the phonetic writing za-na-an šamē. The combination SUR AN-E frequently occurs in the astrological texts, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Pl. 27 (81, 2-4, 206), rev. 21. Virolleaud's reading (*L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, fasc. 8, p. 11, 10) izannun šamē is to be corrected accordingly.

¹³² From bašāšu for which the ideogram is 𐎠-𐎡 (V R. 39, 89) and which is therefore a synonym of kuzbu, ulšū, sullulu (from alālu)—all having the meaning of 'splendor,' 'enlargement,' 'joy,' and the like. See Brünnow, Nos. 824-48.

¹³³ *Prometheus*, ll. 495-97. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 350.

¹³⁴ Σπλάγχνα 'entrails' which by the side of ἱερά 'sacred parts' or ἱερεῖα 'victims' is the term used by Greek writers and never ἥπαρ, just as the Latin writers speak of the *exta* and not of *hepar* when they refer to hepatoscopy in general. Such a usage no doubt points to the inclusion of other organs—as lungs, heart, and entrails—in divination rites, and yet it is noteworthy that when in Greek or Latin writers *specific* details of the inspection of an animal for divination purposes are given, the organ in all except a very few cases specified is the liver, and all specific signs observed are such as are found on the liver, showing, therefore, that here, too, it is the liver which is *par excellence* the organ of revelation. See the passages in Blecher, *De Extispicio*, pp. 3-32. Indeed, according to Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45, other organs outside of the liver are rarely referred to and appear to have been consulted only when showing abnormal phenomena, whereas in ordinary cases the examination was limited to the liver. See also Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 216.

L. 26:

šumma martu nam-ba-[ṭa-at kima(?) . . . ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummani].

"If the gall-bladder shines like(?) . . . rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The adjoining two columns reading

nam-ba-ṭu	ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi
"brilliant"	"joy of heart"

require no further comment.

L. 27:

šumma martu šīru [libu¹³⁵ rubū libbu duḥduṣu ika-šad(?)]¹³⁶

"If the flesh of the gall-bladder [is fatty, the ruler through his strength will conquer (?)]."

Cols. I and II to this line read:

li-bu-u	duḥ-du
"fat"	"abundance"

The fatty gall-bladder or its fatty appearance is interpreted as pointing to prosperity and abundance.

L. 28:

šumma ina imitti pantī¹³⁷ šul-[ul-lu ebūr māti maḥfra nap-ša ibašši].¹³⁸

"If to the right the liver surface is [resplendent—the produce of the land will be high-priced]."

¹³⁵ Read ṢAL-LU which according to Craig, *Assyr. Relig. Texts*, Vol. II, Pl. II, obv. 13 is to be read li-bu-u 'fat'—precisely as the explanatory column has it. See Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 105; and Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 172 (No. 37, n. 6). The word occurs frequently in incantation and ritual texts.

¹³⁶ The word duḥdu 'abundance' in Col. II of this line suggests the restoration of this line according to *CT*, XX, 50, 17, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 95, 10. Practically the same phrase is found also *CT*, XX, 2, rev. 8: 49, rev. 32 (also to be restored Pl. 6 [Rm 86] 6) Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 8, rev. 13. See also the omen in the Inscription of Nabonidus, VR. 63, Col. II, 18 and the comment in Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 257, n. 2, and p. 327, n. 5. The restoration would appear in the text as

NUN ŠA SI-SI-KI-(ŠU) KUR (a d)

¹³⁷ BA=pantū, the name of the liver surface on which the gall-bladder, the biliary, and hepatic ducts are found, and all the other parts and chief phenomena of the liver, but which, according to modern anatomical nomenclature is the hind or inferior surface, whereas the Babylonians, because this surface was first seen upon opening a sheep, called it the "upper" surface or "face" of the liver, and the other side the "back." The word pantū from being the chief side of the liver came to be used in a general way for the liver. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 227, n. 2, and the writer's article, "Signs and Names of the Liver in Babylonia," *ZA*, XX, pp. 112-27.

¹³⁸ The restoration suggested by the reading in Col. II and the passages III R. 54, No. 3, 1-3, though of course a variant phrase like I. 3 maḥfra ina-pu-uš (cf. III R. 60, 73) is also possible. See a similar passage in our text Pl. 41, Col. V, 15, na-pa-aš maḥīri.

Cols. I and II read:

sul-ul-lu ^{138a}	maḥīru ¹³⁹ nap-šu
“resplendent”	“high price”

The sign again refers to the high coloring of the liver or, more precisely, of the surface of the liver, which is explained as pointing to commercial prosperity. High prices in ancient Babylonia appear to have been indicative of “good times”—a financial boom.

L. 29:

šumma ḳabal niptī ana[elanu larū¹⁴⁰ ibaši rubū ina ḥarrāni illiku ikašad].¹⁴¹

“If in the middle of the hepatic duct above there is a branch, the ruler on his expedition will conquer[.]”

Cols. I and II read:

la-ru-u	ki-šit-tum
“branch”	“conquest”

The association of ideas appears to rest on the fact that the subsidiary duct branches out from the middle of the hepatic duct on the ‘upper’ side—‘middle’ and ‘upper’ prognosticating a favorable issue.

^{138a} The ideogram of this word being, according to Brūnnow, No. 8248, 𒍪-LI (see above p. 308, n. 132), there can be no doubt as to its general meaning, as ‘shining’ and the like. Examples of verbal forms of alālu in the same sense CT, XX, 5, 13, 22-25 (i-tal-lu-ša i-tal-lu-ka, etc.), Kaudtson, *Assyrische Gebete*, No. 8, rev. 11.

¹³⁹ KI-LAM, the common ideogram for maḥīru (Brūnnow, No. 9803) so constantly occurring in business documents.

For napšu and forms of the verb in combination with maḥīru see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 710b. In omen texts we find as interpretations also (a) maḥīru iṣaḥīr, Craig, *Astrol.-Astron. Texts*, Pl. 2, 25, 27, 40, etc., and (b) maḥīra mātu in apuṣ, Craig, Pl. 21, 16; III R. 60, 73.

¹⁴⁰ In view of passages like CT, XX, 11 (K. 6393) 7; 11 (K. 6724) 18-19; 18 (K. 12471) 3; 24 (K. 3676), obv. 4-5; 25, 5-6; 28, 2, 6, there can be no doubt of the restoration of ana AN-TA-(nu) (=elanu-) PA TOK (ši).

What a PA looks like is shown by the diagram CT, XX, 28, which, besides furnishing a proof that GIN is the hepatic duct, makes it clear that PA is a subsidiary hepatic duct. The diagram illustrates a variety of such subsidiary ducts branching out to the right, in the middle and at the base of the hepatic duct, both above (elanu) and below (sapanu). One of the common equivalents of PA is ḥaṭṭu ‘scepter.’ From this to some such meaning as ‘branch’ is only a short step, while the reading larū in the first column may reasonably be taken to be the phonetic value of PA when applied to subsidiary duct. See Jastrow, II, p. 297, n. 1. The word in question is found here for the first time, and it is therefore idle to speculate as to its fundamental meaning. We may provisionally enter it as ‘branch’—to fit the context. The omen texts furnish quite a number of words not found elsewhere, as e. g., zibu ‘club,’ ḡibu ‘hole,’ kaskasu ‘flake,’ niptū hepatic duct, nīru common bile duct, etc., so that it is not surprising to come across another.

¹⁴¹ Restored according to CT, XX, 39, 1. See above p. 292, n. 45.

L. 30:

šumma māš kima [ku-ul-ti . . . ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummani].

"If the papillary appendix is like [a kultu . . . rejoicing of the heart of my army]."

Cols. I and II:

ku-ul-tu¹⁴²

ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummāni
"rejoicing of heart in my army."

For the next eleven lines the third column is lacking altogether and there is not much to be made of Cols. I and II, which are likewise badly broken.

L. 31, Cols. I and II:

li-[me]-tum¹⁴³
"surrounding"

ašibute-šu ippaṭarû (?) ē-
ṭir¹⁴⁴ ili
"its inhabitants will be freed
through the protection of a god"

For ll. 32-35 only the second column remains:

[li-me (?)]-tum

bar-ri-e¹⁴⁵ bit amēli
"superabundance of the house
of man"

la ka-šit-tum

"no conquest"

la ka-šit-tum

"no conquest"

sa-kip-tum lumun libbi¹⁴⁶

"overthrow, misfortune"

¹⁴²Without the third column, it is impossible to determine the meaning of this word which I have not met with as yet elsewhere in the omen texts. Langdon, *J.A.O.S.*, XXVII, p. 97, n. 3, thinks it may be some object of wood. This is possible, though his supposition that the comparisons in these texts are usually with such objects is erroneous, cf. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 79, 85, 103, etc. The comparison is very frequently with small animals or with parts of animals or with fruits, or, in fact, with almost anything.

¹⁴³Limetum points to a verb ilamī in the first part of the line devoted to the description of the sign. The catch-words of the interpretation begin with the following KU-A with plural sign, perhaps to be read ašibūte. Note that the duplicate Rm 2, 466 has GAB-MEŠ=paṭarū.

¹⁴⁴KAR (ir) pointing to the reading ēṭir ili; cf. Brünnow, No. 7739. The verb eṭēru occurs not infrequently in omen texts, e. g., *CT*, XX, 14, 8-27, 9, where eṭēru with ekēmu, šatik and kabāsu all are entered as synonyms and as possible readings for KAR.

¹⁴⁵Cf. i-bir-ri as the interpretation of an omen, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 88, 17 and 94, rev. 6; also ub-bir (l. 4), ub-bir-šu (l. 5).

¹⁴⁶SA-HUL=lumun libbi. The two expressions sakiptum and lumun libbi are of course introduced as alternatives. Langdon (*J.A.O.S.*, XXVII, p. 97), who misses the point here as in other instances, attempts to combine them.

Cols. I and II of ll. 36 and 37 are too fragmentary to be considered.

L. 38:

a-[ru-ur-tum (?)]
"curse"

L. 39:

[si-(?)-si-il-tum]¹⁴⁷

a-ru-ur-tum
"curse"

L. 40:

ša-[laḥ-]tum¹⁴⁸
"tear"

maš-la-'a-tum¹⁴⁹
"capture"

With the help of various passages in omen texts,¹⁵⁰ the third column can be restored with great probability as follows:

šumma [irru saḥiruti imitti šal-ḥu maš-la-'a-ti ummāni].
"If the network is torn apart, capture of my army."

¹⁴⁷ Restored from Rm 131, 5 (published by Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 20 of Texts). This fragment is part of a text much like ours, so that here, too, we must beware of taking the words of the two columns as synonyms, as has hitherto been done. They represent the catch-word of the sign noted and of the interpretation of liver omens respectively, belonging to a lost third column. Whether the entire text was a duplicate is doubtful, even though several lines (36-42=Rm 131, 2-9) agree. There is no agreement between this fragment and any of the lines preserved on the reverse of our text. I hope to treat this fragment more fully on some other occasion. No doubt further investigation will show that there are other lexicographical texts, hitherto regarded as furnishing synonymous expressions, which belong to the same category. Note that in Rm 131, 5 the first sign si is missing, but the restoration suggested by Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 506b seems plausible. I suspect that si(7)-sil-tum represents a term with which a comparison was instituted in the first part of the corresponding line of Col. III, devoted to the description of the signs noted.

¹⁴⁸ To be restored according to Rm 131, 6. That the second sign (Brünnow, No. 7766) is to be read laḥ and not par as Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 97b, proposed (who was followed by Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 1093b), or bir as Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 89, assumed, may be concluded from the omen report K. 1523 (S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanapals*, Vol. III, Pl. 26), šumma irru saḥiruti šal-ḥu maš-la-'a-ti rubi nidūti ummāni, i. e., "if the network is torn, capture of the chief (or king), overthrow of my army." The word in the first column having reference to the sign observed, the association is no doubt in our text also between some form of the verb šalaḥu and a noun šalaḥtum. That the sign is an unfavorable one is distinctly stated in the summary of the signs K. 1523, 15, 16; cf. Jastrow, II, p. 293, n. 6.

¹⁴⁹ Occurring a number of times as the interpretation of an omen, e. g., *CT*, XX, 31, 31, 32 (maš-la-'a-ti ummāni and maš-la-'a-ti umman nakri); 16, (K. 6848), 4, 5, where no doubt umman and umman nakri are also to be supplied besides K. 1523, just referred to. These passages show conclusively that the word has some such sense as 'capture' and since we have a word šallu 'captive' (Muss-Arnolt, *loc. cit.*, p. 1035b), well vouched for, we need not hesitate to assign the force of 'capture' to maš-la-'a-tum. The association of šalaḥu with maš-la-'a-tum embodies, therefore, a play upon words as well as upon ideas.

¹⁵⁰ See the previous note and compare also K. 4045, 10 (Boissier, *loc. cit.*), šumma irru saḥiruti imitti parsū u šal-ḥu, 'if the network to the right is divided and torn.' Ll. 42-44 began with ša-NIGIN so that it is permissible from this circumstance also to restore the same signs in ll. 40, 41 and perhaps also in l. 39. The verb, it is to be noted, occurs in the case of other parts of the liver as, e. g., with the *porta hepatis*, *CT*, XX, 31, 31, 32 (šal-ḥa t). In the case of the 'network' the sign indicates that the group of lines and curves are broken up instead of being continuous (alkū as in l. 2), see above p. 293, n. 47a.

L. 41, Cols. I and II:

e-[liš] ¹⁵¹ ka-na-šu	u-šur-tum ¹⁵²
"bent above"	"defeat"

L. 42, Cols. I and II:

[li-me-]tum ¹⁵³	u-šur-tum
"surrounding"	"defeat"

L. 43, Cols. I and II:

[si-ši-ir-tu] ¹⁵⁴	[šanē tēmi] ¹⁵⁵
"surrounding"	"loss of reason"

The reverse of the tablet which we have now reached comprising Cols. IV to VI is also in a most lamentable condition, without a single line complete for all three columns.¹⁵⁶

For ll. 1-10 the third column is missing entirely and for the first line also Cols. V and VI¹⁵⁷ of the explanatory columns. Ll. 2-10 read so far as preserved as follows:

2.	tal-lu	
3.	nim-ru	
	"shining"	
4.	ia-ar-tum ¹⁵⁸	zanān[šame] ¹⁵⁹
	"flow" (?)`	"rain from heaven"

¹⁵¹ According to Rm 131, 7. Contrast to šapliš kanāšu (above Col. I, l. 18).

¹⁵² Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 51, 15; mātu u-šur-ti ramāni-ša iṣabat as a distinctly unfavorable omen as shown by l. 13 where for a similar omen we find mātu hušahhu immar "the land will see famine." Ušurtu is therefore to be derived from ašaru 'to bumble,' 'lower,' and the like.

¹⁵³ Rm 131, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Rm 131, 9, which adds as a synonyme li-me-tum—an indication that in the third column an ideograph was used—probably Brünnow, No. 10328—which could be read either as lamú (No. 10334) or sabaru (No. 10339) as, e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 92, 13.

¹⁵⁵ Rm 131, 9 reads šan-e uš-[uš]=tē-e-mi as Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 2, compared with the parallel passages CT, XX, 10, 4 and J2, 14 [K. 9213] (ša-ni tē-me) 27, 11. The third column is perhaps to be restored on the basis of Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 92, 13, in combination with CT, XX, 10, 4 as follows:

summa irru sahirūti ištēnit(?) issahirū nu-kur mil-ki šanē tē-e-mi ina harrāni illik taḳ-pu-da,
i. e., "if the network is altogether (?) surrounded, perverted judgment, (and) loss of reason in the expedition that thou plannest"—but this cannot of course be regarded as certain. See Jastrow, II, pp. 295 f., n. 6.

¹⁵⁶ How far Rm 131 ran parallel with our text it is impossible to say, but presumably not very far since there is no correspondence between Rm 131 and any portions of Cols. V and VI of the reverse of K. 2235 etc.

¹⁵⁷ Note that on the reverse it is Col. IV that furnishes the omens, Col. VI the catch-word of omen and Col. V the catch-word of the interpretation.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. CT, XX, 15 (K. 6848), 6 [mē] a-a-r-ti from āru (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 3b, and see Jastrow, II, p. 339, n. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. above, p. 306, n. 131.

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 5. | e-rim-ma-tum ¹⁶⁰
"chain" (?) | |
| 6. | (giš)kū
"weapon" | zi-[bu] ¹⁶¹
"club" |
| 7. | ekimtum ¹⁶²
"misplacement" | ekimtu ¹⁶³ [ummani]
"taking away [of my army]" |
| 8. | kamtum ¹⁶⁴ ekimtum ¹⁶⁵
"inclosure misplaced" | da-ša[-tum] ¹⁶⁶
"distress" |
| 9. | kamtum ṣalmat ¹⁶⁷ u kanšat ¹⁶⁸
"inclosure black and bent" | erū ¹⁶⁹ nakru ušēši-šu
"the enemy will drive out the strong one" |

¹⁶⁰ See the passages in Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 102b. Presumably in the third column the comparison was made between a part or some sign on the liver and a 'chain.'

¹⁶¹ (Giš)kū, as already indicated above p. 303, n. 118, is the most common sign for a marking on the liver which, however, is not to be read k k k u, but z i b u as Boissier recognized. See the author's full note on the subject (Jastrow, II, p. 235, n. 6) The z i [b u] in Col. V is not to be taken as the equivalent of (giš)kū as Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 74, proposed, but as the catch-word of the interpretation, based on the fact that (giš)kū = z i b u 'club.' The omen, no doubt, read to the effect that if at such a part of the liver there was a z i b u, through the 'club,' i. e., in war, the king or his army or the enemy—as the caec may be—would triumph. This play between a marking designated as a kind of weapon, and the 'weapons' of kings and soldiers as the symbol of warfare, is constant in omen texts, e. g., *CT*, XX, 3, 11; 10, 2-3; etc., etc. The occurrence of z i -b u in the column furnishing the catch-word of the interpretation points to the reading z i b u and not k k k u in the interpretation of the omens as well as in the designation of markings. I therefore adopt this reading for (giš)kū everywhere in the omen texts.

¹⁶² KAR(tum) = ekimtum; cf. Brünnow, No. 1740.

¹⁶³ KAR(tu) = ekimtu. The stem ekēmu 'remove,' 'misplace' is of very frequent occurrence in the omen texts and is generally expressed by the same sign as here, namely, KAR. The reading is established by the phonetic element im which is often added, e. g., *CT*, XX, 15, 30; 30, 13, etc., etc., while the noun is indicated by the addition of tum (*CT*, XX, 29, rev. 11), tu (*CT*, XX, 13, rev. 14; 33, 111, 112: 26, obv. 17), ti (*CT*, XX, 1, 27). Note also the gloss e -k e -m u to KAR (*CT*, XX, 14, 8 and 27, 9). In the third column no doubt the interpretation was ekimtu ummān nakri "capture of the enemy's army" as *CT*, XX, 29, rev. 9, and 33, 112; also to be supplied 13 rev. 13 or ummāni 'my army' as *CT*, XX, 33, 111; 26, obv. 17. The verb ekēmu is used of various parts of the liver (a) of the biliary duct (NA), e. g., *CT*, XX, 1, 26; (b) of the hepatic duct (GIR), e. g., Pl. 18 (Sm. 1520), rev. 12; 2I (83, 1-18, 433), 11-12; (c) of the KA-DUG(GA) e. g., *ibid.*, 1, 13; (d) of the hepatic vein (DAN), *ibid.*, 1, 14; (e) of the *ductus choledochus* (ME-NI) *ibid.*, 1, 16, etc., etc.

¹⁶⁴ Kamtu which occurs in this and the following lines must be the designation of a species of markings on the liver, not unlike a dihu 'hole.' See Jastrow, II, p. 312, n. 9. I take it from the stem kamū 'inclose.'

¹⁶⁵ KAR(tum) as in the preceding line.

¹⁶⁶ So also restored by Langdon, *JAOS*, XXVII, p. 99.

¹⁶⁷ Mī(at) which occurs also *CT*, XX, 27, 13 and 33, 99-101 and 103, 104 in connection with the hepatic duct is to be read ṣalmat 'dark.' Note that *CT*, XX, obv. 29, 14 we find pišū 'white' said of the hepatic duct, and arku 'green' said of a hole in the 'network' inclosure (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 87, 1 (K. 8272 and also K. 3827). See Jastrow II, p. 341, n. 7.

¹⁶⁸ GAM(at) for which the reading kanšat is suggested by the occurrence of kanašu in our text (*CT*, XX, 39, 17 and 40, 41) as well as the phonetic complement iš to GAM (*CT*, XX, 26, 4 and 32, 53). See Brünnow, No. 7322 and see also *CT*, XX, 18 (K. 1520), 5 where we must no doubt read GAM(at) as in our passage. For other occurrences of GAM see Jastrow II, p. 334, n. 2.

¹⁶⁹ A T - Ḥ A L contrasted (Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 8, 2-3) to enšū 'weak,' and

L. 13, Col. IV, may be restored as follows:

šumma ina kaḫḫad NA di-[ḫu šakin zunnu izanun šamū
ina reš arḫi ša-pi-ik].¹⁷⁵

"If at the head of the biliary duct [there is a hole, the heavens will cause rain to come down in abundance at the beginning of the month]."

Cols. V and VI to this line read:

di-ḫu ¹⁷⁶	zu-un-nu ¹⁷⁷
"hole"	"rain"

L. 14, Col. IV:

šumma ina imitti pantī¹⁷⁸ sul[-lu¹⁷⁹ šakin ašsat amēli
a-ka-a ul-lad].¹⁸⁰

"If on the right side of the liver surface there is a 'street'(?), the wife of a man will give birth to a cripple."

Cols. V and VI:

sul-lu	a-ku-u'i-al-lad
"street"	"cripple will be born"

L. 15, Col. IV:

šumma ina imitti pantī sul-[lu dag-šu¹⁸¹ šakin na-pa-āš
maḫīri ibāšī].

"If on the right side of the liver surface [there is a pierced 'street'(?)] prices will be high."

¹⁷⁵ For the restoration see the duplicate K. 4432, 3 in combination with Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 139, rev. 3, and Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Pl. 68 (Rm. 104), obv. 12, etc.

¹⁷⁶ A most common designation for a species of markings on the liver, for which the usual ideograph is 𒍪𒍪 (Brünnow, No. 8632). For the proof that it is a hole see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237.

¹⁷⁷ The neo-Babylonian duplicate K. 4432 reads:

zu-un-[nu iz-za-nun] šamū ina reš arḫi ša[-pi-ik]

"rain will be abundant, the heavens at the beginning of the month will pour down."

¹⁷⁸ BA = pantū 'liver surface.' See above p. 307, n. 137.

¹⁷⁹ Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 118, discusses this term, but his conclusions are not satisfactory. The sully of which K. 2090 furnishes a design is clearly again a species of markings on the liver, and in view of the fact that we have GIB = pa da nu 'road' as the name of one kind of markings, I would suggest identifying the designation with the well-known sully 'street.' See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 760a.

¹⁸⁰ Restored according to K. 258 (S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, p. 22), obv. 26; cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 52b, whose suggestion of a kû 'cripple' I follow, though of course it is possible that some other bodily defect is intended.

¹⁸¹ Cf. above p. 293, n. 51.

Cols. V and VI:

sul-lu dak-šu
"pierced street"

na-pa-aš maḥīri¹⁸²
"high price"

L. 16, Col. IV:

šumma ina išid šēri ubani [. . . la itanpuḥ Adad irahiṣ
u-lu aššat ameli zikara ul-lad].¹⁸³

"If at the base of the back of the *processus pyramidalis*
does not shine forth, Adad will cause an overflow, or the wife of a man
will give birth to a male."

Cols. V and VI read:

la itanpuḥ^{182a} ri-ih-šu¹⁸⁴ aššat ameli zikara ul-lad
"not shining forth" "overflow" (or) "the wife of a man gives birth
to a male."

L. 17, Col. IV, can be partially restored as follows:

šumma irru saḥirūti e-[bi-ma¹⁸⁵ di-ik-šu¹⁸⁶ kima zibi tuš-
tap-pal zibe ummani išakanū].

"If the network is inclosed and a point [like a club is set deep, the
clubs of my army will prevail]."

¹⁸² See above p. 303, n. 139. The neo-Babylonian duplicate has on the contrary *RU* (at) = *u ad at maḥīri* 'low price.'

¹⁸³ For the restoration see *CT*, XX, 3, 3 and 13; 32, 57; 33, 85, 97-98, *RA* (iṣ) which a passage like ours — explained in Col. VI as *ri-ih-šu* — shows is to be read *irahiṣ*. Cf. Brunnow, No. 6361. The phrase *Adad irahiṣ* is also frequent in astrological-astronomical omens and reports, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 63, 24-29, 57, 12; 60 (K. 3551), 5; 44, obv. 10, 23, etc.; Thompson, *Reports of Astrologers*, etc., Nos. 24, 1 (*RA* [iṣ]) and 215 rev. 2 (*i-r a-h i-iṣ*) etc., etc.

^{182a} *KAR-KAR* = *i-t a n-pu-hu* (Brunnow, No. 3188). Cf. *CT*, XX, 1, 1.

¹⁸⁴ In the text this word appears in Col. VI, but it clearly is the catch-word of the interpretation *Adad irahiṣ* and therefore belongs to Col. V, alongside with *aššat ameli zikara ullad*, which must be taken as referring to an alternative interpretation like *CT*, XX, 39, 10 (see above p. 298). In the neo-Babylonian duplicate the correct position of the word is clearly indicated by the omission of the dividing-line between the two columns. This duplicate also adds *pū-šu mašū* 'with a large mouth.' See III R. 65, 27, rev., where among birth portents we note a child born with a *KA SI*, i. e., *KA* = *pū* 'mouth,' and *SI* = *mašū* 'large' (see above p. 298, n. 90), according to Brunnow, No. 3395, corresponding, therefore, to *siḡ* = *mašū* (Brunnow, No. 11872) in our text, though in both cases a form of the verb *en su* 'weak' is also possible (Brunnow, Nos. 3884 and 11870), and perhaps in view of II R. 27, 52 *c-d* *siḡ* = *en-su ša uz-ni*, i. e., 'weak, said of the ear' in the sense of 'defective' is to be preferred.

¹⁸⁵ For *e-bi*, compare the frequent occurrence in the omens attached to the prayers or rather the oracles published by Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*), Nos. 1, rev. 14 and 16; 2, rev. 10; 29, rev. 16 and 19; 32, rev. 5; 33, rev. 10, etc. It is no doubt the same verb as underlies [*e-*] *ba-at* (*CT*, XX, 39, 14). See also above p. 300, n. 97, and Jastrow, II p. 305, n. 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Di-ik-šu* suggested by the word in Col. VI, for which see above p. 293, n. 52. It is, of course, possible and even probable that instead of the noun a verbal form of the under-

Cols. V and VI:

di-ik-šu	zi-bu
“split”	“club”

L. 18:

šumma ina šapal marti ša imitti zi-[iḫ-tum¹⁸⁷ nadat bar-tum ina ekalli ibaši].

“If at the lower part of the gall-bladder on the right there is a sharp point(?) . . . revolt of my army.”

Cols. V and VI:

zi-iḫ-tum	bar-tum ¹⁸⁸
“spur”(?)	“revolt”

L. 19, Col. IV:

šumma martu ši-iḫ-[ši malat¹⁸⁹ a-su-u ana marši ḫat-su la ub-bal].¹⁹⁰

“If the gall-bladder [is full of impurity, the physician shall not apply his hand to the sick person].”

Cols. V and VI:

ši-iḫ-ši	mur-ḡu
“impurity”	“sickness”

The association of ideas is clearly based on the sickly looking gall-bladder, and the passage incidentally helps us to specify the sense of the stem šakašu which thus turns out to be a close parallel to the Hebrew שְׂפָאָה ‘abomination.’

Lying stem was used. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 75, by taking diḫšu and zibu erroneously as synonyms, though elsewhere (pp. 124, 125) he suspects that the two first columns on obverse and reverse of our text cannot embody synonyms in all cases, misses the point entirely.

For the conjectural restoration at the end of the line see Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 45, 6 and 8, and *CT*, XX, 2, rev. 4-5 and 7, 15. The term zibu ‘club’ (see above p. 303, n. 118) shows at all events that (giš) ku = kakku or zibu occurred in the interpretation, while the use of zi-bu in Col. V adds further proof that (giš) ku, when occurring in omen texts, whether as designation of a species of markings in the description of the omen or in the interpretation, is to be read zibu and not kakku. See above p. 312, n. 161.

¹⁸⁷ The sign zi still to be seen, so that the restoration, in view of the word in Col. VI can hardly be doubtful.

¹⁸⁸ For bar-tum ‘revolt’ see Jastrow, II, p. 339, n. 4.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. III R. 65, No. 1, rev. 11, where among birth omens the case is mentioned of a newborn infant ši-iḫ-ši ma-li.

¹⁹⁰ Restored according to *CT*, XX, 10, 6, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 5-6. See Jastrow, II, p. 296. As an alternative one might suggest marḡu šuātu imāt ‘that sick man will die,’ like Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 67, 28.

L. 20:

šumma martu mu-un-[ta-ṭi-ra-at(?) Adad irahiṣ].¹⁹¹

"If the gall-bladder appears moist (?) . . . Adad will cause an overflow."

Cols. V and VI:

me-iṭ-ru¹⁹²
"moist"

ri-iḥ-ṣu
"overflow"

L. 21:

šumma irru saḥirūti ešerit¹⁹³[ma kima um-ša-ti¹⁹⁴ . . . ekimtu ummani].¹⁹⁵

"If the network consists of ten (parts) [and is pointed (?) like a thorn (?) . . . capture of my army]."

Cols. V and VI:

um-ša-tum
"thorn(?)"

ekimtum¹⁹⁶
"capture"

There lurks in the association evidently a play of some kind upon umṣatu which is vouched for in the sense of 'distress, need,' and as the name of a sickness (Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 10a), but which is likewise the name of a plant (V R. 27, No. 7, 61). Since it is a synonym of rubatum and elpitem (see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 30, n. 4), it perhaps designates a thorn.

L. 22:

šumma DAN¹⁹⁷ kima [kak-ku-tum^{197a}

"If the portal vein is like a kakkutu."

¹⁹¹ Suggested again by the occurrence of riḥṣu as the catch-word of the interpretation as above, p. 315.

¹⁹² Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 535a. Col. IV probably contained the participle, I, 2, of maṭāru, namely mu-un-ta-ṭi-ra-at (or muntatrat) for muntatirat.

¹⁹³ The 'network' consists of a varying number of curves and lines from five to as many as seventeen being mentioned in the texts. Cf. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 93, where ll. 16-17, 'ten' parts as in our passage are indicated. The usual number seems to be fourteen. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 256, n. 4.

¹⁹⁴ For the restoration see Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 91, 6 (K. 3805) where the 'network' is compared to various objects.

¹⁹⁵ See above p. 312, n. 163. If the omen is favorable, the interpretation would correspondingly be ekimtu umman nakri.

¹⁹⁶ KAR(tum) ekimtum like above, p. 312.

¹⁹⁷ For DAN = dannu 'hepatic vein' see above p. 296, n. 75.

^{197a} Comparisons of parts of the liver with all kinds of objects, instruments, vessels, animals, etc., are very frequent in omen texts. See, e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 79 (gall-bladder), 91 (network), 103 (KAK-TI), 104 (DAN), 139, 8-9; 141, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, etc., (zibu); CT, XX, 3, 23, 25; 7, 2-5; 10, 15 (hepatic duct), etc.

Cols. V and VI:

di-ḫu libbu di-ḫi
"hole within a hole"

zunne ibašū²⁰³
"rainstorms will take place"

The last six lines of the tablet are taken up with the various forms of the markings on the liver that are fantastically compared with weapons and therefore called zibē 'clubs.' That these markings follow the three lines devoted to diḫē 'holes' is an indication of a certain order observed in the arrangement of the tablet itself, since 'clubs' and 'holes' represent the two main divisions of the markings on the liver and therefore occur far more frequently than others like padanu 'road'²⁰⁴ sullu 'street'²⁰⁵ (?) dikšu 'point,'²⁰⁶ and the like. The lines in our text in connection with parallel passages from collections of omens furnish the definite proof as set forth in detail elsewhere in a special article by the writer,²⁰⁷ that these 'clubs' according to their shape were compared with the weapons of the gods, frequently mentioned in religious texts and pictured as symbols of the gods on the kudurru monuments or boundary stones.²⁰⁸

Referring the reader for further details to the article in question, we may content ourselves with an enumeration of the weapons with brief explanatory remarks, all the more so since with one exception the important fourth column for these lines which should furnish the sign noted, and the interpretation, is wanting.

L. 26, Col. IV, can be restored as follows:

šumma ina bi-rit ni-ri u [nipti²⁰⁹ KAK-SU-U zibu išitu ša
EN-LIL šakin, EN-LIL išita-šu ka-liš išakan u-lu Adad]
mata i-ra-[ḫi-iš].²¹⁰

²⁰³ Written A-AN-MES GAL-MES. Cf. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 60, obv. 18. zunne (or me) ina šame ibašū.

²⁰⁴ See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237, and 275, n. 1.

²⁰⁵ See above. p. 314, n. 179.

²⁰⁶ Above p. 315.

²⁰⁷ "Notes on Omen Texts" (II. "The Weapons of the Gods"), *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103-15.

²⁰⁸ See on these symbols the Introduction to Dr. W. J. Hinkes' work *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1905), chap. i.

²⁰⁹ Read GIR = niptū, which is not the reading of na as I erroneously held at the time of writing "Notes on Omen Texts," *loc. cit.*, p. 112; see Jastrow, II, p. 279, n. 2. The traces of GIR are quite clear.

²¹⁰ Correct the restoration given in "Notes on Omen Texts" accordingly. On the basis of CT, XX, 3, 13, where we read: šumma GIR šinā-ma ina bi-ri-šu-nu KAK-SU-U

"If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct [there is a KAK-SU-U, the club of destruction of Enlil, Enlil will bring about destruction everywhere, or Adad will cause an overflow in the land]."

To this line Cols. V and VI read:

KAK-SU-U	zibu ištu ²¹¹ ša En-lil
"KAK-SU-U"	"club of destruction of Enlil"

From a text published by Boissier (*Choix de Textes*)²¹² where we read šumma KAK-SU-U zibu ištu ša En-lil, it follows that KAK-SU-U is actually the designation of one of the weapons of Enlil, or at all events is associated with one of his weapons, just as elsewhere we learn of a zibu noted on the liver which is designated as the weapon of Ištar (zibu Ištar), and the specific name of which is given in a gloss as di-e-pi.²¹³ In the passage in question KAK-SU-U²¹⁴ is used without any further specification, precisely as elsewhere ūmu šaḫu 'mighty storm' is used

šakin Nergal ikkal, Adad ira-hiḡ-ma En-lil amata-šu ka-liš išakan, "If the hepatic duct is doubled and between the two there is a KAK-SU-U, Nergal will destroy, Adad will overflow, and Enlil's command will cause destruction everywhere," it is evident that the words to be seen in Col. IV, mata i-ra[hi-iḡ], refer to Adad. We must therefore assume here, as in other cases, an alternative interpretation (cf. *CT*, XX, 33, 97-98) or as in the line just quoted a double interpretation, referring to both Adad and Enlil, and it is possible that Nergal also was introduced. In justification of placing the words zibu ištu ša Enlil immediately after KAK-SU-U and taking them as the description and name of the marking known as KAK-SU-U, we may point to the fragment published by Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 118, referred to in the following note. Enlil also occurs with Nergal in Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 141, 11-12. In all these cases Enlil of Nippur is meant, as is indicated by the writing En-lil which, as Clay has conclusively shown in his article ("Enlil, the God of Nippur," in *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 269 ff), always designates this deity whose name down to the latest period was pronounced Ellil (from En-lil). In Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 141, 12, we find him, however, designated as EN-E-KUR-RA, i. e., 'lord of Ekurra;' which may, of course, be due to a late copyist. In *CT*, XX, 12 (K. 9213), 4-5, we find (ilu) Bel (Brünnow, No. 1497) which can, of course, stand for Marduk.

²¹¹ Cf. Brünnow, No. 11209, occurring also *CT*, XX, 7, 19-20 ištu ana ummani imḡut and ištu ana umman nakri imḡut as well as l. 21, ištu u sah-maš-tum (see Jastrow, *Religion*, II, p. 346, n. 10) 'destruction and uprising;' cf. *CT*, XX, 33, 97, 98. Adad ina mat[rubi] irahiḡ u-lu ištu ina mat rubi ibaši and Adad ina mat nakri irahiḡ u-lu ištu ina mat nakri ibaši—an alternative interpretation (a) either 'Adad will cause an overflow in the ruler's (or enemy's) land or (b) destruction in the ruler's (or enemy's) land will take place,' and where we may assume on the basis of *CT*, XX, 3, 13, that ištu refers to the act of Enlil, just as ilu ina mat rubi (or ina mat nakri ikkal) (*CT*, XX, 33, 99-100) refers, as in *CT*, XX, 3, 13, to Nergal.

²¹² *Choix de Textes*, p. 118 (K. 2089), 2. Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 46, rev. 4.

²¹³ *V R*, 63, II, 29-30. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 261, n. 10, and "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 105). A fuller name of the weapon da-i-pu za-ai-ri 'overthrower of enemies' occurs as the weapon of Marduk in the *Creation Epic* (Tablet IV, 30, ed. King). A zibu associated with Ištar is also mentioned, *CT*, XX, 48, 39.

²¹⁴ *CT*, XX, 41, 51, KAK-SU-U appears qualified as ekimtum 'misplaced' (see above, p. 312), but occurring in a line which is chiefly devoted to different kinds of markings (see above, p. 319).

to describe a zibu, which, as we know from another passage, consists of a twofold zibu.²¹⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know the phonetic reading for KAK-SU-U nor of any of the four designations of zibê that follow, namely (Col. VI):

- L. 28. PAL-SU-U.
- L. 29. DI-DI-SU-U.
- L. 30. (giš)KU PEŠ(tuš).
- L. 31. UT-DI-SU-U.

In the case of all these four designations the adjoining column (Col. V) has

zibu išitu
"club of destruction"²¹⁶

while Col. IV begins in all four lines with the sign ša, which is followed after a break—that appears, however, to have been left *blank*—at the end of the line by the names of gods, of which only the last one is preserved, namely, Šamaš.

I am inclined to conjecture that the ša is an indication that the signs noted for these four lines, as also for the fifth and last one of the tablet, are the same as for l. 26, except that the *character* of the marking varies according to the indications given

²¹⁵ *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naiids* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 11-13. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts," pp. 106-8, where other occurrences of ū mu ša ku are given.

²¹⁶ Other occurrences of this sign 𒄠(?) = ištu in omen texts are as follows: *CT*, XX, 7, 21, pirištu isitu u saḥ-mas-tum 'omen of destruction and uprising' to be taken as an abbreviated interpretation for some such phrase as is found *CT*, XX, 3, 13, Nergal ikkal, etc., or, as we have assumed for our passage, Enlil išitu kališ išakan, etc. Similarly *CT*, XX, 7, 19-20, išitu ana ummāni imkut and išitu ana ummān nakri the interpretation is given in an abbreviated form, the term išitu being regarded as sufficient to suggest the kind of 'destruction' that is meant; and the same is the case *CT*, XX, 33, 97-98, as well as *CT*, XX, 6 (Sm. 1412), 9-11, which are to be restored according to Pl. 7, 19-21. A further abbreviation occurs Sm. 674 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1425), where we find (l. 4) simply išitu u saḥmaštum. In the text Rm 2, 106 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1645) we encounter a zibu išitu as a part of the sign noted and which is therefore to be assumed as a term used *in place* of one of the six fuller designations in our text (*CT*, XX, 42, 26-32), though it is curious that no further specification of any deity is added. Since, however, in the preceding line the 'weapon of Šamaš' known as at-mu-ū ki-e-nu 'just decree' is mentioned, we assume that zibu isitu, which thus turns out to be a very general term for a god's weapon, refers here to this same god, Šamaš. Note that zibu išitu is to be supplied also for the four following lines in Rm 2, 106, the purpose being to specify the different places near the hepatic duct where the zibu, associated with the weapon of Šamaš, appears, and according to which the interpretation varies. *The omen collections are full of such abbreviations*, just as are other religious texts prepared for school purposes. See, e. g., Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 17, 26, 27, 30-33, etc. Isitu also occurs as part of the interpretation of an omen, e. g., Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 15, and the verb (plural) *CT*, XV, 50, 1. See Langdon, *JAOI*, 28, 147, who has, however, not recognized the plural sign in the passage which he there discusses.

in Col. VI. Col. IV for ll. 28–32 if written out would therefore read:

28. šumma ina birit niri u nipti PAL-ŠU-U zibu ištu ša (ilu) . . . šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a PAL-SU-U, the club of destruction of the god”

29. šumma ina birit niri u nipti DI-DI-SU-U zibu ištu ša (ilu) . . . šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a DI-DI-SU-U, the club of destruction of the god”

30. [šumma ina birit niri u nipti zibu šalaltuš(?)²¹⁷ zibu ištu ša Ira(?)²¹⁸ šakin Ira ri-šu-ut ummani illik].

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a ‘triple’ zibu, the club of destruction of Ira(?), Ira(?) to the help of my army will go.”

31. šumma ina birit niri u nipti zibu UT-DI-SU-U zibu ištu ša Šamaš²¹⁹ šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a UT-DI-SU-U, the club of destruction of Šamaš.”

The name of the weapon in the last line (l. 32) written GAB-LAḪ (ḪA) is to be read saḫmaštu ‘uprising.’²²⁰ The first part of Col. IV is therefore to be read:

šumma ina birit niri u nipti saḫmaštum zibu ištu ša Ea šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is an ‘uprising’ zibu, ‘the club of destruction of Ea.”

²¹⁷ Written PŠ (Brünnow, No. 11878) the sign for three, and which, therefore, in view of the phonetic complement tuš (Brünnow, No. 10515), I propose to read šalaltuš literally ‘three of it’ in the sense of ‘triple.’ What a ‘triple’ zibu looks like may be seen in the illustration attached to the school text in Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 143. In view of CT XX, 48, 40, it is perhaps to be associated with Sin.

²¹⁸ The traces point to the sign, Brünnow, No. 953, the usual one for the god of pestilence, Ira, who is a form of Nergal, or rather is one of his manifestations. The god is also mentioned in the omen text—also a school text—published by Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 141, 2, which passage, together with CT, XX, 28, obv. 4, suggests the conjectural restoration for the end of the line, though of course other phrases are possible, as, e. g., ri-šu-u-a ‘my help’ (Boissier, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, 8), or ri-šu-šu ippal kitšu ‘his helpers will desert him,’ CT, XX, 13, obv. 11–12. etc.

²¹⁹ Note atmū kēnu as the name of the weapon of Šamaš in Rm 2, 106 (see above, p. 321, n. 216). A zibu associated with Šamaš is also mentioned, CT, XX, 48, 36.

²²⁰ Compare Sm 874 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1425) GUGU(?)U GAB-LAḪ (ḪU) with CT, XX, 7, 21, GUGU U saḫ-ma-s-tum from which we obtain the equation GAB-LAḪ (ḪA or ḪU) = saḫmaštum ‘uprising.’ GAB-LAḪ as the interpretation of sigus noted on the liver is found outside of the passages above referred to under istu (above, p. 321, n. 216), CT, XX, 31, 35, 36. GAB-LAḪ (= saḫmaštu) ummāni ‘uprising of my army’ and GAB-LAḪ ummān nakri ‘uprising of the enemy’s army’ (also to be supplied, CT, XX, 4 (K. 6689), 7, 8, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 220, 2, 3). See also Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 16, 17, etc., etc.

In each of these lines we are furthermore justified in assuming at the end of the fourth column, an indication of what the gods referred to—Ira, Šamaš, and Ea, and the two whose names are not preserved²²¹—would do. All this, however, it must be borne in mind, is not set forth but only tacitly assumed. The chief purpose of the last five lines is to furnish the designations of various forms of 'clubs' observed on the liver and to specify the gods with whose weapons these markings are associated. Cols. V and VI, accordingly, in the case of these five lines, deviate in a measure from the general principle of this school text in supplying us with names of 'clubs' and the associations which they suggest, but not actually with catch-words of the sign and of the interpretation respectively, except in so far as the 'clubs' determine such interpretation. The same is the case with l. 26 where although the sign noted, as well as the interpretation, is written out in full, Col. VI repeats the designation of the 'club,' while the adjoining fifth column gives the name of the god with whose weapon the form of the marking is associated. Considering for a moment the five unidentified names of 'clubs,' it will be observed that four of them end in SU-U, which appears likewise as the name of a stone²²² occurring in religious texts²²³ and elsewhere. One of the common equivalents of SU being erēbu 'increase' (Brünnow, No. 166), it is reasonable to conclude that this element in the name specifies an 'excess' or large amount of some quality, somewhat like the Atar in such combinations as Atar-ḥāsis or Ḥāsis-atra, 'exceedingly wise.' Proceeding on this hypothesis, KAK-SU-U might mean 'excessive in deed,'²²⁴ PAL-SU-U 'excessive in hostility,'²²⁵ DI-DI-SU-U 'excessive in conquest,'²²⁶ and UT-DI-

²²¹ We should expect Istar and Sin to be mentioned since both of these together with Šamaš occur in the text *CT*, XX, 48, 36-39, several times referred to (above p. 320, n. 213). For Istar's weapons see also above, p. 320, n. 213, and Sin is found (in combination with Almu Allamu), *CT*, XX, 23, obv. 11. If the 'club' UT-DI-SU-U should turn out to be the same as a tm ū k š nu, we might restore the lice according to Rm 106. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 102).

²²² Cf. Brünnow, No. 216, and Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 744.

²²³ E. g., in the Ninib myth (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 464).

²²⁴ The most common equivalent of KAK = e p ē š u 'do' and its derivatives, 'strength, 'elevation,' etc. (Brünnow, No. 5254).

²²⁵ PAL = n a k ā r u 'hostile' and the like (Brünnow, No. 272).

²²⁶ DI-DI = k a š ā d u 'conquer' (Brünnow, No. 9563).

SU-U 'storm excessive in perfection'²²⁷—names that would all be appropriate as designations for the weapons of deities, and on a par with saḫmaštum 'uprising' and di-e-pu 'overthrow,' ūmu šaḫu 'mighty storm,' etc. The first line of the second tablet of the series preserved in the colophon continues the enumeration of various kinds of zibē, but the line also shows that in the second tablet a different plan was followed. We no longer have a setting forth of the principles underlying the system of hepatoscopy, but a continuous enumeration of signs noted with the interpretation directly attached. The colophon line reads as follows:

šumma zibu šu-šu-ru ša imitti marti, zibu šul-mu[ša šu-
mēli marti zibu šarri(?) . . . ša-]niš²²⁸ zibu šalilu.

"If an 'overthrow' zibu is to the right of the gall-bladder and a 'perfection' zibu to the left of the gall-bladder, the club of the ruler will overthrow (?) (or) the club will be a protection."

Among the omens connected with the campaigns of Sargon,²²⁹ we find an almost parallel sign noted, a šušuru club to the right of the gall-bladder and a sūḫuru 'inclosure' club to the left, and the interpretation involved is favorable, precisely as it is in our line. The colophon which has already been discussed²³⁰ offers nothing further of moment, except that as in the case of colophons attached to omen series and to rituals in which the consultation of the omen gods *par excellence*, Šamaš and Adad, the bēlē bīri²³¹ 'lords of inspection' is involved, these two gods, instead of Nebo and Tašmit are invoked as the ones who inspired Ašurbanapal

²²⁷ DI = šulmu (Brünnow, No. 9538), suggested also by CT, XX, 42, 33, where mention is made of a zibu DI(mu) = šulmu. But for this, seeing that DI-SU-U is the name of the weapon of Šamaš the 'judge' among the gods, one might have thought of DI=DIU 'judgment' (Brünnow, No. 9526). For the remaining name the "triple" zibu see above, p. 322, n. 217, and compare the "double" zibu in the omens attached to the *Stele der Inschrift Nabu'nais* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 11, probably intended as a description of Ninib's weapon. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 268, n. 4, and for the names of various other weapons associated with Ninib which bear much the same character as the interpretations here proposed, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 461.

²²⁸ Literally "secondly" used interchangeably with u-lu to indicate an alternative interpretation. See, e. g., CT, XX, 50, rev. 3, and the passages in Jastrow, II, p. 253, n. 4, and p. 261, n. 9.

²²⁹ IV R.2 34, rev. 3-4. Cf. Jastrow, II, p. 241, and the explanatory notes to the passage.

²³⁰ See above, p. 286. Note that the opening line of the second tablet does not agree with CT, XX, 16, pointing therefore to two "recensions" of the multabitum series.

²³¹ See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 249, n. 5.

with wisdom to collect the literary productions of the past in his palace.²³²

The investigation of this important school text has, I trust, shed some further light on the interesting methods followed by Babylonian pedagogues in initiating their pupils into the mysteries of hepatoscopy. Were it fully preserved it would probably have solved most, if not all, of the difficulties that still remain to be cleared up in the study of these texts. Let us hope that some fortunate chance has in store for us the finding of the original from which the scribes of Ašurbanapal prepared their copies, or if not the original, which, as in the case of all the omen texts of the royal library, probably dates back to the days of Ḥammurabi,²³³ a later copy prepared for the temple school at Babylon, or for one of the other schools attached to the temples in the south.

²³² For other passages see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 226, n. 1.

²³³ Indicated, e. g., by the frequent use of the sign *sa* (Brünnow, No. 11720) instead of *sa* (Brünnow, No. 3070) as the suffix of the third person feminine and which is characteristic of texts of the Ḥammurabi period. See also above, p. 320, n. 210. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Arno Poebel. The Assyrian copyists did not modernize their texts, but conscientiously followed the models before them. The absence of Marduk and the prominence given to Ea in these omen texts of Ašurbanapal's library likewise point to their great antiquity, so that even the copies of Ḥammurabi's days would go back to a still earlier age, to a time when the chief god of Nippur was still at the head of the pantheon. We should expect, therefore, to find copies of omen texts like the one here investigated among the remains of the temple school at Nippur. If any such texts were found by Haynes at Nippur in 1900, it is not unreasonable to expect that after seven years' delay *some* specimens at least should be published; and it is perhaps not superfluous to emphasize that even literary texts, if they turn out to be school exercises or school copies, belong to a temple school and not to a hypothetical temple library. Progress in every science is marked by increasing and more clearly defined differentiations in the technical nomenclature. A failure to distinguish between "temple archives," "official reports," "temple school documents" and literary texts pure and simple, which alone, *if occurring in large numbers*, would justify us in assuming that they belong to a "temple library" falls necessarily at the present stage of Assyriological investigation under suspicion of being a strategic device to cover a retreat from an indefensible position. It is not a question of terms but of what we wish to convey when we use a certain term.

