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Hittite Liver Models //

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Among the thirty-six liver models from Boğazköy so far published<sup>1</sup> the great majority are inscribed in Akkadian only; i.e., in the omen texts written next to the various parts of the organ both the protasis and the apodosis are written in that language. However, in a few cases the apodosis is given in Hittite. Laroche listed only two such liver models under CTH 547 II, but actually four are now known. H. Berman brought to my attention the fact that KBo 9 67 (now sub 547 I) actually has the apodosis in Hittite,<sup>3</sup> and one more such model was published as no. 1 in KBo 25 as recently as 1979.<sup>4</sup>

Although Robert D. Biggs is preparing an edition of the Boğazköy livers, he has been kind enough to allow me to write about these four which contain Hittite text. While all Boğazköy livers are "Hittite" in the sense of having been written and kept in Hattusha, I use the short term "Hittite liver models" here for those with Hittite apodosis after an Akkadian protasis. These I am offering to Erica Reiner as a modest token of my esteem and friendship. Her interest in the omen literature is well known, and although these liver models do not contain omens based on historical events I hope she will kindly accept these lines.

One of the four such liver models, KUB 4 72 (VAT 8320, in Berlin) was edited by A. Boissier with the collaboration of H. Ehelolf.<sup>5</sup> Another one, KUB 37 223 (321/d, in Ankara) was excavated in 1934, my second season with the expedition. At that time I asked the young architect of the excavation team, the late Karl Krause, to whom we also owe the drawings of the seal of Suppiluliuma (II) and of the beginning of the Nişantaş inscription,<sup>6</sup> to make a drawing of the model. He did so, bringing out the

<sup>1</sup> Listed in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (1971), abbr. CTH, under No. 547.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 547.I; note that KBo 9 61 and 62 have been joined (R. D. Biggs) and that An(kara) museum no.) 11407 has not yet been published.

<sup>3</sup> This was also noticed by K. K. Riemschneider, according to his papers now kept in the Oriental Institute.

<sup>4</sup> That is well after CTH and also later than the supplements published by Laroche in RHA 30 (1972 [1973]), pp. 94-133 and 33 (1975 [1977]), pp. 68-71.

<sup>5</sup> *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite* (Geuthner, 1935), pp. 19-24 and pl. III-IV showing photographs of the obverse and reverse. The same photo of the obv. in a better reproduction is in A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 2d ed. (1957), pl. 11, fig. 21.

<sup>6</sup> K. Bittel—H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy: Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt* (Abhdlg. Berlin 1935/1) pl. 24, 1b, and pl. 25.

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plasticity of the liver surface very well.<sup>7</sup> Into this drawing I then copied the cuneiform signs. Circumstances did not allow a publication of this drawing at that time; so I am happy to make it known now, half a century later. The fact that I could handle the actual model enabled me to copy the parts of the inscriptions which run over unto the reverse at the places where they belong, turning the clay model in the same way as a Hittite reader must have done. In my drawing I introduced the capital letters A-D to identify the individual inscriptions. There were chosen quite arbitrarily. I leave them unchanged in order not to tamper with the drawing. It so happened that I chose A for the text that refers to the gallbladder; cf. R. D. Biggs, art. "Lebermodelle, A. Philologisch," in RLA 7, pp. 518-21, esp. 521 on orientation and scale of handcopies.

F. Köcher, on the other hand, when he prepared Akkadian Boğazköy texts excavated between the two wars for publication in KUB 37 (1953) had only photographs from which to work. Users of the volume should always keep this handicap in mind.

Not much has to be said about KBo 9 67 (128/n, season of 1955, in Ankara). On the other hand, KBo 25 1 (798/c, season of 1933, in Ankara) was published by H. Otten in KBo 25 (1979) specifically as an example of Old Script (OS). As far as one can judge from the hand copy, this attribution seems to be correct: cf. the forms of *ki*, *e*, *šar*, *ta*; the *it* does not have the stepped horizontal wedges characteristic of Middle Script. The language, with syllabic spelling of *kiššarta* and the verbal ending in *-Ci-iz-zi* (or *-Ci-ez-zi*) is also old.

The other three models, which were copied long before anyone was aware of these palaeographic differences, also fit into this picture. In KBo 9 67:5 the sign *az* has its old form without subscribed *za*. The verbal form *ū-wa-az-zi*, which is attested only in two of our liver models, KBo 9 67:5 and KUB 4 72 *a:3* must be taken as old.<sup>8</sup>

KUB 4 72 and 37 223 are also written in OS. Since both are available in published photographs (notes 5 and 7 above) we do not have to go into details. It is interesting to observe, however, that the hand copies of Weidner (KUB 4), Köcher (KUB 37), and the present writer, all made before the recognition of Old Script, render the old forms quite faithfully.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The original photograph of 321/d from which MDOG 73 (1935), p. 31 fig. 19 was printed, is still in my possession. According to the scale photographed with the object it is slightly enlarged (1.2:1). A note on the reverse instructs the printer to reduce it to 1:1, which he did. Krause's drawing is exactly the same size as fig. 19, i.e., it is actual size.

<sup>8</sup> Against N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums* (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 64, Nürnberg 1979), pp. 131, 134.

<sup>9</sup> In KUB 37 223 A:6, Köcher (Rs. 4) drew the *da* with stepped horizontals, whereas I did not. A photograph of the reverse (courtesy Prof. Klengel) shows that neither this *da* nor the *it* in d 5 are stepped. G. Beckman, JCS 35 (1983 [1984], p. 102 n. 25, cites just this liver model for Middle Hittite date of the whole group.



FIGURE 1. Liver model from Boğazköy (Inv. no. 321/d, published KUB 37 233). Drawing by K. Krause, cuneiform text by H. G. Güterbock, 1934.

Unfortunately the statement that all four liver models have texts written in Old Hittite does not yield a fixed date. While OS is attested in texts of the time of Hattusili I, i.e., before the fall of Babylon, the OS was apparently in use for some time thereafter, so that its use on our liver models does not necessarily date these to within the Old Babylonian period. On the other hand it dates them close enough to that time, so that the Akkadian extispicy texts underlying them are likely to be Old Babylonian. For an example see below, sub no. 1 e

We may now turn to the texts themselves.

## 1. KUB 4 72

a (obv. on left in hand copy)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *i-na imitti*(ZAG) *ubānim*(ŠU.SI) *kakkum* (GIŠ.TUKUL) *rēš*(SAG) *ubānim*(ŠU.SI) *iṭṭul*(IGI)  
2 *a-na pānī*(IGI)-*šu hū*(LAL) (Hitt.) *A-NA QA-TI-IA* ku-it-ki ú-wa-az-zi

If on the right side of the "finger" the "weapon" looks at the top of the "finger" and is facing its front: Something will come into my hand.

b (center, bottom)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *manzāzum*(KI.GUB) *ki-ma pī*(KA) *ša-ar-ša-ri*  
2 *pu-ṭur-ma* LAL.MEŠ-*šu sa-am-du*  
3 (Hitt.) ERÍN.MEŠ-TI-kán ma-uš-zi na-aš-šu-ma  
4 x x x x x-iz-zi na-aš a-ap-pa  
5 [.....-z]i

If the *manzāzu* is frayed like the "mouth" of a saw and its ... are protruding(?): The army will fall. Or, [the ...] will [...], and he will [...] again.

LAL.MEŠ-*šu sa-am-du* was rendered by Boissier *Mantique* 21: "ses pointes sont liées." Apparently he took the verb as *šamādu* despite the spelling with *sa*. CAD S 107 s.v. *samādu*, mng. 2, quotes this liver without translating either LAL or *samādu* and considers the possibility of a different verb *samādu* or *samātu*, possibly a by-form of *šamātu*. AHw. 1155 offers *šamāfu*(m) II "etwa 'spitz herausragen'." This latter proposal seems to fit our passage and is therefore tentatively adopted here.

c (obv. right)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *imitti*(ZAG) *padānim*(GÍR) *a-di 3-šu*<sup>1</sup> LAL  
2 (Hitt.) LÚ KÚR-aš ku-it-ki  
3 NU TI

If the right side of the *padānu* is ... up to three times: The enemy will not survive something (or: will somehow not survive).

Line 1: *šu* collated by Biggs; lines 2-3: apparently nothing missing.

d (rev. top)

- 1 (Akk.) *šakīn*(GAR)-*ma* *reš*(SAG) *martin*(ZÉ) *ti-tu-ia-am šu širim*(UZU)  
2 *me-ša uš-ta-ḥa-aq* (Hitt.) LÚ-aš ú-i-it-ti-mi-e-ia-ni  
3 ar-ma-ni-ia-at-ta na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta  
4 na-aš-šu-ma-aš-ta LÚ-aš ḥa-ad-ga-u-wa-az  
5 pé-e-da-az iš-pa-ar-zi-zi

If the head of the gallbladder forms a bridge of flesh, and its liquid gets mixed: The man will fall ill in the course of the year(?) and get well. Or, the man will emerge safely from a terrible spot.

e (rev. bottom)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *danānum*(KAL) *lā*(NU) *šakīn*(GAR)-*ma i-na maš-kán-ni-šu eriš*(NIN)-*tum nadāt*(ŠUB-at)  
2 (Hitt.) ERÍN.MEŠ IT-TI DINGIR ḥi-in-ga-ni ú-e-ek-zi

If there is no *danānu* present, and an *erištu* mark is lying in its place: With divine approval he demands the death of the army (lit.: demands the army for death).

The Hittite apodosis is so close to the OB one in YOS 10 46 iii 41 *ummānī itti ilim ana dākim eršet*, rendered "with divine approval, the destruction of my army has been demanded" CAD E 284 sub *erēšu* A mng. 1b-2', that I tried to understand the Hittite accordingly. The dat.-loc. of ḥinkan "death; epidemic, pestilence" is, of course, not the same as *ana dākim*, and *wēkzi* is 3rd sg. pres. active. Without the OB parallel I would have translated the Hittite: "The army will plead with a god during an epidemic." Probably the Hittite scribe did not understand the Akkadian text, but the similarity cannot be accidental.

## 2. KUB 37 223

a

- 1 (Akk.) [BE Z]É *ka-ia-ma-an-tum šaknat*(GAR)-*ma la*<sup>2</sup>  
2 [ka]-*ia-ma-an-tum x*[...]x-*ma*  
(rev.) 3 [...] *ka*-*ia-ma-an-tum-ma il*[x x?]  
4 [x] x x-ša SAG-sà iš-ši  
5 (Hitt.) LÚ KÚR-aš URU-an ḥu-la-a-li-iz-zi

- 6 na-an(! text aš) kat-ta pé-e-da-at-ti  
7 na-an hu-ul-la-ši

[If] a regular [gallblad]der is present and an irregular [...] and [...] is regular [and] its [...] raises its head: The enemy will surround the city, and you will bring him down and defeat him.

Line 1, end: Köcher's and Güterbock's copies give *la*; *du* (Biggs) is possible according to photograph. *lā kayamantum* across line break is difficult. Line 3 end: *il* or *du-x*? The photo confirms the copies.

b

- 1 (Akk.) 2 ŠU.SI GAR-ma ZAG ka-ia-an-ti  
2 3-šu DUH (Hitt.) LÚ-aš A-NA KUR LÚ KÚR pít-te-an-ti-li pa-iz-zi

There are two "fingers"; the right side of the normal(?) one is three times "loosened": The man will go to the enemy country as a fugitive.

c

- 1 (Akk.) BE KI.GUB ki-ma ŠU.GUR-ma GIŠ.TUKUL sa<sup>1</sup>-hi-ir  
2 (Hitt.) A-NA LÚ LÚ šar-di-aš e-di ne-a  
3 URU.DIDLI pí-ip-pa-an-zi LÚ KÚR LÚ-an  
4 hu-ul-la-az-zi na-aš še-e-er-ši-i[t]  
5 SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-ta-ri-at ta[ x x x]

If the *manzāzu* is like a ring and (is) surrounded by "weapons(s)": The man's helper will turn away, they will destroy the towns, the enemy will defeat the man, and he will be on top of him. They will be well, and [...].

Line 1: *sa<sup>1</sup>* as copied (photo).—This inscription does not continue on the reverse. The break after *ta* allows for only 2–3 signs. *ta[-aš a-ki]* "and [he will die]" is a possible restoration.

d

- 1 (Akk.) BE [...]x UŠ KI ZAG  
2 x [...]x LÚ x i x [x?]  
3 (Hitt., beginning here or in 2?) [...] x [...]  
4 (rev.) [LÚ-n]<sup>2</sup>-ma I-NA É[-šú?]  
5 ut-tar ku-it-ki ki-i-ša

If .....: [...] will [...], and to the [man] some problem (lit. word) will arise in [his] house.

### 3. KBo 9 67

- 1 (Akk.) [BE Z]É<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup> KI[GUB] x-sú x x[ x x<sup>2</sup>]  
2 (Hitt.) [LÚ-aš] a-ši-wa-an-te-ez-zi AN[ x ]  
3 [x x x<sup>2</sup>] x x ki 'na-aš<sup>1</sup>-ma(?) ERÍN.ME[š ...]  
4 'na-aš a<sup>1</sup>-ap[-pa] ša-an-na-ni-l[i-iš<sup>2</sup>]  
5 ú-wa-az-zi

[If the gall]bladder (is) double (and) the *man*[zāzu](?), its ... [...]: The man will be poor...[.....]. Or(?), the army [...], and it will come back emptyhanded.

Line 1: Collation showed the second sign to be a "2" crossed by a crack. The sign before *sú* could be [z]<sub>1</sub>, abbreviation of *šibtu* (see Laroche, RHA 54 (1952) 29f., quoted CAD § 161), but this would not take the possessive suffix. Line 2, end: DINGIR[-LUM]? Line 3: The traces could be 'DINGIR-LUM', but that leaves the following *ki x x<sup>2</sup>-ma* unexplained. Conversely, 'na-aš<sup>1</sup>-ma, tentatively adopted here, leaves the preceding signs unexplained. For the final sentence cf. *riqūssu*, AHw 988 s.v. *riqūtu(m)* (courtesy R. D. Biggs).

### 4. KBo 25 1

a

- 1 (Akk.) šumma(BE) elēnu(UGU-nu) manzāzim(KI.GUB) kakkum(GIŠ.TUKUL) ki-ma īnim(IGI)  
2 (Hitt.) LÚ-aš a-aš-šu ki-iš-šar-ta e-ep-zi

If on top of the *manzāzu* (there is) a 'weapon' like an eye: The man will grasp good(s) with (his) hand.

Line 2: *aššu* (adj.) "good," used as noun with the meaning "well-being" (in the singular) and "good things; goods" (in the plural). The latter is normally written with vowel length, *a-aš-šu-u*, in Old Hittite (C. Watkins, in *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedächtnisschrift für Heinz Kronasser* [Wiesbaden, 1982], pp. 250–60). Our example, without the final *-u* in OH, is an exception to the rule. Watkins, l.c. p. 257, dates the shortening *-ū* > *-u* to Middle Hittite times; our liver dates it even earlier.

b

- 1 (Akk.) šumma(BE) šibātum(ší) šitta-ma(2-ma) ki-ma šērīm(MUŠ) it-gu-ru  
2 (Hitt.) LÚ KÚR-aš te-ku-uš-ši-iz-zi  
3 [ta<sup>2</sup>] ták-šu-ul [...]

If there are two *šibtu*'s and they are entwined like a snake: An enemy will appear, [then make] peace.