

# One Joined Cuneiform Tablet and Two New Names for Parts of the Human Body: *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’, and *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’

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**Abstract** This paper presents the publication of new joins to a text source for the *umṣatu* skin mark tablet of the *alamdimmû* series (BM.52614, Böck 2000, 184-95 source C). BM.45680+45825 and BM.46091 have been joined by the author, and BM.46188 by Eric Schmidtchen. These joins not only enhance the reconstruction of the series but also reveal new anatomical terms and revise previously suggested meanings. New terms include *dūr lišāni*, the ‘wall of the tongue’ (leading to a study of all parts of the body whose names are constructed with *dūru* followed by a genitive), and *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘crook of the arm’.

**Keywords** Physiognomic omens. *Šumma umṣatu*. Names for parts of the human body. Anatomy of the tongue. Anatomy of the arm.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’. – 3 *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’ (*fossa cubitalis*). – 4 Edition of the Joined Tablet BM.45680+45835+BM.46091+BM.46188+BM.52614.

## 1 Introduction

Medical texts provide Akkadian names for numerous parts of the human body, as well as for possible diseases and treatment options. Human body parts can also be found in omen texts such as the diagnostic series SA.GIG, the physiognomic series *alamdimmû*, and the series on premature babies and births with physiognomic peculiarities, up to congenital malformations, called *šumma izbu*. Accordingly, we are well informed about the knowledge of the Mesopotamian people regarding the parts of the human body that are visible without surgical intervention and their possible pathological changes. We also understand their ideas about the spread of various diseases via the strands (SA) that run through the body, such as the blood vessels and muscles.

In everyday life, the face (IGI.MEŠ, *pānu*), with the prominent areas of and around the eyes (IGI<sup>II</sup>, *inā*), the nose (KIR<sub>4</sub>, *appu*) and the mouth (KA, *pû*), along with the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*), or more precisely, the upper lip (*šaptu elītu*) and lower lip (*šaptu šaplītu*) (NUNUN.MEŠ AN.TA u KI.TA), have special significance, as these are the first features visible in any interpersonal contact and provide insight into the thoughts and feelings of the other person. When speaking, the front areas of the inside of the mouth<sup>1</sup> occasionally become visible, such as a front tooth (ZÚ, *šinnu*) and the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), or rather the tip of the tongue (*appi lišāni*).

<sup>1</sup> The ‘opening of the mouth’ (*pīt pī*) is not an expression for opening the mouth or oral cavity of a person, but part of the ritual *mīs pī* ‘washing of the mouth’, to open the mouth of a divine statue so that the god can enter the image: see Walker, Dick 2001.



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Just like facial expressions, gestures also play an important role in interpersonal interaction. They are carried out with the arms (*aḥu*; Á, *idu*), the hands (*šū*, *qātu*) and the fingers (*šū.si*, *ubānu*). While the names of these parts of the human body are well known in literary texts as well as in letters and legal documents, the naming of more detailed areas of these parts is more the domain of the healers, priests and diviners.

This significance of the face is reflected in the physiognomic omen series *alamdimmû*, where the first eight tablets describe all parts of the face in detail (Tablets I-VIII), while only three tablets cover the rest of the body from the neck down to the toes (Tablets IX-XI).<sup>2</sup> Many areas of body parts are mentioned in particular in the subseries relating to body marks. More than the other subseries on body marks (*pindû*; IB, *urāšu*; GE<sub>6</sub>, *tirku*; ŠE, *kittabru*), the series *šumma umṣatu* (DİŠ SAMAG) treats the parts of the head and the face in great detail. Barbara Böck<sup>3</sup> identified four sources for this tablet: one from Nineveh (source A),<sup>4</sup> two from Babylon (sources B and C) and one from Sippar (source D).<sup>5</sup> Two additional sources from Babylonia have since been identified: source E (BM.42801, part of the reverse of a tablet from an unknown location in Babylonia)<sup>6</sup> and source F (BM.48493, lower left part of a multicolumn tablet, probably from Babylon).<sup>7</sup> One Neo-Assyrian fragment from Assur appears to be an excerpt text that begins with the first four entries of this subseries (KAL 1 no. 52),<sup>8</sup> while two other Neo-Assyrian fragments from Assur may even be part of the series, though they cannot be placed due to their fragmentary state of preservation (KAL 1 nos 53-4).<sup>9</sup>

The sequence of body parts dealt with in the sources published to date for this still fragmentary tablet of the series *šumma umṣatu* (DİŠ SAMAG) is as follows (see also § 2): head (A i: SAG.DU, *rēšu*), back part of the head (A i: GÚ.TÁL, *gutallu*), temple (A i: SAG.KI, *nakkaptu*), eyes (B ii / F i: IGI, *īnu*), nose (A ii / B ii / F i: KIR<sub>4</sub>, *appu*), tongue (B iii / C i: EME, *lišānu*), lips (B iii / C i: NUNDUN, *šaptu*); after a break it continues with the neck (A iii: GÚ, *kišādu*). After another break, it continues with the belly (*papān libbi* ‘diaphragm, belly’) and the navel (A iv: LI.DUR, *abunnatu*); following another break, it concludes with the ankle (A v: kišallu), the heel (A v: asīd GİR, *asīd šēpi*) and an unknown part of the foot (A v: SIG<sub>4</sub> / MURGU GİR, ... / būd šēpi),<sup>10</sup> while another source ends with the feet (F iv: GİR.MEŠ, *šēpē*) and the toes (F iv: ŠU.SI GİR, *ubān šēpi*). The fragmentary source E seems to belong to a different recension and may even be an excerpt, as its order does not follow the direction from head to toe: it begins with the penis (Giš, *išaru*), followed by the testicles (ŠIR, *išku*), the thigh (*šapru*), the backbone (GÚ.SIG<sub>4</sub>, *ešemšēru*), the shoulder (*būdu*) and the shoulder blade (MAŠ.SILA, *naglabu*), before it breaks off.<sup>11</sup>

When I studied cuneiform tablets at the British Museum in April 2024, I also examined a fragment of the series *alamdimmû* concerning skin marks (BM.46091), as I had previously identified it as a new source for the subseries *šumma umṣatu* (DİŠ SAMAG).<sup>12</sup> This fragment provided the name of a part of the nose that had been misread by Barbara Böck in another source of this subseries. At the Museum, I noticed that two more fragments physically joined to this piece: BM.45680+45835<sup>13</sup> and BM.52614, the latter one being source C of Böck’s edition of this subseries. The joined fragments are part of the obverse of a tablet with three columns on each side, the third column being completely lost (Böck had only part of what is now col. ii). When I wrote to Eric Schmidtchen about my joins, he suggested yet another fragment to join physically (BM.46188), and he was correct. With these joins, we now have parts of all three columns of the obverse of this tablet (now called source C<sub>a</sub>), which is published here courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.<sup>14</sup> The joined, though still fragmentary, tablet adds to

<sup>2</sup> One tablet (XII) seems to consider the figure of a person as a whole, but no source has been identified yet (Böck 2000, 27a). Other tablets form sub sections of the series and refer to the way of speaking (*šumma nigdimdimmû*), to the character (*šumma kataduggû*), to the appearance of women (*šumma sinništu*), and to various skin marks.

<sup>3</sup> Böck 2000, 184-93.

<sup>4</sup> K.12548+Sm.1419+1636 (TBP 36); Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian ductus.

<sup>5</sup> BM.99696 (1881-01-21, 2058) (Böck 2000, Tafel 13); Sippar; Late Babylonian ductus.

<sup>6</sup> Fincke 2018, 219-22 with fig. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Schmidtchen 2018, 470-4.

<sup>8</sup> See Heeßel 2007, 124-5.

<sup>9</sup> See Heeßel 2007, 125-6.

<sup>10</sup> Böck (2000, 54) interprets this part as “Rand des Fußes”.

<sup>11</sup> See Fincke 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Böck 2000, 184-95.

<sup>13</sup> I joined these two fragments in April 2013.

<sup>14</sup> I would like to thank the staff of the Middle East Department for their support of my research, especially the Collection Managers Enrica Inversi and Sophie Strong, who tirelessly selected new fragments of cuneiform tablets for me.

the sections on the face (C<sub>a</sub> ii) and the arms (C<sub>a</sub> iii), provides the names of two more parts of the human body, and helps to clarify the meaning of some already known parts.

## 2 *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’

In her edition of the tablet concerning the *umṣatu* mark,<sup>15</sup> Barbara Böck<sup>16</sup> misread a line in her source B that introduces a brief section of five lines addressing this specific part of the human body. It is fully written in entry 79 of her edition (B iii 13’): “DİŠ *ina* ab ur EME-šú” reads DİŠ *ina du-ur* EME-šú ‘If in the wall of her tongue’. This part of the tongue (*dūr lišāni*) has not yet been documented elsewhere. Column ii of the now joined source C<sub>a</sub> covers the following facial parts (see the new edition in § 4): the lower jaw (*isu* KI.TA), the ‘wall of the teeth’ (*dūr šinni*), the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), the ‘wall of the tongue’ (*dūr lišāni*) and the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*), before it breaks off. The facial area that precedes these parts examined for the *umṣatu* skin mark was most likely the outer region of the lower jaw, right and left of the chin (*suqtu*, not named in the text).

The procedure for checking a person for *umṣatu* skin marks is as follows: after examining the upper part of the head along with the scalp (A i, see above), the diviner proceeded with an examination of the person’s face, beginning with the temples (A i), the eyes (B ii / F i), and the nose (A ii / B ii / F i), before moving from chin (C<sub>a</sub> ii) and the ‘wall of the teeth’ (C<sub>a</sub> ii) to the tongue (B iii / C<sub>a</sub> ii) inside the mouth, and then exiting the oral cavity again via the lips (B iii / C<sub>a</sub> ii), before continuing with the rest of the body (A iii-vi / C<sub>a</sub> iii / D rev. / E iv or vi).

The sequence of *umṣatu* skin marks on the tongue in this text is as follows: ‘on the upper side of the tongue’ (*ina* UGU EME) and ‘on the underside of the tongue’, both either ‘right’ (15) or ‘left’ (150), at the ‘tip of the tongue’ (*ina appi* EME), both ‘top’ (AN.TA) and ‘bottom’ (KI.TA), at the ‘upper side of the tongue midline’ (*ina* UGU ḪA.LA EME), again ‘top’ (AN.TA) and ‘bottom’ (KI.TA), and the marks ‘filling the tongue’ (EME-šú DIRI.MEŠ). Separated by a dividing line follows the sequence related to the ‘wall of the tongue’, where an *umṣatu* mark may appear ‘top right’ (AN.TA 15), ‘top left’ (AN.TA 150), ‘bottom right’ (KI.TA 15), ‘bottom left’ (KI.TA 150), with many marks ‘filling the top’ (AN.TA DIRI.MEŠ).

At first glance, one might interpret the ‘wall of the tongue’ as a term for the freely movable part of the tongue, which could explain why this sequence of omens is separated by a line from those referring to the tongue itself. However, why are the sentences structured differently, with the *umṣatu* mark appearing on the right and left of the ‘upper’ and ‘lower side of the tongue’, while it appears on the top right/left and bottom right/left of the ‘wall of the tongue’? Perhaps one could better understand *dūr lišāni* by examining other names for parts of the body formed with *dūru*.

*dūr appi* (BÀD KIR<sub>4</sub>), the ‘wall of the nose’, is a literary expression dating back to the Old Babylonian period. It appears in both the *Gilgameš epic* and *Nergal and Ereškigal*.<sup>17</sup> Tears may run ‘over the wall of his/my nose’ (OB Gilg. III 229:<sup>18</sup> [e-li du]-‘ri ša ap-pi-šu ...’; Gilg. XI 139:<sup>19</sup> UGU BÀD ap-pi-ia; also Gilg. XI 309:<sup>20</sup> [UG]U BÀD ap-pi-šú) or ‘over the wall of her nose’ (*Nergal and Ereškigal*, STT I 28 iv 52’: [... UG]U ‘du’-r[i a]p-pi-šá ...),<sup>21</sup> and sunlight may fall on ‘the wall of my nose’ (Gilg. XI 137: UGU BÀD ap-pi-ia).<sup>22</sup> George translated this as “sides of his face”, while CDA 62b, following Holma (“Wange”),<sup>23</sup> translated it more specifically as “cheeks”. When a person cries, tears begin to run from the lacrimal gland at the inner eye, running down across the face along the side of the nose and along and over the nasal wings. This suggests that the ‘wall of the nose’ refers to the two ‘lateral sides of the nose’ (CAD D, 197a: “side of the nose”), possibly referring specifically to those ‘of the nasal wings’ or even to the ‘wings of the nose’ themselves, for which an Akkadian term has not yet been identified.

<sup>15</sup> For an overview on the attestation of this skin mark in omen and medical texts and the suggested identifications see Salin 2019.

<sup>16</sup> Böck 2000, 188.

<sup>17</sup> See George 2003, 213 comment on l. 229.

<sup>18</sup> See George 2003, 204-5.

<sup>19</sup> See George 2003, 712-13.

<sup>20</sup> See George 2003, 722-3.

<sup>21</sup> See Ponchia, Lukko 2013, 19 l. 288, 29 l. 288.

<sup>22</sup> See George 2003, 712-13.

<sup>23</sup> Holma 1911, 30-1.

*dūr libbi* (BÀD ŠÀ), which can be translated as the ‘wall of the heart’, ‘wall of the entrails’ or ‘wall of the belly’, is mentioned in Tablet XIII of the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG. It is considered fatal for a patient if ‘the *dūr libbi* comes near his lung’ (DIŠ BÀD ŠÀ-šú *ana* MUR-šú *is-niq*).<sup>24</sup> According to an Old Babylonian extispicy text (YOS 10, 42), a sacrificial sheep might lack a heart (*libbu*, i 1-i 6), stomach fat (*šaman libbi*, ii 7-11), *dūr libbi* (*du-ur li-bi*, ii 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23), an epigastrium (*rēš libbi*, ii 27-47) and have ‘flesh positioned like a lintel’, i.e. a paired structure within the exta<sup>25</sup> (*tallu*, ii 48<sup>2</sup>-iii 42<sup>3</sup>). Given the diviners systematic examination of a sheep’s entrails, this sequence suggests that the *dūr libbi* is situated somewhere within the abdominal region.

The *dūr libbi* was previously interpreted as the thoracic “diaphragm”,<sup>26</sup> but this interpretation was justifiably rejected, as in humans “the diaphragm would only be visible on internal examination”.<sup>27</sup> The same reasoning also argues against such interpretations as the “heart wall” (CDA 62b) or “cardiac septum”.<sup>28</sup> Other interpretations propose “the whole of the bony chest wall”<sup>29</sup> or “the abdominal wall”.<sup>30</sup> Given that there is no indication that the *dūr libbi* refers to bones, the meaning “abdominal wall” appears the most plausible, although it could also denote the costal arch, which in a slim person at first glance appears to delineate the abdomen from the rib cage and the organs therein.<sup>31</sup>

*dūr pāni* (BÀD pāni), the ‘wall of the face’, appears in Tablet II of the *Erra Epic*. In a fragmentary context, it says: ‘[... ov]er the wall of your face’ (II sect. B 50: [... UG]U BÀD *pa-ni-ka*),<sup>32</sup> which Al-Rawi and Black translate as “on your cheek”.<sup>33</sup>

*dūr naglabi*, the ‘wall of the *naglabu*’, is documented in relation to a sacrificial sheep. It appears in the sequence: tail (*zibbatu*), anus (*qinnatu*), ‘horn of the *naglabu*’ (*qaran naglabi*), ‘wall of the *naglabu*’ and ankle or knucklebone (*kišallu*), which does not clarify its exact location within the body. Other texts suggest that *naglabu*, literally ‘razor, barber’s knife’, denotes the “shoulder blade” or “scapula” when used to refer to a part of the body (see CAD N, I 119-20). The ‘wall of the shoulder blade’ has been interpreted as the “blade of the scapula” (CAD N, I 120a) or the “acromion” (CAD N, I 120b), while the ‘horn of the shoulder blade’ is thought to refer to the “ridge of the scapula” (CAD N, i 120a) or “spine” (CAD N, i 120b).

*dūr šinni* (BÀD ZÚ, *du-ur šin-ni*), the ‘wall of the tooth’ (where the singular ZÚ most likely represents the plural, ‘the wall of the teeth’), is attested in an incantation and in the physiognomic omen series.

Column ii of the newly joined source C<sub>a</sub> of the tablet referring to the *umšatu* skin mark (SAMAG) provides the following sequence of facial parts (see the new edition in § 4): the lower jaw (*isu*, KI.TA), the ‘wall of the teeth’ (written *du-ur šin-ni*), the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), the ‘wall of the tongue’ (*dūr lišāni*) and the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*). This sequence moves from the lower jaw and chin over the ‘wall of the teeth’ to the tongue inside of the mouth, before exiting again via the lips.

Without knowledge of the evidence from the physiognomic omen series, the interpretation of the ‘wall of the teeth’ was originally based on a single piece of evidence from an early Neo-Assyrian incantation. This text states that ‘the wall of your teeth is sprinkled with bile’ (KAR 43 rev. 9: BÀD *šin-ni-ka mar-ta<sub>5</sub> sa-li-iḥ*). At first glance, this appears to refer to the ‘set of teeth’,<sup>34</sup> or to “those teeth that are exposed and seen when the mouth is opened”.<sup>35</sup> However, skin marks such as the *umšatu* cannot be seen on teeth themselves but only on the gums or the oral mucosa, and in the description of the incantation, the bile

<sup>24</sup> See Labat 1951, 126 l. 40; Schmidtchen 2021, 526 entry 132’.

<sup>25</sup> Translation after Koch-Westenholz 2000, 147 entry 114, where *tallu* is described or explained as ‘pair’ (*māšu*) and ‘twin’ (*tu<sup>2</sup>āmu*).

<sup>26</sup> Labat 1951, 126-7 l. 40; CAD D, 197a.

<sup>27</sup> Adamson 1993, 154.

<sup>28</sup> Durand 1988, 276-7 on ARM 26/1 109 l. 11: “la cloison du coeur”.

<sup>29</sup> Adamson 1993, 154.

<sup>30</sup> Schmidtchen 2021, 22, 63, 536.

<sup>31</sup> Is this what Schmidtchen (2021, 61) meant by suggesting a translation of *dūr libbi* as “den Bauch umgebender Rippenkomplex(?)”?

<sup>32</sup> See Cagni 1969, 86-7.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Rawi, Black 1991, 117. Even the new fragmentary source for Tablet II of this epic from Me-Turnat (modern Tell-Haddad), published by Al-Rawi, Black 1991 (IM 121299 = TH 319), which gives the beginning of this line (ii 22), does not help to restore this sentence: see p. 116 (ii 22: x x x x []).

<sup>34</sup> Ebeling 1915, 94-5: “Gebiß”; Jacobson 1996, 115: “the wall that is the teeth”.

<sup>35</sup> Kwasman 1999, 61.

would not only flow through the oral cavity over the teeth but would continue further, filling the area between the gums and the inside of the lower lip.

CAD D, 197a interpreted the ‘wall of the teeth’ as the area of the teeth covered by the gums and translated the term as “gums”.<sup>36</sup> Still, the term *dūr šinni* probably includes not only the gums but also the part of the oral mucosa that connects the gums to the edge of the lips; specifically the inside of the lips (the *pars mucosa* of the lip) could be understood as the ‘wall of the teeth’. It is conceivable that the diviner might have gently pulled down the person’s lower lip or lifted the upper lip to inspect the entire area of the inner lips up to the teeth for the *umšatu* mark.<sup>37</sup> The term *šaptu* (NUNDUN) ‘lip’ then refers, as in contemporary usage, to the more blood-rich, reddish part of the lips (the *pars intermedia*). The expression *bītān šapti*, the ‘inside of the lips’,<sup>38</sup> likely refers only to the uppermost section of the inner lips, which is occasionally visible from the outside when speaking.

The ‘wall of the *naglabu*’ is a special case among these terms, as it appears to refer to a bone, and the only textual evidence for the ‘wall of the face’ resists understanding. Therefore, only the other three terms can be used for a plausible interpretation of this type of expression. If interpreted correctly, the ‘wall of ... (i.e. a part of the body)’ represents a larger layer of skin, tissue and/or muscle that separates the given part of the body from the outside, thus providing protection: for instance, the ‘wall of the nose’ likely refers to the outer sides of the nose, or even specifically to the nasal wings, which protect both the nasal cartilage and nostrils; the ‘wall of the intestines’ likely refers to the abdominal wall, which separates the organs of the abdominal cavity from the outside; the ‘wall of the teeth’ probably refers to the area extending from the gums to the inner side of the lips, thereby separating the teeth from the outside. If the ‘wall of the tongue’ has a similar meaning, it would refer to the inside of the cheeks that enclose the oral cavity (*hurri pī*), also known as the buccal cavity, limiting the tongue’s movements;<sup>39</sup> the cheeks themselves were called *lētu* (TE) or, if referring to the upper part of the cheek, *usukku* (TE, ÚNU). This interpretation of the ‘wall of the tongue’ would also explain why there is no distinct ‘upper’ and ‘lower side’, and that marks would only be visible at the top right/left and bottom right/left of the ‘wall of the tongue’ (see above). Another rather unusual reference to the inner sides of the cheeks is appears in the physiognomic series *alamdimmû* in a sequence of *kittabru* marks on a woman’s face: ‘[If] there is [a *kittabru*-mark] at her right and left cheek, on the inside’ (ŠE for the woman entry 28: [DIŠ ŠE *ina*] TE 15-šā u 150-šā *ger-bi-nu* GAR),<sup>40</sup> where *qerbēnu* consistently refers to the inner side of the body.

Alongside this new term, the following parts of, or related to, the tongue are attested:<sup>41</sup>

- the ‘tongue’ (*corpus linguae*): *lišānu* (EME)
- the ‘root of the tongue’<sup>42</sup> (*radix linguae*): *išid lišāni* (SUHUŠ EME)
- the ‘middle part of the tongue’: *libbi lišāni* (ŠÀ lišāni)
- the ‘tip of the tongue’<sup>43</sup> (*apex linguae*): *rēš lišāni* (SAG lišāni); *appi lišānim* (*appi* EME)
- ‘above the tongue; the upper side of the tongue’ (*dorsum linguae*): *ina muḥḥi lišāni* (*ina* UGU EME)
- ‘below the tongue; the lower side of the tongue’ (the sublaminal and subapical part of the tongue): *ina šaplān lišāni* (*ina* KI.TA EME)
- the ‘right part of the tongue’: *lišānu ša imitti*
- the ‘left part of the tongue’: *lišāni ša šumēli*
- the ‘middle line of the tongue’ (*septum linguae*):<sup>44</sup> *zitti lišāni* (ḪA.LA EME)
- the ‘wall of the tongue’, probably the inside of the cheeks: *dūr lišāni* (BĀD EME)

<sup>36</sup> See also Kogan 2003, 128-9, discussing the Semitic parallels.

<sup>37</sup> Skin marks on the outside of the lower lips (the *pars cutanea*), i.e. in the area that then continues into the chin, would have been described as being located ‘under the lip’ (*ina* KI.TA NUNDUN), for which see, e.g., Böck 2000, 206-7 entry 29.

<sup>38</sup> Böck 2000, 206-7 entry 31.

<sup>39</sup> Two terms are known to refer to the ‘palate’: *liq pī* (UZU.A.U.); also *aliq pī*, *elāq pī* and *lāq pī* and *šamē pī* (AN-E KA) lit. ‘sky of the mouth; the roof of the mouth, palate’.

<sup>40</sup> See Böck 2000, 232-3.

<sup>41</sup> For example, one part of the tongue for which we still do not yet have an Akkadian name is the frenulum under the tongue (*frenulum linguae*).

<sup>42</sup> CAD A.1, 185a: “bottom of his tongue”; CAD P, 94: “the base of the tongue”.

<sup>43</sup> CAD R, 284b: “the top of the tongue”.

<sup>44</sup> Böck (2000, 49) translates this as: “Mittellinie des oberen Zungenbereiches”. Böck (2000, 49) translates *ina* UGU ḪA.LA EME AN.TA / KI.TA “die Oberseite der Mittellinie des oberen / unteren Zungenbereiches”, which would establish a new part of the tongue (probably the frenulum under the tongue, for which see *supra*, fn. 41), while she correctly translates it at pp. 188-9 entries 76 and 77: “auf der Oberseite der Zungenmittellinie oben / unten”.



- the ‘tongue’ or part of it: *ma<sup>2</sup>u*, *ma<sup>2</sup>tu* ([UZU].EME)<sup>45</sup>
- a part of the tongue:<sup>46</sup> *melēštu* (UZU.GIŠ.DIL, UZU.SAG.DIL, UZU.ME.DIL)
- a part of the tongue: *tattūru ša lišāni*

### 3 *ḥinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’ (*fossa cubitalis*)

Column iii of the joined source C<sub>a</sub> refers to a possible *umšatu* mark on a person’s arm, which the diviner inspects from the upper part of the shoulder down to the forearm, distinguishing between the right and left sides. Given that in other body-mark tablets the shoulder examination is preceded by that of the shoulder blade (scapula) (MAŠ.SILA, *naglabu*), this should likely be restored in the first fragmentary line of this column. The lines following the preserved part of his column would then refer to the wrist (*tišīt ritti*, *šisīt ritti*) or the hand (KIŠIB.LÁ, *rittu*), followed by the finger (ŠU.SI, *ubānu*).

The first preserved part of a body in this section is the *uppi aḥi* (iii 2'-3') followed by the ‘side of the *uppi aḥi*’ (iii 4'-5'), the armpit (iii 6'-7': *suḥātu*) and the upper arm (iii 8'-9': 1-KÜŠ, see below). Following a top-to-bottom sequence (from head to toe), none of the proposed meanings for *uppi aḥi* (CAD U/W, 183-4b: “arm-socket, arm pit, upper arm”) appears to be applicable here. Instead, *uppi aḥi* must refer to the upper part of the shoulder, i.e. the upper part of the humerus covered by bursae and muscles. Thus, the meaning overlaps with *būdu*, if they are not indeed homonyms.

The scribe then refers to four parts of the arm across eight consecutive lines, all written with or in combination with the logogram KÜŠ (written with what is here transliterated 1-KÜŠ), which is commonly read as *ammatu* ‘forearm’, in Akkadian. First, 1-KÜŠ appears alone (iii 8'-9'), followed by KA.KEŠDA 1-KÜŠ for Akkadian *kišir ammati* ‘elbow’ (iii 10'-11'), *ḥinpi* 1-KÜŠ (iii 12'-13') and ending again with 1-KÜŠ alone (iii 14'-15'). It seems unlikely that the diviner examined the forearm twice, with an interruption to examine two parts of the arm connected to the forearm, including the elbow. Therefore, the logogram KÜŠ must have been used with two different meanings: first, as KÜŠ in the rarely attested reading *aḥu* ‘arm’, here specifically indicating the “upper arm”, and second, as KÜŠ in its usual reading *ammatu* ‘forearm’, which would align with the top-to-bottom sequence from head to toe.

The part of the body that is named after the elbow (*kišir ammati*) is the previously unattested *ḥinpi ammati* (written *ḥi-in-pi* 1-KÜŠ). Considering the sequence upper arm – elbow – *ḥinpu* of the forearm – forearm, *ḥinpi ammati* should correspond to an area near the elbow. The most plausible interpretation is the crook of the arm or elbow bend, also known as the elbow pit (*fossa cubitalis*), i.e. the inner side of the elbow joint. This interpretation does not conflict with any existing terms, as no Akkadian word has yet been identified for the crook of the elbow in the medical and physiognomic texts.<sup>47</sup> However, analysing the term itself is more challenging. A ritual for cattle from Emar refers to the ‘consecration of the *ḥenpa* of the cattle’ (Emar 394 l. 26: *i-na qa-ad-du-ši ša ḥe-en-pa GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ*). It remains uncertain whether *ḥenpu* in this ritual refers to a part of the cattle’s body or something else; proposed interpretations include “prosperity”<sup>48</sup> and “meaning unclear”.<sup>49</sup>

*ḥinpu* would be a *pirs* form of a verb *ḥanāpu*, denoting *nomina actionis* from the verb, sometimes transitioning in meaning towards the concrete (GAG § 55.b 2). CAD H, 76b lists two verbs with this root: *ḥanāpu* A meaning “to commit villainy”, attested as verbal adjective (*ḥanpa*) in one of the Amarna letters (CDA 106a translates this as “baseness”); *ḥanāpu* B with an unknown meaning, attested in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic (Galg. P vi 4: *i-ḥa-an-ni-‘ip’*<sup>1</sup>, transliterated by AHW 320a as *i-<sup>2</sup>q<sub>4</sub>-an-ni-ip*, and followed by George<sup>50</sup> as *i-<sup>2</sup>q<sub>4</sub>-an-ni-ī[p ...]*). George translates this as “he was growing angry”, deriving it from the verb *anāpu*. None of these meanings can apply to the phrase *ḥinpi ammati*.

<sup>45</sup> See HAR.RA = *ḥubullu* XV 25-7: [UZU].EME = *li-ša-a-nu*, *ma-<sup>2</sup>u*, *ma-a<sup>2</sup>-tu*, see MSL 9, 7.

<sup>46</sup> See HAR.RA = *ḥubullu* XV 75-8: UZU.ma-<sup>2</sup>la-tum, UZU.GIŠ.DIL, UZU.SAG.DIL, UZU.ME.DIL = *mi-šil-tum* (var. *me-liš-tu*), see MSL 9, 8, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Following AHW 484a (“Armbeuge”), CDA 160a gives for *kirimmu* the meaning “(crook of the) arm”, while CAD K translates this more convincingly as “hold, position of the arms of a mother to cradle a small child”.

<sup>48</sup> Arnaud 1986, 396-7.

<sup>49</sup> Rutz 2013, 155-6.

<sup>50</sup> George 2003, 180 l. 211.

#### 4 Edition of the Joined Tablet BM.45680+45835+BM.46091+BM.46188+BM.52614

Due to the still very fragmentary state of preservation and in the hope that someone will identify further sources for this tablet in the future that would make a new edition worthwhile, only an edition according to source C<sub>a</sub> and the parallels in source B is presented here; there is no overlap with the other sources. To enable the reader to compare the new source with Böck's edition, I have retained her line numbering, even if this requires several lines starting with 0<sub>1</sub>, 0<sub>2</sub>, 0<sub>3</sub> etc. For the other parts of the tablet, see the editions by Barbara Böck (sources A-D),<sup>51</sup> the present author (source E),<sup>52</sup> Eric Schmidtchen (BM.48493, source F),<sup>53</sup> and Nils Heeßel (KAL 1 no. 52, and maybe also nos 53-4).<sup>54</sup> For an overview of the body parts examined in this tablet, see § 1.

#### BM.45680+45835+46091+46188+52614

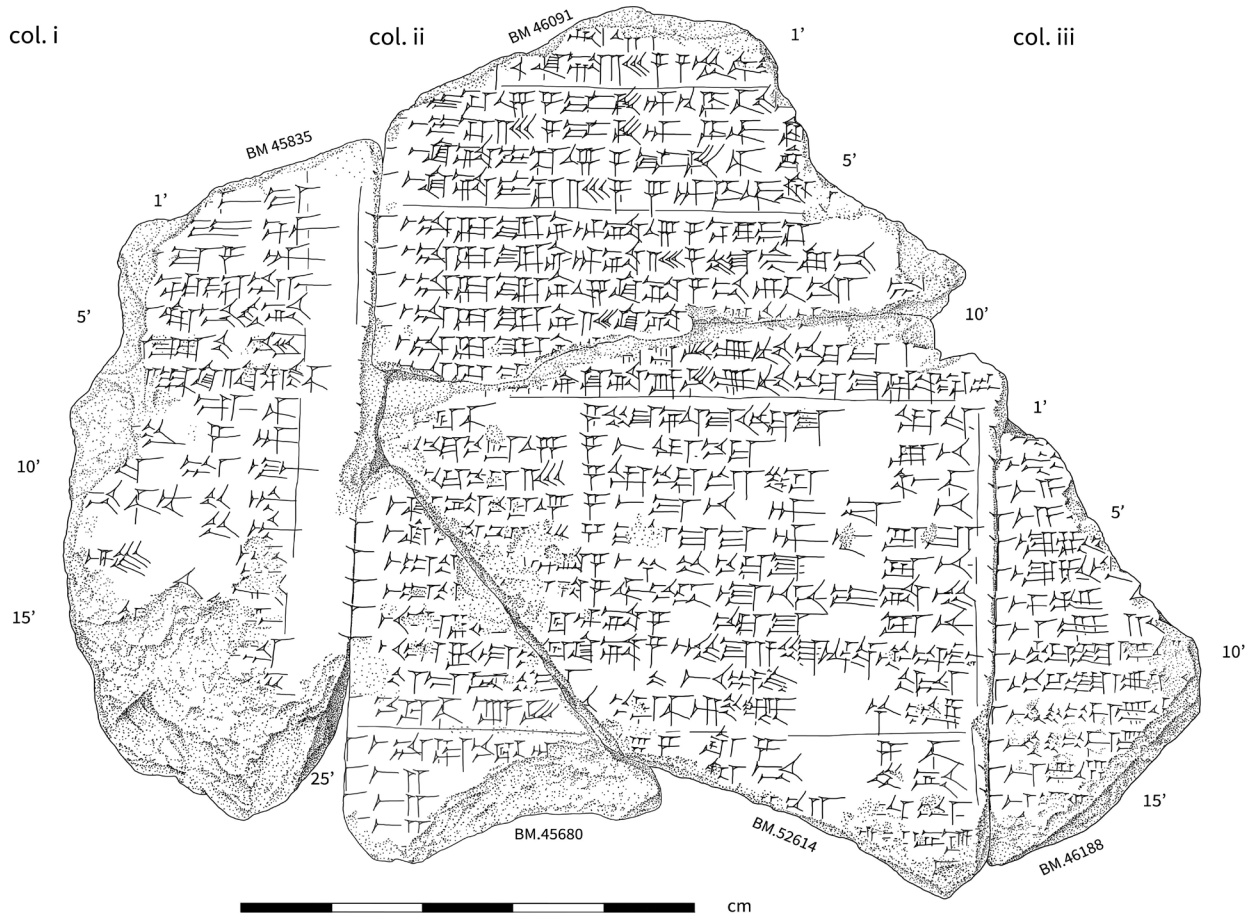


Figure 1 BM.45680+45835+46091+46188+52614

<sup>51</sup> Böck 2000, 184-95.

<sup>52</sup> Fincke 2018, 219-22.

<sup>53</sup> Schmidtchen 2018, 470-4.

<sup>54</sup> Heeßel 2007.

## Sources

- B BM.34718 (Sp. II 207+313) (CT 51 no. 124); measurements: 105<sup>+</sup> × 113<sup>+</sup> × 34<sup>(+)</sup> mm (width × height × thickness); Babylon;<sup>55</sup> Late Babylonian ductus; tablet with three columns on each side, the column width is 43 mm; edited by Böck<sup>56</sup> as source B.
- C<sub>a</sub> BM.45680 (1881-07-06, 78)+45835 (1881-07-06, 258)+BM.46091 (1881-07-06, 539)+BM.52614 (1882-03-23, 3648) (joins JCF)+BM.46188 (join ES); see the new copy in [fig. 1]; the copy of BM.52614 had previously been published in Böck 2000, Tafel 13, and edited<sup>57</sup> as source C; measurements: 118<sup>+</sup> × 99.4<sup>+</sup> × 24<sup>+</sup> mm; Babylon; Late Babylonian ductus; tablet with three columns on each side, the column width is 66 mm.

## Transliteration

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| C <sub>a</sub> i 1'                   | [... i-m]ar-ma  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 2'                   | ] i-mar   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 3'                   | SILIM.MA GAR-an   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 4'                   | ina] SAG.PA.RIM GIN.ME  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 5'                   | ] x ŠÀ BI DÙG.GA  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 6'                   | i <sup>2</sup> -n]a <sup>2</sup> -mir : -ziq (or ina <sup>2</sup> -a]n <sup>2</sup> -mir : -ziq)        |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 7'                   | ] x DUMU-ŠÚ KI.MIN 'qé <sup>1</sup> -ru-ub-šú   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 8'                   | EN INIM-ŠÚ ú-ša]-mar-šú   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 9'                   | bu <sup>2</sup> -tuq <sup>2</sup> -ti <sup>2</sup> ] 'É <sup>2</sup> LÚ GAR-an                          |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 10'                  | a <sup>1</sup> -ma <sup>2</sup> -nu <sup>2</sup> ]-ta <sub>5</sub> GIN-ak                               |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 11'                  | (šá) šà]-bi-šú NU KUR-ád  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 12'                  | (šá) šà]-bi-šú] KUR-ád  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 13'                  | i]-nam-'ziq <sup>1</sup>  |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 14'                  | ŠÀ BI] 'DÙG.GA <sup>1</sup>   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 15'                  | ni <sup>2</sup> -šir <sup>2</sup> ]-'ta <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup> [i-m]ar                               |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 16'                  | ina MUNUS.KALAG.GA] 'É <sup>1</sup> (u)D.'DU <sup>1</sup> )   |
| C <sub>a</sub> i 17'                  | i-nam-z]iq  |
| (remainder is lost)                   |   |
| <hr/>                                 |   |
| 0 <sub>1</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 1'   | [DIŠ ina i-si-šú KI].TA 15 GAR <sup>1</sup> [   |
| 0 <sub>2</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 2'   | [DIŠ ina i-s]i-'šú KI <sup>1</sup> .TA 150 GAR šá mu-qa <sup>2</sup> -/[i <sup>2</sup> -li <sup>2</sup> |
| <hr/>                                 |   |
| 0 <sub>3</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 3'   | [DIŠ i]na i-si 15 GAR DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR NU TUK-šú : ŠÀ BI NU DÙG.GA]                                      |
| 0 <sub>4</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 4'   | D[i]Š ina i-si 150 GAR DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR TUK-šú ŠÀ [BI DÙG.GA]  |
| 0 <sub>5</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 5'   | D[i]Š ina KI.TA i-si 15 GAR DUMU.MEŠ-šú 'ŠÁ <sup>1</sup> [BI (NU) DÙG.GA]                               |
| 0 <sub>6</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 6'   | D[i]Š ina KI.TA i-si 150 GAR >4< DINGIR TUK-šú 'ŠÁ <sup>1</sup> B[i DÙG.GA]                             |
| <hr/>                                 |   |
| 0 <sub>7</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 7'   | D[i]Š ina du-ur šin-ni AN.TA 15 GAR SAG.PA.RIM G[AR-šú]   |
| 0 <sub>8</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 8'   | D[i]Š ina du-ur šin-ni AN.TA 150 GAR tú-ub ŠÀ.BI G[AR-šú]   |
| 0 <sub>9</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 9'   | D[i]Š ina du-ur šin-ni 15 KI.TA GAR bi-ri-iš <sup>1</sup> GIN <sup>1</sup> .GIN]                        |
| 0 <sub>10</sub> C <sub>a</sub> ii 10' | D[i]Š ina du-ur šin-ni 150 KI.TA 'GAR lu-mu-ut <sup>1</sup> -[tu <sub>4</sub> UŠ-šú]                    |
| 67 C <sub>a</sub> ii 11'              | D[i]Š ina du-ur šin-'ni AN.TA SI.A.MEŠ <sup>1</sup> ú-kul<-li> KA-'šú LÁ <sup>1</sup> -[ti]             |
| <hr/>                                 |   |
| 68 B iii 1'                           | [ SI.A.MEŠ ú-[  |
| C <sub>a</sub> ii 12'                 | D[iš] 'ina du-ur šin <sup>1</sup> -ni KI.TA SI.A.MEŠ ú-kul<-li> KA-šu ip-par-ra-as                      |

<sup>55</sup> I extracted the both Registration Numbers and the origin of the tablets from the catalogue CBTBM.IV-V, edited by Leichty et al. in 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Böck 2000, 184-93.

<sup>57</sup> Böck 2000, 188-91.



- 69 B iii 2' [ GA]R *tu-uš-šú* UGU-šú Š[UB  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 13' D[iš *ina*] 'EME<sup>1</sup>-šú GAR *tu-uš-šú* UGU-šú ŠUB-ut
- 70 B iii 3' Diš *ina* UGU EME 15 GAR *ina* ŠUB KA DIB-*b[at]*  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 14' D[iš *ina*]a UGU EME<sup>1</sup> 15 GAR ŠUB KA DIB-*bat*
- 71 B iii 4' Diš *ina* UGU EME 150 GAR *ina* ŠUB KA iš-š[ar-  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 15' [Diš *ina*] UGU EME 150 GAR *ina* ŠUB KA iš-šar-rak-šú
- 72 B iii 5' Diš *ina* KI.TA EME 15 GAR *ina* ma-mit DINGIR B[A  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 16' [Diš *ina*] 'KI<sup>1</sup>.TA EME 15 GAR *ina* ma-mit DINGIR BA.ÚŠ
- 73 B iii 6' Diš *ina* KI.TA EME 150 GAR *i-tam-ma-m[a]*  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 17' Diš *ina* KI.TA<sup>1</sup> EME 150 GAR 'i-tam<sup>1</sup>-ma-ma DINGIR NU DIB-su
- 74 B iii 7' Diš *ina* ap-pi EME AN.TA GAR *ina* šil-lat K[A  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 18' Diš *ina* ap-p[i EM]E 'AN.TA<sup>1</sup> GAR *ina* šil-lat KA-šu DIB-bat
- 75 B iii 8' Diš *ina* ap-pi EME KI.TA GAR ši-il-l[a  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 19' Diš *ina* ap-p[i EME K]I.TA<sup>1</sup> GAR ši-il-la-ti i-ta-mu
- 76 B iii 9' Diš *ina* UGU H<sub>A</sub>.LA EME AN.TA GAR K[A  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 20' Diš *ina* 'UGU H<sub>A</sub><sup>1</sup>.L[A E]ME AN.TA GAR KA-šu DIB-at
- 77 B iii 10' Diš *ina* UGU H<sub>A</sub>.LA EME KI.TA GAR *ina* M[U  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 21' 'Diš *ina* UGU<sup>1</sup> H<sub>A</sub>.LA EME KI.TA GAR *ina* MU šu-a-tu
- B iii 11' *ina* SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti GIN.MEŠ : ana GIŠ.PAN K[U<sub>4</sub>  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 21'-22' *ina* SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim GIN-ak | [0] : ana GIŠ.PAN (over erasure) 'KU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> : *ina* GIG È
- 78 B iii 12' Diš EME-šú SA<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ u EME-šú [  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 23' [Diš EME-šú SA<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ 'u EME<sup>1</sup>-šú ZI-iḫ KU<sub>5</sub>-as
- 79 B iii 13' Diš *ina* du-ur EME-šú AN.TA 15 G[AR  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 24' [D]iš *ina* du-ur 'EME-šú AN<sup>1</sup>.[TA] '15<sup>1</sup> GAR ŠÀ.GAR GAR-šú
- 80 B iii 14' Diš MIN AN.TA 150 GAR ŠÀ.[  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 25' [D]iš *ina* MIN [ ] 'ŠÀ<sup>1</sup>.BI DÙG.GA
- 81 B iii 15' Diš KI.TA 15 GAR bi-ri-i[š ...  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 26' [Diš *ina* MIN [ ] -r]i-iš [G]IN.<sup>1</sup>GIN<sup>1</sup>
- 82 B iii 16' Diš MIN KI.TA 150 GAR x [  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 27' [Diš *ina* MIN [ ] x 'x sa<sup>1</sup>-dir-š[ú]
- 83 B Diš MIN AN.TA SI.A.MEŠ KI.MIN EM[E  
C<sub>a</sub> ii 28' [ ]-'šú<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 84 B Diš *ina* 'NUNDUN<sup>1</sup> GAR *tu-uš-šu in*[a UGU-šú ŠUB-ut]  
C<sub>a</sub> ii (remainder is missing)
- C<sub>a</sub> col. iii  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 1' D[iš *ina* MAŠ.SÌLA 150 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 2' D[iš *ina* up<sup>1</sup>-p[i a-ḫi-šú 15 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 3' D[iš *ina* up-p[i a-ḫi-šú i 150 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 4' D[iš *ina* a-ḫ[i up-pi a-ḫi-šú 15 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 5' D[iš *ina* a-ḫ[i up-pi a-ḫi-šú 150 GAR

C<sub>a</sub> iii 6' D[i]š ina su-ḥa-t[i-šú 15 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 7' D[i]š ina su-ḥa-t[i-šú 150 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 8' D[i]š ina 1'(½)-KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> 1[5 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 9' D[i]š ina 1-KÙŠ 15[0 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 10' D[i]š ina KA(over erasure).KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> 15<sup>1</sup> [GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 11' D[i]š ina KA.KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> 150<sup>1</sup> [GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 12' D[i]š ina ḥi-in-pi 1-KÙŠ 1[5 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 13' D[i]š ina ḥi-in-pi 1-'KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> 150 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 14' D[i]š ina 1-KÙŠ 15 [GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 15' D[i]š ina 1-'KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> 150 GAR  
C<sub>a</sub> iii 16' D[i]š ina x [  
(remainder is missing)

## Translation

C<sub>a</sub> i 1' [..., he will s]ee [...] and  
C<sub>a</sub> i 2' [...], he will see [...]  
C<sub>a</sub> i 3' [..., reco]nciliation will occur.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 4' [...], he will constantly walk [in] grief.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 5' [... ..], he will be happy.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 6' [..., he] will [sh]ine<sup>2</sup> (in joy) (var.): (have to) worry<sup>2</sup>.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 7' [..., ...]. his son, ditto, who is close to him.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 8' [..., his opponent in court will p]lot against him.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 9' [..., losses<sup>2</sup>] will affect the house of the man.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 10' [...], he will become [a widow]er.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 11' [...], he will not reach (what) he desired.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 12' [...], he will reach [(what) he desired]].  
C<sub>a</sub> i 13' [..., he] will (have to) worry.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 14' [...] he will be [hap]py.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 15' [..., he will fi]nd (lit. s]ee) [a treasur]e<sup>2</sup>.  
C<sub>a</sub> i 16' [..., he will esca]pe [from peril].  
C<sub>a</sub> i 17' [..., he will (have to) wor]ry.  
(remainder is lost)

0<sub>1</sub> [If] it is placed [at his] [lo]wer jaw right, ...]  
0<sub>2</sub> [If] it is placed [at] his lower [ja]w left, that of someone who beli[ttles<sup>2</sup> ...]

0<sub>3</sub> [If] it is placed [a]t (his) right jaw, (his) sons will not have a (personal) god, [he will not be] ha[ppy].  
0<sub>4</sub> If it is placed at his left jaw, (his) sons will get (lit. sg.) a (personal) god, [he will be] hap[py].  
0<sub>5</sub> If it is placed below (his) right jaw, [he will (not) be] hap[py] with his sons.  
0<sub>6</sub> If it is placed below (his) left jaw, he will get >4< a (personal) god, h[e will be] happy.

0<sub>7</sub> If it is placed on the *inside of (his) upper lip* (or *at the upper gum*) right, grief (or: depression) is pla[ced upon him].  
0<sub>8</sub> If it is placed on the *inside of (his) upper lip* (or *at the upper gum*) left, happiness is pl[aced upon him].  
0<sub>9</sub> If it is placed on the *inside of (his) lower lip* (or *at the lower gum*) right (lit. right below of ...), he will consta[ntly] be hungry.  
0<sub>10</sub> If it is placed on the *inside of (his) lower lip* (or *at the lower gum*) left (lit. left below of ...), misfortu[ne will always accompany him].  
67 If (his mouth) is full of them on the *inside of (his) upper lip* (or *at the upper gums*), the ration for his mouth will be diminish[ed].  
68 If (his mouth) is full of them on the *inside of (his) lower lip* (or *at the gums*), the ration for his mouth will be cut off.

69 [f] it is placed [on] his tongue, slanderous accusations will be made against the man.  
70 If it is placed on the top of (his) tongue right, he will be overwhelmed by blasphemy.  
71 If it is placed on the top of (his) tongue left, blasphemy will be granted to him (without punishment).

- 72 If it is placed on the underside of (his) tongue right, he will die as a result of a broken oath.  
 73 If it is placed on the underside of (his) tongue left, he will take an oath and the god will not seize him (with disease).  
 74 If it is placed at the tip of (his) tongue above, he will be seized because of his insulting utterance(s).  
 75 If it is placed at the tip of (his) tongue below, he will utter insults (without consequences).  
 76 If it is placed at the top of the middle line of the tongue above, his mouth will be seized (by a disease).  
 77 If it is placed at the top of the middle line of the tongue below, in the same year he will go successfully (var.): he will take up the (service on the) bow (var.): he will come out of an illness (recovered).  
 78 If his tongue is full of them and his tongue is torn out, he will be removed (from service ?, from society ?), he will be cut out (of service ?, of society ?).
- 
- 79 If it is placed on the *inside of his cheek* top right, starvation is imposed on him.  
 80 If it is place on ditto top left, he will be happy.  
 81 If it is placed on ditto bottom right, he will have to [const]antly go hungry.  
 82 If it is placed on ditto bottom left, [...] will occur to him regularly.  
 83 If (he) is full of them ditto above, ditto the ton[gue ..., ...] him.
- 

- 84 If it is placed at (his) lip, slanderous accusations [will be made] aga[inst the man].  
 (C<sub>a</sub> ii remainder is missing)

C<sub>a</sub> col. iii

- C<sub>a</sub> iii 1' If [it is placed] at his left shoulder blade, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 2' If [it is placed] at [(the upper part of) his right] shou[lder, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 3' If [it is placed] at [(the upper part of) his left] shou[lder, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 4' If [it is placed] at the sid[e of his right shoulder, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 5' If [it is placed] at the sid[e of his left shoulder, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 6' If [it is placed] in [his right] armp[ist, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 7' If [it is placed] in [his left] armp[ist, ...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 8' If [it is placed] at the rig[ht] upper arm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 9' If [it is placed] at the lef[t] upper arm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 10' If [it is placed] at the right elbow, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 11' If [it is placed] at the left elbow, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 12' If [it is placed] in the rig[ht] crook of the arm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 13' If [it is placed] in the [left] crook of the arm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 14' If [it is placed] at the right forearm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 15' If [it is placed] at the le[ft] forearm, [...]  
 C<sub>a</sub> iii 16' If [it is placed at] [...]  
 (remainder is missing)

## Comments

- C<sub>a</sub> i These omens correspond to what is written in col. i and possibly also in the early entries of col. ii of the other sources. Unfortunately, there is no overlap with the preserved parts of these columns in sources A (from Nineveh, see *supra*, fn. 4) and B, although individual apodoses do agree.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 6' For the apodosis *inammir* 'he will shine', see, e.g., Böck 2000, 112-13 entry 82 *ina-mir*, 136-7 entry 78 *ina-me-e[r]*. The sign *zik* following the *Glossenkeil* could be either a logogram with an unknown meaning or a variant of the final sign of the preceding word. In the physiognomic omen text, *inazziq* 'he will have to worry' is typically written *ina-an-ziq* (e.g., Böck 2000, 156-7 entry 93) or *i-nam-ziq* (see, e.g., C<sub>a</sub> i 13', 17'). The traces are inadequate to determine whether *inammir* is written here as *ina-an-mir*, or if *inazziq* is intended, written as *i-na-ziq*.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 7' I understand *qè-ru-ub-šú* as the adjective *qerbu* 'near, relative', with the possessive suffix ('who is close to him'), rather than the stative of *qerèbum* 'to come near, close', with the pronominal suffix. Compare the list of people dear to a person in a late Old Babylonian *ikribu* prayer from Tell ed-Dēr,

- IM.80213 (Di 261)<sup>58</sup> ll. 21-2: [...] *ki-im-ta-šu sa-la-sú | qè-ru-ub-šu ra-im-šu i-na sú-qí-im* ‘[...] his family, his clan, who is close to him, who likes him in the street’.<sup>59</sup> The traces following the break in C<sub>a</sub> i 7’ that end with two vertical wedges could even be read -s]ú and be reconstructed to *sa-la-s]ú*, but if so, why did the scribe not add K1.MIN before DUMU-šú?
- C<sub>a</sub> i 8’ For the apodosis, see Böck 2000, 184-5 entry 9 *šumma umšatu*.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 9’ For the apodosis, see, e.g., Böck 2000, 96 entry 131 *alamdimmû* III. Another option for restoring this apodosis could be: [...] *qa-lá]* LÚ GAR-*an* ‘[...], defam]ation (?) will be applied to the man’; however, this phrase is typically written without GAR-*an*, see, e.g., Schmidtchen 2019, 88 entry 28’.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 10’ For the apodosis, see, e.g., Böck 2000, 208-9 entry 66 *šumma tirku*. Another option to restore this apodosis would be: [...] KAR]-*ta*<sub>5</sub> GIN-*ak* ‘[...], he will have to constantly [fl]ee (lit. go a [flig]ht)’, see, e.g., Schmidtchen 2019, 87 entry 27’.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 11’-12’ In the second column of source A, twice two apodoses ending in KUR-*ád* are attested in successive lines, with the first phrased negatively and the second positively, though each has a different object (entries 36-7: *ša ušammar* ‘what he aimed for’; entries 39-40: *izzimtašu* ‘his desire’), see Böck 2000, 186-7.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 15’ This apodosis is given, e.g., in the first omen of the skin mark tablet *šumma pindû* (written *ni-šir-ta*<sub>5</sub> IGI-*mar*), for which see Böck 2000, 192-3 entry 157, 195 entry 1.
- C<sub>a</sub> i 16’ For the apodosis see Böck 2000, 184-5 entry 14 *šumma umšatu*.
- C<sub>a</sub> ii 9’ For the apodosis see Böck 2000, 188-9 entry 81 *šumma umšatu*, which requires correction based to the wording of this new source.
- 0<sub>2</sub> *muqallilu*, a ‘person who belittles others’, is mentioned in the tablet on behavioural omens, *šumma kataduggû*, as the protasis of an omen, see Böck 2000, 138-9 entry 119 DİŠ *mu-qa-lil* [...].
- 0<sub>4</sub> The scribe mistakenly wrote the singular TUK-*ši* (*irašši*) instead of the plural TUK.MEŠ or TUK-*šû* (*iraššû*), which would be required for the plural subject, the sons (DUMU.MEŠ).
- 0<sub>7-10</sub> It is striking that the scribe wrote ‘top right/left’ (AN.TA 15/150) with the ‘top’ first here, but ‘bottom right/left’ (15/150 K1.TA) with the ‘bottom’ second. In entries 79-82, however, he maintained the word order, writing both ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ first.
- 0<sub>8</sub> This apodosis is often written fully logographically as ŠÀ BI DÙG.GA GAR-*šû*.
- 0<sub>10</sub> For the apodosis, compare the Old Babylonian omen text from Sippar, Si 33 (TBP 62) rev. 2: *ina še-li ú.GIR e-mi-tam lu-mu-tum ir-te-ni-di-šu* ‘If an *umšatu* mark is (on the skin) above (lit. on) a rib, misfortune will always accompany him’, see Böck 2000, 303 entry 26.
- 71, 75 Both translations follow the suggestion of a peer reviewer, who described the apodoses as allowing him “to get away with it”.
- 77 Unfortunately, Böck (2000, 188) misread *ina sig*<sub>5</sub> and transliterated it as NU sig<sub>5</sub> ‘unhappiness, misfortune’, thus giving this omen the opposite prediction.
- 82 The cuneiform signs at the end of source C<sub>a</sub> are written in a slightly small script, requiring more signs to be restored in the gap between the end of source B and the beginning of source C<sub>a</sub> than would be possible in the same space of the other lines.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii These omens would follow, perhaps after a small gap, the omens preserved in the third column of the Neo-Assyrian tablet from Nineveh, source A col. iii, for which see Böck 2000, 190-1.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 1’-15’ If my reconstruction and interpretation of this section are correct (see the comments below), the sequence of the parts of the body examined from the shoulder blade to the forearm is as follows: shoulder blade, upper part of the shoulder, side of the (upper) shoulder, armpit, upper arm, outside of the elbow, crook of the arm or elbow pit and forearm. In this section, the scribe uses logograms and terms not found in the other skin mark omens.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 1’ The restoration of ‘shoulder blade’ (MAŠ.SİLA, *naglabu*) here is based on the parts of the body given in the subsequent entries (see also the discussion under C<sub>a</sub> iii 2’-5’). The fragment of source E, which ends with the ‘shoulder blade’, has different hand writing, so the fragments do not join.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 2’-5’ CAD U/W, 183-4b summarises the suggested meanings for *uppi ahi* as ‘arm-socket, arm pit, upper arm’, while Schmidtchen<sup>60</sup> interprets it as referring either to the upper arm joint (shoulder joint or the joint cavity) or to the entire upper arm. Since both physiognomic and medical texts examine the human body strictly from top to bottom, i.e. from head to toe, and the subsequent entries refer to the ‘armpit’ (C<sub>a</sub> iii 6’-7’: *suḫātu*) and the ‘upper arm’ (C<sub>a</sub> iii 8’-9’: KÙŠ, *aḫu*), *uppi ahi* must refer to

<sup>58</sup> De Meyer 1982, 272 fig. 1.

<sup>59</sup> See De Meyer 1982, 274-5.

<sup>60</sup> Schmidtchen 2021, 456.

the upper part of the shoulder, i.e. the upper part of the humerus covered by bursae and muscles.<sup>61</sup> A term that was thought to refer to the same part of the body is *būdu* ‘shoulder’. The physiognomic omen texts describe skin marks on the right and left of both *uppi aḫi* and *būdu*.<sup>62</sup> Both terms may overlap in meaning or could even be homonyms, as the two terms are not used on the same tablets, and the usage depends on tradition. In other physiognomic skin mark tablets, the entries for *būdu* are preceded by entries for the ‘shoulder blade’ (MAŠ.SILA, *naglabu*),<sup>63</sup> which is also to be expected in this tablet.

- C<sub>a</sub> iii 8'-15' It is striking that the scribe did not add a possessive suffix to the logogram KÙŠ, while he did to EME (see entries 69, 78 and 79). In all instances (C<sub>a</sub> iii 8'-15'), the scribe added one vertical stroke before KÙŠ, which is transliterated as 1-KÙŠ. In the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG, the phrase *kišir ammati* ‘elbow’ (see also C<sub>a</sub> iii 10'-11') is also almost always written *ki-šir* 1-KÙŠ, see Heeßel 2000, 242 comment to l. 44' with fn. 21.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 8'-9' The scribe used the rather uncommon reading of the logogram KÙŠ as *aḫu* ‘(upper) arm’, while other physiognomic texts write *aḫu* syllabically (in C<sub>a</sub> iii 10'-15', he used KÙŠ in the usual reading of *ammatu* ‘forearm’). He must have recalled his study of the series AN.TA.GAL, where two subsequent entries read (source G from Nineveh, entry 218) *ku-uš-ú a-ḫu* (219) MUD-MIN-ú *up-pi a-ḫu* ‘kuš (is the reading of the sign) ú (and reads in Akkadian) *aḫu* (219) MUD-same (reading of the sign) ú (reads in Akkadian) *uppi aḫi*’ (see MSL 17, 227). In the light of this text, the meanings of KÙŠ and *aḫu* in medical texts need to be reconsidered.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 10'-11' The meaning of KA.KEŠDA KÙŠ (written KA.KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ, see the comment to C<sub>a</sub> iii 8'-15'), *kišir ammati* ‘joint of the forearm, elbow’, has long been known.<sup>64</sup> This term refers to the outside of the elbow with the olecranon.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 12'-13' The part of the forearm called *ḫi-in-pi ammati* ‘[...] of the forearm’ is *hapax legomenon*. As the preceding entries refer to the ‘upper arm’ (iii 8'-9') and the ‘elbow’ (iii 10'-11') and the subsequent entry pertains to the ‘forearm’ (iii 14'-15'), this body part should likely be located in the area of the elbow. The most probable location is the crook of the arm or elbow pit (*fossa cubitalis*), which is the inner side of the elbow joint. For a possible explanation of the term see the discussion in § 2.
- C<sub>a</sub> iii 16' Given the order of the body parts, one would expect to find the wrist (*tišit ritti*, *šišit ritti*) here, followed by the hand (KIŠIB.LÁ, *rittu*) and finger (ŠU.SI, *ubānu*). However, the traces of the signs do not allow a clear reconstruction.

## Abbreviations

- CBTBM.IV-V = Leichty, E.; Finkel, I.L.; Walker, C.B.F. (eds) (2019). *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. Münster: Zaphon. dubsar 10.
- CDA = Black, J.; George, A.; Postgate, N. (eds) (2000). *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. SANTAG 5.
- Emar = Arnaud 1986.
- GAG = von Soden, W. (1995). *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. 3. Aufl. Rom: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Analecta Orientalia 33.
- KAL 1 = Heeßel 2007.
- KAR = Ebeling, E. (1919-23). *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28, 34.
- MSL 9 = Landsberger, B. (1969). *The Series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu: Tablets XV and Related Texts*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 9.
- MSL 17 = Cavigneaux, A.; Güterbock, H.G.; Roth, M.T.; Farber, G. (1985). *The Series Erim-ḫuš = anantu and An-ta-gál = šaqû*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 17.
- STT I = Gurney, O.R.; Finkelstein, J.J. (1957). *The Sultantepe Tablets*, vol. 1. London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- TBP = Kraus, F.R. (1939). *Texte zur Babylonischen Physiognomatik*. Berlin: Selbstverlag von E.F. Weidner. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 3.
- YOS 10 = Goetze, A. (1947). *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press. Yale Oriental Series 10.

<sup>61</sup> Böck (2000, 52, 160-1 entry 148) considered the term SAG.DU MAŠ.SILA, *qaqqad naglabi* ‘the head of the shoulder blade’, to refer to this part of the shoulder translating it “Schulterkappe”. However, it is easy to feel from the outside that the shoulder blade is located further back in the upper back area and is only connected to the upper end of the humerus by a joint.

<sup>62</sup> See Böck 2000, 200-1 entries 100-1 *šumma pindû*, 208-9 entry 69 *šumma tirku*.

<sup>63</sup> Böck 2000, 200-1 entries 98-101, 208-9 entries 66-8.

<sup>64</sup> See Holma 1911, 109-10.



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