Robert Rollinger

20 Haruspicy from the Ancient Near East to Etruria

Abstract: The paper deals with the cultural technique of divination, its development in the Ancient Near East and the possible influence of this craft on the Etruscan diviners and augurs. It presents the major characteristics of the different divination techniques starting with their documentation at the beginning of the second millennium BCE and reaching as far as the last centuries of the first millennium BCE. It shows that divination was a highly professionalized and specialized discipline with a scientific spirit where not only the communication with the gods but also writing and the interpretation of divine signs were looming large. In the course of centuries a vast array of companions and manuals, commentaries and excerpts has been created. The diviners were distinct by their education and were regarded to dispose of secret knowledge. Haruspicy (extispicy) played a major role in this context. The paper discusses the hermeneutics and techniques of the discipline and puts the craft into an intercultural context.

Keywords: Haruspicy, extispicy, divination, intercultural exchange, secret knowledge

Introduction

Although intercultural contacts between the Ancient Near East and the cultures further to the west have become a common and fairly popular topic in the last decades, the issue of divination does not seem to play a prominent role in this context. About half a century ago, the situation was quite different. Whereas in general scepticism was prevailing concerning cultural exchange between the Levantine and the more Western Mediterranean cultures, it was exactly divination where doubts about these contacts were far less dominant. This may be due to the fact that, in this case, the main focus was not on "oriental" and Aegean contacts but on Levantine – Etruscan ones. From the beginning haruspicy¹ loomed large in these discussions. In two independent seminal studies Jean Nougayrol and Giuseppe Furlani respectively, were collecting and discussing the evidence concerning the relationship between Etruscan and Mesopotamian forms of divination in general and haruspicy in special.² The bronze liver of Piacenza and the clay liver from Falerii Veteres have been main points of reference in this discussion. Since these two Etruscan liver models are the only exemplars so far testified outside the Near East where such models are attested broadly from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., this was a strong argument in favour of Assyro-Babylonian extispicy influencing Etruscan hepatoscopy. Furthermore, appli-

¹ In the following I use haruspicy and extispicy as synonymous terms.

² Nougayrol 1955; Furlani 1957.

cations and marks on the clay liver of Falerii Veteres which bears no inscriptions have been interpreted as corresponding to similar elements on Near Eastern liver models. Moreover, the division of the bronze liver of Piacenza into different sections has been regarded as coinciding with Babylonian conceptions.³ Yet, the conviction of a direct Near-Eastern influence has become weaker in more recent years.⁴ And indeed, there are clear differences between the Etruscan and Babylonian liver models. The inscriptions on the bronze liver indicate Etruscan and Italic deities and elements. What is more, queries and prayers connected with Etruscan extispicy were not directed to one specific deity. Thus, the prominent role played by the Mesopotamian sun god Šamaš and the storm god Adad has no counterpart in the Etruscan discipline where the reading of the entrails could be performed in the service of any deity. But a closer look on modern studies in intercultural contacts exhibits, that such differences by no way disprove possible contacts between East and West. Cultural borrowings are always embedded into new contexts and adapted to new structures.⁵ This already becomes evident when we look at the Ancient Near East as such, which was far from being a homogenous cultural zone.⁶ Divination techniques spread from Mesopotamia proper to neighbouring regions such as Anatolia, Syria-Palestine and Iran where they were reshaped, modified and “reinvented”. A good example for this development is the Hittite omens of the second millennium BCE. Although omen compendia have been imported from Babylonia and translated into Hittite, the general conception concerning the function of these omina was a different one. Whereas for the Hittites omina were an expression of divine dismay over the past, for the Babylonians they were far more a media to deal with the imponderabilities of the future.⁷ Taking into consideration these general criteria of intercultural borrowings and contacts there are three major arguments in favour of an ancient Near Eastern influence on Etruscan divination.

- a) The chronological and historical framework: The development of Etruscan culture coincides with the evolution of a Mediterranean network where ideas, commodities and cultural techniques were exchanged in all directions.⁸
- b) The cultural context: Etruscan religion in general clearly shows traces of intercultural contacts with the world of the Ancient Near East.⁹ Contacts, in which form

³ Meyer 1985.

⁴ Cf. Rasmussen 2003, 135–39.

⁵ Cf. the contributions in Rollinger and Schnegg 2014.

⁶ Rollinger 2015.

⁷ Cf. Van den Hout 2003–05.

⁸ Colonna 2000; Malkin 2011; Kistler 2014.

⁹ Cf. Krauskopf 1997.

ever, did exist as a bronze vessel fragment with a cuneiform inscription in an Etruscan tomb demonstrates.¹⁰

- c) Divination as a standardized and distinguished cultural technique: It is not only extispicy but divination in general where substantial similarities in conception and performance, structure and organization can be observed.

1 Ancient Near Eastern Liver Models

Our major concern here is these similarities.¹¹ The liver models are a convenient starting point for the discussion of the topic. It has already been stressed that beyond the Ancient Near East models of sheep liver have only been unearthed in Etruria. All these models, including the Etruscan ones, are similar in shape and share characteristic features. This is not only true because of the innate anatomical appearance of a sheep's liver. These features affect those parts of the liver which are seminal for the hepatoscopy. What is more, all these models represent sheep livers which were the basic working objects for the diviners.¹² It is true that the details on the liver models themselves exhibit distinctive differences but this touches upon the different functions these models had to meet. These functions were highly diversified as the Ancient Near Eastern exemplars show.

The oldest Ancient Near Eastern specimens hark back to the 19th cent. BCE, the youngest ones to the 8th century. Although the two Etruscan exemplars are even later, i.e. third cent. BCE, this is not a real gap. Extispicy is very well attested in the Ancient Near East until the very end of cuneiform culture, i.e. until Seleucid-Parthian times (third cent. BCE to first cent. CE). And the Etruscans did not invent divination from the scratch in the third cent. BCE.

The Ancient Near Eastern models do not only originate from Mesopotamia proper. To the contrary it can be observed that divination techniques spread from this core area to the adjacent regions of Anatolia, Syria-Palestine and Iran. The models preserved are fairly distinctive concerning details and marks.¹³ Some bear inscriptions, others do not. The reason for this is based on their different assignment and function. Some have been used as teaching aid to instruct apprentice diviners. These specimens do not represent the results of one single extispicy but collect all the information relevant to introduce young diviners into their future discipline. This is also

¹⁰ Fronzaroli 1971. The short inscription names a certain Nabû-iddina who bears the professional title of a *qēpu*. These *qēpu* were Assyrian officials installed in Levantine harbour cities to supervise trade and taxes with the west; Bagg 2011, 175-79, 189; Rollinger 2011, 269-273.

¹¹ For a survey on Etruscan divination see chapter 21 Haack.

¹² In the following I use *diviner* and *haruspex* as synonymous terms.

¹³ Meyer 1980-83.

true for those exemplars which were used as compendia collecting the essentials of a diviner's knowledge. Other pieces do represent the outcome of one single extispicy-performance which was regarded as being of major importance. It is important that some regions, like e.g. Syria-Palestine, exhibit distinctive developments, as the liver models from Hāṣor demonstrate.¹⁴ These differences do not disprove the Mesopotamian origin of these models but show local adaptations and a combination of regional specifics with foreign impulses.

2 Ancient Near Eastern divination disciplines

Focussing on Ancient Near Eastern divination in general, it becomes immediately clear that all disciplines, including the Etruscan practice, share characteristic features. Extispicy is one of a plenty of divination techniques in the Ancient Near East. These techniques are very well attested not only by archaeological sources like the liver models just introduced but by hundreds and thousands of cuneiform texts. Although the origins of many of these techniques may go back to prehistoric times the bulk of our documentation starts with the beginning of the second millennium BCE. During this time, i.e. in the 19th and 18th cent. BCE a stream of tradition becomes visible which shows an astonishing homogeneity over the centuries and which is documented until the very end of cuneiform culture in Seleucid and Parthian times. The divination techniques can be divided into two major groups.

The first group represents those omina which were sent unprovoked by the gods. The physical surroundings and common occurrences of daily life like the behaviour of animals, the conditions of weather and climate, the physiognomy and conduct of human beings, dreams, as well as abnormalities in physical developments were of major importance in this context. Prophecy loomed large¹⁵ and the vast field of astronomy and astrology was highly relevant although major developments in this discipline did not start before the first millennium BCE.¹⁶

The second group unites those omina which could, at least theoretically, be provoked by experts at any time and place. Important techniques in this field were aleuromancy, where flour was poured out in small heaps and the diviner interpreted shape and orientation as well as lecanomancy, where oil and water were combined and the diviner interpreted the evolving patterns. Yet the most important technique in this context, at least as our documentation is concerned, was extispicy.

¹⁴ Meyer 1980–83, 527a.

¹⁵ Nissinen 2010.

¹⁶ Rochberg 2011.

Some techniques could combine characteristic features of both groups. This is true, for instance, for the observations of the flight of birds which could be inductive and non-inductive as well.¹⁷

3 World View and Writing

All these forms of divination were based upon a specific world view. From the beginning of creation, there was a well established and abiding world order with permanent structures and rules. The gods communicated with human beings by intermediaries, i.e. prophets, or by signs. These signs could not be deciphered by anybody but experts whose knowledge and skills were based upon an intensive and time consuming training. The gods could send these signs at any time they wanted or as a reply upon ritualized queries. The signs were regarded to be a form of script thus showing the fundamental connection between writing and divination.¹⁸ Thus, the liver as well as the starry sky was conceived as the “tablet of gods” where the “heavenly writing” could be observed and decoded. A text of the first millennium BCE puts this crucial conception into perspective: “You (the sun god Šamaš) write upon the flesh inside the sheep (i.e. the entrails), you establish (there) an oracular decision”.¹⁹

The diviner could read these signs, interpret them and derive meaning. The world was full of signs and these signs, or better the divine messages transported by them, were connected with real phenomena and events of any kind in the near future. Thus, the imponderabilities of human life could be mastered by observing the natural environment meticulously and by decoding the divine messages. Yet, the ancient Mesopotamians did not indulge in any kind of fatalism. For the gods did only communicate what will happen in the near future if no remedy or countermeasure were introduced which could change the predicted effects. To put it into modern terms, the interpretation of a single omen could reveal that a person was infected by looming mischief but the onset of the disease could be averted by the application of certain remedies. These remedies were conceptualized as prophylactic rituals and were called *namburbi*. They were staged like a divine judicial court where the subject of the sinister omen could obtain a change to one’s impending fate.²⁰ In this procedure the client was advised and guided by an expert whom he (she) had to consult and for whose service he (she) had to pay.

Focussing on the general characteristics of divination in the Ancient Near East it has already become clear that, from the start of our documentation, the whole dis-

¹⁷ Durand 1997, Maul 2002–05, 85–6.

¹⁸ Winitzer 2011.

¹⁹ OECT 6 pl. 30 quoted according to Rochberg 2004, 2 no. 6.

²⁰ Maul 1994.

cipline was developed in a context with scientific structures. The major agents were experts who had to pass painstaking training programmes and who were highly specialized in their activities and fields. Prophecy seems to have been the only field where male and female experts are attested alike, all the other disciplines were dominated by men. Professionalization of the disciplines is also highlighted by a variety of designations concerning the expertise of the diviners. Two important ones are qualified as *āšipu* (“exorcist”) and *bārû* (“diviner”). Whereas the first one seems to have been primarily engaged in interpreting all those signs which were sent by the gods spontaneously, the second one was mainly involved in performing rituals and queries in order to consciously provoke divine omina on the spot. In any case, these specialists seem to have been organized in guild-like structures. Their expertise and knowledge was regarded to be a secrecy revealed by the gods and passed within the exclusive group of these scholars only.²¹ At least from the beginning of the second millennium onwards, this knowledge was preserved in written form.

4 Series, compendia and commentaries

In their most typical formulation individual omina adopted the quintessential form of Mesopotamian logic.²² This logic was encapsulated in a casuistic sentence comprising of two different parts. In the first part which can be characterized as protasis a certain observation was presented. The second part which can be labelled as apodosis rendered the interpretation in form of a forecast. Although in its beginnings divination seems to have been based predominantly on real observations the factor of writing became more and more a creative ingredient of this “science”. There was extensive use of hermeneutic and organizational principles for the purposes of the growing collections of omina which became manuals and handbooks over the century. This process of canonization can be observed since the second half of the second millennium. Most of the series and handbook created in this context have been preserved in the famous library of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE) which was hosted in Nineveh and which can be regarded as one of the world’s first “globalized” collections of knowledge and books preceding the library of Alexandria for more than three centuries.²³

The series and compendia developed in these contexts are enormous. The most important collection of astronomical omina *Enūma Anu Enlil* comprised about 70 tablets (experts: *āšipu* and *ṭupšarru*).²⁴ A diagnostic and prognostic handbook of

²¹ Lenzi 2008.

²² Rochberg 2010.

²³ Goldstein 2010.

²⁴ Rochberg 2004.

40 tablets and about 3000 entries was dubbed *Sakikkū*. Its primary concern were all kinds of human disease which were interpreted as disruptions of the relationship between man and god (expert: *āšipu*).²⁵ Physiognomic and morphoscopic omina were gathered in different series with more than 2000 entries (expert: *āšipu*).²⁶ Dreams were collected in a Dream book of 11 tablets (experts: *šā'ilu* and *bārū*).²⁷ One of the largest collections was called *Šumma ālu*. The series consisted of 107 tablets some of which contained more than 200 lines. It was a collection of private omina taken from miscellaneous occurrences in man's everyday life dealing with all kind of conspicuous incidents of the physical surroundings. The behaviour of animals played a major role in this context. 15 Tablets (64-79) were devoted to the interpretation of the flight of birds in the sky. The total number of omina originally included in this series was probably around 10.000 (expert: *āšipu*).²⁸ The major concern of the 24 tablets of the series *Šumma izbu* were all kinds of monstrosities, human and animal ones alike (expert: *bārū*).²⁹ The seminal importance of extispicy is documented by the series *iškar bārūti* with more than 100 tablets and some thousands of omina (expert: *bārū*).³⁰ Experts and catalogues were produced to facilitate access; commentaries were a major tool for the interpretation of the omina.³¹ One of these, *Mukallimtu*, commented upon terminology, another one, *Multābiltu*, comprising of 17 tablets, gave insights into the hermeneutics of the discipline.³²

The important series *iqqur ipuš* was organized as a menological and hemerological handbook, the basic conception of which was the belief of the existence of favourable and unfavourable days/months for all sorts of activities which had meticulously to be adhered to. Such activities encompassed the erection/restoration of any building (house or temple), every cultic operation, the construction of tombs, work on the fields, in the garden or at home and any kind of social affairs like marriage and birth.³³

5 Extispicy and hepatoscopy

As already mentioned extispicy was performed by the *bārū*-expert. Apart from the compendia, series and canonical texts his activities are mainly attested by extispicy

²⁵ Heeßel 2000.

²⁶ Böck 2000.

²⁷ Zgoll 2006.

²⁸ Freedman 1998; Freedman 2006.

²⁹ Leichty 1970.

³⁰ Koch-Westenholz 2000.

³¹ Frahm 2010.

³² Koch-Westenholz 2005.

³³ Maul 2003–2005, 57–8.

reports,³⁴ rituals,³⁵ queries³⁶ and letters.³⁷ The bulk of evidence originates from Old-Babylonian³⁸ and Neo-Assyrian times. According to these texts it is clear that many diviners were in the service of king and court and that their discipline intrinsically touched state affairs. This is also true for other forms of divination. The diviners had to be paid for their service and the sheep had to be purchased. Although this was expensive, diviners could also be hired by private clients as Old-Babylonian extispicy reports exhibit. There we also learn that diviners routinely loaned silver and barely for the purchase of ritual sheep. It seems that even female diviners did exist although this might have been fairly exceptional.³⁹ The private Old-Babylonian reports preserve the names of clients, the period for which the query was effective, the date of performance and the issue for which the extispicy was performed. Sometimes the result is also adduced. Thus, e.g. BM 26594 reads: "One lamb of the ritual of the diviner, for the (advisability of a) business enterprise, from Month 5, Day 10, to Month 6, Day 2, flesh for the ritual". What follows is the report, and the document concludes: "For Galdani, as far as the (oracular) message, it was favourable. Month 5, Day 10, Year Ammišaduqa 11".⁴⁰

Apart from Old-Babylonian documents, especially from the city of Mari,⁴¹ diviners serving court and king are very well attested in Neo-Assyrian times. The queries and reports originate chiefly from the reigns of Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) and Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE). Like in Old-Babylonian times the god regarded to be responsible for this discipline is the sun god Šamaš. The queries are placed before him, and both, queries and reports draw their omina from the relevant extispicy manuals and compendia of this time. The subject matters are highly political ones. They deal with the intentions and activities of named and unnamed enemies, the loyalty of officials, the prospective appointees to different offices and the illness of the royal family. Whereas these queries and reports are the working copies of the diviners at the Assyrian court writing in coarse hands, there is another divinatory genre attested, also consisting of queries, called *ṭamītu*. These texts which share an unquestionable similarity in the formulary with the Sargonid queries do not address Šamaš alone but the duo Šamaš and Adad. They are archival copies from professional scribes. Why they introduced the storm god Adad and wrote as if the inquiries were always to Šamaš and Adad jointly is not clear.⁴²

34 Koch-Westenholz 2002; Richardson 2002.

35 Starr 1983.

36 Starr 1990.

37 Parpola 1993.

38 Jeyes 1989.

39 Richardson 2002, 234.

40 Richardson 2002, 239–40.

41 Glassner 2005.

42 Lambert 2007, 10.

Like the Old-Babylonian reports the Neo-Assyrian queries designate a specific period of time for the efficacy of the extispicy.⁴³ In the extant queries this is from 7 to 100 days (and nights). The query itself abounds in stereotyped key phrases. In its most elaborate formulation it is structured as follows: “RN⁴⁴ who is now intent on sending ... (and whom) your great divinity knows – in accordance with the command of your great divinity, Šamaš, great lord, and your favourable decisions, should RN strive and plan? ... Is it pleasing to your great divinity? If he, having planned, sends ...”⁴⁵ The query usually ends with the following closing formula: “Does your great divinity know it? Is it decreed and confirmed in a favourable case, by the command of your great divinity, Šamaš, great lord? Will he who can see, see it? Will he who can hear, hear it?”⁴⁶

The reports are autopsies performed on dead sacrificial sheep where the physical condition of the exta of these animals is recorded. The nomenclature is highly technical but recent research could clarify most of the terms.⁴⁷ The entire exta of the sheep came under scrutiny but the starting and most important point of the inspection was the liver. The reports note “fixed” anatomical parts like liver, lungs, heart intestines and parts thereof like the gall bladder. On the liver itself four markings which usually appear as creases or fissures gained major importance. As Ivan Starr puts it: “It was the absence of any of these or any other part of liver, their dislocation from their normal position, or any other abnormality observed on them by the haruspex which made them ominous, and predictions were derived from their abnormalities”.⁴⁸ Furthermore, there were fortuitous markings (holes, abrasions, blisters, scars, fissures) whose presence and condition was meticulously observed and regarded to be ominous. It is interesting to note that the liver itself as a whole was never an object of examination but its parts were. The exta enumerated in the reports appear in a kind of canonical order which seems to have remained unchanged from the second millennium onwards. This also applies for the different parts of the liver itself. The inspection proceeded in a counter-clockwise direction. Whether there exists a pictorial representation of such an inspection⁴⁹ is debated.⁵⁰

43 Heeßel 2010.

44 Royal Name.

45 Starr 1990, xix.

46 Starr 1990, xx.

47 Leiderer 1990.

48 Starr 1990, xxxix.

49 So Starr 1990, xxvi Fig. 3.

50 Maul 2003-2005, 71b.

6 Ritual performance

The whole inspection was embedded into a ritual framework. At the beginning the diviner underwent a rite of purification. Therefore he used cedar and tamarisk as cleansing agents. The sacrificial animal was introduced and consecrated. This animal, a lamb or a ram, had to be immaculate and impeccable. The ritual had to take place on a favourable day only. The days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 as well as the days around the disappearance of the moon, i.e. the 29th, the 30th and the first were avoided. The procedure started with the question posed to the divine council chaired by Šamaš. This question to which a reply in the form of “yes” or “no” was expected, was whispered into the ear of the lamb which was given as an offering either to Šamaš (and Adad) or to the personal god of the client for whom the ritual was performed. It was accompanied by *ikribū*-prayers which could contain a petition to the divine council. An important element was the so-called *ezib*-formulae. They express excuses for any unintentional error which might creep into the ritual. The sacrificial animal was slaughtered according to a settled procedure. The throat was cut, the animal decapitated and dismembered. Parts of the flesh were presented to Šamaš as meal to be consumed. Only after the sacrifice as such had taken place, the diviner started his inspection. First he inspected the intestines still in the sacrificial animal’s body noting their design and the number of the windings. After that they were taken out together with the other entrails. Although heart and lungs were also inspected the liver was the most important object of investigation. It was subjected to a detailed examination of the *facies visceralis* where no single piece is equal to each other. The diviner proceeding counter-clockwise meticulously examined well defined squares on the liver. All these squares were organized in a right and left side. Whereas the right side was regarded to be “my side” (*pars familiaris*) the left side was the “side of the enemy”. This definition was the key element for any interpretation. Well-shaping of the right side was favourable, defection was unfavourable. On the left side it was to the contrary. Well-shaping was unfavourable for the client, defection favourable. The final result was established by counting the negative and positive signs and putting them into relationship. Did the positive signs prevail, the god answered “yes”. Did the negative ones predominate, the god answered “no”. If the answer was unclear the ritual could be repeated.⁵¹

7 King and Diviner

A very special client was the king. To work in his service was not only prestigious but the diviner’s profession immediately conveyed a political dimension. As we especially

⁵¹ Jeyes 1969; Maul 2003–05, 76–81.

know from the rich documentation of Neo-Assyrian times, the Assyrian king availed himself of many different divination techniques which were also used for check and balances. Besides astrology, prophecy and oneiromancy, extispicy held a seminal position in this context. By this, the diviner's knowledge and expertise can be defined as a kind of "Herrschaftswissen", i.e. a technique essential for any political system and ruler to keep power in his hands and to act successfully in political affairs.⁵² This implied some kind of control of the diviners by the king. Thus, they were put under oath. This oath was conceptualized like a treaty: "The scribes, haruspices (*bārû*), the exorcists (*āšipû*), the physicians and the augurs staying in the palace and living in the city will enter the treaty on the 16th of Nisan. Now, let them conclude the treaty tomorrow", as Issar-šumu-ereš informs Esarhaddon in a Neo-Assyrian letter.⁵³ Also in Old-Babylonian Mari, diviners were sworn in by the court, for they were taken to be secret carriers. They were obliged to report all meaningful observations to the king only and to no one else. The court's demand for these specialists and their service seems to have been enormous. From Old-Babylonian Mari we know that the royal diviners required between 429 and 707 animals every month which is an average of 510 a month and 6020 each year.

Every diviner had to comply with certain qualifications, social and physical ones. A telling source for this is an aetiological legend from Neo-Assyrian times where we learn how Šamaš and Adad revealed the *bārû*-lore to an antediluvian king of Sippar, Enmeduranki by name.⁵⁴ According to the text only diviners from families of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon were regarded to be qualified. They had to be born in the right family. Since these experts had professional secrets, a father had to pass his knowledge to his son. As a consequence the number of the experts was restricted. From a modern point of view this also had the effect to ensure "a sufficiency of work for all members of the craft".⁵⁵ But there were not only social requirements. A healthy, defect-free body was of essential importance as well.

8 Conclusions

Reviewing the evidence of Ancient Near Eastern divination in general and for extispicy in special two important aspects of this craft become evident. The first aspect is the continuity of the phenomenon documented in our sources for almost two thousand years. This continuity shaped a highly standardized and systematized discipline which was conceptualized by a scientific spirit with manuals and handbooks on the

⁵² Pongrácz-Leisten 1999, 8–201.

⁵³ Parpola 1993, No. 7.

⁵⁴ Lambert 1998.

⁵⁵ Lambert 1998, 143.

one side and with well established hermeneutics and rules to interpret the ominous signs on the other side. The premise for all this was the conception of a world full of signs sent by the gods to communicate with man. As far as extispicy is concerned the liver was regarded to be the “tablet” where the divine messages became manifest. These messages had to be decoded and this was done by specialists with professional knowledge carefully chosen and educated, who established a kind of guild. The members of these guilds were distinguished by their knowledge and by the secrets of their profession which were kept inside the peer-group.

The second aspect is important as well. Even within the area of the Ancient Near East local diversifications and adaptations can be observed which show that extispicy, as well as other mantic disciplines, like e.g. the augurs’ craft, were not only wandering but changing as well, integrating local and regional developments and requirements. Furthermore, our view on divination in the Ancient Near East is, due to the sources available, primarily a view on the practice and performance of the craft in the context of the social élites. Yet, it is evident that divination techniques were used and consumed by all strata of society. Apart from specialists also laymen were very much active in these fields.⁵⁶ Thus, the spreading and diversification of mantic techniques from Babylonia proper to east and west was a highly dynamic process taking place on a plenty of different levels, social and regional ones. Itinerant specialists and experts may have played a crucial role in this process,⁵⁷ when, especially in the first half of the first millennium, the geographical horizon of the Neo-Assyrian empire started to encompass the Mediterranean as a whole.⁵⁸ Within this intercultural framework, mantic techniques were transferred to the far west in complex processes on a multitude of ways.⁵⁹ The visible traces of the mantic series *Šumma izbu* in Cicero’s *De Divinatione* show that Italy was within the reach of this influence.⁶⁰ The Etruscan liver models discussed at the beginning of this paper are a telling part of this process. Although dated not earlier than to the third c. BCE, they witness vibrant and intricate intercultural exchange which evolved many centuries before.

References

- Annus, A. 2010. “On the Beginnings and Continuities of Omen Sciences in the Ancient World.” In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Annus, 1–18. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

⁵⁶ Reiner 1960.

⁵⁷ Rollinger 1996, 202–10.

⁵⁸ Rollinger 2008; 2013.

⁵⁹ Hunger 1909; Leichty 1970, 14–6; Böck 2000, 61–9; Maul 2002–05, 56a, 61–3, 67–8, 81; Annus 2010.

⁶⁰ Jacobs 2010.

- Bagg, A.M. 2011. *Die Assyrer und das Westland. Studien zur historischen Geographie und Herrschaftspraxis in der Levante im 1. Jt. v.u.Z.* Leuven, Paris, Walpole: Peeters.
- Böck, B. 2000. *Die Babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie.* Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik.
- Colonna, G. 2000. "La cultura orientalizzante in Etruria." In *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*, exhibition catalogue, 55–66. Venice: Marsilio.
- Durand, J.-M. 1997. "La divination par les oiseaux." *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 8: 273–82.
- Frahm, E. 2010. "Frahm, Reading the Tablet, the Extā, and the Body: The Hermeneutics of Cuneiform Signs in Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries and Divinatory Texts." In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Annus, 93–141. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Freedman, S.M. 1998. *If a City is set on a Height. The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin, Volume 1. Tablets 1–21.* Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund.
- . 2006. *If a City is set on a Height. The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin, Volume 2: Tablets 22–40.* Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund.
- Fronzaroli, P. 1971. "L'iscrizione cuneiforme." *StEtr* 39: 326–31.
- Furlani, G. 1957. "Mantica babilonese e mantica etrusca." In *Tyrrhenica. Saggi di studi etruschi*, 61–76. Milan: Istituto Lombardo.
- Glassner, J.-J. 2005. "L'aruspicine paléo-babylonienne et le témoignage des sources de Mari." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 95: 276–300.
- Goldstein, R. 2010. "Late Babylonian Letters on Collecting Tablets and their Hellenistic Background – a Suggestion." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69: 199–207.
- Heeßel, N.P. 2000. *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik.* Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- . 2010. "The Calculation of the Stipulated Term in Extispicy." In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Annus, 163–75. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Hunger, J. 1909. *Babylonische Tieromina nebst griechisch-römischen Parallelen.* Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 14/3. Berlin: J. Heinrichs.
- Jacobs, J. 2010. "Traces of the Omen Series *Šumma izbu* in Cicero, *De divinatione*." In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Annus, 317–39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Jeyes, U. 1989. *Old Babylonia Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum.* Istanbul: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Kistler, E. 2014. "Die Mediterranée im 6. und frühen 5. Jh. v.Chr. Eine Welt in Bewegung." *AA*: 181–204.
- Koch-Westenholz, U. 2000. *Babylonian Liver Omens. The chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān tākalṭi of the Babylonia Extispicy Series mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- . 2002. "Old-Babylonian Extispicy Reports." In *Mining the Archives. Festschrift for Christopher Walker*, edited by C. Wunsch, 131–146. Dresden: ISLET-Verlag.
- . 2005. *Secrets of Extispicy. The Chapter Multābiltu of the Babylonian Extispicy Series and Niširti bārūti Texts mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Krauskopf, I. 1997. "Influences grecques et orientales sur les représentations de dieux étrusques." In *Les Etrusques, les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque*, edited by F. Gaultier and D. Briquel, 25–36. Paris: La documentation française.
- Lambert, W.G. 1998. "The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners." In *ṭikip santakki mala baš mu ... Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1995.* Cuneiform Monographs 10, 141–58. Groningen: Styx Publications.
- . 2007. *Babylonian Oracle Questions.* Mesopotamian Civilizations 13. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

- Leichty, E. 1970. *The Omen Series Šumma izbu*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources 4. Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin Publisher.
- Leiderer, R. 1990. *Anatomie der Schafsfleber im babylonischen Leberorakel. Eine makroskopisch-analytische Studie*. Munich, Bern, Vienna, San Francisco: Zuckschwerdt.
- Lenzi, A. 2008. *Secrecy and the Gods. Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel*. State Archives of Assyria 19. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Malkin I. 2011. *A Small Greek World, Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: University Press.
- Maul S.M. 1994. *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- . 2003–05. "Omina und Orakel. A. Mesopotamien." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10: 45–88.
- Meyer J.-W. 1980–83. "Lebermodelle, B. Archäologisch." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6: 522–27.
- . 1985. "Zur Herkunft der etruskischen Lebermodelle." In *Phoenicia and its Neighbours*, edited by E. Gubel and E. Lipinski, 105–20. Leuven: Peeters.
- Nissinen M. 2010. "Prophesy and Omen Divination: Two Sides of the Same Coin." In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Amus, 341–51. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Nougayrol J. 1955. "Les rapports des haruspices étrusque et assyro-babylonienne, et le foie d'argile de Falerii Veteres (Villa Giulia 3786)." *CRAI* 99.4, 509–19.
- OECT Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts.
- Parpola S. 1993. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. State Archives of Assyria 10. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Pongratz-Leisten B. 1999. *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien. Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* State Archives of Assyria 10. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Reiner E. 1960. "Fortune Telling in Mesopotamia." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19: 23–35.
- Richardson, S. 2002. "Ewe Should Be So Lucky: Extispicy Reports and Everyday Life." In *Mining the Archives. Festschrift for Christopher Walker*, edited by C. Wunsch, 229–44. Dresden: ISLET-Verlag.
- Rochberg, F. 2004. *The Heavenly Writing. Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture*. Cambridge: University Press.
- . 2010. "'If P, then Q': Form and Reasoning in Babylonian Divination." In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Amus, 19–27. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- . 2011. "Observing and Describing the World through Divination and Astronomy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, edited by K. Radner and E. Robson, 618–36. Oxford: University Press.
- Rollinger R. 1996. "Altorientalische Motive in der frühgriechischen Literatur am Beispiel der homerischen Epen. Elemente des Kampfes in der Ilias und in der altorientalischen Literatur (nebst Überlegungen zur Präsenz altorientalischer Wanderpriester im früharchaischen Griechenland)." In *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität. Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit*, edited by Ch. Ulf, 156–210. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- . 2008. "Das altorientalische Weltbild und der ferne Westen in neuassyrischer Zeit." In *Antike Lebenswelten. Konstanz, Wandel, Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by P. Mauritsch, W. Petermandl, R. Rollinger and Ch. Ulf, 683–95. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2011. "Der Blick aus dem Osten: 'Griechen' in vorderasiatischen Quellen des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – eine Zusammenschau." In *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas*.

- Kulturelle Beziehungen von der späten Bronzezeit bis zur frühen Eisenzeit*, edited by H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger and St. Schröder, 267–82. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2012. "Altorientalische Einflüsse auf die homerischen Epen." In *Homer-Handbuch. Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, edited by A. Rengakos and B. Zimmermann, 213–27. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- . 2013. "The View from East to West: World View and Perception of Space in the Neo-Assyrian Empire." In *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von 'Ost' und 'West' in der griechischen Antike*, Oikumene. Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 10, edited by N. Zenzen, T. Hölscher and K. Trampedach, 93–161. Heidelberg: Verlag Antike.
- . 2015. "Old Battles, New Horizons. The Ancient Near East and the Homeric epics." In *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World. Impact, Continuities, Parallels*, Melammu Symposia 7, edited by R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen, 5–32. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Rollinger, R. and K. Schnegg eds. 2014. *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten. Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Starr, I. 1983. *The Rituals of the Diviner*. Malibu: Undena Publisher.
- . 1990. *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. State Archive of Assyria 4. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Van den Hout, Th. 2003–05. "Omina (Omens). B. Bei den Hethitern." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10: 88–90.
- William Rasmussen, S. 2003. *Public Portents in Republican Rome*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Winitzer A. 2011. "Writing and Mesopotamian Divination: The Case of Alternative Interpretation." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 63: 77–94.
- Zgoll A. 2006. *Traum und Weiterleben im Alten Mesopotamien. Traumtheorie und Traumpraxis im 3. – 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. als Horizont einer Kulturgeschichte des Traumes*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.

DE GRUYTER

REFERENCE

Alessandro Naso (Ed.)

ETRUSCOLOGY

VOLUME 1

Etruscology

Volume 1

Edited by
Alessandro Naso

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-1-934078-48-8
(PDF) 978-1-934078-49-5
(ePub) 978-1-61451-910-2

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available from the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter Inc., Boston/Berlin

Cover image: Fresco from the tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia: Running Phersu (masked man)
on the left wall. Ca. 520 BCE; Photo: Courtesy DAI-Rome

Typesetting: Satzstudio Borngräber, Dessau

Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH und Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Table of contents

Alessandro Naso

1 Introduction — 1

Part 1: I. **Methods**

Christoph Ulf

2 An ancient question: the origin of the Etruscans — 11

Martin Korenjak

3 The Etruscans in Ancient Literature — 35

Giuseppe M. Della Fina

4 History of Etruscology — 53

Maurizio Harari

5 Etruscan Art or Art of the Etruscans? — 69

Natacha Lubtchansky

**6 Iconography and iconology,
Nineteenth to Twenty-first centuries — 79**

Enrico Benelli

7 Approaches to the study of the language — 95

Philip Perkins

8 DNA and Etruscan identity — 109

II. **Issues: Politic and society**

Gianluca Tagliamonte

9 Political organization and magistrates — 121

Maria Cecilia D'Ercole

10 Economy and trade — 143

Markus Egg

11 War and Weaponry — 165

Petra Amann

12 Society — 179

Erich Kistler

13 Feasts, Wine and Society, eighth–sixth centuries BCE — 195

Fabio Colivicchi

14 Banqueting and food — 207

Jean-Paul Thuillier

15 Sports — 221

Armando Cherici

16 Dance — 233

Enrico Benelli

17 Alphabets and language — 245

II. Issues: Religion

Daniele F. Maras

18 Religion — 277

Alessandro Naso

19 Death and burial — 317

Robert Rollinger

20 Haruspicy from the Ancient Near East to Etruria — 341

Marie-Laurence Haack

21 Prophecy and divination — 357

II. Issues: Technique and technology

Patrice Pomey

22 Ships and Shipping — 371

Laura M. Michetti

23 Harbors — 391

Adriana Emiliozzi

24 Vehicles and roads — 407

Andrea Zifferero

25 Mines and Metal Working — 425

Alessandro Corretti

26 The mines on the island of Elba — 445

Fiorenzo Catalli

27 Coins and mints — 463

Adriano Maggiani

28 Weights and balances — 473

Margarita Gleba

29 Textiles and Dress — 485

Emiliano Li Castro

30 Musical instruments — 505

Marshall Joseph Becker

31 Etruscan gold dental appliances — 523

Part 2: III. History

Adriano Maggiani

32 The Historical Framework — 537

Marco Pacciarelli

33 The transition from village communities to protourban societies — 561

Massimo Botto

34 The diffusion of Near Eastern cultures — 581

Luca Cerchiai

35 Urban Civilization — 617

Laurent Haumesser

36 Hellenism in Central Italy — 645

Arnaldo Marcone

37 Romanization — 665

Mario Torelli

38 The Etruscan Legacy — 685

IV. Civilization: Early Iron Age

Lars Karlsson

39 Hut Architecture, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 723

Cristiano Iaia

40 Handicrafts, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 739

Marco Pacciarelli

41 Society, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 759

Tiziano Trocchi

42 Ritual and cults, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 779

Albert J. Nijboer

43 Economy, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 795

Cristiano Iaia

44 External Relationships, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 811

IV. Civilization: Orientalizing period

Mauro Menichetti

45 Art, 730–580 BCE — 831

Marina Micozzi

46 Handicraft, 730–580 BCE — 851

Alessandro Naso

47 Society, 730–580 BCE — 869

Tiziano Trocchi

48 Ritual and cults, 730–580 BCE — 885

Albert J. Nijboer

49 Economy, 730–580 BCE — 901

Marina Micozzi

50 External Relationships, 730–580 BCE — 921

IV. Civilization: Archaic and Classical periods

Nigel Spivey and Maurizio Harari

51 Archaic and Late Archaic Art, 580–450 BCE — 943

Martin Bentz

52 Handicrafts, 580–450 BCE — 971

Petra Amann

53 Society, 580–450 BCE — 985

Marie-Laurence Haack

54 Ritual and Cults, 580–450 BCE — 1001

Hilary Becker

55 Economy, 580–450 BCE — 1013

Christoph Reusser

56 External relationships, 580–450 BCE — 1031

IV. Civilization: Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

Fernando Gilotta

57 Late Classical and Hellenistic art, 450–250 BCE — 1049

Laura Ambrosini

58 Handicraft, 450–250 BCE — 1079

Petra Amann

59 Society, 450–250 BCE — 1101

Marie-Laurence Haack

60 Ritual and cults, 450–250 BCE — 1117

Hilary Becker

61 Economy, 450–250 BCE — 1129

Stefano Bruni

62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE — 1141

IV. Civilization: Etruria and Rome

Fernando Gilotta

63 Art, 250–89 BCE — 1161

Francesco de Angelis

64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE — 1173

Arnaldo Marcone

65 Society, 250–89 BCE — 1191

Marie-Laurence Haack

66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE — 1203

Hilary Becker

67 Economy, 250–89 BCE — 1215

Francesco de Angelis

68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE — 1223

V. Topography of Etruria

Philip Perkins

69 The landscape and environment of Etruria — 1239

Andrea Zifferero

70 Southern Etruria — 1251

Erik O. Nielsen and P. Gregory Warden

71 Northern Etruria — 1299

Andrea Zifferero

72 Settlement Patterns and Land Use — 1339

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Southern Italy

Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carmine Pellegrino

73 Southern Campania — 1359

Vincenzo Bellèlli

74 Northern Campania — 1395

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Central and Northern Italy

Luigi Malnati

75 Emilia — 1437

Patrizia von Eles, Gabriele Baldelli

76–77 Romagna and the Marches — 1453

Raffaele Carlo de Marinis

78 Lombardy — 1501

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Italy

Alessandro Naso

79 Central Italy and Rome — 1533

Gianluca Tagliamonte

80 Southern Italy — 1551

Martin Guggisberg

81 Northern Italy

(Piedmont, Veneto, Trentino–Alto Adige, Friuli–Venezia Giulia) — 1565

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Europe

Gerhard Tomedi

82 South and southeast Central Europe — 1585

Holger Baitinger

83 Transalpine Regions — 1607

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in the Mediterranean

Olivier Jehasse

84 Corsica — 1641

Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli

85 Sicily — 1653

Marco Rendeli

86 Sardinia — 1669

Alessandro Naso

87 Greece, Aegean islands and Levant — 1679

Alessandro Naso

88 North Africa — 1695

Claire Joncheray

89 Southern France — 1709

Raimon Graells i Fabregat

90 The Iberian Peninsula — 1721

Colour plates — 1737

Authors — 1761

Index — 1767