

Review of Alasdair Livingstone, *Hemerologies of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology). Bethesda: CDL Press 2013.

This is an avidly awaited and invaluable addition to the corpus of Mesopotamian religious and scholastic texts, which A. Livingstone here has made available to Assyriologists and scholars from other fields in an up-to-date and comprehensive edition. The edition of the royal hemerology “Lord, Fruit of the Month” is to all intents and purposes an editio princeps, and even though parts of the major hemerologies have been published previously, these editions are out-dated today. The book remedies this by presenting all currently known sources for the hemerologies. The edition not only rectifies a number of errors made in previous editions and adds a wealth of new sources, it offers new insights into the nature and history of the genre.

The term “hemerology” (literally “knowledge of days”) basically refers to calendar texts concerned with the positive or negative qualities of dates, but is used in the fields of Assyriology and Egyptology to denote all genres of calendar texts that contain cultic and secular instructions and prohibitions, predictions and other intangible characteristics of days and months. The nomenclature in Assyriological literature of the texts concerned with the favourable/unfavourable and prescriptive/prognostic nature of days and months is somewhat inconsistent. The texts in the present edition have been referred to either as almanacs, (cultic) calendars, hemerologies and/or menologies (i.e. concerning months). With more or less detail they all list the ominous significance, prescribed, forbidden, or auspicious actions and dietary rules according to date of the month. They are not divinatory manuals like the omen compendia, but they draw on some of the same concepts and expressions, and are used for similar purposes, namely acquiring otherwise unobtainable information as to what to do and when to do it. In other fields of research, this genre is commonly referred to as either almanacs, Tagewahlkalender or prognostic calendars. This difference in terminology may obscure the fact that the genre in no way was special to the Ancient Near East and that there is no reason to suppose it originated there. The need to know the right timing appears to be a human universal. Just as the Babylonian Almanac is the single best attested literary text from Ancient Mesopotamia, almost completely preserved and represented on no less than 59 manuscripts (p. 2), almanacs were the only printed medium to rival the Bible in popularity in Europe. A quick survey of this vast genre in Western European history leaves one with an impression of a

surprisingly homogenous phenomenon.¹ Despite the many differences in details, the fundamental similarities with Mesopotamian hemerologies also remain striking. As always with cultural (and biological phenomena) that appear to us similar in form or function the question is, whether the similarities are caused by an internal “genetic” relationship, or whether the similarities are caused by external generic factors. But it is often very difficult to determine whether we are dealing with convergent evolution or cultural transmission. The case made for a transmission of Babylonian almanac traditions to Hellenistic Greece (p. 1-2)² is tenuous, it seems highly unlikely that the idea of calendar semiotics itself should not be native to ancient Greece.³

The texts are edited with comments and supplied with a brief general introduction (pp. 1-4) and two concluding chapters, one on “Topics and Themes” (pp. 249-274) and one on “A Scientific Experiment in Hemerology” (pp. 275-278), which discuss in more detail some of the elements touched upon in the hemerologies as well as more overarching questions such as the cultic calendar, the formation of the standard series (*iškaru*) and the conformity of actual ancient practice to the prescriptions and prohibitions of the hemerologies. The author presents the hemerologies according to a new typology of the genre he has developed, dividing the hemerologies into eight different types. Based on the topics they refer to - and to a certain extent on his feeling of the degree of “folkloristic” characteristics of the prescriptions and prohibitions - Livingstone also gives suggestions as to the intended audience for the different types of hemerology. The best attested and probably eldest of its kind, is the “Babylonian Almanac” (pp. 5-82), which, as mentioned, is known in a number of slightly differing versions from an unprecedented 59 manuscripts. Closely related to this are the “Lists of Lucky Days” (pp. 83-102). These two types, the author suggests were used by

¹ No more than a hundred years ago, almanacs charting favourable and unfavourable days of each year were common household items in Scandinavia. The Swedish “Olycksdagar” which were part of the so-called “bondepraktik” well into the 20th century, were probably ultimately derived from the medieval “dies mali”. Axel Nelson, “Om den Svenska Bondepraktikans Ursprung”, Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen 1934, <http://runeberg.org/bokobibl/1934/0063.html> (cited per January 2013). Medieval almanacs are themselves a vast topic. A large number of medieval calendar manuscripts have been edited, for texts from Britain and for further references see e.g. László Sándor Chardonens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900-1100. Study and Texts*, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2007. The topic of early modern almanacs is equally vast, alone for the fact that almanacs were rivalled in popularity only by the Bible. It has however not received much scholarly attention, see e.g. Alison A. Chapman, “Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs and English Protestantism”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007) pp. 1257-1290.

² With reference to E. Reiner, *Astral Magic*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society 1995. Ever since the first cuneiform divination texts were published and translated, interest has centred on their relation to classical and Hellenistic divination, especially astrology. A number of recent studies have identified several individual elements of Hellenistic and later astrology that probably can be traced back to specific Babylonian traditions, cf. especially the studies by F. Rochberg, *In the Path of the Moon. Babylonian Celestial Divination and Its Legacy*. (Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination Vol. 6), Leiden: Brill 2010. Most of these elements are themselves first attested in Babylonian sources from the 4th century BCE, and were thus relatively late developments in Babylonian divination.

³ Cf. the discussion by D. Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather, and Calendars in the Ancient World. Parapegmata and Related Texts in Classical and Near-Eastern Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007 pp. 98-115.

everybody and were relevant for the common man (p. 104). The “Prostration Hemerology” (pp. 161-175) was also addressed to the common man and seems to be preoccupied with life in the countryside (p. 161). The “Offering Bread Hemerology” (pp. 103-160) was directed at a higher stratum of society, the well-to-do tradesmen, landowners, courtiers and even the king (p. 104). The “Bilingual Hemerology for the First Seven Days of Tašrītu” (pp. 193-194) is known from a just single fragmentary Middle Babylonian manuscript and seems related to the royal hemerologies. The king had no less than three types of hemerology, the “Hemerology of Nazimarutša” (pp. 177-192), which is known from both Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts, the “Eclipse Hemerology” (pp. 195-198),⁴ which is attested in a single Babylonian manuscript, and the so-called royal hemerology known in antiquity as *Inbu bēl arḫi*, “Fruit, Lord of the Month”, (pp. 199-248), which is only known in a single exemplar from Koyunjik with no extant duplicates at all. This has naturally led to speculation as to whether *Inbu bēl arḫi* was an original Assyrian composition. Livingstone dismisses this with reference to a somewhat obscure passage in the “Diviner’s Manual”.⁵ However, since there so far is not a single scrap of evidence for *Inbu bēl arḫi* from a Babylonian source, it remains possible that the hemerology was actually drawn up by scholars at the Neo Assyrian Court drawing on existing material from the cultic calendar, the hemerologies and *Iqqur īpuš*. Given the amount of rules and regulations *Inbu bēl arḫi* contains, it seems unlikely that any king would have time to adhere strictly to it, and it certainly did not serve the king when it came to his native Assyrian cultic duties, as Livingstone also argues, the hemerology does not contain any of the known Assyrian festivals, in which we know the king played a crucial role. All this presents a picture of a learned exercise rather than a practical guide. It treated the twelve regular months and at least also intercalary Nisannu and Elūlu. Each month was described on a four column tablet comprising a total of around 200 lines (with the exception of Nisannu 2 which appears to be written on an *imgiddû*). The fact that no duplicates of this compendium, which contained at least 14 tablets, have not been identified, also suggests a limited circulation and late date of origin. One might also quibble that the “Eclipse Hemerology” is not really a hemerology since its sole concern is the ritual actions the king should undertake in the event of an eclipse occurring on the 12th, 13th or 14th day of the twelve months. It does not mention any characteristics of these days and the ritual prescriptions are not related to the cultic calendar reflected in “Lord Fruit of the Month”.

⁴ The author claims that the Eclipse Hemerology has not received any attention since the partial edition and translation in 1915 by P. Jensen in *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek 6/II, Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion*, Berlin: Verlag Reuther und Reichard 1915 pp. 42-47. This is not entirely true since the text was edited by Ulla Koch-Westenholz in “Babylonian Views of Eclipses”, *Res Orientales XIII* (2001) pp. 71-84.

⁵ Published by A.L. Oppenheim in “A Babylonian Diviner’s Manual,” *JNES* 33 (1974) pp. 197-220.

The hemerologies are presented with transliterations in partitur format. In the case of the “Babylonian Almanac” the author has chosen to translate each version individually to highlight the nature of the variations. This approach is indeed quite illuminating. As Livingstone points out (p. 8) the variations suggest that the general positive/negative value of a date was more or less fixed, but that it could be expressed in different, though often related, terms. This is to my mind central to all Babylonian forms of divination and explains why the detailed apodoses of the extispicy omens never carried any weight in the interpretation of the intestines of a sacrificial animal.

The volume contains no facsimile copies, but almost all manuscripts which are referred to as “unpublished” are indeed often published in the volume in good, if sometimes a bit pale, photographs. There is however no list of illustrations and the photographs are not supplied with information as to the size of the originals or the ratio of the photographic representations. The photographs are not numbered and the lists of text witnesses (the sigla) do not refer to them at all. This lack of cross-referencing makes working with the manuscripts a bit more inconvenient. For example, there is a photo (pp. 255-256) of an amulet-shaped tablet with the caption “the Middle Assyrian tablet in private possession” but no reference to its contents or to where it is edited in the book. Actually, it is edited and translated as part of a “comparative table of monthly cultic calendars” (pp. 250-254) and on p. 249 it is dubbed “cultic calendar of Tukulti-Ninurta I”. The critical apparatus is generally held to an absolute minimum, with only few but relevant comments on textual difficulties and emendations. However, a bibliography, a list of abbreviations and indices of manuscripts edited⁶ and of words cited and discussed would have been useful tools for the future work on these fascinating texts, which the present edition will undoubtedly spur.

Some of the interpretations offered by Livingstone in his introductions and in the two final chapters invite closer analysis. For instance, the fact that the performance of medicine and extispicy were often prohibited on the same dates according to the “Offering Bread Hemerology”, is explained by the suggestion that both involves coming into contact with blood and “a loose association with the phases of the moon and the menstrual cycle” (p. 104).⁷ According to the “Offering Bread Hemerology” the forbidden dates were 1st, 7th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 21st, 28th, 29th and 30th of the month of Nisannu, whereas on the 17th it was only the medical expert who should refrain from business. But there are more lists of favourable/unfavourable dates pertaining to the performance of extispicy.

⁶ Indices of sources according to museum number and to original publication are presented below as an addendum.

⁷ Livingstone made this suggestion already in 1998, in “The Use of Magic in the Assyrian and Babylonian Hemerologies and Menologies”, *Studi EpigRAfici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 15 pp. 59-67, also there with no corroboration.

Just as there were dates when it was inauspicious for the seer and the medical expert to perform their trade, the “Offering Bread Hemerology” lists dates where it was apparently unfortunate for the individual to seek a decision by divination. Thus, it was not suitable for a person to go to “judgement and (or of) divination” (*ana dīni (u) bārūti lā illak*)⁸ on the 2nd, the 4th and the 6th. Interestingly, these days do not coincide with the seer’s forbidden days adding to the number of days unsuitable for divination. Other sources again list other dates.⁹ The dates are indeed, as mentioned by Livingstone, partly associated with the lunar quarters: invisibility and reappearance of new moon (28th – 1st) first quarter on the 7th, full moon on the 14th, and third quarter on the 21st. The beginning and the end of the month were especially closely associated with divine decision making and the phases of the Moon played an important part in omen astrology. On the days around new moon, Sin and Šamaš were in conference and had to be treated with circumspection, on the 28th they made decisions for the individual’s days. But the theory of the connection with the lunar phases do not fit all the above mentioned favourable/unfavourable dates for the performance of extispicy. The 9th, and the 19th are not significant for the lunar cycle, neither are the dates (2nd, 4th and 6th) when a person is prohibited from making an oracular consultation. Also, the significance of (menstrual) blood and a cultural link between the menstrual and the lunar cycles has to be established and investigated to make this interpretation credible. What is striking is that the list of prohibitions often contains not two but three elements: “A physician should not reach out his hand to a sick man; an extispicy priest should not draw up a report; unsuitable for the fulfilment of a wish.”¹⁰ The performance of medicine and the fulfilment of a wish are quite often listed, together with other common undertakings, in extispicy texts from the first millennium,¹¹ which suggests that the “blood connection” is contrived.

The “Offering Bread Hemerology” contains two small rituals for two days in the month of Ābu. The first of these, which can be performed on the 19th of that month, concerns getting the better of

⁸ E.g. p. 108:33 which Livingstone translates: “He should attend neither court decision nor divination”.

⁹ The extispicy manual KAR 151 which collected various material salient to the seer, focused on the positive side and listed only favourable days for extispicy. In Nisan these were: 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 23rd and favourable each month was: 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, xth, 21st, 23rd, 24th, 26th, 27th. Some individual dates have special instructions: Extispicy should not be performed on the 3rd, the 14th, the 16th, 24th and 25th before Marduk, extispicy should be performed before Gula on the 23rd and not on the 5th, the 4th, the 6th, the 8th, the 10th, the 11th, the 12th, the 17th, the 22nd, but the 26th and 27th were favourable, so was the 13th if it was the day of full moon. See e.g. the edition U. Koch, *Secrets of Extispicy. The Chapter Multābiltu of the Babylonian Extispicy Series and Niširti bārīti Texts mainly from Aššurbanipal's Libraries*. (AOAT 326), Münster: Ugarit Verlag 2005, p. 295.

¹⁰ 1st: p. 107:3-5; 7th: p. 109:51-53(?); 9th: p. 109-110:62-64; 14th: p. 110-111:3-5; 19th: p.113:48-50; 21st: p. 113-114:66-68; 28th: p. 115:17-19; 29th: p. 116:39-41; 30th: p. 117:53-55. The only exception is the 4th: p. 108:33-34 and perhaps the 7th where the last line is fragmentary.

¹¹ See U. Koch, *Secrets of Extispicy*, passim.

an opponent. It is also known from an excerpt (VAT 8021, KAR 171),¹² which contains only this ritual and nothing else. Livingstone does not mention this text, but its' existence is interesting and suggests that such small rituals for specific purposes may have existed independently, or conversely that ad hoc excerpts were made from "The Offering Bread Hemerology" as from other scholarly texts.

In the final chapter "A Scientific Experiment in Hemerology", Livingstone reiterates his paper from 1993¹³ presenting statistical material to demonstrate that the injunctions of the hemerologies were actually followed in practice. Livingstone compared the dates of both private transactions, royal building enterprises and the performance of extispicy for the king and has demonstrated that they were indeed in good accordance with prescriptions of the hemerologies. The court set an example by following the prescriptions most closely. There is only one attestation of an extispicy presumably performed on the unsuitable date of the 28th,¹⁴ but since the text is broken, there is still the possibility that a collation may redeem the ancient diviners.

There is however a caveat:¹⁵ The dating of the queries is very often based on the assumption that the divination took place on the first day of the stipulated term (adannu). Very few reports actually have dates that specify when the extispicy was performed. That the first day of the adannu was indeed the same day as extispicy was performed need not always have been the case, in fact at least two queries seem to have been written or performed on another date than the beginning of the stipulated term (SAA 4 85 and 281). SAA 4 85 mentions as the period of validity: "from the beginning of the coming year until Du'uzu", i.e. in the spring months when campaigns were usually launched. Was it performed on Nisannu 1st? Or perhaps it was rather sometime in Addaru? SAA 4 281 defines the adannu as "from the 8th of this month Ābu (V) to the 8th day of Elūlu (VI)" but the report itself is dated to Addaru (XII) the Xth. Perhaps many enquiries for plans for the coming year

¹² Casaburi includes this text in her edition *Ūmē t̄ābūti "I giorni favorevoli"*, Padova: S.a.r.g.o.n. 2003. KAR 171 refers to the 29th day but the ritual is that of the 19th.

¹³ In "The Case of the Hemerologies: Official Cult, Learned Formulation and Popular Practice," in: E. Matsushima (ed.) *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo) March 20-22, 1992*, Heidelberg pp. 97-113.

¹⁴ SAA 4 5 = Klauber *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer 1913 no. 28 (1889-4-26, 26 Neo Babylonian script). According to the copy in Klauber 1913 the number 30 indicating the nights of the adannu is completely preserved, the transliteration in Starr 1990 however indicates that the sign is broken. If so then the adannu could have been 20 days which would have yielded the 8th as the date for the performance. The 8th would have been absolutely alright.

¹⁵ As I have argued in "Concepts and Perceptions of Time in Mesopotamian Divination", in Feliu et al. (eds.) *Time and History in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings from the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona 26-30 July 2010*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2013 pp. 127-142.

were performed in Addaru, in which case the dates of the adannu do not tell us anything about the date the extispicy actually was performed.

Livingstone argues (p. 3) based on the Sitz-im-Leben of the hemerologies that they are related but distinct from divinatory texts, since they are “for everybody and for every day” and not just for use in emergencies. However, the similarities are greater than the differences and there can be no doubt that the hemerologies were part and parcel of the diviner’s and scholar’s trade. In Akkadian, the almanacs were known collectively as *uttukku*, “Favourable Days”,¹⁶ and all calendar-centric texts were sometimes referred to simply as *biblāni* “portables”, with a meaning similar to the modern term “manual”.¹⁷ Different kinds of calendar divination texts could be combined within the same physical manuscript; for instance, calendar omens (*Šumma iqqur īpuš*) could be combined with a short or long version of the Babylonian Almanac,¹⁸ or the Babylonian Almanac could be combined with lists of favourable days.¹⁹ Lists or tables of favourable months for certain activities would often be combined with abbreviated hemerologies.²⁰ For instance, K 98²¹ + MS 2226²² combined at least these two types of calendar divination texts, and probably originally even more. Preserved are a tabular list of activities and suitable dates (related to *Šumma iqqur īpuš*)²³ and a list of lucky days, but the colophon reads:

“Favourable days for doing what one wants, or the day, on which any one may attain one’s wish: favourable. Together with 25 lines of commentary on it. Extracts from “If he destroys and builds” based on many tablets, “If a city is set on a hill”, “If he destroys and builds” and

¹⁶ Pp. 2-3. Written *u₄.meš dūg.ga* or syllabically *ú-tuk-ku* (KAR 147 r. 27 and CTN 4 58:56). In SAA 13 12, the term *ab-še-ge-da*, “favourable”, refers to an almanac. Reiner (“Fortune Telling in Mesopotamia,” JNES 19 (1960) pp. 23-35) noted the parallel to the Roman term *fasti* (originally “lawful” days) as a cover term for calendars and almanacs, especially concerning religious and public events.

¹⁷ In SAA 10 6 r11 “*biblānu*” clearly refers to the Babylonian Almanac or the Offering Bread Hemerology. Since the line quotes a passage concerning the 15th day, *biblānu* cannot mean “omens referring to the new Moon”. The catalogue entry “*diš iq-qur dū-uš ; bi-bil-a-ni*” (K 14067+Rm 150:7; Lambert in “A Late Assyrian Catalogue of Literary and Scholarly Texts,” in B.L. Eichler et al (eds.), Kramer Anniversary Volume (AOAT 25), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer 1976, pp 313-318) *biblānu* may be an explanation of *Iqqur īpuš* (see Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux des signes et des mois (séries iqqur īpuš)*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion 1965, pp. 4-5) rather than a reference to another calendar text.

¹⁸ RS 25141 (Arnaud 1993, 123-27, pl. I); Msk 74163a (Emar IV/4 no. 605 and 608); K 106 (DA 100-2); VAT 14280 (MIO 5 310-11 pl. XI) mentions *Šumma iqqur īpuš* in the colophon; BRM 4 24.

¹⁹ ND 5491+ (CTN 4 56) and ND 5497/9 (CTN 4 57).

²⁰ ND 5491+ (CTN 4 56); VAT 9591 (MIO 5, 312, 320-1 pl. XIV); ND 5431 (CTN 4 53); VAT 09663 KAR 177.

²¹ Treated as source O for “Lists of Lucky Days”. Photograph published on-line on CDLI (P393756).

²² From the Schøyen Collection. Photograph of the obverse of the tablet is published on-line on:

http://www.schoyencollection.com/calendars_files/ms2226.jpg

²³ This activity based calendar table is found alone on other manuscripts, for instance VAT 10375 (RSO 32 p. 196), VAT 10912 (MIO 5 p. 317 pl. XVI), VAT 10919 (unpublished), VAT 13799 + 16463 (MIO 5 pp. 314-317 pl. XVI, XVI) and STT 304.

“Favourable (Days)”. (Written) according to an original from Babylon belonging to Nabû-zuqup-kena, scribe.”

The combination of calendar omens (*Šumma iqqur īpuš*) with lists of favourable days and other calendar texts, which is attested already in the Emar texts, demonstrates the very close relationship between the two genres.

The hemerologies are complex texts uniting traits from popular belief, state cult and scholarship. A. Livingstone’s excellent edition provides a great foundation for future study of these interrelations and for the study of the meaning of time in Ancient Mesopotamia.

Ulla Susanne Koch, Copenhagen

Addendum:²⁴

1. Index of manuscripts edited according to museum number

Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum	Original Publication
?	Lists of Lucky Days	e	RA 22, 157-8
1308/z	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat3	KBo 36 54
1882-5-22, 528	Fruit, Lord of the Month	unplaced	p. 234 (edition)
1883-1-18, 149	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep3	LAS 243 (SAA 10 379)
1883-1-18, 206	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep6	SAA 8 233
1930.351a	The Babylonian Almanac	Ki	OECT 11, 96
51/15	Prostration Hemerology	B	STT 302
51/19	The Babylonian Almanac	Huz	STT 301
51/81	The Prostration Hemerology	C	STT 303
721/z	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat4	KBo 36 55
BM 0032641 (1876-11-17, 2389)	The Babylonian Almanac	Bab?*	5R 48-49
BM 0034602	The Prostration Hemerology	a	Iraq 23 pl. XLII
BM 0046553 (1881-8-30, 19)	The Babylonian Almanac	Bors	p. 76
BM 0046562 (1881-8-30, 28)	The Babylonian Almanac	Unkn.1*	p. 77
BM 0050634 (1882-3-23, 1625+1679)	Lists of Lucky Days	b	pp. 100-101
BM 0052757	The Babylonian Almanac	Si3	p. 78
BM 0056058 = 1882-7-14, 418	The Babylonian Almanac	Si4	PSBA 33 p.159 pl. 22
BM 0059775	The Babylonian Almanac	Si2	p. 79

²⁴ CBII = Labat, Un calendrier babylonien des travaux *des signes et des mois* (séries *iqqur īpuš*). Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion 1965.

Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum	Original Publication
BM 0064186 = 1882-9-18, 4161	The Babylonian Almanac	Si6*	p. 75
BM 0064359 = 1882-9-18, 4335	The Babylonian Almanac	Si5*	p. 75
BM 0067304	The Babylonian Almanac	Si1	RA 82 pp. 151-55
BM 0082761 = 1894-7-17, 78	Lists of Lucky Days	c	p. 100
BM 0134501	The Prostration Hemerology	D	CT 51 161
BM 099038 (1904-10-9, 67)	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	D	Unpublished
Bo 5408	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat1	KUB 4 42
Bo 5427	The Offering Bread Hemerology	l	KUB 4 44
Bo 5513	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat2	KUB 4 43
Bu 1888-5-12, 11	The Eclipse Hemerology	Single ms	CT 4 5-6; ZA 3 pp. 243-248
Bu 1891-5-9, 156	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep2	SAA 8 162
IM ??	The Babylonian Almanac	Si8*	Iraq 64 pp. 249-259
IM 132596	The Babylonian Almanac	Si7*	Iraq 64 pp. 249-258
IM 50964	Bilingual Hemerology		Sumer 9 p. 21 pl. 28
IM 50969	The Babylonian Almanac	DK*	Sumer 8 pp. 17-36
IM 63388	The Babylonian Almanac	BA	Sumer 17 pp. 17-59
IM 63389	Lists of Lucky Days	a	Sumer 17 pp. 17-60
K 00098 + MS 2226	Lists of Lucky Days	O	ZA 2 pp. 333-335
K 00106	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin1	DA 100-102
K 00283	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin6	ZA 18, 229
K 00738	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep1	SAA 8 232
K 00920	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep4	SAA 8 164
K 01599	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep5	SAA 8 567
K 02514 + 4101	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Nisannu 2	p. 238
K 02607 + 006482 + 008068	The Prostration Hemerology	E	pp. 172-173; AMT 6/6 (K 02607)
K 02809 +	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Ṭebētu	pp. 236-237; CBII pl. xlv
K 03269 + 07080	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Araḥsamnu	pp. 239-240; 4R 33* (K 03269); CBII pl. xlv (K 07080)
K 03560	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin5*	p. 80
K 03564	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin4*	pp. 81-82

Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum	Original Publication
K 03634	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin2	ZA 18 p. 228
K 03769	The Prostration Hemerology	F	pp. 174-175
K 04068 + 8372 + 8373 + 8374 + 9432 + 11879 + 12000y + Sm 1657 + 1879-7-8, 162	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Simānu	pp. 241-242; ZA 19 p. 381 (Sm 1657); ZA 19 p. 380 (1879-7-8, 162)
K 04093	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Addaru 2	pp. 243-244; CBII pl. xlvi
K 04231	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Elūlu 2	pp. 245-246; CBII p. xliv
K 04326	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin7	ZA 18 p. 230
K 06695	The Prostration Hemerology	G	p. 171; Bab 1 p. 205
K 07079	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Šabātu	p. 247
K 11663	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced	Mentioned p. 201
K 12000h	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin3	ZA 18 p. 228
K 1200S, T, R, V	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced	Mentioned p. 201
K 15161	The Offering Bread Hemerology	F	p. 159
MLC 2627	Lists of Lucky Days	d	BRM 4 24
MS 2781	Lists of Lucky Days	p	p. 99
Msk 731085e	The Babylonian Almanac	E3	Emar IV/ no. 606
Msk 74163a	The Babylonian Almanac	E2*	Emar IV/4 605b and 608
Msk 74266a	The Babylonian Almanac	E4	Emar IV/4 607
Msk 74266c	The Babylonian Almanac	E1*	Emar IV/4 605a
ND 4405/75	The Babylonian Almanac	Kal2	CTN 4 54
ND 5402	Lists of Lucky Days	N	CTN 4 55
ND 5431	Lists of Lucky Days	L	CTN 4 53
ND 5491+ (IM 67595) ²⁵	Lists of Lucky Days	K	CTN 4 56
ND 5491+ (IM 67595)	The Babylonian Almanac	Kal1*	CTN 4 56
ND 5497/9	Lists of Lucky Days	M	CTN 4 57
ND 5545 (IM 64185)	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	C	CTN 4 58
RS 25.141	The Offering Bread Hemerology	m	SMEA 32 pp. 123-27, pl. I
Sm 0208	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced	
Sm 0948	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Nisannu?	p. 248
VAT 00003	The Babylonian Almanac	Unkn.2	MIO 5 pp. 310-311 p. XII

²⁵ Wrongly listed as IM 5491 p. 84.

Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum	Original Publication
VAT 08780	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	B	KAR 147
VAT 09591	Lists of Lucky Days	H	MIO 5 pp. 312, 320-1 pl. XIV
VAT 09663	Lists of Lucky Days	F and G	KAR 177
VAT 09663	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	A	KAR 177
VAT 09987	Lists of Lucky Days	I	MIO 5 p. 314, pl. XIII
VAT 10110+VAT 10653	The Offering Bread Hemerology	B	KAR 176; MIO 5 pl. II
VAT 10278	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash2	MIO 5 pp. 306-308 pl. IX
VAT 10303	The Offering Bread Hemerology	H	MIO 5 p. 303 pl. I
VAT 10459	The Offering Bread Hemerology	I	MIO 5 p. 303 pl. VII
VAT 10480	Lists of Lucky Days	J	MIO 5 pp. 314, 317-8 pl. XII XVI
VAT 10503 + VAT 10394	The Offering Bread Hemerology	C	KAR 179; MIO 5 pl. III-VI
VAT 10564	The Offering Bread Hemerology	A	KAR 178
VAT 10636	The Offering Bread Hemerology	K	KAR 110
VAT 10708	The Offering Bread Hemerology	G	MIO 5 pp. 299, 301 pl. I
VAT 11268	The Offering Bread Hemerology	J	MIO 5 pp. 303-304 pl. II
VAT 11614	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash1	MIO 5 p. 310, pl. X
VAT 11629	The Offering Bread Hemerology	E	MIO 5 p. 300 pl. I
VAT 14280	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash3	MIO 5 p. 310-11 pl. XI
VAT 14525	The Babylonian Almanac	Uruk*	LKU 53
VAT 14526	The Offering Bread Hemerology	d	LKU 52
VAT 14529	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	e	LKU 54

2. Index of manuscripts edited according to original publication:

Original Publication	Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum
5R 48-49	BM 0032641 (1876-11-17, 2389)	The Babylonian Almanac	Bab?*
BRM 4 24	MLC 2627	Lists of Lucky Days	d
CT 4 5-6; ZA 3 pp. 243-248	Bu 1888-5-12, 11	The Eclipse Hemerology	Single ms
CT 51 161	BM 0134501	The Prostration Hemerology	D

Original Publication	Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum
CTN 4 53	ND 5431	Lists of Lucky Days	L
CTN 4 54	ND 4405/75	The Babylonian Almanac	Kal2
CTN 4 55	ND 5402	Lists of Lucky Days	N
CTN 4 56	ND 5491+ (IM 67595)	Lists of Lucky Days	K
CTN 4 56	ND 5491+ (IM 67595)	The Babylonian Almanac	Kal1*
CTN 4 57	ND 5497/9	Lists of Lucky Days	M
CTN 4 58	ND 5545 (IM 64185)	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	C
DA 100-102	K 00106	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin1
Emar IV/ no. 606	Msk 731085e	The Babylonian Almanac	E3
Emar IV/4 605a	Msk 74266c	The Babylonian Almanac	E1*
Emar IV/4 605b and 608	Msk 74163a	The Babylonian Almanac	E2*
Emar IV/4 607	Msk 74266a	The Babylonian Almanac	E4
Iraq 23 pl. XLII	BM 0034602	The Prostration Hemerology	a
Iraq 64 pp. 249-258	IM 132596	The Babylonian Almanac	Si7*
Iraq 64 pp. 249-259	IM ??	The Babylonian Almanac	Si8*
KAR 110	VAT 10636	The Offering Bread Hemerology	K
KAR 147	VAT 08780	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	B
KAR 176; MIO 5 pl. II	VAT 10110+VAT 10653	The Offering Bread Hemerology	B
KAR 177	VAT 09663	Lists of Lucky Days	F and G
KAR 177	VAT 09663	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	A
KAR 178	VAT 10564	The Offering Bread Hemerology	A
KAR 179; MIO 5 pl. III-VI	VAT 10503 + VAT 10394	The Offering Bread Hemerology	C
KBo 36 54	1308/z	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat3
KBo 36 55	721/z	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat4
KUB 4 42	Bo 5408	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat1
KUB 4 43	Bo 5513	The Babylonian Almanac	Hat2
KUB 4 44	Bo 5427	The Offering Bread Hemerology	I
LAS 243 (SAA 10 379)	1883-1-18, 149	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep3
LKU 52	VAT 14526	The Offering Bread Hemerology	d
LKU 53	VAT 14525	The Babylonian Almanac	Uruk*
LKU 54	VAT 14529	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttaš	e
MIO 5 p. 300 pl. I	VAT 11629	The Offering Bread Hemerology	E
MIO 5 p. 303 pl. I	VAT 10303	The Offering Bread Hemerology	H
MIO 5 p. 303 pl. VII	VAT 10459	The Offering Bread Hemerology	I
MIO 5 p. 310, pl. X	VAT 11614	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash1
MIO 5 p. 310-11 pl. XI	VAT 14280	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash3
MIO 5 p. 314, pl. XIII	VAT 09987	Lists of Lucky Days	I
MIO 5 pp. 299, 301 pl. I	VAT 10708	The Offering Bread Hemerology	G
MIO 5 pp. 303-304 pl. II	VAT 11268	The Offering Bread Hemerology	J

Original Publication	Museum No.	Livingstone	Siglum
MIO 5 pp. 306-308 pl. IX	VAT 10278	The Babylonian Almanac	Ash2
MIO 5 pp. 310-311 p. XII	VAT 00003	The Babylonian Almanac	Unkn.2
MIO 5 pp. 312, 320-1 pl. XIV	VAT 09591	Lists of Lucky Days	H
MIO 5 pp. 314, 317-8 pl. XII XVI	VAT 10480	Lists of Lucky Days	J
OECT 11, 96	1930.351a	The Babylonian Almanac	Ki
p. 075	BM 0064186 = 1882-9-18, 4161	The Babylonian Almanac	Si6*
p. 075	BM 0064359 = 1882-9-18, 4335	The Babylonian Almanac	Si5*
p. 076	BM 0046553 (1881-8-30, 19)	The Babylonian Almanac	Bors
p. 077	BM 0046562 (1881-8-30, 28)	The Babylonian Almanac	Unkn.1*
p. 078	BM 0052757	The Babylonian Almanac	Si3
p. 079	BM 0059775	The Babylonian Almanac	Si2
p. 080	K 03560	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin5*
p. 099	MS 2781	Lists of Lucky Days	p
p. 100	BM 0082761 = 1894-7-17, 78	Lists of Lucky Days	c
p. 159	K 15161	The Offering Bread Hemerology	F
p. 171; Bab 1 p. 205	K 06695	The Prostration Hemerology	G
p. 201 (mentioned)	K 11663	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced
p. 201 (mentioned)	K 1200S, T, R, V	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced
p. 234 (edition)	1882-5-22, 528	Fruit, Lord of the Month	unplaced
p. 238	K 02514 + 4101	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Nisannu 2
p. 247	K 07079	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Šabātu
p. 248	Sm 0948	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Nisannu (?)
pp. 100-101	BM 0050634 (1882-3-23, 1625+1679)	Lists of Lucky Days	b
pp. 172-173; AMT 6/6 (K 02607)	K 02607 + 006482 + 008068	The Prostration Hemerology	E
pp. 174-175	K 03769	The Prostration Hemerology	F
pp. 236-237; CBII pl. xlv	K 02809 +	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Ṭebētu
pp. 239-240; 4R 33* (K 03269); CBII pl. xliv (K 07080)	K 03269 + 07080	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Arašsamnu
pp. 241-242; ZA 19 p. 381 (Sm 1657); ZA 19 p. 380 (1879-7-8, 162)	K 04068 + 8372 + 8373 + 8374 + 9432 + 11879 + 12000y + Sm 1657 + 1879-7-8, 162	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Simānu
pp. 243-244; CBII pl. xlvi	K 04093	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Addaru 2
pp. 245-246; CBII p. xliv	K 04231	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Elūlu 2
pp. 81-82	K 03564	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin4*
PSBA 33 p.159 pl. 22	BM 0056058 = 1882-7-14, 418	The Babylonian Almanac	Si4

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RA 22, 157-8	?	Lists of Lucky Days	e
RA 82 pp. 151-55	BM 0067304	The Babylonian Almanac	Si1
SMEA 32 pp. 123-27, pl. I	RS 25.141	The Offering Bread Hemerology	m
STT 301	51/19	The Babylonian Almanac	Huz
STT 302	51/15	Prostration Hemerology	B
STT 303	51/81	The Prostration Hemerology	C
Sumer 17 pp. 17-59	IM 63388	The Babylonian Almanac	BA
Sumer 17 pp. 17-60	IM 63389	Lists of Lucky Days	a
Sumer 8 pp. 17-36	IM 50969	The Babylonian Almanac	DK*
Sumer 9 p. 21 pl. 28	IM 50964	Bilingual Hemerology	
SAA 8 162	Bu 1891-5-9, 156	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep2
SAA 8 164	K 00920	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep4
SAA 8 232	K 00738	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep1
SAA 8 233	1883-1-18, 206	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep6
SAA 8 567	K 01599	The Babylonian Almanac	Rep5
Unpublished	BM 099038 (1904-10-9, 67)	The Hemerology for Nazimaruttash	D
Unpublished	Sm 0208	Fruit, Lord of the Month	Unplaced
ZA 18 p. 228	K 03634	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin2
ZA 18 p. 228	K 12000h	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin3
ZA 18 p. 230	K 04326	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin7
ZA 18, 229	K 00283	The Babylonian Almanac	Nin6
ZA 2 pp. 333-335	K 00098 + MS 2226	Lists of Lucky Days	O