

Abhandlung

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The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ Revisited: An Everyman’s Manual at the King’s Court

Abstract: The ‘Prostration Hemerology’, with its seemingly random selection of dates and plethora of unparalleled prescriptions – such as the towing of boats upstream, the kissing of ecstasies, and the impregnating of street women –, is one of the most peculiar hemerologies in Alasdair Livingstone’s recent anthology of the genre. This article attempts a new reconstruction of the text which differs from Livingstone’s in several respects. To this end it uses eight previously unpublished manuscripts, identified in the collections of the Ancient Orient Museum of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, the University Museum (Philadelphia), and the British Museum. Thanks to these and the collation of the other five tablets used by Livingstone, an almost complete reconstruction of the text is now possible. It reveals itself to be an influential hemerology: as well as being widely cited by scholars at the Assyrian court, it was extensively quoted in later hemerological compilations.

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The recent publication of Livingstone’s awaited study on hemerologies has not exhausted the wealth of the genre.¹ Several hemerological treatises remain unedited; and many new manuscripts of texts edited by Livingstone still await publication in the world’s museums.² This paper revisits a text dubbed by Livingstone ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (Livingstone 2013, 161–175). Eight previously unpublished manuscripts of the text, from the collections of the British Museum, the Ancient Orient Museum of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, and the University Museum (Philadelphia), have been identified and are published here for the first time. In addition, the five manuscripts edited by Livingstone have been collated, and his reconstruction of the text appraised. The new tablets, together with the collation of those already known and the discovery of many excerpts in Assyrian royal correspondence

and late hemerological compilations, bring the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ to the verge of complete recovery.

The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ contains ritual instructions and predictions for all the months of the year except Tašritu. These instructions usually require worshipping a particular god or cosmic element, performing symbolic actions (such as kissing old women or towing boats), or eating or avoiding the consumption of certain foods. Each month receives two, three or four of these instructions, with a total of forty entries. Due to its short length, the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ often appears combined with other short hemerologies in “variorum tablets.” In such tablets it is occasionally difficult to ascertain where one hemerological treatise ends and the next one begins. The new reconstruction of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ hemerology adopted here suggests a division of the treatises compiled in “variorum tablets” which differs from Livingstone’s in several respects.

In two Ninevite manuscripts of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (Nin1 and Nin3) the list of twelve months is followed by a rubric stating the number of text lines, and then by a list of prognoses for the first few days of the month Tašritu (VII). Livingstone assumes that these prognoses for Tašritu also belong to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (Livingstone 1993, 100; 2013, 161–175) and includes among its manuscripts two tablets that begin with the Tašritu section. Close study of the tablets suggests otherwise: the

¹ Thanks are expressed to Walther Sallaberger and Mary Frazer, who read this paper and made several corrections and suggestions. All remaining mistakes are the authors’ sole responsibility. The abbreviations used here follow those of W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch III* (Wiesbaden 1981) ix–xvi. Note in addition CCP = Cuneiform Commentaries Project (<http://ccp.yale.edu/catalog>).

² For a list of new hemerological treatises as well as of new manuscripts of already known hemerologies, see Jiménez (forthcoming).

Tašřītu section is conspicuously absent from other manuscripts of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, which either contain that text alone (Huz1, Huz2, Sip1, Sip2, and possibly Nin2) or combine it with other hemerological treatises (Bab1 and Sip3). Consequently it should be assumed that the Tašřītu section represents a different hemerological treatise, which was appended to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ in Nin1 and Nin3 to emend the fact that the Tašřītu section of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ does not contain any prognoses for this month.³ The case of MS Bab1 is particularly relevant in this respect: it contains the section on Tašřītu, but only *after* another hemerological treatise that immediately follows the ‘Prostration Hemerology’.⁴ The position of the Tašřītu section in this tablet thus leaves no doubt that it is a different text.

The ‘Tašřītu Hemerology’ should be recognized as a text on its own, in spite of the fact that, as is the case with the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, its short length means that it was often combined with other hemerological texts. The month of Tašřītu, the seventh of the Babylonian calendar, was a particularly ominous one: several of the manuscripts of the ‘Tašřītu Hemerology’ were copied onto amulet-shaped tablets, and their function was therefore probably apotropaic. This was the case of ND 5545 (CTN 4, 58) and VAT 8780 (KAR 147).

Livingstone believes that these two amulet-shaped tablets belong not to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ but to a composition that he calls ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’.⁵ However, they are complete tablets that make no

mention of that king and contain prognoses for only the first eight days of the month Tašřītu, preceded by a short pseudo-Sumerian section reminiscent of the Old Babylonian myth of the “Seventh (day) of the Seventh (month)” (Cavigneaux/Donbaz 2007, 300). Their rubric, in fact, calls the text “Hemerology of Tašřītu” (*utukku ša tašřīti*).

Among the tablets classified by Livingstone as part of this ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’, only one (VAT 9663 = KAR 177) mentions that king. This long, amulet-shaped tablet is in fact not one homogeneous hemerology but a compilation of several different hemerologies. It contains on the obverse a digest from Iqqur ipuš (Labat 1965, 11f.),⁶ followed by a list of auspicious days for each month. Only these two sections – the Iqqur ipuš digest and the list of auspicious days – are said in a famous rubric to have been “extracted and selected” from seven tablets from seven cities for the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš.⁷ After this rubric, the first section of the reverse (r. i 4–38) is a list of auspicious days for each month, followed by a short hemerology for the month of Nisannu (r. i 41 – ii 7).⁸ This section is seamlessly followed by two greatly variant hemerologies for Tašřītu (ii 8 – iii 45 and iii 46 – iv 44), the first of which is said in a rubric to have an Assyrian *Vorlage* and the second, to have a Babylonian one. The reverse thus does not belong to a “Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš” (which consists only of the hemerologies on the obverse),⁹ but represents an independent compilation. KAR 147 contains therefore not one hemerology, but a compilation of several.¹⁰

³ The fact that two manuscripts (Nin1 and Nin3) contain the same appendix becomes explicable in view of their other shared identical features: they seem to have been copied from the same tablet (see the “Study of the manuscripts” below for details). Note, moreover, that both manuscripts include a rubric dividing the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ from the Tašřītu section, which suggests that these texts were regarded as different compositions.

⁴ Some obvious parallels between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian manuscripts of the ‘Tašřītu Hemerology’ and the purported ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’ are not recognized by Livingstone, and as a consequence many clear restorations and interpretations have not been incorporated into his edition (see also Marti 2014, 173f.). For instance, K.2607+ r. 27 (MS Nin1 here) is read by Livingstone [...] x LI IŠ ŠUB x [...] (Livingstone 2013, 170: 80), a sequence that should be read in view of the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’ (Livingstone 2013, 190: 36) as [šī-rik-ŧ]u* li-is*-ru-u[k* (note is*, with Neo-Assyrian confusion of sibilants). Similarly, in ll. 84–85 he reads in MS a É MUĤALDIN x [...], which should be corrected to kal* MU.A[N*.NA. In the same line, he translates [... G]IG NU TE (*ibid.* l. 85) as “he should not approach a sick person,” whereas parallels make it clear that it should be restored as [kal šatti G]IG NU TE-[šú]*, “disease shall not approach him during the whole year.”

⁵ Note that in Livingstone’s (2013, 177) short discussion of the text, “VAT 8780” should be understood as “VAT 9663,” and vice versa.

⁶ The first columns of the obverse list activities and associate them with months: Livingstone (2013, 178f.) edits only partially the list of activities, without identifying it as Iqqur ipuš and without referring to Labat’s edition, which is however free from some of the mistakes that slipped into Livingstone’s text.

⁷ This point is also recognized by Marti (2014, 163). On this rubric, see Heeßel (2011).

⁸ This section is duplicated in two other manuscripts believed by Livingstone to belong to the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’, LKU 54 and BM 99038 (copied in Geers’ Heft G 13–14). However, neither of them constitutes a duplicate of KAR 147: the former contains in its first four lines a hemerology apparently otherwise unattested, and then the short hemerology for Nisannu followed by a colophon. The latter, BM 99038, contains in its first 16 lines a seemingly unparalleled composition, followed by the short Nisannu hemerology and then the Tašřītu hemerology (the tablet seems to contain a colophon after this). The presence of the sequence of Nisannu hemerology followed by Tašřītu hemerology in BM 99038 could represent the influence of a compilation of the same kind as KAR 147 on this tablet.

⁹ Note that the fragment VAT 11609, edited by Heeßel (2011), constitutes the *only* known duplicate of the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’. Interestingly, the traces preserved after the rubric in VAT 11609 do not correspond with those of KAR 147, thus suggesting that it might have contained a text different from the one that follows the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’ in KAR 147.

¹⁰ The existence of these “variorum tablets,” i.e., tablets in which

In turn, two manuscripts that combine the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ with other texts are classified by Livingstone not as exemplars of this suppositious ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’, but as manuscripts of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’. The first one, BM 34602 (Iraq 23, pl. xlii),¹¹ contains the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’¹² followed by a short section with omens concerning a fire in a palace in each of the months of the year, which probably belong to the series Iqqur ipuš. The second tablet erroneously classified by Livingstone as belonging to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, K.6695, contains in its first six lines a list of favorable days, concluding with a rubric (UD^{mes} šá [...]). This rubric is followed by the Tašrītu hemerology, which breaks after the 3rd day. These tablets thus contain not a single line of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, but rather the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ combined with other texts of hemerological nature: Iqqur ipuš and a list of favourable days.

In conclusion, the tablets classified by Livingstone as belonging either to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ or to the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’ should be classified differently. Three basic hemerologies are present in them: (1) the ‘Hemerology for Nazi-Maruttaš’ as it has been re-defined above (a compilation consisting in a digest of Iqqur ipuš and a list of propitious days), (2) the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ (a text concerned with the first few days of the seventh month), and (3) the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (which contains forty prognoses for the twelve months of the calendar). Since the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ lacks prognoses for the month of Tašrītu, some manuscripts combine it with the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’. Other manuscripts contain instead either the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ alone or the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ alone (thus CTN 4 58 and KAR 147). The combination of the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ with other hemerological texts occurs e.g. in KAR 177.

several hemerologies are copied one after the other (see below), may pose some problems for the delimitation and classification of the individual texts. There is in general little information on the Mesopotamian native designation of the individual hemerologies, but as Marti (2014, 164) has stated, it is unlikely that there ever existed long hemerological series apart from Iqqur ipuš and Inbu bēl arḫi.

11 The tablet, which belongs to the second Spartali collection (Sp. 2,78) and thus comes probably from Babylon, was recognized as a duplicate to KAR 147 and dupls. already by Labat (1961) and also by Casaburi (2000), an important edition not cited by Livingstone.

12 The first line of BM 34602, only partially read by Livingstone and unjustifiably dubbed as “text corrupt” (Livingstone 2013, 167), is in fact to be read, after collation and *pace* Marti (2014, 175), as [𒀭 ina] ⁱⁱⁱ DU₆ UD 1.KAM^v a-na É LÚ.KURUN*.NAM* KU₄* DIN* [uttar kurummassu ana Ea liškun magir], i.e., the same line as in the rest of the duplicates (the same writing is incidentally attested in BM 34090+ iii 34, MS Bab1 here).

The ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ and its forerunners have been edited on multiple occasions.¹³ Its text is preserved in many manuscripts and has been completely recovered: no new edition of it thus seems necessary. However, the text of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is only partially recovered in Livingstone’s edition, and the identification of the new manuscripts calls for a fresh appraisal of it. The most important new manuscripts, Sip1 and Sip2, have long been known to duplicate the text of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’: they are mentioned, for instance, in R. Borger’s HKL (1975, 307), and were copied in F. W. Geers’ notebook Ac.¹⁴ The remaining six previously unpublished manuscripts (Bab1, BabVar1–2, Nin1a-b, and Sip3) have been identified by E. Jiménez.

The tablets from the Istanbul Sippar collection (Sip1–2) are published here with the kind permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Photos of Sip1 taken by Luise Ehelolf in the 1930s, now kept in the archives of the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Ph.K. 400–401), were kindly provided by Ms. Alrun Gutow with the permission of both the Vorderasiatisches Museum and the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. The previously unpublished tablets from the British Museum (Bab1 and Nin1a-b) are published here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. In MS Bab1, the pieces BM 34090 and BM 34416+ were joined in 2010 by J. C. Fincke, who generously agreed to the publication of the tablet here. The fragment BM 34421 was identified and joined by Jiménez.¹⁵ The University Museum tablet (Sip3) is published courtesy of the Penn Museum. Photographs of the Sultantepe tablets Huz1–2 have been provided here with the kind permission of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.¹⁶

13 Bilingual hemerologies concerning the first days of Tašrītu, and in particular the seventh, are known already in Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian times (Gurney 1953, 25 no. 28; Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1993, 96–104; Cavigneaux/Donbaz 2007). They contain an early form of some of the prognoses that appear in the later ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’.

14 Some one hundred copies of tablets from Scheil’s Sippar excavations are collected in Geers’ Heft Ac. As can be inferred from the recently published Istanbul correspondence of F. R. Kraus (Schmidt 2014, 1257. 1278f. 1288. 1303. 1349 and passim), they were produced during Geers’ short stay in Istanbul, from June to September 1947.

15 The tablet was identified when studying transliterations of fragments in W. G. Lambert’s Notebook 3 (Folio 9368), kindly made available by Prof. Andrew R. George.

16 Sections 2 and 3 and the philological commentary have been written by E. Jiménez, section 4 by S. Adalı. The tablets in the University Museum and the British Museum were studied and photographed by Jiménez, those in Istanbul and Ankara by Adalı. Both authors are responsible for the text edition as well as for the final version of the article.

1 Edition

1.1 List of Manuscripts

Babylon

Bab1: BM 34090 (Sp. 189)+ BM 34416 (Sp. 535)+ BM 34421 (Sp. 541)+ BM 34440 (Sp. 564)

188 × 101 (174^m) × 33 mm

Photo on p. 158

// i and iv lost, ii 27–**41** & 'Lying Down Menology' (see fn. 54) & 'Tašritu Hemerology'

BabVar1: BM 34584 (Sp. 2,56+ Sp. 2,151+ Sp. 2,647+ 82–7-4,81+ 82–7-4,146+ 82–7-4,182)

Jiménez (forthcoming)

BabVar2: BM 47498 (81–11–3,203)

84 × 67 × 21 mm

Jiménez (forthcoming)

Sippar

Sip1: Si.97

73 × 88 × 19 mm

Copied by Geers (Heft Ac 22), photo on p. 170 f.

// obv. **1–23**, rev. **24–40**

Sip2: Si.828

38 × 53 × 18 mm

Copied by Geers (Heft Ac 35), photo on p. 172

// obv. 17–23, rev. **25–34**

Sip3: CBS 562

64 × 51 × 24 mm

Photo on p. 162

// rev. ii' 36–**41**

Huzirina

Huz1: SU 51/15

70 × 73 mm

STT 302 (copy), photo on p. 174

// obv. **1–15**, rev. 29–**40** (with rubric)

Huz2: SU 51/81

65 × 53 mm

STT 303 (copy), photo on p. 176

// obv. 5–15, rev. **17–29**

Nineveh

Nin1a: K.13948

32 × 29 × 10 mm

Photo on p. 167

// 8–9

Nin1b: K.13825

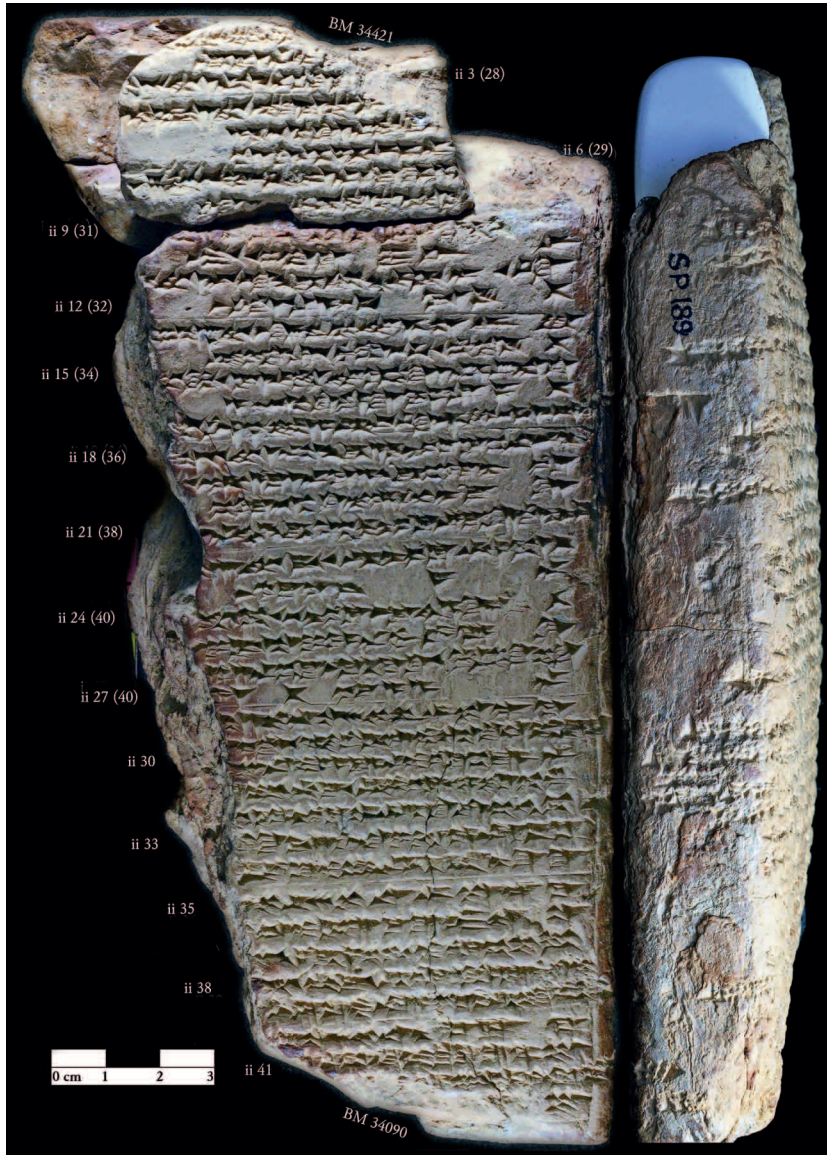
39 × 27 × 11 mm

Photo on p. 167

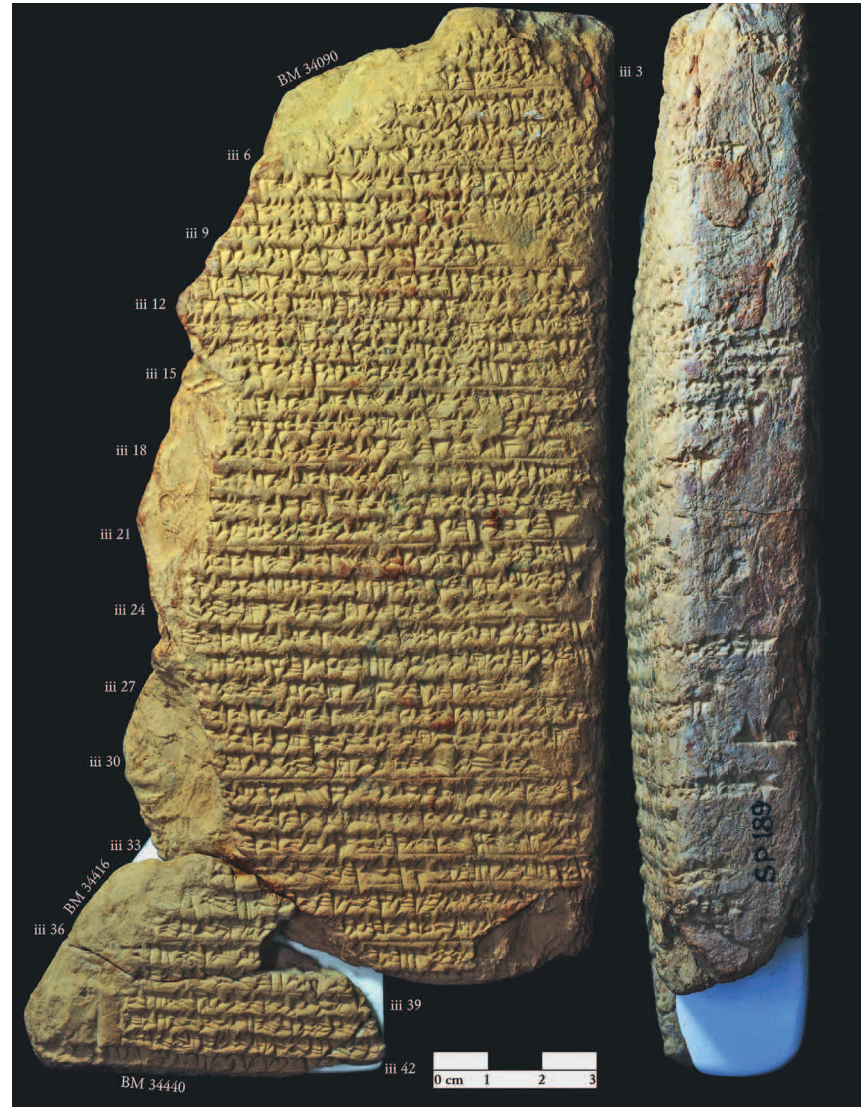
// 13–19

Nin1c: K.2607+ K.6482+ K.8068

133 (166^m) × 84 × 20 mm



MS Bab1 obv (BM 34090+). The numbers in parentheses refer to the lines of the 'Prostration Hemerology' in the present edition.



MS Bab1 rev (BM 34090+)

AMT 6/6 [K.2607]; Bab. 1, 204 [K.6482] and Bab. 1, 205 f [K.8068]; Virolleaud (1903, 19 f. [K.6482]) (copies); Livingstone (2013, 172 f.) (photo), photo on p. 164

// obv. 25–35, rev. 36–40 (with rubric) & ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ (1st–7th day, with rubric, the tablet breaks right before the colophon)

Nin2: K.3769

73 (120^m) × 78 × 25 mm

3R 55, no. 5; Bab. 4, 119; Virolleaud (1903, 19 f.) (copies); Livingstone (2013, 174 f.) (photo), photo on p. 165

// obv. 13–26, rev. 27–37

Nin3: BM 134501 (1932–12–12,496)

118 (174^m) × 84 × 23 mm

CT 51, 161 (copy), photo on p. 160

// obv. 18–34, rev. 35–40 (with rubric) & ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’ (1st–7th day)

Some fragments of the Sippar tablets have become detached since they were photographed by Luise Ehelolf (1930s) and later copied by Geers (1947). Signs still visible on Frau Ehelolf’s photos and Geers’ copies, but no longer on the tablet, are marked with a circellus (°) in the transliteration below. The same symbol also marks the traces copied by Gurney at the upper part of the reverse of Huz2 (line 17), now lost. The line numbers in parentheses refer to the line numbers in Livingstone’s edition.

1.2 Score edition

(§ 1) 1. ina Nisanni ūmi 4 ana Marduk liškēn ittašu lišēdi [šum]u u išdīhu iššakkanšu

Sip1 o. 1. [o o o o o o o o o o o o o] ‘GISKIM¹°-[BI o o o o] ù° ‘iš¹-di-ḫi ‘GAR¹-[šú]

Huz1 o. 1. [𒀭] ina ^{iti}BÁRA UD 4.KÁM ana ^d[AMAR.UTU] ‘liš¹-[ken ...]

BabVar2 iii 1–4. 𒀭 ina ^{iti}BÁRA UD ‘4¹.[KAM^v] | ana ^dAMAR.UTU liš-ke[n] | ‘GISKIM-šú¹ | li-še-di [šú-m]u ù | iš-di-ḫu GAR-šú

2. ūmi 6 ana Bēlet-ilī liškēn ana sinništi liḫi kašād šibūti libbašu iṭāb

Sip1 o. 2. [o o o o o] ‘liš-ken¹ ‘ana¹ ‘MUNUS¹ TE-ḫi K[UR-á]d ÁŠ ŠÀ-BI DÙG.G[A]

Huz1 o. 2. [𒀭] UD 6.KÁM ana D[INGIR].‘MAḪ¹* liš-[ken ...]

BabVar2 iii 5–6. UD 6.KAM^v ana DINGIR.MAḪ liš-ken | ana MUNUS TE-ḫi KUR-ád ÁŠ ŠÀ-BI ‘DÙG.GA¹

3. ūmi 13 ana Šamaš liškēn ana ereb šamši mē liqqi šimtašu liqri ina damiqti ittanallak eli āmirīšu imarraš

Sip1 o. 3. [o o o o] ‘^{d1}°UTU° liš^o-ken ana ^d<UTU>.ŠÚ.<A> A^{meš} BAL-qi šim-ta-šú liq-ri¹ ‘ina SIG₅-tim¹ DU^{me} UGU a-mi-ri-šú GI[G]

Huz1 o. 3. [𒀭] UD ‘1³.KÁM ana ^dUTU liš-ken [...]

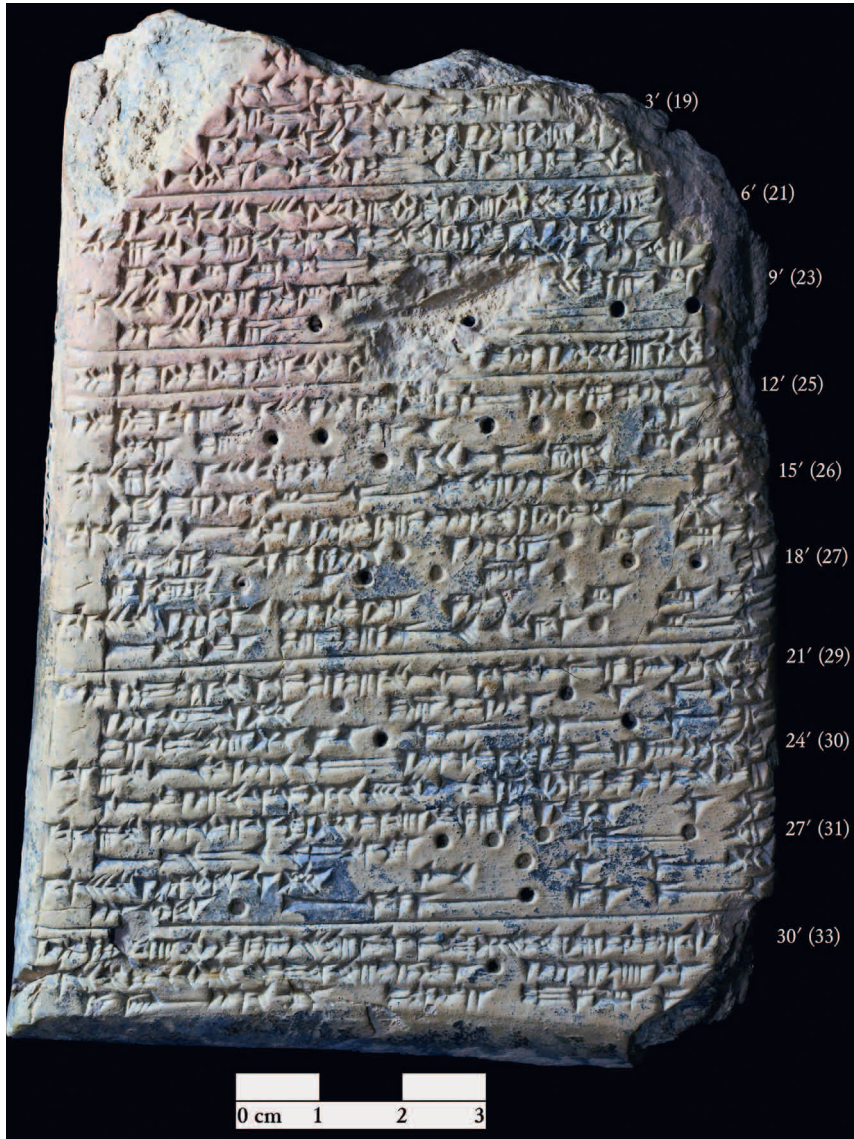
BabVar2 iii 7–10. UD 13.KAM^v ana ^dUTU liš-ken | ana ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A A^{meš} BAL-qi | šim-ta-šú liq-ri | ina ^{munus}SIG₅^{meš} DU^{fmeš}1

4. ūmi 20 ana Sīn liškēn ana šārī mē liqqi ipšu u kišpu ul iṭteneḫḫišu ernitta ikaššad lumunšu ippaṭṭar[šú]

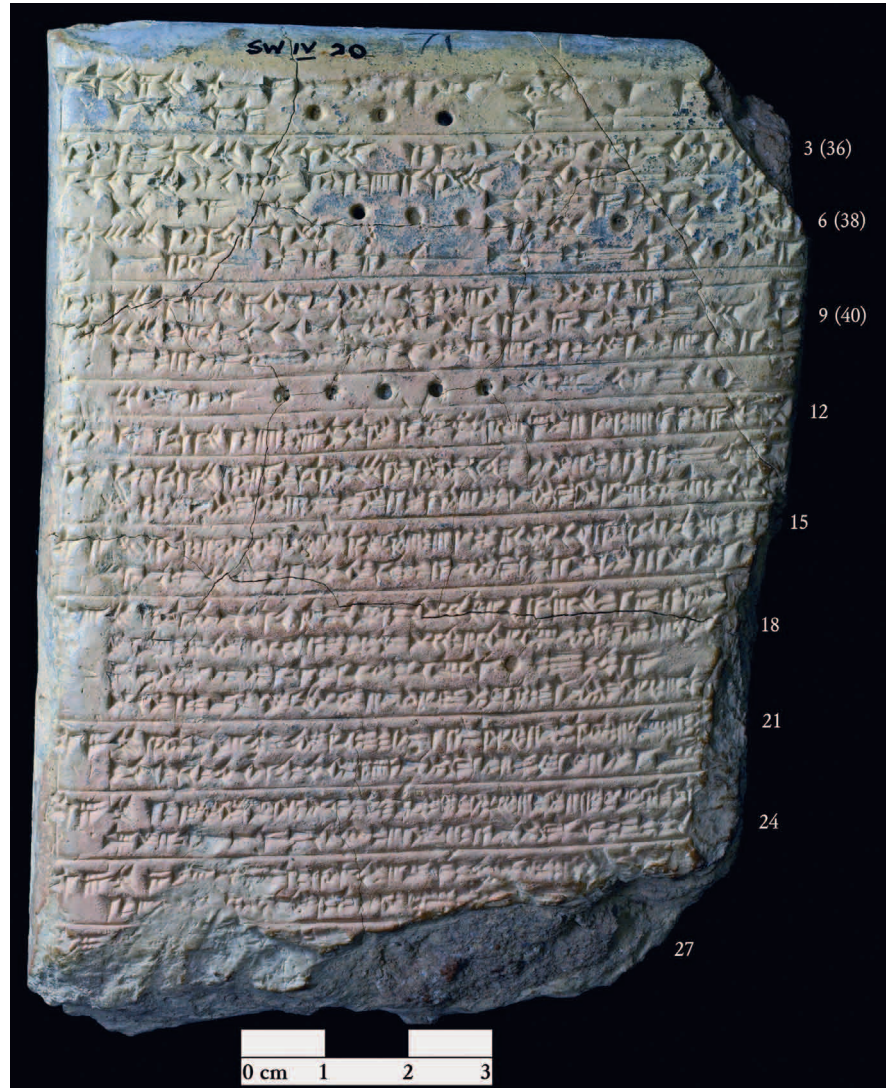
Sip1 o. 4. [o o o o] ‘^{d1}°30° liš^o-ken ana IM^{meš} A^{meš} BAL-qi ip-šú u kiš-pa NU TE^{meš}.šú ù.MA SÁ.SÁ ḪUL-šú D[U₈-šú]

Huz1 o. 4. [𒀭] UD 20.KÁM ana ^d30 liš-ken [...]

BabVar2 iii 11–15. UD 20.KAM^v ana ‘30¹ ‘liš¹-[ken] | ana IM^{meš} A^{meš} BAL-‘q¹ | ip-šú u kiš-pi NU [o o o] | ù.<MA> ‘SÁ.SÁ¹ Ḫ[UL-šú] | DU₈-[šú]



MS Nin3 obv (BM 134501)



MS Nin3 rev (BM 134501)

(Sip1 & Huz1 & Huz2)

(§ 2) 5. ina Ayyāri ūmi 1 ana Ea liškēn nūna likul nūna kīma mē lirmuk tešmā uššab arhiš iqqarrit

Sip1 o. 5.	[o o o o o a]-na ^o d ^o é ^o -a ^o liš-ken KU ₆ li-kul KU ₆ GIM A ^{mes} TU ₅ téš-ma-a uš-šab ár-ḫiš iq-qar-rit ^l
Huz1 o. 5.	¶ ina i ^[i] GU ₄ UD 1 ¹ *.KÁM ana d ^l EN ^l .KI liš-ken [...]
Huz2 o. 2f.	[o o o o o o] ^l d ¹ *f ^l é ^l -f ^l a ¹ * [o o] KU ₆ [o o ø] [o GI]M A ¹ ? ^l li-ir ^l -muk téš-ma-a uš-š[ab o o o o o] (ruler)
Nin1a 1f.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] A ^{mes} [o o] [o o o o o a]r-ḫiš iq-[qar-rit]
BabVar2 iv 12–14.	¶ ina i ⁱⁱ GU ₄ UD 1.KAM ^v ana d ^é -a liš-ken KU ₆ ¹ GU ₇ KU ₆ GIM A TU ₅ téš-ma ^l -f ^l a ¹ uš-šab ár-ḫiš iq-qar-rit

6. ūmi 6 ana Sîn liškēn kīspa ina bītīšu līksip bibil libbišu utta

Sip1 o. 6.	[o o o o] d ^o 30 ^o liš ^o -ken ^o KI ^o .SĪ.GA ina É-šú lik-sip bi-bil lib-bi-šú ut-ta
Huz1 o. 6.	¶ UD 6.KÁM ana d ^l 30 ¹ * liš-ken [...]
Huz2 o. 4f.	[UD 6].KÁM ana 30 liš-ken KI.SĪ.GA ina É-šú lik-s[ip* o o o o o o] (ruler)
Nin1a 3f.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o b]i-bil lib-bi-š[u o o]
BabVar2 iv 15–16.	[UD] 6.KAM ^v ana 30 liš-ken KI.SĪ.GA [ina] É ^l -šú lik-sip bi-bil šà-šú ut-ta

7. ūmi 15 ana Ea ø (|| u Bēlet-ilī) liškēn ša šibitti limaššir mimmūšu ana tanadāti iššakkan

Sip1 o. 7.	[o o o o] d ^l É ^o -a ^{1o} liš ^o -ken ^o šá EN.NUN li-maš-ši-ir mim-mu-šú ana ta-na-da-a-ti GAR-an
Huz1 o. 7.	¶ UD 16.KÁM (sic!) ana d ^é -f ^l a ¹ u DINGIR.M[Aḫ* ...]
Huz2 o. 5f.	UD 15.KÁM ana d ^é -a liš-ken šá EN.NUN li-maš-[ši-ir ...] (ruler)
Nin1a 4f.	[o o o o o o o o o o] EN.NUN li-maš-[ši-ir] [o o o o ta-na-da-a-t]i [o o]
BabVar2 iv 17–19.	UD 15.KÁM ana d ^é -a liš-ken [šá E]N.NUN-tim BAR-ir mim-mu-šú [a-na ta-n]a-da-a-ta GAR-an

8. ūmi 20 akal kunāši likul meḫret nappahāt rē’i ana Nusku liškēn ināšu ul imarraṣā ṭub kabatti

Sip1 o. 8.	[o o o o] l ⁱ é ^o -f ^l ku ^l o ^o IGI ^{1o} -et nap-pa-ḫat SIPA ana d ⁿ NUSKA liš-ken IGI ^{min} -šú ul GIG ^{mes} DÜG-ub ka-bat-ti
Huz1 o. 8.	¶ UD 20.KÁM NIN[DA ÁŠ.À]M GU ₇ IGI*-[et ...]
Huz2 o. 6f.	UD 20.KÁM NINDA ^l (DIŠ) ÁŠ.ÀM l ⁱ -ku ^l IGI-et nap ^l -pa-<ḫat> SIP[A ^l (PA-IB) o (o)] ana d ⁿ NUSKA liš-ken IGI ^{min} .meš-šú NU GIG ^{mes} ṭu-u[b o o o]
Nin1a 6f.	[o o o o o o o o o o (o o)] IGI ^{1o} SIPA ana d ⁿ NUSKA [liš-ken] [o o o o o o] DÜG-ub ka-ba[t-ti]
BabVar2 iv 20–22.	[o o o o o o G]U ₇ [o o o o o SI]PA ‘a-na ^l [d ⁿ NUSKA o o o o o o] ‘ṭú ¹² -[ub o o o]

(Sip1 & Huz1 & Huz2 & Nin1a)

(§ 3) 9. ina Simani ūmi 5 ana šit šamši mē liqqi ana ūmi likrub ana dīni lā ušši ina šēri u šumšī išallim

Sip1 o. 9.	[o o o o o o o o] d ^u TU].È A ^{mes} BAL-qí ana ^o UD-mi lik-ru-ub ‘ana ^l di-ni ‘NU ¹ È ina še-ri ^m u šum-ši-i SILIM-im
Huz1 o. 9.	¶ ina i ⁱⁱ [SIG ₄ UD] 5 ¹ .KÁM ana [d ^u TU].È.(A) A ^l meš BAL ^l -[qí ...]
Huz2 o. 8f.	ina i ⁱⁱ SIG ₄ UD 5.KÁM ana d ^u TU-È A ^{mes} BAL-qí ana U[D*-mi ...] [ana di-n]i* NU* È ina še-e-ri u šum-ši-i i-šal-[lim] (ruler)
Nin1a 8f.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o A]meš ^l ‘BAL ^l -[qí] ‘ana ^l [...]

10. [ūmi 1]6 ana Sîn liškēn ašla ša eleppi ana māḫirti li[šbat] lamassu mušallimtu ø (|| damiḫti) ittannarri

Sip1 o. 10.	[o o o o o o o liš-ke]n aš-la šá s ^{is} MÁ ana ma-ḫi-ir-ti ^l li ^l -[iṣ-bat d ^{LA}]MMA mu-šal- ^l lim-tim ¹ SIG ₅ -tim it-ta-nar-ri
Huz1 o. 10.	¶ [o] 26 ² .KÁM ¹ ‘ana ^l d ³⁰ 1 ¹ liš-ken ¹ áš-[la ...]
Huz2 o. 10f.	[o o.KÁ]M ana 30 liš- ^l ken ¹ ‘áš ^l -[la šá s ^{is} M]Á* ‘ana ^l * ‘ma ¹ *-ḫi-ri-ti [o o o] [o o m]u-šal-lim-tum it-ta-tur-[ri?] (ruler)

11. [ū]mi 20 ana Šamaš liškēn ilšu lisappi [amēlu šū] ul ultaššaš

Sip1 o. 11.	[o o o o o o] liš-ken DINGIR-šú li-sap-[pi NA BI] ul ul-taš-šá-áš
Huz1 o. 11.	¶ [U]D 20.KÁM ana d ^u TU liš-ken DINGIR-[šú ...]
Huz2 o. 12f.	[o o o o] 20 liš-ken DINGIR-šú li-sa-ap-p[i ...] (ruler)

12. ūmi 25 ana Ištar liškēn ina mē liṭbu ul issalla’ ul inazziq

Sip1 o. 12.	[o o o o o liš]-ken ina A ^{mes} liṭ-bu ul is-sal-la-’ ul ina-an-ziq
Huz1 o. 12.	¶ UD 25 ¹ .KÁM ¹ ana d ⁺ MÜŠ liš-k[en ...]
Huz2 o. 13f.	[o o o o] d ^l 15 liš-ken ina A ^{mes} liṭ-bu u[l ...]



MS Sip3 obv (CBS 562)



MS Sip3 rev (CBS 562)

(Sip1 & Huz1 & Huz2)

(§ 4) 13. [ina Du’ūzi] ūmi 3 (?) meḥret bīni ša ina kamāti izzazzu ana Enlil liškēn pā mutalla išakkan naplus ili u šarri immar

Sip1 o. 13.	[o o o o o s ^{is} ŠIN]IG šá ina ka-ma-a-ti GUB-zu'(SU) ana ^d en-lil liš-ken KA mu-tát-la GAR-an IGI.BAR DINGIR u LUGAL IGI
Huz1 o. 13.	¶ ina ^{iti} šU] ^r UD ¹ ^r 3 [?] .[KÁ]M IGI- ^r et ¹ * [...]
Huz2 o. 14'f.	[UD X.KÁM o o] IGI-et ^{is} ŠINIG [šá] ina ka-ma-ti [...] [o o o (o)] KA mu- ^r tát*- ^{la} ^r GAR*- ^{an} ^r IGI ¹ *. ^r BAR ¹ DI[NGIR* ...]
Nin2 o. 1'f.	[o o o o o o o o o o] ^r ina ¹ ^r ka-ma ¹ -[a-ti o o] [o o o o o o o o o o] GAR-a]n* IGI*.BAR* DINGIR [o o o]
Nin1b 1'f.	[o o o o o o o o o o k]a-ma- ^r a ¹ -[t[i o o o] [o o o o o o o o o o] IGI.BAR DINGIR u LU[GAL IGI]

14. (“15”) [ūmi x] šizba [lā išatti o o Sīn u] Šamaš liškun ḥādīssu libassir rēmu iššakkanšu

Sip1 o. 14.	[o o o o o uš-ši ^d 30] ^r ū ¹ ^d UTU GAR-un ḥe-di-is-su li-ba-as-si-ir ARḪUŠ GAR-šu
Huz1 o. 14.	¶ UD X.KÁ]M GA N[U NAG ...]
Huz2 o. 16'.	[UD X.KÁM o] x ^r ana ¹ * 20* ^r GAR ¹ *-un* ḥ[e]?-di- ^r su ¹ * [...]
Nin1b 3'.	[o o o o o o o o o o s]u li-ba-si-ir AR[ḪUŠ o o]
Nin2 o. 3'.	¶ [o o o o o o o o o o] ḥ[e-di-is-su li-ba-si-ir ^r ARḪUŠ GAR ¹ -[šú]

15. (“16”) [ūmi x i]šš[ūra ša]bta (?) ana Šamaš limaššir pū ša izzurūšu ikarrabšu

Sip1 o. 15.	[o o o o o (o) D]AB ² -ti ana ^d UTU BAR-ir KA šá iz-zu-ru-šu i-kar-rab-šu
Huz1 o. 15.	¶ UD X.KÁ]M ^r MUŠEN ¹ ? [...]
Huz2 o. 17'.	[UD X.KÁM o o o o o o o o o o] BAR-i[r* ...]
Nin1b 4'.	[o o o o o o o o o o o s]á iz-zu-ru-šu i-k[ar-rab-šú]
Nin2 o. 4'.	[o o o o o o o o o o 2]0* BAR-ir KA šá iz-zu-ru-šu i-kar-[rab-šú]

16. (“17”) ūmi 20 [terikti (?) bū]li lipaṭṭerūšu kišir libbi ilišu ippaṭṭaršu

Sip1 o. 16.	[o o o o o bu]-lim DU ₈ ^{me} -šú ki-šir šà DINGIR-šú DU ₈ -šú
Nin2 o. 5'.	¶ UD 20.[KAM ^v o o o o]meš-šú ki-šir šà DINGIR-šú DU ₈ -[šú ¹
Nin1b 5'.	[o o o o o o o o o o ki-š]ir šà DINGIR-šú D[U ₈ -šú]

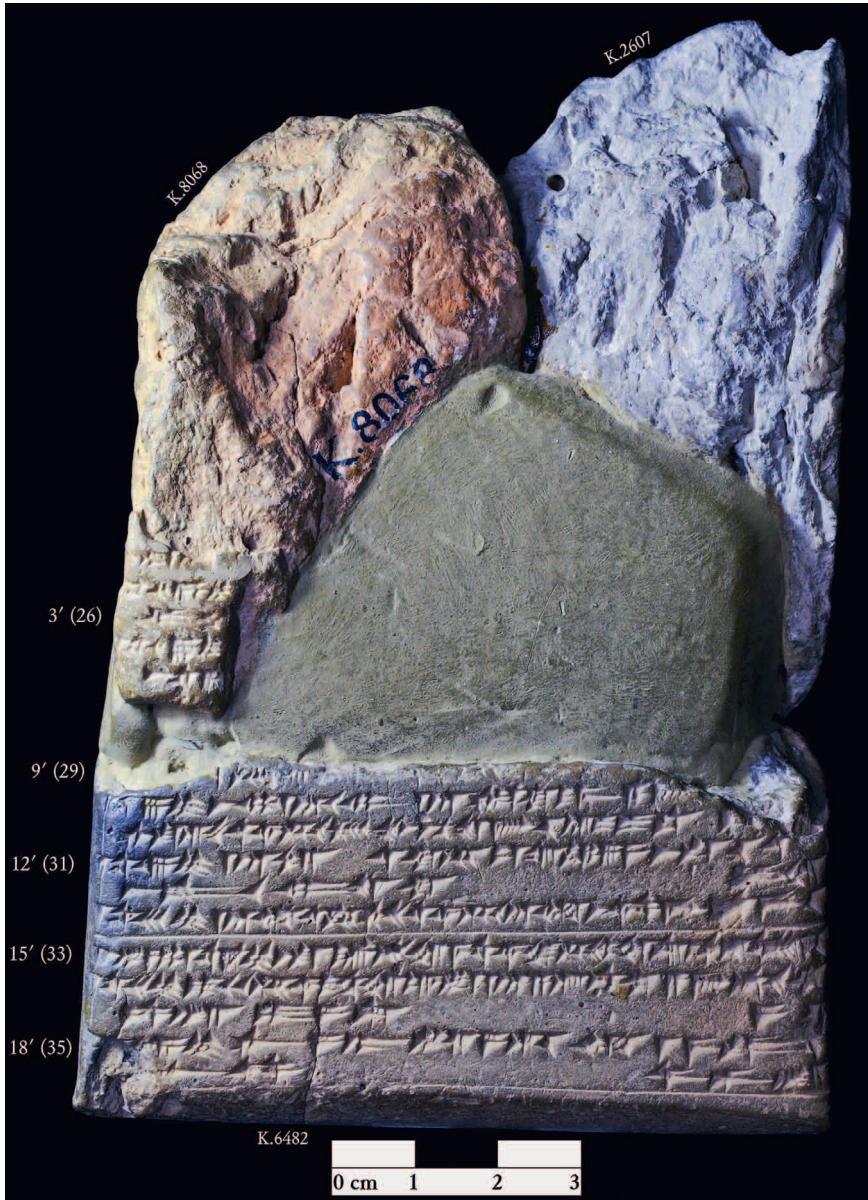
(Sip1 & Nin2 & Nin1b)

(§ 5) 17. (“18–19”) ina Abi ūmi 13 ana ūmi likrub ana dīni lā ušši nigūtu liškun šattu mašrā ukallamšu

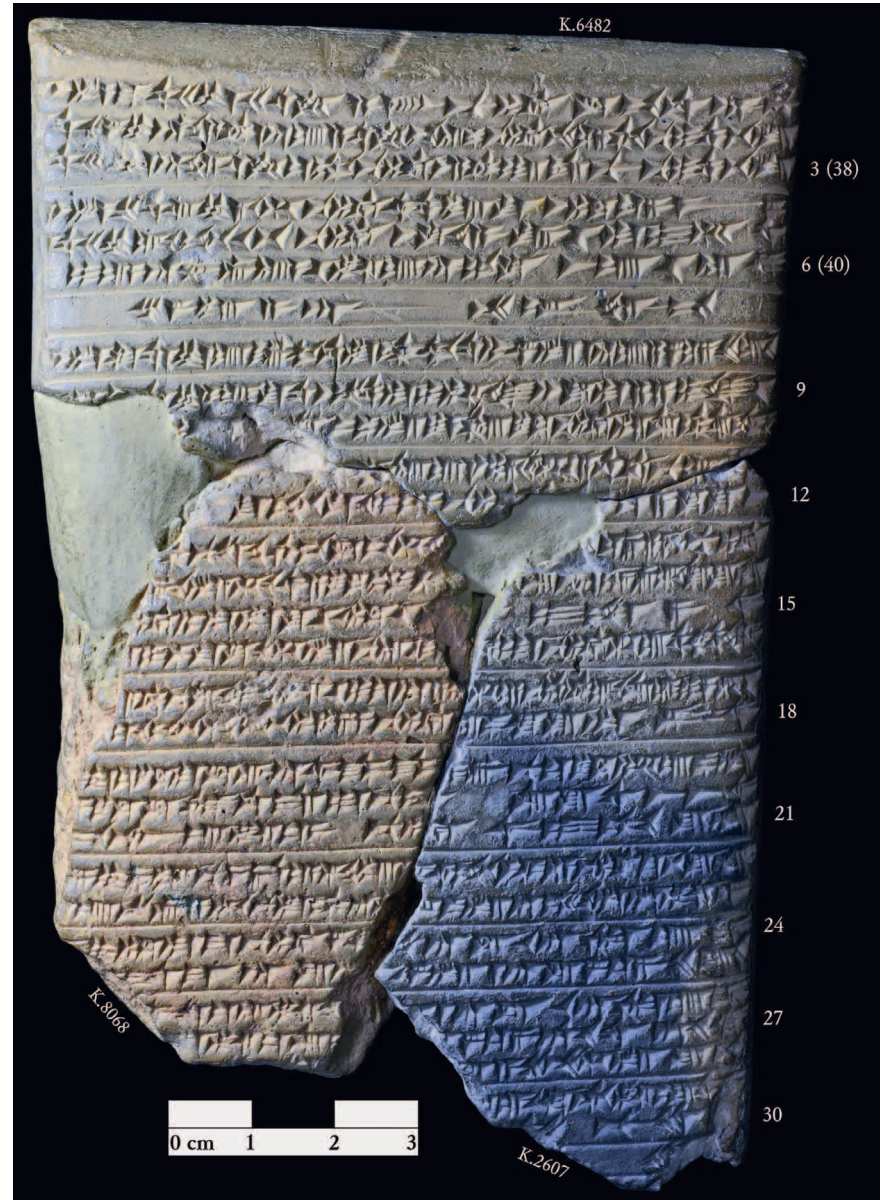
Sip1 o. 17.	[o o o o o o o o o o lik-ru]-ub ana di-na NU È ni-gu-tú liš-kun MU.AN.NA maš-ra-a ú-kal-lam-šu
Sip2 o. 1'.	[o o o o o o o o o o o] ^r NU È ¹ [...]
Huz2 r. 1f.	[UD X.KÁM o o o] ^r ik ^o - ^r u ¹ ^o -ub ^o ana ^o d[i ^o -ni ...] [maš-r]a*- ^r a ¹ ú-kal-l[am-šú]
Nin1b 6'f.	[o o o o o o o o o o o d]i-ni NU È ni-gu-tú [o o] [o o o maš-ra]-a ú-kal-l[am-šú]
Nin2 o. 6'f.	¶ ina ^{iti} [NE o o o o o o] ^r ik-ru-ub ana di-ni NU È ¹ ni-gu-tú o o o MU.A]N.NA maš-ra-a ú-kal- ^r lam ¹ -[šú]
BabVar1 i 5–7.	13 NU ŠE.GA šá-niš ana UD-mu ^r lik-ru-ub ¹ ana DI NU È ni-gu-tú GAR-un MU.AN.NA maš-ra-a ú-kal-lam-šú

18. (“20”) ūmi 16 inba likul bērāti likabbis lumunšu izzibšu šalāmu iššakkanšu

Sip1 o. 18.	[o o o o o be]- ^r ra ¹ -tim li-kab-bi-is ḪUL-šú TAKA ₄ -šú šá-la-mu GAR-šu
Sip2 o. 2'.	[o o o o o t][m [?] li-kab-bi]-is ḪU[L-šú o o] ^r šá ¹ -la-m[u o o]
Huz2 r. 3.	[UD X.KÁM l]i*-kul* be*-ra- ^r tu ¹ li-kab-bi- ^r is ¹ [...]
Nin1b 8'.	[o o o o o o o o o o o] ḪUL-šú TA[K ₄ -šú] šá- ^r la ¹ -[mu GAR-šú]
Nin2 o. 8'.	¶ UD 16.[KÁM o o be-ra-t]i li-kab-bi-is ḪUL-šú TAKA ₄ -šú šá-la-mu [GAR-šu]
Nin3 o. 0'f.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o] TA[K ₄ *-šú o o o o o]
BabVar1 i 8f.	15 UD ŠE.GA : šá-niš GURUN li-kul b[e]-ra-tum li-kab-bi-is : ḪUL-šú TAKA ₄ -šú š[á-]a-mu GAR-šú



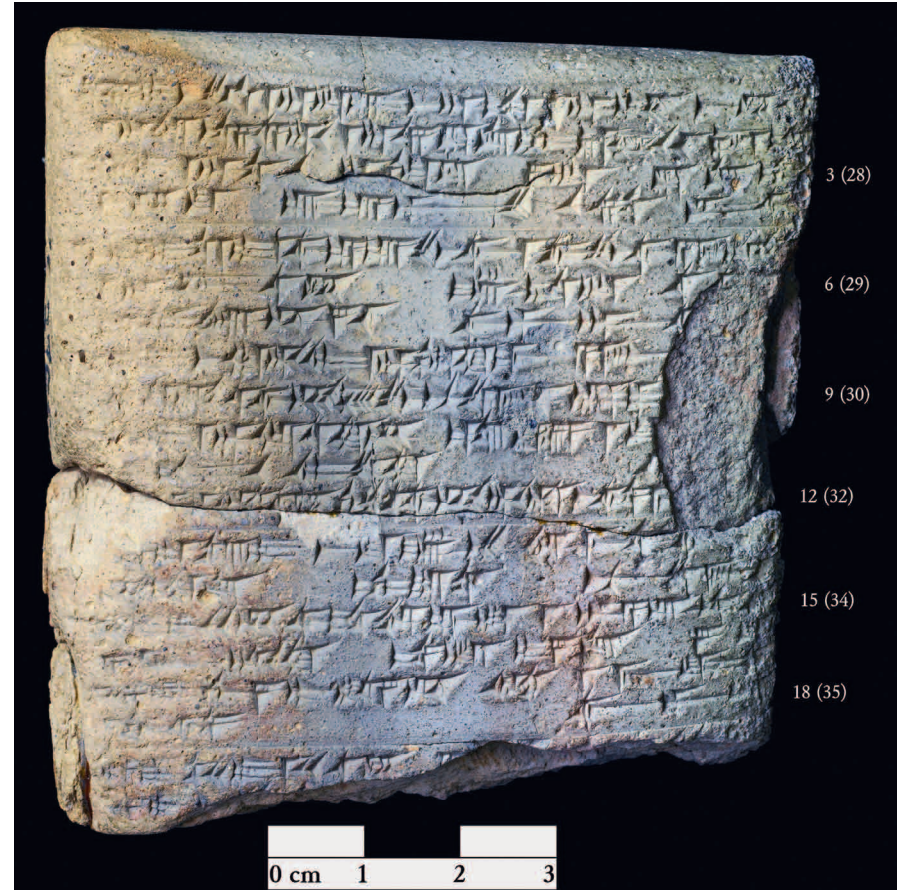
MS Nin1c obv (K.2607+)



MS Nin1c rev (K.2607+)



MS Nin2 obv (K.3769)



MS Nin2 rev (K.3769)



MS Nin1b (K.13825)



MS Nin1a (K.13948)

(Sip1 & Huz2 & Nin2 & Nin3 : [Sip2])

(§ 7) 24. (“28”) *ina Tašrīti kalāma epšētūšu yānu paršu ana Enlil gummur*

Sip1 r. 1.	[o o o o o o o o o o ia-a-n]u ^o GARZA ana ^{d+} en-līl gu- ^l um ^l -[o o]
Huz2 r. 11.	[o o i ^t]DU ₆ ^{1*} ka-la-ma ep-še-tu-[šú i]a- ^a -[nu ...]
Nin2 o. 17'.	¶ ina ^{iu} DU ₆ ka-la-<ma> ep-še-tu-šu ia-a-nu GARZA ana ^{d+} en-līl gu-um-mu- ^r ru ^l
Nin3 o. 11'.	¶ ina ^{iu} DU ₆ ka-la-<ma> ep-še-tu-š[u ia-a-n]u GARZA ana ^{d+} en-līl gu-u[m-mu-ru]

(Sip1 & Huz2 & Nin1c & Nin2 & Nin3)

(§ 8) 25. (“29”) *ina Araḫsamni ūmi 3 ana Sîn qīšta likrub ana Ištar parša lišlim lipit qātīšu išš[ir]*

Sip1 r. 2.	[o o o o o o o o o o] ^l NÍG ^l .BA lik- ^r ru-ub ^l ^r a-na ^l ^d U.DAR ^l <GARZA> liš-lim li-pit šU ^{min} -šú SI.[sÁ]
Sip2 r. 1.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] a-na ^d iš-tar <GARZA> liš-lim li-pit šU ^{min} -šú SI.[sÁ]
Huz2 r. 12.	[o o i ^t]APIN UD 3.KÁM ana DINGIR ^{meš} NÍG.BA lik- ^r [u-ub o o o o o o o o o o o o]
Nin1c o. 1'.	¶ ina ^{iu} A[PIN ...]
Nin2 o. 18'.	¶ ina ^{iu} APIN UD 3.KÁM ana 30 NÍG.BA lik-ru-ub ana ^d 15 GARZA [li]š*-l[im]* li-pit šU ^{min} -šú SI.S[Á]
Nin3 o. 12'.	¶ ina ^{iu} APIN UD 3.KAM ^v ana 30 NÍG.BA lik-ru-ub ana ^d 15 GARZA l[iš*-lim] li-pit šU ^{min} -šú SI.S[Á]

26. (“30–31”) *ūmi 15 ana Sîn uskara ana Šamaš šamšat ḫurāši likrub erba irāšši tēm ili u šarri iššakkanšu (|| imm[ar])*

Sip1 r. 3.	[o o o o o o o o o o] ^r a ^l UTU AŠ.ME KÙ.GI lik-ru-ub MÁŠ ^{sic} .DA.RI TUKU-ši ṭe-em DINGIR u LUGAL ^r GAR ^l -šú ^l
Sip2 r. 2.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] lik- ^r ru-ub MÁŠ.DA.RI TUKU-ši ṭe-em DINGIR u LUGAL IGI-m[ar]
Huz2 r. 13f.	[UD 2]8.KÁM <ana> 30 U ₄ .SAR ana 20 AŠ.ME KÙ.GI [o o o o o o o] ṭe-em DINGIR u [LUGAL o o] (ruler)
Nin1c o. 2'f.	¶ UD 28-KA[M ^v ...] ṭe-e[m ...]
Nin2 o. 20'.	¶ UD 28.KÁM ana 30 U ₄ .SAR ana 20 AŠ.ME KÙ.GI lik-ru-u[b] MÁŠ.DA.RI TUKU ø ṭe-em DINGIR u L[LUGAL o]
Nin3 o. 14'f.	¶ UD 28.KÁM ana 30 U ₄ .SAR ana 20 AŠ.ME KÙ.GI lik-ru-u[b] MÁŠ.DA.RI TUKU-ši ṭe-em DINGIR u LUGAL GAR- ^r an ^{l*}
BabVar1 iv 105ff	(15) ana 30 U ₄ .SAR ana ^d UTU AŠ.ME KÙ.GI lik-ru-ub MÁŠ.DA.RI TUKU-ši ṭe-em DINGIR u LUGAL GAR-šú

31. (“40–41”) ūmi 16 ana Nergal liškēn uqūra ina qātīšu lišši ina ḥarrāni u mēteqi isallim

Sip1 r. 8.	[o o o o o o o o liš-k]en ʒisŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ¹ ina šU ^{min} -šú liš-ši ina KASKAL u mé-te-qa i-sal-lim
Sip2 r. 10.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] ‘liš-ši ina ¹ ‘KASKAL ¹ u mé-te-qi i-sal ¹ -l[im]
Huz1 r. 3’.	¶ UD 16.KÁM ana ^d U.GUR liš-ke-en ʒ[is*ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ...]
Nin1c o. 12’f.	¶ UD 16.KAM ^v ana ^d U.GUR liš-ke-en ʒisŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ina šU-šú liš-š[i] ina KASKAL u mé-te-qi SILIM-im
Nin2 r. 10’f.	[¶ UD 16].KÁM ana ^d U.GUR liš-ke-en ʒisŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ana šU ^[min] -šú o o ina KASKAL u mé-te-qi SIL[IM-im]
Nin3 o. 26’f.	¶ UD 16.KAM ^v ana ^d U.GUR liš-ke-en ʒisŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ana šU ^{min} -šú liš-ši ‘ina ¹ KASKAL u mé-te-qi SILIM-im
Bab1 ii 9’f.	[o o]. ¹ KAM ana ^d U.GUR liš-ken ʒisŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ¹ ina šU ^{min} -šú liš-š ¹ i ina KASKAL u mé-te-qi i-sal-lim

32. (“42”) ūmi 30 ana Ištar liškēn amta liššiq Ištar ina damqāti irteneddišu

Sip1 r. 9.	[o o o o o o o o] liš-ken GÉME liš-ši-ig ^d U.DAR ina dam-qa-a-ti úS ^{meš} -šú
Sip2 r. 11.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] dam-qa ² -[a-ti] ‘úS ^{1me} -šú IGI.BAR DI[NGIR IGI-mar]
Huz1 r. 4’.	¶ UD 30.KÁM ana ^d 15 liš-ken GÉ[ME ...]
Nin1c o. 14’.	¶ UD 30.KAM ^v ana ^d U.DAR liš-ken GÉME liš-ši-ig ^d U.DAR ina SIG ^{5me} úS ^{me} -šú
Nin2 r. 12.	[o o o o] ‘ana ^d U.DAR liš-ken GÉME liš-ši-ig ^d U.DAR ina sig ^{5me} [o o]
Nin3 o. 28’f.	¶ UD 30.KAM ^v ana ^d U.DAR liš-ken GÉME liš-ši-ig ^d U.DAR ina SIG ^{5me} úS ^{me} -šú
Bab1 ii 11’f.	[o o 3]O.KAM ana ^d U.DAR liš-ken GÉME liš-ši-ig ^d U.DAR ina dam-qa-a-ti úS ^{meš} -šú

(Sip1 & Sip2 & Huz1 & Bab1 & Nin1c & Nin2 & Nin3)

(§ 10) 33. (“43”) ina Ṭebēti ūmi 3 ina qāt nuḫatimmi emmeta limḥur māmītu u arratu ul iṭṭeneḥḥāšu

Sip1 r. 10.	[o o o o o o o o] ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em- ¹ me-tú ¹ lim-ḥur NAM.ÉRIM u ‘ár ¹ -ra-ti NU ‘TE ^{1meš} -šú
Sip2 r. 12.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] ar- ¹ r ¹ a- ¹ ti ¹ ‘NU ¹ T[^E meš-šú]
Huz1 r. 5’.	¶ ina ^{ti} AB UD 3.KÁM ina šU ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em-[me-tú ...]
Nin1c o. 15’.	¶ ina ^{ti} AB UD 3.KAM ^v ina šU ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em-me-tú lim-ḥur NAM.ÉRIM ø ár-ra-tú NU TE ^{meš} -šú
Nin2 r. 13’f.	[¶ ina ⁱ AB UD 3.KÁM ina šU ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em-me-tú li[m-ḥur] NAM.ÉRIM ø ár-ra-tú NU TE ^{meš} -šú
Nin3 o. 30’.	¶ ina ^{ti} A[B] UD 3.KAM ^v ina šU ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em-me-tú lim-ḥur NAM.ÉRIM ø ár-ra-tú N[U o o (o)]
Bab1 ii 13’f.	[o o ^{ti}]AB UD 4 ^{sicl} .KAM ina šU ^{min} ^{lú} MUḪALDIM em-me-tú lim-ḥur NAM.ÉRIM u ár-ra-ti ul TE ^{meš} -šú

34. (“44–45”) ūmi 20 imna u šumēla meḥret amurri ana Anunnakī mē liqqi kibsu išaru iššakkanšu

Sip1 r. 11.	[o o o o o o GÛ]B IGI-et ^{im} MAR.TU ana ^d a-nun-na-ki A ^{1meš} BAL-qi kib-su ‘i-šá-ru GAR-šú
Sip2 r. 13.	[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] A ^{1meš} ‘BAL-qi ¹ kib- ¹ su ¹ [o o (...)]
Huz1 r. 6’.	¶ UD 20. ¹ KÁM ¹ 15 u 150 IGI-et ^{im} [MAR.TU ...]
Nin1c o. 16’f.	¶ UD 20.KAM ^v ZAG u GÛB IGI-et ^{im} MAR.TU ana ^d a-nun-na-ki A ^{meš} BAL-qi kib-su i-šá-ru GAR-šú
Nin2 r. 15’f.	[¶ U]D 20.KÁM ZAG u GÛB IGI-et ^{im} MAR.TU ana ^d a-nun-na-k[i] A ^{meš} BAL-qi kib-su i-šá-ru GAR-šú ¹
Nin3 o. 31’f.	‘¶ UD 20.KAM ^v ZAG u GÛB IGI-et ^{im} MAR.TU ana ^d a-nun-na-[ki] A ^{meš} BAL-qi kib-su i-šá-ru GAR-šú
Bab1 ii 15’f.	[o o x.K]AM ZAG u GÛB IGI-et ^{im} MAR.TU ana ^d a-nun-na-ki A ^{meš} BAL-qi kib-su i-šá-ru GAR-šú

35. (“46–47”) ūmi 25 sinništa ša sūqi lišāri Ištar ina mēlulti ana damiqti ippallassu

Sip1 r. 12.	[o o o o o o] i-šá-ri ^d U.DAR ina mé- ¹ lul ¹ -tú ana SIG ⁵ -tim ip-pa-la-su
Huz1 r. 7’.	¶ UD 25.KÁM MUNUS šá su-qi ¹ li-šá-ri ...]
Nin1c o. 18’f.	[¶] ‘UD ¹ 25.KAM ^v MUNUS šá SILA li-šá-ri U.DAR ana me-lul-tú [ana] ^{munus} SIG ⁵ IGI.BAR-su
Nin2 r. 17’f.	[¶ U]D ‘25.KÁM ¹ MUNUS šá SILA li-šá-ri U.DAR ana me-lul-tú ‘ana ^{munus} SIG ⁵ IGI.BAR- ¹ su
Nin3 r. 1’f.	¶ UD 25.KAM ^v MUNUS šá SILA li-šá-ri U.DAR ana me-[lul-tú] ana ^{munus} SIG ⁵ IGI.BAR-[su]
Bab1 ii 17’.	[o o x.K]AM MUNUS šá SILA li-šá-ri ^d U.DAR ina me-lul-ti ana SIG ⁵ -tim ‘IGI.BAR ¹ -su

(Sip1 & Huz1 & Bab1 & Nin1c & Nin2 & Nin3)



MS Sip1 obv (Si.97)



MS Sip1 rev (Si.97)



MS Sip2 obv (Si.828)



MS Sip2 rev (Si.828)

(§ 11) 36. (“48”) *ina Šabāṭi ūmi 20 ana Šamaš liškēn mē lā išatti (|| liqqi) mithār amēli annu*

Sip1 r. 13.	[o o o o o o o o o o A] ^{meš} NU NAG TĒŠ.BI NA <i>an-nu</i>
Sip3 o. i’ 1’.	[o o o o o o o o] [A ^{me}] ^s BAL- <i>q</i> [i o o o o o]
Huz1 r. 8’.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} zíz’ UD 20.KÁM <i>ana</i> ^{du} TU <i>liš-ken</i> ‘A’ ^[meš ...]
Nin1c r. 1.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} zíz’ UD 20.KAM ^v <i>ana</i> 20 <i>liš-ken</i> A ^{meš} NU NAG TĒŠ.BI NA <i>an-nu</i> *
Nin2 r. 19.	[¶ <i>in</i>]a ^{ti} zíz’ UD 20.KÁM <i>ana</i> 20 <i>liš-ken</i> ‘A’ ^{[meš o o TĒŠ.B]I} ‘NA <i>an</i> ’-[<i>nu</i>]
Nin3 r. 3.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} zíz’ UD 20.KAM ^v <i>ana</i> 20 <i>liš-ken</i> A ^{meš} NU NAG TĒŠ.BI NA <i>a[n-nu]</i>
Bab1 ii 18.	[o o ^{ti} zíz’]Z UD 20.KAM <i>ana</i> ^{du} TU <i>liš-ken</i> A ^{meš} NU NAG TĒŠ.BI NA <i>an-nu</i>

37. (“49–50”) *ūmi 24 ina kišād nāri ana Ea liškēn šikara lā išatti ø (|| šikara liqqi) mungu ul iṣabbassu*

Sip1 r. 14.	[o o o o o o o o ^é -a ^o liš ^o -ken ^o KAŠ.SAG NU NAG <i>mu-un-ga</i> NU DAB-su
Sip3 o. i’ 2’f.	[o UD] 25 ^{sicl} .KAM ^v <i>ina</i> GÚ ÍD ‘ <i>ana</i> ’ ^l d[^é -a liš-ken] [K]AŠ.SAG NU NAG <i>mu-un-ga</i> NU DAB-su
Huz1 r. 9’.	¶ UD 24.KÁM <i>ina</i> GÚ ÍD <i>ana</i> ^é -a liš- <i>k</i> [en ...]
Nin1c r. 2.	¶ UD 24.KAM ^v <i>ina</i> GÚ ÍD <i>ana</i> ^é -a liš-ken KAŠ.SAG NU NAG <i>mu-un-gu</i> NU <i>i-ša-ab-bat-su</i>
Nin2 r. 20.	[¶ U]D 24.KÁM <i>i[na]</i> ‘GÚ ÍD’ [...]
Nin3 r. 4f.	¶ UD 24.KAM ^v <i>ina</i> GÚ ÍD <i>ana</i> ^é -a liš-ken KAŠ.SAG NU NA[G] <i>mu-un-gu</i> NU <i>i-ša-ab-bat-su</i>
Bab1 ii 19f.	[o o o.K]AM <i>ina</i> GÚ ÍD <i>ana</i> ^é -a liš-ken KAŠ.SAG NU NAG KAŠ.SAG BAL- <i>q</i> ’ <i>mu-un-gu</i> NU DAB-su

38. (“51–52”) *ūmi 30 ana Adad liškēn karāna lā išatti ina nāri šidānu ul iṣabbassu*

Sip1 r. 15.	[o o o o o o o o o] ^{gis} GEŠTIN NU NAG <i>ina</i> ÍD <i>ši-da-nu</i> NU DAB-su
Sip3 o. i’ 4’f.	[¶ U]D 30.KAM ^v <i>ana</i> ^{di} ŠKUR liš-ken GEŠTIN NU ‘NAG’ [<i>ina</i> Í]D <i>ši-da-nu</i> NU DAB-su
Huz1 r. 10’.	¶ UD 30.KÁM <i>ana</i> ^{di} ŠKUR liš-ken GEŠ[TIN ...]
Nin1c r. 3.	¶ UD 30.KAM ^v <i>ana</i> ^{di} ŠKUR liš-ken ^{gis} GEŠTIN NU NAG <i>ina</i> ÍD <i>ši-da-nu</i> NU <i>i-šab-bat-su</i>
Nin3 r. 6f.	¶ UD 30.KAM ^v <i>ana</i> ^{di} ŠKUR liš-ken ^{gis} GEŠTIN NU NAG <i>ina</i> ÍD <i>ši-da-nu</i> NU <i>i-šab-bat-su</i>
Bab1 ii 21.	[o o o o <i>an</i>]a ^{di} ŠKUR liš-ken ^{gis} GEŠTIN NU NAG <i>ina</i> ÍD <i>ši-da-nu</i> NU DAB-‘su’

(Sip1 & Huz1 & Bab1 & Nin1c & Nin3)

(§ 12) 39. (“53”) *ina Addari ūmi 13 nūna (u) iṣšūra lā ikkal damiqtāšu ina pî nišī iššakkan*

Sip1 r. 16.	[o o o o o o o o o] SIG ₅ -šū <i>ina</i> KA UN ^{meš} GAR- <i>an</i>
Sip3 o. i’ 6’f.	[o o ^{ti} š]E UD ^l 13.KAM ^v KU ₆ MUŠEN NU GU ₇ [SIG ₅ - <i>ta</i> -šū <i>i</i>]na KA UN ^{meš} GAR- <i>an</i>
Huz1 r. 11’.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} šE ‘UD’ [o].‘KÁM’ KU ₆ [MUŠEN] ‘NU GU ₇ ’ [...]
Nin1c r. 4.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} šE UD 13.KAM ^v KU ₆ MUŠEN NU GU ₇ SIG ₅ - <i>ta</i> -šū <i>ina</i> KA UN ^{me} GAR
Nin3 r. 8.	¶ <i>ina</i> ^{ti} šE UD 13.KAM ^v KU ₆ MUŠEN NU GU ₇ SIG ₅ - <i>ta</i> -šū <i>ina</i> KA UN ^{me} GAR
Bab1 ii 22f.	[o o o o] UD 3 ^{sicl} .KAM KU ₆ u MUŠEN NU GU ₇ SIG ₅ - <i>ta</i> -šū <i>ina</i> KA UN ^{meš} GAR- <i>an</i>

40. (“54–55”) *ūmi 20 šizba (šīra) u dāma lā ikkal ina lubāri qātīšu lā ikappar irib Šakkan sadiršu lipit uttu ina bītīšu iššir (u ettūtu ina bītīšu kayyān)*

Sip1 r. 17f.	[o o o o o o o o o] <i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} ŠU-šú <i>la i-kap-par i-rib</i> ^d ŠÁKKAN <i>sa-dir-šú</i> [o o o o o o o o <i>ina</i>] É-šú SĪ.SÁ <i>u et-tu-tu ina</i> É-šú <i>ka-a-a-an</i>
Sip3 o. i’ 8’ff.	[o o o o UZ]U GA <i>u</i> MÚD NU GU ₇ [<i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} ŠU]-šú <i>la i-kap-par</i> [<i>i-rib</i> ^d ŠÁKKAN <i>sa-dir-šú</i>] [<i>li-pit</i> ^{du} TU] <i>ina</i> É-šú SĪ.SÁ
Huz1 r. 12’f.	[¶ UD 20.KÁ]M GA [...] [...]
Nin1c r. 5f.	¶ UD 20.KAM ^v GA UZU <i>u</i> MÚD NU GU ₇ <i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} ŠU ^{min} -šú <i>la i-kap-par</i> <i>i-rib</i> ^d ŠÁKKAN <i>sa-dir-šú li-pit</i> ^{du} TU <i>ina</i> É-šú SĪ.SÁ
Nin3 r. 9f.	¶ UD 20.KAM ^v GA UZU <i>u</i> MÚD NU ‘GU ₇ ’ <i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} ŠU ^{min} -šú <i>la i-kap-par</i> <i>i-rib</i> ^d ŠÁKKAN <i>sa-dir-šú li-pit</i> ^{du} TU <i>ina</i> É-šú SĪ.SÁ
Bab1 ii 24–27.	[o o o].KAM GA <i>u</i> MÚD NU GU ₇ <i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} ŠU ^{min} -šú [<i>la i-kap-par i-rib</i> ^d ŠÁKKAN <i>sa-dir-šú</i>] [<i>li-pit</i> ^{du} TU] <i>ina</i> É-šú SĪ.SÁ <i>u et-tu-tu</i> [<i>ina</i>] É-šú <i>ka-a-a-an</i>
BabVar2 ii 1’–5’.	[o NU GU ₇] <i>ina</i> TÚG ^{bi-a} [o o] <i>la i-kap-par</i> [<i>i-rib</i>] ^d ŠÁ[KK]AN <i>sa-d</i> [<i>ir-šú</i>] <i>li-pit</i> ^{du} TU ¹ <i>iš-ši-ir</i>

Huz1 r. 14’. UD^{meš} ‘an’¹*-[*nu-ti* ... (?)]



MS Huz1 obv (SU 51/15)



MS Huz1 rev (SU 51/15)

Nin1c r. 7.	44-TA.ÀM MU.ŠID.IM.BI
Nin3 r. 11.	40-TA.ÀM MU.ŠID.IM.BI
Sip1 r. 19.	[o o o o o o o o o] 'ki ¹ pī(KA) im ^g gīt-ṭa gabarē(GABA.RI) ḡis ^{li} -u-um šaṭir(AB.SAR)-ma baru(BA.AN.È-um) ¹⁷ [(o)]

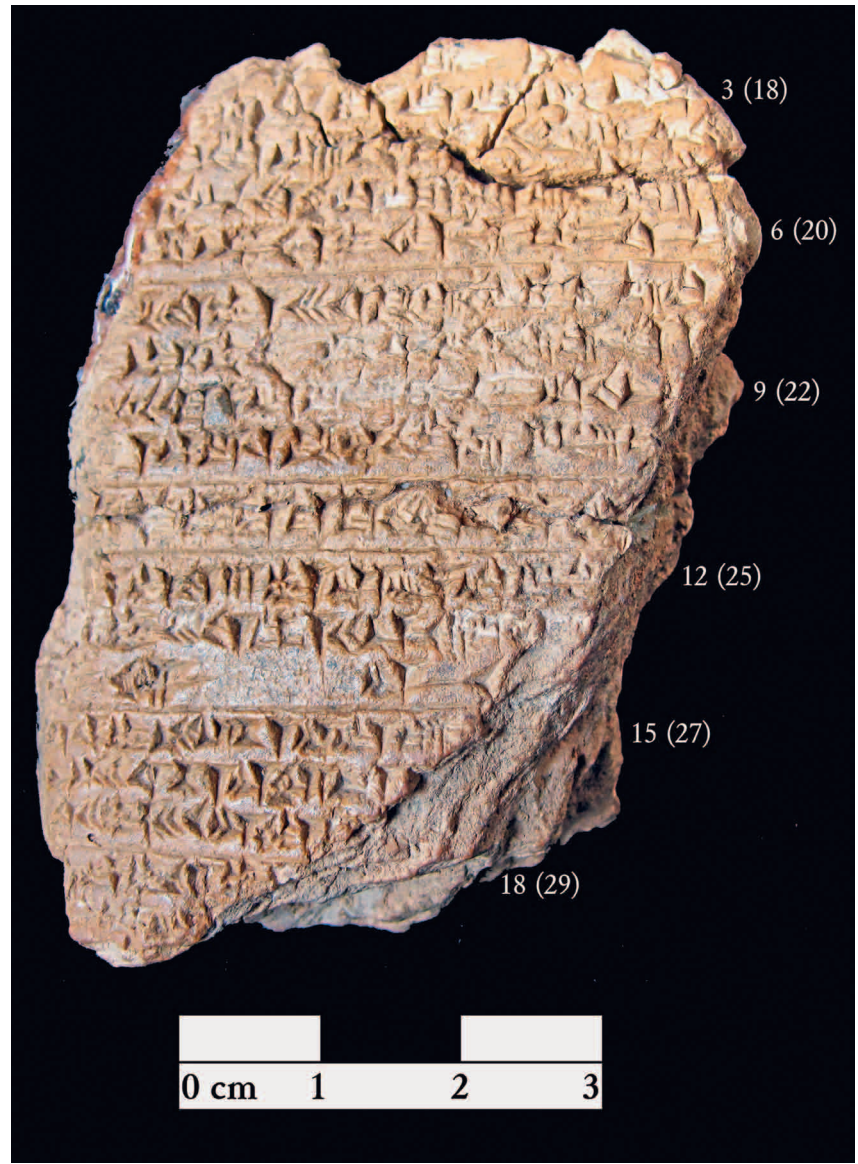
1.3 Translation

- (§1) 1. In the month of Nisannu on the 4th day he should prostrate himself to Marduk. He should make his *condition* known (to him). Then [fam]e and profit will be granted to him.
 2. On the 6th day he should prostrate himself to Bēlet-ilī and approach a woman. Then he will obtain (his) desires, his heart will rejoice.
 3. On the 13th day he should prostrate himself to Šamaš and libate water to the west. He should invoke his goddess (lit., “his fate”). Then he will go around safely, and he will displease he who glowers at him.
 4. On the 20th day he should prostrate himself to Sîn and libate water to the (four) winds. Then sorcery and witchcraft will not approach him; he will achieve his desire and his evil will be dissolved for him.
- (§2) 5. In the month of Ayyāru on the 1st day he should prostrate himself to Ea. He should eat fish and bathe in fish (oil) instead of water. Then he will achieve attention (from the gods) and will quickly be granted mercy.
 6. On the 6th day he should prostrate himself to Sîn and perform a funerary offering in his house. Then he will find what he yearns for.
 7. On the 15th (|| 16th) day he should prostrate himself to Ea (|| and Bēlet-ilī). He should release a prisoner. Then whatever he has will be highly praised.
 8. On the 20th day he should eat emmer bread. He should prostrate himself to Nuska facing a shepherd’s *bellows*. Then his eyes will not suffer illness (and he will reach) happiness.
- (§3) 9. In the month of Simanu on the 5th day he should libate water to the sunrise. He should address prayers to the day. He should not go out to a lawsuit. Then he will succeed in whatever he undertakes during the day or night.
 10. [On the 1]6th [day] he should prostrate himself to Sîn. He should [tow] a boat upstream. Then the tutelary deity (|| Sip1 the propitious tutelary deity) that safeguards the man will continuously steer him.
 11. On the 20th [da]y he should prostrate himself to Šamaš and pray to his god. [Then that man] will not be in distress.
 12. On the 25th day he should prostrate himself to Ištar. He should submerge himself in water. Then he will not fall ill nor become worried.
- (§4) 13. [In the month of Du’ūzu] on the 3rd (?) day, facing a tamarisk that grows in the open country he should prostrate himself to Enlil. Then he will give a lordly speech, he will enjoy the regard of both god and king.
 14. [On the ...th day] he should not [drink] milk. He should put [... to Sîn and] Šamaš. He should give (good news) to a female ill-wisher of his. Then mercy will be conceded to him.
 15. [On the ...th day,] he should release a *capt[ive bird]* to Šamaš. Then the mouth that cursed him will bless him.
 16. On the 20th day they should release for him [*the fence* of the catt]le. Then the anger of his personal god will be released for him.
- (§5) 17. In the month of Abu on the 13th day he should address prayers to the day. He should not go out for a lawsuit. He should celebrate a festival. Then the year will show him wealth.
 18. On the 16th day he should eat fruit and tread *on the balks (of a field)*. Then his evil will leave him, and health will be established for him.
 19. On the 20th day he should keep his house silent. Then a good spirit will be constantly present in his house.
 20. On the 25th day he should not approach a woman. He should libate water to the Anunnaki in the garden. He should not eat fruit (|| bird). Then he will be rescued from headache and flu.

¹⁷ The verb *barû* is occasionally written in colophons as *ba-rum*, but apparently not elsewhere as *ba-ru-um* vel *sim*. Compare however *ba-rim* and *ba-ri-im* (Hunger 1968, 159–160).



MS Huz2 obv (SU 51/81)



MS Huz2 rev (SU 51/81)

- (§ 6) 21. In the month of Elūlu on the 10th day he should prostrate himself to Sîn. He should consume milk and anoint himself with butter. Then he will thrive.
22. On the 16th day at dawn, facing west he should prostrate himself (|| libate water) to Adad. He should dedicate him a gift. Then Adad will not flo[od a]way his possessions.
23. On the 20th day he should dedicate a gift to Uraš and prostrate himself. He should address prayers to Nissaba. Then he will obt[ain] grain.
- (§ 7) 24. During the entire month of Tašrītu there are no rites on his part (sc. on the part of the officiant). The regular ceremonies are to be carried out for Enlil.
- (§ 8) 25. In the month of Araḥsamnu on the 3rd day he should dedicate a gift to Sîn and complete the rituals to Ištar. Then his undertakings will pro[sper].
26. On the 15th day he should consecrate a crescent (emblem) to Sîn and a golden sun-disc to Šamaš. Then he will gain profits (and) the attention of both god and king will be set on him. (|| Sip1 & Sip2: He will en[joy] the attention of both god and king).
27. On the 19th (|| 29th) day in the morning he should prostrate himself to Ba'u, in the afternoon to Bēlet-ili, in the early evening to Adad and in the late evening to Ištar. Then his sheepfold will increase.
28. On the 20th day he should dedicate a gift to Šamaš and Ninurta. Then he will grow old in his post (|| Sip2: among his family) and he will acquire both barley and silver.
- (§ 9) 29. In the month of Kislīmu on the 1st day he should libate water in front of the cattle when the cattle enters. He should prostrate himself to Šakkan and kiss an ecstatic (|| BabVar1: an old man). Then profit will be set on him (|| BabVar1: he will obtain profit); he will find the favor of both god and king.
30. On the 6th day at the dead of night he should libate water to Ereškigal and kiss an old woman. Then sorcery will not approach him and he will be freed of grief.
31. On the 16th day he should prostrate himself to Nergal and carry in his hand a palm-heart. Then he will be safe in the roads and the routes.
32. On the 30th day he should prostrate himself to Ištar and kiss a female slave. Then Ištar will continuously escort him with care. (|| Sip2 adds: He will see the (benevolent) gaze of (his) god).
- (§ 10) 33. In the month of Ṭebētu on the 3rd day he should receive hot bread from a cook. Then the oath and the curse will not follow him.
34. On the 20th day he should libate water to the right and the left facing west to the Anunnaki. Then a straight path will be set for him.
35. On the 25th day he should impregnate a street woman. Then Ištar will look upon him with favor at dice (lit. "at a game").
- (§ 11) 36. In the month of Šabātu on the 20th day he should prostrate himself to Šamaš. He should not drink water. Then (there will be an oracular) answer (for) the man's indecisive (omens).
37. On the 24th day he should prostrate himself to Ea on the bank of a river. He should not drink beer (|| Bab1 adds: he should libate beer). Then paralysis will not infect him.
38. On the 30th day he should prostrate himself to Adad. He should not drink wine. Then vertigo will not come upon him while (he is) in the river.
- (§ 12) 39. In the month of Addaru on the 13th day he should not eat fish or bird. Then people will wish for his health (lit. "his well-being will be placed in the people's mouth").
40. On the 20th day he should not eat milk, flesh or blood, he should not wipe his hands on his clothes. Then the income of Šakkan (i.e. shepherding) will be regular for him, the work of Uttu (i.e. textile production) will prosper in his house (|| Sip1 & Bab1 add: and the spider will be permanent in his house).

1.4 Philological commentary

1. This line is cited in a letter addressed to Esarhaddon by Nabû-aḥḥē-erība (ABL 82+ ABL 1396 = SAA 10 74 o. 19–r. 3, see Parpola 1983, 77 ad 2’–13’), where an explanation introduced by *mā* is appended: ¶ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA UD 4.KÁM | *a-na* ^dAMAR.UTU *liš-ken* | GISKIM-BI^[it-ta-šú] *li-še-di* | [M]U ù *iš-di-ḥu* | *iš-šak-kan-šú* | GISKIM-BI^[it-ta-šú] *li-še-di* | *ma-a de-en-šú ina* IGI DINGIR | *lid-bu-ub*, “in the month of Nisannu on the 4th day he should prostrate himself to Marduk and make his *condition* known (to him); then fame and profit will be granted to him; ‘he should make his *condition* known (to him)’ means that he should plead his case in front of the god.” The rest of Nabû-aḥḥē-erība’s letter lists a series of hemerological prognoses in response to Esarhaddon’s query about the convenience of a visit of the crown prince (i.e., Ashurbanipal) on a certain date.

Whereas the exact implications of the phrase *ittāšu šūdū*, “he should make his *condition* known,” escape us, Nabû-aḥḥē-erība explains it as *dīnšu dabābu*, “to argue a case.” The ritual prescribed by the Hemerology takes place on the 4th of Nisannu: it is thus tempting to relate it to the “negative confession of sins” which the king had to recite in front of the statue of Marduk on the 5th of Nisannu, as part of the rituals of the New Year (Pongratz-Leisten 1997). On that day the king, after being slapped in the cheek, “a conventional sign of contempt [with] the effect of an accusation, reacted by pleading his innocence” (van der Toorn 1991, 333). Nabû-aḥḥē-erība’s reinterpretation of the line would then be an attempt at making the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ applicable to royal figures (either the king or the crown prince) – a phenomenon which lies behind the genesis of Inbu bēl arḫi, as will be discussed below.

3. *šimtu* has here the meaning “goddess,” which is attested elsewhere in Babylonian literature: see Mayer (1976, 472) and CAD Š/3 16b.

Sip1 adds the prognosis *eli āmirišu imarraš*, lit. “he shall displease whoever looks at him.” A similar phrase is in fact attested in Maqlû I 7, *eli āmiriya amruš anāku*, “I became unpleasant to whoever looked at me,” as description of misfortune.¹⁸ However this meaning is unsuitable for our context, since all the prognoses of the present hemerology are positive.

¹⁸ For other occurrences of the phrase *eli āmirišu marāšu*, “to be unpleasant to whoever looked at him,” see Maqlû IV 68; Livingstone (2006, 79: v 27–28); BAM 434 r vi 5 (Abusch/Schwemer 2011, 223: 207’); and KAR 42 o. 15 (Farber 1977, 56: 10).

A different interpretation can be offered in view of the explanation of *bēl āmirišu*, “man who looks at him,” as *ša ize’erūšu*, “he who hates him,” in a commentary to Šumma Ālu XXX–XXXII (CT 41, 26–27 r. 5 = CCP 3.5.30). Other texts attest a similar meaning of the verb *amāru*: in a prayer it is said that “Ištar looked askance at my manhood” (*ištar imura mut[ūtī]*), among other adversities.¹⁹ CAD A/2 65b books two further instances where *āmirišu*, lit. “seer,” seems to mean “ill-wisher,”²⁰ and an Old Babylonian tablet of omens speaks of the “fall of my *āmuru*(s)” (*miqitti āmiriya*) and the “fall of the enemy’s *āmirus*” (*miqitti āmiri nakri*).²¹ It thus seems likely that the verb *amāru*, lit. “to see,” developed a more specific meaning, “to scowl at someone,” which is in all likelihood its meaning in the present context.

4. A prostration to Sîn on Nisannu 20th is also prescribed in K.2302 o. 13’ (Bab. 1, 201).

5. CAD N/1 195–196 and AHW. 448b book a root *nakruṭu* with the meaning “to have mercy.” The conjugated verb is, however, attested only in Ludlul I 18 (not booked in the dictionaries), where it appears as *ikkariṭ-ma zamar-ma*, “he quickly feels compassion” (George/al Rawi 1998, 192). The few other occurrences of the verb oscillate between **krṭ* and **qrt*:

**krṭ* *ik-kar||ka-riṭ-ma* (Ludlul I 18), *nak-ru-ṭ/tum||tu* (Malku V 80 and 149–150)

**k/qrt* *naq-ru-tú* (von Soden 1971, 60: 208), *[na]-aq-ru-tú* (Lambert 1960b, 54: 227)²²

In other cases the various manuscripts in the same text differ:

¹⁹ Lambert (1989, 327 and 331: 113). Cf. *ibid.* 336a: “the verb *amāru* here seems to have derogatory overtones, for which no other example has been noted.”

²⁰ (1) *eli āmirišu (ana) uzuzzi*, “so that he prevails over his *āmuru*” (Abusch/Schwemer 2011, 366: 9, where CAD’s translation is not adopted); and (2) *āmiri libāšanni*, “may my *āmuru* come to shame because of me” (šū’ila ‘Enlil 1a’, BMS 19: 27 // PBS 1/1, 17: 26).

²¹ Labat (1974, 162: o. 7–8), translated by Labat as “scouts” (“éclaireurs,” see *ibid.* 173). Note that the line in the commentary mentioned above implies that *bēl āmirišu* appeared also in Šumma Ālu, although the base text is now lost.

²² The solution adopted in the dictionaries has been to read these cases as *nak-ru-uṭ*, which results in cumbersome syntax. See also von Soden (1971, 71) for a justification of the unlikely absolute state of the infinitive in these cases.

Theodicy 44 BM 35405 *naq-ru-tú* K.3452+ *nak-ru-tu*
 ‘Marduk Hymn 1’ 206²³ BM 76492 [*naq*]-*ru-ta*¹ K.9430 *nak-ru-tu*

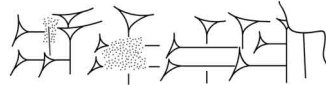
The phonetic character of the radicals of this verb thus vacillate not only in different texts, but also in the different manuscripts of the same text. In the present line of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, the only manuscripts that preserve the word write *iĠ-GĀR-riġ*, which suggests parsing the root as **qrt*, since the reading *qar* of *GĀR* is far more common than *kār*. The etymology of the word is unknown, but if one reconstructs an etymon **qrġ*, the expected result in Akkadian would be *qarātu* rather than *karātu*, according to Geers’s law of dissimilation of emphatics.

6. The god name in Huz1 is ^d30^{1*}, rather than ^dU.U, which would be Adad (cf. Schwemer 2001, 77 fn. 501). Elsewhere the *kispu*-ritual is usually said to have taken place during the month of Abu, but *kispu*-rituals during the month of Ayyāru are also attested already in Old Babylonian documents (Tsukimoto 1985, 48–51).

7. This line is cited in an astrological report from Nabû-šumu-iškun (RMA 215 = SAA 8 377 rev. 3–5): ¶ *ina* ^{iti}GU₄ UD 15.KĀM *ana* ^{dé-a} [*liš*]-*ken* | *šá* EN.NUN BAR-*ir mim-mu-šú* | *ana ta-na-da-a-ti* GAR-*an*. The transcription of *šá* EN.NUN(-*ti*) as *ša šibitti*, lit. “one of the prison,” follows Landsberger (1915, 116), who studies similar prognoses in other hemerologies, where the expression is written as either *kalā limaššir*, “he should release a captive;” or *sabta limaššir*, “he should release a prisoner.”

8. The identity of the object the officiant that has to “face” is not clear. While MS Nin1a suggests that the second word is *rē’ú*, “shepherd,” the two manuscripts preserving the preceding word disagree at this point. MS Sip1 seems to read NAP-PA-PA, whereas Huz2 contains perhaps *nap¹-pa* (^{giš}1GIDRU, “(shepherd’s) staff,” would make sense semantically, but it seems too forced an emendation, see the adjoining copy of the passage).

Sip1 IGI-*et*  *ana* ^dNUSKA

Huz1 IGI-*et* 

The reading of MS Huz1 probably represents a case of haplography (PA-PA.LU for PA-PA-PA.LU). It is assumed here tentatively that the reading of MS Sip1 represents *nap-pa-ḫat rē’i*, “the bellows of a shepherd,” a phrase elsewhere entirely unattested.

9–12 (§ 3). These lines are attested among the prognoses of Inbu bēl arḫi for the same days in K.4068+ (collated, correct every line of Livingstone 2013, 206–210 accordingly):

i 16’–17’ (5th Simanu). *ana* ^{d+}en-*lil u ūmi*(UD-*mī*) *lik-ru-u*[*b ana di-ni* lā(NU) *ušši*(Ē)] | *šarru*(LUGAL) *šū*(B) *ina* *še^{*}-rim^{*}* ¹ū¹ [*šum-ši-i i-šal-l*]im
 ii 18’–20’ (16th). [*áš*]-*la šá* *eleppi*(^{giš}M[Á]) | *ana ma-ḫir-ti li-iš-bat lamassu*(^dLA[MMA^{*}]) *mu-šal*]-*lim-t*[*um*] | *it-ta-nar-ru-šu* [ø] *lib-bašu*(ŠĀ-B)I^{*} *itāb*(DÜG^{*}.G[A]^{*})
 ii 38’. (20th) [... *ana šamaš*(^dUTU) *liš-ke*]n^{*} *il*(DINGIR)-*šū li*]-*sap-pi* (o) | [*šarru*(LUGAL) *šū*(B)I^{*}] *ul ul-taš-šá-áš*
 iii 17. (25th) *ina mē*(A^{meš}) *liṭ-bu ul* [*is-sal-la*]-¹1^{*} *ul^{*} ina-an-z*[*iq*]^{*}

As will be studied below, Inbu bēl arḫi not only copies but also adapts our text for its new royal audience: the officiant in Inbu bēl arḫi is explicitly “the king.”

9. The line is cited in an astrological report from Nabû-šumu-iškun (RMA 277ad = SAA 8 379 o. 1–6), which can now be restored as: [¶ *ina* ^{iti}IG₄ UD 5^{*}.KĀM | [*ana* ^d]UTU.Ē A^{meš} *liq-qí* | [*ana* UD-*m*] *i lik-ru-ub* | [*ana di*]-*ni NU* Ē | [*ina* *še-rim*] *u šum-ši-i* | [*i-šal*]-*lim* (collated). The quotation is probably taken from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ rather than from Inbu bēl arḫi, as shown by the fact that it does not include the latter text’s addition (*šarru šū*, “that king”) before the verb *išallim*.

10. The line is cited in an astrological report from Ištar-šumu-ēreš (RMA 159 = SAA 8 23 r. 1–5): ¶ *ina* ^{iti}SIG₄ UD 16.[KĀM] | *áš-la šá* ^{giš}M[Á] | *a-na ma-ḫi-ir-ti li-iš-b[at]* | ^dLAMMA *mu-šal-li-im*-[*tú*] | *it-ta-na-ar*-[*ri*]. To tow a boat upstream is a symbolic action, representing the “guiding” ((*w*)*arū* Gtn)²⁴ of the man’s tutelary genius.

13. The tamarisk is usually associated with Anu, not with Enlil (Böck 2007, 217). For the apodosis *pā mutalla išakkan*, “he will make a lordly speech,” see Starr (1999, 185 ad 49).

14. The beginning of the line has been restored on the basis of a line in the microzodiac VAT 7847+ AO 6448 r. 13:

²⁴ Huz2 o. 11 reads the verb as *it-ta-tur*-[*ri*?], which is probably the result of an unsuccessful parsing of *ittannari* as derived from *tāru*, “to turn,” instead of (*w*)*arū*, “to lead.”

šizba(GA) lā(NU) išatti(NAG) uš-ši sîn^{(d)30} u šamaš^{(d)20} liškun(GAR-un) (Weidner 1967, 32 Aries).

The phrase *he-di-is-su li-ba-as-si-ir* is difficult. Livingstone’s (2013, 162) translation, “let him bring good news to rejoice him,” makes very little sense in the context. An equally unconvincing approach is that of CAD B 347, which translates this line as “he should place [the ...] in front of Šamaš, he should praise (the god) in terms of his (the god’s) liking,”²⁵ probably deriving *hi-di-is-su* from *hadû*, “to rejoice.” However, such a noun (*hiditu?*) is elsewhere unattested, and so this interpretation of the line is also insecure.

A different interpretation suggests itself when the line in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is compared with Ludlul II 117–118 (Lambert 1960a, 46), where the ill-wishers of the sufferer gloat over his misery:

išmē-ma hādû’a immerū pānūšu
hādīti ubassirū kabattašu ipperdū

He who gloats over me heard it and his face lit up,
they brought the news to she who gloats over me and her mind
was cheerful.

It seems likely that the line in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ has to be interpreted in a similar fashion, as “let him bring (good) news to his female ill-wisher.” Such symbolic actions with men and, particularly, women are common in the present hemerology, e.g. in l. 30 (6th Kislimu) it prescribes kissing an old woman, l. 32 (30th Kislimu) kissing a slave, and l. 35 (25th Tebetu) impregnating a “street woman.”

The writing *he-di-is-su*, could be interpreted as a Neo/Late-Babylonian form: for other instances of the switch /a/ > /e/ in N/LB verbs, see Çağırğan/Lambert (1991, 102 ad 93), Streck (1992, 148), and George (2003, 437).²⁶

15. The restorations at the beginning of the line are tentative. Note that, whereas releasing birds to the west or the east is well attested in hemerologies (Livingstone 2000; Cavigneaux/Donbaz 2007, 321–331), releasing them to a

particular god seems to be unattested. The object of the verb may thus be a human prisoner rather than a bird, as in line 7.

On the prognosis of the line see Landsberger (1928, 294) and Parpola (1983, 231).

16. The prognosis is most likely based on a pun between the “releasing” of something in the protasis and the “releasing” of the god’s anger in the apodosis. The first part of the line is also preserved in K.2302 o. 16’ (Bab. 1, 202), which probably borrowed it from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’: ¶ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱŠU UD 20.KAM^v *t[i]-rik-t[i]’-IM bu-l[im]** (the reading is uncertain).

17–20. Livingstone (1995/1996, 245) suggests that SAA 8 234, a report that quotes hemerological prognoses for the 27th, 29th*, and [30th] (?) of Ab, would draw from CT 51, 161 and dupls. (i.e., the ‘Prostration Hemerology’), but the present reconstruction disproves it.

18. The present line is cited in the microzodiac tablet VAT 7847+AO 6448 r. 13: *inba*(GURUN) *likul*(GU₇) *be-ra-tū li-kabbis*(ZUKUM) (Weidner 1967, 32 Piscis, reference courtesy of E. Frahm).²⁷ CAD M/2 145b cites this instance and refers to *birītu* 1b and *bīru* C, “balk between fields and gardens,” since the phrase *bir(īt)a kabāsu* is in fact attested in the curse section of two *kudurnus*. There Adad is invoked to “tread” on the cursed person’s fields: *šer’a bi-ri-ta || bi-ra-a likabbisā šēpāšu*, “may his feet (sc. Adad’s) tread on furrow and baulk!” (Paulus 2014, 535 iv 14 and 546 iv 6).

19. The word *qūltu* is often written with gV(C) signs in first millennium texts, e.g. *šumma ina bīt amēli qū-ul-ti šaknat* (Šumma Ālu VII 3, Freedman 1998, 130); or *ina qūl-ti mūši* (CT 40, 49 o. 39 [Šumma Ālu]), see also Meissner (1931, 65 f.). As noted by Virolleaud (1911, 104 fn. 4) and Marti (2014, 174), the present line is cited in K.2302 o. 17’ (Bab. 1, 202, read *ina qūl*-ti*).

21. Compare the similar passage in the ‘Eclipse Hemerology’ 21 (Livingstone 2013, 196): ¶ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱKIN KIMIN-*ma* ^{mul}ŠU.PA IGI-*ma* GA NAG Ì.NUN.NA ŠĒŠ’ *ú-ta-ṭa-al* (for 12th–14th Elūlu). On the meaning of the verb *eṭēlu* Dt, used occasionally in prognoses, see Heefel (2000, 270 f.), who translates it as “aus der Pubertät herauswächst.”

²⁵ The line is said there to be restored after “Sm.97:25, courtesy J. Laessøe.” The museum number appears to be a mistake for Si.97 (i.e. Sip1 in the present edition), but the line number is inexplicable (note that the actual Sm.97 is a small fragment of astrological contents). An alleged “Sm.97:24” is cited again in CAD N/2 86a, but in this occasion the line quoted comes from Si.7, a manuscript of the *šu’ila*-prayer ‘Marduk 1’.

²⁶ Although note that two Assyrian manuscripts (Huz2 and Nin2, both collated) seem to also read *he* at this point, instead of the expected *ha*. However, it could perhaps be assumed that they had a Babylonian *Vorlage*.

²⁷ The prognosis is also attested in the microzodiac BM 34572 r. 20 (LBAT 1580), *be-ra-tū likabbis*(ZUKUM) (Weidner 1967, 37 Piscis).

22. The “west” (^{im}MAR.TU) is occasionally mentioned in hemerologies as the place the officiant should face during offerings, as studied by Jiménez (2013, 133 f.). Livingstone (2013, 163: 25), however, understands the god Amurru to be hidden behind the writing ^{im}MAR.TU, and transliterates it as IŠKUR-MAR.TU in Livingstone (1996, 309).²⁸ This interpretation seems unlikely in light of the present passage, where the use of the preposition *meḥret* clearly marks ^{im}MAR.TU as a direction.

Besides this line, offerings made “to the west” (*ana amurri*) are mentioned in line 38 of the present text, where the Anunnaki are the recipients in an otherwise similar context. Likewise in the ‘Offering Bread Hemerology’ iv 18–21 (Livingstone 2013, 139) the officiant is instructed to “place an offering to Lugaldukuga, Enki and Enmešarra (facing) west” (*kurummassu ana* ^dLUGAL-DU₆-KÙ.GA ^d+EN.KI ^den-me-šár-ra ^{im}MAR.TU *liškun*) on the 29th of Tašrītu (VII).²⁹ A similar offering also during the month of Tašrītu, on an undetermined day, is attested in ‘Astrolabe B,’ which describes a funerary offering (*kispu*) to the Anunnaki, and to Lugaldukuga, Enki and Ninki, when “the gate of the Apsū (i.e., the Netherworld) is open” (*ká abzu-ta è || bāb apsī ippatte*).³⁰

Lugaldukuga and Enmešarra are dead or defeated gods, of a decidedly chthonic character (Lambert 1987/1990; 2013, 302–305), as are also the Anunnaki. Thus the fact that the offering is to be made facing west is particularly meaningful, since the west is traditionally associated with the realm of the dead (see e.g. Woods 2009, 187 f.).³¹

²⁸ Note that the identical expression of l. 38 of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is translated by Livingstone (2013, 166: “44”) as “facing the West Wind for the Anunnaki.”

²⁹ In this instance the ^{im}MAR.TU is understood *inter alii* by Lambert (2013, 302) and Tsukimoto (1985, 206) as referring to the god Amurru, who would be the recipient of the offering together with Lugaldukuga, Enki, and Enmešarra. This is, however, very unlikely, on the one hand because the writing of the divine name with the determinative IM, instead of DINGIR, is otherwise unattested; on the other, because other Tašrītu lines from the ‘Offering Bread Hemerology’ attest that the offering should be simply “to the west” (*ana amurri*, on the 25th, 27th, and 28th). It thus seems preferable to understand ^{im}MAR.TU as a direction, in spite of the fact that the preposition *ana* is not repeated before it.

³⁰ KAV 218 A ii 26–28 and 35–37 and dupls., edited by Tsukimoto (1985, 201–211), Çağırğan (1976, 140–143. 157; 1984, 405 f. 411), and Casaburi (2003, 38 f.).

³¹ Another such instance occurs in the ‘Eclipse Hemerology’ obv. 27 (Livingstone 2013, 196), where the officiant is instructed to sacrifice a sheep and to offer the blood to the west (*dāma ana* ^{im}d lišamḥir).

23. The present line is cited in K.2302 o. 18’ (Bab. 1, 202), NÍG.[B]A *ana* ^dURAŠ ŠÛD-u[b]*.

24. The second part of the line is also the incipit of the 9th tablet of Inbu bēl arḫi, and it appears as such in a catchline at the end of the 8th tablet of the series:

𒌷 ^{iti}DU₆ šá ^dUTU *qu-ra-du ka-la-ma ep-š[e-tu-šú ia-a-nu] |*
GARZA^{meš} *ana* ^d+en-(lil) *gúm-mu-rù* UD 1.KÁM šá ^da-nim ^d+e[n*-lil
o o o o]

In the month of Tašrītu – of the hero Šamaš – in its entirety [there are no] rites [on his part]. The regular ceremonies are to be carried out for En(lil). The 1st day is of Anu and En[lil ...].

K.4231 iv 11–12 (4R 32) = Inbu bēl arḫi (Livingstone 2013, 217, collated)³²

The key to the understanding of this line lies in the distinction between *epšētu* and *paršū*: while the former are said not to happen during Tašrītu, the latter are to be carried out normally. In this text *epšētu* (plural of either *epištu* or *epuštu*) refers to the different actions which are prescribed in the first part of each sentence of the hemerology by using the precativ. In turn, *paršū* refers to the regular and regulated rites of the gods,³³ which in our text are said to be “completed” (*gummuru* l. 24,³⁴ *šalāmu* l. 25). This line thus specifies that, whereas no symbolic actions of the type prescribed in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ are to be performed during Tašrītu, the regular rites should still be observed in honor of Enlil.

25–28 (§ 8). The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ prognoses for Araḥsamnu are also recorded, in a slightly modified form, in Inbu bēl arḫi (K.3269+, Livingstone 2013, 218–222, correct and restore accordingly):³⁵

i14–15 (3rd Araḥsamnu). *anasîn*(^d30) *qīšta*(NÍG.B[A]lik]-ru-ub|[*ana ištār*(^d15) *parša*(GA)RZA) *liš-lim niš qātī*(ŠU)-š[ú] *imaḥḥar* (IG1) *li-pit qātī*(ŠU)-šú *iššir*(SI.SÁ)

³² The line in Inbu bēl arḫi incidentally confirms that the reading of Huz2, *kalāma*, is to be preferred to that of the two Kuyunjik manuscripts, *ka-la* (note that Nin2 and Nin3 were probably copied from the same manuscript, as will be discussed below). It is therefore in apposition to the month name, and does not refer to *epšētu* (*pace* Livingstone 2013, 164).

³³ On this distinction see Heeßel (2006).

³⁴ *paršū gummurū* appears in fact in other occasions in Inbu bēl arḫi: 𒌷 ^{iti}AB TA UD 1.KÁM EN UD 30.KÁM GARZA^{meš} *gúm-mu-ru*, “in the month of Ṭebētu (X), between the 1st and the 30th day the rites are carried out” (Livingstone 2013, 227 r. ii 19’, collated). See also *ibid.* 224 r. ii. 26’.

³⁵ Line 26 of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ was in all likelihood cited in Inbu bēl arḫi for 28th Araḥsamnu, which is the date preserved in the Nineveh manuscripts of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’. However, there is a textual lacuna at the end of the prognoses of 28th Araḥsamnu in Inbu bēl arḫi.

ii 45–48 (19th). *ina še-rim ana* ^{1a}[ME].ME (?) | *ina mušlāli*(AN.BAR₇) *ana bēlet-ilī*(DINGIR.MAḪ) *ina ka-la ūmi*(UD-m[i] *ana*) *adad*(^{1a}IŠKUR) | *ina šimītan*(AN.ÚSAN) *ana* ⁴ⁱš-tar liš-ken nīš (ÍL[A] *qātī*(Š)U)-šú | *itti*(KI) *ili*(DINGIR) *ma-gir su-pu*[r-šú *irap-peš*(DAG)AL-eš]
 ii 52 (20th). [*ina tērti*(KIN-šú) *ú-lab-bar ā*(ŠE-im) *u kaspa*(KÙ.BAB-BAR)] *irašši*(TUKU-ši)

26. Livingstone’s (2013, 164) parsing of MÁŠ-DA-RI as MÁŠ *da-ri*, “lasting divination,” seems unconvincing. Context suggests that MÁŠ-DA-RI should have a meaning “profit” or the like. As a matter of fact, several lexical lists contain the equation *m á š - d a - r i = erbu*.³⁶

On the apodosis, compare Šumma kataduggû 62 (Böck 2000, 134): *šumma šaptāšu sanqā ʔe-em ili*(DINGIR) *iššak-kan*(GAR)-šú, “if his lips are cautious, the god’s attention will be set on him.”

27. The ritual actions prescribed in this line were discussed by Weidner (1912, 76).

Two of the Nineveh manuscripts (Nin1 and Nin3) have a clear 29th as the day for which this prognosis applies, as opposed to the 19th of both the Huz2 and Nin2 and the 15th of Bab1 (all five instances have been collated). Two facts suggest that the reading 19th is better: in the first place, it is the same as in the Inbu bēl arḫi passage mentioned above; secondly, l. 29 in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ refers to 20th of Araḫsamnu, which means that l. 28 must have had a lower number (see also Marti 2014, 174). These two facts suggest that both Nin1 and Nin3 stem from the same archetype, which was corrupt at this point.

28. Livingstone (2013, 165) understands the first prognosis as “he will grow old among his kind,” and transcribes the Nineveh manuscripts as “*ina qini*(KIN)-šú.” This seems also to have been the opinion of the scribe of Sip2, who renders the phrase as *ina qin-ni-šú*, “in his own family.” However a logographic writing KIN of the word *qinnu*, “clan,” is elsewhere unattested. Moreover, the fact that BabVar1 shares the reading of the Nineveh manuscripts (*ina KIN-šú*) makes an eventual emendation of the three sources as *ina qin-(ni)-šú* unlikely.

The key to the understanding of the phrase appears in the manuscript Sip1, which preserves the reading *ina UR-ti-šú*. This should be interpreted as *ina tēš-ti-šú*, i.e.,

³⁶ The equation can be found in 𐎠𐎢𐎽 XIII 71 (MSL 8 p. 13), ‘Izi Bogh’ A 317 (MSL 13 p. 143), and a bilingual ritual (see George 1992, 312). Note that *erbu* (whose meaning is “income” as ‘natural increase’ of one’s possessions”, Beaulieu 1989, 95 fn. 21) is equated with *išdīḫu* in a Late Babylonian commentary (BRM 4, 20: 67–69, edition forthcoming as CCP 2.5).

a Neo/Late-Babylonian form of *ina tērtišu*.³⁷ Since the writing KIN for *tērtu* is well attested, *ina tērtišu* is easier to reconcile with *ina KIN-šú*, and the meaning is also more convincing: “he will grow old in his office.”³⁸

29. A similar ritual instruction occurs in the ‘Eclipse Hemerology’ 30 (Livingstone 2013, 197): *ina KU₄ bu-lim a-na IGI bu-lim A BAL-qī* (for Kislimu).

31. This line is cited in an astrological report from Nabû-šumu-iškun (RMA 95 = SAA 8 371 r. 4–6), as already noted by Virolleaud (1911, 105 fn. 1): 𐎠𐎢 *ina* ^{iti}GAN UD 15^{sic}.KÁM *ana* ^{4U}.GUR *liš-ken* | ^{giš}lib-bi-GIŠIMMAR *ina* ^{šU}min-šú *liš-ši* | *ina* KASKAL *u me-te-qī i-sal-lim*. After this line the report contains further prognoses for the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th days of Kislimu, which do not occur in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’.³⁹

George (2000, 287), quoting the present line, suggests that palm shoots were associated with a festival in the month Kislimu (see also Çağırğan 1976, 284–286; Çağırğan/Lambert 1991, 92).

32. The line is probably paralleled in K.2302 o. 2’ (Bab. 1, 201): [...] ¹x¹ [x] x ^{munus}SIG₅ ^úSmeš-šú.

33–35 (§ 10). While the sections of Inbu bēl arḫi dealing with 3rd and 25th ʔebētu are missing, one of the prognoses for 20th ʔebētu is clearly borrowed from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (K.2809+, Livingstone 2013, 225 ii 13’f.): *im-na*(ZAG) *u šumēla*(G[ÜB *mehret*(IGI-e)t) *amurri*(^{im}MAR.TU) *mē*(A^{meš}) *liqqi*(BAL-qī).

34. The instruction “to libate water for the Anunnaki” appears often in microzodiac texts: cf. e.g. Weidner (1967, 24 Leo and 42 7th day); or LBAT 1579 o. 2’–6’. It is also borrowed in K.2302 r. 2 (Bab. 1, 202), as already noted by Virolleaud (1911, 106 fn. 2).

36. Livingstone’s interpretation of TĒŠ-BI NA-AN-TIL as “his manly strength will have no end” (Livingstone 2013, 167) seems unlikely. In the four known manuscripts of the passage (three of them unknown to Livingstone) the final sign is a clear NU, not TIL. Virolleaud (1911, 106. fn. 4) in-

³⁷ For the Neo/Late-Babylonian shift /rt/ > /št/ see GAG § 35c.

³⁸ Compare the frequent apodosis *ina KIN-šú innassaḫ*, “he will be dismissed from his post” (CAD T 363a). But compare also Iqqur ipuš §62 (restored with YBC 9834 ii’ 10’, unpubl.): 𐎠 *ina* ^{iti}šU (DAM-su *ana* ^{é-šU} KU₄-ib) *ina KIN-ni-šú zi-aḫ*.

³⁹ A similar line occurs also in Inbu bēl arḫi on the 26th Araḫsamnu (Livingstone 2013, 222): *ana* ^{4UTU} ^{4U}.GUR *liš-ke[n]* | [*nīš* šU-šú]* KI DINGIR IGI NA *ina* KASKAL *me-te-qī i-sal-lim* (collated).

interprets it as *ištēniš na-an-nu*, and understands *na-an-nu* as a form of the rare noun *nannū*, “command.”

The interpretation offered here, based on a kind suggestion by W. Sallaberger, assumes an opposition between *mithāru*, a term which in hemerologies seem to describe “equivocal” days,⁴⁰ and *annu*, an “oracular response.” The prognosis would then state that Šabātu 20th is a favorable day for divination, which would explain the prescription of a prostration to Šamaš.

This line is in all likelihood also contained in a manuscript of Inbu bēl arḫi unknown to Livingstone, K.9479 ii 4’–7’, which can then be reconstructed as follows: ¶ ūmu(UD) 20.[KÁM o o o (o)] šá sîn(30) u šamaš(2[0] o o o o o o o o) | šarru(LUG[AL] nindabê(NIDBA)-šú ana) šamaš^(f^d UTU) ^b[e-let-mātāti(KUR.KUR) ana sîn(^d30) bēlet-ilī(DINGIR.MAḪ) ú-kan] | ni-[qé-e liqqi(BAL-qī) ana] šamaš^(f^d UTU) liš-ken [mē(A^{meš}) lā(NU) išatti(NAG) TĒŠ.BI na-an-nu] | [o o o o] x x [o o o o o o o], “On the 20th day, [...], day of Sîn and Šamaš [...], the king [should consecrate his food offering] to Šamaš and B[e]let-mātāti, to Sîn and Bēlet-ilī, [he should make a sacr]ifice, he should prostrate himself to Šamaš, [he should not drink water, ...].”⁴¹

38. The same prescription is contained in a manuscript of Inbu bēl arḫi, not treated by Livingstone, K.10629 9’–12’:⁴² [¶ UD 30.KÁM šá ^dx] ūmu(UD) lā(NU) magru(ŠE) pī-is-la-tu[m] | [šarru(LUGAL) nindabê(NIDBA)-šú ana] ^d+en-līl ú-k[an] | [ana adad(^dIŠKUR) liš-k]en karāna(GEŠTIN^{meš}) lā(NU) išatti(NAG) ši-d[a-nu | ul iṣabbat(DAB)-su ...], “[the 30th day (of Šabātu) belongs to the god ...], inauspicious, misadventures; [the king] should consecrate [his food offering] to Enlil; [he should prostra]te himself [to Adad], he should not drink wine. Then ver[tigo shall not come upon him ...].”

On the meaning “vertigo” of *šidānu*, see Schwemer (2009, 54).

39. As already noted by Virolleaud (1911, 106 fn. 7), the first part of the prescription is also contained in K.2302 r. 5 f. (Bab. 1, 202).

40. The instruction “he should not wipe his hands on (his) clothes” is attested for Šabātu in the ‘Eclipse Hemerology’ r. 4: [ina T]ÚG* šū^{min}-šú la i-ka-par.

⁴⁰ See CAD M/2 137 and Oppenheim (1974, 206 fn. 43).

⁴¹ The text is now edited by Marti (2014, 193 f.). Compare also K.2302 r. 3 f. (Bab. 1, 202): [ina ⁱⁱ]ÁŠ UD 20-KAM^v [a-n]a* ^{f^d*f^a1*}-nun-na-ki A^{meš} BAL-qī | A^{meš} NU NAG.

⁴² The text is now edited by Marti (2014, 193 f.), which should be corrected accordingly.

“The work of Uttu” (i.e. textile production) is also attested in the ‘Offering Bread Hemerology’ 21st Nisannu: *maltūtu lipit uttu ayy-išir*, “weaving, the work of Uttu, will not prosper” (Livingstone 2013, 114: ii 74 f.). CAD E 396b suggests that the last prognosis of Sip1, *ettūtu ina bītīšu kayyān*, “the spider will be permanent in his house,” is a syllabic rendering of the last prognosis contained in the rest of the manuscripts, viz. *lipit ^dUTTU ina bītīšu SI.SÁ*, “the work of Uttu (i.e. textile production) will prosper in his house.”⁴³ However, the discovery of Bab1 makes it now clear that Bab1 and Sip1 contain the two prognoses juxtaposed.

Two facts have to be considered when analyzing this juxtaposition. First, while two manuscripts preserve this last prognosis (Bab1 and Sip1), four of them, from three different cities (Nin1 and Nin3, Sip3, and BabVar2), omit it: *lipit ^dUTTU ina bītīšu SI.SÁ* is thus the *lectio plurimum codicum*. Secondly the last prognosis of Bab1 and Sip1, *ettūtu ina bītīšu kayyān*, is remarkably similar to the penultimate prognosis in both manuscripts, *lipit ^dUTTU ina bītīšu SI.SÁ*. It seems thus advisable to consider the last prognosis of Bab1 and Sip1 an old gloss of the penultimate prognosis which in some traditions has been incorporated into the main text.⁴⁴

2 Study of the text

The present text was entitled ‘Prostration Hemerology’ by A. Livingstone on account of the fact that many of its prescriptions involve “prostrating” oneself (*šukēnu*) to a particular god or goddess. It is unknown whether the text had a discrete title in Antiquity: among the manuscripts that preserve the last lines of the text, MSS Sip1 and Bab1⁴⁵ contain no rubric, while the rubric of MSS Nin1 and Nin3 simply gives the total number of prognoses. MS Huz1 does

⁴³ This idea was followed by Livingstone (1986, 182 f.) where the present line is, however, called “a line from Šumma Ālu.”

⁴⁴ The gloss becomes explicable when taken into account that Uttu, the goddess of weaving, is elsewhere associated with spiders: a theological commentary calls her *iš-kil-ti ettūti*, “... of the spider.” Note that Livingstone’s (1986, 178 f.: 38) interpretation of *iš-kil-ti et-tu-tu* as “the spider’s web,” left unexplained, is free: no noun *iškiltu* is elsewhere attested; it may be corrupt, since it is preserved in only one manuscript.

⁴⁵ MS Bab1 contains after the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ the ‘Lying Down Menology,’ a ritual prescribing a different types of purification for every month of the year (ii 28 – iii 30). After this it preserves some instructions presumably preceded by a rubric, which may well apply also to the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (iii 31 “whoever shall perform these rituals (*nēpešī annūti*) during the twelve months of the year ...”).

preserve a descriptive rubric (“*these* are the days ...”), but unfortunately it is broken.

The text is structured as a series of ritual instructions, written in the precative, for three or four days of each month: these rituals are called *epšētu* in the main text.⁴⁶ A prognosis, generally written in the durative tense, follows the instructions and specifies their outcome. The text could therefore be studied both vertically and horizontally, that is, by the paradigmatic arrangement of its prescriptions and by the syntagmatic relationship between the prescriptions and the prognoses (Sallaberger 2000, 240 f.).

As for the paradigmatic aspects of the text, there seems to be no obvious reason for the particular selection of dates. The following table illustrates the dates for which prescriptions are given:

I (Nisannu)	4 6 13 20
II (Ayyāru)	1 6 15 20
III (Simanu)	5 16 20 25
IV (Du’ūzu)	3? x x 20
V (Abu)	13 16 20 25
VI (Elūlu)	10 16 20
VII (Tašrītu)	–
VIII (Araḥsamnu)	3 15 19 20
IX (Kislīmu)	1 6 16 30
X (Ṭebētu)	3 20 25
XI (Šabātu)	20 24 30
XII (Addaru)	13 20

No apparent logic behind the selection of dates can be found, beyond the fact that certain days feature more often than others (especially the 20th, which is only absent in the Kislīmu section). This, together with the fact that the number of days a month with prescriptions also varies (from zero in Tašrītu to four in most months), suggests that the text is not an original creation, but rather a series of prescriptions that were extracted from a larger hemerology on account of some shared features. However, no plausible excerption criteria suggest themselves, since no obvious *leitmotiv* underlies each and every entry. Moreover, the fact that few of the text’s prescriptions are attested in other hemerologies⁴⁷ suggests understanding it as an original, more or less independent composition. The

occasional literary words and phrases unique to our text’s prognoses⁴⁸ also give the impression of it being a new, innovative creation.

The present hemerology mentions in almost every line a certain god or group of gods to be worshipped on a particular day. In most cases the reasons for the association of a god with a day are unknown. Still, in some cases this connection can be explained by comparison with associations that occur elsewhere in cuneiform literature: thus, the connection of Šamaš with the 20th day in l. 11 (Simānu 20th), which no doubt derives from the traditional writing of the god’s name as (d)20, is elsewhere well attested. More interestingly, in other hemerologies the month of Ayyāru (II) is associated with the god Ea:⁴⁹ this link explains why our text prescribes for the first day of that month that the officiant prostrates himself to Ea. As lord of the Apsū and patron of the exorcists, Ea is associated with fish:⁵⁰ not only does our hemerology prescribe the consumption of fish on Ayyāru 1st, it also states that on that day a man should bathe himself using fish oil instead of water – a true display of devotion!

These examples represent exceptional cases in which the rationale behind the paradigmatic arrangement of the entries can be discerned. In most of the lines the reasons for the prescription of a ritual instruction on a given date are unclear. By contrast the horizontal relationship between the ritual prescribed and its predicted outcome is in many cases explicable. In a couple of instances it seems as if the action prescribed was the most direct way to achieve the prognosis announced: so e.g. to bathe oneself is indeed an effective method to avoid disease (l. 12), or to pray to one’s god could ease one’s worries (l. 11).

In most of the entries, however, the association clearly obeys the same rules that underlie the connection of protases and apodoses in divination. These rules reflect the *perceived* association between a sign and its meaning. Thus the association can be based on puns: in l. 33 receiving “hot bread” (*emmetu*) from a cook would protect the officiant against a curse (*māmitu*). It can also be based on the traditional character or functions of the gods: an offering to Adad would prevent one’s properties from being flooded away by that same god (l. 22); one to Nissaba

⁴⁶ See the commentary on line 24 above.

⁴⁷ Not counting Inbu bēl arḫi or K.2302 (Bab. 1, 201–203) (texts which, as will be discussed below, probably borrowed their predictions from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’), parallels can be found only to lines 21 and 29, and still in those cases there is no proof that our text was the borrower and not the lender.

⁴⁸ See the commentary on lines 3, 5, and 14. Unique expressions, unparalleled in the divinatory corpus, can be found e.g. in l. 15 (*pū ša izzurūšu ikarrabšu*) or 17 (*šattu mašrā ukallamšu*).

⁴⁹ E.g. in Iqqur ipuš Ayyāru is said to be *ša Ea bēl tenēšēti*, “of Ea, the lord of the living people” (Labat 1965, 196 f.). This association is also recalled in SAA 8, 232 r. 11 and elsewhere. For some speculation on the possible origins of this association, see Galter (1983, 109 f.).

⁵⁰ On Ea’s association with fish, see Galter (1983, 106 f.).

would grant a good grain crop (the word for “grain” in Akkadian being also *nissaba*) (l. 23). The text also abounds in precriptions comparable with the symbolic actions, or “sign-acts,” of the Biblical prophets:⁵¹ thus, kissing maids to obtain Ištar’s favor (l. 32), towing boats upstream to have one’s life towed by a benign genius (l. 10), or impregnating a “street woman” (*sinništa ša sūqi*) (l. 35) to gain Ištar’s help at dice.

Some of these actions are informative about the symbolism that the Mesopotamians attributed to certain people or gods. Thus, for instance, to kiss an ecstatic grants divine and royal regard (l. 29), and in l. 30 kissing an old woman is said to keep sorcery away from the officiant: as noted by Schwemer (2007, 117 f.), in contrast to the European tradition, witches are portrayed in Mesopotamian tradition as young, alluring women, so that: “das Küssen der alten Frau feilt den jeweiligen Mann gegen die gefährlichen Künste der als junge Mädchen vorgestellten Hexen, deren Attraktivität er ostentativ zurückweist.”⁵² In the same manner, line 4 urges the officiant to “libate water to the (four) winds” (*ana šārī mē liqqī*), so that “sorcery and witchcraft will not prowl him” (*ipšu u kišpu ul iṭṭeneḥḥišu*). The winds played a central role in Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft literature, where their blowing is often invoked to sweep away witchcraft or demonic threats (Jiménez 2013, 27–139): this is no doubt the role in which they are expected to work here.

As in these examples, people from the “margins of society,” such as street women (*sinništu ša sūqi*) or slaves, feature occasionally in the present text. Some of the ritual actions or prognoses take place in a rural milieu: l. 27, for instance, predicts the expansion of one’s sheepfold; l. 29 prescribes a libation in front of the cattle when the cattle returns. More importantly, the officiant in our text is represented as a private person: in spite of the fact it was used by Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is not a royal hemerology. In fact, the “favor” of the king is predicted on several occasions as the outcome of the proper performance of the rituals (ll. 13,

26, and 29); and “houses” or “households,” rather than “palaces,” are the places where prosperity is forecasted to increase (e.g. l. 19). In this respect, it is interesting to note that the copies of our text that were found in royal libraries have not been adapted to their new royal owner (see e.g. Nin1 in l. 13): the fact that, as will be studied below, the whole of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ was extracted into the royal hemerology Inbu bēl arḫi did not mean that it ceased to be copied.

3 Study of the manuscripts

The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is currently known from eleven manuscripts from four cities: Babylon, Sippar, Huzirina, and Nineveh. The Assyrian copies all date to the Neo-Assyrian period, probably to the 7th century BCE. As will be argued below, the tablets from Sippar can be dated approximately to the same century, a time in which our text also features frequently in the Assyrian royal correspondence. Whereas the 7th century is the period when it seems to have enjoyed its greatest popularity, the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ was also well known in later times: the three tablets from Babylon can be dated to the Achaemenid or early Hellenistic period.

These eleven manuscripts can be divided into three groups according to the form in which they preserve the ‘Prostration Hemerology’:

- To the first group belong tablets that contain only the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, without any appendix. Since our text is rather short, the manuscripts of this group are small, one column tablets.
- The tablets of the second group are here called “variorum tablets”: they contain several complete hemerologies, one after the other. “Variorum tablets” are either two column tablets (Bab1) or one column ones (e.g. Nin1 and Nin3).
- Those termed here “hemerological compilations” are hemerological treatises which draw their prognoses from other hemerologies, and combine them in a new form, which is independent from the original context of the quotations. In the “hemerological compilations” the compilation of hemerological data occurs at the level of the text, not of the tablet. “Hemerological compilations” receive throughout this paper a siglum with the letters “Var.”

BabVar1 and BabVar2, both of which come certainly from Babylon (see Jiménez forthcoming), belong to the last category: they contain multiple predictions which draw

⁵¹ In fact it has been proposed that the symbolic actions of the Biblical prophets originated in acts of sympathetic magic (see Friebel 1999, 42–48 for a critical assessment of this theory). A famous Mesopotamian case of performance of a symbolic action to represent a “etymological” prognosis is that of the ecstatic from Saggartum who devours (*ikul*) a raw lamb to prophesy a “plague” (*ukultu*), in ARM 26/1, no. 206 (see Charpin 2012, 71, with further bibliography).

⁵² For a different, less convincing interpretation of the action, see Livingstone (1998, 65 f.), followed by Worthington (2004, 265 fn. 11).

from a variety of sources, among them the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, and deal only with some months of the year. In BabVar1 the scribe identifies himself in the colophon as Iddin-Bēl, son of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, from the Mušēzib family, a scribe known to have lived during the early Hellenistic period. Although no colophon is preserved in BabVar2, for reasons that will be studied elsewhere it seems reasonable to date it to some point in the Achaemenid period. BabVar1 and BabVar2 are the only “hemerological compilations” to be studied as such here, but Inbu bēl arḫi would *stricto sensu* belong to this same category: indeed, it draws its long prognoses for each day of the year from a variety of sources and combines them in a new form.⁵³

The other tablet from Babylon, MS Bab1 (BM 34090+ = Sp. 189+), belongs to the first Spartali collection, which means that it probably comes from Babylon and dates roughly to the first half of the Hellenistic period. As opposed to the other tablets from Babylon, Bab1 represents a “variorum tablet”: it once contained the entire ‘Prostration Hemerology’ in its first column (now lost) and the first two thirds of its second column. This is seamlessly followed by the ‘Lying Down Menology,’ a text elsewhere well attested in astrological reports, *Kalendertexte*, and other tablets with excerpts from it, but which has hitherto escaped Assyriological attention.⁵⁴ This hemerology spans the rest of the second column and the greatest part of the third, after which the ‘Tašritu Hemerology’ begins. The fourth column probably contained only the rest of the ‘Tašritu Hemerology’ (about twenty lines of text) and a colophon.

In a similar manner, the tablet in the University Museum, CBS 562 (Sip3), probably represents another “variorum tablet” rather than a “hemerological compilation,” since

⁵³ The tablet K.2302 (Bab. 1, 201–203), which was edited partially by Virolleaud (1904, 270 f.) and Labat (1965, 126–129) and which cites the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ several times (see the commentary on ll. 4, 16, 19, 23, 32, 34, 36, and 39) also belongs to the category of “hemerological compilations.” It compiles prognoses from different hemerologies and rearranges them according to the day of the month.

⁵⁴ The first portion (ii 20’–25’, dealing with Nisannu) is cited in the astrological report SAA 8, 231 r. 3’–10’ (reedited by Livingstone 2000, 381 f.) and in the *Kalendertext* VAT 7816 r. 17’–20’ (Weidner 1967, 44); the third (ii 31’–34’, Simānu) and fourth (iii 1–3, Du’ūzu) in the microzodiac tablet BM 33535 o. 7–13 and r. 7–12 (edited by Hunger 2007); the sixth (iii 7–10, Elūlu) in the ritual text SpTU 2, 23 o. 7–10; the ninth (iii 19–21, Kislimu) in the *Kalendertext* VAT 7815 r. 9’–11’ (Weidner 1967, 46); the rest is seemingly elsewhere unparalleled. The text is here provisionally labeled ‘Lying Down Menology,’ on account of the fact that the officiant is instructed at the end of most entries to “lie down” (*lināl*) in different places. An edition of this tablet and its partial duplicate BM 66574 will be given elsewhere.

it preserves ‘Prostration Hemerology’ prognoses for the last two months consecutively.⁵⁵ The contents of this tablet are miscellaneous. The obverse had once probably three or four narrow columns, of which now only two survive: the first preserved one contains the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ followed by the ‘Exorcist’s Almanac’ (the identification of the latter text is courtesy of Henry Stadhouders, who is preparing an edition of this tablet). The reverse, written as a single column, contains what appears to be a list of plants.⁵⁶ The tablet belongs to the first Khabaza collection, which was purchased by the University Museum of Philadelphia in 1888. The tablets from that collection come from uncontrolled diggings in the Sippar area, reportedly mostly from Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnanum, see Kalla 1999, 206–210). Sip3 was thus found in all likelihood in a different place from the other two Sippar tablets, Sip1 and Sip2.

These two manuscripts belong to the Sippar Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (formerly Imperial Museum of Constantinople), which consists mostly of tablets excavated by V. Scheil at Abū Ḥabba in 1894. Although Scheil unearthed tablets from many spots and dating to different periods,⁵⁷ most of the Neo-Babylonian literary tablets found during his excavations apparently date to the time of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and are reported to come to the Ebabbar complex.⁵⁸ If the Istanbul Sippar copies of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ also date to the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn – and it seems very likely that they do –,⁵⁹ they would represent yet another case in

⁵⁵ The bottom edge of the tablet preserves the remainings of a hole that was pierced through it. If the hole is not modern, it would suggest that the tablet was displayed at some point, and that it perhaps originally had a handle. On other hemerological tablets with holes and handles, see Lauinger (2011, 11).

⁵⁶ The list of plants is occasionally reminiscent of Šamnu šikinšu: (6’) [...] -šā : a-a-ār^{sar} : ʿel-li-p[li] [...], (7’) [...] u še.NUMUN-šú sa-a-mu ú tu-mam M[U[?]-šú (?) ...], (8’) [...] x : šimḫĀD.A : ú-ru-ú : x [...] (cp. ḫḫ III 109), (9’) [...] ḫ]a-as-sa-ar-tum : ‘ú[] [...] (i.e., ḫasaratu), (10’) [...] ‘ú¹.na⁴a-sak-ku : x [...] (cp. Uruanna II 18a and III 53).

⁵⁷ Scheil (1902, 6) claims that “nous attaquâmes tous les points de la ville, successivement.”

⁵⁸ “Nombre de poésies, de prières et de psaumes de pénitence, furent rédigés en ce temps là à Sippar, au nom de Šamaššumukīn qui y paraît être un prince très pieux et très peureux. Les fouilles en ont livré plusieurs, dans les environs du temple (en N)” (Scheil 1902, 71). On Scheil’s excavations in Sippar see also de Meyer/Gasche (1980). Comparison of Scheil’s plan (Scheil 1902, [146 f.]) with the map in de Meyer/Gasche (1980, plan 2) shows that this sector N must have been situated some 150 m to the SE of room 355, where an Iraqi team in 1986 discovered a library of tablets still on their shelves. A comprehensive treatment of the epigraphical finds of Scheil’s mission is in preparation by the authors.

⁵⁹ Although the colophon in Sip1 does not preserve any name, its pseudo-Sumerian writing AB.SAR-ma BA.AN.Ē-um (šaṭir-ma bari) is paralleled by another colophon from the same collection explic-

which this king’s interests overlapped with those of his brother Ashurbanipal, in whose libraries no fewer than three copies of this same text were found.⁶⁰ The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ seems to have been a valuable text for Mesopotamian kings, as shown by the many quotations from of it that can be found in the correspondence of Assyrian kings with scholars (see below the section on the “Sitz-im-Leben” of the text).

The two Sippar tablets in Istanbul, and especially Sip1, represent the most important manuscripts of the text. They are written in an elegant script, which is very similar in both tablets and, although they are otherwise almost free of mistakes,⁶¹ they both omit the same word (GARZA) in l. 25, which suggests that they stem from the same *Vorlage*.⁶² The colophon of Sip1 mentions that it was copied from a one-column tablet (^{im}giṭtu) which was in turn copied from a writing board (lē’u).

These two tablets contain the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ alone, and thus belong to the first category described above. This is also the situation of the two Huzirina tablets (Huz1 and Huz2), which represent by far the worst copies of the text. As is often the case of the manuscripts from ancient Huzirina (modern Sultantepe), they are riddled with mistakes, such as misparsings (l. 10 Huz2, *it-ta-tur-[ri?]*), omissions (l. 22 and 26 Huz2 (*ina*) and (*ana*)), misrepresentations (l. 7 Huz1, UD 16.KÁM for UD 15.KÁM), and misunderstandings (l. 25 Huz2, DINGIR^{mes} for *dīštar*). The few lines which are duplicated in both Huz1 and Huz2 are not entirely identical (compare e.g. l. 12). The format of both manuscripts is also different: whereas Huz1 begins each line with a DIŠ-sign and an indentation, and each entry occupies a single line; in Huz2 the lines do not open with a DIŠ-sign, and lines are frequently run over onto second ones.⁶³

itly dated to this king’s reign: Si.59 edited from Geers’ copy by Zgoll (2003, 107–115).

60 Another text in which both brothers are known to have had a keen interest is the *Love Lyrics*, of which copies are found both in the Istanbul Sippar collection and in Nineveh, and whose performance both kings sought to sponsor (da Riva/Frahm 1999/2000, 181 f.). Although this would suggest that the kings tried to emulate each other in their collection of tablets, the data is still too scant to be certain.

61 Minor mistakes can be found in e.g. Sip1 ll. 3, 13, and 15 (?).

62 They however differ in other respects, e.g. in the presence of an additional prescription in Sip2 in l. 22, and in minor variants (l. 26 Sip1 MAŠ.DA.RI : Sip2 MÁŠ.DA.RI; l. 28 Sip1 *tēš-ti-šu* : Sip2 *qin-ni-šú*).

63 In fact, Huz2 is the only manuscript in which the individual lines are divided by a ruling (at least in its obverse): this division represents no doubt an attempt at making it easier to use, since the frequent enjambment of the lines and the absence of both indentation and DIŠ-signs would make the manuscript difficult to consult. In the

Neither of the Huzirina manuscripts preserves a colophon, but they probably date to the Sargonid period, like most tablets from Huzirina: note for instance that the Huzirina copy of the ‘Babylonian Almanac’ (STT 301) is dated to 678 BCE.

The text of the three copies found at Nineveh is almost identical sign by sign. Their similarity extends to scribal quirks,⁶⁴ and occasionally they share the same mistakes at the same points,⁶⁵ a fact that probably points to a single archetype. Of the three, Nin1⁶⁶ and Nin3 are similar in every way: they are both one-column tablets similarly wide and, originally, similarly high, and the scribal hands are comparable (but not identical). They are also both “variorum tablets”: they contain the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ followed by the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’. In Nin1 the reverse begins with l. 36, whereas in Nin3 it starts one line earlier (l. 35).⁶⁷ By contrast, the tablet Nin2, whose text is almost identical with that of Nin1 and Nin3, is considerably smaller in both length and in height.⁶⁸ Its reverse begins in l. 26 and the tablet breaks away in l. 37. It is likely that it originally contained only the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, since the space does not appear to be enough for the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’: Nin2 thus belongs to the first category of tablets.

Only in the case of Nin3 is the archaeological provenance registered: it is reported to come from the South-West Palace (Lambert/Millard 1968, 73), which is also apparently the findspot of most scholarly tablets found in Kuyunjik (Reade 1986, 218). Given the many affinities between them, it seems likely that the other two Nineveh tablets, Nin1 and Nin2, also come from the same area.

rest of the manuscripts rulings separate the entries of one month from the next month.

64 Such as the writing *šu-ru-ub-bé-e* in l. 20 (MSS Nin2 & Nin3), against the *šu-ru-up-pe-e* of the other manuscripts; *iš-di-iḫ-ḫu* in l. 29 (same MSS), against *iš-di-ḫu* in the rest; or the omission of the copula (*māmitu* \emptyset *arratu*) in the three MSS in l. 33, against Sip1 & Bab1.

65 In line 24 (MSS Nin2 & Nin3), 27 (MSS Nin1 & Nin3, whereas Nin2 preserves the correct reading), and 31 (Nin1 *ina*, preferable to Nin2 & Nin3 *ana*): see above the commentary *ad loc*.

66 Nin1a and Nin1b, both identified by Jiménez in the process of studying unidentified literary fragments in the Kuyunjik collection, belong no doubt to the same tablet as Nin1c, but a direct join will not be possible until more pieces come to light.

67 Note however that they differ in the number of lines mentioned in the rubric: while Nin1 refers to 44 lines, Nin3 refers rather to 40. It seems likely that the rubric was added independently in both manuscripts, and that the scribe of Nin1 made a mistake in his tally due to the many times in which lines of text are run over onto second lines.

68 Both Nin1 and Nin3 had in all likelihood a ratio 1:2 between their short and long axis, whereas that of Nin2 must have been 1:1/2.

In a recent article, Cavigneaux/Donbaz (2007, 330) have convincingly argued that a report by Ištar-šumu-ēres, which repeats an unusually major mistake from a Nini-vite copy of a hemerology, would prove that, at least in that case, the scholar was citing from the royal copy of the tablet directly. The fact that three almost identical copies of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ have been found in the same library becomes explicable if one imagines that this text was the object of intense study by the court scholars, among them Ištar-šumu-ēreš: the duplicating sets were probably produced for the perusal of the “expert consultants” (Reade 1998/2000, 424) at the Assyrian court.

4 Sitz-im-Leben of the Prostration Hemerology

The manuscripts of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ often combine this text with other hemerologies and menologies, and have therefore been termed “variorum tablets” and “hemerological compilations” in the preceding section. The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is most frequently combined with the ‘Tašrītu Hemerology’, since the latter provides prognoses precisely for the only month that receives none in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’. This and other similar combinations reveal a holistic desire to cover all possible events in every day of the year, of which the royal hemerological series Inbu bēl arḫi represents the culmination. This text, a series of perhaps fourteen tablets (one for each month of the year, plus two intercalary months) probably furnished with a prologue, is at present known in a single, fragmentary set of tablets found at Nineveh, with no duplicates.⁶⁹ Inbu bēl arḫi is a royal creation, a hemerology composed for the king (Parpola 1983, 155f.). However it is not a creation *ex novo*, but rather a warp of old traditions in a new format: the specific prognoses that the text provides for each day of each month are known from other sources, but the particular form they have in Inbu bēl arḫi is unique to this text and specific to its royal officiant.

As far as the textual lacunae allow us to ascertain, every single line of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is adapted and incorporated into Inbu bēl arḫi. Thus the prognosis of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ for the 5th of Simanu, *ina šēri u šumšī išallim*, “he will succeed in whatever he un-

dertakes during the day or night” is transformed in Inbu bēl arḫi into *ina šēri u šumšī šarru šū išallim*, “that king will succeed in whatever he undertakes during the day or night.”⁷⁰ Similarly the omen from the series Iqqur ipuš, “If (a man’s) wife enters his house” is transformed into “If a king’s wife enters his palace.”⁷¹ Inbu bēl arḫi adapts the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ by simply inserting “the king” as the officiant: in this way the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, originally a text for a private person (see above), was transformed into a royal text.

Albeit the most spectacular, Inbu bēl arḫi does not represent the only attempt of court scholars to adapt the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ to the special circumstances of the king. In fact the original text of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ – and not the version of Inbu bēl arḫi, revised for a royal officiant –⁷² is quoted by a variety of Assyrian scholars reporting to the Assyrian king. These scholars thus adapt implicitly, and sometimes also explicitly, a hemerology originally intended for a private person to a royal audience.

Several Neo-Assyrian letters with quotations from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ implicitly take the king as the officiant. Thus Ištar-šumu-ēreš, chief astrologer or scribe at the court of Esarhaddon and author of the *ad hoc* hemerology SAA 8, 38, quotes a prescription from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ in a letter with reports of astrological omens (SAA 8, 23 r. 1–5).⁷³ Similarly three different letters from Nabû-šumu-iškun that cite passages of our text have been found; in one of them (SAA 8, 371), datable to the beginning of Kislimu 673 BCE, he reports astrological omens followed by hemerological prescriptions for certain days of Kislimu.⁷⁴ The other two letters by the same scholar (SAA 8, 377 and 379) also cite astrological together with hemerological omens.⁷⁵ These four letters are probably, and in some cases certainly, addressed to Esarhaddon, and all of them implicitly assume that the king is the officiant of the rites prescribed in the *Hemerology*.

⁷⁰ See above commentary on l. 9.

⁷¹ Labat (1965, 130 §62: 1 and note ad loc). See also Livingstone (1999, 376f.).

⁷² As explained above in the commentary on l. 9, an astrological report from Nabû-šumu-iškun (SAA 8, 379) quotes in all likelihood from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, instead of from Inbu bēl arḫi, because the quotation does not include the addition of *šarru šū* (“that king”) which can be found in the latter text.

⁷³ See above commentary on l. 10.

⁷⁴ SAA 8, 371 r. 4–10, see above the commentary on l. 31. For the date of the report see Parpola (1986, 420, on RMA 151).

⁷⁵ See above commentary on ll. 7 and 9.

⁶⁹ The series has been known since the 19th century, but it has remained unedited until Livingstone’s recent monograph (Livingstone 2013, 199–248; see also Marti 2014, 181–196). A good description of it was given by Landsberger (1915, 101–147).

On the other hand, the other known letter to cite the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, written by the astrologer Nabû-aḥḥē-erība (SAA 10, 74), contains what appears to be an explicit adaptation of the *Hemerology* for the use of the king. In this letter the scholar responds to a query by Esarhaddon concerning the suitability of a visit of the crown prince (i.e. Ashurbanipal) on the 1st of Nisannu⁷⁶ by laying out prescriptions for the 1st, 2nd and 4th of Nisannu from different hemerologies: the prescription for the 4th corresponds to the first line of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’. In the *Hemerology* this line reads “he should prostrate himself to Marduk and make his *condition* known (to him)” (*a-na* ^dAMAR.UTU *liš-ken* | GISKIM-BI *li-še-di*). Letters written by Nabû-aḥḥē-erība are often furnished with abundant reading glosses⁷⁷ and this one is no exception: the logogram GISKIM-BI is glossed as *it-ta-šū*, “his *condition*.” Then a further explanation is appended, introduced by the quotation particle *mā*: the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ prognosis is said by Nabû-aḥḥē-erība to mean *dēnšū ina pān ili lidbub*, “he should plead his case in front of the god.” This interpretation is not strictly philological, since it does not provide an explanation based on lexical lists or commentaries. The expression used by the astrologer, *dīna dabābu*, is a technical forensic expression with the meaning “to plead a case”:⁷⁸ it is thus very tempting to relate its appearance with the ritual that the Mesopotamian king performed on the 5th of Nisannu in front of Marduk’s statue in the Esangil, in which he was made to “argue his case” by stating that he had committed no sins against either Marduk or Babylon.⁷⁹ Before this “negative confession of sins” (Pongratz-Leisten 1997) the king was slapped in the cheek by a priest, a conventional sign of accusation in the Mesopotamian legal tradition.⁸⁰ Nabû-aḥḥē-erība’s explanation implies that the Mesopotamians were aware of the judiciary connotations of the king’s humiliation.

More importantly, it exemplifies how the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, originally a text for a private person, was adapted *ad hoc* to fit the circumstances – and in this case,

the schedule – of a royal person, be it the king Esarhaddon or the crown prince Ashurbanipal. Court scholars adopted and adapted the text both in an impromptu fashion – as in the royal correspondence – and in a systematic way – as in Inbu bēl arḫi –, in both cases to account for the special circumstances of the king. The importance that the Mesopotamian monarchs placed upon this text can be seen from the presence of five copies of it in royal libraries, as studied above.

The fact that letters from Neo-Assyrian scholars quote the original ‘Prostration Hemerology’, instead of the versions of its prognoses contained in Inbu bēl arḫi, which were already adapted for the royal use, becomes explicable when the distribution patterns of both texts is considered. Whereas nine copies of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ are presently known, only one of Inbu bēl arḫi has so far been found. The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ seems to have been more readily available, and it is also possible that its prognoses were perceived as sanctioned by tradition, in opposition to their refurbished version in Inbu bēl arḫi.

Almost all the letters mentioned above combine astrological omens or reports with hemerological prescriptions and prognoses. This same combination of hemerology and astrology lies behind the latest avatars of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’, the usage of its lines in Late Babylonian astronomical treatises. The keen interest of astrologers of the Neo-Assyrian period in the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ is mirrored by the attention paid to it by Late Babylonian astronomers and astrologers:⁸¹ several lines of the ‘Hemerology’ resurface in a slightly modified form in Late Babylonian microzodiac texts with an entirely different *raison d’être*.⁸² In these products of Late Babylonian astrological science, a more or less similar letter serves a radically different purpose. Thus the uses of the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ in both Neo-Assyrian epistolography and Late Babylonian astrology illustrate how the Mesopotamians received the knowledge bequeathed to them by tradition and adapted it critically in different ways.

⁷⁶ The letter was probably written on 1st Nisannu 669 BCE (Parpola 1983, 76. 418).

⁷⁷ See Oppenheim (1969, 119), Villard (1997, 145–148), Radner (2000, 794b), and Talon (2003, *passim*).

⁷⁸ On *dīnšū dabābu*, “to plead a case,” see Holtz (2009, 235–239).

⁷⁹ See the edition of the ritual in Sallaberger/Schmidt (2012, 273–275).

⁸⁰ See van der Toorn (1991, 333, cited above in the commentary to l. 1) and Malul (1988, 432–439) (on *qaqqada maḥāšu*, “to strike the head,” which signifies a formal accusation; see also *id.* 265 fn. 162). Other symbolic and legal meanings of the phrase *lēta maḥāšu*, “to slap someone’s cheek,” are studied by Tsukimoto (1994, 234) and Roth (1995, 24–37).

⁸¹ Thus for instance by Iddin-Bēl son of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, of the Mušēzib family, the copyist of an early Hellenistic manuscript with prognoses from the ‘Prostration Hemerology’ (MS BabVar1), who is a scribe otherwise known to have written only procedure texts (i.e., texts with indications on how to predict astronomical quantities), as studied by Jiménez (forthcoming).

⁸² See the commentaries on ll. 14, 18, and 34.

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