ASTRONOMICAL<br>DIARIES AND RELATED TEXTS<br>FROM BABYLONIA<br>HERMANN HUNGER<br>Volume VII<br>Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs

# ASTRONOMICAL DIARIES AND RELATED TEXTS FROM BABYLONIA 

Volume VII<br>Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs

INCLUDING MATERIALS BY
ABRAHAM J. SACHS


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## Preface

With an unfortunate delay, I herewith offer an edition of the astronomical texts called „Almanacs" and „Normal Star Almanacs" by A. J. Sachs. He had begun transliterations of a few of these texts, and published Almanacs for the year 305 of the Seleucid era together with C. B. F. Walker in Iraq 46 (1984). He also edited a group of very late Almanacs in the Kramer Anniversary Volume (AOAT 25). For many of the texts I could begin to work with the copies published by Sachs in LBAT; for others, only numbers or photos were initially available to me. From a catalogue of astronomical tablets in the British Museum by C. B. F. Walker I could add a number of tablets not known to Sachs. J. M. Steele identified tablets in the collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia and drew my attention to a tablet in the Museu de Montserrat of which a photo can be seen on the website of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative.

For permission to publish the tablets I am indebted in the first place to the Trustees of the British Museum where the majority of the material is kept. I thank M. van Ess of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin for providing photos of tablets excavated by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in 1912 in Uruk, and for permission to publish them. U. Kasten of Yale University sent me new photos of three tablets in the Morgan Library Collection; I thank her also for the publication permission. B. André-Salvini kindly sent me photos of the tablet AO 8530 in the Louvre and granted permission for publication. St. Tinney gave permission to publish tablets in Philadelphia, by courtesy of the Penn Museum. For permission to publish the tablet A 1731 in the collection of the Oriental Institute in Chicago I thank W. Farber.

Several people helped me in preparing this edition. I am particularly grateful to Jeanette Fincke who very kindly made many photographs of British Museum tablets for me. I. Finkel collated difficult passages and checked the possibility of joins. T. de Jong, J. M. Steele and S. de Meis helped me with tablet dating in some difficult cases. During my visits to the Students' Room of the British Museum, the staff were always helpful, especially C. B. F. Walker and J. Taylor. To all of them I extend my thanks.

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

| ADART | Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia (Vienna 1988ff.) |
| :---: | :---: |
| AfO | Archiv für Orientforschung (Vienna) |
| AHES | Archive for the History of the Exact Sciences (Heidelberg) |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Münster) |
| BagM | Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin) |
| CAD | The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Glückstadt/Chicago 1956-2010) |
| CTMMA | Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) |
| HAMA | O. Neugebauer, A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy (New York 1975) |
| JCS | Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven etc.) |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago) |
| Lambert AV | A. R. George and I. L. Finkel (eds.), Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert (Winona Lake 2000) |
| LBAT | A. J. Sachs (ed.), Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts (Providence 1955) |
| PD | R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75 (Providence 1956) |
| SBTU I | H. Hunger, Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk I (Berlin 1976) |
| SSB | F. X. Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel (Münster 1905-1924) |
| UOS | J. M. Steele and A. Imhausen (eds.), Under One Sky (Münster 2002) |
| ZA | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Berlin) |

## Introduction

In his pioneering article of $1948,{ }^{1}$ A. Sachs established the categories „Almanacs" and „Normal Star Almanacs" (abbreviated NS Almanacs) for two groups of non-mathematical astronomical texts. Later, hundreds of such tablets were discovered, mainly in the British Museum's collections from Babylon. Many of these had been copied by Th. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier; Sachs published most of these copies in LBAT. Sachs's classification has stood the test of time, and the texts are edited in this book according to it.

I begin with NS Almanacs, first the datable ones in chronological sequence, then the undatable ones arranged by museum number; similarly, Almanacs are divided into datable and undatable. In combining sometimes more than one exemplar from the same year under one number, I follow the example of Sachs. ${ }^{2}$ The rather rigid layout of Almanacs makes this space-saving procedure acceptable.

As a group the NS Almanacs are earlier than the Almanacs, although both groups overlap. Sachs in LBAT presented the copies of NS Almanacs first. There happen to be only a few Almanacs that I could not date; undated NS Almanacs are more numerous.

The dated texts can be arranged in 20-year sections as follows:

| Seleucid Era | NS Almanacs | Almanacs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $0-20$ | 2 |  |
| $21-40$ | 5 |  |
| $41-60$ | 7 |  |
| $61-80$ | 7 | 2 |
| $81-100$ | 14 | 1 |
| $101-120$ | 15 | 4 |
| $121-140$ | 8 | 7 |
| $141-160$ | 13 | 7 |
| $161-180$ | 9 | 11 |
| $181-200$ | 13 | 6 |
| $201-220$ | 9 | 17 |
| $221-240$ | 3 | 11 |
| $241-260$ |  | 1 |
| $261-280$ |  | 3 |
| $281-300$ |  | 6 |
| $301-320$ |  | 1 |
| $321-340$ |  | 3 |
| $341-360$ |  | 2 |
| $361-380$ |  | 1 |

To judge from this distribution, it seems unlikely that any Almanacs existed before the Seleucid era, and even NS Almanacs are rare around 300 BC. They therefore were probably not the only source of data in the Babylonian horoscopes, which begin at the end of the $5^{\text {th }}$ century. ${ }^{3}$

[^0]
## 1. Description of Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs

## A. Almanacs

Almanacs have 12 or 13 sections, one for each month of a Babylonian year, followed by a colophon. In each monthly section, after the month name, the duration of the preceding month is indicated by the numbers „1" if that month has 30 days, and „ 30 " if it has 29 days. There follows a statement in which zodiacal sign each of the five planets will be in the beginning of the month; planets invisible at the time are not included. The expected phenomena are then listed in chronological order. They are:

1) First and last appearances of all planets, with day number and zodiacal sign
2) Acronychal risings of the outer planets, with day number only
3) Stations of the outer planets.
4) Solstices and equinoxes
5) First and last appearance, and acronychal rising, of Sirius. Items 4 and 5 are calculated according to the „Uruk Scheme". ${ }^{4}$
6) Occasionally, first and last appearances, and acronychal risings, of fixed stars are mentioned.
7) A feature typical for the Almanacs is to give the days when a planet entered a zodiacal sign. However, this occasionally occurs in NS Almanacs as well (No. 103 of SE 234, at the end of each paragraph; also No. 96 of SE 210; No. 98 of SE 212; No. 100 of SE 215), and in Diaries (from the Seleucid era).
8) Around the middle of the month, the day is given when the moon sets for the first time after sunrise. Towards the end of the month, the day is indicated when the moon will be visible for the last time before conjunction. These two dates, together with the length of the preceding month given right after the month name, were called „Lunar Three" by Sachs. ${ }^{5}$

Almost every Almanac has a colophon: meš-hi šá KUR-ád ${ }^{\text {meš }}$ šá dUDU-TIL meš šá, followed by the year number and the name of the reigning king, in the Parthian period sometimes also the name of the queen.

Whereas KUR-ád ${ }^{\text {meš }} \check{\text { śá }}$ dUDU-TIL ${ }^{\text {meš }}$ can be easily translated as „reachings of the planets", referring to their entries into zodiacal signs, meš-hi presents a problem. A word mišhu is attested with the meaning „section", a measured tract of work frequently connected to irrigation. On the other hand, a term mišhu used in astronomical contexts is considered as „(a luminous phenomenon)" and left untranslated by the CAD; it does not seem to fit in the colophons of Almanacs. Strictly speaking, nothing is measured in the Almanacs; on the contrary, all data are predicted.

In his editions of several very late Almanacs in the Kramer Anniversary Volume (AOAT 25, 1976), Sachs translated meš-hi in the colophons of Almanacs by ,"predictions". I do not know his reasoning, but the translation makes sense, and I use it here.

## B. Normal Star Almanacs

Like Almanacs, NS Almanacs list the events predicted for each month of a year. A prominent feature are the „Lunar Six", time intervals between rising and setting of moon and sun. The term was coined by A. Sachs. ${ }^{6}$ They are explained, apart from Sachs's article, in volume I, p. 20, of this project,

[^1]and in several other places. It seems unnecessary to repeat the definitions. It may however be noted that the reading of $n a$ (uncertain to me at the time) is manzāzu „stand, position", which does agree with the form -su of the pronominal suffix. ${ }^{7}$

NS Almanacs contain the following:

1)     - 6) as in Almanacs.
1) The passings of the planets by Normal Stars, in the same style as in the Diaries and Goal-Year Texts.
2) There are two sub-groups of NS Almanacs (Sachs p. $281^{8}$, see already Kugler SSB II 465). One has only the Lunar Three; the other has the Lunar Six in a separate column on the left side of the tablet. Unfortunately, they are not from different periods as it still seemed to Sachs; in the meantime, more tablets belonging to the Lunar Six sub-group have been found, and they are among the earliest examples of NS Almanacs.

The colophon of the NS Almanacs is just meš-hi šá, followed by the year number, and the king's (and sometimes the queen's) name.

The intervals called „Lunar Six" by Sachs were recently investigated by P. J. Huber and J. M. Steele. ${ }^{9}$ They arrived at the remarkable conclusion that these intervals were already calculated towards the end of the seventh century BC.

If only the Lunar Six section of a tablet is preserved, it is difficult to decide whether it originally was a NS Almanac or a list of Lunar Six data only.

There are three possible sequences of the intervals around full moon:
1.

| Day number | Interval |
| :---: | :---: |
| x | ME |
| x | ŠÚ |
| $\mathrm{x}+1$ | $\mathrm{GE}_{6}$ |
| $\mathrm{x}+1$ | $n a$ |

2. 

| Day number | Interval |
| :---: | :---: |
| x | ŠU |
| $\mathrm{x}+1$ | ME |
| $\mathrm{x}+1$ | $n a$ |
| $\mathrm{x}+2$ | $\mathrm{GE}_{6}$ |

3. 

| Day number | Interval |
| :---: | :---: |
| x | ŠÚ |
| $\mathrm{x}+1$ | $n a$ |
| $\mathrm{x}+2$ | ME |
| $\mathrm{x}+3$ | $\mathrm{GE}_{6}$ |

Based on these sequences, day numbers or interval names can sometimes be restored if only part of them is preserved. ${ }^{10}$

Both Almanacs and NS Almanacs are predictive. This emerges most clearly from comparison with the Diaries. One never finds remarks about weather (which are abundant in Diaries) or a note that an

[^2]observation was not possible. The Lunar Six are always complete which would not have been possible if all had to be observations.

Sachs noted in 1949 several possibilities for the sources of the predictions contained in Almanacs and NS Almanacs. ${ }^{11}$ Jennifer Grey in her 2009 thesis ${ }^{12}$, written after the publication of Diaries and Goal-Year Texts, came to the conclusion that the predictions were derived from Goal-Year Texts. This is an important result because theoretically most of the data could also have been calculated by means of the mathematical-astronomical tables.

## 2. Provenance

Most of the tablets published here come from Babylon. This can be inferred from the inventory numbers of the British Museum, although there may be among them tablets of different origin. If a tablet has an invocation at the beginning preserved, the divine names Bel and Beltiya show that it is from Babylon.

There are 8 tablets originating from Uruk. Some come from the German excavations in Uruk. Others were bought together with tablets demonstrably from Uruk. Their layout and terminology differ slightly from the Babylon tablets so that tablets with unknown provenance can be identified by means of these characteristics. The characteristic features of the Uruk tablets will be discussed below under „Style of Presentation".

## 3. Dating

Although the accuracy of predictions in the Almanacs and NS Almanacs cannot a priori be determined, dated examples show that the data can be confidently used to calculate a date for a fragmentary tablet, in the same way as it is possible with Diaries. Particulary helpful are entries resulting from the „Uruk Scheme". Because this scheme is based on the 19-year cycle, such an entry leaves only every $19^{\text {th }}$ year to be considered. Frequently just one additional planetary event, preferably of Jupiter or Saturn, suffices to provide a unique date for the tablet within the historically possible time range.

## 4. Terminology

Most of the termini technici are known from the Diaries and Goal-Year Texts. The so-called GreekLetter phenomena ${ }^{13}$ are indicated by the same logograms. The names of the Normal Stars too are those used in the Diaries.
a) Special to the Almanacs and NS Almanacs are the dates of planets entering into zodiacal signs. These entries are expressed by KUR, logogram for $k a s ̌ a ̄ d u$. Sometimes it is complemented by -ád, confirming the expected form ikaššad „it will reach". These dates are sometimes found in Diaries of the Seleucid period as well.

[^3]b) In each monthly paragraph, the length of the preceding month is predicted as 29 or 30 days right after the month name, by means of the numbers 30 or 1 , in the same way as in the Diaries. In the NS Almanacs, this is followed by the interval between sunset and moonset on the first evening of the month. There are cases, however, when the predicted month-length is not considered certain. Then, an alternative value for the interval from sunset to moonset is calculated. This is introduced by ina 1 -šúu (if the alternative possibility is a preceding 30-day month) or by ina 30 -šúu (if the alternative is a preceding 29-day month). A literal translation would be „in its 1" or „in its 30", meaning „in case the $1^{\text {st }}$ day will follow the $30^{\text {th }}$ of the preceding month" or „in case the $1^{\text {st }}$ day will be identical with the $30^{\text {th }}$ of the preceding month". I use the somewhat loose translations „if its $1^{\text {st }}$ (day will follow the $30^{\text {th }}$ of the preceding month)" and „if its ( $1^{\text {st }}$ day will be identical with the) $30^{\text {th }}$ (of the preceding month)", respectively.
c) The interval between sunset and moonset at the beginning of the month sometimes has the added remark TAB or ina KAL. The meaning of these remarks was discussed by Kugler, SSB II 536f.

They are not to be expected in Goal-Year Texts and Diaries because these texts consist of observations. There is one entry in a Diary: No. -77 month IV: ŠU 30 10,30 ina KAL a-kám KALAG $k i$ PAP NU IGI. „Month IV, (the $1^{\text {st }}$ day of which was identical with) the $30^{\text {th }}$ (of the preceding month; sunset to moonset:) $10^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$, ina KAL; dense mist, when I watched I did not see (the moon)." So this is explicitly non-observed.
ina KAL occurs in a few Almanacs. Almanacs do not give the interval from sunset to moonset. So ina KAL here cannot refer to the length of this interval. Kugler (SSB II 478 ad 11 ) interpreted it as ina danāni „in (case of) strength", i. e. of the lunar crescent. The greater the elongation of the moon, the brighter the crescent. This could result in the possibility to observe the moon, even if its negative latitude was unfavorable for early visibility.

For TAB, Kugler did not propose an Akkadian reading.
Sachs translated ina KAL ,just barely" in AOAT 25, 385, explaining that it „is used when the visibility of the first lunar crescent is marginal after a hollow month" and stated that the „philological interpretation is unknown".

A few other remarks occur after the indication of month length:
In an undated Almanac (No. 229), ana PAP occurs after an illegible sign. In a NS Almanac from SE 23 (No. 3), ina LUL seems to follow the month length. Both passages are unclear to me.
d) UD-DA in Mercury risings and settings: As in the Diaries, sometimes a heliacal rising of Mercury and its corresponding setting is marked as DIB, literally „passed by", „omitted". These statements contain further, in most cases, the term UD-DA right after the direction (east or west) where the phenomenon was predicted to occur:
$\mathrm{GU}_{4}$-UD ina NIM/ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB
GU $_{4}$-UD ina NIM/ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
J. Gray has discussed these omitted phases of Mercury in her dissertation.

There is no diachronic distribution: the earliest reference has UD-DA, while several later ones do not.

IGI/ŠÚ-šú DIB is probably „the first appearance/its last appearance will be omitted". Then UD-DA could be a verb referring to some property of Mercury at the particular date which leads to omitting its appearance. However, the statements must make sense with or without UD-DA. The most frequent reading of UD-DA is șētu „light", „heat". T. de Jong (personal communication) notes that „light" could refer to the sky being too light for Mercury to become visible. It is difficult to fit ṣētu into the syntax of these statements. A translation would have to be „Mercury in the east (or: west) - light - first appearance (or: its last appearance) will be omitted."

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References (examples only):
1) in Diaries:
-375A:3' GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú D[IB
-291A:3' GU -UD ina NIM IGI DIB
-284:13' in 25 GU -UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-283:4 27 GU4-UD ina ŠÚU ŠÚ-šú DIB
-277A:2 [GU -UD ina NIM] IGI DIB
-277A:27f. 20 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ IGI DIB
-264 rev. 5 [ina ŠÚ U]D-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-251:3 11 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ IGI DIB
-251:6 in 26 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ ŠÚ-šú DIB
-246:13 5 GU -UD ina NIM IGI DIB
-230A rev. 10' in 12 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ IGI D[IB]
-218:5' in 17 GU4-UD ina [ŠÚ UD-D]A IGI DIB in 25 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-[DA
    ŠÚ-šú DIB]
-211:8 [GU4-UD] ina ŠÚ IGI DIB
-207A:31 in 19 GU4-UD ina NIM UD-DA IGI DIB
-207A:34 5 GU4-UD ina NIM UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-194A:7' [G]U4-UD ina NIM UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-193A 1.e. 1 14 GU4-UD ina NIM IGI [DIB]
-193A r.5' [GU -U]D ina NIM ŠÚ-šú DIB
-178B u.e. 1 in 2 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB
-141A:16' in 28 GU4-UD ina NIM UD-DA IGI DIB
-141C:26' [...] ŠÚ-šúu DIB
-132B:31 2 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB
-132C:9 14? GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB (dupl. -132B r. 17)
-112:3 [GU4-UD ....] ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB
-108A:18' in 5 GU4-UD ina NIM UD-DA IGI DIB
-105A r. 37' in 3 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB in 26 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-94:9' in 9 GU -UD ina NIM UD-DA ŠÚ-šú DIB
-85B:8' in 7 GU4-UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šúu DIB
-78:2' [...] ŠÚ-šúu DIB
2) in Almanacs:
SE 39 II 13 GU \({ }_{4}\)-UD ina NIM IGI DIB
SE 39 II 25 GU \(_{4}\)-UD ina NIM UD-DA ŠÚ-šúu DIB
SE 244 I [x GU4]-UD ina NIM UD-DA IGI DIB
SE 246 VI 29 [GU4-UD] ina ŠÚ UD-DA IGI DIB
SE 248 III 13 GU \(_{4}\)-UD ina NIM 'UD-DA I[GI DIB]
SE 305 VI 21 GU-UD ina NIM UD-DA šá DIB
3) in NS Almanacs:
SE 58 II 19 GU4-UD ina NIM UD-DA IGI DIB
SE \(100 \mathrm{VI} 25 \mathrm{GU}_{4}-\mathrm{UD}\) ina ŠÚ UD-DA I[GI DIB]
SE 100 VII GU -UD ina ŠÚ UD-DA ŠÚ-šú D[IB
SE 183 III 3 GU \(_{4}\)-UD ina NIM IGI DIB
SE 183 III 23 GU \(_{4}\)-[U]D ina NIM ŠÚ-šú DIB
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e) BAR occurs in some eclipse statements in combination with DIB, i. e. when the eclipse is omitted. The term BAR DIB was dealt with by J. M. Steele, AfO 48/49 (2002) 107-112. BAR = ah $\hat{u}$ means „extraneous", from outside a standard collection of omens. In the case of eclipses, it could refer to „additional" eclipses predicted by a scheme but not corresponding to actually visible ones. F. Rochberg ${ }^{14}$ translates BAR = aĥ $\hat{u}$ by „invisible" because „this is the effective meaning", quoting Steele approvingly. I agree with this argument but nevertheless use the literal translation „extraneous" in this edition.

## 5. Fixed stars

The calendar dates of the phenomena of Sirius in the Almanacs and NS Almanacs follow the socalled Uruk scheme which is connected to the 19-year intercalation cycle. Therefore the Sirius dates always have the same time difference in days from, e.g., the preceding Vernal equinox, or any other season of the current year.
O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs published a fragment ${ }^{15}$ of a list of consecutive dates of the heliacal risings of the Pleiades which are in an analogous fashion derived from the Uruk scheme so that they are always 45 days distant from the preceding Vernal equinox. As pointed out in JCS 21 191f., this time distance can also be found in Almanacs.

As I shall show elsewhere, it is very likely that all predictions of stellar phases were calculated by means of the Uruk Scheme.

The following stars (or constellations) occur:
MÚL-MÚL
ŠU-PA
NUN ${ }^{k i}$
SIPA
BIR
There is general agreement that MÚL-MÚL are the Pleiades, ŠU-PA is Arcturus, and SIPA is Orion. NUN ${ }^{\text {ki }}$ is differently identified ${ }^{16}$; its main star seems to be Canopus ${ }^{17}$. There is less evidence for BIR. D. Pingree equates it with $\zeta$ Puppis and neighboring stars. ${ }^{18}$ I do not translate BIR here.

## 6. Style of presentation

There is little variation in layout and presentation. For the two different arrangements of Lunar Six or Lunar Three in NS Almanacs, see above sub 1.

Some of the very late tablets (later than SE 300) show peculiarities. They were discussed by A. Sachs in his article on these tablets in the Kramer Anniversary Volume (AOAT 25). They include special abbreviations. On the whole, these late tablets are written in a very cursive script and are in part hard to read.

Only 8 tablets of the corpus are certainly coming from Uruk. Their layout and style are slightly different from the Babylon tablets.

[^4]Features of all Uruk texts versus Babylon texts are: „Solstice" is written GUB-za, rather than GUB. „Equinox" is LÁL-tú instead of LÁL-tì. In eclipse descriptions, time to sunset or sunrise is explicitly said to „remain" $\left(\mathrm{TAG}_{4}\right)$.

The Uruk NS Almanacs are Nos. 24, 57, 64, 65, and 69. They contain only the Lunar Three, arranged in a separate column to the left of the remaining monthly data, where other NS Almanacs have the Lunar Six. "First part of the night" is indicated by ina EN. This is an abbreviation of ENNUN „watch" (viz. evening watch), as can be seen from No 24 rev. 15 'and $20^{\prime}$. „In the east" is written ina KUR. „In the east/west" is explicitly mentioned for first/last visibilities of outer planets and fixed stars although in these cases such direction information is redundant. Similarly, the part (first/last) of the night is given for last and first visibilities of the planets; this too is redundant because it can be inferred from the direction (west/east). Of course, the invocation on the upper edge is addressed to Anu and Antu.

No. 24 omits „night" before the day numbers but gives the part of the night. This text also uses DIB for the passing of a planet above or below a Normal Star which is not expressed in any other text. This tablet is also unusual in having its scribe's name at the end.

There are three Almanacs from Uruk, Nos. 159, 160, and 219. Like the Uruk NS Almanacs, they use $\mathrm{TAG}_{4}$ to designate time remaining to sunset or sunrise. They also use KUR instead of NIM for „east".

A special style is found in the almanac No. 153 from Babylon. The listings of the planets' positions in zodiacal signs at the beginning of each paragraph are only partially given. During the invisibility period of Mars, the text twice notes that the planet was not visible, being ,with the sun" (itti šamaš $s ̌ \bar{u})$.

Names of scribes or owners of the tablets are only rarely indicated: No. 24 (of SE 82), No. 160 (of SE 147) (both from Uruk); No. 17 (of SE 68).

## 7. Sources for the Almanacs and NS Almanacs

The so-called Greek-letter phenomena are recorded in the Diaries and Goal-Year Texts. The data for the same phenomena in the Almanacs and NS Almanacs were analysed by J. M. K. Grey and J. M. Steele. ${ }^{19}$ Their conclusion was that it is very likely that the Goal-Year Texts were used for predicting the data found in Almanacs and NS Almanacs. Corrections of a few days had to be regularly applied to reach reliable results.

Their conclusion was corroborated by investigating the effects of intercalary months on the length of a goal-year period. ${ }^{20}$ Since intercalation takes place every third or sometimes second year, it can happen that a goal-year period, given in years, contains one month more or less than intended. These extra months were taken into account in the construction of the Almanacs and NS Almanacs.

Entries into zodiacal signs are characteristic of Almanacs but can also be found in the Diaries. The Diaries list at the end of each monthly paragraph in which zodiacal sign the planets were during the month. When a planet moved from one sign into another, the date of this entry is sometimes given; this is first attested in a Diary from SE 99. But in general, only the zodiacal sign is indicated. The movement of a planet can be traced with the help of the Normal Stars which it passes. However, some Normal Stars are far apart, and the dates of a planet passing them would not provide sufficient information when the planet reaches another sign.

[^5]An investigation of the dates of entries into zodiacal signs in the Almanacs should lead to interesting results but cannot be undertaken within this text edition.

## 8. Layout of Transliteration and Translation

An apostrophe (') before the heading „Obv." or „Rev." indicates that the beginning of the tablet is broken, an apostrophe after the heading indicates that the end is not preserved.

In NS Almanacs, one type of layout (see above p. XI) has the Lunar Six data separately on the left side of each paragraph. I try to imitate this in the transliteration. In translations, the Lunar Six will be translated first in each paragraph, followed by the remaining (mostly planetary) data.

Lines between paragraphs are given if they are visible on the tablet. Of course, depending on the state of preservation ot the tablet, lines are not always clearly discernible.

## Concordance of Museum Numbers

| Museum Number | Edition <br> Number | Museum Number | Edition <br> Number |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A 1731 | 154 | BM 33510 | 62 |
| AO 8530 | 69 | BM 33515 | 192 |
| BCM A.1846- | 37 | BM 33578 | 68 |
| 1982 | 37 | BM 33611 | 109 |
| BM 31592 | 199 | BM 33615 | 68 |
| BM 31635 | 199 | BM 33632 | 99 |
| BM 32088 | 72 | BM 33633 | 190 |
| BM 32230 | 95 | BM 33641 | 185 |
| BM 32242 | 199 | BM 33651 | 205 |
| BM 32247 | 103 | BM 33727 | 110 |
| BM 32263 | 104 | BM 33736 | 193 |
| BM 32321 | 7 | BM 33743 | 82 |
| BM 32368 | 7 | BM 33746 | 191 |
| BM 32471 | 72 | BM 33752 | 205 |
| BM 32509 | 105 | BM 33754 | 99 |
| BM 32522 | 38 | BM 33777 | 20 |
| BM 32612 | 199 | BM 33784 | 210 |
| BM 32618 | 6 | BM 33790 | 210 |
| BM 32675 | 106 | BM 33797 | 209 |
| BM 32709 | 107 | BM 33798 | 201 |
| BM 32749 | 103 | BM 33822 | 202 |
| BM 32769 | 77 | BM 33867 | 171 |
| BM 32847 | 12 | BM 33873 | 158 |
| BM 32888 | 156 | BM 33987 | 45 |
| BM 32994 | 220 | BM 33989 | 14 |
| BM 33448 | 82 | BM 34032 | 93 |
| BM 33450 | 52 | BM 34033 | 87 |
| BM 33462 | 52 | BM 34042 | 185 |
| BM 33466 | 82 | BM 34051 | 170 |
| BM 33468 | 99 | BM 34054 | 83 |
| BM 33471 | 108 | BM 34056 | 80 |
| BM 33482 | 79 | BM 34076 | 75 |
| BM 33485 | 202 | BM 34078 | 86 |
| BM 33486 | 79 | BM 34080 | 39 |
| BM 33487 | 79 | BM 34116 | 63 |
| BM 33489 | 27 | BM 34121 | 163 |
| BM 33497 | 62 | BM 34151 | 80 |
| BM 33498 | 108 | BM 34159 | 206 |
| BM 33501 | 49 | BM 34199 | 76 |
| BM 33504 | 62 | BM 34228 | 58 |


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| BM 34232 | 157 | BM 35167 | 21 |
| BM 34257 | 111 | BM 35187 | 182 |
| BM 34259 | 112 | BM 35314 | 191 |
| BM 34263 | 77 | BM 35335 | 185 |
| BM 34278 | 221 | BM 35340 | 94 |
| BM 34298 | 178 | BM 35366 | 169 |
| BM 34323 | 77 | BM 35372 | 86 |
| BM 34324 | 203 | BM 35376 | 222 |
| BM 34325 | 113 | BM 35429 | 211 |
| BM 34328 | 114 | BM 35457 | 71 |
| BM 34345 | 165 | BM 35464 | 92 |
| BM 34356 | 115 | BM 35465 | 123 |
| BM 34377 | 116 | BM 35468 | 124 |
| BM 34395 | 86 | BM 35476 | 125 |
| BM 34413 | 117 | BM 35481 | 126 |
| BM 34469 | 118 | BM 35484 | 191 |
| BM 34470 | 161 | BM 35542 | 50 |
| BM 34588 | 86 | BM 35550 | 127 |
| BM 34607 | 96 | BM 35551 | 173 |
| BM 34614 | 211 | BM 35562 | 184 |
| BM 34620 | 84 | BM 35570 | 208 |
| BM 34659 | 211 | BM 35577 | 50 |
| BM 34667 | 190 | BM 35581 | 59 |
| BM 34668 | 190 | BM 35584 | 8 |
| BM 34722 | 191 | BM 35602 | 208 |
| BM 34758 | 90 | BM 35608 | 50 |
| BM 34802 | 63 | BM 35620 | 179 |
| BM 34819 | 167 | BM 35623 | 86 |
| BM 34834 | 119 | BM 35636 | 98 |
| BM 34854 | 16 | BM 35637 | 89 |
| BM 34866 | 120 | BM 35638 | 98 |
| BM 34868 | 85 | BM 35640 | 89 |
| BM 34888 | 71 | BM 35650 | 59 |
| BM 34949 | 174 | BM 35687 | 191 |
| BM 34953 | 85 | BM 35691 | 100 |
| BM 34991 | 185 | BM 35707 | 190 |
| BM 35039 | 186 | BM 35714 | 59 |
| BM 35059 | 98 | BM 35720 | 189 |
| BM 35090 | 78 | BM 35725 | 59 |
| BM 35092 | 121 | BM 35729 | 166 |
| BM 35093 | 168 | BM 35737 | 182 |
| BM 35098 | 191 | BM 35755 | 191 |
| BM 35142 | 122 | BM 35788 | 71 |
| BM 35149 | 187 | BM 35793 | 128 |


| Museum <br> Number | Edition <br> Number | Museum <br> Number | Edition <br> Number |
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| BM 35811 | 71 | BM 41520 | 44 |
| BM 35817 | 53 | BM 41532 | 44 |
| BM 35820 | 98 | BM 41545 | 40 |
| BM 35860 | 223 | BM 41588 | 30 |
| BM 35894 | 162 | BM 41599 | 51 |
| BM 35900 | 9 | BM 41634 | 29 |
| BM 35904 | 86 | BM 41640 | 101 |
| BM 35972A | 10 | BM 41838 | 37 |
| BM 35984 | 59 | BM 41842 | 12 |
| BM 35988 | 185 | BM 41846 | 42 |
| BM 35993 | 129 | BM 41863 | 44 |
| BM 35994 | 130 | BM 41880 | 28 |
| BM 36016 | 188 | BM 41895 | 54 |
| BM 36020 | 169 | BM 41900 | 196 |
| BM 36021 | 9 | BM 41965 | 67 |
| BM 36026 | 224 | BM 41988 | 138 |
| BM 36035 | 59 | BM 42005 | 139 |
| BM 36077 | 190 | BM 42016 | 140 |
| BM 36877 | 5 | BM 42022 | 35 |
| BM 36962 | 131 | BM 42045 | 141 |
| BM 36987 | 60 | BM 42076 | 18 |
| BM 37400 | 132 | BM 42077 | 102 |
| BM 38212 | 183 | BM 42135 | 22 |
| BM 40083 | 216 | BM 42191 | 142 |
| BM 40084 | 217 | BM 42211 | 143 |
| BM 40101 | 153 | BM 42226 | 56 |
| BM 40496 | 195 | BM 42232 | 144 |
| BM 40596 | 25 | BM 42247 | 145 |
| BM 40604 | 81 | BM 42252 | 226 |
| BM 40613 | 133 | BM 42757 | 198 |
| BM 40625 | 41 | BM 42981 | 227 |
| BM 40626 | 17 | BM 43046 | 228 |
| BM 40658 | 225 | BM 43067 | 74 |
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| BM 41010 | 164 | BM 45698 | 191 |
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| BM 41117 | 46 | BM 45919 | 194 |
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| BM 46021 | 190 | CULC 371 | 32 |
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| BM 46210 | 70 | Rm 731 | 23 |
| BM 46255 | 175 | Rm 755 | 38 |
| BM 47724 | 4 | Rm 786 | 155 |
| BM 47727 | 82 | Rm 812 | 149 |
| BM 47738 | 55 | Rm 813 | 150 |
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| BM 55643 | 230 |  |  |
| BM 65156 | 1 |  |  |
| BM 65667 | 26 |  |  |
| BM 76990 | 212 |  |  |
| BM 77225 | 190 |  |  |
| BM 77240 | 168 |  |  |
| BM 77257 | 190 |  |  |
| BM 77269 | 71 |  |  |
| BM 77997 | 3 |  |  |
| BM 99679 | 71 |  |  |
| BM 99695 | 147 |  |  |
| BM 132281 | 36 |  |  |
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| LBAT 1089 | 8 | LBAT 1135 | 171 |
| LBAT 1090 | 50 | LBAT 1136 | 172 |
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| LBAT 1093 | 71 | LBAT 1139 | 174 |
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| LBAT 1096 | 128 | LBAT 1142 | 176 |
| LBAT 1097 | 86 | LBAT 1143 | 178 |
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| LBAT * 1181 | 200 |  |  |
| LBAT 1182 | 201 |  |  |
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| LBAT 1184 | 204 |  |  |
| LBAT 1185 | 206 |  |  |
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| LBAT 1187 | 207 |  |  |
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| LBAT 1188 | 208 |  |  |
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| LBAT **1190 | 209 |  |  |
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## Dated Normal Star Almanacs

## No. 1

BM $65156(=82-9-18,5137)$
Photo: Pl. 1
Year: SE 12?
'Obv.
(illegible traces of 6 or 7 lines)

## Rev.'


2 ZÍZ GE 6 [x] SIG šur SI 1 KU̇Š 8 U GE $_{6} 22$ [e šur]
3 ULU̇ $11 / 2$ KÜŠ ŠE GE $611 e$ MÚL ár šá še-pí $[t$ MAŠ-MAŠ nn mm]
(from here on two columns)

| 4 | MU 12 BAR 20+[x] | MAŠ | $\mathrm{GE}_{6} 3$ USAN GU ${ }_{4}$-UD ${ }^{\text {r }} e{ }^{1}[\ldots .$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5 | $\mathrm{GU}_{4}$-UD ina ŠÚ ina M |  | ina? $\mathrm{GE}_{6} 16$ SIG šur ULÙ [....] |
| 6 | $\mathrm{GU}_{4} 29$ ina NIM ina M | Š IGI | KIN GE 620 ina ZÁ[LAG ....] |
| 7 | SIG 16 ina NIM ŠÚ | ina MAŠ | $\mathrm{DU}_{6} \mathrm{GE}_{6} 10+[\mathrm{x} . . .$. |
| 8 | ŠU 11 ina ŠÚ IGI | ina A | $\mathrm{AB} \mathrm{GE} 6[\ldots$. |
| 9 | IZI 19 ina ŠÚ ŠÚ | ina KI | ŠU GE $629^{2}{ }^{\text {? }}$ U[SAN ....] |
| 10 | KIN 12 ina NIM IGI | ina KI | APIN GE 6 [....] |
| 11 | $\mathrm{DU}_{6} 13$ ina NIM ŠÚ | ina RÍN | IZI [....] |
| 12 | [APIN] 28 ina ŠÚ IGI | ina ${ }^{5} \mathrm{X}{ }^{\top}$ |  |
| 13 | [ x x$]+1$ ina [ŠÚ ŠÚ] |  |  |

## Comments

While the heliacal risings and settings of Mercury for „year 12 " fit to some degree with SE 12, the remaining data cannot be related to this year. Mercury is visible on I 3 (line 4); but the remainder of the right column is unclear to me. Maybe lines 9 and 10 refer to Saturn because there are so few data mentioned.
The speed of the planet in lines 1-3 suggests Mars; the data would fit, e. g. SE 170, 234, or 249 (but not SE 11 or 12). There is no obvious relation to the rest of the text.
The signs at the ends of lines in the left column are smaller and may have been added later.
Rev. 1: the signs for Pleiades are written as in JCS 21 (1969) 217:4, see ibid. p. 200f. In both cases, there seem to be more wedges present than are required for the sign ÁB.

## No. 1

'Obv.
(illegible traces of 6 or 7 lines)

Rev.'
1 cubit below $\eta$ Tauri. Month $X$, night of the $24^{\text {th }},[\ldots$. ] above $\alpha$ [Tauri.]
Month XI, night of [the $\left.x^{\text {th }},\right] 1$ cubit 8 fingers below $\beta$ Tauri. Night of the $22^{\text {nd }}$,
$11 / 2$ cubits [above $\zeta$ ] Tauri. Month XII, night of the $11^{\text {th }},[\ldots$.$] above \mu$ Gemin[orum.]
(from here on two columns)

Mercury's last appearance in the west in Gemini.
Month II, the $29^{\text {th }}$, first appearance in the east in Gemini.
Month III, the $16^{\text {th }}$, last appearance in the east
Month IV, the $11^{\text {th }}$, first appearance in the west
Month V, the $19^{\text {th }}$, last appearance in the west
Month VI, the $12^{\text {th }}$, first appearance in the east
Month VII, the $13^{\text {th }}$, last appearance in the east

Gemini
$[\ldots$. , the $x]+1^{\text {st }}$, [last appearance] in [the west ....]
in Gemini.
in Leo.
in Virgo.
in Virgo.
in Libra.
in ....
13 [...., the x$]+1^{\text {st }}$, [last appearance] in [the west ....]

## II

4 Night of the $3^{\text {rd }}$, first part of the night, Mercury above [....]
$5 \quad$.... Night of the $16^{\text {th }}$, below $\zeta$ Tauri [....]
6 Month VI, night of the $20^{\text {th }}$, last [part of the night ....]
7 Month VII, night of the $10+\left[x^{\text {th }}, \ldots.\right]$
8 Month X, night [....]
9 Month IV, night of the $29^{\text {th? }}$, fir[st part of the night, ....]
10 Month VIII, night [....]

11 Month V, [....]

## No． 2

BM 48104 （＝81－11－3，813）
Photo：Pl． 1
Year：SE 19
＇Obv．

| $1^{\prime}$ | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{x}^{7}[\ldots]$ |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $2^{\prime}$ | 13 | $[\ldots]$. |  |  |  |
| $3^{\prime}$ | 14 | 9,20 | $[\mathrm{ME} \ldots]$. |  |  |
| $4^{\prime}$ | 14 | 8,30 | $n[a \ldots]$. |  |  |
| $5^{\prime}$ | 15 | 5 | $\mathrm{GE}_{6}[\ldots]$. |  |  |
| $6^{\prime}$ | 26 | $23,40+[\mathrm{x} \quad$ KUR $\ldots]$. |  |  |  |

Rev．＇

| 1 | GAN 1 | 19，20 | ［．．．］ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | 13 | 14 | ME |
| 3 | 13 | 5，30 | ŠÚ |
| 4 | 14 | 1，30 | $\mathrm{GE}_{6}$ |
| 5 | 14 | 9，10 | na |
| 6 | 27 | 20，40 | ［KUR ．． |
| 7 | ZİZ 30 | 10，20＋ | x ．．．．］ |
| 8 | 13 | 9，10＋［x | ŠÚ ．．．．］ |
| 9 | 14 | $1+$［ | ME ．．．．］ |
| 10 | 14 | ［x | $n a \ldots$ |

## Left edge

1 meš－hi šá MU－19－KAM ${ }^{\text {² }} S\left[e^{?}-l u-k u\right.$ LUGAL］
2
GABA－RI［．．．．］

## No． 3

BM 77997 （ $=85-4-30,190)$
Photo：Pl． 1
Year：SE 23
＇Obv．

```
1' [....] 「x x šáa} [....
2' [x x] 19? ' 'x [ [...]
3' [x] 「x' [x x] 「x [ [...]
4' [IZ]I 30 GE 6}3\mathrm{ ina ZÁ[LAG ....] ina ZÁLAG MÚL-BABBAR SIG MAŠ-M[AŠ IGI
    .... AN]
5' SIG MÚL KUR šá KA šil-tah PA 2/3? KÙŠ 17 GENNA ina ABSIN [ŠÚ ....]
```

No. 2
'Obv.'
$1^{\prime}$.... [....]
$2^{\prime}$ The $13^{\text {th }},[\ldots$.
$3^{\prime} \quad$ The $14^{\text {th }}$, [moonrise to sunset:] $9^{\circ} 20^{\prime}$.
$4^{\prime} \quad$ The $14^{\text {th }}$, sunrise [to moonset:] $8^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$.
$5^{\prime} \quad$ The $15^{\text {th }}$, sunset to moonrise: $5^{\circ}$.
$6^{\prime} \quad$ The $26^{\text {th }}$, [moonrise to sunrise:] $23^{\circ} 40+\left[\mathrm{x}^{\prime}\right.$.]
'Rev.'
$1^{\prime}-6^{\prime} \quad$ Month IX, the $1^{\text {st }}$ (of which will follow the $30^{\text {th }}$ of the preceding month); (sunset to moonset:) $19^{\circ} 20^{\prime}$. The $13^{\text {th }}$, moonrise to sunset: $14^{\circ}$. The $13^{\text {th }}$, moonset to sunrise: $5^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$. The $14^{\text {th }}$, sunset to moonrise: $1^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$. The $14^{\text {th }}$, sunrise to moonset: $9^{\circ} 10^{\prime}$. The $27^{\text {th }}$, [moonrise to sunrise:] $20^{\circ} 40^{\prime}$.
.... [....] .... [....] .... [....]
$7^{\prime}-10^{\prime}$ Month XI, (the $1^{\text {st }}$ of which will be identical with) the $30^{\text {th }}$ (of the preceding month); (sunset to moonset:) $10^{\circ} 20+\left[\mathrm{x}^{\prime}\right.$.] The $13^{\text {th }}$, [moonset to sunrise:] $9^{\circ} 10+\left[\mathrm{x}^{\prime}\right.$.] The $14^{\text {th }}$, [moonrise to sunset:] $1+\left[\mathrm{x}^{\circ}\right.$.] The $14^{\text {th }}$, [sunrise to moonset: ....]

## Left edge

1 Predictions of year 19, [king] S[eleucus.]
2 Copy of [....]

## No. 3

'Obv.
$1^{\prime} \quad[\ldots$.$] .... [....]$
$2^{\prime} \quad[\ldots ..] 19^{?} \ldots .[\ldots$.
$3^{\prime} \quad[\ldots .$.$] .... [....] .... [....]$
$4^{\prime} \quad$ Month V, (the $1^{\text {st }}$ of which will be identical with) the $30^{\text {th }}$ (of the preceding month). Night of the $3^{\text {rd }}$, last part of the [night, ....] last part of the night, Jupiter $[\ldots$.$] below [\alpha]$ Geminorum. [.... Mars]
5' $\quad 2 / 3^{?}$ cubit below $\vartheta$ Ophiuchi. The $17^{\text {th }}$, Saturn's [last appearance] in Virgo. [....]

6’ KIN 30 ina LUL GE 2 ina ZÁLAG 「MÚL－BABBAR SIG MAŠ－MAŠㄱ［ár ．．．．］
7＇ $\mathrm{DU}_{6} 15$ LÁL－tì 12 dele－bat ina ŠÚ ina［x IGI ．．．．］「x x ${ }^{7}$［．．．．］
$8^{\prime} \quad \mathrm{GE}_{6} 26$ USAN AN S［IG ．．．．］

Rev．＇
1 ［APIN x］ $13 n a$ GE $_{6} 20$ USAN AN $e$ MÚL 「IGI šá SUHVUR MÁŠ $6^{7 ?}$［SI ．．．．］
$2 \quad{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{GE}_{6}{ }^{1}$［2］2 USAN AN $e$ MÚL ár šá SUHUUR MÁŠ 4＋［x SI ．．．．］

3 GAN $30 \mathrm{GE}_{6} 14$ ina ZÁLAG MÚL－BABBAR SIG MAŠ－MAŠ IGI 213 KÙ［Š ．．．．］
422 MÚL－BABBAR ana ME E－a $27 \mathrm{KUR}^{\text {r }} \mathrm{GE}_{6}$ 29？${ }^{\text {² }}$［．．．．］
$5 \quad[\mathrm{AB}$ x G］E 61 USAN dele－bat e MÚL 「ár šá SUHUR¹［MÁŠ ．．．．］

## Date

The equinox on VII 5 sets the year at SE $4+19 \mathrm{n}$ ．Saturn in Virgo（line 6＇）and a first appearance of Venus in the west（line $8^{\prime}$ ）identify the year as SE 23 ，which is confirmed by the positions of Mars．

## No． 4

BM 47724 （＝81－11－3，429）
Listed as LBAT＊995
Photo：Pl． 2
Year：SE 31

Upper edge
2 ［ina a－mat］dEN $u$ d ${ }^{\mathrm{d}}$ GAŠAN－iá liš－lim

Obv．＇
I
$1 \quad[B A R \ldots.] 10^{?} \quad \mathrm{GE}_{6} 5$ USAN GU $_{4}$－UD SIG ${ }^{\text {「 MÚL}}{ }^{1}$－MÚL $1 / 2$ KÙŠ
$2 \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}x & x & M\end{array}\right] E$
$3 \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}x & x & \text { Š］Ú }\end{array}\right.$
$4 \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}\mathrm{x} & \mathrm{x}]\end{array} \quad \mathrm{GE}_{6}\right.$
$5 \quad[\mathrm{x} \quad \mathrm{x} \quad n] a \quad \mathrm{GE}_{6} 27$ ina ZÁLAG dele－bat SIG MÚL KUR
6 ［ ］šá DUR nu－nu 3 KÙŠ
$7 \quad\left[\mathrm{GU}_{4} \ldots . .\right]^{\lceil } \mathrm{xxxxxx}^{\top}[\ldots$.

II
$1 \quad \check{S}[\mathrm{U} . .$. ．$]$
2 12［．．．］
313 ［．．．．］
414 ［．．．．］
＇Rev．
III broken；


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ A. J. Sachs, A Classification of the Babylonian Astronomical Tablets of the Seleucid Period: JCS 2 (1948) 271-290.
    ${ }^{2}$ Iraq 46 (1984) 43-55.
    ${ }^{3}$ F. Rochberg, The Heavenly Writing (Cambridge 2004) 153-157.

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ O. Neugebauer, JCS 2 (1948) 209ff.; HAMA 357-365; A. L. Slotsky, The Uruk Solstice Scheme Revisited, in: H. D. Galter (ed.), Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens (Graz 1993) 359-365. A convenient table by J. P. Britton is found in UOS p. 44.
    ${ }^{5}$ p. 278 (see footnote 1).
    ${ }^{6}$ p. 273 (see footnote 1).

[^2]:    7 So the transliteration would better have been NA, and this is found in recent publications. I retain $n a$ only for reasons of consistency.
    8 See footnote 1.
    ${ }^{9} \quad$ SCIAMVS 8 (2007) 3-36. The procedures used to find these intervals in Babylonian mathematical astronomy are explained in detail by M. Ossendrijver, Babylonian Mathematical Astronomy: Procedure Texts (New York 2012) 113-115, 161-178, 195-202.
    10 These sequences are also listed by Huber and Steele, SCIAMVS 8 (2007) 3. I have never found the fourth theoretically possible sequence in an actual text.

[^3]:    ${ }^{11}$ p. 287f. (see footnote 1).
    ${ }^{12}$ University of Durham, Department of Physics. See also J. M. K. Grey and J. M. Steele, Studies on Babylonian goal-year astronomy I: a comparison between planetary data in Goal-Year Texts, Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs: AHES 62 (2008) 553-600.
    ${ }^{13}$ Neugebauer HAMA 386f.

[^4]:    ${ }^{14}$ The Heavenly Writing (Cambridge 2004) 206 n. 150.
    ${ }^{15}$ BM 36838, in JCS 21 (1967) 190-192.
    ${ }^{16}$ F. Gössmann, Planetarium Babylonicum (Rome 1950) No. 306.
    ${ }^{17}$ J. Schaumberger, 3. Ergänzungsheft to $\mathrm{SSB}, 335$.
    ${ }^{18}$ E. Reiner, Babylonian Planetary Omens, Part Two (Malibu 1981) 11.

[^5]:    19 Studies on Babylonian goal-year astronomy I: a comparison between planetary data in Goal-Year Texts, Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs: AHES 62 (2008) 553-600.
    ${ }^{20}$ Grey, J. M. K. and J. M. Steele, Studies on Babylonian goal-year astronomy II: the Babylonian calendar and goalyear methods of prediction: AHES 63 (2009) 611-633.

