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The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents.

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BENFEY and Stern¹ sought the origin of the post-exilic names of the Jewish months in the Persian language,—an hypothesis more ingenious than satisfactory. This view has since been abandoned, both on philological grounds and because it meets with no confirmation from the monumental documents of ancient Persia. The names of the months as read on the Behistun inscriptions bear no resemblance to the Hebrew names. In the year 1888 Dr. Paulus Cassel published a pamphlet² in which he proposes some rather peculiar etymologies for the post-exilic months. טבת is explained as ‘being moist, wet’; טבת properly ‘the stick, twig,’ because this month, according to the Talmud, is the month in which the trees bloom, as is always the case in the Orient in the month of February; אדר ‘the fire’ (of spring); נירַת the month of ‘budding’ (comparing it to Mishnic ניר ‘flower, blossom’; נירַת Gen. xl. 10). אדר is the Greek ἥσπ or ἥσπρ ‘the spring’; סיוון has the same meaning as *Iyyâr*, and would stand for the blooming of the latter end of the season; the name Tammûz stands for תammûz, a compound of חם ‘hot’ and עז ‘very, strong’ + prefix *ta*, thus probably meaning, ‘the month of great heat.’ בָּבֶן is ‘fruit or harvest,’ comparing it with Hebr. בָּבֶן ‘germ’ (of plants) Job viii. 12; Elûl would be connected with *jul* contained in the name of the month July, representing the summer solstice. But Cassel might at least have remembered that it was already the opinion of the Talmudists that the names of the Babylonian months were introduced by the Jews who returned from the Babylonian captivity (Jer. Talm. Rôš-haš-šanah, I. טבת החרשים הצלוי עפראם מכביל). This opinion, on the whole correct, has been somewhat modified by Aug. Dillmann in his classic article *Über das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem baby-*

¹ *Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, Berlin, 1836.

² *Die Namen der Monate*, in *Aus Literatur und Geschichte, Abhandlungen*. Berlin und Leipzig, 1885, pp. 299–322.

*lonischen Exil.*³ In the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1889, Dr. Thomas Laurie published a note on the Assyrian months, which also calls for some explanations and emendations. And recently Dr. Bruno Meissner, in a short article on the antiquity of the names of the Babylonian months,⁴ maintains that the names of these months did not come from a Semitic race, but, as their very formation would show, from another nation. Meissner, however, fails to substantiate his assertion; and it is the purpose of the following pages to show that most, if not all, the names of the Babylonian months are of Semitic origin.

The Babylonian year began in historical times in the spring.⁵ The year is divided into *rēs sattī*, 'beginning of the year' (I. Rawl. 67, 34), *miśil sattī*, 'the middle,' and *kīt (qīt) sattī*, 'the end of the year' (Strassmaier, *Nabon.* 299); spring in Assyrian was expressed by *pān sattī*, as Prof. Haupt has shown *ad Senn.* V. 43. The name for 'month' was *arxu*, c. st. *arax*⁶; it means properly the beginning of the month. The same word is used in Aramean (Ezr. vi. 15; Dan. iv. 26), Phoenician, and Ethiopic; it is the old Semitic expression for month. In Hebrew it also occurs in prose (Exod. ii. 2; Deut. xxi. 13; 2 Kings xv. 13) as well as in poetry of the pre-exilic time (Zech. xi. 8; Deut. xxxiv. 14);⁷ but it was soon entirely superseded by the word **תְּנִינָה**. The Phoenicians did not use this word for month, nor the other Semitic nations. Where it is found, it still retains its old force and signification of new-moon (like Assyrian *iddišū*); its employment for 'month' is an innovation on the part of the Israelites. The ideographic expression for 'month' ITI or ITU (= *aīdōw*) is according to J. Halévy⁸ a Semitic noun, connected with Aramean **נְתִינָה** 'lunation, festival,' and Arabic *'id* (pl. *a'ydd*) 'fest-

³ *Monatsberichte der Berliner Academie*, 1881, Oct. 27, pp. 914-939.

⁴ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, V. 180 sq.

⁵ The word for 'year' is *sattū* (for *santu* > *sanātu*), the feminine form to **תְּנִינָה**, from a verb **תְּנִינָה** 'to change' (Assyr. *sanū*). See especially J. Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, XI. 64. c.st. of *sattū* is *sānat*, plur. *sānātī*, *sānātī*; the ideogram for *sattū*, read MU, was first identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson (see *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1877, 1437, rem. 2).

⁶ The ideogram for *arxu* is the number 30 enclosed by the ideogram for day.

⁷ According to Stade and Siegfried, Zech. xi. 8 belongs to a later period, and Job iii. 5, vii. 3, xxix. 2, etc., represent poetic language, where **מִן־מִן** does not determine the date any more than German 'Monde' for 'Monate'; 2 Kings xv. 13 is late Hebrew as well as Deut. xxi. 13 and Exod. ii. 2.

⁸ *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, XXII. 195.

tival.' Cf. S^b 86-7 *i-tu*; *iti = ȝet arxu*; V. Rawl. 23, 32 e *i-id = ȝi-i[t] ar-xu!*

The Babylonian year seems to have consisted of 12 lunar months of 30 days each, intercalary months being added by the priests when necessary. III. Rawl. 52, No. 2, Rev. 37 foll. reads: 12 *arxe ša šatti i × vi šuš* (6×60) *ume ša mi-na-at*, which means, "12 months in the year 6×60 days in number."⁹ Then follows a table giving the lucky and unlucky months for military expeditions, etc.

III. Rawl. 60 we read *ina arax Nisāni ištū ȳmi I adi ȳmi XXX*, "in the month Nisān from the first to the thirtieth day," and so in the case of all the other months, not one of which numbers 29 days. The Babylonian calendar in V. Rawl. 48-49 has 30 days for every month as far as we are able to make out; so also have the intercalary Elūl (IV. Rawl. 32-33) and Marchešwān (ib. 33²). In later years, however, we find, according to Strassmaier and Epping, months of 30 days alternate with those of 29 days.¹⁰

Every six years an intercalary month (Ve-adar) seems to have been inserted; but it would be found that a year of only 365 days was too short by nearly a quarter of a day, and that the calendar at the end of every sixth year would differ from the true year by about a day and eleven hours. In 124 years this deficiency would amount to a whole month of 30 days, so that another intercalary month besides the *Addaru magrû* (or *maxru*) would be needed. Accordingly we find the Babylonians making use of a second Nisān, as well as a second Elūl. But it is difficult to say whether these were full months of 30 days each (*arxu mušallimu*) or whether they were not intercalated whenever the priestly directors of the calendar discovered

⁹ See also ZA. V. 123. To save space the following abbreviations have been employed: I.-V. Rawl. = *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I.-V., prepared for publication by Sir H. C. Rawlinson (London, 1861 sqq.); thus I. Rawl. 67, 34 = I. Rawlinson, plate 67, line 34.—S^a, S^b, S^c, Sa, etc., are the Assyrian syllabaries published by Fried. Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Lesestücke*⁸ (Leipzig, 1885).—*Deluge* refers to the Babylonian account of the deluge as published in the same *Lesestücke*, pp. 99-109.—ZK. = *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* (I. and II., Leipzig, 1884 and 1885); ZA. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (I.-VI., 1886 sqq.).—ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).—H^r = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881-82).—Gött. Gel. Anz. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen).—Jensen *Kosmologie* = *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, Studien und Materialien*, von Peter Jensen (Strassburg, 1890).

¹⁰ *Astronomisches aus Babylon.* Nisān, Tammūz, Elūl, Tīsri, Kislev, Šebath and Adar had 30 days, while the others only 29.

that the disagreement between it and the true year had become a serious matter. III. Rawl. 56, No. 5, gives us the list of the three intercalary months in the Babylonian reckoning of time known to us.

Along with the establishment of a calendar came the settled division of the astronomical day (*amu*, יֹם) into day(light) and night (*urru u mūšu*).¹¹ The old rough division of the night into three watches, which is found also in the Old Testament, remained long in use.

The first night watch was called *māçartu bararītu*,¹² when the stars began to shine. It is the רָאשׁ אֲשֶׁר מְרוֹתָה of Lament. ii. 19 at the time of the נֶחָםֶת הַכּוֹכְבִים Neh. iv. 15. The second was the *māçartu qabīlu*,¹³ corresponding to the דְּנָשְׂמָרָת הַיּוֹמָנוֹה of Judg. vii. 19; and the third, the *māçartu ṣa-ad urri*,¹⁴ which according to Delitzsch is the watch at the rising of the light at daybreak, the בְּקָרָה of Exod. xiv. 24; 1 Sam. xi. 11. Delitzsch, no doubt, was convinced of having been the first to read *ṣad urri*; but Sayce as early as 1874 had read and explained the phrase in the same manner (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* III. 159), and M. François Lenormant had made in a few words the same statement in Maspero's *Recueil des Travaux*, I. 62.

This system of division of time was gradually superseded by a more accurate system, that of *kasbu's*, or 'double hours,' corresponding to the division of the equator. The astronomical day was divided into 12 *kasbu*, each of two hours' length; the *kasbu* again was divided into 60 minutes, and a minute into 60 seconds (III. Rawl. 51, Nos. 1 and 2). The etymology of the word *kasbu* is given in *Deluge*, I. 269, where we read *ana X kas-bu ik-su-bu ku-sa-bu*, "they

¹¹ According to Epping the civil day began in the evening; but Jensen, in his review of Epping's book mentioned above, has strong arguments in favor of the beginning of the civil day in the morning (see ZA. V. 124).

¹² *māçartu* (*māçartu*) for *mançartu* from *naçaru*, נָצַר 'to watch, guard'; Aram. נָצַר (cf. Neh. iii. 25; xii. 39); *hararītu* fem. to *bararū* from *bararu*, 'to shine, rise,' said of stars; II. Rawl. 39, 11 ef; V. Rawl. 40, 25. Maspero's *Rec. des Travaux*, I. (1877) 67; ZK. II. 284.

¹³ II. Rawl. 39, 12 ef; V. Rawl. 40, 26.

¹⁴ Delitzsch in ZK. II. 287 foll.; and *Prolegomena* 96. He takes *ṣad* for the constr. st. of *ṣadū*, 'height, mountain.' Halévy, however, in the same volume of ZK. p. 406 fol. reads *ṣa-at urri* and translates it 'at day-time'; deriving *ṣa-at* as constr. st. from *ṣattu* 'hour, time' for *ṣa-a(y)tu* = Hebr. שָׁעָה, Aram. שָׁעָה, Arab. *sā'at*; compare also *ina ṣa-at mūši*, 'during night-time' (V. Rawl. 3, 119), and Talm. שָׁעָה בְּנֵי 'during.' With this *ṣadū*, Hebr. טָהָר 'be high,' Delitzsch combines the Hebrew טָהָר (לְאַטָּה).

made a march of 10 *kasbu*"; *kasbu* = 'to measure, march, travel.' The word, originally an expression for ground-measure, was transferred to that of time-measure. Jules Oppert compares it to the Greek παρασάγγης; *kasbu qaqqar* being the σχόνος, the double παρασάγγης. Jensen considers the phrase an ideogram, reading it KAS(GAL)GID = *xarrān arku*, 'a long road,' and Jules Oppert as an equivalent of Assyrian *aš-li* (?), III. Rawl. 29, 20, which he connects with Aramean **אַשְׁלָאֵן** 'cord,' Arab. *aw* 'a measure of Bassora 60 cubits in length.' At a later period time was measured by means of the clepsydra, the fine sand in Babylonia being an excellent substitute for the water used in other countries. Herodotus II. 109 (end) assures us that the sundial was an invention of the Babylonians, and the dial of King Ahaz seems to have been the fruit of intercourse between Judah and Assyria.

Lists of the Assyro-Babylonian months written syllabically, not merely ideographically, are found in 1, E. Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, I, p. 50; 2, Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte* (=H^T), pp. 44 and 64; 3, Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*³, p. 92, and 4, V. Rawlinson, 29, No. 1. Lists of Regents of the months are given in George Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 325-26, and IV. Rawlinson 33, col. I. (below). The Zodiaca signs are registered in III. Rawl. 45 and IV. Rawl. 43.

The first month, in the Babylonian year is the *a-ra-ax Ni-sa-a(n)-nu*,¹⁵ evidently pronounced *nisānu*, whence Hebr. נִסְןּ Greek Νησάν. The noun is derived from the verb *nesū* (Hebr. נָסַע) 'move, start, proceed.' It is the opening month of the ecclesiastical year. It is the post-exilic name for חֶדֶש הַאֲכִיב, and is mentioned in Esth. iii. 17 חֶדֶש הַרְאָתָן הוּא (os=) and Neh. ii. 1. III. Rawl. 60, No. 90, we find the phrase *ištū rēs šatti, ištū arax nisānu*, "from the beginning of the year, from the month Nisān." An intercalary Nisān is mentioned III. Rawl. 56, No. 5, *arxu Nisānu II. gan-ma*, but it does not appear to have been in actual use. The non-Semitic word for *Nisānu* is read ITU BARAG-ZAG(-GAR)¹⁶ and translated by 'month of the sanctuary.' BA-

¹⁵ Grammatically the noun is a form like *šil-tan-nu*, 'potentate, ruler' (sultan); *ištānu*; *lisdnu*, 'tongue, speech'; *maškanu*, 'pledge' (from **מִשְׁקָה**, Arab. *masaka*, 'hold fast'), a homonym of *maškanu*, 'place, locality' (from *sakanu*, **סְקוּן**); *xazdnu*, 'ruler of a city' (plur. *xazānāti*, Mishnic **חַזְנָתִי** from **חַזְנָה**, whence also *maždu* = **מַחְנָה**); *bit-tan-nu* (Esarhaddon, V. 32), 'palace' = Hebr. **בֵּיתְנָה**.

¹⁶ These (non-)Semitic or Akkadian (?) names for the Babylonian months were first determined and explained by the great Irish cuneiformist, Rev. Dr. Ed. Hincks, in his paper *Monograms for Assyrian months, names of cardinal points*

RAG is evidently borrowed from the Assyrian *parakku*, 'sanctuary' (S^b 354 fol.; Sa VI. 23 fol.; ZA. II. 182-4), the Hebr. פָּרָקַע, from *paraku*, 'separate, set aside, dedicate' (like Greek *téμενος* from *téμεν*, or Latin *templum* for *tempuslum*, from the same root). ZAG is the ideogram for *rēšu*, 'head,' and derived from the Assyrian *sagū*, 'be at the head of.' The whole expression thus appears to be of Assyro-Babylonian origin.

That the vernal equinox (Assyrian *ṣugalulu.ṣatti*) fell in the month of Nisān is mentioned not only by Josephus, *Antt.* III. 10. 5, but also in cuneiform literature. A small tablet published in III. Rawl. 51, No. 1, and Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*³, p. 122, No. 1, records the date of the spring equinox. This tablet is valuable in fixing the time of the month Nisān (and therefore also that of the other months) as identical with the latter part of March and the beginning of April, and the length of the *kasbu* at two hours. The astronomer-royal sends to the king the following report: "On the sixth day of the month Nisān day and night were balanced, there were six *kasbu* of day and six *kasbu* of night. May Nabû and Marduk be propitious to the king our Lord."¹⁷ But not always did the vernal equinox fall on the sixth day; another report (III. Rawl. 51, No. 2) dates it on the 15th day of Nisān. In other words the beginning of the year was not on one and the same day every year. Nevertheless all the reports referring to the vernal equinox establish the fact that that period of the year corresponded with the zodiac sign Aries (Fam). The calendar was arranged so as to suit the order of the zodiacal signs, and Nisān, the first month, answered to the first zodiacal sign.¹⁸ The ideogram for this sign is read KU, which according to

(Dublin, 1853). The *parakku* was the *ձերօն*, the ԵՇԵ, of the Assyro-Babylonian temples. As synonyms are mentioned *sukku* (from *sakku*, 'shut in, enclose'), *panpanu*, *di'u* (*dū*, 'habitation'), *kiccu*, *papaxu*, *massaku*, and *paramaxu*. On the Akkadian calendar see also H. E. Plunkett, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIV, 112-119.

¹⁷ Ո՞մ քսս (*kam*) իտ *BA-RAG* (= *arax nisānu*) Ամս ս մս-ի Ցի-ցւ-լս
VI կա-ս-ս ս-մս, VI կա-ս-ս մս-ի (*il*) *Nabû* (*il*) *Marduk* ան Տարր էն-ի-նի
լի-քս-ս-ս.

¹⁸ Epping (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*, Freiburg, 1889, p. 39) has shown that for the year 188 of the Seleucidan Era the first of Nisān fell on the 4th of April, B.C. 123; and for the years 189, 190, 201, and 202 of the same era, the first of Nisan was on March 25, 122 B.C., April 12, 121, April 10, 110, and March 30, 109 B.C. He adds: "That at this time the Babylonians in general continued to put the first of Nisan toward the spring, can easily be proved. It is manifest that they always tried to harmonize their lunar year with the solar year. Proof for

Jensen (*Kosmologie*, 317 rem. and 497) is an abbreviation for *kusarikku*, 'one of animals of Tiamat,' and apparently as synonym of *ditdnu* and *sarru*, Sc 315, with the meaning of 'leader.' Robert Brown (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII. 247 foll.) considers it an abbreviation of *ikū* (*kakkdb ikū*), one of the stars of the constellation Aries. Assyrian *ikū* would signify the 'front' or leading, 'star of the year and be compared with Hebr. פָּנָה 'be in front.' KU, 'the leader' of the heavenly flock through the year, would be a very suitable designation for Aries.¹⁹

The second month is the *arax a-a-ru* (var. -*ri*) = April-May. According to Delitzsch this name is connected with the verb *āru* (אָרַע) 'be bright, light'; it would thus mean 'the bright month'; but this would hardly yield Hebr. פְּנָה (Roš-haš-šanah, I. 3), Greek Ιάρος (Joseph. *Antt.* VIII. 3, 1), Εἰαρ (Joseph. *Hypomnesticum*, c. 27). I prefer to connect it with the root פָּנָה 'send forth, open, germinate,' whence we have *āru* (= *ajāru* 'blossom, flower,' etc.) and *ārtu* (the same). The word would correspond in its meaning to Hebr. צִוֵּי and 'April' (<aperire); it would be the month in which nature begins to put forth green herbs, etc. From a noun with middle yodh we can easily derive Hebrew פְּנָה. The Megillath Taanith mentions the 23 Iyyār as the same day on which occurred the event recorded in 1 Macc. xiii. 51 τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδῃ τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς ἔτος καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ. The non-Semitic ITU GUDDA-SIDI = *arax alpi isari* is explained as 'the month of the righteous bull' (Halévy), but yet better 'the month of the bull walking on his hind legs' (see representations of Eabani, and Haupt, *Der Sintfluthericht*, p. 10). This month corresponds to the second sign of the zodiac, the Bull (Taurus). The ideogram TE (also TE-TE) according to Robert Brown is an abbreviation from *temendū*, 'foundation.'²⁰ It

this are the intercalary months, of which they knew how many to insert for the above-mentioned purpose. Within every eleven years the Babylonians inserted four months, and besides one more every one hundred and thirty-two years; by which means there appeared but one half-day's difference between lunar and solar year." This, of course, has reference only to the system observed in later times, e.g. the Arsacidan and Seleucidan eras.

¹⁹ Cf. also Robert Brown, *Babylonian Astronomy in the West. The Aries of Aratus.* (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, I. 33 foll. and 141 foll.) On the zodiac in general see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 57-95; 309-320 and the appendices. Aries is usually called *lu-lim*, 'leader' of the *bibbu*, 'the planets,' properly a species of sheep.

²⁰ *Temendū*, however, is by no means Akkadian, but an Assyrian *t*-formation from *amanu* = פָּנָה 'be firm.'

refers to Taurus as at one time the 'foundation' or beginner of the calendar, and leader of the zodiacal signs, which must have been mapped out at the time when the vernal equinox still fell in Taurus. Taurus is also called the messenger of the great twin-brothers, because it precedes that constellation in its rise; cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 62-64.

The first two months were presided over by the three great gods (*ildni rabūti*) of the Assyro-Babylonian Pantheon: Nisān by Anu and Bel; Āru by Ea. At the head of the Pantheon was Anu, the "Avos of Damascius. *Anu* (ideogr. AN) originally meant 'the firmament, heaven,' as opposed to the earth, from the stem עֲנוּ 'be opposite'; it was so named as being opposite the upward glancing eye, cf. H^T 10, 29 A-NA=šamū, 'heaven,' and Lagarde's combination of לְנָא with the stem הַלְאָ; then it meant 'god' in general, S^a II. 16 foll.=ilu=dīngir, with the feminine ḥantu and the abstract noun anātu, and finally it became the proper name of a special god, H^T 10, 30 and 39; 37, 21; S^b 379. The form is preserved in the Hebrew proper name אֱלֹהֵי עֲנוּ = *Anu-malik*, 2 Kings xvii. 30.

That *anu* = 'heaven' is used to designate the idea of God, is not confined to the Semitic race. By metonymy ὁ οὐρανός is put for God (cf. Dan. iv. 23 and often by the Rabbins, influenced by an over-scrupulous reverence for the name of God himself).²¹ So we find in the New Testament Matth. iv. 17 ἡγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν· Luke xv. 18 and 21 πάτερ, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου (Presbyt. Rev. II. 177); ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, John iii. 27; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ 'of Divine authority,' Matth. xxi. 25, Mark xi. 30, Luke xx. 4.

Anu was the local deity of Uruk (Erech), the modern Warka; his sacred number is sixty (š̄ašu = σῶστρος), expressed by one vertical wedge. He is often called the 'father of the gods' (*abu ildni*), 'the chief, noblest among the gods' (*ašarid ildni*, II. Rawl. 19, 20)²²; he is also called 'the king' (*šarru*, IV. Rawl. 5, 28), and

²¹ See E. Schürer in *Jahrbücher für Protestant. Theologie*, 1876, p. 178 foll.; in the Talmud, e.g. Pirke aboth IV. 12, we have סִדְךָ for God.

²² But this *ašaridu* is an epithet given to a number of other gods. *Nabû*, *bel ašaridu*, "Nebo, the first Lord," II. Rawl. 60, 30; *Sin-a-ša-ri-id* (*Proceedings of the Berlin Congress of Orientalists*, II. I, 352-53); *Šamaš a-ša-rid ildni*, IV. Rawl. 14, 45; *Rammān ašarid* (written TIG-GAL) šamē u erçitim, "Rammān, the leader of heaven and earth," IV. Rawl. 33, 46; *Ašaridu* (plur. *ašaridatî*) is a compound of *ašar* + *edu*, properly 'being the first in place or rank, the chief, noblest.' In Hebrew it is found in the proper name שָׁלָמָן־אָשָׁרִיד = *Sulman-ašarid* (E. Schrader in ZK. II. 198) = LXX Σαλαμανδρός, Σελάμων (ZA. I. 12; Amer. Journ. Philol. VIII. 285). This form is to be explained partly by dissimilation, partly by the influence exercised by the name תְּגִתְּלָפָת־אָשָׁרִיד.

Sargon, *Annals*, 309, says: *ina arax nisânu arax a-çî-e (il) bêl ilâni*, ‘during Nisân, the month in which the Lord of the Gods comes forth’; *nesû = açû*, ‘start, go forth.’ The *šamû ša Anim* is the ‘sky’ (see Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier ad Deluge*, 108).

Anu’s consort is Anatu (J. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique*, 223 fol.), a name preserved in the Old Testament מָנָת, with which also compare the Phœnician goddess ‘Anat (Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phœnizier*, p. 150). The fire god, Gi-bil, and the god of the air, Ramman, are mentioned as his sons. Anu is especially the king of the Igigi and Anunaki (*šar (il) Igigi u (il) Anunaki*).

The Igigi are the spirits of heaven; according to Stanislas Guyard (ZK. I. p. 111, § 18) their name is connected with the verb *agagu*, ‘be strong’ (cf. Arab. *hâgâ*, ‘be aroused’); II. Rawl. 35, 37ef, we find the Igigi mentioned as a synonym of *ri-i-bu*, which is derived from *ra-a-bu* (רַאֲבָע), synonym of *uggatum* (anger, fury), *ummulu*, and *mamlu* (strong); they have nothing to do with the number ‘seven,’ as Jensen (ZA. I. 7 sqq.) has shown against Pognon, *Bavian*, p. 25 fol. The goddess Ištar is called in II. Rawl. 66, 5 *uršanat Igigi*, “the mistress of the Igigi.” The Anunaki were the spirits of the deep sea (cf. Tigl. *Pileser*, I. 3, *Deluge*, l. 99 and 118); they are termed *ilâni rabûti*, ‘great gods’; and Ištar is called in II. Rawl. 66, 3, *lô’at Anunaki*, “the mighty one over the Anunaki.” These demons, or rather warrior gods, who periodically waged war against Sin, the god of the moon (IV. Rawl. 2, 52), seem to have been charged with the watch of the deep sea; their name is derived, according to J. Halévy, from *annu*, ‘watch, guard,’ which was disguised into *a-nuna-ki*. According to J. Oppert and others their name is Akkadian and means DINGIR = *ilu* = god; A = water + NUN (deep) + NA (phonetic complement) + KI (= KID > KIDA, ‘at the side of’) genitive exponent; but unfortunately *nun* is of Semitic origin and derived from *nânu* (נְנוּ ‘be plentiful, large, abundant’) properly a collective noun; cf. נִנְמְרֵבִת ‘posteriority’ = מִרְבִּית. The seven Anunaki are the enemies of the god Ea; together with the gods Adar and Nergal they destroy the earth in the deluge (*Deluge*, l. 99 foll.). They are also the messengers of fate, *marâni sipri ša namtâri* (IV. Rawl. 1, 8); the messengers of King Anu; but the seven evil spirits are likewise Anu’s messengers (IV. Rawl. 5, 28).

As Anu was the god of heaven, so Bel was the lord of the earth and all that therein is; therefore he is often called “Lord of the countries,” *bêl matâti*; “the lofty Bel, father of the gods, creator of all,” *Bêl çtru, abu ilâni, banû kalâma*. His name is written EN-

LIL(KID), whence the Ἰλλιος of Damascius ; V. Rawl. 37, 21 we read *Il-lil*. EN is by no means Akkadian ; H^r 37, 27 we read (AN)EN = *be-el*; the former is connected with Assyrian *ēnu*, 'Lord,' from the verb *enū* (Hebr. עֲנָה), 'oppress, rule'; this *ēnu* has two ideograms, BE (from *bēlu*) and EN (from *ēnu*). Bel²³ seems to have been the national god of the Babylonians, just as Ašur of the Assyrians ; thus also *Beltu* was with the Babylonians the wife of Bel, with the Assyrians the wife of Ašur.

Beltu, const. st. *Belit*, is the Greek Βῆλθις²⁴ and the Μύλιττα of Herodotus. The name occurs in the Old Testament in Isa. x. 4, where Lagarde (*Symmicta*, I. 105, and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1884, p. 259) reads, "Whither are you to flee? Beltis is sinking, Osiris is broken" (בֵּלְתִי כַּרְצֵת חַת אָסִיר). The sons of Bel are Sin and Adar. He is the local deity of Nipūru, the modern Niffer ; the great temple of that city was called E-KUR = *bit sadē*, 'mountain-house' (a compound of Ē = *bitu*, 'house' = Hebr. מֶלֶךְ 'island,' from the root מְלָכָה 'to live,' and KUR = Syr. בּוֹרְתָא). The sacred number of Bel is fifty.

Associated with Anu, who is throned in the highest heavens, and Bel, the stern god of death, the punisher and avenger, is Ea, the benignant god, granting life and all life's blessings. Thus we read, *Anim Bel u Ea maxdrišuna ušramma*, "he let Anu, Bel, and Ea dwell in their cities" (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 288, 146). He is the regent of the second month. V. Rawl. 1, 11 we read, *ina (arax) āri (arax) Ea, bel tenešēti*, "in the month Āru, the month of Ea, the Lord of mankind"; also cf. IV. Rawl. 33, 37 b. He is the god of the deep water, the ocean, *šar apsū*²⁵ *mušlim šimāti*, "the king of the deep, who decides the fates" (Sarg. Cyl. 47; II. Rawl. 55, 24 cd); he is often surnamed 'Lord of wisdom,' *bel nemēgi*, is the *deus averruncus kar' ēcoxýn* (F. Lenormant; *Johns Hopkins Circular*, March, 1884). Damascius calls him 'Aōs. His sacred number is

²³ With the god Ba'al of the Canaanites Bel has nothing in common save the name; the Phœnician Ba'al = Assyrian Šamaš; and בֵּל in Isa. xlvi. 1; Jer. i. 2 is Merodach.

²⁴ Amer. Journ. Philol. VIII. 269; H^r 37, 45.

²⁵ *apsū* (m.), 'abyss, deep, ocean,' is equal to Hebr. אַפְסָע (Αὐασῶν of Damascius, the ὄκρος of Berossus) from אַפְסָע 'be void, empty'; *apsū daninu* is 'the wide ocean.' The ideogram ZU-AB (S^b 128, etc., from which *apsū* is usually derived by a supposed transposition) is derived from the Semitic *zuabbu*, 'ocean,' a form *su'allu* of the root *zūb*, 'flow, run,' whence we have the name of the river Zāb (Ἄυκος of the Greeks, owing to a confusion with *sību*, 'wolf') and the Man-dean *sāba*, 'a mass of water.'

forty ; his consort Damkina, the Δαύκη of Damascius ; see HT 37, 48 ; II. Rawl. 55, 53-54 d ; ibid. l. 55 she is called *simat apst*, 'belonging to *apsd*.' According to J. Halévy (*Recherches critiques*, p. 95) Damkina is a compound of *Dam* (= *tam*, root תְּמַעַת) + *kin* (כִּין) signifying, 'maîtresse de la vérité (fermeté),' while Δαύκη corresponds to the Aramaean form דָּמְכִינָה. If this is the correct etymology, there would have been the same disfigurement which, as I have shown, was the case with *damgaru* and *dim-gal-lū*, which ought to be read *tamkaru* (from *makaru*, 'to buy,' 'a bought slave,' but according to Jensen 'a merchant'), and *timkallu* for *tinkallu* (from *nakalu*, 'be skilful'), 'artist, architect' (*Hebraica*, VII. 255). His first son is Marduk, the regent of the eighth month ; his seat of worship was Eridu, the modern Abu-Shahrein, wherefore he is called the Lord of Eridu ; it is situated on the left shore of the Euphrates river, not far from Muqáyyar.

The third month is the *arax si-ma(n)-nu*, pronounced in later times *si-ձանու* ; whence Hebrew יָדָן Esther viii. 9, Greek σιονάδη (Baruch i. 8), also Σειονάλ. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 16, rem. b, and *Prolegomena*, p. 138, rem. 3, derives this name from *sdmu* (סִדְמָעַ), to 'appoint,' i.e. the time or month appointed for the making of bricks ; this inference being drawn from the interpretation of the Akkadian column : ITU MUR (or SIG, Jensen, etc.) GA = 'month of making bricks,' *arax laban libndti* (Haupt, *Sintflutbericht*). Prof. Haupt (ZA. II. 265, rem. 3), however, derives the word from the stem *asdmu* (Arab. *wasama*), to 'mark, distinguish' (S^b 100 ; also see Fleming's *Nebuchadnezzar*, 41, 37), a form like *lidānu*, 'child,' from *alldū* = *walada*, 'beget, bear.' The word *simānu*²⁶ meant properly 'a signal, sign, trophy.' Again, according to others, it was the month when the time for the ripening of the field-fruit was at hand ; while F. Lenormant derived the word from the same root as Hebrew יָדָן, Aramean יָדָן 'dirt, clay.' An epithet of *Simānu* is *ku-zal-lu*, V. Rawl. 43, 14 ab ; so also *Tigl. Pileser*, VIII. 89 *kuzallu* is not Kislev, but Simānu, just as (ITU)*tam-te* (!)-*ri*, *Senn.* IV. 73, is an epithet of Tebêt. In V. Rawl. 43, 13 a, the month is called *arax si-i-ri ebūri*, 'month of the growth of the field fruit.' The presiding divinity of this month was Sin, the moon-god, whose ideogram is composed of that for *ilu*, 'god,' and the number thirty,

²⁶ V. Rawl. 6, 17; ZA. IV. 169 *māru ălid ina si-man-ni-šu*, "a son was born under her sign" (i.e. of the moon); II. Rawl. 32, 17 ab, *ina la simdnīšu*, "not in its time," perhaps = *ina la adannišu*.

which is sacred to him. Sargon calls this month "the royal month" (*arax šarri*), perhaps because it was dedicated to Sin, from whom the kings of Assyria and Babylonia traced their descent. He was the first of the second triad of Babylonian divinities (Sin — Šamaš — Rammān). He is called *mar reš-ti-i ša Bēl*,²⁷ the 'first-born son of Bel'; and Asurbanipal (V. Rawl. 4, 110) says, *ina arax Simāni, arax Sin, bēl purusst* (written EN EŠ-BAR) *mār reš-tu-u a-ša-ri-du ša Bēl*, "in the month of Sivān, the month of Sin, the Lord of decisions, the first and foremost son of Bel"; cf. also *ibid.* col. VIII. 96–98. He is called *bēl namraçit*, IV. Rawl. 2, 22, "the Lord glorious in his rising" = *ša çesu namrat*, 'whose rising is glorious'; *Sin šar a-gi-e ša-qu-u nam-rir-ri*, "Sin, the king of the orb, great in glory"; *qarrad ilāni*, "the hero among the gods" (*Sarg. Cyl. 58*); he is the *nannaru*,²⁸ "the luminary of heaven and earth" (*šamē u erçitim*, IV. Rawl. 9, 3 and 18 a; V. Rawl. 23, 32; 52, 23 a; 64, 8; also the form *na-an-nir* occurs). It is certainly strange that the name of this god should be derived from the Akkadian EN-ZU, pronounced ZU-EN = 'Lord of wisdom,' *bēl nemēqi*, which latter is the title, not of Sin, but of Ea. *Si-in* occurs in V. Rawl. 37, 42 d (which passage, however, cannot prove anything for its etymology; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 101) and IV. Rawl. 68, 9 b; cf. ZK. I. 271; ZA. I. 227, note g. Could this be a later Assyrian form of the earlier (*II*) *Ši-nu-um*, read by M. Jules Oppert on an unpublished tablet in 1855 (see *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.* 1878, 1032) and derived from שָׁנָה 'to change'?²⁹ The occurrence of Sin among the southern Arabians proves it to be a Semitic word. In importance he preceded the god Šamaš.

Another name for Sin is *Aku*, II. Rawl. 48, 48 a *ll Aku*, a variant of *agū*, 'disk of the moon, or orb, crown'; with it is connected the proper name *Eri-Aku*, Gen. xiv. 24, king of Ellasar = 'son of Aku,' *Arad-Sin* = 'servant of Sin.' His consort was *NIN-GAL*, the

²⁷ *Reš-tu-u* is a *nisbe* form from *reštu*, 'beginning, referring to the beginning,' 'first,' while *reštu* (fem.) to *rešu*, 'head, chief' means 'princess,' e.g. — *Istar rešu-ilāni*, 'Istar the princess among the gods.'

²⁸ Hebr. נְנוּרָה, LXX φωστήρ; *nannaru* is a form like *babbaru*; according to ZA. II. 82, ZDMG. xliii., 199, and Lyon, *Assyr. Manual*, 121, it is derived from נְנוּרָה.

²⁹ See *Hebraica*, VII. 254, note 5, where I have shown that almost half of the so-called Akkadian columns in S^a, S^b, and S^c have been 'borrowed' from the Assyrian; i.e. the Assyrian scribes, compiling syllabaries, etc., disfigured and mutilated Assyrian words so as to make them appear like Akkadian.

great Lady,' called *bēlit rabštu*. It was to him that the old imperial city of Ur was dedicated, the modern Mugheir, or rather Muqáyyar, 'bituminosa' (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1891, 479), the Greek *Kapá-piva*, moon-city; it was first identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson (*Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1877, p. 1426, note).³⁰

Simān corresponds to the zodiacal sign BI(KAŠ) = 'the twins, gemini,' which according to some refers to the friendship between Eabâni and Nimrod = Gilgameš, called hitherto Izdubar.³¹ Robert Brown refers it to the sun and moon, the two hostile brethren. "The archaic cosmogonic myth or legend attached to the month is that of the two hostile brethren and the building of the first city. Now, the great twin brethren who join in building a mysterious city, and who are hostile to each other although they work together, were originally the sun and the moon engaged in securing the preservation of cosmic order, and yet also constantly antagonistic. Gemini is a diurnal sign; for the twins are only seen together by day, and when the one is up, the other is generally down."³²

The fourth month is the *arax Du-(‘u)-u-zu*. This word is usually derived from the Akkadian DU (= son) + ZI (= life, abbreviated from ZID) = 'son of life'; for DU we also find the forms DAMU and DUMU = *dōmu* (II. Rawl. 40, 4 ac), and in IV. Rawl. 28, 50 a, we read *Dumuzi*. This was later changed into Tammûz and under this form was borrowed by the Hebrews.³³ M. J. Halévy, on the other

³⁰ URU, 'city' (settlement) = *alum*; cf. Hebr. עַרְעָם Isa. xxiv. 15, and אֶרְאֵר בְּשָׁרוֹם. *U-ru-ša-lim* = Jerusalem occurs in the El-Amarna inscriptions; feminine of *Urû* is *urítum*, Del. *Lesestücke*,³ 87, col. III. 63, and 88, col. V. 4; ERU, usually considered the Sumerian form of the Akkadian *Uru*, is the Hebrew עָרָה city; cf. S^a 3, 11 E-RI = *a-lu*. M. Jos. Halévy (*Mélanges de critique*, Paris, 1883, p. 162) reads *šam-ru* instead of *u-ru*, and combines with it the name 'Shumer,' the Shinar of Gen. x. 10.

³¹ See *Babyl. and Oriental Record*, IV. 264. Gilgameš is the Τίλγαμος of Aelian *nepl. ſωῶν* XII. 21.

³² The ideogram for twins (*tu’āmu*) is read MAS-MAS, the whole group consisting of four wedges, two upright and two horizontal; the sign BI(KAI) also consists of four wedges, two horizontal and two corner wedges, and it is not unlikely that MAS-MAS and BI(KAI), in this instance at least, were originally one and the same group of signs. On the Twins see also Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 64-65.

³³ Delitzsch, *Hebr. and Assyrian*, 16, rem. 2, and against him *Revue des Études Juives*, X. 304; Delitzsch, in Baer's edition of *Ezechiel*, pref. xvii-xviii; Zimmern, *Buspsalmen*, 26 and 60; also ZA. I. 17-24; 215-16; ZA. II. 270 sq. M. F. Lenormant, 'Sur le nom de Tammouz,' in the *Proceedings of the Paris Congress of Orientalists*, II. 149-165, and Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I. 35 and 300 sqq.

hand, considers it a genuine Babylonian word. In his *Recherches bibliques*, p. 95, he says: "Dans Tamouz on voit la racine תְּמַם réduite à 'du' dans la forme assyrienne du-uzi = (דָּנוּזִי) 'maître de force,' surnom d'un dieu," also cf. *ibid.* p. 260. In his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire* (1883), 179, the same writer says: "La lecture Duzu admise jusqu'à ce jour est erronée ; la syllabe *du* a encore la valeur *tum*, l'orthographie *Tum'uzu* prouve que ce mot dérive de תְּמַם."

In the Old Testament the word occurs in Ezech. viii. 14 as the proper name of the god Tammûz, LXX Θαμμούζ, Joseph. *Hypomnesticum Θαμμούζ*; Vulgate, Adonis. It is mentioned as the name of a month in the Megillath Taanith, IV. 5, 6. Tammûz, whom the Phœnician and other women bewailed in their ἀδωνασμόι, is the Ἄδωνις³⁴ of the Greeks. He was the youthful husband of Ištar, according to the Babylonian mythology; he is the sun-god, who, from year to year, decreases, becoming weaker and weaker, and at last during the winter dies, his death being bewailed by the Phœnician women with the cry אֲלֹנֵי (אֲלֹנֵי) 'woe unto us' = αἰλινον, αἴλινον. The name is the same as that of the fourth month, in which occurs the summer solstice (Assyrian *manzazu šamas*), the beginning of the retrograde motion of the sun-god. The Akkadian ITU ŠU-GUL-NA (cf. ZA. II. 209 for variants) is explained as the month of the hand which sows.

The regent of the fourth month was Adar.³⁵ He is the god of hunting, and as such he became more important among the Assyrians than he was among the Babylonians, as also did Nergal, the god of war. Adar is also the god of judgment, 'the decider' (*mâlik*)³⁶; "Lord of oracles" (*bēl purussē*). He is called the 'warrior' among the gods (*qurddu*, IV. Rawl. 33, 39), the "destroyer of the faithless"; "lord of totality" (*bēl ša nap-xa-a-ri*); *šar šamē u erçitim*, "king of heaven and earth." He is the god of the hot mid-day sun, destroying all vegetation and human life, and Tammûz, being the hottest month, is dedicated to him.³⁷ According to Delitzsch, the reading NIN-IB is the ideogram for Adar; but Jensen contends that Ninib is the true reading for Adar in the meaning of the East-sun (die Ost-sonne)³⁸, the sun-glow. Regarding the etymology of

³⁴ I.e. תְּמַם 'my Lord'; 'Adow' also occurs.

³⁵ See Baudissin, I.c., p. 21.

³⁶ Cf. the god Moloch.

³⁷ Cf. Haupt, *Sintfluthbericht*, 24, 12; Hommel, *Vorsem. Kulturen*, I. 233; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 50 and 85.

³⁸ *Kosmologie*, 457 sqq., and *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek*, II. 154, rem. 6.

Adar, I should say that it might be derived from *adāru*, a synonym of *sapatu* and *dānu*, thus = 'the judge, decider'; the ideogram (AN)BAR is from Semitic *barâ*, 'cut, divide, decide.' (See, on the other hand, J. Oppert in ZA. VI. 112).³⁹ Like Bel, his father, Adar is the local deity of Nipur and has 'fifty' as his sacred number; his consort was *Gula*,⁴⁰ "the mighty majestic lady" (גָּלוֹתָה); she is called *bēltum rabitum*, "the great lady"; *asitu gal-la-tu be-el-tu rabtu*, "the great physician, the mighty lady"; she is entitled to this epithet, because she is mistress over life and death (II. Rawl. 59, 31 d-f); "she protects and spares life" (*etirat gamilat nabisti'a*, says Nebuchadnezzar, E. I. H. IV. 38), "she who preserves the body" (*mutibat si-ri-ia*), also see Haupt and Delitzsch, *Beiträge*, I. 197 and 219; according to V. Rawl. 56, 39 she is the *dannat Ešara*, "the mighty one in Ešara." The star of Adar is also called (*kakkab*) *šu-ku-du*, 'javelin-star,' IV. Rawl. 59, 11 a; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 53. Adar occurs in the Old Testament in the proper name Adrammelek = *Adar-malik*, 2 Kings xix. 37.⁴¹ Another name for Adar seems to have been Nusku, whose sacred number was ten; he was the god of fire. His name I have derived from *nasaku* (*Hebraica*, VII. 89, rem. 17); compare S^b 212 *nu-us-ku=ri'-u*; it is the Hebrew נְסָרוּ (2 Kings xix. 37), first pointed out by J. Halévy in *Journal Asiatique*, XIII. (1879) 387 = *Mélanges de*

³⁹ The god סִבְיוֹת mentioned in Amos v. 26 ought to be pointed *sakkuth*; compare AN SAG-GUD = AN NIN-IB, Haupt, *Texts*, 37, 31, which is usually explained as 'the supreme judge.' The LXX τὴν σκηνήν, of course, is based on סִבְיוֹת = σκηνή. Explanations of the name are attempted in Schrader's *Keilschriften und das alte Testament*,² 442, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 215 sq., and Georg Hoffmann in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, III. 112 sq.; קָמָן (*ibid.*) is a wrong reading for קָמָן (or rather קָעֵן; Haupt in ZA. II. 266-67) = Assyrian *Kāmānu* (*Kaimanu*, pronounced *Keudnu*), which in II. Rawl. 32, 15 ef, is mentioned as the name of the planet Saturn (so first Jules Oppert). "The ' in the first syllable of the name for Saturn קָמָן contrasted with the Assyro-Babylonian *kāmānu*, goes back perhaps to a byform *kēyān*, with the first *ā* modified to *ē*, which may have been current in every-day speech" (Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 64, note). Saturn was called *kāmānu* (Mandeans קָמָן) 'true, durable, eternal,' because of his slow motion (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 114, and *ibid.* p. 502); it is explained as "the star of justice and righteousness" (*kakkab kētti u mišar*, II. Rawl. 49, 41).

⁴⁰ Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 95; ZK. II. 2 and 242. *Gu-la šu'-e-ti balatum*, "Gula, the mistress of life"; *gu-lu-u* occurs as a synonym of *rabû*, Haupt, *Texts*, 59, 12 and 15.

⁴¹ Winckler, ZA. II. 392 sq.; C. Adler, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1887, XXXIII. sq.

critique et d'histoire, p. 177, note 1.⁴² He is the god of the mid-day sun, and thus the god of fire; cf. V. Rawl. 54, 17 a; 64, 18 and 42, where he is called 'the lofty messenger' (*sukallu q̄tru*). The zodiacal sign for this month is read by some *nangar(u)*,⁴³ which in Assyrian means 'workman,' Aram. **ܢܻܻܳܰ**, Arab. *naggār*. According to Sayce it is probably a dialectic form of Lamga, a name of the moon-god (II. Rawl. 47, 66 c). Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 311, reads the sign *P(B)ulukku* = crab? (S^b 171; II. Rawl. 52, 53 ab): but this, according to London *Academy*, Dec. 6, 1890, p. 530, means 'division,' and also 'circle.' Now we know that the colures (*ai κόλουραι*), according to Proclus, are the two great circles passing through the solstitial points, Cancer and Capricorn, so that *κόλουρος* is an equivalent of *κάρκινος* (crab). Hence it is quite possible that *ulukku* (ideogr. XAÇ, from Assyrian *xaçū*, 'cut, divide') is 'division,' i.e. the solstitial colure, and is used instead of the sign-name in the same way as *κόλουρος*; and, further, that this Babylonian usage caused the Greek use which we thus find in Proclus.

The name of the fifth month is *a-bu* (var. *bi*), Aramean **ܒܻ** = July-August; Joseph. *Antt.* IV. 4, 7 'Aβá (not Σαβά, as B. Niese reads in his edition of Josephus) and 'Aβ (Joseph. *Hypomnesticum*, c. 27). Delitzsch says⁴⁴; "The meaning of **ܒܻ** is less evident. It may, however, be conjectured that it is the Assyrian *ābu* (hostile), an application fully justified by the excessive heat of this month. The Akkadian ITU NE-NE-GAR (abbreviated to NE, V. Rawl. 9, 9), 'month making much fire,' would justify this etymology." Against this etymology we raise, among others, the objection, that *a-bu* is never written *a-a-bu*. The month Ab is the season for building (*kūn temēn áli ú bīti*), "for laying the foundation of cities and houses" (Sarg. Cyl. 60-61); Professor Haupt, therefore, suggests that Ab is the month of the *abe* or 'bulrushes,'⁴⁵ as the season in

⁴² Also see Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, 52, rem. 2; Paul Haupt in *Andover Rev.* II. (1884), 93; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 25 and 76; C. Adler, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* Oct. 1887, XXXIII.

⁴³ Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 11163.

⁴⁴ Hebrew and Assyrian, 16, rem. 2; also *Prolegomena*, p. 45; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 84.

⁴⁵ *Abu*, 'reed, bulrushes, thicket of bulrushes, canebrake (arundinetum).' Asurnaṣirpal, I. 23, *kīma qanē abi uxlaçīu*, "he cut off like canes of a canebrake" (not "like the reed of the month Ab," as Lhotzky, p. 30 of his dissertation translates); occasionally the word is written with a **ܵ**. Cf. Hebrew **תְּבַשֵּׁשׁ** **תְּבַשֵּׁשׁ** Job ix. 26 = **אֲשָׁרֶת** Isaiah xviii. 2.

which the reeds and bulrushes were cut for building purposes (Sennach. Bell. 43; Sennach. Rass. 70).

Three months seem to have been consecrated by the Babylonians to building purposes: 1. The month Siwân (May-June), whose ideogram is interpreted 'the month of brickmaking'; 2. the month Âb; 3. the month Araxšamna (October-November), with the ideogram 'month of the achievement of foundations.' The nations which used these ideograms evidently were no longer a nomadic tribe, but a settled people (J. Halévy).

Sargon, in his cylinder, l. 61 (ed. Lyon = I. Rawl. 36, 51), calls the month Âb the *arax a-rad Gi-bil* (i.e. *isāti*) "the month of the descent of fire"; and Asurbanipal (V. Rawl. 9, 9) speaks of it as "the month of the bow star, the daughter of Sin, the archeress" (*qa-sit-tu*), *ina arxi Abi arax (kakkab) qaṣti*.⁴⁶ The month is dedicated to the "Lord with the straight weapon" (AN NIN IÇ ZI-DA EN . . .), not to the goddess Allat, the queen of Hades, as Dr. Laurie believes. The zodiacal sign is read A, which according to Jensen (*Kosmologie*, p. 519) is an abbreviation of *arû*, 'lion,' Hebrew אָרָיוֹן.

On a cylinder the solar or zodiacal Lion is placed near the head of the solar hero Gilgameš, as he overcomes the lunar 'Bull.' Macrobius expresses the general voice of antiquity when he says of the lion, "This beast seems to derive his own nature from that luminary (the sun), being in force and heat as superior to all other animals as the sun is to the stars. The lion is always seen with his eyes wide open and full of fire, so does the sun look upon the earth with open and fiery eye" (*Saturnalia*, I. 21; Robert Brown, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII. 259-260).

Ululu is the name of the sixth month; Hebrew אַלְלוּ (Neh. vi. 15), Greek ἐλούλ (1 Macc. xiv. 2).⁴⁷ I am not aware of any etymology proposed by Assyriologists. To explain it we have to examine the Phœnician inscriptions. In the Phœnician inscription of the Piræus appears for the first time the name of the month מְרֹזֶח בִּימָם IV לְמְרֹזֶח ("on the fourth day of Marzex"⁴⁸), representing

⁴⁶ Professor Haupt (in *Mélanges dédiés à M. Leemans*) translates: "Im Monat Ab, dem Monat, da der Stern des Bogens, der streitharen (*qarittu*) Tochter Sin's leuchtet"; also cf. *arax Ab, arax na-an-mur-ti* (*kakkab*) *qaṣti*, "in the month of Ab, the month of the appearance of the bow-star."

⁴⁷ With a change of *u* to *e*, as Assyrian *Udume* and *Eddom*, etc.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hebrew מְרֹזֶח 'lamentation' (Jer. xv. 5) and 'feast,' 'jubilant shouting' (Amos vi. 7).

the idea of a funeral repast, which terminated the ceremonies of mourning and lamentation, and one is inclined to consider *Marzez* as the Phœnician equivalent of Elûl (from *alâlu*, 'shout, cry aloud,' Hebrew לָלֶל 'lament' as well as 'shout for joy') inasmuch as in this month there was celebrated the resurrection of Tammuz-Adonis, who had died in the winter time.⁴⁹ The non-Semitic expression for this month is read ITU KIN DINGIR NIN-NA, "month of the message of Ištar," because in this month she went to the underworld. NI-IN-NI = *Ištar* occurs in II. Rawl. 39, 64 ab = Nanâ, Greek *Navvaa* and perhaps Isaiah lxv. 11 נָנָי (Nanai) for מַנְיָה (Lagarde). The zodiacal sign for this month is KI, which according to Jensen (*Kosmologie*, p. 311 and 530) is to be read *sîrû*, 'ear of corn,' or *abšênu*, 'Korn in Aehren,' and is = *staxys* = Spica 'a Virginis'; according to Robert Brown it is to be read *asru*, a technical term for 'moon-station,' of which Spica was the twentieth in the Babylonian cycle.

The month is dedicated to the goddess Ištar (Aphrodite). Concerning this name I should say: 1. There are those who still cling to the Akkadian origin of this name, like Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 252) and Robert Brown (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XIII. 187); they explain the name as a compound of IŠ = 'heaven' + TAR = TUR (young, small) = 'heaven-child, daughter of heaven.' It is almost needless to add that this is but a fanciful conjecture of Sayce and Brown, especially since *tur* is not Akkadian but of Assyrian origin. 2. Most scholars now believe in the Semitic origin of the name; we find Ištar used, a. in the general meaning of goddess = *astaru*; (ilat)

⁴⁹ See Lucian, *De dea syr.* 6; M. E. Renan, *Revue Archéologique*, 1888, pp. 5-7; J. Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1888, pp. 275-77. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 232, says: In Tyros feiert man alljährlich beim Wiederbeginn der Regenzeit das Fest des Erwachens, der Wiedererweckung des Melkart.—According to C. Adler (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, October, 1889, p. CLXXI sq.) the shôfar was sounded during this entire month.—Connected with the name of this month is the proper name Elulæus, Ἐλουλαῖος (אַלְעָלָאֵס) Joseph. *Antt.* IX. 14, 2 'one born in Elûl.'—The Sennach. Taylor, Cyl. II. 45, mentions *Lu-li-i šar* (*maxaz*) *Si-du-un-ni pulxi melanmi belat'a isxupušu*, "L., the king of Sidon, whom the power and splendor of my lordship prostrated." Also the form *U-lu-la-a* occurs as the name of a king of Babylon, Iluketus, Ptolemy Ιλουλαῖον. On Elulæus of Tyre (728-692 B.C.) Pietschmann *l.c.* 300 sq., remarks: Der Name ist abzuleiten von dem babylonisch-assyrischen Monatsnamen Elûl, Babylonisch Ulûl. Dass in Phönizien damals die babylonisch-assyrischen Benennungen der Monate üblich gewesen sind, folgt daraus nicht. Darin dass dieser König von Tyrus Elulæus heisst, zeigt sich vielmehr der Einfluss der politischen Stellung Assyriens. Ululai ist nämlich allem Anschein nach der Name gewesen den Salmanassar IV. als König von Babylon geführt hat.

Istar, Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*³, 135, 42; (*ilat*) *is-ta-ri*, 'my goddess,' preceded by (*il*) *i-li*, 'my god'! Haupt, *Texts*, 123, 8 and 10; plur. *istaridt mati'ia*, "the goddesses of my country." *b.* As a proper name = Old Testament 'Aštoresh. The word occurs in the Moabite inscriptions as פָּשָׁתְר; Aramean פָּתָר; Phoenician 'Attâr; Greek Αθάρα (Strabo, XVI. 4, 27).⁵⁰

Ištar is the daughter of the god Sin, *ma-rat Sin* (IV. Rawl. 4, 21); *bēlit test*, *bēlit taxazi* ("goddess of the battle"); she is called *res-ti ša samē u erçitim*, "the princess of heaven and earth." Her sacred number is fifteen, which, with the determinative of goddess prefixed to it, is often used to express her name; according to some, she received that number because, as the daughter of Sin, she was originally a lunar goddess, and full moon was on the 15th of the month. As an original lunar goddess (ἀστροάρχη) she was *a.* goddess of births, and *b.* goddess of fertility (W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon*, p. 390 sqq.). That she is called the daughter of Sin, certainly indicates that the conception of her as a lunar deity is a later syncretism, because ancient Babylonian mythology knows only a male lunar deity, Sin. The lunar character of the goddess may still be seen in Genesis xiv. 5, where instead of קְרִינִים צִדְקָתָה we ought to read קְרִינִים צִדְקָתָה קִי = צִדְקָתָה קִי.

She loved Taminuz (Adonis), the beautiful sun-god; and after his death she descended into Hades (IV. Rawl. 31) to look for the waters of life, whose source rises there. We find in the inscriptions *a.* *Istar Assurltu*, Assyrian Ištar, later on called *Istar ša Ninua*; and *b.* *Istar ša Arba-ila* (Arbēla). She was worshipped among the Babylonians as the goddess of the star Venus (called *Dil-bat*, the Δελέφατ of Hesychius); as such she is called *nabîl*; *nabat kakkabu*, usually translated 'the herald, herald-star,' from a root נַבַּת 'call, herald,' but better from נַבָּה 'be high, exalted.'⁵¹ As goddess of the star Venus, Ištar was for some time *a.* Goddess of the morning star, *Anunit*, which noun occurs also as name of a star, *kakkab Anunitum*, V. Rawl. 46, 34 *a.* She is the male Venus,⁵² the goddess

⁵⁰ Cf. Atargatis, Ἀταργάτη = Attâr-Ate, the Attâr of Ate (a Phoenician god) = Δερκεὺς; *A-tar-sa-ma-im* we find in V. Rawl. 8, 112, perhaps = פָּלָחֵת (Jer. vii. 18), on which see Schrader in *Proc. of Berl. Academy*, 1886, 477-491; George Hoffmann, ZA. II. 48, and the well-known controversy between Schrader and B. Stade; on Atargatis, see also Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, No. 846, and *Mittheilungen*, I. 77.

⁵¹ See, however, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 117; ZA. V. 117.

⁵² On which see Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve's *Essays and Studies*, p. 166.

of war, a daughter of Anu, and worshipped, together with Ašur, as the principal divinity of the Assyrian pantheon. She corresponds to the Roman Bellona. *b.* Goddess of the evening star, goddess of love and sensuality, a female deity; *Bēlit-ilāni*, daughter of Sin. Cf. Ezech. viii. 14; Baruch vi. 43; Herodotus, I. 199.

The seat of Anunit was Agane,⁵³ her temple *E-ul-bar*. The seat of Belit-ilāni was Erech (Assyrian Uruk, modern Warka, Greek Ὀρχονή); her temple is called *E-anā* (house of heaven).

Ištar and Beltis were often confounded, indeed they were originally but two forms of one and the same goddess, and we are therefore not surprised at the statement (III. Rawl. 53, 36–7), “Venus at sunrise is Ištar among the gods; Venus at sunset is Belit among the gods.” As to the etymology of this “mysterious goddess of life and death, of love and hatred, of pleasure and pain, of things supernal and things infernal,” I should say that according to Haupt, cited by C. P. Tiele in *Leyden Congress, Transactions*, II. p. 497, note, Aštoreth (Ištar) is a feminine form of Ašur; Ištar standing for *Itšar*.⁵⁴ *Istartu* (אִשְׁתָּרָה) would be a form like *itbārtu* (fem. to *itbāru*, ‘befriended’ נַחֲרָה) from the verb נַחֲרָה ‘to unite.’⁵⁵ Against Haupt and Delitzsch, Nöldeke maintains that a metathesis of *tt* into *tt* is not known in Semitic grammar. George Hoffmann, however, in his excellent article, *Über einige phönizische Inschriften*,⁵⁶ p. 22, sides with Delitzsch-Haupt, deriving Aštoreth from נַחֲרָה, Aramean נַחֲרָה ‘be voluptuous,’ which perhaps is the true etymon of Ištar-Aštoreth.

But what is the relation of Ištar to *istaritu* (Aramean אִשְׁתָּרָה), mentioned so often in the cuneiform inscriptions as a synonym of *qadistu* (קָדֵשׁ) and usually explained as ‘the sacred prostitute,’ referring to the account of Herodotus, I. 199? Of the many views held by Assyriologists I will mention but two: *a.* M. J. Oppert and M. J. Halévy (*Trans. of Leyden Congress*, I. 87–91) explain the name *Istar(-itu)* as a mere appellative noun in the meaning of ‘woman or goddess,’ and as an abbreviation of *istaritu* a synonym of *qadistum* and *xarintum*. M. Halévy says: ⁵⁷ *istaritu* and עִשְׂתָּרִים appear under different forms. The Hebrew, certainly, was not adopted from the Assyrian; this is shown by the initial נ, which is

⁵³ Also Sippara, according to Ed. Meyer (in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 649).

⁵⁴ Also see ZDMG. XXXIV. 758; *Am. Journ. Phil.* VIII. 278, rem. 1, and Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 138, rem. 2.

⁵⁵ ZK. I. 306, and Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 38–39.

⁵⁶ Vol. 36 of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Abhandlungen*.

⁵⁷ *Revue des Études Juives*, No. 18, 182 sq.

not found in Assyrian any more. It must have been a Semitic noun, used prior to the separation, just as *Anu* (אנָן) ; Syr. שְׁבָתָן, Sabean עַתָּהֶן (name of a god, not goddess !) are also indigenous. Ethiopic has עַשְׂתָּר in accordance with the phonetic change of שׂ to סׂ. The feminine termination -*itu* (אִתָּוֹת) appears only in Hebrew-Phœnician and in Assyrian ; *istaritu*, according to M. Halévy, means 1. female, 2. consort, 3. goddess. We find *istarit* (אִלָּה) *Anum*, “the consort of Anu” ; the meaning ‘goddess’ appears in such phrases as *ili'a u istar'a*, “my god and my goddess.” b. C. P. Tiele explains *istaritum* as derived from Ištar, in the meaning of “a woman dedicated to the service of Ištar.”

A synonym of *istaritu* is *qadistu* (Hebrew קָדֵשׁ), which is commonly explained as a ‘sacred prostitute.’ This may have been the meaning of the word in the Old Testament ; but M. J. Halévy (*Revue des Études Juives*, XVIII. 182) maintains that its meaning is ‘spouse, legitimate wife,’ who is exclusively consecrated to her husband and defended against others. It has been mentioned before that the Old Testament עַשְׂתָּרָה is but a mispunctuation, either intentional on the part of the sacred writers, to indicate their contempt for heathen idols, or unintentional on the part of the Massorites — perhaps owing to a popular analogy to the sounds of Αφροδίτη. At any rate, we know now that a name for ‘goddess’ in Phœnicia (Assyrian *Mât Martu-ki*) was *Aš-tar-tu*.

Concerning Ašera and Aštoreh, I should say that modern investigations have proved that there is no connection between the two words. אֲשֶׁרֶת, according to most scholars, is connected with Assyrian *asirtu*, ‘she who brings salvation, prosperity.’ Friedr. Delitzsch explains it as equal to ‘sanctuary, temple,’ whilst there are those who cling to ‘tree, stake, phallus.’ Cf. Collins, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XI. 291–303 ; E. Schrader in *ZA.* III. 367 ; Stade, *Geschichte Israels*, I. 184 and 458 ; *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1891, p. 511 foll.

On the so-called loan of Greek Αφροδίτη on the part of the Greeks from the Semitic, see F. Hommel in London *Academy*, Feb. 25, 1882, p. 140 ; and *Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, 1882, p. 176 ; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I. 75–78 ; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, p. 284, etc. On the other hand, see the literature cited by Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve in his *Essays and Studies*, p. 170, note 3. I will add here that I do not believe that Greek Αφροδίτη was borrowed from the Semitic ; but it would be out of the range of this paper to show proof therefor ; I shall return to it in a special essay on “Semitic words in the Greek language.”

In IV. Rawl. 32 and 33, we have a hemerology of the intercalary month Elûl, to which in the second edition of this IV. volume has been added, from a number of fragments, another hemerology for the month Marchešwân. These two hemerologies are important, inasmuch as the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth day (besides the nineteenth!) are set apart for special duties, which are to be performed by the king on these days. At the time when this paper was presented to the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, the writer was not aware of an article from the pen of Dr. Peter Jensen of Strassburg, the author of the interesting book on the *Cosmology of the Babylonians*. Having read the paper, he fully agrees with Dr. Jensen and notes with great satisfaction that his views presented to the society at their meeting in Philadelphia are fully substantiated by Dr. Jensen's article, and he acknowledges his great indebtedness for the light shed by Dr. Jensen on the question of the *nu-bat-tu* on the nineteenth day of the month.⁵⁸ If the Babylonians knew a week of seven days, it began with each month, and was not a week running through the whole year as was the Jewish week. This opinion of Jensen has been fully proved by the discovery of the Marchešwân hemerology, showing exactly the same peculiarity. The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month are set apart. The nineteenth day is the forty-ninth, seven times seventh, from the beginning of the previous month, which seems to indicate a counting from a previous month as well as from this. A week of seven days is implied in the Babylonian Flood story, the rain continuing six days and ceasing on the seventh, and another period of seven days intervening between the cessation of the storm and the disembarking of Noah,⁵⁹ the dove, swallow, and raven being sent out on the seventh day. The five days singled out in these two hemerologies are called *ūm XUL-GAL*, which, according to Brünnow's *Classified List*, No. 9508, always means *timnu*, 'evil, nefastus.' It is true that in III. Rawl. 56, 33, we read *ūm XUL-GAL* = *šu-* followed by an incomplete sign, which might have been *-lum*, but could also have had another value, and is, therefore, useless for the matter under discussion. In no instance does *ūm XUL-GAL* mean *šabattu*. As for this *ša-bat-tu*, which is compared to Hebrew **תְּבִשׁ**, I should say that we have thus far three passages in which the word occurs, namely, 1. II. Rawl. 32, 16 ab, *ša-bat* (*pat!*) *-tum* = *ūm*

⁵⁸ I refer to Dr. Jensen's article in the *Sunday School Times* of January 16, 1892, pp. 35 and 36.

⁵⁹ *Deluge*, lines 121-139.

nūx libbi, "day of quieting the heart" (*cf. nuxxu libbi ilāni*, "to placate the heart of the gods, reconcile"); but this *sabattu* could just as well be read *sa-pat-tum*, from *sapatu* = *sapātu*,⁶⁰ "to judge," instead of *sabattu* from *sabatu* = *gamaru*, "cease," literally "cut off." 2. In *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* (Dec. 1888) are published some cuneiform syllabaries by Dr. C. Bezold, in which we read, col. I. 25, *sur* = *suppū*, *sullū*, *zuxxu*, *nuxxu*, *naxarmu*, *nuxxu*, and *sa-bat-tim*; 3. We read the same in col. IV. 8. The arguments in favor of the existence of a seven-day week among the Babylonians drawn from the existence of several inscriptions containing a list of seven planets are weakened by the fact that these planets are not always mentioned in the same order, and that the moon precedes the sun.

No document tells us anything about an identity between the sabbath and the Babylonian seventh day of the week, or even the seventh of the month. Against the supposed Babylonian origin of the Hebrew week and the sabbath, I should further say that there is, in the Babylonian calendar, published in V. Rawl. 48–49, not the slightest indication of either the week of seven days or a weekly rest-day. On the other hand, we have in V. Rawl. 43 an ideographic list of the names of the twelve months, in which each of the months has six subdivisions. The months apparently were divided into two lunations, and each lunation was further divided into periods of five days each, the first being given to Anu, the second to Ea, and the third to Bēl.

To say that the Jewish sabbath, as known in the Old Testament, is borrowed from the Babylonians is very hazardous, the existence of such a day among the latter nation being a very doubtful thing.⁶¹ The existence of the seven-day week among the Babylonians is not demonstrated, still less have we proof of any special observance or celebration of one day in the seven.

⁶⁰ Cf. *tabu* for *tābu*, and many other instances.

⁶¹ I call special attention to Prof. Francis Brown's cautious article in the *Presbyterian Review*, III. 688–700, and on the other hand to such hasty, unwarranted statements as we find among others in the *Bibl. Sacra*, 1889, p. 331 sqq. The writer of this article shows in almost every line that he has no independent knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions, and relies wholly upon the statements of Sayce, Schrader, and others.

(To be continued in the next number.)