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

II.

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The second half year began with the month Tis-ri-tum, Mishnic טִּשׁוּרִים; Greek Θορπή, Joseph. Antt. viii. 4, 1 (as emended by Hudson; Niese Θύρπη). This word is properly the infinitive Piel of the verb sūrē (Hebr. סָרֵא, Aramean סָרֵא) = 'begin, dedicate.'

According to Delitzsch (Hebrew and Assyrian, p. 15; Prolegomena, 138, note 3) it means 'beginning' of the second half year, or the civil year. Jensen (ZA. i. 409 sqq. and ii. 220, note 1) explained it as the month when the harvest began, or still better, when the fruit began to germinate; in his Babylonian Cosmology (p. 239, note 1), however, he inclines to the view of Delitzsch. According to J. Oppert the Assyrian eponymate, limmu, began with this month, while the sattu commenced in Nisan.

Like the modern Jews the Assyrians had two New Year's days, which were adopted by the Jews together with the names of the months; the sacred year began with the first of Nisân, the civil year with Tišri. G. Bertin in Records of the Past, New Series, Vol. III. 98, remarks that the second paragraph of the ancient Babylonian agricultural precepts (HT 71 sqq.) goes to show that the simple land-tenure was to begin legally from the sixth month, that is, the Babylonian Ulūlu. The end of that month is no doubt meant, and it would tend to confirm the opinion that at an earlier date

63 Whence also tasīltu, 'consecration'; it is a form like tašiltu and tešiltu, 'prayer,' from šēlā, 'ask, pray'; tešiltu, 'a request,' from šēbā, 'request,' and many more (see Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar, § 34. 8).
64 London Athenæum, 1863, Vol. II. 244 sq.; the word is derived by Oppert from ἅλωσ, 'unite,' whence ἅλωσ = ἄρωσ, 'people.' The latter was considered an Ionic form, and became in Attic λαός (P. de Lagarde).
Tišritu was the first and Ulûlu the last month of the year; though the Babylonians might have had an agricultural year, as we have a financial year, a scholastic year, a university year. Epping and Strassmaier (Astronomisches aus Babylon, p. 177 sqq.) state that the Seleucidan era began in Nisân, the Arsacidan in Tišrī: the former was the old reckoning, and was kept up for many centuries; the latter, they argue, arose under the influence of the Macedonian government, because the Macedonian New Year began in the fall, and there is no inscription prior to the Arsacidan era known, which begins the year with the month Tišrī.

The late Hebrew form Tišrī originated by a dropping of the ending -tu; cf. uthu abu for uthu abût, 'antiquitus,' from abûlu, abstract noun to abu, 'father.' (Professor Haupt.)

The non-Semitic name of this month is ITU DU–U–AZAG. Du–u occurs in the East India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. iv. 57, du–u purakki, which by some is compared to Arabic dhû, 'lord, master'; thus it would mean "the month of the pure, brilliant Lord," i.e. Šamaš, the sun-god, who presides over this month. According to others it means "the month of the sacred mound or dwelling," and Theo. G. Pinches translates it "the month of the glorious mound," i.e. the mountain, or place, of the fates (āsar šimātum).

The month is dedicated to the god Šamaš, the sun-god, who is called the supreme judge of the universe, da'dnu štru ta kalama. This idea passed probably to the Jews, and resulted in the later belief that the festival of the Rōš-haš-šanah is also a day of judgment (גאש אוש); thus the religious idea of the Assyro-Babylonians connected with the month Tišritu passed over to the Jews at the same time with the name.Šamaš is called "the lightbearer of the wide heavenly expanse, to whom the gods look up and in whom people delight themselves"; "the light of heaven and earth," nur (sa) šame u erṣītim; "the warrior of the universe," quradu kalama; "the prince among the gods, the lord Šamaš," asarid ilāni, edlu Šamaš; "the Lord of the universe," bēl elāti u šapāti. He is the protector of laws, avenger of justice, and he abhors every lie. The sacred number of Šamaš is twenty.

His consort is A-a, "the great, beloved bride of Šamaš," kallatu naramtu ta Šamas, read by Schrader malkatu; she is the mistress of the countries, bēl matāni, II. Rawl. 57, 32. According to Jensen

65 J. Halévy, Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, p. 178.
66 See Am. Journ. Phil. XI. 497, rem. 5.
(ZA. I. 398 and IV. 75) it is but a phase ("Hypostase") of the sun; cf. IV. Rawl. 32, 24 b, where Šamaš is called bēlît matûti. Šamaš is usually considered the son of Sin and the brother of Anunit-Ištar. His messenger is Bunêné, who is his charioteer and harnesses the strong mules (?) whose knees never tire. His chief places of worship were: (a) Larsa, Biblical Ellasar (?), modern Senkereh. The name is usually explained from the non-Semitic ZA-RA-AR-MA (HT 27, 589) = ZALARMA, which in time was changed to LAZARMA, whence la-ar[za]. M. J. Halévy (Recherches critiques, 260) considers it the Aαpαγχα of Berossus, and perhaps = 'al-ersa (אֶרְסָא, 'city of the throne,' Hebrew שׁבֶן, Arabic 'ars); in his Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, p. 288, he explains it as 'not destructible, indestructible' (la = not, arsa = Hebrew שׁבֶן), perhaps an appellative name for an old fortress; its identification with נבשא, Gen. xiv. 1, is quite precarious. Larsa was the great mathematical university of ancient Babylonia. (b) Sippara (modern Aboo-Habba), according to Haupt Texts from non-Semitic ZI-IM-BIR. There was a Sippara sa Šamas and a Sippara sa Anunit. The two together, according to A. H. Sayce (Records of the Past, New Series, I. 29, rem. 4) formed the Biblical Sepharvaim, or two Sipparas. The Latin Hipparenum (Pliny, Hist. nat. vi. 26, [36], 123) is probably a wrong reading for Sipparenum. It is called in Greek writers Heliopolis, and is represented by the modern Aboo-Habba, where Hormuzd Rassam discovered the ancient temple of the sun-god. On the location of Sippara see Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward's article in Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., October, 1885, p. lxxiii sqq. M. J. Halévy denies the identity of Sippara and the Biblical Sepharvaim (Isaiah xxxvi. 19); מֶלֶפֶת (2 Kings xviii. 34 and xix. 13) and מֶלֶפֶת (ibid. xvii. 31) are wrongly pointed for מַלֵּפֶת, which stands for מַלֵּפֶת, and this for מַלֵּפֶת (Ezech. xlvi. 16), situated between Hamath and Damascus; it is identical with Sabara'īn (Babylonian Chronicle, I. 27) and Subarina (of the El-Amarna inscriptions).

68 I have shown in Hebraica, VII. 90, that the name Bunêné, mentioned in connection with (il) Šamaš and (ilat) A-a is of Semitic origin, not Akkadian as hitherto believed; it is a form like ḫenu, from bánû, 'shine.'
69 But Jensen and others put Aαpαγχα = Šurippak, mentioned in the account of the Deluge, l. 11.
70 ZA. VI. 61.
71 Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, pp. 162 and 224, note 1; ZA. II. 401-2; Journal Asiatique, 8th series, XVII. 271; Am. Journ. Phil. XII. 381.
It was thus a Syrian city, and the name is to be combined with "frontier" (Halevy, Recherches critiques, 259).

The zodiacal sign for this month is read by Strassmaier and Epping mūru, 'light, lamp'; the non-Semitic BIR is, of course, from the Semitic ārū, 'shining, brilliant.' According to Robert Brown the original sign for this month was the solar circle, or a circular altar, grasped in the claws of the Scorpion. At this season of the year the waning sun begins to yield under the attacks of the Scorpion (darkness), that grips him more and more. The circle, or other representation of an altar, not unnaturally disappeared as the use of the sign advanced westward, whether by sea, or across Asia Minor, or both, and the χυλάι alone remained when the shores of the Αἰγέαν were reached. The term Libra for this sign occurs first in Manilius Astronomica, iv. 545. Achilles Tatius says: τὰς χυλάς, τὰς καλουμένας ἐπ' Ἀιγαίαν Ζεύγον. Jensen, again, in ZA. VI. 152, reads the sign of the Zodiac sibanitu, which he has discovered as a word in Assyrian literature, reading IV. Rawl. 58, 44, ἵς σι-βα-νιτ(!) ἐκ κέτ-τι, "a wrong balance, wrong scales." He favors an etymology of the word from a noun, *zibê = *zahabû = 'gold' (יוֹב); thus scales originally the instrument to weigh gold. Cf. also Jensen, Kosmologie, 67 sqq.

The eighth month is the (arax) araxsamna; late Babylonian arax sayna = עַרְאְס פִּי. The original form probably was עַרְאָס פִּי, whence arose עַרְאָס פִּי, י and ב being often exchanged in later Babylonian; Joseph. Antt. I. 3, 3, has the form Mapuavén, and Joseph. Hypomnemasticum, c. 27, Μαραξάν. The meaning of araxsamna is 'month, the eighth.' The modern Hebrews considered Marxešván a compound of 'mar' (drop) and xešván; the former indicating that it was a rainy season, the latter being the proper name of the month. On the Palmyrenian inscriptions this month is called Kandûn.

According to some authorities (Dillmann, Stade, al.) the name

72 According to Professor Haupt (ZA. II. 267) Sepharvaš might be = שארבָאש = עֲשָׁרָבוֹ "Sippar on the Euphrates river."

73 Paulus Cassel, l.c. 320 says: Marxešván is to be explained as 'rain-month,' from the verb rašat = rašat, ‘flow, run,’ with which the Greek μαρτυρεῖν agrees.

74 J. Halevy, Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, p. 3, note 4; Haupt in ZA. II. 265 sqq.; Hebraica, I. 120, note 2.

75 Arax, const. state of arax in compounds, just as mār-sarrādu, 'princely dignity'; alik pašitu, 'headship'; udā paṭru, 'slaughterer'; mārnigû, 'horse'; aban nisīqti, 'precious stones,' and many others. — samnu, 'eighth' = Ethiopic sānēn (samānī), Hebrew יָסִן; also the form samand is found.
"eighth month" is a relic of the oldest custom of numbering the months instead of giving them special names; this would be similar to what we find to be the case with the months of the Arabic lunar year, and would correspond to the custom prevalent among a number of Indo-European nations, e.g. the Romans. But M. J. Halévy\textsuperscript{76} maintains that the name \textit{araxsamna} does not prove that, before the actual nomenclature observed in later time, the months were indicated by numerals, as was the case with the Biblical months.\textsuperscript{77} The number eight, he believes, makes allusion to the eighth Cabire (\textit{Kάβερος}), particularly worshipped among the Phœnicians under the name Ešmûn (\textit{เอกιλίσ} = Asculapius, 'Ασκληπιός), and whose title seems to have been \textit{אָשְׁמָן לְלַעֵב}.\textsuperscript{78} Concerning the seven Cabires of the Phœnicians, it has been said that the seven evil spirits of the Assyro-Babylonian Hymns may correspond to them, to whom Ešmûn was added as the eighth simply because they could not explain his name except from the number eight.

The non-Semitic for \textit{araxsamna} is read ITU APIN–GAB(–BA)\textsuperscript{79} = "month of laying foundations," or rather of the "achievement of foundations" (Halévy) or "month of opening the fields" (P. Jensen). The second edition of IV. Rawlinson contains on plate 33* a hemerology of the month Araxsamna, showing the same peculiarities as that of the intercalary Elul, for which see above (p. 93).

The regent of the month is Marduk, the herald of the gods; Hebr. [טְמַנְט].\textsuperscript{80}

Regarding the etymology of Marduk-Merodach we note: 1. The majority of Assyriologists derive the word from an Akkadian etymon; so Hommel in his \textit{Vorsemitische Kulturen}, 376 and 492, note 232; Zimmern, \textit{Busspsalmen}, 49; and Jensen, \textit{Kosmologie}, 242 sq. The latter considers \textit{Mar-du-ku} as derived from \textit{Mar DU–AZAGA}; but the month DU–AZAG is the month dedicated to the god Šamaš. The oldest form of the name is usually put down as \textit{MERI (gallu) DUG}. The determinative \textit{gallu} making DUG an adjective, and the whole

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Revue des Études Juives}, 1881, p. 187, rem. 3 = \textit{Milanges de critique et d'histoire}, p. 179.

\textsuperscript{77} Cf. Stade and Siegfried, \textit{Wörterbuch}, s.v. קָיָרָה.

\textsuperscript{78} See, however, Baudissin, \textit{Studien}, I. 275 sqq.

\textsuperscript{79} See ZA. II. 210, for variant readings.

\textsuperscript{80} Cf. Jerem. I. 1; 2; Merodach Baladan (Isaiah xxxix. 1) = \textit{Μαρδοκέιωναβος} (Ptolem. Canon) = Marduk-(a)bal iddina; also see \textit{Μεθησιωρδακον} = Musézb-Marduk and Evil-Merodach = Amel-Marduk. The vocalization of Heb. תְמַנְט is perhaps the result of a popular analogy to nouns like יְהוֹוָנָב, מַרְדּוּכ, etc.
phrase is interpreted as "the propitious bull." 81 2. Heinrich Zimmern, in Stade’s Zeitschrift, XI. 161 sqq., has identified Mordechai (םַמְדַכַּי, Mapdokaios) of the Book of Esther with the god Marduk. He believes that the whole narrative of the Book of Esther is a Jewish reflex of old Babylonian traditions. As the god Marduk was the hero of the Babylonian Zagmuku festival (the New Year’s festival), the god who arranged the puxru, assemblage of the gods, on that day (whence Hebr. părlm), that they might cast the lot (רֵיקָ, Esther iii. 7) and determine the fate of the king and country, so also was Mordechai the hero of the Purim festival. The contest between Mordechai and Haman is but a Jewish version of the Babylonian legend of the fight between Marduk, the principle of light, and Tiamat, the principle of darkness, which ends in the victory of Marduk in the one case and of Mordechai in the other. In the course of his remarks Zimmern gives an etymology of the name Marduk, which he considers a compound of Semitic mar, ‘son,’ and duku, an originally Akkadian word for ‘hall, spacious room,’ i.e. the hall where the gods, under the presidency of Merodach, had their annual meeting. With Jensen and Zimmern I agree on the etymology of mar (from madu, ‘son’); but I take duku to be a good Semitic noun: compare Aramean duk’ta, ‘place’; Arabic dukkan, and Talmudic dukan (‘terrace’). The chief objection to Zimmern’s etymology is that it presupposes a compound of an Assyrian and an Akkadian word, something unheard of; Halévy, therefore, considers it a compound of מַר ‘son, or lord’ (cf. נַר) + utukki, ‘demons’ = ‘Lord of the demons.’ 82

Marduk is called be-li-im ra-bi-im, “great lord”; bēl bēlim, “lord of lords”; gāṣī ilānī asārid šame u erṣītim, “the powerful among the gods, the leader of heaven and earth”; aklu bēl teri-eti, “the wise, lord of oracles”; ab-kal ilānī bēl tereti, “leader of the gods,” etc.; rēum musteru rita ana ameli, “the provider of nourishment for mankind”; asāridu ilānī musṭm simāti, “who determines the fate”; bēl ilānī ba-an nimeqi, “illustrious in wisdom.” He, as

81 See also ZK. I. 309 sq.; II. 418; Latrille, ibid. II. 339. In II. Rawl. 55, 68 c. this name is explained by the gloss A-sa-ru (cf. I† 37, 22) and in V. Rawl. 62, 45 ab, we read A-sa-ri (kid)= Marduk. The gloss is usually derived from the Semitic מַסִּר, cf. i-sa-ar, ‘he rages’; according to A. H. Sayce it means ‘nourisher,’ and Hommel, Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens, 197, rem. 1, thinks that sa in this gloss has the value mur.

82 Recherches critiques, p. 260; against which Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 107, rem. 1, makes a faint attack.
well as his wife Çarpanit, have the title muballit (or muballitat) mite (or mitat), "who revives the dead." He is known also as mar Eridu, "son of Eridu," because of being the son of Ea (Am. Journ. Phil. V. 79). Eridu occurs in the Old Testament as יִרְדּוּ, Gen. iv. 18, and in the following chapter, verse 16, under the form יִרְדּוּ (ZK. II. 404, No. 10). The name is supposed to be of Akkadian origin; ERI DUGGA = "good city." This would be in Assyrian diü ṭābu, compared by Sir H. C. Rawlinson with Thib, the blessed city of Paradise (Journal Royal Asiatic Soc. 1891, p. 404).

The sacred number of Merodach is eleven. Being the local deity of Babylon, he naturally became the most important of the gods when that city became the capital of the kingdom, and therefore he is called the "great god," "lord of lords," etc., and in Isaiah lxi. 1, Jerem. li. 44, he is called מֹרְדָאכָא. He was originally the god of the early morning sun, and at the same time of the sun in spring-time. To him, according to some, belonged the planet Jupiter.

He is closely related to Nabû of Borsippa, his son, and perhaps was originally identical with him. Nabû was the god of revelation and inspiration, the tutelar divinity of scribes, priests, and learned men; originally, perhaps, a fire god.

Babylon, Hebr. בָבֵל, Arab. babîl, Old Persian Bâbîrus, Greek Bαβύλων, was situated near the modern Hillah. The name is written in various ways: 1. Ba-bî-λu, c. st. Ba-bî-il; Ba-bî-i-lu (ki), I. Rawl. 52, No. 6, 7, which, however, does not prove the length of the i (Jensen, Kosmologie, 498); Ba-bî-lam (ki), Ba-ba-lam, and Ba-bi-li. St. Guyard and J. Halévy derive the name from the verb בָּלָל (balalu). The usual etymology is from Bâb-ilî, 'gate of god,' to which corresponds the ideographic writing: 2. KA-DINGIR-RA-KI, with its dialectical (?) form KA-DIM-ME-IR-KI. 3. ŠU-AN-NA-KI = "the high, mighty city" (cf. Dan. iv. 30), IV. Rawl. 2, 10-11 c; I. Rawl. 49, 11 a and V. Rawl. 35, 30. 4. DINTIR-KI = zubat balați, 'seat of life,' V. Rawl. 60, 13 b. The nomen

83 Philo translates יִרְדּוּ by πολυμορφος. Although he read יִרְדּוּ, he yet looked up in a dictionary, s.v. יִרְדּוּ, as יִרְדּוּ (Assyrian udru) is used in the meaning of πολυμορφος.

84 See, however, Epping and Strassmaier, l.c., p. 112.

85 Æsch. Persa, 54; derived according to Hommel, Geschichte, p. 596, from Bāb-ilâni.

86 ZK. I. 416, rem. 3; and ibid. 114, bel. Revue des Études Juives, I. 12, rem. 2; and XV. 170, rem. 1. Also see Lhotzky, Asurnaçirpal, 23-24; and ZA. I. 220, No. 15.
gentilicum is Bau-lia-a-a-a, 'a Babylonian,' i.e. one from Babylon (I. Rawl. 66, 8b).

The principal temple of Babylon was Esagila read by F. Delitzsch bl.t (=/E) sak-kil; according to St. Guyart it is t-sakil = 'grand house,' and J. Halévy takes it as a compound of t (=Hebr. נ) 'habitation, dwelling' + sag (from saqû, 'summit') + ila ('high' = ilû, ילע). It was the only principal temple in the city, but it included various small sanctuaries within its precincts. It may have formed part of the royal palace. Within was the shrine of Marduk, containing his golden chair and the sacred boat which was carried in-processions; a shrine for his father Ea, for his spouse Ėarpanit, and for his son Nabû, the latter being called, like the entire temple at Borsippa, Ėilda. This temple was similar both in age and fate to Esagila in Babylon.

Marduk's consort was the goddess Ėarpanitu, 'the shining, brilliant.' It is thus a form fa'alu of šarapu, 'be clean, shine'; causative 'purify, cleanse.' The word denotes the consort of Marduk as the goddess of the appearing, rising daylight. According to M. J. Halévy the name is connected with נור, the tutelary goddess of Ascalon in Philistia. The orthography Žer-ba-ni-tum, "producer of seed" (begetter of posterity), V. Rawl. 46, 35-38, rests on a popular etymology. This, furthermore, led to her name (iat) Šer-ba-nu ( >/ט), V. Rawl. 62, 38 b; 46, 40 c. The Hebrew writer who translated her name as Sukktâ-bhin (2 Kings xvii. 30) no doubt thought of סקית, a synonym of sukoth, 'tents,' and bandoth, 'daughters.'

The sign of the Zodiac belonging to this month is the Scorpion, kakkab GIR-TAB = aqrabu-star. The gigantic size of the scorpions is the representative of the sun-slaying darkness, eastern and western.

The ninth month is the arax kislimu, written kisi-(var. -is)i-mu; Hebr. קְסָלָמְתּ, e.g. Zech. vii. 1, יַחְשֹׁבֵב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּשְׂדָם; also Neh. i. 1. Greek Χασαλί, I. Macc. i. 54; Χασλί, Joseph. Antt. xii. 5, 4; xii. 7, 6. On the Palmyrenian inscriptions the name occurs as קסוס, no doubt a development in ק from קסוס.

As regards the etymology of Kislimu Jensen (ZA. II. 210, rem. 3) suggested that it is a compound of Kis + Sumero-Akkadian ILIMU

87 See, especially, C. P. Tiele's article in ZA. ii. 183 sqq.
88 J. Halévy, Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, 162; Revue critique, 1890, June 23, 482; Haupt, Andover Review, May, 1886.
89 See Robert Brown, l.c. 263-5; Jensen, Kosmologie, 70-2.
90 Like Hebr. בְּרָעָה = Assyrian karmu; בְּרָע = urpu and erpu, 'cloud.'
Professor Haupt (ibid. p. 265, rem. 2) considers it a compound like *kis* (*קיס*) *lib-bi; kisi* would be the genitive for the usual *kis* (c. st.), while *limmu* or *ilmu* means ‘eponymate, year, period,’ from *лим* ‘surround.’

The non-Semitic expression for this month is *ITU KAN-KAN-NA*, “month of clouds” (?); for variants see ZA. II. 210 and II. Rawl. 49, 3 b.

The month is dedicated to the god Nergal (or Nerigal, Jensen); LXX. Ἀρρυ Ἡρύαλ (var. Ἦρυαλ) ; Lucian Ἀρρυ Ἡρύαλ (Lagarde, I. 384); Hebr. הַנִּיב, 2 Kings xvii. 30. He is the god of war, καταστροφή; the “powerful warrior of Bel,” *qar-adu dan-nu ša Bēl*. A hymn to Nergal in IV. Rawl. 26 begins: “Warrior, mighty flood, overpowering the hostile country; warrior, lord of Aralu, god of Śid-lam-ta-e-a; mighty bull, powerful lord, lord of Cutha.”

He is called the “lord of fight and battle,” *git-ma-lu šar tamxari*; “lord of bow and arrow,” *bēl belē u qašadī*; he is also the “king of the seers,” *šar barē* (Akkadian NIN-A-ZU, ḫt 98, 40; asu, no doubt, being from the Semitic *asū*, ‘physician’; since priests in those days were physicians, seers, and diviners. Originally he may have been the same as Adar, the god of the all-destroying summer-heat. (See Jensen, l.c., p. 63.)

The name is usually derived from the Akkadian NE-UNU-GAL, “Lord of the great city,” i.e. Hades, whence arose the dialectical form NE-URU-GAL (see Professor Haupt’s statement in Am. Journ. Phil. VIII. 274, No. 7; also Proc. Am. Or. Soc., October, 1887, p. xl.). The great city is the kingdom of death, the grave. This etymology was first proposed by Delitzsch in the second edition of his Lesestücke. J. Oppert (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1878, 1048) derived the name from the Semitic *בלי*, and explained it as ‘the wandering’ (‘der Wandelnde, wegen des Rücklaufs des Planeten’); also see J. Halévy, ZA. III. 343. below. His sacred number is fourteen.

His consort is *Allatu*, the *bēlē erṣītim rabītim*, “the lady of the great country” (NIN-KI-GAL), II. Rawl. 59, 33 d–f; also Herodotus i. 131. Professor Hommel connects *Allatu* for *Arlatu* from *Arālatu* with the name of the mountain Aralu; but it is a Semitic word, and derived from *alatu* (*ארלע*), ‘be strong, mighty.’

91 Also see Proc. Am. Or. Soc. October, 1887, p. biv. note 33; and Delitzsch, Paradise, p. 139. Paulus Cassel, l.c. p. 322, says: “Der Name leitet sich von *בלש* dem Namen des Gestirnes Orion ab, welcher im December am Himmel steht.”

92 Qarradu, abābu esu, sapin mat nukurti (according to Jeremias, Hades, but see Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 221); *qarradu bēl Arail, ša śid-lamta-ē-a, rēmu* (*רמוי*) rabī, bēl gašru, bēl Kūti.
Nergal is the local deity of Cutha (Hebr. נַרְגָּל), which is compared to Akkadian GUDUA (IV. Rawl. 26, No. 1); see Am. Journ. Phil. V. 76. It is the modern Tell-Ibrahim, east of Babylon, a well known burial-place, and it seems that the name Kûtû (e.g. IV. Rawl. 31, 40a) is connected with the Hebrew נַרְגָּל 'be at an end, i.e. perish, die.' Nergal was, in conjunction with Allatu, also the ruler of the underworld, and therefore the name Kûtû became an expression applied to Hades; the erēq la tārat, "the land whence there is no return" (cf. אֵרֶק of Job), the Αἰθήρ of the Greeks, called the ἄττ ετά, ἄττ ἐκλίτι, ἄσα la amari, "the house of darkness, the place where one cannot see"; the Old Testament נַרְגָּל. It is maintained by Delitzsch in his Prologomena, p. 142, that ἄττ is found in Assyrian as ὑδῆ. But there is no passage where this noun is spelled phonetically. There are some cases in Assyrian glossaries where we read su-alu (written ER) -ki, e.g. II. Rawl. 26, 39 = Delitzsch, Lesestücke 83, col. iii. 57, su-alu-ki = NU-KAR-KI (hostile land) = māt nukur-tim; but the reading is doubtful. II. Rawl. 39, 41 b = Delitzsch, l.c. 80, col. ii. 33 = ka-ni-is (ki), 'place of gathering' (from כל or כל); also K 4362, col. iv. 13 and II. Rawl. 34, No. 6 (additions, Strassmaier, Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichniss der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. II. No. 2667); it is preceded by gabru, 'grave.' As a synonym occurs ma-la-ak (ki), 'place of judgment,' κατάκρυμα.98

The Zodiac sign for this month is the Archer (Sagittarius), ideographically written PA, which Jensen, Kosmologie, 497, considers an abbreviation of PA-BIL-ŠAG, name of the seventh constellation.

98 See also Hommel, Geschichte Assyrins und Babylonisns, p. 399, rem. 4.
99 On this question see on the one hand Delitzsch, Paradies, 121; Hebrew and Assyrian, 20; Jeremia, Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode (Leipzig, 1887) p. 62, No. 3; p. 109, and ibid. rem. 3. A review of Jeremias' book by Dr. Cyrus Adler is to be found in the Andrév Review, July, 1888, pp. 92-101. On the other hand, against the identification of ἄττ (ki) and נַרְגָּל see E. Schrader, ZA. I. 461; H. Winckler, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1888, No. 25, col. 886; ZA. IV. 43 sq.; Jensen, Kosmologie, pp. 223 and 438; Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1890, col. 929, and ZA. V. 88, rem.; Budde, Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1888, Nos. 8 and 9, and 1890, col. 173; Hommel, Geschichte, p. 265, rem. 3; and above all, J. Halévy, Revue des Études Juives, XIV. 154. On the Phoenician נַרְגָּל in the Eámunazar inscription see M. de Vogüé in Journal Asiatique, 1880, I. 278 sqq., and M. Jos. Derenbourg, Revue Archéologique, June, 1880. The word is also found in Egyptian documents under the form suđlo; cf. Sélikowitch (Goetzell) Le schédo des Hebreux et le 'rest' des Égyptiens (Bar-le-Duc, 1881, 18 pp.).
belonging to the seven (lu-)ma-ši stars. The Pabilšag was in the vicinity of the ecliptic (Jensen, l.c. 55, No. 7; 60, note 1).

The tenth month is the arax tebētu, Hebr. יבשת, expressly called the tenth month in Esther ii. 16; Tebibos, Joseph. Annt. xi. 5, 4 (so the early editors; but see Niese). It is written Te-bi-tu and Te-bi-e-tu, and means "the muddy month." The rainy season, says Delitzsch in Hebrew and Assyrian Language, 15, commences in יבשת, the month of rain-sho·vers according to Sennacherib's graphic description in the Taylor Cylinder, IV. 75 sqq.; and Senn. Constantinople (I. Rawl. 43) 42 sq., where we find the epithet of Tebet, ITU tam-te(š·)-ri (cf. mi-it-ru, rain). On the form tebētu see, above all, Professor Haupt's remarks in ZK. II. 272, and Am. Journ. Phil. VIII. 273, No. 5.

The name tebētu is derived from tebā, 'sink in, dip' = Hebr. יבשת; Arabic, tabī'a, 'be soiled.'

The non-Semitic word for arax tebētu is ITU AB-BA-UD-DU (UD-DU = E = aṯū H* 27, 585 = סַ֫וּר) = "month of the forthcoming of the water" (weather-clouds?) : AB-BA being perhaps the same as the non-Semitic word for tamtu (סַ֫וּר) 'sea, ocean.' For variants see ZA. II. 210, and compare II. Rawl. 49, 4 e.

The regent of this month is Pap-sukkal, the messenger of Anu and Ištar, written PAP LUX LUX = Papsukkal sukallu. IV. Rawl. 33, 45; also ibid. 21 (No. 2) 52; III. Rawl. 68 (No. 3) 64 has AN-PAP (with the gloss Pa-ap-su-kal) LUX-LUX, the right

96 For further discussion see Robert Brown, l.c., pp. 265-67; also Jensen, l.c., 72-3; Jensen, ibid. remarks that the Mandeans call the constellation of the archer נַחַל 'arrow'; this, of course, points to the reading XA{T instead of PA, abbreviated from xat'ū.

96 Arxu tam-še-rī ku-uc-š̂u dan-nu e-ru-ba-am-ma (var. ku-uc-š̂u dan-nu tikšudamma) șa-mu-tum ma-at-tum u-șa-as-ni-na. "In the rainy month (i.e. the month Tebet according to the parallel account) set in a great (unexpected) heat; this weather brought about a heavy rainfall, (the heavens) poured down a mass of rain." See my remarks in Hebrewica, VII. 64.

97 From the same tebā (II. Rawl. 39, 63 col.) we have the Assyrian noun ti-im-bu'u = tibētu, 'seal ring' (ZA. V. 144, rem. 12) plur. tim-bu-šti, followed by the ideogram of ungu, 'ring' (in the El-Amarna inscriptions; e.g. Journ. Asiatique, 1890, XVI. 316, 22); it is the Hebrew דִּים, pl. דִּים; tabbî'u, 'diver' (name of a water-fowl = kakiš nāri) II. Rawl. 37, 10 c and 60 b. Thus tibētu, 'seal ring,' literally 'the diver' sinking into the clay, as often as it seals a document, etc.

98 In the syllabary S letter, we read LA-AX = suk-kal-ūu followed by ŠU-UK-KAL = suk-kal-ūu; and in Sb i, obverse, col. ii. 18, a-bu = PA-AP = 'father,' so Delitzsch, Wörterbuch, p. 20; but according to Delitzsch, Pro-
column wanting; see also H² No. 18, 10 b. In the descent of Ištar (IV. Rawl. 31, Reverse, 1) we find (ili) Pap-su-kal sukkallu ildni rabti, “Papsukkal the messenger of the great gods”; it is written phonetically in the imprecation, III. Rawl. 43-44, col. iv. 25. The name may be a compound of PAP = ḫubu, ‘decider’ (Hebr. בּעַב = ḫilu) and sukallu = LUX, ‘messenger, servant.’ Papsukkal seems to have been in early days a general name for messenger (cf. Hommel, Vorsemittische Kulturen, p. 480). He is the ἔμμος (called ψυχομπός, Odyssey, 24, 1), the διάκτερος of the great gods, not merely the messenger, but also the mediator between god and man (cf. Iliad, 24, 24 sqq., 334 sqq.; Odyssey, 5, 28 sqq.). Some of his titles are “lord of bliss,” “lord of the earth,” “the strong one,” etc. According to Jensen, l.c. p. 77, Papsukkal is identical with Nabû, the prophet god (Halévy); we find that Nabû (Na-bi-um) is called su-ka-al-lam ci-i-ri mu-ša-ri-ku úme balatîu, “the lofty messenger, lengthening the days of his life”; and it seems very probable to me that the god Nabû should be the regent of a month.

The sign of the Zodiac corresponding to this month is read by Strassmaier-Epping sax, and combined with the Assyrian saxu in the meaning of ‘ibex.’ According to Jensen, l.c. 73 and 83, the sun entered in Țebet into the sign of Caper, which formed the head of the suxtiru-fish constellation; this constellation is called the star of Tašmetum (cf. V. Rawl. 46, 38 ab.), the wife of Nabû. The goat-fish, says Robert Brown, often appears on the monuments. Thus we find a fish-tailed goat, below which is the urn of Aquarius.

The eleventh month is the arax sa-ba-tu, Hebr. שָׁבָע, Zech. i. 7 (a corrupt passage, where most likely the number XI has fallen out); Greek, Σαβάτ (1 Macc. xvi. 14, ἐν μηρὶ ἐνδεκάτῳ, ὁστὸς ὁ μην Σαβάτ). The devastation of nature occasioned by the incessant rains (zunne sa zunne) and inundations (rix(e) of the month Țebêt culminates in the month ܒܝܒܝ, when the fury of the weather reaches its highest pitch. This circumstance justifies the name šabatu, by which the month is characterized as ‘the destroying one.’ This month is called the arax arral zunne, “the month of the curse of rains,” i.e. the month of the judgment of the flood.

lbomena and others = ḫubu, ‘decider.’ On the etymology of Papsukkal see also Jensen, l.c. p. 313, rem. 2; J. Halévy, Recherches critiques, p. 33, compares Hebr. בַּעַ and בַּעַשׁ.

90 Cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, 146, rem. 4; Hebrew and Assyrian, 16; Prolegomena, 38.
It is expressed in the non-Semitic by ITU AŠ-A-AN (or ŠEGI); cf. ZA. I. 308, rem. 1; II. 210, for variants. 100

This month is fitly dedicated to Rammān, “the leader in heaven and earth”; asārīd (written TIG-GAL) ū samē u erṣītim, IV. Rawl. 33, 46. He is the storm god, and his name signifies the thunderer; he is called qar(ra)du, ‘hero’; ġīru šuturu bēl xegalli, “abundant flood, lord of abundance.” 101 He is also called (il) barqu, “the god of lightning” (birqu); he is the Addu or Daddu, the Hadād of the Syrians (ZK. II. 161, 311, and 366).

In the Old Testament (2 Kings v. 18) his name is wrongly vocalized as ẖărāḇ, a result of popular analogy to ḥărāḇ, ‘pomegranate.’ The Septuagint ῥαμμαῦ still shows the old Hebrew pronunciation ẖēḇāṯ. Hesychius reads ῥαμμᾶ, and adds ὀ ψιστος θεώς, and Steph. Byz. has ῥαμμᾶ; cf. the proper name ẖēḇāṯ, 1 Kings xv. 18 = Ταβηρμᾶ; but better Ταβηρμᾶ (Swete), or Ταβηρμμᾶ (Lagarde), a compound like ῥαμμᾶ; also see Zech. xii. 11. 102

Rammān is the chief of heaven and earth; the god of the atmosphere, storm, clouds, thunder, and lightning (ilu sa rémi u ša birqi); also the lord of the subterranean wells and of the rain; the god of all the fierce elemental forces, and the evil spirits fight on his side. He is considered the “brave son of the god Anu.” With Sin and Šamaš he represents the second triad of the Babylonian pantheon, the celestial powers, the lower triad; while Anu, Bēl, and Ea are the higher triad, the creative powers.

His consort is the goddess Šala, which, according to Jensen (ZA. VI. 69), is probably an abbreviation of Šalaš, a word belonging to the language of Mitanni; see also II. Rawl. 57, 33 a; he continues: “Daraus schliesse ich, dass Šalaš aus Nord-Syrien importirt

100 The noun ṣabatu is, of course, derived from the verb ṣabaṭu, ‘strike, beat, kill’; Hebr. ṣabbā‘; Ethiopic ṣabīṭa (z for š result of a partial assimilation to ʿ arising from the imperfect yezebel for yēšebel); Sabean ṣabū; we have the nouns ṣabīṭu, ‘cane, stick’; šīṭu, c. st. šī-bīt (Rammān), ‘slaughter, plague,’ Delitsch, Prolegomena, 38, rem. 3; but see Revue des Études Juives, where Halévy reads šīṭu; also ZA. IV. 280, rem. 1, and Jensen, l.c. p. 330; šubtu = abū, “the destructive hurricane”; šabatu = ṣabatu as ṣabu for ṣābu, etc.

101 Rammānu (for Rimimānu, ZA. VI. 61) is a derivative of ṭammānu, ‘howl, thunder’; rāmīnu, the participle, is an epithet of Rammān. On the ideogram for Rammān see Zimmern, Busspsalmen, p. 6, rem. 2.

worden ist und glaube wenigstens, dass dies darum und wegen des verhältnismässig jungen Namens ihres Gemals Ramsam auch mit letzterem der Fall gewesen." The sacred number of Ramsam is six.

The name of the sign in the Zodiac is read GU = Assyrian qa, which, according to J. Oppert, is the name of a dry-measure (Hohlmass). Robert Brown would compare this Assyrian (reading ku) with Hebrew kad, 'pitcher, jar,' the reference being presumably to the urn of Aquarius, which, as Lenormant has noticed, is sometimes represented alone on the monuments, a part for the whole, in accordance with a familiar principle in symbolism. Also see Paul Haupt, Sintflutbericht, p. 11, and Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 94 sq.; E. Schrader, Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, p. 47; Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 146. The name Aquarius for this sign is of occidental origin. Jensen, l.c. p. 81, says: "Nach den Benennungen der Orientalen zu schliessen dürften wir nicht nach einem Wassermann, sondern nur nach einer Amphora suchen. Die 'Amphora' steht in der babylonischen apsid-wassergegend des Himmels."

The twelfth month is called Addaru (a-da-ru), Hebr. אדר; Esther iii. 7, אדרת אסתר; cf. ibid. iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 15, 17, and 19; Ezr. vi. 15, אדר in the Aramean (!) portion = ina arxi Addari. On the meaning of Addaru see Delitzsch, Wörterbuch, p. 188 sqq., who suggests a derivation from אדר (?) 'be dark,' as opposed to the arax āru from אדר, 'be light.' It was the name of this month which induced former investigators to derive the Hebrew names of the months from the Persian, for in Persian we have Ādār as the name of a month (Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 8 sq.).

The non-Semitic name for this month is rather strange: ITU ŞE-KIN-DUD = arax ecedi, "month of the cutting of corn, harvest-month" (see Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 92, and for variant readings ZA. II. 211). 103

The month is presided over by the seventh (?) of the great gods (IV. Rawl. 33, 47). According to the legend of the god of pestilence (M. 55, col. iv. 22), it is either (ilu) Dibbara (Lubbar) himself, or like the demon İṣum (Delitzsch, I-tag, इकर, 'seizer, destroyer,' and Hommel, Geschichte, p. 226, note 3), in his ser-

103 ŞE-KIN-KUD = ecedu, Hî 68, 5; 204, 22; II. Rawl. 31, 82 = ēdu, II. Rawl. 32, 71 gh. In Sabean we have the harvest-month: ܐܒܕܐ ܒܓܝܬ.
He is the last of the twelve great gods mentioned in the 
Bavian inscription of Sennacherib. According to Pognon the Igigi 
are meant; but see against this Jensen (ZA. 1. 7 sqq.), and my notes 
on these demons, above, p. 80.

We are told in III. Rawl. 53, No. 2, 13, that Merodach is called 
"the fish of Ea" in the month Adar. This may enable us to explain 
the sign for the last month of the year. The connection of the 
Zodiacal Pisces with this month is plainly due to the title which 
Mero
dach, as a star, bears during this month. The double month 
Adar and Ve-adar would be the origin of the double Pisces, thus 
suggesting that the signs of the Zodiac were named at a later date 
Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 81 sq. and 314, considers the Zodiacal sign 
Zib as a variant or a ligature of nu-nu fish, and reads it accordingly.
I believe that he is correct, notwithstanding the remarks of Robert 
Brown (l.c. 269) to the contrary. The latter reads Zib, and says, 
"if it should mean 'the water,' the reference will be to the Ḫarı of 
Aratos, in which the Zodiacal fishes and various other signs swim.
In this dark and nocturnal sign we see the fish-sun, Merodach, who 
in this month is called 'the Fish of Ea,' concealed in the waters; like 
the Vedic Surya, who was 'drawn by the gods from the ocean where 
he was hidden, and then brought forth again to restore the face of 
the earth'; for the archaic myth or legend attached to the month 
is the resumption of the cultivation of the earth after the previous 
catastrophe of the flood." Mr. Brown, then, interprets the non-
Semitic name for this month as 'the sowing-of-seed,' but gives 
no proof whatever for such a translation. If it could be proved, 
it would do away with a great difficulty. The connection of the 
sign with this sowing finds a last echo in the statement of the 
modern astrologer, that it is exceedingly fruitful and luxuriantly 
productive.

The intercalary month generally observed by the Babylonians, 
and adopted from them by the Hebrews, was the second Adar. 
According to Strassmaier and Epping, Astronomisches aus Babylon, 
p. 179, there were in every cycle of eleven years four intercalary 
months. This, however, seems only to hold good for the later period

104 For this god compare III. Rawl. 66, 12 d; and for the god Dibha(?)-ra, 
IV. Rawl. 46, 18 ab; the same group of cuneiform signs AN + VII + BI is also 
used of the ṣidni ṣibiti, the seven evil demons (IV. Rawl. 21, 67 sq.; Delitzsch, 
Wörterbuch, p. 199).
of the Babylonian empire, when there were months of thirty days alternating with those of twenty-nine days. In early times the intercalary months must have been inserted much seldomer than was the case in later years. But the Babylonians, like the Jews, had only intercalary months,—no intercalary days, as the Egyptians are known to have had. The usual name for the intercalary Adar is arxu max-ru ša Addaru (ארזע מקו אדר אדרו); also called אדרי אדרא, as opposed to אדרי אדרי, Megilla i. 4, Nedarim viii. 2); Norris and Sayce read arxu ma-ak-ru ša Addari, and compared Hebr. דואד י"א 'change,' i.e. incidental month of Adar, no doubt relying on III. Rawl. 55, 41 b, where we read arxu ma-ag (קג) ri-[e Addaru]; but see Delitzsch, Wörterbuch, p. 190 and p. 191, rem. 9. In arxu maxru ša Addari, the adjective maxru means 'opposite, counterpart (pendant)'; thus it is the month, which is the duplicate of the month Adar, "the second Adar." Another name for this month is Addaru arkå (ארקא), "the later, or second, Adar." The insertion (ארצ), from לער 'make the year pregnant') of the intercalary month Ve-Addar, Addar šenl, Addar batrť'dh, as the thirteenth month, numbering twenty-nine days, changed the common year (שנה שנה פּלואזר) into a leap-year (שנה פּלואזר). Others read arxu magra ša Addari, 'the month depending on Adar,' instead of arxu maxru.

The regent of this intercalary month was the god Ašur. This fact shows that the calendar was an original Babylonian, not an Assyrian institution. In later years, when the Assyrians gained the ascendancy, their great national god had to be satisfied with being made regent of this intercalary month. Ašur was at the head of the Assyrian pantheon, the national deity of their empire, to whom the Assyrian kings owed sceptre and crown. The enemies of the Assyrians are also enemies of the god; thus all wars became sacred wars. He was not a nature god, and was placed above Anu, Bēl, and Ea. In time he became the king of the gods. His consort was Belit, i.e. the goddess Ištar of Nineveh; Ištar, the mother of the great gods, was at the same time the beloved consort of Ašur. She was of far greater importance in Assyria than in Babylonia; she was the representative of the Babylonian Anunit, especially as Ištar of Arbela. Jensen and other Assyriologists derive Ašur from an Akkadian AN-ŠAR (ZA. I. 3 sqq.; Kosmologie, p. 275); I prefer to consider the name an Assyrian word, connecting it with אשור, and interpreting it as "the bringer of good." There is no more connection between Ašur, name of the god, and Aššur, the country of
Assyria, than there is between 'Αθηνα, the goddess Athene, and
'Αθηνα, Athens. 105

I hope that I have shown that the names of the Babylonian months
adopted by the Hebrews are almost without exception of good
Semitic origin, and that Meissner's assertion, "diese Monatsnamen
sind fast ausschliesslich nicht semitisch, sondern wie ihre Bildung
verrät, von einem andern Volksstamme übernommen," is without
proof. The series 'ana ittisu to which the list of months belongs,
goes back to the time of Hammurabi, and some of the oldest contract
tables know these names for the months. 106 The words mentioned
by Meissner as the original names of the months are nothing but
appellative epitheta and appositions.

105 On Aššur see Nöldeke, ZA. I. 268–73; Fränkel, ibid. III. 53; and on
'Αθηνα-'Αθηνα my remarks in Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ., No. 81, pp. 75–6;
London Academy, No. 945, June 14, 1890, pp. 411–12.

106 Thus we have the arax zi-ba-lim and zî-ba-î mentioned in a contract
and by Sennacherib Bellina; I do not see why arax ra-ba-lim could not be an
epitheton of Nisân and used in its stead; the same is the case with the other
words mentioned by Meissner.