BABYLONIAN MENOLOGIES
AND THE
SEMITIC CALENDARS

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INTRODUCTION

THE three lectures in this volume contain a general survey of all the Semitic calendars with special reference to the Babylonian and Assyrian menologies. Although many articles have appeared on some aspects of the Sumerian and Babylonian calendars, there is no book on the subject with the exception of a very technical and learned investigation of the various month-lists of the Sumerian cities.¹ This work has not been completed and the part designed to cover the Babylonian and Assyrian Holy Year, the most important part of the subject, remains unpublished. In recent years the texts of nearly the whole of the early Assyrian Church Calendar have been published,² and I have ready for press a critical edition of them as well as of the reformed calendar issued by Asurbanipal of Assyria in the seventh century. For the text of the latter menology I have copied all the known fragments in the British Museum together with all the fragments of the almanacs. My critical edition also includes a very large number of fragments and texts which deal with special days in each month and all the omen texts from Assur, Nineveh, and Babylonia which have to do in any way with the months and days. My Schweich Lectures are based upon this edition of texts, at present almost entirely untranslated, and consequently this book is really an introduction to the philological edition. Since it will appear earlier than the edition of the texts, I have, so far as space allowed, given the reference to the sources on which the statements rest.

It is obvious that with so much new material at my disposal the history and influence of the Sumerian and Babylonian calendars have been elucidated in a manner far more complete and satisfactory than was possible hereto-

¹ Benno Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer, Leipzig, 1915.
² Eric Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, Nos. 176–9.
INTRODUCTION

fore. The influence of Sumerian religion and culture upon the whole history of western Asia down to our era, and continued in the Jewish calendar to our day, in the Syriac Christian calendar, and in the religious year of the Sabean of the Middle Ages, can be traced and proved. It was natural also that with this most fortunate addition to our knowledge, placing in our hands almost a complete text which gives details of the religious and civil rules imposed upon all Babylonians and Assyrians for every day in the year, an Assyriologist should carry his investigation beyond the culture which produced it and seek to trace its influence upon Judaism, Syrian religions, and parallels if not influences in Greece and Rome. The myths of the months have particularly attracted my attention, a subject which involved arduous study of astronomical texts. Here I must at once acknowledge the valuable assistance of my learned friend, J. K. Fotheringham, D.Litt., who is now, I am glad to say, also a Fellow of our Academy. The assistance I have received from Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Professor Jefferies of Cairo, and Mr. Beeston on the early Arabic calendars has been mentioned in its proper place. My thanks are also due to Mr. J. U. Powell for assistance on the Latin calendar, and to Mr. R. McKenzie on the Greek calendar. I must apologize for the brevity of my investigations on the months Kislev, Tebit, Shebat, and Adar. The size of the volumes permitted in this series restricted the continuation of the full history of the months after Arahsamna.

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LECTURE I

HISTORY OF THE SUMERIAN, ACCADIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND WEST SEMITIC CALENDARS

In these lectures I do not deal in detail with the Sumerian calendars of the pre-Sargonic period except in those cases where the month-name can be definitely fixed in the series or can be used to throw light upon the monthly festivals of the Nippurian calendar, whose series is certain. My object in these lectures has been to trace the myths and festivals of the Nippurian calendar which finally prevailed over all other Sumerian, Accadian, Assyrian, and West Semitic calendars, and became the monthly series of the Jewish Church. The great menologies of Assyria which were promulgated about 1000 B.C. and are clearly copies from Babylonian originals reveal traces of the myths of the old Sumerian months. To understand the rules and myths of the Babylonian and Assyrian menologies, which finally issued in the form of the great series enbu bēl arēm, 'The fruit, lord of the month', promulgated by Ašurbanipal in the seventh century (on the basis of Babylonian originals) in fifteen tablets (twelve months and three intercalary months), it is necessary to study first of all the Sumerian calendar of Nippur on which they are based. The myths of the Sumerian months gave rise to the association of certain constellations, principally signs of the zodiac, with those myths, and in principle those constellations, which rose heliacally at the time of the monthly festivals, are those which became associated with the months. It is obvious that the process of discovering figures in the constellations to suit the monthly myths began as early as 3000 B.C., that is, when Taurus and the Pleiades were rising heliacally soon after the spring equinox. If it can be proved that the stars of this constellation are woven into the myth and festival of the first Sumerian month it proves that the
Sumerians connected the myth with that constellation when it was rising heliacally in the first month. It follows presumably that the other signs of the zodiac, if they were discovered in the early Taurus period, correspond to months in each case one month earlier than in the Aries period, when Aries was rising in the first month, that is after 500 B.C. (A date anywhere between 1100–500 B.C. can be assumed for the beginning of the Aries period.)

In the discussion of the monthly festivals and legends connected with each month I have presumed an ideal year beginning with the rising of Pleiades and Aldebaran in Taurus in the month Barazaggar of the Nippurian calendar, that is Nisan of the Babylonian. For the Aries period there are several sources (not always in agreement), which give the decans or three principal stars governing each month after about 1100 B.C. The following table, obtained by combining the various sources, is used throughout my discussion. As a general principle, to ascertain the stars and constellations rising in a month 3000–2000 B.C., when the myths of the months were associated with them, it is necessary to shift the entries for any given month one place earlier. For example, the decans of Ayar after 1100 B.C. would be those of Nisan in the Sumerian period 3000 to 2300 B.C. when the calendars, feasts, and myths were finally fixed. I use as a basis the Astrolabe Pinches. This is controlled by Thureau-Dangin, *Uruk*, 14 Obv. 14–19, which gives the twelve regents of the ba-la (divisions) of the path of the sun and moon.

1 Published in transcription only from two tablets, with no information as to their dates, JRAS. 1900, 573–5. It was reproduced by Kugler, *Sternkunde*, 1 229–30 and *Ergänzungen*, 201 with identifications of each decan with stars of Accad, Elam, and Amurru; Kugler omits the figures after each decan, but Weidner, *Handbuch*, 65–6, reproduced Pinches' copy with figures. For Weidner's explanation of the figures see my *Epic of Creation*, 153; for Fotheringham's theory see ibid. 154. The same figures occur on the fragmentary astrolabes, CT. 33, 11–12.
REGENTS OF THE MONTHLY DECANS

ARIES PERIOD (after 1100 B.C.)

NISAN

_Iku_, 'Field star', Aries+Cetus. Way of Ea.¹

_Dil-bat_, Venus, as constellation, N.E. Pisces.² Way of Anu.

_Apin_, Plough star, Triangulum. Way of Enlil.³

In Taurus period stars of Adar.

AYAR

_Mul-mul_, 'The stars', Pleiades, called 'Seven gods'. Ea way.⁴

_Gud-an-na_, Bull of Heaven, Taurus, 85–4–30, 15.][⁵

¹ KAV. p. 123, 1; CT. 33, 2, 40, first of Anu stars and _šu-bat_ ṾAnim, KAV. p. 119, 1; but CT. 33, 2, 40 called _šu-bat_ ṾEa, abode of Ea; Vir. Isšt. xxvi 1; but CT. 33, 3, 36, the star _lù-KU-MAL_ rises Nisan 1, and BM. 85–4–30, 15 = Brown, _Researches_, II 46, makes _lù-KU-MAL_ the regent of Nisan, see Kugler, _Ergänz._ 168; Weidner, HB. 121. _lù-KU-MAL_ = _agarru_, hireling, is a name for Aries, Weidner, HB. 161. Both names are late and have no reference to the word Aries, ram. Also _lù-KU-MAL_ = _agrum_, CT. 41, 49 Rev. 7; from the glosses, ibid. 4 and 7, the reading is _ğu-un-ga(r)_; the Sumerians named this constellation 'The Hireling', labourer for some unknown reason. The Babylonians did not see a _ram_ in this constellation. See Jeremias, A.G. 214. In the Taurus period this constellation governed Adar. And in Adar sacrifices to Ea and the Ea cult are prominent. Langdon, _Archives of Drehem_, No. 49; Genouillac, _Trouvaille_, 77. Therefore 'The Hireling' and 'Canal Star' were connected with Ea. But one of the symbols of Ea is the _ram_, Langdon, _Sem. Myth._ 106 at top. In view of the fact that the other constellations are all of Babylonian origin it is curious that this is the only evidence that they knew the sign as Aries. Aries as the star _ğunga_ is Tammuz, CT. 33, 2, 43; _lù_ ġunga, regent of Nisan, Thureau-Dangin, _Uruk_, 14, 14; 12 Rev. section 8. BM. 85–4–30, 15 is now 77821 in the British Museum and is more correctly published in _The Babylonian Legends of the Creation_, a brochure published by the British Museum, photo. p. 27, text copy, p. 75.


³ CT. 33, 3, 37 gives _mul-gám_, rising Nisan, 20; part of Auriga, Kugler, _Ergänz._ 54; 209; Weidner, _Talqvist Vol._ 355. _gamlu_, a curved weapon, CT. 33, 1, 4, in the hand of Marduk, V Raw. 46 A 3. Enlil star, CT. 33, 1, 1.

⁴ So KAV. p. 123, 2, but Anu way, CT. 33, 2, 44; 9, 9. Constellation of Ayar, Vir. Isšt. xxvi 3; _Uruk_, 14, 14. Rises Ayar 1, CT. 33, 3, 38.

⁵ The Babylonians discovered this sign, _mul-_ ġu-an-na, KAV. p. 119 1.
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

Šu-gi, The old man, here Auriga? 1 Way of Anu. 2
Anunitu, Star of goddess Anunit. Enlil way. 3
[šu-li-e, Star of the tablet, Aldebaran.] 4

In Taurus period stars of Nisan.

SIVAN

Sibzianna, ‘Faithful shepherd of heaven’, Orion. Ea way. 5
Ur-a, 6 ‘Water-dog’, Canis Minor?
Muš, ‘The serpent’, Hydra. Enlil way. 7
[Maš-tab-gal-gal-la, ‘Great twins’, Gemini.] 8

In Taurus period stars of Ayar.

TAMMUZ

Kaksisa, ‘The javelin’, Sirius. Ea way. 9
Maštabba, ‘The twins’, Gemini minores. Anu way. 10

26, not later than 1000 B.C., and probably much earlier. mul-mul and mul-gud-(an-na), regents of Ayar, Thureau-Dangin, Uruk, 12 Rev. section 9.


2 So KAV. p. 123, 2; but, CT. 33, 1, 3, Enlil way; also 6, iv 5.

3 So KAV. p. 123, 3; but Anu way, CT. 33, 2, 42. Rises, Shebat 25, CT. 33, 4, 11, and hence Kugler, Ergänz. 217 and p. 11, S.W. Pisces.

So also Weidner, HB. 72, reckoning for 4000 B.C.

4 CT. 33, 3, 39, rises Ayar 25.

5 So KAV. p. 123, 3. But Anu way, CT. 33, 2 2; 9 Rev. 10. The only regent of Sivan, Vir. Isht. xxvi 7.

6 KAV. p. 123, 3, ur-gu-la, great lion, Anu way. Ur-gu-la is Leo and rises more than a month after Orion, hence it is impossible here. Ur-a also Clay, Morgan, iv 20, 1. The only regent of Ab, Uruk, 14, 16.

7 So KAV. p. 123, 3; but CT. 33, 2 2, 8, Anu way. Pinches gives the sign NAGAR not MUŠ.

8 85, 4, 30, 15. Enlil way, CT. 33, 1, 5. For Kugler’s attempt to explain how Leo and Hydra were falsely assigned to Sivan for mythological reasons, see Kugler, Ergänz. 205. Uruk, 14, 15, ṭušš-maš-maš, only regent of Sivan, i.e. Gemini. Uruk, 12 Rev. section 10, has mul-maš-maš, Gemini, and mul-si-b-(zi-an-na), Orion, as regents of Sivan.

9 But CT. 33, 2 2, 6, Anu way; also 9, 11. Only regent of Tammuz, Vir. Isht. xxvi 9. The Babylonians did not see a dog in the constellation Canis major, but a bow, mul-paš, see Epic of Creation, 176.

10 But CT. 33, 1, 6, Enlil way. They rise Tammuz 5, or 10 days
In Taurus period regents of Sivan.

AB
Pan, Bow star, Canis major. Ea way.
Margidda, 'Long wagon', Ursa major. Enlil way.
[Ur-a, 'Water-dog', here certainly Leo.]
[Bir, 'The kidney.]
In Taurus period regents of Tammuz.

ELUL
Bir, Kalitu, 'Kidney star', part of Virgo (?). Ea way.
Since in the Taurus period there was a myth concerning
the purification of Ishtar in Elul, the constellation Virgo
before Sirius, 33, 4, 41, hence order of risings is not followed here. They
are described as bearded, Weidner, AOF. IV 74, 8.

1 So KAV. p. 123, 4, where Cancer is represented by Jupiter, since
its hypsoma is in Cancer. 85-4-30, 15 has al-lul, Cancer, as the only
regent of Tammuz; also CT. 33, 4, 41, al-lul 'the wicked, rebellious
star'. The Babylonians also named this sign BULUG, crab (?), written
probably an error for - , Thureau-Dangin, Uruk, 14 Obv.
15, regent of the fourth (riba-ni-tum) division of the path of the sun. See
Neugebauer-Weidner, BSGW. 67, 31, 10 and p. 73; 83; AJSL. 40, 191,
4-6; Uruk, 11 Obv. 4. It is certain that this sign was known as crab;
abzamakku as epithet gives no help, Weidner, AOF. IV 80. Cancer is
an Anu star in other texts, Weidner, AOF. IV 80 n. 1. mut al-lul, Cancer,
regent of Tammuz, Uruk, 12 Rev. section 11; here Cancer is identified
with the city KA+NE—KA+NE, i.e. Fire city, originally connected
with the fire-worship of Sivan. Allul as second regent of Tebit (see below)
is false.

2 KAV. p. 123, 5, but Anu way, CT. 33, 2, 7. Rises with Regulus
(α Leonis), Ab 5, CT. 33, 4, 44. 3 But Enlil way, CT. 33, 1, 5.
4 Also CT. 33, 1, 15, restored by Kugler, Ergänz. 55.
5 Uruk, 14, 16. mut Ur-gu-la, Uruk, 12 Rev. section 10; Leo.
6 Regent of Ab in Vir. Isht. xxvi 12. See Elul. On identifications
see OECT. vi 75 n. 1.
7 Kugler, Ergänz. 203, Vela; Weidner, HB. 71, Carina and Vela.
8 Also CT. 33, 2, 9; 9 Rev. 11. 9 Also CT. 33, 1, 12.
should occur in Teshrit in the period of the astrolabes, but it is not found there. Spica, *mul*absim, represented as a maiden holding an ear of corn, rises Elul 25 or at the end of the month, and was known as goddess Shala of the ear of corn. Three texts give spica, 'the ear of corn', as the only regent of Elul. It is certain that the Babylonians saw Virgo here, and that they regarded it as the corn-goddess Nidaba; see Gudea, Cyl. A 6, 1, Nidaba *mul ki-ba*, 'the holy star', hence the Sumerians already knew this constellation as 'corn-goddess', rising in time of Gudea at the beginning of Elul. [He-gal-a-a, Star of plenty, Coma Berenices? Enlil way.]

[Teshrit]

*Ninmah*, Star of the goddess Ninmah, Carina?, Hydra?.

Ea way.


*Entena-ma*x-guz, 'Boar star', Centaurus. Enlil way.

2 CT. 33, 4, 47.
3 CT. 33, 2 Rev. 10.
4 Thureau-Dangin, *Uruk*, 14 Obv. 16 (KI—HAL = absim); 85, 4, 30, 15, ab-sim; *mul*ab-sim, *Uruk*, 12 Rev. section 1.
5 Vir. *Ish*. xxvi 15; star of goddess Zarpanit.
6 Ibid. 16 and see 81, 7–6, 102 l. 4 = PSBA. 1909, Pl. rv.
8 KAV. p. 123, 7; CT. 33, 3, 21, at right of Vela and Eridanus. See p. 106.
9 An Anu constellation, CT. 33, 2, 2, 9; 9, Rev. 10. Thureau-Dangin, *Uruk*, 14, 17, *giš-rin*, 'the scales', *gišrinu* as regent of Teshrit; also 12 Rev. section 2, there star of Nippur. See p. 99.
10 Astrolabe Pinches *šig*, also KAV. p. 123, 7 and inner ring of Teshrit, CT. 33, 12, below, with *[zi-ba-an-]*na in middle ring = *Zibanitu*. But *šig*, gunu of LUM, which is more common, must have been read *guz*. See LUM (gu-uz) = *apparrī*, swamp-boar, *Voc. Scheil*, 36, and BM. 93059, 11 and *šah-maš-guz = apparrī*, CT. 14, 1 B 33. Hence star *entena*, the swamp-boar; cf. RA. 14, 22, 24.
11 But Ea way, CT. 33, 3, 22. Weidner, AOF. iv 80 n. 5 argues
Since the New year festival of Teshrit is based upon the myth of the judgement of souls, and this myth was connected with the scales, *Libra*, it is impossible to place the origin of this myth earlier than about 2000 B.C., when Libra would be rising toward the beginning of Teshrit. In other words the myth of judgement at New Year in Teshrit must be much later than the same myth of Nisan, connected with Taurus. For purposes of mythology and monthly festivals the stars of Teshrit here cannot be put back into Elul as regents of the sixth month in the Taurus period.¹

Note that Libra is the star of Nippur, seat of the Enlil cult (Thureau-Dangin, *Uruk*, 12 Reverse).

**ARAHSAMNA**

*Uridim*, 'The mad dog', Lupus. *Ea way*.²

*Girtab*, 'Scorpion star', Scorpio. *Anu way*.³

*Rabbu*⁴ 'The blazing star', *Corona borealis*?

Scorpio was regent of Teshrit 3000 B.C. and no mythology of that month is connected with it. It is said to be the star of the city *Hisku* and the stone breccia is sacred to it.⁵

The regents of Arahsamna in the Mul-Apin series are: 'Scorpio', rises on the fifth; head of Capricorn 'she-goat', with 'Breast of Scorpio', rises on fifteenth.⁶

*Lupus* is placed in Teshrit by the same series.⁷

against Centaurus. Only regent of Teshrit, PSBA. 1909, 24, Pl. iv. Regent of Teshrit rising on 15th, AJSL. 40, 190, 2 with *mul Ur-ku* 'Great dog', Hercules. Syriac month *ḥazirān*, p. 65.

¹ Vir. *Isht. xxvi* 18 gives Scorpio as regent of Teshrit, preserving the astronomy of the Taurus period. ² Also CT. 33, 3, 27.


⁴ Written *lugal* in Astrolabe Pinches, KAV. p. 123, 8, and CT. 33, 12, below, third decan of Arahsamna. The sign is a confusion for *rab* (as often in other texts) since *Rab-bu* is a star of Arahsamna, Weidner, HB. 24 and 119. *Corona borealis* is Weidner's identification, HB. 71; Kugler, 1, 254 thinks it part of Ophiuchus.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *Uruk*, 12 Rev.

⁶ AJSL. 40, 190, 4–5 = CT. 33, 4, 3–4.

⁷ Ibid. 190, 2, rising on the 15th.
KISLEV

Zalbatānu, ‘Star that abounds in death’, Capricorn as hypsoma of Mars. Ea way.¹

Ugkadua, ‘The raging lion, Panther’, Pegasus. Anu way.²

Uza, ‘She-goat’, head of Capricorn. Enlil way.³

[Pabilsag,⁴ Sagittarius. Ea way.]⁵

[Gir-an-na, Scorpio.]⁶

Regents of Arabasman in the Taurus period.

TEBIT


Alluttu,⁸ Dolphin (?), Delphinus (?). Anu way.

d-mušen, erê, Eagle, Aquila. Enlil way.⁹

[Uza, ‘She-goat’, head of Capricorn.¹⁰

[ul-mdē, ‘The kid’, Capricorn.]¹¹

¹ See Weidner, HB. 71.
² But CT. 33, 1, 28 Enlil way. Rises Kislev 15th, with Aquila and Sagittarius, CT. 33, 4, 5 = AJSL. 40, 190, 6.
³ Also CT. 33, 1, 24, said to be d.Gu-la. Commonly identified with Lyra.
⁴ Meaning unknown, but reading certain after PBS. x 176, 5. That the Babylonians saw an archer is certain from the description of θ Ophiuchi, which forms the point of the arrow of Pabilsag, Kugler, 1, 261 and Ergänz. 224. Identified with Ninurta the war-god. For design of the archer see King, Boundary Stones, Pl. xxix, 12th century B.C.
⁸ al-lu-ut-tum, KAV. p. 123, 10–20; 124, 31; 122, 26. Pinches’ texts falsely al-lul, Cancer. See Weidner, HB. 68. alluttu is probably some kind of fish, and hence dolphin is suggested by the location of Delphinus. See Weidner, Reallexikon der Assyriologie, 71; Ebeling, Tod und Leben, 14, note e; Meissner MVAG. 1905, 247, where gar-bun-na, SAI. 9236, is not alluttu, but ēlībbu, tortoise.
⁹ KAV. p. 123, 10; Anu way, CT. 33, 2, 12, and identified with d.Ilbaba. On reading erē, see Langdon, Etana, 37 n. 4.
¹⁰ Only regent of Tebit, PSBA. 1909, 24, Pl. IV 8.
¹¹ Thureau-Dangin, Uruk, 14 Obv. 18; but mašuğur-mē, ‘Fish-ram’,
REGENTS OF THE MONTHLY DECANS

It is certain that the Babylonians knew the ‘Water-pourer’, ὶδροχόος, Aquarius. Gula is Aquarius regularly and this is the constellation of the water-god Ea. The mythological name of Aquarius is ku-li-li, ku-lu-lu, ‘Fish-man’; see Langdon, Creat. 89, n. 6, and figures of Aquarius, Sem. Myth. 86; 95. In the mul apin series the regent of Tebit is mullŠimmah, Swallow star (mullŠinunutum), also called ‘Star of the storm’,1 Western Aquarius.

SHEBAT


The regular regent of Shebat is the constellation Gula, Aquarius.5

ADAR

Kua, ‘The fish’, Pisces, Southern Fish. Ea way.6 regent of Tebit, Uruk, 12 Rev. section 5. Capricorn was portrayed as a ram with body of a fish, ‘skate-goat’. See Sem. Myth. 105. sugur, only regent of Tebit, 85, 4, 30, 15. Capricorn is identified with the temple of Ishtar, Uruk, 12 Rev.

1 CT. 33, 4, 7 = AJSL. 40, 190, 9; Kugler, Ergänz. 162; 216; identified with the Euphrates, V Raw. 46 a 34; Weidner, Babylonica vi 160, Northern Piscis.
2 KAV. p. 123, 11; CT. 33, 3, 27. First decan of Shebat, CT. 33, 12.
3 As regent of rainy season Numušda was identified with the rain-god Adad.

4 So if mullŠAH, ‘swine star’ (= “Da-mu, CT. 33, 1, 29 in Enlil way) is the same as mullDa-mu. See Kugler, Ergänz. 59; Weidner, HB. 73.
5 Thureau-Dangin, Uruk, 14 Obv. 19, ûl-gu; mullgu-la, 12 Rev. section 6; 85, 4, 30, 15, Kugler, 1, 229.
6 KAV. p. 123, 12; CT. 33, 3, 19. Only regent of Adar, PSBA. 1909, 24, Pl. iv 10; rises Adar 15 with Perseus, CT. 33, 4, 12 = AJSL. 40, 190, 14. The regular regent of Adar is ûl çib-[ba-it], the ‘tails of the fish’, Uruk, 14 Obv. 20; but 12 Rev. section 7 has mullIkû, here certainly Pisces.
IO HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

Kā, ‘Fox star’. A constellation near Pisces.¹ Enlil way.² mul-d₄ Marduk, ‘Star of Marduk’, Perseus.³ Anu way.⁴ [ul zib(ba-ti), Star of the tails of the Fish.]⁵

A striking aspect of Sumero-Babylonian religion is the association of myths with each of the months and the attempt to find in the regnal constellations of the months figures which correspond to the ideas involved in the monthly myths. The monthly festivals were based upon these myths, which together with the festivals originated in the Sumerian period between 3000–2000 B.C. The Sumerians devised lunar calendars in each of their great cities which can be traced in most cases to about 3000 B.C. The lunar calendar with its system of intercalating a month originally before the twelfth month, segurkud, barley harvest, to keep the season of harvest in its place, was never abandoned throughout the entire history of the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians.⁶ It was still in use right down to the Christian era, when this mighty civilization perished under the rule of Parthia.

The lunar calendar is based upon the period from the

¹ Usually Alcor, Greek ὀξώνης, ‘Fox star’, in Ursa major. Kugler, Ergänz. 55; Weidner, OLZ. 1913, 152. Here some other constellation in the ecliptic. Enlil star, CT. 33, 1, 17.
² So KAV. p. 123, 12, in third decan. Kugler, ibid. 204, thinks that ‘Fox star’ is not a constellation here but a title of the planet Mars.
³ So Weidner, HB. 73. Uncertain. Kugler, Ergänz. 204 takes it for Jupiter.
⁴ So KAV. p. 123, 12 as second decan.
⁵ Uruk, 14 Obv. 19. Ibid. 12 Rev. section 7 has mul Iku the ‘Field star’ as regent of Adar, usually Aries+Cetus. Here clearly Pisces. BM. 77821 has ül Iku u rikis (DIM) nūnī (ḪA), ‘Field star and band of the fish’. Weidner, HB. 121 takes rikis nūnī for Ṯ, 3, 2, e Piscium. Kugler 1, 29 takes ül KUR šd dur (rikis) nu-nu for Ṯ Piscium. The term clearly denotes the band between Northern and Southern Pisces at the bend of which stands e Piscium. See Jeremias, HB. 226. This band between the two fishes is shown on the disk of Dendereh; see Jeremias, HB. fig. 126 and ZDMG. 77, 84.
⁶ The Babylonians adopted the system of intercalating after the twelfth month, and there is also a system of intercalating after the sixth month Elul and after the first month Nisan.
moon's first appearance after sunset to its disappearance on the morning of the 28th day. Babylonian astronomers of the sixth century B.C. had arrived at an almost accurate calculation of the length of the lunar month, 29 days, 44 minutes, 33 seconds.¹ Modern astronomy cannot improve upon this result for the period 600–100 B.C. Hipparchus of Nicaea in Asia Minor, one of the founders of Greek astronomy (middle of second century B.C.), and all his successors to Ptolemaeus of Alexandria in the second century A.D. based their studies upon the work of Babylonian astronomers of Erech, Barsippa, and Babylon. Geminus of Rhodes in his Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα, Introduction to Celestial Phenomena, written in the time of Christ, named the Chaldeans as discoverers of the exact motions of the moon. Such precise calculations of the lunar month were the result of more than 2,000 years of observation and continuous records.

Here in our northern hemisphere there is an unbroken history of the religious calendars and monthly myths from the Sumerian calendars of 3000 B.C. through Babylonia, Judea, and Christianity to our own times. I shall now trace the history of the various Semitic calendars of Babylonia Assyria, Aramaea, Canaan, Phoenicia, and Judea and show how this medley of Semitic calendars was finally displaced by the Nippurian calendar; how all these Semitic peoples abandoned their native calendars and only the translations of the Sumerian month-names, the Sumerian myths and festivals survived and determined the character of the church calendar of Babylonia and Assyria, which in turn gave Judaism its series of fixed festivals. The myths of the months, the festivals based upon them, their survival in Judaism, their parallels in Greece and Rome; these are the principal subjects which I discuss in this volume, serving as an introduction to my edition of the Old Assyrian, New Assyrian, and Babylonian calendars. Here were combined the legends of the constellations with the legends of the

¹ Reckoning by Cidinas; see Fotheringham, Nautical Almanac, 1931, p. 736 (383 B.C.).
seasons in remarkable manner. They had no Ovid to rehearse the tales of the months, but the opening lines of the *Fasti* describe precisely what the Babylonian and Assyrian church calendars really are:

The times in order through the Latin year
Together with their causes,
And the starry signs that set beneath the earth
And rise again may I sing.

In Babylonian literature there is only one attempt to do for the calendar what Ovid did for the first six Latin months. It is only a fragment from a large tablet in the British Museum, written about the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Here a scribe rehearsed the legends of the twelve months. In the second month (Ayar) Bêl (Marduk) conquered the dragon of chaos. In the third month Sivan (May–June) Bêl decided to destroy mankind in the deluge. In the fourth month, Tammuz (June–July), is recorded an astrological omen which occurred in a remote age and foretold the destruction of Babylon by the Elamites. The commentary on Tammuz gives the valuable information that Perseus and the Pleiades were the hypsoma of the Moon; Aries of the Sun; [Capricorn] of Mars; [Cancer] of Jupiter. Here the scribe indicated the points in the ecliptic where the planets have the most potent effect (hypsoma) upon the lives of men, and the same astrological system passed into Greek astrology. In the tenth month Tebit (Dec.–Jan.) is recorded the legend that Tiamat, dragon of chaos, rules the constellation Capricorn. It was the sign in the zodiac that governed rituals against demons in the dark days of January when ghosts rose from hell and when men were put to the ordeal to test their guilt. ¹

Wave upon wave of Semitic invasion overflowed into ancient Sumer. When the first South Arabic invasion reached that classic soil some time before 3000 B.C. they found the various Sumerian cities each using different

calendars for the twelve lunar months. These illiterate Semites, like the Canaanites, Hebrews, and Phoenicians, had their own names for the twelve months of the year. Eleven of these month-names have survived; these invaders, who are the earliest Semitic people known to us, had no writing of their own and borrowed the Sumerian cuneiform script, religion, and calendars and adopted the Sumerian religious year. They wrote the names of the months according to the calendar of the Sumerian city where they happened to be transacting their business. But when the first important documents of the Semites appear in the time of the Empire of Agade it is evident that the calendar of the Sumerians at Nippur had already been adopted as the usual one. The primitive names for months among the earliest Semites of Babylonia have no similarity whatsoever to those which have survived in South Arabic inscriptions.

The Accadian month-names known from texts of the Agade period are: (1) ḫu-un-ti, (2) ša-ni-i, (3) șa-bit-tum, (4) ha-ni-i, ha-ni-it, (5) ba-hi-ir mahrûm, (6) ba-hi-ir arkûm, (7) i-ba-ša-as, (8) ik-sum, (9) ti-ru, (10) za-lul, (11) ga-da-lá (?). These names have no connexion with the South Arabic month-names which have been compiled for me by Mr. A. F. L. Beeston, B.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. In the following alphabetically arranged list I have marked Sabaean names with S, Minaean with M, and Qatabanian with Q.  

1 For the names used by Accadians at Lagash, see Thureau-Dangin, RA. iv 83; ZA. xv 410. At Nippur the standard Nippurian series must have been used; see Barton, PBS. ix 90, "kin-d" Innini, sixth month; 95, "dù-kug", seventh month; with "segurkud", twelfth month.  
2 In the Cruciform Monument, CT. 32, 1-4, assigned to Manistusu (2667-2653 B.C.) by Thureau-Dangin and L. W. King, RA vii 179; ix 91; see Col. xi 15-18, 3 ezen-gal-gal ezen ḫu-un-ti ezen "izi-izi-gar ezen "apin-dù-a, The great feasts, feast of huntu (Nisan), feast of torches (Ab), feast of apindāa (Arahsamna).  
3 The last two were found by Meek on Kerkuk tablets, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, xiii 10. These names have no relation to the Himyaritic months. Meek now reads ga-da-ad (?).  
4 See also Mordtmann, Beiträge, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, p. 45;
These names are generally preceded by *warah dū*, 'month of'.

1. *dū 'l-n-* . . . (MVAG. 37, 1, p. 55, 7). S.
2. *dū 'b-h-y*, month of the fathers (?).\(^1\) S.
3. *dū 'th-r-t*, month of the goddess *'Athrat*.\(^2\) M.
4. *(dū) 'b-r n-g-w-t*, meaning unknown. M.
5. *dū 'm*, month of the god *'Am*,\(^3\) and see also the third Assyrian month *arah ʾ*d-Sin*, p. 33. Q.
6. *dū b-g'-m*, meaning unknown.
7. *dū b-r-m*, and *b-r-m k-d-m-n*, 'the former *b-r-m*', hence certainly a 'second *b-r-m*', *b-r-m 'h-r-n* existed. Meaning unknown. Q.
8. *dū b-s-m-m*, month of the god *b-s-m*. Q.
9. *dū d-th-2*, month of early grass (𓊭). S. In Sabaean *datha* is the regular word for the spring season.
10. *dū d'-w-n*, meaning unknown; it comes after sowing. S. Also *d'-w-n 'h-r-t-n*, 'the latter *dā’wan*'.
11. *dū d-n-m*, meaning unknown. S.
12. *dū f-l-s-m*, from the verb *f-l-s*, to flee.\(^4\) S.
13. *dū f-r'-m*, month of the crops. S, Q. Identical with the month *n-y-l*.\(^5\)
14. *dū p-k-h-w*, meaning unknown. Q.
15. *dū h-d-r*, the plural of this word means ‘courts’. M.
16. *dū h-g-t-n*, month of the pilgrimage. S.
17. *dū h-r-f*, month of plucking fruit. S. This word also means autumn as does *s-r-b*, autumn.
18. *dū m'-n*, month of the city *Ma’an*.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Suggested by Conti Rossini.
\(^2\) This occurs in Glaser, 282, 7–8, and is surely the same as the Babylonian *Ašratu*, West Semitic *Ašrūtu*, Phoenician at Ras Shamra *Ašrat*. See Nielsen, *Handbuch*, 1, 226.
\(^3\) *’am*, ancestor, uncle, title of the Moon-god. See *Sem. Myth*. 5.
\(^4\) This Sabaean verb appears in Accadian as *parāšu*.
\(^5\) CIS. IV 601, 18.
\(^6\) If this is right it must refer to a yearly festival of the Sabeans at their chief city.

(19) dü m-d-r'-n, meaning unknown. S.
(20) dü m-h-g-t-n, month of the pilgrimage. S. Same as No. 16.
(21) dü m-h-z-d-m, month of reaping. Also with k-d-m-t-n, ‘former month of reaping’. S. This is the same verb as Arabic ḥāṣada, Canaanitish ʾaṣād, Accadian esēdu, to harvest.
(22) dü n-s-w-r ’-h-r-n, the latter nswr. S.
(23) dü n-y-l, month of crops. Same as No. 13. S.
(24) (dü) k-i-z, kēz, month of fruit harvest. S. The word is also used for summer in Sabean.²
(25) dü s-r-b-n, month of harvest, sarab is the word for autumn. S.
(26) dü s-l'-m. Meaning unknown. S.
(27) dü s-m-s-y, month of the suns, i.e. Sun-goddesses. S.
(28) dü th-w-r-m,³ month of the bull, a god? S.
(29) dü th-b-t-n, meaning unknown; a spring month. S.
(30) dü t-m-n’, month of the city Tamana’. Q.
(31) dü l-n-f-t, month of fasting.

The word m-l-y-m, winter, is also said to be a month-name.

This is the only genuinely Semitic calendar which contains mythological month-names, see Nos. 3, 5, 8, 27, 28. Most of them are agricultural and some obviously refer to festivals. All months marked ‘former’ and ‘latter’ are of course intercalary.

It is obvious that the early Semites (Accadians), wherever be their origin, agree with the South Arabic peoples in using an intercalary month to keep the names to their seasons. All later Arabic calendars are strictly lunar and the names fall eleven days later each year and in thirty-three years each month passes through the entire solar year. In such a system agricultural names of months and association of months with fixed stars are impossible. But in Accadian there is already

¹ See fourth Gezer month, p. 24.
² The same month as kēz, in Canaanite. See p. 25.
³ This cannot be astronomical for Taurus, since star-names have not been found in South Arabic.
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

a ‘former and later’ month called bāhir,1 i.e. an intercalary month, probably the twelfth. ḫuntu occurs in isinni ḫu-un-li, feast of ḫuntu, one of the three great Shamash festivals.2 The name survived into the Hammurabi period and occurs as arāḫ ḫu-um-tum.3 arāḫ šaṭi means ‘second month’.4

The meaning of ṣabīttum is unknown.5 ḥani6 and ḥani7 may be ‘month of the Hanite god’ or goddess.8 This implies an ancient connexion between Agade and Assyria, but the land Hanigalbat does not appear in this period.9 ibašīṭ10 is obscure, and ʾištum11 cannot be explained. tiru12 survives in the Hammurabi period.13

1 Luckenbill, Adab, 92; Inv. i 1079. bāhir, warm?, from bāhūr, Arab. bāhara, to steam. lu bā-ḥir, let it steam, Küchler, Med. 6, 16; 6, 20; ʾišt lu bā-ḥir, let it cool, steam off, 24, 44. See Thompson, PRSM. xviii 3 n. 1.
2 CT. 32, 4 x 14, where it precedes the festivals of Ab and Arah-samma.
3 VS. ix 191, 24, where it ends a list sibūt ʾa-tim, Teshrit, Tammuz, Tebit, Ḫumtum. Landsberger, Kal. 84 regards sibūt ʾa-tim, i.e. ‘seventhness’ of the year, as the third month, Sivan, basing his argument on BA. v 488, where a year runs from the first of arāḫ sibītim to the end of Ayar. If this is so then ḫuntu, being one of the first four months since it falls before Ab, must be the first month, 3 and 4 (Sibītu and Tammuz) being named on VS. ix 191, and Ayar is excluded since it occurs phonetically elsewhere. A decision is impossible since Sibītu, seventh month, beginning with Teshrit, is Nisan in the Susa series, and arāḫ Sibītim on VS. ix 139 has variant Nisan on the envelope.
4 RA. 22, 153, ʾiṭ-ni-i; Luckenbill, Adab, 117.
5 RTC. 106. Formally sābittu may be part. fem. sing. of sābātu and mean ‘the seizing’ goddess or demoness, i.e. month when the demoness seizes, referring to a myth, but true Semitic months are never based on mythology. The early Assyrian arāḫ Bēlāt ekalli is probably taken from a Sumerian myth.
6 RTC. 117.
7 On Nuzi tablets (Meek).
8 I made this suggestion in SBP. 156 n. 11. māḫānī = Hanigalbat, a province in Mesopotamia; see AB. i, 116 n. 7.
9 Manistusu built a temple at Nineveh, Thompson, Annals of Archaeology xix 105.
10 Adab 165. ʾiṣšāṭ?
11 Inv. i, 1291.
12 On a Kish tablet.
13 CT. 6, 42 b, a slave hired for one year begins work in E-lu-li and is discharged in ti-ri-im. But PBS. viii 186, a house rented for one year;
ACCADIANS ADOPT SUMERIAN CALENDAR

The importance of these month-names is that they represent the oldest known Semitic calendar and come from that prehistoric Semitic people whose language fixed for ever the vocabulary and grammar of the later Babylonian and Assyrian peoples.

The church calendar of Babylonia and Assyria, which had such profound influence upon the Jewish, Aramaic, and Phoenician calendars, the primitive Accadians did not originate. Almost immediately after their arrival in Mesopotamia they began to abandon their own Semitic months in favour of the church calendars of the Sumerians. Sargon united the Sumerian and Accadian peoples into a military empire which ruled from Persia to Phoenicia, from Anatolia to the southern sea; in this Semitic empire the Sumerian calendar of Nippur became the normal rule for the months and the monthly festivals. The religious calendar of a people usually maintains itself tenaciously through all vicissitudes; the conquering Semites of Accad threw aside the calendar which they had inherited from their prehistoric home because in Mesopotamia they found an advanced Sumerian civilization whose great religion was based upon a church calendar. To adopt that religion meant to adopt the monthly festivals; it meant to lay aside every one of the primitive names for the months in favour of mythological and cult names; it meant the acceptance of a church calendar based upon monthly feasts of mythological and astronomical character. Here soon after 3000 B.C. began that revolution of Semitic religion which profoundly influenced the Semitic races of Western Asia. The Sumerian church calendar, which connected each month with some theological myth, with some constellation in heaven woven into the monthly festival, finally passed beyond the borders.

tenancy taken up in ti-ri-im and ended in isinni a-bi. Hence ttru = Ab and Tammuz. The evidence of BE. vi 36, 22, arah ti-ri day 1 and same contract 35, 29, idArahsamna, day 1, is not sufficient to prove that ttru is the eighth month, for the contract may have been repeated later in the year.
of Mesopotamia. Backed by its almost universal adoption in business transactions in the wide empires of Assyria and Babylonia, by the elaborate manner in which the Assyrians wrote the menologies with instructions for each day of the year, it completely supplanted the old Hebrew calendar after the Second Captivity; it spread in the Aramaic lands of Syria and Nabataea and displaced the agricultural calendars of Canaan and Phoenicia.

The Accadians had adopted the calendar of Nippur, the seat of the greatest of all Sumerian cults. Nippur was the seat of the Earth-god and his pantheon; it was a centre of learning from early times, where theological poems, chronological records, text-books on philology and syntax were written. The views of the Nippurian schoolmen prevailed in most Sumerian capitals and their works were edited with Semitic translations, especially their liturgical books, becoming the canonical liturgies of the Babylonian and Assyrian temples. It cannot surprise, then, that their views about the myths of the months and their religious calendar prevailed in every Sumerian capital and finally displaced every known Semitic calendar in Western Asia, save in Arabia. It seems clear that the fixed Jewish festivals were taken directly from the great menologies and almanacs of Babylonia and Assyria, which in turn go back directly to the Sumerians of Nippur. The calendar is the framework of any civilization, the time index for all business transactions and religious observances, the rule by which all daily life is regulated. Therefore, with the universal adoption of the Nippurian months the unlettered Semite of Babylonia found it necessary to have translations of these twelve month-names into his own Accadian speech. With the Amorite invasion of Sumer and Accad about 2300 B.C. the Accadians introduced a set of twelve names of the months which are translations of the Nippurian series. Although the scribes almost invariably wrote the Sumerian names in all documents the ordinary Semite learned the Accadian rendering. It is these translations which prevailed in western Asia, namely, Nisan, Ayar,
Sivan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Teshrit, Arasamna, Kislev, Tebit, Shebat, Adar. These were the names used by the Aramaeans and Hebrews in the late period, and are still the names used by Jews to this day. There is no evidence that the Nisan-Adar month-names were ever a real Semitic list or were ever used by any Semitic people originally.¹

The meanings of the words borrowed by the Jews were almost entirely unknown to them. When the Semites of Babylonia adopted the name Du'uzi for the fourth month (July), that was due entirely to the fact that the Sumerians celebrated the death of Tammuz in that month. No Semitic race had ever possessed a cult of the dying Tammuz, god of pastures and flocks, who perished in the summer sun. In the Sumerian calendar of Ur this month was known as the 'Feast of the breaking of bread for the god Ninazu', another name for Tammuz. In the second month, Ayar or April, Tammuz had married the virgin goddess Ishtar; in the fourth month he died and descended into hell, and the Sumerians broke bread at the funeral feast for the dead god. This was the myth of June in every Sumerian city. In July, or month of Ab, there were burning of torches and festivals for the dead god. In the sixth month there was the purification of Ishtar at Nippur, a festival for Tammuz at Lagash and Ur, rendered Elulu, 'the purification', by the Semites. The months Tammuz, Ab, Elul—or June, July, August—formed a great cycle of the cult of the dying god and his mother the virgin Ishtar. How then did the Semites obtain the names for these months, Tammuz, Ab, Elul? Did they inherit them from a primitive Semitic race of shepherds and farmers who invaded Mesopotamia from Syria and Canaan and founded the Amoritic kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria in the twenty-fourth century? That is wholly incredible in view of the fact that these names

¹ It may be objected here that certain of these names are written phonetically in the First Dynasty, A-jā-rum, Abi, Abum (at Susa), Elulu, Elumum, Adaru, Adari (at Susa). These are only the current renderings of the Sumerian calendar.
precisely express some salient feature of the Sumerian myths and cults in those months.

Let us take for example the name of the fifth Jewish month Ab, borrowed from the Babylonian Abu. Obviously the Talmudic scholars did not know what this word meant. Now the name of this month at Lagash, one of the Sumerian capitals, was ‘Feast of the eating of millet’ in honour of the god Ningirsu, a local name for Tammuz. At Ur it was called the ‘Feast of Ninazu’, the name of Tammuz while he slept in the lower world; at Nippur it was known as the ‘Month of torches’ (izi-izi-gar). The Babylonians rendered the name in the Nippurian calendar by ‘month of the festival of the abu’, and abu, abu is the Babylonian word for firewood, torch. The rituals of this month, therefore, consisted in eating bread in the funeral feasts for the dead god of life, who now reposed in hell, and in carrying torches by night for the souls of the dead. A Sumerian and Babylonian commentary explains the cult and myth of this month:

‘Ab is the month of Sirius and the god Ninurta. Fire-brands are lighted, and there is burning of torches for the souls of the dead. The fire-god descends from heaven. The heroes in the courts of the nether world ascend by the gates on the ninth day.

Torches lit the way of the souls of the dead who ascended on the night of the 9th of Ab. The Sun-god, who had reached his zenith at the summer solstice in the preceding month Tammuz, now begins his long decline toward the winter solstice, and the myth runs that the god of the burning fire now begins his descent from heaven. The burning torches also signified the declining sun of the summer solstice, and in his decline the Sun-god was known as Nergal, ‘Lord of the vast city of the dead’. The constellation Corvus which rose in this month at 3000 B.C. was identified with Nergal, god of the burning July sun (see p. 5 sub Elul).

1 Ab does not occur in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament, but is first recorded in the Aramaic Papyri of Egypt in the fifth century B.C., Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, No. 14, 1.

2 See i-zi-ga-ri = šiparu, torch, RA. xi 146, 36.

3 KAV. 218, p. 119 II 1–16; Weidner, HB. 86.

4 CT. 26, 42 II 14.
On the 15th of Ab there was a Jewish festival, which Josephus says was the festival of the wood-bearers, who brought fuel for the altar ‘that a supply might never fail; for it remains eternally unquenched’. In the ordinances promulgated by Nehemiah, in the time of Artaxerxes I, for the restoration of Jewish religion after the Exile, it is written: ‘And we cast lots, the priests, the Levites and the people for the wood offering, to bring it into the house of our god to burn upon the altar of Yav our god as it is written in the Law.’ To supply wood for the eternal fire of the altar was undoubtedly an ancient custom revived by Nehemiah.1 This emphasis upon the month of Ab as the time for supplying the eternal fire of the altar is in fact not mentioned in the laws of the ancient Hebrews. Is it an ancient Canaanite ritual, or is it based upon the midsummer fires of the same month of the Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian calendars? Obviously the Jews in exile in Babylonia knew the calendars of the temples there; they knew the myths of the months. So effective was the influence of Babylonia upon them that they abandoned their own names for the months and accepted the Babylonian names. But the church calendars of Babylonia and Assyria had preserved the Sumerian ordinances of a remote past. The myth and cult of each great monthly festival were indicated in most cases by the name of the month. Ab was the festival of burning fires for

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1 Ab 15th is marked as the date of the rising of *mu* Pan, the Bow Star, Canis Major (excluding Sirius), CT. 33, 7, 22–3, but 4, 44 on the fifth of Ab. The Bow Star was identified with Ishtar as goddess of war, Tammuz and Ishtar, 168–9; V Raw. 46 A 23; CT. 33, 2 II 7; Vir. Isht. Suppl.2, No. 67, 15; KAV. p. 121, 15. As regnal star of Ab, see p. 5. Since Spica was also identified with Ishtar, the Bow Star sometimes means Spica, Virgo, CT. 26, 40 I 2 + K. 13677, and also Ishtar’s planet Venus, Vir. Isht., No. 29, 15. When the Bow Star rose in Ab there was an Ishtar festival at Arbela, Streek, Assurb. II 112, 16–19; 190, 7; K. 2652, 7 in S. A. Smith, Assurb. III p. 11. Ab 15th as date of the rising of Canis Major may be connected with the Persian Sacaea on the 16th of Lôos (August); see JRAS. 1924, 66; Zimmern, KAT.3 427. But the Sacaea festival has no ceremony connected with torches and fires.
the midsummer sun, and the word itself conveyed this sense. Had this myth and ritual spread to the Semitic peoples of the West long before Nehemiah? When the Jews borrowed the word Ab for the fifth month they must have known what the word meant. Somehow this knowledge was never passed on to their descendants.

This same festival of the midsummer fires, the anṣara, survives among the Mohammedans of North Africa, where they celebrate it on the 24th of June with bonfires. The festival passed into Spain and survived as St. John's Day on the 24th of June. Here in Europe this pagan myth is also known as St. John's Day on the 23rd of June. All this goes back to the festal fires of the remote antiquity. They were for some reason attached to the myth of John the Baptist in the Christian calendar, and in one way or another to the great myth of Tammuz, the god who was slain by the summer heat; and in Sardinia to this day the ritual of the Adonis gardens is incorporated into the festival of St. John's Day.

The ninth of Ab in the Assyrian calendar is marked as the day when the souls of dead men are released from their confinement in the nether world. Their prison gates were opened and they returned to share the mournful parentalia with the living on earth. But Ab the ninth is the great day of lamentation in the Jewish calendar. On this day was sung the Book of Lamentations, and a special book of dirges has been written for it, a day of wailing in remembrance of Jewish calamities. This day was instituted in the Rabbinic period and is continued to our own times; it was explained as a day of remembrance for the Fall of Jerusalem at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. and for its destruction by Titus A.D. 70. The Hebrew records in the Book of the Kings placed the fall of Jerusalem on the 7th of Ab; Jeremiah says that it took place on the 10th. The later Jewish choice of Ab the ninth seems to have been taken directly from the Assyrian and Babylonian calendars.

1 See p. 20.
2 The Babylonian Almanac, V Raw. 48, col. v has this entry against
I have chosen the name of the fifth month Ab as an illustration to prove that the names of the twelve months which the Babylonians introduced with the Amorite invasion of Mesopotamia in the twenty-fourth century are surely mere attempts to reproduce some salient feature of the Sumerian festivals for each month, or to give their idea of what the names in the Sumerian calendars meant. It serves to show how the dates of many Jewish festivals were fixed after the Exile. By the universal adoption of the Babylonian month-names in Syria, Judaea, and all Aramaic lands the dates of the fixed festivals also became known.

In the twenty-fourth century came then the second great wave of Semitic invasion into Babylonia which resulted in the founding of the First Babylonian Dynasty. At the same time this invasion spread to the northern lands of the old Empire of Agade and resulted in the founding of Assyria. This is known as the invasion of the Amorites, which means nothing linguistically. They are held to be Arabians, Canaanites, or Aramaeans. Had they been Canaanites surely some ancient Canaanite month-names would have been introduced into the Accadian language. Most of the Canaanite month-names are known. Four have survived in the Hebrew records: Abib, Ziv, Etanim, and Bûl. In the reformed calendar, which shifted the beginning of the Canaanite year from the autumn to the spring, Abib became the first month since Passover occurred in it, a feast dated Nisan 14th in the new Jewish-Babylonian system. Ziv is the second month. Etanim the seventh month, originally first month, belongs also to the Phoenician calendar. Bûl is the eighth month, originally second, and is also Phoenician. These are all agricultural names; Abib, month of the

Ab 9, sūka ba'û la ibâ'i ibizza immar, 'One may not enter a street, (if he does) he will see calamity'.

1 Dt. 16, 1; Ex. 12, 1–28. 2 Ez. 45, 21; Ex. 12, 14; Lev. 23, 5. 3 1 Ki. 6, 1; Punic-Phoenician Zîb. 4 1 Ki. 8, 2; Cooke, NSI. Nos. 20 and 30, fourth century B.C. 5 1 Ki. 6, 38; NSI. 32.
ripe ears of corn, April, and Bûl, probably the same as Accadian bûlu, cattle, are clearly of agricultural origin. The original calendar began in the autumn and was regulated by the ingathering of fruits, the 'âṣîph.¹ All these names were supplanted in the Exilic period by the Babylonian equivalents, Nisan for Ābîb, Ayar for Zîv, Teshrit for Ŭtânîm and Arahsamna for Bûl. The old Canaanite series began with the 'âṣîph and Ābîb was the seventh month. Out of this confusion caused by renumbering the months (after the Babylonian series) arose the Jewish custom of distinguishing between the ecclesiastical year beginning with Nisan, and the civil year beginning with Teshrî. The civil year is really a survival of the original year which obtained among all Canaanite peoples, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Moabites, and Edomites.²

A stone slab inscribed with a list of Canaanite months was discovered at Gezer, but it is uncertain whether it is intended to be a real calendar or merely a promiscuous list of the agricultural activities of the year.³ According to Dalman’s arrangement the list runs from October to July with omission of two months. The latest interpretation is given in the following table.

1. 'ōseph, ingathering, October.
2. zērâ', sowing, December.
3. lékeš, late sowing, February.⁴
4. 'âṣâd pĕset, harvesting of flax, March.⁵

¹ Ex. 23, 16; 34, 22. The hag ha 'âṣîph, was preserved as the name of the seventh month (Teshri) under the form Ag < hag in the Greek-Syrian calendar of Heliopolis (Ba’albek), Benfey, Monatsnamen, 21–2; 177. See ‘Tabernacles’, in Cheyne’s Encyclopaedia Biblica; fixed in post-exilic times Teshrî 15–21.
² Charles Virolleaud writes me that the early Phoenicians at Ras Shamrâ had no names for the months but simply numbered them 1, 2, 3, &c. On this point judgement must be suspended until these early Phoenician texts are fully studied.
³ Macalister, Excavations at Gezer, ii 24–8.
PHOENICIAN MONTH-NAMES

5. ḫāṣār ʿeṭūrim, harvesting of barley, April.
6. ḫāṣār ʿāl, harvesting of all (the rest), May.
7. ʿāmār, pruning vines, June.¹
8. ḫēṣ, fruit harvest.

Obviously this list begins the year in the autumn.

The order of the ten Phoenician months has not been fixed with the exception of three which occur in Hebrew. The list is:

2. ʿĪl, second month, Oct.–Nov.
3. ʿĪnāḥ-ṣāṣīm.
4. ʿĪv, eighth month, April–May.
5. ʿĪyāṛ.
6. ʿĪpāʾ.
7. ʿĀrār.²
8. ʿĒpūllat.
9. ʿĀrīzāʾ.³
10. ʿĀrīzāʾ, ʿārīzāʾīm.⁴

These lists contain all the known primitive West Semitic months. As to Aramaic only one name has survived which can be defined as early. At Palmyra, where the Babylonian names were employed, curiously Arahasamna, 'eighth month', does not appear; for this month the original Aramaic Kinān⁵ was retained probably because Arahasamna was only a numerical notation and conveyed no cult meaning. Kinān, however, is the only supposedly West Semitic name found in the Babylonian calendar, and if so was obviously imported with the Amorite invasion.

¹ This is difficult; for pruning in Palestine falls in February.
² See p. 124, n. 3.
³ Fasting? Aramaic marzelā, OLZ, 1908, 513. The Phoenician is taken from a late Sidonian inscription at Athens, 96 B.C. The text has ʿē-marzelā, 'at the time of lamentations (?)' and may not be a month-name. See NSI. 95. Sarsowsky thinks it is the month of the Tammuz wailings, see OLZ. 1908, 513.
⁴ Month of ghosts?
⁵ Month of the hearth-fire.
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

The Pre-Islamic calendar has been compiled for me by Professors D. S. Margoliouth and Arthur Jeffery (Cairo):

1. Mu'tamir, month of one that seeks advice. Also māmīr.
2. Najir, hot month.
3. Hauwān, perfidious.
5. Šibān, cold and cloudy. Also Ḥanṭān, yearning desire.
6. Malḥān, month of cold and snow. Also Runnā.
7. Al-Āṣamī, the deaf.
8. Wa'il, mountain goat.
9. Nātik, that which yields fire.
10. 'Ādīl, month of him that reproves.
11. Huwā'. Also Warnat, female chameleon.
12. Burak, that which remains fixed.

Another pre-Islamic list from the same sources is:

1. Mūjib, making necessary, obligatory.
2. Mūjaz, summarily composed, epitome.
3. Maurid, way to water.
4. Malzaj, from lazij, be elastic, meaning?
5. Maṣdar, flowing, source?, or lion, wolf?
7. M-w-y-l, mau'il, refuge.
8. Mauhib, gift, favour.
10. Jaifal, from jafal, be swift.
11. M-h-l-s, continuous travel.
12. Masbal, or musabbal? musabbil?

Purely Semitic month-names have rarely any relation to myths and legends as have the Sumerian names in most cases. Therefore if the months in the Babylonian and Assyrian

1 From Abu 'Alī al-Marzuqi, Kitāb al-Azminah wal-Amkinah, Hyderabad a.h. 1332, vol. i, 279. The names are said to have been used by the people of 'Ād.
2 But if the Arabs had in mind here the rising of Pleiades, and tanmartu, the first old Assyrian month, is connected with the verb amāru, then Jeffery's translation is wrong. See p. 32, n. 2.
calendars are usually of mythological origin they are non-Semitic, that is of Sumerian origin. Not one of the Babylonian names of the months in the regular calendar is traceable to any Semitic source; they are in fact only translations of the Sumerian month-names.

The second Semitic invasion of Mesopotamia, c. 2300 B.C., almost certainly came from the home-land of the Aramaeans in Syria. The invaders founded the dynasties of Babylonia and Assyria. Founded upon the ruins of the Accadian and Sumerian kingdoms, adopting the Accadian language and accepting fully, as their Semitic predecessors had done, the Sumerian religion and calendar, the new ruling class directed the destinies of Western Asia from Babylon, Assur, and Nineveh until the time of Cyrus. The Sumerian religious year followed in the wake of their conquests and spread over Western Asia precisely as the Roman calendar spread into all parts of the Roman Empire.

Problems of profound historical import are involved here. Who were these new founders of empires at Babylon and Assur? What part did the Habiri or Hebrews play in this vast upheaval in Semitic lands?

Three views are strenuously defended.

(a) The Amorites were Canaanites and the Habiri entered Mesopotamia with them. If this were true, why has no single trace of their month-names survived in their vast literature?

(b) They were a North Arabic people. If so, the same objection can be raised. It is true that we know next to nothing about North Arabic until after the Christian period. Pre-Mohammedan month-names are not those of Islam.

(c) The Amorites came from Syria and were Aramaeans. From the wide steppes of the upper Euphrates, from the Lebanon and the plains of the north they poured into Assyria, Sumer, and Accad. They, of course, had names for the months, but the early history of the Aramaic peoples from 2300 to 800 B.C. is a total blank in our records. We know that the name of their eighth month was *kinûn* or...
kanūn, the month of the hearth-fires. But this is the only West Semitic month which appears in Babylonia in the records of the Amoritic kingdom of Sumu-abu, Hammurabi-Amraphel, and Samsuditana. Nothing could prove more clearly that the Amoritic kingdoms of Isin and Babylon and of Assyria really are not Canaanite or Arabic but Aramaic.¹

The following Semitic names of months appear in the times of the Amoritic dynasty at Babylon, although they ordinarily used the Nippur calendar or Semitic renderings of it. Since the Semitic language current in Babylonia and Assyria at the time of the Amoritic or Aramaic invasion was Accadian, the ruling Aramaic class adopted that language, and consequently the Semitic renderings of the Nippur month-names, Nisan, Ayar, &c., are in Accadian. However, a few of their own native month-names do occur under Accadian forms. I assume that the Aramaic year began with the autumn equinox as does the Canaanite list of months at Gezer. Consequently one of the Aramaic names is Sibūtu, seventh month, reckoning from Teshrit; it must also have begun in the winter, December or Kislev; for Sibūtu is not only Nisan but also Sivan, i.e. first and third months (reckoning from the spring calendar).²

When Sibūtu was used in the Susa calendar (see below) for the seventh month that can mean only the numerical order after the adoption of a spring calendar by the Accadians of Elam and has no connexion with its use by the Amoritic inhabitants of Babylonia. The use of this name in Babylonia, in my opinion, proves that they, i.e. the Aramaeans, normally regarded Teshrit as the first month, i.e. September, and consequently they rendered the Sumerian name for

¹ This is also the conclusion of Julius Lewy on phonetic grounds. For the defence of the Canaanite character of the Amorite kingdoms see Theo Bauer, Ostkanaanier; literature ibid. p. 1, n. 2. The force of this argument depends upon the theory that kimūn is of Aramaic origin. A Sumerian origin is, however, possible; see pp. 133–5.
² See p. 16, n. 3.
this month which follows the equinox (i.e. dû-kug) not by any word to seize the salient feature of the myth and cult but by a word meaning ‘beginning, opening of the year’, i.e. tešritu. Since the verb шеру, to begin, is extremely common in Aramaic it is not improbable that the Syriac Tešrită, October–November, really belongs to the original Aramaic list and is not simply a loan-word from Babylonian tešritu. In other words tešrită may have been identified with dû-kug, and is not an Accadian rendering.

Beside Sibūtu and Tešritu the following list of Semitic month-names occurring in the Hammurabi period may be given.

(a) arah ša-an-du-tim,\(^1\) explained as equal to harvest time, hence March or April. Also ša-du-tim,\(^2\) ša-ad-du-tim,\(^3\) ina šandûtim is used simply for ‘at harvest’.\(^4\) This name may be a survival from the Agade period like Šumtu and šuru. The word is derived from šadādu, which seems to mean ‘reap’.

(b) arah ki-nu-ni,\(^5\) arah ki-nu-nu.\(^6\) This may be an Aramaic month-name brought by the Amorites into Babylonia and Assyria. It occurs in the early Assyrian calendar at Nuzi, arah gi-nu-nu ša dî ilâni, ‘month of the ginūnu of the city of the gods’, probably referring to the sacred hearth-fire at the capital Assur.\(^7\) At Hana on the middle Euphrates and in the centre of the Aramaic lands the occurrence of arah ki-nu-nim\(^8\) is significant. The Palmyrene kinûn or kanûn replaces Arasamna in that Aramaic calendar and is known to be the equivalent of the Greek Δίος (eighth month).\(^9\) The Syriac name is Kînûn, December, and the latter Kânûn, January. For rituals of the kinûnu, brazier, hearth-fire, see Arasamna, Kislev, and Tebit, in Chapter III.

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1 VS. viii 137, 7+16, after ina ūm ebûri; 93, 9; ix 30, 7; Meissner, APR. 11, 9; PBS. viii 193, 9.
2 VS. viii 39, 11; 42, 7; Scheil, Sippar, 103, Rev. 1.
3 VS. viii 44, 8.
4 Ranke, BE. vi 27, 7.
5 BE. vi 21, 11.
6 CT. 4, 27 B 21; BE. vi 32, 10.
8 Syria, 1924, p. 271, Rev. 8; JA. 1909, 152, 54; VS. vii 204, 56.
9 Cooke, NSI. 294.
(e) *araḫ ma-mi-tim,* 'month of the curse', known to be equivalent of Tebit since it ends when the month *isinni-*Adad or Shebat begins.  

(d) *araḫ ka-ti ir-ši-tim,* 'month of the hand of the earth (nether world)', a name obviously given to one of the winter months as a time of danger from demons.  

(e) *araḫ di-in-šu-um.*  

(f) *araḫ na-ab-ri,* 'month of the manifestation, referring to the feast of lights in mid-winter? At Ur in the ninth (or tenth) month *ezen-maḡ,* i.e. Kislev, November, a text mentions sacrifices of bulls, at the *na-ab-ri-um,* in the temple of Bēlat-suḫnīr, who seems to be an underworld goddess similar to Allatum. I take this word to mean 'manifestation', from the verb *bara,* and to correspond to the Nippurian name of Kislev, *kan-kan-ê,* 'bringing forth of braziers', showing of lights in honour of the resurrection of the Sun-god at the winter solstice.  

(g) *araḫ hu-um-tum,* a survival from the old Accadian calendar.  

(h) *araḫ ti-ri-im,* from the old Accadian. Compare *tiritum* at Hana.  

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1 CT. 6, 41 A 15.  
3 Scheil, RA. 13, 132. This is an Accadian epithet of Tebit as the month of the goddess *Mamit,* consort of Nergal, to whom Tebit was sacred.  
4 VS. xiii 15, 8.  
5 VS. IX 132, 7; Landsberger, *Kal.* 86.  
6 Only at Larsa, Jean, *Bab.* x 222.  
7 CT. 4, 50 A 32; *na-ab-ri-i,* LC. 182, 15. A contract, CT. 33, 42, provides that the renter of a field must provide oil and a sucking-pig in the month *E-lu-nu* (Elul) at the *isinnu* festival, and at the *na-ab-ri-i,* see Kohler-Ungnad 1705; wherefore it might be inferred that *araḫ nabri* is Elul. *ina na-ab-ri-i,* at the time of the nabri, a date fixed by the writer of a letter for his arrival, VS. xvi 64, 18 = Kraus, *Altbabyl. Brieje,* No. 2.  
8 Legrain, *Ur* 272; 284.  
9 See *Kislev* in Chap. III.  
10 Ungnad, *Materialen* 69, explains nabri as 'divination', a ceremony of divination. My interpretation is now proved by the pre-Sargonic month name at Ur, *ezen-sag-ū,* see p. 158.  
11 See p. 13.  
12 See p. 13.  
13 See p. 41.
**EARLY ASSYRIAN MONTH-NAMES**

**EARLY ASSYRIAN AND CAPPADOCIAN MONTHS**

Aramaic names were almost completely suppressed by Sumerian culture when the Amorites conquered Babylonia. Here they were in much closer contact with the Sumerian people than in the northern kingdom at Assur, where they must have gained supremacy about the same time. Therefore, if any primitive Semitic calendar had a chance of resisting, at least for a time, the increasing influence of the ancient Sumerian calendar it was in the early history of Assyria. Fortunately this Aramaic version of the calendar has been preserved not only in numerous contracts but in official lists. According to the local Assyrian lists, which were also used in Cappadocia in the twenty-second century, the year began with *araḫ karrāti*, that is Adar or March. It is, therefore, doubtful whether this is any longer a pure Semitic calendar, and several of the names in it show the influence of the myths of the corresponding Sumerian calendar.

(12) 1. *araḫ kar-ra-a-ti*, month of cold (?), describing March in northern Mesopotamia, probably a primitive Aramaic name for March–April.

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1 The numbers in brackets indicate the order in V Raw. 43, list 6 under each month.

2 The principal source is list 6 under each month on K. 104, where names from various calendars are given as equivalents of the Nippur Sumerian calendar, V Raw. 43. Fragmentary lists in transcription from Assur are published by Ehelolf and Landsberger, ZDMG. 74, 216–19. VAT. 9909 begins with *karrāte* and ends with *sippi* = Shebat, i.e. *karrāte* is here the first month and *sippi* the last; in other words Adar is the first and Shebat the last. VAT. 10319 has a series *kuzalli* (4th month), *abu šarrānī* (10th), *hibur* (11th). VAT. 8695 has from *ša kināti* (7th) to *abu šarrāni* (9th). VAT. 9674 has from *karrātu* to *tanmartu*, where again *karrātu* = Adar is the first month. VAT. 8695 and 10319 do not permit an inference and the month-numbers given above are based upon a series beginning *karrāti*.

3 V Raw. 43 B 12 = Adar. In KAJI. 99 this seems to be the twelfth month; harvesters are hired to cut grain during two months and twelve days *ina pani āatti*, at the beginning of the year, i.e. probably during the first two months. But the tablet is dated *araḫ karrātu*, hence
(1) 2. *araḥ tan-mar-te*, month of heliacal rising (of Pleiades). This name was applied to the month March–April by the early Assyrians as a description of the first month in the Nippurian calendar as adopted by their own people in the south. *tanmarte* is explained as equivalent to the first Nippurian month *Bara-zag-gar*.\(^1\) As will be seen from the myth of the month *Barazaggar* in Chapter II the Sumerian name means ‘month of him that sits in the holy chamber’, referring to the assembly of the gods when Enlil sat before them in the cosmic chamber and decreed fates for the New Year. This was associated with the rising of Taurus and the Pleiades. Hence the Semites of the north rendered *Barazaggar* by the astronomical aspect of the myth, whereas in the south the Babylonians rendered it by *Nisannu*, ‘first month’.\(^2\) Sennacherib as late as the seventh century preserves a record of the meaning of *tanmartu* as used by his early ancestors. Recording his reconstruction of the *biṭ akīṭi*, house of the New Year’s festival at Assur, he has written: ‘In the month *bar-sag-sag*, the first month, (month) of the father Enlil, month of the appearance (*na-an-mur-ti*) of the Plough Star, festival of the banquet\(^3\) of the king of the gods Ashur.’\(^4\)


\(^1\) VAT. 9904, 4, and restore V Raw. 43 A 2 *araḥ tan-mar-te* = *Bara-zag-gar*, i.e. Nisan.

\(^2\) *tanmartu* is derived from *namāru*, and *tāmartu*, regular word for ‘heliacal rising’, from *amāru*; cf. *namurti* *mu* *Apīn*, ‘rising of Triangulum’, KAH. II 122, 24–5. *araḥ tan-mar-tu*, VAT. 9674; KAJI. 51, 21; 194, 8; KAH. 15, 35 (Adad-nirari I, 13th century). *tan-ua-ar-ta*, Cappadocian, Lewy, MVAG. 33, No. 82, 15; *ta-an-ua-ar-ta*, Golénischeff, *Tab. Capp.* 9, 9. The first Pre-Islamic month *μοτν* is pointed as Part VIII of *amāru* by Jeffery, see p. 26. Margoliouth, however, thinks that there may be a connexion with *tanmartu*. If so, Arabic *mu’tamir* means not ‘he that seeks advice’, but ‘leader’, month when the first sign of the Zodiac appears.

\(^3\) *ki-ri-ti*, invitation to a banquet, invitation of Ashur (= Enlil) to the gods to assemble for the New Year’s festival. \(^4\) KAH. II 122, 24–5.
Early Assyrian Month-Names

It is certain that the Sumerian myth had been attached to Tanmartu in the early Assyrian calendar; Sennacherib goes on to say that this ceremony had been neglected since ancient days, which apparently proves that the word tanmartu was actually used to describe the month Barazaggar. The Plough Star has been identified with Triangulum above and Arietis, but it certainly included Pleiades; for it is indicated by seven stars, and was assigned to Enlil, since this god summoned the assembly when the Pleiades rose in the Taurus period. Tanmartu, therefore, is no primitive Aramaic-Accadian name, but a word applied to the first month under Sumerian influence.

(2) 3. *araḥ dSin*, month of the god Sin, Moon-god. The third month, Sivan, is the month of the Moon-god, Sin, in the Assyrian calendars, where he represents the Fire-god, based upon the Sumerian myth that the third month was sacred to the Fire-god (page 116). This undoubtedly explains the Assyrian name. See also the same 'month of the Moon-god' ('Am) in South Arabic, p. 14.

(3) 4. *araḥ ku-zal-li*, month of the shepherd.

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1. ṣa ultu ūmē rūkūtī... im-ṭa, ibid. 26-7; Luckenbill, Ancient Records II 184.
4. The ideal year began in the Sumerian calendar with the rising of Pleiades. At 3000 B.C. Schoch reckons this April 6, Gregorian; Fotheringham, March 30; at 2000 B.C. Kugler gives April 21, Sternkunde, Ergänz. 229. See Schoch, Planetentafeln für Jedermann, Pl. xlv.
6. IV Raw. 33, K. 2049 and see Chapter III.
7. Identified with Sivan, third month, V Raw. 43 A 14; VAT. 9909, 5. Cappadocian, Lewy, MVAG. 33, 262, 32, et p. *ku-zal-lu*, KAJI. 19, 22; 122, 19 et p. Syr. *karzīlā*, shepherd. See *kurillu* in the Nuzi list. Probably so called from the fourth Nippurian month *šu-numun*, rendered *Tammuz* in Babylonia, and for the god Tammuz as shepherd, see SBP. 318, 9; BE. 30, 6, 5 ff.; OECT. I, 49, 29. There was a festival of the goddess *Tāšmetu* on the 28th of *ku-zal-lu*, KAV. 110.
34 HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

(4) 5. araḫ al-la-na-a-ti, month of the shepherdess. On the second of araḫ Al-la-na-tu there were wine-offerings for the feast (ka-zal), ‘when the gods were called to the temple’, and ‘for the forest’, on the same day; also for the feast on the fifth. The same offerings for a festival occur on days 13 and 14, and 6, 8, 9 (or 19).

Allantu means ‘shepherdess’, and seems to be the same as Syriac ‘allānā, shepherd; it is presumed that an hypothetical allāmu means the same, hence the rendering ‘month of the shepherdess’, probably based upon some unknown myth in connexion with the month Ab. If allanatu means shepherdess it must refer to Ishtar, for whom the Assyrians in the time of Assurbanipal held a festival when her constellation, the Bow Star, rose in Ab. Ishtar as shepherdess is otherwise known. The ceremonies and myths of the fifth month (Ab) are principally concerned with Tammuz in the lower world. See p. 44 on the month of Bēlit-ili at Susa.

(5) 6. araḫ 4.Bēlat-ekalli, month of the goddess queen of

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1 Identified with Tammuz, fourth month, V Raw. 43 A 20; al-la-na-a-tum, KAJI. 6, 35.
2 KAV. 158; Schroeder, ZA. 34, 164.
3 Ibid. 157 and 111. These directions correspond to Ab in the Babylonian almanac. With offering a-na kiṣiti (=sīr), to the forest, on the 2nd of Allanatu, see ki-išt-iti ili, ‘(offering to) the forest of god’ on the 2nd of Ab, V Raw. 48 v 2.
4 Proved by CT. 14, 14, S. 995, 12, sipa-ṭūr (gu), ‘the little shepherd bird’ = al-lal-lum.
5 alānu ‘the far away’ in lugal ki-bad-du = šarru a-la-nu-u, a title of Tammuz, II Raw. 47 v 30, is not the word in question. See also [ki-]ja (BAD)-du = a-la-nu-u, CT. 19, 47 Rev. 17, Syn. našītu, ‘the seized away’, munnarbu, ‘he that fled’, titles of Tammuz. For Ishtar worship in the month Ab at Susa, see Scheil, Dél. Per. x 32, sacrifices to 4.Innini-uru-an-na.
6 See p. 5 and Streck, Assurbanipal II 112, 16-17; 72 IX 9. The festival of Ishtar of Arbela at Milkia is called isinni šat-ri, Thureau-Dangin, Rituels, p. 112, and was celebrated in the bit akiti, Streck, ibid. 328, 45-8; 332, 18-23.
7 RA. 13, 108, 12 = 113, 12.
8 See Chap. III.
9 Usually araḫ 4.Nin-ē-gal; explained by Ab, V Raw. 43 A 26. Written araḫ be-el-ti ē-gal-lim, Cappadocian, Driver, Bab. x 87, No. 35; araḫ
EARLY ASSYRIAN MONTH-NAMES 35

the palace (underworld). The myth of this month should be taken from the sixth Nippurian month kin-üninni, month of the mission of Ishtar, rendered Elulu, month of the washing, by the Babylonians. The Babylonians, rendering the salient aspect of ceremonies of the sixth Sumerian month by elulu, washing, based their translation on a myth of the bathing of Ishtar and not on the real meaning of kin-üninni, ‘mission of Ishtar’, which almost certainly refers to the descent of Ishtar into the lower world to seek for Tammuz, a myth celebrated in the sixth month. The sixth month Elul was sacred to Ishtar, and the Tammuz myth must have figured in the ceremonies of this month, for it was known as the month of the ‘festival of Tammuz’ among the Sumerians of Lagash. The Assyrians designated this month by a name of the goddess Ishtar as queen in the lower world and is probably taken from a myth of the ‘mission of Ishtar’ in the Nippurian calendar. For Ninegal in Teshrit, see p. 104.

(6) 7. arah ša sa-ra-a-ti, meaning unknown. Since this
corresponds to tešrittu, 'beginning' (of the autumn year), one is attracted by the possibility that sarátu represents the Aramaic šarrjúthā, šarwājā, 'beginning', month of the beginning, first month of the old West Semitic year, and that the Assyrians only chose another derivative of the common Semitic verb ša-r-w, Ethiopic s-r-ỉ, to express this meaning.¹

(7) 8. araḫ ša ki-na-a-ti, month of the families. This month corresponds to Arahsamna, 'eighth month' in Babylonia, and to apin-dū-a, 'the month of ploughing', in the Nippurian calendar, and to kinān, 'month of the hearthfire', in the old Aramaic. Rituals with the kinīnu occur in the menologies for this month.² No myth has survived concerning the eighth month in Sumer and Babylonia, and it is curious that not Arahsamna but Teshrit, the seventh month, is described as the month ša kinātī,³ and in two lists ša kināti is made equivalent to Teshrit.⁴ If the order of months accepted here is correct, and the mythology of the other months indicates that it is so, then the 'ceremonies of the families', or parentalia for the souls of the dead, occurred in Arahsamna in Assyria, not in Teshrit as in Babylonia.

(8) 9. araḫ mu-hur ilānī.⁵ Meaning unknown. It corre-

¹ This assumes that š was pronounced s always in this word, but in the early Assyrian period and in Cappadocian this phenomenon is rare; see Thureau-Dangin, RA. 30, 94 n. 3. Also sd-ra-tim, Lewy, MVAG. 33, p. 25, No. 27, 11; sa-ra-ti, KAJI. 69, 21; 36 Rev. 6; 15, 27; often za (sa)-ra-tim, za-ra-ti, Bab. vi 191, No. 8, 7; Lewy, MVAG. 33, p. 226, 9; Golenischeff, 6, 13 et p. The pronunciation s is undeniable and no variant ša-ra-ti exists.² See Chap. III.³ CT. 41, 39, 7.

⁴ V Raw. 43 A 39; VAT. 9909, 7 in ZDMG. 74, 216; araḫ ša ki-na-te, also VAT. 8695, ibid. p. 217. ki-na-ti, KAJI. 20, 27; 22, 23; ki-na-te, 120, 31; ki-na-tim, Cappadocian, Driver, Bab. x 96, No. 43, 11. The full form is araḫ na-ar-ma-ak Ašur ša ki-na-tim, 'Month of the ablution of Ashur, (month) of the families', CT. Cap. Tab. iv 13, 115142, 12-14; Nies iv 210, 12-14 has the same text with Var. araḫ ša kinātim. See Lewy, MVAG. 1933, p. 58.

⁵ So restore V Raw. 43 A 45, where it is explained by Arahsamna, eighth month. KAJI. 1, 35; 72, 22; 137, 1. mu-hu-ur (Var. ḫur) ilānī,
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sponds to Kislev, kan-kan-ē in the Nippurian calendar, ezen-maḡ, ‘month of the great festival’, in the Ur calendar, and mu-šu-dū at Lagash. The ceremony characteristic of this month, December, is the carrying torches and lights,¹ and sacrifices to the gods of the lower world. In the Susa calendar the ninth month is called arah tam-hi-ri. tamḥiru and muḥur must have the same meaning and probably ‘reception’, month of the reception of the gods. The mythology is obscure but in some way refers to the resurrection of the Sun-god Nergal at the winter solstice, when the god of vegetation returns from the lower world and is again received with rejoicing by the gods of earth and sky.²

(9) 10. arah a-bu šarrāni, month of the father of kings, corresponding to Tebit in Babylonia, January. The month was known as ‘the famous festival of Anu’,³ and Anu bestowed kingship upon men.⁴ The name is, therefore, taken from Sumerian mythology and from the name of this month at Ur, ezen-an-na, month of the festival of heaven, or of the heaven-god. In this month the elders of the cities who had died ascended from the lower world, at Nippur called ezen ūb-ē-ka, ‘festival of the ascent of the elders’. By ‘elders’⁵ the myth probably includes ‘kings’. The Assyrians, therefore, obtained this name from the myth that this month was sacred to Anu, the heaven-god and father of kings.⁶ In the Susa calendar the name sišitu for this month remains obscure.⁷ The mythology proves that this is the tenth month, not the ninth.

AKA. 12; mu-ḫur išānī, KAH. 18, 42; Cappadocian, ma-ḫu-ur ilt, Lewy, No. 78, 17; ma-ḫu-ur i-š, RA. 8, 145, 9; 147, 13; Bab. iv 78, 7 (RA. 8, 146 n. 1).

¹ No list preserves the name in its order, but as only one place is missing in the lists, i.e. the ninth place, it is presumed that muḥur išānī must be the ninth month; Ehelolf-Landsberger, ZDMG. 74, 217.
² See Chap. III.
³ isinnu śiru to ⁴ Anim, KAV. p. 120 III 17.
⁴ Langdon, Etana, 9, 27. ⁸ ab-ba = šibātu, KAV. p. 120, 13+19.
⁵ On the myths of Tebit see Chap. III.
⁶ V Raw. 43 A 51 is to be restored [arah a-bu lugal-meš] = Kislev, ninth month, and VAT. 9909, 8 has arah a-bu NIŠ-meš; a-bu lugal-meš,
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(10) 11. *araḫ Hi-bur*, month of the (river) Hibur, month of the river of death,1 apparently so named as the month when demons are particularly dangerous. Shebat was the month of demons in Jewish mythology and an Assyrian menology has the entry for Shebat 30th: ‘On the thirtieth let him bow to Adad; wine he shall not drink; in the river the šidānu will not seize him.’2 To utter an imprecation against a ghost is to say ‘May he cross the Hubur river’,3 and the ship which crosses it reaches the quay of death.4 ‘Thou shalt cross the Hubur river’, addressed to the demoness of plague, was said to be an ancient saying.5 The demoness Lamashtu is cursed and sent across the Hubur river in a boat.6 The demon conducts men to the Hubur river, meaning that they are led to death,7 and Nergal, lord of the dead, is ‘king of the Hubur’,8 the world-encircling stream, the bitter sea, over which first brooded Tiamat, dragon of Chaos.9 Gilgamish had crossed the Hubur river10 and a prayer to Tammuz, who yearly descended to Arallû, reads, ‘When thou crossest the Ḫu-bur curse him (the demon) in the name of Ea.’11

The belief in the danger from demons in the eleventh month, Shebat, February, reveals itself in *araḫ hulubbe*, month when demons were expelled, of the Susa calendar. KAJI. 149, 32; a-ab lugal-me, 127, 19. Cappadocian *ib ša-ra-ni*, Lewy, No. 14, 8; 29, 12; 33, 4; 46, 7, et p.1

1 Explained by Tebit, tenth month, VAT. 9909, 9, and so restore V Raw. 43 A 57. *araḫ Ḫu-bur*, KAJI. 17, 22; 26, 17; *Ḥi-bur*, 37, 6; 289, 16; VAT. 10319, ZDMG. 74, 217; Ḫu-bu-ur, Lewy, p. 33, No. 26, 7 et p.2

2 K. 3769 in Virolleaud, Fragments, 20, 28; K. 7079 Rev. 1, 32.

3 Ḫu-bur li-bir, KAR. 178 Rev. vi 51, on Ab 25th; so restore 227 Obv. π 45.4 KAR. 196 Rev. π 58.


7 Babylonian Wisdom, 61, 7.8 CT. 24, 36, 61.

8 Langdon, Epic of Creation, 84, 132; 96, 19; 112, 23; 118, 81. Cf. Ḫu-bur *pal-ka-ti*, the wide Hubur, King, Creat. 1, 197, 9.

9 PBS. x 197, 42.10 PBS. x 197, 42.11 RA. 13, 116, 3–4 = 112, 3–4.
The Babylonians found no mythology of this kind in the Sumerian calendar, for they rendered the month by šabatu, month of storms, describing the rainy season, and the Nippur Sumerian calendar describes it as ‘month of emmer’. At Ur it was called month of the festival of the god Mekigal, rendered by ezen 4 Adad, ‘feast of the storm-god’, 1 and the month was sacred to Adad. If the Semites of Elam and Assyria found a reason for designating this month as a time of danger from demons, in Sumerian the source has been found for the ninth month of the Ur calendar, or tenth (towards the end of the last Ur dynasty). In tablets dated by ezen-mag there are offerings to the ki-Ḫabur, 2 in the temple of Adad, that is to the ‘place of the river of the lower world’. The goddess of this river of death, Ḫuburitum, was worshipped in the ninth (tenth) month 3 and there was a ritual known as nabrium to the goddesses of the lower world, Allatum, Bēlatsuẖnir, Bēlat-dabbaran in the ninth month of the Ur calendar. 4 For arah Ḫibur = Kislev, ninth month, see below, p. 40.

(II) 12. arah šip-pi, month of orchards. 5

In this early Assyrian list which begins the year with a month corresponding to Adar, the twelfth month of the Babylonian calendar, most of the names are taken from the mythology of the Sumerian calendars. If it begins with the twelfth month that is probably due to the fact that towards

1 arah isinni 4 Adad was one of the Babylonian renderings for the eleventh month of the Sumerian calendar. See VS. ix 6, 11 = 5, 12; here a house is rented for one year; the contract runs from the first day of intercalary Adar and ends in arah ezen 4 Adad.

2 Legrain, Ur, 272, 9; 284, 13 in the temple of Bēlitsuẖnir. Note that ki-ĝabur (A+HA) = šapliš, beneath; cf. ki-ĝu-bu-ûr-ra = šapliš, opposed to eliš, AL. 136, 3 = SBH. 99, 50; ġu-bu-ru, SBP. 86, 42. On Ḫabur as part of Eridu see BL. 115 n. 2.

3 Legrain, Ur, 350, 2. 4 See the Babylonian month arah nabri, p. 30.

5 Explained as Shebat, eleventh month, VAT. 9909, 10; arah šip-pu = Shebat, V Raw. 43 b 6. ši-ip-d KAJI. 4, 32; ši-pi, 10, 1; ši-ip-bi, 11, 24; ši-ip-pu, 241, 13; ši-pu, VAT. 9375, 13 = Studia Orientalia 1, 263. Cappadociam, ši-ip-im, Lewy, p. 33, No. 23, 7; ši-ip-e-im, 81, 14; CT. Cap. Tab. 146 A 19.
the end of the last dynasty of Ur the Sumerian calendar at Ur and Umma also began the year with šegurkud, or Adar, as does also the calendar used by the Accadians in Elam. The secondary Ur calendar may have been brought to Assyria by the last kings of Ur, before the Aramaic invasion obtained control of Assyria.¹

These early Assyrian names continued to be used in Assyria as late as Tiglath-Pileser I (end of the twelfth century) and an inscription of that king states that in his time arah Hši-bur was Kislev, thus beginning the year with Ayar.² This is not long after the time when the early Assyrian names alone were in use and proves that during the Cassite period the northern kingdom began to adopt the Sumerian calendar long since current in Babylonia. It is uncertain when this change took place; when the Sumerian names of the Nippurian calendar came into universal use in Assyria, it is also uncertain whether the Assyrians translated them after the Babylonian manner or after their own earlier renderings. In the time of Tiglath-Pileser I it is entirely possible that šibarazaggar, first Sumerian month, was rendered Tan-martu and not Nisannu. Long after the Nippur calendar obtained ascendancy in Assyria the antiquarian Shalmanasar III (858–824 B.C.) still used arah mu-hur-ilāni, the old name of the ninth month.³

This does not exhaust the month-names of the old Assyrian kingdom. The following months appear in Cappadocian texts but their positions are unknown:

(a) arah zi-bi (or ši-pi) bi-ri-im.⁴
(b) arah ša ti-i-na-tim,⁵ month of figs?

¹ For evidence that Bur-Sin of Ur ruled at Assur in the twenty-fourth century see Ab. p. 2; Langdon-Fotheringham, Venus Tablets, 87 n. 2; Fish, Drehem, 149, 4.
² Cited by Ehelolf and Landsberger, ZDMG. 74, 217. The Ayar year was also current at Susa. See below.
³ Andrae, WVDO. x 41; ZDMG. 74, 217.
⁴ Clay, Nies, iv 207, 10 = Lewy, No. 31. Is this the same as arah zi(ši)-ip-e-im?
⁵ Driver, Bab. x 102, No. 52, 5. ti-i-na-tim, Lewy, No. 47, 9; 51,
At Hana on the middle Euphrates, the centre of the early Amorite-Aramaic people, in the early Cassite period, and in the time when the old Assyrian calendar was still in use, the following months occur:

(a) *araḫ ki-nu-nim*, which was current also in Babylonia for the eighth month. This is probably an original Aramaic month-name.

(b) *araḫ te-ri-tum.* Is this connected with the old Accadian *araḫ tiri,*

(c) *araḫ *d*Bēlīt-bi-ri.* This is of mythological, hence Sumerian, origin.

(d) *araḫ *d*Igi-kur-ra,* 'month of the goddess of the face of the earth', goddess of the gate of the lower world. The myth on which this name is based must be the same as in *Bēlat ekalli,* sixth old Assyrian month, and reproduces the name of the sixth month at Nippur, *ki-n·Innini,* referring to the descent of Ishtar into Arallû by the seven gates. The goddess *Igikurra* may be simply an epithet of Ishtar as an underworld deity, describing her when she descended to seek for Tammuz, and equivalent to *Bēlat ekalli.* The name is explained in a commentary by 'gate of the goddess of the lower world', and the month-name at Hana must refer either to the goddess of the lower world (Ereshkigal) or to Ishtar as she who passed the seven gates to reach the abode of Ereshkigal.

(e) *araḫ bi-ri-īs-ša-ar-ru* or *biri izzarru.*

In the old Assyrian and early Aramaic calendars at

12. The Hebrew pl. of *t*e'ēnā, 'fig', is *t*e'ēnim; Syr. *t*e'tā has plurals, *t*e'ē, *t*e'ēnājā, *t*e'ēnim. It may correspond to the Canaanite *jaraḥ kēš,* 'fruit-picking'.

1 See p. 29.

2 LC. 237, 33.

3 Thureau-Dangin, *Syria,* 1924, 277; Sayce, PSBA. 1912, 52.

4 See p. 34.

5 *igikurra* is an epithet of Arallû, PSBA. 1916, 56, 3. The month occurs in *Syria,* 1924, 270, 33; 273, 21.

6 In fact *d*igi-kur-za, read *ganzir,* is Ishtar, CT. 25, 8, 12.

7 *ga-an-ši-ir,* literally 'gate of misery', is a gloss on *igi-kur,* MAG. iii 3, 51 l. 140. *ga-an-ši-ir = bāb ilat īrsiti,* l. 141.

ASSUR and Hana we are in the presence of an evolution from primitive Semitic month-names to the introduction of mythological names based upon the Sumerian calendars. Even here few old Aramaic or Accadian names have survived. There is here the same attempt to render salient aspects of the myths of Sumer as in the southern kingdom where the series Nisan-Adar was obtained in the same manner. The difference in practice between the Babylonians and Assyrians after the Amorite invasion was caused by the more tenacious Semitic character of the northern kingdom, and by the greater Sumerian influence in Babylonia. In the northern kingdom most of the names are actually written phonetically, whereas the usual practice in Babylonia was to write the Sumerian names. About the twelfth century Babylonian influence finally prevailed throughout Assyria and the Nippurian names came into common use there. Consequently when the first great Church Calendars were written in Babylonia in the Cassite period and copied by the Assyrians about 1000 B.C. the months are all written in the Nippurian manner.

The Accadians in the time of the Agade dynasty, four centuries before the Amoritic conquests, had incorporated Elam in their empire,¹ and under the dynasty of Ur, the Accadians, who had occupied Elam, introduced a Semitic version of the Nippurian and Ur calendars there, beginning with Adar. This was undoubtedly due, as in Assyria, to the influence of the order in the late Ur calendar where segurkud or Adar was the first month. The texts in which the so-called Susa calendar is used are all from the period of the first Babylonian dynasty.²

Two of the month-names are the same as the Babylonian

¹ Cambridge Ancient History 1, 408 ff.
² They are all from Susa and published by Scheil: (a) Tablettes de l'Époque d'Adda Pakšu, Del. Per. x 14–80; Adda Pakšu, contemporary of Sumu-abu, ibid. 14–15; (b) Actes Juridiques Susiens, ibid. xxii; for dates, see p. v; (c) Actes Juridiques Susiens, ibid. xxiii; (d) Actes Juridiques Susiens, ibid., xxiv.
renderings of the Nippur calendar, i.e. Adaru and Abu; consequently the Nippur calendar must have been the basis for these Accadian names at Susa. Abu is the fifth month in both Babylonian and Susa calendars. Since the seventh Susa month is named Šebātī, sibātī, ‘seventh’, counting from Adar, and Virolleaud, Shamash 14, 14 makes Adaru the first month, there can be no doubt but that it began the year.

The other official lists place Adar opposite to Ayar, thus making the whole calendar two months later. Consequently these lists, in giving the Nippurian equivalents, cannot be used at all for determining the meanings, but only for the season.

The order is established by two official lists and by internal evidence of the contracts. A star set against the names means that it was also used in Assyrian astronomy.

*1. araḫ a-da-ri,2 ‘month of threshing’. Both official lists give Adar at Susa as equivalent to Ayar. This is the Babylonian rendering of Šegurkud, twelfth month in the Nippurian calendar; in the Ur series it is the first month towards the end of the Dungi period, as at Umma and secondary Assyrian series. In view of the name of the second month Adaru cannot be the month of threshing = harvest month; obviously the Accadians at Susa employed Adaru merely because it was the first month.3

*2. araḫ ṣi-ri2 ēbūri, ‘month of the vegetation of harvest’.4

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1 V Raw. 43, fifth name in each list; PSBA. 1912, 293, Sp. ii 381, published by Pinches; Virolleaud, Astrol. Shamash, 14, 14–53 = Weidner, Bab. iv 165–9. See Scheil, RA. 23, 42; Landsberger, Kal. 87.

2 V Raw. 43 A 7; Sp. ii 381, 3; Vir. Sham. 14, 14; araḫ a-da-ru-um, Dél. Per. x 3 Rev. 3; 14 Rev. 3, et p. araḫ a-da-ri xxiii 179, Obv. 3 et p.; see ibid., p. 179; xxii 108, 8 et p.; see ibid., p. 181.

3 They evidently did not know the meaning of this word, or if they did, it was employed for April regardless of its meaning; note that abu, fourth month, is used as equivalent of kin-d-Innini regardless of the meaning.

4 Sp. ii 381, 4, explained by Sivan; ṣi-ir-i ebūri = Sivan, V Raw. 43 A 13; second month, Vir. Sham. 14, 19; Dél. Per. xxiii 184, 4.
A variant is *araḫ še-ir-i ša e-ši-di*, 'month of the vegetation of reaping'. But the fourth month is described as harvest time; see below. I take this to mean the month of mowing hay. *araḫ a-šag dingir-ra še-gur-kud* seems to be still another name for the second month, meaning ‘harvesting the field of god’. 2

*3. arah *pi-ti bdhi*, 'month of opening the gate'. This is explained by the month Tammuz in the official lists, 3 and late Assyrian texts assure the identity of this month with Tammuz. ‘The opening of the gate’ here must refer to opening the gates of the lower world for the descent of Tammuz and not to the myths of the months Teshrit and Tebit where the gates of hell are opened that souls may rise for the parentalia.

*4. arah *d-Maḫ*, 'month of the great goddess'. This is explained as the fifth month of the Nippurian calendar, Ab. 4 The goddess *Maḫ* is usually Belit-ili, queen of the gods, the great mother goddess, 5 the goddess of child-birth. This cannot have anything to do with the myths and ceremonies of the Sumerian month *izi-izi-gar = Ab*, since the Susa calendar has the month-name *abu*. See the fifth month. 6

*5. arah a-bi*, 'month of torches', although the equivalent

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1 Dél. Per. xxiii 182, 5; 192, 4; xxii 24, 5.
2 Dél. Per. x 124. Uncertain, possibly fourth month. Also a-šag dingir-ra, see under seventh month.
3 Sp. u 381, 5; V Raw. 43 A 19; *pi-it bdhi*, third month, Vir. Sham. 14, 24; *pi-it ba-ba-a*, Dél. Per. xxii 123, 4; *pi-it ba-ba-(ba!)-a*, 40, 4. *araḫ bad kd* follows Sivan, BA. m 333 u 14 (Sivan l. 10); see ibid., p. 244, 4.
4 Sp. u 381, 6; V Raw. 43 A 25. Fourth month, Vir. Sham. 14, 29. Passim in Dél. Per.; see xxii 26, 6; 28, 12 &c.
6 Susa texts refer to *araḫ *d-Maḫ* as the harvest month; *ina e-bu-ri ina arah *d-Maḫ*, Dél. Per. xxiii 179, 6; 184, 5; 186, 6; 191, 5; 192, 7–8; 197, 6. In distinction from *širī'ebūri, širī' ša ėšidi*, I take this to mean the reaping of corn. Also *araḫ še-ir-ḫu-um kunāšī ėšidi*, 'month of the reaping of the vegetation of emmer' probably belongs here, Dél. Per. x 11, 7; also *še-ir-ḫu-um še'i ėšidi*, 'month of reaping the vegetation of barley', Dél. Per. x 12, 17.
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of Elul at Susa, is only a copy of the Babylonian rendering of the fifth month of the Nippur calendar. The texts from Susa, however, prove that the ceremonies of this month were those of Elul, one text referring to sacrifices to Ishtar of the holy city. This was the month of the 'mission of Ishtar' and of the legend of her washing in the springs of Dilmun.

6. arab la-lu-bi-e, month of lalubú, meaning unknown. The official lists identify this month with Teshrit.

7. arab si-bu-ti, 'seventh month'. I take arab ikli ili eriti, month of tilling the field of god, as the name current at Susa, where the word 'seventh' is never used.

8. arab si-ri-e-ri-su, 'month of tilling the vegetation' (cornland) = Kislev, December.

9. arab tam-bi-ri = Tebit, January.

10. arab si-li-li-ti, meaning unknown = Shebat, February.

11. arab huldubbé, month of 'O rābiṣu demon depart' =

1 Sp. π 381, 7; V Raw. 43 A 31; given as fifth month, Vir. Sham., 14, 34. arab a-bu-um, Dél. Per. x 24; 32; a-bi, xxii 96, 8; 129, 13. See especially x 24 which mentions sacrifices to the new moon of E-lu-lu; also No. 32, sacrifices to Ḫinnini uru an-na.

2 Sp. π 381, 8; V Raw. 43 A 38. Sixth month, Vir. Sham. 14, 39. la-lu-bu-um, Dél. Per. x 6, 6; 21, 5; la-lu-bi-e, xxii 37, 11; la-an-lu-be xxiii 326. In astronomical texts, Vir. Astr. Suppl.², p. 80, No. 56, 1.

3 Sp. π 381, 9 = Arahasanna; V Raw. 43 A 44 [si-bu]-ti. ṣe-bu-ti, Vir. Astr. Suppl.², p. 73, 99; Ishtar vii 43, where it is explained by Arahasanna; Suppl. xl 7; ibid., p. 80, No. 56, 2, where it follows la-lu-[bi-e].

4 See the order lalubum, a-ṣag dingira-uru-a (erēšu) and ṣerhum eriši (uru-a), Dél. Per. x 6; 21.

5 Sp. π 381, 10. Pinches, PSBA. 1912, 293, cites the Var. iti ab-sim-uru-ši, i.e. širi eriti. So restore V Raw. 43 A 50. At Susa še-ir-lu-um eriši, Dél. Per. x 21, 9; 58, 9; še-ir-i ša e-ri-si xxii 87, 9; 124, 5.

6 Sp. π 381, 11 = V Raw. 43 A 56 = Tebit. tam-bi-ru-um, Dél. Per. x 2, Rev. 5; 43 Rev. 3; 64 Rev. 3; ṭam-bi-ri, 112 Rev. 2; 119; xxiv 369, 12; 363, 21; xxiii 214. For the reading (not tamtirī) see Thureau-Dangin, Syl. Ace. 37 n. 1. This has obviously the same meaning as muḫur išmi, ninth or eighth month in Assyria.

7 Sp. π 381, 12; V Raw. 43 B 5; CT. 26, 41 A 6 = Shebat; also RA. 17, 119 Rev. 3 = Shebat; Thompson, Rep. 49, 1+4 arab si-li-li-ti
The name preserves a superstition that this month was particularly dangerous because of demons, similar to the Jewish superstition concerning Shebat. See araḫ Ḥibur eleventh Assyrian month.

12. For the twelfth month the official lists gave a name equivalent to Nisan, April, but it has not been preserved. One of the names in the following list must be conjectured to have stood here.

(a) tār-bi-tum, Dél. Per. x 17, given as intercalary, R.A. 23, 41. It is probable that this is the equivalent of Nisan and the twelfth month. Nisan was the intercalary month of the Susa series in the official list, PSBA. 1912, 293, 1–2.

(b) da-ti-um, Dél. Per. x 45; 57; 81; 82; 85.

c) la-ah-hu-um, Dél. Per. x 15; 28 et p.

d) ḫar-te-pu-um.⁴

e) ḫu-ūr-šu-pu-um, Dél. Per. x 80; xxiv 343, 6; ḫur-šu-pi-um, xxiii 300, 5; 302, 5.

f) araḫ ilu-šar-ru (?), Dél. Per. xxiv 343, 8.⁵ explained by Shebat. zi-il-li-ti suits the traces of copy in CT. 26, 41 A 6 better, as in Dél. Per. xxii 89, 9; 93, 7; 120, 4; 121, 4; 128, 13; zi-il-li-tum, xxiv 385, 6; xxiii 291, 13 et p. zi-il-li-tum, x 2, Rev. 6 et p.


² The name should stand in V Raw. 43 A 1 and PSBA. 1912, 293, 1–2.

³ Both Assyrian menologies provide for an intercalary Nisan, KAR. 178, Obv. iv 1–40 = 179, Obv. i 17–ii 11; K. 2514. These must be a heritage from the old Accadian Susa calendar. Scheil, RA. 23, 42, thinks that this is Elul, which is intercalary in the menologies.

⁴ So read by Scheil, RA. 23, 41.

⁵ Text uncertain.
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še-ir-ḫu-um occurs passim as the name of a month but it may be for either 2 or 8 in this series. From the texts it is impossible to determine which month the scribe means. It may be identical with šerḫum kunāši esīdi, which I have assigned to the fourth position.

še-ir-ḫi ili is also unplaced, xxiii 294; 295; 299; 304.

None of these names agrees with the native Accadian list of the Agade period, which is the only genuinely Semitic calendar in cuneiform texts. The Accadian calendar in Elam is based almost entirely upon Sumerian mythology, and two of its month-names agree with the Babylonian renderings of the Sumerian equivalents, Adar and Ab. It is, however, a real Semitic calendar and if traces of it are found in Babylonia itself some explanation must be given for its use in astronomy by the Assyrians of the late period. Since the Accadians of the Agade period had already begun to adopt the Nippur calendar, this Semitic calendar cannot have originated among them. Did it originate in Elam among the Accadians there when the kings of Ur ruled that land? If so, why do the Assyrian copies of Babylonian astronomical works show a decided preference for the Elamitic series? Obviously the Babylonian astronomers of the Hammurabi period must have used this calendar, otherwise the survival in Assyria would be inexplicable.

Thus in the history of the Babylonian and Assyrian religious calendars there arose three Semitic month-lists: (a) the Nisan-Adar list of Babylonia, based directly upon the Sumerian calendar; (b) the early Assyrian, ḫarratu-sippu list, based upon the late Ur calendar; (c) the Accadian list of Elam, based upon the Ur calendar. Most of the names in all three calendars reflect the Sumerian myths of the months. In the evolution of the Church Year we are

1 Del. Per. x 38; 56; 83; 84, 105; ina arah še-ir, xxiii 187, 4.
2 p. 13.
3 The Accadian calendar of Susa must have been originally in use among the Accadians of Babylonia. Note that Nisan was also intercalary in CT. 8, 27 A 32, reign of Abi-esu'.
almost entirely concerned with the Babylonian year Nisan-Adar. The great menologies, which arose in Babylonia perhaps as early as 2000 B.C., resulted in the detailed directions found in the Assyrian menologies of the tenth century. Ašurbanipal's reformed calendar of the seventh century, which attempted to more or less regulate all the twelve months and three intercalary months of the holy year on the basis of the earlier directions for Nisan, was also a copy from Babylonia.

Details of how the Sumerian legends and festivals of the months descended down this long and complicated course of history, finally filtering into Judaism, Islam, Mandean, and classical lands, must be deferred here. The fact to be kept in mind is that the Babylonian calendar which finally suppressed all others in western Asia is mythological in its origin and not Semitic. The Babylonians now introduced almanacs and menologies to inform the people what they should do or not do every day of the lunar year.¹ The texts of the earliest menology have been found at Assur, and are dated circa 1000 B.C.

(1) A very large tablet, VAT. 10564, carries six long columns on each side, in all twelve columns, almost entirely intact. This great text contains the Church Calendar for all the twelve months Nisan to Adar, and uses intercalary Nisan. The instructions for Nisan are given in detail for each day, but for the remaining months the instructions are more brief, on the whole containing only such special instructions as were necessary to supplement the Nisan instructions, which were generally applicable to all the months.² A broken duplicate of VAT. 10564 is 10503. Both tablets

¹ The menologies are at least as old as the fourteenth century. See p. 51.
² KAR. 178 Obv. iii 82 = 179 Obv. i 10, ki-ma a-raḫ Nisanni, meaning that certain rules of Nisan apply to all months, i.e. 'they are like Nisan'. At the end of Ašurbanipal's reformed calendar, K. 4093 Rev. ii 11, colophon of Intercalary Adar the same note occurs, ki-ı ša a-raḫ Nisannima.
TEXTS OF THE ASSYRIAN TENTH-CENTURY CALENDAR are published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalten*, 178, 179.

(2) A large tablet, VAT. 10110, carries two columns on each side and gives the instructions for Nisan. KAR. 176.

(3) A large tablet, VAT. 9663, carries four columns on each side. This tablet contains promiscuous directions for the days and months. The obverse columns I–III give the months in which it is propitious to do certain things.

A palace may be founded in Ayar, Sivan, Ab, Elul, Tebit, Shebat, Adar.

One may move out of a house in Sivan, Ab, Arahsamna, Tebit, Shebat, Adar.

One may return to his house in Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Shebat, Adar.

A king may build a temple or repair a holy place only in Shebat and Adar.

A king may clean his garments in Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Ab, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Shebat, Adar.¹

One may recite a penitential psalm in Nisan, Sivan, Ab, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Shebat, and Adar. This rule applies apparently to the king only. The instructions for cleaning a king’s garments (šarru suḫ-at-su liqbib) are clearly connected with his instructions to recite a penitential psalm. The months for the two lists are identical except Ayar, which appears among the months for cleaning garments but not among the months for reciting a psalm. Moreover, the days of the months for both rites are nearly the same. In the old menology, šigu lissi, ‘let him recite a penitential psalm’, is

¹ According to KAR. 176 and 178, the days set aside for cleaning the king’s garments in Nisan are 1, 6, 16, 27. This rule should apply to the same days in Ayar, Sivan, Ab, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Shebat, Adar. But for Sivan it is ordered for days 6+15; for Arahsamna, day 7. The directions for the other months omit it, implying that Nisan rules are to be followed. The reformed calendar *enbu bēl arhim*, so far as preserved, orders the king to clean his garments on the 16th of all these months, but here also the prohibition for Tammuz, Elul, Kislev, Tebit must have been enforced; for the text of Elul II is preserved and omits this direction. Nisan II forbids the king to clean his garment on the 6th.
ordered for Nisan days 6, 16, 27 (sic), 28. Nisan II forbids this on days 6, 16, 26, 28, but the reformed seventh-century calendar orders it for Nisan II 16 and forbids it Nisan II 6.1 The old calendar forbids the *sigū* days 6, 16, 26, 28 of Ayar,2 and orders it Sivan 6, 16, 26, 28, as does also the new calendar.3 On the whole4 the calendars agree with the rule of the months and days.5 It is permissible to change one’s occupation or business6 only in Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Shebat, and Adar. One is not allowed to take purgatives to move the bowels freely in Nisan and Tebit.7

The months favourable for bringing a bride into a house are Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Elul, Teshrit, Arahsumna, Shebat, and Adar, but days 1 and 3 are unfavourable. The time of the conjunction8 of the sun and moon is favourable, and so is the morning watch of the night, but the evening and middle watches are unfavourable. The above selections from this tablet will enable the reader to understand how it served as a book of directions for important undertakings.

Obverse 1v then gives a list of the days or half-days of each month which were regarded as propitious in the calendars of the south, at Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Ur, Larsa, Erech, and Eridu.9 This copy made for Assyria ends with the note, ‘The days which are lucky for thee are \(7 \times 60 (242)\) . . . Copy from Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Eridu. The scholars have copied and selected. To Nazimaruttash their king they gave it for regulating the

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1 K. 2514, broken away after day 20.
2 Of the new calendar no text is known for Ayar.3 K. 4068.
4 Exceptions are noted in my edition of the texts.
5 The old calendar for Elul orders a *sigū* for days 6, 16, 26, 28, against the rule that it is not permissible in this month.
6 *išdiha-šu e-ni*, KAR. 177, Obv. iii 13.
7 *irre-šu lāširu-šu*, ‘Let his bowels move freely’, in all months except Nisan and Tebit, KAR. 177 Obv. iii 15–17; see IV Raw. 33* iv 21; K. 2809 Rev. ii 9.
8 *mithuratum*, KAR. 177 Obv. iii 37.
9 Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, and Tammuz are broken away and so are Tebit, Shebat, and Adar.
work of days, for begetting children, for removing the grain heaps, and for bringing to success anything desirable.  

The tablet then gives the lucky days or half-days in each month after a copy of an older calendar at Assur. The lucky days in the southern and northern calendars are not in complete agreement. Then follow special instructions for days 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16 of Nisan. After this follow special instructions for the first nine days of Teshrit of which a large number of duplicates are known. 

The tablet, therefore, was intended to be a great compendium of special directions for the year, adding instructions for the two holy periods or New Year festivals. The New Year festival in Nisan ran through the first sixteen days in the old Babylonian holy year; in the time of Nebuchadnezzar it was reduced to the first eleven days, owing to the discovery of the epact or eleven days difference between the lunar and solar years. 

This early Babylonian calendar, of which only the tenth-century edition of Assyria has been preserved, used Nisan as the only intercalary month. But the Sumerian calendars on which it was based used intercalary Adar. Semitic tradition prevailed here, for the Semitic series used in Elam had some unknown name for Nisan as the twelfth month, possibly tarbitum. Logic and tradition are incorrigibly

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1 It is certain that Nazimaruttash, Cassite king (circa 1327-1302), was not recognized as king of Assyria; this was in fact the period when the kings of Assyria were actually masters of the Cassite kingdom. See King, History of Babylon, 243. The Assyrian scribes must mean that it was Babylonian scholars who had edited these calendars in the time of Nazimaruttash, and that copies were found in the cities mentioned. It does prove that the Babylonians as early as the fourteenth century had already edited these calendars for the Cassite kings.

2 KAR. 177 Rev. IV 4-39.

3 KAR. 177 Rev. IV 40-5+111 1-7, restored by Ki. 1904-10-9, 67, Obv. 12-15 and Falkenstein, Uruk, 54, 5-11. The former text is from the library of Ašurbanipal and the second is a copy made by a scribe of Erech at Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period.

4 See Chap. II.

5 See p. 46, n. 3.
confused here. Basing their holy year upon the Sumerian Church Calendar, which ended the year with Adar and began it with Nisan, the Babylonians, when they constructed a Church Calendar, made Nisan the first month. But in their own Civil Calendar as used in Babylonia and Elam Nisan was the last month and intercalary. Consequently the Babylonian and Assyrian calendars at first admitted only intercalary Nisan.

In the seventh century this old Babylonian menology was replaced in Assyria by a great reformed calendar known as the series enbu bēl aršim, ‘The fruit (moon) is lord of the month’, in fifteen tablets, one for each month and one for each of the three intercalary months Nisan, Elul, and Adar. It is not certain that this reformed calendar of Asurbanipal ever existed in Babylonia. At the end of the twelfth tablet or menology for Tebit there is a note saying that it is a copy from an older tablet. I presume, therefore, that sometime after the twelfth century this very formal and rigid canonical calendar was finally adopted in Babylonia. The religious acts permissible in each month and day are based upon the earlier holy year and books of instructions described above, but the influence of Sumerian mythology is more discernible, each month being assigned to a god, and the deities to whom each day was sacred is carefully entered. At the end of each tablet the scribe enters the acts permissible in that month. The Babylonian texts on the Church Calendar have suffered a more sad fate, few having been found up to the present. A large single-column tablet of a series which originally gave the rituals for the important ceremonies of each month has been preserved in two duplicates. Only the rites for Arahsamna, Kislev, Tebit are preserved. There is also a large fragmentary tablet carrying at

1 See p. 46.
2 See p. 47, n. 3.
3 K. 2809 Rev. II 21, tuppu 12-kam enbu bēl ar-ši-im ... ki-i ši tup-ši labiri [šašit-ma barim] li-šu-um ... This is the only scribal note of the kind in the entire series as known at present.
4 Reisner, SBH. 144; Clay, Morgan, iv 24.
least three columns on each side which contained the principal rituals in each month for the whole year.1 Among other fragments of the Babylonian menologies special attention should be called to a remarkable commentary on Teshrit utilized in Chapter II.2

In Assyria tablets of special instructions for important days of each month have also been found,3 to which is attached special instructions for Teshrit.4 An Assyrian tablet (fragment) has special instructions for days 8–18 of Nisan.5

The Babylonian almanac,6 which probably dates from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, contains notes on each of the days of the twelve months. The entries agree generally with those on the old Assyrian calendar, but are frequently one day higher. For example, Tebit 5 is entered in the almanac as su-bat lum-ni ‘abode (omen) of evil’, whereas the menology has lubat lumni for the sixth day.7 Numerous examples of this disparity of one day run through the whole almanac and its Assyrian duplicates, so that for some reason days which are designated as lucky, or unlucky, days of

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1 Reisner, SBH. 145-6, edited by Jensen, KB. vi Part 2, 24 ff.
2 Text by C. J. Gadd, CT. 41, 39.
3 K. 3769 and duplicate K. 6482. The combined text covers the year from the end of Tammuz to the end of Adar; Bab. iv 119; Virolleaud, Fragments, 19, 1–8 = III Raw. 55, No. 5, A 53–60; Vir. Frag. 19, 9–28; K. 6482 from my copy. See Bab. iv 104–6.
4 K. 6482, Rev. 8–12, with duplicates K. 6695, 4–9 and K. 8068. See Bab. i 204–6.
5 K. 3765; see Bab. iv 108.
7 KAR. 178 Rev. ii 41.
weeping or rejoicing, &c., fall one day earlier in the calendars later than the tenth century.

A good many days in this almanac, as in the old menology, are marked 'half of the day is lucky', corresponding to the mark set against certain days in the Roman calendars, EN = endotercisus, 'cut into parts'; in Rome this meant that morning and evening of such days were nefastus, unlucky, or business could not be done then, but the middle of the day was fastus.¹ The almanac marks the following days as 'half lucky', Ab 6; Teshrit 8, 13; Tebit 11, 17, 24, 27; Shebat 10, 29 (or 30 on Var.); for Nisan in the late period the statement depends upon an Assyrian text;² days 4 and 6 are so marked. It is possible that the Babylonian almanac, which is the only one the Romans could have known, as it was in use as late as 100 B.C., had only nine of these days corresponding to the eight used in the Roman calendar, March 13; August 22; October 14; December 12; January 10, 14; February 16, 26.

Warde Fowler remarks that they all fell on a day preceding some festival or on the day before the Ides. No such rule obtained in Babylonia. The old Assyrian menology marked many more days in the year after this manner. When the calendars marked a day magir, favourable, lucky, they could not possibly have meant the same as the Romans did in marking a day F = fastus, i.e. a day when civil business could be transacted; for days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 when all work was forbidden are often marked magir. In marking the days magir or la magir (unfavourable) throughout the year the Babylonians obviously meant lucky or unlucky.

The Sumerians and Babylonians began the day at sunset, as the Greeks did. A day ran from sunset to sunset.³ At Rome, at least in the time of the Republic, the day began at midnight. The Babylonians divided the day into 12 hours of equal length, one hour being 30 degrees of the sun's supposed revolution. But a more complicated system arose.

¹ See Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, 10.
² Boissier, DA. 101.
³ See Revue d'Assyriologie, 28, 15–16.
The night was divided into three watches, and the daylight into three watches. The night was held to be 12 hours long at any time of the year and so was the daylight. Consequently if the length of daylight in July is divided by 12 a much longer hour is obtained than a daylight hour in January. This is called the temporal hour, \textit{hora temporalis} in Latin, \textit{ωρα καιρική} in Greek. The water-clock showed precisely how long a \textit{real} hour was, but how could they discover the length of temporal hours?

The Babylonians found a ready method for reading the lengths of temporal hours for each month, but all days in each month are reckoned on the same basis. Mr. Gadd discovered a fragment of a small ivory prism in the British Museum,\footnote{Formerly but deficiently copied by Lenormant, \textit{Choix de Textes}, No. 86, where he took the prism to be \textit{Règles d'un Jeu}.} which carries on each of its four faces a double column of figures. The copy and transcription were sent to Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, who discovered that the columns on two of the faces gave (when restored) a system of reckoning the length of a temporal hour by day or night in each month. The prism was originally only about 2\frac{1}{2} inches long and \frac{1}{2} inch wide. It could be carried about in one's pocket and gave a quick method of reckoning for any one capable of making the calculations.

The figure gives Mr. Gadd's copy of the four faces of the
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

fragment from the middle of the prism. Faces A and B cannot be interpreted. Face C from line 3 onward begins the section on Ayar and Elul, Arahsamna and Adar and is interpreted in my restoration, pp. 60–1, lines 18–32. Face D from line 2 onward begins the section on Tammuz and Tebit, the summer and winter solstices, consequently Tammuz includes our June 21 and Tebit our December 21. This is interpreted on pp. 62–3, lines 16–30.

Mathematically the whole day was reckoned as 12 hours, or double hours of 120 minutes each. A double hour is a *bēru*, and this was divided into 30 *uš* or units of 4 minutes. Now if the night and daylight are also reckoned as 12 temporal hours each the problem is to find out how many *bēru* and *uš* (in real time) are in any temporal hour. Obviously 24 temporal hours constitute a day and this is divided into two parts of 12 hours each, thus being the origin of our 24-hour day (in real hours) and also the system on which our 12-hour clocks are based. In this discussion those who are unacquainted with the ancient system of temporal hours should remember that the Babylonian 12-hour half-day is not *12 real hours* but invariably means the length of daylight or night.1

Nisan in this system includes the spring equinox, March 21, and Teshrit the autumn equinox, September 21 in an ideal year. Of that there can be no longer any possible doubt. Day and night are regarded as of equal lengths in both months on this prism and here the table is precisely like a modern clock, *1/12*th of night is one temporal hour and also *one real hour*, and so is *1/12*th of daylight. At the summer solstice (Tammuz) daylight is twice as long as night; at the winter solstice (Tebit) night is twice as long as daylight. So the table roughly and somewhat inaccurately reckons the hours.

This quickly disposes of four months. On this system the

1 My discussion is now based not so much on what remains of the prism but upon the certain restoration of it for the whole year based upon Fotheringham's discovery of the principles of reckoning by means of Gadd's fragment.
month before the summer solstice and the month after the summer solstice, or Sivan and Ab, will have the same lengths of daylight and night. That is, a day in Sivan equals a day in Ab. The month before the winter solstice and the month after the winter solstice, or Kislev and Shebat, will have the same lengths of daylight and night. The month after the spring equinox and the month before the autumn equinox have the same lengths of daylight and night. The month after the autumn equinox and the month before the spring equinox will have the same lengths of daylight and night. These six principles gave rise to the four groups of reckoning for the whole year in my restored edition, the eight months outside the solstices and equinoxes being compressed into two groups by an ingenious method of inversion, and it is precisely here that Fotheringham has shown his astonishing brilliance by discovering how groups of four months were worked into one group. It is doubtful whether any other mathematician in Europe could have solved this problem so quickly. ¹

The scheme, then, is to compress the tables in sections. In each of the four sections the number of bēru (= 120') and uš (= 4') of daylight of a day in the two months under discussion is set over against the number of bēru and uš in a night of the same months. In case of a group of four months where two of them stand in inverse ratio as regards daylight and night all that is necessary is to invert day and night for them.² Then follows the conversion into 1, 2, 3, up to 12 temporal hours in each group. The following table states in parvo the scheme of the prism.

THE GROUPS EXPRESSED IN DAYS AND NIGHTS

(A) Nisan + Teshrit—equal lengths.
(B) Tammuz + Tebit—inverse.
(C) Ayar + Elul—equal.
(D) Adar + Arahsamna—equal.

¹ Fotheringham gave a short explanation of his discovery in *The Observatory*, December, 1932, 338–40. ² See p. 60, l. 20.
C and D inverse, i.e. daylight in C = night in D; night in C = daylight in D.

(E) Ab+ Sivan—equal.

(F) Kislev+ Shebat—equal.

E and F inverse, i.e. daylight in E = night in F; night in E = daylight in F.\(^1\)

The prism preserves the end of group A, length of 12 temporal hours, given as 6\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\) in real hours of daylight or night, i.e. 12 hours of day or night are 12 real hours in Nisan and Teshrit. Group B occupies the section on face D, lines 3–11 (pp. 62–3, II.16–25) (where it breaks away) and ends the table. Groups C, D occupy the second section of the table, face C. It is headed by daylight in Ayar+ Elul, and night in Arahsamna and Adar, and by night in Ayar and Elul and day in Arahsamna and Adar. Face C, Col. I, line 5 = page 60, l. 20, gives the length in real time of daylight in Ayar and Elul or 6\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\), being in our time (1\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)} = 120 minutes) 6\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\times\) 120\(') = 800\(') = 13\text{hr} \cdot 20\('). The table leaves the observer to understand that a night in Arahsamna and Adar is 13 hours and 20 minutes. In other words day in group C = night in D.

Col. II 5 (p. 60, l. 20) gives the length of the night in Ayar and Elul in real time, i.e. 5\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\) 10\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) or 10\text{hr.} 40\(') in our time. From line 6 (p. 60, l. 21) downward the observer is now told how long 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 temporal hours are by day and night.

Line 6 (p. 60, l. 21) supposes the following problem. ‘If there are 6\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\) daylight, what is one temporal hour, or what is \(\frac{1}{12}\) of this daylight?’ 6\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\) (or 6\(\text{b\(\text{eru}\)}\) 20\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\)) divided by 12; i.e. 200\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) divided by 12 = 16\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\). Now to express fractions of the \(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) = \(\frac{1}{360}\) part of a circle (or 4\(') in time), the Babylonians divided the \(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) or 1\(\circ\) into 60 parts of 4 seconds each. Hence \(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) is written with 40, or \(\frac{40}{60}\)\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\). Now Col. I, l. 6, has the figure 16:40. Daylight hour (temporal) is then 16\(\frac{3}{2}\)\(\times\) 4\(') in our time, or 66\(') 40\(') or 1\text{hr.} 6\(') 40\(')\).

Col. II, l. 6 has 13:20 or 13\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) + \(\frac{3}{8}\)\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) or 13\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{u\(\text{f}\)}\) = 53\(') 20\(') length of one temporal hour by night in Ayar and Elul.

\(^1\) In the following discussion ('') = minute, (") = seconds.
A temporal hour of day plus a temporal hour of night always equals 2 hours. Hence

Day 66' 40"
Night 53' 20'
\[120' = 2 \text{ hrs.}\]

This is reckoning time by the unit 1° of solar motion = 4' in our time. Hence one hour is precisely one hour of our time and day and night (each 12 hours) = 24 temporal hours. This is the origin of modern time-reckoning, the difference consisting only in the fact that the Babylonian temporal hour is defined by us as a real hour and does not change with the lengths of the days and nights.

Line 7 (p. 60, l. 22) poses the problem: 'How long are two temporal hours?' Line 6 gave 16\(\frac{3}{4}\) us daylight for one temporal hour. Line 7 gives 1 \(\text{bēru} \ 3\frac{3}{4}\) us or \(33\frac{1}{4}\) us = 16\(\frac{3}{4}\) \times 2.

With these examples in mind the whole prism can be reconstructed.

**FACE C**

**EQUINOXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. I</th>
<th>Col. II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*3. 6 ((\text{bēru})) = 12 real hours of daylight.</td>
<td>6 ((\text{bēru})) = 12 real hours of night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. One temporal hour of day is 15 (us) = 1 hr.</td>
<td>One temporal hour of night is 15 (us) = 1 hr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. One ((\text{bēru})), length of 2 temporal hours, day = 2 hrs.</td>
<td>One ((\text{bēru})) length of 2 temporal hours, night = 2 hrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1 ((\text{bēru})) 15 (us), length of 3 temporal hours, day = 3 hrs.</td>
<td>Same for 3 hrs. night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 2 ((\text{bēru})) = 4 temp. hrs. = 4 hrs.</td>
<td>Same for 4 hrs. night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 2 ((\text{bēru})) 15 (us) = 5 temp. hrs. = 5 hrs.</td>
<td>Same for night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 3 ((\text{bēru})) = 6 temp. hrs.</td>
<td>Same for night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 3 ((\text{bēru})) 15 (us) = 7 temp. hrs.</td>
<td>Same for night.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Col. I. Col. II.

11. 4 (bēru) = 8 tem. hrs. Same for night.
12. 4 (bēru) 15 (uš) = 9 tem. Same for night.
hrs.
13. 5 (bēru) = 10 tem. hrs. Same for night.
14. 5 (bēru) 15 (uš) = 11 tem. Same for night.
hrs.
15. 6 (bēru) = 12 tem. hrs. Same for night.
16. 12 (tem. hrs.) = 6 (bēru). (Here begins the text.)
17. sikila-ma, light = gig, night.

Daytime in Nisan and Teshrit = night in Nisan and Teshrit.

GROUPS NEAR EQUINOXES

B

18. Daylight in Ayar and Elul is the same.
19. Night in Arahsamna and Adar is the same.

*20. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru), length of day in real hours in Ayar and Elul = 13$^{hr}$. Also = night in Arahs. and Adar.

21. 16 : 40 (uš) = 66$^{min}$ 40$^{sec}$ = one tem. hr., in day of Ayar and Elul; in night of Arahs. and Adar.

22. 1 (bēru) 3$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 2 tem. hrs. day in C., night in D = 2$^{hr}$ 13$^{min}$ 20$^{sec}$.

23. 1$\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru) = 3 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 3$^{hr}$ 40$^{sec}$.

24. 2 (bēru) 6$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 4 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 4$^{hr}$ 26$^{min}$ 40$^{sec}$.

25. 2$\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru) 3$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 5 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 5$^{hr}$ 33$^{min}$ 20$^{sec}$.

26. 3 (bēru) 10 (uš) = 6 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 6$^{hr}$ 40$^{sec}$.

27. 6$\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru) = 8 tem. hrs. Same for night.

28. 7 (bēru) = 10 tem. hrs. Same for night.

29. 8 (bēru) = 12 tem. hrs. Same for night.

30. 12 (tem. hrs.) = 6 (bēru).

Night in Ayar and Elul is the same.
Day in Arahs. and Adar is the same.

5 bēru 10 (uš) night in Ayar + Elul; day in Arahs. + Adar = 10$^{hr}$ 40$^{sec}$.

13 : 20 (uš) = 53$^{min}$ 20$^{sec}$ = one tem. hr. in night of Ayar + Elul; in day of Arahs. + Adar.

26$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 2 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 1$^{hr}$ 46$^{min}$ 20$^{sec}$.

1 (bēru) 10 (uš) = 3 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 2$^{hr}$ 20$^{sec}$.

1$\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru) 3$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 4 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 3$^{hr}$ 33$^{min}$ 20$^{sec}$.

2 (bēru) 6$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 5 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 4$^{hr}$ 26$^{min}$ 40$^{sec}$.

2$\frac{1}{2}$ (bēru) 3$\frac{1}{2}$ (uš) = 6 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 5$^{hr}$ 20$^{sec}$.
RESTORATION OF THE TABLE OF TEMPORAL HOURS

Col. I.

27. \( \frac{3}{4} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{6}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 7 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 7 hr. 46' 40".

28. \( 4 (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{13}{4} (\text{uš}) \) = 8 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 8 hr. 53' 20".

29. \( 5 (\text{bēru}) \) = 9 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 10 hrs.

30. \( 5 (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{16}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 10 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 11 hr. 6' 20".

31. \( 6 (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{3}{4} (\text{uš}) \) = 11 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 12 hr. 13' 20".

32. \( \frac{6}{8} (\text{bēru}) \) = 12 tem. hrs. day in C, night in D = 13 hr. 20' (length of daylight in Ayar and Elul, of night in Arah. and Adar).

Col. II.

3. \( \frac{3}{4} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{3}{4} (\text{uš}) \) = 7 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 6 hr. 13' 20".

4. \( \frac{3}{4} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{16}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 8 tem. hrs. night in C, day in D = 7 hr. 6' 20".

5. \( \frac{1}{2} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{5}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 3 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 2 hr. 26' 40".

6. \( \frac{1}{2} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{5}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 3 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 2 hr. 20'.

\footnote{ Obtained by adding \( \frac{1}{8} \) to \( \frac{6}{8} \) in Face C 20.}

End of Face C

GROUPS NEAR SOLSTICES

FACE D

C

1. Daylight in Sivan and Ab is the same.

2. Night in Kislev and Shebat is the same.

*3. \( 7 (\text{bēru}) \) \( 10 (\text{uš}) \) length\(^1\) of day in real hours in E, night in F = 14 hr. 40'.

4. \( \frac{18}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 1 hr. 13' 20" = 1 tem. hr. day in E, night in F.

5. \( \frac{1}{2} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{6}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 2 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 2 hr. 26' 40".

6. \( \frac{1}{2} (\text{bēru}) \) \( \frac{5}{8} (\text{uš}) \) = 3 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 3 hr. 40'.

1 Obtained by adding \( \frac{1}{8} \) to \( \frac{6}{8} \) in Face C 20.
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

Col. I.

7. 2 (bēru) 13½ (uš) = 4 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 4 hr. 53' 20".
8. 3 (bēru) 1¾ (uš) = 5 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 6 hr. 6' 40".
9. 3⅛ (bēru) = 6 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 7 hr. 20'.
10. 4 (bēru) 8½ (uš) = 7 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 8 hr. 33' 20".
11. 4⅛ (bēru) 6¾ (uš) = 8 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 9 hr. 46' 40".
12. 5 (bēru) 15 (uš) = 9 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 11 hrs.
13. 6 (bēru) 3½ (uš) = 10 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 12 hr. 13' 20".
14. 6⅛ (bēru) 1⅛ (uš) = 11 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 13 hr. 26' 40".
15. 7 (bēru) 10 (uš) = 12 tem. hrs. day in E, night in F = 14 hr. 40'.

Col. II.

1 (bēru) 16½ (uš) = 4 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 3 hr. 6' 40".
1⅛ (bēru) 8¾ (uš) = 5 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 3 hr. 53' 20".
2 (bēru) 10 (uš) = 6 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 4 hr. 40'.
2⅛ (bēru) 1¾ (uš) = 7 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 5 hr. 26' 40".
3 (bēru) 3½ (uš) = 8 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 6 hr. 13' 20".
3 (bēru) 15 (uš) = 9 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 7 hrs.
3⅛ (bēru) 6⅛ (uš) = 10 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 7 hr. 46' 40".
4 (bēru) 8½ (uš) = 11 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 8 hr. 33' 20".
4⅛ (bēru) = 12 tem. hrs. night in E, day in F = 9 hr. 20'.

SOLSTICES

D

18. 8 (bēru) = day in real hours in Tammuz, night in Tebit = 16 hrs.
19. 20 (uš) = 1 tem. hr. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 1 hr. 20'.
20. 1 (bēru) 10 (uš) = 2 tem. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 2 hr. 40'.
21. 2 (bēru) = 3 tem. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 4 hrs.

Night in Tammuz equals day in Tebit.
4 (bēru) = night in real hours in Tammuz, day in Tebit = 8 hrs.
10 (uš) = 1 tem. hr. night in Tam., day in Teb. = 40'.
20 (uš) = 2 tem. hrs. night in Tam., day in Teb. = 1 hr. 20'.
1 (bēru) = 3 tem. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 2 hrs.
22. $\frac{2}{3} \text{(bēru)} = 4$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 5 hr. 20'.

23. $3 \text{(bēru)} 10 \text{(uš)} = 5$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 6 hr. 40'.

24. $4 \text{(bēru)} = 6$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 8 hrs.

25. $\frac{4}{3} \text{(bēru)} = 7$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 9 hr. 20'.

26. $5 \text{(bēru)} 10 \text{(uš)} = 8$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 10 hr. 40'.

27. $6 \text{(bēru)} = 9$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 12 hours.

28. $\frac{6}{3} \text{(bēru)} = 10$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 13 hr. 20'.

29. $7 \text{(bēru)} 10 \text{(uš)} = 11$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb. = 14 hr. 40'.

30. $8 \text{(bēru)} = 12$ tern. hrs. day in Tam., night in Teb.

The prism was found by Mr. R. D. Barnett, Assistant in the Assyrian Department of the British Museum. The fragment measures 14 mm. x 11 mm. and its present height is 12 mm. It is published by permission of the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. It came to the Museum in 1856 from the excavations of Loftus, and a record exists that he found it in the centre of the mound of Kuyunjik, so that it cannot be later than the seventh century.

**Equinox Group**

1. Spring equinox = Nisan
2. Ayar
3. Elul
4. Autumn equinox = Teshrit
5. Arahsamna
HISTORY OF THE CALENDARS

SOLSTICE GROUP

3. Sivan
4. Summer solstice = Tammuz.
5. Ab
10. Winter solstice = Tebit.
11. Shebat

This prism proves that in the seventh century B.C. they fixed the beginning of the year at the new moon near the spring equinox. It proves that division of day and night into 12 hours each existed in Babylonia as in Egypt before it was known in Greece and Rome. The great Church Calendars of Assyria and Babylonia which I shall discuss in my next lectures are then based upon a year beginning with March, precisely as did the religious calendar of Rome.

This rapid sketch of the historical influences which gave the ancient world its greatest Church Calendar has been written under most favourable circumstances. The discoveries of the last decades have placed the complete Babylonian Holy Year in our hands. We are now guided by a clear light down the halls of ancient history for 3,000 years; in this long history, involving the fate of nations, of civilization and religion, not natural and primitive religion but theology, mythology, and mysticism triumphed. That was entirely due to the power of the Sumerian temple schools. Babylonia, Assyria, and Judaism passed on this Holy Year to the West. It is based upon a striving after spiritual things. Here gradually the daily life of man becomes more and more regulated by a system which tends to suppress primitive rituals. The fate of man now rests in the constellations of heaven, in the hands of the gods, and the calendars direct his way in all things.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER I

The Aramaic calendar as used at Palmyra and by the Nabataeans from the first century B.C. and as late as the third century A.D. was borrowed directly from the Babylonian and post-exilic
ARAMAIC MONTH-NAMES

system with the exception of Arahasamna. See p. 29. It is therefore presumed that throughout the Aramaic lands, Syria and northern Mesopotamia, the order of the months in the Roman period was: 1. Nisân. 2. Iyār. 3. Sīvān. 4. Tamūz. 5. Āb. 6. Ėlāl. 7. Teshri. 8. Kānūn. 9. Kislūl. 10. Ṭebēt. 11. Shebaṭ. 12. Ādār. Since the Jewish list preserved the entire Babylonian system it is difficult to understand why the later Aramaic-Syriac list, as used by Christian writers as early as the first century, not only reverts to the old Semitic custom of beginning both civil and religious year with Teshri, but also changes the order and introduces old Aramaic names. The Syriac list is:

(7) 1. Teshrin kadmaja
Former Teshri = Teshrit

(8) 2. Teshrin ahrāja
Latter Teshri = Arahasamna-kanūn

(9) 3. Kanūn kadmaja
Former Kanūn = Kislimu = Kislūl

(10) 4. Kanūn ahrāja
Latter Kanūn = Ṭebētu

(11) 5. Shebaṭ
Shebat = Shebāṭu

(12) 6. Adār
Adar = Adaru

(1) 7. Nisān
Nisan = Nisānu

(2) 8. Iyār
Ayar = Ayar. Iyār

(3) 9. Ḥazrān
Sivan = Simānu, Sīvān

(4) 10. Tammūz
Tammūz = Duʿuzu, Tammūz

(5) 11. Āb
Ab = Abu, Āb.

(6) 12. Ėlül
Elul = Elūlu, Ėlūl

In this list Kislev and Tebit are both dropped out and Kanūn, November, in the earlier Aramaic list now comes one place later and is also used as a second Kanūn. Ḥazrān supplants Sivan, being adopted for astronomical reasons. At Baalbek (Heliopolis) this

1 Not found in Aramaic inscriptions.
2 Also an unplaced month at Palmyra, ḳanīm, Lidzbarski, Nordsemitische Epigraphik, 363; 476, No. 10, l. 8. 3 kanūn and ḥazrān.
4 This column gives the Babylonian and older Aramaic equivalents.
5 Syriac ḥazīra, pig, sow, is certainly Accadian ḫumṣiru, Arabic ḫinizr, pig, hog; Hebrew ḥazīr; the constellation Entenamaṣguz = ḥabāsirānu, governing Teshrit, certainly means ‘Boar Star’; see p. 6; and for ḥabāsirānu, R.A. 14, 22, 24. It is, therefore, entirely possible that ḥabāsirānu passed into Syriac as ḥazrān, but if ‘the month of the Boar Star’ is Teshrit in Babylonian, how can it become Sivan or June in Syriac? Weidner, AOF, iv 80 n. 5 thinks ḥabāsirānu is near Cancer and Cancer is a regent of Tammuz, in Taurus period of Sivan, see p. 5. It seems safe to regard ḥazrān as of astronomical origin, but the astronomical difficulty is insuperable unless there was another Boar Star in the region of Canis and Orion. See p. 119 for Sirius as Ninurta the boar.
Syriac series has been preserved in Greek and shows a stage somewhat earlier than the Christian Syriac series but later than the Palmyrene.

1. Αγ^2 = Teshrin the former, month of the Jewish hag.
2. θισιχρ, θισιχρ, θορίν = the Teshrin the latter (Arahsamna).
3. γελων, γελωνφ, γελωμ, for γελωμ = Kislimu, Kislev = former Kanūn.
4. χανουν, χανου = Latter Kanūn (Tebit)
5. σοβαθ = Shebāt.
6. αλορ, αλολ = Adar
7. νεισαν, νεισαν, νισα = Nisān
8. ναραρ, ναρα = Ьнйг
9. ἐζηρ, ὀζηρ = ἡαζίρανυ (Sivan)
10. θαμιζα, θαμιμοξ = Tammūz
11. αβ = Ab
12. ἠλου = Elul.

In this list there are two Teshrits also, the former, under Jewish influence, being called simply 'the festival'. Kislev is retained in its place but Kanūn now comes two months later than in the Palmyrene series, corresponding to Tebit. Since all these Aramaic calendars are taken from Babylonia, the rituals with the kanūn or brazier might occur in months 8, 9, 10 of the Babylonian series or 2, 3, 4 of the Aramaic series.

The Syrian-Arabic calendar of the Middle Ages, while retaining the Christian Syriac names, has the old Babylonian order. 1. Nisan. 2. Iyyar. 3. Ḥazīrān. 4. Tammūz. 5. Ab. 6. Ilūl. 7. Teshrin al-'awwal, the former Teshrin. 8. Teshrin aththānī, the second Teshrin. 9. Kanūn al-'awwal, the former Kanūn. 10. Kanūn aththānī, the second Kanūn. 11. Shubāt. 12. Adhār.

1 Hemerologium Florentinum; Leiden manuscripts and others in Ideler, Handbuch der Mathematischen Chronologie, 1, 430; Theodor Benfey and Moriz Stern, Monatsnamen, 21–2; 168. This learned book, published 1836, before Assyriology had cleared up the source of the Jewish month-names, is almost entirely devoted to the astonishing theory that the series Nisan-Adar is derived from Zend and Pehlevi. Nox nocti indicat scientiam.
2 My text is composite, made from all the important variants.
3 Benfey and Stern, p. 169. This word stands nearer to the Babylonian than the Aramaic Kislū, Hebrew Kislōv.
4 Note that ceremonies with the kinūnu, brazier, are characteristic of Arahsamna, Kislev, and Tebit, Reisner SBH. 144, ll. 8, 10, 26, 28, 29, 32, 51, 52, 53, 54 restored by Clay, Morgan, iv 25.
5 En-Nedim in Chwolsohn, Ssabier, ii 23–36.
LECTURE II

THE MENOLOGIES AND ALMANACS FOR NISAN AND TESHRIT

I HAVE traced the history of the Sumerian and Babylonian calendars from 3000 B.C. to the time of the promulgation of the first monthly and daily Church Calendar in Assyria in the tenth century. We have seen that the Sumerian official calendar began with March or the rising of Pleiades; that a prehistoric calendar existed which began with the seventh month or autumn equinox; that the Amorite invasion brought to Babylonia and Assyria a primitive Aramaic calendar also beginning in the autumn or Teshrit. The Church Calendars, therefore, regard Nisan and Teshrit as the most holy months. Both contain New Year festivals and special attention must be given to them. The myths of these two months, their daily regulations and cults provide the subject of this lecture. The Babylonians accepted the Sumerian myths of the months, their monthly legends; they developed festivals based upon these myths. The daily directions contained in the menologies were used by everybody in Babylonia and Assyria.

For example let us take a letter written by a priest to the king in the seventh century. The king wished to know whether he might do a certain public work on the 15th day of a certain month. He received the reply that the astrologers had read the calendar and discovered that the 15th and 17th were both unpropitious and that he must do his work on the 16th.¹

The first month of the year Nisan corresponds to March–April in the Roman calendar. This is the time when the Sun-god, victorious over winter’s darkness, begins his ascent toward the zenith of heaven. The Sumerians at Nippur

¹ Harp. Lett. 362. The calendar referred to here is enbu bēl ar-ḫi, Rev. 7.
believed that the earth-god, Enlil, in the first month sat in his cosmic chamber and held a convocation of the gods to fix the fates of all men for the coming year. The Sumerian word is *itti bár-zag-gar,¹* explained by the Accadians as ‘month of him that sits in the sanctuary’.*²* The month almost certainly began originally with the new moon nearest the equinox, and in it fell ordinarily the heliacal rising of the Pleiades and Taurus.*³* At that time, at least according to Babylonian custom, kings laid down their divine rights for a day*⁴* and received again their throne and sceptre from the high priest of Enlil or Marduk.*⁵* The commentary on Nisan runs: ‘Nisan is the month of the constellation *Iku* (Aries), which is the throne-room of Anu. The king is lifted up, the king is installed.*⁵* The blessed springing forth of vegetation*⁶* of (by) Anu and Enlil. Month of the Moon-god, first born of Enlil.’

Since in the late period *mul* Iku governed Nisan, when the New Year festival of Marduk was instituted, this constellation was identified with Babylon.*⁷* There is no reason in the myths of this month to assign it to the Moon-god, and the scribes in fact assigned it regularly to Anu and Enlil*⁸*

¹ The first day of *itti bara-zag-gar* is called the *mu-gibil, New Year,* Meissner, APR. No. 65, 14–15.
² *ašib ašīrum,* CT. 19, 5 Rev. 6.
³ See pp. 3–4 sub Ayar.
⁴ An Assyrian commentary of the tenth century, KAV. p. 119 Col. 1 has the following explanation:

Sumerian. Accadian.
1. [itti bara] mul Iku bara an-na 7. *araḫ.Nisannu-i-ku-u ṣu-bat* *₇* *A-nim*
2. bara il-la bara gar-ra 8. šarru (lugal) *in-na-as-šī* šarru iššakan(an)
3. ? gar ?-ra-an šig-ga 9. *šur-ru-u damku ša* *₄* *A-nim*
4. an-na *₄* *En-lil-lá-ge* 10. *u* *₄* *En-lil araḫ* *₄* *Sin*
5. iti *₄* *Nannar dumu-sag* 11. *mārī res-ti-i ša* *₄* *En-lil*
6. *₄* *En-lil-lá-ge*

⁵ Ceremony of the 5th day of Nisan, Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* 144, 415–52.
⁶ *šarru* is taken from *šer’u,* Delitzsch, H.W. 687, since *šer’u* explains *iku,* Virolleaud, *Adad,* vn 18.
⁷ CT. 19, 19, 80.
⁸ K. 2049 in IV Raw. 33. The Assyrian scribe in the commentary probably refers to the ‘month of Sin’ in the old calendar, p. 33.
on the basis of the older connexion of the month with Taurus, in the Sumerian period.\(^1\) All through the ages, from 3000 B.C. to the Greek period, Nisan was sacred to Enlil. At Babylon Marduk-Bēl usurped the place of Enlil in the old New Year’s myth and festival. The festival at Babylon began on the 1st of Nisan and lasted eleven days, a period which was probably based upon the epact.\(^2\) On the eighth fell the convocation of the gods under the presidency of Marduk at Babylon, and of Ashur in Assyria. Then was written ‘the eternal fate, the fate of life, and Nabû, scribe of the gods, wrote the tablets’. But in the old mythology the tablets of fate belonged to Enlil,\(^3\) and that was undoubtedly the belief among the Sumerians when they named this month barazaggār.

Since Taurus governed this month 3000–2000 B.C., when the myth arose concerning the Sumerian month, the legend of the assembly and the decree of fates was connected with that constellation. The principal star of Taurus is Aldebaran,\(^4\) called ‘star of the tablet’ long after Taurus had ceased to govern Nisan. Why then did the Arabs name the great star in the head of Taurus Aldebaran (al-dabarānu) ‘the forecaster’ or ‘the writer’? Surely they had inherited this same myth that with the rising of Taurus the gods wrote the fates of all men.\(^5\) The natural meaning of al-dabarānu in Arabic

\(^1\) Taurus is an Anu star, CT. 33 II 1.

\(^2\) Note that the special instructions for Nisan in the old calendar, KAR. 177 Rev. iv 40–iv 7 and late Erech text, Falkenstein, Uruk, 54, 5–11 and Ki. 1904–10–9, 12–15, for days 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16 has a period of 16 days, i.e. up to the full moon, which is probably the period of the old festival. These special instructions do not differ much from the regular Nisan calendar in KAR. 176 and 178.

\(^3\) Legend of Zû; see Sem. Myth. 101–2; confided by Enlil to Ninurta, SBP. 208, 5.

\(^4\) **mul**-gū-an-na, Taurus, defined as **ilu** šu-li-e agi 4·A-nim, ‘god of the tablet, crown of Anu’, CT. 33, 2 II 1 restored by Virolleaud, Suppl. 2 No. 67 Col. 1 and KAV. p. 110 I 26–32. Aldebaran is usually written **mul** ė-giš-da(lē'u). See Kugler I Taf. IV 25 and p. 29 and Jeremias, Das Alter der Bab. Astronomie. 33, 13, **mul-mul** šu-li-e, i.e. Pleiades and Tablet (Aldebaran).

\(^5\) al-dabarānu surely means ‘the writer’ or ‘forecaster’ and not ‘the one
is ‘the follower’, and the Arabists accept this on the grounds that two other names for Aldebaran mean ‘follower’. If this is correct perhaps the Arabians misunderstood the real meaning of the word after its connexion with the myth had been forgotten. The myth of the writing of fates in the New Year survived in Islam, but the months being strictly lunar have there no astronomical association.

Nabû, the divine scribe, who bears the tablets of fates, figures, then, in the old myth of Nisan. Here are legend and astronomy so old that they can be definitely assigned to the Nippurian calendar and the early Taurus period. In late mythology Marduk assembled the gods to decree fate on Nisan 8 and 11. The special day must have been the 8th, for Nabû, ‘bearer of the tablets of fate’, who assembles the Igigi and Anunnaki, had a ‘shrine of fates’ at Barsippa, from which he departed on Nisan 5 for the ‘shrine of fates’ in Esagila at Babylon and returned on the eleventh. Now it is curious that Nisan 8 is marked as a festal day of Nabû together with days 4 and 17 of that month in the reformed calendar, and hence this festival (ēšēšu) of Nabû was ex-who follows after’, the meaning commonly given in English lexicons ‘because it follows Pleiades’, i.e. rises after Pleiades. This meaning has been given to dabarān because it is said to be the same as ālt al-nāgmi, ‘Follower of Pleiades’; Lane, Arabic Lexicon, 296; Dictionary of Islam, sub ‘Al-Debaran’. The ordinary meaning of dabara is ‘to follow’, but it also means ‘write a book’ and ‘forecast’. It cannot be the rump of Taurus, Lane, p. 847, for it stands in the face of this constellation. Aldebaran is also said to be al-tābi’u al-nāgmi, or tuwaihi’un, the follower of the Pleiades, Lane, 296. If these identifications are certain in Arabic and ‘the follower of Pleiades’ really is Hyades and Aldebaran, the meaning ‘ forecaster’, ‘writer’ is excluded. Hava, Arabic-English, 195, derives Aldebaran from dibratun, ‘Western part of the sky’, i.e. from root meaning ‘follow after’. The meanings ‘to manage’, ‘arrange’, ‘forecast’ are certain, but ‘to write’, ‘compose a book’ lacks confirmation and may be a confusion for dhabara.

1 VAB. iv 126, 54–64.
2 King, Magie, 22, 3; Unger, Stele des Bēl-Harran-ūṣur, Taf. ii 3.
3 bara-nam-ūṣur.
4 Museum Journal, xiv 275, 75–7; CT. 37, 10, 9.
tended to days 4, 8, 17 of all months. Is it possible that the legend of writing the tablets on days 4, 8, 17 of Nisan obtained in the older myth of this month?

In the Babylonian New Year festival a white bull (GUD-UD) was sacrificed on Nisan 5 and a hymn called the 'Divine Bull, brilliant light' was sung, said to be the bull of Anu, i.e. Taurus. Thureau-Dangin has cited the Georgica of Virgil on this legend,

The white bull who with golden horns opens the year.

The first day of Nisan was sacred to Enlil owing to this myth of Sumerian origin. Consequently the first of every month became sacred to Enlil in the reformed calendar. In the reformed calendar for the first day of each month the following instructions are given: 'When on the first day the moon appears (i.e. evening of first day) by night the shepherd of the great peoples [offers] his food-offering, a white kid for the new moon. The king shall wash himself. In the morning his food-offering he shall set forth to Shamash and the Queen of the Lands, to Sin and Mah.' Since the instructions for each day of all months in this reformed calendar were largely nothing but a sterile application of the rules of Nisan, it is obvious that the 'white kid' originally pertained to the first day of Nisan, and symbolized Taurus instead of a white bull. Curiously the old Assyrian instructions for Nisan first make no reference to this.

At Ur the first month was in fact named iti maš-dà-kú,
‘month of eating the kid’, and a variant has ‘month of eating the white kid’. This name is surely based upon a ritual wherein a white kid is substituted for the white bull, symbol of Taurus. According to one text the governor of Lagash presided over this ceremony under the kings of Ur, and sacrifices were made to Enlil in this month on the 22nd day, or on the 20th. On tablets dated by intercalary ezen-mekigal, corresponding to Nisan, sacrifices were made to Enlil on day 4, day 7; one text has sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil on days 6 and 7 where the ritual is called ‘feast of the porphyry bed of Gimil-Sin’.

At Lagash the Sumerians named this month \( \text{ezn}^4 \text{Ningirsu-ka gan-maš-ba} \), ‘month of the feast of Ningirsu, the apportioning of ganmaš’; or simply \( \text{ezn} \text{ gan-maš} \), ‘feast of the ganmaš’, or usually month gan-maš. The meaning of this name is obscure, but it obviously contains the same word ‘kid’ (maš).

The Nippurian name barazaggar was rendered by ni-sa-an-nu in Accadian, a Sumerian loan word meaning ‘first’; hence Nisan means simply ‘first month’. The word means also ‘sacrificer’, ‘to sacrifice’, and if this be the sense then kug-ta in the menologies, IV Raw. 33* I 3; K. 2514 I 2; IV Raw. 32 I 3 restored by K. 4788 is uncertain. ‘Clean kid’ is the usual rendering. ‘White bull’ in the text cited above is written \( \text{alpu pišū} \) (gud-lāğ). For \( \text{kug} = \text{ellu} \) in the sense ‘white’, the meaning \( \text{kug} = \text{kaspu} \), silver, can be deduced, and see \( \text{el-lum} = \text{halpūd}, \text{kussū}, \text{snow} \), V Raw. 24, No. 2, 9-10; also \( \text{limsi kima el-li} \), let him wash (his hair) like snow, Epic Gilgamish xi 240, 248.

1 Radau, EBH. 299 note. 2 Langdon, Drehem, No. 22. 3 CT. 32, 44, 10344; Schneider, Drehem, No. 22. 4 Schneider, Drehem, No. 25. 5 CT. 32, 41-3. 6 Schneider, Drehem, No. 25. 7 Allotte de la Fuye, DP. 152 xi 1. Also \( \text{ninda gan-maš-ka} \), DP. 229 xx 3.

8 See Langdon, Drehem, 8 n. 1. 9 Clay, Morgan, iv, 34, 23.

10 For ni-sag = nisanni, nisaggū, Syn. rešti, first, kabtu, ašaridu, šakkanakku, chief, governor, see CT. 12, 7 A 33; 11, 39, Rm. 341, Obv. 11 From ne-sag PBS. x, 297, 30.
ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN DAY WEEK

the Accadians may have intended by nisannu to convey the sense 'month of the sacrificer', referring to the offering of a white bull or kid in honour of Taurus.¹ This name then passed into Hebrew, Nabataean, and Aramaic as Nisân.²

The gods assigned to each day of Nisan in the old menology afterward became the deities of the same days in the other months, and the regulations for Nisan became those of the other months;³ this menology simply directs that the Nisan rites apply to other months.⁴ The reformed calendar of Ašurbanipal actually enters them in the text, but this edition introduces a septem principle into the lunar month based upon rest days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28. The idea of dividing the period of the normal visibility of the moon, twenty-eight days, into four parts or weeks becomes clear in the seventh-century calendar. The history of the calendar of Nisan is, therefore, of supreme importance. I examine here the contents of the menology of the tenth century for Nisan and compare it with Nisan in the Ašurbanipal series.⁵ The reader must bear in mind that no text for Nisan in the Ašurbanipal series exists. It is assumed that Nisan II was the same as Nisan I.

Day I

(A) God Enlil; sinister; difficult for the sick; a physician may not lay his hand upon the sick, a prophet may utter no word; it is not suited to do anything desirable. The king and lord may speak boldly. Lucky. Fish and lovage may not be eaten. The king shall clean his garment. King must make offering to Enlil, Ninlil, Shamash, and Nusku. KAR. 178, 1-14+176, 1, 2-7.

¹ The Assyrians understood nisannu to mean 'first'; see the distorted ideogram "bar-sag-sag, used by Senacherib for Nisan, and explained by arhu reš-tu-ú, KAH. ii 122, 24, there called month of father Enlil.

² Nisân in the Syrian Arabic of the Sabeans at Harran. Chwolson, ii 25. In that cult a steer was sacrificed to the Moon-goddess on the 6th of Nisan.

³ See p. 48.

⁴ Under certain general rules negative or affirmative.

⁵ K. 2514 preserves days 1–20 (of intercalary Nisan); Sm. 948 preserves days 17–24; ZA. 19, 378–9. Here (A) is the old calendar, (B) the reformed calendar, (C) notes from other sources.
Anu and Enlil. Lucky. When the new moon appears by night the king offers a white kid, bathes, and in the morning makes sacrifices to Shamash, Belit of the lands, Sin and Mah. K. 2514, 1–4, Nisan II.

Entirely lucky, Assyrian almanac, K. 3634, 1, ZA. 18, 228; DA. 102 Rev. 1, 1.

Day 2

(A) The Ishtars. One may not go into the street, nor go to law or consult a seer. Unlucky. Fish and lovage may not be eaten. KAR. 178, 1, 15–19; 176, 1, 8–12.
(B) The Ishtars. Unlucky. Offerings to gods . . .
(C) One may take oath, but not go to law. K. 3634, 2.

Day 3

(A) Ritual by night for Marduk. Fish and lovage one may not eat. One may take a woman, and bring a wife into the house. Offerings to Sin and Shamash. KAR. 178, 1, 21–30 = 176, 1, 13–21.
(B) Ritual by night for Marduk and Zarpanit. Unlucky. Offerings by night before Marduk and Ishtar. K. 2514, 7–9.
(C) Fish forbidden, K. 3634, 3; fish and lovage forbidden, KAR. 177 Rev. iv, 40–1; Falkenstein, Uruk, 54, 5; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67, Obv. 12.

Day 4

(A) Festival of Nabû; half the day lucky. One may not go out into the street, not go to judgement or a seer. King makes offerings to Marduk, Zarpanit, Nabû, Tashmet. KAR. 178, 1, 31–7; 176, 1, 22–8.
(B) Festival of Nabû and Marduk. Lucky. Offerings to Nabû and Tashmet by night. K. 2514, 10–11.
(C) Half the day lucky, K. 3634, 4; DA. 101 Rev. 1, 3–4.

Day 5

(A) Day of Bêl of Ekur. One may not go to law. King makes offerings to Sin. KAR. 178 Obv. 1, 38–41; 176, 1, 29–31.
(B) Day of Bêl of Ekur and Belit of Ekur. Lucky. King makes offerings before Ashur and Ninlil by night. K. 2514, 12–13.
(C) One may not go to law. KAR. 177 Rev. iv, 42; Uruk 54, 6; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67, Obv. 13.

No text of Nisan I is known; this is taken from KAR. 177 Rev. iv 4, where day 2 is not among lucky days. On K. 2514, day 2 of Nisan II is lucky.

Broken on K. 2514.
RULES FOR THE DAYS OF NISAN

DAY 6

(A) Adad. The king may not go into the street. One may not go to judgement or a seer. Lucky. King makes offering to Nabû, recites a penitential psalm, and cleans his garment. . . . KAR. 178, 1, 42–7; 176, 1, 32–5.

(B) Adad and Ninlil. Lucky. The king shall recite a penitential psalm and clean his garments, and make offerings to Adad.

(C) Half the day is lucky. DA. 101 Rev. 1, 5–7.

DAY 7

(A) Ritual by night for Ea; gift to Marduk. [Lucky] and sinister. Difficult for the sick; physicians not to practise and seers not to prophesy. Unsuited for doing anything desirable. Offerings to god . . . and Shamash. KAR. 178 Obv. 1, 48–55.

(B) Ritual by night to Marduk and Zarpanit. Lucky and sinister. King as shepherd of the peoples may eat no cooked flesh and baked bread. He may not change his garments nor put on clean garments, may not make sacrifices, ride in a chariot, nor speak as a lord. Seer shall not prophesy and physicians not practise. Unsuited for doing anything desirable. Offerings to Marduk and Ishtar. He shall make sacrifices. K. 2514, 17–22.

(C) One may not go to law (dašātu). KAR. 177 Rev. iv, 44; Uruk, 54, 7; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67, Obv. 13.

DAY 8

(A) Festival of goddess Maḫ (sic). Text deficient. Offerings of king to his god. KAR. 178, 1, 56–9.

(B) Festival of Nabû. Lucky. The shepherd of peoples shall prepare for sacrifices by night. Offerings to Nabû and Tashmet. K. 2514, 23–4.

(C) Marked with unintelligible signs ZA-?-KU(?)-PAP. DA. 101 Rev. 1, 8. In broken text, Bab. iv, 108, 1, one must pour water left and right [to the west].

1 Marked half lucky, KAR. 177 Rev. iv, 4.

2 Presumed. Nisan II day 6 forbids this.

3 Reformed calendar substitutes Marduk, son of Ea, for Ea.

4 The reformed calendar for days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 has nikē ul inakki after ibuṭi ul iltabbaš, and then nikē inakki at the end after nindaba-suukan. I do not understand why sacrifices are forbidden in one line and permitted in another unless the instructions refer to different parts of the day.
THE MENOLOGIES AND ALMANACS FOR NISAN

**Day 9**

(A) Gula. [Lucky.] Difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise and the seer may not speak. Unsuitable for doing anything desirable. One may not go to law. Offering by the king to [Gula?]. KAR. 178, i, 60–6.

(B) Ninurta and Gula. Lucky. King makes offerings by night before Ninurta and Gula, and sacrifices. K. 2514, 26–7.

(C) One may not go out into a street. Offerings to Sin and Shamash. Bab. IV 108, 2.

**Day 10**

(A) Text destroyed on KAR. 178 Obv. i, 67 ff.

(B) Bēlit-ekur (Ninlil) and Sakut. Lucky. King makes offerings before the constellation Wagon Star (of Ninlil) and the star ‘Son of Emah’ (Sakut), and sacrifices. K. 2514, 28–9.

(C) Si quivis cum femina coit,1 god will seize him. DA. 101 Rev. i, 9. One may not go to judgement or to a seer. Bab. IV, 108, 3.

**Day 11**

(A) Text destroyed. KAR. 176, ii, 2–4.

(B) A šalaš (sacrifice) to the ‘station(s)’ of Tashmet and Zarpanit.2 Lucky. When the moon comes to the point when it bears a crown of light the king makes an offering. K. 2514, 30–2.


**Day 12**

(A) Text destroyed. KAR. 176, ii, 6–10.

(B) Giving of bread of Enlil and Ninlil. Lucky. Offerings to Enlil and Ninlil. Sacrifices.

(C) One may not sell grain. KAR. 177 Rev. iii, i; Uruk, 54, 8; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67 Obv. 14. Offerings to Sin and Shamash. Bab. IV 108, 6.

**Day 13**

(A) Text destroyed. Offering to Sin. KAR. 176, iii, 11–15.

(B) Sin and Mah. Unlucky. Sin bears a full crown. King gives offerings to Shamash and the Queen of the Lands (Ishtar), to Sin and Mah. All that the shepherd of the peoples commands is acceptable with god. The words of his mouth shall be heard. K. 2514, 35–7.


2 Probably two constellations or stars in Virgo.
RULES FOR THE DAYS OF NISAN

(C) One may take a wife. One may not be merry. KAR. 177 Rev. Ⅲ, 3; Uruk 54, 9; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67 Obv. 14. Offering to Sin. One must worship Sin. Bab. iv, 108, 8.

DAY 14

(A) Ninlil. Lucky and sinister, difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise and seers not prophesy. Unsuitd to do anything desirable. If one works he will lose his money. One may not swear in the name of god, nor worship Sin and Shamash. King must make offerings to Sin, Shamash, and Ningal (wife of Sin). One may bring a wife into his house; he may put his house in order. KAR. 178, 11, 1–14; 176, 11, 16–27.

(B) Ninlil and Nergal. Lucky and sinister. The shepherd of peoples may not eat cooked flesh or baked bread; he may not change his garments nor put on clean garments. He may not make sacrifices, nor ride in a chariot, nor speak as a lord. The prophet may not prophesy and the physician may not lay his hand upon the sick. It is unsuitd to do anything desirable. The king must make offerings by night to Ninlil and Nergal. He shall make sacrifices. Income (ir-bu) . . . K. 2514, 38–43.

(C) The Moon-god (Sin) will not receive a man’s confession of sin at once. One may not say ‘accept my petition’. Sin and Shamash adore Anu. Bab. iv, 108, 10.

DAY 15

(A) Nineanna. One may not take oath, nor transact business. The king makes offerings to Sin. One may not bow down to his god. KAR. 178, 11, 15–23; 176, 11, 28–35.

(B) Nineanna. ‘Casting of accounts’ of Sin and Mah. Lucky. The king makes offerings to Shamash and the Queen of the Lands, to Sin and Mah; he must make sacrifices. K. 2514, 43–5.

(C) One must make offering to Sin and Shamash. (Sin) will not receive the confessions of sins. One may not say ‘accept my petition’. One shall not transact business. Bab. iv 108, 13–16. One may not take oath. KAR. 177 Rev. Ⅲ, 5; Uruk, 54, 10; Ki. 1904–10–9, 67 Obv. 15.

DAY 16

(A) Ritual by night to [Marduk]. Text broken. The king makes offering to Šulpaē (Jupiter = Marduk). He must clean his garment. The king shall recite a penitential psalm, and clean his garment. . . . KAR. 178, 11, 24–33; 176, 11, 36.
(B) Ritual by night to Marduk and Zarpanit. Lucky. The king must clean his garment. Before he enters to recite a penitential psalm by night before Marduk and Ishtar he shall make offering. He shall make sacrifices. In the morning he shall make offerings to Shamash, the Queen of the Lands, Sin, and Mah. K. 2514, 46-9.

(C) One may not mention the name of god (take oath). KAR. 177 Rev. iii, 6; Uruk, 54, 11. Ishtar, Sin, and Shamash will be gracious and one may acquire a wife. Bab. iv, 108, 17.

**DAY 17**


(B) Festival of Nabû and Marduk. Lucky.\(^1\) King makes offerings to Nabû and Tashmet by night, and sacrifices.


**DAY 18**

(A) Text broken. Lucky. One will escape from ruin and humiliation. A hunter may not catch fish, bird, or wild beast; for it is an abomination to Girra. The king makes offering to the Pleiades. KAR. 178, ii, 40-5; 176 Rev. i, 1-4.

(B) Festival (išinnu) of Sin and Shamash. Lucky. The hunter may not catch fish, bird, or wild beast. King makes offering to Pleiades, to Shamash, the Queen of the Lands, to Sin and Mah; he sacrifices. ZA. 19, 378, 4-7. Nisan II has simply offerings to Shamash, Queen of Lands, Sin, and Mah; he sacrifices. K. 2514, 52-3.

(C) Same instructions about the hunter as in (A). Bab. iv, 108, 21-3.

**DAY 19**

(A) Day of wrath of Gula. Sinister. Difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise, and the seer speak not. Unsuited for doing anything desirable. Prayer and weeping shall the assembly institute. Because of Bau (= Gula) one shall not sweep his house,\(^2\) nor wash his feet, nor complete the construc-

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\(^1\) *Sic* for Nisan II, but Nisan II day 17 is unlucky in the old calendar, KAR. 178, iv, 22.

\(^2\) KAR. 176 Rev. 1, 9, from end to l. 11, read A-ŠI (takribtam) ù
RULES FOR THE DAYS OF NISAN

Day 19

(A) Shamash. Sinister. Half the day lucky. King makes offerings to Shamash, Aya (wife of Shamash), and Bunene (messenger of Shamash). KAR. 176 Rev. 1. 16-18; 178, II, 59-63.

(B) The king may not eat any flesh touched by fire, nor change his garment, nor put on clean garments. He shall not sacrifice, nor ride in a chariot, nor speak as a ruler. The seer may not speak. [King] makes [offering] to Gula. ZA. 19, 378, 13-16. Nisan II. ['Bright day.' Day of the giving of bread of Sin and Shamash. Lucky. King] sets forth bread to Shamash, the Queen of the Lands, Sin, and Mah. He makes sacrifices. K. 2514, 58-9.

Day 20

(A) Shamash. Sinister. Half the day lucky. King makes offerings to Shamash, Aya (wife of Shamash), and Bunene (messenger of Shamash). KAR. 176 Rev. 1. 5-15; 178, II, 46-58.

(B) Day of wrath of Gula. Lucky. Sinister. Physicians may not practise. Unsuited for doing anything desirable. Because of Bau one may not sweep his house nor wash his feet, nor complete the construction of his house. King makes offering to Orion. ZA. 19, 378, 8-12. Nisan II. Day of wrath of Gula. Lucky, sinister. The shepherd of peoples may not eat anything cooked, [change his garment, or put on clean garments]. He shall not sacrifice, [ride in a chariot, nor speak as a ruler]. The seer may not speak. King makes offerings to Ninurta and Gula. K. 2514, 54-7.

Day 21

(A) Day of the reckoning of Shamash. Unlucky, sinister. Difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise and a seer may not speak. Unsuited for doing anything desirable. Let the king speak many charitable words (abound in good deeds). Because of Bau one may not sweep his house, nor wash his feet. The king makes offering to Shamash and Bau. All work of the weavers must cease; and may it not prosper. KAR. 176 Rev. 1, 19-27; 178, II, 64-75.

1 Unlucky in old calendar, KAR. 177 Rev. IV, 7.

2 This regulation for Nisan 20 is an exception to all the known rules for the 20th of any month.

3 So KAR. 177 Rev. IV, 7. But lucky in reformed calendar.

THE MENOLOGIES AND ALMANACS FOR NISAN


DAY 22

(B) [Day of reckoning of Sin. Festival of Ninegal... ] Lucky. Eclipse of Shamash... He will hear him. [King makes offering to Shamash] and the Queen of the Lands. [He sacrifices.] ZA. 19, 379, 1–4.

DAY 23

(A) Text destroyed. Unlucky.1
(B) [Festival of Shamash and] Adad. Lucky. [The king makes offerings to Shamash and Adad] and sacrifices. ZA. 19, 379, 5–7.

DAY 24

(A) Text destroyed. Day dedicated to Sin (?). Ninurta mentioned. KAR. 176, Rev. 1, 34–8.
(B) Festival of Enegal and Ninegal. Day of the decrees of the goddesses. Lucky. King makes offerings to Enegal and Ninegal. ZA. 19, 379, 8–9.

DAY 25

No text preserved in either old or new calendars. In reformed calendar this day in all known months is described as the day of the procession of Enlil and the Bêlit of Babylon. Since offerings are made by night to Enlil before the Plough Star, and to Bêlit of Babylon before the Wagon Star (i.e. star of Ninlil), Bêlit of Babylon is Ninlil.2 Lucky day.

DAY 26

(A) Festival (isinnu) of the River-goddess. The king to Sin and Shamash must not prostrate himself in prayer. Sin and Shamash will render his decision in everything and he must make offerings to them.3 KAR. 178 III 1–5.

1 So KAR. 176 Rev. IV 7.
2 So Elul II in IV Raw. 33, III, 22–5; K. 8372 Rev. I, 12–15, where Ishtar of Babylon replaces Bêlit of Babylon. The regular entry for Arahamsa, IV Raw. 33* III 18; Shebat, K. 7079; Adar, K. 4093.
3 In the reformed calendar the isinni of the River-goddess falls on the 27th day, with a musical festival of Nergal. Elul II, IV Raw. 33, III, 30;
RULES FOR THE DAYS OF NISAN

(B) No text. For this day all known months have the same as day 28 in the old calendar. Day of the brick of Ea and Mah. Lucky. The king may not recite a penitential psalm Elul II, but must do so Arahsamna, Shebat. Offerings to Ea and Mah. Sacrifices.

DAY 27

(A) Song-service to Nergal.¹ Unlucky. Day of penance (gabrakhhu). King not permitted to prostrate himself to Sin and Shamash, but makes offering to Anu and recites a penitential psalm, and cleans his garment. KAR. 178, iii, 6–13. Day of sorrow for waning moon.

(B) No text. In all known months, song-service to Nergal and festival (isinu) of River-goddess (as on 26th in old menology), probably in preparation for the descent of the moon into the lower world, i.e. crossing the river of death. The king makes offerings to Nergal and River-goddess, and sacrifices. Elul II, IV Raw. 33, iii, 30–2; Arahsamna, IV Raw. 33* iii, 25–7; Shebat, K. 7079 Rev. 1, 9–12, which adds that one may not eat flesh of the ox; Adar II, K. 4093 Rev. 1, 11–12.

DAY 28

(A) Laying of the wall (igaru) of Mah. Lucky and sinister. Difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise and the seer may speak no word. Unsuit for doing anything desirable. One may not go out into the street, but one may approach a shrine. One may not prostrate himself to Sin and Shamash. One must bow down to his own god, but not pray for himself. He must worship his god. The king must recite a penitential psalm.² KAR. 178 Obv. iii, 14–36; 176 Rev. ii, 1–8.

(B) No text preserved; in those months where this day is preserved the following instructions occur. Day of Ea, day of the ravishment of the Moon-god. Day of Nergal. Lucky (some months), unlucky (some months). Sinister. Same instructions for eating, clothes, physicians, seers, work, riding in a chariot as on days 7, 14, 21. King makes offerings to Ea and Mah, sacrifices and recites a penitential psalm in those months when it is permitted.³

Arahsamna, 33* iii, 25; Shebat, K. 7079 Rev. 1, 11; Adar II, K. 4093 Rev. 1, 11.

¹ Ideogram defaced but certainly for Nergal.
² But Nisan II forbids this on the 28th. KAR. 179, ii, 5; 178, iv, 36.
³ See p. 49.
Day 29

(A) Day of the ravishment of the Moon-god. Sinister. Lucky. Difficult for the sick. Physicians may not practise and the seer may utter no word. Unsuit for work. One may not go out into the road. Eclipse (i.e. time of mourning) of Sin and Shamash. One may not pray for himself, but shall pray to Sin and Shamash. King makes offerings to Anu, Nergal, and Nanā. One may not go out of the gate. KAR. 178, iii, 37-50; 176, Rev. ii, 9-23.

(B) No text. From texts in other months: day of the ravishment of the Moon-god, when the Igigi (gods of heaven and earth) and the Anunnaki (gods of the lower world) are assembled. Lucky. King must change his garment (Sivan), make offerings to Sin and Mah, and sacrifice. One may bring a wife into his house (Shebat). KAR. 178, iii, 37-50; 176 Rev. ii, 9-23.

Day 30

(A) Day of Anu. Lucky and sinister. Difficult for the sick. Same instructions for physicians, seers, work, and going into the street as day 29. One may not bow down to Sin and Shamash, nor pray to his god, nor pray for himself. One must worship Sin and Shamash. KAR. 178, iii, 51-63; 176 Rev. ii, 24-34.

(B) No text. From texts in other months. Day of Anu and Enlil. King makes offerings to Anu and Enlil, and sacrifices. Usually lucky. Shebat unlucky. One must bow down to Adad, and may not drink wine (Shebat).

In the tenth-century menology the instructions for each day usually end kurmat-su ana (here follow names of deities) liškun-(ma) ma-ḥir, ‘Let him provide his food-offering for the god or gods ... and it shall be received’. Only days 2, 22, 28 (?), 30 omit this.

In the reformed menology of Ašurbanipal the same instruction always comes near the end of each day and ends niš kati-šu itti ili ma-gir,4 ‘The lifting of his hand will be acceptable to god’. It should be noted, however, that appašu ul ilabbin, ‘he shall not prostrate his face’,5 occurs in days 28 and 30 of Nisan, and also on days 14, 15, 26, 27 in the

1 Bab. iv, 106, 39; K. 7079 Rev. i, 39-3.
2 Rarely before the end.
3 As nindabā-šu ana . . . uth-kan.
4 Also maḥir, and še-mi.
5 Always to sun and moon.
OMENS IN THE RULES FOR DAYS 83

old menology. This act of prostrating oneself to the Sun-god and Moon-god can have no connexion with the šigû or penitential psalm, which is ordered for days 6, 16, 27, 28 of Nisan. In other words, on some days a šigû is ordered when prostration to Sin and Shamash are forbidden.1

In the old and new menologies as well as in the almanacs an omen is usually attached at the end of the instructions for each day. The old menology often adds libba-šu itâb, ‘his heart will be happy’ (if he does all these things) or in the negative ‘his heart will not be happy’ (if he fails to do these things). Occasionally all three classes of texts use šagulla, ‘there will be joy of heart’. The reformed calendar prefers almost universally the omen ‘the lifting of his hand’ will be acceptable with god’, a phrase never used in the tenth-century menology nor in the almanacs. Sometimes both menologies have mala šikabû ittî ili magîr, ‘whatsoever he says will be acceptable with god’, and amat pt-šu šemat, ‘the word of his mouth will be acceptable’. It is obvious that the ordinary prayers of ‘lifting the hand’ in rituals of expiation could be said on any day of the year, even on the most terrible day of the months, the nineteenth.5

Now from the résumé of Nisan given above it will be seen that days 1, 7, 9, 14, 19, 21, 28, 29, 30 are rest-days, when physicians may not practise nor seers prophesy. In the reformed calendar these nine days are reduced to 7, 14, 19, 21, 28, or almost the septem principle, or division of the

1 In the reformed menology ana . . . liškên occurs in the same day with šigû lissi, Sivan 16, K. 8373. Since ‘let him bow down to gods . . . ’ in the Ašurbanipal edition is probably the same as appa-šu ilabbin, ‘he shall prostrate his face’, the šigû cannot mean the same thing.
2 Referring always to the king.
3 On the 13th of Nisan II; Sivan 11th and Arasamsna 13th (IV Raw. 33* 11, 5-6, restored).
4 Only Nisan II day 13. niš kaš-šu itti ili magîr often occurs with days 7, 14, 21, 28 or uhulgallû days in the seventh-century calendar. But Harp. Lett. 23, Obv. 21 says that the mašmâšu priest may not say the niš kašî on any uhulgallû day.
5 So in preserved texts for this day Elul II and Shebat.
lunar month into weeks of 7 days; the last week adds one or two days until the new moon of the next month, when the first week of the next month begins. The new calendar insists on a certain amount of fasting and refraining from riding on the part of the king. These instructions are written into this menology for days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 of every month.

Days 26 and 27 were also days of sorrow and penance preparatory to the 28th, when the Moon-god crossed the river of death and joined Nergal, lord of the dead, in the darkness of Arallû. Services to the gods of hell mark the two days before the eclipse of the moon. During the whole of the 29th and 30th, while the moon remained invisible, none could travel by road or go out of his gate. A special rubric was drawn up which forbids going out of a gate on the 29th day of all the months. Another text has, 'Go not out of the gate on the 29th; (if one does) fire will fall on the house of the man.' Omens for going out of the gate on the 29th of each month have been listed by an Assyrian scribe.

'If on the 29th of Nisan thou goest out of the gate . . . verily, O man, thou shalt die.'

'If on the 29th of Ayar thou goest out of the gate thy house . . . , with gloom (ik-li-ta) shall thy house be filled.'

'If on the 29th of Sivan thou goest out of the gate, there will be destruction of the house.'

'If on the 29th of Tammuz one goes out of the gate, the wife of that man will die.'

The menology for Tebit 29 has, 'The king shall not go out of the gate; he will meet with witchcraft in the wind of the street.'

1 Bab. i, 202, 27.
2 KAR. 177 Obv. ii, 22.
3 KAR. 392 Rev. 21, probably for Tebit. If this rule were enforced no business could be done on Tebit 29. In fact contracts dated on this day are unknown, with one exception in the reign Nabunidus, Dougherty, YOS. vi No. 27, 5, which may be an error for 28. For Tebit 29, see KAR. 178 Rev. ii, 73.
4 Virolleaud, Bab. iv, 202, 27 ff.
5 an-ni-bi-ti, how read?
6 The king is forbidden to go out of his gate on Ayar 29; KAR. 179, iii, 10.
7 KAR. 178 Rev. ii, 73-4.
Before I enter into a further discussion of the problem of the Sabbath week it is necessary to say a word concerning the probable date of these rules about days on which physicians could not heal, prophets could declare no omens, and men might not pursue their ordinary vocations. When and where did these rules originate? They are found only in the Assyrian promulgations of the church breviaries of the tenth and seventh centuries. But Babylonia and not Assyria exercised the principal influence upon Judaea. The Jewish calendar was borrowed from Babylonia two centuries after the Assyrian Empire fell in 612 B.C. The editors of the tenth-century calendars state that they had copied the menologies from older copies. One of them mentions in his note that Eridu, the ancient Sumerian city in the extreme south, possessed the Babylonian original. They also state that they copied at Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Ur, Larsa, and Erech. The tenth-century breviaries of Assyria have an appendix which gives a ready table for finding the lucky days in each month. This table of lucky days has two sections; one gives the views of the Babylonians, the other of the Assyrians. It is, therefore, obvious that the tenth-century Assyrian calendar is of Babylonian origin; these rules undoubtedly date from the great classical period of Babylonian civilization, the age of Hammurabi.

The institution of rest-days, enforced so rigidly that even the sick might not be attended by a physician, is then of great antiquity in both Babylonia and Assyria. The Pharisees rebuked the disciples of Jesus for plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath. The crowning offence of Jesus in the eyes of the Pharisees was the healing of the man with a palsied hand on the Sabbath: 'And they watched him whether he would heal on the Sabbath day that they might accuse him.'

These strict rules about healing, working, travelling on certain days do not belong to early Hebrew religion. They are post-exilic and rather obviously under Babylonian influence. Josephus, who wrote in New Testament times, also
saying that 'it is not lawful for us to travel either on the Sabbath or feast-days'.

These rules were known in Babylonia, and the problem is whether the days coincide with the Hebrew sabbaths. That the Babylonian menologies forbade work on certain days is beyond doubt. One breviary for selected days of the year states that all work is forbidden during the entire month of Teshrit.¹

The menology of the tenth century has the formula:

A physician shall not lay his hand upon the sick;
The prophet shall declare no word.
It is not suitable for executing any affair.

This formula occurs in the tenth-century menology in Nisan for days 1, 7, 9, 14, 19, 21, 28, 29, 30, i.e. 9 rest-days.²

It is clear that the first day of the month was originally a day of rest and fasting: so were days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28, 29, 30. Undoubtedly these mark stages in the phenomena of the moon; the first quarter, full moon, first quarter of the old moon, day of the moon's disappearance, that is, 7, 14, 21, 28, are clearly moon-phases. There is, here, already in the tenth century textual evidence for the idea of a seven-day week. The reformed calendar admits only 7, 14, 19, 21, 28.

The 19th day of all months is marked 'day of wrath' of the goddess Gula. No work was done; weeping and lamentation filled the land; no one might wash his feet on the 19th, change his garments, nor eat any cooked food.

Ašurbanipal in the seventh century promulgated a calendar with a definite scheme of a seven-day week, a regulation of the month by which all men were to rest on days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 can be tested by the liver omens published by Klauber and Knudtzon. The oracles are never dated on any of these days. See Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte; Knudtzon, Gebete an den Sonnengott.

¹ K. 3769, 16. An historical cylinder is dated Elul 28, Streck, Assurb. 90 n. 2. The rule that a prophet must not deliver an oracle on days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 can be tested by the liver omens published by Klauber and Knudtzon. The oracles are never dated on any of these days. See Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte; Knudtzon, Gebete an den Sonnengott.

² Entered in Nisan only with colophon directing that the rules apply to the other months.
NINETEENTH DAY, DAY OF WRATH

Nineteenth day, Day of Wrath 87

19, 21, 28. The old menology of Nisan made the two days of the dark of the moon, 29, 30, rest-days, so that each lunar month had 9 rest-days, on which neither the sick could be cured nor a man in difficulty consult a prophet; none might travel and fasting was enforced.

In the seventh century days 1, 9, 29, 30 were dropped; days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 became rest-days in all the months. No one has ever explained why the 19th was retained. The persistent emphasis upon this day of wrath of the goddess of childbirth and healing from the earliest times to the end of this civilization is difficult to explain. The dies irae of Babylonia began by some peculiar myth concerning the 19th day after the first new moon.

Any explanation of the dies irae of Babylonia must be sought in some myth concerning the 19th of the first month. 'For the sake of Bau (Gula) one may not sweep his house', see p. 78. Why should the 19th day after the moon of the spring equinox be a day of wrath of the great goddess of medicine? It corresponds to the quinquatrus of the Roman farmers' calendar, the 19th of March, five days after the full moon. Ovid says that Minerva was born on that day, she being the Pallas Athena of the Greeks, described by him as patroness of those who banish sickness by Phoebus' art.

Latin scholars discount Ovid's explanation and claim that the Roman 19th of March was a day sacred to Mars when the arms of Roman soldiers were purified. Although Minerva and Gula are both goddesses of medicine, there is still no explanation either in Babylonian or Latin mythology as to why the 19th should be a day of wrath in all the calendars of ancient Chaldea.1

On this day Kar. 176 Rev. 1, 15 = 178 Obv. ii, 57–8 has an offering to *Sibzianna, and ZA. 19, 378, 12 (late edition of Nisan) has the same entry. The texts of the 19th day for the enbu bêl arêmû series, so far as preserved, substitute for Sibzianna, d·Ninurta d·Gula, i.e. Ninurta and Gula; so Sivan, K. 8373; Elul II, IV Raw. 32, ii, 46; Arubahamna, IV Raw. 33* ii, 44; Tebit, K. 2809 Obv. ii, 8; Adar K. 4093 Obv. ii, 30. *Sibzianna (= Orion) is identified with Tammuz, CT. 24, 9, K. 11035, 9 = 25, 7, K. 7663, 9; with d·Ninsubur messenger of Anu and...
the Babylonians fasted, forbade all work and held the day in mournful memory of the wrath of the goddess Gula. On this day the king set forth food-offering to the constellation Orion, who, they said, had been slain with weapons. But the beautiful young hunter of Greek mythology, Orion, was also slain by the arrow of Artemis. Now the Sumerians called this constellation Sibzianna, 'the faithful shepherd of heaven'. Why then did the Greeks also call it Orion unless the myth of this constellation was the same among Sumerians and Greeks?

There was then a legend in Sumerian and in Greece that a beautiful hunter had been slain by a goddess—in Greece because this young god had assaulted her; in Babylonia because he had rejected her. Is there a reason for connecting the giant hunter of the sky (who stands with his dog Canis between Taurus and Castor and Pollux) with Nisan, or with the 19th of March? The rising of Orion in Nisan could occur only in the remote age before 3000 B.C., the period of the Gemini. Why should the rising of the slain hunter Tammuz who had been chained to Orion coincide with a day kept in memory of the wrath of the goddess who slew him?

Artemis' arrow by fateful error slew Orion in the wild sea waves. Some myth of this kind, commemorated down the ages by marking the 19th of Nisan as the day of wrath and lamenta-

Ishtar, KAV. p. 119, 1, 38–40, where the Accad. rendering has šitaddalu d-Papsukkal, 'he who was slain by weapons, Papsukkal', instead of Nin-subur, ll. 45–7. mul Sibzianna = d-Papsukkal of Anu and Ishtar, also CT. 33, 2, n 2. Since Sibzianna, 'the faithful shepherd of heaven', is Orion, and identical with the Greek constellation Ωριόν, there must be a connexion between Tammuz and the Greek myth of Orion. Gula is said to be the mother of d-Ab-Ú(ba) = Tammuz, SBP. 156, 38; Tammuz and Ishtar, 8 n. 1. The texts refer to Sibzianna slain by weapons, and the Greek myth records how Orion the beautiful youth and hunter was slain by Artemis with an arrow because of his love-affair with Eos; others said that he offered violence to Artemis, who killed him with an arrow. Tammuz does not figure as a hunter in Sumerian mythology, but Ninurta = Nimrod probably did.
tion in Babylonia, surely existed in most remote Sumerian antiquity. The death of Tammuz or Orion by the weapon of the goddess obsessed the religious imagination of Babylonia and Assyria, and they extended the commemoration to the 19th of every month. The legend has been preserved in Hebrew by that antiquarian poet the author of Job:

'Dost thou fasten the bands of the Pleiades
Or untie the cords of Orion?'

Omitting the 19th day of rest, the remaining days 7, 14, 21, 28 in the calendar of the seventh century obviously constitute the seven-day division of the month. This scheme is fully carried out somewhere between 1000 B.C. and 600 B.C. Here the weeks do not continue in a regular cycle regardless of the new moon. Each month has four weeks, beginning with the new moon. Days 29 and 30, or in case of a 29-day month, day 29, are simply thrown out of the four-week system. I have no doubt but that this was the old Hebrew scheme also. In other words the fourth week has one or two extra days. Every month must begin with the first day of the first week.

Is then the Hebrew Sabbath of Babylonian origin? Certainly the late Pharisaic adherence to the law which forbade healing or even an act of mercy on the Sabbath is due largely to the Babylonian and Assyrian Church Calendar. This Pharisaic attitude is traceable to the Exilic period in Hebrew. A Hebrew was stoned to death for gathering sticks on the Sabbath day, according to a passage in the Priestly document of Numbers, 15, 32–6. The institution of days 7, 14, 21, 28 of every month as rest-days was, then, carried out after 1000 B.C. The idea obtained up to that period and at that time it included day 1, New Moon, days 9 + 19, and days 29, 30, Dark of the Moon. All of these were thrown

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1 Job 38, 31. The Hebrew kesil = Orion has never been explained, but since Tammuz is known in mythology as 'a fool, cripple', Sum. lil, it is probable that kesil is the ordinary Hebrew word 'fool'. See OECT. 11, 12 n. 3; Sem. Myth. 234. For lillu, the god who was bound, mu-lu-lil, see Thureau-Dangin, RA. 19, 178, 18; 179, 8.
out to obtain a seven-day week throughout the year in the reformation of the calendar about 700 B.C.

On these days the prophet might not issue an omen, but from the year 1911 B.C., a millennium before these rules were introduced into all the months, a document dated on the 21st of Adar exists, in which a seer explains how on that day he consulted a sheep's liver and informed the king Ammizaduga of Babylon that he could give orders to make a statue of his predecessor Hammurabi. 1

If, then, the Assyrian menologies appoint days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 as rest-days, you naturally ask—did they call these days sabbaths? There is nothing in the official calendars of any period or place to show that they did. The Greeks also divided the month according to the phases of the moon, but they obtained a system of decads, first 10 days ιστάμενος, the waxing month, μεσόν, second 10 days, middle month, φθικόν, the last 10 days, waning month.

But the Greeks in the time of Homer and Hesiod divided the month into two parts, days 1–15 and 15–30, the waxing and the waning month.

Now the 15th of the month in Babylonian is called šapattu, or šabattu; 2 this word is described as 'day of the resting of the heart', 3 day when the heart of god is appeased. 'Ishtar the queen who answers (the gods) in my stead, sister of Marduk' is called 'mother of the ša-ba-tā day', which is the 'father of the month'. 4 šabattu is defined 5 as 'the day', and comes after the 14th in an astronomical text. 6 It is also defined by 'coming to rest', end of a period. 7 If one says,
'either on the day of the New Moon, on the 7th, or on the šapattu day (complete it)', the 15th day is meant.  

Hence šabattu, šapattu, šabattu means 'end of the first half of the month', middle of the month as the Assyrian scribes explain it. The Greeks also divided the month into two parts, and for purposes of reckoning accounts the Sumerians used the same system, and the Babylonians described the second half of the month as 'the latter period of 15 days', and the 'former half' was known as the 'former period of 15 days'. Hence they said 'former šabattu' and 'latter šabattu'. The word means literally the 'day which divides the month', end of a series of days. The Egyptians also see kâ-te ka-la ú-mi, 'at the end of any day', opposed to ina šerîm, 'in the morning', KAR. 212, iii, 6; cf. l. 4. For šig, to repose, v. CT. 17, 33, 19, ġe-en-ib-sig-ga = lipsâb, may it repose, and PA(sí-sig) = pašâhu, Haupt, Accad. Sprache, Taf. xii, 10. sig = napašu, to breathe freely, rest, 38180 Rev. 6, and inapuš, he is lazy, PBS. viii, 196, 17.

1 Ungnad, Briefe, 246, 28. ina ar-ḫi si-bi-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti, on the day of the new moon, on the 7th or on the 15th, CT. vi 6, Obv. B 20 = Langdon, Paradis, Pl. x, but uncertain text. See ibid. p. 39 n. 1.

2 AN(sa-a) = ša-bat-ti, i.e. 'half' = šabattu, Ass. 523, iv, 25; ina ṣm ša AN = ina mišîl (BAR) arḫî, i.e. on the day of the šabattu = in the middle of the month, Virolleaud, Shamash, xiii, 17. On sa = mišîl, v. RA. 28, 165–6.  

3 See Landsberger, Kal. 93 n. 5.

4 um 15-kam ʾr-ki-tum, Strassmaier, Camb. 292, 2.

5 um 15-kam mahrî-tû, Cyr. 67, 2; Dar. 32, 2. ʾr-ki-tum u mahrî-tum, Camb. 65, 3; the writings um 15-kam arkiṭu, mahriṭu, are to be read šabattu arkiṭu, šabattu mahriṭu. For b > ṣ and original šabattu, see Landsberger, Kal. 133; Zimmern, Fremdwörter, 67.

6 Root šabbâtu = gamâru, to be complete, CT. 18, 13 1 12; see above šabbattum = ḫatā. This is probably the same verb as Arabic sabata, 'to cut off, cease, rest'; Hebrew šābāt, 'cease from work, rest'. The Egyptians use the word š-m-d-t for the 15th day, i.e. the half of the month, ʾnḫmwt, 'dividing the month', full moon, written with a half-moon, and they also divided the 36 decans into two parts, the 18th being called š-m-d, ʾsâmr, the divider, Sethe, Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter 47–8; Ramses IV, twelfth century. Brugsch renders š-m-d by the divider (ṣmâd). The word is as old as the Middle Kingdom, 2000–1788 B.C., but I cannot believe that it is borrowed from šabattu, as Zimmern, Fremdw. 67, suggests. Zimmern gives the Egyptian root as s-b-t, but I see no reason for this. In any case šmâd, šmâd, divider, 15th day, is the same Semitic word as
named the 15th day *samadti*, the divider; consequently the Babylonian word *šabattu* is probably the Hebrew word *sabbath*, Sabbath, the 7th day of each lunar week. Now if this Babylonian word is used for the 15th day only¹ and the Hebrew word for every 7th day on which all work was prohibited, it is natural to suppose that *šabattu* or the 15th should be a rest-day also. There is no trace of this at all in the menologies.² The 15th day never has any reference to its being unsuitable for work, nor is the work of physicians and diviners prohibited. The following table gives full information on this day so far as our sources permit.³

### NISAN

#### Tenth-Century Calendar.


#### Asurbanipal Calendar and other sources. *Babyl. Almanac.*

Food-offering to moon and sun. Man may not confess his sins (*zakar hišeti-su*), nor say 'accept my prayer'. One may trade for grain or money. K. 3765, 13-16 = *Bab. iv*, 108.

*šabattu*. *š-m-d* is rendered *şoa* in Greek. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 475, N 13, says that *šmd-t* is uncertain for 15th day and only . . . . *ni* certain. Erman-Grapow, *Egyptian Dictionary*, iv 147, gives *šmd-t* (?). *šmdt* cannot be a loan-word from *šabattu* since *b* in words borrowed by Egypt is always rendered *b*; see Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, 89. I believe that the Egyptian root *š-m-d* is the Babylonian *šabatu*, 'to divide, cut off, come to an end', Arabic *sabata*, and is an Egyptian form of this root *š-b-t > š-m-d*.

¹ See list of days on which a man prays for the soul of god and king, days 2, 7, 15, *šm nubatti*, *šm ešši*, 19-20, *šm bubbi*, *šm rimki*, *šm lụmụti*, and day 30, King, *Magic*, 61, 11-12.

² See note ¹ above, where this is one of the days of prayer when a service of expiation is held. *Shurpu* 8, 24-6, names days 7, 15, 19, 20, 25, 30 among days which have power over demons.

³ The 15th is *per se* not 'full moon day', but the *end* of the first half of the month.
RULES FOR THE FIFTEENTH DAY

INTERCALARY NISAN


AYAR

Marked pizlatum, KAR. 178 Babylonian Almanac, V Raw. 48, marks Ayar 14, bizlatum.

SIVAN

Food-offering to Enmešarra and Gula. King may take a wife. King may wash his garment. KAR. 178 Obv. v, 39–43. Unlucky day, l. 39. Also omitted from lucky days, 177 Rev. iv, 10.

TAMMUZ

Banquet of god; god is gracious. Missing in our sources. Almanac, V Raw. 48, gives antalu of Moon-god and Falk., Uruk, 53 i 8, an-la-lū of Shamash, ‘eclipse’ = penance.

AB

Menology missing. Lucky day, 177 Rev. iv, 16.

ELUL

King sets forth food-offering to Anu and Ishtar. Lucky. 178 Rev. v, 46–8. Lucky, 177 Rev. iv, 18.
**ELUL II**

Menology does not recognize this month.

Same as Nisan II. Lucky. IV Raw. 32 11 23–6. Almanacs do not recognize this month, but southern calendars do, KAR. 177 Obv. iv, 6–7.

**TESHRIT**

King sets forth food-offering to Marduk. Very lucky day.

Menology missing. Almanac, V Raw. 49, vii, 17, aššata [irtaši].


One may take a wife. See Sivan.

**ARAHSAMNA**

One has no rival (the king?), KAR. 178 Rev. iii, 48–9. Lucky, 177 Rev. iv, 23. Also lucky in southern calendars, 177 Obv. iv, 11.

Same as Nisan II, Sivan. Adds king may bring his wife to his house. IV Raw. 33* ii, 17–20.


**KISLEV**

Marked unlucky, KAR. 178 Rev. ii, 17. Probably same in northern calendar, 177 Rev. iv 25, Southern, 177 Obv. iv 13 omits from lucky days.


**TEBIT**

Marked lucky, KAR. 178 Rev. ii, 55. Half the day lucky, 177 Rev. iv, 28.

Menology missing. Almanac, V Raw. 49 x, unlucky.

**ŠEBAT**

Menology missing, KAR. 178 Rev. i; 179 Rev. ii. Probably lucky, restore 177 Rev. iv, 30, at end [15].

Menology missing, K. 7082. Almanac, V Raw. 49 xi, lucky.
King may wash his garments. Menology missing. Lucky. He will obtain his desire. Boissier, DA. 102 Rev. iii 8. Lucky. KAR. 178 Rev. 141–2. Almanac, V Raw. 49 xii, 13 (restored), lucky. Also 177 Rev. iv, 34, lucky.

ADAR II

Not admitted in KAR. 178–9. Missing in menology, K. 4093. 177 Rev. iv, 37 (northern), lucky; Obv. iv, 23 (southern), lucky.

The reformed calendar standardizes this day on the basis of Nisan in the tenth-century calendar. It now becomes throughout the year the day of the goddess Nin-l-an-na, a title of Ishtar whose sacred number was 15. On the rest-days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28, trade and cleaning garments never occur. The only acts permitted on these days are offerings to certain gods, sacrifices, and prayer.

Ašurbanipal’s reformed calendar then had five rest-days and they are marked ‘sad days’ in the calendar. The Pharisaic spirit now prevails in Babylonia and Assyria. Obviously this was the influence which turned the Hebrew

1 This deity is not found in the great lists CT. 24–5. She is prominent in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who built her temple at Babylon, VAB. iv, 74, 9, &c., p. 305; Museum Journal, 1923, 276, 37. In Cassite period, RA. 16, 73 No. 11; 72 No. 9; 73 No. 10; in list, Craig, RT. 58, 8 with Zamama, after Antum and before Ishtar and Nana. Consort of Adad, Harper, Memorial Vol. 396; Nin-l-an-na šd UD... followed by Šarrat-šamē, Thureau-Dangin, Rit. 73, Obv. 13. Among deities of 7th day of Kislev, Clay, Morgan, iv, 25, 22, followed by Ishtars of Erech and Agade, with Nin-l-an-na dur-e. Since 15 is the sacred number of Ishtar the title must refer to her, but why it was chosen for this day is not clear. Note that offerings are made to Anu and Ishtar, Elul 15.

2 Note that the reformed calendars mark days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 as uhuballu or ūmu limmu days, i.e. ‘evil days’, ‘dangerous days’, but generally marked magir, ‘lucky’. See the Table, p. 145. If ud-ge-gdl is for ud-geidi = ūmu na’duru, then these days are described as ‘sad days’, since ud-ge-gdl is a variant of ud-gul-gdl.
The problem as to why the Hebrews chose the Babylonian word *šabattu* as a name for these days of rest is a mystery. The idea of a regular seventh day of rest arose in Babylonia; of that there can be no doubt. The Babylonians had a special name for these days; it is in fact *uḥulgalû*, or *ūmu limnu*, that is ‘day when it is dangerous to break the rules’. Their *šabattu* means the 15th day which divides the month. The word means ‘divider’ and the 15th is in no manner a rest-day. The Hebrews seem to have borrowed this word through a complete misunderstanding of the Babylonian calendar. After they had applied it to the rest-days they derived a verb *šāḇāt* from it which means ‘to rest’.

The great festival of Nisan in the Jewish calendar, the offering of first-fruits and the first-born of the herds, was fixed by Ezekiel on the 14th of this month. Now the old Assyrian calendar marks the 14th of Nisan II by the ‘bringing in’ of offerings, and so does the reformed calendar of the seventh century. It has been presumed that the Hebrew Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread had been finally fixed on the 14th of Nisan because it falls on the day of the full moon. Ezekiel may have had this in mind, but the Assyrian note on the offering of first-fruits of the harvest on this day is as old as the tenth century and probably much more ancient. This can hardly be a mere coincidence. Ezekiel almost certainly obtained the date of the Passover directly from the Babylonian Church year-books.

The first month of the year seems to have been regarded as most holy and dangerous. The character of Nisan may be seen from the following table:

1. No palace could be founded in that month.
2. The foundation of a house could not be put down.

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1 KAR. 178 Obv. iv, 17, *mu-un-lūm* = šurubtu. For this K. 2514, 43 has *ir-bu* . . . These are of course omens and not instructions, but since the words occur for this day only, they are surely based upon a custom of bringing offerings on Nisan 14.
(3) A family could not move out of a house in Nisan.
(4) A family could not move in at any time during Nisan.
(5) But a family could move into a new house in Nisan.
(6) No temple could be built in this month nor in any month except Shebat and Adar.
(7) A tomb might not be made in Nisan.
(8) No one could be buried in a grave in this month.
(9) A well could not be opened.
(10) No one was allowed to take aperient medicine.
(11) A man could not sweep his roof.
(12) It was a lucky month for the birth of males, and for marriage.

TESHRIT (SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER)

The Sumerians divided the twelve lunar months into two parts, precisely as did the Egyptians.\(^1\) There is consequently a second New Year in the Sumerian and Babylonian calendars. The custom of beginning the year in the autumn after the feast of ingathering of the last fruits, the bag hā'āṣīp, at the end of the year, was the original Hebrew custom. The Canaanites began the year with the feast of ingathering ḫōsep.\(^2\) Not until the Exile did the Hebrews adopt Nisan or the spring equinox as the first month. Āḇīṯ, the old Hebrew name for Nisan, was in reality the seventh month originally. When documents of the Old Testament name Āḇīṯ the first month they are speaking in terms of the Babylonian calendar.

This ancient tradition of the Canaanite and Hebrew people could not be suppressed by the Babylonian reformation of the calendar. They had celebrated the New Year in the month Ėṯānīm or September from the days of the remote antiquity. But Ezekiel and the Hebrew patriots of the Exilic period also found in the Babylonian books of the Holy Year a similar tradition. In fact, if Ezekiel had in his hands a copy of the menology he found that Teshrit has at

\(^1\) Sethe, \textit{Zeitrechnung}, 43. At Umma the Sumerian calendar names the seventh month \textit{min-ēṯ}, ‘the second festival’, PSBA. 1913, 47.
\(^2\) See p. 24.
least six special tablets for the feast of the New Year during the first nine days of Teshrit.

At Nippur the Sumerians named the seventh month du-kug, ‘month of the holy chamber’, called ašar šimāti, ‘place of fates’, in Ubsukina in Esagila, where on the days 8 and 11 of Nisan the gods decreed the fates of all men. Dukug is also the chamber of the water-god Ea in the nether sea.

The ‘festival of the Dukug’ in Sumerian was, therefore, a New Year ceremony based upon the same mythology as the New Year festival of Nisan. This festival was held at the beginning of the second half of the year throughout Sumer, as the evidence of a tablet dated by the Ur calendar shows. At that city the seventh month was known as d-ki-ti, ‘month of the New Year festival’, akitti being a special name for this mythological series of ceremonies. But a tablet dated in the month Akitti and in the year 40 of Dungi contains a list of sheep and kids for the ‘festival of the Dukug’. This Sumerian name conveys the same sense mythologically as barazaggar, the word for Nisan, but it cannot be traced to a period before the Agade period, 2732–2549 B.C.

The Babylonian rendering of dukug by teš-ri-tu, ‘the

1 VAB. IV, 126, 54–64.
2 Epic of Creation, p. 202, n. 2.
3 Sixth in the old series, seventh toward the end of the last kingdom of Ur. See Thureau-Dangin, Rit. 87. “d-ki-ki has now been found in pre-Sargonic texts from Ur.
4 Taken from bit akiti. The official list gives “d-ki-ki = “du-kug, V Raw. 43 A 34. But akiti at Ur and Adab may have no connexion with a New Year; see p. 126, n. 4; and the Adab calendar has both “d-ki-ki and “du-kug, Luckenbill, Adab, 89; 147 also 84; 91.
5 LeGrain, Ur, 21, 4–12. Part of these sacrifices were made in the tummal, same as Tummal(ki), a place sacred to Ninlil, said to be three days’ journey (from Nippur), LeGrain, Ur, No. 4. Poebel, OLZ. 1924, 263 wants to read ib-ma-al and identified it with ib-gal, but this is excluded by 4Egi-tum-ma-al = Ninlil, and 4Ib-gal = d-Inninni. If the Tummal be the same as bit akiti, outside Nippur, it is strange that it should be the seat of the cult of Ninlil and not Enlil.
6 Haupt, ASKT. 64, 7; teš-ri-tum, PSBA. 1912, 293, 8, entered as explanation of la-lu-bi-t, and the only Accadian word used in the second
beginning' of the year, in no way translates the original meaning. The early Assyrian rendering *sa kināti* refers to a cult of the souls of the dead in this month,1 and the rendering at Susa by *lalubū* is obscure.2 About 2000 B.C. the constellation which governed this month was connected with judgement of the living and the dead, the time when the gods fixed the fates, and consequently the Babylonians out of pure imagination saw the sign of the scales, Libra, here.3 *mul* Zibanna, i.e. 'the star Zib of heaven', Accadian loan-word *kakkab Zibanitu*, 'the scales', Libra, was a name assigned to this constellation when it was still regarded as part of Scorpio. This word does not mean 'scales', but when the Babylonians for mythological reasons saw the symbol of judgement in these stars it was called *mul*rin, 'the scales',4 and hence *zibanitu* also came to mean 'scales'. In astronomy *mul*Zi-ba-an-na continued to be the name of the 'horn of Scorpio',5 and the Arabic *zubānayānī*, 'shears of Scorpio', is derived from it; Libra in Greek is also *χήλαι*, 'shears of Scorpio'; *Chelai enim Scorpii Libram faciunt*.6 Libra as the constellation of the hypsoma of Saturn was identified with Shamash, and hence Saturn is described as the 'star of justice and righteousness'.7 This idea survives in the Man-dean legend of Abathur, 'he of the scales',8 the angel with the mozānīyā 'scales', who dwells in the lower world and passes judgement on the souls.9 With this idea is con-

1 See p. 36.  2 See p. 45.  3 See p. 7.
4 Weidner, H.B. 122, VAT. 7847; see also p. 6, n. 9.
5 CT. 33, 9 Rev. 10; 2, II, 11.
6 Kugler, Ergänze. 64 and 1, 37.
7 RA. 14, 21, 18. Hence Teshrit was sacred to Shamash, K. 2049, 7; IV Raw. 33, IV, 11; CT. 41, 39, Rev. 5.
8 Persian, after Andreas in Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, p. xxix.
9 Lidzbarski, ibid. 232-4; 14, 14-23.
In the late Hebrew calendar the 1st day of Teshrit was a day of judgement; so Psalm 81, 4-5: 'On the day of the new moon blow up the trumpet (and) at the full moon on the day of our feast; for this is a law unto Israel, a (day of) judgement (mišpāt) of the god of Jacob.' The Talmud, Targum, and the whole of Jewish tradition connect this passage with Teshrit. The myth of a general judgement of souls goes back to the Babylonian belief based upon the passing of the sun beyond the equator and the beginning of his descent into the lower world, when Libra rises heliacally. According to the Talmud, from Teshrit 1st to the Day of Atonement (10th) is a period of the condemnation of the doubtful and the Mishna describes Teshrit 1st as a day of judgement. These are the ten terrible days of the world's judgement in Jewish tradition. Then are written the three books of the good, the doubtful, and the damned, a myth undoubtedly inherited from Babylonia and latterly transferred to the first eleven days (epact) of Nisan by the Babylonians. The same belief is preserved in Arabic tradition being attached to the ninth month, Ramadan, when Allah decides the fate of spirits, men, animals, and birds. According to Sumerian tradition a goddess kept the tablets of fate in Arallū.

1 zibniyat, Pl. zabāniyat, Coran, Sura, 96, 18; Vollers, ZDMG. 51, 324.
2 See Baethgen, Psalmen, 250; Jewish Encyclopedia, ix 256. I take mišpāt le'loh Yā'akōb for 'judgement which is the right of the god of Jacob', kpioh, judicium of Septuagint and Vulgate, a judgement, a divine order, which harmonizes with hōk, law in verse 5. mišpāt I take to refer to the new moon or 1st of Teshrit only, in view of the Babylonian mythology. But the day of the full moon of Teshrit, or Feast of Tabernacles, was also a day of judgement. See Danby, Mishnah, 188 § 2.
3 L. Goldschmidt, Der Bab. Talmud, 328-33.
4 On New Year's Day all that come into the world pass before him; Danby, Mishnah, 188 § 2.
5 yōmīm nōrā'īm.
6 PBS. x 132 n. 3.
RULES FOR NEW YEAR IN TESHRIT

The date of the Day of Atonement on the tenth of Teshrit in Hebrew religion is probably connected with the calendars, which have special directions for the first nine days outside the regular calendar. A list of instructions for special days of each month has the rule that for the whole of Teshrit 'all work is not to be'. I give here a résumé of the special rules for Teshrit, days 1–9. A = Old Assyrian. B = Ašurbanipal's edition. C = Notes from other sources.

**DAY 1**

(A) On the 1st of Teshrit one may not face a heavy wind on the plain or the hallulâ demoness will wed him. Onions he may not eat or a scarab will sting him. Flesh of the tumanu pig one may not eat, it is an abomination to Enlil. KAR. 177 Rev. iii 8–15; 147, 5–8; 177 Rev. ii 48–1, 8.

(B) One may not enter the house of a wine-merchant, for (if he does) judgement will be rendered him. Let him set forth offerings to Ea and it shall be received. Bab. iv 107, 1. The text then has a duplicate of A. Also Ki. 1904–10–9, 67, Obv. 16–17.

(C) On ordinary old calendar (text broken), offerings to Enlil, Ninlil, and Nusku. KAR. 178 Rev. iv, 14–31. Almanacs, lucky day. Falkenstein, Uruk, 53 Rev. i, 1; K. 3560, Obv. i, 1.

**DAY 2**

(A) If one eats onions an old man in the family will die. Fennel and watercress, cooked meat, and flesh of oxen, goats, and swine not to be eaten; all these rules if broken incur hatred, ulcers, and asthma. One may not descend into a well or ascend to the roof of a house. KAR. 177 Rev. iii, 16–26; 147 Obv. 9–14. 177 Rev. i, 4–8.

(B) Bab. iv 107, 4–5 = KAR. 177 Rev. i, 4–8.

(C) On ordinary old calendar, fish not to be eaten, and the king

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1 Five copies of the instructions for these days exist. (1) KAR. 177 Rev. iii, 8–11, 47, the Assyrian text, days 1–8, followed by (2) a copy of the Babylonian text, Rev. ii, 48–1 end; (3) Assyrian text on KAR. 147, days 1–8; (4) the Babylonian text was attached to a list of special days of all the months on K. 3769, 6482, 8068, and 6695; Bab. iv, 107 and 1 204–6. (5) Ki. 1904–10, 9, 67, Obv. 16–Rev. 21. The Assyrian calendar admits only days 1–8 as special New Year days.

2 K. 3769, 16. Restore IV Raw. 33, iv, 11, ka-la-ma ep-[is-tu-šu ja-a-na].
must make offerings to Enlil and his own god. KAR. 178 Rev. iv 20–21. Almanacs, unlucky day. Uruk, 53 Rev. 1, 2; K. 3560 Obv. 1, 2.

DAY 3

(A) If one eat fish he will be disgraced and his abode will collapse upon him. One may not stand where asses have roamed, nor irrigate a field of sesame, nor come nigh a woman. KAR. 177 Rev. iii 27–33; 147, Obv. 15–18. The copy from Babylonia, 177 Rev. i, 9–14 has the same rules and adds: 'If one eats dates he will fall ill with rikitu disease', and 'If he traps birds his storehouse will not prosper'.

(B) Bab. iv 107, 6–9, duplicate of A.

(C) On ordinary old calendar, if one frees a trapped bird he will be released from his trouble, the king must make offerings to Enlil and his own god and wash his garment. Almanacs. One may not eat fish. Uruk, 53 Rev. 1, 3; K. 3560, Obv. 1, 3.

DAY 4

(A) One may not cross a river, eat fowl, dates, and onions. A trapped bird must be released. One may not ride out to a village. KAR. 177 Rev. iii, 34–41; 147, Obv. 19–24. The copy from Babylonia, 177 Rev. i, 15–21, has the rules forbidding one to cross a river, to ride out to a village, to eat flesh of oxen, goats, and swine, and to stand where asses have roamed.

(B) Bab. iv 107, 10–11, duplicate of KAR. 177 Rev. 1, 15–21.

(C) On ordinary old calendar, eating fish is forbidden and the king must make offerings to Enlil and his own god. KAR. 178 Rev. iv, 25–6. Almanacs. The trapped bird one must set free. Uruk, 53 Rev. 1, 4; K. 3560 Obv. 1, 4.

DAY 5

(A) Eating fennel and watercress, flesh of swine, roasted flesh, flesh of oxen and goats is forbidden. One may not stand behind a mortar. KAR. 177 Rev. iii, 42–9; 147 Obv. 25–31; 177 Rev. ii, 1–6 has 'If one eat dates he will have palsy; one may not descend into a garden nor irrigate a field of sesame'. The copy from Babylonia, 177 Rev. i, 22–7 has 'He shall not a-sag anšu gur-gur, for which Bab. iv 107, 7, has a-sar imeru [issaharu]. See also day 6, KAR. 177 Rev. ii 14, a-sar, with Var. a-sag, 147 Rev. 5. The same rule occurs in days 4, 6, 7 but I do not understand the reason for it.
descend into a garden, for the god Igisigisig, gardener of Enlil, would smite him. He shall not eat lovage and watercress, for the $siku$ disease would seize him. Where a mortar has been laid one may not stand, for he will fall sick with $sagallu$ disease.'

(B) *Bab.* iv 107, 12-14, duplicate of KAR. 177 Rev. 1, 22-7.

(C) The ordinary old calendar has 'lucky day', and the king must set forth offerings to Enlil and to his own god. KAR. 178 Rev. iv 27-8. Almanacs. One may not eat lovage. *Uruk*, 53 Rev. 1, 5; K. 3560 Obv. 1, 5.

**Day 6**

(A) One may not come nigh a woman, ascend to a roof, descend into a well or garden, nor enter a laundry (bit musiiti). He may not cross a meadow, stand where a mortar has been laid, nor stand where asses have roamed. KAR. 177 Rev. ii, 7-17; 147 Rev. 1-7. The copy from Babylonia has, 'If one goes to law he will commit a transgression; he may not enter a laundry, for the spy demon will smite him; he may not eat flesh of the ham (masdidi), for a curse will seize him.' KAR. 177 Rev. 1, 28-31.

(B) *Bab.* iv 107, 15-16, duplicate of 177 Rev. 1, 28-31.

(C) The ordinary calendar has 'lucky day'; the king must set forth his offering to his god and goddess. On this day the king must show an act of mercy and he will then prevail over his adversary. KAR. 178 Rev. iv, 29-31. Almanacs. Lucky day. *Uruk*, 53 Rev. 1, 6; K. 3560 Obv. 1, 6.

**Day 7**

(A) One may not eat flesh of the *tumanu* pig. Where a mortar has been laid or where asses have roamed one may not stand; he may not cross a place flooded by a levee, leap over a rivulet, walk in the road, enter villages, descend into a well, enter a laundry, ascend to a roof or descend into a garden, cross a river, or walk on a littoral marsh; he may not irrigate a field of sesame; in his house let him wail and mourn. 'He may not meet the grain-goddess on the plain.' He may not eat figs, but wail and mourn in his house, then will Ninlil intercede for him with Enlil. He may not take an oath. KAR. 177 Rev. ii, 18-40; 147 Rev. 8-23. The copy from Babylonia has 'One may not eat anything at all, it is an abomination to the god Urasha and

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1 Variants 177 Rev. ii 4 and 147 Obv. 30 have "Ju-rid, a title of Nusku, KAR. 58, 45.

2 Possibly 'not face the wind'.

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the goddess Ninegal. If he takes an oath god will seize him.'
177 Rev. 1, 32-4.

(B) *Bab. iv* 107, 17-18, duplicate of KAR. 177 Rev. 1, 32-4.

(C) The ordinary calendar has equally long directions, text damaged. The king may not ride in a boat, nor face a strong wind; may not cross a river or leap over a rivulet; must recite a penitential psalm; he may not eat dove, chicken, fish, lovage, and the owner of a garden may not eat the root of lovage or he will become blind. One may not sleep in his bed-chamber. The king must set forth offering to Ninlil. Almanacs. Lucky at lawsuits. *Uruk*, 53 Rev. 1, 7; K. 3560 Obv. 1, 7.

**Day 8**

(A) Day of gladness, day of Enlil. The minister in attendance on the prince shall purge himself, wash and cleanse himself. Let one fill his house and make glad. One shall not go to a strange woman, but to his beloved. KAR. 177 Rev. 41-6; 147 Rev. 24-6. Copy from Babylonia. (The king) shall purge and cleanse himself; he shall make a gift to his god, and pour out a libation; set forth an offering to his god, and so Ninegal will intercede for him with Urasha. 177 Rev. 1, 35-40.

(B) *Bab. iv* 107, 19-20, duplicate of 177 Rev. 1, 35-40.

(C) On old calendar, text damaged. King sets forth an offering to his god. Almanacs. Half of this day is lucky.

**Day 9**

(A) Copy from Babylonia. (The king) sacrifices to the constellation the 'she-goat' (head of Capricorn), sets forth offerings to her (i.e. Gula as goddess of the constellation), and extols her in heaven and earth. All the year sickness shall not come nigh him.

(B) Text lost on K. 8068.

(C) On ordinary calendar this is a lucky day for lawsuits. The king sets forth his offering to Nusku (god of new moon). KAR. 178 Rev. iv, 73-4. Almanacs. Lucky in lawsuits.

Days 1-7 of Teshrit are, therefore, a period of penance in both Babylonian and Assyrian menologies, ending with the mostsombre and mournful day of the year, the *seventh*. Days 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 all mention Enlil, the god who in the old Sumerian myth convened the divine assembly to decree fates at the beginning of the year. The seven-day period
is followed by rejoicing for the same god, and in Babylonia there is a second day of rejoicing on the 9th with offerings to the goddess of healing.

As a time of judgement when a god is implored to intercede with another on behalf of men, this month was also the time of making offerings to the dead. A commentary explains this. "Teshrit is (the month) of the "Yoke of Enlil". The emblems are cleaned. People and prince purge themselves. Pure sacrifices of the lands for the year shall be made to the Anunnaki (gods of the lower world). From the gate of the Apsû shall they come up. Funeral offerings are made to Lugaldugug, "king of the Dukug", to Ea (god of the Apsû) and to Ninki (wife of Ea). Month of the grandfather of Enlil." Teshrit or October, then, was the traditional time for sacrifices to the dead, when the Sun-god begins his descent to the land of the dead. The same ceremony survived in the Syrian calendar as late as the Middle Ages. In the former Teshrin of the Şabeans at Harran, in the middle of the month, they burnt food-offerings to the dead during the night, and burnt a bone from the thigh of a camel to the dog of the wicked working female (goddess) that this dog of the terrible underworld goddess frighten not the dead. And they poured out wine on the fire for the dead that they might drink while they ate the burnt food-offerings. The reference to the demoness of hell, who with her dogs frightens the souls of the dead, may be of Greek origin. The only reference to a goddess with dogs in Babylonian mythology is found in an incantation to Ninkarrak (Gula), whom

1 Northern Boötes and Corona.
2 So Sumerian: but Accadian, 'the gate of the Apsû is opened'.
3 Sumerian and Accadian versions, KAV. p. 120 ii 22–38.
4 Corresponding to the kispu of the Assyrian commentary.
5 mu' dhiyat.
6 Chwolsohn, Sabier, ii 31 n. 237 takes this female worker of iniquity for a deity corresponding to Hekate with her dogs.
7 The Syrians at Heliopolis called this month the ḫag, Greek ἂγ, referring to the Feast of Ingathering, or Feast of Tabernacles. See p. 24, n. 1.
the sufferer beseeches to hold back her whelps. There is no reference to Gula, goddess of healing, whose symbol was a dog, in the instructions for Teshrit except on day 9, and here worship of her constellation wards off sickness. If the Syrian myth of a lower-world goddess and her dogs is based upon Babylonian mythology it must refer to Ninegal, the underworld goddess mentioned in the instructions for days 7, 8.

The Greek Attic month Boedromion corresponds to Teshrit, and on the 5th of Boedromion fell the Genesia, feast of ancestors. There is a connexion between the Babylonian, Greek, and Syrian rites for the dead in this month, and the opening of the gate of the nether sea for the dead to arise (p. 105, n. 2) corresponds to the Roman mundus patet, ‘the earth is open’, of the Roman calendar on August 24. Also on October 5 and November 8 the souls arose from a pit on the Palatine Hill, which was closed by a lapis manalis, ‘stone of the manes’, removed on those days. All these rites have survived in the Christian calendar, November 2, All Souls’ Day.

There is a Babylonian commentary devoted to Teshrit which begins with an omen. ‘If in Teshrit one demolishes a house in a city and its brick wall is laid [his god will lead him in prosperity]. In Teshrit rises the star of Ninmah, the child-bearing. The commentary apparently refers to a drawing of Libra beneath the border of which comments on words were written and the text. Teshrit is then explained as the ‘month of the families’, i.e. of family feast for the dead, and Libra is called the ‘balancer’, governing the time of the equinox. One is forbidden to make a kunsag,
a shrine, a chapel, or a royal chapel, or any earth construction in Teshrit. One may repair ‘his god’ (i.e. his statue) or ‘his god who has fallen into ruin’, in Teshrit. If fire falls on a house in Teshrit the gods will despise the king of the land. On the 29th one may not go out of the gate. Teshrit is the month of the heroic Shamash, when Libra rises, and here the ‘dark star’ Saturn is mentioned as the star of Shamash. Then the mortuary sacrifices are made to the Anunnaki (gods of the lower world). The month is sacred to ‘the king of the Dukug’, grandfather of Enlil, who is the water-god Ea. It appears, then, that in genuine Sumerian tradition it was Ea who sat in the Holy Chamber in the month Dukug and not Enlil.

It calls for remark that in the late period the New Year festivals whether in the spring or autumn both cover eleven days at Babylon in Nisan, at Erech in Teshrit. This is undoubtedly due to the astronomical discovery in the late period that the lunar year of 354 days is eleven days short of the solar year 365 days. The Assyrian menologies could not have known this, for there the period is seven days of fasting and two days of festivity. The Jewish period, days 1–10 inclusive ending with the Day of Atonement, may have been based upon the 11-day epact of Babylonia. The eleven days of the epact were known to the Assyrians, as the following text of the seventh century proves.

1 Same rule KAR. 177 Obv. π 13–15, allowed only in Shebat and Adar; allowed Nisan, Shebat, Adar, DA. 100, 11–14.
2 Same rule, KAR. 212 Obv. 1, 2 + 13; 177 Obv. π 18–20.
3 Same omen KAR. 212 Rev. 1, 52 + 64.
4 III Raw. 52, No. 3, Rev. 6–61, from K. 2848 and Var. 2847; Virolleaud, Bab. iv 109–13 transcribed the entire tablet, using also duplicates K. 7665; Rm. 2, 589, ibid. 120–2. The text is complete in 82 lines with colophon. It begins with titles of fourteen omen tablets, ‘signs of earth’, a section confined to bird and animal omens, omens from cities and is in fact entirely confined to terrestrial events. Then follow the titles of eleven omen tablets, ‘signs of heaven’. Then follow two sections, which give directions for interpreting the omens. A third section follows: ‘Total 25 tablets of signs of heaven and earth whose
57. There are 12 months in the year = 360 days. The length (measure) of the New Year festival in thy hand retain.

58. The eclipse (dark of the moon), the dawn, the heliacal rising of the stars, their fixed periods,

59. The harmonizing (epact) at the beginning of the year in Aries, the rising of the moon and sun in Adar and Elul, ²

60. The heliacal rising and appearance of the moon, which monthly appears, thou shalt look for. ³

61. The opposition of sun and moon thou shalt observe ⁴ and let it answer thee.

62. And of the year its months, of the month its days thou shalt seek to find and whatsoever thou doest . . .

63. When at the appearance of the moon the day passed into darkness, and darkness fell,

64. When at the eclipse (darkness of the moon) the day passed into darkness and darkness fell,

65. For the incompletion ⁵ of the full time of the eclipse (dark of the moon) and for the appearance of the new moon ⁶ thou shalt look.

66. And the year . . . ⁷

67. Twelve months in thy hand thou shalt retain. For the incompletion ⁸ of the days of the place of the sun seek.

68. The opposition of sun and moon shalt thou retain in thy hand.

69. The place of the celestial equator seek and the days to be filled in thou shalt know, ⁹ and then good and evil will arrive. The omen(s), as many as are in heaven, or are seen on earth, into their contents thou shalt examine. This is their solution. ¹ After these sections the scribe adds the long commentary on the lunar and solar years.

¹ For transcription see Virolleaud, Bab. iv 112, 57-82.
² Here obviously Adar and Elul, 12th and 6th months indicate the equinoxes.
³ "teṭe'î = kin-kin.
⁴ tanassar = ŠES. Sitkultu, balancing, superior conjunction, time of full moon.
⁵ la šukulti; see Meissner, SAI. 2475.
⁶ Literally enbi bēl [arhim], ‘the fruit, lord of the month’.
⁷ Break in the Babylonian original from which the Assyrian scribe copied.
⁸ i.e. look for the difference between the lunar and solar years.
⁹ as-ri šip-ki teṭe'î-ma úme atrūtu lu-ú ti-di-i. In l. 68 opposition Sitkultu is here surely astronomical inferior conjunction, time of the calculated
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70. fix thou the year, and complete its supplement;¹...nor shalt thou err.

71. Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Kislev, Tebit, Shebat, Adar, and the zagmuk or New Year period (which completes the solar year) to the end.

72. For the entry of an army into camp it is lucky in Nisan, Sivan, Tammuz, Elul, Teshrit (?), Arahsamna, Kislev, Tebit, Shebat; unlucky in Ayar, Ab, and Adar.

73. For an army in battle at a city or for conquering the hostile land, lucky in Ayar, Elul, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Adar; other months unlucky.

74-6. To purge a plundered city or a plundered land,² it is lucky in Nisan, Teshrit, Tebit; unlucky in Ayar. Thou shalt retain (these matters) in thy hand.

77. The evening watch, middle watch, morning watch, (these) are the watch(es) of the entire night.

78. For the army to take up a march, it is unlucky in the evening watch, lucky in the middle watch, and unlucky in the morning watch.

79. For an army to conquer a city, it is lucky in the evening watch, unlucky in the middle watch, and lucky in the morning watch.

80. To conquer a city and (its) army; to take up a march³ is lucky in the 'harmonizing' days.

This text states distinctly (l. 71) that the New Year festival of eleven days is a supplement to the lunar year. This is the oldest evidence for the discovery of the exact length of the difference between the lunar and solar year in the history of astronomy. The text copied by a scribe of the seventh century undoubtedly reproduces an older Babylonian document. This precedes the mention of the epact in Greece by four centuries.

new moon of the first month. At the end of twelve months, granted that the preceding year began at the equinox or when the sun passes the equator, this opposition occurs eleven days before the sun reaches the šipku, equator.

¹ di-ri-ša = atra-ša. Or is dirū, di-ri, a loan-word? If so, why not di-ra-a?
² dlam ekmam u mātam ekmatam ubbubu.
³ šu-šur ḫarrani.
LECTURE III

A. THE TAMMUZ-ISHTAR CYCLE OF MONTHS
AYAR, SIVAN, TAMMUZ, AB, ELUL

My previous lecture explained how both Sumerians and Babylonians divided the year into two equal parts of six months each; how at the beginning of each half in Nisan and Teshrit they had New Year festivals and the seasons of penance, for eleven days at the beginning of each; the Hebrews on taking this system over kept their old beginning of the year in Teshrit and adopted the same season of penance. I shall now describe the five months of the first half of the Babylonian year, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Ayar, Sivan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul. See p. 19.

Ayar (April–May), or the second month after the spring equinox, the Sumerians of Nippur named gusisa, running from about April 15th to May 15th normally. gusisa means probably 'festival of the procession of the oxen'. When the constellation Orion (star of Tammuz) rose in this month the god of vegetation and flocks is said to have married the Earth-goddess. The month gū-si-sā́ was also an intercalary month in Sumerian. At ancient Lagash the name of this month was gū-du-izi-mû-a Ḍ. Ninā-ka, but the name of the goddess of canals and fish, Ninā, is often omitted. In the age of Sargon of Agade gū-du-izi-mû-mû is usual. In the late Sumerian period gār for gud, bull, is common, alongside gū-ta-izi-mû-mû and gū-du-mû-mû. Both at Nip-

1 Var. gū-si-su, Langdon, Drehem, p. 8. The reading gud, gū, ox, is proved by the name of Taurus, mudgū-an-na, written mudgū-an-na, KAV. p. 119, 26; and by i*gu-si-si, PSBA. 1899, 159, 7.
2 Bab. vii 240, 17.
3 RTC. 32; DP. 143; VS. xiv, No. 4; Landsberger, Kal. 46.
4 Inventaire de Tello, t, 1148; 1357 etp. See Thureau-Dangin, ZA. 15, 68.
5 For gār = alpu, see CT. 25, 6, 22. For the Ur period see *GUD-ra-izi-mû-mû, RA. 8, 87 n. 1; Reisner, TU. 222.
6 Pinches, Amherst, 70.
7 TU. 50; 209, et p.
pur and Lagash the second month was, therefore, named after some ceremony with oxen, and at Nippur certainly a procession (alpe ultēsēru) of oxen as the calendar and commentaries prove. The Lagash name originally was the month ‘the oxen-izi-mu of the goddess Nina’. The izi-mumu ceremony refers to torch-processions in the month Tammuz. Hence at Lagash the name seems to mean ‘oxen of the torch (procession) in honour of the goddess Nina’.

At Ur the month was known as ŠEŠ-da-kū or DUN-da-kū, a festival of eating some animal, and in this month fell the ezen gū-si-su or ‘festival of the procession of oxen’, on days 12, 20, 21, with sacrifices of cows and oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, and on the 21st a sacrifice on behalf of the mother of the Enlils. In the same month at Nippur fell the ezen-ga(n)-si to the ‘queen of the brides’, certainly referring to the divine marriage in Ayar. And there was a gate at Nippur known as ‘gate of the king who conducts the oxen’.

The Nippurian name was finally adopted in all Sumerian provinces and throughout Babylonia, and was translated into Accadian by a-ja-rum, a-a-ru, in early Assyrian a-ri, ja-ri, Jewish 'jjār, the form also used in Syrian Arabic, Aramaic 'jār; at Heliopolis the Greek transcription in the


2 See KAR. 357, io = Ebeling, Tod und Leben, 50, 15, izi mū-ah = ab-ra tanāpah, thou shalt kindle firewood (at the head of a bed).

3 Only a suggestion.

4 Langdon, Drehem 8; Landsberger, Kal. 69.

5 Genouillac, Drehem, 5527, Obv. 1–13.

6 Bab. vii, 237, No. 2.

7 Clay, BE. ix 69. This certainly refers to the god of the marriage festival; see "Lugal-ši-šd, RTC. 247 1 9; Gudea, Cyl. B, 8, 21. Cf. uzu lugal-ši-šd = i-ša-ru, membrum virile, Kish, 1924, 799 Obv. 11 16.

8 VS. ix 33, 4.

9 ASKT. 64, 2.

10 RA. 23, 128, No. 54, 9.

11 Chiera, ṅuzi, Harvard 1, 24, 12.

12 Chwolsohn II 25 § 2, 1.
Christian period was larar, Arar. Since the Sumerian *si-sa* means *šutēšuru*, to go in procession, the Accadian *Ayāru* is almost certainly derived from the verb *āru*, 'to go on a way'. The Accadians, therefore, by this word were rendering the salient aspect of the Sumerian festival for this month.

A neo-Babylonian book of special instructions contains the following comments on Ayar. Ayar is the month of Ningirsu the high priest of Enlil, the month when one drives oxen in procession. On the second day at the time of repose (sunset) Nabū is clothed in a garment of divine power for the marriage festival. He then goes in procession to the temple *Ehurśaba* and enters before the divine princess (his wife Tashmet) where all is prepared for the marriage, and there on a bed they sleep. On the sixth day Nabū goes forth into a garden. On the seventh he proceeds in procession to a chapel in Eanna, temple of the virgin goddess Ishtar, a survival of an older marriage of Tammuz and Ishtar. Again he descends into a garden of Anu and sits down. 'Since he has taken over the kingship of Anu and completed (the marriage ceremony)'. On the seventeenth Nana hastens from her temple *Ehurśaba* and proceeds in procession to a garden. In this text the divine marriage of Ayar in Babylonia was that of Nabū and Tashmet and was held on days 2–6, and that of Tammuz and Ishtar on days 7–17. Reference is then made to rituals of Enlil in

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1 *Hemerologium Florentinum* and Leiden manuscript in Benfey, *Monatsnamen*, 21–2; 168. See p. 66.
3 Reisner, SH. 145 II 12–32. Jensen, KB. vi4, 26; Behrens, LSS. ii1, p. 39, n. 1.
4 *alpē ušēšir.*
5 *hadašatu.*
6 *ušēšir išadahu.*
7 That this is Tashmet is proved by Harp., *Lett.* 366, 7.
8 *ušēšir.*
Nippur. Ayar was, therefore, originally the month of a marriage festival in the old Sumerian cities, at Nippur and Lagash almost certainly of Ningirsu and Bau.

This ceremony is also described in two Assyrian letters. One is addressed to the ‘son of the king’. ‘On the third of Ayar in Calah thou shalt prepare the bed of Nabû. Nabû will enter into the house of the (bridal) bed. On the fourth day is the return of Nabû.’ The writer then says that Nabû will go out of the adru of the palace (ekallu) into the garden where sacrifices are to be made. The chariot driver of the gods comes to bring Nabû away from the garden and causes him to enter again into (his temple). The charioteer then departs. According to this letter the divine marriage occurred on the night between days 3 and 4, after which there was a procession to and from a garden. Another letter addressed to the king states that on the fourth of Ayar during daylight toward evening Nabû and Tashmet enter the sleeping-chamber. From the fifth to the tenth Nabû and Tashmet remain in their bridal chamber. The chief minister (on guard of the chamber) must kneel and Nabû departs on the eleventh and goes to the park (ambassu), where he slays wild bulls and lions. He then returns to his throne-room (šubtu).

In the Babylonian menology an older Tammuz-Ishtar marriage is referred to on days 7–17 and on the seventh day the old Assyrian calendar forbids any one to marry. The

1 Harp., Lett. 66, 7–10.
2 Usually taken for ‘threshing floor’, ‘barn’. Here it refers to a palace chamber.
3 A religious office, one who drives the chariot of the statue of a god in a procession.
4 Harp., Lett., No. 366; Behrens, Briefe, p. 37.
5 i.e. on the evening of the fifth day.
6 Before these lines is an obscure statement which says that on the 5th they shall cause them to eat ša-ku-su of the king and the chief minister shall sit (probably on guard) and that they shall bring a lion’s head (and) a tallakku to the palace. Apparently the nuptials take place in the palace.
7 KAR. 178 iv 59.
almanac forbids marriage on the fifth,¹ but the old menology seems to allow it. On the fifteenth a prisoner was released;² and another Assyrian letter³ describes the fifteenth as te-bi šukltu ‘the going up of the procession is finished’, and the eighteenth as the day štam pušur for which the almanac has zašattam pušur,⁴ both obscure references to the completion of the ceremony.

Ayar or ‘month of the marriage procession’ corresponds to the Roman April under the protection of Venus (tutela Veneris). If this ceremony of a divine marriage found its way into Italy it would explain the Veneralia of April 1 at Rome, when patrician women prayed to the chaste Venus (Verticordia) and the poor to Fortuna Virilis who gives good luck with men; then they bathed in men’s baths and gave themselves over to general licentiousness, a custom which seems to have come to Italy from Cyprus.⁵ The myth is surely the real explanation of why April in Rome and Europe became the month most favourable for marriages. This is also the time of the great feast of Artemis in the Attic calendar, the month Mounichion corresponding to Artemisios in the Macedonian year.

The Babylonians assigned Ayar to Ningirsu, god of irrigation and a local form of Tammuz at Lagash; his consort Bau-Gula is also frequently identified with Ishtar. Consequently the ceremony of ‘giving bread’ to Gula on the twelfth,⁶ or the day after the marriage ceremony was completed according to one source,⁷ must be connected with this ritual. An Assyrian scribe informed the king that he might do anything he desires on Ayar 10, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, all of which are favourable for worship of God. The

¹ V Raw. 48 ii, [dam na-an-tuk].
² Thompson, Reports, 215.
³ Harp., Lett. 1140 Rev. 6–8.
⁴ V Raw. 48 ii day 18. One may slay a serpent on the 20th; ibid., and Harp. 1140 Rev. 9; it is a good omen to do so.
⁵ Fowler, Roman Festivals, 67–9, and see especially the note of Verrius in the calendar of Philocalus, ibid. 67.
⁶ Streck, Assurb. ii 2, 12.
⁷ p. 113.
commentary on Ayar has ‘Ayar is the month of the Pleiades, the seven great gods, time of the opening of the earth. The oxen go in procession. The water-sluices are opened. The water-wheels are flooded. Month of the heroic Ningirsu, great priest-king of Enlil.’ It is difficult to understand then why the Assyrians assigned this month to the water-god ‘Ea, lord of the peoples’, unless it was because they had assigned the Pleiades to the stars of the Ea way.

Since the myth of Ayar is of early Sumerian origin, as proved by the name at Nippur, any connexion with the stars must be sought in the constellations governing Ayar in the Taurus period. The principal constellation would be Orion. Orion was in fact identified with Tammuz and Ninsubur (a type of Tammuz), but the myth here refers to Tammuz as the slain god in the month Tammuz. Ovid began his poem on April:

*Alma, jave, dixi, geminorum mater amorum,*

‘“O fruitful mother of the twin loves”, said I, “grant me thy favour”’, and he derived *Aprilis* from Aphrodite.

Sivan (May–June) in the Nippurian calendar was named *slg-ù-šub-ba-gar*, ‘month when the brick is made in the mould’, and is the only one of the cycle of months 2–6 which was not based upon the Tammuz-Ishtar cult. The calendar of the Sumerian city Umma has this name as the second month of a year beginning with Adar. Sargon of Assyria described

1 KAV. 1, 12–25; Weidner, H.B. 85.
2 In Aries period, p. 3.
3 *gud-si-sd-e-ne* = *alpe ulte!eru*.
4 For which SBH. 145, 13 has *nu-tá-at-ta ba-ma-a-tu*, ‘the hill-lakes are opened (split)’.
5 K. 2049, 2; Streck, II 2, 11; 258 II 3. 6 p. 3.
By the Babylonians shortened to *slg, slg-ga, slg-a*. Also *sig*, PSBA. 1909, Pl. IV 11.
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\(^5\) K. 2049, 2; Streck, ii, 2, 258 ii 3.
\(^6\) p. 3.
\(^7\) p. 4.
\(^8\) BE. iii 13; \(\text{sig-ù-šub-ba-gd-ra},\) YOS. iv 92; \(\text{sig-gif-šub-ba-gd},\) ibid. 196; \(\text{gif-šub-ba-gd-ra},\) 231; \(\text{sig-gif-šub-ba-gd-ra},\) Nikolski, ii 200 Rev. 5. By the Babylonians shortened to \(\text{sig}, \text{sig-ga}, \text{sig-a}.\) Also \(\text{sig},\) PSBA. 1909, Pl. iv 11.
\(^9\) PSBA. 1913, 48. In Contenau, Umma 8, \(\text{sig-gif-šub-gd (gd-ra, No. 16).}\)
Sivan as the month when he caused bricks to be made. At Ur the Sumerians named the third month (old style) ū-be-mušen-kū, 'month of the eating of the ūbe bird, or ū-be-mušen-mu, 'month of sacrificing the ūbe bird'. At Ur this month had a ceremony of eating the ŠEŠ-da (some animal) on the first day, and consequently the month of eating the ūbe bird began with a ceremony which gave its name to the second month. At Lagash the third month was known as 'the festival of the god Negun'. The scribes define Negun as a title of the War-god Ninurta, probably a title used at Kēš-Opis, and also say that Negun was 'Lord of the city, (his) name at Nippur'. In the myth of Sivan Negun was the Fire-god by whose assistance bricks were made, and the scribes also explained his name as meaning the Fire-god who consumes the offerings. But at Nippur the Fire-god was Nusku, a title of the Moon-god, and consequently the Assyrians (certainly copying from Babylonian) said that Sivan was sacred to the Moon-god, Sin, first-born son of Enlil. The official list erroneously identified ū-be-mušen-kū with the month Tammuz, and its authors, not knowing the old name of Ayar at Ur, inserted an Assyrian name for Sivan, Śi-i-taš. We do not know where the Assyrians obtained this name, but it is certainly Sivan; for Sargon of Assyria says that the month Sitaš is the month of the son of Enlil, the decider of decisions, who causes signs of light

1 Winckler, Sargon, p. 90, 69.  
2 Var. ub-be, Inventaire II 649.  
3 See Langdon, Drehem, p. 9; Landsberger, Kal. 69.  
4 Legrain, Ur, 321. See above, p. 111.  
5 ezen 4·Nin-gân-na in V Raw. 43 A 11. ezen 4·Ne-gân-na-ka, or Ne-gûn in Lagash texts, Langdon, Drehem, p. 9; Landsberger, Kal. 42. 4·Nin-gûn in II Raw. 59 A 40 = 4·Ne-gûn in CT. 24, 26, 112–13, son of Belit-ili. At Umma the ninth month was named 'month of 4·Ne-gûn', which I fail to understand. This would be Kislev, December.  
6 CT. 25, 12, 23.  
7 CT. 24, 14, 13.  
8 PBS. x 342, 7–10, Negun, 'he that burns by fire'.  
9 Babylonian Liturgies, 142, and see arah 4·Sin in Assyria, p. 33.  
10 K. 2049, 3; Streck, Assurb. II 70, 97; 40, 110; 204, 17.  
11 bi-in 4·Dara-gal.
to be seen,\(^1\) (month of) Nannar of heaven and earth, hero of the gods, god Sin, and this month was called ‘month of the god of bricks’, by the decree of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and it was the month for baking bricks, for building cities and houses.\(^2\) In this month there was a festival to Nabû, the scribe who wrote on clay tablets, baked by the god of fire.\(^3\)

The third month at Nippur was, therefore, sacred to the Moon-god as the deity who had bestowed upon mankind the priceless gift of fire. That it should be especially connected with brick-making and writing on clay tablets is entirely explicable by the fact that the baked brick was the only means of building and means of writing in Sumer and Accad. The rituals of this month commemorated the supreme gift of the gods to man. In the civilization of the Sumerians and Babylonians the baked brick was absolutely indispensable; for stone does not exist in that land.

On the 25th of Sivan there was a procession of Bēlit of Babylon,\(^4\) who has no connexion at all with the myth of this month; for it occurs on the 25th of all months. As to the Roman calendar, where June corresponds to Sivan, the principal ceremony was the Vestalia, June 9, the celebration of Vesta, goddess of household fires. The period June 5–14, until the temple of Vesta was cleansed on the 15th, was nefast in Rome, when no marriages could take place. The Vestalia was clearly a fire cult, and since it fell in the same month as that sacred to the Fire-god in Sumer and Babylonia there may well be a connexion here. Borrowing may be excluded by the fact that in Sumer the deity is a male and in Rome a female. As to the Accadian rendering of sig-ū-sub-ba-gar, ‘month or time of brick-making’, by si-ma-nu, si-man-nu,\(^5\) this

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3. Ibid., l. 59, *ina sembler*. Note that some rite for Nabû fell on Sivan 22, SBH. 145 iii 2–3. In Sivan on a festal day *üm eššēlu* (in reformed calendar this can be one of the three days 4, 8, 17, all sacred to Nabû)
5. ASKT. 64, 3.
word may mean nothing more than the ordinary word simānu, ‘fixed season’, season (of brick-making). It passed into Hebrew and Aramaic as šṭān, Sivan; Greek, Seioun. In Syria in the Roman period at Heliopolis a name for Sivan was retained in the calendar, Ezer, Ozir, the Ḥazirān of Syriac,1 ‘month of the Boar (Star)’.

The Assyrian commentary on Sivan falsely assigned Taurus to Sivan in mythology and has ‘Sivan is the month of Taurus, the tablet star,’2 crown of Anu. That star is like the Fire-god.3 Month of the brick mould of the king. The king shall bake (bricks) of the mould. The lands shall build their houses. Month of the ‘god of bricks’ (Kulla) of the Land.4 Here the myth of the Fire-god is connected with Taurus, regent of Nisan in the Sumerian period. The regnal star of the ‘month of brick-making’ in the Aries period was Sirius, together with Gemini and Cancer. In fact Sirius was identified with Girra the Fire-god5 and with Ninurta,6 who was in fact also known under the title Negun, god of this month at Lagash. It was natural that the Fire-god should be identified with the Javelin Star, Sirius,7 which ‘glows like copper’.8

The menologies of both the tenth9 and seventh10 centuries are well preserved and reveal no trace of a festival in Sivan nor worship of Sirius. The Greek festivals of Prometheus (Promethia) and Hephaistus (Hephaistia), characterized by renewing household fires by torches lighted at the altar of the Fire-god, seems to have no parallel in the rites of Sivan. This month was lucky for doing most things according to

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1 See p. 65, n. 5.
2 See p. 69 for the origin of this.
3 Sumerian KA + NE (ur-gū), PBS. xii, No. 10, 4; Ni. 7889. See Langdon, Epic of Creation, 52, K. 9138, 7; PBS. x 153, 12; 154, 24; 155, 29.
4 KAV. p. 119 Col. 1 26–37; Weidner, HB. 85.
5 d.GIS-BAR, Burrows, JRAS. Centenary Volume (1923) 34, 11.
6 Ibid. 34–6.
7 See p. 4.
8 L. W. King, AKA. 140, 15.
9 KAR. 178 v 11–vi 6; 179 iii 15–iv 20.
10 K. 4068.
the calendars, especially for beginning work on buildings, repairing houses, &c. One could clean his garments, recite a penitential psalm, make offering to god, sell grain, but not build a tomb in Sivan. The king could take part in the temple rituals in this month, and it was lucky for marriages.

In the month Ḥazīran the Šabean immigrants at Harran celebrated a mystery on the 27th to the god Shemāl and the god who shoots with the arrow, who can hardly be other than Ninurta (Nimrod), god of the Javelin Star. They also placed offerings in seven portions on a table to the seven gods (= sibitti ilāni), certainly the Pleiades in Taurus. The priest then shot an arrow to which was attached a firebrand made of inflammable wood which whizzed like a rocket. There is, here, surely in the Middle Ages a heritage of the ancient Sumerian worship of the Fire-god and his constellation Sirius, the Javelin or Arrow Star. Ninurta, god of Sirius, was in fact known as ḫumširu, the boar, and consequently the Syriac name of Sivan can be nothing more than a survival of a cult of Sirius or Ninurta as the Boar Star.

TAMMUZ (June–July), or the fourth month, the Sumerians at Nippur named šu-numun, a name also adopted at Lagash from the Agade period onward and universally used in Babylonia and Assyria (after the fourteenth century). Also šu-še-numun occurs, and since še-numun is the ordinary word for ‘seed corn’, this name describes this midsummer season as having to do with seed corn, and possibly the time of threshing. še-numun, ‘seed’, is also used for ‘offspring’. The

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1 See Chwolsohn, Szabier, π 26.
2 The evidence can be read in Semitic Mythology, p. 132, and SBP. p. 66, n. 3.
3 This is the sixth month in the Umma calendar, which begins with Adar, PSBA. 1913, 48.
4 šu-numun-na, V Raw. 43 A 15–20; BE. vi², 74, 17, and passim in Cassite period. šu-numun-a, BE. vi², 99, 19, is regular in the Hammurabi period.
5 BE. iii 53.
6 RA. 8, 138 π 7; Del. Per. vi 8 π 10; CT. 29, 48, 6.
month is also called šu-ninda-numun-a, a phrase containing the words ‘bread of seed corn’. The Sumerians at Ur (old style) has ki-sig- d.Nin-a-zu, ‘month of the breaking of bread to the god Ninazu’, a ceremony described at Lagash by ezen šu-numun, ‘feast of the . . . seed corn’. But Ninazu ‘lord of healing’ is a title of Tammuz after his death and as god in the lower world, hence also of Nergal lord of the land of the dead. Moreover, the Nippurian ūšu-numun-na was rendered by Du-u-zu, month of Tammuz, which passed into the Jewish calendar as month Tammûz, into Aramaic as T-m-w-z (Tamûz). Hence in the ‘month of seed corn’, or ‘bread of seed corn’, the Accadians learned of a feast (of breaking of bread) for Tammuz, lord of life, who died in midsummer. It is, therefore, almost certain that šunumun at Nippur meant the month of breaking bread made from corn, a festival which survived in this month among the Šabean of Harran. In the middle of the month Tammuz fell their celebration Buqat, ‘wailing’ by weeping women in honour of Ta’uz. They then ate nothing ground in the mill, but only soaked wheat, chick-peas, dates, and raisins. The same celebration was maintained by the Nabateans. A late Babylonian calendar of special instructions says that Tammuz was a month of lamentation (te-kil-[ti]), month of

1 CT. 34, 2; Thureau-Dangin, Sargon, I. 6. ūšu-ni-gi-na, šu-nig-gi-na, VS. IX 183; Bu. 88-5-12, 273, cited by Landsberger, Kal. 30, are not considered here; cf. ūšu-nim-ma, after Adar II, KAR. 212 III 43.
2 See ibid. 606; the Nabateans wrote Tamûz.
the binding of the god [Tammuz] when wailing was instituted (rikis sipitti),¹ and an omen taken from the sheep’s liver says that if a certain sign on it occurs in this month ‘the god of man will seek offerings for the dead Tammuz’.²

The old Assyrian menology orders weeping and liturgies for the second day,³ and the Babylonian almanac says that on the 10th there is to be mourning; it is a day of trouble and gloom,⁴ when one might not go out into a street.⁵ On the 9th there was a procession of torches, and on the 17th a procession with torches was held when the king made offering to the ‘Lord of Cutha’, or Nergal.⁶ This agrees with the middle of the month as the time of the Tammuz wailing as retained by the Šabæans, and the Jewish fast on the 17th was obviously taken from the Babylonian calendar. The Jews latterly explained the sorrowful rites of the 17th as a day of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70.⁷ The Phœnicians also had a month Marzeahl ‘feast of mourning’, which was undoubtedly the same as the Babylonian Tammuz.⁸

When John of Gischala fought the last battle for the Jewish state at the siege of Jerusalem daily sacrifice was abandoned on the 17th of Panemos (Tammuz). In Babylonia the god Tammuz was said to have descended to the lower world on the 18th of Tammuz and to have risen on the 28th of Kislev (December).⁹ Another passage in the same

¹ SBH. 145 iii 12-15. ² CT. 28, 44, K. 717, 4. ³ KAR. 178 vi 10. ⁴ V Raw. 48 iv. ⁵ Falkenstein, Uruk, 53, 1, 3. ⁶ KAR. 178 vi 44-5. The almanac, V Raw. 48 iv has the nipih išati, ‘flaming of fire’, torch procession on the 16th; so also Uruk, 53, 1, 9. ⁷ It is also kept in memory of the sack of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar on the 9th of the fourth month (i.e. Tammuz), according to Jeremiah 39, 2, and as the day when Moses broke the tablets of the Law. All these historical explanations are obviously attempts to elucidate a ceremony and a date whose origin had been forgotten. See the Jewish Encyclopaedia, sub ‘Tammuz’.

⁸ See Sarsowsky in Harkavy Festschrift; Pick in OLZ. 1908, 513; Clermont-Ganneau in Cooke, NSI. 95. See p. 25.

⁹ ZA. 6, 244, 52-4, a tablet dated 138 B.C.
seems to date the descent of Tammuz on the 11th, corresponding to the Babylonian almanac's direction for wailing on the 10th.

Josephus also places the Adonis (Tammuz) wailings in the fourth month and says: 'In the month June the lover of Venus, and a most beautiful youth, is said to have been slain and straightway to have lived again; this same month they call by the same name (Tammuz), and they celebrate an annual solemn ceremony for him in which he is wailed by women as one dead and afterward he is hymned and praised as one who lives again.' Two almanacs of the Seleucid period describe the 18th of Tammuz as a 'day of terror (gilittum) of the road', describing the descent of the dead god on this day.

The Assyrian commentary on this month reads: 'Tammuz is the month of the constellation Orion, him that was smitten by weapons, which is the month of Ninsubur or Papsukkal, far-famed messenger of Anu. Month when seed corn is stored, and the early seed corn is brought forth. There is wailing for the god Ninurugu. Month when Tammuz the shepherd is bound.' Here Orion (in the Aries period regnal stars of Sivan) is falsely assigned to the fourth month, because, as star of Ayar in the Taurus period, Orion had been identified with the shepherd Tammuz in the marriage with Ishtar. Ninsubur is the title of Tammuz here, and since Ninsubur is a special aspect of Ninurta and an earlier name for him, the Assyrians held this month to be sacred to the 'heroic Ninurta'. It is clear from the commentary that the old Sumerian name refers to the season when seed corn was stored and loaned for the next season.

1 See PBS. x 330. 2 Explanatio in Ezechielam, Migne, 25, 85.
3 For the weeping of women for Tammuz in Jerusalem in the time of Ezekiel, see Ezekiel 8, 14, a vision dated on the 5th of the fifth month, 8, 1, after the Septuagint text; Hebrew text sixth month.
4 V Raw. 48 iv 23; Falkenstein, Uruk, 53, 1, 12. gilittum is glossed nakritum (PAP), hostility. 5 KAV. p. 119, i, 38–50. 6 See p. 4.
9 numun nim ta-ë-dë = numun-ni har-pi šu-ši-i, 'early seed is brought
The name may be purely agricultural and by origin may have no connexion with the Tammuz wailings, as did the name at Ur. *nu-mu-un-e*, 'the seed', 'offspring', is a title of Tammuz;\(^1\) despite the commentary and the usual meaning of *numun*, it is possible that *sunumun* actually refers to Tammuz. The Accadian calendar of Elam described this month as the time when the gates of hell were opened for the descent of the dying god,\(^2\) and the early Assyrian name refers to Tammuz as the shepherd.\(^3\) A fragmentary passage on a day of this month (number broken away) has, '... let one announce his glad tidings; [a prisoner] he shall release and so the mouth which curses him will bless him.'\(^4\)

It is probable that the lamentations for Adonis in Greece also occurred in July. Plutarch is the authority for this, and whatever be the arguments which classical scholars adduce for a time in autumn when flowers were thrown into the sea at Athens, symbolic of the dead Adonis, they must reckon with the facts of the Babylonian, Aramaic, and Hebrew calendars. The cult came to Greece from Syria, and it is incredible that the time of the yearly wailings were not the same unless climatic conditions caused it to be placed later in the year.

**AB** (July–August), the fifth month, has been discussed in the first lecture,\(^5\) where the name was chosen to prove how the Babylonian month-names were only translations or general renderings of the Sumerian names. After the season of wailing for Tammuz came the feasts of torches, funeral meals for the dead god, and families entertained the ghosts of their dead relatives at the parentalia. The midsummer fires signified the decline of the sun from the solstice, and this was the ceremony on which the Nippurian name *izi-

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\(^1\) BE. 31, 43, 3 = JRAS. 1932, 940.

\(^2\) p. 44.

\(^3\) p. 33.

\(^4\) Bab. iv 119, 2–3. The text of Ašurbanipal’s edition has not been found for the fourth month.

\(^5\) See pp. 20–23.
izigi-gar, 'the month of torches', was based. The Accadians rendered the name by a-bi, a-bu-um. There was a 'festival of the firewood' (esen a-bi) in this month.

No text for the first fifteen days of Ab has been preserved in the tenth-century calendar, and no part of the tablet on Ab has been recovered in the reformed calendar. Hence their remarks on days 9 and 15, so important in the Jewish year, are unknown. Ezekiel's date of the Tammuz wailings on Ab 5 is marked teššū, calamity, in the almanac. The 15th,
or day of the Hebrew festival of the wood-bearers, was the date of the rising of the Bow Star, Canis Major;¹ in another text it rises on the 5th.² These dates have been connected with the Persian Sacaea on Lōs (= Ab) the 16th.³ The old menology has a long entry against day 19. There was a ceremony of plunging in the river, a mystery, and a ceremony for overcoming an adversary by placing a pasu of clay, on which was written the accuser’s name, in coriander and casting it into the river. The 20th was a day of sorrow when one might not cross a river, and the 25th a day of grief when an image of the ghost of a father was made; a prayer was said over it confessing the dead father’s sins, evidently to avoid the visiting of the sins of the ancestors on the living. There are long directions for purifying the living against the sins committed by any one of the family; these rituals of lustration on Ab 25 are similar to the lustrations by bathing on St. John’s Day.⁴ On the 26th one might not go near any woman, but he must pour out water to the souls of the dead (the Anunnaki) in the garden. If a man ate any fowl on this day he would die by headache and fever.⁵

The regnal star of Ab in the Aries period was Canis Major (excluding Sirius), said to be the constellation of the Elamitic Ishtar, daughter of Enlil,⁶ and of Ishtar of Babylon.⁷ The rising of this constellation in Ab was the festival of the ‘honoured queen, daughter of Enlil’, that is Ishtar of Arbela;⁸ Ab is also described as the month of the Bow Star and month of the mighty daughter of Sin (i.e. Ishtar).⁹

If the date Ab 15 be assumed as the time of the rising of Canis, then this festival of Ishtar fell on the same date as the Jewish festival of bringing wood for the altar. The

¹ CT. 33, 7, 22–3. ² CT. 33, 4, 44. ³ Zimmern, KAT. 427; Sarsowsky, Harkavy Festschrift, 13 ff., says Ab 15 was an ancient Jewish feast. See OLZ. Vol. xi 512. ⁴ Sir James Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 204. ⁵ K. 3769, 10–11. ⁶ CT. 3, 2 7. ⁷ V Raw. 46 A 23. ⁸ Streck, Assurb. 112, 16–17; S. A. Smith, Assurb. 111, 7. ⁹ Ibid. 72 IX 9.
festival of Ishtar of Arbela at Milkia is also called 'festival of the goddess Shatri', celebrated in the *bit akiti*.

**Elul** (September), the sixth month, was known in the Nippurian calendar as the *ezen-kin-\(4\)Innini, 'festival of the sending or mission of Ishtar', and is undoubtedly based upon the myth of Ishtar's descent into Arallû to seek for the dead Tammuz. This month ends the great Tammuz-Ishtar cycle, Ayar the marriage, Tammuz, death of the young god, Ab, time of funeral offerings to him when he sleeps in the lower world, and Elul, time of the descent of his lover Ishtar. At Ur this month was known as *akiti*, or month of the New Year festival, which seems to have been shoved out of its place as the seventh month originally to make way for a festival to the emperor Dungi, a name given to the seventh month in the late period. The fact is that the original Ur calendar is unknown. That the celebration of Ishtar's mission at Ur fell in *akiti* is proved by a tablet dated on the 11th of this month when sacrifices were brought for the 'festival of the mission of Innini', for Anu and Innini; followed by sacrifices to Allatum, queen of hell.

The Sumerians at Lagash named this same month 'the festival of Tammuz', wherefore the Nippur name 'festival

1 Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* 112.
2 Streck, ibid. II 328, 45–8; 332, 18–23.
3 Langdon, *Drehem,* p. 15; a variant is *kin-an-na,* King, *LIH.* p. xxxv n. 3.
4 Note that this is also the sixth month at Adab, or in tablets written at Adab, in the Agade period, Luckenbill, *Adab,* 89; 147. Perhaps *akiti* has no connexion with a New Year's festival at Ur and Adab, and see above where Ishtar's festival in Milkia was celebrated in *bit akiti*.
5 Since my lectures were delivered I have had the opportunity to study the pre-Sargonic tablets from Ur, to be edited by Father Burrows. See the Addendum to this chapter.
6 Legrain, *Ur,* 323, 7–14.
7 \(4\) *ezen-Dumuzi,* RTC. 403 1 4; Inv. II 663, Dungi period. This name has not been found earlier than the last Ur dynasty at Lagash, although Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 4, 83; *ZA.* 15, 410; Kugler, *ZA.* 22, 68; *Sternkunde,* II 174, both give this as certain in the Agade period at Lagash. See Landsberger, *Kal.* 62. The Lagash list in V Raw. 43, third
of the mission of Ishtar (= Innini)’ must be interpreted as having to do with the Tammuz myth.

It is not entirely certain that the ceremony of this month refers to the descent of Ishtar, but my argument is based upon the certain fact that the ceremony contained a ritual of the purification of Ishtar. *kin* in Sumerian means *šipru*, mission, work to be done, and the scribes said that Elul was the *ši-pir ṣimarati*, ‘month of the mission (or ceremony?) of the Ishtars’, or on a variant ‘month of the mission of Ishtar’.¹

But the Sumerian commentary on Elul has: ‘Elul is (the month of) the Bow Star (Spica) of Ishtar, the Elamite, the mother-Ishtars cleanse themselves in the river, yearly she washes herself.’² The Accadian rendering is: ‘Elul is the month of the mission of Ishtar, the Elamite; the Ishtars cleanse themselves in the river, yearly they wash themselves.’³

The legend of the bathing of Ishtar in a fountain in Dilmun is referred to in Sumerian texts. ‘I washed (my) head in the fountain of the mountain of Dilmun’, she said of herself;⁴ she bathed where the sun rises and washed herself in the flood of the river,⁵ and at the well of washing, in the well she washed her head.⁶ But, when Ishtar descended by the seven gates of hell to seek for Tammuz, Ereshkigal queen of Arallû ordered her messenger Namtaru to wash her with the waters of life before she was sent back to earth.⁷ Since the Accadians regarded the principal ceremony of name in each month list, has, so far as the text is preserved, some names unknown at Lagash. *ki-sig d. Ba-ú* stands where *ezem d. Dumu-zi* should be, A 29. A month *é . . . an* is given for the eighth month, A 42; *eš-ga-zu (ri?)* is given for the eleventh month; and *me-ši-ga (SAL)-al* is given for the twelfth month.

¹ Streck, *Assurb.* II 26, 32; 118, 77.
² Sumerian version, KAV. p. 120, 16–18; Var. BA. v 704, 14–15, [id]-da-a-nišú im-mi-in-läg-lag = [ina nāri]-ši-na u-ta-ba-a, ‘they cleanse themselves in their river’.
³ *utallala, ii² of *elētu.*
⁴ Ibid. 19–21.
⁵ ASKT. 127, 37.
⁶ JRAS. 1932, 917, 19; 918, 21.
⁷ Langdon, *Paradis*, 246, 47.
⁸ CT. 15, 48, 38 = KAR. 1 Rev. 33.
THE TAMMUZ-ISHTAR CYCLE OF MONTHS

‘the mission of Ishtar’ as one of purification, they rendered the Sumerian name by Elulu, ‘month of purification’, deriving this noun from the same verb that the Accadians used in ‘the Ishtars cleanse themselves in the river’. Elulu, then, refers to the purification of the virgin Ishtar, and it is difficult to decide whether it refers to a ceremony based on the poem of her descent to Arallû or to the myth of her bathing in the sacred land Dilmun. There is a parallel myth in Greek concerning Hera who bathed yearly in a spring at Nauplia to recover her virginity after her marriage with Zeus. Perhaps this is the reason for the yearly purification of Ishtar in Elul after her marriage with Tammuz in Ayar. Aelian preserves a similar Syrian story that Hera bathed at the source of the Habur (in northern Mesopotamia) after marriage with Zeus, which surely, as a Syrian legend, refers to Adad and Atargatis. Elul corresponds to the Roman mensis sextilis, and the important festival of that month on the Ides (13th) is that of Dianae in Aventina or Sacrum Deanae. This was a Roman holiday for slaves; the Roman women washed their heads, a custom which surely refers to the purification of Diana or Artemis. The Assyrians, in rendering the idea of the myth of the mission of Ishtar, chose the name ‘month of the queen of the palace’, referring to Ishtar as queen in Arallû, and this provides the principal argument for supposing that the Sumerian and Assyrian poems on the descent of Ishtar were recited as part of the ritual of Elul.

1 Nkkc-d Innini = U-lu-lu, ASKT. 64, 6. Instead of the Sumerian word, e-lu-li, e-lu-lu are sometimes used in the Hammurabi period, King, LIIH. III p. xxxv n. 3; e-lu-nim, CT. 33, 42, 12. See Landsberger, Kal. 83, n. 2. There was a festival at Susa in the month Ab (= Elul) called ud-sar ša e-lu-li ša dInnini uru-an-na, ‘day of the New Moon, (day) of the purification of Ishtar of the heavenly city (= Erech)’, Scheil, Del. Per. x 24.

2 Paeanias, II 38, 2.
3 De Nat. An. xii 30.
4 Sem. Myth. 37.
5 Fowler, Roman Festivals, 198–202.
6 Plutarch, Questions Romanæ, 100.
7 See p. 35.
Elul was sacred to Ishtar, queen of the lands,¹ and the tenth-century menology² orders the king to make offerings to her on days 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 27. On the 9th he must make offerings to Ea, the Water-god, and to the River-goddess. The River-goddess appears only here in the menologies and probably refers to the myth of the bathing of Ishtar. Elul passed into Hebrew as Elûl, and for the Aramaic and Syriac forms see p. 65. Of the myth and festival of this month no trace has survived in the Hebrew and Aramaic calendars. The Șabéans had a ceremony of washing themselves secretly on the 3rd of Elul in honour of their chief god Şemāl. On the 26th they worshipped Sun and Venus, and on the 27th and 28th there were offerings to Şemāl and the demons.³

B. CYCLE OF AUTUMN AND WINTER MONTHS

I come now to the five months which constitute the parallel part of the second half of the year, months 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Arahsamna following Teshrit is roughly November; we now enter the period when the Sun-god descends toward the winter darkness. He now becomes lord of the land of the dead, and the descending Sun-god controls the myths of the following months until the winter solstice. In November fall the autumn rains and the ploughing season begins. Therefore the Sumerians of Nippur named the eighth month apin-dû-a, ‘opening (the soil) with the plough’.⁴ apin, Accadian epinnu, plough, is also rendered by narṭabu, water-machine, shadouf.⁵ At Ur the name which seems to

¹ K. 2049, 6.
² KAR. 178 Rev. v 9–iv 13. The special instructions on days 10, 16, 20 of Elul, K. 3769, 12–15 do not refer to any ceremony connected with Ishtar.
⁴ Langdon, Drehem, p. 11; Landsberger, Kal. 34. A tablet from Kut-el-Hai near Telloh, period of Hammurabi, has šṭapin-dû-lá (sic!), Scheil, RT. 31, Notes, No. 3. šṭapin-dû-a, Strassmaier, Warka 41, 39. See Weidner, H.B. 98.
⁵ apin never means ‘water-course’, hence Landsberger’s interpretation, ‘month when water-courses are opened’, is impossible, although Weidner H.B. 98 agrees with him.
correspond to this name is šu-ES-ša.\textsuperscript{1} esša is the word for three, and it is suggested that the name means the third month in a year beginning with the sixth month (akītu) at Ur.\textsuperscript{2} This affords no help at all; the calendar at Lagash has 'month of the festival of Bau', corresponding to apindua at Nippur, but this must have been originally the old New Year month, for Gudea states clearly that ezen\textsuperscript{4}.Bau or the festival of the goddess Bau is the same as the ‘day of the New Year’,\textsuperscript{3} when there was a marriage of Bau (and Ningirsu).\textsuperscript{4} In fact the official list has ‘month of the festival of Bau’ at Lagash as the seventh month or first in an autumn calendar.\textsuperscript{5} However the sources disagree, there is no doubt but that at Lagash the festival of Bau fell in a month which was also known as ‘month of the festival of the temple court’,\textsuperscript{6} and there were offerings to Ninazu and Ereshkigal, both underworld deities, in the month ezen\textsuperscript{4}.Bau.\textsuperscript{7} No help can be obtained from early Sumerian sources concerning the cult and ceremonies of this month, which has a purely agricultural name at Nippur.

The Assyrian commentary has: (Sumerian) ‘The plough and spade are brought forth into the field. The festival (akītu)\textsuperscript{8} of tilling (ur)\textsuperscript{9} is enacted. Month of Adad, great bull

\textsuperscript{1} ES, written usually with three slanted wedges, BE. iii 46; also three upright wedges, Radau, EBH. 229, 15. Now found in pre-Sargonic texts at Ur.
\textsuperscript{2} Even if esša means ‘three’ or ‘third’, šu remains unexplained. See Langdon, Drehem, p. 11; Landsberger, Kal. 52.
\textsuperscript{3} Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 80 v 1; 84 iii 5.
\textsuperscript{4} If this is the eighth month or second in a year beginning with the seventh, then it corresponds to Ayar (or second month in the Nisan system) when the marriage of Tammuz and Ishtar occurred.
\textsuperscript{5} V Raw. 43 a 36.
\textsuperscript{6} ezen-kisal-la-(ka), Langdon, Drehem, p. 11 n. 10; VS. xiv 74 xii 1-2.
\textsuperscript{7} DP. 51 ii 5; iii 4; vi 8; vii 5.
\textsuperscript{8} Usually New Year festival, and see above, where the New Year festival at Lagash fell in the seventh month.
\textsuperscript{9} ur, phonetic for APIN(uru) = erēšu. The seventh month at Lagash until it was supplanted by ezen\textsuperscript{4}.Dungi was ‘ur; see Langdon, Drehem, p. 11; RTC. 276 has ‘ur-ba-bad, ‘month when tilling began’. 
of heaven and earth.' (Accadian) 'Arahsamna (month) of the unbinding of the "band" (giš-maḫ). Spade and plough they bring forth into the field. The festival of tilling (e-ri-šī) is enacted. Month of Adad, great bull of heaven and earth.' Arahsamna is held to be sacred to the Rain and Thunder-god, since this is the season of November rains, and there was a festival to celebrate the opening of the soil with the plough. The Accadian text has a reference to 'the unbinding of the band' (pa-tar mirdīti); now the menologies for this month for days 6, 16, 26 refer to a custom of releasing a debtor or a prisoner. 'The sixth day is lucky. (The king) shall recite a penitential psalm. Before he enters for the psalm a person pledged for debt as a substitute for silver let him ransom and his heart will be glad.' 'On the sixteenth one shall [not eat] dates and so shall that man become old. (The king) shall recite a penitential psalm; he shall manumit a slave; he shall release a prisoner (kasā) and so shall his trouble [be unbound].' 'On the twenty-sixth let him (the king) bow down to Sin; his food-offering he shall not set forth, or there will be seizing by the "mountain of god". He shall recite a penitential psalm; let him release a prisoner or he will come to harm.' These texts generally use lip-tūr, 'let him release', in the injunction for releasing a prisoner, which leads one to infer that the commentary means to describe Arahsamna as the month when a prisoner was released by the phrase 'unbinding of the band'. The custom of releasing a prisoner also

1 KAV. p. 120 π 39-42.
3 KAV. p. 120 π 43-6.
4 KAR. 178 Rev. π 96 has d-muš-ri-du of unknown meaning, but the enbu bel arḥīm text, IV Raw. 33* i, 25, has za-kūr kasīpim lip-tūr.
5 Ibid. 50–3. The enbu edition, IV Raw. 33* π 23–4, has kald for kasā.
6 KAR. 178 Rev. π 62–5. See also IV Raw. 33* π 21.
7 The scribes may have given the exegesis engar-dū-a and not apin-dū-a,
occurs on the 16th of Adar, and on some day in Tammuz (date broken away). There is no explanation as to why Arahsamna should be chosen especially for this ceremony unless there was some myth concerning the release of Tammuz then. The Jewish custom fell at the Passover, Nisan 14–22, and is mentioned in the New Testament at the trial of Jesus by Pilate. For said Pilate, 'Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover'. No similar law is mentioned in Hebrew.

The Babylonians assigned this month to *apkallī ilāni Marduk*, 'the sage of the gods, Marduk', who in this connexion is also described as *bēl nakbi* 'lord of the deep'. The myth of this month was clearly connected with the underworld sea, the *apsu* over which Ea, god of fresh water, presided. Ea, father of Marduk, has the title *lord of the deep*, and was patron god of farmers (*ikkaru*). The season although *apin* is proved to be the reading by *śapin-na*, KAV. p. 120 n 40. If so, then *engar* may be taken for *ikkaru*, *ērišu*, *irrišu*, farmer, irrigator, and *dū-a* for *patāru*, both possible. Then 'farmer' may be taken as a title of Tammuz as the farmer or ox-driver (*rid alpe*), ploughman, who was released from his bondage in the eighth month.

1 *ka-la-a ušēti*, 'he shall cause a prisoner to come forth', KAR. 178 Rev. 1, 43.
2 *(ka-la-)*a *ti̯ašši-ir*, Bab. iv 119, 3.
3 John 18, 39; cf. Mt. 27, 15; Mk. 15, 9; Luke 23, 17. The passage in Luke 'He had of necessity to release unto them some one at the feast' is said to be a gloss, and if so from the hand of an antiquarian who knew the custom.
4 It is useless to compare the Roman *lectisternium*, 'banquet of the couch', established 397 B.C. to prevent the recurrence of a plague, Livy v 13, 5–8. Livy says that then there was a general amnesty when prisoners were unbound. Even more futile is the appeal to Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx 9, 3, where Annanias requested the procurator Albinus to release prisoners on a certain occasion. The custom is Babylonian and was borrowed by Judaism after the Exile.
5 K. 2049, 8; same title of Marduk, Epic of Creation, p. 138, 93.
6 IV Raw. 33* 1, 1; see also King, Magic 12, 28, *bēl nakkē*, 'lord of the deeps', after his titles *bēl duhdī mušaznin heqallī*, 'lord of abundance, who causes plenty to fall as rain'.
7 JRAS. 1927, 537, 21; Maklā v 181. 8 CT. 24, 43, 135.
is, therefore, assigned to the deities who preside over springs which flow from the nether world sea, which again shows the agricultural nature of the myth of the month. If any suggestion of a myth can be obtained from the regnal stars of Arahsamna in the Taurus period resort must be made to Capricorn, Pegasus, and Sagittarius. Nergal was god of Mars whose hypsoma was in Capricorn and also god of Pegasus. Sagittarius was identified with Ninurta, lord of Larak and administrator of the underworld.

The Sumerian ceremonies in this month must have been so uninteresting that they made no impression upon the Accadians and they rendered the name by the colourless word Arah-samna, ‘Eighth month’ simply. This word passed into post-exilic Hebrew as Marheswân, and into late Hebrew in the same form; the Septuagint Greek has Marsouanes. The Aramaic people refused to employ this colourless word and adhered to the name Kinun, Kanun, already in use by the Accadians when the Sumerian calendar was translated in the Hammurabi period. The persistence of the use of the word Kinun in Aramaic lands led me to infer in my first lecture that it is of Aramaic origin. Now it is certain that the characteristic ceremonies of Arahsamna, Kislev (December), and Tebit (January) in the Babylonian calendar are based upon the kinûnu or ‘hearth-fires’. The word is not only good Aramaic but also widely used in Accadian. It may, in fact, be derived from Sumerian gunnu, the regular word for kinûnu. On the eighteenth of Arahsamna, a day sacred to Shamash, two kinûnu, braziers, were covered and set before the sons of Bél, i.e. Adad and Shamash. Another

1 See p. 8.
2 CT. 25, 13, 33.
3 Sakanakki ırsitim, CT. 16, 13 A 42.
4 ASKT. 64, 9.
5 It occurs first in the Aramaic Papyri of the Jews in Egypt, fifth century B.C., Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, No. 17, 7 and often.
6 See p. 29 and p. 65.
7 Written KI-NE, ‘place of fire’.
8 Inferred from the chapels or temples where these braziers were placed, Enambê and Esakudkalamma.
brazier was covered in the chapel of Esagila, temple of Marduk in Babylon, and there were song-services by the psalmists. On the twenty-fifth, sacred to Zamama of Kish, a cow was slain before a kettledrum and fire placed in a brazier. On this day no one might go out into the street.

On the ninth of Kislev, a day sacred to the god Sharrarbi (Nergal), two braziers were covered with a mourner’s garment. On Kislev seventeenth, sacred to Nabû, two braziers of cedar were covered in the chapel. On Kislev twenty-second, sacred to Urash (Ninurta), a brazier was clothed with a mourner’s garment. On Tebit tenth fire was put in braziers to Bêl (Marduk), Ninurta, Nabû, Ninsubur, Nergal, and Namtar; with them was set a brazier on a censer to Ishtar of Erech. In Assyria a bull was slaughtered to Nabû on days sixteen and seventeen of Tebit, and a brazier was set forth on the nineteenth. Hence during the winter months November, December, January the late menologies have ceremonies with the brazier, and in all places the word is written in Sumerian, gunni. Assuming that this custom is of Sumerian origin, which would be proved if the Accadian name Kinunu was based upon Sumerian rites for the month of ploughing (apin-dâ-a), then the widely spread Aramaic preference of this name to Arasamna is due to myths and rituals which for them seemed the essential feature in the calendar for the eighth month. Kinûn bitti, ‘brazier of the house’, was a household deity and explained by ‘house of the protecting genius’. No trace of a ritual of the hearth-fire has been found in Sumerian. The reader is left to weigh the arguments as to whether this name and the rituals came into Babylonian with the Ara-

1 Clay, Morgan, IV 25, 4–10. 2 Ibid. 12–16; SBH. 144, 2–4. 3 KAR. 178 Rev. III 61. This rule is entered against day 27 on K. 3560, and V Raw. 49 VIII. 4 Clay, Morgan, IV 25, 26–9; SBH. 144, 12. 5 Ibid. 41–2; SBH. 144, 20. 6 Ibid., I. 46; SBH. 144, 22. 7 Ibid., II. 50–4; SBH. 144 Rev. 1–5. 8 Thompson, Reports, 151 Rev. 7–8. 9 bit šēdi bit lamassi, Craig, RT. 57, 31.
maic invasion and *kinūnu* was then rendered into Sumerian by KI-NE ‘place of fire’ and pronounced *gunni* after *kinūnu*, or whether the word and rituals were of Sumerian origin.¹ In Arahsamna, then, began the rites of covering the brazier on certain days of the winter months in sign of mourning for the waning Sun-god. Now the hearth-fires were lighted, and the genius of the hearth now presided over the homes of men.

Worship of the Lares or household gods has probably survived in the Šabean rites of Second Teshrit (= Arahsamna), where for nine days, 21st to 29th, they fasted to the *rabb-al-baḥt*, ‘Lord of good luck’. They broke bread, mixed it with barley and myrrh, and strewed it throughout their houses, saying, ‘O ye night-wanderers of good luck, here you have bread for your dogs,’ barley and straw for your cattle, oil for your lamps, and myrrh for your garlands. Enter in peace and go out in peace and leave good reward for us and our children.³

*Kislev,*⁴ the ninth month (Nov.-Dec.), was known at Nippur as *kan-kan-e*, the feast of lighting braziers, which fell on days 9, 10, 17, 22 in the late Babylonian calendar. We come now to the darkest period of the year in which falls the winter solstice, the resurrection of Tammuz and the turning back of the Sun-god from the darkness of the lower world. The ninth month is almost entirely confined to rituals for the gods of the dead, ceremonies to the genius of the hearth-fires and the resurrection of Tammuz. The carrying of lights to hasten the return of the Sun-god and

¹ This is Zimmern’s opinion, *Fremdwörter*, 32–3. *Gunni* occurs in a syllabary CT. 11, 50 A 25, and it is probable that *gunni* is taken from *kin-ne*. Not much help is obtained by the Assyrian name *muḫur ilāni*, p. 36.

² For the dog as watcher of homes, see *Sem. Myth.* 182.

³ Chwolson, *Szabier*, 11 32. He identifies the ‘Lord of good luck’ with the West Semitic god of fortune, Gad, ibid., p. 226.

⁴ I am obliged to treat Kislev, Tebit, Shebat, and Adar very briefly owing to lack of space. The evidence and full investigation must be left to the critical edition of the texts.
the passing of the winter's darkness is the salient feature of Kislev. The Sumerians at Lagash named it mu-šu-dū (var. dū), meaning probably 'month of carrying fire', and at Ur ezen-maḡ, 'month of the supreme festival', in which fell the 'feast of manifestation', nabrûm,¹ possibly meaning 'display of lights'. The Accadian rendering kislimu is obscure and its meaning unknown.

The Jewish Church has also a feast of lights in Kislev, the Ḥanukkā, instituted by Judas Maccabeus in 165 B.C. The Ḥanukkā occurs on the 25th of Kislev or December in the present Jewish calendar. This festival is said to go back to Nehemiah, who served in the court of Artaxerxes. He restored the walls of Jerusalem and relit the altar fire in the temple in 445 B.C.,² on Kislev 25. After the temple was again desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes in 165 B.C. Judas Maccabeus again relit the altar fires on the 25th of Kislev. So was established in Judaism the Ḥanukkā, feast of dedication, feast of purification, celebrated with lighted lamps. The Talmud calls this the feast of illumination, and Josephus says that it was the feast of lights.³ Now the author of II Maccabees has two reasons for fixing this festival of lights on Kislev 25 in memory of the reconsecration of the temple and the relighting of the eternal altar fire. One is that Nehemiah, when he returned from the Exile in the fifth century, had chosen this date; another reason was that Antiochus had desecrated the temple on Kislev 25.⁴ 'Bearing wands wreathed with leaves, fair boughs, and palms, they offered hymns of praise to him who had prospered the cleansing of his own place.' The Gospel of John refers to this rehabilitation of the old feast of lights, 'Then was the feast of the dedication (encaenium) in Jerusalem and it was winter'.⁵

¹ See p. 30.  
² II Maccabees 1, 18–19.  
³ See Josephus, Antiquities, XII 319–25.  
⁴ II Maccabees 10, 1–8.  
⁵ John 10, 22. The reason for fixing on Kislev 25 because of the date of desecration by Antiochus three years before is expressly stated in
The Jews, after the new institution in 162 B.C., celebrated the Ḥanukkā by placing lights at the doors of their houses, and these were held so sacred that none might read by them. The traditions vary as to the date, and some said that it was on the 15th of December or Kislev. But it is obvious that this post-exilic feast of lights in December must have been brought to Jerusalem by Nehemiah from Babylonia. Surely by his long residence in the Babylonian Exile Nehemiah knew the Church Calendar of Babylonia. There he must have known that feasts of torches and braziers were characteristic of the season December. The Assyrian and Babylonian calendar orders worship of Nergal, god of the winter sun, on the 15th of Kislev, and then the celebrants bore palms, precisely as the Jews did at the Ḥanukkā on the 25th of Kislev.

The Babylonians date the resurrection of Nergal or Tammuz on the 27th or 28th of Kislev. The Nabateans celebrated the birth of Dusares on the 25th of December. There is here a confusion of dates for the rebirth of the Sun-god at the winter solstice in ancient Semitic traditions. The month of Kislev is characterized by feasts of lights in the Sumerian and Babylonian calendar to celebrate the resurrection of the Sun-god and of Tammuz. This certainly gave the Jews the Ḥanukkā or feast of lights. The Church Calendars of Babylonia offer days 9, 10, 15, 17, 22 as a choice for these feasts but never the 25th. The astronomical texts offer the 28th. The Jews of the Exile certainly knew these dates, but why they and the Nabataeans fixed upon the 25th is not clear unless there is truth in the explanation that Nehemiah chose the 25th. The Ḥanukkā on the 25th of Kislev obviously influenced the early Christians to fix the birth of Christ on the 25th of December. The exact day is unimportant. The substance of the myth of the resurrection of Tammuz, the rebirth of the sun celebrated by the

feast of lights—these were the influences which gave Judaism its Hanukka and Christianity its Christmas Day.

On this day the Sumerians recited the hymn:

O Nergal, mighty one, at whose cry the closed door opens.
O lord that comest by night, for whom the bolted doors open of themselves.
O lord that comest by night, the child-bearing mother be dear to thee.

The Latin Christian hymns of the Nativity inherit the same spirit and traditions of remote antiquity:

Festa dies agitur
Mundo salus redditur,
In quâ sol exoritur
Qui mundum replet lumine.

The day is celebrated as a feast;
Salvation is restored to the world;
The day whereon the sun rises (again),
Which fills the world with light.

In Kislev the homes and streets of Babylonian and Assyrian cities flamed with lights by night as Nergal, lord of the winter sun, ascended from the nether world, and his constellation Pegasus rose to govern the month of the winter solstice. At the same season in Greece, on the 8th of the month Poseidon, fell the festival Posidea, when cakes and wine were offered to the underworld deity Poseidon.

In Kislev the Assyrian calendars repeatedly order ceremonies to hasten the return of the earth’s fruitfulness. On the 1st of Kislev water was poured out before the cattle and a priest waved aloft a date-palm. On the 6th and 15th water was poured out to Ereshkigal, goddess of the nether world, the Greek Demeter, and an old woman held aloft date-palms. On the 30th bean-stalks were held above the heads of worshippers and prayers said to the great Earth-goddess.

Now all these mystic rites of mid-winter to secure fruitful harvest and to encourage the resurrected Sun-god to go forth triumphantly for the blessing of mankind correspond pre-
cisely to the Greek festival that fell on the 26th of the Attic month Poseidon. This Greek festival, the Halôa, feast of the garden, in honour of Demeter the Earth-goddess at the winter solstice had also mystic rites to ensure fruitful harvests. Apparently only women took part in the licentious mysteries at Eleusis at the Halôa in Greece, which corresponds to the direction of the Assyrian calendar for the 6th of Kislev, when the rites are conducted by an old woman.

The rites of Kislev, therefore, rest upon two principles: firstly the myth of the resurrection of the Sun-god celebrated with lights, which gave Judaism its feast of lights and Christianity its Noel or day of Nativity; secondly, the rites of sympathetic magic with palms, bean-stalks, and pouring of water before the cattle to ensure a fruitful harvest and to prevent drought. The Greeks had this second festival on the 26th of the month Poseidon. Whether there is borrowing of an ancient Sumero-Babylonian mystic ritual here or whether the idea is a common heritage of both peoples, the fact remains that they chose the same season and almost the same day for the gay festival of the winter solstice. The gaiety of Christmas is inherited from the myth and magic of ancient peoples.

TEBIT, the tenth month, roughly Dec.–Jan., was known in the Sumerian calendar of Nippur as the ab-e(d), or time when the elders of the city rise from the lower world. Ishum, the messenger of the gods, opens their gates of bondage and their ghosts return to sit in the council of the elders of the cities. The elders of the cities lamented during the whole month of January. At Ur the Sumerians named this month ‘feast of heaven’, and sacrificed to the Moon-god and the planet Venus. The Babylonians for some reason gave this month the name Tebitu, ‘the month of the plunging (into water)’, and they must have taken this description from some ritual which the Sumerians used for January. It is impossible to make any reasoned explanation of all these Sumerian myths and festivals for Tebit. Why so much

attention was paid to the cults of the Heaven-god, Venus, and the Moon in this mid-winter season cannot be explained. The Babylonians in the time of Ezekiel and Nehemiah had ceremonies with burning braziers on the 10th of Tebit, and fires were lit before Ishtar the goddess of Erech. On the 10th of Tebit the Assyrian calendar orders offerings to the constellation Orion, which was now setting and entering its period of invisibility. The Babylonian almanac says that no one might enter a street on the 10th of Tebit. Therefore the 10th of Tebit was the important day of this month in the Church calendar. Now Ezekiel in the ninth year of the first Babylonian captivity, i.e. in 588 B.C. prophesied on the 10th of Tebit (tenth month in the text) that Nebuchadnezzar would attack Jerusalem on this same day. This is the actual date given by the Hebrew historians. The date was already marked as a national fast in the time of Zechariah (end of sixth century). Since the sack of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, the 10th of Tebit has remained a fast-day in the Jewish calendar.

The one thing certain about the tenth month is that it was extremely unlucky. The Babylonians called it 'the month of the curse'. A family might not leave a house or move into it in Tebit, nor could any repairs be made in a house in this month. No one might make a statue of a god, bring a gift to a god, set forth food-offerings, clean his garments, or recite a penitential psalm. Selling corn in Tebit was forbidden, marriages were doomed to failure in Tammuz (July), Elul (August), Kislev, and Tebit. A male child born in Tebit would be unfortunate.

The two most unlucky months are Tammuz at the summer solstice and Tebit at the winter solstice, or months 4 and 10. This is undoubtedly due to the myths that Tam-
muz died in July and the ghosts of the elders returned to earth during the whole of January.

Shebat, the eleventh month, roughly February, has a purely agricultural name in the Nippurian calendar, \textit{zizan}, 'month of emmer wheat', for which there is no explanation unless it refers to the blades which now spring from the earth with rains of February. The early Assyrian calendar describes this season as 'month of the orchards'.\footnote{See p. 39.} The Sumerians at Ur described it as 'month of the rain and the Storm-god'. In fact February is the season of storms and heavy rain in Mesopotamia, and after the Sumerian calendar had been adopted in Babylonia and Assyria, the eleventh month was always sacred to the god of storms. There is no myth in connexion with this month; only the emphasis upon the worship of the Storm-god among the Sumerians gave the Semites any clue to a word for this month. The Babylonians, therefore, called the eleventh month \textit{šabātu}, month of the blowing of storms, the month of winds and rain. Naturally they may have made up this name for themselves. There was no myth or festival to translate here. \textit{šabātu} passed into the Jewish and Aramaic calendars as \textit{šebat}, Greek \textit{sabat}.

The calendars mark days 20, 24, 30 as of special importance. On the 20th one might not drink any water, and must pray to Shamash the Sun-god. On the 24th one must stand on the bank of the river and pray to the Water-god (Ea); he might drink no wine on that day.

On the 30th one must pray to the Storm-god and drink no wine.

Shebat was a lucky month for marriages, and here the Greek calendar has the same season for marriages, naming the month, in fact, \textit{Gamēlion}, 'the marrying-month'. Demons were particularly dangerous in February. This was an old Sumerian myth that the devils infest the homes and fields of man in Shebat; consequently the Accadians of the Elamitic province named this month \textit{huldubba-ē}, meaning
'O loitering devil depart'. Jewish mythology inherited this same belief, and throughout the history of Judaism Shebat has always been a time when devils, demons, and all evil spirits are at large.

Adar, the twelfth month, corresponding roughly to March–April, was universally known in all Sumerian cities as the month of barley harvest; it ends with rising of Pleiades from 3000 to 500 B.C. This is a purely agricultural name. The Babylonians rendered the Sumerian name by Adaru, 'month of the threshing-floor', and so it passed into the Jewish calendar as Adar. At the end of each lunar year the Sumerians examined the condition of the cornfields. If by the annual loss of the eleven days, by which the lunar year lags behind the solar year and the seasons, Adar would fall too early for harvest, they inserted a 'former Adar' at the end of the year. By this system of inserting an intercalary Adar before and not after this month, the month of barley harvest was kept approximately in its season. The Sumerians always used this system. In the later Babylonian and Assyrian calendars they took no notice of what the name meant. Month of barley harvest might fall a whole month too early. Then arose the practice of inserting the extra Adar after it.

The Sumerians seem to have had a ceremony of waving a sheaf of grain in this month to celebrate the time of putting the sickle to the corn. In the early calendar this festival of the harvest corresponds obviously to the Hebrew Nisan, when the first sheaf of the harvest was waved. This was fixed by Ezekiel for the 14th of Nisan. Now began the seven days' feast of unleavened bread lasting until the 20th, in the Hebrew Church Calendar. This festival was then combined with the Passover held on the same date. Now it is extraordinary that the New Testament refers to the custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover, Nisan 14–20, and the old Assyrian calendar says that the king must release

1 Lev. 23, 11, there combined with the (Passover) lamb, v. 12.
2 Ex. 12, 15–20.
3 Num. 9, 11–14.
a prisoner on the 16th of Adar.1 There seems to be here a remarkable parallel between the ancient Sumerian custom of celebrating the cutting of the first sheaf in Adar, and the same ancient Hebrew-Canaanite custom. Moreover the release of a prisoner at this time must have been an old Babylonian regulation introduced into the calendar of the harvest month before the tenth century.

There is no particular myth associated with Adar in Sumerian except that the month was sacred to the god of wisdom and water, Ea. On the 13th of Adar the tenth-century menology forbids eating fish and fowl, and on the octave of this day, the 20th, is another fast, when milk, flesh, and wine were forbidden and no one was allowed to wear anything to cover his hands.2 The two fasts, seven days apart, covering the period 13–20 in the harvest month is suspiciously like the Hebrew regulation of the fast of unleavened bread from Nisan 14 to 20. There may be, then, a direct connexion between the Hebrew Passover and the Babylonian calendar.

Confining the discussion to the Church Calendar of the late period which the post-exilic Hebrews obviously used, I finally note those days of the lunar month which have special names.

CULT AND SECULAR NAMES FOR DAYS

K. 60123 = Pinches, PSBA. 1904, 56; Hilprecht, BE. xx 44.

1. ud = ū-mu  \hspace{1cm} \text{Day}.\textsuperscript{4}
2. ud-sā-ām = mi-šil ū-mu \hspace{1cm} \text{A half day (of daylight)}.\textsuperscript{5}
3. ud-ī-kam = ūmu-kal\textsuperscript{6} \hspace{1cm} \text{A whole day (of daylight)}.\textsuperscript{7}

1 KAR. 178 Rev. 1, 43.
3 Restored by unpublished duplicates.
4 Here 'day' in the sense of daylight.
5 Probably afternoon. See RA. 28, 165–6.
6 Var. ū-mu-ak-kal. Cf. ū-ma-ka-al, RA. 8, 67, 8 = CT. 36, 4 i 32.
7 So certainly, V Raw. 25 A 20; ū-ma-ak-kal, AJSL. 28, 231, § 5, there in sense of 'one day', dies, 24 hours. subatē ud-i-kam, clothing for one
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4. ud-2-kam = ši-na-[a]¹
Two days.
5. ud-3-kam = še-la-[al-tu² ūmū]
Three days.
6. ud-4-kam = ir-bit [ū-mu]
Four days.
7. ud-5-kam = ḫa-miš(!)-[ti ūmū]
Five days.
8. ud-6-kam = šeš-ši-š[ti ūmū]
Six days.
9. ud-7-kam = si-ib-[ti³ ūmū]
Seven days.
10. ud-8-kam = sa-man-ti ūmū
Eight days.
11. ud-9-kam = ūl-ti ūmū
Nine days.
12. ud-10-kam = e-ši-ir*-ti ūmū
Ten days.
13. ud-15-kam = ša-bat-ti (completion)
śabatu day, end of first half
of month.
14. ud-19-kam = ib-bu-ū
(Day of) wrath.
15. ud-20-kam = es-ru-u
Twenty days.
16. ud-25-kam = ar-ḫu . . .
Month . .
17. ud-30-kam = še-la-ša-a
Thirty days.
18. ud-ná-ām = bu-ub-bu-lum
Time of the moon’s ravishment.
Days 28–9.
19. ud-ḫul-gāl = uḫulgal-lum
Dangerous day. Days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28.⁶
20. ud-ḫul-gāl = ū-nu lim-[nu]
Evil (i.e. dangerous) day,
sad day.

The following table shows the uḫulgalu days of the calendar,
Zimmern, Rt. 52, 6; so also render ZA. 16, 192, 27 = RA. 18, 185.
ū-mu-ak-kal lišabari, let it stay on a whole day, one day, CT. 17, 26,
73 = 16, 35, 29.
¹ Var. ši-nu-u. See Hilprecht, Assyriaca 69.
² Var. še-lal-tu.
³ Var. sib-ti.
⁴ Pinches gives KL-IS!
⁵ If a five-day week system is implied here this would be the end of the fifth week, as šapattu is the end of the first half of the bimensal system. If a reading ar-ḫu ūl-la (kātu, gamru), ‘month completed’, is assumed no sense can be made of it; for on a five-week system this is not the end of the month. Zimmern, ZDMG. 58, 200 n. 7,
suggested this on the ground that the 25th day begins the last week,
which is impossible arithmetically. Landsberger, Kal. 140 suggests
bat-lu, meaning what? The text has no Sumerian ideograms in Col. 11,
here ūl-la is excluded.
⁶ Not necessarily unlucky, but sinister. A day may be both uḫulgalu
and magiru, lucky. See Nisan 1, KAR. 178 Obv. 1, 2, uḫulgalu, but 1. 7
da-še = kališ magir, entirely lucky. Nisan 14 ūm magir and uḫulgalu,
KAR. 176 Obv. 11 178 II 2, where magir = kimin; also K. 2514,
Nisan 7, ud še ud-ḫul-gāl.
dars. Unless marked with * also magir, šemā, lucky; marked † half the day lucky.

Tenth-Century Assyrian

NISAN I
Day 1, KAR. 178 I, 2; magir, 1.7.
" 7, KAR. 178, 1, 50.
" 14, KAR. 178 II 2 = 176 II 17.
† 19, KAR. 176 Rev. 1, 6 = 178 II 47.
† 20, KAR. 176 Rev. 1, 16 = 178 II 60.
" 21, KAR. 176 Rev. 1, 20 = 178 II 65.
" 28, KAR. 176 Rev. II 2 = 178 III 15.
* 29, KAR. 176 Rev. II 10 = 178 III 38.
" 30, KAR. 176 Rev. II 25 = 178 III 52.

In summary of rubrics, lu ḫul-[gul]-gdl, 178 III 68; 179 Obv. I, 8.

NISAN II
KAR. 178 IV 2–40 enters only magir and la magir days = Var. 179 I, 17–II 11.

AYAR
KAR. 178 IV 41–V 10 = 179 II 10–III 14 enters only magir and la magir days.

SIVAN
KAR. 178 V 11–VI 6 = 179 III 15–IV 20 enters only magir and la magir days.

Seventh-Century Assyrian

NISAN I
19. magir and uḫulgallu, ZA. 19, 378, 8.

NISAN II
Day 7, K. 2514 Obv. 17.
" 14, K. 2514, Obv. 38.
" 19, K. 2514, Obv. 54.

AYAR
No text known. Babylonian almanac, V Raw. 48 II for 28th [ud-ḫul-]gdl ma-gir.

SIVAN
*Day 7, K. 4068, &c. Obv. 121 (restored), has ūm la magir.
*Day 21, K. 4068, &c. Obv. II 44, has ūm la magir.
SPECIAL NAMES OF DAYS

Tenth-Century Assyrian

TAMMUZ

KAR. 178 VI 7–72 enters only magir and la magir days.

AB

KAR. Rev. VI–V 8 enters magir and la magir only.

ELUL

KAR. Rev. v 9–iv 13 enters magir and la magir only.

TESHRIT

KAR. 178 Rev. IV 14–III 25 enters magir and la magir only.

ARAHSAMNA

KAR. 178 Rev. III 26–73 enters magir and la magir only.

KISLEV

KAR. 178 Rev. II 1–30 enters magir and la magir only.

TEBIT

KAR. 178 Rev. II 36–79 enters magir and la magir only. Here note day 7 šabat utukki, seizing by a ghost.

Seventh-Century Assyrian

TAMMUZ

No text known.

AB

No text known.

ELUL I

No text known.

ELUL II

Day 7, IV Raw. 32 1, 29.

, 14, ibid. II 14.

, 19, ibid. II 40.


TESHRIT

No text known.

ARAHSAMNA

Day 7, IV Raw. 33* I, 29.

, 14, ibid. II 7 (restored).

, 19, ibid. II 38 (restored).

, 21, ibid. II 53 (restored).

, 28, ibid. III 29.

KISLEV

No text known.

TEBIT

Day 7, K. 2809 Obv. I 3.

, 14 (broken away).

* , 19, K. 2809 Obv. II 2, la magir.


, 28 (broken away).

Cf. Babylonian almanac, V Raw. 49 x, day 6 has utukku aḫâ ša taṭepû, wicked ghost of destruction.
SPECIAL NAMES OF DAYS

SHEBAT

KAR. 179 Rev. II 1-7+178
Rev. I, 1-19 enters magir and la magir only.

,, 14 (broken away).
,, 19, K. 11650 Obv. II 10.
,, 21, K. 9479 Obv. II 8.

ADAR

KAR. 178 Rev. I, 31-74; 179
Rev. I, 1-4. Enters magir and la magir only, but résumé 178,
Rev. I, 64-6 days [1], 7, 19, 21,
24, [28], [29], 30 are 9 uhul-
gallu days. In text I. 39, day 14
magir; day 19 la magir, day 21
la magir.

No text known for Adar I.
Adar II, K. 4093.

Day 7, Obv. I 20.
,, 14 (broken away).
,, 19, Obv. II 24.
,, 21, Obv. II 84.
,, 28, Rev. I, 15.

In the old calendar it will be seen from the entries * that
most of the uhul gallu days are also lucky days in both the
old and reformed calendars; also the old calendar from
Nisan entries and Adar résumé has nine of these days in
each month and in Nisan every one of these is a rest-day
except the 20th. In the seventh-century calendar uhul-
gallu is confined to the five rest-days which may be either lucky
or unlucky. Hence uhul gallu or ūnu limnu must mean
simply ‘dangerous’, day when the rules cannot be broken
without incurring severe punishment. According to Har-
per, Lett. 23, 21 the uhulgalle day is la tābu, ‘not good’, and
on this day no mašmašu priest could say a prayer of the
lifting of the hand. In the seventh-century calendar uhul-
gallu, then, refers to days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28. K. 106 = Bois-
sier, DA. 100-2, Rev. I 21 says that Nisan 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11
have no ud ĝe-gāl among them; Rev. II 20, no ud ĝe-gāl in
Shebat 1, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26; Rev. III 21, no ud-ĝe-gāl in
Adar 1, 3, 4, 8, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24, 28 (sic),1 30. Here
ud-ĝe-gāl must be for ud-ĝul-gāl as in King, Magic 61, 12,
Var. or it is the same as ud ū-mu na’duru, dark, sad day, CT. 18, 30 A. 23.

1 Read 29?
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bubulum, day 29, KAR. 178 iii 37; 176 Rev. ii 9; Sivan, K. 4068 Rev. i, 33, day 28; Rev. i, 43, day 29; days 28+29, Elul II, IV Raw. 33 iii 33+45; Arahsamna, days 28+29, IV Raw. 33* iii 28+39; Tebit, K. 2809 Rev. i, days [28] and 29. Shebat, K. 7079 Rev. i, days 28 and [29]; Adar II, K. 4093 Rev. i, days 28 and 29.

CONTINUATION OF K. 6012

21. ud ki-sig-ga = ūm [ki-is-p]ī. Day of the funeral offerings. (Day 29th = bubulu.)
22. ud tu-a = ūm ri-im-ki. Day of pouring out water (to souls of the dead), day 29.

It is uncertain whether ūm tēlilti refers to only one day of the year or to more than one, or to certain days in each month.

(1) To the washing of Ishtar in Elul, day unknown. ama

Innini-e-ne id-lu-RU-GŪ sikil-e-ne mu-bi in-lāg-lāg =

Ištarāti ina Nāri utallala šattu-šu utabbaba, ‘The Ishtars in the river wash themselves, yearly they cleanse themselves’, KAV. p. 120, 17–18 = 20–1, comment on Elul. Hence ehlulu and ebēbu, i.e. sikil and lāg-lāg, both mean to cleanse by washing.

(2) Teshrit 8, KAR. 177 Rev. ii 42 = 147 Rev. 24 has a direction for the man-ziz rubṭ, assistant of the prince, lāg-lāg-meš šu-lūg-si lāg-lāg = Bab. iv 107, 19 [li-te-lil]

lim-te-is-si [li-te-bi-ib] = KAR. 177 Rev. i, 35; ‘Let him purge himself, wash himself, cleanse himself.’ On the 8th (?) of Nisan te-lil-tum uš-te-sir, ‘one shall perform the ritual of washing correctly’, SBH. 145, 2. It is probable from Arahsamna, IV Raw. 33* i, 3, šarru lim-te-si, that the seventh-century calendar ordered the king to wash himself

1 ki-sig-ga usually kasāp kispi, to perform the kispu, funeral feast. But also kispu only; udu ki-sig-ga = immer ri-im-ki, ki-is-pī, kisikkī, Chiera, LT. 44, i, 13–15; ki-sig-ga ki-sīp, perform the kispu, Tebit 29th, K. 2809. Same time as the ūm bubalu, Von Soden, LT. i xi 109 = CT. 18, 23, K. 4397, 13.
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on the first day of each month; Elul II, ibid. 32, 1, 4 broken away; at this line every fragment of the enbu bél arhim series for various months is broken.

3) um téliliti may refer to šubat-su laq-laq, let him clean his garment, ex. KAR. 176 Obv. 1, 2 = 178 1, 9; IV Raw. 33* 1 22 (day 16, Arahsamna) for which K. 8373 II 15 has li-bi-ib (without šubat-su), for Sivan 16th, i.e. šarru (šubat-su) lîbib, let the king clean his garment. K. 2514, 46, šarru šubat-su li-[bi-ib], for Nisan II, day 16. Elul II, day 16, IV Raw. 32 1 27–30, omits this.

This rule for Arahsamna occurs in the omen, IV Raw. 33* IV 19, ‘If in A. the king cleans (washes) his garment his palace will attain old age’; same instruction for Sivan, K. 8373 Rev. 1 18 with omen, libba-shu itâb, ‘his heart will be glad’. It does not occur in the omens for Šebi’t, K. 2809. In the tenth-century calendar šubat-su in-lâq-lâq is permissible in Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, Ab, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Shebat, Adar, KAR. 177 1 25–7; i.e. not in Tammuž, Elul, Kislev, and Šebi’t. Since ebēbu, elēlu both mean to wash, as proved by (I), (2) above, um télilitum may refer to day 16 of the months cited above, when the washing of the king’s garment is permissible in the seventh-century calendar.

In the tenth-century calendar this is ordered for Nisan I, KAR. 176 1, 2; Nisan 16, KAR. 178 1 31; Nisan 27, KAR. 178 3 13; Sivan 6, KAR. 178 V 20; Nisan 6, 178 1, 47. In the enbu calendar, Sivan 6, K. 4068 1, 19. It is probable that um téliliti, being a fixed day, refers to the washing of garments on the 16th of the eight months mentioned above, and to Teshrit 8, and to 6th of Nisan and Sivan. The 6, 16, 28 of Nisan, Sivan, Elul, Teshrit, Arahsamna, 16 and 28 of Šebi’t, 16 of Shebat, are all sigû days. It is clear that saying the sigû is connected with cleaning garments. KAR. 178 3 12–13 has cleaning garments and sigû on Nisan 27 also. sigû išasi, he shall recite a psalm, is ordered for Nisan, Sivan, Ab, Teshrit, Arahsamna, Adar, KAR. 177 1 28–9 immediately after the list for cleaning garments. It will be seen that Ayar and Shebat
do not permit the *šigu*, but order the cleaning of garments. It is clear from K. 2514, 14, *ši-gu-úul ʾissētī(sī) subat-su ul ubbab*, (the king) ‘shall not recite a psalm, he shall not clean his garments’, that the two acts hang together and that when a *šigu* was forbidden, so was washing garments. The *šigu* in the old calendar occurs Nisan 6, 16, 27, 28; Sivan 6, 16 [28]; Elul 6, 16, 26, 28 with evil omen, since it was forbidden in Elul; Teshrit 28; Arasamsama 6, 16, 26, 28; Tēbit 6 (sic). It is prohibited Nisan II 6, 16, 28; Ayar 6, 16, 28; Tammuz 6; Kislev 6, 16, [28]; Tēbit 16, 28.

The *enbu* calendar so far as preserved has *šigu* Nisan II 16; Sivan 6, 16, 28; Arasamsama 6, 16, 26, [28]; Shebat 6. Prohibited Nisan II 6; Elul II 6–16; Shebat 28.

K. 6012

24. ud-ezen = *úm i-sin-nu*. Day of fixed festival (days 22, 23, 24, 27).

25. ud-ěš-čš = *úm eš-še-e-šu*. Festival day (of Nabû, days 4, 8, 17).

1 In Hammurabi period six *ezēn* yearly, CT. 4, 45 c 5; in 8, 41 c 13, there are three yearly *ezēn*; also 8, 37 A 7; 8, 42 c 12; 6, 44 A 12; 6, 48 B 15, three *ezēn* of Shamash yearly; four *ezēn* of Shamash, 2, 41, 35; three in BE. vi 42, 11. The New Year festival, *zagmuk*, is called *nig-ezem-ma*, Reisner, TU. 308 II 6. Each month had some great *ezēn* from which the month was often named in Sumerian, *ezen-an-na*, *ezen*-Mekigal, *ezen*-Negun, *ezen*-Bau, &c. The three great Shamash feasts were in the months Ḥuntu (Nisan), Ab, and Arasamsama, CT. 32 xi 15–19 (Manistusu). These are fixed feasts. In the seventh century *enbu bel arhim* menology the *isinnu* of Shamash and Adad falls on the 23rd of all months where the texts are known; of d.Ninegal on the 22nd; of d.Eneagal and d.Ninegal on the 24th; of the River-goddess, Nisan 26, KAR. 178 III 1 (restored), but 27th day in all known texts of *enbu bel arhim*.

2 In the old calendar, Nisan 4, *ēšētu* of Nabû; Nisan 8, of d.Maḥ; Nisan 17, *ēšētu* simply, but offerings to Sin and Ningal, Gula, god and goddess of his city; KAR. 178 and 176. In the seventh-century calendar the days 4, 8, 17 of all the months are *ēšētu* days to Nabû, with offering at night to Nabû and Tašmet. Nisan II 4, K. 2514, of Nabû and Marduk; Sivan 4, K. 4068; Elul II, IV Raw. 32 i 16; Arasamsama, IV Raw. 33* i 16; Shebat, K. 7082 i 15; Adar II, K. 4093 i 8. Nisan II 8, K. 2514, to Nabû; Sivan 8, K. 4068; Elul II 8, IV Raw. 32 i 39; Arasamsama, 8, IV Raw. 33* i 38; Tēbit, 8, K. 2809; Shebat 8, K. 7082.
SPECIAL NAMES OF DAYS

26. ud ud-sar = úm ār-hi. Day of the new moon.
27. ud á-ki-it = úm akktum.\(^1\) Day of the New Year procession, Nisan 10.

CLAY, Morgan, iv 34 Obv. 1

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1. . . . . .
4. ud á-ki-it= a-[ki-tu] = K. 6012, 27.
5. ud-da-zal-la = uddazallū. Dawn. Longest day.\(^2\)
6. ud-da-bu-la = uddabultū. Sunset (?). Shortest day?
7. ud gid-da = ū-mu na[m-ru]. Bright day, 20th day.\(^3\)

Adar II 8 (restored), K. 4093. Nisan II 17, to [Nabû] and Marduk, K. 2514, with offerings to Nabû and Tašmet; Sivan 17, K. 8373, to Nabû and [Tašmet]; Elul II 17, IV Raw. 32 n 31, to Nabû and Tašmet; Arahsamna 17 (broken away); Shebat 17 (broken away); Adar II (broken away).

Therefore in the Assyrian calendar esšētu is exclusively used of days 4, 8, 17, and in King, Magic, 61, 11 ud es-es must refer to these days. In Sumerian it is used of days 7 and 15; for day 7 see es-es = ud 7, Nikolski, Ur, 471, 4; for day 15, Legrain, Ur, 89, 9; 279, 3; PBS. vm 60, 6; Legrain, 111, 7 + 3; Nies, Ur, 174, 4; on ud-sar, new moon day and 15th, Nies, 39, 2; Lau, OBT. 251 ii; on ud-sar, Legrain, 41, 14; 346, 12.

\(^1\) akktu does not occur in the calendars. Usually it means the New Year festival in Nisan and Teshrit, also the temple especially built for the procession to it outside the city. See Thureau-Dangin, Rit. 86–8; Landsberger, Kal. 79; Pallis, The Babylonian Akktu. In the syllabary the akktu day is probably Nisan 10, day of the procession to the bit akktu, VAB. iv 283, ix 3–10; ušēšir ana kiri b e-sızkur-ra, ‘he (Marduk) goes in procession to the house of sacrifices’ on the 10th of Nisan, SBH. 145, 4; ll. 3–6 are directions for Nisan 10. e-sızkur = bit ikribi, Langdon, Epic of Creation, 204, 99.

\(^2\) The Nineveh prism makes the longest day 16 real hours, but uddazallū as longest day is 14h.24', RA. 28, 16; another sense is uddazallū = \(\frac{3}{5}\) of a day or 3hr. 36', OLZ. 1917, 264.

\(^3\) Also Von Soden, LT. i xi 108, [ud-da]-gid-da = úmu n[am-ru] restored by CT. 18, 23 K. 4397, 12. [ud-da]-gid = úmu nam-rum; this compared with l. 8 should mean ‘long day’, ‘summer day’, but the evidence excludes any such meaning. ud-lāg = úmu nam-ru, CT. 18, 30 A 24 is obviously the same day, and ud-lāg describes the 20th of Nisan II, K. 2514; 20th of Elul II, IV Raw. 32–3; 20th of Arahsamna, ibid. 33*; 20th of Shebat, K. 11650; 20th of Adar II, K. 11650. Nisan I, day 20, omits it, ZA. 19, 378, 13; Tebit 20 omits it, K. 2809. Obviously
8. ud gūd-da = (ū-mu) ku-ru-ū. The short day. (Winter.)
11. ud-gub-ba = tur-(rī')-rum. Midday? The turning?
12. ud-gam-ma = kid-da-at ū-mu. ‘Sinking of the day’, Sunset.
13. itu = dr-ḫu. Month.
15. ud-itu-šú = a-na ū-mu arḫi. Daily in the month.
16. sag-itu-šú = a-na ri-es arḫi. At the beginning of the month.
17. egir itu-šú = a-na dr-kat arḫi. At the end of the month.
18. ud kāš-ām = ū-mu łącz-si-mu. ‘The fleeting day’?
19. ud-sar = dr-ḫu Month = Day of new moon.
21. zag-mu = zagmuku New Year.

Here follows the Nippurian list of month-names with Accadian renderings. Obv. II is a broken duplicate of Col. I.

VAT. 10068 XI = Von Soden, Lex. Tab. No. 1 and K. 4397 = CT. 18, 23.
7 . . . = ū-um maḫ-rī. Formerly.
8 . . . = ū-mu maḫrī.
(Var. xi 106) 10. [ū-um] a-da-nu = ū-mu ma- [+a] ū-tum (Var. ti). Fixed day = full days, appointed time.
(Var. 107) 11. [ū-mu ra-]ḫu-u = ū-mu mar-ṣu. Day that be-witches = difficult day.

‘long day’ in Shebat is excluded. The 20th is always a day sacred to Sin and Shamash with exception of Nisan I 20, so far as the texts are known. In CT. 2, 18 the ud-da-gid-da days are naššu, ‘omitted’, and by comparing the accounts (see Langdon, Drehem, 13 n. 7) and assuming that ud-dagida is the 20th it appears that Ab 20 was namru, Teshrit 20 and Tammuz 20 were not namru. Hence so far as our sources go the namru months are Nisan II, Elul and Elul II, Arahssama, Shebat, [Adar], and Adar II, Ab. Not namru are Nisan I, Tammuz, Tebit. Ayar, Sivan, and Kislev cannot be described, as no text for day 20 exists in the enbu series.

1 Cf. KAR. 267, 3; 184, Rev. 17; ZA. 16, 160, 25.
2 Cf. egir-mu = arkat šatti, end of the year.
3 From context this should be ‘calculated conjunction’ of moon and sun, day before new moon is visible.
4 Difficult day, probably refers to days marked ana marṣi nakutu, a
SPECIAL NAMES OF DAYS

13. ū-um ki-is-pi = āmu bu-bu-lum. Day of the parentalia = day of the moon’s ravishment.

Day difficult for the sick, KAR. 178, i, 2, Nisan 1; 178, i, 50 (na-ku-ut), Nisan 7; 176 II 17, Nisan 14; 176 Rev. 16, Nisan 19; also Nisan 21 and 28. In other words, in the tenth-century calendar all days uḥulgalu and days when a physician may not tend the sick, i.e. 1, 7, 14, 19, 21, 28, are marked ana marṣi nakut (nakud, Arab. nakada, cf. IV Raw. 38 II 20). The formulae for Nisan are extended to all the other months by inference in the old calendar. But what is raḥā? Days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 omit this rubric in the new calendar.

¹ Here ām nabatti is explained by day of the moon’s darkness, which disagrees entirely with both old and new calendars. This note is found for days 3, 7, 16 only, in KAR. 178, i, 21 (Nisan 3) = 176, i, 13, for Marduk; 178, i, 48 (Nisan 7) for Ea; 178 II 24 = 176 II 36 (Nisan 16) for [Marduk?]. Since the colophon of Nisan states that the general rubrics for Nisan apply to all other months, days 3, 7, 16 were already fixed as nubattu days in Babylonia before the tenth century. The reformed calendar of Ahuramazda has the same entries for these days, but abs that service is by night on Nisan II 3 (Marduk and Zarpanit) with offerings ina māši to Marduk and Ishtar, K. 2514, 7–8; ibid., day 7, Marduk and Zarpanit with same night-offerings; ibid., day 16, precisely the same. Sivan 3, 7, 16 on K. 4068; Elul II, IV Raw. 32–3, all have identical instructions for days 3, 7, 16. Aras/amna, IV R. 33* has the same for days 3, 7, but for 16, nubattu of Marduk and Zarpanit is followed by offering in the morning to Shamash, Belšiti-māšti, Sin and Maḥ. Tebit, K. 2809 (day 3 lost); day 7 identical with Nisan (day 16 lost). Shebat, K. 7082, Adar II, K. 4093, identical with Nisan. Since these are all Marduk ceremonies, Marduk is bēl nu-bat-ti, lord of the night-ceremony, Māšti III 157; vii 19. Since days 4, 8, 17 are ēšēšu days and among days when one prays for the soul of the king (ām nu-bat-ti ēšēšu occur together, King, Magic, 61, 11), it has been suggested that this is a service of preparation for the festal days (of Nabû); so Landsberger, Kal., after Lotz and Steinmetzer. This theory is ruined by the fact that the days began in the evening. Harp. Lett. 123 Obv. 19, ina nu-bat-ti seems to mean simply ‘by night’ = Rev. 1, ina ši-šu ina nu-bat-ti mu-šu ša āmi 15-kam, in the morning (and) at the nubattu of night on the 15th. āmu 10-kam ina nu-bat-ti, on the 10th by night, ritual
SPECIAL NAMES OF DAYS


16. ūm (ū-um) ṭb-ba-ra (ṭp-ṭrī) = ūm ri-ḥi-ış-ti. 'Day of the storm' = 'Day of the downpour of Adad'.

17. ūm (ū-um) nu-ūḫ lib-bi = ša-bat-tum. Day of the resting of the heart = The divider, day 15.

18. su-um-mu = si-ma-nu. Fixed season.

19. sa-ḥar ū-me = li-la-a-tum(se), Turning of the day, evening.

20. tam-ḫu-ū(u) = ṭīlātu. Evening.

21. ša-an-ša-la² = ʾiṣtu ūm šalšī, since three days = day before yesterday.

22. am-ša-la = mu-šam-ma. Yesterday.

23. ʾu-ku-nu-ru-ū(u) = ti-ma-li(lu). Yesterday.³


25. [ū-ɡu-di-lu] = ʾiṣ-ten ū-me. Day after tomorrow.⁴ Lit. 'one day'.

25b. ul-la(lu)-tiš = ṭišten ʿame.⁵


27. še-ir-tum(tū) = ka-ša-a-tum(tū). Morning, cool of the morning.


of the kanūnu, brazier, ibid. 49, 14–15. A ritual ina nu-bat-ti on the 11th day, ibid. 15, 7; on the 25th, 612, 5. See, further, Behrens, Briefe, 101–3, where other examples of nubattu (contrasted with šaru, šaru, morning) prove that it means 'night' simply. Also 'rest by night', 'halt for night-rest', ibid. 104; Streck, Assur. n. 72 n. 5.

1 This has some reference to a specific day. ibbarā for imbara = imbaru, storm, loan-word ippiru, ibbaru (Clay, Atarhasis, Pl. 1 Col. 1170). The only day sacred to Adad is the 6th, but why should any special day be called 'storm or downpour of Adad'? Does this refer to the ʾigū uassi, 'he shall chant a lament', usually ordered for the 6th day?

2 So Meissner (after Landsberger), Beiträge II, p. 2. So restore PBS. v 152 xi 2.

3 ukunurā, loan-word from ʾu-ku-nu-ri-a, PBS. v 152 xi 7; ZA. 4, 155, 15.

4 So Meissner (after Landsberger), Beiträge II, p. 2. So restore PBS. v 152 xi 2.

5 ul-li-ti-š-Š, PBS. ibid. 3 = [ud]-tiš-ta? Hence a Sumerian word ul, syn. ug = day.
THE DAY OF THE PROCESSION

(Var. 126) 29. ka-ra-su-u = muššalu. Siesta.
29b. a-ši-tum² = muššalu. Siesta.

CULT-DAY NAMES

To this list the šadāḫu or procession-day must be added, on which none of the syllabaries has any comment, nor does the list of instructions for the months, KAR. 177, mention it. This falls invariably on the 25th of all months of the enbu bēl arām series where a text for this day is available. In the old calendar of Nisan this day is broken away on both texts, KAR. 176 and 178. For Sivan 25, K. 8372 has ša-da-ḫu ša ₄En-lil ₄Ištar-Bābili (ki) ka-ri-it ilāni, ‘Day of the procession of Enlil and Ishtar of Babylon, banquet of the gods’. By night the king must set forth food-offering to Enlil before mulApin (Triangulum) and to Ishtar of Babylon before mulMargidda (Ursa Major). For Elul II, day 25, IV Raw. 33 III 22-5 has the same rubric,² omitting ‘banquet of the gods’; Arahasmana 25 in IV Raw. 33* III 15-19 is the same as Elul II, but adds that the king may not go out into the street. Shebat 25 on K. 7079 Rev. i 1-4 in a broken text has šadāḫu of [Enlil] and [Belit-Bābili]; offerings by night to Enlil before mulApin, to [Belit-Bābili] before mul[Mar­gidda]. Adar II day 25 on K. 4093 Rev. i 4-7 in a broken passage is the same as Shebat.

It is probable that this procession of Enlil and Ishtar of Babylon, or Bēlit of Babylon occurred on the 25th of every month in both old and new calendars, since Margidda is the star of Ninlil,³ CT. 33, 1, 15; OECT. vi 75, 14.

In Bab. vi 157, mulApin is indicated by seven stars, hence it includes Pleiades, and is the star of Enlil, CT. 33, 1, 1, restored by V Raw. 46 A 1, mulapin a-li-k pa-ni kakka-bāni šu-ut ₄En-lil, ‘the Plough Star which goes before the stars of Enlil’, in V Raw. 46 identified with ₄Ašur = Enlil. Since this star governs the third decan of Nisan in the Astrolabe Pinches, Kugler, Sternk. 1 230 and KAV. p. 123, 1, it is

¹ Or pseudo-ideogram, a-ši-tb? ² Be-lit-Bābili instead of Ishtar-Bābili.
³ Replaced by Ishtar of Babylon, or Queen of Babylon in the calendars.
obvious that its connexion with Nisan 25 in the Taurus period must have been the original reason for a ceremony to Enlil on this day. Before 700 B.C. this star in an ideal year rose in Nisan and opened the year. It is difficult to see why Nisan 25 should have been chosen as the day to honour Enlil and Ninlil (= later Bēlit of Babylon). From Nisan the ceremony then spread to the other months.

The results reached by the priesthood of the last calendar issued by them are formal, stiff, Pharisaic. The life of man was now entirely controlled by phases of the moon. Nineteen of the days of each month had special names. Gloomy day meant days of rest, washing-day meant days 6 and 16 when the king could clean his garments, ‘day of pouring out water’ meant the 29th, when during the moon’s eclipse water was poured for the souls of the dead. All festivals of hoary antiquity based upon monthly myths are now fixed days and associated with stars. One could read here when it was permissible to marry, build a house, dig a well, recite a psalm, buy and sell, go on a journey, or sweep the house. Any conceivable act of man on any of the 354 days of the lunar year was governed by this complicated calendar. The king’s life must have been as severe as that of a priest in the most ascetic of Christian orders. He seems to have been chosen to represent the piety of the whole nation. Indeed, if any king actually fulfilled all the orders appointed for him in these Babylonian calendars he could have time for little else. The layman is hardly ever mentioned here; probably he was satisfied that the head of his Church, the great royal high priest, did all the piety necessary for the nation.

The fact is, however, that the swarms of priests of many orders, who thronged the temples of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria, were really those who kept the letter of the law. On all matters of procedure they consulted these calendars. Observation of the law rather than the spirit of justice and mercy was inherited by the Pharisees, and their strict adherence to the rule of rest-days still regulates the manners of a great part of mankind to this day.
ADDENDUM

THE PRE-SARGONIC CALENDAR AT UR

By the courtesy of Mr. Woolley and the Trustees of the British Museum I have been permitted to see fifty-two tablets from Ur and the copies by Father Eric Burrows, who has kindly placed his own results at my disposal. This group of texts comes from the period of the pre-Sargonic tablets from Lagash and date circa 3000–2800 B.C. The information is particularly valuable since these tablets provide the first opportunity to trace the important Ur calendar before the last dynasty of Ur in the twenty-fourth century. The following month-names occur in these texts. Names marked * do not occur in the calendar of the third dynasty.

1) "izi-UM-ka, No. 46. This text has a list of sacrifices. Col. I 3, one bull for the udu(LU)-izi-UM; col. II 3–6, one bull and three lambs izi-UM-ka in the kisal-mag, ‘great court’, for the goddess Innini. Col. IV 3–4 has ten ewes, the maš-da-ri-a izi-UM-sū, ‘tax for the izi-festival’. Since this tablet is dated izi-UM-ka, and UM is rendered by isinnu, the month should be read, despite the order of signs, iti-izé-izi; udu-izi-UM = udu ezén-izi, where udu stands for iti, itu; izi-UM-ka = ezén-izi-ka; izi-UM-sū = ezén-izi-sū, ‘for the festival of izi’. No. 39 has a list of sheep and lambs, maš-da-ri-a izi-UM-izi-gar-šū (read ezén izi-izi-gar-šū), i.e. ‘tax for the festival of the torch’, and is the same as the Nippurian month izi-izi-gar, or Abu, fifth month, and the ezén a-bi, ‘festival of firewood’, in Babylonia. The Sumerians at Ur had, therefore, this same midsummer festival, and in the time of the last dynasty they changed the name to ‘month of the festival of the god Ninazu’, for mythological reasons.

2) "d-ki-ta-ka, No. 44· This is the month of the akītu or New Year festival at Ur, Teshrit, a name also current for this month in the later Ur calendar.

3) "ezén-mag-4·Nin-š-gal-ka, No. 47. ‘Month of the great festival of Ninegal.’ This is probably the source of the early Assyrian name of the sixth month araḫ4 Bēlti- Elkalī.

4) "ezén-mag-4·Nannara-ka, Nos. 41, 45. No. 45 also mentions

Numbers refer to Burrows’s edition.

Cf. Reisner, Tu. 276, dates for the maš-da-ri-a of the akītu festival.

CT. 41, 26, 21.

See p. 124, n. 3

See p. 20, and Langdon, Drehem, p. 10.

See p. 98.

7 See p. 34.
I58 PRE-SARGONIC CALENDAR OF NIPPUR

ezen-maĝ-.Nannara-ge (without it), and has sacrifices to d-Innini and d-Nannar. This is probably the origin of the month ezen-maĝ in the later Ur calendar.¹ In this month fell the nabru, at Ur, and No. 17 has an account of sheep for the ezen-sag-û. Now sag-û means barû, 'to behold',² and consequently this is the 'festival of the nabru', thus proved to be pre-Sargonic at Ur.

(5) ūšu-Eš-.Nannara-ka, No. 13. This is the original of the eighth or ninth month šu-Eš-ša in the later Ur calendar.⁴ 'The ūšu-Eš of Nannar' is a complete mystery, the meaning of šu-Eš is unknown and cannot possibly have any connexion with a 'third' month reckoning from akitu.

(6) ūš-sag-kû-ka, No. 43. This name did not survive in the later Ur calendar.

*(7) ūš-AB-PEŠ-kû-.En-ki-ka, No. 15.
*(8) ūš-kuda-ka, No. 13.
*(9) ūš-amar-kâr?-ka.
*(10) In No. 38 there is a festival, ezen-maĝ-.Nin-EN x LA, 'great festival of the goddess X'. This deity is identical with Ningal, the Moon-goddess.

Combining this list with twelve names in the calendar of the third dynasty,⁸ it will be seen that there were five festivals of eating various animals at Ur, all of which gave their names to months. Since Ur was the principal centre of the cult of the Moon-god, Nannar, and the Moon-goddess, Ningal, it is natural that three of the pre-Sargonic month-names refer to feasts in honour of these deities.

¹ See p. 136, and p. 30. ² RA. 11, 146, 36. ³ Written Y.⁴ See p. 130. ⁵ The sign is defaced; the traces resemble SIZKUR.⁶ Sign TAR. This may be for šegurkud.⁷ Defaced, kdr, am, or NE? ⁸ Langdon, Drehem, 15, list E.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB. Altorientalische Bibliothek, by Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner.
AJSL. American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AKA. Annals of the Kings of Assyria, by L. W. King.
AKF. Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, ed. Weidner.
AOF. Archiv für Orientforschung, ed. Weidner.
APR. Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht, by Meissner.
ASKT. Akadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, by P. Haupt.

BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Babylonian Liturgies, by S. Langdon.
Babylonian Wisdom, by S. Langdon.
BE. Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
Behrens, Briefe. Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe, by E. Behrens, LSS. II, 1.
BL. Babylonian Liturgies, q.v.

Chiera, LT. Sumerian Lexical Texts, by Edward Chiera.
Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus.
CIG. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
CIS. Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
Contenau, Umma. Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur, by G. Contenau.
Craig, RT. Religious Texts, by J. A. Craig.
CT. Cuneiform Texts, published by the British Museum.

DA. Documents assyriens, by A. Boissier.
Del., HW. Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
DP. Documents pré-assyriens, by Allotte de la Fuye.

Genouillac, Dréhem. H. de Genouillac, Tablettes de Dréhem.
Inv. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello.

JA. Journal Asiatique.
Jeremias, AG. Alfred Jeremias, Handbuch der altbabylonischen Geistes­kultur, second edition. Or HB.
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KAH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Historischen Inhalts.
KAJI. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Juristischen Inhalts, by E. Ebeling.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KAR. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts, by E. Ebeling.
KAV. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts, by O. Schroeder.
KB. Keilschriftliche Bibliothek.
King, Great. The Seven Tablets of Creation, by L. W. King.
Küchler, Med. Friedrich Küchler, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin.
Kugler, Sternk. F. X. Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst.

Landsberger, Kal. Der Kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer.
Lau, OBT. Julius Lau, Old Babylonian Temple Records.
Legrain, Ur. Temps des Rois d'Ur, by Leon Legrain.
LIH. Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, by L. W. King.
LSS. Leipziger Semitistische Studien, ed. Zimmern and Landsberger.
Lyon, Sargon. Keilschrifttexte Sargons, by D. G. Lyon.

MAG. Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, ed. Meissner.
Meissner, Beiträge. Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch, by B. Meissner.
MVAG. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.

NSI. North Semitic Inscriptions, by G. A. Cooke.
Nikolski. Documents of Economic Accounts of the most Ancient Period of Chaldea. Nikolski II, same title, period of Agade and last dynasty of Ur, by M. V. Nikolski (Russian).

OECT. Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.
OLZ. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

PBS. Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
Pinches, Amherst. The Amherst Tablets, by T. G. Pinches.
PRSM. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.
PSBA. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

RA. Revue d'Assyriologie.
Radau, EBH. Early Babylonian History, by Hugo Radau.
Raw. I, II, III, IV, V. Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, founded by Sir Henry Rawlinson, copied by George Smith, Edwin Norris, and T. G. Pinches.
Reisner, TU. Tempelurkunden aus Telloh, by G. Reisner.
RT. Recueil de Travaux, ed. Maspero.
RTC. Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes, by F. Thureau-Dangin.

SAI. Selten assyrische Ideogramme, by B. Meissner.
SBH. Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen, by G. Reisner.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SBP. *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, by S. Langdon.
Schneider, *Drehem. Die Drehem- und Dfoha Urkunden*, by N. Schneider.
*Analecta Orientalia.*

*Tallqvist Vol.* See *Studia Orientalia.*
*Tammuz and Ishtar*, by S. Langdon.


— *Syl. Acc. Le Syllabar Accadien.*
— *Uruk. Tablettes d’Uruk.*

Ungnad, *Briefe. Babylonische Briefe*, by A. Ungnad, VAB. VI.
*Uruk.* Refers to Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d’Uruk.*

VAB. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.*

Vir. *Ishtar, Sham., Astrol. Suppl.*, *Suppl.* Refers to various parts of Charles Virolleaud’s *Astrologie Chaldéenne* and the *Supplément*, parts one and two.


VS. *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.*

Weidner, HB. *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, by E. F. Weidner.

WVDO. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft.*

YOS. *Yale Oriental Series.*

ZA. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*


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