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DENKSCHRIFTEN

DER

KAISERLICHEN

AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN.

MATHEMATISCHE-NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE CLASSE.

NEUNUNDVIERZIGSTER BAND.



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WIEN.

AUS DER KAISERLICH-KÖNIGLICHEN HOF- UND STAATSDRUCKEREI.

1885.

September, 1949.
Smith, Inst.

INHALT.

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ASTRONOMISCHE BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ASSYRISCHEN CHRONOLOGIE.

VON

DR. EDUARD FREDERIK VON HAERDTL.

VORGELEGT IN DER SITZUNG AM 15. MAI 1881.

Die vorliegende Arbeit zerfällt dem Wesen nach in zwei Theile. Der erste Theil enthält eine Reihe astronomischer Angaben, deren Kenntniß dem Historiker nicht unerwünscht sein wird, weil sie sowohl bei jeder einzelnen assyrischen Zeitangabe in Betracht kommen, als auch in ihrer Gesamtheit vielleicht die Aufstellung eines assyrischen Kalenders ermöglichen. Im zweiten Theil ist eine Zusammenstellung sämmtlicher centralen Finsternisse gegeben, welche von der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 574 vor Chr. Geburt in Ninive sichtbar waren, zu welcher Untersuchung mich der Umstand veranlasste, dass mehrerer dieser Finsternisse auch in historischen Quellen Erwähnung geschieht. Bevor ich aber in die einzelnen Theile näher eingehe, will ich einige Bemerkungen über die assyrische Zeitrechnung vorausschicken.

Der assyrischen Zeitrechnung lag das Mondjahr zu Grunde, das sie von Zeit zu Zeit durch Sehaltung mit dem Sonnenjahr ausgeglichen haben. Da die Assyrer ferner — nach Angabe einiger Historiker — das Jahr mit dem Monat Nisan, und zwar mit dem ersten Neumond vor dem Frühjahrsanfang begannen, bedarf es zur Festsetzung des Jahresanfangs vor Allem der astronomischen Angabe, auf welchen julianischen Tag das Frühlings-Äquinoctium trifft. Neben dieser Angabe findet sich im Folgenden die Zusammenstellung sämmtlicher Neumonde, welche vom Jahre — 956 bis — 604 stattgefunden haben.

Da für den Zweck, für welchen ich die Frühlings-Tag- und Nachtgleiche gerechnet habe, eine Genauigkeit von etwa zwei Stunden hinreicht, habe ich durch blosse Addition der Argumente der zwei ersten Schram'schen Tafeln aus den „Hilfstafeln für Chronologie von Robert Schram“ die Zeit des Eintrittes der Sonne in das Zeichen des Widders erhalten.

Der Berechnung der Neumonde sind dieselben Tafeln zu Grunde gelegen, welche auch mit einer genügenden Genauigkeit — von ungefähr einer halben Stunde — den Eintritt der Phase in Greenwicher Zeit angeben.

Die Resultate sind durch doppelte Rechnung geprüft.

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-926	Jänner..... 1	16 ^h 5 ^m	-921	Jänner..... 7	9 ^h 22 ^m	-916	Jänner..... 11	13 ^h 12 ^m
	Jänner..... 31	7 12		Februar..... 5	22 34		Februar..... 10	1 41
März..... 1	23 17		März..... 7	9 22		März..... 10	14 10	
März..... 31	15 36		April..... 5	17 46		April..... 9	4 5	
April..... 30	6 58		Mai..... 5	0 43		Mai..... 8	18 43	
Mai..... 29	21 36		Juni..... 3	7 26		Juni..... 7	10 5	
Juni..... 28	10 48		Juli..... 2	14 53		Juli..... 7	1 12	
Juli..... 27	22 5		August..... 1	0 43		August..... 5	15 50	
August..... 26	8 38		August..... 30	12 43		September..... 4	5 31	
September..... 24	18 43		September..... 29	3 50		October..... 3	18 14	
October..... 24	5 2		October..... 28	21 50		November..... 2	6 14	
November..... 22	15 50		November..... 27	17 2		December..... 1	17 31	
December..... 22	3 7		December..... 27	12 29		December..... 31	4 19	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-911	Jänner..... 16	1 ^h 26 ^m	-906	Jänner..... 20	13 ^h 41 ^m	-901	Jänner..... 25	14 ^h 24 ^m
	Februar..... 14	17 31		Februar..... 18	23 31		Februar..... 24	7 55
März..... 16	6 43		März..... 20	9 22		März..... 25	23 46	
April..... 14	16 48		April..... 18	19 55		April..... 24	12 43	
Mai..... 14	0 58		Mai..... 18	7 55		Mai..... 23	23 2	
Juni..... 12	7 41		Juni..... 16	21 50		Juni..... 22	7 41	
Juli..... 11	14 53		Juli..... 16	14 10		Juli..... 21	15 36	
August..... 9	23 2		August..... 15	5 31		August..... 19	23 31	
September..... 8	8 53		September..... 13	22 19		September..... 18	8 38	
October..... 7	21 36		October..... 13	14 24		October..... 17	19 26	
November..... 6	12 58		November..... 12	5 2		November..... 16	8 10	
December..... 6	6 14		December..... 11	18 14		December..... 15	22 48	
-910	Jänner..... 5	1 12	-905	Jänner..... 10	5 31	-900	Jänner..... 14	14 53
	Februar..... 3	19 41		Februar..... 8	15 30		Februar..... 13	8 10
März..... 5	12 43		März..... 10	0 14		März..... 14	1 12	
April..... 4	3 7		April..... 8	8 24		April..... 12	17 2	
Mai..... 3	14 38		Mai..... 7	17 17		Mai..... 12	7 26	
Juni..... 2	0 0		Juni..... 6	3 7		Juni..... 10	19 26	
Juli..... 1	7 41		Juli..... 5	15 7		Juli..... 10	0 0	
Juli..... 30	15 22		August..... 4	6 0		August..... 8	15 50	
August..... 28	23 46		September..... 2	22 48		September..... 7	1 12	
September..... 27	9 22		October..... 2	17 2		October..... 6	10 48	
October..... 26	20 53		November..... 1	11 2		November..... 4	21 22	
November..... 25	10 48		December..... 1	3 50		December..... 4	8 53	
December..... 25	2 53		December..... 30	18 43				
-909	Jänner..... 23	19 41	-904	Jänner..... 29	6 43	-899	Jänner..... 2	21 36
	Februar..... 22	13 12		Februar..... 27	16 48		Februar..... 1	11 31
März..... 24	6 14		März..... 28	0 58		März..... 3	2 10	
April..... 22	21 7		April..... 26	7 55		April..... 1	17 40	
Mai..... 22	10 19		Mai..... 25	15 7		Mai..... 1	9 22	
Juni..... 20	21 30		Juni..... 24	0 14		Juni..... 31	0 43	
Juli..... 20	7 26		Juli..... 23	10 48		Juni..... 29	14 24	
August..... 18	16 19		August..... 22	0 14		Juli..... 29	3 22	
September..... 17	1 26		September..... 20	16 48		August..... 27	14 53	
October..... 16	11 31		October..... 20	11 31		September..... 26	2 10	
November..... 14	22 34		November..... 19	6 43		October..... 25	12 43	
December..... 14	10 48		December..... 19	1 12		November..... 23	23 31	
-918	Jänner..... 3	6 58	-913	Jänner..... 8	21 7	-908	Jänner..... 13	0 14
	Februar..... 2	0 43		Februar..... 7	8 10		Februar..... 17	17 17
März..... 3	18 14		März..... 8	17 17		Jänner..... 17	17 17	
April..... 2	10 19		April..... 7	0 58		Februar..... 16	6 43	
Mai..... 2	0 43		Mai..... 6	8 10		März..... 17	17 17	
Mai..... 31	20 10		Mai..... 31	12 43		April..... 21	21 30	
Juni..... 24	8 24		Juni..... 29	22 34		Mai..... 20	10 48	
Juli..... 23	23 17		Juli..... 29	7 55		Juni..... 20	1 20	
August..... 22	15 50		August..... 27	16 34		Juli..... 13	14 53	
September..... 21	9 22		September..... 26	2 10		Juli..... 12	22 34	
October..... 21	3 7		September..... 30	21 50		August..... 11	7 55	
November..... 19	19 26		October..... 30	16 48		September..... 9	20 24	
December..... 19	10 5		November..... 29	12 0		October..... 9	11 31	
-917	Jänner..... 22	3 36	-912	Jänner..... 27	20 10	-907	Jänner..... 1	12 0
	Februar..... 20	18 58		Februar..... 26	8 10		Jänner..... 6	20 24
März..... 22	11 2		März..... 26	17 46		Jänner..... 30	13 41	
April..... 21	2 38		April..... 25	0 58		Februar..... 5	13 41	
Mai..... 20	18 0		Mai..... 24	7 55		März..... 7	4 19	
Juni..... 19	10 48		Juni..... 22	14 53		April..... 5	15 36	
Juli..... 13	3 22		Juli..... 18	20 10		Mai..... 5	0 43	
August..... 11	16 48		Juli..... 21	23 17		Juni..... 3	8 10	
September..... 10	9 22		August..... 20	10 5		July..... 3	14 53	
October..... 10	3 36		September..... 19	0 0		December..... 8	1 26	
November..... 8	22 34		October..... 18	16 19		November..... 13	14 53	
December..... 8	17 2		November..... 17	11 31		December..... 13	2 10	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-866	Jänner 28	12 ^h 0 ^m	-861	Jänner 3	20 10	-856	Jänner 8	6 ^h 43 ^m
Februar 27	5 2		Februar 2	6 14		Februar 7	0 14	
März 28	19 12		März 3	15 7		März 7	17 40	
April 27	6 14		April 1	23 46		April 6	9 50	
Mai 26	15 36		Mai 1	8 53		Mai 5	23 40	
Juni 24	23 17		Mai 30	19 12		Juni 4	11 40	
Juli 24	6 43		Juni 29	7 20		Juli 3	21 30	
August 22	14 38		Juli 28	22 34		August 2	6 43	
September 21	0 14		August 27	15 30		August 31	15 30	
October 20	12 0		September 26	9 7		September 30	1 12	
November 19	1 55		October 26	2 53		October 29	11 40	
December 18	18 0		November 24	19 12		November 27	23 17	
			December 24	9 50		December 27	12 58	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-851	Jänner 12	20 ^h 24 ^m	-846	Jänner 16	23 ^h 46 ^m	-841	Jänner 22	16 ^h 34 ^m
Februar 11	7 26		Februar 15	14 10		Februar 21	5 46	
März 12	16 5		März 17	5 46		März 22	16 5	
April 10	23 40		April 15	21 36		April 21	0 0	
Mai 10	6 58		Mai 15	13 12		Mai 20	7 12	
Juni 8	14 38		Juni 14	3 50		Juni 18	13 41	
Juli 8	0 14		Juli 13	17 2		Juli 17	21 22	
August 6	12 43		August 12	4 34		August 16	7 12	
September 5	3 50		September 10	10 5		September 14	19 41	
October 4	21 36		October 10	2 38		October 14	11 17	
November 3	16 34		November 8	13 26		November 13	5 31	
December 3	11 46		December 8	0 0		December 13	1 12	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-850	Jänner 2	5 2	-845	Jänner 6	11 17	-840	Jänner 11	19 55
Jänner 31	19 26		Februar 4	22 34		Februar 10	13 12	
März 2	7 26		März 6	10 48		März 11	3 36	
März 31	16 34		April 4	23 46		April 9	14 53	
April 30	0 0		Mai 4	13 55		Mai 8	23 31	
Mai 29	6 29		Juni 3	5 2		Juni 7	7 12	
Juni 27	13 41		Juli 2	20 24		Juli 6	13 55	
Juli 26	22 5		August 1	11 40		August 4	21 22	
August 25	9 22		August 31	1 55		September 3	6 43	
September 23	23 17		September 29	15 30		October 2	18 29	
October 23	16 5		October 29	4 5		November 1	8 38	
November 22	11 31		November 27	15 50		December 1	0 58	
December 22	6 43		December 27	2 53		December 30	19 26	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-844	Jänner 21	0 58	-839	Jänner 25	12 58	-839	Jänner 29	13 55
Februar 19	17 2		Februar 23	22 34		Februar 28	7 26	
März 21	5 46		März 24	8 24		März 29	23 2	
April 19	15 50		April 22	18 58		April 28	11 46	
Mai 18	23 31		Mai 22	6 58		Mai 27	22 5	
Juni 17	6 29		Juni 20	21 7		Juni 26	6 43	
Juli 16	13 41		Juli 20	12 58		Juli 25	14 38	
August 14	21 50		August 19	5 2		August 23	22 34	
September 13	8 10		September 17	2 5		September 22	7 55	
October 12	21 7		October 17	13 55		October 21	18 43	
November 11	12 43		November 16	4 34		November 20	7 26	
December 11	6 29		December 15	17 31		December 19	22 34	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-843	Jänner 10	0 58	-838	Jänner 14	4 48	-838	Jänner 18	14 24
Februar 8	19 20		Februar 12	14 53		Februar 17	7 41	
März 9	12 0		März 13	23 17		März 19	0 29	
April 8	2 10		April 12	7 12		April 17	16 19	
Mai 7	13 41		Mai 11	15 50		Mai 17	6 29	
Juni 5	22 48		Juni 10	2 10		Juni 15	18 29	
Juli 5	6 43		Juli 9	14 24		Juli 15	5 2	
August 3	14 10		August 8	5 31		August 13	14 24	
September 1	22 48		September 6	23 34		September 12	0 14	
October 1	8 24		October 6	16 48		October 11	10 5	
November 5	11 2		November 5	1 30		November 9	20 38	
December 29	2 24		December 5	3 30		December 9	8 10	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-842	Jänner 3	18 14	-837	Jänner 7	21 7	-837	Jänner 17	21 7
Februar 2	6 14		Februar 6	10 48		Februar 8	1 41	
März 3	16 5		März 17	5 41		März 20	1 41	
April 1	23 40		April 6	17 2		April 8	8 38	
Mai 1	6 43		Mai 6	8 38		Mai 8	3 28	
Mai 20	9 22		Mai 30	14 10		Juni 4	23 40	
Juni 24	20 24		Juni 28	23 2		Juli 4	13 41	
Juli 24	6 14		Juli 28	9 50		August 3	2 38	
August 22	15 22		August 26	2 40		September 1	14 10	
September 21	0 29		September 25	16 19		September 1	1 26	
October 20	10 48		October 25	11 17		October 30	12 14	
November 18	21 50		November 24	6 29		November 28	22 48	
December 18	10 5		December 24	0 43		December 28	9 50	

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	
-836	Jänner 26	21 ^h 7 ^m	-831	Jänner 1	14 ^h 24 ^m	-826	Jänner 6	11 ^h 31 ^m	
Februar 25	8 38		Jänner 31	8 35		Februar 4	21 22		
März 20	38		März 2	0 29		März 6	6 43		
April 24	10 5		März 31	12 58		April 4	16 5		
Mai 24	0 29		April 29	23 2		Mai 4	2 10		
Juni 22	10 5		Mai 29	0 58		Juni 2	13 41		
Juli 22	7 26		Juni 27	13 55		Juli 2	3 36		
August 20	22 34		Juli 26	21 36		Juli 31	19 26		
September 19	12 58		August 25	0 0		August 30	12 29		
October 19	2 10		September 23	10 19		September 29	6 58		
November 17	14 38		October 23	5 17		October 28	22 5		
December 17	1 41		November 21	20 53		November 27	12 58		
	December 21	14 10		December 27	2 24		December 27		

Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr	Jahr	Datum	Uhr
-821	Jänner 11	3 ^h 7 ^m	-816	Jänner 16	12 ^h 14 ^m	-811	Jänner 19	18 ^h 14 ^m
Februar 9	21 22		Februar 14	22 19		Februar 18	10 19	
März 11	14 24		März 15	6 58		März 20	2 38	
April 10	5 40		April 13	14 38		April 18	18 29	
Mai 9	18 29		Mai 12	22 19		Mai 18	9 36	
Juni 8	5 2		Juni 11	7 12		Juni 16	23 2	
Juli 7	13 55		Juli 10	18 14		Juli 16	10 48	
August 5	22 5		August 9	8 10		August 14	21 22	
September 4	6 43		September 8	0 43		September 13	7 41	
October 3	16 10		October 7	18 58		October 12	17 40	
November 2	3 22		November 6	13 55		November 11	4 34	
December 1	16 5		December 6	7 55		December 10	15 22	
December 31	6 29							

-820	Jänner 29	22 5	-815	Jänner 4	23 40	-810	Jänner 9	3 7
Februar 28	14 53		Februar 3	12 58		Februar 7	15 36	
März 20	7 12		März 4	23 31		März 9	5 17	
April 27	22 48		April 3	7 41		April 7	19 12	
Mai 27	13 12		Mai 2	14 38		Mai 7	10 48	
Juni 26	1 41		Juni 31	21 36		Juni 6	1 55	
Juli 25	12 29		Juli 29	15 7		Juli 5	16 48	
August 23	22 19		August 28	3 22		August 4	0 58	
September 22	8 38		September 20	18 58		September 2	20 10	
October 21	18 43		October 16	13 12		October 2	8 24	
November 20	5 17		November 25	8 24		November 30	6 58	
December 19	17 2		December 25	3 50		December 29	17 40	

-819	Jänner 18	5 31	-814	Jänner 23	21 7	-809	Jänner 28	4 5
Februar 16	18 43		Februar 22	11 17		Februar 26	14 24	
März 18	8 38		März 23	22 48		März 1	2 26	
April 10	23 46		April 22	7 26		April 26	13 12	
Mai 10	15 7		Mai 21	14 53		Mai 20	2 38	
Juni 15	6 14		Juni 19	21 36		Juni 24	18 0	
Juli 14	20 53		Juli 19	4 48		Juli 24	9 30	
August 13	9 50		August 17	13 26		August 23	1 41	
September 11	22 19		September 16	1 12		September 21	17 40	
October 11	9 50		October 15	15 22		October 21	8 10	
November 9	21 7		November 14	8 24		November 19	21 50	
December 9	7 55		December 14	3 22		December 19	9 36	

-818	Jänner 7	18 43	-813	Jänner 12	22 19	-808	Jänner 17	20 10
Februar 6	5 17		Februar 11	16 19		Februar 19	5 46	
März 7	16 19		März 13	7 41		März 10	14 24	
April 6	3 50		April 11	20 24		April 14	23 2	
Mai 5	10 34		Mai 11	6 14		Mai 14	9 7	
Juni 4	7 12		Juni 9	14 24		Juni 12	20 38	
Juli 3	22 19		Juli 8	21 22		Juli 12	10 34	
August 2	14 24		August 7	5 17		August 11	2 24	
September 1	6 0		September 5	14 10		September 9	19 55	
September 30	20 53		September 5	6 43		October 9	13 26	
October 30	10 34		November 3	13 41		November 8	6 29	
November 28	23 2		December 3	5 2		December 7	21 36	
December 23	10 19							

-817	Jänner 26	20 53	-812	Jänner 1	22 5	-807	Jänner 6	10 48
Februar 25	0 0		Jänner 31	16 5		Februar 4	22 5	
März 20	14 38		März 1	9 50		März 6	0 58	
April 25	0 14		April 29	16 5		April 4	14 53	
Mai 24	10 48		Mai 29	16 5		Mai 3	22 19	
Juni 23	0 0		Juni 29	3 22		Juni 2	6 14	
Juli 22	14 53		Juli 26	21 50		Juli 1	10 5	
August 21	7 20		August 25	0 14		August 29	19 41	
September 20	0 58		September 23	15 36		September 28	13 41	
October 19	18 14		October 23	1 55		October 28	8 24	
November 18	10 19		November 21	13 41		November 27	3 7	
December 18	0 14		December 21	3 30		December 26	20 10	

Da zur Ermittlung der Hauptumstände einer Sonnenfinsterniss für einen Ort die östliche Länge von Greenwich und die geographische Breite dieses Ortes bekannt sein muss, habe ich aus dem „Index Geographicalis im Verlag von William Blackwood“ diese Coordinate entnommen, die ich hier folgen lasse:

$$\text{Ninive (Mosul): } \lambda = 44^\circ 9' \text{ östl. } \varphi = +36^\circ 19'$$

Die Gleichungen zur Bestimmung der Zeit der grössten Phase, die Hansen in der Theorie der Sonnenfinsternisse ableitet:

$$\begin{aligned} m \sin M &= \gamma - \eta \cos g + \xi \sin g \sin(G+t_0) \\ m \cos M &= (t_0 - \lambda - \mu) \frac{n}{15} - \eta \cos k + \xi \sin k \cos(K+t_0) \\ m' \sin M &= -\xi \sin g \cos(G+t_0) \\ m' \cos M &= n - \xi \sin k \sin(K+t_0) \\ t &= t_0 + 15 \frac{m}{m'} \cos(M+M') \end{aligned}$$

sind in Bezug auf die Unbekannte t transzendent. Um nun den genauen Werth von t zu ermitteln, ist man bei der Benützung des Näherungsverfahrens genöthigt, die gesamte Rechnung so lange zu wiederholen, bis der Anfangs- und Schlusswerth übereinstimmen, was, wenn keine Näherung bekannt ist, meist eine dreimalige Wiederholung erfordert. Ich habe aber Hansen's Verfahren nicht eingeschlagen, sondern eine von Prof. Oppolzer vorgeschlagene Methode benützt, die nur die Wiederholung eines ganz kleinen Theiles der Rechnung erfordert und eine fast völlige Strenge erreichen lässt.

Da der Werth von m , unter der Voraussetzung, dass eine merkliche Verfinsterung der Sonnenscheibe eintritt, klein ist, und auch $\cos M$, da M bei 90° oder 270° liegt, nahe 0 wird, so wird das Product $m \cos M$ für eine centrale Finsterniss sehr klein. Berücksichtigt man ferner, dass der Fehler, den man durch die Vernachlässigung des Productes begeht, die Genauigkeit, welche bei der Zeitangabe der grössten Phase historischer Finsternisse nöthig ist, nicht mehr beeinträchtigen kann, so kann man:

$$(t_0 - \lambda - \mu) \frac{n}{15} - \eta \cos k + \xi \sin k \cos(K+t_0) = 0$$

setzen.

Setzt man ferner:

$$-\frac{15}{n} \xi \sin k = a$$

$$\lambda + \mu + \frac{15}{n} \eta \cos k = L$$

endlich:

$$K + L = K,$$

aus welchen Ausdrücken sich, da alle Grössen linker Hand bei Beginn der Rechnung bekannt sind, a , L , K' als bestimmte numerische Werthe ergeben, so geht der erste Ausdruck über in:

$$t_0 - L - a \cos(K+t_0) = 0$$

Führt man ferner eine Grösse τ so ein, dass sie der Relation genügt:

$$\tau = t_0 - L$$

so ergibt sich:

$$\tau - a \cos(K'+\tau) = 0.$$

welche Gleichung sich auch so schreiben lässt:

$$\operatorname{tg} \tau = \frac{a \cos K'}{\frac{\tau}{\sin \tau} + a \sin K'}.$$

Im Ausdrucke rechts ist nur der Quotient: $\frac{\tau}{\sin \tau}$ unbekannt. Berechnet man sich nun eine kleine Tafel, die mit dem Argument τ den logar. des Quotienten: $\frac{\tau}{\sin \tau} = \nu$ gibt, und welche sich, da: $t_0 - L$ nicht grösser als 30° werden kann, nur bis zum Argument $\tau = 30^\circ$ zu erstrecken braucht, so erhält man:

τ	ν	τ	ν	τ	ν
0°	1.7581	10°	1.7603	20°	1.7670
1°	1.7581	11°	1.7608	21°	1.7679
2°	1.7582	12°	1.7613	22°	1.7688
3°	1.7583	13°	1.7619	23°	1.7698
4°	1.7585	14°	1.7625	24°	1.7709
5°	1.7587	15°	1.7631	25°	1.7720
6°	1.7589	16°	1.7638	26°	1.7731
7°	1.7592	17°	1.7645	27°	1.7743
8°	1.7595	18°	1.7653	28°	1.7755
9°	1.7599	19°	1.7661	29°	1.7768
10°	1.7603	20°	1.7670	30°	1.7781

Mit Hilfe dieser Tafel lässt sich aber der Werth von τ sehr leicht ermitteln. Macht man nämlich für ν die Annahme $\nu' = 1.7631$, welche dem Mittelargument der Tafel entspricht, und berechnet mit diesem Werthe nach obiger Formel $\operatorname{tg} \tau$, so wird man für τ einen Werth τ' finden. Geht man nun mit diesem so gewonnenen Werth τ' als Argument in die Tafel ein, so finde sich für ν der Werth ν'' . Stimmt dieser Werth mit dem erst angenommenen von ν überein, ist also: $\nu' = \nu''$, so braucht man die Rechnung nicht weiter fortzusetzen, man hat schon den Schlusswerth von τ ermittelt.

Ist dieses aber nicht der Fall, so wird man mit dem erhaltenen ν'' nochmals den obigen Ausdruck durchrechnen, und das Verfahren so lange fortsetzen, bis der letzte gefundene Werth von ν mit demjenigen Werth übereinstimmt, den die Tafel für den letzten Werth von τ ergibt. Im ungünstigsten Fall ist die dreimalige Berechnung des obigen Ausdrückes nöthig.

Hat man aber mehrere Male die Formel benützt, so wird man bei dem geringen Differenzengang der Tafelwerthe, gleich eine solche Wahl für den Anfangswerth treffen können, dass nur eine Wiederholung der Rechnung nöthig wird, die obendrein in den meisten Fällen durch ein Ändern der letzten Decimalstelle ersetztbar sein wird. Über das Vorzeichen von τ kann kein Zweifel sein, es ist + oder -, je nachdem der Zähler: $a \cos K'$ das + oder - Vorzeichen hat.

Ist τ ermittelt, so ergibt sich aus der Gleichung:

$$t_0 = \tau + L$$

der Werth von t_0 .

Löst man in dem Ausdruck: $t = t_0 + 15 \frac{m}{m'} \cos(M+M')$ die \cos -Function auf und substituiert für $m \sin M$ seinen Werth, so erhält man:

$$t = t_0 + \frac{15}{m'} \sin M \{ \gamma - \eta \cos g + \xi \sin g \sin(G+t_0) \}.$$

Strenge genommen, sollte m' und M' , die ich nach Hansen's Formen:

$$m' \sin M' = -\xi \sin g \cos(G+t_0)$$

$$m' \cos M' = n - \xi \sin k \sin(K+t_0)$$

Ich glaube, dass dem Historiker die Zusammenstellung sämtlicher in Ninive sichtbarer Sonnen- und Mondesfinsternisse sehr erwünscht sein werden.

Wie die Abhandlung „The astronomy and astrology of the Babylonians“ Vol. III aus den „Transactions of society of Biblical Archeology“ beweist, besitzen wir eine grosse Zahl Aufzeichnungen von Finsternissen. Diese zu identifizieren ist dem Astronomen unmöglich, weil nähere Zeitangaben, die einzigen Anhaltspunkte für ihn, bei ihrer Erwähnung fehlen. Dem Historiker stehen aber noch andere Mittel zur Verfügung. Ich erwähne zum Beispiel die Ähnlichkeit der Handschrift, die Hinks in einer Abhandlung, auf die ich weiter unten zurückkommen werde, für die Zeit des Stattfindens der dort behandelten Mondesfinsternisse als sehr gewichtigen Grund anführt. Da aus dem obigen Verzeichniss zu ersehen ist, dass im Durchschnitt nur wenige Sonnenfinsternisse innerhalb Decennien sichtbar sind — Finsternisse, welche die Grösse von 5° nicht erreichen, können als nicht sichtbar für das unbewaffnete Auge betrachtet werden — dürfte es dem Historiker, wenn ihm das Verzeichniss sämtlicher Finsternisse vorliegt, möglich sein aus der näherungsweisen Zeitangabe, die er sich vielleicht aus Nebenumständen verschaffen kann, einige von den in der oben erwähnten Abhandlung angezeigten Finsternissen zu identifizieren.

So viel mir bekannt, wurden von sämtlichen in meinem Verzeichniss angeführten Sonnenfinsternissen nur zwei mit Finsternissen, deren in assyrischen Quellen Erwähnung geschieht, als identisch erkannt.

Erstere fällt auf das Datum —762 Juni 14. Die grösste Phase fand statt um 23^h4^m und die Grösse betrug 11.2 Zoll. Auf diese von Oppolzer in seiner Abhandlung „Sonnenfinsternisse des Schu-king“ Berlin 1880 besprochenen Finsterniss werde ich weiter unten noch zurückkommen. Die näheren Umstände der zweiten Sonnenfinsterniss wurden von Bernhard Schwarz in der Abhandlung „Astronomische Untersuchungen über eine von Archilochus und eine in einer assyrischen Inschrift erwähnte Sonnenfinsterniss“ Wien 1883 mitgetheilt. Die assyrische Inschrift, welche zur Aufsuchung dieser Finsterniss veranlasste, setze ich nach Oppert's Übersetzung hier an:

„Im Monat Tamuz fand eine Finsterniss des Herrn des Tages, des Gott des Lichtes statt. Die untergehende Sonne liess davon ab zu leuchten, und wie diese liess auch ich davon ab, während Tage den Krieg gegen Elam zu beginnen.“

Schwarz kommt zu dem Resultat, dass die Finsterniss, auf die sich diese Inschrift bezieht, nur die Finsterniss des Jahres —660 Juni 27. gewesen sein könnte. Auf seine nähere Begründung gehe ich nicht ein und erwähne nur, dass sich in meinem Verzeichniss der Sonnenfinsternisse keine andere vorfindet, welche die gestellten Bedingungen auch erfüllt.

Von den oben mitgetheilten assyrischen Mondesfinsternissen wurden vier bereits früher ausführlich bearbeitet.

Die Finsterniss Nr. 216: —720 März 19, Nr. 218: —719 März 8, Nr. 219: —719 Sept. 1,
Nr. 320*: —620 April 21,

und zwar von Zeeh in der Preischrift „Astronomische Untersuchungen über die Mondesfinsternisse des Amagest“ Leipzig 1851 und Oppolzer im Anhang I zu den „Syzygien Tafeln“ Leipzig 1881.

Zum Schluss will ich zwei Fragen erörtern, von denen die erste sich auf Sonnenfinsternisse, die zweite auf Mondesfinsternisse beziehen, deren in alten Quellen Erwähnung geschieht.

Da die erste Frage in einem Schreiben des Herrn Dr. Krall mir vorliegt, will ich dessen Inhalt hier wiedergeben, damit das Wesentliche der Frage klar wird.

„Noch nicht entschieden ist die Frage, ob die in den assyrischen Annalen erwähnte Sonnenfinsterniss:

— Im Monat Sivan erlitt die Sonne eine Verfinsterung —

in das Jahr 762 oder in das Jahr 808 vor Christi gehört.

Mit dieser Frage steht eine andere in Verbindung. Der assyrische König Azurnazirhabal erwähnt in seinen Annalen: „Beim Beginn meiner Herrschaft, in meinem ersten Jahre (geschah es) dass die Sonne, die Herrscherin der Welt, ihren günstigen Schatten auf mich warf, und ich voller Majestät auf den Thron mich setzte.“

Azurnazirhabal's Regierungsantritt kann wegen der Unsicherheit, in welches Jahr die erst erwähnte Finsterniss fällt, zweifach angesetzt werden. Geht man vom Jahr —762 aus, so fällt sein erstes

Regierungsjahr in das Jahr —883 vor Christi. Geht man dagegen vom Jahr —808 aus, so fiele es in das Jahr —929. Da die Bemerkung „Bei Beginn meiner Herrschaft“ auf die Zeit hinweist, die von dem Tag der Thronbesteigung bis auf dem 1. Nisan des ersten Jahres des Königs verstrichen war, käme im ersten Fall das Jahr —884, im zweiten Fall das Jahr —930 in Betracht.

Berücksichtigt man ferner, dass in der Zählung der Eponymen immerhin einzelne Irrtümer vorliegen können, so erweitern sich die Fragen dahin:

War innerhalb der Jahre —885 bis —882 und —933 bis —928 in Ninive eine Sonnenfinsterniss sichtbar.“

Aus der oben angeführten Tafel entnehme ich folgende vier Sonnenfinsternisse:

Nr.	Datum	Zeit	Grösse	Nr.	Datum	Zeit	Grösse
10	—931 Jänner 26	3 ^h 45 ^m	11 [°] 5	24	—884 Juli 12	2 ^h 34 ^m	9 [°] 8
49	—808 Jimi 12	23 6	8 [°] 0	65	—762 Juni 14	23 4	11 [°] 2

Da für die Jahre —808 und —762 der Jahresanfang beziehungsweise auf den 16. und 18. März fällt, der Sivan aber der dritte Monat ist, genügen beide Finsternisse (Nr. 49 und 65) der Bedingung, die durch den Wortlaut der ersten Stelle des Textes gestellt ist.

Was ferner die Frage betrifft, ob die Finsterniss Nr. 49 oder 65 diejenige ist, deren in der erstmitgetheilten Stelle Erwähnung geschieht, so fällt die Möglichkeit der präzisen Beantwortung dieser Frage aus der Bedingung, dass der ersten Finsterniss eine zweite in einer Zwischenzeit von beiläufig 122 Jahren entsprechen soll, ebenfalls weg, da diese Bedingung in beiden Combinationen erfüllt wird. Eine Entscheidung vom astronomischen Standpunkt ist also nicht möglich.

In dem zweiten Beispiel will ich von der oben gegebenen Zusammenstellung der in Ninive sichtbaren Mondesfinsternisse Gebrauch machen. Einer an die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin gerichteten Mittheilung des Herrn Edw. Hinks entnehme ich folgende englische Übersetzung einer assyrischen Inschrift:

„In the month Nisan, of the fourteenth day, the moon was eclipsed“

„In the month Tisri, the moon was eclipsed... The moon emerged from the shadow, while the sun was rising“

„In the month Sabat the moon was eclipsed.“

Ich füge hier noch ein, dass Herr Hinks für die Zeit des Stattfindens dieser Finsternisse nur den Zeitraum von —750 bis —650 berücksichtigt, und ich daraus zu entnehmen glaube, dass weitere Grenzen zu ziehen, aus historischen Gründen nicht zulässig ist.

Bevor ich aber auf die Besprechung der in Betracht kommenden Finsternisse übergehe, will ich noch Einiges über den assyrischen Kalender voranschicken, das ich ebenfalls der Mittheilung des Herrn Dr. Jakob Krall verdanke.

Wie schon oben bemerkt, war für die assyrische Zeitrechnung der Mond massgebend, und es ist auch erwiesen, dass sie durch Schaltung das Zurückbleiben des Mondjahres gegen das Sonnenjahr ausgeglichen haben. In welcher Weise diese Schaltung aber vor sich ging, darüber fehlen bestimmte Angaben.

Ferner ist noch zu erwähnen, dass der Anfang des assyrischen Jahres wahrscheinlich auf den ersten Neumond vor dem Frühlingsäquinoctium fiel, der Beginn der einzelnen Monate wohl durch das erste Sichtbarwerden der Mondsichel bedingt war.

Da der Nisan der Name des ersten, Tisri des 7. und Sabat des 11. Monats ist, also alle innerhalb eines Jahres fallen, ferner in der Tafel über die Jahre keine Angaben gemacht sind, schien es mir eine Hauptbedingung zu sein, dass diese Finsternisse innerhalb eines Zeitraumes fallen, der mit Zuhilfenahme von Schaltmonaten — ohne diese ist die Möglichkeit überhaupt ausgeschlossen — die Grenzen eines assyrischen Jahres nicht überschreitet. Da die Anwendung eines Schaltmonates aber ein Zufrüheintreten des Jahresanfangs voraussetzt, ja überhaupt nur in diesem Fall das Einschalten eines Monates erlaubt sein kann, so ist die Annahme, dass der Jahresanfang vor dem, dem Frühlingsäquinoctium vorangehenden Neumond eintrat, erlaubt, und es hat keine Bedenken die Bedingung fallen zu lassen, die die erste Textstelle festsetzt, dass nämlich die

erste Finsterniss am 21. Tag nach dem Neumond stattfand, welcher der Frühlings-Tag- und Nachtgleiche vorangeht.

Berücksichtigt man ferner, dass gesagt wird, die zweite Finsterniss habe an einem Morgen des Monates Tisri stattgefunden, so können zwei Zusammenstellungen von Finsternissen in Betracht kommen, nämlich Nr. 192, 193, 194 und Nr. 246, 247, 248, die ich hier nochmals ansetze:

Nr.	Datum	Uhr	Dauer	Nr.	Datum	Uhr	Dauer
192	—746 Februar 5	13 ^h 35 ^m	3 ^h 12 ^m	246	—692 März 9	11 ^h 31 ^m	2 ^h 59 ^m
193	—746 August 1	12 40	3 20	247	—692 September . . . 2	12 56	3 0
194	—745 Jänner 25	13 44	3 40	248	—691 Februar 26	12 43	3 42

Da die Zwischenzeit der Finsternisse von Nr. 193 und 194, ferner von Nr. 247 und 248 ungefähr 180 Tage beträgt, könnte diesen beiden Combinationen nur durch die Annahme genügt werden, dass nach dem siebenten Monat zwei Schaltmonate eingefügt worden waren.

Abgesehen davon, dass eine solche Schaltung nach dem, was ich über die assyrische Zeitrechnung bei den Historikern erwähnt fand, unzulässig ist, fällt die Möglichkeit einer solchen Annahme auch deshalb weg, da der Zweck, das Sonnenjahr mit dem Mondjahr in Einklang zu bringen, durch eine solehe Schaltung im Jahr —746 und —692 nicht erreicht worden wäre.

Die drei Finsternisse können also in einem Jahre nicht stattgefunden haben.

In derselben Mittheilung, deren ich die Übersetzungen der Quellenstellen entnommen habe, vertritt Hinks die Ansicht, dass diese Finsternisse identisch seien mit den Mondfinsternissen:

- 701 März 20
- 701 Sept. 13
- 699 Jän. 27

Der zweiten und dritten Finsterniss entsprechen Nr. 238 und 239 meines Verzeichnisses. Die Finsterniss vom Jahre —701 März 19 war aber ihrem ganzen Verlauf nach in Ninive nicht sichtbar, findet sich daher in der Zusammenstellung nicht vor. Die näheren Daten dieser Finsterniss lauten:

T	Julianischer Tag	λ	δ	Grösse	Halbe Dauer der Partial.
—701 März 19, 16 ^h 21 ^m	1465 095.681	—65	+4	3°0	0 ^h 56 ^m

Unter Beibehaltung der Finsternisse Nr. 238 und Nr. 239 käme für die erste Finsterniss: Nr. 237 die Mondfinsterniss des Jahres —702 März 30 in Betracht.

Da der erste Neumond vor der Frühlings-Tag- und Nachtgleiche des Jahres —702 auf den 15. März fällt, so fällt die Finsterniss der Zeitangabe der Inschrift nahe entsprechend, in die Mitte des Monates Nisan.

Stellt man die drei Finsternisse zusammen, so ergibt sich nun die Combination:

- 702 März 30, 14^h14^m
- 701 Sept. 12, 13 28
- 699 Jän. 26, 10 31.

Aus dem Verzeichniss der Mondfinsternisse kann man ersehen, dass innerhalb des Zeitraumes von —750 bis —650 mehrere Combinationen allen den gestellten Bedingungen genügen und ebenfalls keinen längeren Zeitraum als zwei oder drei Jahre in Anspruch nehmen.

Der Zeitpunkt, wann obige Finsternisse stattfanden, lässt sich also nicht fixiren, wenn man hier davon absieht, dass vielleicht eine oder die andere Combination aus historischen Gründen grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 883 \\
 762 \\
 \hline
 121
 \end{array}
 \quad
 \begin{array}{r}
 808 \\
 121 \\
 \hline
 929
 \end{array}$$

TABLETS

FROM THE

ARCHIVES OF DREHEM

WITH A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE
SUMERIAN CALENDAR, TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY
AND 23 PLATES

BY

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—
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INTRODUCTION.

The collection of tablets published here purport to come from *Drehem* the modern Arabic name of a small mound about three miles south of Nippur the famous centre of the cult of Enlil, chief of the Sumerian pantheon. The tablets were purchased in two collections from a London dealer in antiquities, one lot going to the Bodleian Library and the other to the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. Nineteen tablets of the same collection have been published by Fr. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie* vol. VII 186 ff, and belong to the Louvre. The dealer who conducted the sale of the Louvre tablets likewise claimed Drehem as the place where the tablets were clandestinely excavated by the Arabs¹. The contents of the tablets shew that the Arabs have found the records of the cattle market of Nippur which supplied not only the great temple of Enlil and his consort Ninlil with animals for sacrifice but the other temples of Nippur as well. Frequent reference is made to cattle and sheep supplied to the city bakery² *é-mu*.

The supplies are drawn from all parts of the kingdom ruled over by the kings of Ur, the principal contributors being the kings and the princes (*patesi*) of the great cities. Kallamu the priest king of Ašnunak a province on the eastern border near Elam sends three oxen (no. 45). The patesi of Nippur appears in two tablets (4,17) as a contributor to the cult of Enlil. The contributions of the king are enormous. The sheep and cattle from the king seem to have been destined not only for Nippur but for other great cults as well. Thus no. 19 records the delivery of 1530 animals from the king which were then sent on to the patesi of Lagash, seat of the cult of Ninib son of Enlil, and no. 50 likewise bears record of a huge relay of animals sent to Ninkurra patesi of Šurrupak, as the yearly tax due to him. Supplies destined for the cults of Erech, Šubaru and Eridu are recorded in the official accounts of this market of Nippur (nos. 49. 52).

1. The names of the months and the grammatical expression *ni-tig* indicate the same general *provenance* as the Nippur tablets published by Myhrman.

2. Notice the interesting statement in connection with animals destined for the city bakery that they have passed inspection (*su-gid*).

PJ 4054. D8L3

A few tablets do not pertain to the supply, receipts and expenditures of live-stock. No. 23 is an entry of grain loaned from the granary for seed; no. 12 gives full details concerning excavations carried on in a canal but the mathematical calculations are inexact; no. 41 concerns a canal freight boat and no. 42 is a curious mathematical text.

The tablets of Drehem are dated in the latter part of the dynasty of Ur. The earliest date is the year 35 + X¹ of Dungi (no. 12) and the latest the first year of Ibil-Sin (no. 63)², extending over a period of thirty one years. If we accept the chronological tables given by me in the *Expositor* August 1910, then our tablets should be dated in the period 2413-2382 BC. It is curious that the records of the market of Nippur are confined to a period so limited and so near to the end of the prosperous dynasty of Ur. A considerable number are dated in the very last years of Gimil-Sin, where with the exception of one in the first year of Ibil-Sin, last king of the dynasty, they suddenly break off. This uniformity must be based upon some ulterior cause, and probably indicates the approaching fall of the southern dynasty and the rise of the new (Semitic) dynasty of Isin which event did not long tarry (2358 BC.) These tablets dealing with the inhabitants of a considerable portion of ancient Sumer prove conclusively that the population of the entire country was already infused with a growing Semitic element. The number of Semitic names in proportion to the Sumerian names is considerable.

Outside of the light thrown upon the political conditions of the period and the practical management of the great cults of Nippur the tablets yield considerable new information on various points. The date formula of the fifth year of Gimil-Sin which has heretofore been known as an *ussa* date, or formula based upon that of the fourth year appears to have been properly 'year when the high priest of Innini was chosen', (see p. 18 n. 2) In the tablets of this period we find a month called the feast of the god Gimil-Sin, but it has been impossible to fix its position in the calendar. Our tablets shew that *ezen-dgilim-sin* is but a new name for *ezen-dungi*. Notice that *ezen-dgilim-sin*, occurs only in the ninth year of the reign of Gimil-Sin (no. 20 and AO. 4690). On the contrary *ezen-dungi* occurs not later than the fifth year of Gimil-Sin (no. 5). The name appears to have been changed toward the end of the reign of the latter king.

More important, however, is the light here thrown upon the state of the calendar in this period shewing an uncertainty in regard to the practicability of advancing the whole calendar one month to make the names agree with the seasons to which they originally applied. For example in nos. 2 and 27 the intercalary month is *segirkud* but in no. 55 the intercalary month is *ezenmekigal*. Now it follows with surety from no. 51 that *segirkud* was the last month of the year. Nos. 2 and 51 are dated in the ninth year of Bur-Sin and no. 55 in the third year of Bur-Sin. The original calendar closed the year with *segirkud* or month of the harvesting of barley. We have, however, a complete calendar of the months at Nippur and Drehem together with the names of the cities whose patesis were responsible for gifts to the cult of Enlil for each month³. In this list *segirkud* is the first month and *ezenmekigal* the last month. Since no. 55 actually places the intercalary month after *ezenmekigal* we are confronted by an uncertainty in the minds of the people as to the advisability of advancing the months to make their names conform to the

seasons⁴. Evidently the name *še-gür-kud* which means 'month of the harvesting of barley' had fallen *regularly* a full month behind its season or even more since the tendency to conservatism could be moved only by a pronounced inconsistency⁵. The force of conservatism, however, prevailed. Although we meet here in the region of Nippur a tendency to make the names of the months consistent with the seasons yet the ancient Sumerian order is the one borrowed and continued by the Semites, an order mechanically maintained even when the beginning of the year was changed to the spring equinox and *segirkud*, the Semitic *Addar*, came at the end of winter. Inasmuch as the names of the months are one of our best guides for understanding the state of culture at the dawn of history, I give here a translation of the principal terms applied to the months in the primitive calendar. Despite the arguments which have been made to prove that the Sumerian year began in the spring³, our tablets indicate clearly that the year ended with the harvesting of barley corresponding approximately to our July-August, and when the lunar month fell behind 29-30 days so that the month of barley-harvest no longer corresponded to the actual fact an intercalary month was added.

If the calendar in the period of the second dynasty of Ur was felt to be a whole month in arrear and yet was retained by the Semites we must make an allowance of a month in this period when we interpret the names. *Segirkud* now comes a month before the harvesting of barley, *maš-dū-kur* must now fall a month before the eating, of kids etc. In attempting to interpret the names of the months from documents of the Hammurabi period it will be necessary to remember that what actually happens in any given month must be philologically applied to the name of the preceding month, a principle which will explain a great many inconsistencies. For example no. 23 of our tablets places a loan of grain for seed in the fifth month but the ordinary name for the month of sowing is *šu-numun* or fourth month. Myhrman no. 75 places the gathering of dates in the month of the sowing of barley (Nov.-Dec.), as matter of fact dates are gathered in July (!) The following list of months must have been current at Nippur from the earliest period.

1. *maš-azag⁴-kur*, month of the eating of tender kids fit for sacrifice, Aug.-Sept. A kid born in March-Apr. would attain the age of five months, a suitable stage for eating. Notice that in no. 68 fat kids are sent to Nippur in this month. The same remark applies to no. 22, and AO. 4682. Everywhere that I have found the *maš-dū* the month, if given, is the one in question⁵.

1. That is, even when the intercalary *segirkud* no longer sufficed to make the name apply to the season.

2. Radau EBH. 299 ff. maintained that the order of the months given on EAH. 134 is correct and the remnants of the same order in V.R. 43 strengthen his argument. Here *ezenmekigal* is likewise the last month (rev. 12), *ū-ne-(mušen)-kur* = *ū-ne-(mušen)-mu* (obv. 15) is the fourth month as on the Hoffman tablet. The intercalary *ezenmekigal* on the Drehem tablet tends to shew that in some quarters at least *ezenmekigal* had actually usurped the place of *segirkud*. [As in Myhrman 93, see the eleventh month p. 12.] On the other hand the Drehem tablets prove that in most cases the older order was maintained. Our texts clearly justify Kugler's assumption, *Sternkunde* II 181, that *segirkud* was actually the last month, and justify also the conjecture of Myhrman, *Sumerian Documents of the Second Dynasty of Ur*, p. 50, that we should disregard the order of the Hoffman tablet altogether. Both Radau and Kugler are in a measure in the right. The actual explanation of the difficulty is that the calendar was in process of being advanced a whole month.

3. De Genouillac, TSA. XVIII; see Kugler *Im Bannkreis Babylons*, p. 86.

4. The Drehem tablets have invariably *maš-dū-kur*. *maš-dū* occurs also no 68, 10 and is the ordinary word for a kid about six months old. *azag* has the meaning 'fit for sacrifice', a synonym of *dū*, plump, fit. Cf. *maš-du* 48 I 9.

5. Thus we can define the Semitic *sabitu*, Hebrew *שָׁבֵט*, as a weaned kid about six months old. The unweaned kid is the *gukhalu*, see p. 19 n. 6. The *latu* would represent a more mature stage. The *maš* and *maš-gal* are sacrificed in the winter months.

1. It may be noted here that the date *mu en nun-e d-bur-d-sin-ra kenag en nun-ki ba-zid* (= BM. 95-10-12, 20) on no 22 belongs most certainly to the eighth year of Bur-Sin of Ur not Bur-Sin of Isin as Kugler insists, ZA. XXI 68, and Sternkunde II 171. None of our tablets are later than the beginning of the reign of Ibe-Sin and the possibility that this one alone comes from the Isin period is wholly excluded.

2. EAH. 134 published by Dr. Hugo Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 299.

The contemporaneous term *bár-zag-gar* employed also at Nippur and universally in later times, is the name of a fixed star. The earlier pre-Sargonic name is *itu mul bár-sag e-ta-šub-a-a*, month when the star Barsag sets (Nik no. 2). In the Persian period the stars which rise heliacally in a given month were said to govern that month not those which set heliacally. It may be, however, that at this very early period the acronical setting or disappearance of a star at night was employed.

The star in question unfortunately cannot be identified. In this month would fall the harvest in this period, cf. Myhrman no. 44, where a farmer returns barley in the month *bára-zag-gar-ra*. The term employed at Lagash from the period of Sargon to the end of the dynasty of Ur is *gan-maš*; *gan-maš* is a kind of food portioned out to attendants of the king, fishermen, bakers etc., and the name refers to the month of the eating of *gan-maš*¹.

The pre-Sargonic term is *ezen-še-kur ḫninā*; this resorts from DP. 131 where the *gan-maš* is eaten at the feast of [še]-*kur- ḫninā*². The restoration appears to be certain since the only other restoration possible is [*dīm*]-*kur- ḫninā* and *ezen-še-kur- ḫninā* follows *še-il-la* the last month on RTC. 47.

2. *SES³-da-kur*, month of the eating of the **zebu**, Sept.-Oct. No. 63 and AO. 4684. The term current at Nippur was *gár-si-su*⁴, and the Semites employ *gár-si-sá* which is probably original⁵. The Hoffman tablet has *DUN-da-kur* and *DUN*, although classified among the asses *anšu* in RTC 49, and 50, is evidently a sacrificial animal DP. 53 XII 9⁶. The pre-Sargonic term, employed also at Lagash from the time of Sargon onward is *gár-rá-ne-SAR-SAR*⁷. *SAR*, is to be read *mā*, *mú*⁸, and has been interpreted by ‘plow’, and the whole by ‘month when the oxen plough’, regarding *ne* as a verbal prefix⁹. It is, however, not at all certain that the sign in question

1. This interpretation of *gan-maš* is based upon the *gar-gan-maš* measured out to workmen at 1 1/2, and 1/2 *gug* (a measure) each, DP. 130 and 131. In DP. 122 and 123 the *gar-ud* or white bread replaces the *gar-gan-maš* of DP. 130. Cf. RTC. 52. Another interpretation of *gan-maš* is possible if *gan-maš* = *maš-gan*, ‘kid of the field’, a term employed for ‘property in goats grazing in the field’, and is also applied to property in sheep, (Nik. n° 170, *maš-gan-ga*). *maš-gan engal-lá-ka-kam*, property in kids of the farmer(s), Nik. 184. *maš-gan* went over into Semitic as *maškanu* with various meanings all derived from ‘field-property’, ‘grazing field for kids’. Cf. *mašgan* = *biritu*, meadow, V Raw. 47 a, 59 and for *biritu*, meadow, see Del. HW. 185 b and *biritu*, SBP. 261 n. 5. *maškanu* in the sense of ‘field’ also in Ham. Code XIX, 4; *ina našpakim ulu ina maškanim še elteqi*, ‘if from the store-house or the field he take grain’. The variant ibid l. 9 has *KI-UD* (*kislag*), and *kislag* = *nidutu*, ‘field with demolished house’. The sign *sú* (REC. 232 = Br. 9614), a kind of silo in a field, is translated by *maškanu* in the syllabars, but cf. Nik. 186 I 2 *maš-sú* parallel to *maš-gan-ga*, perhaps here ‘kid of the silo’, in distinction to kids fed by grazing. *maškanu* in Semitic acquired the meaning, ‘private property’, ‘home’, Del. HW. 660. Cf. *maškan-sú umas̄ir*, he shall abandon his land, Boissier, DA. 14, 19.

2. Nik. 23. TSA. p. XX.

3. So all the Drehem tablets.

4. Myhrman, n° 50, 130, 117 IV 63 (*su* not *zu*).

5. Poebel, n° 60, 64, etc.

6. The animal in question can not be an ass since it is eaten and in *DUN-da-kur* replaces the earlier *gár* = *alpu*, ox. Neither can it be the pig for the *DUN-úr* is a beast of burden, Gud. Cyl A 7, 20. I propose the reading **zebu** which appears to answer the necessary conditions. The zebu is an Asiatic animal and bovine which is exactly what is wanted here. The Semitic translation would be *alpu šunú*, hump-backed ox.

7. Var. *gár-rá ne-SAR-a-ā* *ninā-ka*, RTC. 32 rev. II. *gár-rá-ne-SAR-a*, DP. 143.

8. The reading results from AO. 3636 *gar-ra-ne-mu-mu* RA. VIII 87. This text deduced by THUREAU-DANGIN to prove that a barley harvest occurs in the month *garranemunu* is to be translated as follows: ‘23 gur royal Lu-d-Ninsubur has received from Iginnar at the time of the cutting of barley. In the month Harranemunu (he will return the grain) for grinding meal.’

9. De Genouillac, TSA. XIX followed by Kugler, Sternkunde II 177.

means ‘plow’ (*harāšu*)¹. The later term *si-sá* is employed with cows (*immal* = *littu*) in Gud. Cyl. B 4, 9, *immal annage amaš si-ba-ni-ib-sá*, ‘the sacred cows in the park he caused to thrive.’ Cf. *gár- gal-gal-a ne-in-šár-šár-ra* = *duššú gumalhé*, great oxen which have been fattened². The rendering ‘month when the oxen are fat’ seems more probable than the one proposed by De Genouillac. *ne-mú-mú* may also be rendered by ‘burnt offering’. The verb *si-sá-a* in the name of this month would then mean ‘to offer or arrange for sacrifice’, cf. DP. 50 VII 5.

3. *ū-ne-(mušen)-kur*, month of the eating of the bird *ū-ne*³, Oct.-Nov. VR. 43 a 15 has a variant *ū-ne-(mušen)-mu*, in which *mu*, a word for *karābu*, to offer as sacrifice, replaces the word *kur*, to eat. AO. 4679 omits *mušen*. The ordinary term at Nippur and employed by the Semites is *itu-sig-ga*, month of brick-making⁴. The pre-Sargonic name of the third month is *ezen- ḫne-gún*, retained in the Sargonic period with the determinative *itu* but shortened to *itu- ḫne-gún* at Lagash in the period of the second dynasty of Ur. The name means, ‘month of the feast of the god *Negun*’. *Negun* is evidently a variant of *᳚Nin-gun*, CT. XXIV 26, 112 = II R. 59 c 40, and cf. ZIMMERN, *Zur Herstellung der grossen babylonischen Götterliste An = (ilu) Anum* p. 97. VR. 43 a 11 has *᳚nin-gún-na*⁵; Nik. 187 has *᳚ne-gún-na-ka*, as in RTC. 53.

1. K. 4177 rev. 18 upon which Br. 4310 is based was copied by me together with an additional fragment and reads as follows (cf. II R. 44 cd 13 ff.).

	ga - ra - bu
	bu - ša - a - nu
	hap - pu
	ga - ra - bu
	ha - ra - šu
	sa - na - a - hu
	ni - hu - rum
	a - ka - lum
	a - ka - lum
	ga - ra - bu
	-ša - a - nu

The words *garābu*, *busānu*, *ḥappu* and *ṣanāḥu* (Aramaic *תְּנַשֵּׁה*, to cause a nauseous feeling) are terms for ‘loathsome thing’ or ‘to be loathsome’, and we must infer a similar meaning for *ḥarāšu* here. [Note that Meissner’s emendation SAI. 8040 is not correct].

2. *duššú*, with Del. HW. 229 b (above), not from *dášu*, to tread thresh, as De Genouillac has explained, TSA. XL note 6. The etymology is fixed by VR. 52 n° 2. 8/9; *ki bur gal-gal-a ni-šár-šár-ra* = *ašar puru rabútum uddaššú*, ‘where the great bowls were filled with plenty’. [Correct my rendering in SBP. 217.]

3. Written *HU + SI - BIL*. A reading *ū-de*, *ū-bil*, is also possible.

4. Variant *sig-ū-šub-ba gar*, month when bricks are made in the mould, Myhrman, n° 13.

5. The reading *bil-dar* is false (Meissner SAI. 3119); the second sign is a unified *SI*, REC. 48, not REC. 34.

De Genouillac deduces from RTC. no. 68 where barley is given out for seed in this month, that sowing of barley occurred one month earlier in the pre-Sargonic period, than in the period of Sargon and later.

4. *ki-sig^a.nin-a-zu*, month of breaking of bread to Ninazu. Nov.-Dec. EAH. 134 obv. 8; Drehem no. 14; AO. 4683²; V R. 43 a 21; Myhrman no. 45. *Nin-a-zu* means literally, 'lady of healing', and should be identified with the goddess Bau who is *zaxt'se^zox^y* the goddess of healing³. In the pre-Sargonic period occurs the month *itu sig^a.ba-á e-ta-gar-ra-a*, month when the breaking of bread of the goddess Bau is performed [DP. 63]. The ordinary pre-Sargonic name is *itu sig-ba*, Nik. 9, 224; *itu sig-ba-a*, Nik. 90, month of the giving of broken bread. From the period of Sargon onward the name of the fourth month at Lagash, Nippur and Babylon is *itu šu-numun na⁴* (V R. 43 a b 17), month of the sowing of barley. The complete form *šu-še-numun*, only Myhrman no. 53.

5. *ezen^a.nin-a-zu*, month of the feast of Ninazu, Dec.-Jan. EAH. 134 obv. 10; AO. 4685, 4688, 4691. Note that grain is loaned for seed in this month, Drehem no. 23. The term employed at Nippur for the same month is *itu ne-ne-nig⁵*, month of fire offerings. Here Ninazu is evidently a deity of the lower world since in Th. Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats* no. 7, 6 the offerings for the *ki-sig* of the month *ne-ne-nig* are mentioned. *ki-sig* means the ritual of wailing for the dead, which, although they occurred every month, would be particularly appropriate for the period of greatest darkness. Drehem no. 27, dated in the month of the feast of Ninazu states that fat oxen were offered as *ne-ne-nig* on the seventh day and likewise mentions offerings to *nintindigga*, 'she who gives life to the dead', an epithet of Bau. The name of this month at Lagash from Sargon onward is *itu ezen-dim-kur*, or *itu-dim-kur*, month of the feast of eating the food *dim*. In the pre-Sargonic period two months are called *ezen-dim-kur*, one sacred to Ningirsu the other to Ninā. *ezen-dim-kur^a.ninā* is excluded from the fifth position by the fact that it precedes the eighth month *ezen-Bau* in RTC. 39 and follows *ezen-še-kur⁶* in Nik. 269. Drehem no. 27 mentions the feast of the *še-kur* at Girsu in the month *ezen^a.ninazu*. The same tablet, as we have seen above, mentions the *ne-ne-nig* name of the fifth month at Nippur. On the other hand EAH. 134 and V R. 43 a 27 make *ezen^a.nin-a-zu* the sixth month and *ezen še-kur^a.nin-gir-su* was the sixth pre-Sargonic month. The scribe who redacted Drehem no. 27 evidently agrees with EAH. 134 in placing all of the months one place later; on this supposition the place of *ezen še-kur^a.ningirsu⁷* as the sixth month in the pre-Sargonic calendar is settled. With *ezen-dim-kur^a.ningirsu* I would identify *itu-*

1. *ki-sig* has been interpreted as a variant of *ki-sig = kisikku*, funeral rite for the dead, by Thureau-Dangin, ZA. XV 409. The following month *ezen^a.nin-a-zu* was also sacred to the dead. [See my article on the breaking of bread for the souls of the dead, 'Babylonian Eschatology' in *Essays on Modern Theology*, New-York 1911 (Scribner).]

2. Difficult is the occurrence of the unweaned kids *gukkallu* on this tablet, rev. 5, for unweaned kids at this time of the year is not natural.

3. *Ninazu* appears, however, as the god of the lower world and consort of Ninkigal, II R. 59 f. 34; IV R. 15^a b 35; ASKT. 103, 16. K. 7418, 6 (Bezold, Cat.) = C^r. XXIII 18, 41. Ninkigal and Ninazu. Offerings to *Nin-a-su* and *Nin-ki-gal* in DP. 51. In Gud. St. I 1, 5 Ninazu is the father of Ningišzida, with which compare SBP. 304, 13 where *umun-a-zu* [= *nin-a-zu*, II R. 59, 34] is identified with Tammuz. Ninazu, lord of weapons, CT. XVI 49, 300, therefore certainly a form of Nergal. On the other hand we have *ummu itu nin-a-zu*, the mother Ninazu, KB. VI, 258, 29, which Jensen translates, 'mother of Ninazu'. As in case of *Nesu* above we are confronted with a great difficulty here but the fact remains and must be recognized.

4. Variants *šu-numun-a*, *šu-numun*.

5. V R. 43 b 21, Myhrman no^a 126, 163 both containing lists of grain offerings.

6. De Genouillac's arrangement of the pre-Sargonic months TSA. XX appears to be accurate.

7. DP. 66.

ezen-dim-kur^a.ugal-úru-(ki)-ka-ka, Nik. 140 and *itu-ezen^a.ugal-úru-(ki)* DP. 58, 85, RTC. 59 and perhaps *itu^a.ugal-úru-bar-ra-ge*, Nik. 289.

6. *itu á-ki-ti*, month of the feast of the *akitu*, Jan.-Feb. EAH. 134 obv. II; AO. 4686; Drehem 6; Myhrman 116. Variant *itu á-ki-it*. V R. 43 a 34^f. The name of this month at Lagash in the Sargonic period and later is *itu ezen^a.dumuzi* and at Nippur *itu qin^a.innini*, month of the feast of Tammuz, and month of the mission of Innini or Ištar; both names are taken from the nature myth of the return of Tammuz from the lower world after the descent of Ištar. The pre-Sargonic name is *ezen še-kur^a.ningirsu-(ka-ka)*, DP. 62, 63 etc., feast of the eating of barley of Ningirsu. Ningirsu or Ninib in early theology represents the Spring sun and a feast in honour of this god then regarded like Tammuz as lingering in the lower world is natural.

7. *itu ezen^a.dun-gi*, month of the feast of the deified Dungi, Feb.-March. EAH. 134 rev. 2, AO. 4680; Drehem no. 5. The earliest mention of the institution of a feast and a month named in honour of ^aDungi is Reisner, *Tempelurkunden* no. 3 III 15 dated in the year 5 + X of Dungi² and the latest in the fifth year of Gimil-Sin after which period *ezen^a.gimil^a.sin* replaces the term *ezen^a.dun-gi*. The term current at Nippur and borrowed by the Semites is *itu dù-azag*, month of (the feast) of Du-azag. In the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings the *akitu* or New Year's festival was celebrated by an assembly of the gods in the Du-azag and we have to do most certainly with a similar myth here only the *akitu* has not yet been associated with the festival of the assembly of the gods. From the period of Sargon³ to the time of the institution of the *ezen^a.dungi* the name of this month at Lagash was *itu ur*, RTC. 276, 283⁴, 286⁵ and is employed as late as the year 12 + X of Dungi⁶. The pre-Sargonic term is *itu-ezen-dim-kur^a.ninā*, DP. 70, 73 which mentions *gukkallu*, unweaned kids, with which compare Drehem no. 21 also the seventh month.

8. *itu-šu-ēš-ša*, EAH. 134 rev. 4; AO. 4681; Drehem 19; *šu-še-ēš*, Myhrman no. 46⁷. March-April. The name employed regularly at Nippur for March-April is *itu-apin-dü-a*, month of raising the irrigating machines, Myhrman, 37 etc. *dü-a* here appears to mean *našu* (II R. 11, 46) and to be equivalent to *lal* in *apin-lal = erēšu* to irrigate⁸. The conflate form *giš apin-dü-lal* occurs on a tablet from Kut-el-Hai probably in the period of Hammurabi, RT. XXXIII, *Notes d'Epigraphie* by Scheil no. 3. In Ranke BE VI 1, no. 36, 13 *tiru* appears as the Semitic word for *apin-dü-a* 35, 13. The pre-Sargonic name of this month is *itu ezen^a.ba-u*, month of the feast of Bau, goddess of healing, whose epithet in the season of darkness is *nin-a-zu*. The name is employed at Lagash in all periods. In this month offerings are sent from Lagash to *Kengi*⁹ for *Ninazu* (DP. 51)¹⁰.

1. Note the spelling on an ancient Semitic inscription *isin akkittim*, RA. VII 155 II 8. The name may possibly mean 'life of the strength of the earth', i. e., the festival of rejoicing following the period of greatest darkness, when vegetation shews the first signs of returning life.

2. Also Lau, no 161. See also Kugler, *Sternkunde* II 145.

3. ZA. XV 410 n. 2.

4. Year 4 + X of Dungi.

5. Year 7 + X of Dungi or two years after the official institution of *ezen^a.dungi*.

6. Reisner, TU. 256, cf. Kugler, ZA, XXII 69.

7. Year 26 + X of Dungi. *ēš* is here written with three slanting wedges. The meaning of the name is unknown; the name appears to have been employed at Drehem and Nippur only, and even here but rarely. If *akitu* be regarded as the beginning of the year then *šu-ēš-ša* would be the third month. *ēš* means 'three'.

8. Cf. RTC. 75 rev. III.

9. I. e., Nippur, v. Langdon, Sumerian Grammar, p. 1.

10. Another pre-Sargonic name is *itu ezen-kisal-la-ka*, month of the feast in the temple court, to be identified with this month from RTC. 46 + DP. 67, cf. Nik. 28.

Radau EBH. 295 first called attention to the fact that, in the time of Gudea at least, this month was regarded as the beginning of the year¹ although the ancient system of numbering the months from midsummer persisted. In the Neo-Babylonian period the *akitu* or feast of New-Year, which the Nippurians placed two months earlier, came to be identified with the *zag-mu*².

9. *itu-ezen-maǵ*, month of the great festival, April-May. EAH. 134, rev. 6; AO. 4687, 4689; Drehem 7, 25; Myhrman 104 I 14. The ordinary name at Nippur is *itu-ǵen-ǵen-ē*, month when abundance goes forth, Myhrman 129, and at Babylon, CT. VI 31 B edge. The name employed at Lagash from the period of Sargon onward and occasionally at Nippur³ is *itu-mu-šu-du(ǵ)*, month when the year gives abundance⁴, often written *itu mu-šu-dú* (*UL*)⁵. The pre-Sargonic name is still in doubt. De Genouillac TSA. XVIII placed here *itu ezen-ab-ē*, RTC. 30, a name which appears as *itu ab-ē* for the tenth month at Nippur⁶ and Babylon⁷. RTC. 30, however, states clearly that in this month occurs the feast of the *dīm-kur* of Nina, i. e., the seventh month. Why the name should occur at Nippur for the tenth month and in the pre-Sargonic period for the seventh is extremely difficult. The name means 'month of the feast of the going forth of the sea'. I would suggest as the pre-Sargonic name *itu-gà-udu-ür*, 'month of the house of sheep shearing', RTC. 36⁸. *itu-gà-ür*, Nik. 227.

10. *itu ezen an-na*, month of the feast of Anu, May-June. EAH. 134 rev. 8; Drehem 8, 62; Myhrman 24; RTC. 321. Thus we see that this name was employed both at Nippur and Drehem in the period of the second dynasty of Ur. We find the name *itu ezen ab-ē* (*ab-ē-a*) also at Nippur and universally at Babylon, a name employed henceforth by the Semites as *itu ab-ba-ē*, V R. 43 b 52. The pre-Sargonic name *ezen-amar-a-a-si-ga*⁹, is employed at Lagash as *itu amar-a-a-si* from Sargon onward. Variants *ezen amar-a-a-si-z-i-da*¹⁰, and *ezen amar-a-a-si-z-i-da-ka*¹¹, *itu amar-a-a-si-da*¹², *itu amar-a-a-si-da-ka*¹³.

11. *itu ezen-ā me-ki-gál*, month of the feast of the god Mekigal, Myhrman, no. 81, June-July. Generally without *dingir*, EAH. 134 rev. 10; AO. 4689; Drehem 24. In the system of EAH. 134, and V R. 43 c 7 this in the last month. Therefore we find an intercalary *ezen-me-ki-gál*, Drehem 55 and in Myhrman no. 93 we have from *itu še-gūr-kud* to *itu ezen-me-ki-gál* there are twelve months, hence in Drehem 24 and Myhrman 93 *šegurkud* is the first month and *ezen-mekigal* the last. Another name current at Nippur and Babylon is *itu aš-a-an*, CT. IV 13, 34. In the texts published by Myhrman the form is *itu aš-a*, (no. 8) or simply *itu-aš* (no. 11). *aš*, *aš-a*, *aš-an*, *aš-an-na* is.

1. The *zag-mu* or 'feast of the new year' is identified with the feast of Bau in Gudea E 5, 1 ff. and G 3, 5.
2. Borrowed as a loan-word *zagmuku*, and for the origin of *ku* in loan-words see Langdon, Sum. Gram. § 22. It is possible that V R. 43 a 36 is to be restored *ezen-ā-ba-ū*, in which case we would have a trace of the feast of Bau in the seventh month.

3. Myhrman, 136.
4. *duǵ* = *dahādu*.
5. ZA. XVIII 252, Reisner TU. n° 15.
6. Myhrman 41.
7. CT. IV 18 A 21.
8. Nik. 70 : 184 obv. II. This interpretation of *gà = bitu* is based upon Urukagina, Cone B 2, 4 *gà-udu-ür uru-azag-ga-ka-ni mu-na-dū*, he built her house of sheep-shearing in the holy city.

9. With or without the determ. *itu*. Nik. n° 1.
10. DP. 60.
11. DP. 69.
12. DP. 48, Nik. n° 27.
13. Nik. 222.

probably *wheat*¹, and occurs rarely in the early period², but often from Gudea onward. The name probably means the month of the wheat harvest, although the word for harvest *gurkud* does not occur in the name. If wheat, which ordinarily ripens earlier than barley (*še*), became an important staple only in the post-Sargonic period we may perhaps accept this as the explanation for the insertion of this month in the late the calendar of Nippur thus shoving the month of barley harvest *itu še-gūr-kud* into the twelfth place. In the pre-Sargonic calendar the month of the barley harvest occupies the eleventh place as at Lagash in all periods³.

12. *itu še-gūr-kud*, month of the barley harvest, July-August. Drehem no. 51 (see p. 23) places this month at the end of the year. It is so universally at Babylon, and probably at Nippur in most cases, although Myhrman no. 93 makes it the first month. The pre-Sargonic name is *itu udu-šu-še-a-il-la*, month when barley is carried to the sheep, and is sacred both to Ningirsu (RTC. 31) and Ninā (RTC. 44). Variants *itu udu-šu-še-a-ka*⁴, DP. 47; *itu udu-šu-še-a-il-la*, Nik. 211. *itu udu-ā ningirsu-ka-ka*, Nik. 162. From Sargon onward the name is abbreviated to *itu še-il-la*⁵.

Other names of months unidentified in the pre-Sargonic period are, *itu giš-dīm-na-ka*, DP. 80; *itu dagal-udu-tuk-ka*, Nik. 184. *itu igi-gar-áb*, month of counting cows, Nik. 207; *itu igi-gar-udu*, month of counting sheep, Nik. 231; *itu igi-gar-ma*, month of counting figs, Nik. 241; *itu úz-ne-ka-ra-a-a*, Nik. 226; *itu lù-unug-(ki)-ka*, Nik. 227.

The order of the months *gan-maš* to *še-illa* in the Sargonic and post-Sargonic periods at Lagash has been definitely fixed by Thureau-Dangin and Kugler⁶, and the order at Nippur and Drehem *maš-azag-kur* to *še-illa* is fixed by Drehem no. 51. The contemporaneous Nippurian list employed by the Semites is fixed by V R. 43 and 29 no. 1 and a considerable portion of the Babylonian order by the contemporaneous document CT. II 18⁷.

1. Cf. Zimmern, Rt. p. 94 note 8.

2. RTC. 55, Nik. 59 rev. I.

3. De Genouillac op. laud., XVIII considers *itu gūr-dub-ba*, month of storing in granaries, as the eleventh month. Variants *itu gūr-dub-ba-a*, RTC. 24, TSA. 14; *gūr-dub-da*, Nik. 249.

4. De Genouillac cites a curious variant *itu-udu-šu-še-a-AN-la*, TSA. 18. It is difficult to resist inferring a value *il* for *AN* here, a clear case of Semitic influence.

5. A month *itu an-ta-sur-ra* (RTC. 20) has been identified by De Genouillac op. laud. XIX, with the twelfth month and Kugler, Sternkunde II 198 f., has attempted to interpret *an-ta-sur-ra* by shower of stars from the constellation Leo which in the pre-Sargonic period occurred in July, now November. *an-ta-sur* actually means 'poured out from heaven', for the root *sur*, pour out, v. Langdon, Sum. Gram., p. 244. *antasurra*, however, is a part of the temple of Ningirsu, v. Th. Dangin, SAK. 243. Also in n. pra; *Urantasurra*, DP. 141 IV, 'man of the Antasurra'. Offerings to the Antasurra, Nik. 24 VI; Lau op. laud. 88 rev. 5. For *an-ta-sur-ra* in the sense of 'pour out from above', (*elis tabāku*), v. IV R. 16 b 48 f., and K. 3462, 5.

6. ZA. XXII, 69 f.

7. Johns PSBA. 1908, 221 pp. and Mahler in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume have both completely misunderstood this text and have attempted to prove that the Babylonians reckoned certain months at 29 days and others at 30 days. As a matter of convenience the Babylonians and Sumerians reckoned all their months at 30 days and it is so on the tablet in question. Johns misunderstood the phrase *udda gidda našhu*, 'a full day falls out', and Mahler fell into the same error. The obverse contains five sections concerning barley to be threshed, i.e. barley in the head; each section names a period giving the first and last day, the number of days, the amount to be threshed each day and at the top of the section the total threshed in this period. If any days fell out in this period, i. e., if no threshing was done on these days, the number of days which fell out are given.

The reverse contains four sections concerning beer probably for the consumption of workmen. Here we have periods dated by the first and last days, the number of days in each, the quantity given out for each day and the total. Here also certain days fall out on which no liquor is portioned. I give here the analysis of the text.

I. Obv. 1-4. From *neneñig* 8 to *qin-ā-innint* 3, one day falls away, = 24 days. Each day 1/2 gur = 12 gur.

[In *neneñig* 22 days plus 3 in *qin-ā-innini* = 25 - 1 = 24.]

Months in all periods were counted at 30 days for practical purposes but began always with the new moon and were strictly lunar. Thus the lunar year falls behind the solar year about eleven days each year. The names of the months which we have passed in review prove that the new moon following the barley harvest was taken as the beginning of the new calendar year at Nippur. New-year's day however must have been independent of this official calendar, being fixed at the new moon at the time when the days begin to lengthen after the period of greatest darkness (*akitu*) at Nippur, but at the spring equinox at Lagash. These two feasts of the new year *akitu* at Nippur, *zagmuku* at Lagash fell together in the Neo-Babylonian period. The pre-Sargonic and Lagash calendar is purely agricultural. In such a system the solar procession would have no effect. If barley harvest in the course of 2160 years fell one month later the name *segurkud* followed the season, kept its place as did all the other names. When, however, the year began according to the rising or setting of a fixed star the names would gradually begin to fall behind the seasons. At Nippur perhaps somewhere 2000 years before the era of Dungi the beginning of the year was fixed by the acronic setting of the star *barsag*, after the barley-harvest. For the other months the agricultural names remained. They were retained in their place by inserting every two or three years an intercalary month after *segurkud* both at Nippur and Lagash. As Kugler truly says, the cutting of barley appealed to the ancient inhabitants of Chaldea as the most important agricultural feature of the year. To bring the names into conjunction with events they naturally selected this name as the most important. In the Sargonic calendar the intercalary month appears to have a separate name, *mes-en-du-še-a-nad¹* and to have been inserted after *mu-šu-duğ*, (April-May), 'month when the year yields abundance', taken evidently as more important than the barley-harvest.

We have then two systems at Nippur, one reckoned from the acronic setting of the star *barsag* the other from the month of the eating of kids. In both systems *segurkud* is one place later than in the Sargonic system. In the secondary or *mašdrukur* system we are confronted by a system

II. Obv. 5-8. From *qin-d-innni* 3 to *apindúa* 28 (so read), two days fall out, = 2 months and 23 days or 83 days. Each day 3/5 gur = 49 4/5 gur. [83 days = 27 + 30 + 28 - 2.]

III. Obv. 9-11. From *apindúa* 28 to *ab-e* 8 = 40 days. Each day 2/5 gur = 16 gur. 40 days = 2 + 30 + 8. [No days fall out.]

IV. Obv. 12-13. 3 gur + 40 qa of barley in the head, of the *pi sih* of the house until the 26th (so read) of *ab-e*. [The phrase probably means that this grain lay unthreshed until the 26th of *ab-e*.]

V. Obv. 14-16. From *ab-e* 26 (so read) to *aš-a* 25 = 29 days (so read). Each day 1/15 gur = 1 4/5 gur + 40 qa.

VI. Total 82 gur and 260 qa of barley in the head. The barley threshed out is 20 gur and 215 qa.

VII. 22 (?) gur of barley chaff, therein 4 gur of barley. Altogether 24 gur 215 qa of barley.

VIII. Rev. 22-24. From *šu-numuna* 10 to *apindúa* 20 = 4 months and 8 days; two days fall out. [20 + 30 + 30 + 30 + 20 = 130 - 2 = 128 = 4 × 30 + 8.] Each day 17 qa = 7 gur and 76 qa of beer.

IX. Rev. 26-29. From *apindúa* 20 to *ab-e* 18 [one] day falls out, = 57 days (so read). [10 + 30 + 18 = 58 - 1 = 57]. At 3 qa daily = 171 qa [counted as 170 in the total].

X. Rev. 30-33. From *qin-d-innni* 16 to *ab-e* 12 with 2 days fallen out = 114 days. [14 + 30 + 30 + 30 + 12 = 116 - 2 = 114.] Each day 3 qa. 114 × 3 = 342. The total given is 312 qa and this is the figure employed in footing up the reverse. An error of 30 qa has occurred.

XI. Rev. 34-35. 2 gur and 150 qa of drink from *qin-d-innni* 2 to *ab-e* 30.

Total = 11 gur and 108 qa.

1. Thureau-Dangin followed by Kugler. The intercalary month at Nippur and Lagash in the post Sargonic period is simply *dirig segurkud*, i. e., "Additional *segurkud*". For the position of *mes-en-du* v. RTC. 180 rev.

which is actually in the process of being shoved along one place. This would not be surprising if during the unit of a procession, 2160 years, this system like the *barzaggar* system had been regulated by the observation of a fixed star. It is highly probable that this secondary purely agricultural system of Nippur was so closely united with the *barzaggar* or astronomically fixed system that its order was held in place until even by intercalation of a month the names were actually one month behind the seasons. The entire Babylonian calendar being the Nippurian *barzaggar* system and retained by them until long after the Hammurabi dynasty (i. e. beginning at midsummer) is in actual use one month behind the seasons. This becomes evident by close study of the documents of the first dynasty which pertain to agriculture. Finally the system of beginning the official calendar with the New Year or *zagmuk* prevailed and the whole system shifted five months forwards, names and all, thus bringing the system out of joint. Evidently the Semites who wrote *šu-numun* for the month of Tammuz had completely forgotten that *šunu-mun* in Sumerian means the sowing of barley, which occurs five months later.

But it is not my purpose to trace the history of the calendar beyond the Sumerian period. Its origin must be placed at least 2160 years before the era of our Drehem tablets, which have thrown such sudden and welcome light upon the problems which have been discussed. I add here for convenience the five systems whose names I have attempted to interpret¹.

A Pre-Sargonic	B Sargonic at Lagash	C Period of Dungi at Lagash	D Ordinary Nippu- rian	E Secondary Nippurian
I <i>ezen-še-kur^d. ninā*</i>	<i>gan-maš</i>	<i>gan maš</i>	<i>bár-zag-gar</i>	<i>maš-dā²-kur</i>
II <i>gár-ra-ne-mú-mú</i>	<i>gár-ra-ne-mú-mú</i>	<i>gár-ra-ne-mú</i>	<i>gár-si-sá</i>	<i>ŠEŠ-da-kur</i>
III <i>ezen^d. ne-gún*</i>	<i>ezen^d. ne-gún</i> †	<i>ezen^d. ne-gún</i>	<i>sig-ga</i>	<i>ū-ne-(mušen)-kur</i>
IV <i>sig-ba</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>ki-sig^d. nin-a-zu</i>
V <i>ezen-dim-kur^d. ningirsu*</i>	<i>ezen-dim-kur</i>	<i>dim-kur</i>	<i>ne-ne-nig</i>	<i>ezen^d. nin-a-zu</i>
VI <i>ezen-še-kur^d. ningirsu*</i>	<i>ezen^d. dumuzi</i>	<i>ezen^d. dumuzi</i>	<i>qin^d. innini</i>	<i>ā-ki-li</i>
VII <i>ezen-dim-kur^d. ninā*</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ezen^d. dungi</i>	<i>dù-azag</i>	<i>ezen^d. dungi</i>
VIII <i>ezen^d. ba-ú</i>	<i>ezen^d. ba-ú</i>	<i>ezen^d. ba-ú</i>	<i>apin-dū-a</i>	<i>šu-ēš-ša</i>
IX <i>gá-udu-ür</i> (?)	<i>mu-šu-dü</i> ††	<i>mu-šu-dü</i>	<i>géne-én-è</i>	<i>ezen-maǵ</i>
X <i>ezen amar-a-a-siga</i>	<i>ezen amar-a-a-si</i>	<i>amar-a-a-si</i>	<i>ab-e</i>	<i>ezen-an-na</i>
XI <i>segurkud</i>	<i>segurkud**</i>	<i>segurkud**</i>	<i>aš-a-an</i>	<i>ezen^d. me-ki-gál</i>
XII <i>udu-šú-še-il-la</i>	<i>ezen-še-il-la</i>	<i>še-il-la</i>	<i>segurkud**</i>	<i>segurkud**</i>

Tablets 55 (Bur-Sin 3), 24 (Bur-Sin 2) and perhaps also 27 (Dungi 44 + X) agree with the Hoffman Tablet in placing *segurkud* at the beginning of the year. On the other hand no. 51 (Bur-Sin 9) and probably the majority of the Drehem tablets are chronologically based upon the

1. Names starred are not always preceded by the determinative for month *itu*. List A was established by De Genouillac. B and C by Thureau-Dangin and partly by Radau. † *d. ne-gún* to be distinguished from *d. NE-dar*, DP, 52 II; 55 V 6; RTC. 47 Obv. IV; TSA. 1 Obv. II 8; Gudea, *Masse d'armes* C etc. †† Here intercalary *mešendu*. ** Here *dirig segurkud*.

2. Omitted, e. g., VS. VIII 48, 7.

3. Var. *azag*.

earlier system. In RA VIII 84, M. F. THUREAU-DANGIN mentions other Drehem texts, the earliest from the year 42 + X of Dungi, which likewise place *segurkud* at the beginning of the year. He has also found a Drehem tablet similar to the Hoffman Tablet, viz. AO. 5524, which gives on the contrary the old order, E in my list.¹

ADDENDUM.

Upon going to press I note that according to F. Th.-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. VIII, no. 3 the order and names of the months on the tablets from Umma, modern Djokha, are quite different from those employed at Lagash and Nippur. The Umma tablets agree with revised Drehem calendar in placing the month of barley harvest at the beginning of the year so that the calendar of Umma appears to have been shifted forward one month. The month of brick-making, third in the calendar of Nippur is the second month at Umma. At Lagash and Nippur the month of seed sowing is the fourth, (November) but the sixth (January !) at Umma. Lagash celebrated the feast of ⁴ Negun in October but Umma in April (ninth month). The month dedicated to Dungi at Lagash and Nippur is the seventh but the ninth at Umma. At Lagash and Nippur the wailings for Tammuz and the descent of Innini are celebrated in the sixth month (January) at the period of greatest darkness, but at Umma in the twelfth month (July) at the time of heat and drought, thus agreeing with the Hebrew and Mediterranean custom.

TRANSLATION.

1. Urazagnunna received¹ from Nimbati 21 sheep, 2 lambs, 36 kids, which have passed inspection. Month of the feast of Gimil-Sin², 7th year of Gimil-Sin. The overseer³ is Táb-ili.
2. Dugga received from Endingiramu one she goat. Urmes drew up the tablet. Sealed with the seal of Urmes son of Ginnab. Intercalary month Še-gur-kud, 9th year of Bur-Sin⁴.
3. Dugga received from Kurbilak 1 sheep, 1 ram dead, on the 19th. of Še-gur-kud. First year of Gimil-Sin. Tablet drawn up by Urmes, with his seal.
4. *as̄ sīl ⁴en-lil as̄ sīl ⁴nin-lil mu-ara⁵ pa-te-si en-lil-(ki) as̄ maš-dū é-a-du-du šag [] ⁴en-lil-la mu-ara a-bu-bu ni-dū⁶ arad-mu maškim ud min-kam ki ab-ba-šág-ga-ta ba-zig iti*

1. *ni-KU*, employed passim in the Drehem tablets for the ordinary *šu-ba-ti*. The original root for take, receive is *tēg*. It is necessary to assume this value for *KU*, not only to explain its use in the Drehem tablets but also its use for the verb *náhu* to repose. Cf. *Babyloniac* IV 38. Read, therefore, *ni-tig*. Cf. Myhrman, 81, 11 *ni-tig-eš*, they have received. *ni-tig* occurs in the interesting tablet n° 138 of the *Documents Pré-Sargoniques de Allotte de la Fuÿe* in the sense of inherit, the tablet records the names of 31 herdsmen of the property of the goddess Bau, eleven of whom died leaving property and twenty without property. In case of each of the eleven who left property we have the phrase *X dumu-ni ni-tig*, *X* his son possessed (his property), or *ab-ba-ni ni-tig*, 'his father possessed'. In two cases we find the *gar-tud*, a public harlot, succeeding to the property of men, obv. V. [For this interpretation of *gartud* note that in RTC. 53 obv. II 3 and rev. 13, the wet-nurses *um-me*, *um-me-da*, are reckoned among the *gar-tud* and that in RTC. 17 rev. III the son of a patesi Urtar (cf. obv. III) has two *gartud* both of which are witnesses. Each temple appears to have had two or three of these concubines in its service, cf. for the temple of Bau, DP. 113 VIII, Nik. 2 VIII and TSA. 14 obv. VIII, and for the temple of Galalim, Nik. 18 obv. V. In DP. 132 III 1-12 five *gartud* contribute milk and food for the wives of five officials. The important status of these concubines in ancient Sumerian society is difficult to understand]

2. The month of the feast of Dungi appears to have been changed to that of Gimil-Sin during the latter's reign.

3. *gir* in the tablets of Drehem denotes apparently the overseer who actually conducted the transfer of sheep and cattle from various towns to the cattle market at Drehem. *maškim* is a similar title and it is difficult to distinguish between them.

4. *mu en nannar kar-zid-a ba-zid*, year when the high priest of Nannar *Karzida* was installed. *zid* for *zid* = *kánu*, passim in date formulae.

5. For the reading *ara*, cf. n° 63, 4.

6. *ni-dū* = *atū* watchman. In SBH. 75, 18, a gate-keeper. Probably a high official in the temple service. In BE. VI 2, n° 36 a man sells his right to the office of the *nam-ni-dū* in the temple of Adad in Nippur, and

1. Note on AO. 5524 the name of the eleventh month *ezen-me-ši-gal*, where *ki* > *ši* is a clear case of palatalisation, s. Lang. Sum. Gram. § 40.

ezen d-nin-a-zu mu en-maíg-gal an-na en d-nammar ba-zid. One lamb for Enlil. One lamb for Ninlil sent by the patesi of Nippur. One kid for the house *Adudu* in the of Enlil, sent by Abubu the (temple)-watchman; Aradmu is the agent. Second day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month of the festival of Ninazu. Year in which the great high-priest of heaven, priest of Nannar was installed [4th. year of Bur-Sin].

5. 122 sheep, 5 lambs, 32 kids. Tablet (drawn up by) Naramu. (Received) from Intaëa. Copy¹ of a tablet of Abbakalla. Month of the feast of Dungi. Year when the priest of Innini was chosen². [5th. year of Gimil-Sin].
6. 150 + X sheep. 60 lambs 360 ewes, 20 rams, X she goats, passed inspection. Dugga received from Nanar. Month of the Akiti. 2nd. year of Gimil-Sin.
7. 9 fat sheep, 4 sheep, 5 *qa* of cream for the temple [], 1 fat sheep the regular offering³ to [], 2 lambs TUK-KU..., 1 lamb QA..., *lugal-šeg*... 3 lambs ... *gal* ..., priest-mes of the god..., in Ur, 2 lambs for the god..., 1 lamb and two *qa* of cream⁴, offering to the emblem⁵ of Ur, from Hidatum, the butler (?) traveller⁶. Two *qa* of milk for the Du-azag. Total of 10 fat sheep, 4 sheep, three lambs. Total of 6 lambs and 9 *qa* of milk. Removed on the 10th. day. *mu 3 mēs.... ud - ? PA-KAB-DU...* Month of the great feast. 5th. (?) year of Gimil-Sin².
8. The chief of the cattle market Abbašagga delivers 11 oxen, 5 sheep, 3 lambs, 10 rams, 2 kids to Intaëa on the 13th. of the month *ezen-an-na*, 6th. year of Bur-Sin.
9. 104 sheep and goats, dead. Tablet of Nusku-urra; tablet undated as to the day⁷. Dugga has received. Unto Urmes a tablet he brought not. 2nd. year of Gimil-Sin.
10. Abbašagga delivers to Intaëa 298 ewes, 255 sheep, lambs, unweaned lambs, 39 male kids, 72 she-goats, 37 unweaned kids, inspected on the 28th. of the month *šegurkud*. 6th. year of Bur-Sin.
11. No. 11 of the collection is too fragmentary to be worth publishing.
12. 120 *gar gid-bi dagal-bi* 1 1/2 ú *dūl-bi* 1 1/2 ú *sağar-bi* 22 *sar*.
50 *gar gid-bi dagal-[bi]* 1 1/2 ú *dūl-bi* 2/3 ú *sağar-bi* 3 + X *sar*.
30 *gar gid-[bi] dagal-bi* 1 1/2 ú *dūl-bi* 1/3 ú *sağar-bi* 2 *sar*.

in Nik. 18 rev. III a man is the *ni-dū dingir*, i. e. 'watchman of god'. A *ni-dū bāb gāgīm*, watchman of the gate of the convent, is mentioned in CT. IV 49 b 23. In mythology *ni-dū* is the watchman of the gates of hell, in the Descent of Ishtar obv. 13-14-21, and a minor deity is the *ni-dū-gal* of E kur in CT. XXIV 9, 16.

1. *gab-ri*. For this interpretation, cf. n° 51 edge.

2. This date occurs also on n° 14 and may be identical with SAK. 235 l. N° 14, however, has a seal dedicated to Gimil-Sin and hence the date cannot be placed before that king. Neither can it be placed in the reign of Gimil-Sin unless it be the proper date for the 5th year, hitherto known as the year following the 4th year. It seems probable that this is the case since not only does n° 14 contain this king's name but n° 5 is dated in the month of the feast of Iungi which was changed to the feast of Gimil-Sin toward the end of the latter's reign. The other alternative would be to place the date in the reign of Ibil-Sin in which case the theory that the month *ezen-Dungi* was changed to *ezen-Gimil-Sin* would be given up.

3. Written *sā-a-dūg*.

4. *ga-šeg*, 'fat of milk'.

5. *šu-nir. kakku ša ili*, weapon of god (*šu-nir*), Meissner, SAI 8059. As emblem of a city v. St. Vaut. rev. 7, 4.

6. *ka šu-dū kās*. For *ka šu-dū = šaqū*, 'he who gives to drink', v. *šu-qā-dū = šaqū*, Br. 7093, (cf. also Lau, *Old Bab. Temple Records*, p. 30). The royal butler would occupy a high position (cf. De Genouillac TSA, XXX who, it seems to me, wrongly rejects the meaning proposed by Zimmern).

7. *šag ud-nu-tuk*, 'in a day not given'.

pap-ub¹ d-Nannar-ur-sag 10 qal udu 60-šú al-ag. ki za-ja dug (?)

a-šag-ga itu ezen an-[na] mu bād ma-da ba-dū.

We have here a record of three excavations made in the canal of Nannarursag at which 10 men laboured for 60 days. The length of the first section is 120 *gar* or 1440 cubits, its width 1 1/2 cubits and its depth 1 1/2 cubits², or 3240 cubic U. The SAR = 144 cubic U 3240 = 22 1/2 SAR. The calculation on the tablet 22 SAR is not quite exact. The second 144 section = 50 × 12 × 3/2 × 2/3 = 600 U³ or 4 1/6 SAR. The traces of the total in line 8 are not in favour of the reading 4.

The third section = 30 × 12 × 3/2 × 1/3 = 180 U³ = 1 1/4 SAR. The calculation is again inexact. The name of the field in l. 16 is broken away. Dated in the month of the feast of Anu, in the year 35 + X of Dungi.

13. Abbašagga delivers to 6 kids of Magan *giš-dū* and 5 mother goats of Magan, on the 30th. of the month of the spring festival (Akiti). 4th. year of Bur-Sin.
14. Uršu receives from Abbašagga one cow two years old through the agent *tam-ma*, and two cows two years old through the agent Gimil-ili. Month of *Kisig-Ninazu*, 5th. year of Gimil-Sin (?). Sealed by the scribe Urazagnunna.
15. 2 fat oxen, one fat cow, 2 sheep *a-lum*³, one lamb *a-lum*³, from Abbašagga Šumama received. Dated 17th. of the month of the great feast, 7th. year of Bur-Sin.
16. 23 rams for the house of the fat sheep from Abbašagga *Bēlia-riq* received. The agent is Ur-Nidaba his messenger⁴. Month of Kisig-Ninazu, 6th. year of Bur-Sin.
17. 1 lamb for Nusku, 1 lamb for Ninib, sent by the patesi of Nippur. 1 fat ox, 1 sheep, 1 kid for Enlil; 1 fat ox, 1 sheep, 1 kid for Ninlil from those sent by Ribā. The messenger is Nina-ušumgal. 12 oxen, 3 sheep, 120 ewes from *d-nin-SIR + LA*⁵, the musician, 7 oxen [] from Banum-Amurru, the messenger is Am 180 cows, 25 sheep, 15 ewes, inspected, for the bakery. 10 + Xth. day of the month *šu-ēš-ša*. Total 370. First year of Bur-Sin.
18. Ludingirani receives sheep and lambs from Abbašagga on the 25th. of the month of the feast of Anu. 2nd. year of Bur-Sin.
19. Ur-lamas patesi of Girzu received from Narāmili 1530 oxen, sheep and goats which had been sent by the king. Second year of Bur-Sin. Month *šu-ēš-ša*.
20. Šu-ás-pak delivers sheep and goats to *Ur-nun*. Month of the feast of Gimil-Sin. 9th. year of Gimil-Sin.
21. 5 *gukkal* 2 *gukkal*⁶ *giš-dū ud* 23-kam 5 *udu* *šeg ud* 26-kam *ki-na-šág-ta a-hu-ni ni-tig itu Magan*, n° 13.

1. Cf. similar measurements of a wall RTC. 138. Similar measurements of excavation in RTC. n° 412 but there the depth is given as *gūd*. Our tablet has more correctly *dūl*, depth. Concerning cubic measurements see Th.-Dangin, ZA. XV 112-4, and JA. 1909, 100; also Allotte de la Fuÿe, RA. VI 75-8.

2. Sic! We expect *pap-e*, cf. RTC. 412, rev. II 9.

3. Cf. AO. 4683 rev. 12 f. *a-lum* (or *a-num*?) after *udu* and *barun*, the term may be geographical as *Magan*, n° 13.

4. *galu gin-gi-a-bi*.

5. Cf. CT. III 35, 55.

6. *gukkallu* according to V R. 9, 65 is an unweaned animal. In AO. 4683 rev. 5 (RA. VII, after p. 187) the *uniqū*, female kid, is classified with the *gukkallu* and on K. 6027 (M² p. 13) *gukkallum* is followed by *šabatūm* = *šabitu*, male kid. In Neb. 9 III 12 and 19 B VII 18 *gukkallum* accompanies *immer mir* i. e., young male lambs, and the *gukkallu* is an animal of sacrifice in RTC. 378 obv. 5. *gukkallu* can be, therefore, nothing but the unweaned male kid approaching the stage of weaning. Notice that *giš-dū* is employed in n° 13, 1 after

- ezen-a-dun-gi¹* mu *a-bur-a-sin lugal*. Five unweaned male kids, two unweaned male kids *giš-dū*, for the 23rd day. Five fat sheep for the 26th day. From Našag Ahuni has received. Month of the festival of Dungi. First year of Bur-Sin. Total 12.
22. Two full grown male kids for Enlil. Two full grown female kids for Ninlil. Atud the butler is the conveyancer. From those sent for the 22nd day. Taken from Lugalamarazagni. Month of the eating of kids. 8th year of Bur-Sin.
23. Sixty *qa*, of grain according to the royal measure, for seed, Sugaga a man of Marada, grain belonging to Errib from the store house (has taken). Month of the feast of Ninazu. Year 38 + X of Dungi.
24. 30 sheep, 11 kids, tablet made by *a-TUN-BIL*; 39 kids, tablet made by Uršag, from Abbašagga Urnigingar has received. Month *ezen-me-ki-gál*, 2nd year of Bur-Sin.
25. 37 oxen, 3 cows, 670 sheep, 110 kids for the 17th day from Abbašagga Aradmu the seer² of Ea received. Month of the great feast. First year of Bur-Sin. Total 820.
26. 60 *Ku* 5 *Ku-gig?* 1 kid Namhani the soldier in Erech from Allamu has taken. Month *ezen-máj*. First year, of Ibil-Sin.
27. 1 fat ox sacrifice to Nintindigga, 7 fat oxen, 4 oxen for the temple on the 7th day, 14 fat oxen given as property of the temple, as burnt offerings for the temple on the 15th day. 2 fat oxen for the feast of the eating of grain of Girsu, 4 fat oxen for the festival of the temple of Innini, 1 fat ox for the station (?) of the new moon, 73 oxen the first time, 40 cows the second time for the field. From Ludingirrani. 5 fat oxen for the burnt offering from Ahuni. Total 151. Total of fat oxen 34, of oxen 77, of cows 40. From Našag Enlil has received. Month of the feast of Ninazu. Year 44 + X of Dungi.
28. 1 fat ox, when the son of Zimti-Gusir came, at Nippur. The conveyancer is Nannar-azagzu. 1 fat ox, conveyancer Lugalamarazag son of Našag. 15 fat sheep, conveyancer Azag-Nannar, from Ahupir Siluš-Dagan has received, conveyancer Ur-uš-gidda. Second year of Gimil-Sin.
29. Ludingirra received one fat ox and three oxen from Abbašagga on the 20th of the month *segurkud*. First year of Bur-Sin.
30. Nanar received two lambs from Abbašagga on the 17th of the month *ezen-an-na*. Fourth year of Bur-Sin.
31. Dugga received from Ahupir lambs and kids. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Third year of Gimil-Sin³.

maš, kid. Note also that the month is Apr.-May, when kids would be only a month or so old. The *gukkallu* in DP. 43 III 4 are sacrificed in the seventh month Feb.-Mar. as on our tablet, and in RTC. 378 the sacrifice is made on the 5th of the ninth month.

1. *sulgi* appears to be a more desirable reading. The name means 'faithful hero'.

2. *PA-AL* i. e., the aged *PA* or *aklu*. For *PA* as a priestly function see De Genouillac TSA. LX. *PA-AL* is pronounced *šabar* (*šabra* is a decayed form) and is probably connected with *subar* K. 8276, 3 a sign variant of Br. 4666, interpreted by *barú* seer. The derivation would be *zu-bar* 'seer of wisdom'. The *šabar* does not appear before the period of Sargon and Naram-Sin. On a seal of Sargon [RA. IV 5] a *šabar e*, seer of the temple named Dada is represented standing before a seated goddess and the *šabar* of the temple follows *nin*, the priestess, on RTC. 135. Cf. SAK. 168 1) 13. On EAH. 104 [Radau EBH. 365 f.] l. 20 *Ur-Bau-(ge)* is called a *šabar* and another person is called the *šabar* of the god Ningirsu, l. 22. See also below n° 47 obv. I 9 the *šabar* of the god Anu. The house of the seers also in CT. X 30 b 28. It may that the *dū sa-bar* from which grain is taken for the *satukku* or regular sacrifices, CT. X 39 a 5, (cf. b 17) is to be translated 'store house of the seers'? The title occurs also X 42, 12246 obv. 5; Pinches, Amh. 20 obv. 16, and often in this period. According to our evidence the prophet or seer does not belong to the cult of the early Sumerian period. Notice finally the order of numerating religious titles in the syllabar ZA. VII 27, 11-13, *iššakkū*, priest-king, *sangu*, priest, *šabru*, prophet.

3. Notice the formula, *mu us-sa má a-en-ki ba-ab-dú*, i. e., year after the 2nd year, and that the tablet is dated in second month by the late calendar or the first month by the regular calendar.

32. Sheep and goats brought by Dungira, on the tenth day. Ahu-ili received from Abbašagga. Month *á-ki-ti*. First year of Bur-Sin.
33. 8 fat sheep for the 15th day, sent by the king. From Abbašagga Nanar received. Month of *ezen-a-dun-gi*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
34. Nanar received from Abbašagga 70 sheep, 3 ewes, 144 rams, 113 she goats on the 24th. Month of *ezen-a-dun-gi*. Fourth year of Bur-Sin.
35. Nanar received sheep and lambs from Abbašagga on the 13th day. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Second year of Gimil-Sin.
36. 17 sheep not removed. The conveyancer was Ilišu-Dumuzi.
37. 30 sheep, 11 kids; tablet made by Dingirrane. 39 kids; tablet made by Uršag. From Abbašagga Urmigingar has received. Month *ezen-me-ki-gál*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
38. 3 sheep; the conveyancer is Banum-Amurrū. Removed on the 18th day. In Urazagnunna. Month *šu-áš-ša*. Year 45 + X of Dungi.
39. One male sheep for ... *da-kal-la* from ... *dumu-dumu* Ur-du-mal has received. Fourth year of Gimil-Sin. Sealed with the seal of Urbasagal, the scribe, son of Abgaga. On the edge. "Instead of Šalimbéli of Erech".
40. 8 lambs sent on the 7th day, for Burtugal-Sin. 60 lambs sent for Damkuzimazu; 180 lambs sent for Abi-šu-dam-gú on the 14th day. Conveyed by the conveyancer ... *dug*. 7 ewes *gīr* (?) for (20) the regular offering to tax of *Ur-a* of in Girsu. From Urningar (?) for (20) the regular offering to tax of *Ur-a* of in Girsu. From Urningar sent. *Ur-nun-na* has received. Month *ki-sig-a-nin-a-zu*. Third year of Bur-Sin. Total 476 + X.
41. 105 workmen for one day, for the long boat *in-kad-da*, from the *magurru*-boat Ilu-núri has taken. Tablet of *Bi-tum-SAL + KU*. Month *še-giür-kud*. Sixth year of Bur-Sin.
42. A mathematical tablet which I am able to interpret only in part. The numbers are arranged as follows.

8	4	?
12	6	UŠ
20	10	30
20	10	4
60	30	60
120	60	No. total.
ša	ili	

On the edge the grand total 180. The relation of the third column to the first and second columns is a complete mystery. *UŠ* is employed for 60. To gain the total 180 the number 26 should stand at the top of the column but the sign is clearly no number.

43. 147 oxen, 23 cows, month *ezen-me-ki-gál*. 117 oxen, 38 cows, month *še-giür-kud*. Total 325, taken from the king. 241 oxen, 93 cows. Total 334 registered on the tablets for the month *ezen-máj*. Total 505 oxen, 154 cows. Grand total 659, taken for the land of Enlil. From *ezenmekigal* to *segurtar*, two months. Year 46 + X of Dungi.
44. 1 lamb, 1 full grown female kid for the *é-uz-ga*; Akallamu is the messenger. 1 sheep for the throne of Dungi. Ur-*a*-Šulsige the baker is the messenger. 1 ram Urmah before the king caused to be brought¹. 10 sheep for *ni-la-lum* (*hum*?). Aradmu is the messenger. (Removed)

1. *ib-tig*.

- from among those which had been sent. Taken from Abbašagga, on the 14th. day. The conveyancer is Nūr-Sin, the scribe. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin.
45. 3 fat oxen from Kallamu patesi of Ašnumak ; the conveyancer is Intaēa. A tablet of 1 fat ox from Dada, the conveyancer is Lugulamarazag. 1 ox from Nawer-ili. Hides of 2 fat oxen from Ubar. Tablet of 1 fat ox from Uršugalamma. Therefrom 2 fat oxen *šag-3* instead of Dašektar ; 1 fat ox for the drink offering¹ ; 2 fat oxen sent by Šu-umun instead of Amu ; Urlamas has received. 2 fat oxen from (?) Seškalla, the messenger, instead of Dada, 2 fat oxen of Akalla, the conveyancer is Intaē. Month *á-ki-ti*. Seventh year of Bur-Sin.
46. A list of 53 oxen, 25 cows, 255 sheep, 114 ewes, 15 kids, 49 she-goats² under the supervision of two *gr*, Enlil and *Ur*...., for the *TUM* of a field not further specified. The meaning of *TUM* is unknown to me in this passage. Cf. TSA. 6 rev. I where an official is paid from the *TUM* of the month *Uduzidsea* and DP 104 col. II the *TUM* of the feast *dīm-kur* of Ninā. The tablet is dated in the month *ezen ã-nin-a-zu* of the second year of Bur-Sin.
47. Col. I 1-19 list of 103 oxen and cows received from Šugalam, from the king, from the prophet of Anu, from Putul-da (?), from Dungi-ili, from Dada the psalmist and (?) Enlil, from *Lù-bal-2-ga*.
- Col. I 24-II gives an account of the expenditure of 34 oxen received from the king. Notice in line 4 the form of the sign *šubur* in the name of the god *Ninsubur* a sign later confused with ŠAH and cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 65.
- Obv. II 22-rev. I 5 appears to be the account of the expenditure of the cattle received from Dungi-ili. Rev. I 6-17 a list of 20 oxen with the names of their donors received by Abbašagga and termed *gud-gal*, 'property in oxen'. Rev. II 1-10 gives another list of expenses. Notice in line 3 the dead oxen for the bakery and the night offerings to the Moon-god in 1. 5.
- There then follows an account of the cattle removed and of those remaining. Dated in the third year of Bur-Sin.
48. A list of ewes, male sheep, lambs, male sheep, she goats and kids with the names of the shepherds who brought them. [Notice the *más-du* (ll. 9, 12, 18, 21). *más-du* is apparently a variant of *maš-dū* = *sabitu*]. Two *PA*, a priestly function, are mentioned, obv. 26, rev. 8. The total reaches the high figure 1752 sheep and goats for the *a-ri-a* of the temple of Enlil. With the word *a-ri-a* is certainly connected the *a-ru-a* of the temple of Inniui no. 51, 8. We have probably to do here with a noun derived from the verb *a-ru*³ = *šarāku* to give, dedicate, hence *širiktu* a gift. Cf. B. M., 18346 rev. V 27. Perhaps also in *a-ru-a-ne* B. M., 14313, obv. I, 10, in the sense 'consecrated, given over to', and ibid. II, 25.
- Dated in the third year of Bur-Sin.
49. One fat ox, two sheep, one [lamb] for the *á-sig* of the god [].
- One fat ox, two sheep, for Inniui.
-
1. *kaš-de-a-ga*.
2. Notice in the total I. 24 that the female kids or young she goats (*unu*) ll. 16 f., are included under *enzu* she goats. Notice also the order of sheep, 7-11 and goats, 12-17. Male sheep *immeru* (7) corresponds to he goats *más-gal* (12) ; male lamb *sil* (*pušadu*) (8) = male kid *maš* (*sabitu*) (13) ; lamb (9) = kid (*tālu*) (14) ; ewe *barun* (10) = she goat *uš* (15) ; the female suckling lambs (11) correspond to the female kids in ll. 16 f.
3. This etymology is apparently assured by the passage *udu a-ru-a ã-en-ki pū-sir-ra-ka-kam*, small cattle as an offering to Ea of the long canal, DP. 98 VI 3.

- One fat ox, two sheep, one [lamb] for the *Unu*¹.
- One fat ox, two sheep, one lamb, for Ninsun², one lamb for *Nin-me-en-[na]*³, one lamb for *ã-nin-PA-[KI ?]*⁴, one lamb for the *ká-mi-é*, one lamb for the mouth of the sacred canal, one lamb for the reservoir of the sacred canal in Erech.
- One ox, two sheep, one lamb, for Ninsun in *KI-KAL-(ki)*.
- One ox, two sheep, one lamb for Asar⁶-*lu-dug* ; [one] fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ninsun ; one sheep, one lamb for the A-TEMEN⁷ of Asaru, in Šubarū⁸.
- One fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ea, one sheep for Babbar, in Eridu.
- One fat ox, two lambs, one lamb for the god [], one fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Nannar, one fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ninsun in Ur. Offerings of libation to the sacred canal ; Baba-Nidaba the butler is the messenger]. Total of 11 fat oxen, 24 sheep, 17 lambs, removed on the 28th. day. Month *še-gür-kud*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin.
50. The patesi of Šuruppak received from Abbašagga 730 sheep, 238 ewes, 190 rams, 40 she-goats and 132 mother she-goats⁹. Of these part are for the yearly tax¹⁰ and were sent in the month *še-éš-ša*, a considerable number came from the king in the month *ezen-maḡ* ; all these in the eighth year of Bur-Sin. 120 sheep are sent in the beginning of the next year.
51. 1-4, Dada the psalmist received 1 female kid from the king (?)¹¹ for the temple of Nusku, in the month *ezen-ã-dungi*. 5-10, Nadi, the seer, received 8 *bar-gál*-sheep each bearing 5/6 mana of wool and 3 rams, sent by the king as a gift to the temple of Inniui, in the month *ezen-maḡ*. 11-15, Lugalniti received 40 sheep in month *ezen-anna*, 20 sheep and 40 rams in the month
-
1. A chamber or sanctuary in the temple possibly identical with the *gigūw*, 'dark abode', an imitation of the abode of the dead.
2. For *Ninsun* a goddess in Erech see SBP. 154 n. 1.
3. We have here a phonetic spelling for *nin-men-an-na* = *bélit ilāni* an epithet of Ninlil, IV R. 17 a 15. Abbreviated to *nin-men*, BM. 22452. In CT. XXIV 12, 18 = 25, 83 *nin-men-na* = *bélit me-a-am-ni* (var. *mamī*), where *meāmu* > *māmu* appears to be a loan-word from *men*, crown ; the original loan-word is *mi-in-nu* BA. V 638, 13.
4. Cf. Nik. 23 obv. IV.
5. Or *ká-gig* (?) or *ká-gig-ge* (?). Cf. the *ká-me* built by Ur-ninā, SAK. 4 e) V 5. Perhaps 'gate of battle' (?) ; or 'gate of the house of darkness' if the reading *gig* be preferred.
6. Note that the sign is clearly REC. 387 *asar* not *siliq* (384). Cf. CT. X 24 II 6 ; V 25 I 16. For the reading *lu-dug* cf. Hilprecht Anniv. 220 rev. 7.
7. Cf. SBH. 100 (!).
8. *HA-A-(ki)*, probably identical with *A-HA* = *šabaru*, *šuru*, SAL. 893. In IV R. 36 n^o 1, obv. a 26-8, *HA-A-ki* follows Gutium. The identification of *SU-EDIN*, (*su-bir*) with *Šabartu*, *Šabartu*, *Šabaru* originally a land east of the Tigris (Del. Paradies 234 f.) and later employed for Mesopotamia (Jensen. KB. VI, 66 n. 5) and Assyria (Langdon. Neu-Bab. Königsinschriften, p. 3 with Winckler) appears to be proven. Also *HA-A-ki* in IV R. 36 is apparently employed for a city *Šabartu* in this region. It would be difficult to separate *HA-A-ki* in the Drehem inscription from the northern *Šabaru*. In case this identification be correct we have here in the capital of ancient *Šabartu* far to the north near Assyria the cults of two Sumerian deities fully recognized 2450 BC. Furthermore if this be the *Šabaru* in question in CT. XVI 6, 239 (*A-HA-ki*) where the priest of incantation boasts of being created in Eridu and *Šabaru* then *Šabaru* must have been one of the most ancient centres of the Sumerian religion. In case the Sumerians came from the North, *Šabaru* may represent one of their oldest cults. Note that the cult of Eridu follows that of *Šabaru* on our tablet.
9. *uš-ga-zu*.
10. *mu-bal-a*.
11. *ša-ru-mi-um*.

- segurkud* as the regular offering to the goddess Gula¹. Eighth year of Bur-Sin. 19-24, 4 asses, *bar-an* male, sent by the king, Lùbalšagga the IŠ has received. 2 grown up young of the AZ on the eleventh day Dada the psalmist has received. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin. On the edge, 'copy of the tablet of KU-KU-ti'.
52. 1 fat ox in Tummal for the libation of the king. The conveyancer of Niñā is Gugu (sic!). 3 sheep for a libation in Nippur to Annunit. 1 fat ox and 12 sheep in Ur, 1 lamb in Erech for Ur-Gusir. 2 fat oxen (for) Ur-Dumuzida-i the priest on behalf of the great *sukallu*. 27 sheep the first time, 2 lambs the second time, the conveyancer being Abbašagga. 1 fat ox, the conveyancer is Ur-Dumuzid the elder. 30 sheep, the conveyancer is Alamu. 2 lambs from Naramu. 1 lamb on behalf of the great *sukallu*, the conveyancer is Urabšagga, the barber. 1 fat sheep from the temple. 6 sheep, the conveyancer is Ba-ir. 3 adult cows *gul-la*, the conveyancer of Niñā. 2 fat oxen, the conveyancer is Urabazag. Total 7 fat oxen, 3 cows, 85 sheep. Received of Dalala.
53. Ur-Immer patesi of HA (?)..... *si-(ki)* has caused to be delivered 12 oxen, 58 sheep and 29 rams for the festival of the temple on the 15th. day. The cattle and sheep are regular.... tax of the patesi for the temple on the day.
- Abbašagga has received ; sent as property². Month *ezen me-ki-gál*. Seventh year of Bur-Sin.
54. A tag for an account of oxen, sheep and goats in Gutiran. The PA is Šarrumbani. Not sent.
55. 1 female kid, fat, sent by Narám-Ea. 2 lambs sent for the temple of Aštartum. 1 lamb sent by Dungi-ili. 1 lamb sent by Azag-Ningal son of Zintu. The messenger is Aradmu. 1 female kid, fat, for the house *uz-ga*, sent by Nirnidagal, Ur-Bau is the messenger. Taken from Abbašagga on the 26th. day. The month is intercalary *ezenmekigal* of the third year of Bur-Sin.
56. A list of sheep, cattle and goats which Dungi-ā-mu received from Abbašagga. A considerable number are given to the tanner (*lu-su*). The tablet is unusual in that it gives the colours of the animals in most cases. Thus we have striped oxen *gud-dar-a* l. 2, and cf. *dar-a* with cows (5), sheep (9), etc. Contrasted with the variegated animals are the *sig* or red animals only of goats, ll. 13, 15³. The black ewes and she goats occur, ll. 10, 14.
57. The tablet assigns one lamb to Aštartum and gives a list of sheep and lambs received from a patesi and several individuals. The whole is said to be sent by the king. Of these Nanar receives 8 sheep and Intaēa 13 lambs. Dated on the 8th. of *ezen-me-ki-gál*.
58. A list of proper names. The date which is unknown reads *mu ba⁴-u gu...nam-erim....*
59. List of lambs and one female kid with the names of the donors. Received by Nür-ka.
60. A tag for a basket of tablets concerning the *guza-lū*, a community of court officials. *pisan dub-ba nig-šūl-ag-ur gu-za-la-e-ne*, basket of tablets, the old account of the *guza-lū*. Dated in the seventh year of Gimil-Sin⁵.

1. Notice the order of the months Ezen-Dungi, Ezenmah, and Šegurkud after which follows the name of the year. The month Mašdrukur is in the next year wherefore it is evident that Šegurkud was the last month of the year.

2. *mu-du-gal*.

3. The sign is a unified SI, REC. 48 = Br. 3476 and for *sig* in this sense, cf. *sig = banū*, CT. XXV 26, 21. One must hesitate between the colours *red* and *white*. *sig* means simply bright, but cf. *sig* Br. 3745 = *sámu*, red.

4. For this form of *ba* written *KU*, cf. 62. 3.

5. *gu-za-lá*, loan-word *guza-lū*, has been commonly interpreted as 'throne or stool bearer', and occurs chiefly as a title of messengers and councillors of the gods. The title is discussed only in this mythological

61. A capitulation of oxen and cows received from Enlil by Naramu, Ušmu, Lu-Nannar, the seer, Gimil-Aštar¹ the son of the king (Bur-Sin), and Ur-nigingar, the IŠ, for which all have given tablets. At the end (l. 14) occurs the phrase *dub dib-ba*, tablets held (against them). Month *ezen-dū-dungi*, third year of Bur-Sin².
62. 4 fat oxen Errabani has received. 45 sheep Udami-šarram [has received]. 1 lamb Ur-Bau, the prophet, has received. 50 oxen in the walled field of Teli³. 210 lambs *Lugal....ri* [has received]. 65 lambs *Lunura* [has received]. 7 oxen Enlil has received. 1535 sheep Dugga has received. The 15th. day. 633 sheep left from the third day. *dub-bi šag-gá á ud-da-gu-šid*. Month *ezen-anna*. Eighth year of Bur-Sin.
63. 10 talents 13 1/3 mana of wool *gir-sun*. As its value one has sent 20 mana of woollen cloth. On the 28th. day Lukalla has received. The conveyancer was Nannartubba, the scribe. Month ŠEŠ-da-kur. First year of Ibil-Sin.
64. A list of she-goats and lambs with the names of the senders and the messengers. Income of the 26th. day. Said to be taken from Abbašagga for the temple of Aštartum and for the é-uz-ga. Intercalary *ezen-me-ki-gál*. Third year of Bur-Sin⁴.
65. 1 lamb for Enlil, 1 lamb for Ninlil, sent by *Ur-dū-dingirra*, the messenger is Niñā-ušumgal. 1 sheep for the throne of the god Dungi, sent by Erā, the messenger is Wadarum. 6 oxen, 3 cows, 2 sheep, 8 lambs, 1 ewe, 6 male kids, 2 she goats, 1 she kid inspected for the bakery. On the 8th. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *ezen-dū-ninasu*, second year of Bur-Sin.
66. 10 oxen, *U*, in Guzagatum ; the overseer is Šeskalla. Not sent. Ninth year of Gimil-Sin.
67. 2 sheep charged to Kišer of Gumaraši. 2 sheep charged to Dušari, Nalu-uk(?) and Šupušmud, 2 sheep charged to Du-ug(?)-ra, men of *KAK-GIG-(ki)*. 2 sheep charged to Giršati of Ku(?)lum. 2 sheep charged to Pudumkiriš of Šerši. 2 sheep charged to Nerati⁵ of Šešabi. Lugalmagurri is the messenger. 3 oxen, 2 cows, 8 ewes inspected for the bakery. The 23rd. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *ezen-maḡ*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
68. 1 fat she kid for Enlil, sent by Šinana, 1 lamb for Šamaš, 1 kid for Innini, sent by the high priest of Innini, the messenger is Niñā-ušumgal.. 1 sheep, *i-sar*, *kır* Bašdugab⁶, sent by Gimil-Sin the judge, the messenger is Aradmu. 2 full grown kids⁷ for the é-uz-ga, sent by Ur-dū-Dišdingira, the messenger is Akalla. 2 full grown kids, dead, for the store house. 22nd. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Second year of Bur-Sin.

sense in the lexicons and by Jensen, KB. VI 1, 482. The *guza-lū* are, however, an important class of officials and appear to have lived as a community for we find the house of the *gu-za-lá* served by 23 servants under a PA (a religious function) and a *nubanda* (a secular function), BM. 17775 obv. 4, and a *nubanda* or overseer of workmen has also the title *gu-za-lá* in BM. 12912 rev. VI 5.

The fem. *guzilatu* occurs as an attendant on a queen (or goddess?) in SBP. 264, 2.

1. Note that the son of Bur-Sin who succeeded to the throne is named Gimil-Sin. (The transcription *Gimil* for ŠU is not certain.)

2. The Drehem tablets have *dingir gu-za*, 'the divine throne' instead of the ordinary *gu-za* at Lagash.

3. Cf. n° 51, 16 : 50 oxen in the *gizzu* of Teli-ili. Cf. ZA. XIV 387.

4. The formula offers a slight variant of the regular form at Lagash, *mu d-gu-za sag-gul-la d-en-lil-lá ba-dim*, year when the divine throne, rejoicing the heart of Enlil, was fashioned.

5. Or *Berati* (?)

6. I. e. the mountain Bašdugab (?)

7. *maš-dū* is here clearly distinguished from *maš* (l. 4).

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1)	-1970	Kugler	VIII 27	2	VIII 29
2)	-1914	Fotheringham	VIII 28	3	IX 1
3)	-1851	Kugler	VIII 25	5	VIII 30
4)	-1803	Neugebauer	VIII 29	7	IX 6
5)	-1795	Kugler	VIII 25	7	IX 3
6)	-807	Schiaparelli	VIII 23	8	IX 1

rechnete mittlere 1. Nisan so spät, daß dieses Jahr kalendarisch nicht in Betracht kommt, während es astronomisch sehr günstige Umstände aufweist.

Auch die anderen Beobachtungen aus Az = -1920 bis -1900 nach Fotheringham stimmen mit einer Ausnahme befriedigend mit der Rechnung überein.

Durch die Fixierung der Regierungszeit Ammizadugas

ist aber die ganze 1. Dynastie Babylon zeitlich festgelegt und aus den überlieferten Schaltjahren geht weiter hervor, daß von Sinmuballit I, also von 2086 an, bis zur Zeit Christi das Neujahr, das ist der mittlere 1. Nisan, bei den Babylonern immer 15–18 Tage nach dem Frühlingsäquinoktio lag. Ferner war es Langdon in Oxford nach Entzifferung des Blundell-Prismas möglich, bis zum Jahre –3000 zurück die Regierungsjahre der Könige sämtlicher Dynastien fast bis aufs Jahr genau zu bestimmen.

Zum Schluß möchte ich noch bemerken, daß die Sichtbarkeitsbedingung der Venus für Abendletzt und Morgenster gegeben ist, wenn bei Venus-Unter- oder -Aufgang die Sonne im Mittel mindestens $5^{\circ}4$ unter dem Horizont steht.

C. Schoch.

Beobachtungen von λ , z , ι Andromedae.

Von mehreren Autoren ist eine Veränderlichkeit der Helligkeit eines oder zweier der Sterne λ , z , ι Andromedae (vgl. H. E. Lau, AN 208.121) vermutet worden. Doch ist die Frage noch offen. Die folgenden Beobachtungen sind mit einem Operngläsern, und zwar nach Argelanders Methode ausgeführt worden. Die Beobachtungen lassen die Annahme zu, daß λ und z konstant sind. Die angeführten Helligkeiten sind dann die Helligkeiten von ι , dem der Hauptteil der Veränderlichkeit zuzuschreiben ist. Die Zeitangaben sind mittlere Zeit Gr.

J. D.	M.Z.Gr. Schätzung Gr.	J. D.	M.Z.Gr. Schätzung Gr.	J. D.	M.Z.Gr. Schätzung Gr.	J. D.	M.Z.Gr. Schätzung Gr.
2422222	7 ^h 39 ^m λ1122 4 ^m 18	2422279	8 ^h 20 ^m λ1122 4 ^m 20	2422330	7 ^h 0 ^m λ3112 4 ^m 31	2422349	8 ^h 0 ^m λ2112 4 ^m 28
2229	7 21 λ3z1 4.33	2287	9 30 λ1z1 4.18	2337	8 25 λ2z1 4.31	2585	9 52 λ2112 4.28
—	— λ3z1 4.33	—	— λ1z1 4.18	—	— λ2z1 4.31	2647	5 40 λ3z2 4.36
2231	9 0 λ3z3 4.55	2303	5 55 λ2112 4.28	2338	5 47 ι2λ2z 3.98	2647 ¹⁾	5 41 λ3z1 4.38
2232	10 5 λ3z3 4.55	2303	6 56 λ212z 4.23	2344	6 44 λ2z1 4.31	2648	11 0 λ3z1 4.34
2248	10 25 λ1z1 4.22	2304	10 20 λ113z 4.16	2344	— λ2z1 4.31	—	— λ3z1 4.34
2249	9 35 λ3z2 4.48	2312	7 40 λ2z1 4.31	2344	8 30 λ2z1 4.38	—	— λ2z1 4.31
2277	9 50 λ212z 4.23	—	— λ2z1 4.31	2349	6 36 λ2z1 4.31	—	— λ2z1 4.31

¹⁾ Beobachtung von Herrn A. Nielsen.

Die Beobachtungen sind unter Annahme der Konstanz von λ und z Andromedae reduziert worden. Diese Annahme, die mir durch die Beobachtungen selbst gerechtfertigt scheint, führt zu einem Stufenwert von 0^m07 , mit welchem die Beobachtungen reduziert worden sind. Nach diesen Beobachtungen scheint jedenfalls ι etwas veränderlich zu sein. Jedenfalls J.D. 2422338 war ι sicher heller als λ , während z wie gewöhnlich ein wenig schwächer als λ war, sonst ist ι immer schwächer als λ gewesen. Für eine Bestimmung der Periode, wenn eine solche existiert, reicht dies geringe Material nicht aus.

Urania-Sternwerte, Kopenhagen F., 1924 März.

C. Luplau Janssen.

Helligkeitsschätzungen der Nova Aquilae 3 im Jahre 1923.

Die folgenden Helligkeitsschätzungen von Nova Aquilae 3 (1918) sind alle mit dem 246 mm-Refraktor der Urania-Sternwarte in Kopenhagen ausgeführt worden. Als Vergleichsterne sind

BD +0°4022 Magn. Harvard 9^m90 BD +0°4023 Magn. Harvard 8^m65

verwendet worden. Die Beobachter waren die folgenden: C. Luplau Janssen J., Svend Lauritzen L. Die Spalten enthalten: Tag der Julianischen Periode, Zeitangabe (m.Z.Gr.), abgeleitete Helligkeit und Beobachter.

J.D.	M.Z.Gr. Helligkeit	Bb.	J.D.	M.Z.Gr. Helligkeit	Bb.	J.D.	M.Z.Gr. Helligkeit Bb.
2423575	11 ^h 0 ^m 10 ^m 1	J	2423669	7 ^h 34 ^m 10 ^m 4	J	2423702	7 ^h 36 ^m 10 ^m 2
3575	11 2 10.1	L	3671	7 36 11.2	J	3702	7 40 10.4
3604	10 30 10.5	J	3672	7 50 10.7	J	3704	6 56 11.2
3608	10 31 10.2	J	3673	10 30 10.2	L	3739	5 40 10.4
3635	10 8 10.7	J	3673	10 32 10.2	J	3749	6 3 10.7
3635	10 10 10.0	L	3674	7 50 10.2	J	3750	6 20 11.2
3637	9 51 10.1	L	3676	8 10 10.4	J	3769	4 30 10.7
3637	9 52 10.2	J	3677	7 44 10.7	J	3774	4 24 10.4
3644	11 5 10.7	L	3678	7 0 11.3	J	3779	4 0 10.4
3644	11 7 10.7	J	3679	8 2 11.8	J	3780	4 20 11.2
3666	11 40 10.7	10 ^m 6	3680	7 30 11.2	J	3783	4 20 10.2
3666	11 42 10.5	J	—	—	—	—	—

Urania-Sternwarte in Kopenhagen F., 1924 März 23.

C. Luplau Janssen.

umfaßten Zeitraum nicht zu erkennen. Die Ausgleichung der B-R unter Mitnahme eines quadratischen Gliedes ergibt als neue Elemente: m.Z.Gr. $2393296^d90 + 7^d176421 \cdot E + 0^d00000014 E^2$ mit der Darstellung B-R₁. Ganz befriedigend ist die Darstellung nicht, die Abweichungen scheinen systematischen Charakter zu besitzen. Eine Darstellung der B-R

Normalepochen.

Nr.	Beobachter	Epoche	M.Z.Gr.	B-R	B-R ₁	B-R ₂	B-R ₃
1	Pigott	-2836	2372944 ^d 58	-0 ^d 14	-0 ^d 10	-0 ^d 09	
2	Westphal	-1142	85101.60	+0.09	+0.16	+0.11	
3	Argelander I	+200	94732.24	+0.03	+0.06	+0.03	
4	Heis	300	95449.88	+0.03	+0.07	+0.03	
5	Schmidt I	500	96885.09	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	
6	Argelander II	800	99036.84	+0.06	+0.06	+0.04	
7	Schönfeld I	850	99396.66	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04	
8	Schmidt II	1100	2401190.96	0	-0.02	-0.02	+0 ^d 39
9	Schönfeld II	1550	04420.35	+0.02	-0.03	0	+0.28
10	Schmidt III	1700	05496.88	+0.09	+0.02	+0.06	+0.30
11	Schönfeld III	2500	11237.81	-0.08	-0.23	-0.13	-0.11
12	Schwarzschild	2962	11553.56	+0.18	-0.02	+0.12	+0.01
13	Luiset	3055	15220.94	+0.16	-0.05	+0.20	-0.04
14	Kohlschütter	3400	17696.96	+0.32	+0.07	+0.25	+0.02
15	Wylie	4084	22605.77	+0.49	+0.14	+0.41	-0.01

wobei die Epoche +3000 als Nullepoche für diese Elemente gewählt worden ist. Die Grenze, bis zu welcher die Elemente gelten, ist durch einen horizontalen Strich bezeichnet. Die Annahme sprunghafter Änderung mit dazwischenliegenden Intervallen konstanter Periode liefert eine bessere Darstellung als die Voraussetzung einer säkularen Periodenänderung. Die Beobachtungen der nächsten Jahrzehnte werden zeigen, welche der beiden Arten der Periodenänderung bei η Aquilae vorliegt. Für die Vorausberechnung dürfte sich die Periode des Elementensystems III besonders eignen. Nimmt man als Phasendifferenz zwischen der mittleren Helligkeit des aufsteigenden Astes der Lichtkurve und dem Lichtmaximum 0^d89 nach den lichtelektrischen Beobachtungen von Wylie an,

¹⁾ AN 210.17.

Das Venus-Tablet Ammizaduga. Von C. Schoch.

Nachdem Fotheringham festgestellt hat, daß die bekannte Beobachtung der Venus aus dem 6. Regierungsjahr des Königs Ammizaduga in Babylon in das Jahr -1914 fällt, dürfte es von Interesse sein, auf die verschiedenen Theorien der Astronomen einzugehen. Diese bemühten sich schon seit 45 Jahren (als erster Bosanquet), die Beobachtung zu datieren; vor allem hat Kugler in seiner »Sternkunde« eine bewundernswerte Deutung des Tablets gegeben, sowie die erste gründliche astronomische Berechnung.

Bezeichnet man der Einfachheit halber die letzte Sichtbarkeit der Venus am Abendhimmel vor der unteren Konjunktion mit »Abendletzt« und die darauf folgende erste Sichtbarkeit am Morgenhimmel nach der unteren Konjunktion mit »Morgenerst«, so waren nach dem Tablet Az 6 folgende Beobachtungen gemacht worden: VIII 28 | IX 1, d. h. das Abendletzt trat am 28. Arahassanna ein, dem 8. Monat, und das Morgenerst $3\frac{1}{2}$ Tage später am 1. Kislimu, dem 9. Monat der Babylonier. Venus hat bekanntlich bei ihrer unteren

unter Einführung eines periodischen Gliedes ist nicht versucht worden, die Umlaufszeit einer solchen Ungleichheit müßte sehr groß angenommen werden, da die Beobachtungen nur weniger als $\frac{1}{3}$ derselben umfassen. Eine Darstellung würde sich wohl erzwingen lassen, sie würde aber nur eine formale Bedeutung haben.

Endlich muß man noch eine andere Möglichkeit in Betracht ziehen, es kann eine einmalige plötzliche Änderung der Periode vorliegen. So wohl bei Veränderlichen des Algotypus (U Cephei, TW Draconis usw.) wie auch den δ Cephei-Veränderlichen (Sternhaufen Messier 3) liegen Anzeichen für plötzliche Änderungen der Perioden des Lichtwechsels vor. Bei η Aquilae hätte man in diesem Falle einen Wechsel der Periode bei der Epoche +2800 (ungefähre Angabe) anzunehmen. Gleicht man die älteren und neueren Beobachtungen für sich aus unter Voraussetzung eines konstanten Periodenwertes innerhalb jeder Gruppe so findet man

$$\text{für Epoche } 1-11 \quad 2393296^d95 + 7^d176401 \cdot E \\ \text{mit der Darstellung } B-R_2 \\ \text{für Epoche } 12-15 \quad 2414826^d26 + 7^d176678 \cdot E \\ \text{mit der Darstellung } B-R_3,$$

so lauten die Elemente für die Maximumepochen:

$$\text{Max.} = \text{m.Z.Gr. } 2414827^d15 + 7^d176678 \cdot E.$$

Für die Theorie der δ Cephei-Veränderlichen ist aber die Zunahme der Periode das wichtigste Resultat. Bei säkularer Änderung beträgt die Zunahme in 100 Jahren 0^d24 , bei Annahme einer sprunghaften Änderung beträgt die Zunahme 23^d9 . Der Veränderliche η Aquilae zeigt also das entgegengesetzte Verhalten wie δ Cephei¹⁾, bei dem die Abnahme der Periode im Jahrhundert 7^d92 beträgt. Zieht man die Pulsationstheorie von Eddington zur Erklärung des Lichtwechsels heran, so wird man besonderer Hypothesen bedürfen, um diese Zunahme der Lichtwechselperiode zu erklären.

Kiel, Ende März 1924.

J. Hellerich.

Konjunktion die größte geozentrische Geschwindigkeit (und zwar eine rückläufige); dabei kann sie eine sehr große geozentrische Breite, $\beta = +8^{\circ}8$ erreichen, während ihre heliozentrische Breite dann nur $+3^{\circ}36$ beträgt. Für ein Intervall der Unsichtbarkeit von nur 3 Tagen muß ihre geoz. Breite aber mindestens $+6^{\circ}6$ betragen (für die Breite von Babylon = $32^{\circ}5$).

Ich habe nun an Hand von 1922 von mir konstruierten Venus-Syzygentafeln, mit denen die umständliche Berechnung erleichtert wird, festgestellt, daß in 3000 Jahren, von -3000 bis Chr. Geb., die obige Beobachtung nur in 2 Jahren möglich war, nämlich -1970 und -1914 (Kugler und Fotheringham).

Obenstehende Tabelle gibt eine Zusammenstellung der von den Astronomen angenommenen Jahre.

Die Jahre 3) bis 6) sind vollkommen ausgeschlossen; sie verlangen ein Intervall von 5-8 Tagen, das auf 3 Tage herabzubringen astronomisch ganz unmöglich ist. So bleiben nur Nr. 1) und 2). Aber -1970 lag der aus 21 Jahren be-