Dil-Bat.

By Morris Jastrow jr.

Among the many merits of Kugler's recent work which promises to become the standard publication on Babylonian Astronomy, one of the most important is the definite identification of the five planets with certain gods of the pantheon as follows:

Jupiter (Umun-Pa-Ud-Du-A) = Marduk.

1) Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel (Münster 1907). The work is to comprise four volumes of which, however, up to the present only the first volume dealing with the development of planetary calculations has appeared.

2) Or Umun-Pa-Ud-Du, signifying the "brilliantly rising hero" — a designation that strikes one as being originally a designation of Marduk as a solar deity of the spring and morning rather than of a planet. Another designation that is quite common in the older texts is Sag-Me-Gar which I am inclined to interpret as "chief giver of omens" or "decisions" — an appropriate allusion to the important part played by Jupiter as the first of the planets in Babylonian-Assyrian Astrology and which is also indicated by the association with Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon. In later texts, i.e., after 400 B.C., though occurring also earlier, the common name for Jupiter is Te-Ut = kakabu pišu "the white star" which is interesting as a distinctly "scientific" designation for the planet, free from association with any deity or astrological considerations. As the chief of the planets, Jupiter-Marduk is distinguished, in fact, by the large number of names under which he appears — a process that culminates in assigning a separate name for each month of the year. To explain these names in detail would carry us too far here. We must content ourselves with calling attention to the list III R 53 n. 2, the purely artificial character of which is to be seen in the use of Ul as a determinative instead of An in the
Venus \( (Dil-Bat) = \) Ištar.
Saturn \( (Lu-Bat \ Sag-Uš) \) \(^1\) = Ninib.
Mercury \( (Lu-Bat \ Gu-Ud) \) \(^2\) = Nebo.

The distribution of the various names (some of which appear to have been introduced in order to obtain the full number twelve) for the twelve months would seem to be based on an earlier differentiation of various names for the planet according to its position in the heavens. So in an interesting note attached to an astrological report regarding halos (or “courts”) around the moon and in which three names for Jupiter-Marduk are introduced, \( \text{Umun-Pa-Ud-Du, Sag-Me-Gar} \) and \( \text{Nibrû} \), it is stated that the first name applies to the planet on its rising, the second when it has proceeded two (?) double horns (or \( 60^9 \)) — according to KUGLER, l. c. p. 216, \( 1^{1/2} \) or \( 45^9 \) — and the third when it is in the middle of the heavens i.e. at its zenith. See THOMPSON, \textit{Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon} nr. 94 obv. 7—rev. 1 = III R 54 nr. 5.

1) Phonetic reading \( \text{kaimânû} \) (BRÜNNOW nr. 3582). See JASTROW, \textit{Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens} II S. 239 Note 2. The name the “regular” and “steady” one is appropriately given to Saturn because of the slowness and regularity of its course. In later texts the planet is designated by a sign (BRÜNNOW nr. 4141), the value of which, \( \text{gin} \), JENSEN (Kosmologie der Babylonier p. 503) explained as due to a play on \( \text{kaimânû} \). This view is supported by the equivalence in an explanatory list (K 4166)

\[
\text{gin} = \text{ka-a-anu}
\]

to which BEZOLD first called attention (this Zeitschr. V p. 285 note). See also BEZOLD, \textit{Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection} p. 601 and KUGLER, l. c. p. 13. Note that in the glossary p. 286 KUGLER himself corrects the error on pp. 8 and 13 in assigning Saturn to Nergal instead of to Ninib.

2) \( \text{Gu-Ud} \) or \( \text{Gud-Ud} \). For the explanation of this designation as the “checked” or “irregular” planet in view of the rapid and irregular motion of Mercury who completes his course in 88 days as against the \( 29^{1/2} \) years of Saturn, see an article by the writer \textit{Sign and Name for Planet in Babylonian} in the \textit{Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society} XLVII, 155. Mercury is often designated simply as \( \text{Lu-Bat} \) i.e. the planet \textit{par excellence}. It would furthermore appear that the first two planets to be designated as \( \text{Lu-Bat} \) were Mercury and Saturn and that the designation was subsequently extended to the other three and to the moon and sun as is the case in the enumeration III R 57 nr. 6, 65—67 (seven \( \text{Lu-Bat} \)). The repetition of \( \text{Mul} \) before \( \text{Sag-Uš} \) in this list is evidently an error. It belongs before \( \text{Lu-Bat} \) \( \text{Gu-Ud} \) and may originally have been a variant to the determinative \( \text{An} \) that appears before Mercury. The only two planets that are regularly
Mars (Zal-Bat-a-nu) = Nergal.

It was no easy task for Assyriologists to definitely fix these identifications both of the names of the planets and their equivalence to the gods in question, and even Kugler wavered in the early part of his work between identifying Saturn with Nergal or Ninib and, correspondingly, Mars with Ninib or Nergal, though as pointed out he finally settled upon Saturn = Ninib and Mars = Nergal.

In connection with these identifications which may now be considered beyond doubt, Kugler disposed of certain difficulties which had led scholars hitherto assume designated as Lu-Bat in older texts are Mercury and Saturn, the others having generally the determinative An before them. The phonetic reading for Lu-Bat is bibûn “sheep”. For the explanation of this name and of other points touched upon in this note see the writer’s article above referred to.

1) Phonetic reading, mustabarru mutânu (“satiated with death”), is furnished by V R 46 nr. 1 rev. 42. It is also known as Lu-Bat Dir i.e. the “dark-colored planet” (Dir = sämu BRÜNNOW nr. 3745), e.g. THOMPSON nr. 146, where rev. 6 we have the equation Lu-Bat Dir = mustabarru mutânu; also nr. 195 rev. 2. The name “satiated with death” is a distinct reference to the character of the god Nergal as the god of war, death and pestilence with whom the planet was identified, just as on the other hand the name “dark-colored” is a reference to the dark red color of Mars. A third designation is Muš Ur-Barra = aḫû i.e. “jackal star”, e.g. THOMPSON nr. 236 h obv. 4 and 237 obv. 4. In later astronomical texts Mars is generally known as An. See Kugler, l.c. p. 13 and note again Kugler’s correction (p. 286) of his view on pp. 8 and 13, where Mars is erroneously identified with Ninib instead of with Nergal. I am inclined to connect An or Anu as the later name for Mars with the phonetic element a-nu appearing invariably at the end of the older name of the planet Zal-Bat a-nu, where a-nu represents the second half of mutânu. The later names of the planets are distinguished by their brevity and were chosen evidently for this purpose. Thus Ti-Ut = Jupiter instead of Umun-Pa-Ud-Du(a); Gin = Saturn instead of Lu-Bat Sag-Uš and so An = Mars for Zal-Bat-a-nu.

2) See above p. 156, n. 1 and p. 157, n. 1. In JENSEN’S Kosmologie p. 131 Gu-Ud is identified with Mars instead of with Mercury and mustabarru mutânu with Mercury (p. 119) instead of with Mars. On the other hand JENSEN (l. c. p. 119) successfully disposed of the supposition maintained by OPPERT, SAYCE and others that Umun-pa-ud-du was Mercury.
that an exchange of names for certain of the planets had taken place between an earlier and a later period. Hommell assumed no less than four such transpositions. According to him:

1) Umun-Pa-Ud-Du was formerly the designation of Mercury and later was transferred to Jupiter.
2) Gu-Ud formerly Jupiter, later Mercury.
3) Sag-Uš formerly Mars, later Saturn.
4) Zal-Bat-(a-nu) formerly Saturn, later Mars.

In an elaborate investigation of the whole subject which will probably be regarded as furnishing a definite solution of the problem, Kugler shows that the arguments brought forward for the supposed transpositions rest on erroneous interpretations of certain passages in astrological-astronomical texts or on unwarranted conclusions drawn from these passages. With an improved knowledge of the technical terms used in these difficult texts, to the elucidation of which he himself, next to Epping and Jensen, has made such notable contributions, most of the difficulties formerly felt have vanished and we may for the present accept Kugler's conclusion that at all times

Umun-Pa-Ud-Du was Jupiter-Marduk.

Gu-Ud was Mercury.

Šag-Uš was Saturn.

Zal-Bat-(a-nu) was Mars.

A priori it was improbable that the Babylonian astrologers should have taken so confusing a step as to transfer the designations of planets from one to the other. If we recall that the entire purpose of planet lore was to furnish omens for divining the future and that the early collections of omens formed the authorities and guides for later ages, it will be apparent that the entire system of

1) Aufsätze und Abhandlungen pp. 377 seq. and 446 seq. Hommel's view was accepted by Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen III p. 186 seq.
3) P. 8 and p. 225.
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astrology devised by them would have been destroyed by the hopeless confusion resulting from the transfer of a designation of one planet to the other. How would it have been possible in such a case to know in the case of any specific sign with its concomitant interpretation which planet was meant, and on the other hand, if one were not certain of the planet meant, what confidence could be placed in the omen connected with a planet, of the identity of which one could not be certain?

But how is it with the fifth planet Dilbat? Was that ever applied to any other planet than Venus-Ištar? Curiously enough, KUGLER¹) assumes that Mercury was occasionally designated as Dilbat and accounts for this because in the latitude of Babylonia, Mercury might appear like Venus as an evening or a morning star. The view that Mercury was designated as Dil-Bat was put forward by JENSEN²) and since KUGLER furnishes no new arguments for the proposed identification we may assume that in this case he has followed JENSEN without any further investigation of his own. JENSEN³) himself felt the difficulties involved in the assumption that Dil-Bat might be either Venus or Mercury and the hopeless confusion that would result. He therefore hastens to add that in the astrological reports and omens he has not come across any passage in which Dil-Bat is used for Mercury and that the occurrence is limited to two passages discussed by him.

Before looking at the two passages in question, let us consider the meaning of Dil-Bat.

The name is composed of two signs the first of which (Dil = nadānu BRÜNNOW nr. 24) I take as an auxiliary element to give a further force⁴) to the second and chief

¹) L. c. p. 10. ²) Kosmologie p. 117. ³) Note 1 on p. 117. ⁴) Just as in = purussû (BRÜNNOW nr. 48) the second element by itself has the value of "decide" and the first as an auxiliary conveys the idea of "to make a decision" and hence "an omen" or "oracle"
As to the value of this second sign, the passage V R 46 nr. 1 rev. 40

*Mul Dil-Bat = na-ba-at kak-ka-bu*

*fortunately leaves no doubt that Dil-Bat is to be taken as the equivalent of nabû, just as in the lexicographical list II R 7 rev. 37 = V R 39 nr. 1 rev. 42 where we find Dil-Bat = na-bu-u.*

The explanation nabat kakkabu designates Venus-Ištar as the "proclaiming star" and it is interesting to note that nabû in this connection (like the Hebrew equivalent) has the force of "foretelling" rather than "telling forth". The name is therefore a direct allusion to the astrological purpose served by Venus, namely to divine the future,¹ just as we have found this purpose in one of the names for Jupiter.² We must bear in mind that the movements of the heavenly bodies were observed in ancient Babylonia and Assyria solely with a view of securing omens that might furnish a clue to determining what the gods in the heavens were preparing for the land and the people on earth. As a further justification for thus interpreting the combination Dil-Bat, attention might be called to the fact that the second element is identical with the second element in the general designation for planet, viz.: Lu-Bat. Elsewhere I have shown³ that bibbu "sheep", the phonetic equivalent of Lu-Bat, had acquired the general value of "omen" because of the preeminent part that sheep played in "liver" divination. The "liver" through which the fu-

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¹) This view, it seems to me, is preferable to KUGLER's suggestion (1, c. p. 10) that Venus is so designated as the "announcer of the day". There are two serious objections to such a supposition: — 1) it is extremely artificial and 2) it is hardly probable that the Babylonians would have regarded Venus in this light.

²) See above p. 155 note 2.

³) In the article on the *Sign and Name for Planet in Babylonian* above (p. 156 note 2) referred to.
ture was divined was always a sheep's liver.\(^1\) Hence the word “sheep” became used just as “bird” among the Greeks and Romans in order to designate an “omen” in general.\(^2\) The planets were called “sheep” because they were regarded as “omens” and observed for purposes of divination. The notion of “foretelling” or of “divining” was with a correct instinct attributed to the element Bat by the Babylonian philologist to whom we owe the explanatory list V R 46. A further confirmation of this value assigned to the sign Bat is to be found in the explanatory list II R 27 nr. 2, obv. 46 where we have the equation

\[ Ur-Bat = \text{ter-tum } sa \ ha-\text{še-e} \ i. \ e. \ “\text{liver omen”} \]

and from which we are permitted to conclude that \( Bat = \text{tertum} \) — the general word for omen to which \( hašu\)\(^3\) “liver” is added as the equivalent to \( Ur \) in order to indicate more specifically what kind of an omen is meant.

Coming now to the two passages referred to by Jensen, it can be shown that neither of them refer to Mercury. The first in fact does not contain any direct reference to any particular planet. The passage in question occurs in a “bilingual” hymn to Enlil and his consort Ninlil.\(^4\) The sikkurat of the god of Nippur is compared to a wild mountain ox whose

“horns shine with the brilliancy of the sun”

and, it is added,

\[ ki-ma \ kak-kab \ samē \ na-bu-u \ ma-lu-u \ ši-\text{ha-ti}. \]

The word \( nabu\) is represented in the “Sumerian” line by

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1) See the proof for this in the same article.
2) Compare the latin \( auspicium \) (“bird inspection”) for any kind of an omen and in Greek the use of \( οὐρας \) in the Birds of Aristophanes ll. 719 seq. and of \( οἶκονος \) in Xenophon, Anabasis III, 2, 9.
3) See on this word, Jastrow, Religion II p. 276 note 7 and on the reading \( Ur \) of the ideograph for “liver” ib. II p. 213 note 2 and ZA XX p. 106.
4) IV R\(^2\) 27 nr. 2, 24. My translation (Jastrow, Religion I p. 489) is to be corrected in accordance with the explanation here furnished.

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Dil-Bat, but there is certainly not the slightest warrant for taking nabû, as Jensen does, as the name of the god Nebo\(^1\) and because of the identity of Nebo with Mercury to conclude that Dil-Bat is used as a designation for Mercury. In view of the passage above referred to, where Venus is spoken of as nabat kakkabu, there can of course be no reason to question that Dil-Bat = nabû in our passage is to be taken in the same way as referring to a “foretelling” of some kind. My suggestion, therefore, is to render the first half of the line: “Like a star of heaven foretelling”. The comparison of the high sikkurat with a “star of heaven” thus involves the assumption that the chief function of the heavenly bodies was to divine the future. It may indeed be that the “star of heaven” particularly referred to is Venus and that the poet wishes to imply that Enlil’s temple is also a Dil-Bat, but if that be so it would of course be only as a poetic form of speech. In astrological texts, Venus plays the most prominent part next to the moon and sun and it may be proper to recall that on boundary stones and on cylinders, Venus alone is represented as a star.\(^2\) The explanation of Dil-Bat as the “foretelling star” even though artificial would go to show how close the association of the function of divination with this planet was. Whether, however, we take the “star of heaven” to refer specifically to Venus or to any other star, the interpretation to be given to nabû would be the same.\(^3\) The second passage referred to by Jensen can be

1) Note that Dil-bat is not preceeded by the sign for god, which in a hymn would hardly be wanting in the case that a god is introduced.

2) See Hinke, *A new Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar* I p. 245\(^a\). The star varies from one of 4 to one of 16 rays. See also Jeremias, *Der alte Orient und das Alte Testament* (2\(^{nd}\) ed.) p. 109, n. 2.

3) The second half of the line malû šiḥāṭi is perhaps to be translated “filled with cries of woe” or “lamentations” i.e. the one to whom (or the place to which) cries and lamentation are addressed so constantly that he is “filled” with them. Enlil is particularly associated with lamentations as is shown by the numerous “laments” of which many specimens will be found in Jastrow, *Religion II*
more readily disposed of, for *Mul-Dir*, with the epithet *mikit isati* ("fiery brand") and *Zal-Bat(-a-nu)* mentioned III R 53 nr. 2 rev. 38 are designations of Mars¹) and not of Mercury as JENSEN at the time assumed. The apparent equation in the line in question (*An*) *Dil-Bat = sum Zal-Bat(a-nu)* cannot in any case refer to Mercury. The equation, however, is in itself only an apparent one, for it is impossible to assume that *Dil-Bat = Mars*. The line is defective at the end and it is idle to speculate what followed upon *ki* which is the last sign to be seen.²)

Finally, a few words about a tablet from which one might at first sight conclude that *Dil-Bat* was applied to other heavenly bodies than the planet Venus. In his *Researches into the Origin of the Constellations*, BROWN³) discussed a tablet of the Kouyunjik collection in which 13 stars are enumerated, one for each month, while the thirteenth is associated with sunset. Each is apparently called the *Dil-Bat* of a particular month, e. g.

*Nin-Dar-An-na (Mul) Dil-Bat ina Nisannu
A-ri-tum (Mul) Dil-Bat ina Airu etc. etc.*

BROWN properly rejects the notion that these 13 stars are identified with the planet Venus which would indeed be

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²) The occurrence of *Mu = sumu* before *Zal-Bat-a-nu* is in itself a sufficient reason for questioning an equation with the preceeding *Dil-Bat*. As the numerous instances in THOMPSON's texts (*Reports of the Magicians etc.*) show, the equation is expressed by the immediate juxtaposition of the two names without any intervening term. See e. g. nos. 49 obv. 4; 101 rev. 2—3; 88 rev. 8; 94 obv. 7—rev. 1 (see above p. 155 note 2); 146 rev. 6 = 195 rev. 1 (see above p. 157 note 1) etc.

³) P. 150 seq.
absurd, but, interpreting Dil-Bat as the "one who proclaims" the morning or evening, proposes a generalization of the term and suggests that each star for the month mentioned is entered as the "Dil-Bat" or proclaimer for the month in question, taking on, as it were, the functions of Dil-bat. Kugler¹) holds practically the same view and says that they play the role of "proclaimers" by virtue of their heliacal rise in the months in question. An objection, however, to this view arises in the case of the thirteenth star Mar-Gid-Da or sumbu which is called the "Dil-Bat of sunset", without reference to any month. In another text²) furnishing the fixed stars whose heliacal rise takes place in certain months, Mar-Gid-Da is connected with the 5th month (Abu). To account for this, Kugler³) is obliged to assume a twofold Mar-Gid-Da, one the designation of the constellation ursa major,⁴) the other a constellation in the region of the ecliptic. The assumption appears, however, to be gratuitous and Kugler does not seem to have been wholly satisfied with it.⁵) Now, according to III R 53 nr. 165, the sumbu constellation does not belong to the fixed stars that have a heliacal rise, since it is described as "fixed during the whole year".⁶) This being the case, the designation of sumbu as "Dil-Bat of sunset" could only refer to some kind of an association of the constellation with the planet Venus, since it is quite out of the question to assume that it should be supposed to take the place of Venus all the year around. I venture therefore to raise the question whether in the case of the other twelve stars the association of each one with a specific month

¹) Sternkunde p. 231.
²) The so-called Astrolab (Sm 162) for which see Bezold, Catalogue p. 1385 and Hommel, Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen pp. 458–466; also Kugler, l. c. p. 229.
³) L. c. p. 250.
⁴) First suggested by Hommel, Aufsätze p. 404. Mar-Gid-Da = sumbu "wagon" (Brünnow nr. 5831) which survives, as Hommel points out, (l. c. p. 462) in the south-Arabic šawāb "wagon".
⁵) L. c. p. 251.
⁶) kal tatti izzas.
was intended to suggest that they constituted the "proclaimers" for these months, but rather some local relationship to the planet Venus, the precise force of which to be sure escapes us. At all events and however the reference to Dil-Bat is to be explained, there is no warrant for assuming that any of the stars mentioned were identified with Dil-Bat.

In answer therefore to the above question "How about Istar?", it may be definitely said that in the case of this planet as in the case of the other four, there is no indication that its specific name was ever transferred to any other planet or to any other heavenly body. The names of all the five planets, therefore, remain attached to them throughout all periods and each name designates one planet only and one and the same planet at all times.

There is no transference of the name of one planet to another; there is merely a change between the older and later periods in the order in which the planets are enumerated. 1) Whereas in the Assyrian and the earlier neo-Babylonian astrological-astronomical texts the order is Jupiter-Marduk, Venus-Istar, Saturn-Ninib, Mercury-Nebo and Mars-Nergal, 2) in the astronomical texts after ca. 400 B.C. we have Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars. 3)

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1) See Kugler, l. c. p. 13.
2) In the forthcoming (13th) part of my work Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens I have endeavored to explain the significance of this enumeration which reflects in a measure the order of the gods in the Babylonian pantheon as constituted after the days of Hammurabi.
3) Since the above article was put in type, A. Jeremias' Das Alter der babyl. Astron, and Hommel's review of Kugler's work (Münchner N.N. 23. Aug. 1908) have appeared in which Kugler's conclusion (see above p. 158) that there was no transference of names between Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Saturn is questioned. While the point is not directly involved in the thesis set forth in this article, it is of sufficient importance to demand further consideration, and I propose in the next number of the Zeitschrift to review the arguments pro and con.
Das Lateinische in den arabischen Papyrusprotokollen.

Von C. H. Becker.
