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edited by

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The Terminology for Times of the Day in Akkadian

MICHAEL P. STRECK

1. Previous Research

The times of the day in Ancient Mesopotamia have never been the subject of a detailed study. Kupper 1996 and Michel 2010 mentioned the evidence for the terminology from OB Mari and OA, respectively. The highly interesting cultural aspects of the topic cannot be investigated here in detail¹ and must be left for a later study.

The structure of the paper is as follows: §2 presents a survey of the Akkadian terminology. §3 summarizes the distribution of the terminology in different periods and dialects of Akkadian. §4 gives a typology of the semantics of the different words and expressions. §5 presents examples for longer sequences of times of the day in context. In §6 the equations in synonym lists and Sumerian-Akkadian lexical lists are listed. §7 gives examples for oppositions of times of the day in context. §8 deals with merisms using times of the day. The subject of §§9–11 are grammatical aspects of the times of the day: the noun pattern *muPRāS(t)*, the endings *-ēn* and *-ān*, and feminine plural forms. §12 finishes the article with new references² for and commentaries on individual words, listed alphabetically.

2. Survey

The following table (pp. 584ff.) presents a survey of the Akkadian terminology. We start with the evening, i.e., the beginning of the Mesopotamian calendrical day, and continue with the night, the morning, the (bright) day and end with the afternoon. At the end we list the words for the watches.³ The list also includes several verbs which are used in different constructions to describe the times of the day (4, 5b, 5c, 7, 11a, 13d, 14a, 14b, 19, 24a, 25b).

The numbering in the first column attempts to group together words of similar meaning. These numbers are used throughout the article when referring back to this table. The translations given in the third column are deliberately close to the etymology (e.g., *nubāttu* is translated

1. For concise surveys see Edzard 1993; Streck 1999 and 2012.

2. The corpus defined for the Supplement to the Akkadian dictionaries, available online under <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/altorient/etymd.html> (see under Text Corpus), was consulted systematically. However, only references which add new information were included.

3. I do not deal here with the division of the watches in halves and quarters which eventually led to a system of seasonal hours. See the summary in Streck 2012: 402–3 §1.4 with literature. For equal hours see *ibid.* 403 §1.5.

	Word	Translation	Ebla	Oakk	OB	MB	SB	NB/LB	OA	MA	NA
1.	<i>līlātu</i> (OB/SB/NB/LB), <i>līlētu</i> (OB Mari), <i>līlu/lillu</i> (OB), <i>līlān</i> (early OB), <i>līlātān</i> (SB), <i>līlā</i> (MB/SB)	evening			×	×	×	×			
2a.	<i>nubātu</i> , <i>nabātu</i> (OA); <i>bī'ātu</i>	time of setting up the (overnight) camp; to spend the night	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×
2b.	<i>šimētān</i> (SB/NB/LB), <i>šiwītu</i> (OB), <i>šimītu</i> (MB/SB)	time of taking up quarters			×	×	×	×			
2c.	<i>bādu</i>	setting up the (overnight) camp									×
3.	<i>naṭtanu</i>	time of the (evening) meal			×						
4.	<i>Šamaš izzāz</i>	the sun(god) is standing (above the horizon)			×						
5a.	<i>rīb šamši</i>	sunset					×	×			
5b.	<i>rabū</i>	to set (of the sun)					×			×	×
5c.	<i>Šamaš erbet</i> (OB), <i>erēb(?) Šamaš/šamšim</i> (OB, SB), <i>erēbu</i> (SB)	the sungod is entering, (time of) entry of the sun(god) (into the sphere below the horizon); to enter			×		×				
5d.	<i>šalām šamši</i>	safe (return) of the sun (into the sphere below the horizon)					×				
6a.	<i>siphu</i>	dispersal (of daylight)					×				
6b.	<i>sehsehī</i>	at twilight			×						
6c.	<i>mehū</i>	(time of) wiping out (daylight)			×						
6d.	<i>tamhū</i> (Oakk/OB/SB), <i>tamhītu</i> (SB), <i>tamhātu</i> (SB)	(time of) wiping out (daylight)			×	×	×				
7.	<i>mūšu</i> (passim), <i>mušītu</i> (OB/MB/SB), <i>muši'āti</i> (OA), <i>mušēti</i> (OB Mari), <i>mīšu</i> (Ebla), <i>mašāHu</i> (Ebla), <i>šumšū</i> (OB/MB/SB/OA)	night; to spend the night	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
8a.	<i>kakkabu</i> , <i>kakkabu</i>	(time of the (first) visibility of the) star(s)					×				
8b.	<i>šippatu</i>	(time of the visibility of) a row(?) (of stars) (equated with <i>mūšu</i>)					×				
9a.	<i>qablīti ša mūši</i> (OB), <i>mūšam qablītam</i> (OB Mari) <i>qabal mūši</i> (MB/SB), <i>qabal mušīti</i> (SB), <i>mūšu qablu</i> (MA)	middle of the night; the night, (its) middle part			×	×	×			×	
9b.	<i>mūšu mašil</i> (OB/SB), <i>mūšu mešēli</i> (MB), <i>ina mišil mušīti</i> (MB-Bo.), <i>mūšu mišli</i> (SB); <i>šumšū</i> (OB, MB, SB, OA)	the night is half, night of being half/of the half, in the half of the night; to spend the night			×	×	×		×		

	Word	Translation	Ebla	Oakk	OB	MB	SB	NB/LB	OA	MA	NA
9c.	<i>muttat mūši</i>	half of the night					×				
9d.	<i>mūša zāzu</i>	to divide the night					×				
10.	<i>munāttu, munāmātu</i>	time of sleeping (during the second half of the night)			×		×				
11a.	<i>šertān</i> (early OB), <i>šeru</i> (Ebla, bab.), <i>ši'āru</i> (OA, NA), <i>šertu</i> (OB/MB/SB/MA), <i>šērētu</i> (OB/SB/NA), <i>ša šērāti</i> (NA), <i>ši'ārātu</i> (MA), <i>ša ši'ārāte</i> (MA/NA), <i>šeru</i> (OB/MB/SB/OA)	aurora, dawn; to rise early	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×
11b.	<i>sehru</i> (OB Tuttul), <i>šahru</i> (MB), <i>šeheru</i> (SB)	aurora, dawn			×	×	×				
11c.	<i>sāntu</i>	redness (of the morning)									×
12a.	<i>kašātu</i>	coolness (of the morning)			×	×	×	×			
12b.	<i>kīšu</i> (Oakk Elam)	coolness (of the morning)		×							
12c.	<i>mūškašāt</i>	at night (towards the time of) coolness			×						
13a.	<i>šiqru</i> (Ebla), <i>šiqaru</i> (MB Emar)	burst (of daylight)	×			×					
13b.	<i>tirik šadīm</i>	hit of (the light in) the east			×						
13c.	<i>muštērtu</i> (Mari)	time of tearing (of the “veil” of the night)(?)			×						
13d.	<i>šamē lapātu</i> (OB, MB), <i>lapātu</i> (SB)	touching the sky (said of the morning light), touching			×	×	×				
14a.	<i>nawāru</i>	to shine (said of the sun, the dawn)			×	×	×	×		×	×
14b.	<i>napāhu</i>	to flare up (said of the sun)				×	×			×	
14c.	<i>nipīh šamši</i>	flaring up of the sun					×	×			
15.	<i>šēp ūme</i> (āliktu)	foot of the day, walking foot of the day					×				
16.	<i>kannamāre</i> (MA), <i>kallamāre</i> (NA), <i>kallanāre</i> (NA)	entire (time of) shining(?)								×	×
17.	<i>šiprātu</i>	morning								×	×
18a.	<i>šit šamši</i> (SB/NB/LB), <i>ašē šamši</i> (SB)	(time of) coming out of the sun					×	×			
18b.	<i>šihit šamši, šahātu</i>	jump/attack of the sun, to attack			×	×					
19.	<i>šaqû</i>	to be high (of the sun)			×		×	×		×	
20.	<i>ūmu</i>	day	×		×	×	×	×		×	×
21.	<i>urru</i>	bright day			×	×	×	×	×		
22a.	<i>immu, immū</i>	heat			×		×				
22b.	<i>kararû</i>	brilliance or heat (of the sun)					×				

	Word	Translation	Ebla	Oakk	OB	MB	SB	NB/LB	OA	MA	NA
22c.	<i>šaḥānu(?)</i>	to be hot			x						
23a.	<i>mašāl ūmi</i> (SB), <i>ūm(u) mašil</i> (OB, SB), <i>mišil ūmi</i> (OB, NB/LB)	(time of the) half of the day, the day is half			x		x	x			
23b.	<i>qabal/qablu ūmi</i>	middle of the day					x				
24a.	<i>mušlālu</i> (Oakk, OB/SB/NB/LB), <i>mušallu</i> (NA), <i>šumšulu</i> (OB/MB/SB)	time of lying down, siesta; to spend the siesta		x	x	x	x	x			x
24b.	<i>ašitu</i>	? (equated with <i>mušlālu</i>)					x				
25a.	<i>qiddat ūmi</i>	bending down of the day					x				
25b.	<i>saḥār ūme</i> (NA), <i>saḥāru</i> (MB-Bo.)	(time of) turning of the day, to turn (said of the day)				x					x
25c.	<i>ūmu turru</i>	turned day					x				
26a.	<i>kinsikku, kissiku</i>	end (lit. lower part) of the work			x		x				
26b.	[<i>u</i>]ddasiggū	end (lit. lower part) of the day					x				
27.	<i>kaš(i) ūmi</i> (SB/NB/LB), <i>kiš ūmi</i> (NB/LB), <i>kišū</i> (NB/LB)	coolness of the day					x	x			
I.	<i>barārītu</i> (OB, SB), <i>barārtu</i> (OB/SB/MB), <i>barāru</i> (OB)	(the watch when the evening light is) flickering = 1. watch of the night			x	x	x				
IIa.	<i>qablītu</i>	the middle (watch) = 2. watch of the night			x		x	x			
IIb.	<i>šāt mūši</i>	the one of the night = 2. watch of the night			x		x				
IIIa.	<i>nawārtu</i> (OB), <i>namārītu</i> (SB)	(the watch when the light is) becoming bright = 3. watch of the night			x		x				
IIIb.	<i>šāt urri</i>	the (watch) of the daylight = 3. watch of the night			x	x	x	x			x
IIIc.	<i>uḥḥurtu</i>	the late (watch) = 3. watch of the night					x				
III d.	<i>uzallū</i>	(the watch) when the day (begins to) shine ^a = 3. watch of the night			x		x				
IV.	<i>maššarti šēri</i>	watch of the dawn = 1. watch of the day					x				
V.	<i>maššarti mušlali</i>	watch of the time of lying down = 2. watch of the day					x				
VI.	<i>maššarti līlāti</i>	watch of the evening = 3. watch of the day					x				

a. I thank Vera Meyer-Laurin for pointing out that *zal* here must mean “to shine”.

“time when one sets up the (overnight) camp” instead of simply “evening, evening time”, as in CAD. The attestations in the right half of the table are based on the entries in AHw. and CAD, with the additions listed below in §12.

3. Distribution

The distribution of the numerous terms for the times of the day is certainly in many cases due to accident. This is especially true for rarer words. Nevertheless, the following observations can be made for some well attested words:

Words attested in (almost) all dialects are *nubāttu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” with the verb *bī’ātu* “to spend the night” (2a), the group *mūšu* “night” (7), the group *šēru* “aurora, dawn” (but with special Assyrian variants, 11a), *ūmu* “day” (20) and *mušlālu/mušallu* “siesta” (24a).

For “evening”, Babylonian uses the groups *līlātu* (1) and *šimētān* “time of taking up quarters” (2b) whereas Assyrian exclusively has *nubāttu* (2a; but this word is also attested in Ebla and OB) or *bādu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2c) and the verb *bī’ātu* “to spend the night” (2c).

mehû (6c) and *tamhû* (6d) for “evening” are only used in Oakk, OB and SB, but are not used in later Babylonian or in Assyrian.

Only in Babylonian, “midnight” and “midday” are expressed by the root MŠL “to be half” (9b, 23a).

Only in Babylonian, “morning” and “evening” are expressed by the root KŠY “to be cool” (12a, 12b, 27).

The forms *māšu* and *mašāHu* (7) for “night” are only attested in Ebla.

Only in early OB are the dual forms *līlān* “evening” (1) and *šērtān* “aurora, dawn” (11) attested.

OB Mari has for “morning” the word *muštērtu* (13c), not attested elsewhere.

šigru for “morning” is only attested in the west (Ebla and Emar, 13a).

MA and NA have with *kannamāre/kallamāre* (16) a characteristic word for “morning”. *bādu* (2c) is only attested in NA for “evening”. See also the NA variant *mušallu* “time of lying down, siesta” (24a) instead of *mušlālu* elsewhere.

Several words are only known from SB: *šalām šamši* “safe (return) of the sun” (5d), *kararû* “brilliance or heat (of the sun)” (22b), *qaballqablu ūmi* “middle of the day” (23b), *qiddat ūmi* “bending down of the day” (25a).

4. Semantics

According to their semantics, the words and expressions for the times of the day can be divided into eight different groups:

a) Most words denote the position of the sun and the intensity of the sunlight: *Šamaš izzâz* “the sun(god) is standing (above the horizon)” (4); *rib šamši* and *rabû* “sunset” (5a–b); *erēb šamši(?)* “entry of the sun (into the sphere below the horizon)” and *šalām šamši* “safe (return) of the sun (into the sphere below the horizon)” (5c–d); *siphu* “dispersal (of the daylight)”, *mehûl*

tamḥû “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)”, all referring to the twilight at sunset (6a, 6c–d); *šeru* “aurora, dawn” and *sāntu* “redness (of the morning) (11a, 11c); *šiqru* “burst (of the daylight)”, *tirik šadîm* “hit of (the light in) the east”, *muštertu* “time of tearing (the “veil” of the night) (?), *šamê lapātu* “touching the sky (said of the morning light), all referring to sunrise (13a–d); *nawāru* “to shine” (and see probably also *kannamāri* (16)), *napāhu* “to flare up” and *nipih šamši* “flaring up of the sun” (14a–c), *šit šamši* and *ašê šamši* “coming out of the sun” (18a), *šihit šamši* “attack of the sun” (18b), *šaqu* “rising (of the sun)”, all referring to the morning. *urru* “bright day” (21). *qiddat ūmi* “bending down of the day” (25a; refers to the sun “bending down” to the horizon), *saḥār ūme* and *saḥāru* “turning (of the day)” (25b), *ūmu turru* “turned day” (25c), *barārītu* “the (watch) when the (evening light) is flickering” (1. watch of the night; I), *nawārtu* “the (watch) when (the light) is becoming bright” and *šāt urri* “(the watch) of the daylight” (3. watch of the night; IIIa–b), *uzallû* “(the watch) when the day (begins to) shine” (3. watch of the night; IIIc).

b) Corresponding to the position of the sun during the day, the time of the visibility of the stars is used for the night: *kakkabu* “(time of the visibility of the) star(s)” (8a), *šippatu/šilpatu* “(time of the visibility of a) row(?) (of stars)” (8b).

c) Some expressions refer to daytime temperature: *kašātu*, *kīšu*, *kīšû*, *kīš ūmi* or *kaš ūmi* “coolness (of the day)” for morning (12a–b)⁴ or evening (27).⁵ *immu* “heat”, *kararû* “brilliance or heat” and perhaps *šaḥānu* “to be hot” (22a–c) for the time around midday (*kararû* might also belong to group a).

d) A fourth group of expressions refers to human activities typically connected to specific times of the day:⁶ *nubāttu*, *šimētān* and *bādu* all denote the time of “setting up the (overnight) camp or “taking up quarters” in the evening (2a–c). *naptanu* “time of the (evening) meal” (3) for evening (in Mesopotamia there were two main meals, in the morning and in the evening). *munāttu* “time of sleeping” (10) for night and *mušlālu* “time of lying down, siesta” (24a) for midday (the hot climate of Mesopotamia demands a siesta of several hours). *kinsikku* “end (lit. lower part) of the work” (26a) for evening.⁷

e) Another group of words and expressions refers to measuring time: *ina qablīti ša mūši* etc. “midnight” (9a), *ūm(u) mašil* and *muttat mūši* “half of the night” (9b–c). *mūša zāzu* “to divide the night” (9d). *šēp ūme (āliktu)* “(coming) foot of the day”, i.e., beginning of the day (15). *mašāl ūmi* etc. “half of the day” and *qaball/qablu ūmi* “middle of the day” for midday (23a–b). *qablītu* “the middle (watch)” for the 2. watch of the night (IIa), *uḥhurtu* “the late (watch)” for the 3. watch of the night (IIIc).

f) Three words are Semitic primary nouns without a clear etymology: *līlātu* (1) “evening”, *mūšu* etc. night“ (7) and *ūmu* “day” (20).

g) Loanwords are: *sehsehī* “at twilight” (6b), *kinsikku* “end of the work” (26a), *uddasiggû* “end of the day” (26b) and *uzallû* “shining of the day” (3. watch of the night; IIIId) from Sumerian. *sehru/šahru/šeheru* “dawn” (11b) and *šiprātu* “morning” (17) from Northwest Semitic.

4. See Sumerian $\text{še}_4\text{-še}_4\text{-dam}$ “when it is cool” = *kašâtamma* “during the coolness (of the morning)” OBGT I 801 (MSL 4, 59, see §6.2, below).

5. See Sumerian $\text{á-u}_4\text{-te-na}$ “time of the cool day” = *ina līlī²atim* “at evening” OBGT I 799 (MSL 4, 58, see §6.2, below).

6. See also Sumerian á-gú-zi-ga “time of the raised neck” for morning, e.g., OBGT I 800 (MSL 4, 58, see §6.2, below).

7. Without electric light, almost all work came to an end at sunset.

h) Unclear is *ašītu* (24b), lexically equated with *mušlālu* “time of lying down, siesta”.

5. Sequences

In the following a couple of longer sequences of times of the day in context are quoted. Such sequences help to reconstruct the relative order given in §2, above, and the amount of the times of the day distinguished in a specific case. The numbers in brackets after the translation refer to the table in §2.

a) OB omen text, YOS 10, 46 i 15–36 (cf. CAD K 388 *kinsigu* 1b): *i-na šī-ḫi-iṭ šamšim* (“UTU-*ši-ḫi-im*”) . . . *ḫi-na m[u-uš-la-li-im]* . . . [*i-na ki-in-s*]*i-ki-im* . . . *ḫi-na¹ ba-ra-ar-tim* . . . *ḫi-na qá-ab-li-tim* . . . *ḫi-na ša-at ur-ri-im* “at the attack of the sun (18b) . . . at the time of lying down (24a) . . . at the (time of the) end of the work (26a) . . . in the (watch when the light) is flickering (I) . . . in the middle (watch) (IIa) . . . in the (watch) of the daylight (IIIb)”.⁸

b) SB hemerology, IV R 33* ii 45–47 (cf. CAD Š/3, 5 *šimētān* a): *ina še-rim* . . . *ina mušlāli* (AN.BAR₇) . . . *ina ka-šil ūmi* (UD-*m[i]*) . . . *ina šimētān/šimīti* (AN.ÚSAN) “at dawn (11a) . . . at siesta time (24a) . . . at the coolness of the day (27) . . . at the time of taking up quarters” (2b). This means that *kaš ūmi* (27) precedes *šimētān* (2b).

c) SB hemerology, 3R 55 no. 5: 49f. (cf. CAD M/2, 243f. *mušlālu* a, T 118 *tamḫātu*): *ina še-rim* . . . *ina mušlāli* (AN.BAR₇) . . . *ina kinsikki* (KIN.ḫSIG¹) . . . *ina tam-ḫa-a-ti* “at dawn (9) . . . at the time of lying down (24a) . . . at the (time of the) end of the work (26a) . . . at (the time of) wiping out (the daylight) (6d)”. Note that *kinsikku* precedes *tamḫātu*.

d) SB medical text, TDP 166: 95–99, cuneiform text TDP pl. 34: 34–37 (cf. CAD Š/3, 5 *šimētān* a): *ina* UD.2^{kam} EN *ūm mašil* (UD.SA₉.ĀM) *ina* UD.3^{kam} EN *kin-si-gi* *ina* UD.4^{kam} EN *ši-me-tan* *ina* UD.5^{kam} EN *a-dan-ni-šú* *ina* UD.6^{kam} EN SA₉ EN.NUN *ina* UD.7^{kam} EN EN.NUN *qablīti* (MÚRU.BA) *ina* UD.8^{kam} EN¹ *šat ur-ri* *ina* UD.9^{kam} EN *na-mir* “on the 2. day until the half of the day (23a), on the 3. day until the (time of the) end of the work (26a), on the 4. day until the time of taking up quarters (2b), on the 5. day until its established time, on the 6. day until the middle of the (first) watch (I), on the 7. day until the middle watch (IIa), on the 8. day until the watch of the light (III.b), on the 9. day until ‘(the sun) is shining’ (14a)”. Every day the illness lasts longer. Words for the times of the day and for the watches (of the night) are alternately used. On the 6. day, instead of using the name for the first watch the text simply speaks of *maššartu* “the watch”. The sequence is interrupted on the 5. day by *adī adannišu* “until its established time”.

e) SB omen text, RA 27, 146: 27–31 (cf. CAD M/2, 244 *mušlālu* a): *i-na šī-el-li tam-ḫe-e* . . . *i-na mu-šī-la-lim* . . . *i-na šī-iṭ ša-am-ši* “in the shade of the (time of) wiping out (the daylight) (6d) . . . at the time of lying down (24a) . . . (at the time of) coming out of the sun (18a)”. This is a reverse sequence.

f) SB omen text, LKU 126: 15–17 (cf. CAD M/2, 244 *mušlālu* a): *ina li-la-a-ti* . . . *ina mušlāli* (AN.BAR₇) . . . *ina mišil ūmi* (SA₉ UD-*mi*) “in the evening (1) . . . at the time of lying down (24a) . . . at the (time of the) half of the day” (23a). This is a reverse sequence. Note that *mušlālu* (24a) follows *mišil ūmi* (23a): the siesta starts after midday.

8. See the parallel passage in CUSAS 18, 25 §§4–9 (OB), which has, however, instead of *šihit šamšim* rather *ši-iḫ* KUR TI, with A. R. George, *ibid.* p. 172 apparently corrupt.

g) SB omen text, Freedman 1998: 280: 57'–63' (cf. CAD M/2, 244 *mušlālu* a): *ina* EN.NUN *barārīti* (AN.USAN) . . . *ina* EN.NUN *qablīti* (MÚRU.BA) . . . *ina* EN.NUN *šāt urri* (U₄.ZAL.LE) . . . *ina mušlāli* (AN.BAR₇) . . . *ina* AN.BAR₇ BABBAR . . . *ina līlāti* (Á.U₄.TE.NA) . . . *ina šēri* (Á.GÛ.ZI.GA) “in the watch (when the evening light) is flickering (I) . . . in the middle watch (IIa) . . . in the watch of the daylight (IIIb) . . . at the time of lying down (24a) . . . at the bright time of lying down(?) . . . in the evening (1) . . . at dawn (11a)”. This is a sequence comprising two calendar days. It starts on the first day with the three watches, continues with siesta time and bright(?)⁹ siesta time and ends with the evening. The following morning already belongs to the second calendar day.

h) SB omen text, SpTU 2, 34: 2–10: <*i*>*na li-la-a-ti* . . . *ina kakkabi* (MUL) . . . *ina* EN.NU. UN *barārīti* (AN.ÚSAN) . . . *ina* EN.NU.UN *qablīti* (MÚRU.BA) . . . *ina* EN.NU.UN *šāt urri* (U₄.ZAL.LE) . . . *ina šēri* (Á.GÚ.ZI.GA) . . . *ina na-ma-ri* . . . *ina ūm mašil* (U₄.SA₉.ÀM) . . . *ina šī*<*me*>*tan* “in the evening (1) . . . at (the time of the (first) visibility of) the star(s) (8a) . . . in the watch (when the evening light) is flickering (I) . . . in the middle watch (IIa) . . . in the watch of the daylight (IIIb) at dawn (11a) . . . at (the time of) shining (14a) . . . at (the time of) ‘the day is half’ (23a) . . . at the time of taking up quarters (2b)”. This is the longest sequence of times of the day known to the present writer. Note that *kakkabu* (8a) stands between *līlāti* “evening” (1) and *barārītu*, the 1. watch of the night, and therefore probably specifically denotes the time when the stars first become visible (Farber 1989: 96).¹⁰

i) SB Lamaštu series, Farber, Lamaštu p. 140: 116: *še-ru* AN.BAR₇ . . . *ši-me-tan* ŠID-tú ŠID-nu “At dawn (11a), at siesta time (24a) .. (and) at the time of taking up quarters (2b) you recite the incantation”.

6. Equations

6.1. Synonym lists

The SB synonym list *malku* : *šarru* (Hrůša 2010), tablets III and VI, equates the following words for the times of the day:

ašītu “?” (24b) = *mušlālu* (24a) “time of lying down” Malku III 170.

*imma*¹¹ “heat” (22a) = *ūmu* “day” (20) Malku III 139.

kakkabu “(time of the visibility of the) stars” (8a) = *mūšu* “night” (7) Malku III 49.

kamāšu “to squat”,¹² *rabāšu* “to lie down” = *mušlālu* “time of lying down” (24a) Malku III 168A and B.

kararū “brilliance or heat (of the sun)” (22b) = *mušlālu* “time of lying down” (24a) Malku III 169.

9. The exact meaning of AN.BAR₇ BABBAR and how it differs from simple AN.BAR₇ = *mušlālu* is unclear.

10. For the sequence *šēru* (11a) – *naw/māru* (14a) see also CAD Š/2, 323 *šertu* A 1b4': *ina šērti lām namāri* “at dawn, before (the time of) shining”.

11. Sic!

12. *kamāšu* is a variant of *kamāsu*. There is no need to postulate a word “rest period” (CAD K 120) on the basis of this lexical entry.

kašātu see *šērtu*.

līlātu see *saḥār ūme*, *tamḥû*.

munāttu see *šēp ūme (āliktu)*, *šēru*.

mušlālu see *ašītu*, *kararû*.

mušītu see *šippatu*.

mūšu see *kabkabu*, *šēru*.

namāru see *šēru*.

naptanu see *uddasiggû*.

saḥār ūme “(time of) turning of the day” (25b) = *līlātu* “evening” (1) Malku III 158.

šippatu “(time of the visibility of) a row(?) (of stars) (8b) = *mušītu* “night” (7) Malku III 48.

šeheru see *šēru*.

šēp ūme (āliktu) “foot of the day” (15) = *munāttu* “time of sleeping” (10) Malku VI 209f.

šērtu “dawn” (11a) = *kašātu* “coolness” (12a) Malku III 167.

šēru “dawn” (11a) = *mu[nāttu]* “time of sleeping” (10) Malku VI 210a.

šēru “dawn” (11a) = *šeheru* “dawn” (11b) Malku VI 211.

šēru “dawn” (11a) = *namāru* “(time of) shining” (14a) Malku VI 212.¹³

šēru “dawn” (11a) = *mūšumma* “still in the night” (9b) Malku VI 213.

šēru “dawn” (11a) = *ūmu* “day” (20) Malku III 141.

tamḥû “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6d) = *līlātu* “evening” (1) Malku III 159.

[*u*]ddasiggû “end of the day” (26b) = *naptanu* “time of the (evening) meal” (3) Malku VI 128.

ūmu see *imma*, *šēru*, *urru*.

urru “bright day” (21) = *ūmu* “day” (20) Malku III 140.

Equations not in *malku* : *šarru*:

erēbi ša [šamši] see *sipḥu*.

līlātu “evening” (1) = *kīma Šamaš rabê* “at sunset” (5a) CAD L 185.

līlātu see *sipḥu*.

nubāttu see *šimētān*.

rabû see *līlātu*.

sipḥu “dispersal (of the daylight)” (6a) = *līlātu* “evening” (1), *erēbi ša [šamši]* “entry of the sun” CAD S 299.

šimētān “time of taking up quarters” (2b) = *nubāttu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2a) CAD Š/3, 5.

6.2. Bilingual lexical lists

Several Sumerian-Akkadian lexical texts also list times of the day. See OBGT I (MSL 4, 58f., OB):

796	ġi ₆ -a	<i>mūšam</i> “at night” (7)
797	igi-u ₄	<i>barārī</i> “in the (watch) when the light is flickering” (I) ¹⁴

13. See above §5h for the sequence *šēru*-*namāru*.

14. MSL 4, 58 translates “dawn (‘before daylight’)”. However, the correct literal translation is “front, i.e., beginning of the (calendaric) day”. This also results from the position between *mūšam* and *ina līlī’atim*. See also §12, below, s. v. *barārītu*.

798	sùh-sùh-àm	<i>seḫseḫī</i> “at twilight” (6b)
799	á-u ₄ -te-na	<i>ina lili’ātim</i> “in the evening” (1)
800	á-gú-zi-ga	<i>šertum</i> “dawn” (11a) ¹⁵
801	še ₄ -še ₄ -dam	<i>kašâtamma</i> “during the coolness (of the day)” (12a)
802	ġi ₆ -da-ta	<i>ina kašâtim</i> “during the coolness (of the day)” (12a)
803	á-u ₄ -te-ġi ₆ -ba	<i>mūškašât</i> “at night towards (the time of) coolness” (12c)
804	u ₄ -zal-šè	<i>adī urram</i> “until tomorrow”
805	ġi ₆ -zal-šè	<i>adī kašâtim</i> “until (the time of) coolness” (12c) ¹⁶
806	u ₄ -šú-uš	<i>ūmišam</i> “daily”
807	á-u ₄ -bi-šè	<i>ūmišam</i> “daily”
808	u ₄ -aš-àm	<i>ūmakkal</i> “all day long”
809	ġi ₆ -ù-na	<i>mūšī u urrī</i> “nights and days” ¹⁷
810	ġi ₆ -ù-da	<i>mūšī u urrī</i> “nights and days”
811	ġi ₆ -bi-ta u ₄ -te-en-šè	<i>mūšam adī urrim</i> “during the night until the (bright) day”
812	nim-sig-bi	<i>kašâtam u lili’ātam</i> “during the time of coolness and evening” ¹⁸
813	u ₄ -é-gar ₈ -e-ġi ₄ -a	<i>kašâtum</i> “(time of) coolness” (12a)
814	u ₄ -ama-bi-šè-ġi ₄ -a	<i>lili’atum</i> “evening” (1)
815	u ₄ -é-gar ₈ -e-ġi ₄ -a-ta	<īštū> <i>Šamaš</i> “from sun(rise)”
816	u ₄ -ama-bi-šè-ġi ₄ -a-šè	<i>ana Šamaš</i> “to sun(set)”
817	u ₄ -è	<i>šīt šamši[m]</i> “the sun’s coming out” (18a)
818	u ₄ -šú	<i>erēb(?) šamši[m]</i> “the sun’s going in” (5c)
819	ġi ₆ -u ₄ -bi	<i>šīt šamši[im]</i> “the sun’s coming out” (18a)
820	(blank)	<i>u erēb(?) šamši[m]</i> “and entry of the sun” (5c)
821	è-šú-šè	<i>ana šīt šamši[m]</i> “until the sun’s coming out” (18a)
822	(blank)	<i>u erēb(?) šamšim</i> “and the sun’s going in” (5c)
823	u ₄ -daġal-la	<i>ūm mašil</i> “the day is half” (23a) ¹⁹
824	u ₄ -á-an-sa ₉	<i>ūm mašil</i> “the day is half” (23a)
825	u ₄ -te	<i>tamḫī’am</i> “during (the time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6d)

Much shorter is the section in *igi-du₈-a = tāmartu*, short version (AfO 18 [1957/8] 81ff., SB):

113	á-gú-zi-ga	<i>šēru</i> “dawn” (11a)
114	an-bar ₇	<i>mušlālu</i> “siesta” (24a)
115	kin-sig	<i>kaši ūmi</i> “coolness of the day” (27)
116	an-ġi ₆	<i>antalū</i> “eclipse”
117	en-nun	<i>mašartu</i> “watch”
118	en-nun-an-ùsan	<i>barārītu</i> “(watch) when the light is flickering” (I)
119	en-nun-múru-ba	<i>qablītu</i> “middle (watch)” (IIa)

15. Sumerian “time of the raised neck”.

16. Sumerian “until the night (begins to) shine”.

17. A merism, see §8, below.

18. Sumerian “above and below”. Cf. *kinsikku* “end (lit. lower) part of the work” (26a) and [*u*]dda-siġġū “end (lit. lower) part of the day” (26b) for late afternoon.

19. Sumerian “broad day”.

120	en-nun-u ₄ -sa-lá	<i>šāt urri</i> “(watch) of the daylight” (IIIb) ²⁰
121	^d Utu-è	<i>šīt šamši</i> “the sun’s coming” (18a)
122	^d Utu šú-a	<i>erēb(?) šamši</i> “the sun’s going in” (5c)

A third example is the list Antagal (MSL 17, 196, SB):

33	en-nun-an-ta	<i>barārītum</i> “(watch) when the light is flickering” (I)
34	en-nun-múru-ba	<i>qablītum</i> “middle (watch)” (IIa)
35	en-nun-u ₄ -zal-la	<i>šatturrum</i> “(watch) of the daylight” (IIIb)
...		
39	UD ^{ba-ab-ba-ra} RA <i>šīt šamši</i>	“coming out of the sun” (18a)
40	MI ^{ku-ga} GA	<i>erēb(?) šamši</i> “entry of the sun” (5c)

7. Oppositions

Four groups of oppositions can be distinguished: day and night, morning and evening/night, sunrise and sunset, siesta and night (the two times of rest). For every pair only one example is given; more examples can be easily found in the dictionaries.

a) Day and night

ūmu “day” (20) : *mūšu* “night” (7): UD-*ma-am a-na mu-ši-im li-te-er-šum-ma* “May he turn day into night” CH I 88f. (OB.)

ūmu “day” (20) : *mušītu* “night” (7): *se-bé-et UD-mi-im ù se-bé mu-ši-a-tim* “seven days and seven nights” Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 8’ (OB).

kal ūmi “all day long” (20) : *šāt mūši* “the (watch) of the night” (IIb): *kal UD-mu re-du-ú i-re-ed-da[n-ni] ina šat mu-ši ul ú-na-ap-ša-šá-an-ni sur-riš* BWL 44: 102f. (SB) “All day long a follower follows [me]. During the night watch, he does not let me relax for a moment.”

kal ūme “all day long” (20) : *nubātu mūšu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp, night” (2a, 7) *i-na i-lik ka-la UD-mi ù nu-ba-at-ti mu-ši* “during the duties of the entire day or of the time of setting up the (overnight) camp (= the night)” W. G. Lambert, MC 13, 28: 117f. (SB).

urru “(bright) day” (21) : *mūšu* “night” (7): *šá ur-ri ana mu-ši taš-ku-nu* “you who have changed the day into night” SBH p. 77: 19 (SB).

urru “(bright) day” (21) : *mušītu* “night” (7): *6 ur-ri ù 7¹ mu-šá-a-ti* “6 days and 7 nights” Gilg. XI 128 (SB).

b) Morning and evening/night

kašātu “coolness” (12a) : *līlātu* “evening” (1): PAD *ka-ša-tim ʿù l’i-li-a-tim ma-ḥar be-lí-ia ù be-el-ti-ia a-na ba-la-ti-ka ak-ta-na-ra-a[b]* “At the morning and evening offering I pray before my Lord and my Lady for your well-being” PBS 7, 105: 13–15 (OB).

20. Sumerian sa-lá is a syllabic rendering of zal “to shine”, cf. en-nun-u₄-zal-la Antagal 35 and see *uzallū* “(watch) when the day (begins to) shine” (IIIId).

kašātu “coolness” (12a) : *mūšu* “night” (7):²¹ NÍG.GUB *qa-ša-tim* . . . NÍG.GUB *mu-ši* “morning meal . . . evening meal” ARMT 12, 685: 3–6 (OB).

kāšum “coolness” (12b) : *meḥûm* “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6c): 1 UDU *in ki-šî-im* 1 UDU *in me-ḥi-im* MDP 4 pl. 2 ii 14f. “1 sheep in the (time of) coolness, 1 sheep in the (time of) wiping out (the daylight) (OAKk).

muštêrtu “time of tearing(?)” (13c) : *mūšu* “night” (7): *i-na mu-uš-te-er-tim šî-ip-ra-[am] li-pu-úš ù i-na mu-ši-[i]m ma-aš-ša-ar-ta-šu li-iš-šú-ur* “In the time of tearing(?) let them do the work and in the night let them keep the watch” ARM 2, 3: 14–18 (OB).

šêru “dawn” (11a) : *lîlātu* “evening” (1): *še-rim u li-lá-a-ti šî-gu-u GÛ-si* “he will recite the penitential prayer at dawn and in the evening” 4R 54 No. 2 r.(!) 32 (SB). See also “morning star” (^{mull}*se¹-eḥ-ri¹-i[m!]*) and “evening star” (^{mull}*li-li-im*) KTT 345: 10 and 3.

šêru “dawn” (11a) : *kiš/kaš ūmi* “coolness of the day” (27): UD-*mu-us-su še-e-ri ù ki-iš* UD-*mu^dU.GUR u^dLa-aš . . . ú-šal-la* “Every day at dawn and at (the time of) the coolness of the day I pray to Nergal and Laš” CT 22, 184: 4–7 (LB). *še-e-ru ù ka-šu* UD-*mu* SAA 18, 88: 7’.²²

šêrtu “dawn” (11a) : *lîlātu* “evening” (1): TA *šêr-ti* EN *li-lá-a-ti* “from dawn to evening” TDP 168: 100 (SB).

šêrtu “dawn” (11a) : *nubātu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2a): *ina še-er-t[i] ṛnub-at¹-[ti]* “at dawn (and) at the time of setting up the (overnight) camp” STT 88 v(!) 14f. (see CAD Š/2 322, NA).

šêrêtu “dawn” (11a) : *šimêtân* “time of taking up quarters” (2b): ^d*Iš₈-tár i-lat šî-me-tan ana-ku . . .^dIš₈-tár i-lat še-re-e-ti ana-ku* “I am Ištar, the goddess of the time of taking up quarters . . . I am Ištar, the goddess of dawn” Delitzsch AL³ 135: 38–40 (SB).

c) Sunrise and sunset

šît šamšî “(time of) coming out of the sun” (18a): *ereb šamšî* “(time of) entry of the sun” (5c): ^ṛ*šu¹-lum šî-it^dUTU-ši e-reb^dUTU-ši* “greetings of the (time of) coming out of the sun and entry of the sun” KAR 58: 4 (SB).

d) Siesta and night

mušlālu “siesta” (24a) : *mūšu* “night” (7): *i-na mu-šî-im ù i-na mu-uš-la-li-im ma-ša-ar-tum i-na dî-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* “At night and at siesta time the guard should not come down the wall.” AS 22, 7: 12–16 (OB).²³

21. See also Kupper 1996: 80.

22. See also SAA 17, 31: 4f.: *še-e-ru . . . [ka]-šu* UD-*mu*.

23. Also in OB Mari, see Kupper 1996: 83 for ARM 26/1, 168: 31.

8. Merisms

“Always” and similar adverbial phrases can be expressed as merismatic pairs with different combinations of “day” and “night” (CAD M/2 294f. *mūšu* c 1’-2’). According to Wasserman 2003: 64–69,²⁴ the following pairs are attested:

- mūšū* “night” (7) – *ūmū* “days” (20)
ūmū/ūmu “day(s)” (20) – *mūšū/mūšu* “night(s)” (7)
ūmātu “days” (20) – *mušī’ātu* “nights” (7)
urrū “bright days” (21) – *tamhū* “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6d)
mūšū “nights” (7) – *urruṃ/urrū* “bright days” (21)
urrū “bright days” (21) – *mūšū* “nights” (7)
immū “heat” (22a) – *mūšū* “nights” (7)
mūšu “night” (7) – *šēru* “dawn” (11a)
ši’āru “dawn” (11a) – *mūšu* “night” (7)
šērētu “dawn” (11a) – *mūšu* “night” (7)
mūšu “night” (7) – *mušlālu* “siesta” (24a)
muštērtu “time of tearing(?) (of the ‘veil’ of the night) (13c) – *mūšu* “night” (7)
mūšu “night” (7) – *kašātu* “coolness (of the morning)” (12a)
kašātu “coolness (of the morning)” (12a) – *līlī’ātu* “evening” (1)
ūmu “day” (20) – *nubātu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2a)
ši’āru “dawn” (11a) – *nubātu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2a)

Merisms constructed with three members are attested, though rarely:

- a) *ina ka-ra-re-e mu-ši ù ur-ra ina re-ši-šú lu-ú ka-a-a-an* “Let it be constantly beside him, (at the time of) heat (22b), night (7) and bright day (21)” CT 16, 45: 150 (SB).
b) *šá mu-ši-ia e-rak an-šar-ka šá kal UD-me hi-il-pa-ka ad-dan šá kal-la-ma-ri un-na-ni-ka ú-šur ú-šur up-pa-áš-ka* “At night (7) I will stay awake and guard you. All day long (20) I will give you milk. At the entire (time of) shining(?) (16) I will treat(?) you with ‘watch, watch your prayer(?)’ ” SAA 9, 7: 9f. (SB).

9. The Noun Pattern *muPRāS(t)*

Four words for times of the day follow the noun pattern *muPRāS(t)* (GAG §56d): *nubātu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (root BYT, 2a; OA by-form *nabātu*), *munātu* “time of sleeping” (root NWM, 10), *mušlālu* “time of lying down, siesta” (root ŠLL, 24a) (NA by-form *mušallu*) and *muštērtu* “time of tearing(?) (of the ‘veil’ of the night)” (13c; root ŠTR(?), see §12 below). For long *ā* see the remarks on *mušlālu* §12, below. Note that *nubātu* shows the assimilation *m > n* according to Barth’s law (GAG §31b) but *munātu* not, certainly because the labial *m*

24. But see my remarks in Streck 2005: 148 to the effect that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish merisms from other word pairs.

is assimilated to the following *t*.²⁵ Semitic parallels for the noun pattern *muPRāS(t)* designating times of the day are unknown.

10. The Suffixes *-ēn* and *-ān*

Early OB texts from Mari attest the dual forms (*in*) *līlē(n)* “(in) the evening” (1) and (*in*) *šērtēn* “(at) dawn” (11a; ARM 19 p. 163; Gelb 1992: 182; Livingstone 1990):

in li-le-en ARM 19, 360: 6.

in li-li ARM 19, 352: 11; 359: 5; 364: 9; 365 r. 4; 366: 7.

in šē-er-te-en ARM 19, 331: 7; 351: 10; 355: 9; 356: 10; 358: 3; 361: 6(?); 365 r. 3.

Note that in 365 r. 3f. we find *in šērtē[n]* next to *in līlē* which resolves any doubt about the interpretation. In later Akkadian, inflected dual forms are no longer attested in these expressions.

līlātān “evening” (1) and *šimētān* “time of taking up quarters” (2b) show a suffix *-ān*. Plene spellings prove that the *-ā* is long: *li-la-ta-a-a[n]* S^b II 369a-b (CAD L 184), *ši-me/mi-ta-a-an* S^b II 369 (CAD Š/3, 5) and KUB 37, 193: 4 (CAD Š/3, 6). CAD L 184 and Š/3, 5 calls both words adverbs. Indeed, an adverbial ending *-ān* is known in Akkadian (GAG §113g). In some adverbs construed with this ending *-ān* is followed by the locative suffix *-ūm*, e.g., *panānūm*, *warkānūm*, *elēnūm*, *šaplānūm*. But in some cases the adverbs end in *-ān*: *šītān* “in the east”, *šīlān* “in the west”, *ebertān* “on the other bank”, *annittān* “then”.

However, CAD Š/3, 6 also observed that *šimētān* “despite its adverbial formation . . . is construed mostly with prepositions”. This points to a noun rather than an adverb, although other adverbs are also sometimes combined pleonastically with prepositions²⁶ and although *šimētān* is never inflected. In the light of the early OB attestations of the dual just mentioned it seems possible that *līlātān* and *šimētān* are rather frozen feminine dual forms. This interpretation is favored by the feminine plural forms of words for “morning” and “evening” (see §11, below) which might have replaced earlier dual forms²⁷ and which are also sometimes frozen.

The early OB dual, the frozen dual (if the interpretation is correct) and the feminine plural (§11, below) are only attested with words that stand for “morning” or “evening”. This distribution favors an explanation that takes into account a special characteristic of morning and evening that distinguishes them from the other times of the day. The characteristic that immediately comes to mind are the two most marked moments in the course of the day, sunrise and sunset. I presume that the original inflected and later frozen duals as well as the later feminine plurals originally refer to the two periods before and after sunrise and sunset, respectively, or the beginning and end of sunrise and sunset, i.e., the point when the sun disk touches the horizon and the point when the sundisk is fully visible or invisible.

Parallels from Hebrew and Arabic can be mentioned here only cursory. These parallels are disputed but must perhaps be reassessed in the light of the Akkadian forms. Thus Hebrew knows an expression *bēn ha-‘arbayim*, designated in Baumgartner/Stamm 1967-: III 831 as “un-

25. It remains unclear whether there is a difference between *muPRāS* with long *ā* for time of the days and *muPRaS* with short *a* expressing extensions, e.g., *mušpalu* “depth” and *mūraku* “length”.

26. See, e.g., CAD P 78f. for *panānūm* combined with the prepositions *īštū*, *ina*, *elī* and *kīma*.

27. See GAG §61c for feminine plurals replacing earlier duals.

echter Dual”: “eig. zwischen den beiden Abenden, d. h. d. Zeit zw. Sonnenuntergang u. dem Herabsinken der Nacht, die Abenddämmerung“; see also Gesenius 1987-: 1009: secondary, or, if dual, the time between the two halves of the evening. According to Baumgartner/Stamm 1967-: III 946, *šoh°rayim* “midday” is a secondary dual for original *šoh°rām*; thus also Gesenius 1987ff.: 1106. Brockelmann 1908: 458 disputed the interpretation as duals for both words. After Fontinoy 1969: 53, *‘arbayim* might be a “duel elliptique” that originally expressed dawn and dusk. Waltke/O’Connor 1990: 118 speak of “fanciful ‘dual’ etymologies”: “noon (time of the double shadow?)” and “evening (time between day and night?)”.

For Arabic *bayna l-‘išā’ayni* see Lane 1863ff.: 2056a: “means the time of sunset and the *‘atamaton* [or darkness after nightfall]”. See also Brockelmann 1908: 663 and Torczyner 1916: 190f. (also for *bayna zuhrīn* “die Zeit des ersten Mittaggebetes + der des zweiten Gebetes nach Mittag”).

§11. Feminine plurals

The word for “evening” (1) mostly occurs as feminine plural *līlātu/līlētu*, “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6d) and “dawn” (11a) frequently as feminine plurals *tamhātu* and *šērētul šī’ārātu*, and “time of coolness” (12a) always as feminine plural *kašātu*. The hapax *šiprāte* “morning” (17), loaned from Aramaic, is also a feminine plural. Another plural is *munāmātu* “time of sleeping” (10), equated in Malku VI 208 with the singular *munātu*, but also attested non-lexically (see §12, below). The feminine plurals apparently replace older dual forms (see §10, above). Like some dual forms, also some feminine plurals are already frozen, as the adverbial accusatives (singular!) *kašātam* “at the time of coolness” (CAD K 263, OB) und *līlī’ātam* (CAD L 184, OB) make clear.

§12. Remarks on Individual Words

ašītu (24b): See now Hrůša 2010: 86f., without translation. Etymology obscure. The same word as *ašītu* “confusion”?

bādu (2c): Always after a preposition: *analinalšalkī bāde* “when setting up the (overnight) camp” or *ina bādīšu* “when he sets up his (overnight) camp”. New reference: [*ina b*]a-a-di SAA 10, 304: 10.

barārītu, *barārtu*, *barāru* (I): The by-form *barāru* in BE 17, 47: 4 (MB), is unnecessarily emended to *ba-ra-ri-(ti)* by CAD B 106 (see also 105 *barāri* discussion section). For *barārtu* in KTT 345: 4 (OB), before *qablītu*, see the quotation under *līlātu*. References from OB (Mari) for the adverb *barārī*: *ba-ra-ri i-na* ^{gis}MÁ.TUR [*a-ra-*]ak-ka-bu-ma “(so that) I can [em]bark at the time of the watch when the (evening light) is flickering on a small boat” ARM 26/1, 54: 42f. See also Kupper 1996: 82.

A new MA reference: *i-na mu-še ba-ra-ri-ma* “at night (during) the watch when the light is flickering” BATSH 4/1, 2: 22. A new NA reference: *ina mu-ši šá ti-[ma-li] ir-ti ba-ra-r[i-ti]* “ye[sterday] night, towards the watch when the light was flickering” SAA 10, 319 r. 1-2.

barārītu etc. is the first watch of the night, at the beginning of the calendrical day: see the equation with *igi u₄ = barārī* “front, i.e., beginning of the (calendrical) day” OBG I 797 (MSL 4, 58, see §6.2., above), preceded by *mūšam* “at night” and followed by *sehsehī* “at twilight” and *ina līlī’ātim* “at evening”.

erēb(?) šamši, erēbu (5c): See AHw. 233 *erbu* II, AHw. 234 *erēbu* G lexical section, AHw. 236 *erēbu* G 11 and AHw. 1554; CAD E 258f. *erebu* and 269 *erēbu* 2c. References for the verb *erēbu* in the phrase ^dUTU *er-bé-et* “the sun has entered” (stative) from OB Mari (Kupper 1996: 81): ARM 1, 10: 24’; 4, 45: 8’; 14, 9: 8; 26/2, 397: 20. These references show that the verb *erēbu* was more widespread for designating the sunset than previously thought; why the sun-god is constructed as a feminine is, however, unclear. The Mari references raise doubt as to the interpretation of the genitive construction *e-re-eb/reb* ^dUTU (SB; AHw. 233 *erbu* II 1): maybe *erēb Šamaš* rather than *ereb Šamaš*. If correct, the noun *erbu* is not attested in the meaning “time of sunset, evening” but confined to the meaning “west” (AHw. 233f. *erbu* II 2).

In astronomical texts the phrases *siman ana erēb(?) šamši* “hour before sunset” and *siman ša* GE₆ “hour of the night” are attested, see CAD S 270 *simanu* f and cf. Rochberg-Halton 1989: 169 n. 9 (equinoctial hour).

**gēšu*: CAD G 64 *gēšu* B “to spend the night”, AHw. 287 *gēšu* II “übernachten”. See also CAD B 170 *bātu* lexical section. Wrong: Hruša 2010: 362 *malku* = *šarru* III 46 reads *bātu* = *utūlu*. Apparently, in LTBA 2, 1 xi 15 ‘*ú*’-[. . .] was misread as ‘*ge*’, and in a duplicate *-lu* was misread as *-šu*.

**huphuppu*: CAD M/2, 292 s. v. *mūšu* lex. section, see *kakkabu*.

kakkabu, kabkabu (8a): Instead of *huphuppu*, read in Malku III 49 *kabkabu* “(time of the visibility of the) star(s)”. See Hruša 2010: 76 and 229. For *kakkabu* in SpTU 2, 34: 3 see §5, above.

kannamāre, kallamāre (16): For MA *kannamāre* see *ka-na-ma-ri* Tell Chuera 1: 6; *ka-an-na-ma-ri* ibid. 5: 9; BVW A 8; Ab 7; D 5; H 2; M+N r. 5.²⁸ The last *ā* of the NA form *kallamāre* is sometimes written plene, e.g., *kal-la-ma-a-re* SAA 13, 88 r. 6; 100 r. 9. Almost all spellings have double *ll*: *kal-la-*; one *l* only in *ka-la-ma-re* SAA 5, 243 r. 14. A variant *kallanāri*- is attested in SAA 15, 6: 7 (*ka-[l]a-na-ri-šū*, NA), see already CAD M/2, 94 *mūšu* b 2’. The word always ends in *-rel-ri*.

Without knowing the older MA form, AHw. 425 proposes for the NA form the etymology *kallū* (cf. *inalanalkī kallē* “at the right time, on time, promptly, posthaste”) + *amāru* “to see”, which does not give a good sense. CAD K 78 doesn’t offer any etymology. The glossaries in SAA normalize the word as *kal amāri*. However, the older²⁹ MA form shows that the second element of the word originally does not contain *amāre* but most probably *namāre* < *nawāre* “to shine”; see Freydank 2010: 665f. Freydank proposes that the first element of the word contains *kī an(a)*. A contraction *ī-a* in MA would, however,

28. Read as *pī(KA) na-ma-ri* by E. Ebeling. I thank Jacob Jan de Ridder for referring me to Ebeling and Freydank 2010.

29. The connection between MA *kannamāri* and NA *kallamāri* was already noticed by Jakob 2010: 41. His transcription *kannāmāre* is obviously triggered by the etymology of *kallāmāri* in AHw.

be difficult to explain, and also semantically this etymology is unconvincing because one would expect *ina* and not *ana namāri*.³⁰ Therefore, I suggest that the first element of the word is *kal-* “entirety”, with *l* assimilated to the following *n*.³¹ If correct, *kannamāre* “entire (time of) shining” is parallel to the expressions *kal ūme* and *kal mūše* (see CAD K 89 *kalu* b 4’), originally meaning “entire day” and “entire night”; in the course of the time the element *kal-* becomes frozen and almost meaningless, *kal-ūme* and *kal mūše* simply designating “day” and “night”, e.g., SAA 2, 6: 198–200: *šumma memēni in ekalle bārtu lū ina kal ūme lū ina kal mūše . . . etapāš* “if anyone in the palace makes an insurrection, whether by day or by night”.

The NA form *kallamāre* looks like a progressive assimilation *ln > ll*.³² However, the form might not be explained phonologically but result from a re-interpretation of the older form *kannamāre*. Was the word analysed as “entirety of not (yet) seeing” (**kal-lā-amāre*)? Anyhow, the variant *kallanāre* shows that the older *kannamāri* was not well understood any more. Conversely, the form *kallamāre* apparently induced a re-interpretation of *kal-ūme*, see the spelling with double *ll*, *kal-la-UD-mu*, in SAA 16, 21 r. 2. *kašātu* (12a): References from OB Mari in Kupper 1996: 79f. For *kašātu* with pronominal suffix see Stol 1996: 418. A NB reference: *ka-ša-a-tu*₄ SAA 17, 195: 4 in broken context. *kašātu* for morning recalls of the saying attributed to the Arabian poet ‘Umar ibn Abī Rabi‘a who was jealous of the people of Bābil because of “the cool shadiness just before sunrise”.³³

kīnsikku (26a): For references from OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 82. The variant *kissiku* is found in FM 3 p. 68: 5: *i-na ki-is-si-ki-im*.

The word is a loan from Sumerian: *kin* “work” and sig “below”. Cf. the logogram KIN.NIM (nim “above”) for *šēru* “dawn” (11a) or *kašātu* “coolness (of the morning)” (12a). See also *nim-sig-bi = kašātam u līlī’ātam* “during the coolness and the evening” in OBGT I 812 (MSL 4, 59, see §6.2, above). Thus *kīnsikku* designates the end of the working day at, or just after, sunset. Cf. the following reference: “[*waraḥ* A] *bim* UD 6^{kam} BA.ZAL.[MA] [*ina k*] *īnsikkim* ARM 1, 67: 18f. (OB, CAD K 388) in the [month A] *bum*, at the end of the 6th day, [at the] end of the work”. In sequences *kīnsikku* stands before *barārtim* “first watch of the night” (I; see §5a), *tamḥātu* “(time of) wiping out (the daylight)” (6d; see §5c) or *šimētān* “time of taking up quarters” (2b; see §5d). When *kīnsikku* specifically stands for the evening meal, it is equated with the meal of *līlātu* “evening” (1) and *mūšu* “night” (7) and with *naṭtanu* “time of the (evening) meal” (3) (CAD K 387 s. v. *kīnsigu* lexical section).

30. See the references in CAD N/1, 211 *namāru* 1a1’ and 2’.

31. Admittedly, I don’t know of any other certain example for this assimilation in Akkadian. However, *l* and *n* are hardly ever in contact because of the incompatibility rules for the Akkadian/Semitic root. In other environments, assimilation of *l* to a following consonant is known, see GAG §34c and *it-tak-k[u]* (*alāku*) SAA 5, 19 r. 7’ (court. M. Worthington).

32. Also for this assimilation I don’t know of any other example. The examples for *n > l* noted in GAG §33 i * all seem to be different.

33. Janssen 1995: 59, Arabic text ib. p. 19 (Ar. pagination): *wa-ḏilli ḡabšin bāridin*.

**li'ānu*: AHW. 548 “nachts gehen(?)”, equated with *alāku*. It should be emended to *šāhu* “to blow”, see CAD L 163 *lianam* and CAD Š/1, 107 *šāhu* B lexical section.

līlātu etc. (1): The masculine singular *līlu* is attested in OB: see CAD L 190f.³⁴ and add *ana . . .* ^{mul}*li'li'im nīq barārtim ina qablītim* “for . . . the evening star, sacrifice of the watch when the light is flickering, in the middle watch” KTT 345: 2–5 (opposed to ^{mul}*se'eh-ri-i[m!]* “morning star” *ibid.* 10”). Here probably also belongs ^d*Li-lum* CRRA 15, 70: 5' and ^d*Li-el[lum?]* Akkadica 20, 14: 10, both from Mari, see M. Krebernik, KTT p. 146; Krebernik 1987–1990: 20; Röllig 1987–1990; Zadok 1993: 326a (theophorous element in personal names). For the early OB dual *līlē(n)* and for the frozen dual(?) *līlātān* see §10, above. For the plural *līlātu* see §11, above. See also *li'la-a!?'-at* KTT 345: 16 and *li-la-a-ti^{ki}* (with determinative for places, unclear) in CUSAS 9, 65: 3 (OB). For OB Mari *līlētu* see Kupper 1996: 82. For the adverb *līlā* see AHW. 1571.

līlātu is equated with *saḫār ūmi* “turning of the day” (25b), *tamḫû* “wiping out (the daylight)” (6d), *siphu* “dispersal (of the daylight)” (6a) and *kīma Šamaš rabê* “at sunset” (5a) (see §6). For *līlātu = qiddat ūmi* “bending down of the day” (25a) see *qiddat ūmi*, below.

A Sumerian equation is *u₄-ama-bi-šè-gi₄-a* “the day (or utu “the sun”?) returns to its mother” CAD L 184. Antonyms are *kašātu* “coolness” (12a), *šēru* and *šertu* “dawn” (11a) (see §7). McEwan 1981: 170 n. 398 concludes from the designation of the third watch of the day as *maššarti līlā[ti]* (CAD M/1, 338) that *līlātu* “was considered the last part of the day rather than the first part of the night”; therefore he translates “afternoon”. According to VAT 10218 iii 21 (SB, CAD L 185) the venus star becomes visible during *līlātu*. The beginning of the song *ana mušiti annīti ana līlāti annāti* KAR 158 vii 23 (SB, s. CAD L 185) “for this night, for this evening” shows that *līlātu* and night are close together. See also *mušitu puluḫtu ša līlāti* KAR 58 r. 11 (SB, CAD M/2, 272) “night, the terror of the *līlātu*”. In summary, the evidence points to *līlātu* and its by-forms being the period around sunset, on the one hand the last part of the day and on the other hand the time of the – in the Middle East fast – onset of darkness after sunset. This definition fits the dual and plural forms mentioned above quite well.

For the Semitic evidence see Kogan 2011: 196, reconstructing a form *layliy(-at)*; in other Semitic languages this words stands for night, not for evening, whereas **mušy(-at)* = Akkadian *mūšu*, *mušitu* stands for evening, not for night. In Akkadian the opposition is reversed. The original(?) meaning “night” is perhaps preserved in the name of the 9th month at Mari (roughly November/December), *Līlī'ātum* (Cohen 1993: 284 und 292f.), if this name derives from the length of the nights in winter.

mašāl ūmi etc. (23a): *mišil ūmi* also in OB: *i-na mi-ši-il 'UD¹-mi-[i]m* “at the half of the day” AbB 8, 74: 16.

mehû/tamḫû (6c, d): See Hebrew MHH I “ab-, auswischen, vertilgen” (Baumgartner/Stamm 1967ff.: II 537f.), said of the mouth, tears, dishes, and writing, or, in transferred meanings, of the name, sins, and living beings; Arabic *maḫā* “abwischen, auslöschen,

34. In AHW. 553 under *līlū* 6!

tilgen, ausradieren” etc. in the I. and II. stem (Wehr 1985: 1190). The implied object is the daylight. The root is probably not attested as a finite verb in Akkadian.³⁵

munāttu, *munāmātu* (10): Also attested in OB, in the plural *mu-na-ma-ti* (PRAK 1 B 472 i 5).³⁶

AHw. “Morgenschlummer”, CAD “waking, waking time”. Delitzsch 1896: 419 “Dämmerung”. Oppenheim 1956: 225: “sleep in the early hours of the morning, perhaps . . . intermediary stage between wakefulness and slumber in which dream-experiences of a special nature are said—in classical sources—to occur”. Mayer 1984: 121: “Halbschlaf am frühen Morgen, (Dämmer-)Zustand zwischen Schlafen und Wachen”. Zgoll 2006: 67: “das Ende der Nacht oder den allerfrühesten Morgen. Es gehört noch zur Nacht, meint den Zeitpunkt noch vor Sonnenaufgang”.

There are three reasons for taking *munāttu* as a time of the day rather than a kind of sleep:

a) The noun pattern *muPRāSt* is associated with daytimes (§9). Since the word is derived from the root NWM “to sleep”,³⁷ *munāttu* means “time of sleeping”.

b) The equations *munāttu* = [*š*]ēp ūme (*āliktu*) “(walking) foot of the day” (15) and *šēru* “dawn” (11a) (§6), both times of the day.

c) The parallelism between *munāttu* and *šāt mūši* “the (watch) of the night” (IIb) in Erra V 43, see the interpretation of Mayer 1984: 121: *ina šāt mūši ušabršuma kī ša ina munātti idbubu ayyamma ul iḫti* “He let him see in the night, and just as he had told (him) in the time of sleeping, he did not omit anything”.

On the other hand *munāttu* is parallel to *šuttu* “dream” in most cases and designates the part of the night in which one has meaningful dreams. Dream phases become longer towards morning. According to Zgoll 2002: 100 “sind Träume gegen Morgen meist realistischer, der Wachwelt näher, als Träume in den früheren Wachstunden” (see also Zgoll 2002: 89 for the relevance of dreams during the second half of the night). This fits the equations with [*š*]ēp ūme (*āliktu*) “(coming) foot of the day” and *šēru* “dawn”, according to which *munāttu* is the last part of the night towards morning.

mušlālu (24a): For OB references from Mari see Kupper 1996: 81. See the spelling *mu-uš-šú-lal-lu* in George/Finkel 2000: 274 iv 3'. The NA by-form *mušallu* is attested in SAA 13, 134: 10 (= ABL 951, see CAD M/2, 244 *mušlalu* c) and in SAA 1, 164: 11': *mu!-ša-li-ma*; see Deller/Mayer 1984: 88f.

GAG §56a and AHw. *mušlālu* with long *ā*, but CAD with short *a*. For long *a* speaks now the spelling *mu-uš-lā-a-lu* George/Finkel 2000: 276 iv 18'.

Equated with *kamāšu* “to squat” and *rabāšu* “to lie down” (§6); see Zgoll 2002: 95 for *kamāšu* as a sleeping position. — See Landsberger 1916: 37 for an analogy from Arabic: *qā'ila* “siesta; midday” from *qāla* “to have a siesta” (cf. Wehr 1985: 1076).

mūša zāzu (9d): Hapax in Atramḫasīs: *mu-šu i-zu-uz-ma ni-qú-ú iq-qí* “He divided the night (= he arose at midnight) and made an offering” Iraq 58, 182: 63.

35. The connection of Akkadian *ma'û* “wegstoßen(?)” AHw. 637 (see CAD M/2, 321 “*mu'û* B mng. uncert.”) with Hebr. מַחֵח is uncertain.

36. Reference courtesy Nathan Wasserman.

37. For this root see Kogan 2011: 229.

mūškašât (12c): A composite noun, only attested once, lexically, in OBGT I 803 (see §6.2 above). AHw. 684 translates “nachts gegen Morgen”, CAD K 263 *kašātu* lex. section “day and night”.

muštērtu (13c): See Kupper 1996: 79 for references.

In AHw. and CAD analysed as Št of *ēru* “to awake”. There is, however, no Š-stem in the meaning “to arouse, to awake” (for this the D-stem is used). Furthermore, the *-t*-infix would be difficult to explain, because also a denominative Št³⁸ should be reciprocal/ reflexive or based on a *taPRiS(t)* form (Kouwenberg 1997: 306f.), which however doesn’t exist. If denominative, the *mu*-prefix must be an analogy to the pattern *muPRāS* (§9). The same difficulties exist if we derive the word from *šēru* “dawn” (11a) and analyse it as a Gt.³⁹

Therefore, a derivation from the root ŠTR is more probable: Hebrew ŠTR nif. “aufgebrochen werden” Baumgartner/Stamm 1967ff.: IV 1271, Syriac *star* “evertit, diruit” Brockelmann 1928: 503, Arabic *šatara* “beschneiden, abreißen” Wehr 1985: 633, Ethiopic *šatara* “rend, tear to pieces” Leslau 1991: 537.⁴⁰ If correct, we are dealing with the pattern *muPRāS*, but with *umlaut* *a > e* (probably because of /r/ as third consonant)⁴¹. Semantically, *muštērtu* then belongs to the words for “morning” that designate the “breakthrough” of the first light after the night (see the remarks on *šiq(a)ru* (13a), below). Note that the night (*mušītu*) is described as *kallatu kuttumtu* “veiled bride” and as *pussumat* “veiled” (CAD M/2, 272 *mušītu* c), so that *muštērtu* perhaps designates the tearing of the veil of the night.

mūšu, *mušītu* etc. (7): Attested at Ebla as *mu-šum*, *mu-si-im*, *me-su*, *me-si-im* and *ma-[s]a-a-um*, see Krebernik 1983: 31f., analysing them as *mūšum*, *mīšum* and *mašāHum(?)*, and ARET 11, 1 xi 20 with commentary by P. Fronzaroli *ibid.* p. 49. For *mūšu*, *mušītu* and the plural *mušētu* in OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 83f. For *mūšum*, *mušītum* and *šumšû* in OA see Michel 2010: 218. For *mūšu* and *mušītu* with pronominal suffixes and the forms *mūšišum* and *mu-ša-ni-ma* (the latter two in OB Mari) see Stol 1996: 416–418.

See Kogan 2011: 196 for the Semitic **mušy(-at)* “evening”, opposed to Semitic **layly(-at)* “night”. In Akkadian the opposition is reversed (cf. *līlātu* above). *mūšu* and *mušītu* are opposed to *ūmu* “day” (20) and *urru* “bright day” (21) (§7), and *mūšu* is equated with *kabkabu* “(time of the visibility of the) stars” (8a) (§6). See also the merisms which combine *mūšu/mušītu* with *ūmu*, *urru* and *mušlātu* “siesta” (24a) (§8), the verb *šumšû* “to spend the night” and the logogram *ĜI₆* “darkness, night”. All this favours the meaning “night”. On the other hand, the opposition *mūšu* : *kašātu* “coolness (of the morning)” (12a) (§7b) and the merism *mūšu-šēru* “dawn” (11a) (§8) perhaps suggest that *mūšu* sometimes denotes the evening.

Note that *mušītum* (pace Wasserman 2003: 71–73 but also Stol 1996: 417 n. 12) is not *nomen unitatis* of *mūšum* but a secondary singular derived from the feminine plural *mušīʾatum*, see Streck 2005: 148.

38. This was my suggestion in Streck 1994: 180 §7.5.

39. This was suggested by Manfred Krebernik *apud* Streck 1994: 180 n. 110.

40. Further Semitic etymons are mentioned in Leslau.

41. Cf. e.g., *arratum > erretum* “curse”, **ʾarḏatum > eršetum* “earth”.

- mūšu mašil* (9b): For references from OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 84.
- muttat mūši* (9c): Attested only lexically, see CAD M/2, 310 *muttatu* A, lexical section, followed by *šāt mūši* “the (watch) of the night” (IIb).
- naṣṣtanu* (3): For references from OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 82. Note that in Mesopotamia the most important meal took place in the evening.
- nawārtu, namārītu* (IIIa): The OB form is *nawārtu*, attested in RATL 156: 30–32: 4 *ṛdi-pa¹-ri a¹-na ba-ra-ar-tim qa-ab-l[i-t]im ù na-wa-a[r-tim] a-na-aš-ši* “I will bring 4 torches in (the watch) when the light is flickering, in the middle (watch) and in (the watch) when the (light) is becoming bright”.
- nubāttu, nabāttu* (2a): In Ebla attested as *nu-ba-du*, see ARET 11, 1 xi 10, 21, xiv 7 and commentary by P. Fronzaroli, *ibid.* p. 48. For OA *nabāttu* and the verb *bī²ātu* “to spend the night” see Michel 2010: 218; for *nubāttu* in OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 82f. For *nubāttu* with pronominal suffixes see Stol 1996: 415f. Note the playful writing [n]ú-bat-tú (nú Sumerian “to lie, to sleep”) in SAA 4, 140: 2’. A new MA reference for the adverb *nubāttī*: *nu-bat-ti a-na É-i[a] er-ra-ba* “At the time of setting the (overnight) camp I will enter my house” BATSH 4/1, 12: 30.
- nubāttu* is associated with sunset, see *ša šamše rabā²e ša nubātte* “at sunset, at the time of setting the (overnight) camp” CAD B 171 *bātu* 1f (NA).
- nubāttu* also designates the eve of feasts.
- qablāti ša mūši* etc. (9a): For references from OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 84. *mu-ša-am qa-ab-li-tam* is attested in ARM 26/2, 524: 6, 10 “in the night, the middle part” (or does *qablītam* specifically refer to the second watch of the night?).
- qablātu* (IIa): See KTT 345: 5 (OB) following *barārtu*, quoted under *līlātu*.
- qiddat ūmi* (25a): AHw. 921 s. v. *qiddatu* 5 “Nachmittag”, CAD Q 250f. s. v. *q.* 3 “late afternoon, toward evening”. The reference *lū ina šimētān lū ina qiddat ūmi* STT 69: 23 (SB) shows that *šimētān* (2b) and *qiddat ūmi* were distinguished. The twice attested phrase *ina qiddat ūmi ina qerbīt ūmi* (CAD Q 250) probably means “during the time of bending down of the day, in the midst of the day”; *ina qerbīt ūmi* hardly means “on the same day” (CAD Q 214 s. v. *qerbītu* a), nor⁴² “beim Heranrücken(?) des (neuen) Tages”. Instead of *qiddat ūmi* the epic of Etana (Haul 2000, 177: 52, SB) has *ṛlīlā²ti* “evening”. This means that *qiddat ūmi* designates the period from midday on, when the course of the sun starts to bend down to the horizon, until and perhaps in part overlapping with the evening.⁴³
- rīb šamši* (6a): Instead of *tī₃-ik ri-ba-tim* “averses/pluie du soir” ARM 26/2, 496: 14 probably read, with Heimpel 2003: 391, *ne-eq-re-ba-tum* “short days”.
- saḥār ūme, saḥāru* (25b): AHw. 1005 s. v. *saḥār(i)* “abends”, CAD S 36 s. v. *saḥār ūme* “evening”. *saḥār ūme* is equated with *līlātu* “evening” (1; see §6, above). Cf. semantically *qiddat ūmi* (25a). That *saḥār ūme* and *saḥāru* already begin at midday or shortly after is proved by the following reference: “if the eclipse of the sun begins at the turning of the sun (*ina Šamaš saḥāri*) and lasts until siesta time (*mušlāli*, 24a), . . .” KUB 4, 63 ii 20f. (Bo., see CAD S 36).

42. Pace Streck 1995: 59f. and n. 108, and Haul 2000: 177 with commentary p. 217.

43. Cf. typologically Georgian *samxari* “south, midday”, derived from *mxare* “side” and *x(a)r* “to bend down” (Krebernik 2001).

- sāntu* (11c): See TA* *sa-an-ti* “at (the time of) redness” SAA 5, 206: 4.
- sehru* (11b): MUL/ᵐᵐᵐ^r *se¹-eh-ri-i[m!]* “morning star” KTT 345: 10 (KTT reads *-ri-^re[?]*), opposed to MUL/ᵐᵐᵐ^r *li-^rli¹-im* ibid. 3. Loan from Northwest Semitic (Amorite): * < *šahr-*, with the normal spelling S for Proto-Semitic *š.
- sehsehī* (6b): Only lexically attested once (OBGT I 798, see §6.2 above). Loan from Sumerian. Preceded by *barārī* “in the 1. watch of the night” (I) and followed by *ina līlī[?]ātīm* “in the evening” (1), *sehsehī* designates twilight/dusk.
- siphu* (6a): Equated with *līlātu* “evening” (1) and *erēbi ša [šamši]* “entry of the sun” (see §6, above). There is no connection with the references quoted in AHw. 1024 s. v. *sapāhu* G 8a (see also CAD S 153 *sapāhu* 3b): ABL 1237 = SAA 10, 111: 7 and parallels deal with a meteor. UD *sa-pi-iḥ* means “The day is dispersed (by the light of the meteor)”, which probably means enlightened at different spots(?).⁴⁴ *siphu* “dispersal” means, with AHw., the scattered light of dusk.
- šippatu/šilpatu* (8b): See for this word, only attested in Malku and equated with *mušītu*, Hrůša 2010: 229 (III 48). Outside of Malku, the word denotes a row or line (see W. R. Mayer *apud* Hrůša 2010: 217 (II 118)). According to Hrůša 2010: 229, in Malku the word means a row of stars; this meaning is, however, not attested elsewhere. Note also the unexplained variant *šilpatu* (see Hrůša 2010: 229).
- šiprātu* (17): Hapax. New edition SAA 10, 274: 9: the text deals with the performance of a ritual during the *nubātu* “time of setting up the (overnight) camp” (2a) and *šiprātu* “Morgen”. CAD *šipparātu*, AHw. *šippa(r)rātu*. The spelling can be interpreted as akkadographic *ŠIP-PIR-ra-a-te* for *šiprāte*, which fits better the Aramaic etymon *šaliprā* “morning”. For the latter see Sokoloff 2009: 1299.
- šahānu* (?) (22c): See Kupper 1996: 80 for a single reference from Mari: [ITI K] *i-nu-nim* UD 10^{kam} BA.ZAL-*ma* [UD-*mu-um š*] *a-ḥu-un* DUB-*pī an-ni-a-am* [ú]-*ša-bi-la-kum* “[In the month of K]inūnum, the 10th day had passed, and [(at the time when) the day was hot, I sent you this tablet of mine” ARM 4, 35: 5’-7’.
- šahrū* (11b): Attested as a Northwest Semitic loan (< **šahr-*) at Emar: ^d*Ša-ah-ri* (Emar 369: 52, 96; 371: 10’), the deified dawn, see Pentiuč 2001: 167.
- Šamaš izzāz* (4): *īštū Šamaš izzāz* “after ‘The sun is standing’” AbB 7, 50: 9 (CAD U 378 *uzuzzu* 3d) and AbB 10, 150: 17 (missing in CAD). The expression is frozen, which explains the missing subordinative. See Wilcke 1987: 91 with nn. 108–110.
- šamē lapātu, lapātu* (13d): See the references CAD L 86 s. v. *lapātu* 1h end and AHw. 535 s. v. *lapātu* G 10. Also attested in OB: *ki-ma ša-me-e la-pa-tim iḥ-du* “He rejoiced like a ‘touching of the sky’” RATL 41: 9; cf. 148: 6’.
- šāt mūši* (IIb): Attested in OB Mari, see Kupper 1996: 84.
- šāt urri* (IIIb): A sandhi spelling *ša-tu-úr-ri-im!*(text: KAM) is also attested in AbB 13, 181: 13.
- šēp ūme (āliktu)* (15): “(Walking) foot of the day”, equated with *munātu* “time of sleeping” (10) (§6). Only lexically attested. Cf. Zgoll 2006: 66f. for Sumerian *ḡiri babbar-ra* “white foot” as an expression for “morning”.

44. Note that SAA 10, 111, by mistake, does not translate UD.

šēru etc. (11a): For Ebla *si-EN-lum* = Sumerian UD.DAG see Krebernik 1983: 29, for the Semitic evidence Kogan 2011: 196f. For *šertu* in OB Mari see Kupper 1996: 79, for the verb *šēru* ibid. p. 80. For the noun *ši'āru* and the verb *šēru* in OA see Michel 2010: 218. For *šertu* in MA see Tell Chuera index p. 160. For *šēru* with pronominal suffix see Stol 1996: 418.

For the dual in *šertēn* and the plurals *šērētu/ši'ārātu* see §§9 and 10, above. Originally, they probably denoted the time before and after sunset (or the two points when the sun disk first touches the horizon and is fully above the horizon). On the other hand, several references explicitly connect *šēru* with the time before sunrise: *ina šerim lām Šamaš napāhi* “at dawn, before Šamaš flares up”, *ina šerim lām šit šamši* “at dawn before sunrise” CAD Š/2, 333 *šēru* A b'. But see also *ina šerim kīma Šamaš ašē* “at dawn, when Šamaš is coming out” ibid. That *šēru* is an early part of the morning is also confirmed by the fact that some texts explicitly say that human activities have not yet started: *ina šerim adī mamman ittīšu lā idbubu* “in the morning, before anyone has spoken to him”, *ina šerim lām šēpšu ana qaqqari iškunu* “in the morning, before he has set his foot on the ground” CAD Š/2, 333 *šēru* b'.

The epic of Gilgamesh combines *šēru* with *naw/māru* “to shine” (14a) in the phrase *mimmū šēri ina namāri* “when something of the dawn became bright” Gilg. XI 97 and *passim* (see CAD Š/2, 331 *šēru* A 1).

šihit šamši, šahātu (18b): For OB references from Mari (both *šihit šamši* and *šahātu*) see Kupper 1996: 80.

šimētān, šiwītu, šimītu (2b): The OB lexically attested form *šiwītu* gives the root ŠWY. Later *m* stands graphically for *l/w/*. Already AHw. 1253 s. v. *šiwītu* connects the word with Arabic *tauwā* “sich aufhalten, sich niederlassen” Wehr 1985, 161. See probably also Hebrew ŠWH II pi. “hinlegen; liegen” Baumgartner/Stamm 1967ff.: IV 1334f.⁴⁵ und Nabataean ŠWY “to place, to establish” Hoftijzer/Jongeling 1995: 1117. Like *nubātu* (2a), *šimētān* designates the time when one takes up quarters or sets up the overnight camp, which also fits the equation of the two words (§6, above).

In sequences, *šimētān* occurs after *kaši ūmi* “coolness of the day” (27) and *kinsigu* “(time of the) end of the work” (26a), but before the first watch of the night (see §5). *šimētān* is opposed to *šērētu* “dawn” (11a) (§7, above). See also the connection with *qiddat ūmi* (see above s. v.).

kakkab šimīti “evening star” AfO 27, 25 Sm. 365: 6 (SB, CAD Š/3, 6, with further references for the evening star) shows that during *šimētān* Venus becomes visible.

For the dual see §10, above.

šiq(a)ru (13a): Ebla *si-gi-lu-um* and *si-gi-lum*, see Krebernik 1983: 32; Fronzaroli 1989: 15; Conti 1990: 196). Emar *ši-ka-rū* (Sjöberg 1998: 271). Derived from *šaḡāru* “to pierce”, thus “burst (of daylight)”. From the same root derives Soqotri *šuḡahar* “morning” (Leslau 1991: 510). Semantically correspond Akkadian *muštērtu* “time of tearing” (13c), Arabic *faḡr* “dawn” from *faḡara* “to split” (Wehr 1985: 944) and Hebrew *boqer* “morning” (cf. Arabic *baḡara* “to split” Wehr 1985: 102).

45. In HAL, however, connected with Arabic *sawiya* “to be equal”.

tirik šadîm (13b): As was convincingly shown by Heimpel 1997 (*pace* Kupper 1996: 81), *tirik šadîm* doesn't mean dusk but dawn. References (all OB Mari): ARM 13, 114 = ARM 26/1, 210: 7; ARM 26/2, 438: 16'; FM 2 Nr. 76: 7. However, *šadûm* in this phrase is probably not "mountain" but "east": *tirik šadîm* "hit (of the light in) the east" means the first light at the eastern horizon.

**tahru*: AHW. 1379 "Mittag". See now CAD T 44: read *da-ra-ri*.

uḫhurtu (IIIc): Only once attested lexically: *šāt urri // uḫ-hur!-tu* ACh. 2 Spl. 24: 17 (SB).

ūmu (20): For Ebla *a-PI-mu /yawmū/* see Krebernik 1983: 29. For OB Mari UD-*mu-um ma-la-ak bé-ra* "the day – a distance of two miles" = (?) "after two hours of the day" ARM 26/1, 347 n. d see also Kupper 1996, 80. For *ūmu* with pronominal suffix see Stol 1996: 418 (but some of the references mentioned there do not designate a time of the day but the calendrical day). Note that the feminine *ūmtu* is only used for the calendrical day.⁴⁶

ūmu turru (25c): Only attested lexically. AHW. 1373 s. v. *turru* I "Mittag?", CAD T 488 *turru* 2 "midday(?)". Followed in the lexical list by *qiddat ūmi* (25a), the expression refers – like *qiddat ūmi* and *saḫār ūmi* – to the "turned" course of the sun after midday.

urru (21): *urru* is equated with *ūmu* (20) (§6, above), is opposed to *mūšu/mušitu* "night" (7) (§7, above) and is used with *mūšu* in merisms for "always" (§8, above).⁴⁷ Etymologically, the word means "light" (see Hebrew *ʾôr* "light"). Opposed to *ūmu*, *urru* only designates the bright day and not the calendrical day.⁴⁸

AHW. 1433 s. v. *urru* 2 assumes for some attestations the meaning "früher Morgen". This is, however, unnecessary: in VS 10, 214 v 12f. (OB) and FAOS 7, 326 Elam 3: 34–37 (Oakk) *urru* is used in merism with *tamḫû* "wiping out (the daylight)" (§8, above). In BWL 126: 18 (SB) *ziqnāt urri* "beard of the *urru*" stands for rays of light. The name of the third watch, *šāt urri* (III b) of the night doesn't mean "the one of the morning" but "the one of the light".

Very uncertain: *ar-ri-ma* ARM 26/1, 169: 17'; J.-M. Durand *ibid.* p. 345 n. h tentatively suggests a derivation from *urru* and translates "*en plein jour*".

From *urru* derives the meaning "tomorrow, next day".

46. Hardly part of the personal name *Uḫum-ti-il* FM 10, 11: 4, *pace* L. Marti *ibid.* p. 32.

47. See also §8 for the merism consisting of the three members *karārû*, *mūšu* and *urru*.

48. The astronomical diaries distinguish the bright day and the calendrical day by the logograms ME and UD, see Neugebauer 1955: 482f. and 495.

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